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**Assemblages of networks, partnerships and friendships in
international development: the case of Malawi and
Scotland**

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Abstract

This thesis explores the everyday lived experiences of people involved in the relationship between Malawi and Scotland by critically examining the historical relationship between the two countries as well as the contemporary activities, meaning and context of the existing partnerships, relationships and networks. The role of networks and scale are also considered, primarily as they relate to international 'development'. The research demonstrates that Malawi and Scotland do have a unique relationship, one founded on the legacy of interconnectedness granted by David Livingstone's memory, and turned into a positive historical narrative. This special relationship has been strengthened through the implementation of a small international 'development' fund managed by the Scottish Government and the supporting of networking organisations between Malawi and Scotland, which appear to create spaces and opportunities for people to assemble together and jump scales of activity in communicating across national and international boundaries. As such this relationship based on equality, partnership and friendship between two small counties, one in Southern Africa, one in Northern Europe, offers a hopeful vision for international co-operation, assemblages of people and of partnerships that are truly equal, as long as the ever increasing trend towards neoliberal policies and bureaucracies around 'development' are resisted, even rejected.

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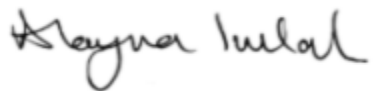
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Author's declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contributions of others, this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Alayna Imlah". The script is cursive and fluid, with the first name "Alayna" and the last name "Imlah" clearly distinguishable.

Alayna Imlah

Glasgow, June 2017

Definitions and Abbreviations

AFORD	Africans for Democracy (Malawian political party)
ANT	Actor Network Theory
CCAP	Church of Central Africa Presbyterian
CPA	Country Programme Aid
DFID	Department for International Development (UK Government)
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party (Malawian political party)
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
EU	European Union
G8	Group of 8 nations (France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Japan, the United States, Canada, and Russia)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoM	Government of Malawi
HDI	Human Development Index
IDF	International Development Fund (of the SG)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
JPCC	Joint Permanent Commission of Co-operation
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MaSP	Malawi Scotland Partnership
MCP	Malawi Congress Party (Malawian political party)
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MGDS	Malawi Growth and Development Strategy
MYP	Malawi Youth Pioneers (youth wing of the MCP)

NATO	North Atlantic Trade Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIDOS	The Network of International Development Organisations in Scotland
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SFTF	The Scottish Fair Trade Forum
SG	Scottish Government
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SMP	Scotland Malawi Partnership
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UDF	United Democratic Front (Malawian political party)
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US	United States
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Origins of International 'Development'

On the 20th January 1949 US President Truman gave his inaugural address. In a speech that outlined the dangers of communism, the importance of building and supporting the United Nations (UN), a strong focus on rebuilding Europe, and the creation of an alliance of nations for defence purposes, now known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the then president stated the following:

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.

I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development. (Truman, 1949)¹

It was with these words, following the political and social upheaval at the end of World War II (WWII), that international 'development' was born as an idea and a practice, and with this one speech "more than two billion people became underdeveloped" (Esteva, 1992:7).

From the 1950s onwards, alongside the dismantling of colonialism, the West's focus on 'developing' the economically poorer countries of the world resulted in an ever-growing and deepening global institutional structure through which a 'development' discourse:

... became a real and effective social force, transforming the economic, social, cultural and political realities of the societies in question. This apparatus included Bretton Woods institutions (e.g. World bank and the IMF) and other international organisations (e.g. the UN system) as well as national planning and development agencies and local-level development projects. (Escobar, 2007:17)

As the concept of 'development' was defined, and redefined, largely by western governments and organisations from the 1950s onwards, it was determined that, if a state was deemed to be 'underdeveloped', then there were a series of easy-to-follows steps in order to remedy this situation. This form of linear progression set in place the rules of development, which were applied to all countries with little specific consideration of local circumstances. If this 'one size fits all' / 'West knows best' model was followed, then developing countries were promised a

¹ https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/50yr_archive/inagural20jan1949.htm

linear progression to a Western-style capitalist democracy, and achieving the title of ‘developed’ with all the perceived benefits that this title would bring (Power, 2003). For much of the world classed as underdeveloped, however, there has been no natural progression, only a long list of historical injustices and power imbalances resulting in a “colonial world [that] was reconfigured into a developing world” (Peet and Watts, 1996:19).

The Research

This jointly funded Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and Scottish Government (SG) thesis has its roots in the SG’s desire to gain a greater understanding about the modern day relationship between Malawi and Scotland. The SG provides funding of up to £9 million each year disbursed through a formal assessment process to Scottish organisations to work with Malawian organisations, as set out in their international development policy (Appendix 1) and discussed in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7. While the initial subject area was defined by the SG, the thesis design is independent, and looks to the broader issues around colonialism, postcolonialism, development and postdevelopment, as well as the role of scale from a geographical and ‘development’ perspective, and the role of networks and relationships between people and organisations, as they relate to the theory and practice of ‘development’. The methodology, Chapter 4, sets out how the research was conducted, and how these concepts were explored during the fieldwork phase, and analysed and discussed in the empirical Chapters, 5, 6, 7 and 8. The research situates itself within postcolonial, postdevelopment and assemblage theory, with an overarching mixed methods approach to understanding people’s real world experiences of being involved with ‘development’, from the perspective of those living in both Malawi and Scotland working on joint partnerships funded by the SG. As part of this the SG’s and Government of Malawi’s (GoM’s) own policies, procedures and processes will be considered as data, along with the historical research, media analysis, ethnographic observations and interview data gathered in Malawi and Scotland.

The aims of this research are therefore:

- As an overall guiding ambition, to investigate in depth how so-called ‘development’ partnerships are actually experienced and felt by the key human actors involved, here in the context of partnerships running between (and within) Malawi and Scotland, asking about the histories of such partnerships and their potential to continue into the future.
- To understand global processes such as colonialism, capitalism and development and the uneven way in which they shape nation-states and people. These uneven

geographies are tackled in Chapter 2, and considered as they relate to Malawi and its relationship with Scotland in Chapters 5, 7 and 8.

- To explore the theoretical and tangible ways of defining and understanding how people and places are connected via networks and partnerships, specifically as they relate to development. As such, a brief ontological exploration of space and place is set out in Chapter 3, along with a consideration of the concept of scale: the latter being positioned as a way of looking at and ordering the world, but also as a word used with little care in the practice of international development, the impact of which is considered in Chapters 6 and 8.
- To gain a clearer understanding of the historical basis for the contemporary relationship between Malawi and Scotland, dating from David Livingstone's explorations, missionary settlement and anti-slavery actions in the 1850s through to the modern day institutionalised Co-operation Agreement between the two countries, as narrated in Chapter 5. This historical analysis serves as a backdrop for the interpretation of the views and feelings of people in Malawi and Scotland, as gathered during the fieldwork element, which are the basis for Chapters 6, 7 and 8.
- To explore what partnerships and networks exist between Malawi and Scotland, and to seek to understand not only why they exist, but how people feel about being part of such partnerships and networks, and how feelings might be used better to understand how 'development' works in practice in Malawi, as threaded through Chapters 6, 7 and 8.
- To consider the extent to which equal partnerships, ones in which people feel happy to participate and contribute, are a potential way forward for 'development', both as a theory and a practice; and to consider whether a focus on partnerships, even friendships, should be privileged over the usual demands of neoliberal policies which instead install the management and control of finances (and auditable targets) at the heart of 'development'. This key matter is explored in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, while Chapter 9 sets out how the SG could usefully change its 'development' policy (and practice) to focus less on the 'proper' (neoliberal) way to disburse and govern funds, and more on building, valuing and strengthening partnerships, even friendships, between people and organisations. Indeed, an aim of the thesis is to suggest that the Malawi-Scotland case contains within it the seeds of a 'model' – maybe even warranting being called the 'Malawi-Scotland model' – for future policy and practice which answers at least some of the critiques rightly directed at existing 'development' initiatives of all kinds spanning Global North and Global South.

That development is not working is a general feature of the literature and, apart from concepts around people-orientated development, there is no straightforward solution. Here is where there is a clear role for the geographer in understanding interactions between people and the environments where they live, the networks they use, the flows of goods and information, and the development that has gone before, so as to understand the nature of local spaces to inform the debate on development (Potter, et al., 2008). This move will, therefore, enable a more integrated approach which is necessary to reconstruct development, ensuring that debates about poverty reduction are better grounded “in the local and everyday realities of particular peoples and places” (Power, 2003:137). As Corbridge (2008) has succinctly pointed out, development is not going to disappear and allow participatory-based poverty reduction programmes to take over, as such critiques of development are also here to stay. What comes out of this mix is, at times, a chaotic analytical process combined with the mixed grounded experiences and ongoing legacies of power inequalities. Considering how this process of deconstruction and reconstruction can be of benefit to the lived experiences of people is an essential and ongoing debate, one to which this thesis will contribute.

Colonialism to Post-colonialism

Acknowledging that Europeans, through the act of colonisation, dominated, subjugated, controlled, owned, used and destroyed people, land, places and imaginations to further their own economic and social goals must be a truth at the heart of any piece of work seeking to understand global poverty and inequality. Said’s (1978) ground-breaking text *Orientalism*, enabled a critique of colonialism to emerge from the people and places who had themselves been colonised. His definition of colonialism is succinctly defined as the imposition of an imagined “superiority of European way of life on that of the oriental, a colonisation of minds and bodies as much as of space and economies” (Potter, 2006:48).

Colonialism was not, however, an even process. It occurred in different ways, at different times, to different people (Mignola, 2000). The difference in the act and nature of colonialism must be understood to interpret the variances and inequalities that exist in the world today. Anticolonial resistance movements, and the formal end of colonialism, are also crucial factors that determined the path of newly emancipated nation-states and their variable place in the world. These differences in colonial experience are explored in Chapter 2, alongside a critical analysis of the role of capitalism in defining the past, present and future, particularly in relation to globalisation and poverty, bringing to bear a Marxist-theoretical perspective. Differences of colonial experience remain important as ‘development’, in its mirroring of colonial experiences,

is perceived to have replaced colonialism as a form of power and control exerted by the Global North over the Global South, reproducing colonial injustices (Escobar, 2008). The specific history of Malawi, its colonial experiences, resistance movements and independence from colonial rule, alongside a consideration of the role of David Livingstone and the Scottish missionaries who followed in his name, are considered in the evolution of the modern nation-state of Malawi, and explored in detail in Chapter 5.

The post-colonial defines a period in time after colonialism, generally accepted to have come to a gradual and protracted end following the end of WWII up until the 1980s. Postcolonialism (no hyphen) is the term used to describe and define what lies beyond colonialism, identifying a critical approach to challenge colonialism and to seek alternative views, not least from those who have been subjected to colonialism and colonial rule (Sharp, 2009). Postcolonialism is therefore an important interpretive school of thought utilised throughout this thesis, along with postdevelopment, an era which it appears we have entered, although to state this claim categorically could be considered presumptive and counterproductive. However, we are in a period when the traditional development discourse has been, and continues to be, challenged and deconstructed, leaving space for new voices, new knowledges, new politics and new practices and to enable “those who are supposed to be the ‘objects’ of development ... [to] become subjects in their own right” (Escobar, 2007:21).

‘Development’ to Postdevelopment

International ‘development’ is an intangible concept subject to place-specific interpretations and laden with historical contexts that perpetuate old inequalities and injustices (Power, 2003). In order to understand how development has been enacted by the few upon many, it is essential to understand the evolution of the concept of ‘development’, from colonial to postcolonial times, and the role of capitalism, knowledge and power to control and oppress. The word ‘development’ will therefore be used to refer to the idea which emerged following WWII, prompted by Truman’s 1949 speech, and based upon the concept that there is indeed a ‘one size fits all’ linear model of progress which, if followed properly, will lead to capitalist economic growth and prosperity. ‘Development’ is also referred to in inverted commas throughout this thesis in acknowledgement of the fact that the word may be a misleading and inaccurate description, based upon arbitrary labels given to poor countries of the world by the rich countries of the world; a concept explored in greater detail in Chapter 2. There is also an acknowledgement that from the 1990s onwards there has been a critical analysis of ‘development’ that has led to a more reflective and local or embedded form of ‘development’

practice. However, just because 'development' has evolved from the 'west knows best' approach of the 1950s, does not necessarily mean that all practices are equal:

[There is] a distinction that seems to me very useful: between 'big D' Development defined as a post-second world war project of intervention in the 'third world' that emerged in the context of decolonization and the cold war, and 'little d' development or the development of capitalism as a geographically uneven, profoundly contradictory set of historical processes. (Hart, 2001:650)

One of the main problems, even in modern approaches to 'development,' is that knowledge and power relating to international 'development', in both theory and practice has been, and in many cases continues to be, situated firmly in the hands of Northern² institutions excluding "the knowledges, voices and concern of those whom, paradoxically, development was meant to serve: the poor of Asia, Africa and Latin America" (Escobar, 2007:20). In this way the voices of the people with situated and historical knowledge, attuned to living in environments and climates different to those of Northern based individuals and institutions, were largely cast aside and rendered valueless in the face of supposedly superior ideas, theories and models:

The tensions created by the binary divide between western science and indigenous knowledge clearly persist, despite many well-intentioned efforts to reduce or eliminate them ... However, the reality in rural areas may be much more pragmatic, in that farmers and others may, because of the demands of daily existence, develop a hybrid, mediated knowledge, which is developed and continually re-worked often in highly innovative ways. Indeed, it may be, therefore, that indigenous knowledge no longer exists in any untouched, pristine form, such that it may be more accurate to describe such knowledge as a local knowledge. (Briggs, 2005:116)³

A critical examination of the roots of international 'development' and of historical and place specific injustices is essential to any research in the field, as to deny or ignore the problems of international 'development' simply means that they are doomed to be repeated. However, it is important to remember that, while the aims of international 'development' set out in Truman's 1949 speech were clearly tied up with the geopolitical benefit of the USA and its allies (Power, 2003), they were also intended to help, not hinder, poorer regions of the world, even if that aim has not always been met. With a move from the 1990s onwards towards a more critical and reflective view of 'development', this critique has resulted in a dual approach; on the one hand

² Like much of the literature this thesis uses the terms 'Northern' and 'Western' interchangeably, but always to refer to the countries of the world considered economically wealthy and which includes North America and Europe.

³ This quote introduces the complexity and sense of hybridity in knowledges which will feature more prominently later in this thesis.

there is a call for a complete abandonment of the concept of 'development' (Escobar, 1995; Esteva, 1992; Latouche, 1993), while on the other hand others have sought to consider how to make 'development' work better for those most in need, largely through more embedded and situated local approaches (Corbridge, 1998; Power, 2003; Green, 2008). As a result, there are many examples of 'development' that are valued by, and of benefit to, recipients of foreign aid as is evidenced by the fieldwork element of this thesis. Whether the model of partnership in 'development', such as that between Malawi and Scotland, is an improvement on more conventional 'development', along with the role of networks and scale in international 'development', will be explored as a central issue throughout this thesis, and in particular in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Scale, Networks and Assemblages

Marston et al's (2005) systematic deconstruction of scale, and the resulting debate about its use, has been a contentious one within human geography. What has come out of this debate is a clear acknowledgement that scale is a social construct and should not define society, or relationships, but reflect them, being both fluid and open to transformation (Marston, 2000). There is an argument for the abandonment of scale and replacing it with an imaging of the social world composed of flat connections and complex spatial relationships (Marston et al, 2005). However, scale is arguably still a useful tool with which to view social processes as long as it is used alongside other considerations of how people, places and things might be connected. Within this mixed methods context, scale has been used by human geographers to allow activities and meaning that might not have been visible without some acknowledgement and reflective consideration of scale (Smith, 1992, 1994; Philo, 2007; MacKinnon, 2010). This is explored further in Chapter 3.

While networks are a much-studied concept in the social sciences, with the spatial modelling software to support it, in terms of this thesis networks are considered in a more fluid sense in that they represent groups of people who come together to support common aims, with a view that networks, and their role in international cooperation, is important in the practice of 'development' (Jenks, 2007:45). As such, networks could be considered to assemble around such things as money, government policies, social and financial partnerships or even friendships. The concept of Actor Network Theory (ANT) will be brought to bear in considering the types of links that might exist in a flat ontology and the role of non-human actors when considering the relationships between people based in Scotland, and those based in Malawi.

Assemblage theory could be considered to be constantly assembling and disassembling itself, it is an evolving tool for human geographers, and others, to imagine how groups and networks of people (and multiple other objects) might come together in common purpose, and dissemble if not needed, or not working as “[a]ssemblage points to reassembling and disassembling, to dispersion and transformation” (McFarlane, 2009:566). Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) botanical image of nodes and rhizomes growing and shrivelling as needed is a good one to imagine how things and people might assemble or dissemble within the relationship between Malawi and Scotland, albeit the deeper theoretical sinews between assemblage theory and Deleuzian theory arguably require further inspection. Another strength of assemblage theory is that it calls into question those things which might otherwise be rendered invisible, or accepted as natural; much as scale is now considered to be a social construct, so too is assemblage theory calling into question such key concepts and labels as cities, families, the local or the global (Sassen, 2014). As such, both ANT and assemblage theory are apt to use in a mixed methods approach when considering the construction, and deconstruction, of the word ‘development’ and all it entails. They are explored as theoretical concepts in Chapter 3, and applied as analytical tools to understand the connections between Malawi and Scotland in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Malawi and Scotland

Malawi and Scotland have a relationship dating back to colonial times. The specific historical aspects of the relationship which are of direct relevance to the modern-day relationship between Malawi and Scotland, and to this research, relates to the actions of David Livingstone, and the Scottish missions set up in Malawi in his name, in the late-nineteenth century. While Livingstone was a part of Britain’s colonial empire, in that he was an explorer and a missionary, he did not always embody the negative characteristics of the European explorer; in his written works he was thoughtful and articulate in describing the people and places encountered in Southern Africa. He did not appear to be crassly racist, learned local languages and lived and travelled like a local, not with a retinue of hundreds of local people carrying his luggage (Livingstone, 1857, 1865). In addition, he appeared primarily to practice his second trade of medicine when shown hospitality by local people, rather than being solely focused on Christian preaching and conversion. Livingstone, and the Scottish missionaries who followed him, also spoke vociferously against the slave trade and actively fought against slave traders on the ground both in Malawi and other parts of Southern Africa. For this alone many Malawians remember the man as a person of integrity, someone who cared about Malawi and Malawians, and who is

recalled with the greatest of respect in Malawi today: “Africans remember Livingstone with great affection because he loved them” (*The Nation*, 24/09/13)⁴.

After Livingstone’s death in 1873, and his successful literary publications, the churches in Scotland at that time felt that Livingstone’s work in Malawi, and his sacrifices, should be honoured, and so set up two missions in his name, one in Northern Malawi, Livingstonia, and one in Southern Malawi, Blantyre, named after Livingstone’s birthplace in Scotland (Ross, 2000). These missions continued elements of Livingstone’s work by providing safe havens for people to escape the slave trade, and offering education and health care. The price, of course, was Christian conversion, and the fact that Malawi is primarily a Christian country today shows the success of these early missions. For Malawians, however, faith is a serious issue and the fact that the Christian faith, and the main church in Malawi today, is based on Livingstone and the Scottish missions in his name is a source of pride for many Malawians (fieldwork research, 2014). The life of Livingstone, the role of these early missions and the tensions that exist within them, and with society more generally, is explored in Chapter 5.

Upon independence from British protectorate rule in 1964, Malawi maintained many of its religious and church links with Scotland, but due to an autocratic single party rule of President Banda from 1964 to 1994, it was difficult for Malawi to engage with the wider world. However, with the introduction of multi-party democracy, old links between Malawi and Scotland were rekindled and new ones were born: the history of Malawi is explored in detail in Chapter 5. Following the Gleneagles G8 meeting in 2005, Malawi and Scotland signed a Co-operation Agreement, and developed a formal partnership where the SG would provide funding to Scottish organisations to work with a partner in Malawi, to work jointly on issues set out in the Co-operation Agreement (attached at Appendix 2). Since 2004 the SG has operated a small international development fund of at least £3 million, usually over £7 million, being spent on projects between Malawi and Scotland. The funding enables an organisation in Scotland, such as a university, a local authority, a health professional, or a charity to form a partnership with their counterparts in Malawi and then develop and submit an application to fund a project based in Malawi, which contributes to the aims of the GoM. The SG assesses these applications on a competitive basis, taking into account the views of the GoM. However, the SG largely bases its funding application process, and its ongoing governance of projects and funding, on what large Northern donors do, perhaps unwittingly accepting and reinforcing a neoliberal driven agenda which defines how money must be managed, a concept explored in Chapter 2 from a theoretical

⁴ <http://mwnation.com/why-we-must-remember-david-livingstone/>

perspective, while Chapter 7 considers governance of international ‘development’ funds, and between Malawi and Scotland specifically, based upon fieldwork data, governance being an issue which people in both Malawi and Scotland hold multiple and strong views (fieldwork research, 2014).

While the disbursement and management of funding by the SG might follow other Northern donors, the focus on partnerships between individuals and organisations in Malawi and Scotland is an interesting one. It is supported through the specific funding of two networking organisations by the SG, the Scotland Malawi Partnership (SMP), a civil society organisation based in Scotland and funded by the SG since 2004, alongside the Malawi Scotland Partnership (MaSP) a civil society organisation based in Malawi founded in 2005, although the latter only gained funding from the SG in 2012. The role of the networks and friendships between Malawi and Scotland will be critically considered alongside the ‘development’ literature, to determine if the partnership model of working, and the longstanding historical relationship between Malawi and Scotland, creates a possibly unique local-global interaction: one where people assemble around nodes of activity, forming links that span the local to the global, in the aims of supporting people in Malawi being lifted out of extreme poverty and becoming able to access their basic human rights to healthcare, education (at all levels), clean water, democratic representation, trade and all other rights to which all people are supposedly entitled enabling them to live life to their full potential, no matter their place of birth.

While 60 years of international ‘development’ has not given all people in the world the same opportunities and advantages, that does not mean such a goal should be abandoned, and the mixing of more traditional international ‘development’ practices, funding models and governance, alongside what might be termed softer elements of partnerships, friendship and co-operation, will be explored in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. This thesis is both theoretical and pragmatic, critical and positive, and most importantly open to the complexity of the lived experiences of people, and the places they inhabit, be they an economically poor country in Southern Africa, like Malawi, or an economically rich country in Northern Europe, like Scotland. This thesis therefore positions itself in the spaces in-between, where practice and policy, local and global, politics and people clash, agree, disagree, are antagonistic, are complementary; where there is no ‘right’ answer, no one solution, no grand statements or theories. Instead, a complicated and at times contradictory picture emerges of the relationship and networks between people located in two different places, living and working in unique spaces, whose lives intersect and interact, and have been doing so for centuries, to create a compelling relationship, and standpoint, from which to view ‘development’.

Chapter 2: Uneven geographies of colonialism, capitalism and development

Introduction

This chapter is less of a classical literature review of development geography, or work on Malawi, and instead more of an essayist exploration of certain key phases and concepts – phases and concepts being deliberately interlinked in the global story of ‘development’. This story has several purposes: to provide a backdrop to the detailed empirical history of Malawi in the context of the Scottish relationship as narrated in Chapter 5; and to provide a window on various issues and problems of colonialism, capitalism, neoliberalism and ultimately ‘development’, that run throughout Chapters 6, 7 and 8. The issues explored in this chapter could be considered as counterpoints to the multifaceted issues of ‘development’ at the heart of the Malawi-Scotland networks which are under empirical scrutiny.

This chapter also serves to clarify my own stance, one that is not simplistically ‘anti-development’, but nonetheless accepts the full force of much of the critique of colonialism, capitalism and ‘development’ covered in this multi-sited global study. As such this chapter, and those that follow, looks for hints of alternatives to successfully addressing global inequality and poverty by considering other paths to that which is termed ‘development’ in such a manner that might, with caution, be termed part of a post-development discourse.

Colonialism

While empires and colonised people existed prior to 1400, when discussing colonialism today, this is usually referred to as the period from 1400 onwards and the act of European exploration and colonisation of other people and places. This included the European Enlightenment and the ‘Age of Exploration’ in the 1700s. It was supported and enabled by a range of local and specific factors (Sharp, 2009), including the rise of mercantile capitalism and the discipline of science, with its claimed inherent superiority as the most important form of knowledge. White Europeans considered themselves as superior to the people inhabiting the countries they colonised. To maintain this belief on encountering other cultures, they had to interpret, or misinterpret, that which they encountered. For example, while the great civilisations that existed in places such as Egypt and China could not be denied, these were defined as old and decaying, in opposition to Europe, which was portrayed as modern and progressive. This ‘imaginative geography’ (Said, 1978) categorises and defines the world according to a European

imagination, based upon erroneous and often racist assumptions about others and the 'other'. Africa was (and in some respects still is) viewed as underdeveloped and childlike, therefore justifying European rule:

Nineteenth century scientists and imperial theorists often placed races on a developmental scale analogous to the different stages in an individual life. Africans were commonly referred to as "overgrown children" in need of the 'adult supervision' of Europeans. (Burns, 2016:136)

Ultimately, race is an issue in colonialism, and while race is a term which has no specific biological meaning, it is used to group together people who share similar phenotypical traits, such as eye, hair or skin colour. When considered in colonial times, alongside newly emerging scientific thinking such as Darwin's theory of evolution and survival of the fittest (Darwin, 1859)⁵, concepts of race were, however, given a social and cultural meaning that remains powerful today:

As a prelude to colonization, Europe had theories that justified the conquest and governance of non-European territories. These theories were based on pseudo-scientific racism and cultural arrogance. Europeans did not only exude technological superiority over the African, but also displayed a feeling of moral and a racial superiority. (Okon, 2014:202)

The danger of this thinking lies in the union of the political and the physiological, combined to enable and justify domination of one group by another "based on differences seen as natural, given, inescapable and therefore moral" (Haraway, 1991:8). On the back of such a rationale stands slavery, colonialism and genocide, as well as the grinding day to day experiences of those who have lived, and continue to live, in a world where factors such as the place of your birth, or genetic traits such as the colour of your skin, can significantly affect life opportunities and life expectancy.

Africa, from its first contact with Europeans, has therefore been portrayed as a backward and primitive place peopled by savages. Asia and the Arab nations of North Africa were viewed as traditional, but not savage; for them the term 'exotic' was coined, with Asia a place where morality was loose and religions were myths which held back rational and scientific thought (Sharp, 2009). Africa, however, was deemed to be simply dark and inhospitable with no history, decaying or not, and no religions worth criticising. While Asia was ripe for trade and adventure, Africa was a place to be tamed and changed, controlled and exploited, with the emphasis on

⁵ Darwin's seminal text *The Origin of Species* was published the same decade that Livingstone became one of the first Europeans to traverse the continent of Africa, West to East, and which he started his Zambezi expedition during which he 'discovered' and named Nyasa (now Malawi). The history of Livingstone, and of Malawi is explored in Chapter 5.

exploitation. As such, geographers, like anthropologists, played their part in imagining, enabling and legitimising the colonial world, particularly from the eighteenth century onwards. By defining vast swathes of the globe as tropical, undiscovered, savage or dark and without a history or culture of their own (Power, 2003), they created a concept of otherness (Said, 1978).

British society at the time of colonialism saw white, educated, logical, cultured and upper class men to be the pinnacle of human development; women were hysterical and illogical, black people animalistic and irrational, working class people lacking in intelligence and driven by base instincts (Sharp, 2009). Only the European model of manhood was to be privileged above all else, and against which everything else was measured, found lacking and therefore controlled. The image of the masculine explorer fits this model, and is one which missionaries and explorers such as David Livingstone would embody; his role in defining the modern-day relationship between Scotland and Malawi will therefore be questioned, and the myth of the man analysed. An analysis of Livingstone's life from a historical perspective, including his written work, is explored in detail in Chapter 5 where his difference in attitude and action from the colonial norms of his peers is clearly apparent, while his continuing impact on the ongoing relationship between Scotland and Malawi is explored in Chapter 6.

Britain, as a colonial power, imposed its will on people and on space and "colonial policy was made concrete through colonial space and practice" (Sharp, 2009:56). Thus colonisers reordered and built cities, ports, roads, warehouses, churches, barracks, houses and civic buildings, from which to govern, all of which indelibly marked the landscape and the mindset of the people as owned, organised and ruled over. The concept of difference of colonial experience is, however, important, particularly with regard to the impact that colonisers had on the landscape. While the desire to tame nature through scientific and industrial prowess seemed to be universal, the activities and scale varied, and the altering of civic and city space differed considerably from place to place. Britain, for example, built intricate road, rail and port networks across India, along with grand palaces and whole cities (New Delhi) in the British colonial style of architecture; while in much of Africa buildings by British colonisers were more functional in nature with infrastructure largely serving the needs of resource extraction and export. Through this process of change in the landscape, and the style of living, the colonial landscape itself became a place of domination and resistance.

While ways of living were imposed on colonised people, so too were ways of working evolving, with Marxist images of a people removed from the ability to produce what they need, and therefore forced to sell their labour, across the colonised world. The colonial mindset of

superiority and right to own and rule removed the very land from the people, a common pattern repeated today by multinational corporations, resulting in a form of neo-colonialism which forces people to work on large plantations producing crops for export on land that they once owned. As Duncan (2007) clearly illustrates, plantations were places of tension, where capitalism, governance, biological determinism, control and power were played out on the local, and the global stage, and it could be argued, continue to do so today. In these plantations of colonial times, indigenous people (workers) were viewed as lazy, childlike and indolent, and not at all in step with the protestant-capitalist work ethic expected of them by colonial rulers. The historical representations documented by Sharp (2009) of plantations in Asia, and the image of workers as lazy and indolent, contrasts with the current modern day image of the 'tiger' economies of Asia, which, against the logic of Western ideology, have prevailed and been economically successful. The fact that these same people were in colonial times classed as lazy and workshy would answer any environmental determinism arguments about certain regions of the world necessarily being peopled by specific working types.

Colonial rule, did however come to an end, in a formal sense at least. One theory concerning the end of colonial rule is that it came from the hand of the colonisers, that their own values, morals and reason were the source of their demise through the education of elites among the colonised. In India, for example, colonisers enforced a common language (English), built transport and communication links across the country and provided a thoroughly English education system for some privileged 'natives'. It was therefore inevitable that these educated Indians would take these tools and rationally look at the world, see that they did not have innate qualities that made them, and their country, inferior and that there was no automatic right of European superiority. This realisation would naturally lead to an uprising and overthrow of colonial power. Sharp (2009), however, points out that this theory places Western reason and Western morals as the very solution to the problem that colonies and empire had created. More worryingly, it posits the colonised as having no reason, no thoughts of their own, other than that which colonisers give to them; hence, in part, leading to the question, can the subaltern speak? Dabasi (2015) takes this one step further in his text *Can Non-Europeans Think?*, where his critical analysis takes a sharp turn into the philosophical and geopolitical in seeking to understand the current implications of denying a voice to so many, for so long. Dabasi eloquently argues that, by taking and holding knowledge and power in the hands of the few, European cultural imperialism is directly implicated in the rise of radical religious groups, Islamophobia, the Arab Spring and other current events that have their roots in "[r]acist imperial ideology that seeks to control and dominate" (2015:288).

Looking to how colonialism came to an end is therefore important, and relates directly to global processes such as capitalism, 'development' and geopolitics. A key component of anti-colonial resistance movements was a process of looking back into the past to remember people and cultures before European colonisation. While darker elements of this search for 'uncontaminated' origins can lead to such atrocities as ethnic cleansing, it can also create a new vision which not only linked people to their past, which had been denied them under colonialism, but was a source of pride and an escape from the inferiority and lack of dignity that colonised people suffered (Fanon, cited in Williams and Chisman, 1994). This reclaiming of the past is important as colonialism not only dominates the present and the future (as in contemporary South Africa), but it also distorts the past, with Europeans painting civilisations as barbaric, chaotic and animalistic before their arrival:

The effect consciously sought by colonisation was to drive into the natives' head the idea that if settlers were to leave, they would at once fall back into barbarism, degradation and bestiality. (Fanon, in Williams and Chisman, 1994:37)

While Fanon does not specifically discuss religion at length, the role of missionaries must be acknowledged for their culpability in destroying cultural heritage, and in actively seeking to change the mindset of people and nations. European colonisers viewed only their religion as true and every other religion as, at best, a myth, and hence they introduced Christianity with vigour in the countries that they controlled (Okon, 2014). This process involved a 're-education' of colonised people to view their old lives as sinful, introducing new concepts and practices of morality and judgement (Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 2007), making it difficult to recover a heritage from precolonial times as new gods now inhabited the body and imagination.

Fanon (in Williams and Chisholm, 1994) also notes that, while national resistance movements can take strength from secret or clandestine aspects of culture that have not been dominated by colonialism, all national cultures, in their entirety, are worn down and worn away under the force of hundreds of years of colonial domination. A shadow of their former glorious national cultures, tied intrinsically to national independence movements, gives rise to a new hybrid national consciousness. However, this new consciousness has tensions at its core, as it is defined and understood through a colonial mindset. It is not, and cannot ever, be pre-colonial but is forever post-colonial, with the injustice and inequalities that entails.

Colonialism worked by identifying all others as inferior, as invalid, and this superiority was also part of its downfall. Once the illusion of European superiority, upon which colonialism rested, was challenged and the illusion pierced, it heralded the fall of colonialism globally. Of

importance was the end of WWII, and the focus on rebuilding Europe, much of which had suffered damage, combined with a European civilian population less willing to fight on foreign soil, such as Africa and Asia. Another key factor lay in Egypt's 1956 challenge to British authority in the Suez Canal, a challenge which Britain did not answer. This capitulation by the British government in not fighting for an important access point and water way linking the Mediterranean with the Indian Ocean, where many British colonies lay, signalled an end to the British Empire. The changing geopolitical landscape with Britain and France essentially being undermined by the USA, as the post WWII superpower, resulted in Britain losing control of the Suez Canal. This exposed a weakness in its mantle of imperialism that had not existed previously and heralded the end of colonialism globally with "the Suez crisis represent[ing] a moment of truth, a 'psychological watershed' after which the world would never again seem the same" (Lyon, 1991:272).

While the changing geopolitical landscape post 1945, and the changing economic realities that this brought about, were clearly highly influential in bringing about the end of colonial rule, alternative debates also exist around the concept of hybridity. In this scenario while the material world, the landscape, politics, economics and science are dominated by colonial powers, the spiritual and the personal, while repressed, are preserved and owned by the colonised. Their imagination is their own, not one 'given' to them by European rulers. It is through the mixing of these two strong but separate ideas, of personal and political states, imagination and realities, that national movements and resistance to colonialism were born (Sharp, 2009).

However, colonialism (and postcolonialism) are not uniform processes in time or space, creating common behaviours of, or impacts on people and places, and the difference is at times stark. This difference of colonial and postcolonial experience can account for the variety of experiences at the local and global as well as personal and political levels. Yet it is clear that countries which were previously colonised, but now independent, remain part of the world's political, economic, and geopolitical periphery. There is a need to understand the colonial experience from different, subjective viewpoints. Additionally, as discussed, the different ways in which colonial rule ended is important, for it determined both the immediate and the long-term path for these newly independent peoples and nations. Power (2003) illustrates the difference in the handover of power and the impact. For example, Angola fell immediately into civil war that has lasted decades after the abrupt end to colonial rule with no power transfer or civil authority, while the racial and tribal tensions planted by Belgian settlers in Rwanda lie at the root of the Rwandan genocide in 1994. Often the fight for independence was itself an armed

struggle, leaving a country dominated by the military or militias with no credible civilian authorities or process to hold elections. Even where nation states had a relatively peaceful handover of power, the path has not been an easy one for a newly emancipated nation. For example, Malawi, following a relatively peaceful transition to independence, endured decades of one party rule, suppression of free speech and lack of democracy, a legacy that it still struggles to overcome, and which is explored in detail in Chapter 5.

The concept of ‘three worlds’ came into being at the end of World War II, following on from the Bandung conference in 1955, a gathering of Asian and African nations in the midst of a process of decolonisation, to discuss issues such as colonialism, co-operation, and the emerging Cold War, reaching a consensus that they would remain neutral in any cold war. These nations generally became known as the ‘third world’. In these highly subjective terminologies, the West was classed as the first world, the communist/socialist-leaning states, including Russia and China, the second world (although this term has fallen into disuse) and the third world being Africa, Asia and parts of Latin America (Power, 2003). With the start of the Cold War, America was desperate to develop an economic empire, solidify its power in the world and ensure that capitalist growth, not communist states, marked the path of newly independent colonies. Thus ‘development’ was born, with its roots in Truman’s 1949 speech, it only grew in strength and reach as colonialism ended across the world, and was replaced with global processes and economic systems that included ‘development’.

Capitalism

To understand poverty one must understand capitalism, and its role in shaping powerful world views, institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the core theories around ‘development’:

Development is most usefully understood in terms of the exercise of power in multiple, interconnected arenas, inseparably linked with the socially and spatially uneven dynamics of capitalist development. (Hart, 2010:122)

Due to the difficulties of choosing a singular definition of capitalism from a wide number of existing definitions, with context-dependent explanations, Gibson-Graham instead outline a Marxist definition of a capitalist mode of production. This sets out a vision of a capitalist system as one of “generalised commodity production structured by (industrial) forces of production and exploitative relations between capital and labour” (1996:3). In this system, workers are denied the ability to produce what they need for survival, and are thus forced into the capitalist system to sell their labour for wages, then use these wages to purchase that which they need.

Smith (1984) states that capitalism is by its very nature not a uniform process, and that this “uneven development refers not simply to the geography of capitalism but also to uneven rates of growth between different sectors of the capitalist economy” (Smith, 1984:134). Differentiation is an important factor in understanding economic systems. One of the earliest differentiations could be the division of labour between men and women, with men having a wide spatial domain and women being limited to the personal family space (Smith, 1984). It is also argued that the more developed a capitalist economy, the greater the differentiation of labour (Sachs, 2005). It can, however, be dangerous to assume inherent differentiation based on natural premises, be they between sexes, races or in the natural world. A form of environmental determinism was pursued by what Smith (1984) terms ‘commercial geography’, which involved the world being spatially defined according to its natural resources and trade routes, popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, at the apex of European colonial rule. This type of geography, in mapping different patterns of production and economic activity, was a means of “understanding and promoting the rise of empire, so their [commercial geographers’] fate followed the fate of empire” (Smith, 1984:140). It could be argued that the rise, or resurrection of so called ‘new economic geography’, particularly that advocated by Krugman (2011) shares similarities with these colonial commercial geographers.

Krugman applies economic modelling to theories of trade, import and export from the global, to the regional, seeking to understand why industries aggregate in certain areas. This work is certainly not new to geographers, and even economists are divided on its value and merit, with some such as Neary (2009) extolling its virtues, while others are confused and critical about Krugman’s reliance on old school geography (Cochrane, 2011). Krugman himself (2011) provides a robust, if dismissive, answer to his critics, stating that New Economic Geographies have current day relevance, particularly in their application to understand less ‘advanced’ economies, finding them to fit “gratifyingly well” when applied to China and other ‘emerging markets’. He does go on to acknowledge some key factors that his theories do not take into account, such as the fact that much of China’s production is for international markets, but he does not let this interfere with the theory ‘fitting’. What he is not apologetic for is “getting economists to think about location and spatial structure” (Krugman, 2011:7). This may well be the case, but his progress in this matter is slow and based upon an unquestioning faith in capitalism, free-markets and neoclassical economics. What is perhaps more concerning is the way that so many have accepted, and even revered, his work without question, and have sought to apply it without consideration of its geographical heritage and real world implications. Just as the commercial geographers of the nineteenth century provided a backdrop and academic credence to colonial

expansion and control, it could be argued that modern day economists with a focus on free market capitalism provide the same sense of righteousness and credence to the global capitalist system that is controlled, and enforced, by Northern institutions. The primary institutions in control of global economic systems, and policies, are considered to be the World Bank, the IMF and the US Treasury Department, between them embodying the principles of free market economies, and neoliberalism and generally referred to as the Washington Consensus⁶, and discussed later in this chapter and in Chapters 7 and 8.

In a globalised world, capitalism, as the dominant economic model, imposes and reproduces its flaws on a global scale, with class struggles and inequalities imposed worldwide. Capital moves to where the profit is highest, and there is likely to be continued change in the sites, and modes, of manufacturing and production (Smith, 1984). This uneven development means that areas with an already high rate of capital or profit accumulation will continue to accrue profits, while areas without a high potential for profit accumulation remain in that state due to the movement of capital back to the more profitable areas. Thus in a capitalist system some areas of the world remain perpetually underdeveloped, and hence “development and underdevelopment [are] geographical mirrors of the capital-labour relation” (Smith, 1984:199).

At its essence, capitalism limits choices to those who act in support of capitalism; for example, forcing people to work for low wages with few worker rights, but selling the idea that there is a choice of lifestyle and opportunities. At the global level, this would include forcing poor countries to participate in a global world economy that does not benefit them, or forcing loans and debt onto countries who cannot repay them, in the name of ‘development’ and economic growth. The reality for those living in a capitalist economy, but not controlling it, is that the only those choices which exist are those which support the *status quo*, while:

... International Monetary Fund and World Bank programmes ... have devastated traditional economies in the Global South and forced states to shift growing shares of revenue into debt servicing. (Sassen, in Chant, 2010: 29)

The inability of capitalism to co-exist with other forms of economic production, or simply to subsume them into its own paradigm, makes it unlikely that alternatives to capitalism will gain

⁶ It should be noted that Williamson (2004) who coined the term ‘Washington Consensus’ in 1989, does not agree with all definitions and attributes that are now associated with the term, feeling that the ‘Washington Consensus’ has become an oversimplified term upon which those who criticise development economics overuse. However, for the purposes of this non-economic focused thesis, the Washington Consensus shall refer to the bodies referenced above which are closely associated with a set of development policies and economics, linked to the rise of neoliberalism, as Peck (2010) acknowledges.

ground in the near future (Gibson-Graham, 1996). This also means that for the foreseeable future the Global South, and the challenges that poor countries and individuals face, will continue to be defined, and allegedly resolved, by capitalist policies and practices. The scope for non-capitalist economic practices is ostensibly small, their space constrained and in direct opposition to capitalism, with the inherent class bias and struggle that this brings. Aspects of the empirical research which explore the partnerships and friendships at the heart of international 'development' practices and policies between Malawi and Scotland, and which focus on people, and on feelings, whilst operating in the midst of a capitalist system, could be viewed as a version of non-capitalist activities in part, by encouraging "the cultivation of affective orientations and thinking practices that are generative, experimental and hopeful" (Gibson-Graham, 2005:17), and will be explored further in empirical Chapters 6 and 8.

Neoliberalism

While non-capitalist economic practices struggle to gain traction capitalism itself has seemingly become more entrenched in all aspects of the social and political worlds, particularly with the continued rise of neoliberalism from the late 1970s onwards. Neoliberalism, at its simplest, is a model of government and economy which argues that only free markets and private companies can provide both for economic growth and, crucially, social welfare (Bockman, 2013). As such neoliberalism, and its power and application in the world, is a key issue within international 'development' as it has been promoted, and even forced, upon much of the world with the poorer countries of the world most negatively affected by an international capitalist system that benefits the free market and private companies, over nation-states and people as:

... in large parts of the world, neoliberalism is practically synonymous with the market-oriented philosophy of the 'Washington consensus' agencies, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), a usually pejorative signifier for a distinctly American form of 'free-market' capitalism, propagating globally. (Peck, 2010:2)

The governments of Britain and America in the 1980s turned these neoliberal theories into practical and all pervasive actions, and policies, backed up by an aggressive political agenda (Peck and Tickell, 2002). Organisations such as the World Bank and the IMF implemented and enforced those policies in 'developing' countries in the world, through multiple means, one of the primary ones being through programmes known as structural adjustment. At its simplest these programmes gave large loans to poorer countries of the world (from the World Bank and IMF) with very strict conditions that these loans were used to restructure the economies and states of poor countries through policies such as de-regulation of financial markets, minimising

the role of the state and encouraging privatisation (Shah, 2013). While there is political and economic debate about the policies and actions of the Washington Consensus, arguably their programmes did not improve life for the majority of poor people living in poor countries with ‘developing’ countries struggling to service debts and loan repayments and the Washington Consensus policies causing “economic decline, stagnation, and frequent crises in many transition economies ... and many other developing countries” (Lin, 2015:103).

In short the neoliberal policies pursued with vigour in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly by the World Bank, left much of the poorest countries in the world with ever increasing debt, destroyed and denuded environments and a lack of ownership and control by governments over natural resources (Cervantes, 2013). The backlash against this resulted in global campaigns in the late 1980s and 1990s to promote social and environmental protections, all over the world, but especially in the capital poor regions of the world, which were disproportionately affected by the World Bank's neoliberal policies. As a result of this the World Bank, and other Northern institutions adopted a conciliatory or respectful attitude that: “could be seen as a tactical movement because it is grounded in the fact that this kind of [respectful] behaviour would help them gain back the confidence of the Northern policy makers” (Cervantes, 2013:30). This has resulted in a form of ‘development’ economics that have been termed a post-Washington Consensus in that proponents not only acknowledge the failures of the Washington Consensus policies and programmes, but attribute them to a narrow focus on promoting the free markets, without considering the complex social, environmental, economic and political situations in the individual countries on which these policies were applied, or providing adequate protections for citizens of those countries if the policies failed (Stiglitz, 2008). As such it could be argued that we are currently living in a period of a new form of economic imperialism which Fine (2009:888) refers to as “zombieconomics” in that neoliberalism, with its emphasis on free markets at the expense of the public sector and state, is both alive and dead at the same time. Alive in the sense that it is still aggressively influencing practice and policy, and inserting itself into the social, environmental and indeed any other sphere that it can, but that it is “intellectually dead, having nothing new to offer other than parasitic extension of its principles to new applications” (Fine, 2009:888).

While the financial crash of 2008 clearly had a negative impact on neoliberal policies and practices, “[d]eclarations of the death of neoliberalism, however, are surely premature” (Peck, 2010:9). In this new world, a post-Washington Consensus world, many of the same challenges to neoliberalism continue to exist and what may be needed is a revolution in the way that people think or, taking this further, what Marx would consider necessary is a ‘violent and acute

restructuring' (Marx, cited in Smith, 1984:210). What is clear is that before any restructuring or revolution, a revolution of the imagination is indeed needed (Smith, 1984). This new imagination could enable a future without a dominant and all-pervasive capitalist model of economic growth forcing all that it encounters to participate in it, and through this freeing of the imagination new ways of connectedness can be imagined and articulated.

Phases of 'development'

It can be argued that 'development' can be split into a 'West knows best' approach, prior to the 1990s (Power, 2003; Potter et al, 2008), and a post-1990 hybrid form of 'development', coinciding with a rethinking of the policy and practice of the Washington Consensus, where a greater focus has been placed on local knowledge and sustainability (Hart, 2001, 2009). While a more critical bent towards international 'development' continues to proliferate, with an ever increasing body of work within the discourse of postdevelopment. Linked to this there has been an increased move towards practices within international 'development' that could be termed participatory or partnerships approaches, whereby poor people in poor countries are involved, in some way, in the decision making and/or implementation of 'development' projects.

This move to consult and involve those who are subject to 'development' in the policy and practice of 'development' coincides with the greater academic critique and discourse of post-development, and moves within Northern institutions to mainstream participatory approaches into their practice from the late 1990s onwards, with the World Bank itself acknowledging that there are "benefits of listening to citizens to improve pro-poor targeting of service delivery" (World Bank, 2014:17). The latter section of this chapter considers the different phases of development from the 'West knows best' attitude of the 1940s through to participatory approaches and in some cases partnership working, to the post-development era we may have now entered. It is key to also consider that the changes to 'development' practices are not distinct or separate, and indeed different types of 'development', with different political and economic influences, can exist in the same spaces at the same time.

'West knows best'

A traditional linear model of progression, based on 'West knows best' capitalist-driven 'development' was promoted from the 1950s onwards, as a paternalistic approach to

⁷ World Bank strategic framework for mainstreaming citizen engagement in World Bank operations: <https://consultations.worldbank.org/Data/hub/files/consultation-template/engaging-citizens-improved-resultsopenconsultationtemplate/materials/finalstrategicframeworkforce.pdf>

‘development’ whereby poor countries of the world only had to do as the West said in order to be rewarded with progression to Western style standards of living. However, this model is still being promoted and defended by individuals and organisations; for example, by Sachs (2005) when talking about the role of the West in helping poor countries, stating that “it is our task to help them onto the ladder of development” (Sachs, 2005:2). This comment shows scant awareness of any debate about ‘development’ from the 1980s onwards, and still assumes that a traditional model of linear progression holds fast. He holds to this belief even when presenting evidence which shows that from 1981 to 2001 the number of people living in poverty has decreased across much of the world, but increased for Sub-Saharan Africa (Sachs, 2005), the site of arguably the most intensive ‘development’ activities. As such, although Sachs (2005) is not writing in the 1950s, his arguments in 2005 are so similar to those of the 1950s that there is value exploring them further as a model on which to both understand, and also critique, the ‘West knows best’ model of development which replaced and replicated colonialism.

Sachs (2005) argues that the wealth and economic growth witnessed during and after colonial times in Europe and its white settler colonies, such as America and Canada, had little to do with colonialism and the wealth and resources that this system of control extracted from poorer countries. He does acknowledge that colonialism caused vast inequalities through the social, economic and physical domination of one culture by another, and that this ‘justified’ violent and often brutal exploitation. Nonetheless, he argues that “despite these difficulties, the basic underlying forces that propelled the industrial revolution could be, and were, replicated elsewhere” (Sachs, 2005:39); a dubious notion that neglects the fact that once one region has embarked upon their growth, all other regions now exist in a fundamentally changed, and competitive, world.

While Sachs (2005) accepts that the spread of the industrial revolution was easiest in the temperate zones of the world already linked to Britain, in discussing the spread of industrialisation and economic growth to Asia and Africa, he makes some important assumptions. Firstly, he assumes that only through capitalist economic growth following the model of Britain can other countries ‘develop’. Secondly, he imagines the world with the mindset of a colonial explorer, stating that, when industrialisation crept towards them, it found “some ... ancient civilisations with grand traditions, like China or Japan; some were sparsely populated regions like those in much of tropical Africa” (Sachs, 2005: 40). While the term ‘tropical’ is itself laden with bias and imagined notions by white Europeans (Power, 2003), Sachs also assumes Africa to have no history until it was ‘discovered’ by Europeans, a passive empty vessel waiting to be colonised, then industrialised and developed by Europeans.

Industrialisation is also accepted, unchallenged, as a singular route to development, as this is the model Britain followed.

However, in direct opposition to his argument that there is a single linear model of 'development', Sachs (2005) spends some time setting out the unique local conditions around industrialisation and economic growth in Britain and why, for example, Ghana or China were not one of the first nation-states to industrialise. The reasons that he sets out are that Britain was an island nation and less likely to be invaded; it therefore had long-standing sovereignty that allowed the development of strong political institutions and traditions of free speech. It was also a nation with excellent trade links by sea and river, and it had less rigid social control and more social mobility than many other countries of the time. Victorian Britain also placed great importance on scientific knowledge and education, giving science the space and resources to flourish; and, by its establishing of white settler colonies in North America and Australia, it allowed poor landless people and 'criminals' to emigrate (or be sent away), therefore reducing the burden on the state. These specific local conditions set the scene for rapid industrialisation, economic growth, military growth and colonisation of other countries. It is therefore curious that Sachs does not afford other countries the same level of analysis of specific social, geographical, political and historical processes to see what path they might best follow to improve the lives of their people.

The reason that Sachs' views are so important is that they hold power and influence in the places in the world where decisions are made: the centre. As an economist, he has held positions of power within the UN, having been special advisor to the two Secretary Generals on the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). He also, from 2002 – 2006, was Director of the UN's Millennium projects' work on the MDGs. He has advised governments and international bodies, and has held several teaching and emeritus positions including Director of The Harvard Institute for International Development, Director of the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network and Director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University, as well as being a bestselling author writing about his 'solutions' to poverty. Wikipedia lists him as "one of the world's leading experts on economic development and the fight against poverty".⁸ It is therefore important to understand, and to challenge, Sach's assumptions about poverty and inequality, as they represent the views of many academics, and economists in particular, and of international organisations and governments who make decisions about the lives of poor people living in poor countries, who continue to reproduce

⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jeffrey_Sachs, June 2016

hegemonic power relations and inequality, within what remains ultimately a capitalist orthodoxy of both thought and practice.

An alternative view to Sachs (2005) would be that colonialism enabled sustained economic growth in Europe, but that the patterns of inequality which it necessarily set in place continue to be replicated today, largely through the capitalist world system controlled by Europe and America. Poorer countries were therefore, and still are, forced into a capitalist world system with the deck stacked against them (Gibson-Graham, 1996). What Sachs (2005) seemingly cannot afford to do, however, is to acknowledge two key facts; firstly, that colonialism was instrumental in enabling rapid and sustained economic growth in Europe and its white settler colonies; and secondly, that the situation enabling industrialisation and rapid capitalist growth in Europe was unique and local in nature. To admit either of these things would be to admit that there is not one model of a linear approach to economic development, and that the promise which has been literally sold to poor countries in loans and strict forms of social and political control – or structural adjustment programmes – is actually a lie. Instead, all Sachs (2005) offers is the same rhetoric that has been promoted since the 1950s; that what poor countries need is merely a step up onto the ‘development ladder’ - only the ladder was pulled up behind Europe and America, there are no more countries to colonise and exploit, no new global economic system to control. As such, Europe’s path to prosperity was a one-time global scenario.

Another argument which debunks views about a linear one size fit all model of ‘development’ is to consider places in the world which are seen as ‘development’s’ success stories, such as Singapore or South Korea, countries which are often claimed to be evidence that ‘development’ works. However, their local circumstances were unique in allowing rapid economic growth that led to social change. For example, in the 1940s, Korea was a low-income country, like much of Asia, along with poor countries in Africa and Latin America who were all labelled as ‘developing’. However, unlike Asia and Latin America, Sub Saharan Africa has not shown the same economic growth or social change and benefits, and people living in many parts of Africa are today as poor, if not poorer, than they were 60 years ago. Why this is the case is a topic of considerable debate and one which demonstrates clearly the failings of ‘development’.

In essence an analysis of the social, policy, education, governance and economic conditions in South Korea over the past 60 years paints a complicated picture, one that has not been a linear neoliberal path by any means. Indeed, South Korea has changed paths on a number of occasions, learning from mistakes, and through strong (local) government control responding quickly to remedy them (Kim, 2007). These place-specific and complex conditions, with a

strong focus on state control and intervention, and non-reliance on the free market, demonstrate that the path to 'development' is not a straightforward one, nor one which can be imposed from the top down on all poor countries. Hart (2001) notes that the so called East Asian 'miracles' flew in the face of the tenets of neoliberalism, and the institutions which embodied this 'idea' that the neoliberal ladder of development forced onto much of Africa, actually was a lie, as shown by the success of South Asian countries, such as China, Singapore and South Korea.

World population living in extreme poverty, 1820-2015

Extreme poverty is defined as living at a consumption (or income) level below 1.90 "international \$" per day. International \$ are adjusted for price differences between countries and for price changes over time (inflation).

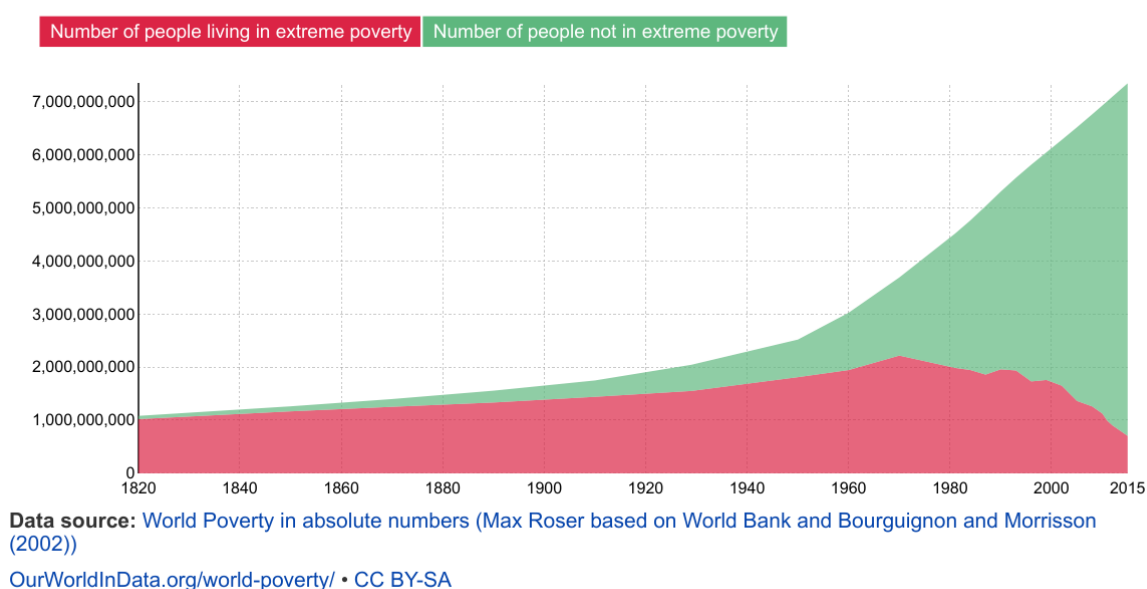


Figure 1: World Population Living in Extreme Poverty, 1820-2015⁹

A final blow to the 'West knows best' orthodoxy practised widely in the 1950s, 60s and 70, and still being promoted, in part, today is illustrated in Figure 1 above which shows the global population from 1820-2015, alongside the number of people living in absolute poverty¹⁰ – a key indicator for Western institutions to measure 'development' progress for the world's poorest. The figure illustrates that there has been no sustained decline in absolute poverty until the late 1990s/early 2000s, which could be interpreted as a failure of the 'West knows best' approach

⁹ <https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/world-population-in-extreme-poverty-absolute?stackmode=relative>

¹⁰ Absolute poverty is defined by the UN as a person in America having only \$1.25 per day to live on and pay for all their needs from food, to housing to healthcare and education, it was revised to \$1.90 in 2015, with the local equivalencies applied for each country's cost of living.
http://www.economicsonline.co.uk/Global_economics/Poverty.html

from the 1950s to the 1980s, while a change to this top down approach from the 1990s onwards appears to have led to a sustained decrease globally in the number of people living in absolute poverty. However, this 'little d development' (Hart, 2001, 2009) while being based more on actual experiences on the ground, on local circumstances and participatory approaches is still intricately bound to colonialism and to power inequalities.

What is also illustrated in the analysis of the 'West knows best' approach to 'development'; outlined above is that while the theory of development is subject to critique and change, the practice of 'development' has not moved as much as the theory, and many 'development' policies and projects can be found today which would still fit in well with the 1950s 'west knows best' approach (Power, 2003). Additionally, as new ideas about development and poverty reduction have emerged, practices have not been discarded and replaced (Potter et al, 2008). Integration of theory and practice therefore remains a challenge. However, it may be easier to deconstruct theories rather than to undo practical projects, the latter of which will involve peoples' lives and experiences, as well as views with assumptions to be changed and challenged, alongside the perhaps the bigger challenge to the hegemonic power of international institutions.

Participatory and partnership approaches to 'development'

With the move in the 1990s towards more inclusive approaches to 'development' Green (2008) points out that, while change may be small first, it is possible to make positive changes to the world today through empowering active citizens to create effective states. While he may mimic the vocabulary of neoliberalism, Green (2008) writing from an NGO perspective¹¹ could be considered idealistic in nature. Peet and Watts (1996), however, illustrate the many complexities and situated local knowledges concerned with the place and role of the individual in 'development'. Their work sets out the intricate environmental considerations and implications at a local level, rather than a linear 'one size fits all' process to achieve social change. As such participatory approaches to development can be as basic as a conversation, or as complex as full and equal partnerships, with all the communication that entails, between two governments, organisations or individuals working together on international 'development' projects.

As well as Northern governments and institutions such as the World Bank and the UN, another group of Northern based organisations which are intrinsically linked to international

¹¹ Duncan Green is a senior strategic advisor with Oxfam GB.

'development' are non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Green (2008), who writes as an employee of an NGO, does show a clarity of thought on what is wrong with the world, and how it can be fixed, that is refreshing at times, being more practical in nature than theoretical. This does, however, raise questions about whether his work and the wider work of Oxfam globally, is actually grounded in the wider context of 'development' theory, and of the postdevelopment discourse in particular. Additionally, the standpoint of such organisations as Oxfam in carrying out this work on the ground must be questioned if at times it seems like they are harking back to a modernist approach to development whereby 'Oxfam knows best'. This stance, of course, is tempered by a participatory approach to development, but still raises some interesting questions; for example, whether Oxfam as an organisation is overly zealous in promoting its model as the one correct method of poverty reduction, and how open they are to accept local and subjective knowledge, even if this does not fit with their thinking. Green's (2008) strengths lie in his optimism and his desire to forge a new path for development, rather than the pessimistic self-flagellation of other authors, but such a single-minded approach is perhaps not the best way to proceed. While there is much literature on the role of independent international institutions and government action, notably in poverty reduction, an area for further in-depth study is the role of NGOs.

NGOs can act in a variety of guises: they can be agents of the state, agents of change and representatives of the people, as Green (2008) suggests. NGOs are therefore not a homogenous group and it can be dangerous to treat them as such, as their standpoints, aims and practices can be vastly different. It can often be assumed that NGO activity is a good thing as it may, for example, encourage partnership working, build the capacity of local NGOs, or bring an exchange of people and ideas that is free from government control. However, NGOs can have a religious or ideological bias, may operate on the principles of charity, not poverty reduction, and not be aware of, or reflective about, long-term historical injustices and how they are replicated. Corbridge (2008) outlines the difficulties, and the damage, that well-intentioned development practitioners can have on the ground if they do not understand the inequalities and power relationships that exist across a society, not just between societies.

Participatory approaches (which includes partnerships) are therefore complex and influenced by the understanding and standpoint of the organisation and individuals involved. While not perfect participatory approaches do offer an alternative approach to poverty reduction with a focus on local spaces and local knowledge, illustrating and challenging how Western concepts of knowledge are constructed and accepted as true (Briggs & Moyo, 2012). However, local knowledge needs the space to be heard, valued and understood in local contexts, as local

knowledge itself can be subject to stratifications that exclude people on the basis of, for example, gender or age. It does not mean that participatory approaches should not be adopted, just that they should be understood in a local context. While this approach is being taken up, with caveats, by some large donors, there remains “little sense of dealing with embedded knowledges as part of a wider economy and society” (Briggs, 2008:108). How Malawian and Scottish project managers involved in managing international ‘development’ projects feel about their voice, the site where power and decision making reside, and whether the networks between Malawi and Scotland are helpful in challenging the deep-seated hegemonic practices and policies in international ‘development’ is discussed in detail in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

If disempowerment is the denial of choice, then empowerment is the ability to make choices, not have them foisted on the recipient (Sharp et al in Chant, 2010), an aspect that is explored in the Malawi-Scotland context, with the model here of partnership working, based on relationships and as discussed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. Partnerships could be considered to be a type of in-depth participatory approach that aims to empower, not disempower, those it seeks to help, but like all forms of participatory approaches to poverty reductions it has “been stronger on rhetoric than in reality” (Potter et al., 2008:15). Some see the future as being defined more through social connections and ‘grassroots postmodernism’ (Esteva and Prakesh, cited in Hart, 2001:654); Chapter 3 sets out a critical consideration of the role of social networks and assemblages of people and things as they relate to ‘development’, while networks and assemblages as they relate to the Scotland Malawi relationship is explored in Chapters 6 and 8.

Postdevelopment

Escobar, a founder of the postdevelopment discourse, feels that ‘development’, as a concept in the social sciences, has been subject to “three contrasting theoretical orientations; modernisation theory in the 1950s and 1960s, ... dependency theory and related perspectives in the 1960s and 1970s, and critical approaches to development as a cultural discourse in the second half of the 1980s and the 1990s”, while in the 1990s “the notion of post-development emerged directly from the post-structuralist critique” (Escobar, 2007:18-19). From the 1950s onwards ‘development’ has sought to replace existing local structures, and also in effect gain control over the lives of those it was meant to be improving. One of the main avenues through which this move was accomplished was the “emergence and professionalization of development expertise” (Williams 2008:31). This essentially meant that a plethora of professionals and expert fields of knowledge was created to manage the theory and practice of ‘development’. By linking this professional expertise to the emerging global institutions in control of ‘development’, such as

the IMF, the World Bank and the UN, knowledge, practice and therefore power were held increasingly, and almost completely, in the hands of Western politicians and policy-makers (Escobar, 2007). This intimate association between 'expertise' in the natural and social sciences, and fiscal instruments supporting 'development' continue to cement power imbalances that site power firmly in the Global North. The system therefore could be considered to be self-sustaining and self-replicating. Thus even while:

... appearing to be the 'natural way of doing things', [it] resulted in a profound transformation of the countryside and peasant societies of many parts of the third world along the lines of modern capitalist conceptions of land, agriculture, farming and so forth. (Escobar, 2007:20)

The constant language and dissemination of the inequalities, flaws and ongoing crisis that richer governments felt existed in poorer countries led to a 'crisis narrative', one that warranted, nay needed, constant intervention from the 'experts' in the Global North:

It can be argued, therefore, that 'crisis' narratives are important to sustain the position of the expert and of the hegemony of western science. Not only do local people not steward the resources well, based on their own indigenous knowledge, but the real solutions to the problem emanate from western science, and the application of such solutions comes from development experts and professionally trained resource managers. (Briggs, 2005:114)

Like colonialism 'development' acts "not by repression but normalisation, the regulation of knowledges, [and] the moralisation of issues" (Peet and Watts, 1996:17). This is an insidious and internalised process of labelling and delegitimising the voices of those who are deemed 'underdeveloped' or 'other'. This is where the post-development discourse is most useful in challenging not just the practice of 'development', but instead addressing the roots of the global and historical processes upon which 'development' is based, with criticism of capitalism in particular.

It is clear that 'development' needs to be reconsidered in theory and practice (Corbridge, 2008), but, postdevelopment does not appear to present any specific alternatives to 'development'. That does not mean there is no value in the process of deconstructing and critiquing 'development' (Nustad, 2007). Postdevelopment is not "the cure to all ills" (Ziai, 2007:9), but instead a new school of thought to be argued, debated and explored by those living in the Global North *and* the Global South in seeking to understand the uneven geographies of colonialism, capitalism and development that rest on a new empire with the neoliberal Global North at its core, with those on the periphery at its whims:

This empire regulates disorder through financial and military means, pushing chaos to the farthest extent possible, to the outskirts of the empire, creating a 'predatory' peace to the benefit of a global noble caste and leaving untold poverty and suffering in its path. (Escobar, 2007:28)

Conclusion

In the ever-evolving social and political world in which we live, the process of deconstructing 'development', and, as result, deconstructing colonialism and capitalism, is complex. Corbridge (2008) takes a pragmatic approach to the critique of 'development', stating that it should be complicated and problematic. Corbridge goes on to make an important point about the nature of critiquing 'development'; namely, that 'development' has been held up to impossible ideals that could only exist in a perfect, fair and equal world. The harsh critique which 'development' receives is often a critique of that combination of factors that are component parts of 'development', such as colonialism, capitalism and globalisation. While 'development' can be viewed as a sum of its parts and while each part can be critiqued, the changing face of 'development', and the standpoints from which it can be viewed, should be understood in this context. Sidaway (2008:18) hence acknowledges that to criticise 'development' is not necessarily to "reject change and possibility".

Those who term this process of deconstructing 'development' as 'anti-development' (Potter et al, 2008) are concerned that authors such as Power (2003) are too harsh a critic of and too focused on theoretical critiques than with the practicalities of peoples' lived experiences. It could even be argued that 'anti-development' is bad for poverty reduction, as it is more concerned with history and language than with creating a practical space for people on the ground to live their lives with equal access to resources, education and healthcare. An initial reading of Power (2003) can feel like a negative experience that leaves the reader contemplating why anyone would ever wish to work in the field, burdened down by the past and charged with the very crime of creating the underdevelopment that it now seeks (ineffectually) to amend. However, it does not feel as if Power (2003) is 'anti-development'. A deeper reading shows the necessity of the process of deconstruction, as what might more positively be referenced as postdevelopment discourses actually give a voice to the previously excluded and marginalised in the process of development, and in poverty reduction programmes. It is these voices which the methodological design, and implementation, of this research has sought to include and to consider within the wider context of the networks between Malawi and Scotland, the modern day neoliberal process of 'development' and the weight of history which links these two places.

Chapter 3: The theory and ontology of connections and relationships

The brief for this PhD included reference to social networks as a new focus for ‘development’ work, as well as consideration of scale within international development, where it is primarily used in reference to ‘scaling up’ development projects and interventions in a rather blasé way as exemplified in the extract below in one of the (many) conditions for eligibility for applicants one of the SG’s international development programmes:

Applications for project grants will additionally need to demonstrate the following: ... clear plans for how the project could be scaled up. (SG International Development Small Grants Programme¹²)

The SG, however, as a part funder of this thesis was interested in learning more about scale, and about the impact of their funding for networking organisations on international ‘development’ objectives which necessarily led me to consider debates about networks and scale as they are relevant to development geography and human geography, more generally. Inevitably this led into some conceptually-charged debates about whether a focus on networks and scale might offer a rather different ontology (theory of what is real) than perhaps the more familiar frames of reference in terms of scales of operation and influence. The early part of this chapter outlines the more difficult elements of this consideration including:

- a) Theorising about scale as social construct, in effect a human invention mode/ manipulated by ‘real’ human actors for diverse reasons
- b) Theorising about how critiquing such socially situated understandings of scale, perhaps considering what can be revealed by shifting ‘scales of analysis’, and how this could be useful for the researcher
- c) Theorising about whether indeed researchers could ‘do away’ with scale, and instead think about the world using other conceptual devices, other ontologies, such as networks and assemblages

¹² Scottish Government guidance notes for applicants to its small grants programme, administered on behalf of the SG by the Lloyds TSB foundation for Scotland.
<https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:H6gXYDwVGR0J:https://www.ltsbfoundationforscotland.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/International-Small-Grants-Criteria-2017.docx+&cd=6&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=uk>

All of which ultimately led to an exploration of so called flat ontologies, including networks, especially as conceived in ANT and assemblage theory, which also complicates the sense of which 'actors' (humans or non-humans) make these networks, with Crang's (2005) useful delineation of mosaic system and network perspective, as a bridge through these ontologies. This thought progression is essentially explored in the following chapter and while it may be slightly 'messy' to structure the chapter in this way, it is because the starting point in the real world, and the theoretical arguments themselves, keep criss-crossing and interacting, particularly when various writers react to Marston et al (2005) extreme views, and effectively restate the case for scale, and for taking it seriously, in the manner suggested by Smith (1984; 1992) as is discussed in detail below. Additionally geographers engagement with assemblage theory as one tool among many, as exemplified by McFarlane (2009), to understand how people and things can assemble and disassemble as needed, or not, is brought to bear when considering assemblages of people and things between Malawi and Scotland, and how this could relate to wider debates about international 'development'.

This chapter will therefore explore key literature on theories and ontologies concerned with understanding the connections and relationships between people, places and objects in space and time. The main concepts explored are: ANT, scale, flat ontologies, Social Network Theory, and assemblages/translocal assemblages. The language will at times vary according to different theories, and different interpretations, but at its heart will be an attempt to make sense of what is, in essence, a moving object as the academic field continually evolves. A key text will be Marston, Jones and Woodward's 2005 paper, 'Human Geography without Scale', which challenges the use of scale in human geography. This 2005 paper will act as a delineation point; a before and after, marking a more critical inquiry into the spatial analysis of connections based on a flat ontology, rather than the more widely accepted vertical hierarchy as explained previously. There are, however, many ideas and concepts which have influenced, and will continue to influence, the field from prior to 2005, including Smith (1984; 1992; 2004), Latour (1999), Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and Marston (2000).

From scales to networks

A hierarchical scaled view had been the accepted view of the world for some time, until questioned in the 1980s with ANT, which saw a notion of length, or thickness, of networks and connections as more useful than scale when considering the social domain (Latour, 1999). Scale as a social concept has also been explored by academics such as Taylor (1982), Smith (1992) and Marston (2000), prior to the comprehensive attack on scale by Marston et al in 2005, and the

subsequent critique of the suggestion that scale be abandoned by geographers. This debate, which is still ongoing, has been important not just for the critical analysis and understanding that has come from the increased focus on scale and the development of a flat ontology, which will be discussed in greater detail below, but for encouraging wider academic engagement with the spatial analysis of relationships and connections, including scale. While some geographers have 'done away' with scale, others influenced by Smith (1984; 1992; 2004), use scale as one tool among many in understanding the complexity of the world, while acknowledging its limitations, as exemplified by Philo (2007), where scale is used as an analytical tool to enable a greater understanding of a particular place and its impact on individual lives. The concept of scale will therefore be explored, and critically analysed, with a view to understanding if/how it can be used to interpret the complex interactions between social networks in the Global South and Global North: Malawi and Scotland.

Initial questioning of scale lay in understanding and accepting that scale is a social construct, and a fluid one (Marston 2000). However, when considering scale, and its relationship to current hegemonic power, there lies a problem of the assumed 'rightness' of certain prior ways of thinking and speaking. In such prior visions the world is automatically delineated into a vertical scale hierarchy of local, national and international, where there is a nesting of small within large spatial units, conceived as if the large lie 'above' and the smaller lie 'below'. Scale is thus assumed to be natural and normal in this vertical hierarchy. In this model causal effects are assumed to run from the larger higher units, namely the global, where structural forces are presumed to shape the fundamental working of economy and policy. The smaller, lower units (the local) are presumed to be shaped by such forces and causes. However, if scale is indeed produced in and by social activity, then scale is open to interpretation and transformation, for if scale is social then it replicates that which is around us, largely unnoticed. Marston (2000) posits that studies on scale have focused too much on capitalist production, while largely ignoring, or glossing over, social reproduction and consumption. This could be because capitalism has been allowed "to colonise the entire social sphere" (Gibson-Graham, 1996:259). Scale is not, however, limited to capitalist influence; instead, "scale is constituted and reconstituted around relations of capitalist production, social reproduction and consumption" (Marston, 2000:221).

If scale is considered to be a social construct, then differentiation of scale reflects a differentiation of social relations and interactions, and all aspects of everyday life can be viewed differently according to the scale at which they are viewed. Used as a methodological approach, scale can therefore allow different interpretations of actions and actors, as exemplified by Smith

(1992) in his work on homelessness in New York and the use of homeless vehicles – a highly visible way to give homeless people a private space and a means to store and transport their possessions. In his critical analysis, Smith (1992) shows clearly how homeless people are excluded from certain areas of the city not by physical barriers but by barriers none the less. By giving people a vehicle to move more easily and quickly through the city, these barriers can be challenged. The homeless vehicles therefore change the scale of everyday life for the people using them by expanding the scale of self-control and limiting the scale of state control. They therefore enable people to jump scales, becoming literally a vehicle to resist oppression because:

... jumping scales allows evictees to dissolve spatial boundaries that are largely imposed from above and that contain, rather than facilitate their production and reproduction of everyday life. (Smith, 1992: 60)

Smith (2004) also makes the important point that erroneous analysis of space and social relationships can result in dangerous assumptions, particularly if those assumptions guide policy formation and political action.

Poverty is one area where these spatial relationships have been misinterpreted, with Smith (2004) using the example of people who live in ghettos being poor, therefore it being assumed that ghettos reproduce poverty. However, this portrayal ignores the social and political roots of poverty, and the inequalities that people face, resulting from historical and contemporary injustices around issues such as class, race and gender. This claim could be extrapolated to the Global South where the African continent, in its entirety, is generally regarded as poor simply because it is Africa: a whole region as 'ghetto'. The reasons for this place-based discrimination are rarely discussed in the mainstream media, but it has become a spatial problem that many people face. In this 'spatial world', Africa is the problem: the space, both real and imagined, is the source of the poverty. This global spatial discrimination is similar to the local issue of poverty and ghettos in American cities, but in both cases a space or place-bound explanation alone ignores the social, political and historical roots of injustice that have led to areas of cities, or areas of the world, being defined simply as poor. Smith (2004) would encourage a fresh analysis of space with regard to human societies and social structures, questioning those assumptions which were thought to be fixed, and notions of how space is organised in particular. A scaled analysis may be a useful tool in this regard, particularly as, if scale is socially produced and fluid, it has the potential for change and transformation (Marston, 2000).

A scaled methodological approach, as Philo (2007) notes, allows the world to be viewed according to the scale at which the analysis is conducted, and opens up possibilities to understand an issue more fully if one changes the scale of analysis and moves freely up and

down it. Following Smith's (1992) views on the social production of scale, human activity is both framed and contained spatially, with scale limiting or containing human activity, at, for example, a local level, while scale also defines the place where social activity occurs. It is possible therefore that "different social processes swim into view at different spatial scales" (Philo, 2007:108) and that some social processes will be hidden if viewed at the 'wrong' scale. This is key to understanding any social process, from ghettos to networks and people in Malawi and Scotland, with different scales of activity already taking place which may appear obvious, while others will be more subtle. The obvious scales of activity occurring at the moment lie at the international level – government to government, national level, in the shape of networks like the SMP and the MaSP, between Scotland and Malawi, as well as regional or local level partnerships between NGOs, churches, schools and universities. It is also important to note that spatial scales are not separate and distinct, but rather are entangled with each other, "with lines of influence passing in every conceivable direction across every conceivable scale" (Philo, 2007:124).

How scales are reconstructed depends on individual world views. Marston (2000) notes the important role of scale in politics, and how national identities are shaped by scale. This was a particularly salient issue in UK politics during the Scottish independence referendum in 2014, and the EU referendum in 2016, as tensions around national, regional and local issues, as well as identities, were challenged or reinforced. It could also be argued that there is an inherent bias that exists for the 'local', whereby it may appear that people would prefer local solutions to global problems, rather than global solutions to local problems. However, local knowledge should not automatically be privileged because:

The view of indigenous knowledge as an untainted, pristine knowledge system is unhelpful. It cannot be assumed at all that indigenous knowledge will necessarily provide a sustainable answer to production challenges in poor rural communities. (Briggs, 2005:117)

The answer lies in local and situated knowledge, as Briggs and Sharp (2004) acknowledge that alternative situated knowledges, if given the space, can lead to different, possibly better ways of undertaking such large scale processes as those included under the heading of international 'development', and indeed many other processes that transcend the local and the global. This local consideration of people, and of space, has many positive aspects, as Crang (2005) outlines:

- A local scale allows the real effect of place on for instance, life expectancy, health, landscape and so on to be visible, demonstrating that places and the differences that exist between them have demonstrable effects.

- An analysis of the local shows that difference exists between different places, and that this difference is celebrated by most people; tribalism and nationalism demonstrate the importance of local places, and the positioning of local as 'good'.
- Understanding the local allows a situated understanding of knowledges.

While the local is clearly important, so too is the global, but interest in understanding the global has been driven by different discourses, relating to exploration, 'development', environmentalism and compression, or a 'shrinking world' where people increasingly lead "local lives on a global scale" (Crang, 2005:36). Globalisation could be defined as a "set of processes by which the world is rapidly being integrated into one economic space" (Gibson-Graham, 1996:121). While this definition holds value, it is a very functional definition and does not consider what globalisation means to the individual, or to local communities, however they are defined. There can often be things which make life easier, such as ease of communication and travel between people and places, or participation in the global economy, or more difficult, whether working in a high tech well paid job or a low waged sweat shop. Globalisation can also enable social networks to have a global organisation and reach, sharing knowledge, experience and support across vast distances (Peet & Watts, 1996). Whatever the outcome for the individual, positive or negative, globalisation is a social phenomenon, as well as a set of processes leading to economic integration. In a globalised world, capitalism, as the currently dominant economic model, imposes and reproduces its flaws on a global scale, with class struggles and inequalities imposed worldwide. However, flat approaches, which will be explored in detail later in this chapter, allow the potential for new possibilities for connections, relationships and power distribution which are already being used by some social movements (Escobar, 2007), perhaps because "networks span space rather than covering it" (Leitner, 2004:237).

Crang (2005) goes on to set out three ways that local and global have been defined, and how they interact: namely, mosaic, system and networks. Mosaic is a traditional way of defining places at any scale, from neighbourhoods in a city to countries on a map as if different places are simply different sized and coloured shapes positioned into an overall mosaic pattern. It is a common way to view space and is used in urban planning, on tourism maps and many other depictions of places. It is sometimes automatically assumed to be the simplest way to represent different places and their interaction with one another, perhaps by their closeness on a mosaic style map. However, the mosaic model is rigid and unrealistic with a strong emphasis on inflexible boundaries and borders. The bounded areas are seen as having unique traits and traditions, with intrusions into distinct areas seen as a threat to the unique culture of that area. It also risks over-emphasising the causal power of the local and its capacity to shape and make

itself, while a mosaic style understanding of the world can maybe legitimise social and spatial exclusion for different ethnic groups, and, at its extreme, can be used to legitimise actions such as ethnic cleansing (Crang, 2005).

A system style view of the world sees local differences as a result of their place in the world, and indeed as set in a global world system. This system sees the global as dominant with a variety of local situations, inflections or manifestations of the global orderings, where it is assumed to be 'natural' that certain regions are core regions and certain regions are peripheral regions (Knox and Marston, 1998). Reasons for this 'natural' dominance can be environmental accounts, spatial-economic perspectives or capital critiques; none of them unbiased. However, as Crang (2005) notes, the main weakness of world systems theory, as popularised by academic geographer Taylor (1992), is that it ignores the interconnectedness of places, and the fact that, for instance, Europe is 'rich' because Africa is 'poor' precisely because "colonialism gave Europeans the power to both develop their own society and to prevent development from occurring elsewhere" (Blaut, 1993, cited in Crang, 2005: 43). While this quote may not challenge the use of the term 'development', it powerfully illustrates the links between different places of the globe, some of which have been exploited and controlled for the benefit of others, a practice which continues under the guise of 'development' within a world system which, as discussed in Chapter 2, arguably replicates inequality based on colonial injustices (Peet and Watts, 1996). It is important therefore that while connections between places may be detected, the causal influences that travel along these connections must also be recognised. The historical scalar pressure to view the global as the top with influence travelling down to the local, at the bottom, must also be resisted. Alternatively a flat, non-hierarchical vision of the world allows connections and influences to be viewed differently, and for inherent biases and injustices in the world to come into focus.

Traditional social network analysis, as a specific tool for the researcher (in a variety of disciplines) has some specific characteristics that include a grounding in empirical data, the use of graphics and images, the reliance on computer software programmes to analyse data, and finally, a structural approach to understanding bonds, links or ties between actors (Freeman, 2004). However, the term 'network' could be considered to be a word that is widely used, but little understood, particularly in the internet age, where social networks are now digital by default, and the term 'network' is more widely used than ever. As such, formal social network analysis is not part of the methodological approach taken in this thesis. Instead, the concept of a 'network' is itself critically considered.

Networks can be considered as “sets of connections and disconnections that any one local place has to a host of others” (Crang, 2005:45). These networks can be economic, cultural, environmental, or even physical infrastructure. Viewing the world this way means that local and global are not viewed as small and large, or bottom of the hierarchy to top of the hierarchy, but simply as different ways of understanding social and spatial networks. Within this fluid way of viewing the world, the local can be global, and the global can be local, and everything in-between. In this flat ontology, as Marston et al (2005) would term it, the world is criss-crossed by connections, not composed of hierarchies, and the length, thickness and durability of these connections is what becomes important to know. The term ‘rhizome’ has sometimes been used to describe these connections because “[t]here are no points or positions in a rhizome, such as those found in a structure, tree, or root. There are only lines” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:8).

Human geography without scale

Building on the analysis and critique of scale, as set out above, Marston et al (2005) define their problem with scale as a basic one: a lack of agreement on whether scale exists or is an imagined concept. The problem of analysing scale, despite the work that has come before, is that previous authors share a common problem of accepting the dominance of scale as “a foundational hierarchy – a verticality that structures the nesting so central to the concept of scale, and with it, the local-global paradigm” (Marston et al, 2005:419). That, of course, is precisely the verticality, and its corollary, briefly explored and critiqued in my previous section. Marston et al (2005) go on to outline three ways to think about scale:

1. To accept that there is a hierarchical scale, ignoring that it does not capture the variety of spatial possibilities.
2. To augment concepts of hierarchical scale with other theories such as social network theory in an attempt to integrate vertical and horizontal socio-spatial processes.
3. To abandon hierarchical scale in favour of an alternative model.

If one simply accepts hierarchical scale, then it is “a classic case of form determining content whereby objects come pre-sorted, ready to be inserted into the scalar apparatus at hand” (Marston et al, 2005:422). In this model power inequalities are not just reproduced, but reinforced, and the world is essentially made to fit a socio-spatial model, rather than a model reflecting the world. Marston et al (2005) therefore reject any acceptance of hierarchical scale in exploring connections and relationships. With regard to augmenting scale with other theories, while agreeing that horizontal networks contrast with scaled vertical hierarchies, Marston et al (2005) reject attempts to merge networks and scale theories because of the inherent weaknesses in the argument for using any hierarchical scale to organise and to view

the world. Scale cannot therefore be added to, or integrated with, any other theory to understand social processes.

Instead, a complete rejection of scale is proposed. In its place is offered a flat ontology composed of complex, emergent spatial relationships, instead of fixed vertical interactions. In this model there is no need, or place, for hierarchical concepts of scale when seeking to understand socio-spatial processes (Marston et al, 2005). The focus is instead on socio-spatial interactions, with rhizomes/nodes connected on what is envisaged as a fluid flat surface, or rather the surfaces of the earth where socio-spatial life is lived and processes play out, sometimes known as the 'skin' of the earth¹³. There are, however, still constraints within this fluid view of the world; power inequalities and relationships will still influence where and how socio-spatial interactions occur, but it is still a more open model than scalar hierarchy (Marston et al, 2005).

However, simply because scale has been rejected and a flat ontology proposed to enable better understanding of the world, it does not mean that this move should automatically replace scale. Instead, "it is necessary to invent - perhaps endlessly - new spatial concepts that linger upon the materialities and singularities of space" (Marston et al, 2005:424). Such a reconceptualising of a flat ontology needs to be careful not to reproduce border areas or an 'other' – a hierarchy within networks and flows itself that privileges some flows over others (Marston et al, 2005). However, this remark ignores the fact that there are some flows and connections which could be considered more dominant than others, and it could be argued that capital flows between London and New York do more to structure our world than flows of money and people between Scotland and Malawi. As Massey (2008) notes, there are uneven 'power geometries' at play, and to ignore the power of different flows, movements, and connections is to ignore the:

... [e]conomic, political and cultural social relations, each full of power and with internal structures of domination and subordination, stretched out over the planet at every different level, from the household to the local area to the international. (Massey, 2008:262)

While acknowledging that scale has been fetishised and privileged over other spatialities, Leitner and Miller (2007) feel that Marston et al's (2005) analysis is flawed in several key ways:

1. It conflates a vertical scale with one that is hierarchical, assuming that a vertical scale will automatically result in a top down hierarchy

¹³ This does mean literally 'flat' - rhizomes are not flat or dimensionless, but have thickness and intensity. A flat ontology is therefore intended to convey a lack of traditional or scaled hierarchy, rather than to imagine a strictly two-dimensional world.

2. Agency is ignored and a post-structuralist approach is used which denies the scope and impact of human agents
3. The flat ontology argument is based on abstract 'spatial imaginaries' and by its absolute nature key concepts are ignored, and in some cases conflated, for example 'scale as size' and 'scale as level' are assumed to be equal, rather than treated as two different concepts.
4. The concept of a flat ontology has itself received criticism, and should not be an automatic replacement for scale. ANT, for example, is based on a flat ontology and has received criticism for its potential to ignore power hierarchies within networks, and the fact that networks can reproduce, rather than challenge inequalities, showing that concepts based on flat ontologies have their own weaknesses.
5. By discarding scale, Marston et al (2005) could also be obscuring power and relationships, as those things which operate through scale could be rendered invisible if scale is discarded as an analytical tool.

It is this final point upon which many commentators agree (Hoefle, 2006; Leitner and Miller, 2007; MacKinnon, 2010), arguing instead for the politics of scale to be understood and carefully used, but not completely discarded. It is also a critique and reformation of Marston et al (2005) to which this thesis aligns itself and, as such, in methodological and ontological approaches scale will be considered, and used carefully, but not given privilege.

Additionally, some social and resistance movements utilise scale as a way to target power hierarchies and inequalities, as Smith has illustrated in his later work on homeless vehicles allowing people to jump scales (Smith, 1992) and his later work on 'scale bending' (Smith, 2004b). Scale bending is similar to the concept of 'scale jumping', whereby social activity is reorganised at different scales, usually as a result of shifts in stability, be it natural, political, or economic. Scale bending therefore is frequently connected to power, and leads directly from Smith's view that "space and spaces are produced as an extensions of ... social and natural process" (Smith, 2004b:196), going on to state that "the language of globalisation ... represents a very powerful if undeniably partisan attempt to rescale our world vision" (Smith, 2004b:207). This claim puts scale at the centre of globalisation, and Smith (2004b) notes that since the inception of the UN in the 1940s, scale has been, and continues to be, crucial to maintaining current global economic systems: as such, scale cannot be disregarded in any analysis of international 'development'.

Taking this point into account, it could be argued that conceptual arguments should be grounded in "the spatiality of ... social life in the study of practices and power relations, not just abstract ontological debate" (Leitner and Miller, 2007:122). The real world, and fieldwork for the social scientist, must be at the heart of any conceptual analysis. This would appear to be a sensible approach, but does not necessarily acknowledge that without 'abstract ontological debate' there can be no progression of ideas, critical thought and imagination. It has also been argued that it is not necessarily the concept of scale which is the problem, but the "specific

processes and institutionalised practices that are themselves differently scaled” (MacKinnon, 2010:23). This new direction for the politics of scale is not necessarily concerned with scale as an abstract concept, but about how scale is used by actors and organisations, sometimes to maintain specific unequal power relations. The politics of scale therefore requires “a careful negotiation of the tensions, conflicts and contradictions within and between scalar formations” (Swyngedouw, 2004:147). MacKinnon (2010) proposes that the key question should be how and why scale is used by situated actors, not whether it should be used at all. These are particularly useful questions to consider in the context of international ‘development’ where it can be argued that Northern governments and institutions deploy notion of scale to suit their own needs. For example, the concept of ‘scaling up’ projects from local to national or international levels: a process which actively ignores the importance of local knowledges, processes and actors, and arguably misleadingly characterises what are still often fiercely top down processes as will be argued later and attention will be given to how situated actors in the Malawi-Scotland relationship speak of and even deploy ‘scale’, while analytically prioritising networks as a superior envisioning of the socio-spatial world.

Hoefle (2006), in his response to Marston et al’s 2005 paper, defends the use of scale, as it relates to understanding networks, particularly within his study area of political groups in the Amazon. His main reasoning lies in the fact that, as McFarlane (2009) touches upon, while academics can therefore choose to avoid scalar interpretations, many real world political, economic, environmental and social decisions and interactions are based upon, and even reinforce, scalar interpretations of the world. For example, in environmental politics there are local, regional, national and international laws, regulations, and pressure groups. These cannot be ignored because they are not operating on what they regard as a flat world. Social and political movements, at the local level in particular, may intrinsically recognise and accept the hierarchical structure, even using it to their advantage by influencing global level politics to affect local level issues. In short, scale cannot be ignored, but it should be used with caution, and its pernicious hold on interpretations of the world should be better understood. Escobar (2007), rather than critically analysing Marston et al’s (2005) paper, instead focuses on the intent behind the paper to “entice the theoretical and political imagination into alternative conceptions of space and scale” (Escobar, 2007:106). For all the critiques of Marston et al’s 2005 paper, it would be difficult to argue that it did not achieve this, and the debate on scale, flat ontology and networks that has flourished since has been an important achievement.

Actor Network Theory (ANT)

ANT is a sociological approach to understanding the world and its complexity, rooted in the sociology of science and technology developed by Latour, Law and Callon from the 1980s onwards:

ANT is about uncovering and tracing the many connections and relations among a variety of actors (human, non-human, material, discursive) that allow particular actors, events and processes to become what they are. (Bosco, 2004:136)

Another definition of ANT is that it uncovers how “entities take their form and acquire their attributes as a result of their relations with other entities” (Law, 1999:3). ANT has expanded from its origins to enter many disciplines as a tool in research and social theory, including geography. While attempting to capture the complexity of the modern world, ANT accepts that it is impossible to capture everything, and is therefore the best attempt of its designers at most accurately reflecting the real world in all its ‘messiness’ and, as such, it can be a useful framework that can be applied to many disparate fields.

ANT supposes a flat ontology as “in the social domain there is no change of scale. It is so to speak always flat and folded” (Latour, 1999:18). ANT also states that agents, organisations and society are effects, created as a result of actions through networks of humans and non-humans, and that these effects are a valid part of the network and should be studied in the same way (Bosco, 2004). This way of looking at the world calls into question much that conventional social science takes as a ‘given’, with actors such as the state, NGOs, social movements or even human individuals revealed as precarious; networks can form and pieces can come together to create a bigger ‘whole’, but they are always liable to splinter back into fragments. A key element of ANT is, therefore, its dramatic reasserting of agency, and its difference to other social theories lies in the fact that agency, for ANT, does not necessarily reside in humans: ANT treats humans and non-humans in a similar way, both endowed with agency/the ability to act/influence action. In this way agency is decentred, not necessarily located within humans. The things that enable one to be an academic, student or researcher, within ANT, would include a PC, a library, a network of colleagues, funding/salary, as well as personal desire and agency (Bosco, 2004). ANT agency is therefore itself a network, and it uncovers the similar actor-networks of association; by understanding agency, this can enable a better understanding of power and how it is organised and maintained. For example, religion could be considered powerful because of religious buildings, texts and artefacts, rather than focusing on the people, and relevant question might become; for how long have the texts, building and artefacts been in existence

and exerting agency, or power, throughout their network of followers and beyond into wider social, political and economic networks.

While “networks are fundamental to ANT because it sees stable sets of relations or associations as the means by which the world is both built and stratified” (Murdoch, 1998:359), ANT could be considered more comprehensive than social network analysis, as discussed above. While social network analysis and ANT share interests in networks and relationships, challenging the divide between micro and macro analysis, ANT, by including non-humans in its considerations, achieves a more ‘faithful’ and comprehensive analysis (Bosco, 2004). While social network theory focuses on the human, and its body as the actor and main source of agency, ANT is more fluid than social network theory, not interested in defining and fixing networks and the form that they take. Indeed, Latour’s criticism of his own work is focused on the assumptions that the term ‘actor’ in ANT is equal to agency, and the term ‘network’ is comparable to structure or society (Latour, 1999), while in fact there is a constant flow between the two, not a defined hierarchy, and agency and structure circulate between actors, networks and the effects that create them.

Latour (1999) defines ANT as “a very crude method to learn from the actors without imposing on them an *a priori* definition of their world-building capacities” (Latour, 1999:20). However, like Law (1999), Latour is concerned that, through the act of naming, ANT has imposed itself into the space where the actions/actors/relationships should be, and has contaminated the space by its own vocabulary, rather than letting it be filled by the actions, actors and relationships that it is meant to be analysing. Law (1999) goes even further in his view that ANT was too readily, and uncritically, accepted by social scientists, and that the act of naming and fixing can be dangerous and lead to complacency and a lack of critical thought, even the creation of a ‘multinational monster’ whereby “the act of naming suggests that its centre has been fixed/pinned down, rendered definite” (Law, 1999:2). By being named, defined and fixed, ANT became concerned with fixed points rather than with “displacement, movement, dissolution and fractionality” (Law, 1999:3). Ironically ANT’s own conceptual apparatus and vocabulary has become too dominant, with researchers keen to deploy the ANT mantra without undertaking the patient situation, and object, directed observation that an original ANT sensibility demanded.

As Latour (1999) has noted, there are four things problematic with ANT; the word ‘actor’, as this implies agency sited in the human body; the word ‘network’, because, far from being a new word with potential in the social sciences, it is now used frequently and freely (in the internet age)

leading Latour (1999) to question further whether it should be used at all by social scientists; the word 'theory', as it does not explain how, or why, networks form and is therefore not a theory but an ontology; and finally, and for good measure, he objects to the hyphen between actor and network. Instead he feels that ANT might better have been named "actant-rhizome ontology"¹⁴, a more organic term from Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) description of connections and relationships where "[a] rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:7).

A key element within ANT is that there are no inherent qualities or essentialist divisions. However, ANT does not eschew the concept of divisions or difference, just they are not accepted as given, and instead viewed as an effect or outcome (Law, 1999). This lens could be a useful way of looking at the Global South: it is not 'poor' because it is Africa, but because of effects and outcomes of historical and current interactions – nothing should be assumed to be inherent, natural or normal, and ANT is a useful way for social scientists to be reminded of this fact. Given this, Law (1999) sees one of the last distinctions, after gender, class and race have been dismantled by social scientists and scientists alike, as the divide between human and non-human: a divide which ANT calls into question, forcing a consideration of relations, connections and effects that do not privilege the human, nor the human body, as the site or centre of agency.

What is not questioned enough is the accepted language that is used; for example the term network itself, what does it mean? Why is it used? What is it used for and by whom? With regard to the problem with the concept of networks, Law (1999) sets out several options for dealing with the term; one either views the term as a neutral one, simply a way of describing patterns and connection, or accepts that the notion of networks itself imposes a spatial definition or restriction on that which it describes. Once this move has been accepted, the impact of the definition can at least be considered, not ignored, and the possibility that it can affect the types of connections, relations and possible relations critically considered.

ANT could be particularly interesting, as one method, used in a non-prescriptive, fluid way, in tandem with others, in analysing networks in the Global South where the non-human resources, such as electricity, PCs, classrooms, workplaces, food and much more could be less easily available than in other places. However, it is important not to hold a privileged or situated viewpoint in seeking to understand the networks between and within Malawi and Scotland, for

¹⁴ The phrase 'actant-rhizome ontology' is credited to Lynch, as noted by Latour (1999).

one does not necessarily need the same resources everywhere to achieve or create their outcomes or live happy lives – a place-specific analysis will therefore be needed. It is this focus on spatiality and place which geographers have brought to ANT (Murdoch, 1998). A focus on power is also better enabled through a spatial approach as “all relational approaches to spatiality have implications for accounts of power relations” (Bosco, 2004:142). However, ANT could be considered to be apolitical, and not the best way to untangle situated and relational approaches to understanding power, for it could obscure differences within and between different actors and processes, and nor does it recognise that “different relations may have different spatial expressions” (Bosco, 2004:143).

For all its criticisms, some from its own architects, ANT has value and merit in its understanding of networks and relationships between humans and non-humans, but it should be used with awareness of its limitations. ANT still has the potential to analyse spaces, and the actions that take place in them, but only if it is not fixed or prescriptive (Latour, 1999). It should also be critically revisited, reopened and made more dynamic, not treated as a defined, dead or static theory but a fluid approach to understanding relationships between entities (Law, 1999). In summary, ANT is complicated with varied interpretations, criticisms and advocates, but ultimately ANT is complicated because the real world itself is complicated.

Assemblage theory

Escobar, building on the Marston et al (2005) provocations, defines assemblages as “wholes whose properties emerge from the interactions between parts” (2007:107), and these assemblages can be part of anything from individuals to farmer’s markets or nation-states. However, due to the application of a realist approach to understanding the world as it really is, not as it is thought to be (an approach shared by ANT, as discussed above) the focus, therefore, of a realist social ontology is “on the objective ... process of assembly through which a wide range of social entities from persons to nation states come into being” (Escobar, 2007:107). Acuto and Curtis state that one of the attractions of assemblage theory is that “it offers a radical break from many existing theories that seem to have run up against their limits in a period of rapid social change” (2014:2), although they would argue that assemblage is not so much a theory, as a reworking of methodological and ontological stances (Acuto and Curtis, 2014), a position which Ong (2014:18) agrees in her view that assemblage is a space of inquiry which “frames analysis”. With the constant drive to understand and represent the complexity of the real world accurately, or more realistically, while also taking care not to assume that agency resides only within human body, concepts such as ANT and assemblage theory have risen in prominence,

particularly as the debate about scale continues and its ontological dominance is comprehensively challenged. In this brave new world, however, it is important not simply to replace one theory with another. Scalar models of spatial and societal analysis should not have one successor, but many, and they should be fluid, not fixed.

While the term 'network' remains useful, assemblage is an "alternative to the dominance of 'network' for conceptualising the spatiality of social movements" (McFarlane, 2009:561). Like scale and ANT before it, networks are now being critically examined in the abstract and real world senses – this critical analysis is necessary and essential in continually refining and defining the world in all its complexity, without privileging one spatiality over any other, or ignoring or replicating existing power inequalities. Assemblage, as described by McFarlane, is "increasingly used to emphasise three inter-related sets of processes" (2009:262). These processes are the acts of assembling, gathering and disassembling social and material practices, with the emphasis on a particular point in space and time where elements converge – but they may then disperse, realign or change shape. This notion can be perceived differently by different observers according to place and perspective or 'angle of vision' (Li, 2007). In terms of international 'development', this claim could be highly relevant, as the term network may imply something fixed or bigger than the sum of its parts (which it may be, but it cannot be assumed). Assemblage instead calls for a still more fluid, perspective-based, analysis and understanding of social movements and groupings, wherever in space they occur and however long they last in their current form. It also assumes change, similar to a rhizomatic view of connections which grow, shrivel, die and possibly regrow. The concept of different angles of vision is useful for this thesis in interpreting and understanding perspective on connections and relationships from different places, spaces, and viewpoints in both Malawi and Scotland.

The second process brought to the fore for McFarlane (2009) by the use of assemblages is that it connotes collectives, groups and clusters, which implies a distributed agency, not centered, being similar to ANT in that regard. It could be argued, however, that it imposes an uneven topology, not hierarchical but not flat, being composed of elements that interact and crossover to different extents at different times. McFarlane's (2009) third process is that assemblage is about emergence, rather than the end point of formation, and that the constant assembling and disassembling, becoming and unbecoming is the focus: "[w]e are always trying to capture things that are almost in the midst of unfolding" (Ong, 2014:20).

Assemblages can take many forms, some of which will be global and which are themselves contested: for example, the nation, democracy and ethical issues such as access to food or water.

These assemblages create tension between what could be described as the local and the global – a familiar, even comforting, binary with its inherent assumptions. An assemblage could therefore be composed of parts of what some might call global, and some might call local, and this complexity is representative of the chaotic mix of actors and interactions in the real world, as shown through the networks that exist between Malawi and Scotland and explored in Chapter 6. To avoid this scalar definition, and the inherent ‘baggage’ that it brings with it, McFarlane (2009) terms these relationships translocal assemblages, signifying place-based social relationships where knowledge, resources or material are exchanged across sites. However, translocal assemblages are more than just connections or nodes between sites in a spatial network, neither passive lines connecting people or organisations, instead, they signify activity. This activity may vary in effort and intensity at different times and may collapse or reassemble in a different form with translocal assemblages, underlining “the agency not just of each member of the assemblage, but of the groupings themselves” (McFarlane, 2009:562).

In addition to this, McFarlane (2009) appears to see not only the network as ‘alive’, but the assemblage itself, with the constituent parts being similar to a biological entity, bringing in technological/cybernetic ideas as appropriate and building on ANT’s comprehensive consideration of non-human entities. McFarlane (2009) appears to be building on ANT by recognising that humans are more variable and have different types of agency to non-humans, but that non-humans still influence connection, and cannot be ignored. The fluidity and openness is important, particularly in understanding “how actors construct and move between different spatialities, and assemblage is a useful lens for retaining this openness” (McFarlane, 2009:564). By treating assemblages, the constituent parts, as the most important, not the resultant pattern of connections they make (which will be subject to disaggregation and reformation), McFarlane (2009) manages simultaneously to simplify and complicate our understanding of social movements (and much else besides), as well as the opportunities, and challenges, in analysing them.

Part of this analysis involves challenging the terms in everyday and academic usage, such as ‘cities’, ‘market economies’, ‘families’, ‘international development’, and even ‘networks’, terms which are rarely defined, but frequently used. Sassen (2014) notes that such categories and definitions are good at sorting and describing things, but that their oversimplification means much is hidden from view, while Acuto and Curtis (2014:2) state that assemblage does away with “ill-defined abstract concepts beloved of modernist thought (state, market, city, society, capitalism)”. One of the benefits of assemblage is that it allows these powerful, and accepted,

notions based on a vertical, scaled hierarchy to be re-considered and critically analysed, and through this process “actively destabilised” (Sassen, 2014:18).

Concluding thoughts

Many of the terms used in this thesis from an academic perspective have multiple meanings and interpretations, such as scale, networks and assemblages, but are also used in the discourses of development professionals as well as in daily language and conversation (this is certainly true of ‘scale’ and ‘network’). Scale is a word which has many meanings, but in general could be considered to represent dimensions of size, in weight (‘scales’ being an item used to measure weight), in distance, in scope, or as a way of describing movement: for example, moving up and down a scale of music. In the ‘development’ literature scale is used to describe projects, identifying whether they are operating at a local, national or international scale, and to consider how successful ‘development’ projects (and their ‘best practices’) might be scaled up or out, geographically speaking, to influence larger regions or to diffuse to neighbouring or more distant localities. Scale, therefore, is a word with significant baggage and multiple meanings. Throughout this thesis scale is primarily used to refer to the academic concept of scale being a way to order and hence to understand the social world in a hierarchical way, as defined and critiqued by Marston et al (2005). Where scale is discussed in other ways, for example in relation to ‘development’ projects, this difference is generally defined throughout the thesis.

Networks and assemblage are also words with multiple meanings, with networks in particular being used to define the social world, with social networks supposedly spanning virtual and geographical space to connect, and create connections between, people and places. Academically, networks are generally those ‘things’ which can be measured by the strength (density, lengths) of links attaching to nodes, through for example social network analysis. However, this thesis uses the word network in a more grounded, colloquial way, simply to describe groups of people who self-define their relationship, and their position, as being part of network; and it is this usage that is prevalent throughout the thesis. Assemblage could be considered to be a word with broad application, used in everyday language to describe a coming together, of people, of ideas or of physical parts or plans, which is arguably similar to the academic usage of the word assemblage. Academically-speaking, though, the openness (or even vagueness) of the word assemblage allows the space for explanation and consideration of how people and things might draw together and assemble; it the act of assembling that is of interest academically – how and why people and things assemble - and as such the ‘amorphous’ language is useful as it does not predefine what form something will take.

Prior to analysis and critique, it would be simple to choose one definition, one theory, one way of looking at the world, apply it to a study area. However, if this discussion of the literature to date shows anything, it is that relationships, power, connections, networks, rhizomes, assemblages, humans and non-humans operating in a scaled world, flat world or uneven topography, cannot be included within a universalising theory. There is no one dominant theory for understanding and analysing people and places, and the things that connect them, and which are created from those connections. This ontological vision is a strength, not a weakness, and only through continued critical analysis, and a mix of methodologies, can research on all manner of social phenomena be refined, challenged and enhanced. Latour (1999) defined ANT as a 'crude method' for understanding actors' behaviours; and any method which aims to capture and understand the complexity of the real world could be viewed as crude. The trick is understanding the strengths and weaknesses inherent within each concept, and indeed each method, and accepting that, no matter the concept, no one theory, idea or ontology should be privileged to the point that it becomes 'naturally' accepted as dominant over all others and no longer subject to critical analysis and transformation.

Considering 'development' itself as a spatial process allows engrained ideas about how the world is viewed, and concepts such as power, to swim into view. For example, while so called 'bottom up' approaches have been more integrated into the 'development' lexicon from the 1990s onwards (Green, 2008), this language illustrates that 'development' is firmly rooted in a hierarchical scaled world which has a bottom and a top, with the bottom being poor people living in poor countries. 'Development' is therefore inherently scalar in both theory, language and practice, with flows of money and power gathered and then gifted from the 'top' (or core) and recipients of this aid at the 'bottom' (or periphery). Much conventional 'development' discourse, whether in the post-War Truman doctrine type vision or a more recent neoliberal governance type vision, works with such a power-laden scalar logic – to summarise basic claims arising from the interface of Chapters 2 and 3. What an alternative, perhaps flat world might look like in practice can be hard to imagine, of course, particularly from a 'development' perspective, but considering networks existing between people in different places through and because of partnerships – ones experienced and felt as akin to friendships, like the relationship between Malawi and Scotland, as will be unpacked later in the thesis – rather than being solely based on money and control, might be one way to imagine a less hierarchical, less scaled, version of how a more equal model of 'development' might work in practice. Questioning the ontologies of scale – and at the same time rethinking notions of network and assemblage – is central to this thesis: partly to create an opening for a non-scalar treatment of the Malawi-Scotland

partnership where both sets of peoples and places matter equally, as if next-door on the same level; and partly to see if this empirical study can then sustain, however hesitantly, an alternative non-scalar 'model' of development wherein feelings about partnership matter as much as do the transfers of money and control.

These ontological considerations indicate networks between, and within, Malawi and Scotland, need to be analysed and considered in terms of partnerships and friendships – not in terms of hierarchical scaled relationships between big 'global and small 'local', with Scotland part of the former and Malawi part of the latter. Within this lies a recognition that thinking, and feeling, about networks and scale, and related terms and concepts, is present in the situations that I study – so that whatever my own theorisations are, I have to take seriously how these terms are understood, and deployed, in and across Malawi and Scotland. However, to a certain extent there is an interpretative drive through my empirical material: one that looks for, and tends to detect value and promise in situated understandings which stress networks without scale – or rather networks perhaps operating without ingrained scalar assumptions about where poverty/influence lie (and should lie), a view which lends itself well to considering how people and things assemble and disassemble, as needed. Ultimately this brush with the theory and ontology of connections and relationships acts in this thesis as a sensitising device, a guidebook, in how you tackle the empirical materials that is arguably different from many other considerations and explorations of international 'development'. In practice as well as theory this thesis is focused on connections between people, and their situated views and feelings about these connections, interpreted through a varied, but fluid, theoretical lens that questions privileges and assumptions about agency, power and 'development'.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

Academic geography is open to using a full toolkit of methodological approaches, as they fit the specific needs of the researcher and shed light on the topic at hand. As such, geography is open and fluid to new ideas and new methodological approaches, as represented by the mixed methods approach taken in this thesis, and considered in Chapter 3. As part of the reflective process of conducting research, it should be noted that I come from a background of previously working in the Scottish Government and managing key elements of its international development policy and Scotland's 'official' relationship with Malawi from 2008-2012. This places me in an unusual position to conduct this research, and to explore critically my own role as part of the bureaucratic machinery of government. As a member of a government in a rich country which gives money to a poor country (and the associated policies and practices around this giving), I had access to people and to information about the multiple partnerships between the two countries. This knowledge and access, while placing me in a privileged position, also helped me to gain access to interviewees and to people and places that may not have been as easy to explore without the background and contacts gained in my previous role as a UK civil servant working in international 'development'.

Another important area for reflection for all researchers conducting research in cultures not their own, and in particular in the Global South, is the historical context of colonial exploitation, reinforced and reconfigured as 'development' with an ongoing unequal distribution of power (Madge, 1997), as explored in Chapter 2. An awareness of the power dynamics is needed, and in particular for this research, an awareness of whether the researcher's own role may reproduce power inequalities. Additionally, thought has been given as to how the geographer can challenge the position of assumed superiority, through their race, gender, class or position as a researcher. This position of authority cannot be denied, but to mitigate against it as much as possible I was honest, friendly, grateful and listened genuinely and openly to the people who were willing to give their time and knowledge in order to speak with me, and to enable me to complete this thesis. Relationships between interviewer and interviewee can also differ according to power-relations (Cloke et al, 2004). I was acutely aware that all of the project managers to whom I spoke were paid to manage SG funded projects, and hence may be concerned about successfully applying for future funding for their projects; although I no longer work in the SG or have any decision-making power over funding decisions, I was careful to point

out as my non-governmental role as part of my explanation of my research project, how the information would be used, and the guarantee of anonymity.

Theory

As set out in Chapter 2, this research is grounded in a broad theoretical orientation of poststructuralism, with a focus on situated and networked knowledges and the deconstruction of assumptions, including the researcher's own position. An integrated Marxist-Feminist approach will also inform the research, as exemplified by Gibson-Graham (1996), while post-colonial theory (Sharp, 2009) and post-development discourse will strongly influence thinking and practice. Key concepts, such as colonialism, power, capitalism, and scale, are considered and critiqued throughout.

While Chapter 3 explored a mix of theoretical approaches in attempting to understand the social, the relationships, partnerships and networks that exist between people, organisations and places, a mixed methods approach has been used in my own research, drawing on literature and thinking from a range of diverse theories such as ANT, assemblage theory, social network analysis and scale. When considering networks in particular, a flat ontological approach will be used that rejects the concept of hierarchical scaling (Marston et al, 2005). The botanical concept of social networks composed of rhizomes (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) will be the starting point in thinking about the social networks that exist between Malawi and Scotland. A 'bricolage' approach fits well with the emerging field of assemblage theory or thinking (Sassen and Ong, 2014), and avoids any attempts to use a grand or unifying theory to understand the social, and instead allows the researcher to place situated knowledges, experiences and local views on networks and the grounded reality of international 'development', which is at the heart of the research, using whichever method or approach best fits the people, the places and the data gathered. It also acknowledges that understanding and representing the social world, as honestly as one can, is an ever-moving target and no one theory should be privileged over any other.

Definitions

For the purposes of this research, the following definitions of common terms used by people involved in the relationship between Malawi and Scotland, as well as those seeking to understand social networks and relationships, are defined below.

Relationship – any sort of connection, at any level, between people, organisations or countries.

Partnership – used to define a relationship between two or more organisations, individuals or countries, usually with all partners operating at the same scale of activity. When discussing international ‘development’, a partnership can also involve some form of exchange of money, goods or services. Frequently, it will also include a formal component with documentation, and signed and agreed upon roles, duties and responsibilities, particularly in those partnerships between organisations in Scotland which receive money from the SG to work with partners in Malawi.

Network – when a group of individuals, organisations or countries come together, some of the members in a network may have partnerships or friendships with each other, but are unlikely to have a relationship with everyone else in the networks. Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) concept of viewing social networks as rhizomes with nodes or ‘nodules’ of activity, which can grow or shrivel, as necessary, is one which lends itself best to how networks are imagined and understood in this thesis.

Friendship – a self-defined term used by interviewees to describe a close relationship or partnership, which includes trust and feeling like one has ‘friends in Scotland or Malawi not just partners’ (SM1).

The Field

The area of study comprises physical and metaphorical spaces. The physical spaces can be viewed at different levels from the local to the international, situated physically in two countries, usually within an organisation in each country, with actual meetings and interviews taking place with individuals. The meetings, interviews and observations providing the subsequent evidence for the research physically occurred in offices, conference rooms, universities, hotels, church halls, hospitals, government buildings and cafes in Malawi and Scotland, primarily in the cities of Lilongwe, Blantyre, Edinburgh and Glasgow (in other words the two largest cities in each country). It is important, however, not to fetishise fieldwork, or ‘being in the field’, and in fact defetishising ‘the field’ should be the aim of an ethnographer (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). ‘The field’ does not have to be a remote place on the globe where a hardy academic puts up with hardship for months or years on end to produce a detailed ethnography, or a witty popular novel on their exploits with an exotic people, in an exotic location:

Ethnographic and other research always takes place in an expanded field, where researchers inhabit and move between a number of different locales, people and frames of meaning, and their work inevitably involves complex translations of meaning between all these settings. (Cloke et al, 2004:194)

For me, therefore, ‘the field’ is as legitimately a coffeshop in Glasgow as it is an office in Lilongwe, and I use the term ‘the field’ to refer to sites where I met and spoke to people, in Malawi or Scotland, as well as places where I observed, and indeed recorded those observations, in any location in either country. It is therefore with mixed feelings that I include the following photographs, one stereotypical image of the workspace of the ethnographer (Figure 2) and another of a visit to the location of an SG funded project, a health centre in Blantyre (Figure 3)



Figure 2: My working space in Blantyre, Malawi, July 2014 (Author's own image)

An ANT analysis of the image in Figure 2 above would show a comfortable working space, with the modern tools of the researcher, laptop, notebook, data card to pay for internet access, mug of coffee and bottle of water, set within a ‘tropical’ setting. Some have argued that the workspace of the ethnographer, and the colonial anthropologist/ geographer, gained prestige, distance and authority from “the door of their tent” (Rosaldo, 1986). Others have noted, though, that, as the work of the researcher is ultimately about writing, then the place where that writing occurs and where texts are generated is important, but has often been ignored (Clifford, 1986).

More common images of ‘fieldwork’, particularly in distant locations from a researcher’s home country, are of people: often these are people going about their daily lives, but looking uncommon, different to the way things are conducted in allegedly ‘civilised’ places, offering a glimpse or a ‘partial truth’ about other people’s lives (Clifford, 1986). The image below (Figure

3) shows women waiting with sick children to see a health professional at a clinic near Blantyre which receives SG funding for a small fraction of its work. It captures a medical waiting area on a Monday morning, and no-one appears to know or care that a tiny portion of the money needed to run the clinic (for a short time) comes from a country in the Global North, called Scotland.



Figure 3: Waiting area at a health centre near Blantyre, Malawi. July 2014. (Author's own image).

Collecting the Data

A key feature throughout this research is one of equality. The voices, perspectives, feelings, views and standpoints of people in Malawi and Scotland are recorded, represented and presented as equally as possible. Data from one place, one person or one country are not privileged over any other, nor are the data organised or split by country, by organisation or by

people. For me, this thematic approach was an ‘organic’ way of conducting the research, organising data and presenting material, but, while it was not originally deliberate, it is important to acknowledge that equality is at the heart of the research design. Hence the discussion in this thesis moves seamlessly between views from different actors and locations, organising the discussion thematically, not by country. This was partly as a ‘natural’ way of setting things down, but with the conscious corollary of destabilising conventional hierarchies of people, and of place.

The data collection itself was loosely divided into four domains:

- Historical research
- Media analysis
- Semi-structured interviews and informal conversations
- Ethnographic observations.

This was supplemented by critical analysis of documentary evidence, mainly restricted to governmental elements of the relationship between Malawi and Scotland, and only if those documents were referred to in the semi-structured interviews. Some documents were also considered as data, as they relate to the issues raised by the interviewees. These documents derive primarily from the government sources and are: The Co-operation Agreement between Malawi and Scotland (Appendix 2); The Government of Malawi Growth and Development Strategy¹⁵; The Scottish Government International Development Policy (Appendix 1)

The main purpose of documentary evidence is to analyse the logic, and, by implication, the perspectives of those who write those documents, as well as those who are affected by these documents, with the view that these publications, policies, programme directives are not just representing the world, but producing it. In short, documents have power. As part of the process of analysis the role of ‘scale’, as either a discursive device or a development intervention, was also explored, while the documents were examined with a view to understanding more about the site of agency, actions and connections or relationships. The use of the term ‘network’ was also considered throughout, how it was used and to what it was intended to refer. Findings from documentary analysis are present throughout all of the empirical Chapters, 6, 7 and 8.

Historical research

Archival and historical research enables geographers to explore a narrative, and to tell a story, as is demonstrated in Chapter 5 through an analysis of the life of Livingstone, and of the history

¹⁵ [www.MGDS%20II%20final%20documentlatest%20\(3\).pdf](http://www.MGDS%20II%20final%20documentlatest%20(3).pdf)

of Malawi, taking particular analytical concern over the areas where these two issues overlap, which they do frequently throughout the past 150 years. It could be argued that historical research has no one methodological tradition but instead gathers memories and information to be interpreted and crafted. The great benefit of this approach, particularly with regard to understanding the long history of interconnectedness between Malawi and Scotland, is that through a focus on subjective historically situated views, memories, images and fragments of the past can be fused with:

... less personal, sometimes global, historical geographies of economic transformation, social change, spatial dislocation and shifting relations between society and environment. (Lorimer, 2009:267)

It is this which Chapter 5 attempts to achieve, in some small way, integrating historical geography in a mixed methods approach to understanding networks and partnerships between Malawi and Scotland, embedding the thesis in this view of history, and deploying it to add to the richness of empirical data throughout Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

The historical research was primarily conducted as archival research, using primary sources and published texts, mostly written by British explorers and missionaries from the 1850s onwards, and key to this inquiry are Livingstone's texts and those of the Scottish missionaries who followed in his name. Texts were sourced primarily from libraries, with regular inter-library loans allowing me to access collections held across the UK, while online resources also allowed me to access older texts which had been digitally uploaded. These texts should, of course, be considered in light of the time and era in which they were written: a time when Britain was at the height of its colonial ambitions, and when Africa, and Africans, were considered lesser than their European neighbours. Casual and accepted racism therefore runs through many of these texts. Nonetheless they do shed light on an important period in history for both Malawi and Scotland, and of the world more widely from the 1850's to the collapse of colonialism following WWII.

While aware of the limitations, and contemporary bias, of some of the early texts written by Livingstone and other missionaries, including in accounts about Malawi and Malawians, I have not undertaken a critical analysis of the words and actions of Livingstone, nor of the Scottish missionaries who set up missions in Malawi. There are several reasons for this absence, the first is that there are few critical accounts of mission and missionaries in Malawi, and even less of Livingstone, and without more time and detailed archival work it would have been difficult to undertake a thorough critique. Secondly, taking seriously these archival gleanings also means addressing the often contradictory and ambivalent stance of Livingstone towards Africa and

Africans – which means that, just as he must not be sanctified (a critical lens must remain), neither must he be vilified without recognising aspects of his beliefs and practices which can be reinterpreted more positively, notably his anti-slavery views and practices, which stand in stark contrast to many pro-slavery views of the time. Thirdly, my own fieldwork research in Malawi allowed me the opportunity to hear the views of Malawians about the role of Livingstone in their country's history, and of the role of the missions (who provided many Malawians with and education and healthcare), and resultant Christian church which came from them – these views were overwhelmingly positive, as illustrated throughout Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

I genuinely struggled, therefore, with the 'guilt' of a white western academic, keen to illustrate the ills of exploration and religious conversion under the guise of colonialism. Instead, I was met with Malawians who are proud that their country is linked to Livingstone and happy that Livingstone's legacy has created an enduring link with Scotland. A large part of this state of affairs is related to Livingstone's aforementioned anti-slavery message, as explored in detail in Chapter 5, which appears to be a point of particular importance for Malawians, and a part of Malawian history that, whether 'true' or not (however one defines historical truth), is not one that I am able, or qualified, to criticise. The history of Livingstone that I have therefore presented, his role in the history of Malawi and of its relationship with Scotland, largely reflects the 'best' interpretation of Livingstone and of the Scottish missionaries who followed in his name, and as such reflects the views and opinions of *every* Malawian to whom I spoke (who knew anything about Livingstone).

Media analysis

Evidence was collected to measure the media interest in, and knowledge about, each country regarding the other through examination of media articles written in Malawi and Scotland, with two newspapers chosen in each country and 217 news articles categorised and analysed. The four chosen newspapers stood up to basic search engine reliability tests of repeatedly bringing up the same search results when checked on different days at different times, and bringing up articles that could be reliably assumed to exist, such as those about the President of Malawi or the First Minister of Scotland. To the best of my ability, the data (articles) generated were representative of the actual publications in the print copies of those newspapers over a 6-month period from June 2013 to December 2013, a convenient period to conduct this desk-based research in the second year of the research. Examples of the types of articles, and of the manual coding process, is illustrated in the two screenshots in Figures 4 and 5 below.

There are two nationwide print newspapers in Malawi, with daily and weekend editions, which are *The Nation* and *The Times*. *The Nation*¹⁶ is a newspaper based in Blantyre, Malawi owned by Nations Publications Limited. It began distribution in July 1993 and became a daily newspaper in 1994, launching its online version in 1998, interestingly a year before the UK's *The Guardian* had its news-site online (GNM, 2010). *The Daily Times*¹⁷ is a daily newspaper also published in Blantyre, Malawi. It is the oldest newspaper in the country, founded as the monthly, and distinctly colonial, *Central African Planter* in 1895. Around 1900 the title *Central African Times* was adopted with weekly publication. Later the title was changed again, to *Nyasaland Times*. With Malawian independence in 1964 it became simply *The Times*, then published bi-weekly, and finally the *Daily Times* in 1972. The publisher is Blantyre Newspapers Limited (BNL), a subsidiary of Blantyre Printing & Publishing Company Ltd.

Scotland pledges 50 postgraduate scholarships to Malawians

NOVEMBER 2, 2012 • NATIONAL NEWS • WRITTEN BY : NATION ONLINE

The Scottish Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning Michael Russell on Monday said Scotland will from next year start providing scholarships to 50 Malawian students to study postgraduate courses in various fields locally.

The visiting top Scottish government official disclosed this after meeting President Joyce Banda at State House in Lilongwe where he said they also discussed cooperation in renewable energy and health areas.

“We will start new David Livingstone postgraduate scholarships next year in honour of Dr. David Livingstone. The K50 million [about \$166 666] scholarships will be given to 50 students to study master’s degree programmes at Malawian higher learning institutions,” said Russell.

On renewable energy, the Scottish secretary, who arrived in Malawi on Sunday and is expected to leave Saturday, said they discussed how Scotland can share its expertise in renewable energy such as wind power with Malawi.

“Health is one of the issues that are linked to education. If more young girls complete education, you will also have improvements in health,” said Russell.

Russell is expected to visit some education and environmental projects on his week-long visit in the country.

Today, Russell is expected to attend the Joint Permanent Commission for Cooperation (JPCC) in Zomba to review and discuss ways of enhancing the Malawi-Scotland partnership.

mwnation.com/scotland-pledges-50-postgraduate-scholarships-to-malawians/

1 x David Livingstone

2 x partner

1 x 56 F

Figure 4: Example of article codeword analysed from *The Nation*, November 2012

¹⁶ Website of *The Nation* newspaper: <http://mwnation.com>

¹⁷ Website of *The Times* newspaper: <http://www.times.mw>

In Scotland two newspapers were chosen based on their popularity, and also the ease of use of their search engines. The two papers which are in the top grossing print media in Scotland, which also had the best online search engines, were therefore chosen, and they are *The Herald* and *The Daily Record*. *The Herald*¹⁸ is printed in Glasgow, Scotland and was founded in 1783, making it the longest running national newspaper in the world. The *Daily Record*¹⁹ was founded in 1895, and is part of Trinity Mirror, based in Glasgow, Scotland.

Motherwell volunteers help build Classrooms for Malawi 21 Aug 2012 10:00

A group from Motherwell were among a team of volunteers who helped build and renovate 16 classrooms for Malawi schoolchildren in just two weeks.

0 Like Share 0



Malawi

A group from Motherwell were among a team of volunteers who helped build and renovate 16 classrooms for Malawi schoolchildren in just two weeks.



James Kelly

James Kelly, Fr Stephen Reilly and Tony and Barbara Begley travelled with a group of 27 volunteers to the impoverished South-East African country to work for the charity, Classrooms for Malawi.

The non-denominational charity were established in 2012, with the aim of improving the basic teaching environment for Malawi children by building and refurbishing classrooms.

The charity believe education is the route out of poverty and their latest project focused on improving conditions at Mang'omba Primary School, Misesa Primary School and Namulenga Primary School, all near the Malawian city of Blantyre - named after explorer David Livingstone's home town.

After liaising with the local education department to identify the most needy schools, each volunteer raised around £2000 to fund the trip and building work.

1 x 01 4x charity

Figure 5: Example of Scottish Article codeword analysed, *The Daily Record*, August 2012

¹⁸ Website of *The Herald*: <http://www.heraldscotland.com>

¹⁹ Website of *The Daily Record*: <http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk>

When searching in Malawian news sites the keyword 'Scotland' was used, and when searching in Scottish news sites the keyword 'Malawi' was used. For Malawian newspaper sites a further search was conducted for the keywords 'Britain' or 'United Kingdom' - *The Nation* did not allow searching for a phrase of two words such as 'United Kingdom' and therefore Britain was used, although the two terms appear to be interchangeable in the Malawian media. These keyword searches allowed articles about Scotland to be compared and contrasted with articles about Britain. It was found that the terms 'England' or 'Wales' were only used in articles in the Malawian press when referring to sporting teams.

Codewords were chosen on the basis of those which related to international 'development' funding, to relationships based on charity, to governmental funding and relationships (the SG and the UK), to identify when historical connections, such as David Livingstone or religion, were mentioned, and also to identify when networks and partnerships were mentioned. The context of these codewords was all important with each article being critically read and summarised before a subjective judgement was taken as to whether the article could be deemed 'positive', 'negative' or 'neutral'. Positive articles were generally those which wrote about a positive relationship – goods being donated, projects operating between the two countries, beneficial connections between organisations – or those which contained a positive word about a relationship or connection; for example those which referred to Malawi as 'Scotland's sister nation' or wrote in glowing terms about SG activity or David Livingstone. Neutral articles were generally those articles which carried the codeword (Scotland, Malawi, or UK) but only in passing and not as part of the main story, such as the Commonwealth Games being held in Scotland or someone having attended university in the UK. Negative articles were generally articles about a negative event – the UK withdrawing budgetary support from the GoM, or people visiting Malawi being subject to crime – or those articles which actively criticised the other country, generally meaning criticism of the UK as a previous colonial ruler. An example of the archiving process is illustrated in Table 1 below.

Any additional information was recorded as miscellaneous information, including quotes from the article or reflections from the researcher. The web page of the article was then archived using the name of newspaper containing the article in question and the date of publication. Analysis was quantitative (counting of articles and word count) and qualitative (consideration of tone, content of articles and choice of pictures). In total, 217 news articles were categorised, with all articles containing the keywords identified between June 2013 and December 2013, allowing the early exploration of common trends and themes about different articles in different countries. Data from the media research are deployed mainly in Chapters 6 and 8.

Table 1: Media research example of recording and archiving News articles

The Nation is published in Malawi (headquarters in Blantyre). It is an online and print newspaper; this research uses the online website search engine from the paper itself. Its political stance is/ was strongly anti-government			
Key word search: Scotland . Search period from 18 June 2013 to 18 December 2013			
Date of Article	Summary of article	Article positive, negative or neutral	Misc info
07/07/2013	David Livingstone commemorated by the publishing of the society of Malawi journal	positive	"Dr David Livingstone, the one msunga who came to Africa and Africans love to remember"
14/07/2013	Church in Malawi gets food donation from church in Aberdeen	positive	A minister in Malawi told his congregation they "should learn from counterparts in Scotland"
16/07/2013	A singer performing in UK including Scotland	neutral	Mentions Scotland but not about Scotland
28/07/2013	A swimmer based in Scotland and Netherlands	neutral	Mentions Scotland but now about Scotland
06/08/2013	Lake of Stars festival - supported by David Livingstone fund, SMP, and creative Scotland, as well as other donors	neutral	Mentions Scotland but not about Scotland
06/08/2013	Government corruption in Malawi - mentions Joyce Banda in Scotland	neutral	Mentions Joyce Banda in Scotland with a 'begging bowl' but not even holding her own umbrella when Alex Salmond 'the donor' was holding his. Critical of Joyce Banda, but contains positive references to Scotland, Blantyre and Livingstone. Due to mix of positive and negative attributes this was deemed to be neutral
13/08/2013	Scottish based swimmer	neutral	Mentions Scotland but not about Scotland
19/08/2013	SG visiting and 'being impressed' by how its money was being used	positive	Malawi showing gratitude to the SG for its funding
22/08/2013	Upcoming commonwealth games	neutral	Mentions Scotland but not about Scotland
27/08/2013	Malawian music artists	neutral	Mentions Scotland but not about Scotland
30/08/2013	Upcoming commonwealth games	neutral	Mentions Scotland but not about Scotland
04/09/2013	Parliamentary official using government funds to pay for his PhD studies at Glasgow	neutral (about Scotland)	Corruption in the civil service in Malawi
05/09/2013	Marys Meals bring 2 Malawian student to the UK to perform at musical events	positive	Mentions Blantyre and the city of Glasgow as places they will be able to visit, alongside the tower of London, positive about Marys Meals
06/09/2013	Malawi listed as a top tourist destination	positive	Article states that lake of stars was named by David Livingstone
11/09/2013	Upcoming commonwealth games	neutral	Mentions Scotland but not about Scotland

Semi-Structured Interviews

The simplest description of an interview is two (or sometimes more) people talking. At its most complex, interviews can be used to gather qualitative or quantitative data, be open, structured or semi-structured, and participants can be chosen via a variety of methods with information physically gathered and manipulated in any number of ways. However, “interviewing is usually a qualitative exercise aimed at teasing out the deeper well-springs of meaning with which attributes, attitudes and behaviour are endowed” (Cloeke et al, 2004:127). It is for this purpose that interviewing has been chosen as one of the main interpretative methods to gather information, allowing insights into people’s everyday situated knowledge and experiences.

Semi-structured interviews allow the interviewee to talk about their own experiences using their own words, and a good listener and observant interviewer will be able to identify any new avenues for discussion that they had not considered, and to explore the issues that the interviewee raises with them (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996), rather than rigidly sticking to a more structured and less fluid style. A fully open fluid interview style was considered, and while this did occur, at times, as part of the process of engaging with people, a fluid approach to all interviews would not be guaranteed to yield relevant in-depth material, or to answer specific issues that this research wished to explore. A fully structured interview meanwhile would have been too rigid and not allowed interviewees the space to talk about issues that were important to them, instead focusing solely on what I, as the researcher, considered important, a style of interviewing which I felt would be unwise.

Semi-structured interviews could be considered more of a ‘conversation’, than structured interviews as the research questions which guide the interview, and are created and owned initially by the researcher, “become co-owned and co-shaped in the unfolding interactivity of questioning, answering, listening and conversing” (Cloeke et al, 2004:129). A semi-structured conversational style of interviewing enabled me to interact with people in Malawi and Scotland as individuals, not just as research subjects, allowing a type of involved research that represents “a deliberate departure from ideas about neutrality and observational ‘distance’ so as to avoid treating people like objects and to find ways of treating people like people” (Cloeke et al 2004:129). This interview style evolved in the field, both in Malawi and Scotland, where in some cases I already knew the interviewees personally, so friendly ‘banter’ and conversation were naturally part of the process of speaking with them. In Malawi, in particular, many of the interviewees were very interested in my views on Malawi as a foreign visitor, and concerned about my well-being and safety, asking detailed questions on where I was staying and how I was

travelling around Malawi. Many people also showed me kindness and friendship, including inviting me to public events with them, to bars and restaurants, and even to their home to meet with their wider family and friendship network. Some of these people were Malawian-born, others were from the UK and elsewhere in Europe, but currently living and working in Malawi.

As a result I was able to gain a greater understanding of other people's views, cultures and perspectives in a way that would not have been possible in interactions with these same subjects in a one hour interview slot. I did not take notes while in people's homes, or out for dinner with them, but I did make personal field diary entries and recorded my ethnographic thoughts in my field work notebook the day after such events and activities. These encounters frequently gave a lot of material to consider with regard to the wider questions of how it feels to live in a country dependent on foreign aid, as well as the specific details of their views about Scotland, about the SG, and about research projects, and researchers.

check website of [redacted] Institute.

Project Monitoring report by [redacted]

- [redacted] visited [redacted] projects in Salima.
- has asked [redacted] to give a detailed presentation about project.
- [redacted] project was inspiring. project managers sometimes don't present their projects very well - but seeing on the ground shows amazing things they are doing.

Village headwoman = all praises on assemblies of God.
 - confusing assembly of God with the district.
 assembly - shows the strong impression assemblies of God has made. [assume district assembly = very powerful].
 community mobilised themselves.

[redacted] also visited women's groups - very impressive to see they can now read + write is impressive to "see a lady telling you what they can do" they show books + read aloud to show what they can do.

also imp = rehabilitation of the env.
 quite encouraging to see things people have made themselves (the stove?) with a stove you can use only 3 shels of firewood to cook a main meat stove

if this project is used nationwide at a larger scale it would improve the env.

Figure 6: Example of fieldwork notebook from ethnographic observation of an organised event in Malawi. June 2014

I chose not to audio-record interviews, and instead took notes while talking to people, or while attending organised events and meetings. I made this decision on the basis of speaking to several senior academics, one of whom, a Malawian, advised that, while recording interviews may be acceptable in Scotland, in Malawi recording an interview would be likely to stifle interaction and make people “worry about what they say to you, and then not say anything at all” (A1). While note-taking can break the flow of conversation and result in less verbatim quotes after more than a decade working in office environments and experience of carefully taking written minutes of meetings, often while juggling this task with chairing and contributing to the meeting, I have developed a personal form of shorthand and an ability to write quickly and accurately that allowed me to capture large amounts of information during the interviews I conducted, and the organised meetings and events attended. In some cases, I also asked interviewees to repeat a particular point or comment, if I wanted to capture it verbatim. An example from my fieldwork diary is shown in Figure 6 above.

Interviews were conducted in English, as would be assumed in Scotland, and also in Malawi, given the fact that, to reach the position of project manager in an NGO, a university or a decision-maker in the GoM, it is assumed that one would speak English fluently, English being the second national language of Malawi, the first being Chichewa. The majority of business meetings in Malawi are conducted in English, and all MaSP events are conducted in English. Many taxi drivers, bar and waiting staff and other people in the service industry also speak fluent English.

My interview schedule is outlined below, but the general format for my interviews was to open with some of the ‘big’ questions about my research designed to gain awareness of the interviewee’s personal experience and views, so as to be better able to tailor later questions to their specific knowledge, interests and situated views. Opening questions would generally focus on the interviewee’s personal experience of working with partners in Malawi or Scotland, and then to ask if they felt that a special relationship existed between the two countries and, if so, why? This would usually lead to a discussion of David Livingstone, especially from Malawian interviewees. I would then ask more personal question, such as about the interviewee’s personal feelings on the relationship between the two countries, if they feel part of a network, what words they would use to describe the people they worked with in either country, how they view the SG, the GoM, the SMP and the MaSP – hence probing their views on both official government relationships and the civil society relationships. I also asked specific questions based on the

issues that each interviewer raised, usually talking in depth about their personal projects and partnerships, including their feelings about ‘development’ more generally. I would ask questions about money, about funding, about the processes surrounding the disbursement of ‘aid’ money, and of SG funds in particular. Additionally, I observed the surroundings of the interview, taking into account ANT considerations²⁰ such as what resources interviewees had to enable them to work with partners in Scotland or Malawi (both human and non-human), notably laptops, mobile phones, office space, the internet and ongoing funding and salary.

Interview Schedule

- What are the interviewee’s personal experiences of working with people/organisations in Scotland/Malawi?
- Do they feel Scotland and Malawi have a ‘special’ relationship?
- If so where does that the feeling stem from – is it from current activities or historical? Or both?
- Do interviewees think that networks and partnerships exists between the two countries and where do they see connections to exist?
- Explore funding issues, for example - do they/their organisation receive SG funding – would they describe this as charity, friendship, partnership, business? Who decides how the funds are spent, organisations in Scotland or Malawi – is this the best way to organise the funding? If SG funding were not available how would they like their organisation or project to be funded (their own government to fund it, UN/DFID to fund it, local philanthropy or business etc?).
- What are their views on the application and governance of international funds, and SG funding in particular?
- What relationship do they have, if any with the GoM/the SG?
- Do they personally feel part of a network? How would they describe this?
- Are they a member of the MaSP or the SMP – what are their views on these organisations – do they use them for information, attend events etc? How often?
- Do they feel connected to other people in Malawi or Scotland as a result of their partnership? How would they describe the connection?
- Do they feel connected to different places as a result of their Scottish/Malawian partnership, or their membership of the MaSP/the SMP?
- What resources do interviewees have to enable them to work with partners in Scotland or Malawi (both human and non-human considering a later ANT analysis), for example do they receive a salary, a work space, training, business loans etc?

Informal Conversations

Forsey (2010) outlines the discomfort that some researchers feel if their research does not follow the ‘expected’ type and length of engagement of ‘classical’ ethnographic participant observation studies:

²⁰ As discussed in Chapter 3

... colleagues, especially postgraduate researchers ... sometimes feel a deep sense of inadequacy because they are not doing a classical (I would call it mythical) participant observer study. (Forsey, 2010:560)

I initially felt uncomfortable with the number of short conversations that I had with people who I met socially, or on the fringes of organised events, in Malawi especially. Some of their views and insights were interesting and illuminating, but, because the insights were not gained through weeks, months, or even years of embeddedness in their 'communities', I struggled with how to position, explain and even use these materials. In speaking with other academics, I realised that material is material, and that, as long as it was gathered and analysed with an inquiring, critical mind-set, all views are valid. These short conversations could also be considered to represent the 'messiness' of fieldwork, with opportunities to learn, engage and gather data not confined to pre-arranged meetings and organised events. As several academics have noted, "sometimes fleeting engagement offers a more accurate reflection of lived experience than any form of 'deep hanging out'" (Forsey 2010:569), and that "it does not matter how long you talk to someone, only the usefulness of what they say; some people can talk for hours yet say nothing, others can open your eyes with only a few words" (A1). These short conversations were therefore treated in exactly the same with regard to how they were recorded, and processed, as the pre-arranged semi-structured interviews.

How interview participants were chosen

There were some clear candidates to be interviewed; these included members of the Governments of Malawi and Scotland, board members and project officers within the SMP and the MaSP, and long term advocates of, and participants in, creating and maintaining the connections between Malawi and Scotland. Some of these people were already known to me personally, while others were identified through the process of doing the fieldwork and asking questions of other people and building up a clear idea of who is active in the networks, and then snowballing out my network of personal contacts. Some participants were interviewed several times; in general, these were people who seemed genuinely interested in the research and amenable to being interviewed again, as well as being geographically close enough to the researcher (at the right point in the research timetable) to enable a second interview to take place. In essence, the people who were interviewed more than once were self-selecting on the basis of enthusiasm, time and geography. Engaging with interviewees over time and conducting more one than interview, or meeting socially, allowed me to test out any new questions or queries that had arisen and to make sure my understanding and interpretation was as accurate as possible. Additionally, developing a closer relationship with the people who were at the heart

of my research, as well as being helpful to my research, made me feel more engaged, more embedded, and ultimately to see my interviewees as people and as friends, not just as research subjects, especially in Malawi where I was separated from my own social networks.

In total, 23 semi-structured interviews were conducted in Malawi, and 10 in Scotland, along with over 30 informal conversations, mainly in Malawi. The list of semi-structured interviews and informal conversations, conducted in each country, is set out in Appendix 3.

Ethnographic observations

With a move away from grand theories, greater acknowledgement of the complexity of the real world, and the consideration of 'local knowledges,' that took place largely from the late-1990s onwards, more academics are integrating ethnography into their practice. This movement resulted in a realisation that ethnography, and within it participant observation, was not wholly the preserve of anthropology and could be applied to any number of disciplines (Cloke et al, 2004; Forsay, 2010). While ethnography could be viewed as burdened by its imperialist roots, its current and modern day practice:

... treats people as knowledgeable, situated agents from whom researchers can learn a great deal; about how the world is seen, lived and works in 'real' places, communities and people. (Cloke et al, 2004:169)

Ethnography does not, however, need to be focused solely on the established practice of participant observation as the primacy of this particular form of ethnography can lead to less rich material if other methods are discounted, a particular problem for anthropological research, where it could be argued that listening is as important as observing and the visual should not be privileged over the aural (Forsey, 2010). Much of this research has been based on interviews: on conversations that involve both listening and observing. Participant observation clearly has its place, but active listening and the ability to record what I hear in note-taking form, in this research, is as much part of the ethnographic imperative as participant observation.

Doing ethnography, particularly in any setting with which the researcher is unfamiliar can be stressful, just as all new social situations can be stressful, be they academic or personal. Indeed, the process of conducting ethnographic research may require the unlearning of existing thoughts, beliefs and habits (Cloke et al, 2004). This 'unlearning' was a key process for me to go through: it was key that I unlearn my assumed knowledge on international 'development', on poverty and global injustices, a process that was accomplished in my first weeks in Malawi²¹.

²¹ This process was informed by the previous year of academic critical reading.

Reading about poverty and living in one of the poorest countries in the world are two completely different things.

The active fieldwork phase involved conducting interviews and attending events in Scotland throughout 2014 and early-2015, and five months spent in Malawi conducting interviews and attending events during the summer of 2014. During this time, I kept a detailed fieldwork notebook, recording interviews, notes of events, and also key observations and reflective considerations of my own understanding. The fieldwork notebooks were written in a fluid and subjective fashion, an extract of which is set out earlier in this chapter in Figure 6. While the notebooks themselves comprise an element of data gathering, they also function as a record of my subjective experiences, as well as creating a space where gaps, questions or insights about the process of doing fieldwork can come to light.

There were a number of specific organised events and meetings for which I registered, or which I received permission to attend, in both Malawi and Scotland, during which I took detailed notes and observations of interactions, and of the human and non-human actors. Analysis of these organised events follows later in this chapter, but the four events were:

- The MaSP meeting for the Sustainable Economic Development Strand. June 2014, Lilongwe, Malawi.
- The MaSP Meeting for the Heath Strand, June 2014, Lilongwe.
- The SMP Annual General Meeting, September 2014, Glasgow.
- The SMP Higher Education Forum meeting, December 2014, Glasgow.

There were also a number of visits in Malawi to participating SG funded projects, which were written about reflectively and specifically considered as ‘events’, these were:

- Visit to an SG funded Health project, involving a tour of facilities with the opportunity to speak with Malawian staff working on an SG funded project, July 2014, Malawi. An extract from my fieldwork note book written during this visit follows:

Alex²² took me on a tour of the facility, and the maternity ward was particularly unpleasant. Women waiting to give birth in a dark cramped ward with metal beds only a foot or so apart. The labour room has 3 beds in it with filthy ill-fitting curtains round them. Alex said that meetings are sometimes held in the labour ward, even if women are in the process of giving birth. The maternity ward is in an older building with dirty walls and floors, and peeling paint ... it is not a pleasant place. Women in the ward waiting for labour are just lying on the small beds there is little talk, no-one is smiling, there are

²² Name changed to protect anonymity.

very few nurses and no doctors in sight. However, outside and opposite the maternity ward is a newer building, with an outside seating area, it is prenatal and family planning clinic and it seems different - again it is all women and children, but the women seem happier, there is talk, laughter and even singing and clapping to pass the time while waiting – there seems to be a lot of waiting for people wanting to access health care in Malawi. (Extract from fieldwork diary entry, Malawi, July 2014).

- Visit and tour of Queen Elizabeth Teaching Hospital (the site of several SG funded projects), July 2014, Blantyre, Malawi. An extract from my fieldwork notebook written after this visit follows:

I was shown round the hospital by Elsie²³, a former nurse who worked in the paediatric ICU, she is well known by many other staff members in the wards and kitchens and is an excellent guide of this geographically sprawling hospital spread across a large number of buildings ... the grounds of the hospital are filled with people who appear to be living there, washing clothes, cooking over campfires, nursing children. I ask Elsie if they are waiting on entry to the hospital, or if they are simply homeless, she looks confused and tells me they are the relatives of the patients, I am now confused and we eventually work out that hospitals in Malawi do not provide bed linen or food for patients, and if one is admitted to hospital then your family essentially camps out in the hospital grounds washing clothes and blankets for you and cooking you food. I ask what happens to patients without relatives and Elsie shrugged.

There is one part of the hospital where food is provided, it is next to the paediatric malnutrition ward – a whole ward devoted to starving children. We go in, and Elsie chats with friends she knows and then tells me to come and look at a child being examined. I felt very uncomfortable with this, but Elsie and the other nurses were keen to show me the boy's swollen joints and sores, bending his small limbs this way and that. I try to look interested, and sympathetic as the tiny 3 or 4 year old child in dirty clothes sits quietly, pliantly, on his silent mothers knee ... we move straight to the kitchen, and I see now why this is the one ward that gets food provided for it, it is stacked with small packets with a title that should never be used on food: "Ready to Use Therapeutic Food".

When I worked in the SG one of the projects we funded used to be for 'therapeutic food', and I read its reports and met with the organisation in Scotland and thought how good it was that the figures they reported in their monitoring reports spoke about the increase in children's weight, and reduction in death across all age groups, but especially the under-fives – all the sort of statistics a manager of international development projects would want to see. Confronted with the reality of a tiny swollen malnourished child, I felt overwhelmed with emotion – it took all my composure not to empty my bag to dig out a tracker bar and all the money I had on me and hand it to the starving child, and his thin mother, but I didn't. Instead I smiled and thanked the nurses and the mother, then moved on the kitchens where I forced myself

²³ Name changed to protect anonymity.

to chat politely with the kitchen staff who were keen to show me how they tipped some versions of the powdered therapeutic food into vats of water, added oil and cooked it up into a high calorie gruel, laughing and joking with Elsie about how they would give me some away for my lunch. We left the kitchen, and the hospital grounds as the mothers of the starving children started to queue up to be dished out the ‘food’ in their bright plastic mugs and bowls. (Extract from fieldwork Diary, Blantyre, July 2014)



Figure 7: Image from kitchen at Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Blantyre, Malawi, July, 2014. (Author's own image)

These two fieldwork diary extracts demonstrate the very personal nature of international ‘development’ projects. Reading reports in an office in Glasgow, and being physically confronted with ill and malnourished adults and children are incredibly different experiences. These experience, however, enabled me to understand the world that many Malawians inhabit, and that project managers in Malawi and Scotland have direct experience off. These small personal experiences therefore enabled me to better understand the people I was interviewing, and ultimately that data that I gathered.

Reflections on gathering interview and ethnographic data

[T]hose of us living in the so-called Western world live in an ‘interview society’. (Forsey, 2010:568)

I felt that interviews conducted in Scotland ‘flowed’ as I expected them to do; starting at the time we set in advance by exchanging several short but informative emails, usually occurring in a shared meeting space in an office or in a café, where a cup of tea or coffee was bought or

offered. A short exchange of pleasantries commonly occurred regarding how we travelled to the meeting or how busy our days were (taking less than five minutes), before I thanked them for agreeing to meet me and started by explaining my research, its independence, its purpose, their anonymity, sharing the factsheet on ethics, and asking them to sign a consent form. Within ten minutes of meeting, therefore, most of my Scottish interviews were well underway, and usually over within an hour, with most of my main themes covered, some interesting tangents taken as I followed the issues raised by interviewees, and more short pleasantries swapped at the end of the meeting often regarding what else they were doing with their day and where they were headed next.

This was not the usual format in Malawi, leading me to realise the extent to which I harboured a personal bias about how interviews should be structured, how long they should last, what food/drink should be consumed and what level of 'chit-chat' there should be. In Malawi, meetings were likely to take place in restaurants and involve eating, rather than just a beverage, or in the personal offices of the people who I was interviewing, as most managers in Malawi (at any level of an organisation) would have their own offices compared to open plan working being more normal in Scottish offices. Some interviews in Malawi also occurred in bars and involved alcoholic beverages, something that would not be considered acceptable or 'professional' in Scotland; but, as hotel bars were considered neutral, central and safe places to meet and the weather is frequently hot, consuming a beer on a hot day is perhaps not that unusual, although alcohol was usually consumed with younger people and those at less senior positions in an organisation. I always tried to pay for food and beverages consumed during interviews in Malawi, given that I know the significant difference between Malawian and UK salaries, and I did not want participants to be out of pocket by their agreeing to be interviewed. The Malawian interviews frequently did not 'flow' as I expected, mainly because of my perceived difficulties in arranging the meeting (mobile phones rather than e-mail) and the 'chit chat' at the start of any social interaction taking a different form to the one I expected. As a result of this difference, most Malawian interviews lasted significantly longer than my Scottish interviews, as up to thirty minutes could be spent discussing how I was experiencing Malawi, where I was staying, where I had visited, where I was eating, how I was travelling, what family I had back in the UK, and how that family was doing. As I tried to mirror their behaviours, I also enquired about the well-being of their family members, asked their suggestions on places to visit or places to stay, and learned a great deal about the lives of their families, where they lived, which village their family was from, how best to travel around, and many other facts and views. If they had visited Scotland, another 15-20 minutes could be spent talking about where they had visited, where I

was from, and who we might know in common from the network that is at the heart of the relationship between the two countries.

Malawians were also more likely to brush off or appear embarrassed about my 'set speech' on the purpose of, and ethics regarding, my research, as if by telling them this information I was calling into question their trust in me – they had agreed to be interviewed, they did not seem to want or need to know why, or for what deeper purpose, the research might be used. Many of the Malawian interviews were therefore difficult to 'manage' from my position, as answering one question could sometimes take 45 minutes, with the interviewee being surprised that I had more. I tried to mitigate against this surprise after the first few interviews by stating that I had several themes to cover, but some interviews were very long and not actually about my research topics at all. All material is potentially of value, however, and I appreciated the time and the sharing of views and opinions, even if an interview did not go as I expected due to my own cultural expectations of what an interview 'should' be. This reality certainly honed my skills as an interviewer, and also my listening skills. I also learned a cultural lesson quite early on, that I should not attempt to rush through an interview – something I perceived as respectful, in that I did not want to take up a whole afternoon of someone's time - but rushing in Malawi can be considered rude, and so I adapted my interview style to the cultural mores of where I was based, depending on my field site, be it Malawi or Scotland. Both the data gathered, and my personal experiences, were richer as a result, as Desai and Potter (2006:36) note:

Foreign researchers, especially during the initial stages, may encounter resistance to their questions. At the same time informants want to know about the outsiders world, just as the researcher is curious about their world. This mutual curiosity can provide avenues for interaction, learning and knowledge exchange.

Ethnographic research could be "framed as a process of moving through, and perhaps extending social networks, which themselves cross boundaries" (Cloe et al, 2004:185). This is certainly how I found the process of conducting ethnographic research, using and expanding my own networks to explore and cross over into wider networks, to understand their interconnectedness and their ability to cross cultural, social and hierarchical boundaries. Findings from the ethnographic observations are mostly deployed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

The complexity of doing 'research on your doorstep' (or someone's else's)

It does pose specific methodological issues to conduct research 'at home,' arguably demanding a deep analysis of the bias and assumptions about one's own culture and place in it, I have found that much the same tools can be employed doing research in Scotland as well as in Malawi, and

have actively sought (whenever possible) to gather material in the same way, regardless of place. Place is important, particularly to geographers, but equality in research design is also important. Where local differences did mean that different methods were deployed, for example a greater reliance on email communication in Scotland to arrange meetings compared to mobile phone in Malawi, or with regard to the number and parity of interviews conducted in each country, this lack of equivalence has been clearly stated and explained.

There is also an emotional aspect to conducting research in Malawi, as already signposted, since witnessing illness, poverty and malnutrition were all things which impacted me deeply, and are discussed throughout this chapter. The typed extract from my fieldwork notebook below highlights some of the challenges and emotions encountered when working in cultures different to one's own, and in a place where poverty is normalised:

At the side of the road, along with people begging, walking, sitting and lying, there are women using small handheld hoes to hack at barren pieces of earth with small children strapped to their back. There are also young boys holding long sticks split in half with tiny roasted, salted field mice speared in a row along the middle of the stick. I can't help but think of Terry Pratchett's infamous character 'Dibbler' who sells 'rat on a stick' to unsuspecting locals and tourists alike. Then I feel bad about finding it amusing because to go the bother of catching and cooking such a small creature, which cannot have much meat to eat on it, again illustrates (for me) how close people are to hunger and malnutrition that mice become a viable food source. But then I go full circle again – who am I to say that mice and grubs and insects are not a viable, and even pleasant, food to eat?

Andrew²⁴ (my taxi driver) said that as a child he really enjoyed the field mice because they are roasted in lots of salt, so taste very good, although he did say he was very poor growing up and he doesn't eat them anymore ... later he spoke about buying beef from the villages rather than in Lilongwe because it is much cheaper and better quality. But maybe for someone without the money to buy beef, field mice are an affordable alternative? I just don't know. I feel like I don't know anything anymore. (Fieldwork Diary, personal entry, near Lilongwe, June 2014)

There were also frustrations at living in a culture not my own and being treated differently for factors such as my sex or race, which limited my personal freedoms:

I asked the guard Happy²⁵ if it was safe to walk to a restaurant about 500m down the road for dinner in the evening. He told me that it was definitely not safe and that a 'white woman' like me would be robbed or worse if I went out after dark on foot. He said he would walk me there and come back to walk me home. I took him up on his offer and actually wished I hadn't bothered going out as even in the short walk we got surrounded by a group

²⁴ Name changed to protect anonymity.

²⁵ Name changed to protect anonymity.

of men who were fairly aggressive and Happy said if we hadn't been so close to the restaurant, they would have beaten him up and robbed me.

Combined with being stopped and 'fined', by the police while taking a taxi to my interview today because as the policeman said, 'white people always have money' ... I miss Scotland, I miss police officers who don't want bribes I miss streetlights, and pavements, I miss knowing the rules about when and where it is safe for me to go out. But I remind myself that there are parts of Glasgow I most definitely would not wander around on my own in the dark, and I can't argue with the policeman who demanded a bribe - in Malawi white people do always appear to have money, comparatively speaking. (Fieldwork Diary, July 2014)

In Scotland the emotions were different, less extreme, but they should still be acknowledged, and my fieldwork in Scotland was where I found some of my more ingrained and learned assumptions harder to shake, with the assumptions embedded deeply. When I worked as a civil servant my belief in my work was always clear – I was managing money and projects that were given to Scottish organisations to help people in Malawi. It was obvious to me that forms, meetings, financial regulation, financial reporting, monitoring, evaluation, more meetings and more forms were essential to the smooth running of an international development programme (indeed any governmental programme) to ensure that public funds were used and managed in a transparent and accountable way. My interviews with people in Malawi and Scotland, and my position as an observer at organised meetings and events (but not as an active participant/proponent of the existing system, as I would have been when I worked in government) has allowed me to question deeply engrained views that I previously held about the nature of government, bureaucracy, financial systems and global power wielded through those processes that are assumed to be the best way of managing people and money. This process of governance in international 'development', and a possible critique of it from my Malawian and Scottish fieldwork is explored in Chapter 7.

There are always limits to subjective knowledge and reflective research, and I am aware that, no matter how reflective and self-analytical I am, I cannot wholly eliminate my own biases and assumptions (no one can), but only try, where possible, to unlearn old ways of thinking and to strive to understand the positions and situated knowledge of others; but there are indeed always "limits to knowing subjectivity" (Cloe et al, 2004:130). For example, having worked for 12 years in the SG, it was a distinctly confusing experience to return to my previous place of employment, as a visitor, as an outsider; to return to a building where I once had a purpose, a place which was mine, a desk, a computer, a team of people, a coffeeshop where my order and my name were known and banter was frequent. I had friends and colleagues in this building and I spent a large portion of my waking life in it. Now I was a researcher, someone whom those who had

once been 'my group' now viewed with faint suspicion, maybe curiosity, most likely just another meeting to get through in their busy day and packed calendar. I know this because I was once them. I also know that if only the 'me' who is a researcher could manage to integrate with the 'me' who was a policy-maker in international development, then I could maybe do a better job, but I also know that the positions are mutually exclusive: the demands, expectations, work ethics, peer group pressure, deadline pressure and fiscal demands would push me to be *either* a good researcher *or* a good civil servant. I will always carry the mantle of a civil servant and always feel that I should be able to walk into a government building, order my coffee and sit down at a pc, but I am now a researcher and the world is more complex than I thought it was 'back then'.

Other issues of doing research in your home domain, and with people who you knew in a different capacity, included a blurring of the boundaries. For example, when I was meeting with groups and organisations whose contact details I had gained through my four years assessing, managing, chiding and generally interacting with them, as a result of their receiving money from the SG, my personal approach was always a friendly and collegiate one, but the balance of power was clear: 'do as I say or the SG will not give you more money'. I did not wield this power overtly, but I spoke for the government, not for myself, when I specified financial regulations, deadlines and expectations; and the expectations specified were usually always met. When I contacted these same people to explain my current situation, most of whom I had already known before I left government, I was welcomed and given access to people, meetings and documents quite freely. Part of this access was due to the friendships, and indeed guidance that I had given these organisations as a civil servant where it was never my objective to alienate, but to reach mutually beneficial outcomes. This was perhaps one reason that I was able to utilise my contacts, but it often left me feeling awkward, and it was potentially awkward too for the interviewees as they adjusted to my change in status. This change was generally accepted and managed well by those in Scotland, with any awkwardness passing quite quickly as I was quick to explain my new position, research and appreciation for any information that they were willing to share, but of course I understood if they were too busy or did not want to participate in my research.

In Malawi it was more difficult to navigate my change in position and in 'power', as the boundaries between civil society, government and even academia seem more fluid; and, if one has the status of being a manager/decision-maker in government, then that status remains. When meeting people and organisations in Malawi with whom I had previously communicated, or had met regarding funding from the SG, the sense that I was in some way going to 'report

back' to the SG was clear, even though I went to great lengths to explain the change in my position and the fact that I was no longer a part of the SG. While I was conducting independent research governed by ethics that included anonymity, this change in status from policy-manager to researcher seemed to be regarded as temporary by some people, while others assumed that I would be reporting back to the SG anyway. As a result, many of my most relaxed interactions with interviewees in Malawi occurred when I had met the interviewee several times, or when we met socially, when the conversation flowed more freely and when they felt that I was not actively writing down everything said. For this reason, and others, the value became apparent of informal conversations and repeat encounters to gain an insight into feelings and behaviours, instead of people saying what they thought I might want to hear in more formalised interviews, or self-censoring due to a fear that I would report back negatively.

Organising and understanding the data

Semi-structured interviews, informal conversations and ethnographic observations were transcribed from my fieldwork notebook, then printed out and coded manually, mainly because much of this organisation happened in 'the field'. Coding has been described as a means to generate concepts from raw data and allow them to be rigorously analysed (Swift, 1996), and it is used widely in qualitative data analysis to condense data into manageable chunks, enabling links and patterns to emerge and to be examined across and between data sets. This treatment is not to be confused with a simplification process, however, and indeed care should be taken not to oversimplify the data (Hammond and Wellington, 2013).

Open coding was used, with the most important part of a coding process residing in establishing the codes, categories and themes that are of interest to the researcher, and considering how they are inter-linked and to what overarching concepts they relate. The codes, and their keyword identifiers, therefore act as a link between the raw data and the researcher's theoretical standpoint (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). While the literature does not set out a prescriptive way by which to carry out the coding process, an initial set of codes for this research is set out in Table 2 below. These codes were drawn up based on the initial research questions around exploring networks, scale, power and development, but additional, more nuanced, codes were added during the process of actively reading the transcribed interviews and notebook entries in their entirety and identifying common themes and issues that interviewees had spoken about, such as governance, corruption, religion, tensions and friendship. Some questions considered during the coding process include a scaled analysis of how people perceive the partnerships or networks, based on the theories and ideas explored in Chapters 2 and 3. If project managers,

for example, referred to being able to speak directly with the government, in Malawi or Scotland, as a result of events and meetings organised by the MaSP or the SMP, or I observed these types of interactions, I was able to consider them from a hierarchical scalar view of the world where without the benefit of networking events project managers working at a local level would not usually have access to national level governments, and even less access to international governments. The role of networks in connecting people traditionally working at different levels of activity in different geographical locations is therefore considered and analysed, particularly in Chapters 6 and 8.

Table 2: Codewords used in analysis of semi-structured interviews, informal conversations and ethnographic observations

Codewords/ themes
Governance
Empowerment
Disempowerment
Government reliance
Power
Inclusivity
Historical references
Networking
Scale
Tensions
Centrality to Policy
Partnership
Corruption
Development Approaches
Religion/ Church
Money
SG Funding
Working with GoM
Capacity building
Friendship

There are more interviews and informal conversations with people in Malawi, compared to people in Scotland, and this imbalance is due to a number of factors. The main one is that, in order to understand Malawi and Malawian perspectives, I had to speak to more people, and had to make an effort to find a variety of people with whom to talk. This was not the case in Scotland, where I had worked in this subject area for over four years prior to undertaking the PhD. The landscape in Scotland and the views of those who manage the Scottish end of the partnerships and networks were well known to me. My interviews in Scotland were therefore targeted to

people who were most actively involved in the relationship between the two countries, and who I knew in advance would give informed views. Additionally, a number of the people interviewed in Malawi, particularly those working for international NGOs, were actually Scottish or from the wider UK (eight out of 22 of the interviewees in Malawi were from Scotland or from the wider UK, often with strong links to Scotland). The wider breadth of interviews and conversations in Malawi reflects my attempts to understand and navigate a culture which was not my own, and to encounter views that were potentially new to, or unheard of by, me. An example of a coded interview is illustrated in Figure 8 below.

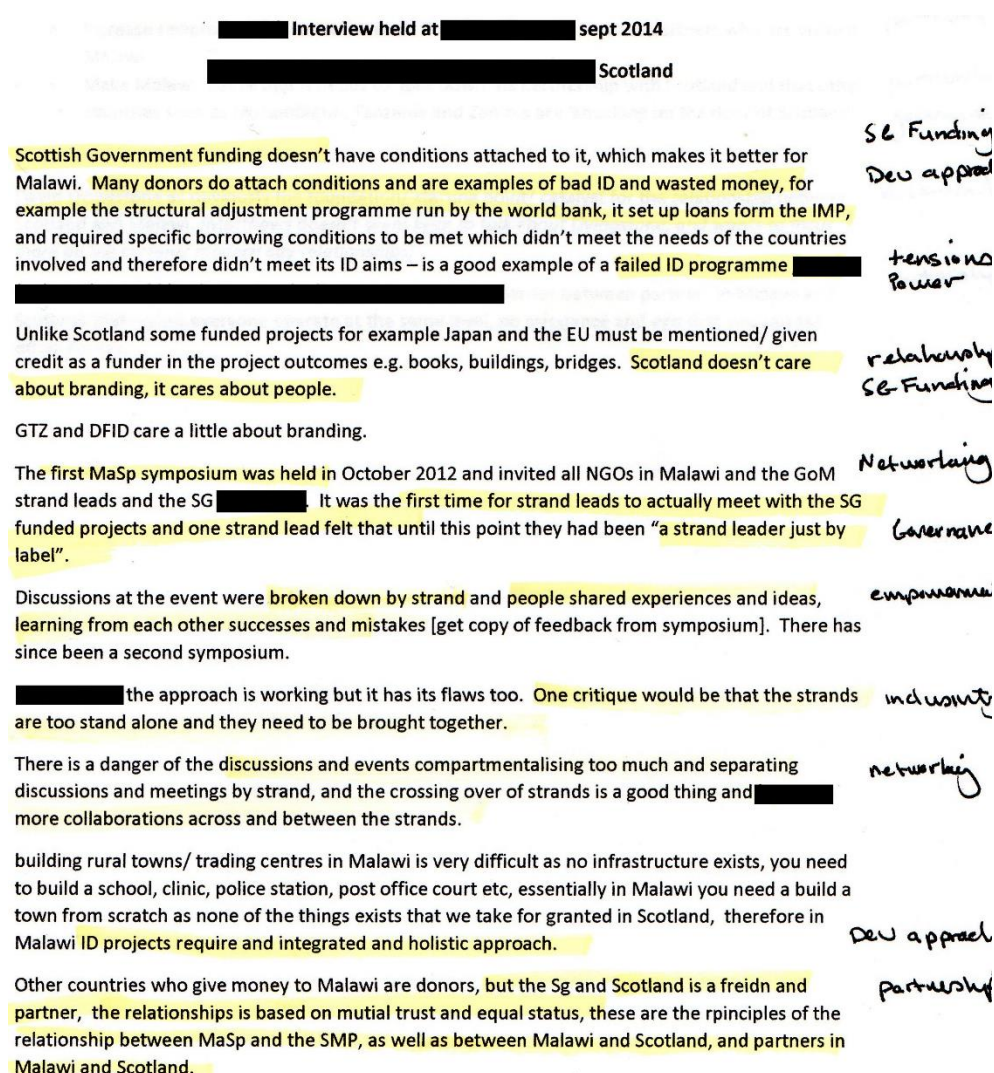


Figure 8: Example of a scanned, typed and code word analysed interview

With regard to the four events I attended, two in Malawi organised by the MaSP, and two in Scotland organised by the SMP, these four events were transcribed and codeword analysed using the same codewords and process as the interviews and informal conversations. Based on codeword analysis of two of these events which were best attended, the health strand meeting

in Malawi, and the SMP AGM in Scotland, the graphs below were produced to identify which issues were raised most, and findings from this exercise helped me to structure and to focus the empirical chapters of the thesis.

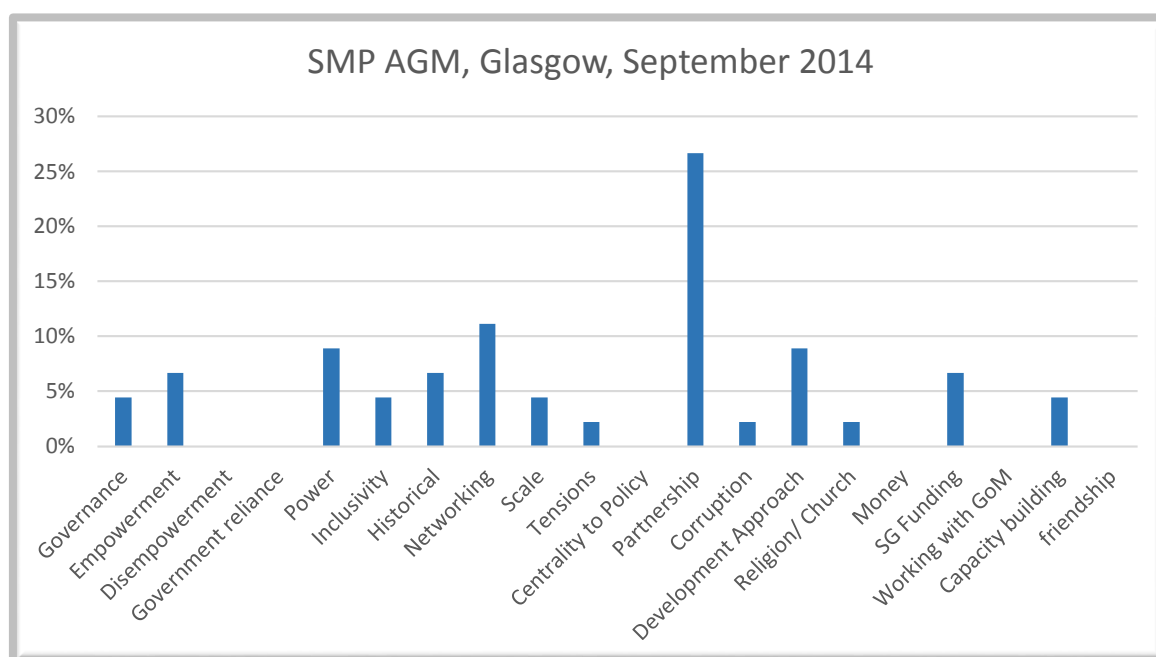


Figure 9: Codeword analysis of the SMP AGM, with each codeword shown as a percentage

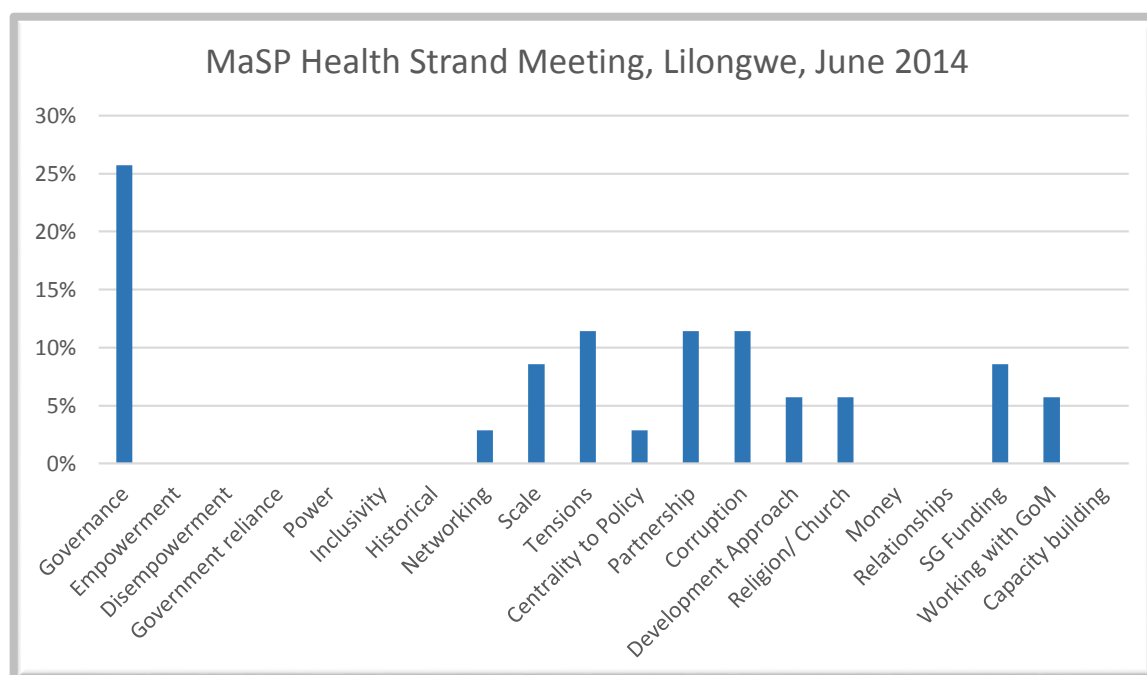


Figure 10: Codeword analysis of the MaSP health strand meeting with each codeword shown as a percentage

Figure 9 indicates that, to the largely Scottish audience of over 100 SMP members attending the AGM, one of the most spoken about issues of the day was around partnerships, with networking,

power and discussion of development approaches all following behind. Conversely, at the MaSP health strand meeting (Figure 10), with 15-20 attendees, the key issues raised were those relating to governance, with partnerships, development approach and tensions within relationships (locally, nationally and internationally) following behind. Partly on the basis of these charts, and analysis of all other interview data gathered, the empirical chapters therefore concentrate on networks and partnerships in Chapter 6, governance in Chapter 7, and development approaches in Chapter 8.

Concluding thoughts

At the time of my fieldwork research, the IMF had placed Malawi as the third poorest country in the world (IMF, 2014). From a comfortable office in Glasgow solutions to poverty seem simple; in Malawi, the complex reality, and the scale of poverty, the difference of state powers, the lack of, for example, emergency services, reliable electricity, clean water, tarmac roads, large scale farming, all seem so much more complex than simply building classrooms or giving food to a hungry child. Figure 11 below illustrates the daily life for many Malawian people. While images like this appeared, to me, to indicate extreme poverty and hardship, they could alternatively be considered to be simply showing people making money through entrepreneurial activities selling shoes and tomatoes at the side of a road.



Figure 11: Entrepreneurial activity in Malawi, taken outside Lilongwe, July 2014 (Author's own image)

Malawi, therefore, like any country is not homogenous, but rather is composed of mixed and multiple situated standpoints and views, and, as in any country, not all in agreement. There

were the obvious thoughts and assumptions to be challenged, a journey already started in my critical reading and reason for wanting to undertake this research: what was wrong with international 'development' funding and interventions that Western governments love so much, but which have not succeeded in eradicating extreme poverty? My fieldwork, whether conducted in libraries in Glasgow, or offices in Lilongwe, goes some way towards understanding these complex global and historical processes, and is considered, debated and analysed in the following chapters.

Chapter 5: The history of Malawi, and of the relationship between Malawi and Scotland

[T]he boundaries of contemporary Malawi owes less to the influence of ancient tribal loyalties than to the largely fortuitous establishment of British, and especially Scottish, missionaries along the Shire river and the shores of Lake Malawi in the latter half of the nineteenth century. (Williams, 1978:1)



Figure 12: Political Map of Malawi (UN, 2004)

Introduction

What is now called Malawi occupies a relatively thin strip of land, 900km long and never more than 160km wide, its artificial colonial imposed boundaries following the geographical path that comprises the Southern end of the Great Rift Valley until it meets with the Zambezi River, almost 100 miles from its delta in Mozambique (Agnew, 1972; McCracken, 2012). It has a wide variety of terrain and ecosystems, from mountains in the North, plains and plateaux in the North and central regions, with the lake a constant feature for the Central and Northern regions of the country. The South is generally hotter and more arid, with the River Shire²⁶ meandering a course through Southern Malawi to the Zambezi River, then on to the Indian Ocean via Mozambique. The climate in the South tends to be hot and dry or hot and damp, with diseases like malaria more common and agricultural opportunities more limited. While Malawi is a landlocked country, the lake and the River Shire are the lifeblood of the country, affording more favourable environmental conditions for human settlement and utilisation than many of her neighbours. Due to this, Malawi has a higher population density than any of her neighbours. Agnew (1972) postulates that it is reasonable to assume that these geographical features would not have significantly changed over the last 40,000 years. It is ironic that since colonial times Malawi has been seen as an impoverished and poor place, but for much of its pre-colonial history the region “appears to have functioned as a place of refuge at times of drought for people from less well endowed areas” (McCracken, 2012:9). This is primarily due to a constant water supply through the presence of Lake Malawi, the third largest and second deepest lake in Africa, home to thousands of fish species, some of which only live in Lake Malawi, such as cichlids. It is therefore unique from a geographical and ecological perspective, as well as ensuring that Malawi remains an important place for human habitation.

As will be discussed in more detail, Malawi has been subject to great movements of people over the centuries and at times strains have been placed upon natural resources and tribal allegiances. The Indian Ocean slave trade, primarily controlled by Arab traders from Zanzibar and its influence on East Africa, combined with European empires carving up the continent, have been two particularly influential points in Malawi’s history. Therefore, by the nineteenth century Malawi was not a place or people untouched by the world outside of its fluid boundaries. It was a place that had for centuries been affected and influenced by decisions taken on the east coast of Africa, in Southern Africa, in the Middle East, in Asia and in Europe. Its people were arguably not naive and unaware of the forces which came from outside. By the time of the first

²⁶ Pronounced ‘She-ray’.

British expedition to this region with David Livingstone in 1859, and the setting up of primarily Scottish missions in the 1860s and 70s, the people of Malawi had been subject to thousands of years of inward and outward migrations of people throughout Southern Africa, as well as experiencing Arab and Portuguese influence from the 1500s onwards.

Britain's entry to East and Central Africa came relatively late. For the people who lived in what is now Malawi, it is difficult to ascertain what they thought about this next wave of newcomers, for no written accounts of their opinions exist, other than those mentioned in passing in the journals of British missionaries. What is clear is that the impact of the British on this, and every other world region claimed in the name of Empire, was long-lasting and profound. The relationship between Malawi and Scotland must be viewed in this historical context. Africa has frequently been portrayed by Europeans as a 'dark' empty continent with no history until Europeans arrived, a place without civilisation or morality, an empty vessel of 'nothingness', waiting passively to be filled by European knowledge and religion (Power, 2003; Forster, 1994). British involvement in East and Central Africa in the mid-nineteenth century was not imposed upon a blank slate; instead, British missionaries, merchants and colonial officials interacted with local people and tribal chiefs, and were influenced by cultural, ecological and geographical conditions. The narrative which has come to dominate all others is nonetheless one of a dark passive continent waiting to be imprinted on and 'developed'.

The idea of time (and therefore history) as being a linear process, simply passing across the stage of fixed spaces, enables erroneous assumptions to be easily made. From this viewpoint come certain themes which assume that people and places which are more socio-economically developed are superior, and that their path through time will inevitably be followed like a template by all other places, as explored in Chapter 2. This idea leads to assumptions that places which have economic success (as defined by successful capitalist countries) are automatically superior in all other respects, and that the knowledge that they generate is therefore superior (Agnew and Livingstone, 2011). This 'imagined geography' (Said, 1979) is one which has been deliberately created by, and for, the benefit of western governments and organisations and this cultural hegemony has successfully maintained "the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European people and cultures" (Said, 1979:7). This is a particularly important concept as it privileges all knowledge, not just that relating to economic activity, but everything, all knowledge produced by these places, by Europe, is positioned as superior whether it relates to agriculture, urban planning, religion or economic growth. It also politicises time itself as it constructs and construes 'the Other' in favour of the observer, in general being Western missionaries, academics, civil servants and other authorities (Fabian,

1983), believing themselves to be looking back in time to more primitive phases of human 'development'. The fact that so many in the world today (e.g. the UN) still operate in a world where the 'Other' has been constructed in opposition to the West, and where the belief that there is a single linear path to follow through time to reach 'development', "is a greater reflection of the global dominance of some places over others than any inherent intellectual superiority reflecting 'stage' of development" (Agnew and Livingstone, 2011:6).

What is clear is that Africa was not empty or dark waiting for Europe to come and write its history or geography, but rather was a vibrant and dynamic place populated by diverse peoples, who were not static or homogenous. Specifically, the Malawian people were not passive recipients; they shaped their own history, often through colonial resistance, as well as activities not directly related to colonialism. Whether or not this contribution was recorded by a British 'publisher' does not mean that their place in history does not exist.

Malawi²⁷ was under British authority from 1891 to 1963, and in 1953 was subsumed into the wider Federation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The struggle against becoming part of the white settler controlled federation became a driving force in Malawi's independence fight, one that was supported by Scottish missionaries in Malawi, if not by the British Government. Following the end of colonialism, in part, Malawi's newly won freedoms were quickly curtailed by the repressive regime of the Late President for Life H. Kamuzu Banda. From 1964-1994 his government used intimidation and violence to maintain control. He did not allow any opposition or dissent and tightly controlled the flow of information, including that generated by the media and academics (Lwanda, 1993). He also used his absolute power to rewrite history in support of his one party/one man regime. This power included strict censorship of the history of the struggle for independence from British Colonial rule (Kalinga, 1998). The impact of Banda's regime, as well as the process of democratisation that Malawi experienced in the 1990s, along with the rekindling of its public relationship with Scotland, will be considered in greater detail below. However, in seeking to understand the special relationship between Scotland and Malawi, it is to David Livingstone that one must first look (Ross, 2000), and to the Scottish missionaries who set up missions in his name at Livingstonia in Northern Malawi and Blantyre in Southern Malawi. These missions, and the African churches to which they gave rise, have had a long lasting and profound impact, not just on Malawi and Malawians, but on the ongoing relationship between Malawi and Scotland.

²⁷ Known then as Nyasaland.

Pre European History (Pre 1850)

There is no definitive agreement on the pre-colonial tribal history of Malawi, but archaeologists have identified human remains dating from up to 8,000 years ago. Earlier hominid species have also been discovered and it is thought that the Malawi Rift valley may have functioned as a 'corridor' in the early Pleistocene period for early hominid species to move across southern and eastern Africa (Schrent et al, 2002). The early human remains are likely to be a people related to the bushmen of Southern Africa, the Akafula (Tobias, 1972), who left behind cultural artefacts dating from 3,000 years ago, including cave paintings (Pachias, 1972). The Akafula have faded from Malawi, through intermingling with later incomers, migration or violence. From the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, the Chewa appeared in Malawi (Williams, 1978), with oral histories suggesting they may have migrated from the Congo region. The Banda and Phiri clans make up the Chewa people, and along with clans in Northern Malawi comprised the Maravi kingdom. Although modern day Malawi has tried to bind together as a nation, rather than along clan lineages, the Chewa remain an influential clan. It is their language, Chichewa, which was approved as the national language of Malawi in the 1960s (alongside English) by President Banda, who was himself Chewa (Short, 1974).

The linking together of different clans within the Maravi Kingdom lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century. The Maravi did not appear to have strong central institutions to bind their growing, and disparate, empire together. A variety of local chiefs, and excursions into the areas by Arab and Portuguese traders, further weakened the Maravi until they broke down into local village groupings with "[t]he very name Maravi ... reced[ing] into a state of obscurity that was to last a century" (McCracken, 2012:21). People instead took to naming themselves after the region in which they lived, and those who shared a similar culture. In Northern Malawi separate clans existed, linked to the people of Tanzania such as the Ngonda, Tonga and Tumbuka people. It was from the name Maravi, a name which predated colonial intervention in the region, that President Banda named Malawi upon gaining independence in 1964. In so doing he severed links with the name that Europeans had given Malawi (Nyassa/ Nyasaland) and instead created a link to a pre-European past and a political geography that was distinctly African.

Livingstone (from 1850-1870)

Born in Blantyre, Scotland, in 1813, David Livingstone is arguably the most important figure in the relationship between Malawi and Scotland. In his home town the primary industry was the

cotton mill, and it provided housing and a minimal education for the families of its workers, who included Livingstone's father. In the introduction to his famous text of 1857, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, Livingstone wrote about his own life, describing how from the age of ten he worked full time in the cotton mill, attending school lessons between 8 and 10pm. He notes how he taught himself Latin, and other classical subjects, by propping a book upon the machinery at which he worked every day, stating "to this part of my education I owe my power of completely abstracting my mind from surrounding noises, so as to read and write with perfect comfort amidst the play of children or the dancing and songs of savages" (Livingstone, 1857:5). This description may go some way to explaining Livingstone's ability to write detailed journals, create botanical drawings and draft maps while under arduous conditions during his travels. As a young man Livingstone continued to work in the cotton mill, but by then he was doing so to support himself to study Greek, divinity and medicine, firstly at The Anderson Institute (now Strathclyde University), and latterly at the University of Glasgow. He notes how difficult it was for him to give up on being self-sufficient and to leave Glasgow to join the London Missionary Society in 1838, and therefore become dependent on others for financial support.

In 1840 he first travelled to South Africa, after his initial plans to travel to China were thwarted by war. In 1844 he married Mary Moffat, the daughter of one of the missionaries in South Africa who was teaching at a missionary school. They had six children, five of whom survived into adulthood (Blaikie, 1913). Moffat was a good match for Livingstone, having a love of Africa and a drive to undertake missionary work herself. Two of their children were born, and delivered by Livingstone himself, during their relatively short (for Livingstone) travels across the Kalahari Desert in 1849 and 1850 to undertake missionary work (Forster, 2001). For the sake of their children's education Moffat returned to live in Blantyre from 1853 to 1856, while Livingstone was one of the first Europeans to undertake a transcontinental crossing of the continent of Africa (see Figure 13). His journey showed the interior of Southern Africa to be lush, fertile and populated, with a wide diversity of peoples, not the dry barren place that the interior of Africa was envisioned to be by Europeans at that time (Livingstone, 1857).

On his return to Britain in late-1856, news of Livingstone's accomplishment had already reached Britain, and he was immediately in great demand for speeches and appearances. He was also reunited with his family, who had suffered financial hardship in his absence due to the London Missionary Society not supporting them in the expected way (Ross, 2002). Additionally, his wife, having been born and brought up in Southern Africa, had not adapted well to life in Blantyre and had regularly moved within Britain, relying initially on Livingstone's parents, and

later on friends for support. With the publication in 1857 of his now famous book based on the journals of his travels across the continent of Africa, Livingstone had secured his family's financial future, as well his own renown as a missionary and explorer.

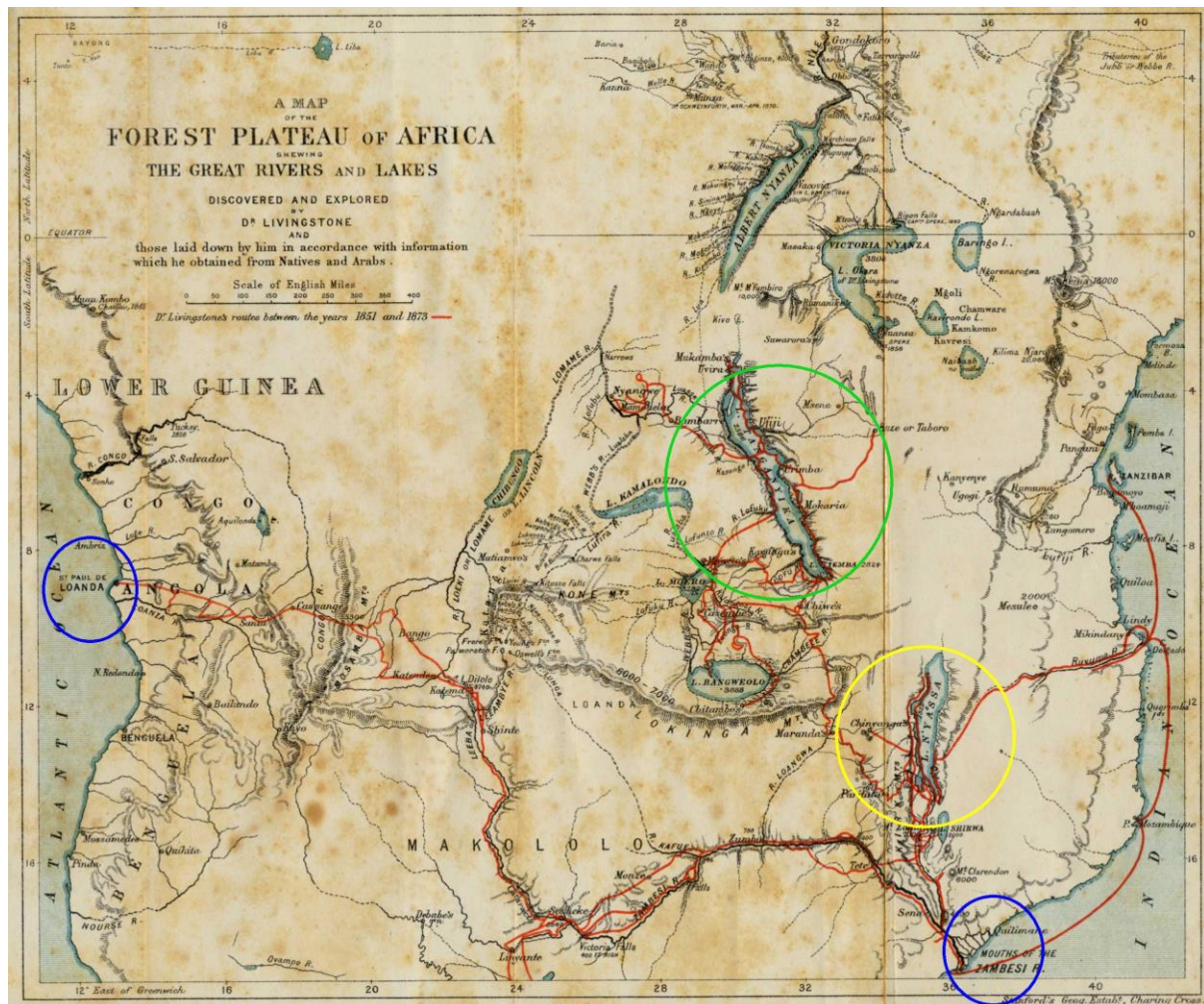


Figure 13: Map of the Travels of David Livingstone in Africa (Gutenberg Project, 1873)²⁸

- Crossing the continent from Luanda to Quilamane: 1853-1856 (marked in blue above)
- The Zambezi expedition, including 'discovery' of Lake Nyassa: 1858-1864 (marked in yellow above)
- Expedition to find the source of the Nile: 1866-1873 (marked in green above)

It has been argued that the book was not as truthful, or as radical, as it could have been and was, instead, a compromise (Livingstone, J., 2012). This compromise gave the book the wide appeal demanded by Livingstone's publishers. By not addressing the complicated issues surrounding white settlers, and the treatment of local African people, the book avoided criticising the British Empire, which would not have appealed to a British audience (Livingstone,

²⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Map_livingstone_travels_africa.jpg

J., 2012; Ross, 2002). Had Livingstone not self-censored his work, he could have educated British people about the harm involved in aggressive colonisation that completely ignores the voices of local people. That he did hold critical views is revealed by previous writings criticising the treatment of South Africans by British settlers, and this criticism had not been well received in Britain (Ross, 2002). He clearly decided not to take a critical approach in his 1857 book, and, while it was successful in bringing Africa to the front of public attention, it did so in a way that enabled and encouraged the colonial imagination, rather than questioning the legitimacy of imperial actions (Livingstone, J., 2012). In Livingstone's defence, throughout this tract, he acknowledged the many African people who had made his journey possible and had aided in his understanding of the fundamental nature of human equality. This quality, however, was largely ignored by the British press and public at the time and "until well into the second half of twentieth century the journey was consistently discussed as a magnificent European achievement" (Ross, 2002:111), owing nothing to indigenous peoples.

One of the great drivers for European explorers in the nineteenth century was the accepted link between climate and people, with geographers stating that a tropical climate 'enfeebled the mind' and led to 'low morality' and that "the races of man ... correspond with the disadvantages of its physical geography" (Livingstone, D.N., 1994:138). The idea that climate, or physical geography, had a direct correlation with intellect, morality and physiology, and hence all aspects of human geography, was accepted as fact in colonial Britain, so much so that white Europeans felt it was dangerous for them to live in much of Africa. The fixation with finding more temperate highlands conducive to European occupation grew as the nineteenth century progressed and along with it the steady march of missionaries, explorers and colonial rule. Livingstone was no exception to this driver, and left for his next expedition to Africa in 1858 to find a navigable course from the Zambezi River to more temperate highlands in East Africa.

Rather than being funded by the London Missionary Society, who were unhappy at the focus on exploration rather than Christian conversion, the Zambezi expedition was funded by the Royal Geographical Society and the British Government (Ross, 2002). Livingstone was also awarded the position of Her Majesty's Consul to East Africa and was leader of a large expedition including doctors, botanists, geologists, biologists, an artist and a paddle steamer to navigate the Zambezi. One of the key goals of the project was to identify areas suitable for agricultural cultivation, cotton in particular (Dritsas, 2012). For Livingstone, the commercial aspect to the venture appears to have been considered more of a means to an end, as he wrote later, when referring to Malawi: "In this new region of highlands no end of good could be affected in developing the trade in cotton and discouraging that in slaves" (Livingstone, cited in Blaikie, 1913:221). Another

key aspect of the expedition was the education of Africans in modern agricultural techniques, and the commercialisation of the region (Livingstone, 1887).

Livingstone's knowledge of Africa, and his pragmatism, should have meant this mission was a success, but it encountered problems from the start, due principally to the River Zambezi being impassable for large tracts (Dritsas, 2012), and to the dissent and disease that was rife among his party. The impassability of parts of the Zambezi led Livingstone, who was acting as skipper, to venture down a tributary that he had not travelled before, namely the Shire River (Ransford, 1966). This led, ultimately to Lake Malawi, which Livingstone named 'Nyassa'²⁹. It is interesting to note that Livingstone may have named Lake Nyassa, and the land around it, by confusing the local name for 'lake'; Nyasa in ciYao means simply 'lake'. Livingstone effectively named it 'Lake Lake' (Kalinga, 1998). On encountering Malawi, and the lake, for the first time in 1859, Livingstone commented that it was composed of "near idyllic settlements, well watered and surrounded by shady trees, in which men passed their time quietly smoking cannabis or tobacco and drinking beer when they were not involved in the rich array of agricultural and non-agricultural tasks" (Livingstone, cited in McCracken, 2012:7). While he did not mention the tasks with which the women were busying themselves, the quote still serves to demonstrate that life here was not the hellish place that Africa was imagined to be, both then and now. It was vibrant and peaceful.



Figure 14: Blacksmith Forge depicting village life in what is now Southern Malawi/Western Mozambique as seen by Livingstone's travels in the region. (Livingstone 1865:125)

²⁹ In earlier texts it is referred to as 'Nyassa', but the name appears to have been shortened to 'Nyasa' and later Nyasaland was the official title while under colonial rule, changing to Malawi upon independence.

However, the Shire River was not passable by paddle steamers all the way to Lake Malawi, and Livingstone had 'discovered' the lake on foot, but then returned at a later point in the expedition to explore it further using a smaller boat. He was unable to reach the Northern end of the lake, and "this failure to circumnavigate the lake, or at least determine its Northern extent and whether rivers flowed into or out of the lake, was the single greatest failure of the expedition" (Dritsas, 2012:64). Others would generally see the greatest failure as the failure to find a navigable path to the Lake, or any other highland area, by a boat large enough to make commercial enterprises viable.

This setback did not stop Livingstone from identifying Malawi, and in particular the Shire highlands, as an ideal place for European settlement.³⁰ His 'discovery' of Lake Malawi only made him more determined to find a navigable waterway into the highlands of Malawi, which he felt would be suitable for European habitation, and enable a great civilised settlement of Christianity and commerce to be built (Stewart, 1894). The Zambezi expedition, nonetheless, cost him greatly in terms of life and money. His wife Mary joined him in the expedition in 1862 (after giving birth to their last child in 1858) but passed away in April of that year due to fever (Forster, 2001). She was buried in Mozambique on the banks of the Zambezi. Livingstone continued his explorations of the region until the mission was recalled in failure by the British Government in 1853, at which time he travelled back to Lake Nyassa for a second time, before finally returning to Britain in 1864. With his wife and many members of the original mission dead, and his reputation severely damaged, "Livingstone took his setback with the stubborn courage that was one of his enduring qualities" (Williams, 1978:42).

He undertook the writing of his second book *Livingstone's Second Expedition to Africa* in 1865. In this book, it is clear from the introduction that Livingstone is more strident; gone are tales of his childhood, replaced by an introduction which immediately highlights the evils of the slave trade, but also the opportunities for settlements and commerce, if only action were taken. Unlike his first book, the 1865 tract is not simply a travel story, its aims are much higher. Livingstone stated the hope that the book would help the:

... fertile continent of Africa to be no longer kept sealed, but made available as the scene of European enterprise, and will enable its people to take a place among the nations of the earth, thus securing the happiness and prosperity of tribes now sunk in barbarism or debased by slavery. (Livingstone, 1865:2)

³⁰ This European, and particularly British fixation with settling 'highland' areas of the colonial world to physically and literally modify in order to re-create 'home' is explored by Judith Kenny (1995) and Alison Blunt & Gillian Rose (1994).

It is clear that Livingstone was not against white settlement in the African continent, or the view that Africa needed to be ‘developed’, with British people best able to lead in that endeavour, but Livingstone was a product of his time and must be viewed in that light. For a Victorian man, a missionary and explorer, publically to state that white settlement and commerce in the region should benefit *both* Europe and Africa while securing “happiness and prosperity” for people living in Africa, combined with his strong desire to end the slave trade, did arguably set him apart from his contemporaries.

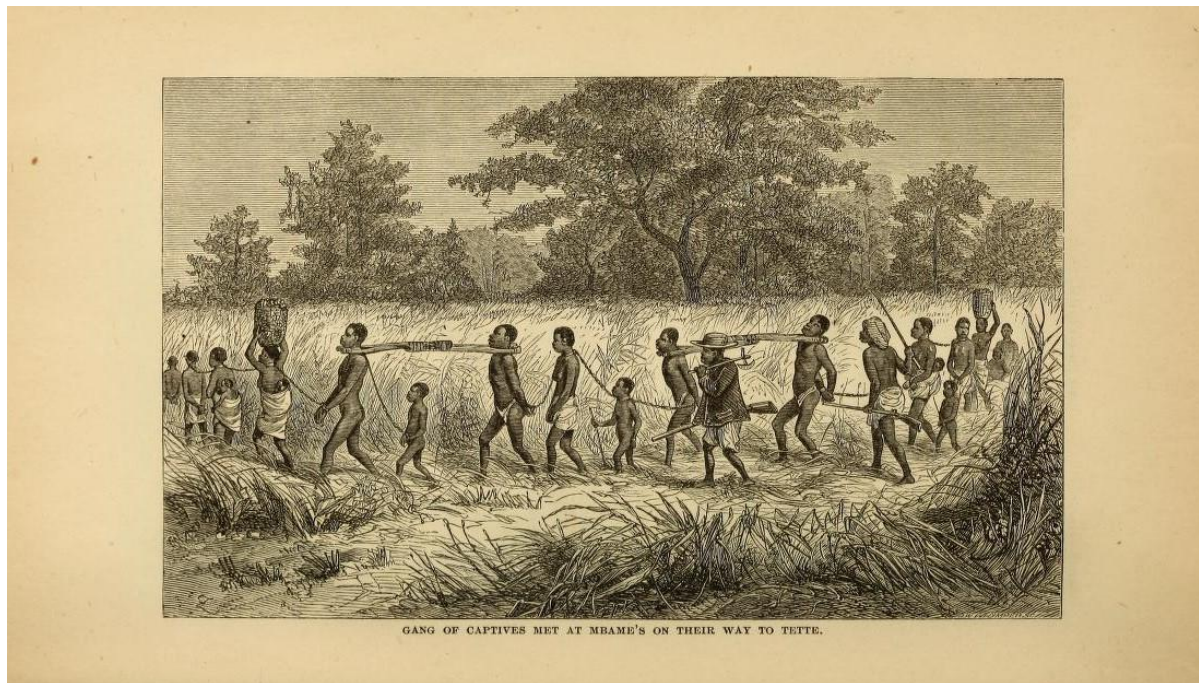


Figure 15: The slave trade in what is now Southern Malawi (Livingstone, 1865:277)

Livingstone (1865) described a scene encountered in what is now Southern Malawi, near the city now named after his birthplace, Blantyre, where his party encountered a group of slaves and their captors. The captors, when questioned by Livingstone as to how they had come across the slaves, told him they had been bought, but the slaves themselves told Livingstone they had been abducted and captured, at which point the slave traders ran off, leaving the slaves behind. Figure 15 is an illustration from Livingstone’s 1865 text, showing the men with their “neck in the fork of a stout stick, six or seven feet long, and kept in by an iron rod which was riveted at both ends across the throat. With a saw, luckily in the bishop’s baggage, one by one the men were sawn out into freedom” (Livingstone, 1865:278).

The majority of the party of 84 people rescued by Livingstone that day were women and children, with the freed slaves recounting to him the treatment they had received:

[O]ne woman had her infant's brain knocked out because she could not carry her load and it; and a man was dispatched with an axe because he had broken down with fatigue. Self-interest would have set a watch over the whole rather than commit murder; but in this traffic we invariably find self-interest overcome by contempt of human life and by blood thirstiness. (Livingstone, 1865:278)

Livingstone went on to describe how, when given the choice to stay with his party, or to go wherever they may please, the freed slaves chose to remain with him “and the bishop wisely attached them to his mission, to be educated as members of a Christian family. In this way a great difficulty in the commencement of a mission was overcome” (Livingstone, 1865:279). It hence appears that the start of a mission by Livingstone himself was the people of Malawi, captured to be sold into the Arab slave trade on the East coast but instead liberated and choosing of their own free will to stay with the people who had rescued them, fed and clothed them, and who offered continued protection in a region that was becoming increasingly unstable. It could be argued that the seeds of goodwill from local people to build and maintain a Scottish mission in Malawi were planted that day, and on others like it, during Livingstone's travels. This goodwill remains today and appears to have expanded out from Livingstone to encompass his home country of Scotland, a key concept throughout this thesis and explored in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Livingstone continued to promote Malawi as an ideal site for settlement and appeared politically astute in trying to promote and raise funds for the setting up of a mission in the Shire highlands of Malawi. When writing to entrepreneurs, he portrayed it as an excellent commercial venture which, through British funding, could generate commercial knowledge and links with local people “with a view to the production of raw material to be exported to England” (Livingstone, 1867:4); while to those within the missionary community, he espoused the great need for the gospel to be preached, and the good that could be done in Africa were missions to be established in the Shire highlands (Blaikie, 1913). This approach did little to garner him support and many in Britain, within the Scottish churches in particular, were unhappy with Livingstone's second expedition. James Stewart, a prominent figure in the missionary movement in Scotland and Principle of Lovedale mission in South Africa, like many of Livingstone's contemporaries, became disillusioned with him, classing him as an ‘unreliable dreamer’ (Ross, 2000: 284).

In 1866 Livingstone returned to Africa alone, with little fanfare and only native guides and porters, this time to seek the headwaters of the Nile. It is during this period that public attention again turned to him and many expeditions were dispatched to find him, including Henry Morton Stanley, with his now famous quote “Dr Livingstone I Presume”, apparently uttered

when he found Livingstone, the only white man for hundreds of miles, near Lake Tanganyika in 1871 (Petitt, 2007). While it is highly unlikely that this phrase was ever uttered, the fact it became so widely reported, and remains so well known today, shows the continuing public interest in Livingstone and his explorations. It could also be argued that this focus on finding Livingstone, and the fact that someone so famous could disappear, demonstrates the end of an era, with Livingstone among the last of the great explorers, leaving behind a world named and mapped by those 'militant geographers' such as Stanley (Driver, 2001). While Livingstone never discovered the headwaters of the Nile, he remained in Africa a staunch advocate in the fight against slavery, and a public figure who withdrew from public life, in favour of exploration, until his death in 1873. Upon his death, his guides buried his heart in Africa, and at some cost to themselves took it upon themselves to return his body to Britain, where he was interred in Westminster Abbey. This act is generally accepted to be evidence of the great affection and respect felt for him by his African guides (Young, 1877), and expanded out to be evidence of the affection that Africa as a whole apparently felt (and feels) for him, a view supported by the media research and fieldwork elements of this thesis.

Livingstone appears to have undergone extreme sacrifices in terms of his health, his personal life and his reputation to further the cause of Christianity, exploration and the abolition of slavery. It was perhaps no wonder that after his death, he came to symbolise the ideal of Victorian manhood – courageous, self-sacrificing and religious – qualities greatly revered in Victorian British society, which already viewed itself as the pinnacle of humanity (Sharp, 2009). After his burial at Westminster Abbey, in 1874, the *Glasgow Herald* stated in an article that “the virtues which distinguished Livingstone are those which our country has always been ready to acknowledge, which our religion has taught us to revere and seek to cultivate and conserve” (cited in Williams, 1978:43). When writing of his decision to free a group of slaves encountered in Southern Malawi, Livingstone acknowledged that he discussed the potential consequences and repercussions, even retaliations, for his party from the Portuguese, but that “logic is out of place when the question with a true-hearted man is whether his brother-man is to be saved or not” (Livingstone, 1865:278). Another sentiment that Livingstone expresses seems designed to pull at the heart strings of every Victorian mother and father:

It is a rather minute thing to mention, and it will only be understood by those who have children of their own, but the cries of the little ones, in their infant sorrows, are the same in tone, at different ages, as all over the world. We have been perpetually reminded of home and family by the wailings which were once familiar to parental ears and hearts, and felt thankful that to the sorrows of childhoods our children would never have [to experience] the heart-rending woes of the slave-trade. (Livingstone, 1865:528)

Livingstone's desire to rescue his 'brother-man' from slavery, and to equate the children of Southern Africa to his own, indeed to every British child, clearly illustrates that that in an age where racism was unquestionably normal, even expected, he viewed all people, regardless of race as his child, his brother, his equal. That Livingstone railed against the slave trade, placed himself literally between slave traders and local people, and came to place the abolition of slavery above all else may be testament to his being able to think outwith Victorian society, and to see alleviation of human suffering as a greater goal than Christian conversions, or commercial enterprises. This indeed may be why his myth endures today, in Malawi and Scotland, while most missionaries have been consigned to obscurity.³¹

Scottish Missionaries (1870- 1890's and beyond)

The Church in Scotland split in 1843, after decades of internal conflict and disagreement largely over who had the power to appoint Ministers to a parish. This schism led to two separate and distinct Presbyterian churches represented not only within Scottish religious and civic life, but also within their missions overseas, and in Malawi in particular. After Livingstone's death in 1873 both the Auld and New Kirks (or Free Kirk)³² in Scotland claimed Livingstone as their own, and planned to set up missions in his name in Malawi, the site chosen by Livingstone himself (Ross, 2000). Livingstone had been part of the Church of Scotland and the congregational church growing up in Scotland, but as a missionary had not allied himself strongly with one particular branch of Presbyterianism, and indeed had undertaken his initial missionary work as part of the London Missionary Society. Both Scottish churches therefore felt able to claim him as one of their own.

It was Stewart who in 1874, despite being critical of Livingstone while he was alive, appealed to the General Assembly of the Free Kirk to request that a mission be set up near Lake Malawi, in Livingstone's name. The Foreign mission of the Free Kirk set about fundraising and James Young, an old friend of Livingstone's and ex-naval officer, was chosen to lead the party and establish the mission in its first year. Stewart (1894) set out to demonstrate the key role that he personally played in the establishment of Scottish missions in Malawi, and to assert his loyalty to Livingstone, even attending his funeral at Westminster Abbey. While Stewart may have been critical of Livingstone in the 1860s, following his failed Zambezi expedition, by the time of

³¹ While the majority of analysis of Livingstone is relatively positive, some authors do take a more critical stance (Jeal, 1973; Rijpma, 2015).

³² The Church of Scotland also known as the 'Auld Kirk', is Scots for the 'Old Church', while the members of the new church, or kirk, classed themselves as being free from the influences of the older church, and hence were named the "Free Kirk".

Livingstone's death in 1874, he was a great admirer of Livingstone who was by then "Scotland's great hero" (Ross, 2000:284). It is evident that Stewart felt sidelined in the establishment of the Livingstonia mission (to be described further below) by the Free Church of which he was part, and he was critical of the books of others, such as by Young (1877), who ran the Livingstone mission for its first year, and by Laws (1934), who was head of the mission from 1877 to 1927. The writing of this Victorian religious travel literature may well have taken its lead from Livingstone's popular work of 1857. However, the quality of subsequent books by other missionaries could be called into question, with Stewart (1894) stating that Young's book on how the Livingstonia mission started was badly written, without a proper structure or chapter headings.

The Free Kirk planned to set up its Livingstonia mission on the banks of Lake Malawi, at what is now Cape MacLear. However, the mission was moved several times due to low lying areas being prone to malaria, ending up further north than anticipated at what is now Livingstonia, near Mzuzu, in Northern Malawi. The Auld Kirk, or the Church of Scotland, planned to set up a mission named Blantyre in the Southern region of Malawi. However, the Church of Scotland did not appear to be particularly well-organised in terms of money and fundraising, and was unable to recruit a suitable team or even a minister willing to set up Blantyre mission in Malawi. Ross (1996) points out the incongruity of this failure, given the general belief that following Livingstone's death his veneration by the British, and especially the Scottish, public should have made it an easy task to raise money to fund a mission in his name. It leads Ross (1996) to conclude that the media may have over-hyped the reaction to Livingstone's death, and that this hype may have been reinforced, rather than challenged, as time passed. The Free Kirk, however, was not reliant on the donations of parishioners, having accessed funds from a group of Scottish entrepreneurs who had been persuaded of the commercial opportunities that lay in Malawi. They set up the African Lakes Trading Company, which started operating in 1877, shortly after the Livingstonia mission had paved the way for it to operate on Lake Malawi, but it was not until the 1880s that it became a profitable venture, trading goods and commodities up and down Lake Malawi (Williams, 1878).

When the Free Kirk's party to set up the Livingstonia mission finally departed in 1875, they were accompanied by Henry Henderson, a Church of Scotland minister who was going to ascertain the best location for the Blantyre mission. This co-operation between the churches shows that, while the schism between the two was deep at an institutional level, it did not always extend to pettiness or separation in the real world. Missionaries arriving in Malawi in 1875 were met with a land changed by war and famine that had occurred during the 1860s, a far cry from the pastoral

idyll described by Livingstone a decade earlier. The expansion of the slave trade had changed the informal social rules of slavery, meaning anyone, any village, could be raided at any time, and kidnap became commonplace. Into this situation came missionaries following in Livingstone's footsteps. For local people, protection was no longer provided by links to kin or tribe, but by guns and force. Europeans, even missionaries, had guns in sufficient numbers to be seen as a protector worth cultivating as allies. In general, men emerged as both protectors and aggressors in this new order. The Livingstonia mission included defensive buildings from its inception: "Commanding the whole front of the buildings we erected a sort of log fort. It is round, and of sufficient thickness to defy all comers, whilst a half-a-dozen determined men armed with guns or rifles, would quickly scatter any attacking party" (Young, 1877:87).

While many texts from the missionaries of the time (Young, 1877; Stewart, 1894; Laws, 1934) describe in harrowing detail the impact of global slavery in this part of Africa. Young described that the position of Livingstone, and of many who followed in his footsteps, was to "annihilate the Portuguese and Arab slave-trade of the East in the first place and to render it possible for missionaries to engage in their sacred calling" (Young, 1877:9). The first year of this expedition was covered by Young in his 1877 book, but criticised by Stewart (1894). While it is fair to say it is not a particularly well-edited book, it does give interesting information on the sort of person that Young was; a dedicated Christian, hardworking and enthusiastic about the Livingstonia mission. He also provided detail about the people, and the life, of the early mission, including some of the interactions with local people:

It may not be altogether uninteresting to describe our daily life at Livingstonia during this [dry] season. According to an old and invaluable custom, every man had his cup of coffee ready for him before rising in the morning; after this the work began, for it is everything to get the hardest work done before the sun gains its full power. At 7:30am the bell rang for breakfast ... breakfast over, all assembled from prayers, and afterwards each man found himself hard at work again on his daily task ... The natives we employed very quickly came to look on regularity almost as a joke. They knew the time for the twelve O Clock bell to go ... [and] at midday we had dinner. Goat soup made with a little care and seasoned by a breeze off the lake ... at 5pm all the natives knocked off work, tea was served, and the paymaster came to the front. Ominously putting a small stick up in the fork of the tree over his head, he began by tearing off lengths of Calico eighteen inches broad. This was the wage for the days work.(Young, 1877:83)³³

³³ Interestingly the question of who makes the morning coffee, and the goat stew lunch, is not addressed; whether it be members of the Scottish mission party, or local people (women?), is unanswered, with Young perhaps not viewing this as the 'proper' work, but 'women's work', or the work of an underclass to provide for the 'hard working men'.

Young (1877) presented himself, and other Livingstonia missionaries, in a positive light; he referred to African people as his friends, praised the application and intelligence of the native people, railed against the evils of the slave trade, and in general characterises the Livingstonia mission as an egalitarian place. It is this egalitarian quality for which Scottish missions have been praised, and were considered in the late-nineteenth century to be at the forefront in the development of education and medicine. Such missions allowed for “scholastic alliances to be established between missionaries and groups of colonized peoples, founded on humanitarian and egalitarian beliefs” (Breitenbach, 2011:219). Although how the Scottish missions interacted with a local population was broadly similar to an English mission, Scottish missions seemingly placed a greater importance on education, science and medicine, while English missions tended to have a more evangelical focus (Breitenbach, 2011). Additionally, Scottish missionaries were, in general, more educated than their English counterparts and driven by a brand of Presbyterianism that valued pragmatism and hard work.

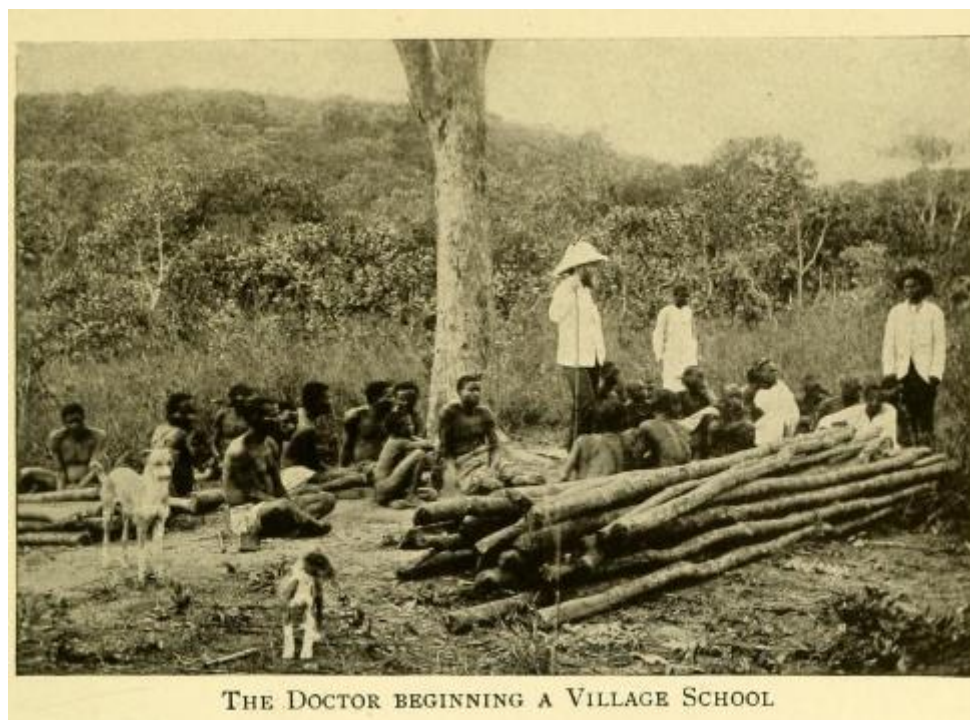
While many in colonial Africa, including missionaries, viewed African people as vessels simply to be filled up with European knowledge, without culture of their own, this was apparently not a view held by, or demonstrated in the actions of, the Scottish missionaries in Malawi. As Thompson (2007) notes, the Ngoni people – in Northern Malawi at the time of British colonial expansion into the region – were politically astute to the extent of attempting to manipulate and to ‘play off’ different European powers, and groups, including sowing dissent between the Livingstonia missionaries and the British colonial authorities for their own benefit. This clearly illustrates that:

... groups such as the Ngoni ought not to be regarded by historians merely as helpless objects tossed about on a sea of colonial policy-making, but rather, to some extent at least, as interest groups able to exercise political skill in trying to control the situation to achieve their own particular strategic ends. (Thomson, 2007:137)

It is also interesting that Scottish missionaries in Malawi were “unusually forthright in their support for African nationalism” (Forster, 1986:103). There are a variety of reasons behind this support, one of which can be linked to Livingstone’s role in Africa, where he appreciated local culture and language, seeking to know and understand people, not just to preach to them. The Scottish enlightenment also played a part in the education that Scottish people had received, and then passed on to Africans in the mission schools. Livingstone, commenting in the introduction to *Missionary Travels* stated that, while he was an avid reader, he did not enjoy reading religious texts until he discovered in later life authors who “enforced my own conviction that religion and science were friendly to each other” (Livingstone, 1857:4). The missionaries at

Livingstonia included many with a medical or scientific background who were also amateur anthropologists, interested in the traditions and culture of the people around them (Forster, 1986). They also tended to learn and become fluent in local languages, therefore being able to become close friends with local people. Many who went on to oppose British colonial rule had received a mission education, including Banda, the first President of an independent Malawi. Young wrote of Dr Laws, who was to head Livingstonia for 50 years from 1877 onwards:

Dr Laws was indefatigable in his many occupations, doctoring the sick who came to him, planning houses, teaching and picking up the Manganja language as fast as he could ... It is a feather in his cap to have ventured on a two-storied house, the first, I suspect ever built in these regions since the days men originally planned shelters for themselves; but there it stands the goodly two decker, a monument to the enterprise of the plucky young Scotsman. (Young, 1877:86)



*Figure 16: Dr Laws teaching at a mission run village school, prior to the classrooms being built (circa 1910-1923)
(Livingstone, W.P, 1923:289)*

The Livingstonia mission founded in 1875 and relocated to its current location in 1894, along with the Blantyre mission (founded in 1876), shared the primary objective of establishing African churches, led by Africans. They co-operated in this endeavour until 1924 when “[t]he African Churches founded by these missions united to form the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) – twenty-eight years before their ‘mother’ churches reunited in Scotland” (Ross, 2000:286). With the Livingstonia mission operating in the north and the Blantyre mission in the south, they invited the Dutch Presbyterian church to operate in the central region of Malawi,

and their mission was opened in 1889. The church founded by this Dutch Presbyterian mission joined with CCAP in 1926. These original missions now make up the three synods of the CCAP; Livingstonia in the North, Lilongwe in the Central region, and Blantyre synod in the South, as shown in Figure 17.



Figure 17: The three synods of the CCAP in Malawi (as well as other missions marked in red)³⁴

From 1887-89 the African Lakes Company became embroiled in a local conflict. The Ngonda people of Northern Malawi were threatened by a local Arab slave trade and, being outnumbered and outgunned, they sought refuge at the African Lakes Trading Company, which they were granted. This led to the company effectively being involved in a protracted war against a powerful Arab trader named Mlozi (Williams, 1978). It may not have been entirely altruistic for the trading company to protect the Ngonda people and their actions, and its reporting in the British press again shone the spotlight on this part of Africa, the ongoing slave trade, and

³⁴ <http://malawinetwork.org/>

Britain's position in the region. There were calls for the British Government to introduce formal control over the region to protect British commercial interests, and to stamp out the slave trade.

The image of a small British company composed of Christian men, fighting against a powerful Arab slave trader in order to protect local Africans, was, of course, a compelling one in the Victorian press, appealing to missionaries and capitalists alike. However, the British Government was initially unwilling to extend their "imperial commitment to a territory that offered so little of material value" (Williams, 1978:49). What is clear is that the war between a British company and an Arab trader caused tensions between the British and Portuguese, who controlled Mozambique and at that point in time (1880s) the only navigable entryway from the Zambezi River into Malawi. The Portuguese claimed a monopoly on all travel on the Zambezi and held up supplies destined for the African Lakes Company. This claim, to the British, was tantamount to supporting the Arabs in their war against a British company. While the British view of the world was one in which they were superior to people from Asia and Africa, it also saw Britain as being superior to the rest of Europe (Swaminathan, 2009). The fact that the Portuguese challenged their authority may have been what moved their hand in deciding to halt Portuguese encroachment any further into the interior of Africa, the only way being to expand the British empire into the interior of Africa. This period in time is often referred to as the 'scramble for Africa', when European powers vied for control of places and resources, claiming vast territories for their empire at home. It has also been defined as "the vilest scramble for loot that ever disfigured the history of human conscience and geographical exploration" (Conrad, 1924, cited in Godlewska and Smith, 1994:1).

During this conflict both Scottish missions in Malawi and churches in Scotland were firmly behind the Ngonda people and the protection offered to them by the African Lakes Company (Ross, 2013). As a result of this, the two churches united in 1888, in a way not seen since the split between them, to call on the British Government to intervene. The missions were keen for an official British presence in the region, sensing that it would provide the security for them to carry out their work more effectively, and that the unchecked global slave trade posed the greatest threat to their ability to operate. The sponsors of the missions back in Scotland were primarily concerned with the expansion of commercial activities, and did not always share the views of the missionaries on the ground in Africa, and both the Blantyre and Livingstonia missions struggled to bring about what they perceived as positive change for local people (Williams, 1978). There seems to have been little thought given to the damage that might be brought to local people, or even to the reputation of missionaries themselves, if their purpose

became more about facilitating British commercial expansion and imperial control, rather than bringing in Christianity (McCracken, 2012).

It is interesting to note that at no point did the churches request that Britain extend its colonial rule over Malawi, simply that the British state not allow the Portuguese to take over the region and further enable the slave trade (Ross, 2000; McCracken, 1977). It could, however, be considered naive of the missions, and their parent churches, to request help from the British Government but not to anticipate that this 'help' would end up extending colonial powers over Malawi and therefore over the missions themselves. What is interesting is that the Scottish missions while being part of the colonial machinery, the people running them being British, somehow remained either in antagonism to colonial authority, or separate from it, and there remains today a sense that the Scottish mission were working for the benefit of the people of Malawi while other colonial authorities were not. As such Scotland today appears to benefit from the continuation of that important distinction for people in Malawi, an issue which is explored in Chapters 6 and 8, as it relates to the partnerships and aid funding between Malawi and Scotland, compared to those between Malawi and the wider UK.

British Colonial Rule (1890s – 1950s)

Britain bowed under pressure at home, primarily from the powerful church lobby, and during 1890-91 reached agreement with the Portuguese and German Governments over the boundaries of the British Central Africa Protectorate (see Figure 18). Following this agreement amongst the European powers, the British Government subsumed Nyasa³⁵ into the British Central Africa Protectorate in 1891, with the affairs of the region officially controlled by the British parliament, and from 1907 the country was managed by a British Governor, based at the Colonial office in Zomba, in the highland region of central Malawi. Following a turbulent fifty years in Malawi's history, war, slavery, political upheavals, refugees and famine had created a specific set of circumstances that saw the British Government as a protector, rather than an oppressor (McCracken, 2012). Another factor that played a key role in Britain's decision to subsume Malawi (then Nyasa) into its African Protectorate lay in the actions of the British South African Company, headed by Cecil Rhodes, who in true egotistical fashion thought it appropriate to name an Africa country after himself, and run that country as a business, which he of course controlled and benefitted from. Rhodes stated that he would support an extension of colonial

³⁵ The early missionaries, following Livingstone example named the region Nyasa, sometimes spelt Nyassa, while the British Government renamed the region Nyasaland in 1907, which it remained until independence in 1964, when it was named Malawi.

protection over (what is now) modern day Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia) and Malawi (then Nyasaland), and importantly that the British South African company was willing, if only initially, to pay for the British administration of Malawi. As well as making this a cost-free option for the British Government, it also shows that Rhodes clearly anticipated Malawi becoming part of the British South Africa Company, and coming under his control (Rotberg, 1988). The missions were wary of Rhodes' involvement from the start, and were against any subsuming of Malawi into Rhodes' personal empire; and as a result "this struggle to resist a Rhodesian take-over became a recurring theme of Malawi history and of Scottish-Malawi relations" (Ross, 2000:293).

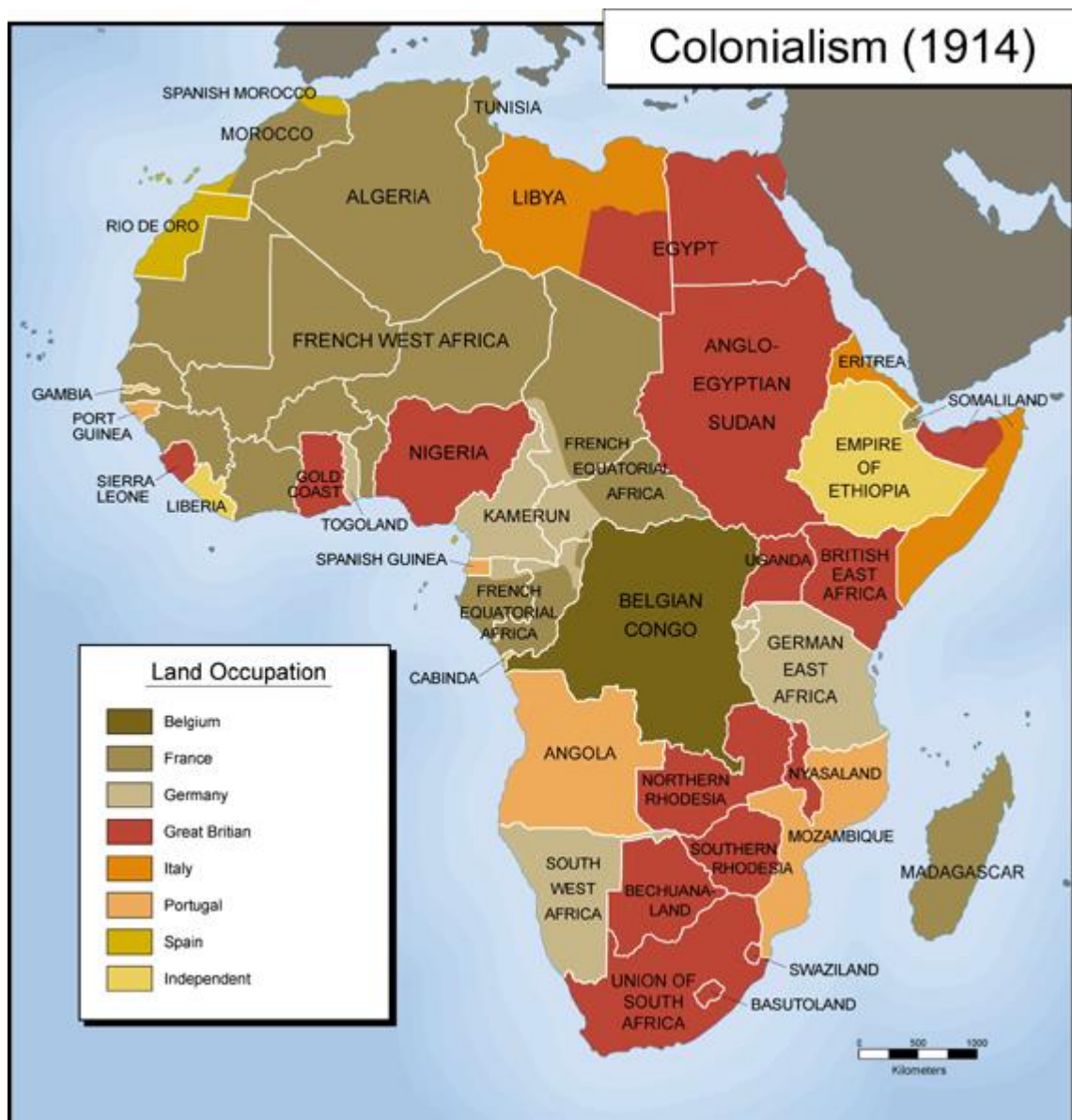


Figure 18: The split of colonial powers/land grabs in Africa: 1914³⁶

³⁶ Image from educational website: <http://exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu/colonial-exploration-and-conquest-in-africa-explore/>.

McCracken (2012) sets out two pervading themes concerning the history and legacy of Malawi becoming a British protectorate, the first setting out the positive aspects of colonialism, so far as it enabled national unity through the lessening of tribal division (Pachias, 1972). This national unity did, however, ultimately lead to a nationalist movement that eventually challenged and overturned colonial rule itself. The second viewpoint would argue that colonial rule in Malawi was about “the making of an imperial slum” (Vail, 1975:89). Other authors have also contended that Malawi was lacking in resources that would generate significant material wealth, such as mines or land suitable for large scale plantations (Stewart, 1894; Williams, 1978), and so there was little to benefit colonial rulers or white settlers. McCracken (2012), though, argues that Malawi’s history is not either about colonial rule enabling state-building or indeed creating an imperial slum; both views are overly simplistic. Under both of these accounts, local people are viewed as passive victims of colonialism, and of global capitalist processes, rather than capable, active individuals seeking opportunities, working hard, with differing degrees of success, like the vast majority of individuals. While this is an important point to make, McCracken (2012) does not consider in any detail the enforced participation of all in capitalist economic activities and the difficulties in changing, or acting outside, capitalist economic systems, (Gibson-Graham: 1996; Smith, 1984,) as discussed in Chapter 2.

While neither of the Scottish missions in Malawi were particularly happy about British rule being extended over them, the Blantyre mission was particularly unhappy, even actively hostile to the British colonial administration (McCracken, 1977). There are a number of reasons for this; firstly, the two missions were staffed very differently as the Blantyre mission, and the Church of Scotland, had struggled to find people willing to run the mission. As a result, those who worked at the mission in the early days were variable in terms of their abilities, and even their Christian faith, with some of the men being classed as adventurers of ‘poor character’ (Ross, 1996), rather the dedicated Christians that had been envisioned. The Blantyre mission was embroiled in troubles as a result of this staffing, and its first head of mission was dismissed due to the people under his control meting out justice to those accused of crimes in the local population, including beatings, several of which resulted in the death of the accused. The Church in Scotland was clear that this conduct was unacceptable, but could devise no better way to manage affairs, and the missionaries were left to work out a middle ground on their own, which the next head of the mission, David Scott, appointed in 1881, did with more success than his predecessors (McCracken, 1977; Ross, 1996). The Livingstonia mission had, from the start, not imposed its own system of justice, and instead let local chiefs handle those accused of crimes. Under Dr Laws, the Livingstonia mission worked within the local system of justice,

rather than usurping it, leading to less dissatisfaction from the local community and less concern from Scotland that their missions were involved in state-building activities (Ross, 1996). However, others have suggested that the Livingstonia mission also dispensed 'justice' against those accused of crimes such as theft, even building the first prison in Malawi in 1878 to house 'convicted' criminals (McCracken, 2012). As Christophers (1998) notes, the primary role of missions is seen to be promoting Christianity, but this task was hand in hand with the less well-articulated role of punishing those who go against the Christian imposed laws and morals of the mission and missionaries. It is evident that there is a lack of literature about, and reporting of, the negative aspects of missions, both in Malawi and Scotland, with a strong desire to remember Livingstone, and the missions created in his memory, in a positive light.³⁷

The differences in individuals working in these early missions also led to different approaches to running a mission; those at Livingstonia tended to be well educated (with many trained doctors), but from a working to lower middle class background. They were less likely to criticise the British Government, or indeed the machinery of the Free Kirk, and worked within the bureaucratic constraints of both. Those in Livingstonia could be considered "much more prepared to accept and even propagate the values of an industrial society" (McCracken, 1997:164), while those at the Blantyre mission were generally from the professional middle classes, and were much more critical of the bureaucracy of the Church of Scotland or Auld Kirk, and of their own society more generally. This difference in approach led to the Blantyre mission coming into greater conflict with authority than did the Livingstonia mission. There is also the geographical point to note, in that the location of the colonial administration at Zomba brought the Blantyre mission into their direct sphere of influence of the British colonial administration, Blantyre and Zomba being only 55km apart. The Livingstonia mission, some 548km further north than Zomba, was under British administration in name only, being on the very edge of influence of the small British force now in control of Malawi (Ross, 1996).

Myers (2003) makes an important point about personal power in colonial Africa. One person in the colonial structure had power over the entire country, and this power was not tempered by a government, parliament or elections; they were essentially in complete and single control. They did ultimately report back to the British Government in London, but communications

³⁷ It should be noted, however, that during the fieldwork phase every person interviewed in Malawi who spoke of the missions, and of David Livingstone spoke in glowing terms about the good that the Scottish missions had done for Malawi. This cannot be ignored, nor is it the right of a western academic to tell Malawians how they should feel about their own history.

took months between Africa and Britain, and interference was minimal; thus, the power of the head of the colonial administration in a given country could be considered absolute:

In crown colonies or non-self-governing ones, the administration consisted of the direct personal rule of the governor: all power and all responsibility were centered on the governor and he personally dominated the whole administration ... the governor “combined the functions of King, Prime Minister, Speaker and Head of the Civil Service.” As the sovereign's representative he earned and expected nothing less than the recognition customarily paid to royalty. (Gunn and Duignan, 1978)³⁸

While Britain was proud of its democracy, its ancient parliament, its monarchy and its union of disparate voices, this was not something that Britain readily exported and British democracy was not replicated in the colonies. The missions, however, held a different view for Malawi than did the British Government and its colonial administration. Reverend Scott, head of the Blantyre mission from 1881-1898, stated that “Africa for Africans has been our policy from the first, and we believe that God has given this country into our hands that we may train its people how to develop its marvellous resources for themselves” (cited in Williams, 1978:45). The colonial administration in what was to become Malawi had very different ideas about its role, and it was precisely not about to deliver Malawi to Malawians.

British rule across Africa was wide-ranging, stretching at times from Egypt in the North to Swaziland in the South, with large swathes of East Africa and pockets of West Africa under British control (see Figure 18 above). There was no great hesitancy in the British explanation for their rule over Africa, which Power (2003) has pointed out was a mercantile capitalist form of colonisation, primarily focused on extracting raw materials from Africa and controlling (and therefore benefitting from) a compliant native workforce. In addition to access to raw materials though, there was the issue of white settlements. These were generally situated on the best land, with a cooler climate and highest agricultural productivity, for example in the highlands of Kenya. In other places, the missions had found out the hard way how difficult it was to live close to water or in lowlands, not least due to disease. In places such as Malawi, white settlements were generally small and existed only for the purpose of controlling the local population and to manage small plantations, regardless of who lived on the land prior to their arrival (Myers, 2003). In Malawi, the main white settlements were near Zomba, with most of the tea and tobacco plantations in the south of the country, on the Zomba Plateau and around Mount Mulanje, South of Blantyre (illustrated in Figure 17, above): “Lying mostly above 2,000

³⁸ AFRICAN PROCONSULS. EUROPEAN GOVERNORS IN AFRICA, accessed online:

http://www.webafrika.net/library/african_proconsuls/british_governors.html

feet, the Shiré Highlands [around Zomba] had always been, and would continue to be, the main theatre of commercial and political activity in the Nyasaland” (Baxter, 2010).³⁹ This lack of significant white settlement in Malawi, in comparison to what occurred in countries such as Kenya, South Africa and modern day Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia), could be argued to be one of the reasons that Malawi was never a colony, but instead, like many countries in Africa under British control, was instead a ‘protectorate’ of the British empire, a nomenclature definition that meant very little in reality for the life of people living in the regions controlled by Great Britain. Kenya, for example, was declared a British protectorate in 1895, but with an influx of white settlers and the ‘gifting’ of what was frequently the best farming land to them in the early 1900s, Kenya was declared a full colony in 1920 (Roberts, 1986):

A Protectorate was acquired for the same fundamental reasons as a colony, to enhance the economic wellbeing of the colonizer directly ... or indirectly for geopolitical benefits. Ergo the difference between a colony or a protectorate was simply a matter of difference in approach in realizing this same objective. (Lulat, 2005:9)

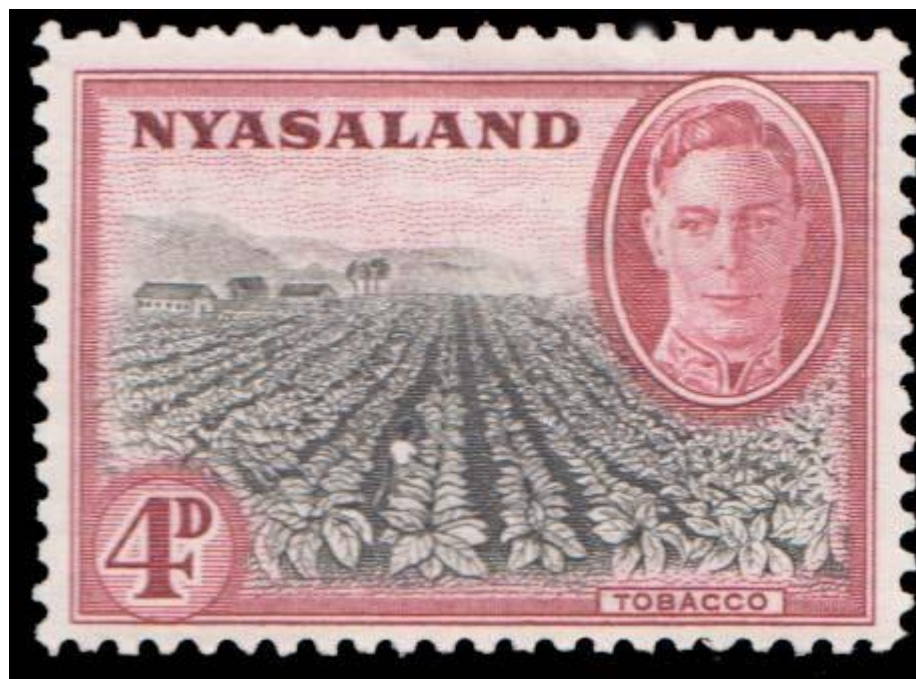


Figure 19: British Stamp produced in 1945, showing Malawi (then Nyasaland) and a tobacco plantation with an image of the British King⁴⁰

Plantations were often places where resentment burned deepest in colonial Africa, Asia or South America, where British settlers imposed their will on the landscape and the people to transform

³⁹ <http://peterbaxterafrica.com/index.php/2010/12/28/john-chilembwe/>

⁴⁰ From a stamp sellers website: <http://www.stamps-plus.com/results.asp?cmd=NYA>

both to suit the needs of British empire, and in so doing created an image of the home left behind whereby the:

... [m]aterial inscriptions of colonial space served ritual and symbolic purposes. Sites such as the grass lawn, the rose bed, and the hill station itself lay at the intersection of a series of environmental, aesthetic, political, and technological projects intimately bound up with colonialism. (Duncan and Lambert, 2004:392)

The first uprising of the Malawian people against colonialism occurred in 1915, led by John Chilembwe, and telling perhaps for this thesis Chilembwe had received a Scottish missionary education, and had also spent time in America, and felt that it was time that 'Africa was for Africans'. The main brunt of his rebellion focused on a plantation owner, William Livingstone, known for his dislike of educated Africans, and who had been accused of destroying African churches. While records do not indicate any relation to David Livingstone himself, William Livingstone was Scottish, originally hailing from Argyll. There are also indications that other plantation owners, and members of the colonial administration, also had Scottish origins,⁴¹ illustrating again the historical narrative that has been constructed to emphasise the positive work done by Scottish missionaries, while ignoring the role of Scots as part of the British Empire and as active agents in the machinery of colonialism and oppression. The 1915 rebellion resulted in the death of the plantation owner, Livingstone, and of two other Europeans (Power, 2010). The rebellion was swiftly brought to an end by the British Government, with Chilembwe and his associates tracked down and executed.

While the British Government provided 'intermittent and piecemeal' support to plantation owners (Power, 2010), Chilembwe had attacked and killed Europeans, and retribution was now swift in order to preserve colonial authority. It is interesting to note that not all Malawians were behind Chilembwe, and that he was not well-liked by local chiefs, largely because of the influences that his time in America had impressed upon him, creating distance between Chilembwe and local people, including the mainly Presbyterian missions and churches which they followed.⁴² Colonial rule settled back into its pattern of Europeans ruling over Africans

⁴¹ Further, more detailed, archival research would be needed to confirm this.

⁴² Chilembwe was born and educated in Malawi, at a Church of Scotland mission near Blantyre. In the 1890s he became involved with a mission ran by Joseph Booth, an English missionary (later turned Baptist and Seventh Day Adventist) who ran an industrial mission near Blantyre. Chilembwe, as the household servant of Booth, travelled to America with him in 1887, where he decided to stay after Booth left, training as a Baptist Minister during his time there. When Chilembwe returned to Malawi in 1899 he set up a Baptist mission funded by American Baptists. The mission was located in between Blantyre and Zomba, near Chiradzulu and the tea plantation owned by William Livingstone, where the two became adversaries with their opposing ideals and a congregation composed of plantation workers (Baxter, 2010).

and the missions continued to educate Africans, with many of these men (and they were largely men) becoming teachers, civil servants and ministers of religion. In the 1920s, 'native' associations started to appear. These groups, set up by educated Africans, sought to act on behalf of African Malawians by "presenting the native point of view to the Government" (Tangre, 1968:150). These associations were, in general, not representative of all Malawians and did not have a great deal of influence with the colonial authority. During WWII, however, the nationalist movement sought to strengthen its position and, led by James Sangala, it set up the Nyasaland African Congress which, with representation from all districts, was looked upon favourably by the colonial administration largely due to Sangala's careful handling of the process. Sangala himself had received a Scottish mission education, firstly at a CCAP Presbyterian primary school, followed by teacher training at the Blantyre mission (Power, 2010), leading to a career working as a bookkeeper, accountant, typist and interpreter for colonial authorities in Zomba and Blantyre (Rotberg, 1965). His knowledge of both the British colonial authority, and local culture, clearly played a part in his ability to manage the setting up of the Nyasaland African Congress, without antagonising either the British or the local people.

The aim of the Congress was to make African voices heard so they could take their place among the 'civilised races' (Tangri, 1968). Sangala's political astuteness in the way he set up this body, not alienating or directly challenging colonial authority, succeeded in bringing an African voice to the colonial government in Malawi for the first time. Sangala was also in contact with a Malawian doctor living and working in Britain, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, who was very supportive of his countrymen's efforts from afar (Short, 1974). The Congress was officially convened in 1944 and set about lobbying the government on issues such as improving education and addressing discrimination. Within a short time, however, it became apparent that the colonial administration was not addressing the issues of concern raised by the Congress, and "by 1948 it had become a far cry from its initial vigorous self" (Tangri, 1968:157), with most members disillusioned about what it could achieve. It was successful, though, in having two Malawians nominated to the Legislative Council of the colonial administration, where Malawians had previously been represented on this council by white (mainly Scottish) missionaries (Breitenbach, 2011).

The Federation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1950s – 1964)

In the 1950s a new and more militant elite took over the Nyasaland Congress, driven by the imposition of the Federation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (the

Federation) upon Malawi in 1953. This action resulted in Malawians directly challenging the authority of the colonial state, believing “that the colonial government did not really represent or heed their views, and that only through Malawians themselves gaining control over their own affairs would their needs and demands be effectively realised and satisfied” (Tangri, 1968:160). Meanwhile, Banda became involved with an African elite in London who would meet regularly, and plan the path for Malawian independence. As a result of this political activity, Banda was in regular contact with the revitalised Nyasaland Congress, acting as advisor to the younger men in Malawi. It was Banda, from his home in London, who wrote a formal rejection of the Federation and all it stood for, stating:

... under the government provided for us by the United Kingdom the relationship between us and the authorities is one of ward and warden, or trust and trustee. The cardinal principal in the administration is guidance or guardianship. But under the government provided by Southern Rhodesia, the relationship will be one of slaves and masters, and the cardinal principal in administration will be domination. (Banda, cited in Short, 1974:58)

Banda’s 10,000 word memorandum against Malawi being subsumed in the Federation was not personal in its attack, nor was it anti-British. It was strong and strident in its views, however, and signalled a clear move in the public and political domain for Banda. It was at that time in 1952-53 that Banda started to campaign actively in Britain to raise awareness of the plan to impose the Federation upon Malawi without consultation, with Scotland, and Scottish people, closely involved in these early activities. In this activity, he was supported by his church and mission contacts in Scotland, who set up meetings for him to speak in Glasgow and Edinburgh, with the Church of Scotland supporting Banda’s call that the Federation be rejected “without the free consent of the African peoples” (Short, 1974:68).

Banda, while living in London, forged links with the UK Labour Party and organisations sympathetic to African independence, but his voice was carried to Malawi by a Church of Scotland Minister, Michael Scott, along with instructions from Banda on how best to enact civil disobedience to the peoples view on this Federation. In Malawi, campaigns of disorder and non-violent action, influenced heavily by Banda’s missives, were organised by the Congress, its new Malawian leaders making their voices heard. Meanwhile, the Scottish missions in Malawi opposed the Federation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the 1950s and represented this viewpoint on the Malawian legislative and to the British government (Breitenbach, 2011).

The campaigning in Britain and in Malawi was viewed as a failure when in April 1953 a vote was held in Southern Rhodesia in favour of the Federation; of the 50,000 people registered to vote,

only 380 were black Africans (Short, 1974). On this basis in 1953, the Federation came into being, and it was transparent from the start that the Federation was run by white settlers, and for white settlers, who were based primarily in Southern Rhodesia. There were very few white farmers in Malawi, and only approximately 2,500 Europeans in Malawi overall, but with an African Malawian population of over 2 million (Welensky, 1964). Roy Welensky, born to white settler parents in Southern Rhodesia, was head of the Federation. His own words, set out in his book *Welensky's 4000 Days: The Life and Death of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*, demonstrate more clearly than any modern analysis why the Malawian people were so vehemently against their forced amalgamation with Rhodesia under his leadership:

In a speech at Livingston[ia] I argued that the European must remain the senior partner by virtue of his ability, initiative and capital; and I added [that] it must be made clear, particularly to the native intelligencia, that it is nonsense for them to expect that European standards and skill will merely be handed over to them." (Welensky, 1964:35)

He went on to state that the problem with the British government was that:

They thought of democracy as a simple business of counting heads, and to anybody with any experience of backward peoples that is ... nonsense. Democracy can work reasonably well only with a reasonably qualified electorate. (Welensky, 1964:38)

Welensky was evidently arguing that only white people, who are not 'backward', should get the vote, and that under his leadership black Malawians would be completely excluded from the democratic process of governing their own country.

Many in Malawi were angry and disillusioned that the British government, which had been viewed at times as a guardian or protector, would now abandon them to such a fate. Banda accused Britain of "cold, calculated, callous and cynical betrayal of a trusting, loyal people" (Banda, cited in Short, 1978:72). At this time, Banda left the UK, and for three years lived in Ghana, remaining in regular correspondence with the Nyasaland Congress, which, although downtrodden, continued to oppose the Federation under which they now lived. Malawians felt that they needed a leader, someone to stand up to the Federation, and Banda was persuaded that he was the man to do so. In 1958 he returned to Malawi to great fanfare, having been heralded as the man who would lead Nyasaland to independence (Short, 1974). The young Malawians, who invited Banda back to lead them, were surprised at the speed with which he took control of the Nyasaland Congress and installed himself in a seat of power (Lwanda, 1993). This was not challenged at the time as the main fight was against the Federation, but "[by] the time independence arrived they had made Banda into a demi-god" (Short, 1974:198). It is

therefore important to understand Banda as a person, and influential role in the struggle for independence followed by his lifelong presidency, always recognising too that Banda has his own distinctive Scottish inflections.

President H. Kamuzu Banda (1964 – 1994)

Banda was born in 1898⁴³ in the central region of Malawi near Kasunga. He received a mission education and was baptised into the Church of Scotland, taking the name ‘Hastings’ after a Scottish missionary and teacher John Hastings⁴⁴ (Short, 1974). He was part of the Chewa clan and it appears that, like many Africans, he switched easily between, and merged, the local traditions and beliefs of his clan and the teachings of the Scottish missionaries and Christianity, creating a unique if hybrid ‘African’ perspective. In his early teenage years Banda travelled to Southern Rhodesia, and then South Africa, working as a migrant labourer in the mines, in order to pursue his dreams of receiving an education. With the help of a Methodist church in Johannesburg, he travelled to America where he attended the Universities of Indiana and Chicago to study history and political science, going on to study medicine at a ‘Negro’ college in Tennessee in 1938 (Short, 1975), racial segregation in America at that time meaning that he was unable to attend a ‘white’ college. After five years in Tennessee, where he was apparently surprised at the racism he experienced, he moved to Edinburgh to study for the British qualification to practice medicine at the Royal College of Surgeons in Scotland at the University of Edinburgh.

During his time in Scotland (1938-1941), he rekindled or forged new friendships with many of the Scottish missionaries who had worked in Malawi. It is perhaps here, Short (1974) states, where Banda felt more at home; in a Presbyterian society with close links to Malawi, he was able to engage with both his religious heritage and with Malawian politics. He was also apparently surprised about the lack of morals that he found in Scotland, which he assumed to be a strict Presbyterian society, but the period following WWI leading up to the advent of WWII changed the social fabric of Britain, advancing the cause of women’s rights: of their role in employment and public life and the social freedoms they enjoyed (Holloway, 2005), such social change had not occurred in Malawi. Banda received his qualifying status as a medical practitioner and worked as a doctor in Scotland, and at this time he was also ordained as an elder in the Church of Scotland. With the advent of WWII, he was conscripted to work for the British military at

⁴³ The exact date is disputed and difficult to confirm given the lack of birth records at the time.

⁴⁴ No further records can be found of John Hastings, and more detailed archival work would be needed to trace him through history.

hospitals in England. In 1945 he moved to London and established a practice there, forming links with other African expatriates and political organisations (Short, 1974). Banda appears to have achieved a high standard of living in Britain, and assimilated well into British life. In 1949, when the first talks were held about the establishment of a Federation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Banda became closely involved in the struggle to resist this Federation, as discussed above.

It was as a result of this involvement that Banda returned to Malawi in 1958, to adulation and praise, heralded by the young intellectuals in Malawi fighting for independence as a well-educated senior statesman: “from the minute Banda landed in Malawi he was a saviour, Messiah, Ngwaze (the conqueror) Redeemer, Nkhoswe Number One⁴⁵” (Lwanda, 1993:61), come to lead them to independence. It is here that “the origins of Banda’s personality cult can ... be blamed fairly and squarely on the young intellectuals who invited him to come back home” (Lwanda, 1993:80). A state of emergency was declared in Malawi in 1959, and the Nyasaland Congress was declared an illegal organisation. Hundreds of nationalist leaders were arrested, including Banda, who was imprisoned in Southern Rhodesia. It is at this time that Banda’s non-violent stance started to change, and he commented that:

I am against violence. But ... I will not betray the interests of my people just for the sake of being called a moderate or being popular with the Europeans.
(Banda, cited in Short, 1974:110)

The British Government, while sceptical that a military response from the Federation in Malawi was necessary, did not intervene and underestimated the Malawian opposition to the Federation. In 1960, Harold Macmillan’s Conservative government was elected in the UK following on from the previous Conservative government, with Iain Macleod continuing in the post of Secretary of State for the Colonies until 1961. Macleod, whose parents were Scottish and who personally had close ties with Scotland, and the Western Isles in particular, set out to investigate and resolve the ongoing military action and state of emergency in Malawi (Short, 1974). Due to pressure from Macleod, who apparently threatened to resign from the UK Government if Banda was not released (Bogdaner, 2012), Banda was released in 1960 and immediately held talks with the British government on Malawian independence, with Banda apparently trusting Macleod to help not just Malawi, but all of the British territories in Africa (Welensky, 1966), a trust that was not misplaced. Macleod started the processes that would

⁴⁵ ‘Nkhoswe’ is a complicated Chechewa word, usually meaning those who ‘rule and sustain’ others. Used to refer to matrilineal family members, it is similar to a guardian or male head of household (Kishindo, 2000). By declaring himself Nkhoswe Number One, he was essentially saying then he was supreme male provider, ruler and guardian of all.

ultimately lead to independence in almost all of Britain's African colonies, and specifically Macleod made his views on the Federation clear in numerous speeches and writings:

The Federation had been formed on the basis that there should be partnership between the whites and the Africans, but Iain Macleod said he was worried that the sort of partnership they were thinking of was that between a rider and a horse. (Bogdaner, 2012)

Upon his release Banda promptly took control of the newly formed Malawi Congress Party (MCP) (which replaced the old Nyasaland Congress) and formed the Malawi Youth Pioneers (MYP). This youth wing of the party acted as a private army for the MCP, and therefore for Banda, against the Federation government of the time. In negotiation with Macleod, and the British Government Ministers who followed him, Banda agreed an approach to Malawian independence and the disintegration of the Federation. Malawi gained its independence in 1964, with its first president not surprisingly being declared as H. Kamuzu Banda. It is interesting to note that, while studying and working in America and Britain, Banda referred to himself as Hastings K. Banda, but on his return to Malawi in 1958 this changed to H. Kamuzu Banda (Lwanda, 1994). This type of naming practice was common in colonial Africa with many black Africans adopting an English name, as Banda did, due to the "[c]oercive power of Christianity and colonialism" (Moyo, 2012:12). An act of separating post-colonial Africa from colonial Africa lay in names, with many Malawians emphasising the African part of their name after 1964, relegating their English name to an initial, as did H. Kamuzu Banda.

The great excitement and hopefulness which followed Malawi's independence was not to last long. Just six weeks after the formation of its first government, Malawi was thrown into a crisis, when members of Banda's first cabinet disagreed with several of his policy decisions (Short, 1974). This first Cabinet was composed of senior leaders of the MCP and those active in the independence movement, including one white European; a Scottish lawyer called Colin Cameron,⁴⁶ who had moved to Malawi in 1957 and subsequently became involved with the campaign for independence from British rule, representing several high profile Malawian nationalists in trials held in the late 1950s. As a result, Cameron was offered a Cabinet position by Banda upon independence. However, members of this first cabinet, including Cameron, were uneasy with Banda's autocratic style of government, and sought to curb his powers and to

⁴⁶ Cameron currently lives in Scotland, and has been a long term advocate for the close relationship between Malawi and Scotland, serving as Honorary Consul for Malawi in Scotland, after being invited to do so by the second President of Malawi, when Malawi returned to multi-party democracy in 1994. Although no longer Honorary Consul, he, and his wife Alison Cameron, remain intimately involved with Malawi and with the SMP, sharing their knowledge and expertise in both countries, as well as working closely with the GoM and the SG.

initiate a more democratic process of cabinet decision-making and governance. Banda's response was to accuse his Ministers of treason and arrest, so as to force into exile the cabinet he had so recently appointed (Mchombo, 1998).



Figure 20: President Banda brandishing an African fly-switch, while wearing a British style suit and overcoat. Malawi, 1968.⁴⁷

The way that Banda handled the so-called 'cabinet crisis', by crushing dissent and disagreement, showed an authoritarian style of rule very early in his Presidency. He also declared himself President for Life, made any political party, apart from his own, illegal and strengthened his paramilitary force in the form of the MYP who enforced Banda's rule with threats and violence, not allowing opposition or dissent in any form. The young, mission-educated elite of the country who had so recently been fighting for independence alongside Banda such as Chipembere and Chiume, those who had helped set up the MCP and put Banda in power, could no longer be mentioned: they, like Cameron, were now traitors in exile.

The cabinet that he appointed after the crisis was younger, less well-educated and much less likely to challenge him. To secure his absolute authority, Banda also used African culture, including his age and status as an elder, to ensure that he was not challenged by younger members of his government (Short, 1973). One of Banda's early acts as President was to establish a university in Malawi, recognising that, without being able to generate its own academic

⁴⁷ <https://www.flickr.com/photos/lairdascott/3783457870>

knowledge, Malawi would forever be susceptible to colonial history. Malawian history, however, was difficult to talk about during Banda's reign as "a major casualty of the 1964 cabinet crisis was free discussion of the recent political history of the country" (Kalinga, 1998:540). This made it difficult for the newly founded University of Malawi, which had to accept Banda's version of history or risk retribution. Access to the national archives was restricted and manuscripts produced using these data had to be cleared by the government prior to publication. Additionally, Banda took a personal interest in history, having seen first-hand the first half century of his country, and been taught by Scottish missionaries the events of previous centuries. His pronouncements on national events were taken as fact and history teachers would reproduce them in their classrooms (Kalinga, 1998).

Another impact of the 1964 cabinet crisis was to make Banda even more paranoid, and as a result he imposed highly repressive laws upon the people of Malawi (Kalinga, 1998). Some of the cultural restrictions that Banda placed on people were curiously Victorian in nature: long skirts for women and a ban on them wearing trousers, while men had to have short hair, otherwise they could be subject to a forced haircut. A picture of Banda had to be displayed in every business, with no other wall hanging higher than it. While some of these laws seem light-hearted, they hide the violence and intimidation behind his regime. Any literature, film or poetry which was deemed immoral was banned. The poet Jack Mapanje was detained for over three years without trial, for his writing of 'irritating poetry' (Mchombo, 1998:29). Even Short (1973), whose Banda biography takes a softer stance than others, notes that, following the cabinet crisis in 1964, Banda sacked, imprisoned or exiled key Cabinet members. He went on to introduce detention without trial and laws which limited freedom of the press, including a law outlawing 'lying journalists' (Kalley et al, 1997:178). Lwanda (1994) narrates the chilling cruelty by which Banda ran the country, with detentions, torture, and murder a real and everyday threat for Malawians. In 1983, when three members of his cabinet again dared to disagree with him, he responded even more harshly than in 1964. It was swiftly announced that all three ministers had died in a car crash (Lwanda, 1994). This story, however, was seen as just that; it is now accepted that they were murdered by Banda's government, their killings covered up with a staged traffic accident (Mchombo, 1998). This regime continued until multiparty democracy in the 1990s.

Multiparty democracy (1994-present day)

Prior to 1990 "all but a handful of African states were ruled by one party, often one-man regimes" (Gros, 1998:4), while from the 1990s onwards there has been a clear move towards democracy

in the majority of African states. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War saw the West lose its enemy of communism, become less tolerant of autocracy, and in the 1990s focus less on security and more on human rights (Gros, 1998)⁴⁸. For Western donors, good governance and democratisation became the key issues (Brown, 2004). Many countries in Africa in the 1990s did choose democracy, or at least multiparty elections, including Malawi. The factors which influenced this move can be linked to three key areas. The first was the personality of individual leaders, who saw the shift in public opinion and made the decision to allow multiparty elections, such as in Malawi or Ghana (Gros, 1998). Other regions, such as Ethiopia, underwent civil war to oust recalcitrant dictators, although some still exist such as in Equatorial Guinea. The key point is that the local is important; locally-situated individual leaders do make a difference in history. The second pressure towards democratisation has been pressure from civil society, including institutions such as the military, unions, churches and universities. In Malawi, the role of the Catholic Church, which was critical as they were the first part of civil society to criticise Banda openly (Ross, 2000; Mchombo, 1998). The third pressure came from the international community.

The move towards democracy in Malawi started in March 1992 when the Roman Catholic Bishops of Malawi simultaneously read out a letter in all parishes criticising the government for its lack of progress on social and economic issues, including low wages, large gaps between rich and poor, inadequate healthcare and education provision, and a lack of political and intellectual freedom. While the wording was mild, this open letter was the first public criticism of Banda in decades and was shocking, both to Banda and to the people of Malawi (Power, 2010). While Malawians may have chosen to accept Banda's autocratic rule since 1964, with this first step from the Catholic Church, and no resultant detention or murder for those who spoke out, the people started to reject Banda. Some have postulated that the CCAP Presbyterian Church, whose origin lay in the Scottish missions, was too close to Banda during the nationalism struggles of the 1950s and 1960s, and that this made it more difficult for them, like many others, to criticise and come into conflict with Banda. Tellingly, since the move to multiparty democracy, the CCAP appears to be trying to create a greater distance between church and state (Ross, 2000), and therefore is more able to influence and be critical of the state.⁴⁹ The current

⁴⁸ Albeit this was prior to 9/11, which arguably heralded a return to global politics dominated by Western 'security concerns'.

⁴⁹ Although, like many religious organisations, church influence in Malawi appears focused in trying to maintain 'conservative morality', including propagating views that that could be considered sexist and homophobic. Abortion and Homosexuality are both currently illegal in Malawi, and the church is a strong voice calling for them to remain so, while the government (under pressure from international donors) is

role of Scottish funded networking organisations, like the MaSP and the SMP, in supporting the development of Malawi's civil society by creating spaces and opportunities for people in Malawi to safely express their views is considered in Chapters 6 and 7.

After the Bishops of the Catholic Church publically criticised him, Banda responded by immediately placing the Bishops under house arrest, and rumours abounded about their safety, with a secret recording of a broadcast of a cabinet meeting released to the BBC where their assassination was discussed (Brown, 2004). In response to Banda's over-reaction to this criticism, the people responded in support of the Bishops, starting with the burning of MCP cards and businesses associated with the MCP, not paying taxes and defying the security forces. The University of Malawi was closed as students, and others, protested with riots breaking out in the main cities (Power, 2010). The CCAP church in Malawi added its voice to the growing protests (Lwanda, 1993), as did several members of Banda's own cabinet. The armed forces in Malawi were never particularly close to Banda as he relied on the paramilitary wing of his political party, the MYP, to act as a personal army. The legitimate army therefore acted swiftly when the tide of public opinion shifted against Banda's one man rule towards multiparty democracy, moving to disarm and disable Banda's personal army, leaving a level playing field for other political parties to oppose him without the threat of violence (Mchombo, 1998). Combined with these developments, the international community, already starting to turn on Banda after the Bishops' letter and the popular protests that followed, suspended all but emergency aid to the country (Brown, 2004).

Banda, facing mounting pressure at a national and international level, agreed to a referendum on multiparty democracy. This vote in July 1993 saw a 63% majority in favour of a move to multiparty elections, which took place in 1994 (Power, 2010). Three main political parties took part in the 1994 elections, splitting the country down old tribal allegiances; the United Democratic Front (UDF), the party of the south; Banda's party, the MCP, the party of central Malawi; and Africans for Democracy (AFORD), the party of Northern Malawi. The UDF won the 1994 election and Bakili Mulizi was declared the second President of Malawi. Banda was shocked by his defeat, and by the way he felt the country had turned on him. The cult of his personality was over and, although later acquitted for lack of evidence, in 1995 he was charged with the murder of his former cabinet colleagues in 1983. He died in 1997 at the age of 99 and,

indicating it may be time to decriminalise homosexuality, and reconsider abortion laws (Media Research, *Nyasa Times* newspaper, multiple articles through 2014).

ever the divisive figure in Malawi, he was given a state funeral, with a grand mausoleum and statue built in his honour in the capital city, Lilongwe (Figure 21).



Figure 21: The Mausoleum of Banda, Lilongwe, Malawi.⁵⁰

This move to multiparty democracy saw a rekindling of the relationship between Scotland and Malawi. While some prominent Scots had been forced to leave Malawi after speaking out against Banda, such as Cameron who served in Banda's first cabinet, and Andrew Ross, a Scottish missionary who was prominent in Malawi's nationalist movement and founding member of the MCP, many had stayed and continued to work in the churches and universities in particular. Following the fall of Banda, the relationship could again be made public and celebrated in Scotland. Insofar as Banda himself had Scottish connections there was hence a Scottish imprint on the move to Malawi's independence, equally his distancing of himself – and his country – from Western, British and even Scottish relations and history muddled the 'special relationship'. The removal of Banda changed the situation.

While Banda himself was proud of his links to the Church in Scotland, and to the UK more widely, his dictatorial regime made it difficult for countries like the UK, and within that Scottish organisations, to work openly in Malawi: a country that was clearly not a democracy. While

⁵⁰ http://www.centralafricana.com/?attachment_id=231

working in Malawi under Banda could be viewed as benefitting the people, even if one did not support the Government, once the country was not under the power of a dictator, Scotland, Britain and the rest of the international community could publically re-announce their ties and links to Malawi. Scotland just happened to have more links than most due to the century's long relationship between the two countries, which started with Livingstone, as was explored earlier in this chapter, while modern day networks and relationships are explored in Chapter 6.

Some have classed Malawi as a failed democracy, due to the fact that it was brought about more by external pressure from foreign donors rather than the Malawian people (Brown, 2004). This, however, denies the courageous actions of the Malawian people in their active dissent. Just because the international community also acted against Banda, and that this economic action may have forced Banda's hand, cannot override the actions of both the people and civil society institutions. Power (2010:3) also notes that, since multiparty democracy in 1994, "[p]olitical parties have fragmented [and] politicians change their affiliations like so many shirts". Given that Malawi's multiparty democracy is just over 20 years old, it is perhaps not surprising that new political parties are still being formed, and that allegiances change. This is the first generation to have had the chance to choose their political allegiances, and, unlike countries where the tradition of choosing parties to support extends back centuries, and is often based on family affiliations, Malawians are unburdened by such traditions and can choose their own path and change it more easily. Some view events leading up to, and after, multiparty democracy as the rediscovery of a Malawian democratic tradition, linked to unsolved grievances dating back to the independence movements of the 1960s and the founding of Malawi as an independent nation (McCracken, 2012). While others such as Wroe (2012) note the inherent tension in states like Malawi, which have complex relationships between national politics and international donors, on whom the country is dependent, thus creating a hybrid form of politics which is not just responsible to its people, but also to Western actors. What is impressive is that the change to multiparty democracy was achieved peacefully, that people are free to set up new parties and change their allegiances without the fear of the Banda regime, and that Malawi has a free and independent press and academic community.

At the second multiparty elections in 1999, Mulizi and his UDF party were re-elected and in 2004 leadership of the UDF passed on to Bingu Wu Mutharika, who was elected President. However, after the election Mutharika left the UDF and set up his own political party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), taking a large portion of parliamentarians with him in the process. It was during this presidential term that First Minister of Scotland, Jack McConnell, and President Mutharika signed a Co-operation Agreement between their two countries in 2004

(see Appendix 2) which formalised the relationship between Scotland and Malawi. It was no longer a relationship defined solely by the churches; it was now to be wider and more inclusive, involving all aspects of civil society. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 explore the Co-operation Agreement, and the modern day relationship between Malawi and Scotland in much more detail.

In 2009, as head of his newly formed DPP party, Mutharika won the next election, with Joyce Banda⁵¹ appointed as his Vice-President, but the relationship between the two soon broke down and Joyce Banda became increasingly side-lined in Mutharika's government. While remaining Vice President of the country, she was denied the Vice-Presidency of her political party, the DPP, and was expelled from the DPP for apparently failing to endorse Mutharika's younger brother as the presidential candidate for the 2014 elections. In 2011 she set up her own political party, the Peoples Party. During this time Mutharika's unconstitutional behaviour was worrying both to Malawians and to the international community. In 2011, after criticising Mutharika's intolerance to criticism and increasingly autocratic regime, the British High Commissioner was expelled from Malawi. Mutharika's regime also took steps to censor the press, and came into conflict with academics, students and even the churches. These traits, along with the excesses of his presidency, which included the buying of a presidential jet, while so many lived in poverty, led to riots in 2011. The government responded with a show of force, killing 21 civilians. Britain suspended aid to Malawi and other Western donors followed suit (Wroe, 2012). The SG's relationship with, and funding for, Malawi was unaffected as SG funding is dispersed to Scottish organisations to work with partners in Malawi, not directly to the GoM. The Scottish position was to continue to work with partners in Malawi but maintain a close watch on the situation on the ground, particularly in terms of safety for Malawian and Scottish project managers alike.

On 5th April 2012, President Mutharika suffered a fatal heart attack. His government was slow to inform the public and it was initially unclear what the full situation was. There were fears of a constitutional crisis, and even a coup, as factions from Mutharika's party, supposedly plotted to deny Joyce Banda the Presidency to which she was rightfully entitled as the Vice-President (Dionne and Dulani, 2013). Crucial at this time, were the actions of the Parliament, particularly by the Speaker of the House, acting swiftly to uphold the democratic process, and of the army, particularly the Head of the Army, who moved to protect the Vice-President and to ensure her legitimate succession to the Presidency. This evidently shows that it is the actions of institutions

⁵¹ There is no indication that she is related to the first President Banda - Banda is a very common Malawian surname, linked to the Chewa tribe of central and Southern Malawi.

and individuals within a society which enable democracy, and they can only do this when supported by the people, civil society and the international community (Dionne and Dulani, 2013; Gros, 1998). Joyce Banda was sworn in as President on 7th April 2012, the first female President of a Southern African country.

In 2013 Joyce Banda visited Scotland, stating in her press release about the visit:

This is a momentous occasion for both Malawi and Scotland. My visit to this historical country seeks to deepen the relationship that has existed between Malawi and Scotland since Dr Livingstone visited our country. I am looking forward to engaging the Scottish people on matters of trade, investment and development, which Dr David Livingstone aspired to achieve. (Banda, 2013)

That Malawi's head of state would feel so deeply about her visit to Scotland, and talk so unmistakably about the historical relationship between the two countries that grew directly from Livingstone would be no surprise to many in Malawi, but to Scotland it showed a strengthening of the old relationship as a new one was being forged. The initial hope surrounding the transition of power to Joyce Banda was short-lived, and although she worked to restore the confidence of the international donor community, ultimately her presidency was a divisive one in Malawi, marred by large scale allegations of corruption. Banda remained as president until the general election in 2014, in which the DPP ousted Banda's Peoples Party. The head of the DPP, and President of Malawi is currently Peter Mutharika, brother of Bingu Wa Mutharika. Peter Mutharika appears to be walking a fine line between courting donors and making clear his intentions that he wants Malawi to be more self-sufficient and less dependent on aid.⁵²

When Humza Yousaf, then Scottish Government Minister for International Development and Europe, visited Malawi in 2015 (see Figure 22), both governments commented on the strength of the relationship with Mutharika stating that:

... the visit symbolises the commitment and goodwill of the Scottish Government to strengthen [this] long standing bilateral relationship ... Scotland remains a major development partner to Malawi. (*Nyasa Times*, 2015)⁵³

⁵² <https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/social-affairs/politics/house/68921/diary-lord-mcconnell>

⁵³ <http://www.nyasatimes.com/2015/10/21/scotland-to-support-malawi-in-marketing-investment-opportunities/>



Figure 22: The Malawian and Scottish Governments: Mutharika and Yousaf, Lilongwe, Malawi. (*Nyasa Times*, 21/10/15)⁵⁴

More recently, at a meeting of the Blantyre synod in Malawi, Mutharika stated his praise and support for Scottish missionaries who had been key in Malawi's birth as a nation, and also in resisting colonialism, stating that "The Church of Scotland – now CCAP of course – has played a very key role in the liberation of this country" (Mutharika, in *The Nation*, 2015)⁵⁵. It is obvious to many in Malawi, including its current government, that the relationship with Scotland is one that stretches back to the time of Livingstone, and that it has historically been a positive relationship, while the Scottish Government states:

Scotland has a special link with Malawi, one of the world's poorest countries, dating back to the work of missionaries and Dr David Livingstone. For 150 years Scots have *worked with the people of Malawi* ... [and we] are keen to strengthen our alliance by extending the hand of friendship to Malawi as it strives to meet its Millennium Development Goals. [Emphasis in original] (SG, 2016:56)

This deep entanglement of Malawi and Scotland with well over 150 years of networks, partnerships, even friendships traversing the globe, is seemingly regarded positively on both sides. The history of Livingstone, and the imagined history of Livingstone, has directly

⁵⁴ <http://www.nyasatimes.com/scotland-to-support-malawi-in-marketing-investment-opportunities/>

⁵⁵ <http://mwnation.com/apm-hails-missionaries-to-attend-blantyre-synod-celebrations/>

⁵⁶ SG website: <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/International/int-dev/mdp>

influenced and characterised the modern day relationship between the two countries, and hence is crucial for the framing of this thesis and its inquiry into the modern versions of networks, partnerships and friendships. It is also a tangible glimpse into Malawi's history, tangled up with slavery, colonialism, independence, the legacy of Banda, religion, 'development' and power inequalities. While through it all the positive regard between two small countries remains strong.

Chapter 6: Networks

We, the people of Malawi, are grateful to the people of Scotland for this interesting and special relationship between Malawi and Scotland.⁵⁷

The networks between Malawi and Scotland

Scotland and Malawi have a long historical relationship, as explored in detail in Chapter 5, and a modern-day relationship, explored further below. The empirical questions regarding networks, what the networks are, how people view and use those networks, how people act within and across the networks, and how they feel about the modern-day connections and networks, as well as the weight of the history between Scotland and Malawi, as filtered through both cultures, are all explored in this chapter.

When discussing ‘networks’ throughout this thesis, and in this chapter in particular, the term refers to the people in Scotland and Malawi linked together by choice through the following broad and usually interconnected routes:

- People and organisations in Scotland who receive money from the SG to work with partners in Malawi.
- People and organisations in Malawi who receive money from the SG *via* their Scottish partner.
- Members of the SMP, composed of individuals and organisations in Malawi and Scotland, but who mainly live and work in Scotland
- Members of the MaSP, composed of individuals and organisations in Malawi and Scotland, but who mainly live and work in Malawi.
- Those working for the SG, the GoM, the SMP and the MaSP.

As laid out in Chapter 4, semi-structured interviews and informal conversations were conducted with people in all five of the categories above. Additionally, interviews and ethnographic observations were also conducted at events organised by the MaSP and the SMP, events designed to service the needs of the network, namely information exchange. One way to visualise the networks between Malawi and Scotland is to see each organisation in Malawi or Scotland connected to an equivalent partner in the other country, as envisioned in Figure 23 below. Further interpretations of the networks, the concept of scale and scale jumping, and the

⁵⁷ Chair of the MaSP speaking at the SMP AGM 2014.

assemblage of people and relationships to from networks within networks, as they are useful and needed, will be explored and considered throughout this chapter.

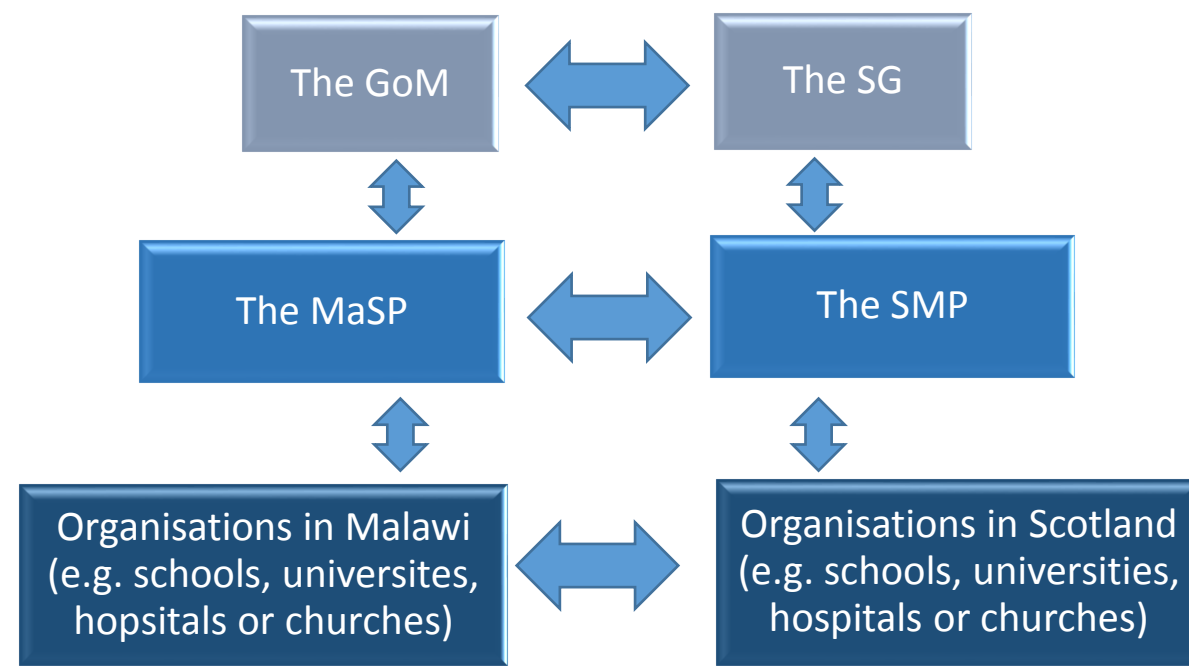


Figure 23: A scaled interpretation of the networks between, and within, Malawi and Scotland composed of relationships that move vertically from the local to the national and the global, and move horizontally across transnational boundaries

What is a network?

Networks are largely composed of interactions between people who, as a result of that interaction, form a relationship, a relationship which can be weak or strong, professional or personal, lead to friendship or dislike, last a short time or a long time. A number of relationships around a common theme is one description of a network, and is one which fits well for this research. While networks can involve formal written agreements, such as mission statements or memoranda of understandings, most people do not refer to the mission statements or policy documents when talking about the networks between Malawi and Scotland; instead, they talk about their partners, sometimes about their friends, about the people who work in the MaSP and the SMP, and in the SG and GoM demonstrating that:

... [i]nter-organisational relationships may encompass a dense web of ties, both formal and informal, whose contents may go beyond the specific tasks formally outlined. (Souza and Fontes, 2012:83)

It appears, therefore, that while the networks are formally constituted, defined and funded, when explored from an ethnographic perspective, the individual relationships are what actually

constitutes the network, as they form and reform, strengthen and weaken across time and space, irrespective of whether funding is involved in the relationship or not.

If a Scottish organisation receives SG funding to work with a partner in Malawi, as part of their application to the SG, they need to provide evidence that they have a strong partnership that has stood the test of time and will continue beyond the period of funding. Examples from SG documentation show the strong emphasis placed on the concept of 'partnership' in their competitive funding application process:

Please provide details of how long you have been working together with your Malawi lead partner and clear examples of previous joint delivery of projects or events in the last three years. If the partnership is a new one please describe how and when it was formed. (Scottish Government: Malawi 2013 Application form, part 1⁵⁸)

The relationship between organisations in Malawi and Scotland is frequently a formal one, often with contracts and sub contract, entailing legal and official documentation to describe and enforce the formal relationship. However according to the people interviewed, the informal relationships are the ones which are more valued and which turn a partner into a friend, an issue which will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

The governmental networks

In 2005 following the G8 conference in Gleneagles, the then First Minister for Scotland, Jack McConnell, and the then President of Malawi, Bingu Wa Mutharika, signed a Co-operation Agreement between their two countries. This agreement (attached at Appendix 2) sets out four key areas for Co-operation:

- Civic governance and society
- Sustainable economic development
- Health
- Education

It also states that:

All engagement will be consistent with current government priorities and existing policies and activity [and] engagement will build upon the context of the long-standing friendship between both countries, recognising the benefits of learning and sharing from one another. (*Co-operation Agreement*, 2005)

⁵⁸ <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/International/int-dev/mdp/Malawi2013/ApplicationForms>



Figure 24: The Signing of the Co-operation Agreement: Bingu Wa Mutharika and Jack McConnell, Edinburgh, 2005⁵⁹

Although international development is a reserved⁶⁰ issue, in 2005 the then Scottish Executive received acknowledgement from the UK Government that it could operate a limited international development policy as long as it was in support of the actions of the UK Government, and provided that contact was maintained with the UK Department for International Development (DFID). Malawi, however, has a number of co-operation agreements and Scotland is but one among many, and a small one at that, of the governments with which Malawi has relationships. However, the importance placed upon the relationship with Scotland, and whether it is 'special', and, if so why, is a question at the heart of this thesis, and discussed in detail in this chapter and in Chapter 8.

Although there are historical and modern day links between people in Malawi and people in Scotland, money does, to some extent, define key elements of the modern-day relationship, especially so when it comes to the government to government interaction. In 2006, the then

⁵⁹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/4401688.stm>

⁶⁰ The Scotland Act of 1998 enabled the setting up of a Scottish Parliament and defined those areas that the Scottish Parliament could legislate on as devolved issues, including health, education and justice. Those areas that remain the purview of the UK parliament are known as 'reserved' issues. International development was, and is, a reserved issue and as such any funding allocated from the SG for international development is over and above the UK's (including Scotland's) contribution to international development globally. However, given the Scottish Independence Referendum in 2014, and moves to devolve more powers to the Scottish Parliament, international development may end up being a devolved power, or exist as part of the remit of an independent Scottish Government in the future.

Scottish Executive set up a small International Development Fund (IDF), which has increased in budget from £3 million in 2006 to £9 million in 2013, over £8 million of this being spent on projects in Malawi in 2013. The GoM and the SG appointed strand leads for elements of the Co-operation Agreement, and a formal meeting, the Joint Permanent Commission of Co-operation (JPCC), is held annually for the two governments to discuss funding, individual projects and progress in relation to each strand. SG funding can only be awarded to organisations based in Scotland who show evidence of a strong partnership with an organisation based in Malawi, with projects generally being awarded up to £600,000 over three years. There are exceptions to this in priority areas, as agreed by both governments. All projects must also be in compliance with the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy and the Malawian partner is usually responsible for making contact with GoM to receive a letter of authorisation from them, prior to any submission for SG funding. The complexity, power relations and strong feelings engendered by the governance arrangement surrounding international development funding, and of SG funds in particular, is explored in Chapter 7 on governance - a key issue for many people interviewed as part of this thesis.

An important reflective point to note, and one which is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, is that my personal interest in, and knowledge of, the relationship between Malawi and Scotland was gained through my working in the SG for four years (2008-2012) and managing many aspects of the relationship between Malawi and Scotland, and between the SG and the international development community in Scotland. I was also the strand lead within the SG for two areas of the Co-operation Agreement between Malawi and Scotland: Health and Sustainable Economic Development. This meant that I, and people in my team, managed funding rounds, allocated money, liaised with the GoM, attended events and met regularly with the SMP, set out and upheld monitoring and evaluation of SG funds that were used in Malawi, met regularly with projects in Scotland who had received money to work in Malawi (if their project was health or economic development focused), and disbursed and managed funding to the SG's networking organisations. The SG also provides funding to three networking organisations, believing that, through dissemination of information, the development of partnerships and sharing of resources and networking events, international development and social justice aims can be better met. However, in 2012 via funding awarded to the SMP (as the Scottish organisation/partner), the SG now also funds the MaSP which is based in Malawi, and it is primarily the SMP and the MaSP which are of most direct relevance to this thesis, and whose origins and modern day structure are discussed below.

The networking organisations: the SMP

I think we can make a reasonable claim that the Scotland Malawi Partnership supported by the Scottish Government grew directly out of Strathclyde's Malawi Millennium Project. (West, 2010:3)

As has been discussed in Chapter 5, many organisations in Scotland have longstanding links with Malawi, including Strathclyde University. As such, it is not surprising that, as Malawi went through a process of democratisation which led to its first multiparty elections in 1994, the University of Strathclyde started to make links with academic institutions in Malawi. This pattern is seen in a variety of international NGOs such as Oxfam, and with all sorts of organisations in Scotland, who also started in some cases to engage, and re-engage, with Malawi in the 1990s. Some of course, primarily the churches, had never stopped working with Malawi from the time of Livingstone as the missions built by the Scottish churches had created permanent links.

In 2000 the Malawi Millennium Project was launched at Strathclyde University to bring together the variety of projects which were being undertaken in Malawi by staff and students across the University. The project is a collaborative venture between the University of Strathclyde and the University of Malawi, with the aim of assisting in:

... educating the personnel necessary to train future generations of Malawian teachers, nurses, scientists, technicians and engineers to deal with some of the health and education problems in Malawi. (Malawi Millennium Project, 2013)

Projects managed by the University of Strathclyde include health and education projects, as well as one of the largest ever projects funded by the SG: the Malawi Renewable Energy Acceleration programme. This project received funding in 2012 of £1.7 million over three years; a substantial portion of the annual budget spent in Malawi by the SG of between £4 and £7 million each year. The Malawi Millennium project, at Strathclyde University was a key player in lobbying for the establishment of an overarching organisation to co-ordinate links between Scotland and Malawi, and lobbied the Scottish Government (then Scottish Executive) on this issue.

The SMP was founded in 2004 with Dr Peter West as its first Chairperson. West was Secretary of the University of Strathclyde from 1990 to 2010, and laterally also the Acting Chief Operating Officer of the University. When he retired in 2010 he was appointed to the post of Honorary Consul to Malawi, by the Government of Malawi, replacing Colin Cameron, who had previously held the post (see Chapter 5). Other organisations instrumental in the founding of the SMP, and present at its inaugural event in Glasgow, include the Lord Provosts of Glasgow and

Edinburgh, the University of the West of Scotland (formally Bell College), the University of Glasgow, the Church of Scotland, the Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund (SCIAF) and the Malawi High Commissioner.

The SMP receives funding from the SG to support its activities, including (but not limited to) running networking and training events, carrying out research and producing publications, as well as staff and office costs associated with the terms and conditions of its grant. Like other organisations in receipt of SG funding, it is responsible for monitoring its own activity and reporting to the SG on its financial spending and how this spend has aligned with its stated goals and objectives. This process of monitoring and evaluation for organisations in receipt of SG grants, and international development more widely, is discussed in detail in Chapter 7. The SMP is described in its own words below:

The Scotland Malawi Partnership (SMP) is the national civil society network coordinating, representing and supporting the people-to-people links between our two nations. We represent a community of 94,000 Scots with active links to Malawi.

We have more than 1,000 member organisations and key individuals, including: half Scotland's local authorities, every Scottish university and most of its colleges, 200+ primary and secondary schools, dozens of different churches and faith-based groups, hospitals, businesses, charities and NGOs, and a wide range of grass-root community organisations. Our work permeates almost all sections of Scottish civil society.

We exist to inspire the people and organisations of Scotland to be involved with Malawi in an informed, coordinated and effective way for the benefit of both nations. We do this by providing a forum where ideas, activities and information can be shared on our website, through our online mapping tool and through regular forums, training events and stakeholder meetings.

There is no comparable bilateral relationship anywhere in the world. It is admired and emulated across the globe. (Scotland and Malawi: One Thousand partnerships, every Scottish Constituency, Scotland Malawi Partnership and Scottish Parliament Malawi Cross Party Group, 2016:13)

The SMP is based within the offices of the Edinburgh City Council, who provide office space and support for the SMP in its large building in the heart of Edinburgh city centre, shown in Figure 25 below. The current chair of the SMP is Rev Professor Kenneth Ross, who has strong links to the University of Malawi and the Church of Scotland. The SMP has a board of directors and, while still close to the University of Strathclyde, it is now an independent organisation with strong links throughout civil society in Scotland, as explored in Figure 27, which shows the result of research conducted for the SMP indicating the number and type of people and

organisations across Scotland who have a connection to the SMP, and feel connected to Malawi in some way.



Figure 25: Location of the SMP offices, a small number of rooms located within the headquarters of Edinburgh City Council⁶¹

The SMP holds regular meetings and events which bring together stakeholders in Scotland interested in working with partners in Malawi, as well as specific events for those in receipt of, or applying for SG funding to work with partners in Malawi. It also holds information sharing events on issues such as good practice in international development, provides training and opportunities for its members to engage with the SG or the UK governments, as well as cultural exchanges and learning. Examples of the types of events held in 2015/2016 by the SMP are:

- March 2016: Chichewa language classes
- May 2016: A 'roadtrip' around Scotland speaking about all areas of partnerships and engagement with Malawi in different locations across Scotland
- June 2016: A higher education round table meeting to discuss DFID's new 'Strategic Partnerships for Higher Education Innovation and Reform' programme, which looks to build capacity of higher education in countries like Malawi, working through north-south partnerships
- July 2016: Food insecurity co-ordination meeting where the SMP hosted a meeting of its NGO members to discuss the worsening food crisis in Malawi

⁶¹ <http://www.welcometoscotland.com/things-to-do/attractions/historic-attractions/edinburgh/edinburgh-city-chambers>

- July 2016: Malawi independence celebrations, including music, food and dance
- September 2016: Theme meeting for all members interested in health links and issues, as well as separate meetings on Business trade and investment, and further and higher education
- November 2016: Training course on writing a good grant application for the SG small grants programme

The networking organisations: the MaSP

Following the founding of the SMP in 2004 the Malawi Scotland Partnership (MSP⁶²) was formally constituted as an organisation in 2005. This early organisation while composed of enthusiastic and influential individuals in Malawi, including those in working in government, education, religious and business sectors, existed largely in name only, as no money was available to fund any staff, offices or events. The Scotland Malawi Business Group, under the leadership of former British Honorary Consul to Malawi, George Finlayson, worked closely with the MSP, but it was composed solely of volunteers and without any paid employees. Hence, the MSP struggled to find the time to develop and take forward its own agenda.

In 2012, the SMP applied for funding from the SG to fund and to staff a 'sister organisation' in Malawi, and so the MaSP was reborn. With office space and other support generously donated by Kamuzu College of Nursing, the grant from the SG allowed paid staff to be recruited and the MaSP has since developed into a thriving and well-received organisation in Malawi. Like the SMP, its aim is to support its members and foster partnerships with organisations in Scotland. It provides training and support, and arranges events and opportunities for networking and dissemination of information.

The MaSP also has a close relationship with the GoM, whose strand leads attend many of its meetings and events, as does the SG with the SMP's events. The MaSP is described in its own words below:

The Malawi Scotland Partnership (MaSP) is the Malawian-owned and Malawian-led network which exists to support and develop Malawi's many civil society links with Scotland, thereby enhancing the cooperation between Malawi and Scotland Government on one hand and the North and South on the other. The network was established in 2005 under the Company Act

⁶² The organisation founded in 2004 is referred to by members of the two networks as the MSP, while from its reconstitution, and revitalisation following the receipt of SG funding in 2012, the organisation is now referred to as the MaSP.

MaSP is working to advance the development of vulnerable, isolated and impoverished communities in Malawi by inspiring, facilitating and strengthening existing and new civil society links with Scotland, through advocacy, capacity building and coordination of effort.

By creating a coordinating hub for Malawian organisations linked with Scotland, MaSP will provide advocacy, training and capacity building, resulting in less duplication, sharing of relevant skills and experience and the establishment of a resource base which will enable vulnerable and isolated communities to be better equipped to counter poverty. (MaSP website⁶³)



Figure 26: The offices of the MaSP in Lilongwe, a small number of rooms located within Kamuzu College of Nursing, July 2014 (Author's own image).

Like the SMP, the MaSP holds a number of events for its members in different locations across Malawi, an example of the types of events held by the MaSP since its inception are outlined below:

- Quarterly meetings of members who receive funding from the SG, separated by thematic area (health, economic development, education or civil society and governance)
- Capacity training for its members, including training on 'the project cycle' to enable organisations in Malawi to understand how funding is awarded and managed
- Regional meetings with MaSP members to identify areas for advocacy and mapping out a member's needs assessment for the year ahead

⁶³ MaSP website: <http://www.malawiscotlandpartnership.org/>

The people

There are a number of connections between individuals and organisations in Malawi and those in Scotland; they can be defined through membership of the two networking organisations, and through the amount SG funding given out, and to whom, where and when. The SMP conducted research in 2014 which concluded that there were, at that time, 94,000 Scots involved with Malawi and 198,000 Malawians involved with, or linked to, Scotland (Anders, 2014).



Figure 27: Visualisation of the connections between Scotland and Malawi (Scotland Malawi Partnership and Scottish Parliament Malawi Cross Party Group, 2016:12)

While the visualisation of the links and networks between Malawi and Scotland produced by the SMP, and set out in Figure 27 above, is interesting, some of the data needs to be viewed with caveats. For example, the term ‘involved’ is a vague one, and includes anyone in Malawi who is a recipient of support, training or services provided in Malawi with any Scottish input or funding, and it does not necessarily mean that service users in Malawi are aware of, or even care about, the fact of networks existing between Malawi and Scotland. While in Scotland the data states that there are 13 universities involved in the relationship between Malawi and Scotland, however, only a small percentage of staff and students are actively involved in any relationship with Malawi/Malawians. What this research does show very clearly is that there is a large number of people aware of, even benefitting from the relationships between Malawi and Scotland. There is also a core group of people in both countries who are very actively involved in, and highly supportive of, the networks between the two countries.

Some, but not all of those people and organisations will be in receipt of SG funding. Some may have long historical even personal ties to both countries; indeed, several of the Malawians interviewed had spent time in Scotland, either as students at a Scottish university or working for a Scottish organisation. The same was true of the Scots interviewed, with several of them having lived and worked in Malawi at some point in their life. There are additionally many people who attend events, particularly in Scotland, who have personal ties to Malawi, but who are not involved in formal partnerships or in receipt of funding from external sources. The SG lists the Scottish organisations who received funding from them in 2012 to work with partners in Malawi for a period of one to three years. Examples of the type of projects funded is included below, while a full list of organisations who received funding in 2012 and 2013 is attached at Appendix 4.

University of Edinburgh, Global Health Academy - This project will improve the maternal and neonatal health of the rural population served by Nkhoma Hospital, and its 9 health centres, by linking together patient held paper records (health passports) with an electronic record system to create a continuum of care from pregnancy to delivery. This will ensure that essential health interventions are carried out and all health staff (in hospital and in community) share essential lifesaving information. (£399,447 over three financial years: 2012-2015)

Chance for Change - This project comprises an innovative personal development and leadership programme which will offer advice and training to encourage the next generation of Malawian youth to develop the skills needed to take control of their own personal development. It will also provide support to help them pass on the skills, strategies and motivation to others in their communities. Within three years, around 4,600 young people will access the information, training and support through youth fora which will help improve their health, ability to contribute to their communities and access to jobs and further education. (£385,814 over three financial years: 2012-2015)

Imani Development - Working in Mzuzu, Thyolo and Balaka, this project will stimulate sustainable economic growth in Malawi through the development of agricultural value chains. The project will improve the competitiveness of the tea, coffee and pigeon peas value chains, in an inclusive, climate smart and pro-poor manner in order to deliver improved smallholder incomes and reduce natural resource degradation. (**£359,883 over three financial years: 2012-2015**) (Project descriptions from the SG website⁶⁴:

‘The foundation is strong’ (A4)

People in both Malawi and Scotland apparently feel quite strongly that there is a special relationship between the two countries, with 30 out of the 33 semi-structured interviewees feeling that there is indeed a special relationship between the two countries. It is also a relationship that benefits both countries; for Malawi this is due to the increased access to resources that the partnerships bring, while the relationship enhances Scotland’s reputation politically, and internationally:

In the face of extreme global poverty, a caring, socially responsible Scotland must continue to take action in relation to the world’s poorest and most vulnerable. (SG, 2016⁶⁵)

It is, however, though important that the relationship fostered is not as one of Victorian charity, but rather one of genuine and open relationships:

The relationship between Malawi and Scotland is not an obligation, but a choice, but we need to be careful it is meaningful and useful to Malawi, and not just about folk running around Scotland with Malawi flags feeling good about themselves, but not making a blind bit of difference in Malawi. (E2)

A common theme, expressed by interviewees in both countries, was that there is value in the relationship between Malawi and Scotland, and that it is not just based on money, but also on relationships between people. The basis of this relationship in history was indeed a religious one, and as a senior government official noted, “The religious links should not be underestimated or forgotten in understanding the modern-day relationship” (GM1). Meanwhile a senior Malawian NGO worker noted that:

... the Blantyre and Livingstonia synods [churches] created a solid foundation for this country and relationships that are strong and long-lasting came from that. All Malawians know who David Livingstone is, and how important he was to our country ... most older Malawians received an education because of

⁶⁴SG website:

<http://www.gov.scot/Topics/International/intdev/mdp/malawidevelopmentprogramm/Malawiprojects2012>

⁶⁵ Excerpt from the foreward to the SG consultation “Meeting Global Challenges & Making a Difference - Aligning our International Development Policy with the Global Goals”

<http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2016/02/1133/324426>

missionaries and Malawi's education system is what it is today because of the Scottish missionaries, and of course without Scotland and Scottish missionaries Malawi would not be an independent country today. (NGO1)

This quote encapsulates many of the threads in the 'special relationship' explored at greater length in Chapter 5. This idea of Livingstone's legacy, built by the missions and churches in his name, being a 'foundation' for Malawi as a nation, and therefore the basis of the current relationship between Malawi and Scotland, was one that was repeated by the five out of the six most senior Malawians involved with the MaSP, while the remaining senior member acknowledged the role of Livingstone but wanted instead to focus, and talk about, the future. Interestingly, one board member of the MaSP felt that the role of Livingstone and the early missionaries was actually more beneficial to Malawi than current international development efforts, and that Livingstone's vision of 'development' was successful, whereas modern day development is not:

David Livingstone did a lot for this nation's development. This country started with him and his impact on development was huge especially in comparison to modern development practice ... he brought religion, education, hospitals, the development of the church, all of which have had a massive impact on Malawi and Malawians ... but the foundation is more strong than the walls. David Livingstone and his missionaries [and the church] which they founded, are the strong foundation that holds this country together. It is something to be proud of ... but modern day development is weak, [and] the walls that have been built are weak in comparison to David Livingstone's foundation. The walls will come down ... but the foundation is strong, and that is what we need to build on, and that is what the relationship with Scotland is all about. (A4)

Even those, such as the interviewee above, who are critical of both colonialism and modern-day development practices, do not waiver in their support of the role of Scottish missionaries in Malawi's history.

The media analysis supports the ethnographic and interview data in strongly indicating that Scotland and Malawi have a 'special relationship', and one that is different to Malawi's relationship with the wider UK. In the analysis of 144⁶⁶ news articles in the two main Malawian newspapers consulted during 2014, there was a higher number of articles rated as positive, and very few negative articles located with the search term 'Scotland', compared to the search terms 'Britain' or 'United Kingdom', as set out in Table 3 below.

⁶⁶ Of the 217 articles analysed 144 of those were from the Malawian media, and 73 from the Scottish media, although the Malawian media search included two country search terms, UK and Scotland, while the Scottish media search only contained the search term 'Malawi', *perhaps* explaining the fact that there were almost double the number of articles in the Malawian media, compared to the Scottish analysis.

Additionally, in articles discussing the history of the relationship between Malawi and Scotland, and Malawi and the UK, positive terms were used in describing this relationship, with many referencing David Livingstone when discussing the historic links with Scotland:

Africans remember Livingstone with great affection because he loved them. He did not travel from one corner of southern and eastern Africa to another to amass wealth. During his travel, he came across good and bad people; he saw the evils of being backward in modern civilisation. He tried to find routes that missionaries and honest traders could use to reach the interior of Africa and expose it to the higher civilisation that Christian Europe had attained. (*The Nation*, 24/09/13)

Table 3: Malawian Newspaper analysis by keyword search, rating and comparing articles about Scotland or Britain/the UK, as positive, neutral or negative

Newspaper	Keyword	No. of articles	Positive	Neutral	Negative
<i>The Nation</i>	United Kingdom	56	21%	61%	19%
<i>The Times</i>	Britain	26	11.5%	77%	11.5%
<i>The Nation</i>	Scotland	46	32%	61%	4%
<i>The Times</i>	Scotland	16	56%	44%	0%

Even when an article was about a UK DFID funded project, it was the Scottish partner in this project that was referenced positively, while DFID, who funded the project (a community policing initiative and seminar), was briefly mentioned in a purely factual way:

This seminar will reflect the international exposure since we are working hand in hand with our friends in Scottish Police College. (*The Times*, 18/09/13).

Another article about funding from the SG for higher education scholarships referenced the SG in glowing terms:

First and foremost, we would like to applaud the Scottish Government for the 35 scholarships awarded to the ‘young, gifted and underprivileged’ Malawian students through the Scotland-Malawi Partnership. We hope that the students will gain the motivation from the Scottish Government’s kind gesture and thus strive to excel in their respective areas of concentration as such be able to contribute positively to the sustainable economic growth of our country. May this gesture not be taken for granted. (*The Nation*, 06/08/18)

It does appear that in these two newspapers Scotland, and the SG, are more frequently spoken about positively, and less frequently (if at all) negatively, compared to Britain/ the UK. While many articles about Scotland and the wider UK revolved around funding and aid money, there does not appear to be a correlation between positive news stories in Malawi and the amount of money that Scotland or the UK gives Malawi: DFID spent £85 million in Malawi in 2012/13⁶⁷ while the SG spent just over £8 million in 2013⁶⁸. This appears to add weight to claims by the SMP and the MaSP that the relationship between Malawi and Scotland is not just about money, but about relationships and partnerships.

The analysis of the two Scottish newspapers revealed mainly positive news stories about Malawi, with only one negative story about a crime which happened to a Scottish charity worker; and, even then, the story was heavily prefaced with claims about how unusual was this criminal act, and how friendly are the people of Malawi in general. As the charity worker who was a victim of armed robbery in Malawi stated:

It was scary but it could have lasted an awful lot longer and they could have had more sinister motives than they had. Malawi is termed the warm heart of Africa and, bar that half hour, it was. However, I am determined that the incident is not going to colour my opinion of what was a very nice country and it was a worthwhile cause. (*The Daily Record*, 24/10/13)

The majority of articles in the two Scottish newspapers were focused on charity workers going to Malawi or fundraising to go to Malawi, without addressing why this was happening or giving informed views about either the history of colonialism or the complexities of ‘development’. The articles themselves were, however, very positive about Malawi and its people. One SG-funded project led by a consultant in the Scottish NHS included a comment from him in an article in *The Herald* to the effect that he was:

... proud of the link Scotland has with Malawi. "It is one of the poorest countries in the world. But it's got this connection with Scotland, and party politics aside, that has been significant. (*The Herald*, 11/11/13)

In articles about the SG, and its funding activity, Malawi is frequently referred to as “Scotland’s historic sister nation” (*The Daily Record*, 09/10/13; *The Herald*, 08/10/13). There were indeed no articles which questioned whether Scotland should be funding aid projects in Malawi. While not conclusive, these news articles in two of Scotland’s biggest newspapers indicate a very positive, and active, relationship with Malawi. Combined with the fact that it is the only country

⁶⁷ DFID Malawi Operational Plan 2011-2015

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67387/malawi-2011.pdf

⁶⁸ <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/International/int-dev/Maps/Malawi/2013Projects>

with which Scotland has a co-operation agreement, and one which has a large and active civil society engaging with their counterparts in Malawi, the evidence appears to support that a ‘special’ relationship does indeed exist, and crucially is widely perceived to exist.

Partnerships

The word partnership is perhaps overused in international ‘development’, but can be loosely said to be any relationship between two or more organisations working together towards a common goal. During observation of the SMP AGM in 2014, one project manager within the SMP stated that the relationship between Malawi and Scotland should be based on “dignified two way partnerships” (S4). The (then) chair of the MaSP focused on partnership as a theme during his speech (given while wearing a kilt, as shown in Figure 28), stating how he felt that the partnership principles were key to developing the relationships between Malawi and Scotland, but adding more critically, that there was not enough awareness of how to make and sustain good partnerships, especially in Malawi. To combat this weakness, he intended for the MaSP to increase its membership and participation, and to train its members on what makes a good partnership, stating that he also wanted to:

... make Malawi realise that it needs to lock down its partnership with Scotland because other countries such as Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia are knocking on the door of Scotland. (Chair of the MaSP, speaking at the SMP AGM, 2014)⁶⁹



Figure 28: SMP AGM, 2014, then Chair of the MaSP, Matthews Mtumbuka, delivering his partnership focused talk while wearing a kilt (Image Author's own)

⁶⁹ While there is no specific evidence that Scotland will form Co-operation Agreements with other African countries, there are Scottish based Rwandan and Tanzanian networking organisations who have in the past lobbied the SG for funding, in the same way it provides funding for the SMP. So far this has been rejected.

Around half of the people interviewed, while acknowledging the role of Livingstone as the foundation for the relationship between Scotland and Malawi, want to focus more on the modern-day relationship and hence on Malawi's future, not its past. For one senior member of the MaSP, the modern relationship is one based on equality, where there are no barriers between partners in Malawi and Scotland, and where everyone will "operate at the same level, [with] no arrogance and ego that you can see in other donors" (SM₁). While this somewhat idealised version of a perfect partnership between all Malawian and Scottish partners is not necessarily a true representation of all partnerships between Malawi and Scotland, it is fair to say that many people in Malawi are very positive about their partnership with Scotland, and positively glowing when discussing the networking organisations in, and between, either country. One Government official states that:

The Malawi Scotland Partnership is a catalyst for implementers on the ground, and the Government will try its best to be available to provide assistance to [the MaSP] and together with the projects, and working in partnership with Scotland we will help lift the lives of Malawians. (GM₂).

There are concerns that the MaSP is not as active or as useful to the people of Malawi as the SMP is to the people of Scotland, with several project managers in Scotland feeling that there is a stronger network in Scotland with a broader and more energised membership. This view was something with which one MaSP board member agreed, but he felt that, as the MaSP grows and people see how useful it can be, that more organisations will join and the partnerships will grow (NGO₂). A project manager in Malawi (NGO₃) nonetheless fears that the MaSP is still too disorganised to be of much use to them, with meetings being arranged but relevant people not told, minutes and agendas not circulated, last minute cancellations and poor chairing of meetings all meaning that they do not get much out of the MaSP meetings except to talk to other project managers. Yet, even they are hopeful that these meetings and events will improve, and that communication with their members will get better.

One Scottish project manager (E₂) argues that the SG should insist that all Scottish members of the SMP have their partners in Malawi join the MaSP, meaning that the two organisations, SMP and MaSP, should have the same number of members and essentially be a mirror image of each other. If this did not become the case, then, to him, it means that there are different people joining each organisation for different reasons; and his concern is that too many people in Scotland are joining who simply have historical, academic or charitable interests, while in Malawi people are joining the MaSP who actually want to make a real-world impact and change

in their community, not just have a “talking shop” (E2). Yet, as one board member of the MaSP noted:

MaSP was not very vibrant at the beginning but is more active now, and doing a lot. It is good that it brings together different recipients of SG funding, to share what they are doing ... I am very hopeful this will lead to more collaboration in the future, and an organisation that is more vibrant. However, this is dependent on the Scottish Government funding us and the capacity of MaSP is ... still low [and] long term security of funding is needed to help us grow. (NGO2)

Several other people also expressed concern about long-term funding for the MaSP, suggesting that it could be a problem in the future unless there is a more deliberate initiative to support them and ensure adequate resources for the long term, coming from the SG. This kind of concern is a common and well-documented critique of international ‘development’ funding more generally (Power, 2003), notably the difficulty that short-term project based planning can pose for individuals, organisations and governments, for the local, the national and the international, and will be addressed further in Chapters 7 and 8.

The two networking organisations, the MaSP and the SMP, try to model the spirit of good partnerships, with individuals in both organisations stating that they communicate regularly and share information, forging an ostensibly equal partnership. However, like many of the partnerships between organisations and people in Malawi and those in Scotland, one partner brings the money and is legally obligated (if they receive SG funding) to monitor and report how that money is being spent. Fiscal oversight and certain inevitable power imbalances that ensue, is hence always tilted towards Scotland and the SG. The SMP receives funding from the SG, which it then disburses to the MaSP, and reports back to the SG on how the money has been spent in Malawi, a model repeated for every ‘development’ partnership which the SG funds. While the SG’s focus on strong and equal partnerships is clear, so too is the sense of where fiscal responsibility, monitoring and reporting ultimately power, lie:

As per the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, strong and equal partnerships are key to the success of international development projects. As such local partners should be involved in the preparation of an application in which they provide local expertise, and delivery or implementation. However, the final application must be submitted by the Scottish organisation which will be responsible for the project management, and all other conditions of the grant, including monitoring and reporting requirements. (Scottish Government, Malawi 2013 Funding Round FAQ 2013:9:⁷⁰)

⁷⁰ <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/International/int-dev/mdp/Malawi2013/FAQ>

This unequal power distribution within a partnership, one in Scotland with monetary resources, one in Malawi without, can be difficult to manage, particularly alongside the stated desire to have equal partnerships. From observation of the SMP AGM in September 2014, the main theme of the day was celebrating the close relationship and friendship between the two countries, and also the many partnerships between people and organisations. At the end of the day, a short fiscal update was given, during which it was noted that the SMP had to be ‘responsible’ with the funding that the SG had given to them (in order for them to provide funding to their Malawian partner, the MaSP) and hence disbursed money to the MaSP in small increments to ensure financial oversight. This was an interesting point because money was not discussed at any other point during the day, and the entire focus of the day, up until this point, had been on friendship and equal partnership. It appears that people are unwilling to discuss money and the unequal light that shines on partnerships between Malawi and Scotland.

While the financial rules and processes might privilege the needs of donors, as much international funding is designed to do, like many organisations in Scotland, the SMP (and all other Scottish organisations who receive funding to work with Malawian partners) accept the rules of the SG, and of the wider Northern international ‘development’ community, as will be investigated further in Chapters 7 and 8, but in many cases appear to keep those financial governance arrangements apart and separate from the close working relationship with their partner. In this way the SMP, and others, do not privilege the financial over the social; in fact the opposite is true: where money resides and is controlled is rarely spoken about in public, but rather what is spoken about is partnerships, relationships and friendships:

The Scottish Government has been driving forward the relationship by pumping money into Malawi, which is not to say that is a bad thing ... [but] it is not about the money, money can come from anywhere, but [what is important is that] the relationship is strong. (NGO1)

Scale

Vertical hierarchies

As discussed in detail in Chapter 3, initial questioning of scale lay in understanding and accepting that scale is a social construct, and a fluid one at that (Marston, 2000). However, if one simply accepts hierarchical scale, then scale itself ends up determining the social world, not the other way about (Marston et al, 2005). There are still constraints within this fluid view of the world and power inequalities and relationships will still influence where and how socio-spatial interactions occur, but it is still a more open model than that of scalar hierarchy (Marston

et al, 2005). There is, however, a difference between what actors themselves perceive the situation to be and the extent to which it is hierarchically scaled with a broad consensus about superior and inferior partners (those higher or lower in the hierarchy). While what we, as academics, wish to deploy as our epistemological/ ontological starting point for our inquiry, is an issue which underlies various parts of this thesis.

It could be argued that, in trying to create a non-hierarchical, equal and open partnership between people and organisations, the SMP and the MaSP have created a space, or a framework, within which people can come together. However, it is perhaps naïve to disregard scale completely, as, while the researcher can choose to do this, in the real world power imbalances and hierarchical scales of power can still exist. That said creating spaces and places where the hierarchy can seemingly be challenged, even disregarded, is essential, and this appears to be a key facet of the networks between Malawi and Scotland. Smith (1992) discusses the concept of scale-jumping, as explored in Chapter 3, and the spaces and places created by the SMP and the MaSP could be argued to allow, indeed to enable, people to jump scale to different levels of activity, and power; for example, to raise a local issue to a national or global level.

Another fact to consider is that democracy in Malawi is a relatively recent development and, as one senior academic states, “people are getting better at communicating with the government” (A1), noting that the freedom to raise issues without consequence is a new thing for many Malawians, and something many people living in Scotland may take for granted, but something that is getting easier for Malawians:

Frequently it is just the issues of the day that people want to talk about, things they have read in the paper, and when they get the opportunity they will raise it with government; bring people together and they will raise issues. If the environment is safe and people can speak, then they will. I am comfortable knowing that if I raise issues with the government ... [that] it is safe and not seen as negative or critical, but what is needed is a healthy opportunity for people to speak in a safe environment ... the MaSP meetings provide this opportunity. (A4)

During observation of a Sustainable Economic Development strand meeting in Malawi, several projects used the meeting to raise problems or criticisms with the GoM representatives who attend these meetings, but in a non-confrontational way as part of their presentation about their project, which included challenges or issues faced over the last three months of work. One project even went so far as to describe how it was enabling people to take the GoM to court over the right to access clean water, while another took the opportunity to address delays in Government authorisation letters and the problems being caused for the project on the ground.

These interactions appeared to enable project officers to jump to a different scale of activity; to raise their concerns at a different level (in a scaled world) or to a different sphere of influence that they would not otherwise have been able easily to access. The gathering or assembling of people by networks like the MaSP and the SMP allow the creation of groups of people and social interactions, alongside exchanges of knowledge and feelings, which would not otherwise occur. These groups assemble and disassemble according to the individuals who choose to interact (or not), the ease of meeting with others, and the benefit to them/their project.

As the GoM strand leads are present at the MaSP meetings, this allows projects to address their concerns directly to government officials, a clear benefit when power and sometimes knowledge, is concentrated in governments. When an issue was raised, there were also several occasions when the challenge/ problem was a shared one, allowing a collective approach to be made to the GoM, which again was non-threatening and which allowed a spontaneous group response to form. The format of the meetings gave each project manager space to talk, and then collectively to question each other, as well as the GoM, allowing views to be expressed freely. The GoM chaired these meetings so took part in all discussions and proposed solutions or explained the GoM position, and, in one case agreed to investigate an issue further and bring their findings to the next meeting in three months. As minutes were taken by the MaSP programme officer, circulated to all members of the group, and put on the agenda for follow up at the next meeting, issues could be recorded and followed up in three months at the next meeting, something which did occur at both MaSP organised events which I attended:

One of the best uses of MASP is to facilitate communication to the Scottish Government. Another is that there is now also voices in Malawi to engage the Government on higher level policy issues ... thirdly MASP will hopefully resolve problems on the ground that projects may run into. There is lots more for MASP to do ... I hope there will be much to do in the future as the organisation grows and develops. (NGO2)

At the Health Strand Meeting organised by the MaSP, there were some more contentious collective issues discussed, with project leads more actively complaining about both the GoM and the SG. The GoM official chairing the Health Strand meeting was less experienced and also younger than the other strand leads, and this inexperience may have led project managers to feel more able to be critical; or it could be that the Health Strand of work, being one of the largest funded groups of projects and with some of the longest/oldest projects, has more issues and more confidence in how to address them, collectively and individually. The Sustainable Economic Development Strand was a more diverse group and represented newer projects, some with organisations who had never previously partnered with organisations in Scotland.

One project at the Health Strand meeting stated that the GoM's inactivity was actively holding back their project implementation, prompting the GoM official to apologise and state that he would look into it. This appeared unusual and, when discussed at a later point with several Malawian academics, it was noted that civil society in Malawi was still young and that people were only now starting to learn that it was acceptable to criticise your government. It was nonetheless also recognised that there were still very few fora that actually enabled or encouraged such engagement, and the MaSP was one such of these fora representing a 'new Malawi' (A1):

The Malawi Scotland Partnership meetings themselves are very important in terms of information sharing, and for bringing together the key players in each strand of the Co-operation Agreement this provides a platform and a space for collective action of the members, where they can lobby the government, or others, like NGOs, to sort out issues in their projects and their communities. Unlike in countries like Scotland, Malawi does not have many fora where government and civil society can interact ... but the Malawi Scotland Partnership provides that and is useful from a civil governance perspective ... and maybe even a model for others to follow. (GM3)

Interestingly, the tensions that sometimes exist between civil society and government in a country like Scotland seem not to be an issue in Malawi. For example, organisations like the Network of International Development Organisations in Scotland (NIDOS) or the SMP are frequently assumed to be acting on behalf of the SG by people in both Scotland and Malawi, when they are certainly not. Civil society organisations can work closely with the SG, while also retaining independence, distance and the ability, where necessary, to criticise and hold government to account, as is the role expected of civil society organisations in the UK. This distinction is particularly difficult to explain in Malawi where a civil society organisation prides itself on its closeness to government, often undertaking tasks and activities on the government's behalf, perhaps because of resource shortages, and where a different culture of government and civil society relations has emerged. Even so, there are signs that the MaSP is creating a space, a safe space, where some distance between Malawian state and civil society can be created and enacted, a blueprint – minor, maybe, but perhaps not insignificant, for what a 'new Malawi' will potentially entail.

Horizontal connections

Interestingly, when discussing how useful were the MaSP quarterly meetings, and in particular if project managers valued the opportunity to speak directly with government officials, most of the project managers seemed to value the opportunity to engage with other projects more than

the opportunity to engage with the GoM. It might be that engaging with the GoM is viewed as necessary, but not something the project managers enjoyed, whereas there appeared to be genuinely interested in learning about how other projects operated and what they had achieved. Lateral exchanges, rather than hierarchical approaches, hence appeared to be more valued by participants of this MaSP meeting, perhaps indicating a preference for a 'flat' network. The strong emphasis on friendship, between projects in Malawi and with their partners in Scotland, was also very interesting, and again showed a desire for a non-hierarchical approach to international development, horizontal not vertical, where people worked with "friends in Scotland" (NGO1), not with organisations or governments.

One project manager who ran an education based project attended the meeting focused on economic development, specifically because he wanted to learn more about microfinance:

My main reason for being here [at the MaSP strand meeting] is to engage with people more on income generation projects, as this is an area I am developing in my project and I want to link and learn from the experience of other projects in this area. (IN3)

As such the MaSP meetings allowed him to access information he would not normally have been able to access, and crucially, to ask his peers what they were doing and how it had worked in different areas of Malawi, with different groups of people. While his primary interest was in poor city dwellers, he was also interested in expanding his project to rural areas, and keen to understand local differences and experiences. Those attending the Sustainable Economic Development Strand meeting were only too happy to share information about what had worked for them, and by the end of the meeting details had been exchanged between several project managers and agreements made to share further information in the future, as well as an offer to look over any plans the education project manager had to expand his project into income generation and microfinance, with one Malawian project manager stating that:

... these [MaSP] meetings allow [SG funded] projects to meet each other which allows projects which are complementary to know about each other. It is not about sharing problems or issues, but about sharing project details and knowledge about what is going on amongst the strands. (IN4)

While for one member of the SMP attending an SMP organised fora on higher education served several purposes, it brought people who had never worked with Malawi, yet who may wish to in the future, into contact with project managers in Scotland who had long standing relationships with partners in Malawi, again allowing horizontal, peer to peer learning within Scotland. It also allowed the voice of Malawi to be heard in its meetings, with several skype calls arranged during the meeting I observed, with partners in Malawi who worked in the higher

education sector, allowing people in different global locations to interact easily and share knowledge and information:

The [SMP] higher education forum is mainly for networking between projects [as well as] the members who don't currently work with partners in Malawi but might in the future. The forum also actively engages with the [Malawian] diaspora in Scotland, and is also about helping us in Scotland understand the strategic direction of higher education in Malawi. (AS4)

It is also important to note that the broader membership of the SMP, as discussed earlier, can result in mixed experiences, with one Scottish manager hinting at the fact he enjoyed many of the SMP events he attended, but they were not always useful or specific to his project, or his needs simply due to the diverse nature of those involved, and the different approaches taken, be it charitable, religious or NGO focused:

Because of the SMP a network of people exist in Scotland that care about working with Malawi ... the SMP meetings are energising, and we seek to understand each other's work in Malawi. It is [however] a 'broad church' that brings together NGOs schools, churches and all other organisations. (E2)

The overarching views of members of the SMP and the MaSP, however, was a positive one, which, at its most simple, allowed people to make connections. The connections which were most valued appear to be the horizontal, or flat connections, and to in effect make geographical location irrelevant in bringing together different people all with similar aims, and in many cases allowing people to understand the situation on the ground in Malawi through interaction with real people in multiple locations:

The SMP brings people together and helps to make connections and partnerships with people in Malawi, and also with other project managers in Scotland. (AS4)

Assemblages

While Chapter 3 explored assemblage theory is an alternative way to view social networks, one which does not accept, or replicate, existing power inequalities (McFarlane, 2009), this chapter's chief contributions will be empirical exemplification, as assemblage thinking is used to understand and untangle the relationships, partnerships and networks between Malawi and Scotland. For many, the very lack of a concrete definition is part of the allure of assemblage theory; it is not constrained by conventional thinking and instead can describe things which are emerging, changing or in flux, and are composed of a multitude of elements, actors and possibilities:

The term [assemblage] is often used to emphasise emergence, multiplicity and indeterminacy, and connects to a wider redefinition of the socio-spatial in terms of the composition of diverse elements into some form of provisional socio-spatial formation. To be more precise, assemblages are composed of heterogeneous elements that may be human and non-human, organic and inorganic, technical and natural. (Anderson and McFarlane, 2011:124)

Assemblages can take many forms, some of which will be global, and which are themselves contested; for example, the nation, democracy and ethical issues such as access to food or water. These assemblages create tension between what could be described as the local and the global. To avoid this scalar definition, and the inherent 'baggage' that it brings with it, McFarlane (2009) terms these relationships 'translocal assemblages', signifying place-based social relationships where knowledge, resources or material are exchanged across sites, as discussed in Chapter 3. As such many of the connections, partnerships and friendships where activity occurs between Malawi and Scotland, could be considered to be translocal assemblages.

Both the MaSP and the SMP state that they are led by their members, and that the services which they provide, from information sharing to events, are based on what feedback they receive from their members, thus enabling groups to assemble around people, issues or activity as necessary. Moreover, if events are no longer being attended and if people are no longer interested, then the type of activity and assemblages would change. This fluid way of understanding social activity, people and networks as assemblages is unique in that "it offers a radical break from many existing theories that seem to have run up against their limits in a period of rapid social change" (Acuto and Curtis, 2014:2).

For Ong and Sassen (2014), the world, especially the 'global' world, is too often viewed in overly simplistic terms, using accepted notions of institutions, cities, families, nation states, Marxism and so on, without appropriate examination or questioning. Thinking in terms of assemblages, however, allows the researchers "not [to] throw these powerful categories out the window but [instead] actively destabilise them" (Sassen and Ong, 2014:18). It could be argued, then, that assemblage theory/framing is focused on the local, even as the intent is not to recreate a definitive spatial model or scale. Questioning how theories, ideas, institutions and more, can nonetheless be said to apply or be present equally in all places, all the time, lends itself well to nurturing a critical understanding of international development, social networks, scales of activity, and the typical privileging of the global over the local. This mixed theoretical approach, using assemblage theory to frame the analysis, would appear to be well suited to untangling and comprehending the complex connections and interaction between people and places like Malawi and Scotland.

The MaSP and the SMP could be jointly considered to be nodes, a large assemblage and networking organisations in their own right, but founded on the long-standing historical relationships between Malawians and Scots:

David Livingstone and the missionaries obviously played an important part in the historical relationship between Scotland and Malawi, and cannot now be taken out of the equation, but the relationship has progressed and developed to a different level. It is now more based on partnership. (GM1)

Assemblage theory allows for a more fluid, perspective-based analysis and understanding of social groupings, of the SMP and the MaSP, and of partnerships, wherever in space they occur and however long they last in their current form. It also assumes change, drawing on a rhizomatic view of connections which grow, shrivel, die and possibly regrow. A senior Malawian NGO worker states that the “MaSP is like the cement in the relationship between Malawi and Scotland” (NGO1). The image of the MaSP, and the SMP, as connectors of nodes, cement linking people and groups, giving a framework and space for voices to be heard, one that allows people to disregard hierarchical notions of scale, even power at times, is beguiling. It cannot be denied that the MaSP and the SMP, and the people who chose to engage in the networks, are positive about the networks and that they use them to engage with other people and to share and exchange information. In short, the members of both the SMP and the MaSP use the events and resources provided by the networks as a framework to affix to, and for new nodes and assemblages to grow, and for the relationship to assemble into new shapes, as needed and required by people in Malawi and Scotland.

Another factor to consider is the impact of non-human actors that enable groups or networks to assemble: without funding from the SG, neither the SMP, or the MaSP, would exist in their current form, and their ability to hold events, send out newsletters and generally bring people together would be significantly reduced. Access to technology is also changing the way that partnerships are built and maintained, with internet access meaning that skype calls, email and more regular communication is possible, but with that come frustrations. As noted in my ethnographic observations, many of the offices I visited in Malawi, including the GoM, were experiencing internet problems, with interviewees noting that internet access was patchy at best. This is, however, one issue that was raised with the MaSP and as a result the MaSP was addressing this by opening up free access to electricity, computers and the internet in key locations in Malawi. The MaSP, like the SMP, has at the request of members set up and run training sessions across Malawi, focusing on project management in order to build the capacity of organisations and individuals in Malawi who felt they were lacking expertise in this area:

We have consultancy meetings with our members and they tell us what they need ... so far this year we have run a one-week training programme on project management as this is what the members tell us they want. We also know people cannot travel too far ... so we run three courses, one in Mzuzu, one in Lilongwe and one in Blantyre – we want to help our members develop their capacity. (NGO1)

In this changing world, both technologically and socially, it is clear that many of the people involved in the relationship between Malawi and Scotland, and the SMP and the MaSP in particular, represent a modern partnership, based on equal partnerships and assemblages of people working towards common goals.

While this relationship is based on history, it does not exist in a vacuum. The weight of history, and the actions of Livingstone, and the missions named after him, were instrumental in the founding of the modern nation-state of Malawi, and for that Malawians remember Livingstone and his birthplace of Scotland. For Scottish people there is pride in the history of Livingstone, and, for some, colonial guilt mixed in with it as well, but it is clear that there is indeed a ‘special relationship’ between the two countries. It is also clear that the SMP and the MaSP are providing unique opportunities for engagement and connection, for assemblage, between their members that creates opportunities for individuals to jump scales of activity and disregard national borders, providing a unique, if small, model for civil society engagement and practice.

Our project is to **build connections and collaboration** on a multi-sectoral basis between two small nations in ways that are transformational for both. (SMP website⁷¹)

⁷¹ <http://www.scotland-malawipartnership.org/who-we-are/about-us/>

Chapter 7: Governance

The SG International Development Policy and the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy

In order to understand the policies which govern the disbursement and management of international 'development' funding this chapter shall start with a brief summary of the main policy documents in Malawi and Scotland, along with a consideration of how they are applied to funding, and enacted upon organisations in Malawi and Scotland. In particular the SG's policies on so called best practice in international 'development' and how it relates to Northern based institutions and practices where control and power is held by the donor, not the recipient of aid, will be given particular consideration.

In 2008 the Scottish Government published an international 'development' policy (Appendix 1) which set out the programmes of work that would be included in the policy⁷². These are:

- The Malawi Development Programme, with a minimum of £3 million ring-fenced each year and formal acknowledgement of the special relationship, and Co-operation Agreement, between the two countries.
- The Sub-Saharan Africa Development Programme, which currently includes Zambia, Rwanda and Tanzania.
- The South Asia Development Programme, which currently includes Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Indian States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. (SG, 2008)

The policy also includes provision for international humanitarian assistance in the case of large scale disasters or emergencies, and provides funding to three networking organisations, believing that, through dissemination of information, the development of partnerships and sharing of resources and networking events, that both international development and social justice aims can be better met. These organisations are: the SMP, the Scottish Fair Trade Forum (SFTF) and NIDOS. The SG does not have a formal relationship with the MaSP, apart from through the SMP, although in practice members of the SG have attended MaSP events, and it is fair to say it is treated differently from other Malawian partners, as it represents a network, not just a single organisation. One project manager in Scotland (E2) noted that he felt that the

⁷² The SG is currently consulting on its current International development policy, with a view to producing a new/ revised policy document in late 2016.

MaSP should be treated as a separate programme of work for the SG, not just in practice, and that this fact should be formally acknowledged.

The aims of the SG policy are:

1. To enhance Scotland's contribution to the global fight against poverty through activity which is clearly designed to support the achievement of the MDGs and economic growth in developing countries.
2. To demonstrate Scotland's commitment to play its role in addressing the challenges faced by the developing world, recognising Scotland's identity as a responsible nation. (Scottish Government, 2008:1.1)

The UN agreed Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), along with Human Development Index (HDI) are also cited in the SG policy. However, such international measurements have been criticised for being unachievable, simplistic and not at all focused on national or local circumstances. Such statistical measurements should be used with caution for two main reasons; firstly, the measurements themselves were designed, and controlled, by Western capitalist economists based on Western ideals (Power, 2003); secondly, there is a concern that the gaps between rich and poor countries (and therefore people) identified by measurements like HDI are assumed to be accurate representations of the real world, when in fact they are economic and social models with a limited ability to give an accurate representation of that real world. The assumptions in the hierarchical lists that they generate, and the vast disparities they illustrate, may themselves be responsible for “reproducing and widening these gaps” (Rist, cited in Power, 2003:3).

Table 4 below shows an HDI comparison table of selected countries at the top and bottom of HDI rankings in 2014 (UNDP, 2016) with Malawi and the UK highlighted. The SG is not alone in using such measures to identify where, and how, to spend international development funding. These measurements are the basis of a global ranking system updated annually (UNDP, 2011), and Northern based international institutions and donors base crucial decisions about aid and poverty reduction programmes on progress towards achievement of the MDGs, and their successor the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These internationally agreed systems of measurement make judgements about each country's progression towards 'development', leading to questions about whether the aims of international 'development' programmes are to improve people's lives or to improve economic statistics, and as a result measurements of poverty, so that international donors meet their own goals. Perhaps most worryingly, the voice and the views, of the Global South are not particularly prominent in these international decisions.

Table 4: HDI comparison table of selected countries at top and bottom of HDI rankings in 2014 (UNDP, 2016) with Malawi and the UK highlighted.

Top 20 Countries with highest HDI		Bottom 20 Countries with lowest HDI	
1	Norway	169	South Sudan
2	Australia	170	Senegal
3	Switzerland	171	Afghanistan
4	Denmark	172	Côte d'Ivoire
5	Netherlands	173	Malawi
6	Germany	174	Ethiopia
6	Ireland	175	Gambia
8	United States	176	Congo (Democratic Republic of the)
9	Canada	177	Liberia
9	New Zealand	178	Guinea-Bissau
11	Singapore	179	Mali
12	Hong Kong, China (SAR)	180	Mozambique
13	Liechtenstein	181	Sierra Leone
14	Sweden	182	Guinea
14	United Kingdom	183	Burkina Faso
16	Iceland	184	Burundi
17	Korea (Republic of)	185	Chad
18	Israel	186	Eritrea
19	Luxembourg	187	Central African Republic
20	Japan	188	Niger

The UN's new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which have replaced their MDGs, do appear to have laudable aims and are difficult to criticise at a basic level, in that they include such aims as zero hunger, quality education for all, gender equality and clean water and

sanitation (UNDP, 2016).⁷³ However, detailed information about how these goals are going to be achieved is clearly needed, alongside searching questions about what is different about these goals compared to previous ones, with a crucial missing element being a critical consideration of why previous global efforts to eradicate poverty have failed. What is clearly set out in the new UN goals is a focus on global partnerships and co-operation to underpin the achievement of all other SDGs:

The goals aim to enhance North-South and South-South cooperation by supporting national plans to achieve all the targets. Promoting international trade, and helping developing countries increase their exports, is all part of achieving a universal rules-based and equitable trading system that is fair and open, and benefits all. (UNDP, 2016)⁷⁴

While promoting transnational co-operation is a good aim to have, it is interesting that the UNDP links this co-operation to economic trading activity. This would seem to imply that the neoliberal model of ‘development’ is an economic exercise and that ‘we’ simply need to help the poor countries of the world to access such trade seems rather close to Sach’s concept of the “ladder of development” (Sachs, 2005), as critically examined in Chapter 2. The UN’s view on partnership is quite different from the SG policy where, although based on previous UN goals, it is stated that a key principle to be upheld is that:

The needs and priorities of developing countries are paramount. Inevitably, Scotland will learn and benefit from the experience of working in partnership with developing countries, but these benefits will not detract from the development strategies and priorities identified by developing countries. (Scottish Government, 2008:1.2)

The difference in wording between the UN and the SG is quite clear, with the SG stating that it will ‘learn and benefit from’, and that ‘priorities will be identified by’, ‘developing’ countries. Whether this ideal always holds true may be debateable, but the key point to note, which gives a clear indication why people in Malawi may feel more respected and less patronised by working on international ‘development’ projects funded by the SG (GM1, A4), compared to other Northern donors is indeed the difference in language, and principles, at the heart of the policy: one of mutual respect and genuine partnership. This is upheld by the SG in a number of ways, including, but not limited to: forging relationships and ongoing communication between the SG and the GoM; consultation with the GoM on funding priorities for each funding round; a requirement that any Scottish organisation applying for funding must show evidence of a strong

⁷³ <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals.html>

⁷⁴ <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals/goal-17-partnerships-for-the-goals.html>

working partnership with a Malawian organisation; and must provide a letter of support from the strand lead in Malawi as part of their application process (SG, 2014⁷⁵).

Even so, a senior GoM official notes that one of the challenges for strand leads in Malawi is that the Scottish organisations only communicate with strand leads when they need a signed letter from the strand lead in order to apply for funding from the SG; essentially, when they need something. While one GoM official states strand leads are ‘busy people’ and, in addition to being a strand lead they also have a ‘normal job’ in the government, meaning they have to create the space for Scotland-Malawi work, which is demanding, especially when letters of support need to be given to projects at funding application times, noting that:

When the call for project proposals to a new funding round is issued in Scotland the strand leads in Malawi get emails and phone calls from NGOs to get as much information as possible as they get what they want off the government [of Malawi] then we never hear from them again, they feel no obligation to share information in the future. (GM1)

This view of the GoM as simply being a conduit for NGOs and other organisation to use in order to secure money from the SG needs further consideration, from an academic and a policy perspective.

The SG also states that any organisation which applies for funding must ensure that all work undertaken in Malawi must be in line with the GoM’s priorities, as set out in the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy (MGDS) II. The MGDS II was published by the GoM in 2011 and sets out a vision for the development of Malawi up to and beyond 2016, in relation to six key areas of development. These are: Sustainable Economic Growth; Social Development; Social Support and Disaster Risk Management; Infrastructure Development; Governance; and Gender and Capacity Development. It also:

... represents a decisive and strategic single reference document to be followed by all stakeholders to achieve the goal of wealth creation through sustainable economic growth and infrastructure development. (MGDS II, 2011: v)

Funding and governance of SG funds

The funding model for the SG Malawi Development Programme is one based on partnerships, as explained previously, and is generally viewed as a very positive model:

Direct partnerships between organisations in Scotland and organisations in Malawi are a good thing, as they create a solid foundation for a good working

⁷⁵ www.gov.scot/resource/0045/00457055.docx

relationship. This partnership can provide support and encouragement to the Malawi organisations, as well as helping building their organisational capacity. (GM4)

The SG indeed sets out that funding can only be awarded to organisations based in Scotland who show evidence of a strong partnership with an organisation based in Malawi. The project must also be in line with the Co-operation Agreement, with GoM strategies, and also with international goals, particularly the UN MDGs, now SDGs. Organisations can be awarded up to £600,000 over three years. The SG also operates a small grants funding round for organisations with a turnover of less than £150,000 per annum, which are based in Scotland and wish to work with partners in one of the SG's priority countries⁷⁶. Under the small grants funding round, up to £60,000 may be awarded over a period of three years, with the funding round operated by the Lloyds TSB Foundation, on behalf of the SG.

The governance of the SG policy sets out several funding mechanisms, one of which is a targeted funding round, whereby the SG and the GoM agree on a priority area and the SG tenders a bidding process for organisations in Scotland to apply to meet a specific need. While there has been some high-profile funding awarded to large-scale projects under this model, mainly in relation to renewable energy and climate change, the majority of funding is disbursed through a challenge fund model. In this second model, a funding round is held which is open to applications from any organisation, as long as they meet the criteria, and applications are independently assessed, usually by an external contractor who runs the funding round on behalf of the SG. This funding model does not, however, appear to meet the aspirations of the SG to be “led by the needs of the developing country” (SG International Development Policy, 2008:1.2), since the organisations which receive funding are simply the best applications out of a cohort of applicants, not those which necessarily address the current priority areas for the GoM, nor those which the strand leads in the GoM, or the SG, would necessarily choose to fund. Instead, a patchwork of projects receive funding across diverse areas, both thematically and geographically. This links back to one of the key failures of international ‘development’ funding, as discussed Chapter 2: donor processes to disburse funds result in short term disjointed projects dislocated from each other, and potentially from the needs of local people.

The SG is aware of the weaknesses of the challenge fund model, and in its 2016 consultation it is actively seeking views on how to secure longer term partnerships and other funding models

⁷⁶ In 2013 the SG's priority countries/regions were listed as: Malawi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Zambia, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Indian States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa (SG, 2013)

that would allow priorities to be better tailored to the needs and priorities of host countries, acknowledging that:

Over time, since 2008, our funding rounds for the Malawi Development Programme, the Sub-Saharan Development Programme and the South Asia Development Programme [challenge fund models] have become the main funding mechanism, with the majority of the International Development Fund committed and disbursed through this route. In 2014-15, approximately £7 million of the £9 million IDF was committed in this way. (SG, 2016:4.8)

All four of the GoM officials interviewed were content that SG-funded projects are based on Malawi's priorities as set out in the MGDS and they all felt that the strand leads have some influence over the funding assessment process, as the SG sends them copies of the applications for their comment during the application assessment process. There would still appear to be a lack of clarity around what exactly the GoM's role is in deciding whether a project receives funding or not, and problems that have been discussed in earlier chapters around cultural differences may not always result in an honest dialogue. Additionally, the power imbalance, and fear of receiving no funding at all, may result in agreement being given for any project that the SG wishes to fund. While there are improvements that the SG could make to its existing funding process in policy and practice, they nonetheless still have more interaction with the GoM than many other donors have (GM1, A2). As one GoM official notes:

The implementation model is perfect for me, as the partnership approach is much better than a top down approach to development, and the partners in Scotland work directly with their counterparts in Malawi, which is a very good model. (GM2)

One GoM official held the view that when it is two NGOs who are partnering, with one based in Scotland and one in Malawi, then much of the resource, and therefore power, still rests with the Scottish NGO. When it is non-charitable institutions partnering, be they scientific, academic, environmental or civic, he feels that partnerships can be more equal in nature (GM2). One example of such a project was the Capacity Building for Justice Project which supported partnerships and exchanges between organisations such as the Law Society Scotland and the Law Society Malawi, as well as senior officials within the field of justice. Several interviewees in Malawi (GM1, GM3, NGO3) noted that this project was discontinued and they did not know why. Given that, for the people involved in this project, it was "one of the best capacity-building projects" (GM3) with which the Malawian partners had ever been involved, this outcome was disappointing, and confusing (GM3, NGO2). This case illustrates, as discussed previously, the fickle nature of international development's project based funding, where the donor and partners in a wealthy country have the power to decide whether to continue with a project or

not, and the needs and voices of the people on the ground are not always taken into consideration. It also highlights the drawbacks of the current challenge fund model; projects are chosen on the merit of the application alone, not whether they fit into a wider strategy, from either the SG or the GoM.

From 2008 to 2014, the SG has held annual funding rounds to disburse funds for work in Malawi, although from 2015 onwards these funding rounds will be held on a three-yearly basis.⁷⁷ This decision is largely one taken for administrative reasons, and, while it will not change the amount of money being set aside for use in Malawi, it is a decision that some stakeholders dislike, mainly because it reduces the opportunities to apply for SG funding. This is particularly problematic for organisations which have previously received funding from the SG, as it reduces the window of opportunity to apply for follow-up funding. Also, for those who apply, but are unsuccessful, it means a three year wait before an application can be re-submitted following feedback on the unsuccessful application, a time period that some feel is unreasonable. The three-year gap between funding rounds may also result in the loss of 'goodwill' in Malawi, as for some organisations partnerships are difficult to maintain indefinitely, particularly if no money is available for joint working, or other beneficial reason for continued partnership working. As a Scottish project manager notes:

Moving to a cycle of three year funding creates a barrier between the Scottish Government and projects it funds, and it is setting the Scottish Government on a path to make them more like other [international] funders ... when they should be using their close relationships with stakeholders, and small regular funding rounds, to their advantage. (NGO8)

Monitoring and evaluation (M&E)

For those Scottish organisations which receive SG funding to work with partners in Malawi, and other countries, the SG enforces a stringent set of monitoring and evaluation (M&E) rules, which are linked to subsequent six monthly releases of their funding award over the three-year funding period. The SG therefore maintains a strict governance and oversight role to ensure that public funds are being used and administered in a fiscally responsible way. However, much of the application assessment process, and M&E system, has been designed by officials in the SG working, at times, with Scotland-based consultants. This is something that one Scottish grant-holder feels is a shift towards the SG removing direct contact and relationships between itself and its grant-holders, and instead having a third-party consultancy firm manage its grants;

⁷⁷ Whether this policy will be continued in the future is unclear, but it was an issue of concern for people interviewed in the summer of 2014.

a common practice for large international donors such as DFID and the UN. For the SG, this is likely just a time-saving exercise and the use of consultants is common practice for many government departments. However, for people involved in the Malawi-Scotland relationship it represents a move away from the individual relationships between grant-holders and government that appears to be an important component of what people think makes the relationship between Scotland and Malawi different, even 'special'. As one Scottish grant-holder notes:

Scottish projects are partnerships, and, unlike DFID funded projects, the focus with SG funding is not just on how the money is spent, but also about the people it is meant to help, and the relationships between partners. (E2)

The current system in place for the SG to monitor the use of its funds is for the Scottish organisation to submit two reports each year, at six monthly intervals in the financial year.⁷⁸ Scottish organisations which receive funding from the SG include large international NGOs, such as Concern, Save the Children and Oxfam Scotland as well as universities, colleges or local authorities, but it is important to note that not all of the organisations who apply for SG funding are experienced fundraisers, some are academics, teachers, small business owners, nurses and all other manner of profession. This therefore means that that some people may find the reporting templates more onerous than others, particularly those without prior experience of fundraising and managing funds within the charity and voluntary sector. However, as no money is ever given directly to a Malawian organisation the SG provides support and training to Scottish organisations through its funding of the SMP, and NIDOS, who are tasked with supporting the growing number of people and organisations in Scotland working on international 'development' projects by running training courses and offering mentoring in some cases. Templates for the SG reports are made available to the grant-holders and guidance is given on what sort of information the SG expects to receive. The reporting templates consists of three linked documents; a descriptive document, a budget spreadsheet, and a logical-framework, or log-frame⁷⁹ of activities. The templates for all three parts of the reporting required by the SG are illustrated in Appendix 5.

⁷⁸ Information correct as of 2014, when the fieldwork element of this thesis was conducted

⁷⁹ Log-frames are a way of recording a baseline, or a given variable, along with a list of activities and a timeline to show when the baseline will be measured again, and, if a change has occurred it is attributed to predetermined actions. They are in essence large complex excel spreadsheets which attempt to measure 'things' in the social world over time and find a causal link with activities which have been funded by large donors and organisations. Although they are ubiquitous in much international (and other) funding their value is dubious as there has been little systematic evaluation, and theory, to support their continued use (Gasper, 2000). An example of the log-frame template the SG expects grant-holders to complete is shown at Appendix 5.

In essence, the SG wishes to know that the timeline of actual activities, and money spent, matches with what the grant-holder set out in its application for funding. This includes being measured against expected outcomes, and in updating the log-frame that was part of the application form. Any setbacks, difficulties or unexpected over, or under, spends are to be explained in the mid- and end-year reports, and if this explanation is not to the satisfaction of the SG, then the next tranche of funding will be withheld⁸⁰. While the SG does sometimes tender for consultants to carry out this process of assessing reports, and providing recommendations to the SG, all final decisions are made by the SG. To some, it could be argued that this overly bureaucratic process places too much emphasis on financial information, and not enough on what is actually being accomplished on the ground, as one Malawian aid worker discussed when talking about a project funded by the United States government, via its department for international development, USAID:

Donors who visit see what they want, they do not understand the real situation on the ground, they just want to take some pictures then go back to their offices and receive reports with the right words in the right places. (M2)

This aid worker did go on to acknowledge that corruption occurred in his project, but that it was not uncovered in the stringent M&E reporting, and could only have been found out by people with knowledge who were regularly present on the ground in Malawi. It was suggested by several interviewees that the SG should have an official presence in Malawi from where it could take a more hands on approach to project management (A3, IN17, IN22). While not impossible for the SG this would pose some problems given that as a devolved administration, not a national government, the SG does not have embassies or a network of international development offices around the world as that international role is reserved, and therefore fulfilled by the UK government. There are, however, precedents for SG staff to work out of UK embassies overseas, for example, in the USA, Canada and China, and an office in Brussels although these posts are primarily trade and investment focused, or about promoting Scottish interest in the EU.

From the beginning of the SG's IDF there have been M&E mechanisms in place, but there has been an increasing trend to request ever more detailed information, both in the application

⁸⁰ It should be noted that while funding can be reduced if a project encounters unexpected issues or obstacle that mean they cannot continue, this is usually a joint decision between the SG and the grant-holder in Scotland. However, funding can be withheld until reports are produced that meet appropriate standards, but help and support would generally be given to organisations to enable them to meet the standards, including feedback on poor quality reports. It would be very unusual for a project to be sanctioned so heavily as to have its funding completely stopped, without extensive discussion with the SG (and any consultants managing projects on the SG's behalf) to see if a solution could be found.

process for funds and in the annual and mid-year reports. For example, up until 2010, the mid- and end-year reports were short forms of one to two pages, asking simply for an update on activities and funding, leaving it to the grant holder to provide information that they deemed useful. Before 2010, funding was also released on an annual basis, not a six-monthly basis. In 2014, the SG introduced log frames as part of the application process and, from 2015 onwards, log-frames will also be part of the six-monthly monitoring process. This requirement has been seen by some as a move to bring the SG into line with larger donors, like DFID, but this initiative has not necessarily been welcomed by those in receipt of SG funds, as one Scottish grant-holder notes:

One of the biggest challenges to my organisation's work in Malawi at the moment has been the recent tightening up of the Scottish Government monitoring and evaluation. Given that the SG grants are not huge in the first place ... these changes mean that the balance of trust and responsibility in reporting is skewed, placing too great a burden on organisations both in Scotland and Malawi. (AS4)

She went on to discuss the fact that those in receipt of SG funding were not simply complaining about the extra work that the more stringent M&E requirements placed on them, but that she was concerned that many organisations, in both Malawi and Scotland, simply do not have the resources and capacity to gather this extra information. While the SG reporting requirements place responsibility on the Scottish partner, as the organisation who officially receives funding from the SG, they need to work with, and rely heavily on, their Malawian partners to not only implement the projects on the ground, but to provide the information needed to complete the 6 monthly reports. She went on to note that in her opinion the current reporting requirements:

Show a lack of knowledge from the Scottish Government with regard to the international development sector [in Scotland], and the work the organisations, and their partners, do on the ground in Malawi [as well as] their organisational capacity. (AS4)

Overall, there is a view that the new reporting arrangements are too heavily skewed to the SG's needs for more detailed reporting, and not to meeting the needs of people on the ground in Malawi. Indeed, one grant-holder felt that the most important part of the M&E process is the evaluation of a project on the ground, and that M&E is vital to this. Yet the current process is designed to meet the donor's needs, not those of the beneficiaries, who arguably *really* need to understand what has been achieved, what has been learned, and what could be done better, as it is their lives which are directly affected. Log-frames therefore represent a need to "generate reports for reports' sake" (AS4), and they symbolise a significant concern with funding for international 'development': the process is designed to meet the needs of donors, not recipients.

Governance and power: the global agenda

It could be argued that the SG, by moving to implement processes and systems that match those of big international donors, is privileging the global over the local, and is accepting without question the power, knowledge and processes that exist at the level of Northern governments and organisations. If this is so, it would seem to imply that the SG is acquiescing in a system-style view of the world, where local differences exist as a result of their 'place' in the world and in a global world system. This system sees the global as dominant over a variety of local situations, where it is assumed to be 'natural' that certain regions are core and certain regions are peripheral (Knox and Marston, 1998) to the global economic order. In this case, it would be argued that the core regions are those hosting development departments of the governments of Northern nations and headquarters of organisations such as the UN and the World Bank (mainly Europe and North America), while the areas that receive money intended for international 'development' work, including the site of most activity, Africa, is most decidedly on the periphery.

International 'development' policies, and the processes which govern the expenditure of money, are therefore reinforcing the current world system whereby different parts of the world have been exploited and controlled for the benefit of others, a practice which continues under the guise of 'development' with a world system which replicates inequality based on colonial injustices (Peet and Watts, 1996), as discussed in earlier chapters. Revealingly, the World Bank defines governance as the way "power is exercised through a country's economic, political and social institutions"⁸¹, the way that the SG governs its funds for work in Malawi could therefore be considered an extension of its power in the world.

In this regard, the SG has been influenced by the international donor community, and by recent trends in governance which have been largely determined by three major western organisations, the World Bank, the IMF and the US Treasury Department. As part of the so-called Washington Consensus, the neo-liberal agenda on 'development' from the 1980s onwards specified how aid funds should be dispersed and governed. As discussed in Chapter 2, following the failures of the structural adjustment programmes pursued in the 1980s, the post-Washington Consensus, still embodied by the World Bank and the IMF, have changed their stance, although not necessarily their neoliberal principles (Cervantes, 2013). As such 'development' economics, and

⁸¹ The World Bank website

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/MENAEXT/EXTMNAREGTOPGOVERNANCE/0,,contentMDK:20513159~pagePK:34004173~piPK:34003707~theSitePK:497024,00.html>

aid funding from Northern institutions, is now guided and defined by such vague concepts as 'sustainability' and 'good governance', both of which have become synonymous with 'good aid', although it is governance which is considered throughout this chapter.

Like the more aggressive neoliberal policies pursued by the Washington Consensus in the 1980s the 'good governance' agenda also appears ideologically driven to meet the needs of the donor countries. It could also be argued that the power symmetries which favour the Western world have been embedded in the new development agenda under the guise of 'good governance' (Nair, 2013). Others challenge the authority of Northern institutions to make judgements about the governance of countries in need of 'development':

... the IMF and the World Bank have argued that problems of development are related to inadequacies in governance in developing countries: what standing do these international institutions have to speak on issues of governance, when their own governance is so flawed? (Serra and Stiglitz, 2008:310)

One interviewee (E1) noted that Western governments use their international 'development' policies to further their own political agenda, and that for the SG to be active on a global stage potentially gives them a foreign policy profile not possible through other routes, given their position as a devolved regional government⁸². Therefore, support for Malawi might well be supporting a long-term aim of an independent Scotland, by demonstrating Scotland's ability to operate effectively at the international level (E1).

Several interviewees feel that there has, in the past, been a significant difference between how organisations like DFID and the SG manage their funding, and relate to their grant-holders (E2, AS4). There is a view that the benefit of the SG approach has always been its direct management and involvement, and understanding of its projects on the ground, in comparison to the outsourcing of project management by large organisations such as DFID. The SG now appears to be accepting the normative approach in international 'development' to govern the money, and to measure the impact that the money has had, in a highly quantitative way, regardless of the type of project, location of project or people involved. This quantitative evaluation has become an accepted approach taken by many international organisations, particularly DFID, with its focus on measuring impact as apparently a way to show value for taxpayers money. DFID does, however, acknowledge that:

⁸² The current ruling party in Scotland is the Scottish National Party (SNP), and one of their stated political aims is to achieve independence for Scotland from the rest of the UK, as such demonstrating global power and influence could be considered to further than aim.

DFID is trying to be more strategic with evaluation as we went from evaluating nothing to evaluating everything, and we are now trying to find a middle ground. (DFID official speaking at the SMP Higher Education forum, December 2014)

The SG, by choosing to follow the path of DFID and other large donors, is possibly turning its back on, even threatening, the ‘special relationship’ that so many people in Scotland and Malawi appear to value. However, the recent 2016 consultation by the SG on how to manage its international ‘development’ policy may yield interesting results, if the SG takes this opportunity to truly listen to its stakeholders.

A relationship between two governments: the SG and the GoM

One of the longstanding perceived challenges of the relationship, for one senior GoM official (GM3), is that strand leads in Malawi receive minimal information about the projects that operate in their country. The project partners in Malawi do not generally send reports to the strand leads in Malawi, as they are only required to send these reports to the SG, and he feels that “it is embarrassing to be a strand lead and be meeting people and not have the basic information about the projects” (GM3). In his experience, when the strand leads contact NGOs for information, they are asked “who are you?” and “why should we give this to you?” (GM3). However, they will readily send information to the SG, or to their Scottish partner, when asked, but not the GoM. This official feels that they cannot therefore effectively follow or monitor given a particular project’s progress.

This is very frustrating for the GoM, with one official suggesting it could be resolved by a simple change to funding arrangements by the SG, in which the SG would include a clause in the funding agreement that Scottish NGOs should provide reports to the GoM strand leads at the same time as they report to the SG (GM2). The SG, however, states that they have regular communication with the GoM, and send copies of all reports to the strand leads in Malawi, but feel they receive very little communication back; and that, despite trying to find a solution that suits both parties, they still struggle to receive any feedback or comments from the GoM pertaining to the policy (SM2). With both sides confident in their view it is difficult to work out the root of the problem. The SG also commented that they recently paid for the four strand leads from the GoM to visit Scotland, to meet with the project managers in Scotland, who manage the funding as well as providing resources, training, or support on the ground in Malawi, depending on the nature of the project. The strand leads also had the opportunity to meet with Ministers and other parts of the SG and be directly briefed about the funding and projects. There is also an annual meeting held between the two governments, where project

updates are given and all reports are shared, as well as, from the SG's perspective, regular updates sent throughout the year sent by email. Officials in the SG international 'development' team are also available to answer any questions the GoM has via email, or to send them copies of any reports that they request (SM2). It is clear that there is a communication breakdown, but it is difficult to pinpoint where that breakdown lies.

Another issue raised by two of the four GoM officials interviewed is that the NGOs and organisations working on the ground in Malawi do not feel obliged to share information, or to engage with, the GoM (GM1, GM3). This power imbalance between the two governments, one with money and one without (at its most basic difference), is a common theme in international 'development', whereby the donor countries' needs for data and reporting are considered more important, because the pressure to be financially accountable is greater than the pressure to be morally or professionally accountable to the government in whose country the 'development' intervention is taking place.

It is clear therefore that both sides of the relationship feel, in some way, that communication could be improved. This could be as simple as a cultural difference in communication, whereby officials in the SG consider email communication as the most secure and efficient way to exchange information, while for officials in the GoM phone calls and hard copies may be more welcome. Indeed I noted during the Malawi fieldwork phase that emailing contacts in order to arrange interviews was generally unsuccessful, and not seen as the expected way to communicate; instead, calling mobile phone numbers was the requested mode of contact by the majority of Malawian interviewees. As well as the cultural reasons for this situation, technological infrastructures should also be considered, particularly given that there is no standardised email address for government employees in Malawi to use and civil servants frequently use their personal Yahoo or Hotmail addresses even for official business, and are sometimes not able to open large attachments, or be guaranteed access to software such as Microsoft Word or Excel, or even to the internet and electricity. The people and things that assemble around a UK civil servant, are quite different to the assemblages, and resources, available to a Malawian civil servant. During observation of the Sustainable Economic Strand Meeting, the officials from the GoM stated that they had been unable to read papers pertaining to the meeting, or the minutes of the previous meeting, as "the internet in the government is not working" (GM4). Additionally, and unlike the SG, the GoM does not use a standardised

digital filing or storage, with paper copies, and carbon copies still used to file important documents in triplicate.⁸³

As well as cultural considerations there are also differences in environmental considerations and non-human actors that can be explored through an ANT approach. As discussed in Chapter 3, ANT states that agents, organisations and society are effects, created as a result of actions through networks of humans and non-humans, and that these effects are a valid part of the network and should be studied in the same way (Bosco, 2004). These non-human actors, or the things that may help a civil servant to do their job, such as a regular salary, an office, a telephone, a reliable internet service, reliable electricity, document storage and retrieval systems, and the like, could be said to represent power and agency in their own right. If people working in Malawi do not have access to the things which enable them to do their job, and to work with partners in Scotland, then they are effectively disempowered. One must, however, take care not to impose a Western-centric notion of how to be a civil servant, or a project manager, and the things one may need to do those jobs. An imbalance does still appear to exist with regard to agency and power between Malawi and Scotland, and one reason for this may lie in the lack of a particular type of resources (reliable internet, email, electricity, software packages) that are available to those living and working in Malawi.

None of this is helped by the allegations which surfaced in 2014 regarding corruption in the GoM whereby officials were accused of siphoning off government money through a 'loophole' in a computer-based financial management system,⁸⁴ with prosecutions being brought against a number of high profile officials. The 'Cashgate' scandal, as it was known, was regularly featured in the Malawian media in 2014, and it was a regular topic of conversation among Malawians and foreign visitors alike. Lilongwe has an area of land, which, in 2014 was being redeveloped with large and lavish villas, and local people informally called this part of the city "Cashgate village", due to the high number of civil servants who they believed to have purchased land and built very expensive properties, using funds acquired "by stealing money from the taxes we pay; why should we pay tax if our politicians are just going to steal it?" (M2). It is not surprising that many ordinary Malawians have little respect for, or trust in, their government (Fieldwork Diary 2014).

⁸³ Perhaps some of the communication problems, particularly with regard to members of the GoM feeling they are not getting reports on a regular basis, could be solved by sending all reports in hard copy (mail) on a six monthly basis, along with a short e-mail summary on projects.

⁸⁴ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-25912652>

In the case of international donors, DFID and others had already suspended direct budgetary support to the GoM in 2011 over concerns about financial management and governance in the GoM, choosing instead to deliver their aid money to the people of Malawi via NGOs, cutting the government out of the financial processes. The then UK Secretary of State for International Development, Andrew Mitchell, stated in a press release that Malawi would no longer receive general budgetary support from the UK, and that:

Poor people in Malawi and British taxpayers alike have been let down. In these circumstances I cannot justify the provision of general budget support for Malawi. In the meantime, we will use other means to ensure that programmes to protect poor Malawians, amongst the poorest people in the world, and deliver basic services like health and education are able to continue. (UK Government Press Release, 2011)⁸⁵

The SG did not have to take a formal stance on the ‘cashgate’ scandal due to the fact it does not give money directly to the GoM, or indeed to any Malawian organisation. The SG and the GoM’s relationship therefore continued without change, unlike the relationship between the GoM and the UK government.

One GoM official (GM1), possessing a great deal of experience working with donors, including Scotland, feels that there is a good relationship between the SG and the GoM based on mutual respect; and adds that, while many donors make the GoM, and Malawians, feel patronised, the SG does not do this. In their experience, most other donors formulate projects, then come to Malawi, giving little opportunity for the GoM to actually engage:

Most other donors prepare projects from afar and come to the government with prepared and planned projects for the Government to essentially rubberstamp. This does not make us feel involved in the process ... or that [our knowledge] is valuable; instead, it is patronising that others think they know better than the very government of the country they want to work in, but might never even have even visited! (GM1)

Like many interviewees, this official acknowledges that the current system of aid funding, with large international donors holding most of the power, is unlikely to change in the near future, and accepts that “Malawi is not in a position to turn down money, no matter how it makes you feel” (GM1). However, all four of the GoM officials interviewed felt that how the SG engages with its partners is different; more inclusive and respectful (GM2, GM4). For example, in advance of a funding round being held in Scotland, the SG contacts the GoM to ask if there any

⁸⁵ The UK government has not changed its stance and in 2016 still does not provide direct budgetary support to the GoM, neither do other international donors such as Norway, Germany and the EU, all of whom stopped budgetary support in 2011 and have not resumed it since due to ongoing concerns over financial management within the GoM.

priority areas they would like to be targeted for funding. At observations of two strand meeting in Malawi both organised by the MaSP and, attended by the GoM, the views of the project managers were duly sought on this issue:

In order that we can respond to our colleagues in Scotland, I would ask that all of the project managers make sure that the government has the information that we need about your projects ... I want the projects to take the opportunity to feed into this long term vision for the strand and make sure that we have the correct information to give to the Scottish Government. (GM2)

Another GoM official was of the opinion that, while the final outcome might be the same – a project in Malawi funded by a donor – the process of engagement and consultation with the SG is unique:

What comes out at the end might be just another project in health or in education, but what is important is the process, it is the way that [the] Scottish Government works that is important, and it makes us [in Malawi] feel respected. (GM1)

That is not to say that the process could not be improved upon, as has been discussed previously with regard to the flaws of a challenge fund model in allocating funding and the focus on financial monitoring to meet the SGs needs, but it is clear that, from the perspective of those on the receiving end of aid funding, the SG approach is perceived to be more appropriate than that of all, or at least many, other donors.

One point raised at both MaSP organised events and agreed with by all four members of the GoM who were interviewed, and by every person present at the health strand meeting (18 individuals representing 8 different Malawian organisations who work with Scottish partners) was the issue that GoM strand leads lack the financial capacity to evaluate projects on the ground, and are therefore unable to visit, monitor and keep up-to-date with what the projects are actually doing. One GoM official felt that one solution would be to allocate a budget to each project to enable the GoM to monitor and evaluate projects. The GoM understands that the SG does not want to donate funds directly to them: the issue has been discussed in the annual government to government meetings directly, where the SG has explained their problem with transferring money directly to another government. However, people in Malawi, both in the government and in the organisations funded by the SG, do not understand why funding cannot be allocated to each organisation to fund visits from the GoM (Observation of Health Strand Meeting, June 2014).

The reason that project managers want to encourage, and indeed to enable Malawian government officials to visit their project, is one of visibility and sustainability. If the GoM is aware of their work, and if the project is classed as successful, then, when the SG's three years of funding comes to an end, the organisation would ideally want their project to be picked up, funded and rolled out by the GoM. However, a senior SG official noted that it is not the role of the SG to support, or pay for, the transport and accommodation costs for civil servants in Malawi who should, as part of their job, have their budget for transport and subsistence costs in their own country (SM2). If they deem that travel is necessary for them to do their job, then it is not the role of the SG to cover internal civil service costs in another country. This issue was one of the most contentious discussed at the strand meetings which I attended while in Malawi, and represents a particular cultural clash since neither side appears to understand the other's viewpoints:

The strand lead lacks the [financial] capacity to evaluate projects on the ground and [is] unable to monitor and keep up to date with what the projects are actually doing. This issue needs to be looked at as it is a big problem for us [the strand leads]. One solution would be to give money to each project to enable monitoring to take place that includes a budget for the strand lead to visit the project. I understand that the Scottish Government doesn't want to give money direct to us in the Government [of Malawi]; we have discussed this at the JPCC meetings, but why not give it to projects and let them decide if they want the strand leads to visit and to monitor things? (GM1)

Another issue raised at the two strand meetings organised by the MaSP, and attended by project managers and the GoM strand leads, was that of Malawian organisations reporting directly to the GoM. At the moment SG-funded projects operating in Malawi only have to report to the SG, using the rigorous M&E forms developed for this purpose, as explained earlier. The reports have to be submitted by the Scottish partners to the SG, who forward these reports on to the GoM on a six-monthly basis (SM2). However, the strand leads in the GoM stated that they would like to receive reports from the Malawian project managers (separate from the reports submitted to the SG by their Scottish partners) and on a three-monthly, rather than six-monthly basis (observation at the MaSP strand meeting, June 2014). The project managers in Malawi did not seem overly keen on this idea and several of the project managers remarked that the SG reporting was only required on a six-monthly basis, however, the GoM officials were adamant that they wanted, and needed, quarterly reporting from the organisation in Malawi "in order that we know exactly what is happening on the ground." (GM4)

This move appears to be an attempt by the strand leads in Malawi to circumvent, find a new route, or even gain additional information about the projects operating in their country, rather

than relying on the SG sending copies of the reports to them, and is perhaps their response to the communication problems discussed above. Another GoM official commented that they “didn’t like to be caught out by not knowing what is going on in their own country” (GM3), while another stated that it is vitally important that strand leads “are not kept in darkness” (GM2). It appears that the old adage ‘knowledge is power’ holds especially true here; but, if knowledge is power and reports are knowledge, then governance and reporting in international development is clearly all about power. The receipt and control of reports about aid projects appears to convey power to the receiver, and the donor maintains that power by controlling the governance and reporting requirements. However, despite the issues and challenges in the relationship outlined above, it is clear that, while members of the GoM feel that there are still challenges that need to be worked out in their relationship with the SG, overall it is seen to be a good relationship, one that they wish to continue. As one GoM strand lead stated, “together, working in partnership with Scotland, we can help lift the lives of Malawians” (GM2).

One academic noted that over the last ten years the relationship between Malawi and Scotland has been particularly good, primarily because Scotland is not a large donor and is not linked to DFID or the World Bank, and nor is it tainted with some of the more negative budgetary/financial decisions and consequences that have emanated from these larger organisations (E1). As such, the SG can interact more easily with the GoM because they are not critical, nor are they threatening, unlike the perception of other donors. While the SG may now be implementing more stringent M&E and governance process that are similar to those of large international donors, in their actual interactions with the GoM, the attitude is more akin to colleagues and friends, than donors and recipients, and importantly the SG does not make demands that the GoM must meet in order for Scottish funds to be spent in Malawi. The time and energy that the GoM puts into organising the annual review meetings between Malawi and Scotland shows how much Malawi values its relationship with Scotland; time which some consider to be vastly disproportionate to the relatively small amount of money that Malawi receives from the SG, compared to from other donors (E1).

In 2013 Michael Nevin, the British High Commissioner in Malawi, in a speech directed at Malawians stated that: “The connotation of mother is one of dependency. So, we need to move away from that psychological thinking of one of dependency to one of doing things as an equal partner of the UK and also doing things for yourself” (*The Nation*, 18/7/13). This prompted one columnist in Malawi’s *The Nation* newspaper, Aubrey Mchulu, to respond:

I cannot agree more. Basically, Nevin [The UK High Commissioner in Malawi] is not reinventing the wheel. Several commentators, including yours

truly, have emphasised the need for our country to be economically independent after 49 years of self-rule. But, as they say, timadikira mzungu kuti anene (when it is said by a white man, it is taken seriously).” (*The Nation*, 18/7/13)

This response highlighted the tensions at the heart of the relationship between Malawi and the UK, primarily the fact that Malawi does not want to be in the position it is currently in, of being dependant on donors, as well as highlighting the inherent racism that clearly still exists.

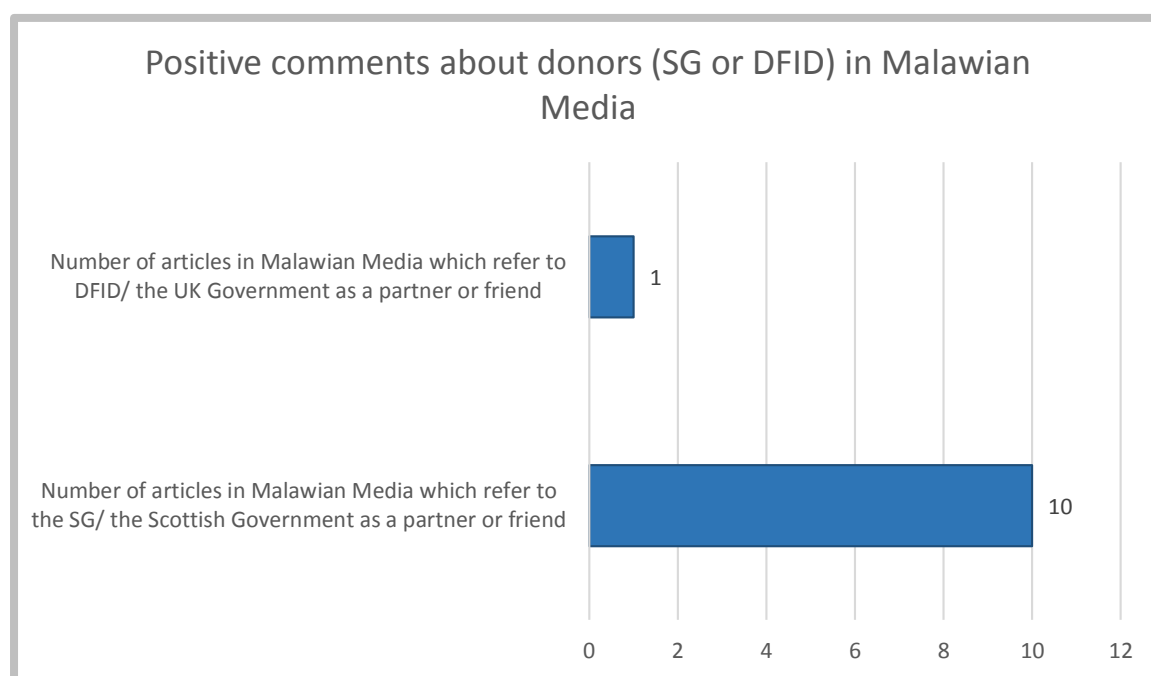


Figure 29: Comparison of language used in the Malawian media when discussing either SG funded, or DFID funded projects

The media analysis of 144 news articles in Malawi, about both Scotland the UK, shows that Malawi sees Scotland as a ‘friend’ and ‘partner’ (see Figure 29 above), but rather sees UK Aid as a necessary evil: “it is embarrassing that as a country, we still depend on taxpayers in rich economies such as Britain to finance our affairs” (*The Nation*, 2013)⁸⁶. Interestingly, when the same news site talks about a newly announced SG-funded project, it states “we would like to applaud the Scottish Government for the 35 scholarships ... may this gesture not be taken for granted⁸⁷” (*The Nation*, 2013)⁸⁸. A commonly shared view among many respondents is that the funds given by the SG are based on partnerships, not expectations, in Malawi, and that the SG does not comment critically on Malawi or how its affairs are managed, even recently during the major corruption scandal in Malawi. The SG does not give money directly to the GoM and is

⁸⁶ “Do we really have to be told this?” by Aubrey Mchulu, *The Nation*, 18 July 2013.

⁸⁷ Quote used earlier in thesis and repeated here in part for emphasis.

⁸⁸ “Investment in Education key to development” *Nation Online*, 6 August 2013.

seen as a partner, not a former colonial power. Scotland is also seen as being more closely linked with grounded partnerships such as schools, hospitals and universities, with the UK more firmly seen as a working with the GoM, or with large international NGOs, not the people.

Governance: for whose benefit?

Governance arrangements are designed to reduce the risk that money intended for one objective will be misappropriated and used for another. A DFID official noted that any innovation in international development has an element of failure, but that it is difficult to manage this fact when dealing with tax-payers' money such that "we need to know: what is our [DFID's] appetite for failure?" (SMP Higher Education Forum, December 2014). It could be said that the SG has a limited appetite for failure, and a Scottish project manager states that project managers, in Scotland and Malawi, are fearful of admitting mistakes and cannot see mistakes as a part of the learning process; instead, project managers are scared that their project will be the next "*Daily Mail* article" (AS4). This attitude means that mistakes are rarely admitted, and that learning can be hampered.

The fear of mistakes, and of corruption, has resulted in donor countries essentially devising governance arrangements in the same way that pocket money is given to a child, with Africa perpetually in the role of untrustworthy child (A2). Akanle notes that Western nations "act as the watchdogs of global governance" (2011:3), with their needs for data and information being prioritised over the needs of the country where they are working, and goes so far as to suggest that the only solution to this problem is that "African countries must jettison their dependency mentality ... live within their means and cut their coat according to their cloth" (Akanle, 2011:13). That is precisely not to say that all governance is unnecessary, or that corruption does not exist in Africa, including in Malawi itself. However, as one Scottish project manager remarked:

... corruption exists in all countries, but the word isn't used in Britain; rather we have 'scandals', 'insider trading' or 'unfair lobbying', but Malawi has corruption that means aid funding is withdrawn. (E2)

Many interviewees acknowledge that corruption, and in particular the 2014 'Cashgate' scandal, has had a very adverse impact on Malawi. However, because the partnership with Scotland is seen to be at a 'friendship' level, there is a sense that it is insulated from events like 'Cashgate', as "no one wants to let down a friend, and friends are more understanding as the relationship is based on mutual trust" (SM1). The importance of Scotland's £5-9 million investment in Malawi⁸⁹

⁸⁹ The exact figure changes each year as new funding is awarded, and older projects come to an end.

is highlighted at times when other countries are reducing or freezing their aid until Malawi can put in place management processes that meet the requirements of the ‘good governance’ global agenda. For the board of the MaSP, and many others in Malawi, Scotland is a friend who is with Malawi during good times and bad (SM₁, NGO₂, NGO₄).

Supporting this assertion several Scottish project managers stated that they felt that their projects were at a grassroots level and were therefore less likely to be subject to corruption allegations, particularly if the Scottish and Malawian partners knew each well and had regular communication and visits (IN₁, IN₂₆). It is perhaps unsurprising that project managers and the SG alike have a low ‘appetite for failure’. Given one article by the *Scottish Express* (Appendix 6), it is clear that some in the Scottish media are looking for reasons to be critical about aid money, and to use this to attack the SG and its Ministers. For this reason, it is difficult for the SG to avoid increasing levels of bureaucracy to ensure ‘good governance’ of public funds raised from taxpayers in Scotland.

Partnerships between Scotland and Malawi

The view from many in Malawi is that their partners in Scotland are indeed their friends and colleagues (NGO₁, NGO₂, IN₄, NGO₄, A₄). This sense was particularly evident at a Health Strand meeting where people who shared similar professions, for example doctors or academics, were more likely to class their partner in Scotland as simply ‘part of the team’, regardless of whether that team was located in Scotland or Malawi, place becoming irrelevant to the common professional, intellectual and emotional bonds that have been formed. Hence:

My colleagues from Edinburgh will be visiting again later this year and we will be reviewing the success of the project and they will also be doing some work while they are here [in local hospital] ... it will be very welcome to have the team together again ... we also have a lot to talk about what comes next for our project. (IN₂₆)

For the SMP, the main difference to the organisation has been the SG providing funding to the MaSP, via a funding application from the SMP. Being able to work with the MaSP has made a difference for the SMP, who are now able to operate on a day-to-day basis with a fully formed partner in Malawi and “to be truly a partnership of two ends” (observation at the SMP AGM, 2014). It was also noted at the SMP AGM that the SG has supported the SMP to be ambitious and creative with its funding proposals, while the core funding it provides to the SMP enables coordination and networking to bring members together, and that Scotland is “fortunate to have a government that takes this innovative model” (SMP AGM, 2014). From the SG’s

perspective they are keen that the Scotland-based networking organisations that it funds; NIDOS, the SMP and the SFTF, after ten years of funding, take stock of their progress and think strategically about their aims and ambitions going forward, and for the SMP in particular to think about how it can best support the needs and priorities of the GoM, and Malawian people more widely (SM2).

A member of the MaSP board (NGO4) feels that the partnership approach looks very promising for Malawi because it is based on empowerment, mutual respect, understanding and two-way benefit. She does, however, feel that there are challenges with regard to mutual benefit for the developed and modern country (Scotland) compared to a poor country like Malawi. She struggles to understand how a developed country can ever benefit from a partnership with a poor country, and whether it always just becomes charity. Even so, the model with Scotland is one in which she has more faith, as she feels that the SG approach can be more accurately described as support, not just about money:

“If I want you to walk by yourself, I am with you for three years while you learn, but then you are alone. However, I am around to help you if you fall.
(NGO4)

That, to her, is the essence of the partnership model with Scotland; in her view, it does not necessarily have to end with the end of the funding. Another project manager feels that, “when the funding runs out, there will still be a relationship with my partners in Scotland, I know they will be there for the long term.” (NGO2). For him, the SG funding offers more of a guarantee of sustainability because it is not just being about money, but also about relationships. He thinks that the SG should, even so, keep building and improving on current initiatives to ensure even greater sustainability, and have a focus on building atop previously successful projects, rather than starting afresh every three years. This shows that not all views in Malawi, and even within the membership of the MaSP, are the same; some people feel that there is little or no sustainability to any form of international ‘development’ funding, while others feel that the SG, and the relationship with Scotland, does offer sustainability.

As discussed in Chapter 6, there is a strong view among both MaSP members and GoM officials that capacity-building projects and strong partnerships hold the greatest benefit for Malawi, but that they need to develop over time, initially involving training and communication, taking account of the local context, the local culture, the key players and government priorities. They are not quick or easy projects, but are widely seen to be essential. Several in Malawi, both from civil society and government, felt that the SG should focus its funding on fewer thematic domains if they want to have more successful projects, building on what has come previously,

and with the benefit of enabling them to measure impact over longer time scales (NGO2, GM3, M1, IN3, IN10). Understanding the long term impact of its funding, and in particular the successes and challenges of the partnership model of development, is something that the SG is keen to explore, and to understand further, particularly as it might relate to wider international debates on what constitutes ‘good development’ (SM2).

A researcher in Malawi (IN23) noted that the SG funding model and partnership/ human rights-based approach, with less stringent governance procedures and a focus instead on partnerships, even friendships, might mean that there is more power at ‘lower’ levels and on the ground. Moreover, it is not organisations who behave ethically, but people within them and people need autonomy and decision-making powers in order for them to be able to act ethically. Therefore, more ethical decisions can arguably be made in such a situation, or at least decision-making, can be devolved down to the lowest level (IN23). It could therefore be argued that the SG still needs to consider how to devolve even more decision-making power to the organisations which it funds in Malawi and to the GoM: given that the current SG is supportive of devolution at the national and local level, this may be something for consideration at the international level as well.

While one senior GoM official is of the view that the money spent on multiple flights and accommodation could be better spent in Malawi (IN2), another GoM official conversely feels that “to understand Malawi you must visit it, only then will the projects make sense” (GM1). Many project managers also felt that it was only through regular visits, mainly of the Scottish partner to Malawi, that understanding could be gained and friendships built. For one project manager in Malawi, more visits from Scotland are a good sign for the future, as they show the relationship between the two countries remains strong (NGO2). From a governance perspective, the SG places the financial responsibility solely on the Scottish partner, who, in their application for funding typically apply for money to cover at least one project/site visit a year to Malawi. Additional visits can be included in the funding application if any element of the project includes training or capacity-building, wherein professionals from Scotland need to travel to Malawi to provide training or support as part of the project’s goals.

While there is obviously still debate about the benefit of these visits, it could be argued that, if one of the strengths of the relationship between Scotland and Malawi is that it is based on partnership and friendship, then one of the costs of this friendship must be travel. Relationships cannot be based solely online, particularly when electricity and internet connections are problematic (AS2). Yet, a clear distinction needs to be drawn between the type of travel to

Malawi that is purely for the benefit of the Scottish partners, not Malawian partners, as a health care assistant working on a SG-funded project near Blantyre demonstrates when talking about an organisation in Scotland which provided funds and equipment to a clinic where he worked in Zomba. He remembers a time when “some people from Scotland came to visit my clinic and they wanted to sleep in the village to learn about culture” (M4). He remains confused about why they wanted to do this, and what it achieved, as it did not benefit the people in the village. This type of breakdown in communication can serve to damage relationships, not strengthen them, as he stopped working with those people shortly afterwards as they “were only interested in what they wanted, not what my clinic needed” (M4).

Views from ‘the field’

One British NGO worker managing an SG-funded project in Malawi is of the view that the SG is genuinely interested in the projects that it funds, their success and progress, not just the financial reports that she has to send, unlike the case with the bigger international donors with whom she has worked previously, whose main focus is, she felt, on the formal reporting process (NGO3). Several project managers, particularly non-Malawians, share a feeling that the donors working in offices back in the UK do not understand the realities of working on the ground in a country like Malawi. One foreign aid worker (who did not manage an SG funded project) gave a critical grounded view of the realities of managing ‘development’ projects, showing a divide, not just among rich countries and poor countries, but between people who manage projects on the ground with those in the same organisation who instead who manage projects from offices in New York, London or Edinburgh:

Funders don’t know [the] half of what goes on in actually running an aid project; reports are just full of words that funders want to see, not the reality of managing projects and people and money. People from ... [headquarters] wouldn’t last a week in Malawi.” (NGO6)

One project worker, currently employed by a UK NGO working in Malawi, is also dismissive of donors based in the UK making decisions about projects in places that they have never seen. In her view:

People in the field learn how to write reports that donors want to read in order to get what they want and need what the donors don’t know won’t hurt them as long as the project is implemented. All the rules and regulations around donor funding are stupid and written by people who don’t understand the field, or the challenges of working in a country like Malawi. (NGO7)

These views ‘from the field’ are not new, and neither is the disconnect between a funder sitting in an office in Edinburgh or London and the recipient of an aid project sitting in a village in

Malawi. As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, there is a view that one of the biggest problems with regard to aid programmes, and the reason why many fail, is due to a disconnect between donors and implementers on the ground, and the fact that the main driver of the project is the donor, not the recipients of the aid. This lack of connectedness and sharing of information can be unsettling and, even if a project appears to be successful and is used and liked by local people, it frequently ends after three or four years when the project funding ceases, with people working with, or being helped by, the project frequently in the dark about the reasons it was discontinued. It is very rare, in the opinion of several NGO workers, for the GoM to provide follow on funding when SG funding ends, or for projects to become self-sustaining; so projects usually end and a new project comes in and starts again, with the new project usually not building on what has come before, but starting from new (NGO3, NGO6).

Representing the real world

Donors try to control as many variables as possible through complex application forms and ongoing governance arrangements, but are these forms and requirements simply failing at trying to represent the real world using written words and numbers? Project managers on the ground also seem to be circumventing some aspects of the reporting and governance demands, meaning that there is a hidden layer of activity and decision-making going on within international ‘development’ projects that is not recorded and is therefore not well understood – the role of the people on the ground in the real world, not the forms, words and numbers on a page. The people on the ground choose what to report back to funders, and how to spend the money, compared to what they say about how they have actually spent the money. Several non-Malawian project managers (NGO5, NGO6 and NGO7) were also critical of the ability of Malawians to run projects in their own country. For this group of professional NGO workers, both the local people and the foreign funders were essentially ‘incompetent’, leaving a small group of ‘expats’ as the only people with knowledge to dispense, wherever in the world they were working. These are arguably linked to the ever increasing technical dialogue about, and practice of, international ‘development’ whereby only ‘experts’ have knowledge and can combat poverty, not local people (Escobar, 2007; Briggs, 2005), as discussed in Chapter 2.

Out of the eight project managers who were interviewed seven of them felt that any new initiatives should be based on prior learning and knowledge exchange, as the SG and its partners should now understand the real problems that Malawi faces. With several of them feeling that particularly now that the MaSP has been funded, the SG could have an even better understanding of Malawi: its challenges, problems and home-grown solutions to enable the SG

better learn lessons from, and build on, what has gone previously (NGO₂, NGO₃, NGO₈). Nonetheless, project managers did not always agree with all of the decisions made by the SG, or the GoM, but they were keen to use the MaSP to advocate their views and to lobby for changes in government policy (observation at health and economic development strand meetings, June, 2014). This point illustrates that project managers in Malawi are using the MaSP to lobby not just their own government, but a government in a different country, something which could be viewed as using a civil society organisation to jump scales of activity from the local to the international (Smith, 1992); and yet also to see the world as flat, with connections and nodes (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), or translocal assemblages (McFarlane, 2009) due to the active linking, often in unexpected ways, of members of a small organisation in Malawi to individuals, organisations and governments, some of which are physically located thousands of miles apart.

In summary, it is clear that “the dispensation and implementation of aid rests on a complex ‘aid architecture’ that involves many different players” (Nair, 2013:630). The issue of ‘governance’ – the protocols and processes surrounding aid funding – can either empower or disempower those that it is meant to help, although it is generally accepted that governance currently exists mostly for the benefit of the donor country, not the recipient country. However, what is also clear is that, while the SG might implement a similar process of managing aid funding to any large Northern donor people in Malawi, both in the Government and in civil society, feel differently about that process when it is Scotland and not ‘just another donor’ (GM₁). There is a feeling that Scotland is a partner, even a friend, and an approach to development based on partnership such as the one between Malawi and Scotland, while by no means perfect, is one which is valued (at least for the moment) even with its flaws.

Chapter 8: 'Development' Approaches

Introduction

To understand poverty one must understand capitalism's role in shaping powerful world views, institutions (such as the World Bank and IMF) and the core theories around 'development', as explored in Chapter 2. Specific types of aid from the 1950s onwards have frequently been proven ineffective, yet a model of linear development that spawned them and has been heavily critiqued, is still actively promoted by individuals and organisations in the UN. While 'development' from the 1990s onwards has placed a greater focus on local views and sustainability, there remains little sense within Northern governments and institutions of critical examination and reflections on the roots of global inequalities, flaws of 'development' as a policy and practice, and existing power structures which replicate them (Hart, 2001; Escobar, 2007).

While the outcome of the process of trying to force linear economic and social development upon the so-called 'third world' has resulted in poverty, misery and a distinct lack of progress in improving life opportunities for people living in the poorest countries, none of the development literature seems to imply that this was the goal. Instead ongoing poverty appears to be collateral damage from Northern nations attempts to conjoin capitalism with Northern residing power, knowledge and technology as the 'solution' the newly labelled problem of under-'development'. It appears that, while the goals of development from the 1940s to the 1980s may not have been altruistic, and were designed to control other nations and by doing so cement the hegemonic power of Northern countries (Hart, 2010), they do not appear to have been deliberately designed to maintain poverty, even if that has been the outcome. However, the lack of critical questioning by donors and implementers, over the failures of 'development' is curious in the extreme. The fact that in some places poverty has reduced, for example in some specific circumstances in SE Asia and in countries like Botswana, allows those who do not analyse specific local circumstances, instead looking at a simplified version of the world, to argue that their 'ladder of development' does work, if only poor people would try harder. Such hegemonic views about how capitalism, investment and market economies operate, even after the economic crisis of 2008, are difficult to challenge at an individual or institutional level. Frequently the complexity of the real world, and the clash between the local and global, means that even those who do not agree with the current system often find themselves at a loss as to how to manage aid money better, and instead they become trapped within the current system.

Of those working for NGOs interviewed during fieldwork in Malawi seven out of the eight NGO workers felt that the current system of ‘development’ was not as effective as it should be, but they genuinely did not know how to make the current system work better, or to help individuals or the country as a whole; instead, they simply continued doing what they have always done, but with a sense of impotence and increasing cynicism (Fieldwork diary, July 2014).

As has been discussed previously, ‘development’ is generally accepted to be helping or supporting poor people and countries, frequently via financial aid disbursed through complicated technical and bureaucratic processes from richer countries to poorer countries. The process of allocating and monitoring aid funding has been examined in Chapter 7, but it is a multifaceted process to disburse and govern aid funding, and this chapter will consider ‘development’ as general concept, constantly evolving, yet also mired in its ‘West knows best’ roots. There are two main pathways through which aid can be disbursed: allocated directly to the government of a recipient country; or allocated to organisations, frequently international NGOs to work in ‘developing’ countries. On a global scale, the UN measures the entirety of aid given by donor countries to poorer countries. In 2008, the total amount of Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) or ‘aid’ available to help ‘develop’ poor countries, was around 170 billion US dollars.

Recent criticisms of ODA, and by extension the majority of activity in the field of ‘development’, have centred on the fact that much of the money that is earmarked as being aid money does not actually reach the recipient country; this has been termed ‘phantom aid’ (Action Aid, 2005). The UN has recently started to differentiate between different types of aid, with debt relief, some military and peacekeeping operations and education in donor countries all being included within official ODA statistics and monitoring. The concept of ‘core aid’, or ‘country programme aid’ (CPA), was coined by the OECD in 2007, to define aid money that is *actually* made available to poorer countries to plan and spend on programmes within their countries, representing a more nuanced consideration of what ‘development’ actually is, and what it is not. From 2006-2011, only 53% of all so called aid money has been available to ‘developing’ countries. The other 47% of ODA, totalling approximately 85 billion US Dollars, is spent;

[within] donor countries on assistance to refugees, development awareness-raising and research in donor countries, scholarships for developing country nationals, support to non-governmental organizations (NGOs), technical assistance, food aid, humanitarian aid and debt relief. (UNDP, 2011:166)

For a senior Malawian academic, it is unsurprising that “this idea of aid has been a failure” (A1) but that as aid has persisted for so many years, “it has become a source of pride for donors and

enables superpowers to control and have power over developing countries” (A1). He feels that western governments need to hold on to this power to maintain their own status in the world. A view held by several interviewees, and supported by the UNDP figures outlined above, was that a significant proportion of aid money actually ends up back in the pocket of Western individuals, organisations and governments, who frequently get paid to implement and to evaluate aid projects, and who work in the plethora of NGOs which service the aid industry (NGO2, A2).

People are used to hiring expat consultants, and the big donors based in Europe and America just outsource from their head offices and send [foreign consultants] ... they [the consultants] are in Malawi for a week or two, write a report, get paid a lot of money, and fly home. The big donors would rather do this than hire educated local people. (NGO2)

In 2009, just over 3% of all ODA went towards budgetary support worldwide meaning that the vast majority, over 96% of all aid money, is not given freely or directly to the governments of poorer countries. The UN itself acknowledges that:

... there is little rhyme or reason behind many donors’ aid allocation decisions. Despite much empirical evidence that direct budget support and/or sector budget are more effective, much more aid is channelled via other modalities, such as technical assistance, that have a mixed record on development results. (UNDP, 2011:173)

The neoliberal agenda

Several project managers in Malawi and Scotland raised concerns about the increasing focus on developing the private sector in countries like Malawi, at the expense of investment in the public sector (E2, NGO4, and Fieldwork Diary, 2014 observations). In Malawi, many parts of the education and healthcare sectors are already essentially private enterprises. One Scottish project manager supposes that, without significant investment in the public sector, Malawi does not, and will never, have the necessary transport infrastructure or health and education services that its population needs unless the current pattern of aid investment in the country changes. Furthermore, he strongly feels that, while people in the UK have clearly benefitted from publically funded services, the UK, and other Northern governments, do not prioritise direct budgetary support or funding for public services in countries like Malawi. Instead, it is suggested that UK government departments like DFID are pursuing an “ideologically driven economic policy [based on a neoliberal agenda] and poor countries are at the sharp end if it fails” (E2).

This neoliberal capital-led approach to ‘development’ has been accepted and implemented from the 1980s onwards by large donors, such as the World Bank and the IMF. However, it has been argued that this approach better meets the needs of the donor countries than those of the recipient countries, and hence the power symmetries which favour the Western world have been embedded in the new ‘development’ agenda (Nair, 2013). Colgan (2002) is of the view that the promotion of free market policies on the government, people and economies of ‘developing’ countries, in return for loans and aid funds, has resulted in a lack of investment in key services such as healthcare, as well as a distinct lack of care or considering of human development, and human needs, compared to capital development and economic needs. Crucially, he notes that:

The most industrialized countries in the world have actually developed under conditions opposite to those imposed by the World Bank and IMF on African governments. (Colgan, 2002).

During a meeting of the SMP Higher Education Forum (2014), DFID gave a presentation on their evolving higher education strategy, as it applies to Malawi, and to other DFID priority countries worldwide. The focus of this new strategy is to fund private sector organisations, mainly based in the UK and wider EU,⁹⁰ to invest in new colleges and universities in Malawi. This new policy for DFID and the British Council thus aims to:

Catalyse diverse and innovative partnerships, opening up opportunities for new organisations to enter the higher education space, including from the private sector. (DFID, 2016)⁹¹

Students attending these new colleges would have to pay fees to attend them, which would be classed as profit for the UK – or EU – based education provider. Due to the risk of failure for the private sector, DFID is willing to cover the costs of the UK-based organisations in order to encourage them to work in the ‘developing’ world. The DFID spokesperson at the SMP Higher Education Forum (2014) did acknowledge that this was an evolving policy, but was confident it would be a useful intervention for DFID to make in the higher education sector, stating that “this is a new way of developing the higher education sector in developing countries, focused on the private sector as an agent and driver” (Field Work diary, December, 2014). In this way, DFID can position itself as a catalyst, rather than a main implementer as:

DFID has the money [and therefore power] to bring private organisations and businesses to the table, and by bringing this expertise DFID can act as a

⁹⁰ This meeting was held in 2014, before the 2016 referendum in the UK which resulted in a vote for the UK to leave the EU.

⁹¹ https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/spheir_overview.pdf

catalyst, and then measure the impact of the actions of the implementers.
(DFID spokesperson, SMP Higher Education Forum December 2014)

Observing this meeting, where this new DFID plan for its engagement in higher education was unveiled, was revealing. There was no challenge or discussion of the model that DFID was planning to implement, no discussion of the need for Southern countries to have publicly funded higher education institutions, or for money to be spent on developing a 'home-grown' education sector within a country. Rather, the fact appears to be that *any* investment by DFID was welcomed, even if that money would be going to Western-based private sector organisations to set up higher education institutions in countries where they have never previously worked, and about which they have no local knowledge of, and which would ultimately make them a profit. The acceptance and lack of discussion on this neoliberal economic model at a meeting of academics, policy officials and students was surprising. The triumph of capitalist solutions to all problems, and the lack of challenge to this orthodoxy, has created a 'post-political' landscape where non-state and non-democratic actors drive agendas, from the local to the global, a concerning state of affairs for those who are committed to democracy, human rights and human development:

The status, inclusion or exclusion, legitimacy, system of representation, scale of operation, and internal or external accountability of such actors often take place in non-transparent, adhoc, and context-dependent ways and differ greatly from those associated with egalitarian pluralist democratic rules and codes. Therefore, existing social and political power geometries are changed, resulting in a new constellation of governance articulated via a proliferating maze of opaque networks, fuzzy institutional arrangements, with ill-defined responsibilities and ambiguous political objectives and priorities.
(Swyngedouw, 2010:89)

When discussing DFID's increasing focus on the private sector as an engine of change in international development, one Scottish project manager argues that sustainability in international 'development' is not about "keeping the public sector low and hoping the private sector will rise to meet the gap" (E2). Instead, for this individual, international 'development' interventions should be about supporting *both* the public and private sectors:

It's been shown that the private sector doesn't rise to meet the gap in public services, and is one of the reasons why international development has failed so many poorer countries. The main problem is an acceptance of an ideological approach to aid that sees NGO staff with big cars and high salaries driving about Malawi ... if the current approach ended and instead massive government support and investment in the countries [public services] were to happen, then the drip feeding approach largely delivered through NGOs would end ... But there is an ideological and a financial reason that western

governments and organisations do not want the current model of international development to end. (E2)

One argument that is frequently presented as a reason for the failure of development is to blame poor countries for not having effective government or governance, or for being sufficiently entrepreneurial, in the neoliberal guise. While there are situations of ‘failed’ or corrupt states, it is not always the case, and is instead a kneejerk reaction to explain why poor countries remain poor (it is their own fault), instead of critically analysing the wider world. Western countries are not immune from corruption, and the bigger debate should be about the fact that there simply is not enough money to meet the needs of a country the size of Malawi: instead corruption is blamed, rather than the simple fact that there is a lack of funds at the outset (Fieldwork observations, 2014). This idea of corruption being an ‘African problem’ also feeds into the Western model of ‘development’ being the one true path to success: not only must recipient countries comply with what Western donors say in regard to accepting aid and running projects, they must also run their governments and their countries with the same democratic traditions as rich Western countries, along with aspirations to be entrepreneurial, thus releasing the creative energy of the private sector under neoliberal government regimes. This argument, however, is weakened when the Asian so called ‘tiger’ economies are considered, as was explored in Chapter 2, with many countries who do not have western style democracies lifting themselves out of poverty in 50 years, by expressly not following the western model of democracy, or development:

It would be wise for Malawi to learn that if we want to be a rich and developed country like United States of America, China, Britain, or Japan, we must stop acting like their puppet and stop using their strategies and develop our own.
(*The Nation*, 12/7/13)

The trickle of aid

There are mixed views on ‘development’ from those working on aid-funded projects in Malawi, with a senior Scottish project worker arguing that “aid hasn’t necessarily failed countries like Malawi, but it just hasn’t been enough” (E2). He goes on to note that Malawi’s total budget is the same size as that of Edinburgh City Council, or Hackney Borough, or half of Glasgow City Council’s budget. To put this into perspective, Malawi, a country of 16 million people (WHO, 2014), has a projected national budget for 2015/16 of 902 billion Kwacha⁹², or approximately £1.1 billion, while Glasgow City Council has an annual budget of £2.4 billion to provide local services

⁹² Information from the Government of Malawi Department of Finance, ‘highlights from the 2015/16 budget statement’: <https://www.facebook.com/malawigovernment/posts/399969950189505>

(not national services such as health or military spending) to just 600,000 people⁹³. In 2012 the Government of Malawi (GoM) spent 22% of its annual budget on healthcare (WHO, 2015); if it was to spend 22% of the annual budget in 2015/16 on healthcare, this would amount to almost 200 billion Kwacha, or £0.23 billion, while the health expenditure of Scotland, a country of 6 million people (less than half the population of Malawi), is £12 billion (The Scottish Government, 2015). The idea of aid as just enough to keep people alive, but not enough to allow individuals and countries to escape the cycle of poverty, is an idea supported by many, including a senior Malawian academic who declare that “The trickle of aid into Malawi keeps Malawi in its place, but does not allow development, instead aid impedes development” (A1), with a Scottish project manager noting that:

The current aid funding is just drip feeding, it isn't sustainable and is holding Malawi down, there is not enough of a push to get Malawi 'over the hump' ... You need to ask what does a sustainable desirable Malawi look like? It needs a government budget of £10 billion, not £1 billion to run a country, and the world can afford this, but instead the current aid budget and international development efforts are like a death holding pattern that Malawi cannot escape from without significant increase in support This increased support would not have to be forever, and it would [in the long term] lead to an overall decrease in aid budgets. (E2)

While one academic in Scotland (E1) notes that Malawi has many natural problems that hinder its progress, namely its climate and the fact that it is landlocked, he also felt that too much is expected from aid funding and that “one needs realism on the scale of the challenge, and honesty about what has been achieved to date, and what can be achieved in the future” (E1). A point raised by multiple sources in Malawi and Scotland concerned the difficulties that Malawi faces regarding international trade and export, and the importance of Malawi developing a production sector and being able to trade with the world on fair terms. Like many poorer countries in the world the colonial system set up in South America, Africa and Asia was done so to produce raw materials for European countries (Power, 2003). This low value agriculture sector continues today in many African countries, in particular in those whose economies still rely on the export of primary products, such as coffee, tea, tobacco and cocoa, with much of the production aspect, and value added, being done in richer countries.

There are many suggestions as to what might be done to develop Malawi's export capabilities, and investing in an improved, heavily subsidised transport infrastructure is one example of how

⁹³ Glasgow City Council website

http://www.understandingglasgow.com/about_the_project/about_glasgow_city_council

international donors could benefit Malawi as a whole, not one specific project or sector. Yet, as one Scottish academic notes:

The short term reality is that economic change cannot happen overnight, and Malawi needs more jobs for its people, and more access to economic growth opportunities. There is often too much naivety about how complex the world is, and too much disagreement about how to solve real world problems facing people in countries like Malawi. (E1)

This disagreement on how to help people living in some of the poorest countries in the world has led to a disjointed approach on the ground. Power (2003) reflects that the practice of development has not moved as much as the theory, and many current development policies and projects still fit in well with the 1950s 'West knows best' approach. Additionally, as new ideas about development and poverty reduction have emerged, neoliberal ones perhaps, old practices have not been discarded and replaced (Potter et al, 2008). Integration of theory and practice therefore remains a challenge, due to the multiple actors and the fact that the power to make change seemingly comes not from the local, but from the global institutions and Western governments. There are, however, examples of local community-led 'development' and some from within the horizon of the Malawi-Scotland relationship, where friendship and partnership are highly evident and valued, and where the concept of power resting with the Western partner/ organisation has been actively challenged, a concept that has been examined and explored throughout this thesis.

However, a view held by many Malawians, particularly younger people interviewed, is that aid is a "necessary evil" (IN12, IN13, IN14, A1). One Malawian academic thinks that aid is necessary to provide essential services to many Malawians, but that much of the management of aid money and implementation of aid projects suits the needs and wishes of the donors, not the people:

... you will see many derelict buildings, like classrooms and churches, scattered about rural areas because a charity wanted to build it, but the village did not necessarily need it. This is wasted money because local people were not involved in decision making. (A2)

What might be better received in Malawi, instead of another ill-equipped schoolroom, would be well-qualified teachers, books, paper, pens and chalk to put in existing school rooms, things that might not be realised by well-meaning, but misinformed, donors. The media research illustrated that the Scottish media view Malawi as a poor place that is deserving of charity, commissioning articles about Malawi where the focus is on Scottish people giving money or time to help 'poor' Malawians. As Figure 30 below shows of the 76 news articles in the Scottish

media which were about Malawi, 87% of those articles mentioned NGOs or charity fundraising by Scottish individuals and organisations.

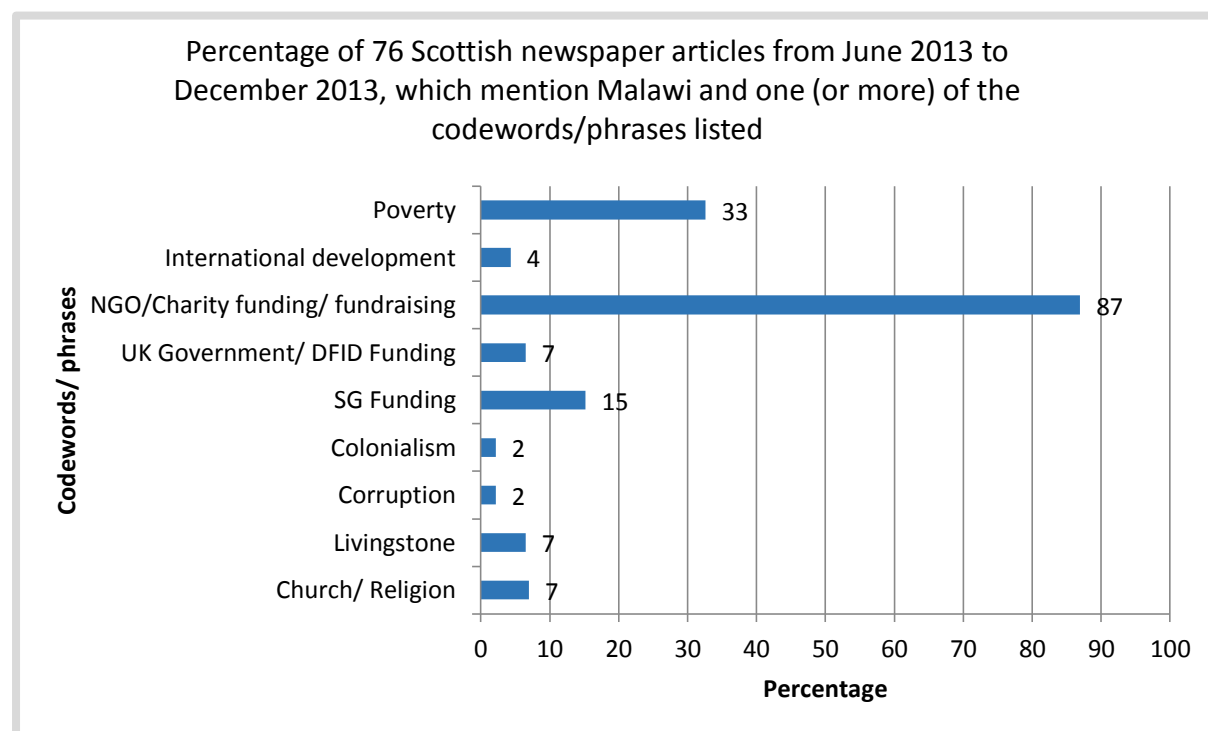


Figure 30: Scottish newspaper articles analysed by theme

The focus within the Scottish media appears to be on people to people support, rather than government to government: in other words the human interest story. This view of Malawi as a poor desperate place in need of charity is one that is continually perpetuated by the media and does not reflect the reality of life for many Malawians. While some people in Malawi may eat field mice, others eat steak, burgers and chicken pakora – all of which are readily available but not commonly discussed outside of Malawi.⁹⁴ There were also a number of articles about schoolchildren raising money for visits or donations to Malawi, with 11 out of the 28 articles reviewed in the *Daily Record* making reference to the actions of Scottish school children. While two articles (one in *The Herald*, one in the *Daily record*) were stories about schoolchildren going to Malawi to physically build classrooms:

Pupils at a Scots secondary school are to transform a derelict building into classrooms for youngsters in a poverty-stricken village in Malawi." (*The Herald*, 18/11/13)

⁹⁴ I accept that in the excerpts of my fieldwork diary entries I too have highlighted the differences between Malawi and Scotland, and the poverty I witnessed. However, I am not suggesting that poverty be ignored, simply that the full and complicated picture of a place be understood, not over simplistically represented as 'poor'.

These stories were reported without any consideration of whether Malawi needed new classrooms, or why 16 year olds in Scotland would have the knowledge and expertise to build anything, let alone a school building.

Scale and project mentality

The term 'project' is one which applies to money spent on basic needs such as healthcare, education, farming or transport, but only in poor countries. When referring to healthcare, education, farming or transport in rich countries, these are not geographically dispersed 'projects', but an integrated part of a country, where governments provide services for the population and create an overall environment which – in theory at least – supports citizens while enabling and encouraging economic growth. The term 'project' has therefore become almost synonymous with international 'development', and is perhaps apt in describing short-term disjointed approaches, in terms of place, money and time, to providing basic services to some people in some places across the poorer countries of the world:

Even if there is a project that is working well and used by local people, well managed and well run, in three to four years funding usually ends and it is very rare for the Government to step in and provide funding, or for projects to become self-sustaining, so they end ... [then] a new project comes in and starts again, with the new project not even usually building on what has come before, but starting from scratch. This is one of the reasons that fieldworkers become jaded ... but there is always a new cohort of expats to come in with what they think are new ideas, and they are then confused why the Malawians they are working with are not more enthusiastic⁹⁵. (NGO₃)

Another Malawian project manager also feels that one of the major weaknesses of aid funding in Malawi was the disjointed approach, and lack of long-term, well-planned interventions, in the agriculture sector in particular, stating that:

Instead [of well-planned and co-ordinated approaches to agriculture development] there are lots of projects dotted about focusing on increasing production, which has no long-term impact, and the farmers are not improving ... but donors like the EU and US keep funding the same production-based projects they have been doing for decades. (NGO₂)

This temporally and spatially dislocated approach to international 'development' delivered via 'projects' implies a spatial imagery of isolated point based interventions, 'dotted' about the landscape, which may or may not be scaled up or scaled out. In order to scale a project up (or out) to other places, sometimes in the same country, sometimes on different continents, one might logically assume that this would involve a deep knowledge of, and involvement with, the

⁹⁵ Part of this quote has been used earlier in the thesis, repeated in full here for emphasis.

local. Instead, the starting point is usually a Western donor organisation, with a plan, spatially, and temporally, to implement projects and to link them together under a theme (*their* theme) of, for example, improving access to healthcare or training for farmers. What is actually meant when large donors talk about ‘scaling up’ their projects, is a central vision and approach that would be more accurately described as ‘scaling down’ to the regional and local levels: the move is from ‘above’ to ‘below’ from central conception to local execution, rather than any eruption out of an idea from one local initiative to another elsewhere.

For example the DFID Girls Education Fund, which operates in 18 different countries in Africa and Asia, states that one of its aims is to implement “large-scale projects rolling out and scaling up proven approaches” (DFID, 2016b). While the WHO published a document entitled “Nine steps for developing a scaling-up strategy” (WHO, 2010), which does not place the local knowledge, or the views of local people at the heart of its strategy and instead states that:

Scaling up is predominantly an organizational, managerial, political and capacity-building task, the principles of which are similar across multiple areas of application. (WHO, 2010:3)

The precise lack of agreement, and clarity, on the term ‘scaling up’ is “symptomatic of the lack of clarity in the conceptualisation of most [aid] projects” (Tripp, 2006:213). This unquestioning, uneven, ambiguous use of the word ‘scale’ is, to some, dangerous, particularly if decisions about peoples’ lives are based on the use of a concept, and term, that is not understood (Smith, 2004). As discussed in Chapter 3, scale is a social production and can replicate the social world, along with its inequalities, therefore the use of the term scale, and of scaling up; as it refers to aid projects, can be argued to be particularly insidious in the way, it has entered the accepted lexicon of international ‘development’, with little evidence on where, if any, benefits might lie.

Participatory approaches

One way to engage, empower and listen to local people is to employ a participatory approach to poverty reduction. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 6, such an approach involves working closely with local people, and is often significantly more time-consuming than simply implementing, or scaling up or indeed scaling out, the ‘one size fits all’ aid-funded project. As one Malawian-based project manager notes:

In Malawi frequent government policy changes mean there is a lack of consistency ... the Scottish Government could help to combat this by being different and looking at one sector, and building on what has gone previously, not always constantly moving, changing and doing new things. (NGO6)

Several interviewees in both Malawi and Scotland reason that a lack of understanding of the 'big picture' meant that 'development' efforts in general were piecemeal and fragmented. While they supported the SG, and felt it had the potential to make a big impact in one sector, by becoming more deeply involved and embedded, instead the concern was that, like too many donors, it spread its money across too many areas:

If the Scottish Government wanted to have a big impact they could look at one sector, and try to really understand it. For example, they would try to understand a whole value chain in the agriculture sector, like nuts or coffee ... and not just focus on funding one project on one aspect, like production, but take into account marketing, business plans, training, export policy, and access to markets to enable farmers to move up from being just poor farmers to being business people. (NGO2)

Additionally, several interviewees suppose that the SG is "missing a trick" by not capitalising on its previously successful projects, instead every three years funding a brand new set of projects that do not necessarily build on what had been achieved previously (NGO8, A3, M1, GM3). This could be seen to be the SG conforming to 'best practice' in administering aid funds (as defined by organisation such as the UN) by implementing a fair and open assessment process for applicants to its international 'development' funding, but the outcome of these short-term international development projects is viewed as a serious failing. This focus again by the SG on conforming to neoliberal practices, which privilege the knowledge of the private sector over the knowledge of the public sector, and of the global over the local, does not appear to benefit Malawi. For people in Malawi, a less open and more tailored approach to funding might actually be welcomed, where specific organisations are invited to apply for funding, based on a need in Malawi, or as the continuation and deepening of a previously welcomed and successful project, rather than simply waiting to see who applies, and then giving money to the best written applications.

Participatory approaches can be complex, and they are by no means perfect (Cooke and Kothari, 2001), but they do offer an alternative approach to poverty reduction (Parfitt, 2004) with a focus on the subaltern and on local spaces and local knowledge, illustrating and challenging how Western concepts of knowledge are constructed and accepted as true (Briggs & Moyo, 2012). However, local knowledge needs the space to be heard, valued and understood in local contexts, as sometimes local knowledge itself can be subject to stratifications that exclude people on the basis of, for example, gender or age. A key element of a participatory approach to poverty reduction, as well as addressing local needs around issues related to access to services, is to

empower people. This may not yield easy-to-measure results in three years, as required in most current donor-funded programmes, driven by short term neoliberal targets.

One GoM official discusses the importance of participatory approaches to development, and how they are working in reality. By enabling dialogue with the local community who need services, and the local/national government who supply services, local people are involved in decision-making which “can be great to see, people suddenly realising they are allowed to ask for what they want and need for themselves, their family, and their community to be stable and successful” (GM3). Programmes which encourage participatory approaches can also help local people to follow up on agreements made by NGOs, as well as by local and national government, and provide a legal service to hold governments to account. The approach aims to ensure that the government delivers support and services for all people, while taking into account the voices of underrepresented groups, such as women, disabled people and other vulnerable people. An example of where a programme based on participatory approaches might work to help people improve their own life is in food security:

Food security is a basic human right and people should demand that right be met by local and national implementers through requesting things like effective irrigation, water management, good quality seeds, training for farmers and access to markets ... but it is not only about gaining knowledge about what you are entitled to, but putting into practice the demand, and achievement, of that human right. (GM3)

For those living in rural communities, if there are no basic services, then the priority is to get those services: “the end user doesn’t care where they come from, they can get the services from a variety of sources, government or NGO” (GM3). However, if the only provider of local services is the private sector, this focus on a neoliberal vision to the exclusion of state funded services and resources, risks excluding the most vulnerable, who cannot afford to pay for water, food, housing, healthcare and education, and without any form of welfare state (as is the case in countries like Malawi) the neoliberal model fails those in society who are most in need of help.

Set against these progressive visions of local empowerment, one Scottish manager of a project in Malawi, funded by the SG, reflects that most international development projects do not adequately take into consideration the views of local people, so, in her project, she set out to ask people what is important to them (NGO8). She also sought to identify and to take account of the differences between villages and between different groups of people by holding focus groups with different groups of people, including men, women, youth and disabled, in seeking to understand the priorities and needs of each group. By using this inclusionary participatory approach, this project enabled and supported each village or town to identify their specific

needs, and take account of differences between and crucially, stratification within, groups (Briggs, 2008). Through this project, and its subsequent research work, she is very aware that “you cannot just scale up projects to all villages, [because] even among villages very close together priorities can differ” (NGO8).

While being in favour of a participatory approach to poverty reduction, several members of the MaSP (NGO4 and NGO2) and a senior Malawian civil servant (GM3) argue that capacity-building is key to the development of Malawi, and for helping Malawi to “stand on its own two feet” (GM3). This point, made by several senior Malawians active in civil society and government, illustrates a key issue for this thesis; that balanced long-term partnerships are needed to make a long-term and positive difference in Malawi, and which are based on a bottom-up participatory approach founded on partnerships, compared to a rigid ‘one size fits all’ structure imposed from the top-down. Further analysis of the partnership approach taken by the SG in its funding approach in Malawi has already been offered in Chapter 6, and it is fair to conclude that, given Scotland’s close relationship with Malawi, the SG is well placed to deliver capacity-building projects, and truly embedded projects, if it manages to break away from its short-term neoliberal based funding model, since these types of partnerships require ongoing and long-term support (NGO2, NGO4, GM3).

The Malawi Scotland partnership

One Scottish project manager notes that a minister in the GoM, while welcoming links with Scottish organisations, academic institutions in particular, said that he wanted Scottish universities and other organisations:

... to take ownership at the highest levels to work with their counterparts in Malawi, and not just through philanthropic means, but in the key areas of knowledge exchange, research and impact. (AS4).

In essence, the government minister was asking for longer-term full partnerships, with different people at different levels in an organisation, partnering with their opposite numbers in Malawi, not short-term project-focused partnership run by ‘experts’ or project managers. In this way, a partnership can be between organisations and individuals, but not dependent on one or two key people, resulting in the partnership failing if those people leave their position. Instead, long-term sustainable partnerships can be built if organisations commit to the process at all levels, or scales, of their activity with even small actions, such as an annual meeting between senior personnel making a significant difference to the success of a project on the ground (AS4).

The Scottish model of ‘development’, based on partnerships between two (or more) organisations, with the one in Scotland receiving funding, can also have its problems and drawbacks, and several project managers in Scotland and Malawi noted that partnerships do not always work. In some cases, there are communication problems, including physical problems such as access to computers, internet and telephones, as well as cultural differences with the use of different communication technologies, and for others there are problems with openness and transparency. A senior Malawian academic (A1) remarks how Malawians often feel that they cannot be honest with non-Malawians, especially those who bring money and resources, as they do not want to risk losing access to the money that the partnership brings. There is also an African cultural tradition of bad or unwelcome news simply being avoided, which can be misinterpreted by those unfamiliar with such cultural norms (A2). It is therefore essential for all partners to understand each other’s perspectives, and for Scottish partners, and researchers, in particular to be aware that:

Malawians are very polite and do not always speak openly about their feelings with other people, so some Malawians may not always be honest because of a fear of offending, and researchers [this researcher in particular] need to critically review interviews and transcripts, bearing in mind the desire of Malawians to please guests and not offend anyone. (A1)

While one Scottish project manager acknowledges that her organisation has been working in partnership with people and organisations in Malawi for many years, so that they are not going to “walk away”, she also admitted that there are at times breakdowns in communication. She has noticed that Malawians are very uncomfortable and unwilling to raise problems when they arise, which she sometimes felt frustrated about, as for her “honest and open relationships and communication between partners are essential” (AS4).

Another Malawian project manager (NGO2) reflects, very hesitantly, that there were some problems in his relationship with Scottish volunteers working for his organisation, although he is very reluctant to discuss the detail of the project and is quick to explain that, although there were problems, the project was a good one and that the relationship with the primary Scottish partner remains strong. It was clear that some serious problems had existed with this project, but his reticence to discuss them is pronounced. It could be that Malawians are polite to a fault, or it could be that the power imbalance of being the recipient of aid money, with no, or limited, decision-making powers, conveys a feeling of powerlessness, even inferiority, where there is no space to be critical for fear that the project will end and the money be withdrawn – even money with strings attached – since a project based on a poor understanding of the local is better than no money or input at all. The interviewee goes on to note that, despite there having been some

problems, overall he had a “great relationship with his Scottish partners as they are supportive and I feel they understand the local environment very well, and are able to help find solutions to problems, because they know Malawi so well” (NGO2). This is, to his mind, because the organisation with which he works in Scotland has people who have lived in Malawi for long periods, know the country well and have regular visits and communication.

In general, most people interviewed are positive about the partnership approach to international development funding that the SG promotes. There is nonetheless recognition of some approaches that appear to hinder those trying to work in Malawi. One of these was the rule with regard to assets, such as vehicles, where the SG has now banned spend on vehicles from any future funding applications to their fund⁹⁶. The SG rationale for this decision is that vehicles are very expensive assets, sometimes bought from overseas for tens of thousands of pounds, and ones that require ongoing maintenance and unpredictable costs. Additionally, once a vehicle has been purchased the SG has no control over who uses it, for what purpose, or what portion of the vehicles time will actually be used to further the aims of the specific project. Lastly, the SG feels that once a vehicle has been purchased it will have no control over what happens to it once the project ends, and the concern is that large sums of money (upwards of 30,000) could be spent to buy a vehicle for a three-year project, following which an individual could simply take the vehicle and use it for personal use (SMP, 2015; observation of the MaSP Health and Economic Development Strand meetings, June 2014)⁹⁷. However, for many in Malawi this stance is short-sighted and shows a lack of knowledge about the local situation and the shortage of viable public transport options, a point that was discussed, and criticised, in detail at the MaSP Sustainable Economic Development Meeting (Fieldwork Diary, June 2014). Both arguments have merit: public transport can be difficult and time-consuming in Malawi, but the number of NGO funded cars in cities like Lilongwe and Blantyre is high, in any journey through those cities NGO and UN branded cars are frequent sights, meaning that most NGOs working in Malawi acknowledge that their staff need vehicles to travel, although whether they need quite so many is debateable.

⁹⁶ Information correct at the time of the fieldwork during 2014, decisions on this may change following the SG consultation in 2016.

⁹⁷ Due to this issue being of concern to partners, in both Malawi and Scotland, the SMP produced a discussion paper setting out the issues around vehicles. It was also discussed in detail at the MaSP Health strand meeting and the MaSP Sustainable Economic Strand Meeting, both held in June 2014. Link to the SMP discussion paper: http://www.scotland-Malawipartnership.org/files/9514/6289/6840/SG_Vehicle_Policy_SMP_June_2015.pdf

“NGOs are like vultures in Africa, and an Africa without NGOs would be a better place” (A1)

It is clear that the role of NGOs in ‘development’ in Africa is a contentious one, and that there is often a significant difference between small NGOs and large international NGOs. For many people living in Malawi, NGOs are frequently the only reason that they have access to clean water, electricity or a school; while for others NGOs, like aid more generally, are a “necessary evil” (IN12). The project manager of an SG-funded project feels that the SG “bottom-up approach” (NGO8) of giving money to organisations, not directly to the GoM, is a good approach. That said, she also fears that frequently the organisations getting the money are not truly Scottish organisations, but rather international NGOs who happen to have an office in Scotland, like Oxfam or Save the Children, and, if the SG international development policy is concerned with creating links between two countries, then her worry was that funding these large international NGOs is precisely *not* meeting this objective.

In 2015 the SG funded 17 different organisations to work with partners in Malawi for three years, with the projects due to end in 2018, as illustrated in Appendix 4. Of those 17 organisations 7 have a head office based in England or Wales, not Scotland. The organisations which received funding from the SG in 2015 (regardless of geographical location) are listed below:

- NHS Scotland Lothian
- Robert Gordon University
- Yorkhill Children’s Charity
- University of Strathclyde (x2)
- The Global Concerns Trust
- Mary’s Meals
- Link Community Development
- Glasgow City Council
- Chance for Change (x2)
- SGURR Energy
- Christian Aid (CA) Scotland
- Oxfam Scotland
- Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO)
- Meningitis Research Foundation
- Tearfund (x2)

- Opportunity International UK
- The Cooperative College

One GoM official (GM3) agrees that Scotland should be focusing on funding actual Scottish organisations, if partnerships between the two countries are its focus. However, larger NGOs can, in his view, be good partners for the GoM due to the resources available to them, but then they do not need, or want, to engage with small organisations like the SMP or the MaSP as they have many options for funding. They are not therefore reliant on SG funding, but will take it if available. While a senior member of the GoM notes that all NGOs working in Malawi must demonstrate how they fit with the objectives of the Malawi Growth and Development strategy, he believes that:

The big NGOs are more closely involved with the GoM than smaller ones, as big NGOs have a huge basket of resources, bigger than the government in some cases, so the government can use this. However, small NGOs sometimes don't have the resources to have long term-plans and frequent progress reports, and are not necessarily a good partner for a government to have. (GM3)

It might also be noted that, while the GoM, the SG, the SMP, the MaSP and parts of Malawian civil society, as well as project managers in both countries, were happy to give up their time to be interviewed for this research, the larger international NGOs (five of whom were contacted) were not (Fieldwork Diary, 2014). One of the reasons for this null response could be the fact that for some of the smaller organisations the relationship with Scotland is indeed about more than just money, a point discussed previously in greater detail in Chapters 6 and 7. Additionally, in comparison to the large international donors, Scotland, with its very small international development budget of £9 million per annum, is just not a big enough donor for professional fundraisers in large international NGOs to have the time to spend on it; neither, arguably, do they have much to gain financially from exploring long term relationships or furthering links with such a small donor region/country, beyond completing applications for funding.

While there is substantial literature on the role of independent international institutions and governments in poverty reduction, an area for further in-depth study is the role of NGOs, as they can act in a variety of guises. They can be agents of the state, agents of change or representatives of the people, as Green (2008) suggests. NGOs are therefore not a homogenous group, and it can be dangerous to treat them as such, as their standpoints, aims and practices can be vastly different. It can often be assumed that NGO activity is a good thing, as it may, for example, encourage partnership working, build the capacity of local NGOs or bring an exchange of people and ideas largely free from government control. However, NGOs can have a religious

or ideological bias, may operate on the principles of charity, not poverty reduction, and not be aware of, or reflective about, long-term historical injustices and how they are replicated, as discussed in Chapter 2. Many NGOs operate like charities with many well-meaning volunteers simply going to countries like Malawi with a desire to ‘do good’. One retired nurse currently working in Malawi stated that:

The thing I enjoy most is going to the market and buying lots of dolls and books, and when I give them to the children, you should see their faces! Sometimes I give blankets to the mothers, and they have tears in their eyes because they know that somebody cares about them; they know that I care.
(M8)

While it is difficult to criticise someone who cares about other people, to many in Malawi, this type of charity is not targeted, but random and it is not always needed. It also perpetuates the trope of Africa as a dependent continent, and African people as childlike, as people not in control of their own destinies: it is “patronising and insulting” (A2).

Corbridge (2008) outlines the difficulties and the damage that well-intentioned development practitioners can generate on the ground if they do not understand the inequalities and power relationships that exist across a society, not just between societies. For example, a poverty reduction programme run by inexperienced volunteers could consider that speaking to the local village committee meets the requirements for community engagement. Without an awareness of cultural issues, such as gender relations and bias against disabled people or other marginalised groups, however, they will not have sought the views of a whole community, only those of the dominant group in that community, the dangers of such an approach having been discussed earlier in this chapter.

Cultural complexities

One Malawian researcher claims that, to her mind, one of the main failings of aid is how it is primarily delivered and managed by foreign aid workers (A2). She observes that the problems with so many foreign workers are exacerbated by the fact that Malawi still holds on to strong tribal and religious beliefs, with local and tribal nuances that can differ over very small geographical distances:

One tribe outside Zomba never talk about, or use the word ‘toilet’, and a tribe outside Lilongwe try to eat only meat and have secret rituals for the teenage boys who travel away a boy and come back a man, then there is village next to them which drinks a lot of milk and Kuche Kuche [alcohol], so no one trusts them very much ... it can be difficult for Malawians to understand, never mind foreigners. (A2)

She also remarks that, while Malawi claims to be Christian country, most people mix their Christianity with traditional beliefs:

Most people would call themselves Christian, but they mix this with other beliefs, traditional beliefs in things like prophets ... this is a bad thing for Malawi as people will do things that prophets tell them to do, this could include crimes, or things to do with their family or their health, like not taking HIV medication. People also blame witches for bad things happening to them rather than taking personal responsibility. (A2)

These tribal and cultural nuances at the local level pose significant problems for project implementation, and international 'development' more widely, as on British project manager living in Malawi remarks:

Some local differences are not known about, never mind understood by external people and aid workers ... it would take a long time of living in Malawi to know and understand even just some of the tribal traditions, but some aid workers are here a year or two and think they know everything. (NGO3).

At the meeting of the Health Stand, one Malawian project manager spoke about the problems of recruiting and training women to be midwives. Malawi has one of the world's highest maternal death rates prompting ongoing initiatives to train midwives. One of the solutions to the lack of trained midwives in rural areas is for Malawi College of Nursing to target the "brightest and cleverest" girls in rural villages and give them training so they can "deliver healthy babies in the places when women cannot reach the health centres and hospitals" (GM1). However, as the project manager notes:

... the communities are very worried about witches, and do not trust these girls, sometimes the midwives are the only educated girls in a whole village, and as a result of this 'the witches will be onto them', making them bring bad luck, and no-one wants bad luck on their labour bed" (GM1).

The GoM representative at the meeting commented that, while the GoM Ministry of Health might not acknowledge witchcraft, it is still a problem with people believing in "bewitchment", especially in rural areas (A2). The government's approach is to encourage traditional authorities to deal with witchcraft problems⁹⁸, but with the threat that the government would remove money and support from a village if they did not "sort the witchcraft problem out", as "witchcraft is not something the Ministry of Health should have to deal with" (GM2). While the issue of governments having to take a stance on witchcraft is unusual, it shows the complexity of

⁹⁸ Whether the midwives are viewed as witches, or as the targets of witches is unclear, and seems to differ in different local situations.

working within a different culture, and illustrates the complexity of local knowledge; sometimes local knowledge should not be privileged, and should be challenged, as the GoM is doing.

One particular issue that was uncovered during fieldwork concerned the views of a small cohort of foreign aid workers, generally people who would be classed as ‘professional aid workers’, with several expatriate project managers expressing the view that “Malawians lack get up and go and initiative, and giving hand-outs does not help with this dependence culture” (M3). A foreign aid worker (now retired) who had lived in Malawi for many decades declared that:

A culture of dependency has arisen in Malawi and too many people expect a handout in the form of aid, but long-term aid is not good for a country. It has been very bad for Malawi to receive donor handouts and is deeply disappointing that Malawi doesn’t have more to show after 50 years of independence. If more people, especially people in positions of power, made sacrifices then everyone in Malawi could have basic facilities and education ... but money has been squandered as people in power, like chancellors of universities, made decisions without considering the needs of the very poor in the country they were living in. They saw what the west had and wanted it ... they tried to run before they could walk, and the whole country has paid for it.” (M3)

While this is a difficult opinion to hear, it does not mean it should be ignored. Indeed, many Malawians, including academics, journalists and politicians, feel genuinely upset that their country remains dependent on what they see as ‘hand-outs’ from richer countries. However, the colonial, cultural, neoliberal capitalist policies which have resulted in the unequal world we currently live in, continue to keep Malawi in a state of dependency today:

So, what’s there to celebrate on our National Day⁹⁹? Is it neo-colonialism, emancipation from colonial bondage or the fact that now its fellow Malawians messing us up? How come that when 49 years after becoming an independent sovereign State, we are just as bad—if not worse off in our living standard, than we were on July 6 1964? (*The Nation*, 13/7/2013)

Some Malawians did express similar views concerning a culture of dependence, not about themselves but about other groups within their country, with one senior Government official stating that “uneducated people, people from the villages are more likely to wait for an NGO to come and give them what they need than to work for it themselves” (GM2). Almost every Malawian interviewed, who was not part of the government, expressed a deep mistrust about their politicians and about people in positions of power, with one Lilongwe resident objecting that:

⁹⁹ In July 2014, during the period of my fieldwork, Malawi celebrated fifty years of independence, resulting much discussion on the issue of what Malawi has to show after fifty years of independence.

... politicians, policemen, soldiers, are robbers, they are all robbers, they take from the people, all they do is take ... and it is legal for them to rob us, but what can we do? (M2)

It should be noted that during the summer of 2014, whilst this research was being conducted, a large political corruption scheme dubbed ‘Cashgate’ was uncovered – as mentioned earlier – where politicians and civil servants had allegedly stolen millions of government money. Malawians and foreign workers alike, also accept that corruption exists at different levels of the GoM, with many people complaining about the arbitrary roadblocks, at which police officers would “invent reasons to get money out of you” (M6). This reality is just one way that create a distance between the state and local people. However, one Malawian shared his views that police officers earn so little they are forced to behave in this way, and that the government should pay them a “decent wage” in order to stop corruption (M2).¹⁰⁰

It is also necessary to realise that Malawi is not a country which embraces multiculturalism, at least not in any visible way, with deep divides and racist language used when describing someone from a different ethnic group to your own; with Black Malawians, Asian Malawians and White Malawians all living in the same places, but rarely interacting on a social or personal basis. Approximately 82% of Malawians are Christian, 13% Muslim and the remaining follow local/indigenous religions.¹⁰¹ One Malawian project manager recounts that, when her son had a birthday party, invitations were sent out to her whole class for a party:

... but the only children who accepted were other black Malawians and some of the expat [white] children, [but] none of the Asian children, or [the children of indigenous] white Malawians attended. (NGO3)

Refreshingly, very few of the foreign workers in Malawi hold questionable or racist views, with one (now retired) foreign worker in the health sector remarking that:

Malawians are incredibly hard working; they have to [be] because life is very hard in Malawi, so to survive you have to work constantly. There is no safety net here. If you are ill, if you are out of work, then no-one will provide food or shelter for your children ... so Malawians have to work hard to support not just themselves but often many members of an extended family, placing a great burden on individuals that people in the UK just couldn’t comprehend. (IN18)

¹⁰⁰ Malawian Police officers at the constable level earn approximately £12 per week, or £48 a month – a very small amount of money to live on for anyone: <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-05-07-corrupt-police-shake-down-malawi/>

¹⁰¹ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mi.html>.

Another foreign researcher and project worker (A5) notes that people in Malawi, and in villages in particular, are up at dawn to heat water over an open fire, to make food; women walk many miles each day for firewood and water, often carrying heavy burdens; electricity and access to clean water is a luxury. It is perhaps surprising that more foreign people do not share the view that Malawians are a very hard-working people; they just do not necessarily conform to protestant-Calvinist notions of 'work', but are still highly independent and entrepreneurial people, with many Malawians farming small sections of land and making goods to sell. However, because they do not necessarily go to an office or a factory, and then finish work when they return home, their work is not always recognised by capitalist time-work directives of what is work, but eating, living and having shelter is hard work when you are a poor person living in a poor country. As one foreign project worker continues:

... life in Malawi is very hard for some people, and even young children have to work to try and support their family, often sacrificing an education to do so, but work here is literally a matter of life and death. (A5)

These differences of opinion, clashes of cultures, racism, poverty, power and lack of understanding of local circumstances all come together in a melting pot called 'development'. It is perhaps not surprising that 'development' here, as elsewhere, has reached an impasse (Potter et al, 2008). What is clear is that greater critical analysis is needed of what has not worked, and why, and what is genuinely helping to reduce poverty, and why. At the core of this matter are the voices of the people on the ground, voices not present and rarely heard in the offices in London and New York when funding decisions are made, although hopefully they are heard a little in Edinburgh due to the funding of networking organisations specifically to give people a voice, along with the SGs focus on partnerships as a key element of its funding process.

Even in a post-Washington Consensus world neoliberalism still underpins the policy and practice of 'development', including that funded by the SG. However, the longstanding relationships between Scotland and Malawi with its focus on partnerships and friendships allows a space for critique, for challenge, and ultimately for a form of 'development' that is grounded in Malawi, "in the local and everyday realities of particular peoples and places" (Power, 2003:137). As Corbridge (2008) has succinctly pointed out, however, traditional 'development' from the "West knows best" approaches of the 1950s, to the aggressive neoliberal policies of the 1980s, are not going to disappear and present a clean slate for more equal or participatory-based forms of poverty reduction to replace them. In the same vein, critiques (and proponents) of 'development', of neoliberalism, and of poverty reduction, are also here to stay. What comes out of this mix is, at times, a chaotic analytical process combined with the mixed

grounded experiences and ongoing legacies of power inequalities, but it is crucial that this critique continues.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

Malawi and Scotland as partners

The SG and the GoM's modern day partnership started with a Co-operation Agreement, signed by two heads of state, one of a small Northern country, one of a small Southern country. The policies, funding model, documentation and monitoring of the funds, which support the aims of joint co-operation to benefit both countries, are based on bureaucracy assumed to be logical and infallible, and applied to managing money in Western donor organisations and governments. The problems which many on the receiving end of this bureaucracy encounter has been explored in Chapters 7 and 8, which demonstrates the neoliberal trend towards ever increasing target-driven, short-term, auditable processes which are being prioritised over making a long term positive difference to real people's lives. However, the focus on partnership at the heart of the SG-GoM relationship and while that is not necessarily unusual in a modern 'development' context, it is also not necessarily the norm. Here is where the SG-GoM policy, and practice, is both held back and pushed forward by the weight of history.

It is the history of implementing and managing 'development' funds, with power and decision-making residing in the Northern governments and institutions, which has clearly influenced the design and administration of the SG funding model. However, it is also the historical connections which Scotland and Malawi share, a history based on the equality often espoused by Livingstone, and by many of the missionaries who followed in his name, and by the people of Malawi and Scotland who remember that history. It may not always be an accurate memory, it may well be selective in places, but that memory, that history, is indisputably – as my research has revealed – the basis of a partnership model of development enacted in offices, hospitals, universities, schools, fields and church halls in Malawi and Scotland today. Intriguingly then as one critical 'development' geographer reflects:

... possibilities [for social change] rest crucially on specific but interconnected historical geographies as well as on how memories and meanings of the past are reconfigured in the present in and through everyday situated practices. Precisely because politics can't be read off economic structures and crises, such specificities and interconnections will be crucial to any effort to produce a different politics, and to forge alliances across registers of difference (Hart, 2009:137)

These possibilities for social change based on historical alliances infusing modern-day networks offer a different way to address the vast inequalities that exist in the world today, between people and places. That is not to say that there are not complaints or criticisms about the

partnerships (or the actions of individual partners), as explored in Chapters 7 and 8, but the relationship is still a valued one and should not be taken for granted. Of course the value in this relationship lies in the fact that the history here holds some benign even inspirational figures, and moments, the situation would be very different if history were less benign, as it is for many of the relationships between those previously colonised countries, and their former colonial ‘masters’. Chapter 8 considered some of the tensions that exist between Malawi and the wider UK, largely as a result of the history, and memory, of colonialism, a negative history that Scotland and Malawi’s relationship appears to have escaped, as was explored in depth in Chapters 5 and 6.

The partnership model of development between Malawi and Scotland could be considered unique in a number of ways. Firstly, it is based upon a historical relationship that has allowed a particular – and particularly benign – view of Livingstone, and of Scotland to emerge in Malawi, and of Malawi to emerge in Scotland. That view has enabled partnerships and friendships to be built which, although modern in character, are firmly rooted in the past and seem to have escaped the ills of colonialism: no mean feat given the greed, disrespect, racism and oftentimes cruelty that lay at the heart of colonial rule. Secondly, as a result of the historical relationship the modern relationship between two governments is itself situated firmly in the concept of equal partnerships, and indeed of friendship between two “sister nations” (Ross, 2013:9). This language is not one commonly used when describing government-to-government relationships in international ‘development’, and illustrates a different type of relationship than that running between the usual donor and recipient. This different type of relationship appears to be one that the SG and the GoM both value, as demonstrated throughout Chapters 6, 7 and 8. It could also be argued that the SG, by *not* publically criticising Malawi or its government (unlike the UK Government, which has been very critical of the GoM), have not created a power dynamic whereby donors dictate what poor countries must do in order to receive aid. The SG does not approach Malawi with demands, and with tied aid, but instead with offers of partnerships with Scottish institutions, schools, churches and universities and, as has been discussed in Chapter 8, this approach is welcomed by the GoM because it does not impose, or suppose, a power relationship whereby Scotland has any right to make demands on Malawi.

It is always important, however, to be cautious when using terms like partnerships, and participatory approaches and as Cooke and Kothari (2001) note these principles can be applied without care, without thought, and even to the detriment of communities and people they are meant to benefit. While empowerment and participation sound positive, and would on the surface appear to be a useful approach to use in ‘development’, these “buzzwords” (Cornwall

and Brock, 2005) litter the funding proposals and reports that are written about (not for) poor people living in poor places. This thesis has attempted to deconstruct development, and to critically examine not just the actions and policies that those working in the field of 'development' use, but their very words as the:

fine-sounding words that are used in development policies do more than provide a sense of direction: they lend the legitimacy that development actors need to justify their interventions. Paying attention to the ways in which particular development buzzwords have come to be used, then, sheds interesting light on the normative project that is development (Cornwall and Brock, 2005:1044)

While Leal (2007:545) goes even further in his frank assertion that "[o]ne cannot speak of participation when a few global power-brokers decide the fates of more than two thirds of the world's population". Others, however, (Parfitt, 2004) argue that participation should be defended and its principles based on dialogue and empowerment reinforced, not downgraded. Like much of the policy and practice of 'development' there is a middle ground. Participation and participatory approaches should not be abandoned, instead they need to be reoriented, and specifically *not* used as a neoliberal tool to control and cement power in Northern institutions, while paying lip service to sharing power. If individuals, organisations or governments truly wish to engage with participatory approaches, and if people living in countries like Malawi want to be part of partnerships and involved in dialogue as part of a participatory approach, as has been indicated throughout this thesis, then that should not be ignored. While much of 'development' can be fraught with difficulty in terms of the history and wide variety of practices, the potential for open and honest partnerships as a force for good cannot be ignored.

In the case of Malawi and Scotland, as has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, I would argue that in addition to a formal basis of partnership at the heart of the relationship there also lies friendship, and that word alone is a powerful one. While money, and the governance of aid money, imposes titles like donor and recipient, the word friendship has the potential to break down those barriers and actively to destabilise the power balance that would see a Northern country with money automatically have greater power than does a poor Southern country like Malawi. 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. My own empirical research, especially in Malawi, brought me close to the grounded feelings and experiences of Malawians who were part of partnerships with people in Scotland - in which there did genuinely seem to be a sense

of friendships existing between people who were geographically distant, but not hierarchically scaled so as to give preference to the views and opinions of the Northern partner, hence reinforcing my conclusions about friendship cutting through power inequalities. However, it is important to note that in reality most friendships do have their differences (their fallings-out, jealousies, frustrations), some of which were uncovered in my research, and it would be wrong to suggest that adopting a friendship model precludes any criticality.

What is clear is that the legacy of interconnectedness granted by Livingstone's memory, and turned into a positive historical narrative, grants a great deal of good will between Malawi and Scotland, however, it is not a *carte blanche*; the modern-day relationship, between governments and people, needs careful handling to ensure that the good will and relationships which exist are not lost through ideologically driven changes to international development policies and practices designed to make the exchange of ideas, people and money between Malawi and Scotland more bureaucratic, and in line with many large Northern based neoliberal donor organisations and governments. The great strength of the relationship between Malawi and Scotland is that, according to those interviewed, it is not like other relationships between recipient and donor: it is a unique relationship that should be nurtured. The key point being that the relationship arguably is different in that it lies outwith a neoliberal 'development' framework and that these partnerships and networks should not, to be prescriptive, be forced into a governance and management model that is 'one-size-fits all' 'development' project management model. To do so simply duplicates already well critiqued and arguably unsuccessful models of 'development'. The management and governance of funds to support networks, partnerships and friendships between Malawi and Scotland should be as unique as the relationship itself.

Recommendations for the SG and the GoM

In order to preserve and strengthen its unique partnership model, the SG, in conversation and collaboration with the GoM, needs to consider very seriously its policies and processes to ensure that at the heart of its relationship with Malawi is friendship and partnership, not simply the management of money. As part of what might be termed the 'Malawi-Scotland model' going forward, there are hence a number of key changes which could be considered by the SG and GoM, which include:

- For the SG to stop using the challenge fund model to disburse funds – it is chaotic and does not allow the SG or the GoM any control over who applies for funding, in what area

(thematic or geographical). Targeted funding rounds with specific goals, jointly produced by the GoM and the SG, would be a better way forward to disperse funds and meet the needs on the ground in Malawi.

- For the SG to maintain and strengthen its international development team: even while the civil service is under considerable budget pressures, there are false savings in outsourcing project management to external organisations who tend to operate through an ‘unfriendly’ model of financial governance. Additionally, this outsourcing removes the SG from the direct management of its projects in Malawi and could lead to a weakening of the relationship – an issue that many interviewees were concerned about.
- For the SG to consider more formal and regular staff exchanges of civil servants in both governments, and for the SG to consider situating its international development team in Malawi. The SG has staff in other places in the world (The US, China and Canada) and, by doing so in Malawi as well, would not only demonstrate a strong commitment to Malawi, but would also enable the SG better to understand the country, and its unique situation as a poor country at the sharp end of global neoliberal policies and practices.
- For the SG to consider the burden of reporting that it places on grant-holders in Scotland, and therefore in Malawi, and to consider why this ever increasing trend towards neoliberalism is being continually promoted by large international institutions – the very same institutions who have precisely *not* been successful with implementing international ‘development’ over the last 60 years.
- For the SG and GoM to work more closely together to ensure that projects considered successful by the GoM do not simply disappear. This links to the well-known criticism of international ‘development’ projects, namely that they are too short in time and too spatially disjointed in nature (see Chapter 2). The SG and the GoM could combat this problem by working together to plan a long-term strategy with guaranteed funding in specific thematic sectors, and geographical areas for 10-20 years, allowing continuity and long-term planning for the GoM, and for the hospitals, universities and schools who receive SG funding.
- For the SG and the GoM to consider together how to build on what has been previously funded, rather than have projects simply end without any follow-on work or further planning. This change may require some thinking about thematic sectors or geographical areas to prioritise, or of continuing funding for specific projects for the longer term. This was an issue that came up regularly in the fieldwork interviews, where

it was highlighted that opportunities for joined-up working and for capitalising on what had come previously were indeed being missed.

- For the GoM to be clearer about, and more assertive in articulating, what they would like SG funding to accomplish, and how they would like management and governance of projects in their country to be handled, and for the SG actively to listen and take these requests on board.
- For the SG to be honest and unashamed about its funding of networks and networking organisations and of providing small grants funding to small organisations in Scotland. Neither of these types of funding will directly contribute to all of the SDGs, nor are they likely to contribute to grand achievements in healthcare, education or any other global goal. What they will do, however, is to help people work together, help people to network, to share information and to forge partnerships, even friendships; and that is a laudable aim in its own right.
- For the GoM and the SG jointly to articulate their vision of partnership in ‘development’ and to consider how they could jointly influence global agendas and policies on ‘development’.

The reality of networks and scale

Social networks can bridge or jump spaces to link people, views and knowledges from disparate regions, but with similar political aims, for example the Fair Trade movement, anti-capitalist movement, and the MaSP and the SMP. These groups have the potential to redraft the world in which we live through an:

... alternative political ecology based on notions of sustainability, autonomy, diversity and alternative economies that do not conform to the mainstream discourse of development. (Escobar, 2007:21)

One needs to be careful not to romanticise social networks, however, or to privilege local knowledge above all else; instead, all knowledge needs to be given space to be heard and considered in each unique, local and embedded circumstance (Briggs, 2008). It is clear that advances in technology which make communication easier, the internet and social media, are breaking down national barriers, making scale and distance almost unimportant, and in so doing are “having a transformative effect on the distribution of power between states, societies and individuals” (Jenks, 2012:45). I would suggest that the MaSP and the SMP are composed of multiple assemblages of ‘networks within networks’. This assembling (and disassembling) of people and organisations who work together as partners and colleagues on specific projects are

changing the scale of activity at which people operate, moving from the local to the national and international.

The funding that the SG provides for the MaSP and the SMP appears to provide a framework, from which people and things can affix, and assemble together. They enable links to be created that cross the obvious divides of space, of oceans and deserts, but the links also cross the more ephemeral divides of culture, power and class, and by doing so allow new groups to form, new ways of working to develop, and new friendships to blossom and grow, but frequently based on old alliances:

My partner in Scotland is the [educational college] but they are not just colleagues; they are friends, without them my [educational college] would not have been able to grow and develop, and to reach more students ... education is key to Malawi's development and I am proud and happy to work with my Scottish friends ... Scotland has been the cornerstone of Malawi's education system since the time of the missions, many Malawian's have received an education because of Scottish missionaries ... it is only right we continue that relationship. (IN₁)

To the members of these networks, in both countries, the value of the network is not measured in statistics and figures, but on the strength of the relationship, and of the things which assemble around it. It may be that one of the things which assemble around a partnership is money, usually from the SG: but, while money is important because it allows people to do specific things, like travel or fund training for nurses or teachers, the money is not at the core: the partnership is at the core. As such these new ways of connectedness (Smith, 2008) could be considered a more hopeful ontology (Gibson-Graham, 2005) and another way to view the networks, partnerships and friendships that exist within, but are not necessarily defined, or constrained, by a capitalist/neoliberal world view. In this alternative political ecology (Esobar, 2005) it would appear that within the Malawi-Scotland relationships aid money is a “necessary evil” (IN₁₂)¹⁰², and value is instead placed on connections, friendships and partnerships. While further research could be usefully deployed on this topic, it is easy to imagine that these networks and assemblages of people and activities, of partnerships and friendships, will continue long into the future, hopefully a future where ‘development’ is no longer needed.

As example of how the relationship might be envisioned is set out in Figure 31 below, with just a few randomly chosen examples of partnerships blossoming in botanical fashion, from central relationship supported and enabled by the spaces and information which created and shared by the two networking organisations, all embedded in the substrate of governmental agreements,

¹⁰² Quote repeated from earlier in the thesis to emphasise this point.

and funding. This visualisation is designed to be a ‘flat ontology’, resisting a scalar/power influenced logic which would generally position governments, and money, at ‘the top’ and individuals and organisations at ‘the bottom’:

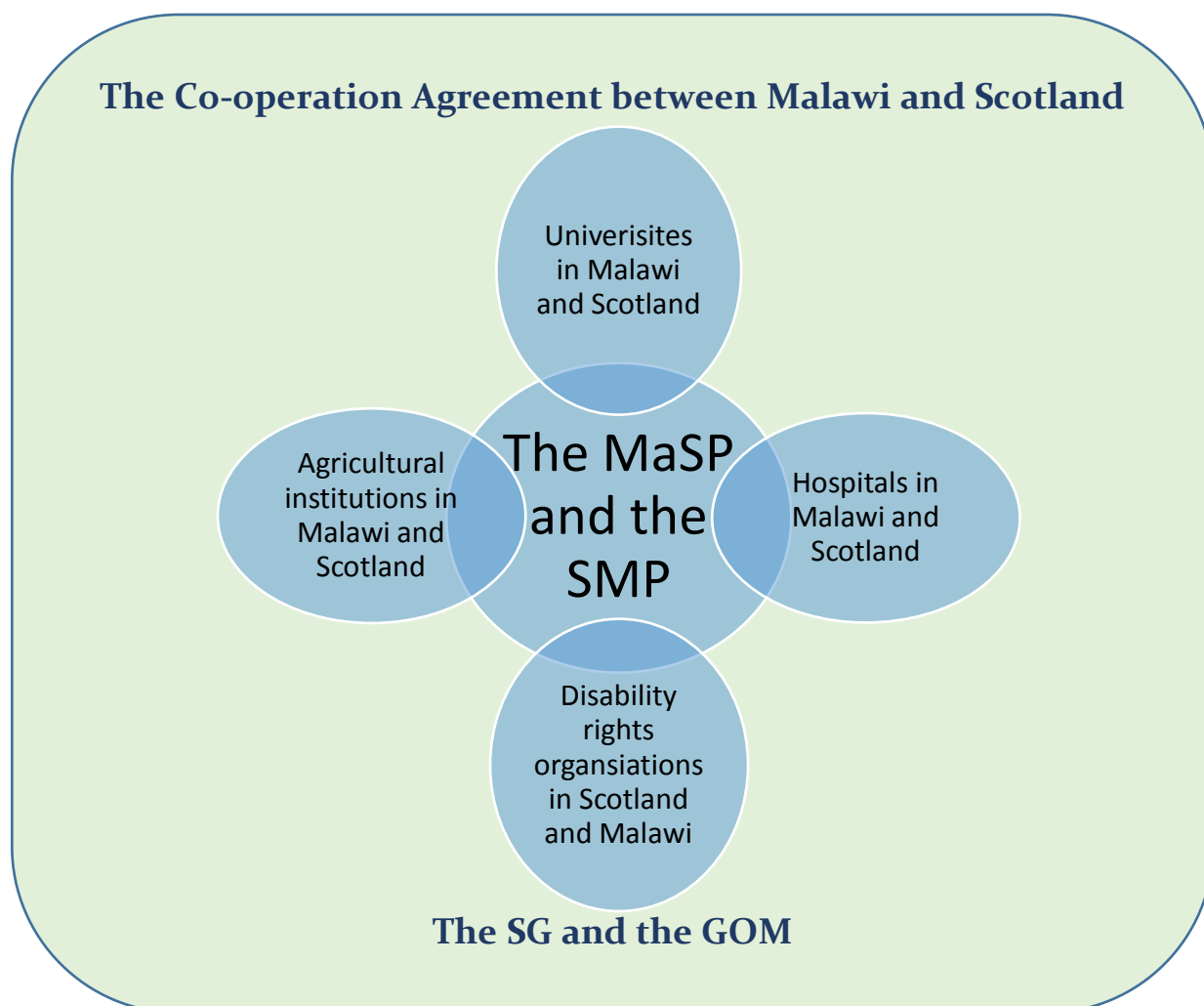


Figure 31: Simplified visualisation of the nodes which can assemble, or disassemble, around the networking organisations and government policies between Malawi and Scotland.

Social networks have the power to transform ‘development’, and it certainly appears that, along with a strong historical foundation and ongoing relationship, social networks between Malawi and Scotland have transformed, and continue to transform, ‘development’ as “[s]ocial networks importantly allow knowledge to be shared, and valued, regardless of where it was produced” (Jenks, 2012:45) This sense was certainly echoed in the views and attitudes of the networking organisations between Scotland and Malawi, where the voice of members of either organisation are given value and weight and shared at all levels, as discussed in greater detail in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

What this thesis shows, in terms of scale, networks and partnerships, is that in order to understand the real world, in all its complexity, with tangled lines of power, history, politics and policy, of individuals and groups, conceiving of a flat world with nodes and links has been a useful way to view the connections between Malawi and Scotland. This flat ontology can picture and embrace partnerships that span large distances and seem to escape from top-down power hierarchies. However, what it has also shown is that scale itself as a hierarchical concept cannot be simply ignored, as Marston et al (2005) have urged. Instead, and like many others (Hoefle, 2006; Leitner and Miller, 2007; MacKinnon, 2010), I would argue that scale allows uneven processes like development to be better understood when deployed as a tool to shine a (critical) light on 'top down' practices and processes. What a joint approach of integrating scale and flat ontologies brings to understanding the complexity of 'development' reveals is that, just as many different means of implementing development all exist simultaneously, so too do different ways of understanding and explaining such means. While the partnership model can be usefully understood and viewed through a flat, non-scaled view of the world, at the same time people are using these partnerships and networks to 'jump scale' and advocate for themselves, and their causes, in what still remains (in many domains of political economy and geopolitics) a problematically scaled world. This complexity and interaction between different models of practising and understanding 'development' is itself key not only to development, but to advances in deploying and using theories such as assemblage, network theory, and scale so as indeed better to understand, to interpret and ultimately to intervene in the world.

The Malawi-Scotland relationship and the postdevelopment discourse

International 'development' is a catch all phrase for a mix of policies and practice that are ever evolving, yet never in isolation: always entwined with history, with colonialism, with capitalism, and with neoliberalism. The role for the geographer, and for critical ethnography, has never been more needed to untangle these complex and uneven geographies of 'development'. Many of the critiques of development are themselves voices from the Global South (Escobar, 1995, 2008; Esteva, 1992; Chatterjee, 1993; Mignola, 2000), combining with Western academics (Corbridge, 1998; Power, 2003; Hart, 2001, 2009) to call for a post-development agenda, one which acknowledges the failure of the 'West knows best' approach rooted in benefit to the North. As a result, from the 1990s onwards, as part of what is termed the post-Washington Consensus, there has been an acknowledgement from Northern-based donor institutions that people and places do matter when planning, funding and implementing international

‘development’ policies and projects. The financial crisis of 2008 has been another shock to entwine itself in the ‘development’ discourse, but one whose impact is still being understood, but has clearly been another blow to the neoliberal agenda which has dominated for so long. Nonetheless, that neoliberal agenda has arguably not gone away (Peck, 2010); and in various respects, its tentacles can still be seen extending into the ‘development’ arena, not least in the micro-managing of all manner of relationships of concern in this thesis.

As a result, some would argue that development has reached an impasse (Potter et al, 2008) entwined in the tangled vines of colonialism and capitalism, while the growing interconnectedness of people and networks arguably calls for a different grassroots way of doing things (Escobar, 1995). I would suggest that ‘development’ is in a state of metamorphosis. As a concept it will always have its roots in the power inequalities of colonialism and capitalism, and that cannot, and should not, be denied; indeed, it needs to be understood more fully (Hart, 2009). However, the power of change arguably resides in the movements that have already been made towards a focus on local knowledge and sustainable development based on knowledge that is embedded in places where the need is the greatest:

The crux of this transition is an untenable tension between modernity’s functions of social regulation and social emancipation, in turn related to the growing imbalance between expectation and experience. (Escobar, 2007:27)

The Foucauldian-inspired approach to the analysis of development taken by post-development authors such as Escobar (1993, 2007) has shown clearly the political and institutional power of ‘development’, both as a discourse, and in its practical application. It is also clear that ‘development’ is not homogenous, and that current practices are embedded in many different theoretical standpoints, and wrapped up with historical and global processes, particularly colonialism and capitalism. What is important today is how ‘development’ is conceived and enacted on the ground (Nustad, 2007), and how the people there, on the ground, view those policies and practices.

The solution that might be sought from postdevelopment discourse is no less than an end to poverty and inequality – no small feat. As this thesis has demonstrated, there is no agreement on how to achieve this aim. What is clear is that the dialogue and critique of ‘development’ must continue as it creates not only an understanding of the power inequalities at the heart of the current global capitalist system of which ‘development’ is a part, but, more importantly, it creates a space for the voices of the subjects of ‘development’ to be heard, not just the implementers. In so doing, local knowledge is acknowledged, although not simplistically privileged (Briggs, 2005), allowing the possibility for recipients of ‘development’ to become

actors, active participants in their own lives, not passive recipients. Social networks facilitate this process, crossing national and international boundaries to give voice to individuals and enable collective actions to be taken. The SMP and the MaSP is one such network, or clusters of networks, and through it the voices of people in Malawi are better represented in places in Scotland where decisions about 'development' funding are made.

This partnership model of development between Malawi and Scotland and founded on a desire for strong and equal partnerships, even friendships, not just money management, could be replicated by other countries, and by development practitioners more widely. While the historical relationship based on partnership and friendships between Malawi and Scotland cannot be replicated, the way of working, of interacting and of respectfully engaging with each other could be replicated. It is with this relatively simple concept that this thesis contributes to the development literature: that those working in 'development', be they in rich countries or poor, small or large, should listen respectfully, should not wield power simply because they can, should try to situate themselves in others' shoes and should aim for equal partnerships, maybe even friendships in their work.

Concluding thoughts

It is not possible to predict the future path of 'development', whether as a theory subject to critique, or as a catch-all phrase for policies and practices enacted in different ways by different people in different parts of the globe. While the post-Washington Consensus attitudes, with words, if not always actions, encourages Northern donors to consider local circumstances and local people, neoliberal practices still underlie the policy and practice of 'development'. In spite of this the relationship between Malawi and Scotland, the GoM and the SG, while influenced by neoliberal policies and practices also seems able, at times, to rise above it and to privilege people over money. Perhaps because the SG and the GoM's current-day relationship was born out of a focus on civil society; on people as well as facts and figures, and on an increased focus on the local with an acceptance that local situations require local knowledge. While this has been a trend in international development policies of large Northern organisations since the 1990s onwards (Hart, 2001, 2009), it has undoubatably been at the heart of the SG-GoM relationship since its inception.

The outcome of this research is therefore to complicate the world even further by positioning itself in the spaces in-between, where practice and policy, local and global, politics and people, clash, agree, disagree, are antagonistic, are complementary, where there is no 'right' answer, no

one solution, no grand statements or theories. Instead, a complicated picture emerges of the relationship and networks between people located in different places, living and working in unique spaces, whose lives intersect and interact, and have been doing so for centuries, to create a more-or-less unique relationship and standpoint from which to view 'development'.

What this means for the relationship between Malawi and Scotland is that each person, each organisation, must be aware of their position in the world, their power, their bias, and actively work to avoid reproducing these biases on a micro or macro scale. For people in Malawi, it means making sure when they represent views of others, they do so openly without fear of sanction, and that they take care not to oversimplify or homogenise groups of people or problems. For people in Scotland, it means they must actually listen with an open mind and unbiased views, sometimes meaning they have to actively seek out views from those people living and working in the poorest places in the world – indeed in 2016 Malawi was ranked the third poorest nation in the world (IMF, 2016) – it is not a place where more 'development' failures can be tolerated. Open and equal partnerships are what is needed, if partnerships are simply about following a checklist of when to send an email between the SG and GoM, when to schedule a visit of a Scottish organisation to Malawi, or when to submit a report to the SG, then the partnership is vulnerable to being oversimplified and misunderstood; and the voices of those in Malawi are then particularly susceptible to being ignored. That is not to say that local voices should be privileged, but true partnership requires a setting aside of ego, or assumptions, of bias and where possible of external forces, allowing everyone to be open and honest.

One way that the Scottish-Malawi relationship is actively seeking to avoid this sort of 'development by numbers' approach is through the funding by the SG, and active support from both the SG and the GoM, of the MaSP and the SMP: these networked civil society organisations are providing platforms for people and organisations to have their voices heard, in local, national, and transnational fora. This gives a voice to people in both Malawi and Scotland to engage not just with their own governments, but with a government in a different country, and with the international 'development' agenda at a global level, jumping scales of activity and influence. There is also scope for these organisations, with the support of their governments, to develop a stronger agenda at a global level to educate, lobby and be part of the global debate on Malawi's future, as well as about international 'development' more widely, with the caveat that this is something the members of both the SMP and the MaSP aspire to do, as they are, after all, member-led, grassroots organisations.

This process of giving a voice to all people, and of crossing translocal boundaries (McFarlane, 2009), must also occur in tandem with an ongoing critique of ‘development’, and people should not be fearful of giving or receiving criticism for fear of public opinion or a “bad write up in the *Daily Mail*”¹⁰³(AS4), an example of which is illustrated in Appendix 6. This means that ‘development’ funding should not be used to coerce or control, and both recipients and donors must be open to criticism and feedback, for without it there is no change or progress, no removing of barriers, no change in the balance of power. As was also noted by several interviewees in Malawi (A1, A4) the MaSP is helping to develop a ‘new Malawi’, with a new voice for civil society by creating safe spaces where voices and views can be freely shared, an area where further research would be useful.

People in Scotland who wish to help, support or even partner with people or organisations in Malawi do not do so in a vacuum. For people living in Malawi, aid, NGOs, ‘development’ and charity is a way of life. Most people without any experience of living in one of the poorest countries in the world cannot comprehend that accessing a doctor, going to school, or buying clothes, may well depend on Western donations of time, goods and money. Those living in a country like Scotland take for granted that such things will be provided by the state, not a German NGO (maybe) running an eye clinic one day a month, t-shirts and jumpers will be second-hand emblazoned with Japanese logos, as well-meaning Japanese people donate their used clothes, or missionaries from Saudi Arabia running the only free primary school within walking distance. For people in Malawi, this global melange of people, goods, activities and services being delivered for short or long spans of time, appearing and disappearing, some reliable, some unreliable, is a basic fact of life. Poor countries in the world are at the forefront of globalisation, but without anything to export they have no voice, and without adequate resources their government cannot provide for its citizens or control/ limit the ‘help’ that floods into its country on the back of well-meaning Westerners. That is not to say that those of us fortunate enough to live in a country rich enough to control its own affairs cannot, or should not, want to help to redress the power imbalances of the world, but it is imperative that it is done with knowledge of the complex historical and global injustices that precede, and that will undoubtedly still follow, any interventions by individuals, organisations or governments.

¹⁰³ The *Daily Mail* is a tabloid newspaper in the UK which is right wing in terms of its politics and known for writing negative news stories about such topics as the evils of immigration and foreign aid. Politicians and organisations alike are fearful of such negative news stories: as such, truthful critiques, and reporting of problems with international ‘development’, and with SG funding, are not aired for fear of a negative news story affecting public opinion so much that aid budgets are affected and politicians’ chances of re-election reduced.

As such, the critique in this thesis is not intended to alienate, irritate, or to give material for negative news stories: nothing is perfect and my critique is as truthful a representation as I can produce, from the research that I have conducted, filtered through my own experiences. It is fair to say that I started this research with my own set of biases: having worked in the SG international ‘development’ team, my initial perspective might have actually been more critical in an attempt to avoid any positive bias for SG policies that I could be assumed to have. I do not apologise for my critical considerations of ‘development’, or of the SG’s international ‘development’ policies and practice in particular. However, my views have changed; the world is more complex than I could have possibly imagined, but through grappling with this fact I am left at the end of the research feeling hopeful, rather than critical. Hopeful that the chaotic and tangled global and historical processes to which Scotland and Malawi have both been subject, often together, can create something new, can break down barriers, at different scales, and support Malawi in its ambitions to improve the lives of its citizens, and Scotland in its ambitions to help to create a more globally sustainable and equal world. I am hopeful that the networks and friendships between and across people in Malawi and people in Scotland, particularly if they are thickened and deepened, will serve to do this, and that one day we will live in a truly interconnected world, one where geography does not determine life and death.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Scottish Government International Development Policy

Scottish Ministers are committed to advancing Scotland's place in the world as a responsible nation by building mutually beneficial links with other countries as outlined in the Scottish Government's International Framework. As part of that Framework, Scotland has a distinctive contribution to make in its work with developing countries recognising our global responsibility to work together to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

1.1 AIMS & OBJECTIVES

The Scottish Government recognises the longstanding commitment of organisations and individuals in Scotland to international development, building upon both the historical and contemporary relationships that exist between Scotland and many countries within the developing world. Scotland already contributes to UK efforts through the Department for International Development (DFID) and this policy reflects how the Scottish Government, as a devolved administration, can enhance Scotland's contribution to the global fight against poverty.

The International Development Policy outlines our intention to actively engage with this global agenda and defines the Scottish Government's distinctive contribution and approach to international development thereby providing support and solidarity to developing countries.

The overarching aims and objectives of the policy are as follows:

Aims:

- To enhance Scotland's contribution to the global fight against poverty through activity which is clearly designed to support the achievement of the MDGs and economic growth in developing countries.
- To demonstrate Scotland's commitment to play its role in addressing the challenges faced by the developing world, recognising Scotland's identity as a responsible nation.

Objectives:

- To work in a focussed way with a small number of identified developing countries to

provide support to those in greatest need and the most vulnerable, working through organisations in Scotland and in line with priorities of the respective countries.

- To develop Scotland's special relationship with Malawi, working with the Government of Malawi to achieve sustainable outcomes.
- To support and promote Scotland's contribution to Fair Trade with developing countries as a responsible nation in the world.
- To support key networking agencies for international development in Scotland recognising their role in information exchange and the promotion of best practice in Scotland's contribution to the achievement of the MDGs.
- To assist with Scotland's response to international humanitarian crises.
- To recognise and build upon Scotland's links with the Indian subcontinent by working together with communities in Scotland to support development, and in turn help support an inclusive society in Scotland.
- To contribute to relevant in-country development policies and priorities and to complement the work of the UK Government and other international development programmes.

The Scottish Government will also seek to encourage greater partnership within the Scottish science base to enable a stronger contribution to development and poverty reduction.

1.2 KEY VALUES & PRINCIPLES

The international development policy has been designed to reflect the following values and principles:

- **The needs and priorities of developing countries are paramount.** Inevitably, Scotland will learn and benefit from the experience of working in partnership with developing countries, but these benefits will not detract from the development strategies and priorities identified by developing countries.
- **We will focus our efforts** to make the best use of limited resources and ensure we make a sustained and measurable difference. We are alert to the tension between developing a wider programme alongside a deeper and more focused engagement.
- **The Scottish Government is committed to continuing to work with Malawi based on the unique and historical relationship between our two countries.** We have confirmed our commitment to honour the Co-operation Agreement ring fencing at least

£3 million per annum to support this, within this spending review period. The Scottish Government will continue to work with the Government of Malawi to develop a focused programme of engagement and will continue to review and monitor progress through the Joint Commission process, a mechanism which is strongly supported by the Government of Malawi.

- **The policy will encourage the consideration and adoption of best practice** in development with an emphasis on country-led identification of need, organisational and institutional capacity building and community-led development. For example, the sharing of knowledge and transfer of skills, the training of trainers and responding to the developing countries' assessment of how we might best support development. The Scottish Government will also look to the development sector in Scotland, through the Network of International Development Organisations in Scotland (NIDOS), for their input regarding their experience of operating different models of development in their countries of operation.
- The policy, and more detailed funding guidance, will take due consideration of the **impacts of climate change** on the developing world.
- **The policy will complement the work of others and not duplicate effort** or undermine existing initiatives or government policy. Although international development is a reserved issue under the Scotland Act (1998), the Scottish Government is operating in accordance with the Act by “assisting the Crown in relation to foreign affairs” and will continue to ensure that the policy is developed within those given powers.
- **The Scottish Government will continue to support Scotland becoming a Fair Trade Nation** through its support of the Scottish Fairtrade Forum.
- **Scottish Ministers have increased the International Development Fund** within the life of this Parliament, to support the delivery of this policy with a commitment to the operation of transparent and accountable funding processes. The policy will adopt a deeper and more focused approach to the delivery of the policy, continuing to **work through organisations in Scotland, based on the development strategies and priorities of developing countries**. Whilst the Scottish Government recognises that working through organisations in Scotland may limit the range of work which can be funded, this model is essential to ensure that the Scottish Government is focusing its efforts and working to the stated policy aim of enhancing Scotland's contribution to international development.

1.3 SCOPE OF POLICY

The following broad criteria have informed the areas of operation:

- The nature of the relationship with Scotland, both historical and contemporary.
- The levels of poverty as defined by the UN Human Development Index for 2007/2008 as measured through life expectancy, educational attainment and income.
- Relevant activity and expertise within Scotland.

The policy will comprise six distinct elements listed below. This approach will ensure that all policy activity and funding criteria can closely reflect the needs of each country and/ or region. It will also enable the Scottish Government to more clearly demonstrate the impact of the International Development Fund. Further details will be published on the website.

- **Sub-Saharan Africa Development Programme - Zambia, Tanzania, Rwanda and Darfur region of Sudan** (block grant funding)
- **Malawi Development Programme** (maximum of two targeted grant rounds per year and competitive tendering exercises to commission work in line with priorities developed with the Government of Malawi as and when required).
- **Fair Trade Scotland Programme** (support to be channelled through the Scottish Fair Trade Forum based on formal application and assessment).
- **Core Funding for Scottish-Based Networking Organisations** (specific applications and assessment as required).
- **Response to International Humanitarian Crises** (one-off and short-term allocations based on a formal proposal and assessment process).
- **Indian Subcontinent Development** (geographical priorities and operational procedure to be developed in discussion with key stakeholders).

1.4 INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FUND (IDF)

The delivery of the policy will be supported by the International Development Fund which will be dispersed through tailored funding arrangements for each element. Total allocation per financial year (1st April to 31st March) will be as follows:

2008/09 – £6 million

2009/10 – £6 million

2010/11 – £9 million

Three main funding mechanisms will be adopted as follows:

- **Challenge Fund Model** – a funding round is announced with pre-defined criteria outlining broad areas of interest. Any organisation meeting the basic eligibility criteria may bid for funds. There is no limit to the number of organisations who can bid.
- **Targeted Competitive Tendering** – a requirement for a specific piece of work is identified with the developing country. Organisations working in relevant sectors will be invited to express an interest in bidding and those that meet the basic criteria will be invited to bid for the required work. Usually 4 or 5 organisations will be invited to bid in any one exercise.
- **Block Grant Funding** – a direct grant will be awarded (through a competitive process) to a key organisation or a consortium of organisations to deliver a strategic programme. Decisions as to how the grant is spent will be under the direction of the organisation/s holding the block grant.

Eligibility requirements and funding criteria for each scheme will be published on the Scottish Government website along with available budget, anticipated timescales for funding decisions and information on the process for decision-making. This information will also be made available to NIDOS and to the Scotland-Malawi Partnership (in relation to the Malawi Programme). This will enable both organisations to alert their members. Any contractual commitments that began prior to the introduction of this policy will be honoured until their contractual completion.

1.5 FUNDING ASSESSMENT PROCESS

The Scottish Government is committed to fair and transparent processes for all funding activity. Funding criteria for each funding round and information on the process will be published on the Scottish Government website. It is anticipated that external assessors will be contracted to assess bids in the main funding rounds. This excludes individual contracts to networking agencies in Scotland, support to the Scottish Fair Trade Forum and specifically commissioned work for the Malawi programme which will undergo internal assessment by officials, seeking advice where appropriate. The cost of contracting external assessors will not be drawn from the International Development Fund. Assessment forms will be available on request on completion of each funding exercise.

1.6 PROJECT MONITORING & INDEPENDENT EVALUATION

The Scottish Government is committed to rigorous monitoring and evaluation procedures for all Scottish Government funded activity. Six monthly and annual reporting for all projects will continue, with a revised reporting format. Details of reporting requirements will be published on the Scottish Government website and adherence to these requirements will remain a condition of the grant contract. A formal evaluation of the policy will also be developed to support the policy. The cost of this activity will not be drawn from the International Development Fund. Further information will be provided on the Scottish Government website.

1.7 MINISTERIAL GROUPS TO SUPPORT THE POLICY

The Scottish Government recognises the important role played by all previous advisory groups. The new policy will be supported by two distinct groups with clear and focused remits.

An International Development Advisory Group (IDAG) will be set up, drawn from the external international development sector and other interested parties, to be chaired by the Minister. Members will be asked to join the group by invitation of the Minister. This group will provide support and advice to the Minister across all six elements of the international development policy including the Malawi programme. It is not proposed that this group take on the assessment of individual funding applications or funding decisions. It is suggested that the group meet twice a year. Membership will be published on the Scottish Government website.

An additional group to provide support on the Malawi programme will also be set up – the Scotland-Malawi Advisory Group (SMAG). This group will also be chaired by the Minister but will take a more informal format and provide a mechanism for more informal brainstorming and discussion. Members will be invited by the Minister to join the group which will meet as and when required. It will also be supported by e-mail discussions. It is not proposed that this group reports to the main group, but that it remains a standalone group in recognition of Scotland's special relationship with Malawi.

Acknowledgements

This policy has been developed following consideration of responses to the public review (conducted from August to October 2007), and the experience of operating the policy to date. The Scottish Government is grateful to all individuals and organisations who contributed.

Appendix 2

Co-operation Agreement between Scotland and Malawi (SG, 2005)

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.

This document outlines an agreement to co-operate on a number of broad streams, namely, civic governance, sustainable economic development, health and education. The guiding principles underpinning this agreement are as follows:

- All engagement will be consistent with current government priorities and existing policies and activity
- Engagement will build upon the context of the long standing friendship between both countries, recognising the benefits of learning and sharing from one another

Scotland and Malawi will develop and increase collaboration across the following broad themes:

Civic governance and society, in particular:

- To strengthen governance by working with others to develop schemes for sharing government and parliamentary experience on both a local and central government level, and for sharing legal and financial expertise by engaging with national bodies and civil society
- To share experiences of addressing inequality and the needs of vulnerable groups in society by supporting mechanisms for exchanging expertise and mentoring initiatives
- To develop mechanisms for strengthening the media by facilitating links between key partners
- To investigate innovative ways of developing and using technology, with particular reference to remote and rural communities

Sustainable economic development, in particular:

- To initiate discussion on how best to stimulate enterprise by facilitating the exchange of skills and business expertise in relevant sectors
- To explore opportunities to stimulate tourism, including between the two countries, by encouraging links.
- To investigate potential collaboration between agricultural bodies

Health, in particular:

- To contribute to the improvement of maternal health by supporting the increase in the number of trained midwives and facilitating the exchange of knowledge and skills required for dealing with obstetric and gynaecological emergencies

- To increase the capacity of Health Colleges (Government and CHAM) by developing in-country teaching support for trainee clinical officers, nurses, midwives, nurse technicians and allied health professionals
- To support the College of Medicine in the development of specialist medical training for health professionals and facilitate mechanisms for the exchange of medical and health management expertise
- To support HIV/ AIDS prevention, treatment and care by developing partnerships for sharing expertise (especially around health education) and assisting in addressing human resource capacity in services
- To support communities to access and deliver health services at local and district level through support of local community initiatives, especially those focussing on child health, disability and gender equality

Education, in particular:

- To help build capacity in education by further developing teacher exchange programmes and supporting the development of training of trainers for local delivery
- To support the exchange of knowledge and skills by facilitating academic links and twinning initiatives between local government, schools and higher education institutions
- To explore how best to address access to and availability of quality education, with particular attention to remote and rural communities
- To initiate discussion on the provision of vocational education and training by encouraging the sharing of best practice and expertise and the development of links with Further Education
- To encourage equality in the participation of education by supporting the development of initiatives to empower vulnerable groups

...and other areas of mutual interest that may emerge.

An action plan will be developed in discussion with key partners outlining specific actions and commitments for each theme for the next 2-5 years.

Signed in Edinburgh, November 2005

Rt. Hon Jack McConnell MSP, First Minister of Scotland
His Excellency Dr. Bingu wa Mutharika, President of the Republic of Malawi

Appendix 3

Semi-structured Interviews conducted in Malawi

Table 5: Semi-Structured interviews conducted in Malawi from June 2014 to September 2014, listed loosely in the order in which they were interviewed. Interviewees with an asterix (*) were interviewed more than once.

Profession/ job title	Age range	Relevant links with Scotland or experience	Gender	Code in Thesis
Senior NGO worker	40-50	Extensive experience working in the charitable and NGO sector in Malawi.	M	NGO ₁
Senior Malawian Civil Servant *	50-60	Experienced government official with professional links to counterparts in Scotland	F	GM ₁
Senior Malawian Academic *	40-50	Experienced Malawian academic with personal professional links with Scotland.	M	A ₁
Project Manager *	20 -30	Malawian project manager of an SG funded project, enthusiastic to work with 'friends' in Scotland, and involved with the MaSP	M	NGO ₂
Project Manager *	20-30	Project manager originally from the UK, running an SG funded project in Malawi	F	NGO ₃
Farmer	40-50	White Malawian, third generation descendant of Scottish colonial parents. Self-defined 'hunter and planter'	M	M ₁
Government of Malawi	30-40	Civil servant in GoM with professional links to Scotland	M	GM ₂
NGO CEO *	40-50	Senior Malawian NGO manager, personal and professional links to Scotland and member of the MaSP board	F	NGO ₄
NGO worker *	20-30	Mid-level Ngo employee for a US based NGO	M	M ₂
Self employed	60-70	Scottish immigrant now settled in Malawi and running her own business	F	M ₃
Health care worker	30-40	Mid-level health care worker in the Malawi, with experience of working for foreign NGOs	M	M ₄

nurse	40-50	Experienced nurse who has worked with some Scottish funded projects, and other NGO funded health initiatives	F	M5
NGO researcher	20-30	Malawian health researcher and intern with links to the UK but not Scotland specifically	F	A2
NGO volunteer *	60-70	Scottish volunteer for a UK based charity operating in Malawi	F	NGO5
NGO worker *	30-40	Experienced NGO worker from Europe, working on a short term basis in Malawi for an SG funded project	F	NGO6
NGO worker *	20-30	Scottish NGO worker for an SG funded project	F	NGO7
Phd Student	30-40	PhD student from the UK researching healthcare in Malawi	M	A3
Self employed	60-70	South African business owner now living in Malawi	M	M6
Project Manager	30-40	Experienced NGO worker from Scotland, now managing an SG funded project	F	NGO8
Government of Malawi	40-50	Senior Malawian civil servant, with professional links to Scotland	M	GM3
Senior Academic	50-60	Malawian academic with extensive international expertise, personal links with Scotland, and involvement with the MaSP	F	A4
Phd Student	30-40	UK based researcher undertaking PHD study on healthcare	F	A5
Stay at home parent	40-50	UK trained nurse now living in Malawi	F	M7
Scottish Volunteer	55-65	Retired nurse from Scotland undertaking volunteer work in Malawi	F	M8

Informal Conversations in Malawi

Table 6: Informal conversations conducted in Malawi from June 2014 to September 2014, listed loosely in the order in which they were interviewed. Individuals were met and spoken to at specific events, via introductions from existing contacts, or met socially

Profession	Age range	Relevant links with Scotland or experience	Gender	Code in Thesis
Project Manager	20-30	Manages an SG funded project	M	IN ₁
Civil Servant	50-60	Experienced Civil Servant with professional links to Scotland	M	IN ₂
Project Manager	30-40	Project Manager for SG funded project from Europe	M	IN ₃
Project Manager	40-50	Project Manager of SG funded project	M	IN ₄
Project worker	20-30	Project worker for an SG funded project	M	IN ₅
NGO worker	20-30	Mid-level NGO worker in SG funded project	M	IN ₆
Consultant	20-30	Mid-level consultant from the UK working in Malawi and with the Government of Malawi	F	IN ₇
Consultant	20-30	Mid-level consultant working in Malawi on SG funded project	F	IN ₈
Self employed	30-40	White Malawian (second generation Scottish immigrants) with personal links to Scotland	M	IN ₉
College Director	40-50	Manages an SG funded project	M	IN ₁₀
Bible Student	30-40	Hopes to train as a pastor, very aware of the religious links with Scotland	M	IN ₁₁
Accountant	20-30	Young Malawian with no affiliation to the NGO community or Scotland	M	IN ₁₂
receptionist	20-30	Young Malawian with no affiliation to the NGO community or Scotland	F	IN ₁₃

cleaner	20-30	Young Malawian with no affiliation to the NGO community or Scotland	F	IN14
taxi driver	20-30	Young Malawian with no affiliation to the NGO community or Scotland	M	IN15
anthropologist	40-50	Senior academic from the UK now working in Malawi	F	IN16
Scientist	40-50	Senior UK born academic now working in Malawi	M	IN17
nurse	60-70	Senior healthcare worker visiting Malawi from the UK	F	IN18
taxi driver	40-50	Malawian resident with church links	M	IN19
housekeeper	30-40	Malawian resident	M	IN20
NGO worker	20-30	NGO worker from the UK, not linked to any SG funded projects	F	IN21
NGO manager	30-40	Senior NGO worker from the UK now managing international projects in Malawi	M	IN22
Phd Student	30-40	Researcher from the UK now living in Malawi	F	IN23
NGO worker	30-40	NGO from Europe now working in Malawi	F	IN24
Academic	30-40	Academic from the UK conducting short-term research in Malawi	M	IN25
Doctor	40-50	Project Manager of SG funded health project	M	IN26

Semi-structured Interviews in Scotland

Table 7: Semi-Structured interviews conducted in Scotland from October 2013 to October 2014, listed loosely in the order in which they were interviewed. Interviewees with an asterisk (*) were interviewed more than once

Profession	Age range	Relevant links with Malawi or experience	Gender	Code in Thesis
Academic	50-60	Extensive experience working in international development sector, and Malawi directly	M	E1
Project Manager	30-40	Project manager of SG funded project	M	E2
Volunteer (now retired)	50-60	Member of the SMP with experience of working in Malawi	F	AS1
Academic	50-60	Extensive knowledge of Malawi, and of working with the GoM and SG	M	AS2
NGO manager	40-50	Senior member of the SMP and the MaSP	M	SM1
Civil Servant	30-40	Experienced Civil Servant with professional links to Malawi	F	SM2
Volunteer	30-40	Member of SMP planning to volunteer in Malawi in the near future	F	SM3
Student	20-30	Malawian student living in Scotland	M	S1
NGO worker	20-30	Member of the SMP	M	AS3
Project Manager	30-40	Manager of SG funded project	F	AS4

Informal Conversations in Scotland

Table 8: Informal conversations conducted in Scotland from September 2014 – February 2015, listed loosely in the order in which they were interviewed. Individuals were met at specific events, via introductions from contacts, or met socially.

Profession	Age range	Relevant links with Scotland or experience	Gender	Code in Thesis
Academic	50-60	Member of Malawian Diaspora currently living in Scotland	M	INS1
NGO worker	30-40	NGO worker with strong links to Malawi	F	INS2
NGO worker	20-30	Member of the SMP	F	INS3
Student	30-40	Scottish student with experience of volunteering in Malawi	M	INS4
NGO worker	20-30	Experienced NGO worker with links to Malawi	F	INS5

Appendix 4

SG Funded Malawi Development Projects, 2015-2018

HEALTH

Organisation	Project Title	Project Detail	Total Funding
NHS Scotland Lothian	The Edinburgh Malawi Breast Cancer Project	To achieve and demonstrate improvement in breast cancer treatment at Queen Elizabeth Central Hospital, Blantyre through development of multi-disciplinary care and enhanced pathology.	£185,340
Robert Gordon University	Improving Respectful Midwifery Care in Rural Malawi: a Human Rights Approach	The project will develop, implement and evaluate respectful care using a human rights approach to maternity care in Malawi.	£432,196
Christian Aid (CA) Scotland	Increasing Citizen's Demand for Accountability and Transparency (ICiDAnT) for maternal and child health	To increase community demand for and participation in accountable, responsive maternal and child health service delivery in Balaka district in Southern Malawi.	£600,000
Yorkhill Children's Charity	Improving Eye Health and Reducing Unnecessary Blindness in Malawi	This project will reduce unnecessary blindness in Malawi by building capacity of health professionals to provide a national eye care service for children and for people of all ages with diabetes.	£173,355
Meningitis Research Foundation	Triage and treatment, training and engagement. A package for sustainable healthcare improvement in Malawi's primary health clinics.	The project will deliver a proven health package for early recognition, treatment and appropriate referral of severely ill children in community health centres, acceptable and ready for implementation across Malawi.	£594,899
University of Strathclyde	Impact on Malaria, Maternal Health and the Prognosis for AIDS by Quality Assurance, Knowledge exchange and Training (IMMPAQKT)	The objective of this project is to improve the health of the people of Malawi in the three key areas of malaria, maternal health and AIDs; by developing a programme for the quality assurance of traditional herbal medicines and by increasing the knowledge of the conventional medical profession in traditional medicine both	£275,918

		by academic training and through knowledge exchange with traditional healer.	
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EDUCATION

Organisation	Project Title	Project Detail	Total Funding
The Global Concerns Trust	Tools and Training for Livelihood in Malawi	To contribute to the reduction of poverty, the enhancement of economic sustainability, and improvement in community integration of physically disabled men and women in Malawi, by providing vocational training and business support.	£198,527
Tearfund	Girls and Boys Empowerment Project in Rural Chitipa	To protect girls and boys from harmful cultural practices that deny them their rights, including educational opportunities.	£460,355
Mary's Meals	Mary's Meals School Feeding Programme Expansion in the Machinga District of Malawi	The objective of this project is to provide sustainable support to vulnerable children in remote and rural communities in Malawi by reducing hunger and promoting access and participation in primary education through the provision of a daily school meal prepared locally by community volunteers.	£584,038
Link Community Development	Increasing MoEST Impact in School Improvement in Malawi (IMISIM)	To improve the performance of Malawian schools and the impact of the Malawian Ministry of Education Science and Technology (MoEST) and District Education Offices on school performance, by improving integrated planning, multi-stakeholder accountability and the provision of effective support.	£599,507
Glasgow City Council	Malawi Leaders of Learning	Improving educational outcomes for children and young people through improving learning and teaching and leadership of Malawian staff and young people.	£209,310
Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO)	Unlocking Talent through Technology: Improving Learning Outcomes of Primary	This project aims to improve the numeracy and literacy skills of Standard 1 and 2 learners in selected schools in Kasungu District, Malawi by equipping classrooms with mobile tablet technology to enhance instruction and	£600,000

	School Children in Malawi	allow for highly tailored and interactive learning.	
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CIVIC GOVERNANCE

Organisation	Project Title	Project Detail	Total Funding
Chance for Change	Routes for Change - Diversionary Programme	The overall Objective of the "Routes for Change" programme is to Reduce the Number of young people who have been incarcerated as a result of petty offending, by providing a meaningful series of community disposal options for prosecutors.	£522,727
Chance for Chance	"Rites of Passage" Malawi	The overall objective of our Rites of Passage Malawi programme, is to build capacity in unemployed young Malawians to support them become stakeholders in their communities, through engagement in an innovative personal development programme, taking part in youth advocacy activities, delivering informal education to local schoolchildren and contributing to the local economy by generating income through micro-enterprise and small business activities.	£465,100

SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Organisation	Project Title	Project Detail	Total Funding
Tearfund	Khwamba Sustainable Livelihoods Improvement Project (KSLIP)	To reduce poverty and extreme hunger for 30,000 people by empowering vulnerable households through livelihoods improvement and strengthening of the local governance and development structures.	£500,193
Opportunity International UK	Stimulating wealth creation, increasing employment and fostering local entrepreneurship in Malawi	Addressing MDG1 the project aims to create wealth and secure sustainable livelihoods in Malawi by providing micro-business owners, particularly women, with access to financial services and training in financial literacy and business development skills, in order to strengthen their enterprises, generate income and create employment opportunities.	£598,301
Oxfam Scotland	Improved Livelihoods for 3,000 Poor Farmers	Malawian farmers will become resilient, overcome poverty and respond to the challenges of climate change through	£598,767

	and their Families in Rural Malawi	using renewable energy to increase their food production, irrigate and manage their land, and create small scale enterprises.	
The Cooperative College	Cooperative Enterprise Pathways for Economic and Environmental Sustainability in Malawi	The improved sustainability and viability of the cooperative movement across Malawi.	£449,449

RENEWABLE ENERGY

Organisation	Project Title	Project Detail	Total Funding
SGURR Energy	PDM – Powering Development in Mulanje	The project will catalyse social and economic development in poor communities around Mulanje Mountain by supplying renewable electricity from a sustainable social enterprise.	£598,374
University of Strathclyde	Sustainable Off-grid Electrification of Rural Villages (SOGERV)	This project aims to reduce energy poverty in rural Chikhwawa district through the electrification of households, businesses and community energy infrastructure via the deployment of sustainable renewable energy technologies (RET).	£599,028

SG Funded Malawi Development Projects 2012/13 - 2014/15

Strand: Civic Governance and Society

Organisation: The Co-operative College

Project Title: Supporting Co-operatives in Malawi

Total award: £397,769 over three financial years (2012-2015).

This new project will provide education and support to co-operatives in Malawi which help small farmers to improve their incomes. Through education, mentoring and other support, small farmers will be helped to form and improve their own member-controlled businesses and as a result, will be able to improve yields, diversify their crops and through joint marketing, get better prices for their harvest, leading to improved livelihoods. The project expects direct beneficiaries to number 10,000 men and women, around 2,700 of which will attend training on starting and running a co-operative business.

Organisation: CBM

Project Title: Expanding Participation of Persons with Disability

Total award: £317,296.95 over three financial years (2012-2015)

Through empowerment of Disabled People's Organisations, this project will advocate for the rights of persons with disabilities and will effectively interact with the Government of Malawi to increase their participation in the development activities of the decentralised government structure. The impact will be a strengthened accountability function of civic society towards government, and reduced poverty levels amongst people with disabilities in the three target districts of the project. The project aims to mobilise representatives of up to 380,000 persons with disabilities in these districts.

Organisation: Chance for Change

Project Title: Chance for Change "Leading Malawi"

Total award: £385,814 over three financial years (2012-2015)

This project comprises an innovative personal development and leadership programme which will offer advice and training to encourage the next generation of Malawian youth to develop the skills needed to take control of their own personal development. It will also provide support to help them pass on the skills, strategies and motivation to others in their communities. Within three years around 4,600 young people will access the information, training and support through youth fora which will help improve their health, ability to contribute to their communities and access to jobs and further education.

Organisation: Active Learning Centre

Project Title: Empowering Women As Local Leaders

Total award: £179,455 over two financial years (2012-2014)

This project will help to consolidate democracy in Malawi through a cascade training programme which will build a network of up to 2,000 women across the country and provide them with skills, knowledge and confidence to become candidates in the 2014 local government and parliamentary elections and to become effective leaders in their community.

Organisation: Scotland Malawi Partnership

Project Title: Malawi Scotland Partnership

Total award: £192,473 over three financial years (2012-2015)

This project will support a co-ordinator post for the Malawi Scotland Partnership (the Scotland Malawi Partnership's sister organisation). It aims to establish an effective Malawi led and Malawi owned national umbrella organisation which is able to bring together, support and add value to the many civil society links between Scotland and Malawi. The project will provide advocacy, training and capacity-building, resulting in less duplication and more sharing of relevant skills and experience plus the establishment of a resource base which will enable vulnerable and isolated communities to be better equipped to counter poverty.

Strand: Sustainable Economic Development

Organisation: Imani Development

Project Title: Trading with Climate Smart Supply

Total award: £359,883 over three financial years (2012-2015)

Working in Mzuzu, Thyolo and Balaka, this project will stimulate sustainable economic growth in Malawi through the development of agricultural value chains. The project will improve the competitiveness of the tea, coffee and pigeon peas value chains, in an inclusive, climate smart and pro-poor manner in order to deliver improved smallholder incomes and reduce natural resource degradation.

Organisation: International Resources and Recycling Institute (IRRI)

Project Title: Rural Off-Grid Energy Kiosks

Total award: £182,702.16 over one financial year (2012-2013)

To address the problem of inadequate supply of basic electricity, this project will deliver an innovative and viable off-grid community electrification solution which has real potential to increase rural Malawians' socio-economic opportunities, allowing them to be incorporated into a national strategy for the electrification of rural Malawi, based on renewable energy technologies. This application is technically sound and fits within the wider renewable energy work we have funded Strathclyde University to undertake.

Organisation: Oxfam Scotland

Project Title: Women farmers access value-chains and adapt to climate change

Total award: £382,238 over three financial years (2012-2015)

This project will improve poor women's economic, social and environmental resilience through participation in value chains, increased status and adaptation to climate change. 15,000 female-headed households in the Lilongwe, Dowa and Mchinji Districts will have improved income, food security and great capacity to adapt to the impacts of climate change. We have funded previously successful Oxfam projects in Chiradzula, and welcome their expansion into these new areas.

Organisation: Scotland Malawi Business Group

Project Title: Aquaculture Enterprise Malawi

Total award: £22,727 over one financial year (2012-2013)

As a six month pilot, this project will encourage smallholder farmers to engage in small-scale commercial aquaculture for both income generation and food supply reasons and will help deliver the means to do so. An output of the project will be a comprehensive business plan for the creation of a revolving loan scheme servicing smallholder farmers wishing to diversify into commercial fish farming. The project will also look at the potential for diversification of pond culture operations from primarily subsistence livelihoods into viable businesses. The study will benefit from a well qualified, highly appropriate team that includes a global leader in aquaculture.

Organisation: Challenges Worldwide

Project Title: Capacity Building for Enterprise – Sustainability Phase

Total award: £399,990.36 over three financial years (2012-2015)

Building on the success of previously funded Scottish Government projects, Challenges Worldwide will help build the capacity, performance and viability of private enterprise in Malawi through the development and application

of local business advisory and consultancy skills. This will support the development of small and medium enterprises through appropriately trained and qualified staff operating as a social enterprise.

Strand: Health

Organisation: Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) Scotland

Project Title: Ntcheu Integrated Maternal Health Project

Total award: £399,427 over three financial years (2012-2015)

Working through VSO Malawi, this project will improve the skills of clinical staff, specifically midwives, to provide quality maternal services whilst improving the knowledge and health seeking behaviour of 70 villages in two traditional authorities of the Ntcheu District. The project will also explore linkages with other organisations in Ntcheu to address climate change and will support motherhood groups to further mitigate against the negative impacts of climate change.

Organisation: Sue Ryder

Project Title: Mobile Clinics in rural Malawi

Total award: £240,845 over three financial years (2012-2015)

This new project aims to provide regular access to healthcare services in rural areas, working with the Sue Ryder Foundation in Malawi. Through the use of already established mobile clinics and the provision of professional healthcare services, this project will improve the health of people with asthma, epilepsy and/physical disabilities in rural communities in Balaka and Ntcheu. As well as enabling access to healthcare in rural areas it will also provide much needed equipment for disabled people such as walking sticks, and medicines to control long term health conditions.

Organisation: University of Edinburgh, Global Health Academy

Project Title: ICT to Improve Rural Maternal Health

Total award: £399,447 over three financial years (2012-2015)

This project will improve the maternal and neonatal health of the rural population served by Nkhoma Hospital, and its 9 health centres, by linking together patient held paper records (health passports) with an electronic record system to create a continuum of care from pregnancy to delivery. This will ensure that essential health interventions are carried out and all health staff (in hospital and in community) share essential life saving information.

Organisation: University of St Andrews

Project Title: Enhancing Healthcare Training

Total award: £260,156 over three financial years (2012-2015)

By facilitating the transfer of skills, processes and technology, the aim of this project is to help the College of Medicine fulfil its central role, given to it by the Government of Malawi, in the training of doctors and allied health professionals (including clinical officers) and to enhance the numbers and future performance of these crucial groups of health care professionals. The University of St Andrews has a historic relationship with the Malawi College of Medicine and we have funded two previously successful projects that have substantially increased the number of medical students the college can train each year. This project will build on that previously successful work as well as developing the undergraduate curriculum and training for allied health professionals.

Organisation: University of Dundee

Project Title: Introduction of PROMPT course (Practical Obstetric Multi Professional Training) to Malawi

Total award: £241,681 over three financial years (2012-2015)

This new project will reduce maternal mortality and morbidity through the introduction of PROMPT training – a proven team approach to recognition and management of emergencies in maternity care, that will increase the knowledge and ability of individual maternity health care workers. This project will work with the School of Anaesthesia which is soon to merge with the College of Health Sciences in Malawi. The funding will be implemented using a ‘train the trainers’ method and the funding includes the supply of medical mannequins to allow in-depth training on a variety of obstetric emergencies.

Organisation: Ipact, University of Aberdeen

Project Title: A Sustainable Rural Midwifery Model

Total award: £397,786 over three financial years (2012-2015)

This new project will involve Aberdeen University collaborating with Robert Gordon University to work with the Ministry of Health in developing a sustainable model for midwifery education and practice. This will involve reviewing, evaluating and strengthening the training and support of community midwives in rural Malawi; to develop and sustain their skills and improve recruitment and retention. Ipact, who are based at the University of Aberdeen, are experts in the field of maternal health and this project will link in with a wider Sub Saharan Africa project which is applying for EU funding to evaluate the best method by which to increase maternal survival rates in rural areas. The outcome of this project therefore has the potential to have a wide ranging impact across Africa in improving maternal health.

Strand: Education

Organisation: Link Community Development Scotland

Project Title: Supporting School Improvement in Malawi

Total award: £381,526 over three financial years (2012-2015)

This project will improve the access to and availability of quality primary education for all in rural Malawi by enhancing the sustainability and effectiveness of school and district evaluation, planning and improvement processes. It will also work to strengthen and promote greater synergy between district education performance

plans and Malawi's national education inspection and advisory services. The project builds upon previous work funded by the Scottish Government to improve the standard of primary education and has been well received by the Government of Malawi.

Organisation: The Healthy Lifestyle Project (North Lanarkshire Council)

Project Title: Aiming Higher in Malawi Schools

Total award: £89,300 over three financial years (2012-2015)

This project will improve and increase the teaching and learning opportunities, number of students and exam performance in Physical Science, Mathematics, ITC and Enterprise for Secondary School Students within the Mulanje South West and Thyolo East locality. The project will particularly focus on new opportunities to significantly increase the participation and exam success for girls through the creation of Mother Groups and Girls Go For Health Groups. These groups will provide training and support on issues such as violence against women, prevention of HIV/AIDS, early pregnancies and marriages for youths (male and female).

Organisation: Scottish International Relief / Mary's Meals Malawi

Project Title: Mary's Meals Under-Six Feeding Programme

Total award: £400,000 over three financial years (2012-2015)

This project aims to improve the health, nutrition, intellectual, social and emotional development and school readiness of pre-school orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Malawi. 6,000 orphans and vulnerable children will attend 44 community centres across Malawi, receiving two hot nutritious meals every day. Malnourished children will also receive food supplements and those presenting with acute and chronic health problems will be supported to access appropriate health care and medical attention. OVC will also be educated in line with the Malawi National Curriculum on early childhood education

Appendix 5

SG M&E end of year reporting template: Part 1 of 3¹⁰⁴

This narrative report should be submitted together with your updated logframe and financial report.

1. Basic Project Information		
Complete the information below for management purposes. Please indicate in the relevant section whether any changes to your basic project information (e.g. partners, geography, project dates or budget) have occurred during this reporting year. Explanations should be provided in section 3.		
1.1	Project Reference Number	
1.2	Reporting Year	From: dd/mm/yyyy To: dd/mm/yyyy
1.3	Project Year (e.g. Year 1)	
1.4	Name of Lead Organisation (Grant Holder)*	
1.5	Name of Partner(s)*	
1.6	Name of Project*	
1.7	Project Description*	
1.8	Project Country/Region*	
1.9	Project Start & End Date*	Start: dd/mm/yyyy End: dd/mm/yyyy
1.10	Total Project Budget*	
1.11	Total Funding from IDF*	
1.12	IDF Development Priorities Please tick the box next to the development priority/priorities that your block grant aims to address	<input type="checkbox"/> Health <input type="checkbox"/> Education <input type="checkbox"/> Governance <input type="checkbox"/> Civic <input type="checkbox"/> Sustainable Development <input type="checkbox"/> Economic <input type="checkbox"/> Renewable Energy
1.13	Supporting Documentation Check box to confirm key documents have been submitted with this report	Up-to-Date Logical Framework (LF) <input type="checkbox"/> summarising progress against relevant milestones for project activities, outputs, outcomes and impact. <input type="checkbox"/> Please indicate (check box) if you have proposed amendments to your LF since your last report. If so, please detail any changes in Q3.2 <input type="checkbox"/> Please indicate (check box) if the LF submitted has been approved by the Scottish Government. <input type="checkbox"/> End of Year Financial Report <input type="checkbox"/> Proposed Revised Budget (if applicable) <input type="checkbox"/>

¹⁰⁴ A link to this document can be found on the SG website: <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/International/int-dev/Maps/Malawi/guidance/malawi2015reporting>

1. Basic Project Information			
Complete the information below for management purposes. Please indicate in the relevant section whether any changes to your basic project information (e.g. partners, geography, project dates or budget) have occurred during this reporting year. Explanations should be provided in section 3.			
	Please list any further supporting documentation that has been submitted	Other, please detail	
1.14	Response to Previous Progress Reviews	Scottish Government's comments on previous reports (State which):	Action taken since received:
1.15	Date report produced		
1.16	Name and position of person(s) who compiled this report	Name, Position: Name, Position: Name, Position:	
1.17	Main contact details for project, if changed		

Signed by _____ Date _____

Designation on the Project _____

2. Project Relevance	
2.1	Project Beneficiaries Does the project remain relevant to the context and the beneficiaries with whom you are working? Please justify this in a short paragraph below.
2.2	Gender and social inclusion Please describe how your project has worked to ensure that women and girls, and other vulnerable groups (as appropriate) benefit from the project. Describe any challenges experienced in reaching vulnerable people and how these have been overcome.
2.3	Accountability to stakeholders How does the project ensure that beneficiaries and wider stakeholders are engaged with and can provide feedback to the project? What influence has this had on the project? What challenges have been experienced in collecting and acting on beneficiary feedback?

3. Progress and Results

This narrative report on project performance and results will be reviewed together with your revised and updated Logical Framework (or if not yet approved your original Logical Framework). See Guidelines (Annex 1) for details.

3.1 Changes to Project Status
Has the focus or delivery of your project changed significantly over the last financial year? If so, please explain how and why, and attach copies of all relevant correspondence with the Scottish Government.

3.2 Changes to the Logical Framework
If changes have been made to the logframe since the previous financial year please describe these below. Please also provide evidence (e.g. copies of correspondence) that these changes have been agreed with the Scottish Government. If you would like to make changes to your logframe, but these have not yet been approved by the Scottish Government, please describe and justify in detail the requested changes below – and highlight the proposed changes in the revised logframe.

Result Area/ Indicator	Proposed/ Approved Change (please clarify and evidence below)	Reason for Change

3.3 Gaps in Monitoring Data
If baseline or monitoring information is not available, please provide an explanation below. Where monitoring data has been delayed (since previous report), please provide an indication of when and how it will be made available to the Scottish Government.

3.4 Project Outputs
In the table below, please list each of your project outputs, and provide further detail on your progress and results over this reporting period. Describe any delays or other challenges that you have experienced and how these have been addressed, and provide information about any unexpected results. Progress should be supported with evidence (such as links to monitoring data in line with logical framework, case studies, web-based information, reports etc) where possible.

Output 1: Name of Output	
Output Indicator	Progress against Planned Milestone/ Target
1.1 Name of Indicator	
1.2	
1.3	
Please add additional outputs/ indicators as required	

3.5 Project Outcomes
In the table below, please list your project outcome, and provide further detail on your progress and results over this reporting period. Please describe any delays or other challenges that you have experienced and how these have been addressed, and provide information about any unexpected results. Progress should be supported with evidence (such as links to monitoring data, case studies, web-based information, reports etc) where possible.

3. Progress and Results

This narrative report on project performance and results will be reviewed together with your revised and updated Logical Framework (or if not yet approved your original Logical Framework). See Guidelines (Annex 1) for details.

Outcome: Name of Outcome			
Outcome Indicator	Progress against Planned Milestone/ Target		
1 Name of Indicator			
2			
Please add additional indicators as required			
3.6 Project Impact			
In the table below, please list each of your project outcomes, and provide further detail on your progress and results over this reporting period. Please describe any delays or other challenges that you have experienced and how these have been addressed, and provide information about any unexpected results. Progress should be supported with evidence (such as links to monitoring data, case studies, web-based information, reports etc) where possible.			
Project Impact: Name of Impact			
Impact Indicator	Progress against Planned Milestone/ Target		
1 Name of Indicator			
2			
3.7 Risk Management			
If progress towards delivering activities and outcomes is slower than planned or there have been delays in the delivery of the project, please explain: a) What the issues have been and whether they were highlighted on your risk register? b) What actions have been taken in response to these issues?			
Issue/ Risk	On risk register?	Action Taken	Outcome
Please add additional issues as required			

4. Sustainability

4.1 Partnerships	
Provide a brief description of the roles and responsibilities of all partners, including in M&E. Have roles and responsibilities changed or evolved? Please provide a brief assessment of your partnership, including its strengths, areas for improvement and how this will be addressed. This section should be completed by lead partners based in Scotland and Malawi.	
4.2 Exit Strategy	
Describe the key components of your exit strategy and outline progress towards achieving it. Provide any other achievements or progress towards ensuring that your project remains sustainable in the longer term (including in relation to local ownership and capacity, and resourcing). Describe any challenges and how these will be addressed.	

5. Learning and Dissemination	
5.1	Lessons Learned Describe briefly any lessons learned during this reporting period, and how it will influence the project and your work moving forward.
5.2	Innovation and Best Practice Summarise briefly any examples of innovations/ innovative approaches or best practice demonstrated by your project during this reporting period. Please explain why these are innovative or best practice, and detail any plans to share these with others.
5.3	Dissemination Summarise briefly your efforts to communicate project lessons and approaches to others (e.g. local and national stakeholders in Scotland and Malawi, academic peers etc). Please provide links to any learning outputs.
5.4	Wider Influence Briefly describe any intended or unintended influence on development outcomes beyond your project. For example influence on local and national policy, contribution to debate on key development issues, uptake by other projects etc.

6. Financial Report	
<p>The narrative report below should be provided in conjunction with the Budget Spreadsheet report (see Annex 2). Please fill in the Budget Spreadsheet to: (a) confirm actual spend for the year and justify any significant disparities between programmed expenditure and actual expenditure within the financial year, (b) detail programmed spend for next year.</p> <p>Please note that any carry-over of funds to the next financial year should have been agreed with the Scottish Government by January 31st of the current financial year.</p>	
6.1	Project Underspend Please note whether the project has reported a significant underspend, and whether the Scottish Government has agreed to this being carried forward. If this has been agreed, please provide copies of or links to relevant correspondence. Please indicate whether the underspend is the result of currency fluctuations or other issues with project delivery.

6.2	Cost Effectiveness and Efficiency Please detail any efforts by the project to reduce project costs, whilst maintaining the quality of the project – for example through managing projects costs, efficient resourcing, working with and learning from others etc.
6.2	Co-finance and Leverage Please provide details of any co-finance or leverage that has been obtained for the project during the reporting period, including how the funds/ resources will contribute to delivering more and/or better development outcomes.

7. IDF Programme Monitoring

The list of IDF programme indicators are listed below. With reference to Q46 on your application form, please report on progress for the IDF programme indicators that you have committed to tracking in your original proposal, including the ‘Poverty and Vulnerability Indicators’, which are obligatory for all Scottish Government funded projects.

1. IDF Programme – Poverty and Vulnerability (compulsory)							
1.1	Indicator 1.1 Total number of people <u>directly</u> benefitting from the project						
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total	Brief description (e.g. small-holders)		
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
1.2	Indicator 1.2 Total number of people <u>indirectly</u> benefitting from the project						
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total	Brief description (e.g. small-holders)		
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
2. IDF Programme – Civic Governance and Society (optional)							
2.1	Indicator 2.1 Number of formal legal institutions supported to improve citizens’ access to justice and human rights						
	Baseline		Total		Brief description (e.g. paralegal service)		
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
2.2	Indicator 2.2 Number of people who have directly benefitted from improved access to judicial and paralegal services						
	Baseline	Adult Female	Adult Male	Child Female (< 18 yrs)	Child Male (< 18 yrs)	Total	Brief description (e.g. widows)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
2.3	Indicator 2.3 Number of organisations with increased awareness of good governance and human rights						
	Baseline		Total		Brief description (e.g. paralegal service)		

7. IDF Programme Monitoring

The list of IDF programme indicators are listed below. With reference to Q46 on your application form, please report on progress for the IDF programme indicators that you have committed to tracking in your original proposal, including the 'Poverty and Vulnerability Indicators', which are obligatory for all Scottish Government funded projects.

	State the evidence that supports the progress described			
2.4	Indicator 2.4 Number of people with increased awareness of good governance and human rights			
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total
				Brief description (e.g. small-holders)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described			
2.5	Indicator 2.5 Number of people who are engaged in advocacy for improving citizens' rights			
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total
				Brief description (e.g. small-holders)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described			
3. IDF Programme – Education (optional)				
3.1	Indicator 3.1 Number of schools with improved management and resourcing for provision of quality education			
	Baseline	Total		Brief description (e.g. primary school)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described			
3.2	Indicator 3.2 Number of children/ learners benefitting from improved management and resourcing of schools			
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total
				Brief description (e.g. girls, visually-impaired)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described			
3.3	Indicator 3.3 Number of people trained in improved school inspection and/ or improvement services			
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total
				Brief description (e.g. government staff)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described			
3.4	Indicator 3.4 Number of new teachers qualified to provide quality education that is safe, equitable and accessible to all children			
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total
				Brief description (e.g. primary)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described			
3.5	Indicator 3.5 Number of people entering into higher education			

7. IDF Programme Monitoring

The list of IDF programme indicators are listed below. With reference to Q46 on your application form, please report on progress for the IDF programme indicators that you have committed to tracking in your original proposal, including the 'Poverty and Vulnerability Indicators', which are obligatory for all Scottish Government funded projects.

	Baseline	Adult Female	Adult Male	Child Female (< 18 yrs)	Child Male (< 18 yrs)	Total	Brief description (e.g. secondary, vocational)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
4. IDF Programme – Health (optional)							
4.1	Indicator 4.1 Number of health professionals with up-to-date skills, knowledge and qualifications in essential healthcare						
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total	Brief description (e.g. nurses)		
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
4.2	Indicator 4.2 Number of women <u>who have access to</u> improved maternal and neonatal healthcare services						
	Baseline		Total		Brief description		
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
4.3	Indicator 4.3 % births assisted by a skilled provider						
	Baseline		Total		Brief description		
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
4.4	Indicator 4.4 Number of people <u>directly reached by</u> improved essential health services						
	Baseline	Adult Female	Adult Male	Child Female (< 18 yrs)	Child Male (< 18 yrs)	Total	Brief description (e.g. malaria)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
4.5	Indicator 4.5 Number of people <u>who have access to</u> improved essential health services						
	Baseline	Adult Female	Adult Male	Child Female (< 18 yrs)	Child Male (< 18 yrs)	Total	Brief description (e.g. maternal health)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
4.6	Indicator 4.6 Number of institutions with improved essential health services						

7. IDF Programme Monitoring

The list of IDF programme indicators are listed below. With reference to Q46 on your application form, please report on progress for the IDF programme indicators that you have committed to tracking in your original proposal, including the 'Poverty and Vulnerability Indicators', which are obligatory for all Scottish Government funded projects.

	Baseline	Total		Brief description (e.g. district clinic)			
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
4.7	Indicator 4.7 Number of people with increased awareness of determinants of health						
	Baseline	Adult Female	Adult Male	Child Female (< 18 yrs)	Child Male (< 18 yrs)	Total	Brief description (e.g. malaria prevention)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
5. IDF Programme – Sustainable Economic Development (optional)							
5.1	Indicator 5.1 Number of people supported to establish or improve business/ economic activities						
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total	Brief description (e.g. agriculture marketing)		
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
5.2	Indicator 5.2 Number of people accessing credit						
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total	Brief description (e.g. widows)		
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
5.3	Indicator 5.3 % increase in household income						
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total	Brief description (e.g. vegetable farming)		
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
5.4	Indicator 5.4 Number of small holder farmers supported to adopt environmentally sustainable agricultural practices						
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total	Brief description (e.g. vegetable farming)		
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
5.5	Indicator 5.5 % increase in agricultural yield						
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total	Brief description (e.g. maize)		
	State the evidence that supports the progress described						
6. IDF Programme – Renewable Energy (optional)							
6.1	Indicator 6.1 Number of public institutions e.g. clinics, schools accessing renewable energy						

7. IDF Programme Monitoring

The list of IDF programme indicators are listed below. With reference to Q46 on your application form, please report on progress for the IDF programme indicators that you have committed to tracking in your original proposal, including the 'Poverty and Vulnerability Indicators', which are obligatory for all Scottish Government funded projects.

	Baseline		Total		Brief description (e.g. district clinics, schools)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described				
6.2	Indicator 6.2 Number of households accessing renewable energy				
	Baseline	Female	Male	Total	Brief description (e.g. solar)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described				
6.3	Indicator 6.3 Number of individual lamps/ lanterns sold				
	Baseline		Total		Brief description (e.g. lantern)
	State the evidence that supports the progress described				
6.4	Indicator 6.4 Number of community based 'mini-grids' that have been established				
	Baseline		Total		Brief description
	State the evidence that supports the progress described				

SG M&E End of year reporting template: Part 2 of 3¹⁰⁵

SUMMARY OF BUDGET								
	Year 1		Year 2		Year 3		TOTALS	
Project Year Dates	2015-16		2016-17		2017-18			
	Programmed Expenditure (Total for financial year)	Actual Expenditure (Year to date)	Programmed Expenditure (Total for financial year)	Actual Expenditure (Year to date)	Programme Expenditure (Total for financial year)	Actual Expenditure (Year to date)	Programmed Expenditure (Total for financial years)	Actual Expenditure (Years to date)
Staff Costs								
Total for Scottish Staff	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total for National Staff	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total for Other Staff	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sub-Total Staff Costs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Running costs in Country								
Overheads	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Office Costs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

¹⁰⁵ The SG has a link to this document on its website as an excel spreadsheet, it has been converted here to a word document for ease of viewing, however, a link to the original excel sheet can be found at: <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/International/int-dev/Maps/Malawi/guidance/malawi2015reporting>

Sub-Total Running costs in Country	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Travel - International								
International Airfares	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
International staff other travel costs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sub-total International Travel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Travel - National								
In-country airfares	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
In-country travel (all other)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sub-total National Travel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subsistence								
International staff	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
National staff	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sub-total Subsistence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Direct Project Costs for Implementation								
Output 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Output 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Output 3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Output 4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Output 5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Output 6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
M&E&L	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dissemination Costs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sub-total Implementation</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>
Capital Costs								
Project running capital	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Implementation capital	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sub-total Capital</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>
TOTAL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

SG M&E End of year reporting template: Part 3 of 3¹⁰⁶

PROJECT NAME							
Project Lead Organisation							
Dates for project							
Logfarme Date							
IMPACT	Impact Indicator 1		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)	
		Planned					
		Achieved					
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress					
	Impact Indicator 2		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)	
		Planned					
		Achieved					
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress					

OUTCOME	Outcome Indicator 1		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)	Assumptions	
		Planned						
		Achieved						
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress						
	Outcome Indicator 2		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)		
		Planned						
		Achieved						

¹⁰⁶ The SG has a link to this document on its website as an excel spreadsheet, it has been converted here to a word document for ease of viewing, however a link to the original excel sheet is: <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/International/int-dev/Maps/Malawi/guidance/malawi2015reporting>

		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress		

OUTPUT 1	Output Indicator 1.1		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)	Assumption	
		Planned						
		Achieved						
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress						
	Output Indicator 1.2		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)		
		Planned						
		Achieved						
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress						
	Output Indicator 1.3		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)		
		Planned						
		Achieved						
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress						
		RISK						

OUTPUT 2	Output Indicator 2.1		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)	Assumptions	
		Planned						
		Achieved						
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress						
	Output Indicator 2.2		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)		
		Planned						

		Achieved					
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress					
	Output Indicator 2.3		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)	
		Planned					
		Achieved					
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress					RISK (H / M / L)

OUTPUT 3	Output Indicator 3.1		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)	Assumption	
		Planned						
		Achieved						
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress						
	Output Indicator 3.2		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)		
		Planned						
		Achieved						
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress						
	Output Indicator 3.3		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)		
	Planned							
	Achieved							
	Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress							
	RISK (H / M / L)							

OUTPUT 4	Output Indicator 4.1		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)	Assumptions
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		Planned					RISK (H / M / L)
		Achieved					
	Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress						
Output Indicator 4.2		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)		
		Planned					
		Achieved					
	Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress						
Output Indicator 4.3		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)		
		Planned					
		Achieved					
	Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress						

OUTPUT 5	Output Indicator 5.1		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)	Assumption		
		Planned							
		Achieved							
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress							
	Output Indicator 5.2		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)			
		Planned							
		Achieved							
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress							
	Output Indicator 5.3		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)			
		Planned							

		Achieved					
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress					RISK (H / M / L)

OUTPUT 6	Output Indicator 6.1		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)	Assumptions
		Planned					
		Achieved					
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress					
	Output Indicator 6.2		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)	
		Planned					
		Achieved					
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress					
	Output Indicator 6.3		Baseline	Milestone 1	Milestone 2	Target (date)	
		Planned					
		Achieved					
		Data Source(s) for substantiating indicator progress					RISK (H / M / L)

Appendix 6

Example of negative news story about the SG's International 'Development' policy, in the Daily Express, May 2015.

REVEALED: The theft and corruption gnawing at Scotland's £37million aid to Malawi

SCOTLAND'S multimillion-pound aid programme to Malawi can today be revealed to be in chaos – with some projects beset by theft, corruption and flawed accounting.

By **BEN BORLAND**

PUBLISHED: 00:01, Sun, May 17, 2015



The Scots aid programme to Malawi is in chaos

In one case, then Health Secretary Alex Neil even promised to “encourage” short-staffed Scottish health boards to give NHS medics paid leave so that they could travel to Africa to help ease problems.

The Scottish Sunday Express began investigating the £37million aid programme after the most recent round of grants was announced in January.

Although it was not reported in Scotland at the time, one of Malawi's top government officials issued a stern warning “against the abuse of the latest aid package”.

Charles Msosa, principal secretary in the ministry of education, science and technology, also “urged officers to use the funds for the intended purpose”.

Civil servants in Edinburgh monitor more than 40 projects funded by the taxpayer, although the reports have never been made public – until now.

Released under Freedom of Information legislation, they reveal that:

- At least one project had links to the 'cashgate' murder and corruption scandal which brought down Joyce Banda's government last year and led to other western nations suspending aid to Malawi.

- A number of projects have been rapped for shoddy accounting, with several reporting six-monthly spending totals against annual grant allowances – effectively disguising overspend. A Scottish Government spokesman said: "We are working with project managers to tighten up on reporting procedures and this should not happen in future."

- Impoverished villagers used loans part-funded by Scottish taxpayers to buy "radios, TVs, chairs and other furniture for their homes" instead of farming supplies.

- Many projects were hampered by theft of valuable equipment, staff absenteeism or problems with greedy local suppliers, some of whom doubled their usual fees.

- The Malawi Scotland Partnership kept members, including the Office of the President and the Cabinet, as well as schools, hospitals, church groups and even farmers, up to date with "progress on the Scottish referendum".

But the most concerning situation was revealed in a report from the University of Dundee, which is running a £241,681 project to improve maternity care in Malawi.

It said that getting paid leave for NHS staff to travel to Malawi had "become an obstacle", with NHS Tayside insisting that "no special leave will be granted for anyone doing work in developing countries.

"This is in keeping with the attitude of health boards from other parts of Scotland for several years."

The project manager adds: "I wrote to [Alex Neil] who advised that he would encourage boards to support this work. He advised that I should contact the HR department in NHST to discuss further."

At the time of the report – October 2014 – Scottish NHS staff shortages were so acute that concerns were raised at least 50 times a week.

Although the manager insisted there was "no impact on service delivery for the people of Tayside", a lack of staff lead to 58 operations being cancelled in the health board area last year.

The same report also claimed that accountants at the Malawi College of Health Sciences made "unauthorised payments" to delegates on the maternity training courses.

Many people across Scotland are fully supportive of our relationship with Malawi

Scottish Conservatives spokesman

The report states: "They were responsible for the misappropriation of funds and when challenged about this, their response was to refuse to administer the funds. They have not accepted responsibility, made any apology or agreed to repay the misappropriated funds."

Although "multiple lives" have been saved as a result of the project, the manager concludes: "I am pessimistic about the sustainability of the course after we leave Malawi, despite having donated all the teaching equipment and taught the necessary skills."

The Scotland Malawi Business Group received £160,547 to provide support and loans for fish-farmers, but was hampered by "theft and poisoning, allegedly at the hands of jealous neighbours".

In addition, the main supplier of fish feed was forced to close after the owner was "suspected of involvement in the cashgate corruption scandal".

A number of projects were criticised by the Scottish Government for accounting problems, with the charity Christian Aid told to take "urgent action" to correct spending reports before any more money would be released.

There were concerns about projects by the University of Strathclyde ("spending figures don't match") and the MicroLoan Foundation ("financial reporting is incomplete").

Imani Enterprise was asked to explain why £107,000 had been claimed for fishponds which "have not yet been built", while there were "concerns about the robustness of the risk assessment" by Oxfam.

The £400,000 Oxfam farming support project also saw an "overall lack of care" from farmers, leading to an outbreak of swine fever that killed "80 per cent of the pigs".

In addition, 245 village savings and loan groups were set up with £48,484 invested – with Oxfam noting that “farmers are now buying radios, TVs, chairs and other furniture for their homes”.

An Edinburgh University project to install IT equipment in rural health centres went over-budget due to “theft of equipment”.

Last night, opposition politicians and campaigners called for the reports to be made public as a matter of course – rather than accessible only using Freedom of Information.

A spokesman for the Scottish Conservatives said: “Many people across Scotland are fully supportive of our relationship with Malawi.

“However, if that is to be maintained it’s clear more transparency will be required.”

A spokeswoman for the Scottish Government said their funding system was “robust” and ensured any money donated gets to the people who need it most.

She added: “Our grant awards are independently assessed. The Scottish Government monitors our International Development projects regularly, requiring six monthly reports on progress.

“We work closely with our grant holders and only once we are satisfied with the progress of the project are further funds released.

“Under FoI legislation these reports are publically available if requested.

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