

What Results Has UK Aid Achieved in Malawi over the Long Term?

Graham Symons

Foreword

The UK is materially ending its direct support for ten countries in Africa. In one of the poorest, Malawi—a country of around 22 million people—the UK has provided financial support totalling around £1.6bn in today's money over the past seventeen years. So, what results has that support achieved?

In this report, Graham Symons looks back at results of the UK's efforts according to the government's own estimates. Clearly, Malawi's economic fortunes have not transformed and it remains an extremely poor country. It was beyond the scope of this exercise to assess whether the UK could have done more or acted differently to help Malawi achieve stronger growth relative to other priorities. However, the assessment shows that UK tax-payers money still made an enormous difference to peoples' lives. Many of those results will continue to be felt – thousands of Malawians are still living the lives saved, feeling relief from the justice they received and using the reading and writing skills UK aid paid for.

The results may be particularly pertinent for Scotland. Malawi has been its main development partner and Ministers could consider sustaining one or more of the most impactful projects we identify.

As the UK embarks on a new phase in its development partnerships, we urge it to conduct this kind of exercise, or indeed a full evaluation, in each partner country. First, to mark the achievements of both partners over the past quarter century and second to learn lessons on effective policy going forward.

Ian Mitchell

Summary

- This report assesses key development results UK aid can reasonably be claimed to have achieved in Malawi over an extended period of time, in practice since 2009. It is intended as a high-level stocktake using publicly available information on results and is not an evaluation or full audit. A conservative approach has been taken to avoid double counting and ensure full attribution to UK aid and so results presented should be viewed as a floor for what was likely achieved.
- Malawi is a landlocked, low-income, Commonwealth member country in Sub-Saharan Africa with a population of around 22 million people. It is one of the poorest countries in the world, ranked 172nd on the UN's Human Development Index and with over 75 percent of the population living in extreme poverty. It is also one of the most climate vulnerable countries in the world.
- The UK has had a longstanding relationship with Malawi and has been a key provider of Official Development Assistance (ODA) to the country. Total UK bilateral ODA to Malawi since 2009 was around £1.6 billion (2025 prices). The UK's areas of focus and approach shifted over the period, moving away from budget support towards more targeted activities involving different delivery partners.
- The UK's development assistance to Malawi since 2009 was found to have supported a substantial set of results in Malawi, including, for selected time periods:

Health

- 3.1 million people (14 percent of the population) reached with Essential Health Package medical services, likely giving the equivalent of a healthy year of life to a population group (2.4 million) more than twice the size of Birmingham.
- Over 2 million unintended pregnancies and over 525,000 unsafe abortions avoided.
- 7,143 maternal deaths averted between 2011-2024 and 8,440 under-five deaths averted between 2018-2024 (both likely substantial under-estimates of overall achievement).

Humanitarian, food and water

- More than 3.5 million people provided with humanitarian assistance, more than the combined populations of Birmingham, Glasgow, Leeds, Edinburgh and Liverpool.
- 730,000 people gained sustainable access to improved sanitation, 720,000 people access to improved hygiene, 530,000 people access to clean drinking water (over 2011-2015).

Climate

- More than 385,000 people, possibly over 745,000 people, supported to cope with the effects of climate change, including through cash transfers, early warning systems, climate-smart technologies and support for resilient housing.

Education

- Over 400,000 children, mostly girls (roughly equivalent to the total population of Leicester) supported by UK aid to gain a full, 'decent' education.
- Over 3 million children reached with a new mathematics curriculum with well-evidenced numeracy benefits.

Economy

- Through a single programme, net income boosted for over 1.8 million people and approximately \$10 million of additional private investment leveraged.

Governance

- Over 1.1 million households and businesses experiencing significant improvements in their access to public goods and services.
 - 400,000 women and girls given improved access to security and justice services.
- The results presented in this report do not capture higher-level impacts (although in some cases impacts have been inferred from other evidence) or any wider systemic changes in Malawi that may have been brought about through UK assistance. Nonetheless, they represent an impressive set of outcomes. . They made material contributions to important development progress that Malawi has achieved since 2000, for instance in increasing life expectancy, reducing maternal and infant mortality, expanding participation in education and improving its quality. They may also have helped Malawi continue along the democratic path (begun in 1994) despite the major development challenges it has faced.
- Although UK assistance helped boost economic livelihoods and protect against losses for many Malawians, Malawi has not yet achieved rates of economic growth needed to tackle very high (and recently increasing) poverty rates and become less dependent on external support, partly owing to strong economic headwinds. . It is beyond the scope of this report to assess whether the UK and/or other donors could have done more, or acted differently, to help Malawi address its deep structural impediments to growth.
- But a substantial reduction of UK aid to Malawi now will withdraw the kinds of contributions the UK has been making, and potentially withhold support for future economic progress, at a time when Malawi's development challenges are in many ways intensifying and when its own ability to address them is becoming even more stretched.

1. Introduction

This report assesses key results UK aid, or Official Development Assistance (ODA), has enabled to be achieved in Malawi over an extended period of time – in practice since 2009 given constraints in available information. It is intended as a ‘stocktake’ of what UK aid has delivered at a moment when a substantial reduction in UK bilateral aid to Malawi is being made as part of overall reductions in the UK’s aid budget first announced in February 2025.

The assessment has drawn on publicly available information on results, in particular aggregate-level reporting by the UK government for the periods 2011-2015 and 2015-2020 and programme-level reporting for programmes implemented between 2009-2025. The approach has been selective, using results and indicators that provide the best, most meaningful sense of what has been achieved, and conservative, erring on the side of caution where risks of double counting arose and in trying to present results attributable to the UK’s assistance. The assessment is not an evaluation, nor is it a full audit of all the measured results UK aid has delivered. Rather it is a high-level summary of important results that can reasonably be attributed to UK aid in Malawi over a substantive period.

Section 2 of the report provides context by briefly describing Malawi’s development status and progress as well as the UK’s development cooperation with Malawi since 2000. Section 3 outlines the methodological approach taken for the assessment. Section 4 summarises the key results identified, with further detail provided in the annex. Section 5 concludes.

2. Context: Malawi's development and UK engagement

Malawi's development status and progress

Malawi is a landlocked, low-income country in Sub-Saharan Africa with a population of around 22 million people. It is one of the poorest countries in the world, currently ranked 172nd out of 187 on the UN's Human Development Index. Since multi-party elections were first held in 1994, Malawi has maintained a democratic system of governance with most recent elections being held in 2025. Malawi has historically been heavily aid-dependent and in 2023 the volume of ODA from all sources was equivalent to 13 percent of the country's GDP.

Key development indicators for Malawi

- Population: 21.66m (2024)
- Life expectancy: 67.6 years
- GNI per capita (Atlas method, current \$US): \$570
- Poverty rate at under \$3.00 per day (2021 PPP): 75.4 percent (2019)
- Under-5 mortality (per 1,000 live births, 2024): 48.8
- Maternal mortality (per 100,000 live births, 2023): 225

Since 2000, the country has made progress across several key areas of development, particularly health. Life expectancy increased by over 20 years from 46.2 years in 2000 to 67.6 years in 2024. Mortality rates for children under five declined from 171 per 1,000 births to 48.8 (2024) and maternal mortality fell from 1,115 per 100,000 live births to 225 (2023). Prevalence of HIV among people aged 15-49 years fell from 15.3 percent in 2000 to 6.2 percent in 2024. Although there is still some way to go on such measures, these are important achievements.

Progress has also been made in the area of education where, for instance, there has been an improvement in gross enrolment in secondary school from 31.2 percent in 2000 to 41.5 percent in 2020 (although following recent economic pressures, including from COVID-19, there has since been a falling back) and gender parity has been achieved in enrolment at primary level.

Across a number of areas, however, progress has been weaker. Although Malawi is on track with two of the Sustainable Development Goals (climate action and responsible consumption and production), doubts remain, to varying degrees, with fourteen of them, especially on poverty where the recent change has been negative.¹ Based on the World Bank's latest measure of extreme poverty, over 75 percent of the population now live on less than \$3 per day (compared with, for instance, 71.7 percent in 2016).

Despite declines in fertility, rates of population growth have typically remained above rates of economic growth, applying additional pressures on economic livelihoods and contributing to declining educational participation in later years, especially for girls. Malawi's economic development has been held back by relatively weak business and investment conditions, lack of diversification, fiscal constraints, and governance challenges with corruption and the rule of law.²

The country has also been, and is increasingly becoming, vulnerable to climate shocks. According to the Climate Risk Index (2026), Malawi is the 8th most vulnerable country to climate change in the world, particularly given its high dependence on rain-fed agriculture for income and food.³ It is

¹ Sustainable Development Report 2025

² Malawi's Governance Rating 2026

³ Climate Risk Index 2026 | Germanwatch e.V.

estimated that, on average, the country loses around 1.7 percent of its GDP each year due to climate shocks. In 2023/24 changes in rain patterns led to a 45 percent fall in maize production and affected nearly 2 million farming families.⁴

UK relationship with Malawi

The UK has had a longstanding relationship with Malawi. Since gaining independence from Britain in 1964, Malawi has been a member of the Commonwealth. There are currently close to 18,000 Malawians living in the UK, making the UK the primary location for the Malawian diaspora in Europe.

Since 2000, the UK has provided around £1.7 billion of bilateral ODA to Malawi in current price terms (around £2.5 billion in 2025 prices), supported by teams of development specialists.⁵ Up until 2016, UK ODA represented between 10-20 percent of total ODA annually received by Malawi and for much of the early 2000s the UK was Malawi's largest bilateral donor. Since 2017 UK ODA has accounted for less than 10 percent of Malawi's total ODA but the UK has nonetheless remained among the largest providers of ODA to the country (at least up to and including 2024).

Areas of focus and approaches taken within the UK's development assistance for Malawi have evolved over the past 25 years. During earlier years, activity was geared more towards providing direct budget support for national poverty reduction plans and for sectors such as health. As the UK's overall approach to international development shifted away from budget support in the 2010s, and following a corruption scandal in Malawi ("cashgate") that came to light in 2013,⁶ UK assistance moved towards providing support for specific development activities and working with a mix of delivery partners. As of 2023, under the then Conservative government, the UK's development partnership with Malawi was focused on the three main areas of building climate resilience, supporting inclusive economic growth and improving governance.⁷

Scotland has had unique historical ties with Malawi dating back to the 1850s and since 2005 the Scottish government has provided its own development assistance to Malawi using its devolved powers and budget – see box 1. ODA provided by the Scottish Executive is currently accounted for as UK ODA in international reporting but is outside the scope of this assessment.⁸

Box 1 - Scottish Government's Official Development Assistance for Malawi

The Scottish Government's International Development programme began in 2005 with an annual budget of £3m and with Malawi being the first and only country recipient. From 2008 the geographical coverage was expanded but Malawi has remained a focus country (currently alongside Zambia, Rwanda and Pakistan).

The Scottish aid budget for priority countries grew to around £10m per year by the early 2010s. A Climate Justice Fund was established in 2012 and a (global) Humanitarian Emergency Fund (HEF) was added in 2017. Total ODA, to all countries, provided by the Scottish government in 2024 was £22m. Focus areas for the Scottish government's development cooperation with Malawi have included climate, health, education, civic governance, sustainable economic development, renewable energy and water. Between

⁴ [Malawi: On the Frontline of the Climate Crisis | Global Climate Risks](#)

⁵ Nominal figures taken from UK government's *Statistics on International Development* and expressed in 2025 prices using the UK GDP deflator series.

⁶ The 'Cashgate' scandal involved the misappropriation of over \$350m of public funds and led to suspension of ODA to Malawi, including from the UK, totalling over \$150m. See, for instance, [Cashgate in malawi](#).

⁷ [UK–Malawi development partnership summary, July 2023 - GOV.UK](#)

⁸ See [International development - gov.scot](#), also [spice-spotlight.scot/2026/01/27/the-scottish-governments-international-development-programme-20-years-on/](#), for further information on the Scottish government's development assistance to Malawi since 2005.

2021-2023 Malawi was the largest recipient of Scottish development assistance, receiving £12.8m or 27.6 percent of the overall budget.

Information on results is limited but selected deliverables from recent projects include:

- 7,276 people (including women, girls and children) gaining access to safe water in targeted villages.
- 78,365 people gaining access to sanitation.
- 23,744 additional women screened for cervical cancer.
- 30,732 learners provided with meals in schools.
- 1490 children in conflict with the law given increased access to justice.
- For targeted farmers, increased yields for rice from 2.5 tonnes to 4.8 tonnes per hectare and for groundnuts from 0.79 tonnes to 1.4 tonnes per hectare.

3. Approach to assessing results achieved by UK aid in Malawi

The aim of this exercise has been to identify key development results UK aid can reasonably be claimed to have achieved in Malawi over an extended period of time. In practice the assessment has been limited to the period since 2009 given lack of information available on results prior to then.⁹

The exercise has focused on results achieved through the UK's bilateral assistance and hence has not sought to identify results delivered through core contributions to multilateral institutions. As a guiding principle, it has erred towards producing conservative estimates of results, taking care to avoid double counting, excluding results which were less clearly attributable to UK assistance, and distinguishing between results achieved and those 'intended' (see below). In this way, results identified here can be viewed as a floor for what was actually delivered through UK support.

The assessment has used publicly available information on results from two main types of source:

- i) Aggregate, country-level results reporting published by UK government, in particular reporting on the 2011-2015 Department for International Development (DFID) Results Framework and DFID's Results Estimates for 2015-2020.¹⁰ Taken together these provide information on a set of high-level results achieved by UK development assistance over the period 2011-2020, albeit with differences in indicators over the two sub-periods.
- ii) Programme-level information available from the UK government's 'Development Tracker' site for the entire period between 2009-2025, including for programmes that are continuing.¹¹ This supplemented the first type of source in two ways – first, by allowing the use of additional results and indicators not covered in the aggregate-level reporting, and second, by extending the overall time period. For manageability, and given typical lack of information on results for smaller-scale activities, the exercise only looked at information available for programmes with lifetime spend above £3 million.

Results were more readily available for more recent programmes, likely reflecting progress made on monitoring and transparency, and the shift that occurred away from budget support-type programmes. It was harder to find usable results for programmes with less readily quantifiable outcomes, for example research-based programmes. Furthermore, from programme level information at least, Malawi-specific results were not found for relevant multi-country or regional programmes.

⁹ A report by the National Audit Office published in 2009 assessed value for money of UK aid to Malawi over several years prior to 2009 but there is lack of sufficient information on results for the purposes of the current assessment. [Department for International Development: Aid to Malawi - NAO report](#)

¹⁰ [DFID Results Framework 2011 to 2015 datasets - GOV.UK](#) and [DFID results estimates: 2015 to 2020 - GOV.UK](#)

¹¹ [Development Tracker](#). Programme documentation included project completion reports, or most recently available annual reviews or logical frameworks, and business cases.

Results reported by UK government were generally accepted as being reliable and hence usable. For some programmes, information was available on planned or intended results but not on actual results achieved. Where appropriate, such results have been flagged as “possible” results UK aid *may* have delivered.¹²

Having identified the full set of usable results, separate results reported against the same or similar indicators were combined as far as possible to build an overall picture of what UK assistance has achieved. There were, however, challenges in bringing together the results in this way:

- Given the evolution of UK’s development assistance portfolio in Malawi, and given differences in information available from similar programmes over different time periods, there was often not a strong continuity in the indicators over the full period since 2009. As such, many of the results apply only to particular sub-periods and so the overall results picture is something of a patchwork.
- There were also, in several cases, risks of double counting results when adding separate results together. For example, where an indicator captured the ‘number of people’ reached by or benefiting from a service, different programmes using the same indicator could, to an extent at least, have reached or benefited the same people. Where this was a potential issue, a range for the result was identified or a conservative choice was made to exclude results.

Whilst many of the results express beneficiaries in terms of ‘people’, some express beneficiaries in terms of ‘households’. Based on 2023 data the average size of a household in Malawi can be taken to be around 4.3.¹³

¹² ‘Possible’ results associated with the UK’s provision of emergency budget support over 2012-13 were, as a rule, excluded given doubts about delivery raised by the ‘cashgate’ corruption scandal.

¹³ [Average Household Size in Malawi | Africa GeoPortal - powered by Esri](#)

4. Summary of results achieved by UK aid in Malawi

The selected results gathered through the exercise, their associated time periods, and the sources of information for them, are detailed in tables provided in the **Annex**, grouping results by thematic area. Where appropriate and available, sub-results for females are given - see also box 2 below on results delivered specifically for women and girls.

Here we summarise the key results and, in some cases, use additional evidence to suggest further impacts they could reasonably be expected to have led to.

The overall amount of UK bilateral aid spent in Malawi between 2009-2025 was approximately £1.2 billion (nominal) or around £1.6 billion in UK 2025 prices.

For this total spend, the UK was able to support the delivery of a substantial set of development results in Malawi, including:

Health

- 3.1 million people, or around 14 percent of Malawi's total population, were reached through maternal, newborn, child and other Essential Health Package (EHP) medical services during the period 2019-2025. Based on separate evidence on the impacts of Malawi's Essential Health Package in averting Disability Adjusted Life Years (DALYs) – years of healthy life lost through premature mortality or disability - we could estimate that this averted at least 2,425,750 DALYs, or rather gave a healthy year of life to every person in a population more than twice that of the UK city of Birmingham.¹⁴ Furthermore, between 2010-2019 at least 1.5 million people were reached with free primary health care services and this could also be expected to have averted a considerable number of DALYs.¹⁵
- Over 2 million unintended pregnancies were averted between 2011-2024.
- Based on reported figures, 7,143 maternal deaths were averted between 2011-2024 and 8,440 under-five deaths were averted between 2018-2024. Given other results and activities supported, it is likely that these numbers are significant under-estimates of what UK aid delivered against such measures.

Humanitarian, food and water

- Over the period 2015-2020, more than 3.5 million people were provided with humanitarian assistance (food aid, cash, voucher transfers), around 16 percent of Malawi's population and more than the combined populations of Birmingham, Glasgow, Leeds, Edinburgh and Liverpool. Post-2020, around 2.1 million people, mostly children under five years, were provided with nutrition support.
- 415,000 people (greater than the current population of Leicester) gained sustainable access to clean water and/or sanitation over 2015-2020. During the period 2011-2015, 530,000 people gained sustainable access to clean drinking water, 730,000 people acquired sustainable access to an improved sanitation facility and 720,000 people obtained access to improved hygiene.

Agriculture

- Over selected periods, around 350,000 households per year were provided with improved seeds and over 46,000 households received livestock.

¹⁴ Matthias Arnold, Dominic Nkhoma and Susan Griffin, 'Distributional impact of the Malawian Essential Health Package', *Health Policy and Planning*, Volume 35, Issue 6, July 2020, Pages 646–656, <https://doi.org/10.1093/heapol/czaa015>. This uses their finding that, if uptake of services was increased to 100%, Malawi's EHP could be expected to avert 0.82 DALYs per person in rural households and 0.57 DALYs per person in urban households, with the rural:urban population split being 85:15. In practice, the DALYs averted by the result could be expected to have been higher still in so far as it reached people with a greater concentration of need relative to the population as a whole.

¹⁵ As Malawi's EHP includes primary and secondary health services, and has evolved over time, it was not possible to use Arnold, Nkhoma and Griffin (2020) to estimate DALYs averted from primary care.

- Between 2010-2017 over 51,000 additional farming households were practicing irrigation.

Climate and environment

- Over the total period of 2011-2025, more than 385,000 people, possibly over 745,000 people, were 'supported to cope with the effects of climate change', including through cash transfers, early warning systems, climate-smart technologies and support for more resilient housing.
- Between 2010-2018, more than 90,000, and potentially around 177,000, additional farmers adopted conservation agriculture, over 20,000 hectares of additional land were brought under conservation agriculture and over 1.1 million agroforestry trees were planted.
- More than 128,000 households adopted low carbon energy techniques between 2010-2017.

Education

- Between 2011-2015, 500,000 children were supported in primary and lower secondary education, and over 2015-2020, 401,000 children were supported to gain a 'decent education'.^{16 17} Returns to education globally, in terms of increased earnings, average around 9 percent per year of schooling and are typically higher for girls.¹⁸
- Between 2018-2025, 3 million children were reached with a new mathematics curriculum. Evidence from a randomised controlled trial carried out over 2024-2025 suggests that this could have enhanced numeracy learning for each child reached, on average, by the equivalent of an extra half-year of regular schooling per school year.¹⁹

Economy

- Through one programme alone between 2012-2021, UK aid boosted net income for over 1.8 million people and leveraged approximately \$10 million of additional private investment. Through wider programmes and actions, such as providing cash transfers and supporting the agricultural sector, it is likely that UK aid enabled significantly more to be achieved against such measures.
- Between 2010-2017, more than 109,000, and possibly around 150,000, people (mostly female) were given access to financial services, including village savings and loan schemes.

Governance

- Between 2018-2025, over 1.1 million households and businesses in Malawi experienced significant improvements in their access to public services.
- Between 2011-2015, over 5.2 million people were supported to vote in elections and 370,000 people (mostly females) were supported to have control over their development and hold government to account.

Again, the results summarised here and detailed further in the annex, represent a selective and conservative assessment of what UK aid has achieved in Malawi since 2009, based on readily available information. For the most part they also do not capture results that would typically be more at the impact level of programmes (such as poverty rates or other development indicators) given time lags or challenges with monitoring or attribution. Moreover, they generally do not capture systemic changes in public or private institutions that might have been brought about through the UK's development cooperation, including through the combined impacts of multiple

¹⁶ From latest estimates, around 10.5-11 million people in Malawi are under 18 and the 'school age' population is around 6.5 million.

¹⁷ The 401,000 is equivalent to the number of children fully educated through UK assistance, with a focus on the quality of education. As with other results, it is assumed that such numbers are additional to a counterfactual baseline, i.e. the children would not have been expected to have been educated with that quality otherwise. According to methodology notes for DFID's Results Estimates 'all DFID education programmes include a focus on quality of education, so in this way all children counted are being helped to gain a decent education'.

¹⁸ See <https://blogs.worldbank.org/en/education/50-years-after-landmark-study-returns-education-remain-strong>

¹⁹ <https://www.ipned.org/news-and-views/math-must-count-what-malawis-numeracy-reforms-teach-us>.

programmes. Finally, they do not recognise any positive (or negative) macroeconomic impacts UK aid may have had, including by helping to plug financing gaps.²⁰

Box 2 – Results achieved by UK aid for women and girls in Malawi

As in many countries in Sub-Saharan African, and indeed globally, women and girls face particularly acute challenges in Malawi and this undermines both their livelihoods and development for the country as a whole. UK aid was found to have delivered a number of important results for women and girls over the period 2009-2025, including through activities specifically targeted towards addressing their needs. For instance:

- Over 1.3 million additional women/girls used modern methods of family planning and over 2 million unintended pregnancies have been averted since 2011.
- Over 525,000 unsafe abortions averted since 2011. Given the separate result that more than 10,000 pregnant mothers who sought emergency life-saving surgery were treated free of charge between 2010-2019, it is likely that the reported figure of 7,143 maternal deaths having been averted between 2011-2025 is a significant under-estimate of the impact UK aid on maternal mortality.
- Between 2015-2020, 1,869,000 females were reached with humanitarian assistance.
- Over 2011-2015, 270,000 females gained sustainable access to clean drinking water, 370,000 to an improved sanitation facility and 370,000 also to improved hygiene.
- Over 193,000 females were supported to cope with the effects of climate change between 2018-2025.
- 268,000 girls were supported to gain a decent education between 2015-2020, with over 119,000 girls in upper primary and secondary school receiving financial and material support to stay in school between 2011-2018.
- Over 80,000, possibly more than 100,000, females were given access to financial services between 2010-2017.
- Between 2011-2015, 400,000 women and girls gained improved access to security and justice services and around 200,000 females were supported to have control over their own development and hold government to account.

²⁰ As total ODA received by Malawi was on average around 12% of GNI between 2009-2023, and the UK has on average accounted for around 10% of total ODA received, UK ODA has typically provided a financial injection of around 1% of Malawi's GNI per year.

5. Conclusions

This report has attempted to provide a high-level assessment of results, mostly at outcome level, that UK assistance can reasonably be claimed to have delivered in Malawi over the period since 2009. It has found that, for a total real terms ODA spend for the period of around £1.6 billion, a substantial set and range of results have been achieved with benefits for large numbers of people, including women and girls.

Given their scale, the results UK assistance supported likely made significant contributions to important development progress Malawi made over the period, including in boosting life expectancy, reducing child and maternal mortality, tackling diseases, lowering fertility rates, expanding participation in education, not least for girls, and increasing its quality. It is also not unreasonable to suggest that the UK's development assistance, through specific programmes to strengthen governance and more broadly, may have helped Malawi continue on its democratic path despite the acute development challenges it has faced.

Across several important development areas, however, Malawi has made limited progress. Relatively slow rates of economic growth compared with continued rates of population growth (despite reductions in fertility), compounded by the impacts of COVID-19 and increasingly frequent and severe climate shocks, have meant rates of income poverty have remained stubbornly high and have recently been pushed higher. Some of the results UK assistance supported, such as in education and health, may be yet to fully feed through to Malawi's economic performance whilst others made a positive difference, or limited losses, to the economic livelihoods of large numbers of Malawians. . But it is beyond the scope of this report to assess whether the UK (along with other donors) could or should have done more, or acted differently, to support the kinds of economic transformation needed in Malawi to make effective inroads on poverty and reduce Malawi's reliance on external support.

Reductions in UK bilateral assistance for Malawi now will withdraw contributions to outcomes of the kind and scale the UK has been making and potentially withhold assistance that could enable much-needed economic change. This is notwithstanding the UK's avowed commitments to leverage support for African countries through multilateral institutions and prioritise humanitarian assistance according to global need. Such a removal of support comes at a time when Malawi is facing acute fiscal pressures, when other key donor countries are scaling back their assistance, and when Malawi's development challenges are in many respects intensifying.

Whilst this has been a relatively limited exercise, and one that does not substitute for an evaluation of the impact of UK aid in Malawi, it has nonetheless provided a valuable stocktake of what the UK has achieved at something of a turning point in the UK's development cooperation relationship. It could usefully be repeated for other countries experiencing significant changes in UK development assistance.

Annex: Full summary of results achieved by UK aid in Malawi since 2009

Area	Result		Time period	Source(s)	Additional notes
Health	1.	3.1m people served through Maternal, Newborn, Child and other Essential Health Package (EHP) medical services	2019-2025	Umoyo Wathu Health System Strengthening programme	
	2.	1.5m people reached with free basic primary health care	2010-2019	Malawi Health Sector Support prog.	Separate programme (Support to Banja La Mtsogolo) reports a result of 558,000 Malawian women, men and children being reached with healthcare services over the period of 2009-2015, which may, at least partly, double count and has not been included.
	3.	287,218 people reached with integrated outreach health services delivered in camps for Internally Displaced People.	2015-2019	Malawi Humanitarian Preparedness and Response prog.	Reported for 2019. Some possible double counting with result 2, though here more specific group of beneficiaries. Potential additional 298,000 reached through Malawi Joint Donor Humanitarian Emergency Response Fund (2013-2016) but possible double count and so not included.
	4.	At least 1,342,479 additional women/girls using modern methods of family planning	2011-2025	2011-2015 DFID Results Framework; DFID's Results Estimates for 2015-2020; Umoyo Wathu Health System Strengthening prog.; Tsogolo Langa Family Planning prog.	Conservative choice of programme numbers to avoid double counting, potential under-estimate.

5.	2,064,427 unintended pregnancies averted	2011-2024	Tsogolo Langa Family Planning prog.; Support to Family Planning in Malawi prog.	
6.	525,073 unsafe abortions averted	2011-2024	Tsogolo Langa Family Planning programme; Support to Family Planning in Malawi prog.	
7.	10,296 pregnant mothers who sought emergency life-saving surgery treated free of charge	2010-2019	Malawi Health Sector Support prog.	
8.	7,143 maternal deaths averted	2011-2024	Tsogolo Langa Family Planning Programme; Support to Family Planning in Malawi prog.	Reported results from these programmes only. Likely significantly below actual given other activities and results, e.g. result 7.
9.	8,440 under-five deaths averted	2018-2024	Tsogolo Langa Family Planning prog.	From one programme only – likely significantly below actual achieved across all programmes.
10.	<i>Possible</i> result: 250,000 children provided with Vitamin A supplements and deworming treatment	2013-2016	Scaling Up Nutrition in Malawi prog.	Unable to find evidence of actual delivery.

Area	Result		Time period	Source(s)	Additional notes
Humanitarian, food and water	11.	465,120 people receiving food in-kind assistance (226,532 female)	2018-2025	Building Resilience and adapting to climate change in Malawi prog.	Not double counting with result 13.
	12.	134,974 people receiving cash transfers	2018-2025	Building Resilience and adapting to climate change in Malawi prog.; Cash Transfers for Climate Resilience in Malawi.	Conservative figure, post-2020. No double counting with result 13.
	13.	3,506,000 people reached with humanitarian assistance - food aid, cash and voucher transfers (1,869,000 female)	2015-2020	DFID's Results Estimates for 2015-2020	
	14.	1,649,849 children under five (854,903 female) provided with nutrition support	2019-2025	Umoyo Wathu Health System Strengthening prog.	
	15.	445,194 pregnant and breastfeeding women provided with nutrition support	2019-2025	Umoyo Wathu Health System Strengthening prog.	
	16.	415,000 people with sustainable access to clean water and/or sanitation (207,000 female)	2015-2020	DFID's Results Estimates for 2015-2020	
	17.	530,000 people with sustainable access to clean drinking water sources (270,000 female)	2011-2015	2011-2015 DFID Results Framework	

	18.	730,000 people with sustainable access to an improved sanitation facility (370,000 female)	2011-2015	2011-2015 DFID Results Framework	
	19.	720,000 people with access to improved hygiene (370,000 female)	2011-2015	2011-2015 DFID Results Framework	

Area	Result		Time period	Source(s)	Additional notes
Agriculture	20.	350,000 households (average) per year provided with improved seeds (at least 140,000 female-headed)	2011-2014	Malawi Agriculture prog.	
	21.	46,610 households receiving livestock (small ruminants or poultry)	2010-2017	Enhancing Community Resilience prog.	
	22.	51,509 additional households practicing irrigation	2010-2017	Enhancing Community Resilience prog.	
	23.	54,293 households accessing conditional multipurpose cash transfers for catchment conservation, small-scale irrigation, and agricultural improvement	2015-2019	Malawi Humanitarian Preparedness and Response prog.	
	24.	<i>Possible:</i> 375,000 households provided with subsidised fertiliser	2011-2013	Fertiliser Procurement for the 2011/12 Farm Input Subsidy prog.	Lack of evidence on actual delivery.

Climate & environment	25.	360,000 (120,000 female) and 385,856 (193,012 female) people supported to cope with the effects of climate change	2011-2015 and 2018-2025	2011-2015 DFID Results Framework; and Building Resilience and adapting to climate change in Malawi prog.	Reported separately for these two periods, with possible double counting of people supported.
	26.	128,784 households adopting low carbon energy techniques (including solar, cook stoves, afforestation)	2010-2017	Enhancing Community Resilience prog.	Possibly an additional 8,000 through Malawi Joint Donor Humanitarian Emergency Response Fund, but some possibility of double counting.
	27.	90,111-177,055 additional farmers adopting conservation agriculture	2010-2018	Enhancing Community Resilience prog.; Malawi Agriculture prog.	Some possible double counting – lower bound represents a conservative estimate.
	28.	20,349 additional land under conservation agriculture (ha)	2011-2018	Malawi Agriculture prog.	
	29.	1,133,591 additional agroforestry trees planted	2011-2018	Malawi Agriculture prog.	
Education	30.	500,000 children supported by DFID in primary and lower secondary education (250,000 female)	2011-2015	2011-2015 DFID Results Framework	
	31.	401,000 children supported to gain a 'decent' education (268,000 female)	2015-2020	DFID's Results Estimates for 2015-2020	

	32.	3,000,000 children reached with new mathematics curriculum	2018-2025	Strengthening Malawi's Education System prog.	
	33.	1,145 primary classrooms constructed or rehabilitated	2010-2014	Education Sector Reform prog.	
	34.	4,159 teachers trained	2010-2014	Education Sector Reform prog.	
	35.	2,910 pit latrines constructed for improved sanitation	2011-2018	Keeping Girls in School prog.	Possibly higher with 63 planned under Malawi Water and Sanitation prog, but lack of evidence on delivery and possible double count.
	36.	119,493 girls in upper primary and secondary school receiving financial and material support to stay in school	2011-2018	Keeping Girls in School prog.	

Area		Result	Time period	Source(s)	Additional notes
Economy	37.	109,752 – 149,752 people with access to financial services (81,765 – 101,765 female)	2010-2017	Enhancing Community Resilience prog.; 2011-2015 DFID Results Framework (40k)	Taking 'Village Savings and Loan Schemes' as 'financial services'. Possible double counting above the lower bound.
	38.	1,846,731 poor people recording increased net additional income (757,240 female)	2012-2021	Private Sector Development Programme in Malawi	From one programme – likely significantly under-reporting UK's overall achievement.
	39.	\$9,877,174 direct private sector investment leveraged as a result of programme interventions (current prices)	2012-2021	Private Sector Development Programme in Malawi	From one programme only.
Governance	40.	1,157,045 households and businesses that experienced significant improvements in their access to public goods and services	2018-2025	Transparency and Accountability to improve economic development and service delivery prog.	
	42.	370,000 people supported to have choice and control over their own development and hold government to account (200,000 female)	2011-2015	2011-2015 DFID Results Framework	
	43.	5,280,000 people who vote in elections supported by DFID (2,690,000 female)	2011-2015	2011-2015 DFID Results Framework	
	44.	400,000 women and girls with improved access to security and justice services	2011-2015	2011-2015 DFID Results Framework	