

The Role of the Private Sector in Global Governance

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ABSTRACT

Philanthropic organizations like the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) offer a substantial source of financial resources in global development. This study incorporates these philanthropic organizations into the study of international relations using a paired and structured comparative method to understand whether the RF and the BMGF meet the Busan Principles for aid effectiveness compared to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Health Organization (WHO). I make the case that while philanthropic organizations meet some principles of the Busan agreement, they are far behind the IMF and WHO. I also discuss how imbalanced participation and hidden power asymmetry are hindering philanthropic organizations and intergovernmental organizations to meet the Busan Principles. This study concludes with a warning that philanthropic organizations are not aligning their work with the country-led framework of the states where they operate and emphasize the growing need to support intergovernmental organizations. Rather than studying philanthropic organizations separate to international organizations, this paper aims to make the case for the inclusion of philanthropic organizations within the study of aid effectiveness.

Keywords: Philanthropic organizations, aid effectiveness, inclusive partnership, global governance regime of aid and development

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AGRA	Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa
BMGF	Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation
Busan Conference	Fourth High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness
Busan Principles	Busan (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development/OECD) Principles
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
COVID-19	Coronavirus COVID-19
DFID	Department for International Development United Kingdom
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
GAVI	Gavi Alliance, the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization
IFFIM	International Finance Facility for Immunisation
IGOs	Intergovernmental Organizations
IIRI	International Rice Research Institute
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOs	International Organizations
MAPs	Mexican Agricultural Program
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGOs	Nongovernmental Organizations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ODAs	Official Development Assistance
POs	Philanthropic Organizations
PPPs	Public-Private Partnerships
RTACs	Regional Technical Assistance Centres
RTCs	Regional Training Centres
RBM	Roll Back Malaria
RF	Rockefeller Foundation
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organizations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF
WP-EFF
WFP
WHO

United Nations Children's Fund
Working Party on Aid Effectiveness
World Food Programme
World Health Organization

INTRODUCTION

In 2015, the Member States of the United Nations adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that replaced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The SDGs mobilize efforts for a more sustainable future. The heart of this agenda is the commitment to implement the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). One of these goals, the goal 17 is significantly relevant for this research because it is about global partnerships for achieving the SDGs. To accomplish the goal 17 by the year 2030, aid or development co-operation is still an important enabler and means for developing countries. The current international discourse on aid focuses on the quality or the effectiveness of co-operation.¹ During the Fourth High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in 2011 held in Busan, South Korea, this aid or development co-operation was the topic of discussion. The conference also made a clear emphasis on the importance of aid effectiveness. During this forum, the international community established the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation by setting the international standard on the principles for effective aid and global development.

The forum established the Busan Principles by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) that emphasize four key themes or indicators for a successful development co-operation. The Busan Principles include 1) ownership of development strategies and country leadership by developing countries, 2) a focus on results, 3) inclusive partnerships among development actors based on mutual trusts, and 4) transparency and accountability to one another.² These principles recognize the need for the active participation of the national

¹ United Nations. 2020. “The Sustainable Development Agenda.” <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/>.

² Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 2011. “Busan High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness: Proceedings.” P. 19.

governments and the distinct roles of diverse types of development actors, including civil society, the private sector, local governments, and philanthropists. Before explaining the thesis, I will briefly define the four Busan Principles. The principle of ownership ensures that developing countries are in control of their own development and international co-operation fits within their needs. The principle that focuses on results warrants that investments and efforts lead to lasting impacts. Inclusive partnerships recognize the variety of development actors and the need for mutual respect and knowledge sharing among these partners. Lastly, transparency and accountability go together in making sure that stakeholders are beholden to citizens and other beneficiaries.³ The Busan Principles therefore put countries' own development goals and plans at the backbone of an effective development co-operation.

ARGUMENT

Driven by the desire to understand what makes effective partnerships for development, this study discusses how effective intergovernmental organizations (IOs) and philanthropic organizations (POs) meet the Busan Principles. In this study, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) and the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) represent the philanthropic organizations,³ while the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Health Organization (WHO) correspond to intergovernmental organizations. These organizations embody the leading actors in global health governance and agricultural innovation, which are the key area of interests of this paper.

I argue that nine years since the adoption of the Busan Principles, both POs and IGOs are still far from meeting these principles for aid effectiveness. Creating an inclusive partnership, ensuring country leadership, and ownership of development strategies remain a struggle and unmet

³ Ibid., p. 19.

principles by the BMGF, the RF, the WHO and the IMF. However, a focus on results, transparency, and accountability are principles where both POs and IGOs do relatively well. Imbalanced participation and hidden power asymmetry within POs and IGOs are two potential causes for the persistent lack of inclusive partnership, country leadership and ownership. Imbalance participation is defined as having few people that makes crucial decision in POs and IGOs development policymaking, which affects citizens of developing countries. Hidden power asymmetry is about POs and IGOs manipulating their financial and social power to achieve their intended goals. Philanthropists rule POs, while international bureaucrats lead the work of IGOs; this type of organizational structure often leads to imbalance of power, which hinders the developing countries to have a say in key decision-making that involve them.

This research contributes to the study of development effectiveness paradigm and the changing institutional architecture and the global governance regime of aid and development. It also advances the argument made by Emma Mawdsley, Laura Savage and Sung-Mi Kim (2014) suggesting that the Busan Conference is a pivotal moment in the emergence of a new ‘development effectiveness’ paradigm. This new paradigm shifts the focus on foreign aid to development co-operation, which they posit as the end of the post-aid world.⁴ The Busan Conference also elevated the role of the private sector and re-centered economic growth. There were 3,000 delegates who attended the Busan Conference. Among them are representatives from governments, international organizations, civil society, and notably the private sector.⁵ In addition, Mawdsley and colleagues mentioned the following private sectors in attendance to the Busan Conference: The Business Call

⁴ Mawdsley, Emma, Laura Savage and Sung-Mi Kim. 2014. “A post-aid world? Change in basic assumptions in foreign aid and development co-operation at the 2011 Busan High Level Forum.” *The Geographical Journal*. Vol. 190, No. 1, March 2014. P. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

to Action, the Confederation of Indian Industries, European International Contractors, the International Business Leaders Forum and the International Chamber of Commerce, Chief Executive Officers, Chairman or Presidents of AngloGold Ashanti, Coca Cola Africa, Danone, Diageo, Ericsson, Heineken, Kraft foods, L&T Infrastructure, Motorola, Nestle, Nokia, Proctor and Gamble, Serena Hotels, Shell, Unilever.⁶

Although they are not fully and openly visible or included as civil society sector at Busan, the participation of the private sector propelled the belief that a new global partnership is emerging; this has prompted observations that we are witnessing a new direction or a turning point in development. Brian Atwood, the Chair of the OECD-DAC widely recognised the diverse set of development actors, including the private sectors when he delivered that “we are no longer a world of donor and recipients; we are a world of partners; that is what Busan is about.”⁷ While delegates framed the private sector as important players in Busan, the potential contribution of private actors are not widely well understood. Private sector actors attended discussions on public-private partnerships and sessions on the private sector development. However, Mawdsley and colleagues reported that private sectors kept to themselves and they were absent during discussions on their contributions to ease technological innovations, financing, measuring results, and other topics where they could potentially engage in development. Hence, this study attempts to fill the gap of

⁶ Ibid., p. 34.

⁷ Barder O 2011 Brian Atwood (OECD-DAC Chair) reflects on Busan progress, global development: views from the Centre, Blog entry Center for Global Development 8 December 2011. <http://blogs.cgdev.org/globaldevelopment/2011/12/brianatwood-oecd-dac-chair-reflects-on-busan-progress.php>.

the role private sector plays in the global governance regime of aid and development by examining whether BMGF and RF meet the Busan Principles.⁸

METHODOLOGY

This paper uses Alexander George's structured focused comparison as a method to assess data across four case studies of BMGF, RF, WHO and the IMF. The method is 'structured' because I ask the same set of questions on each organization, which reflects the goal of the research. It is 'focused' because only elements that answer to the questions are considered. This method fits the intent of my research project because I needed to conduct an in-depth contextual analysis for the small number of cases to answer my research question.⁹ Hence, in evaluating whether Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the World Health Organization, and the International Monetary Fund meet the Busan Principles, I ask the following questions using the focused comparison:

1. Transparency and accountability: are stakeholders accountable to each other and to citizens? Are they transparent about their decision-making?
2. Inclusive partnerships: are the philanthropic organizations and intergovernmental organizations' structure conducive to consultation, openness, mutual respect and learning from other stakeholders?
3. A focus on results: how are investments and efforts by philanthropic organizations and intergovernmental organizations fit with developing countries priorities?

⁸ Mawdsley, Emma, Laura Savage and Sung-Mi Kim. 2014. "A post-aid world? Change in basic assumptions in foreign aid and development cooperation at the 2011 Busan High Level Forum." *The Geographical Journal*. Vol. 190, No. 1, March 2014. P. 35.

⁹ George, Alexander L., and Andrew Barnett. 2005. "Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences." The MIT Press. P. 67.

4. Ownership by developing countries: are developing countries in control of the development programs and projects identified by philanthropic organizations and intergovernmental organizations?

Overall, this study attempts to focus on an organizational level (transparency and accountability and inclusive partnerships) and program or thematic level (focus on results and ownership by developing countries). I relied heavily on two OECD reports: “Private Philanthropy for Development”¹⁰ and “Busan High Level on Aid Effectiveness: Proceedings”¹¹ to inform my research and analysis. I also used secondary materials such as official records, research publications and tried to use primary sources such as annual reports and publications available online by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the World Health Organization, and the International Monetary Fund. To clarify, I am not talking about the outcomes of their interventions and do not mean to provide a comprehensive historical overview or analysis of their programming.

LIMITATION

This is a preliminary research on how philanthropic organizations and intergovernmental institutions adhere to the Busan principles, which evidently comes with potential limitations. There are three major limitations to the research project. The first limitation is the lack of prior research that applies the Busan Principles to foundations. The OECD published its report on “Private Philanthropy for Development,” however the organization does not compare foundations

¹⁰ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 2018. “Private Philanthropy for Development.” <https://www.oecd.org/publications/private-philanthropy-for-development-9789264085190-en.htm>.

¹¹ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 2011. “Busan High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness: Proceedings.” <https://www.oecd.org/dac/effectiveness/HLF4%20proceedings%20entire%20doc%20for%20web.pdf>.

to intergovernmental organizations in terms of its capacity and ability to meet the Busan Principles. Given this context, the use of the Busan Principles might not be comprehensive or even properly applied to foundations and intergovernmental organizations.

A key consideration to remember is that the Busan Principles are new and not binding. Hence, these principles serve as a framework for post-2015 global development. The second limitation of this study is the breadth and scope of the data collection process. Given the limited time and financial constraint, it was not feasible to collect primary sources such as interviews, surveys, review of annual reports and conduct an original research. It would have helped to do some expert interview with representatives of RF, BMGF, WHO and IMF to understand their perspective on the Busan Principles. These representatives might have a different perception and understanding of aid effectiveness, and on how they think their organizations meet or even fit this ‘new development paradigm.’ This limitation leads to the third constraint, which is the lack of reliable and available data. Foundations do not also make most of their annual reports available and other possible primary sources like programs and projects evaluation report online. Given all these considerations, I tried to rely on existing research from the field of global governance, international development, non-profit management, and international affairs.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

My research seeks to provide a fresh approach to studying development actors, by evaluating how each organization meets the Busan Principles compared to each other. Through the following chapters, this research attempts to address three questions: how are POs and IGOs meet the Busan/OECD principles for aid effectiveness? What are the advantages and disadvantages of relying on philanthropic organizations compared to intergovernmental

organizations? What is the implication for global governance when POs and IGOs do not meet the Busan Principles?

Chapter 1 provides a literature review on key definitions for POs and IGOs and mechanisms that drive POs and the functional work of IGOs. Chapter 1 is divided into two sections, one that is focused on the emergence of philanthrocapitalism and the motives of philanthrocapitalists and another on the shift of intergovernmental organizations as leading agencies to partners in public-private partnerships. It is meant to set the stage for the next chapter by answering what differentiates philanthropic organizations to intergovernmental organizations.

Chapter 2 focuses on the case studies on Rockefeller Foundation, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the World Health Organization, and the International Monetary Funds. I applied the structured and focused comparison method for each organization to understand whether they meet the Busan/OECD Principles. I divided each case study into four sections: transparency and accountability, inclusive partnerships, a focus on results, and ownership by developing countries. At the end of each case study, I conclude with key observations and findings concerning the global governance regime of aid and development. I will pay particular attention to global governance gaps for each organization.

Chapter 3 synthesizes and analyzes the case studies. The focus of this chapter is on two potential causes for the persistent lack of inclusive partnership and country leadership and ownership exhibited by POs and IGOs. These two reasons are imbalanced participation in a hidden power asymmetry. This chapter also offers policy recommendations for philanthropic organizations and intergovernmental organizations with the Busan Principles to enhance their impact to support development and priorities of national governments.

In the concluding section, I give the principal research findings, the contribution to scholarship, its implication for policy and further research avenues.

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter has two goals: to identify prior scholarship on aid effectiveness and to discuss the re-emerging role of the private sector in the global governance of aid and development. This chapter additionally sheds light on gaps from the literature and defines the meaning of philanthropic organizations and intergovernmental organizations.

FROM INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO AID EFFECTIVENESS

International assistance or official development assistance (ODA) originated from the Marshall Plan for post-war European recovery in 1948. During the 1970s, the international organizations that appeared out of the Bretton Woods (the International Monetary Fund and World Bank) and the United Nations (UN) bodies followed a traditional definition of development based on a sustained rate of income per capita to reduction or elimination of poverty, inequality, unemployment, maintenance of peace, and promotion of global economic stability.¹² During this period, aid or ODA is one means to achieve the goals chosen after the war to maintain peace and order. Though few developing countries saw a relatively high rate of growth per capita income during this period, poverty, equality, unemployment, and civil unrest did not decline. By the 1980s, developing countries faced mounting foreign-debt problems.¹³

By 1990s, the world entered an era of globalization – one that is subject to vilification and praise – it has brought countries together, integrated people all over the world, and helped ease the flow of goods and services, transportation, communication, and travel. Globalization renewed the attention to these intergovernmental organizations that created rules for the world.¹⁴ It is within

¹² Todaro, Michael, P., and Stephen C. Smith. 2012. “Economic Development.” Addison-Wesley. P. 15.

¹³ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁴ Stiglitz, Joseph. E. 2002. “Globalization and its Discontents.” W.W. Norton & Company Ltd. P. 5.

this context that a new aid development agenda appeared. Non-state actors that stand for civil society organizations (CSOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), activists, advocates, and private sectors played an increasing role in changing and creating new roles and standards for engagement. These non-state actors took part in various conferences that redefined the idea of development, including the 1992 conference on the Environment in Rio de Janeiro, the 1993 conference on Population in Cairo, the 1994 conference on Human Rights in Vienna, and the 1995 conference on Social Development in Copenhagen and the conference on Gender in Beijing. In 1994, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) introduced the concept of human security as part of the development agenda, which anchors development research to local realities. This shift in discourse “parallels the shift in economic development and international law from instrumental objectives such as growth, or state rights to human development and human rights.”¹⁵

This shift in development discourse continues that by 1999, Amartya Sen published his book “Development as freedom.” Sen argues that development requires more than just increasing basic income, but requires three other objectives: 1) increasing the availability and distribution of basic life-sustaining goods, such as food, shelter, health and protection, including economic protection against unemployment relief, 2) freedom of opportunity that expands the range of economic and social choices, and 3) political rights and choice.¹⁶ Development actors, agencies, and practitioners also followed this shift from traditionally focusing their top-down monitoring and evaluation interventions that are meant for the needs of funders and policymakers to more participatory monitoring and evaluation (PM&E) practices, which involve direct input from stakeholders affected by the development activities. By 1980s, large donor organizations and

¹⁵ Winslow, Donna. 2003. “Human Security.” Vrije Univeriteit, Amsterdam, 13 May 2013. P. 5.

¹⁶ Sen, Amartya. 1999. “Development as Freedom.” Alfred A. Knopf.

development agencies such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFAID), the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), and the World Bank increasingly oriented their monitoring and evaluation practices towards achieving reduction, promoting good governance, and designing questions, and defining measures of success that reflected stakeholders' input in the evaluation of their projects.¹⁷

By the turn of the new millennium, the United Nations continue all the new trends in aid paradigm through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that reaffirms its commitment, enshrined in its Charter, on the dignity and worth of every individual, right of freedom, equality and a basic standard of living.¹⁸ MDGs have outcome-based measures as its target. Furthermore, the concept of development expands beyond the traditional notion of poverty reduction. MDGs included promotion of gender equality (Goal 3), global maternal health (Goal 5), environmental sustainability (Goal 7), and global partnership for development (Goal 8).¹⁹ At the core of this agenda was two ideas intended to improve aid effectiveness: 1) greater involvement of national governments or recipient countries in taking ownership and responsibility for their poverty reduction and development strategy agendas and 2) tangible target-led development results that involve participatory monitoring and evaluation and more involvement from recipient countries and affected communities.

¹⁷ Rubin, Frances. 1995. "A Basic Guide to Evaluation for Development Workers." Oxford: Oxfam. P. 5.

¹⁸United Nations.1945. "Charter of the United Nations." Preamble. <https://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/>.

¹⁹ United Nations. 2000. "Millennium Development Goals." United Nations.

The Working Party on Aid Effectiveness (WP-EFF), which is a subsidiary body of the OECD-DAC, championed this idea of aid effectiveness.²⁰ This group organised four High-Level Forums on Aid Effectiveness, notably one in 2003 in Rome, in Accra, the capital of Ghana in 2008, and in Busan, South Korea in 2011. These High-Level Forums codified this aid effectiveness paradigm into international agreements, which are the Paris Declaration of 2005 and Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) of 2008. Through these High-Level Forums on Aid Effectiveness, private sectors are recognized and welcomed as re-emerging actors in development. It is important to understand the emphasis on the word re-emergence, which makes reference to the fact that philanthropic organizations have been around as active players for over 100 years. It is through this context of the re-emerging role of the private sector that Rampa and Bilal suggest the shift from international assistance towards a development effectiveness paradigm,²¹ which Schultz calls a post-aid world.²² The next section discusses what makes philanthropic organizations unique compared to intergovernmental organizations and identified the gaps this research study is trying to address.

PRIVATE PHILANTHROPY FOR DEVELOPMENT

Philanthropic organizations are legal entities in most developed countries. They are non-profit organizations that serve charitable or community purposes. They have a principal fund of their own, managed by their trustees and directors or funded by individuals, families, or

²⁰ Manning, R. 2008. "The DAC as a Central Actor in Development Policy Issues: experiences over the past four years. DIE German Development Institute Discussion Paper. [www.die-gdi.de/CMS-Homepage/openwebcms3.nsf/\(ynDK_contentByKey\)/ANES-7FFK68/\\$FILE/DP%207.2008.pdf](http://www.die-gdi.de/CMS-Homepage/openwebcms3.nsf/(ynDK_contentByKey)/ANES-7FFK68/$FILE/DP%207.2008.pdf).

²¹ Rampa F. and Bilal S. 2011. "Emerging Economies in Africa and the Development Effectiveness Debate." ECDPM Discussion Paper. 107. [Www.acp-eu-trade.org/library/library_detail.php?doc_language=en&library_detail_id=5586](http://www.acp-eu-trade.org/library/library_detail.php?doc_language=en&library_detail_id=5586)

²² Schultz N-S. 2010. "The G20 and the Global Governance of Development." FRIDE Policy Brief September. www.fride.org/publication/798/the-g20-and-the-global-governance-ofdevelopment

corporations.²³ POs either make grants to third parties and/or run their programs and activities. The United States of America is home to well-known foundations such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, which all played a key role in funding a variety of international programs, from international peace, population control programs, and health research.²⁴ According to the latest OECD 2018 report on the role of philanthropy in development, out of 143 foundations from all over the world, these philanthropic organizations collectively gave USD\$24 Million between 2013-2015. Africa received 28% of this funding, while 33% goes to less developed countries and other low-income countries. In addition, most of the activities support health, population, and reproductive health sectors and 97% of the funding went through/to intermediary organizations.²⁵

This paper focuses specifically on philanthrocapitalist because these group of people are comparable to the influence international organizations have in the global development arena. The term philanthrocapitalism first appeared in *The Economist* special edition for February 25th, 2016, entitled “The Business of Giving: A Survey of Wealth and Philanthropy” by Matthew Bishop.²⁶ Bishop defines philanthrocapitalism as the growing role of private sector actors in addressing the biggest social and environmental challenges facing our planet. Philanthrocapitalism flourishes because of a rapid wealth-creation of recent years.²⁷ The super-rich give money in a trendy

²³ Margaret P Karns and Karen A. Mingst. 2010. “International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. PP. 227-228.

²⁴ Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

²⁵ OECD. 2018. “Private Philanthropy for Development.” P. 19.

²⁶ *The Economist*. 2006. “The Business of Giving: A Survey of Wealth and Philanthropy.”

<https://www.economist.com/special-report/2006/02/25/the-business-of-giving>

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 1.

fashion.²⁸ They embrace the ethos of giving with new enthusiasm. They believe in putting their money into sustainable use. They see philanthropy as investing in solutions to the underlying problems the world faces.²⁹

Andrew Carnegie best explains the traditional motivation to fund philanthropic initiatives. Carnegie is a well-known American philanthropist who founded The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Carnegie writes in his essay from 1889 entitled “Wealth” that to prevent inequality, the rich must devote their fortunes to philanthropy as “ties of brotherhood” that “bind together the rich and the poor in harmonious relationship.”³⁰ New philanthropists like Bill and Melinda Gates, Warren Buffett, George Soros, Jeff Skoll, to name a few, do just what Carnegie envisioned by transforming philanthropy and by bringing elements of for-profit to the non-profit sector. These business-minded approaches include strategy, market-consciousness, knowledge-based, high-engagement, social investment, venture philanthropy, social entrepreneurship, etc.³¹ These philanthropists want to mobilize and deploy private resources, including money, time, social capital and expertise to solve global governance issues.

Philanthropic organizations are unique for three reasons: they play the role of 1) funders, 2) innovators, 3) partners in development. POs funding and financing contribution for development agenda are relatively modest compared to ODA, which is equal to 5 per cent of the three-year total (2013-2015). POs concentrated their funding in health and reproductive health sectors, of which 72% came from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF). The BMGF

²⁸ Youde, Jeremy. 2019. “The Role of Philanthropy in International Relations.” *Review of International Studies*. 45:1.39-46.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 54.

³⁰ Carnegie, Andrew. 1889. “Wealth.” *North American Review*.

<http://www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/rbannis1/AIH19th/Carnegie.html>

³¹ *The Economist*. 2006. “The Business of Giving: A Survey of Wealth and Philanthropy.” <https://www.economist.com/special-report/2006/02/25/the-business-of-giving>. P.3.

supplies almost half of the total giving (49%) of all philanthropic organizations' financial contribution. Africa also receives the largest share of this funding. Other notable POs that support health and reproductive health include Susan Thompson Buffett Foundation, the Children's Investment Fund Foundation, Wellcome Trust and Bloomberg Philanthropies, Carlos Slim Foundation, and the Hewlett Foundation.³²

Inherent to foundations as part of the private sector is their potential as incubators of innovation.³³ By virtue of having philanthrocapitalists as trustees, POs try to maximize social return. These philanthrocapitalists behave like investors where they find a problem and invest in it to maximize their social return. They look for both financial return and positive social outcome. These philanthropists fill gaps that governments and NGOs are not willing to do or find solutions for.³⁴ They generate alternatives and become a niche player in solving society's toughest problems. POs also rely on partnership and networks. Collaboration is an important theme among philanthrocapitalists.³⁵ As a widespread practice in business, philanthrocapitalists meet various stakeholders, including the governments, multilateral organizations, NGOs, local community organizations and individuals. For example, various specific funds exist to account for a variety of stakeholders. The "End Fund" to deliver treatments to neglected tropical diseases comprises the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Legatum Foundation, the Elma Foundation, the Crown Prince Court, Good Ventures, Margaret A. Cargill, Children's Investment Fund Foundation, Alwaleed Philanthropies, Dubai Cares, Campbell Family Foundation, Shefa Fund, Delta Philanthropies, Israel, South Korea, Portugal, Russia, India, UAE, and local partners in Nigeria, Ethiopia, and

³² Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2018. "Private Philanthropy for Development." P. 47.

³³ Ibid., p. 74.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 6.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 129.

Zimbabwe, and 24 other countries.³⁶ Needless to say, one can no longer deny the increasing role POs play in development.

SHIFTING ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS – LEAD AGENCIES TO PARTNERS FOR DEVELOPMENT

Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) are a formal organization with members from three to more states that pursue specific goals. Intergovernmental organizations have Member States as members and set up by intergovernmental agreement. However, IGOs are not epiphenomenal. They are not just agents of states for their self-interested goals.³⁷ They bring about cooperation by reducing uncertainty, cheating, and competition. They are expanding their authority through the development of innovative ideas like peacekeeping, human security, sustainability, human development, human rights for all, etc.³⁸

IGOs serve as a forum where state yearly meets where they set new goals and evaluate their achievements. These activities give IGOs authority and autonomy delegated by the states to create and spread norms, ideas, and standards of behaviours in the global stage.³⁹ IGOs create patterns of behaviours that are regular and predictable that makes cooperation more pervasive.⁴⁰ However, in a disaggregated world order,⁴¹ where new varieties of global governance have grown from partnerships, networks, private governance, rule-based governance, and public-private

³⁶ The End Fund. 2018. “Annual Report 2018”. <https://end.org/cms/assets/uploads/2019/05/2018-Annual-Report-Final.pdf>. P. 2.

³⁷ Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore. 2004. “Rules for the World: International Organisations in Global Politics.” Cornell University Press. P. 11.

³⁸ Karns, Margaret P. Karen A. Mingst, Kendall W. Stiles. 2015. “International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance.” Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. P. 577.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁰ Mazower, Michael. 2012. “Governing the World: The History of an Idea.” Penguin.

⁴¹ Slaughter, Anne-Marie. 1997. “The Real New World Order,” *Foreign Affairs* 75:5. P. 24.

partnerships, IGOs have increasingly normalized public-private partnerships (PPPs) as a novel and suitable solution to pressing problems. From serving as lead agencies, IGOs now also work as partners within the context of PPPs.

Given the significant autonomy and authority delegated to IGOs by the states through formal or informal agreements, IGOs serve as lead agencies. Commonly, IGOs take ‘in-charge’ of a specific issue like the pandemic of HIV/AIDS through the United Nations General Assembly’s resolution. The WHO became the lead agency in the late 1980s through the UN General Assembly resolution that confirmed “the established leadership and the essential global directing and coordinating role” of the WHO.⁴² With this endorsement, the WHO initiated its Special Programme on AIDs infamously known as the Global Programme on AIDs (GPAs).

Having the lead agency designation puts into question the legitimacy and validity of expertise of the WHO. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) also claimed expertise. Therefore, after an external review of the GPAs, the WHO and the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) set up in 1994 a new global coordinating mechanism through a series of interagency negotiations and donor country meetings. WHO and ECOSOC launched the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS, now known as UNAIDS. This new agency coordinates the HIV/AIDS-related programs of UN agencies. The UNAIDS serves as the first form of PPPs within the WHO’s global health expertise because the Programme Coordinating Board of UNAIDS comprises of UN Agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), United Nations High

⁴² Gordenker, Leon, Roger A. Coate, Christer Jönsson, and Peter Söderholm. 1995. “International Cooperation in Response to Aids.” London: Pinter. P. 40.

Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), World Food Programme (WFP), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), International Labour Organization, the WHO, World Bank, and other 22 national governments and NGOs.

IGOs’ motivation to seek partnerships with a private corporation, foundations, NGOs and governments – a public-private partnership (PPP) that is voluntary and collaborative to achieve a common goal emerged in the early 1990s and early 2000s.⁴³ The normalization of PPPs started with UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who addressed the World Economic Forum on February 1, 1997, and declared “a new universal understanding that market forces are essential for sustainable development.”⁴⁴ The same year, Ted Turner, the founder of TBS and CNN, pledged \$1 billion to the United Nations, which led to the founding of the United Nations Foundation (UNF) and the United Nations Fund for International Partnerships. This funding also prompted the creation of the United Nations Office for Partnerships in 1998 as an interface between the UNF and the UN system. The UN also founded the UN Global Compact to encourage businesses worldwide to adopt sustainable and socially responsible policies.⁴⁵

⁴³Bull, Benedicte and Desmond McNeil. From Business Unusual to Business as Usual: The Future Legitimacy of Public-Private Partnerships with Multilateral Organizations.” In *Democracy and Public-Private Partnerships in Global Governance*. Palgrave Macmillan. ISBN 9780230239067. chapter 6. s 103 – 121. P. 103.

⁴⁴ Tesner, S. and G. Kell. 2000. “The United Nations and business: A Partnership Recovered.” New York: St. Martin’s Press. P. 32.

⁴⁵ United Nations Global Compact. 2019. “About the UN Global Compact.” <https://www.unglobalcompact.org/about>

CHAPTER 2: CASE STUDIES

This chapter focuses on the structured and focused comparison of the Rockefeller Foundation (RF), the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Each case study asks questions pertaining to the four Busan Principles of transparency and accountability, inclusive development partnerships, results driven, and ownership of development priorities by developing countries. The principal objective is to determine if these organizations meet the Busan Principles. As affirmed by Member States on their declaration on Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation, these principles may vary across countries and stages of development, however, the four principles underpin the effective co-operation as the development community understands it today. Before delving into the case studies, I will give a brief overview of the RF, the BMGF, the WHO, the IMF.

OVERVIEW

The Rockefeller Foundation (RF)

Founded in 1909, the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) represents the lasting role philanthropic organisations have played in development co-operation. John D. Rockefeller Sr. owns the Standard Oil, which at the time was the largest oil-producing, transporting, refining and marketing company. Rockefeller Sr. established the RF by earmarking \$50 million of his shares from his company because he wanted to “to promote the well-being and to advance the civilization of the peoples of the United States...and dissemination of knowledge, in the prevention and relief of suffering, and the promotion of the elements of human progress.”⁴⁶ Prior to this endeavour, Rockefeller Sr. previously pursued other philanthropic initiatives focused on subsidising scientific research and

⁴⁶ Nielsen, Waldemar A. 1972. “The Big Foundations.” Columbia University Press. P. 51.

academic institutions in public health. Rockefeller Sr. thought promoting public health would lead to greater political and economic stability, which in turn helped his company.⁴⁷ The Rockefeller family's intention seemed like self-interested, but to them, it is rooted in their Christian faith and duty to help others.⁴⁸

Therefore, Rockefeller Sr. created the University of Chicago with an endowment of \$35 million. The founding of this university was a success that Rockefeller Sr. stepped down from Standard Oil to focus more of his time with the Rockefeller Foundation. With the help of his son, John D. Rockefeller, Rockefeller Sr. opened other institutions related to scientific giving. These institutions include the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in 1901, the General Education Board in 1903, and the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission in 1909. The last endeavour the father and son duo pursued was the founding of the Rockefeller Foundation. Both Rockefeller Sr. and John wanted to pursue goals that advance “scientific agriculture, the development of the fine arts and refine of taste, and the encouragement of useful citizenship and civic virtue.”⁴⁹ The founding of these institutions are significant because they may explain why the Rockefeller Foundation meets some principles and not the others. Presently, the Rockefeller Foundation has 13 programs intended to make a major impact on medicine, education, and scientific research. According to a 2011 data, the Rockefeller Foundation has supported 100,348 grants from 22,487 recipients with a value of \$70.4 billion.⁵⁰ To do so, the Rockefeller Foundation has 13 members that oversee its

⁴⁷ Brown, Richard E. 1979. “Rockefeller Medicine Men: Medicine and Capitalism in America.” Berkeley: University of California Press. P. 116.

⁴⁸ Nielsen, Waldemar A. 1972. “The Big Foundations.” Columbia University Press. P. 48.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 50.

⁵⁰ Glasspockets. 2020. “Reporting Commitment.” Accessed May 1, 2020. <http://glasspockets.org/philanthropy-in-focus/reporting-commitment-map>

program and grant making strategy, budgets, expenditures, policies, and investment strategies.⁵¹ Its current President is Dr Rajiv J. Shah who is reshaping the Rockefeller Foundation's \$20 billion operation's since 2017.⁵² The RF has offices in New York (headquarters), Washington D.C., Bangkok, Nairobi, and in Bellagio, Italy, and with operations in over 70 countries around the world.⁵³

The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF)

In 1994, Bill and Melinda established the William H. Gates Foundation named after Bill's father. In 1999, they renamed the foundation as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) when the two partners became co-chairs along with William H. Gates and Warren Buffett as co-trustees in 2006. Warren Buffet became a trustee after he pledged more than USD \$30 million to the foundation under three conditions: 1) at least one trustee must remain alive and active in the policy-setting and administration of the foundation, 2) the foundation continuously satisfy its legal requirements, and 3) at least 55 percent of Buffett's pledge to be distributed as part of the foundation's spending. With Buffett's pledge, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation becomes the largest foundation in the world.⁵⁴

Just as the case with the Rockefeller Foundation, Bill stepped down as the President and CEO of Microsoft in 2007 to work full-time for the foundation. With his full attention, the BMGF focuses on three biggest barriers/issues that Bill and Melinda identified as the major challenges

⁵¹ Rockefeller Foundation. 2020. "Board of Trustees." Accessed May 1, 2020. <https://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/about-us/board-of-trustees/>

⁵² Rockefeller Foundation. 2020. "Profile: Rajiv Shah." <https://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/profile/rajiv-shah/>

⁵³ Rockefeller Foundation. 2020. "About Us: Our Offices." <https://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/about-us/offices/>

⁵⁴ Belluz, Julia. 2015. "The Media Loves the Gates Foundation. These Experts Are More Skeptical." Vox. Accessed May 1, 2020. <https://www.vox.com/2015/6/10/8760199/gates-foundation-criticism>.

that hinder people from living their best lives.⁵⁵ These barriers are extreme poverty, poor health in developing countries, and the failure of America’s education system. As of December 31, 2018, the BMGF has total direct grantee support of \$50 billion. As of today, the foundation’s work is divided into five divisions: global health (in HIV, innovative technology divisions, malaria, maternal, newborn and child health, neglected tropical diseases, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and vaccine development and surveillance), global development (emergency response, family planning, global libraries, nutrition), global growth and opportunity (agricultural development, financial services, gender equity, water, sanitation and hygiene), U.S. program (K-12 education and postsecondary success), and lastly, global policy and advocacy divisions.⁵⁶ According to the foundation’s website, their approach underscores collaboration, innovation, risk-taking, results, and equal value of all human lives.⁵⁷

The BMGF supports grantees in 138 countries. Some of its notable achievements to date include the prevention of 1.7 million deaths through its work with the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI) founded by the foundation in 1999 from its \$1.5 billion grant. The BMGF also funds initiatives in India on HIV-AIDs prevention for \$200 million and a 5-year grant to the Global Fund to Fights AIDs, Tuberculosis, and Malaria with a total funding of \$2 billion.⁵⁸ The BMGF additionally launched its Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) program in 2006 to work with small farmers in Africa to revitalize the agricultural sector.⁵⁹ In 2010, Bill

⁵⁵ Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. 2020. “What We Do.” Accessed May 1, 2020. <https://www.gatesfoundation.org/What-We-Do>

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Schneider, Dona and David E Lilienfeld. 2011. “Public Health: The Development of a Discipline, Twentieth-Century Challenges.” P. 733.

⁵⁹ Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. 2020. “Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA). Accessed May 1, 2020. <https://www.gatesfoundation.org/How-We-Work/Resources/Grantee-Profiles/Grantee-Profile-Alliance-for-a-Green-Revolution-in-Africa-AGRA>.

and Melinda joined Warren buffet in “The Giving Pledge” that encourages America’s wealthiest philanthropists and families to venture into philanthropic causes and charities by donating portions of their wealth.⁶⁰ The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has its headquarters in Seattle, Washington with other offices in Washington D.C., India, China, London, Berlin, Germany, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Abuja, Nigeria, and Johannesburg, South Africa.⁶¹

The World Health Organization (WHO)

The World Health Organization (WHO) is a United Nations’ specialized agency responsible for implementing the right to health affirmed in its constitution. The Constitution Preamble declares, “the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being.”⁶² Before the WHO emerged out of the International Health Conference, institutions on global health have existed, including the Health Organization of the League of Nations, the Office International d’Hygiene Publique (OIHP), the Rockefeller Foundation’s International Health Program, and International Sanitary Conventions. These institutions ensured the absence of disease, combating infection, and creating vaccines, which is what is called negative aspects of health.⁶³ However, the WHO expanded its function by defining health holistically where being healthy involves the state of a complete physical, mental and social well-being.

⁶⁰ Clifford, Catherine. 2017. “There 14 billionaires just promised to give away more than half of their money like Bill Gates and Warren Buffett.” CNBC. Accessed May 1, 2020. <https://www.cnbc.com/2017/05/31/14-billionaires-signed-bill-gates-and-warren-buffetts-giving-pledge.html>

⁶¹ Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. 2020. “Where We Work.” Accessed May 1, 2020. <https://www.gatesfoundation.org/Where-We-Work>

⁶² World Health Organization.” 2006. “Constitution of the World Health Organization, 1946: Preamble.” Accessed June 1, 2020. https://www.who.int/governance/eb/who_constitution_en.pdf.

⁶³ Stampar A. 1949. “Suggestions relating to the Constitution of an International Health Organization. “WHO Official Records. 1949; Annex 9:1.

Prior to the founding of WHO on April 7, 1948, the United Nations organized its first International Health Conference in New York. Brazil and China jointly proposed for the establishment of an International Health Organization.⁶⁴ This proposal led to a resolution approved by UN Member States, which established the Technical Preparatory Committee that met in Paris to lay the groundwork for the International Health Conference. The conference was a five-week events between June and July 1946 that culminated in the adoption of the Charter of the World Health Organization by Member States.⁶⁵ All prior institutions of the UN that handled health-related issues such as the Health Organization of the League of Nations, the Office International d'Hygiene Publique (OIHP), and the Health Division of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) were subsumed within the newly created World Health Organization.⁶⁶

The International Health Conference followed the same structures that other UN specialized agencies have in designing the WHO, which means having three organs that implement the WHO's goal of right to health. These organs are the World Health Assembly, which is the WHO's policy-making body where Member States convene every year to set goals, priorities, coordinate international action on health issues, and approve the WHO's budget and activities; the Executive Board, which is composed of 34 members that develop the programs and agenda for the WHA; and a Secretariat, which carries the decisions approved by Member States under the

⁶⁴ Sze, S. 1988. "WHO: From small beginnings." WHO Forum. 1988; 9:29-34.

⁶⁵ Doull, JA. 1949. "Nations united for health." In Simmons JS. (Ed.) Public Health in the World Today. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1949; 317-332.

⁶⁶ World Health Organization. 1958. "The First Ten Years of the World Health Organization. Geneva: World Health Organization."

leadership of a Director-General.⁶⁷ The current Director-General is Dr. Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, the former Ethiopia's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Health. Under this structure, the WHO has the authority to carry all necessary action on matters of disease prevention, health promotion, policy leadership, and technical assistance to all Member States.

As of today, the total proposed programme budget 2020-2021 amounts to USD \$44840.4 billion,⁶⁸ which is roughly about USD \$2.4 billion per year, or an equivalent of a spending for a medium-sized hospital in a developed world.⁶⁹ For the 2019-2023 programme of work, the WHO has a mission to “promote health, keep the world safe, and serve the vulnerable.”⁷⁰ Within this mission, the WHO envisions three strategic priorities to target coverages for 3 billion people based on achieving universal health coverage, addressing health emergencies, and promoting healthier populations. According to the investment case published by the WHO, “hitting this triple billion targets would result in 30 million lives saved, 100 million healthy life-years improved and 2-4% economic growth in low and middle-income countries over the five-year implementation period (2019-2023). Of the projected lives saved, 24.4 million would be saved through universal health coverage, 1.5 million through better protection from health emergencies, and 3.8 million through healthier populations.”⁷¹ WHO has six regional offices in Brazzaville, Congo (also known as the Regional Office for Africa), Washington DC (Regional Office for the Americas), New Delhi, India

⁶⁷ Meier, Benjamin Mason. 2009. “The Highest Attainable Standard: The World Health Organization, Global Health Governance, and the Contentious Politics of Human Rights.” Columbia University. P. 10.

⁶⁸ World Health Organization. 2019. “Programme Budget: 2020-2021.” P. 6. <https://www.who.int/about/finances-accountability/budget/WHOPB-PRP-19.pdf?ua=1>.

⁶⁹ Farge, Emma and Brenna Hughes Neghaiwi. 2020. “WHO Creates Foundation to Boost Funding in Coronavirus Fight.” Accessed May 27, 2020. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-who-foundation/who-creates-foundation-to-boost-funding-in-coronavirus-fight-idUSKBN2332GY>

⁷⁰ World Health Organization. 2019. “Thirteenth General Programme of Work 2019-2023.” P. 3.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 4.

(Regional Office for South-East Asia), Copenhagen, Denmark (Regional Office for Europe), Nasr City, Cairo (Regional Office for the Eastern Mediterranean), and Manila, the Philippines (as the Regional Office for the Western Pacific).⁷² Its headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland. Currently, the WHO funds six base programmes in communicable diseases, non-communicable diseases, promoting health through the life course, health systems, health emergencies programmes, and corporate services.⁷³

The International Monetary Fund (IMF)

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was adopted at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, Bretton Woods, in New Hampshire, July 22nd of 1944. According to the Articles of Agreement, IMF has the objectives:

“to promote international monetary cooperation, to facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade, to promote exchange stability, to assist in the establishment of a multilateral system of payments, and to give confidence to members by making the general resources of the Fund temporarily available to them.”⁷⁴

The conference was part of the concerted effort to rebuild Europe after World War II and the global economy from the economic depression. The conference created the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development). IMF has the mandate of ensuring global economic stability, while the World Bank becomes

⁷² World Health Organization. 2020. “WHO Regional Offices.” Accessed May28, 2020. <https://www.who.int/about/who-we-are/regional-offices>

⁷³ The Conversation. 2020. “World Health Organization: What does it spend its money on?” Accessed May 20, 2020. <https://theconversation.com/world-health-organization-what-does-it-spend-its-money-on-136544>

⁷⁴ International Monetary Fund. 2016. “Articles of Agreement.” <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/aa/pdf/aa.pdf>

responsible for the economic development of developing countries and eradicating poverty.⁷⁵ Within few years of the establishment of the IMF and the World Bank, two types of economy emerged – one developed and one underdeveloped. Member States called upon the IMF to respond to their various problems. To achieve this goal, the Fund provided a short-term balance of payments support to countries in need of additional reserves.⁷⁶

When it was founded, it was meant to monitor exchange rates and provide currency to help states through the balance of payments.⁷⁷ During these years, the IMF has not fully developed its capacity and enough legitimacy to recommend and influence policies.⁷⁸ However, its policymaking has grown during the green revolution because of its technical expertise, its conditionality, and the Fund's use of force and coercion to intervene in its members' fiscal, monetary, income, labour and industrial sectors, spending, and policies.⁷⁹ IMF's stabilization and conditional policies were a prerequisite for World Bank's Structural Adjustment Loans, which shifted the orientation of developing countries on social and program-oriented sectors like social services, education and agriculture into a focus on monetary, fiscal, finance and central bank regulations.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ James, Harold. 2009. "Bretton Woods and the Debate about Development" in James M. Boughton and Domenico Lombardi. 2009. "Finance, Development, and the IMF." Oxford University Press. P. 15.

⁷⁶ Wyplosz, Charles. 2010. "The New International Monetary System: Essays in honor of Alexander Swoboda." Routledge International Studies in Money and Banking. Routledge. P. 9.

⁷⁷ Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore. 2004. "Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics." Cornell University Press. P. 45.

⁷⁸ Broad, Robin. 1983. "Behind Philippine Policy Making; the Role of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund" Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/34857338_Behind_Philippine_policy_making_microform_The_Role_of_the_World_Bank_and_International_Monetary_Fund. P. 14.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 46.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 14.

IMF's resources are provided by member countries from their payment of quotas. Currently, IMF has total resources of special drawing rights or a special monetary reserve currency of 715 billion or around US\$1 trillion. With near-global membership of 189 countries, IMF supports its member countries through its role in economic surveillance, lending and capacity development. One particular caveat to IMF is its voting structure, which unlike specialized agency of the UN where each country has one vote; IMF has voting structure that reflects the relative positions of its member countries through a quota system. Some 20 most powerful members include the United States of America, Japan, China, Germany, France, United Kingdom, Italy, India, Russia, Brazil, Canada, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Mexico, Netherlands, South Korea, Australia, Belgium, Switzerland, and Indonesia.⁸¹ IMF also has Executive Board like the WHO, which comprises of 24 Directors from a single country, a Managing Director, who currently is Kristalina Georgieva, a Bulgarian economist, and an appointed Chief Economist who is currently Gita Gopinath. IMF's headquarters are in Washington, D.C.⁸²

TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

The Case for RF and BMGF

The Rockefeller Foundation (RF) and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) are accountable to their stakeholders, which include donors, governments, and to some extent the general public. They are relatively transparent about their decision-making out of duty and obligation to maintain their philanthropic/charitable and non-taxable status. While self-interest may drive this conclusion, this situation is favourable for aid effectiveness than not being

⁸¹ International Monetary Fund. 2020. "IMF Members' Quotas and Voting Power, and IMF Board of Governors." <https://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/memdir/members.aspx>

⁸² International Monetary Fund 2020. "Senior Officials of the International Monetary Fund." <https://www.imf.org/en/About/senior-officials>.

transparent and accountable at all. There is an observable progress in transparency and accountability of philanthropic organizations, particularly when foundations like the Rockefeller Foundation were a subject various Congressional investigations to understand their activities “were antithetical to the public interest” since the twentieth century.⁸³ To measure this, I use the two indicators of the Busan Principle’s transparency and accountability criteria: 1) public availability of information on development co-operation, 2) the extent to which governments and development partners work together to include development co-operation flows in budgets subjected to parliamentary scrutiny.⁸⁴ Let us go one-by-one on each indicator to understand whether the Rockefeller Foundation and the Bill and Melinda Foundation meet the transparency and accountability criterion.

In Busan, development partners have committed to “improve the availability and public accessibility of information on development co-operation and other development resources.”⁸⁵ Part of this agreement is to ensure that standard and publicly available information are accessible electronically (either through the development partners’ website or by request). To evaluate transparency practices of foundations according to this indicator, I relied on glasspockets database, which is an online transparency self-assessment designed for philanthropic organizations in the U.S. and around the world. I selected the following information to compare the RF to the BMGF:

⁸³ Holcombe, Randall G. 2000. “Writing Off Ideas: Taxation, Foundations, and Philanthropy in America.” New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers. P. 191.

⁸⁴ Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development/OECD and United Nations Development Programme/UNDP (OECD-UNDP) 2016. “Making Development Co-operation More Effective: 2016 Progress Report.” https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/making-development-co-operation-more-effective_9789264266261-en#page101. P. 101.

⁸⁵ Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development(OECD). 2011. “Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation.” Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness. P. 6. https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/making-development-co-operation-more-effective_9789264266261-en#page6.

mission statement, board of directors list, grant making process, grant making strategies/priorities, searchable grants database or categorized grants list, bylaws, committee charters, and audited financial statements. Their information represents governance and corporate policies, grant making information, and financial information, which are essential components of POs' existence.

The Rockefeller Foundation (RF) website has all the information required by the glasspockets database, which represents that its transparency practices and information-sharing is comprehensive. Surprisingly, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) does not have its bylaws and committee charters available on its website, but the rest of the information, including mission statement, board of directors list, grant making process, grant making strategies/priorities, searchable grants databased or categorized grants list, and audited financial statements are publicly available.⁸⁶ One possible explanation why the BMGF does not publish its bylaws and committee charters has to do with the three-way trustees structure among Bill, Melinda and Warren Buffett, which give them full authority on how to manage the functioning and operation of their foundation.

One become beneficiaries of both the Rockefeller Foundation and the Bill and Melinda and Gates Foundation only if these foundations grant them an award or fund their programs. This restriction means that recipients must apply to these foundations to receive funds. Hence, recipients are not likely to be critical on how the foundation is managed, or whether the bylaws and committee charters are available for them to read. One may ask why the RF and the BMGF even bother publishing this information on their website. A probable answer is that POs like the RF and the BMGF need to ensure that they maintain their non-profit status to provide their donors some

⁸⁶ Glasspockets. 2020. "Who Has Glasspockets?" <http://glasspockets.org/glasspockets-gallery/who-has-glasspockets#transparencyvalues/policies>

assurances that they public mission/charitable work will not lead towards self-interested profit making.

This concern is another reason POs feel compelled to be transparent towards the government. In the U.S., foundations like the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) are required to submit annual reports and financial report to the Internal Revenue Service to maintain their charitable status for tax exemptions, hence, this obligation propels both the RF and the BMGF to make their financial statements publicly available and other grant making information. However, a caveat to this tax-free contribution privilege is the idea that philanthropic organizations are not subject to the same government scrutiny that private firms go through. Private firms and intergovernmental organizations need to document their income, expenses, and are required to do financial disclosures given that they are making profits and are taxable. Additionally, non-profit status does not guarantee that donations will be spent wisely, but it indicates that employees have no claim on the organization's revenues beyond their wages. Governments have the incentive to ensure that foundations have merits to keep their non-profit status, and foundations want to ensure that they create legitimacy and accountability towards their donors and the government by being transparent about their practices and conducts.⁸⁷

The Case for IMF and WHO

In contrast to the RF and the BMGF, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Health Organization (WHO) are subject to a wider public scrutiny. These two intergovernmental institutions (IGOs) both meet the transparency and accountability criteria of the Busan Principles. Using the similar indicators applied to the RF and BMGF, both IGOs have publicly available

⁸⁷ Holcombe, Randall G. 2000. "Writing Off Ideas: Taxation, Foundations, and Philanthropy in America." New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers. P. 176.

information on mission statement, board of governors/directors, lending process/ funding distribution, articles of agreement/charter, committee reports, and financial statement.

When you go to the “about the IMF” section in the IMF website, there is a tab for a factsheet that walks you through the general information on IMF, including their mission statement.⁸⁸ What is striking to note is how IMF recognizes its role in ensuring the stability of the international monetary system and to having a surveillance function where they monitor country specific trends on economic and financial developments, providing loans and financial assistance, capacity development, technical assistance, and training. IMF posts daily update of the list of 189 board of governors and their alternate.⁸⁹ The governor is usually the minister of finance or the governor of the central bank of the Member State. These governors are appointed by the member country and have voting shares and quota that are linked to the contribution made by the Member State to the IMF.⁹⁰

This list is significantly important as the Board of Directors meet every year, therefore, IMF’s daily update of the list shows how they want to be transparent and accountable on who have rights to attend this annual conference. IMF has a complex lending process, however, what is significant in terms of transparency and accountability is that the institution publishes its currently available data on its total resources and its lending capacity.⁹¹ The current data available for the public is dated end of March 2020 (see Annex I: IMF Chart). I consider this current publicly available data as a sign of accountability to the 189 member countries of IMF because one can

⁸⁸ International Monetary Fund. 2019. “The IMF at a Glance.” <https://www.imf.org/en/About/Factsheets/IMF-at-a-Glance>.

⁸⁹ International Monetary Fund. 2020. “IMF Members’ Quotas and Voting Power, and IMF Board of Governors.” <https://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/memdir/members.aspx>.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ International Monetary Fund. 2020. “Where the IMF Gets Its Money.” <https://www.imf.org/en/About/Factsheets/Where-the-IMF-Gets-Its-Money>

trace the progression of where the IMF funding is going in the short-term. Even the financial statement of the IMF through the special drawing rights is available online.

The IMF also publishes its reports, including its annual report, working papers, departmental papers, staff discussion notes, its financial stability report, and plenty of other type of publications. Since 2010, the IMF has been reflecting on the imperative to reform it and take into consideration the role of emerging market and low-income countries in the IMF.⁹² Some notable reforms that are discussed include increasing voting power of these countries, creating a more legitimate and democratic board, which includes having two fewer seats for advanced European countries and doubling of quotas.⁹³ These reforms are all pointing in the right direction of adhering to a more transparent and accountable IMF.

The WHO is also transparent and accountable, but the design of the website is less user friendly. However, all necessary information can be found at WHO's website, including WHO's constitution, governance structure (World Health Assembly, Director-General and Executive Board), its partners (state and non-state actors, other UN agencies, and research centres), its priorities (areas of work and programmes), its planning, finance, and accountability (general programme of work, budget, funding, procurement). In comparison to IMF, the WHO has an entire web page tab dedicated for accountability where the Office of International Oversight Services publishes its report for the public. Given that WHO has country offices, the Office of Internal Oversight Services provides the list of internal audit reports it has conducted and its latest report to the World Health Assembly. The Office of Internal Oversight Services conducts the audit

⁹² International Monetary Fund. 2010. "Reforming the IMF's Governance." <https://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/govern/index.htm>.

⁹³ International Monetary Fund. 2010. "IMF Survey: IMF Board Approves Far-Reaching Governance Reforms." <https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2015/09/28/04/53/sonew110510b>.

according to the agreed upon work plan for that year. What is remarkable with the WHO is it also reports the number of cases it investigates during the audit period. Some cases involve corruption, fraud, failure to comply with professional standards, recruitment irregularity, harassment, sexual harassment, sexual exploitation and abuse, and retaliation. In 2018, there has been a significant increase in the number of cases (148) compared to previous years such as 82 cases in 2017 and 79 cases in 2016. The Office reports that this is because of an increase in focus on prevention activities, mandatory training, and fraud awareness activities.⁹⁴

While the WTO is driven by member-initiated decisions,⁹⁵ WHO has more control and autonomy that sometimes help the organization to fulfill its obligation to be accountable to the promotion and protection of public health. For example, WHO members did not promptly comply with their reporting obligations during the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) outbreak⁹⁶. WHO did not have an adequate legal framework to ensure that Member States report on the infections and the SARS outbreak. Hence, the WHO Director-General and the WHO Secretariat used the internet to gather all verified sources to map out the outbreak to control the spread of the disease. This initiative was a success that it led to the adoption of the new International Health Regulations (IHR), which codifies the practice of receiving information from non-governmental sources.⁹⁷

⁹⁴World Health Organization. 2019. “Seventy-Second World Health Assembly: Report of the Internal Auditor.” https://apps.who.int/gb/ebwha/pdf_files/WHA72/A72_40-en.pdf. P. 16.

⁹⁵ Marceau, Gabrielle. 2011. “IGOs in Crisis? Or New Opportunities to Demonstrate Responsibility?” *International Organizations Law Review*. P. 6.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 4.

⁹⁷ G. Luca Burci and R. Koskemäki, ‘Human Rights Implications of Governance Responses to Public Health Emergencies: The Case of Major Infectious Disease Outbreaks’, in A. Clapham et al. (eds.), *Realizing the Right to Health*, (Rüffer and Rub, Bern, 2009), P. 351.

INCLUSIVE PARTNERSHIP

The RF and the BMGF

The Rockefeller Foundation (RF) and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) do not meet the principle of inclusive partnership because they do not enable an environment conducive to consultation, openness, mutual respect and learning with a variety of development actors. Rather, these foundations are selective with their engagement and work in developing countries. Member states that adopted the principle of inclusive partnership believe in enabling civil society organizations to contribute to development and that the public sector must engage with the private sector and vice versa.⁹⁸ Institutional attributes and arrangements of these two foundations hinder the emergence of inclusive partnership. One explanation why the Rockefeller Foundation and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation do not meet the inclusive partnership principle is that they are institutions that are inherently “donor-directed [with] purpose in perpetuity.”⁹⁹ Both the RF and BMGF struggle from the limited legal design that protects the philanthropic assets and the intent of their donors. While both foundations are governed by a board of trustees, this governance structure restricts their work to include other perspectives within the decision-making process. Instead, the two foundations find family members, donors and other close ties who serve as board of trustees. Hence the control of these two foundations and essentially the strategic planning are at the hands of few people, even when decisions and impacts affect those

⁹⁸Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development(OECD). 2011. “Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation.” Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness. P. 86. https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/making-development-co-operation-more-effective_9789264266261-en#page86

⁹⁹ Reich, Rob. Just Giving: Why Philanthropy Is Failing Democracy and How It Can Do Better. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018. P. 147.

who become beneficiaries of their programs. Even wealth management firms target rich families to set up their own foundation as an individual or as a family foundation to transfer and sustain their family values and privilege among themselves. In fact, the Rockefellers, Bill, Melinda and Warren Buffett control the governance and the purpose of their foundation until they are alive.¹⁰⁰

Richard Posner states that “a perpetual charitable foundation is a completely irresponsible institution, answerable to nobody. It competes neither in capital markets nor in product markets ... and unlike a hereditary monarch whom such a foundation otherwise resembles, it is subject to no political control either.”¹⁰¹ For both RF and BMGF, they use and borrow the same practices and tools used in international development discourse like the theory of change and other concepts to validate what they are doing. The RF and BMGF actually call their theory of change as co-impact, which is defined as a “philanthropic effort that aims to address large-scale social problems with a systems change approach by providing strategic grants to program partners, and by catalyzing and influencing philanthropy to more effectively support systems change.”¹⁰² Two key ideas worth noting are system change and program. Having these two terms restrict the number of partners RF and BMGF can work with. Not all civil society organizations and non-state actors are equal in size and operations. Given that the RF and BMGF can choose their own program partners that can eventually contribute to systemic change, they choose organizations that are ‘big’ in size and in number. This selectivity means that small grassroots organizations unrelated to the chosen themes of RF and the BMGF are not even considered as beneficiaries at all.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 148.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 148.

¹⁰² Co-Impact. 2019. “Handbook.”<https://www.co-impact.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Co-Impact-Handbook-digital.pdf>. P. 8.

A quick scan using the glasspockets reporting commitment map that both RF and BMGF agreed to take part with will show the list of recipient name of the grants disbursed by the RF and the BMGF from 2001 to the current time. Below you will find a table with the top 3 highest grants the RF and the BMGF have granted, the year they awarded the grant, the grant duration, the program area and the recipient.

Table 1: Top 3 Recipients of Grants from the Rockefeller Foundation

Recipient	Total Amount	Year Awarded	Grant Duration	Program Area
Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA)	\$50,000,000	2017	1 year	Food Initiative
New Venture Fund	\$50,000,000	2017	1 year	Co-Impact
RF administered funding for COVID-19 related programs	\$30,000,000	2020	1 year	Health

Source: <http://glasspockets.org/philanthropy-in-focus/reporting-commitment-map>.

AGRA is founded by RF and BMGF and the \$50 million funding to New Venture Fund, which is US charity that has an operational budget in 2017 of \$358,858,641.¹⁰³ Lastly, the \$50 million

¹⁰³ Influence Watch. 2020. “New Venture Fund (NVF).” <https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/new-venture-fund/>.

funding for COVID-19 related programs are dedicated to chosen programs by the foundation. Recipients are unknown at the moment.¹⁰⁴

Table 2: Top 3 Recipients of grants from the BMGF

Recipient	Total Amount	Year Awarded	Grant Duration	Program Area
Gavi Alliance	\$1.6 Billion	2015	5 years	Health
Gavi Alliance	\$967 Million	2011	5 years	Health
Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria	\$750 Million	2011	19 years	Global Policy and Advocacy

Source: <http://glasspockets.org/philanthropy-in-focus/reporting-commitment-map>.

The Gavi Alliance and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria are both founded by the BMGF. Therefore, in this case, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is channelling most of its funding and resources to the same institutions it founded. The problem with this phenomenon is that both the RF and the BMGF erode the capacity building and growth of small and grassroots civil society organizations in favour of their own preferred institutions.¹⁰⁵ Hence, the RF and the BMGF do not create a conducive space for consultation, openness, and learning because most of their objectives are concentrated on their own chosen fields like in health,

¹⁰⁴ Rockefeller Foundation. 2020. “The Rockefeller Foundation Commits \$50 Million in Funding for Global Coronavirus Response in 2020 Annual Letter: “Covid-19: Meeting This Moment.” <https://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/news/the-rockefeller-foundation-commits-50-million-in-funding-for-global-coronavirus-response-in-2020-annual-letter-covid-19-meeting-this-moment/>

¹⁰⁵ Devi Sridhar, Claire E. Brolan, Shireen Durrani, Jennifer Edge, Larry Gostin, Peter S. Hill, Albrecht Jahn, and Martin McKee, ‘Governance and financing of global public health: the post-2015 agenda’, *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 20:1 (2013). P. 73.

agriculture, global policy advocacy and their chosen institutions such as their own founded organizations.

IMF and WHO

As with philanthropic organizations, the IMF and the WHO also have limited ability to enable an environment for inclusive partnership with non-state actors. In fact, for these intergovernmental organizations, political, legal and regulatory settings become hindrances for non-state stakeholders to maximise their engagement and contribution to the work of IMF and WHO.¹⁰⁶ However, this is not to say that IMF and WHO are not effective or active on inclusive partnership. I argue that these organisations are at their early stage of reimagining what they will look like as intergovernmental organizations where full inclusion of non-state actors in their governance structure, work, and practices are part of how they operate.

As formal institutions within the UN system despite IMF having its full independence, both the WHO and the IMF try to contribute to the work of the United Nations on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in their respective field. One crucial way to make progress toward the SDGs is through partnership.¹⁰⁷ For the IMF, they do this work through their 16 regional centres that deliver capacity development. These regional centres can vary from Regional Technical Assistance Centres (RTACs) or Regional Training Centres (RTCs). They are also located in areas where the providing expert advice, training and knowledge sharing are needed the most, including in Africa, Middle East, Asia, Europe, and Western hemisphere. Majority of the partners for various

¹⁰⁶ Linsey McGoey and Darren Thiel, 'Charismatic violence and the sanctification of the super-rich', *Economy and Society* (2018), p. 6, available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03085147.2018.1448543>

¹⁰⁷ United Nations. 2019. "Progress Report of Goal 17 in 2019." <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg17>

regional centres are either developed countries, investment banks like EIB, IADB, and known development actors.¹⁰⁸

One important observation is that IMF does not partner with civil society organizations or NGOs that may have subject matter expertise on themes they deal with such as anti-money laundering, financial sector reform, managing natural resource wealth, which is detrimental to sharing knowledge and expertise. In fact, within the Africa Regional Technical Assistance Center (AFRITAC) West 2 located in Accra, Ghana, the IMF partners with China, the European Investment Bank, the European Union, the German Cooperation, the Swiss Federal Department of Economic Affairs, and UKAID, instead of CSOs. This example shows the sheer reality of the lack of CSO engagement and partnership, which IMF acknowledges in their 2015 guidelines for their staff engagement with CSOs. In fact, the IMF writes “many CSOs now see the IMF as more open and transparent, but IMF staff follow-up on engagement with CSOs still falls short of expectations.”¹⁰⁹

It was only in 2003 that the IMF prepared its first guidance note for the IMF staff’s outreach to CSOs.¹¹⁰ Reviewing the latest 2015 guidelines shows why the IMF may have been lagging with its CSO engagement and partnership. The guideline clearly states, “IMF remains fully accountable to its member countries, dialogue with and transparency towards citizens are important

¹⁰⁸ International Monetary Fund. 2020. “Regional Offices.”

<https://www.imf.org/en/Countries/ResRep#reg>

¹⁰⁹ International Monetary Fund. 2015. “2015 Staff Guidelines on IMF Staff Engagement with Civil Society Organizations.”

<https://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/cs/pdf/CSOGuidelinesMarch2016.pdf>. P. 3.

¹¹⁰ International Monetary Fund. 2003. “Guide for Staff Relations with Civil Society Organizations.” <https://www.imf.org/external/np/cso/eng/2003/101003.htm>

complements to this accountability.”¹¹¹ This statement explains that while IMF acknowledges the benefits of engaging with CSOs, such as improving program design and traction of IMF policy advice, contributing to constructive public debate on policy options, assessing political viability and promoting country ownership, and enhancing IMF accountability and legitimacy, engaging with CSOs are not a regular practice. Rather, the IMF only engages with CSOs when it conducts country mission, public policy consultations, and targeted consultations.¹¹² This practice creates a one-way dialogue, rather than an inclusive partnership where knowledge sharing through workshops, training sessions, and capacity development can occur. The last time IMF engages in a dialogue with CSO representatives was in November 2019 in Nigeria and IMF has consistently been doing so in Morocco, Manila, Central Africa in 2018.¹¹³ Given the work of IMF on gender, inequality, combatting corruption, protecting education and health, and on low-income countries, shaping an inclusive partnership with CSOs is a challenge that the IMF is still struggling to find solutions.

The WHO faces the same constraint that the IMF struggles with. While the WHO has a lengthy history of working with CSOs and NGOs to promote public health. For example, CSOs, NGOs, scientists and academics have all worked with the WHO from 1992 to 1997 in various dialogue meetings to advocate to include women’s voices in reproductive health programmes of

¹¹¹ International Monetary Fund. 2015. “2015 Staff Guidelines on IMF Staff Engagement with Civil Society Organizations.” <https://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/cs/pdf/CSOGuidelinesMarch2016.pdf>. P. 5.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 3.

¹¹³ International Monetary Fund. 2020. “Civil Society and the IMF.” <https://www.imf.org/en/About/Partners/civil-society>

WHO.¹¹⁴ However, as a member-state run intergovernmental UN specialized agency, non-state actors are not represented on WHO's main governing and decision body, which is the World Health Assembly. However, this is slowly changing. The momentum started changing in 2001 when the WHO Director-General recognized the growing importance of civil society, which led to the establishment of the WHO Civil Society Initiative. This initiative served as "a programme of evidence collection, consultation with a broad range of actors and analysis."¹¹⁵ Three consultations occurred in February 2004, which resulted to the draft resolution of the "policy for relations with nongovernmental organizations."¹¹⁶ The policy was never adopted because the Director-General wanted to hear more from all interested parties. Among the proposed policy would have been to give accreditation to NGOs to the World Health Assembly, Executive Board, committees and conferences convened by the WHO.¹¹⁷

However, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals has revitalized global partnership that during the Sixty-Ninth World Health Assembly, a "framework of engagement with non-State actors" was adopted to work toward widening the participation of non-State actors, which the WHA defines as nongovernmental organizations, private sector entities, philanthropic

¹¹⁴ World Health Organization. 2002. "WHO and Civil Society: Linking for better health." https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/67713/WHO_CSI_2002_DP1.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

¹¹⁵ World Health Organization. 2002. "WHO's interactions with Civil Society and Nongovernmental Organizations." https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/67596/WHO_CSI_2002_WP6.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

¹¹⁶ World Health Organization. 2004. "Policy for relations with nongovernmental organizations: Note by the Director-General." Fifty Seventh World Health Assembly. Provisional Agenda Item 21. https://apps.who.int/gb/ebwha/pdf_files/WHA57/A57_32-en.pdf

¹¹⁷ [Ibid.](#)

organizations and academic institutions.¹¹⁸ The framework states that the type of participation and interaction may vary and is decided on a case-by-case basis. This framework could include participation in meetings of the governing bodies, consultations, hearings, information meetings, briefings, scientific conferences, and platforms for coordination of actors.¹¹⁹ The first task force on WHO-Civil Society composed of 21 members from 17 countries from CSOs and other sectors, was established in 2018 to partner with non-State actors/CSOs to achieve WHO's "Triple Billion" goals.¹²⁰ While CSOs still do not have an accredited capacity to attend and present themselves at WHA, the thinking and the desire to include them in global health policymaking is in line with the inclusive partnership principles of OECD. Though a lot has need to be done, at least the necessity for engagement with CSOs is a topic and agenda at the purview of the WHA. Recently the WHO has created a new WHO Foundation to solve its problem of funding. Perhaps this new foundation will push the WHO to enhance its engagement with civil society organizations. The current COVID-19 pandemic could potentially also catalyse for a more coordinated response with broader actors, which include the private sector and the civil society writ large.

FOCUS ON DEVELOPMENT RESULTS

How are investments and efforts by philanthropic organizations and intergovernmental organizations fit with the priorities of developing countries? To answer this question, I apply the two indicators Member States agreed for the principle of 'focus on development results.' The first

¹¹⁸ World Health Organization. 2016. "Framework of engagement with non-State Actors." Sixty-Ninth World Health Assembly. Agenda Item 11.3.

https://apps.who.int/gb/ebwha/pdf_files/wha69/a69_r10-en.pdf. P. 6.

¹¹⁹ [Ibid.](#)

¹²⁰ Civil Society for Health. 2020. "Together for The Triple Billion."

<https://civilsociety4health.org/#background>

indicator is about country beneficiaries and partners having a country-led framework. The other indicator looks at whether development partners are using this country-led framework in their planning, designing, and monitoring of their projects and programming. While the RF and the BMGF are results-driven, in the sense that they make sure their grantees and their own projects are executed, they fail to use and reflect country-led frameworks in their planning and performance measurements and indicators.

The glasspockets database proves that the Rockefeller Foundation does not even entertain incorporating country-led framework to the way the foundation functions. No public information is available related to grantee surveys, grantee feedback mechanism, strategic plans and performance measurements of the Rockefeller Foundation.¹²¹ Only by scrutinizing the Rockefeller Foundation's Bylaws, which is last updated in 2017, that one finds what we could see as the closest statement to the second indicator relating to the need to use country-led framework on development projects. The section of the bylaws on compliance with laws states that foundation staff needs to abide with the law of the country where they operate.¹²² Sometimes, countries have national strategy related to 2030 Agenda, which is the development framework Member States follow. Like in Canada, countries that adopt a national implementation strategy have specific targets and indicators and tracking and reporting the progress related to the SDGS are outlined.¹²³ However, the Rockefeller Foundation does not report or follow this practice. The foundation's

¹²¹ Glasspockets. 2020. "Who Has Glasspockets?" <http://glasspockets.org/glasspockets-gallery/who-has-glasspockets#transparencyvalues/policies>

¹²² The Rockefeller Foundation. 2016. "The Rockefeller Foundation: Code of Conduct." <https://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/Rockefeller-Foundation-Code-of-Conduct.pdf>. P. 5.

¹²³ Government of Canada. 2019. "Towards Canada's 2030 Agenda National Strategy: Interim Document." https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/esdc-edsc/documents/programs/agenda-2030/7781_EmploymentSocialDevelopment_2030-ENv5.pdf

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annual report only charts the financial statements of the organization and does not discuss its performance related assessments.¹²⁴

In contrast, the BMGF is slightly ahead of the game compared to the RF on this principle, but the BMGF does not completely prioritize the country-led framework and agenda of developing countries. Using glasspockets, we can infer that the foundation has its grantee feedback mechanism and grantee surveys available on its website.¹²⁵ The BMGF also has evaluation policy, however this policy is not focused on aligning their work with the country-led framework, but to improve their operating models and performance and to test causal effects of pilot projects and other ideas they have.¹²⁶

In fact, the BMGF differentiates their evaluation practice and needs on high priority and low priority. For the foundation, evaluation is high priority when program outcomes are difficult to observe and knowledge is lacking, while evaluation becomes a low priority when priority when our partners are conducting basic scientific research, developing but not distributing products or tools, or creating new data sets or analyses.¹²⁷ In effect, I argue that this evaluation policy is detrimental to the goal of alignment and focusing on results that are country-led and country-specific. By selectively conducting evaluation in certain aspects of the BMGF work, the foundation does not contribute to the broader goal of helping the country to attain their own goal of

¹²⁴ Rockefeller Foundation. 2020. “Annual Reports.” <https://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/annual-reports/>

¹²⁵ Glasspockets. 2020. “Who Has Glasspockets?” <http://glasspockets.org/glasspockets-gallery/who-has-glasspockets#transparencyvalues/policies>

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. 2020. “How We Work: Evaluation Policy.” <https://www.gatesfoundation.org/How-We-Work/General-Information/Evaluation-Policy#OurStrategiesandEvaluation>

development. In turn, the practice of evaluation itself only benefits the foundation and does not provide any value to the country where they operate.

The IMF and the WHO

For the IMF and the WHO, focusing on development results pervade the work they do. IMF tries to use country-led framework in their planning, designing and monitoring of monetary and financial progression of Member States. Through hosting conferences, workshops and consultations, the IMF attempts to reflect what they learn and hear from domestic and international experts, financial sector regulators, and private sector representatives in their cooperative agreements with respective government agencies. For example, the IMF co-organized the Seventh High Level Joint Conference with People’s Bank of China on “Opening Up and Competitive Neutrality: The International Experience and Insights for China” in April 2019.¹²⁸ The conference brought together staff and experts from the People’s Bank of China, the National Development and Reform Commission, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Commerce, the State-Owned Assets and Supervision and Administration Commission, the State Administration for Market Regulation, financial sector regulators, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the World Bank, the IMF, academics, and private sector representatives.¹²⁹ Together, they discuss China’s reform plans and suggest reforms.

In 2018, the IMF organized another conference in the Middle East and North Africa regions at the Arab Economic Forum in Beirut, Lebanon. The conference was attended by policymakers, private sector representatives and civil society organizations where they discussed lessons learned

¹²⁸ International Monetary Fund. 2019. “Opening up and Competitive Neutrality: The International Experience and Insights for China.” Seventh High Level Joint Conference, People’s Bank of China and International Monetary Fund.

<https://www.imf.org/en/News/Seminars/Conferences/2019/04/19/7th-pbc-imf>

¹²⁹ [Ibid.](#)

and examples that prioritize inclusive growth agenda that are country-led and country-focused.¹³⁰ However, IMF was not always attentive to country-led framework. In fact, the IMF started to use force and coercion to impose its policies like structural adjustment programs to developing countries back in the 1960s, so it is a refreshing phenomenon for IMF to focus on results that are agreed upon by developing countries or their members, in general.¹³¹

The WHO meets the focus on development results principle more than the IMF for various factors. The first factor is the role of WHO country offices in supporting the development and implementation of national health policies, strategies and plans. WHO's technical cooperation with any Member State is defined not on what WHO bureaucrats think is the best policy actions for the country, but, rather, they focus on the priorities, health policies, strategies and plans identified by the Ministry of Health and the national government where they operate and work. WHO has 149 field offices in countries, territories or areas in various regions of the world. The 2017 annual report of WHO stated that a total of 105 (71%) country offices, territories, and areas reported having up-to-date national health policies and plans. 33 country offices (22%) reported national policies, strategies and plans are in progress and 11 offices did not report the availability of up-to-date country-led framework.¹³²

¹³⁰ International Monetary Fund. 2019. "IMF Annual Report 2019." <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/ar/2019/eng/assets/pdf/imf-annual-report-2019.pdf> P. 26.

¹³¹ Broad, Robin. 1983. "Behind Philippine Policy Making; the Role of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund" Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/34857338_Behind_Philippine_policy_making_microform_The_Role_of_the_World_Bank_and_International_Monetary_Fund

¹³² World Health Organization. 2017. "2017 Annual Report: WHO Presence in Countries, Territories, and Areas." <https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/255448/WHO-CCU-17.04-eng.pdf?sequence=1>. P.1.

Another factor contributing to this enhanced harmonization of WHO's work with country-led framework has to do with the WHO's ability to have mechanisms that assure the adherence to these national health policies, strategies and plans. These mechanisms include the country cooperation strategy and joint WHO and government monitoring mechanisms. These mechanisms are used for programme planning, conducting advocacy around health issues, harmonizing WHO work with partners, aligning financial and human resources with country needs, mobilizing resources, working with other ministries other than health ministries like education, sanitation, agriculture, women, youth, development, social protection and welfare, etc.¹³³ One factor that is also considerable for WHO's adherence to the Busan Principles has to do with its need to meet the increasing demand to implement the Sustainable Development Goals and the ongoing process in many countries to renew their strategies to align with the SDGs. The harmonization of WHO's programming and its alignment with the broader UN agenda are beneficial in ensuring aid effectiveness.

COUNTRY OWNERSHIP

This principle is probably the hardest to compare and study, which is rightly so because it is also the principle that all organizations struggle to adhere to. All parties to the Busan Partnership agreement decide to evaluate this country ownership principle using four indicators that look at the progress made by countries in strengthening their core public management institutions; whether development partners are using domestic institutions and systems to deliver their funding; to what extent the funding is untied; and whether development partners are becoming more predictable with the development co-operation they provide. According to the OECD and the

¹³³ Ibid.

UNDP, the results are mixed and improvements in country ownership are taking place at a slow pace. This study echoes this observation by the OECD and the UNDP. Overall, these philanthropic and intergovernmental organizations are falling behind in meeting the principle of country ownership of development co-operation such that the RF and BMGF are lagging behind IMF and WHO.

To conduct a fair comparison, I used indicators on whether development partners are using domestic institutions and systems to deliver their funding and whether development partners are becoming more predictable with the development co-operation they provide. The Rockefeller Foundation and Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation rarely make use of domestic institutions and systems to deliver their funding. When they did, they controlled much of the programming and organizational structure. For example, the Rockefeller Foundation launched the Mexican Agricultural Program in 1943 to develop hybrid crops through the support of the then Vice President Henry Wallace in exchange for protection of business interests of the Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company.¹³⁴ The Rockefeller Foundation worked out an agreement with the Mexican government for U.S. scientists to come to Mexico to set up the plant breeding program solely led by the foundation.¹³⁵ While it benefited Mexicans, it ultimately served as a testing ground for other similar programs replicated in other countries like in the Philippines with the establishment of the International Rice Research Institute in 1960, in Colombia, Nigeria, and in India.¹³⁶ For the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, funding is predictable, but the use of domestic institutions and

¹³⁴ Kelly, Stephanie M. 2013. "Strategic Philanthropy: The Ford and Rockefeller Foundations in Latin America and the Origins of American Global Reform." Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of Houston. P. 205.

¹³⁵ Ganzel, Bill. 2007. "The Mexican Agricultural Program." https://livinghistoryfarm.org/farminginth50s/crops_14.html

¹³⁶ Wringley, Colin W. Harold Corke, Koushik Seetharaman. 2016. "Encyclopedia of Food Grains." P. 431.

systems are not prevalent. For example, BMGF founded GAVI as a vertical program and financial agency that is well-resourced and funded to increase access to immunization in developing countries.¹³⁷ To ensure this goal, the BMGF facilitated the creation of the International Finance Facility for Immunisation (IFFIm) to enhance the predictability of funds for GAVI programming and to accelerate the availability of funds instead of working within existing domestic institutions and programs where BMGF work.¹³⁸ In other words, BMGF is more interested in getting the most return of investment in their funding and donations than working within existing institutions in the national level in the country where they operate.

For the IMF and the WHO, given the role they occupy within the UN system, both organizations try their best to not only use domestic institutions and systems, but try to improve them. The IMF functions as a lending institution. Therefore, to fully meet this principle of country ownership, the IMF is working to redesign its concessional lending facilities to strengthen the IMF's capacity to provide short-term and emergency financing to low-income countries. This reform would include efforts to at least double the Fund's concessional lending capacity for low-income countries.¹³⁹ Low-income countries (LICs) will also benefit from the already adopted reform of structural conditionality, as that reform covers Fund arrangements under all facilities, including those available only to LICs.¹⁴⁰ The problem with WHO is the unpredictability of its funding. For example, the latest financial statement of the Roll Back Malaria program of WHO

¹³⁷ Gavi Alliance. 2020. "About Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance." Accessed June 1, 2020.

<https://www.gavi.org/history-gavi>

¹³⁸ Gavi Alliance. 2018. "2018 Annual Financial Report." <https://www.gavi.org/sites/default/files/document/2019/GAVI%20Alliance%202018%20Annual%20Financial%20Report.pdf>. P. 9.

¹³⁹ International Monetary Fund. 2019. "Reforms of Lending and Conditionality Frameworks." <https://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/faq/facfaqs.htm>

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

shows USD \$22.38 million in signed donor commitments and total expenditure for 2018 of USD \$7,630,789 from an approved budget of US\$9,881,130. This spending stands for an expenditure rate of 74%. The balance for the 2018 expenditure is USD \$2,768,227. The current 2019 budget is USD \$9,969,550 (see table 1 and table 2 for a breakdown of RBM's financial statement for 2018).¹⁴¹ One reason for this staggering underinvestment with the RBM has to do with donors' attitudes. The WHO's Commission on Macroeconomics and Health reports that "funding is not viewed [by donors] as the most fundamental obstacle to improve health status" because donors believe that the lack of absorptive capacity of receiving countries is the needed priority."¹⁴² However, "where absorptive capacity is deficient, finance is the most essential ingredient to acquire it."¹⁴³ With such limited funding, the Secretariat struggles to perform their intended goals to coordinate malaria control and give technical advice, in place of their time searching for funding. Scholars have pointed out the negative effect that the administrative and hosting arrangement RBM has with the WHO, which causes the restricted ability of the organization to amass more funding.

¹⁴¹ Roll Back Malaria Partnership to End Malaria. 2018. "RBM Partnership to End Malaria Annual Report 2018."

https://endmalaria.org/sites/default/files/RBM%20Annual%20Report%202018_EN.pdf. P. 23.

¹⁴² Nelson, J. 2001. "Perspectives on Improving Health in Poor Countries: Qualitative Assessment of Multilateral Agency Views and Behaviour." World Health Organization, Commission on Macroeconomics and Health. P. 2.

¹⁴³ Narasimhan, Vasant and Amir Attaran. 2003. "Roll Back Malaria? The Scarcity of International Aid for Malaria Control." *Malaria Journal*, 2003, 2:8. P. 7.

CHAPTER 3:OBSERVATIONS

THE DANGER WITH PHILANTHROPIC ORGANIZATIONS

In studying whether philanthropic organizations and intergovernmental organizations meet the four Busan Principles, it has become apparent that the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) hold a massive influence of power in global health, agricultural innovation and other philanthropic endeavours. However, both foundations do not try or even pretend to meet the principles of inclusive partnership and country ownership. They can even be observed as institutions that are focused in following their own definition of development goals and results without directly consulting or considering the national development goals and frameworks of countries where they operate. The Busan Conference is known now as the new era for aid effectiveness and development. This argument is supported by two reasons: the first one is that private actors are included in the policy discussions and the second reason is that focus on aid is not on reporting, monitoring or evaluating development programs or projects, but rather on the harmonization of goals of both intergovernmental organizations, philanthropic organizations and private sectors at large, and the national governments. However, as this paired and structured comparison has shown, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation are at the early stage of incorporating the Busan Principles in their functioning and operations.

The reality is that it is unknown whether these foundations are aware that they do not adhere or encourage country ownership, and do not focus on results that are aligned to country-led framework of the countries where they operate. They are relatively good in being transparent and accountable by reporting and putting relevant information to their website and selectively working with the governments, but their structures do not encourage working and collaborating with civil society organizations. These practices raise serious questions on the danger of the role

philanthropic organizations play, particularly on whether they are broadly beneficial to international development or they are monopolizing their power, legitimacy, and authority to control policymaking agenda and resources that they possess. The case study suggests that philanthropic organizations are unlikely to disappear or that their influence will significantly decline. Given the wide acceptance of the Busan Principles for aid effectiveness and within the international community, the understanding of the ability, capacity, and the willingness of philanthropic organizations like the RF and BMGF to follow these principles are significantly important. The case study also urges how we study philanthropic organizations as actors with zero-sum battle for powers. Big foundations are now part of the “independent force within International Relations”¹⁴⁴ and it is time that they are treated, scrutinized, and even be held accountable the same way we study NGOs and civil society organizations in the field of international development and global governance, given their significant material power and expertise.

THE NEED TO ENHANCE SUPPORT TO INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Health Organization (WHO) both relatively meet all the four Busan Principles in varying degree. They do well with the principles of transparency and accountability and focusing on development results while they are still struggling to fully adhere to the principles of inclusive partnership and country ownership of development. They are transparent and accountable because they are subject to a wider public scrutiny and are also obliged by their structure as intergovernmental organizations to report back to Member States. Focusing on development results permeates the work they do, so it was not a

¹⁴⁴ Youde, Jeremy. 2019. “The Role of Philanthropy in International Relations.” *Review of International Studies*. 45:1,39-56. P. 56.

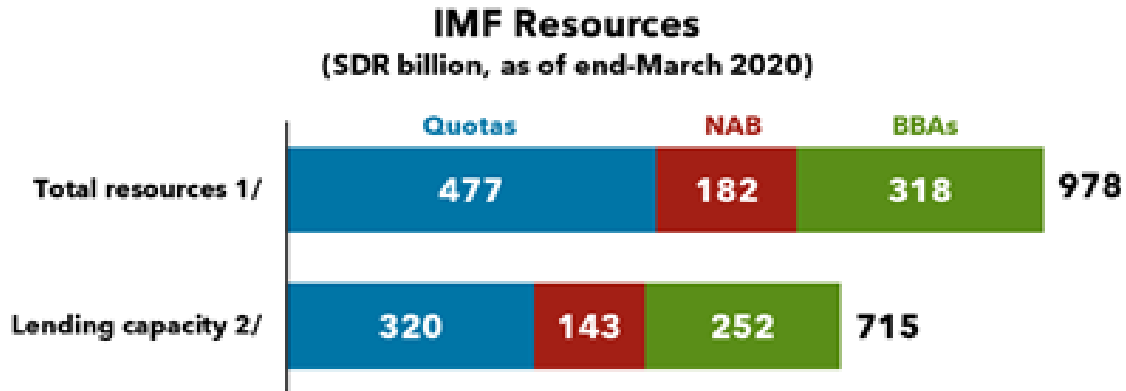
surprised that the IMF and the WHO try to adopt the country-led development framework and national action plan of the countries where they have regional offices and centres. In addition, they also help Member States with knowledge sharing by hosting conferences, workshops, consultations, technical cooperation, and other mechanisms.

The IMF does not partner directly with civil society, but one can observe that IMF is starting to be open with outreach and engagement with CSOs. The World Health Assembly (WHA) is only open to Member States, but just like the IMF, the WHO is starting to work towards enhancing and introducing the participation of civil society representatives as seen with various WHA resolutions and reports and a taskforce. One major factor at play for the principle of country ownership is the predictability of development co-operation, funding and support from intergovernmental organizations. Currently, the WHO is experiencing a staggering underinvestment not just for the functioning of the organization itself, but also with its various programs like the Roll Back Malaria. IMF is also undergoing continual reforming to reflect the role of the emerging market and low-income countries within the institution. Using the paired and structured comparison methodology has shown the remarkable work both organizations are doing even when they are unnoticed and not talked about in the public. The case study points to the growing need to enhance support to reforming intergovernmental organizations like the WHO and IMF because they are helping ensuring an equitable development and sustainable future.

CONCLUSION

The contribution of this research is minimal. It adds to the study of the role of philanthropy in international relations and the influence of the private sector in global governance, which as demonstrated, needs to be understood not by studying philanthropic organizations alone, but in relation to existing international development and aid discourses. Using paired and structured comparison and the application of Busan Principles, this paper makes the case that the RF, BMGF, IMF, and WHO are comparable. As future research avenues, I realize that this study also shows the need to conduct interviews and have a first-hand research to corroborate and verify the materials and information I found online that I used to understand whether these organizations meet the Busan Principles. Overall, this study begs the importance of scrutinizing whether philanthropic organizations are meeting widely accepted aid effectiveness principles or if they are actually detrimental to development compared to intergovernmental organizations. This research shows the potential of studying the role of philanthropic organizations in relation to the broader aid effectiveness paradigm.

ANNEX I: IMF Chart



1/ Agreed quotas, current NAB-credit arrangements, and 2016 BBAs.

2/ Includes: quotas of members participating in the Financial Transactions Plan (FTP); credit arrangements of NAB participants eligible to participate in the Resource Mobilization Plan (RMP) in the event of NAB activation; and credit amounts under effective 2016 BBAs with members participating in the FTP. Excludes 20 percent liquidity buffers.

This table shows the latest IMF Resources available for end of March 2020, referred on page 32.

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