

THE FUTURE OF AID - THOUGHT LEADERS RETREAT

PRE READING PACK

**SOUTH LODGE HOTEL, WEST SUSSEX, UK
9th – 11th JANUARY 2018**

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AGENDA

Evening Reception: Tuesday 9 January

Time	Event	Speakers	Room
1600-1730	Arrival & registration		Reception
1730-1900	Welcome and introduction	Peter van Rooijen	Lounge
1900	Dinner (light, relaxed)		Camellia Restaurant
1900-2100	Why are we here? Peter and Jonathan will present their paper summarising the purpose of this retreat, and open discussion to respondents. <i>Questions for the session</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are the challenges and opportunities around a new narrative? What should be the main brushstrokes of a new narrative? 	Chair Anton Ofield-Kerr Presenters Peter van Rooijen Jonathan Glennie Respondents Asia Russell Alise Abadie Christoph Benn	Camellia Restaurant

Day 1: Wednesday 10 January

0840-0900	Welcome Introduction to newcomers. Why are we here? Overview of the agenda.	Peter van Rooijen	Glyndebourne
0900-1030	View from the North Christoph Benn will give an analysis from the perspective of a negotiator trying to secure more funds for health. David Hudson will present analysis of the state of public attitudes. <i>Questions for the session</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are the political constraints of the current aid narrative? What are the opportunities of introducing a new way of thinking on international cooperation? What are the challenges? What are the pros and cons of different messaging and comms strategies? 	Chair Peter van Rooijen Presenters Christoph Benn David Hudson Respondents Mike Podmore Mikaela Gavas	Glyndebourne
1030-1100	Break		Foyer
1100-1230	View from the South: Hannah Ryder will set out the various reasons why the range of players in the Global South want to see a new narrative (and explore why some actors have	Chair Jonathan Glennie Presenters	Glyndebourne

	<p>misgivings about a changing narrative). Jason Gagnon will discuss the same issue from the perspective of global negotiations incl in the OECD.</p> <p><i>Questions for the session</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is there demand in the Global South for a new narrative? What are the expectations? What are the concerns? What does South-South Cooperation have to offer a new narrative? What would a new narrative mean for key issues of concern, including aid allocation, effectiveness, dignity, a new global context? 	<p>Hannah Ryder Jason Gagnon Juanita Suescun</p> <p>Respondents Modibo Mao Makalou Javier Bellocq Allan Ragi</p>	
1230-1400	Lunch		Goodwood
1400-1530	<p>Elements of a new narrative</p> <p>José Alonso and Gail Hurley will present:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> A brief history of aid. What has it been used for in the past? When has it been most effective? What are the problems with aid? A summary of the changing nature of aid, looking at examples on the ground of new approaches, new actors, new ambitions, new challenges. A challenge to some of the orthodoxies of aid e.g. Middle Income Countries, poverty focus. Suggestions, based on this, for key elements of a new theory for aid, linked to a new narrative. <p><i>Questions for the session</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is the current aid narrative doing damage? Why is it now urgent that the approach to aid is rethought? Is there evidence that new approaches to aid are both already underway in some parts of the world Are such approaches in line with our best understanding of what works in aid? What gaps are there in our theoretical basis for a new approach? What are the pillars of a new theory for aid in the 21st century? What could this mean in practice? What concrete examples can we look to of the new approach proving effective? 	<p>Chair Jonathan Glennie</p> <p>Presenters Jose Antonio Alonso Gail Hurley</p> <p>Respondents Chris Collins Brenda Killen Khalil Elouardighi</p>	Glyndebourne
1530-1700	<p>Country walk</p> <p><i>Time to reflect on key questions:</i> Do we agree it's time for change? What do we prioritise? What is the big question?</p> <p><i>Questions for the session</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do you agree there is a problem? 	<p>Introduction to Country Walk Anton Ofield-Kerr</p>	Grounds

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How would you articulate that problem? What is the most urgent thing that needs changing? Do you broadly agree with the changing narrative being suggested? 		
1815-1930	Facilitated discussion on insights and ideas to advance a new framework for aid Anton will invite participants to reflect upon the questions discussed on the Country Walk. Over drinks!	Chair Peter van Rooijen Anton Ofield-Kerr	Drawing Room
1930	Dinner	Speakers Michael Anderson	Camellia Restaurant

Day 2: Thursday 11 January

0840-0900	Recap and summary from Day 1 Our ambition for Day 2	Jonathan Glennie Peter van Rooijen	Glyndebourne
0900-1000	Reflections on yesterday	Chair Peter van Rooijen Respondents Christoph Benn Alise Abadie	Glyndebourne
1000-1230	FIRST STRATEGY SESSION: Developing a Theory of Change Presentation and further development of a theory of change for a new narrative on aid. Working Group 1 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is still needed to build the case for a new narrative on aid? (the problem) Working Group 2 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What's are our solutions/priorities? (the solution) Working Group 3 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How do we make the politics work? (the politics) Plenary discussion: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreeing key goals and intermediary outcomes for a shared theory of change. 	Chair Nick Corby Facilitator Tony German Rapporteur Asia Russell Facilitator Jonathan Glennie Rapporteur Mike Podmore Facilitator Kirsty McNeill Rapporteur Khalil Elouardighi	Glyndebourne
1230-1330	Lunch		Goodwood

1330-1415	SECOND STRATEGY SESSION: What is our theory of change? Problem statement Policy solution Political action	Chair Nick Corby	Glyndebourne
1415-1500	THIRD STRATEGY SESSION: Identifying priority actions and next steps What are the priority actions needed to advance the Theory of Change? Who needs to do what? Who else do we need to involve? How do we continue to work together?	Chair Peter van Rooijen	Glyndebourne
1500-1600	Final reflections	Chair Anton Ofield-Kerr	Glyndebourne
1600-1615	Thanks and departure	Peter van Rooijen	Glyndebourne

Purpose Note – Retreat on The Future of Aid

Summary

The current ‘aid’ narrative is misleading in a number of important ways, and doesn’t facilitate the ambitious goals we share. An evolved narrative would emphasise increasing global equality, not just ending extreme poverty; it would focus on mutually beneficial global public goods; and it would bring to an end the persistent ‘us and them’ optic. Such a narrative could garner broad support nationally and internationally, but it needs to be championed. The purpose of this retreat is to develop and hone this new narrative and to begin the process of championing it.

This purpose note is split into six P’s: **Problem, Proposal, Pros + Cons, Policy? Process, and Politics.**

Problem

The current ‘aid’ narrative has endured since the 1940s. It contains important elements that must be preserved, including a call for global solidarity with the world’s poorest people, and it has made impressive progress. But in several important ways this narrative is no longer fit for purpose:

- It no longer inspires confidence in the range of stakeholders it needs to keep onside, who question whether aid as it is can answer the problems of the 21st century as set out in the SDGs.
- It no longer describes a rapidly changing reality in which new actors emerge, and development finance is evolving in new ways to reach ambitious goals.
- Its cultural implications can be patronising and harmful, especially to people of the South who increasingly resent being seen as recipients (who should be grateful) rather than partners.
- It acts as a barrier to important policy shifts, such as freeing development finance for continued investments in so-called ‘middle income countries (MICs)’.

Proposal

We are proposing an evolution in the aid and development narrative, rather than a radical break. We call for two main shifts:

- A shift towards reducing inequality as an overarching objective, not just ending extreme poverty (a noble but insufficient aim). The very concept of sustainable development has equality indelibly associated with it. This case is made in the attached blog (by Glennie, Devex, 24th August 2017).
- A shift towards locating solutions and challenges, responsibility and need, in all parts of the world – from North-South to South-South, yes, but also South-North and North-North. We need to actively build a language that helps us move away from the untrue and harmful stereotype of the West/North coming to the rescue of the South.

With the focus on extreme poverty, donors have retreated from MICs. In the context of the Global Fund, we have seen multiple examples of this in Latin America and in Eastern Europe. Many of these governments were not willing or able to take over the full package of health services and commodities that had been donor-funded, and as a consequence we

have seen services, especially civil society services (prevention as well as treatment and advocacy), decline or even disappear, with devastating consequences for key and vulnerable populations. In a number of cases this has resulted in a resurgence of HIV and/or TB.

Poverty alone, in its current definition, does not explain this resurgence. The causes for the decline, or even disappearance of services, are often related to a lack of political will alongside inadequate legal and financial systems to promote and protect the health and well-being of the most vulnerable populations. To understand the risks at hand it is important to remember that most poor people and most people living with HIV/AIDS, TB or malaria (70%) live in MICs.

Smarter aid policies would consider more tailored approaches, which could include sustained funding of specific activities, such as community-based services and advocacy work for the most marginalised and criminalised populations. This might have prevented the collapse of services by influencing governments to develop more appropriate laws, financial systems and (eventually) adequate services (see Mike Podmore's speech to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) – attached).

Pros + Cons

We recognise that, as with most narrative or paradigm shifts, there will be challenges to be overcome. These include concerns that:

- with a limited pot of international public money, the poorest countries and poorest people will lose out if we broaden our ambition for what that money should address
- some people, particularly in the North, will not agree with or be inspired by a narrative that moves away from the traditional one
- criticisms of the effectiveness of aid, often well-founded, might continue to apply under this new narrative
- while not perfect, the current settlement is acceptable and beneficial; a delicate balance has been reached and we should be wary of tampering with it.

We believe the pressing need to change the narrative can be balanced with these concerns, and one of the objectives of this retreat is to hone our answers to them. These could include acknowledging inequality as a global issue, including in richer countries, and thus acknowledging some of the populist concerns currently being expressed.

How the 'inequality lens' can make us more nuanced and therefore more effective

The current poverty focus in aid has led to simplistic eligibility criteria; a country is either 'in' or 'out' (or transitioning towards 'out'). Assuming that countries, when growing richer, can and will automatically provide social and financial protection to their citizens, ignores the fact that development is not a simple function of economic growth. Looking at health needs through the lens of inequality helps illustrate the problem.

We need to identify and understand the 'pockets of poverty' that can be found in all countries (be it low-income countries [LICs], low- middle-income countries [LMICs], MICs, upper-middle-income countries [UMIC] or rich countries). Similarly, to truly address people's health needs, in addition to strengthening health systems, we need to identify, understand and address the needs that we find in other pockets: pockets of disease burden (hot spots in concentrated as well as generalised epidemics), pockets of vulnerability (key populations, young women, refugees, etc.), pockets of gender inequality (structural violence against

women, education of young girls, girl-brides, etc.) and pockets of injustice or criminalisation (discrimination, promotion and protection of human rights). Sometimes this means urging countries to address the needs of their citizens (through diplomacy), sometimes it is more effective to support internal advocacy. In some countries, continued financial support for service delivery is needed to prevent loss of investments, and to protect gains made in the longer term.

These pockets are not new, but they show us that a more nuanced approach is needed. Our plea is to redefine aid in such a way that it can be used flexibly to address people's needs as they are expressed in these multiple categories.

Policy?

While ultimately it is policies that matter – and we are sure policy discussion will take place here – this retreat is not intended to go into detail on how to improve policy. Our contention is that we need to shift the narrative of aid and international cooperation to open up space for the right policies going forward. We want to shift the way we understand and communicate the importance and relevance of aid, in the hope that taking a step forward with this narrative will enable concrete progress on the ground for the people that really need it.

Process

We (the organisers of this retreat) have been working on different strands of this new narrative for some years, particularly as we watched shifting attitudes to aid to MICs in a context of growth in the South and stagnation in the North. At the beginning of 2017, some of us came together to link a new theoretical underpinning and communications narrative for future aid, the real concerns of which were around the impact of the current narrative on expenditure on crucial health interventions in many countries in the South. What emerged was a series of meetings and papers, of which this retreat is the latest, during which momentum gathered to put this new, evolving approach to a wider group of experts and campaigners – to gauge their reaction and to gain their insights. Following this smallish meeting we anticipate a further meeting later in 2018 as we gradually expand the ambition and impact of this initiative.

Politics

Finally – a note on the current political landscape. In a time of Trump and Brexit, it may be argued that a radical deepening of internationalism will struggle to find traction. But there are several reasons why now is a good time to start to shift this narrative. Firstly, in the face of a concerted movement to limit our horizons and focus inward on national concerns, and on putting our own (wealthy) countries first, this more than ever is the time to establish a meaningful counter-movement, setting out the virtues and concrete benefits of internationalism. And secondly, history is much longer than the current political reality. We are talking about a shift in thinking that will impact the world for decades – so there is no better time to start than now.

We look forward to developing these discussions in Sussex.

Peter van Rooijen and Jonathan Glennie

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From ODA to a new international development policy

José Antonio Alonso, Professor of Applied Economics (Complutense University) and member of the UN Committee for Development Policy

I. A change of era (not only an era of changes)

Adjustments are not enough

1. Over the last 15 years, donor countries have made serious efforts to reform the development aid system. They have established a shared agenda of minimum social standards (MDGs and SDGs); they have revised their practices in order to improve the effectiveness of aid (the Paris Agenda); they have made innovations to the architecture of the governance structure (the Global Partnership and the Development Cooperation Forum); and they have launched a process of reviewing ODA and creating a new concept which is both wider and complementary to ODA: the Total Official Support for Sustainable Development (TOSSD). Although all these changes seem to go in the right direction, the problem is that all of them, as a whole, fall short of what is required if we want to face development challenges of the 21st Century. The international reality is changing faster and more deeply than development aid is.

Assumptions that can longer be admitted

2. Conceived as an exclusive policy to rich countries, aid was born as a response to a world that was characterised by a deep North-South divide in which international financing (mainly through official channels) was considered essential to enable poor countries to climb out of their poverty trap and catch up with rich countries. Aid was mainly designed as a bilateral policy in accordance with the understanding that development was the result of a nationally based strategy. A major part of these assumptions have been shaken by the changes that have taken place both at national and international levels, as well as by new theoretical conceptions about what constitutes development and how it is promoted.

II. The times they are a-changin'

The international context has changed

3. The current international reality is very different from the one in which foreign aid was born. Among the main changes, five deserve to be underlined:
 - The developing world is now more *diverse, heterogeneous and complex* than ever before, with countries at more varied GDP per capita levels. As a consequence, the frontier between North and South is blurred and the development agenda needs to be more comprehensive and complex than before.
 - The poles of international economic growth have moved with the emerging new powers from the developing world, creating a *more complex and multi-polar* world. Not only is this a challenge for the existing global governance structures; it also

involves reinterpreting the principle of “common but differentiated responsibilities”. What is needed is a continuum of degrees of commitments in accordance with the developmental levels of different countries.

- There has been a notorious *enlargement of the international capital markets*. Sources of development financing have diversified and developing countries (though not all of them) have easier access to private finance. As a consequence, the weight of ODA among international resources received by developing countries has significantly reduced.
- Extreme poverty has been significantly reduced globally, and its location has changed; the bulk of the world’s groups of poor found in middle-income countries. As a result, poverty has become an *increasingly national responsibility* since some (not all) of those countries could have sufficient policy space and taxation power to redistribute wealth. Simultaneously, domestic inequality has emerged as a worrying problem for future development achievements in many countries.
- Lastly, globalisation has expanded the reach of *international public goods*, some of which are closely linked to development goals. National development agendas have to consider the international collective action necessary to define new global rules and governance.

To respond to these changes, the international community must redefine the purpose, content and rules of ODA, looking for a more comprehensive and shared system of supporting development.

Societies have also changed

4. There have also been important changes in the configuration of societies that affect the development agenda. Among them:

- Most of the world population is now *living in cities*. As a consequence they have more opportunities to actively engaging in social interaction and change.
- There has been a significant improvement in *education levels*, which allows people to participate more actively in the processes of collective decision

making. These two changes highlight the importance of the quality of institutions and governance conditions under the development agenda.

- *Technological innovation* has initiated profound changes in the patterns of social behavior, allowing people to access more information and to create innovative alternatives to tackle social problems.
- There has been an increase in the number of factors that *promote inequalities* within societies, conditioning economic growth prospects, the quality of governance and the sustainability of social achievements. As a consequence, fighting against inequalities (not only against poverty) must be a basic component of the new development agenda.

- Societies are more conscious about the *constraints that environmental sustainability* imposes on any development strategy, increasingly demanding changes to previous patterns of production and consumption.

A new policy for a complex and ambitious agenda

5. The 2030 Development Agenda tries to respond to these changes. Conceived as an ambitious, comprehensive and far-sighted agenda, it sets out a universal commitment that affects all countries (rich and poor) to promote the transition towards sustainable and inclusive strategies of development. To make the SDGs a reality, the international community needs to build an effective and transformative *global development policy*, based on a coherent deployment of resources and means available at national and international level. Contrary to the MGDs, the 2030 Agenda is also a domestic agenda for all countries. However, a crucial change is needed in the international realm, moving attention from ODA to a new and more comprehensive *International Development Policy* (IDP).

III. Changes in the theory of development and aid

6. Theoretical foundations of foreign aid come from one of the most recognizable contributions of the development theory in the 50s and 60s: the idea that poor countries are caught in “poverty traps”. That is, situations in which a constellation of factors, mutually reinforcing vicious circles, block countries’ process of development. Among the different poverty traps, the most crucial was considered to be caused by the gap between the limited capacity for poor countries to save, and the investment that these countries needed to escape poverty. In this context, international aid might be a functional response; developed countries could transfer part of their savings to developing countries, helping them to overcome the trap. The contribution of aid could be important, particularly at a moment when physical capital was seen as the key limiting factor in economic development. Three important conclusions emerged from

this foundation: i) aid was mainly conceived as a transfer of financial resources from the North to the South; ii) aid was considered temporal in nature; once the country overcame the poverty trap, aid ceased to be needed; and iii) development appeared as a direct result of the injection of resources in the poor country (the “hydraulic vision” of development, as Deaton called it). None of these conclusions are now defensible.

7. Our knowledge about what factors activate the process of development is limited. However, international experience reveals some interesting insights:
 - First, development is essentially an *endogenous phenomenon* of economic and social transformation. External elements can condition the path of change – facilitating it or making it more difficult – but the process is essentially endogenous to each society.
 - Second, doctrines tend to be poor guides for success in development. Analysis reveals that countries which sought *pragmatic combinations* of different instrument and policies (state and market, openness and protection, etc.) were more successful.

- Third, financial traps are not so much determinants as the old development theory suggested. These days, many developing countries have saving rates higher than that of developed countries, and some of them have comfortable access to international capital markets. Having said that, *international financial support will remain to be important* for: i) attending countries in need; ii) reducing international disparities; and iii) providing public goods at international level.
- Fourth, market failures are ubiquitous (in terms of asymmetric information, externalities and failures of coordination, among others), requiring appropriate public policy responses. International support could be effective in helping countries to overcome these failures, when they are particularly strong (as in developing countries).
- Five, an effective strategy needs to be capable of *marrying short-term achievements with long-term development sustainability*. That involves measures aimed at managing levels of risk, whether they are associated with macroeconomic balance (through anti-cyclical policies), the path to growth (looking for sustainable foundations), the social sphere (reducing distributional tensions) or with the environment (mitigating environmental costs).

IV. DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION WITH MICs

8. As a consequence of its theoretical foundation, it is supposed that international aid should operate in two main economic realms:
 - **Redistribution:** based on the notion that life conditions for poorer people in developing countries are unacceptable.
 - **Allocation:** based on the assumption that market failures impede private capital going to developing countries in the required volume, so official funds have to correct these failures.

There have been other agendas behind international aid, including geo-politics (for example during the Cold War), political interests in strengthening international alliances, and the pursuit of new markets. But I want to focus here on the economic foundation of aid. Over time, 'redistribution' gained traction and 'allocation' disappeared as a main justification of ODA. This process reached a highpoint after the 90s, when the purposes of ODA were reduced to fighting extreme poverty. Important as poverty reduction is, this process had two undesirable consequences: i) firstly, if fighting extreme poverty is its main purpose, ODA would be condemned to irrelevance in the near future, as extreme poverty is estimated to affect between 3% and 6% of the world's population in 2030; ii) secondly, if aid is only to be spent on poverty reduction, the larger proportion of resources focused on the poorest countries, the higher the effectiveness of ODA. This view does not take into consideration that small amounts of aid can be very effective in MICs, if it can modify incentives, leverage resources or ease restrictions that condition their development achievements.

9. I would like to develop this idea in more depth. As previously mentioned, foreign aid originated with a double objective: to promote redistribution of wealth internationally and to introduce incentives to maximise development efforts and achievements (overcoming market failures). Both goals may be compatible but are clearly distinguishable from one

another. In the past, distinguishing between those two goals was not important. For countries that were caught in a poverty trap, development aid would simultaneously meet both functions: it would transfer income, improve efficiency and stimulate progress. The problem is that, in future, there will be fewer economies in whose obstacles to development lie in the need to finance basic needs of their populations. In 2030, a growing proportion of developing countries will belong to the category now understood to be a middle-income country. In their case, aid will be a small component of their international financing; the role of aid to redistribute wealth will lose ground. Nevertheless, development cooperation will remain relevant as long as we are prepared to revise some of its basic assumptions.

Firstly, there needs to be a change in its focus. With the exception of the group of poorest countries, the impact of aid should not be measured in what it is able to directly finance, but in the kinds of incentives to social and economic change that it might promote. Secondly, cooperation should be able to manage the increasing diversity of the developing world. In other words, it should operate with differentiated agendas and with a mixture of different instruments in accordance with the conditions in each country. That differentiated approach should be compatible with the establishment of minimum universal social standards that all countries should be committed to guarantee. Thirdly, there should be a change in the perimeter of development cooperation. ODA will probably be a small part of the total array of mechanisms for development financing (some of which will come from private sources), and financing will also be a smaller part of the available mechanisms used to stimulate development. Key to this new concept of cooperation will be policy coherence and the change in rules at international level.

V. MOVING FORWARD

10. Limiting cooperation to fighting extreme poverty, focused on a small group of poor countries through Official Development Assistance (ODA), run by the traditional donor countries, does not seem to be a good way to meet the world's future challenges. Moreover, if that were the model, cooperation would become increasingly irrelevant as an international policy. Making the SDGs a reality will require a sound and vigorous global development policy, with countries adopting transformative measures at both domestic and international levels.
11. In the international realm, the new International Development Policy should be characterised by the following seven factors (see Table):
 - It should be a policy adopted by *all countries and agents* that promote activities with developmental impact, including the new providers (not only those governments that are part of DAC as ODA policy is).
 - It should be based on a framework of resources and incentives for *promoting collective action through more horizontal and cooperative relationships* among all countries and actors (instead of a hierarchical North-South relation on which ODA is based).
 - It has to be nurtured by *concessional and non-concessional financial transfers, but also from technical experience, innovation capacities and political will* for setting standards and rules (and not just from concessional flows as ODA).

- It has to be based on *permanent mechanisms* that correct market asymmetries and failures that limit global development constraints (not temporary as ODA).
 - It should have as objectives at least: i) guaranteeing minimum *social standards* for all people wherever they live; ii) filling the *gap among countries'* conditions of life; and iii) providing *international public goods* (therefore, the objective should go beyond fighting poverty).
 - It should be based on the principle of *common but differentiated* benefits and responsibilities (not charity). That is, moving from the logic of unilateral concessions towards the logic of mutual responsibilities in a heterogeneous world.
 - Governance (coordination and standard setting activities) of IPD should be located on an *inclusive and representative* body that nowadays does not exist (not the DAC).
12. There are two questions that deserve to be answered. First, in the context of a wider international development policy, will ODA still be needed? The answer is yes, due to some qualitative factors make international aid unique: i) it is highly concessional, which could be appropriate for financing investments with limited return or countries with difficult access to other financial sources; and ii) it does not only mobilize financial resources, but also technical capacities and experiences, which will be important in the support of the 2030 Agenda; and iii) it channels resources that are official in nature, which means that they can be oriented to those ends that have been socially agreed (that is, those with higher social return). This combination of characteristics is unique to aid and makes it a source of support that is particularly useful for many countries facing important structural restrictions on their development process.
13. The second question is whether private means and resources should be part of a new IDP. The answer is yes, the SDGs cannot be reached only with official means - it is essential to involve private resources and capacities in the process. These resources can either be mobilized directly, in the case of official resources (through political decisions), or indirectly in the case of private means (through defining standards, incentives and rules). This approach is consistent with the fact that an advance in international tax coordination, or in managing international labour mobility, could be more effective in development terms than a new transfer of concessional resources.
14. The IDP should learn from prior successes of correcting social and territorial inequalities. Perhaps the most illustrative case is the EU's Coherence and Structural Fund. This is a centralized system, designed to combat regional and social asymmetries among parts of the EU, to which all countries are financial contributors, and some regions receive support based on explicit rules for resource allocation. It is not likely that we can reproduce a completely centralized system at international level, but we should move towards a permanent system in which all countries are part, with contributions of all countries, some of which are recipients based on explicit rules.
15. Finally, in the past, the purpose of developmental efforts was clear: to bring developing countries to the standard of living enjoyed by developed countries.

The idea of promoting the convergence of developing countries to the conditions of the developed countries was part of the origin of ODA. Now we know that this objective is not attainable because of the constraints that environmental sustainability imposes. The issue is no longer about developing countries catching up with the status of developed countries; it is about developing and developed countries taking different (and not well-known) paths towards a kind of progress that is compatible with the biophysical limits of the planet. We are moving now towards a goal that we do not know; the process of development must be open to innovation and learning.

From ODA to a new international development policy

This paper was commissioned by Equal International on behalf of **International Civil Society Support (ICSS)** as part of a series of papers that aims to advance thinking on Overseas Development Assistance

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**Is the future of aid emerging?
Two suggestions from “the South” to improve the future of aid**

Thought piece from Hannah Wanjie Ryder

In 2009 Dambisa Moyo published a controversial (and poorly-evidenced) book: *Dead Aid*. A Zambian economist, Moyo provided an extremely sceptical ‘view from the south’ on the aid (ODA) industry, contrasting its lack of results with the success of emerging economies that relied less on aid. Many from the South agreed with her.

However, Aid has not died. Indeed, it may have received a new lifeline in 2015 through the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs present a long list of un-prioritised goals, including new African priorities such as industrialisation and infrastructure, on a par with health and education. Emerging economies, particularly China, also made large, unprecedented pledges of South-South aid to support the achievement of the SDGs.

But two years after the SDGs, has much changed? Not yet. The South remains sceptical about the aid industry, and there is urgent need for reform, for new reasons.

A new ‘dual space’: win-win and quickly-quantifiable

Aid is rightly moving away from a donor-beneficiary narrative, and is today emphasising movement towards a new ‘dual space’: commercially beneficial aid¹ alongside humanitarian assistance. This ‘dual space’ has been driven by an increased (although still limited) recognition that emerging economies and traditional donors represent very different approaches to foreign aid.

Win-win

For decades, China has advocated a ‘win-win’ approach to cooperation with poorer countries. The best examples of this are infrastructure deals where a poor government, seeking to build new infrastructure, obtains a loan (fairly swiftly) from Chinese banks, tied to the use of Chinese contractors. The loan appears on the requesting government’s budget, but in reality all financial transactions – for goods, labour and so on – are made in China. These days, such deals are increasingly unpopular. Southern governments have begun to demand that ‘win-win’ should mean at least ‘equally shared’, for example, local jobs and local sourcing of materials. Similar unbalanced ‘win-win’ outcomes can occur with south-south training and technical assistance programmes such as those run by Brazil.

However, as poor country governments are trying to rebalance their aid relationships with emerging economies, they are finding that the ‘win-win’ approach is being adopted by traditional donors, who are facing pressure from their own taxpayers to provide ‘value for money’. These traditional donors have seen the Chinese model and now believe they too can ensure that their businesses at home can benefit from bilateral aid.² This has led to the emphasis on the private sector in the SDGs; a renewed emphasis on ‘aid for trade’ in recent years,³ regressions in untied aid since 2013 by OECD donors⁴, and increases in in-donor refugee spending by the majority of OECD countries.⁵

¹ For example, the UK’s prosperity fund – see <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/cross-government->

² Traditional donors believe this even though they tend not to deliver infrastructure or other types of aid used by the emerging economies.

³ In 2015, donors committed US\$54bn to aid for trade programmes – equivalent to almost 20% of the entire aid for trade disbursed over the last ten years- see <http://www.oecd.org/development/aid-for-trade-global-review-2017.htm>

‘Quickly-quantifiable’

There is also influence in the opposite direction – from traditional donors (and UN agencies) to emerging economies. China, in particular, is acutely aware that many aid projects managed by the Ministry of Commerce (and others such as agriculture or health ministries⁶) have not been very successful. China’s most recent white paper on foreign aid, issued in 2014, had few examples with quantitative results.⁷ It is forcing China to approach others to see how they avoid project failure. Hence, the increasing openness of the Chinese government to trilateral cooperation, and the recent opening up of China’s South-South Aid Fund, announced in 2015, to UN agency applications. The caveat? Chinese aid administrators specify that they need to deliver quick and quantifiable results, leading most UN agencies to submit humanitarian assistance proposals. The push towards humanitarian aid is also being felt in traditional donor agencies – witness the Syria pledges, and the 8% increase of bilateral humanitarian aid from OECD donors from 2015 to 2016.⁸ Humanitarian stories are easier to sell to tax-paying publics.

A continued lack of southern ownership amongst more complexity

What’s the problem with these changes? It’s the lack of consultation and ownership from the poorer, recipient countries. Despite some progress with the SDGs, their voice still remains a persistent open gap, not just from the western donors but also now from all directions: emerging economies, traditional donors, foundations and NGOs, and even private companies. A growing ecosystem of international relationships not only makes southern governments more sceptical, but it makes their job – to govern aid – even more complex. For instance, more humanitarian assistance, from more players, can make disasters *harder* to deal with as each actor imposes its own agenda. Southern governments now face international pressure to increase domestic resource mobilisation (it’s now in the SDGs), yet they often receive (poor) advice to provide tax breaks to foreign companies and investors.

So what is the answer?

How can we shape the future of aid to satisfy sceptical southern stakeholders? Of course, we need to keep pressing for the principle of country ownership, as per the Rome and Paris declarations so many years ago. But principles need to translate to action. We also urgently need more profound organisational and policy shifts; otherwise we will see no change at all.

First, we need to adopt an ‘us not them’ approach.

The SDGs recognise that poverty is not confined to poor countries and needs tackling in emerging and rich countries. This is a hopeful start, as it encourages empathy in aid. As someone from the south, whenever I am working on a new aid project, I automatically think about my family or friends in the south, and how they would respond. But most people in the aid industry do not, perhaps they cannot, and this is part of the reason for failure.

Advocating policies that work. If aid agencies begin to think of beneficiaries as ‘us not them’ we might see the aid industry move away from a focus only on extreme poverty towards longer-term adaptive ‘investments’ which seek, for example, to create jobs. The industry

⁴ See <https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-standards/2017-Report-DAC-Untying.pdf>

⁵ See <https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-data/ODA-2016-detailed-summary.pdf>

⁶ i.e. not counting the “win-win” infrastructure projects as those are separately managed and facilitated by Chinese banks.

⁷ For a helpful backgrounder, see <http://www.cn.undp.org/content/china/en/home/library/south-south-cooperation/issue-brief-china-s-second-white-paper-on-foreign-aid.html>

⁸ See <https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-data/ODA-2016-detailed-summary.pdf>

should also stop advocating policies that have never been tested in their own countries, and instead advocate those they know have worked – like emerging economies do.⁹

Turning North-South around. Further interaction between emerging economies and traditional donors could also be very helpful. For instance, most emerging and poor countries have large informal sectors. Their business people and NGOs have experimented with different markets and needs – traditional donors can support emerging economies to promote these more relevant models to solve poverty globally.

Staff diversity. How to adopt an ‘us not them’ approach? Whether in Britain or China, aid agencies must have diverse – in terms of race, class, sexuality, physical ability – staff, consultants and organisations. As a short-term measure, trilateral cooperation projects can help, as can new joint partnerships between think tanks, NGOs or businesses across the world.

Second, we need to adopt a holistic approach to development.

Both the poorest and emerging economies recognise that development is stimulated by much more than aid – through structural shifts to trade, investment, migration, and so on. MDG8 and SDG17 acknowledged this policy coherence¹⁰, but they have been useless incentive-wise because most of the non-aid or non-financial stimulants are badly quantified. The aid industry needs to acknowledge holistic development – measuring different outcomes and not just results for poor people, important as they are. Trade patterns, FDI flows, people flows – all these should be shifted to cut poverty. This might lead to more innovative approaches to development support, going beyond financial transfers towards stimulating structural change within countries and across the world.

How will ‘us not them’ and ‘holistic’ help?

These two profound organisational and policy shifts have the potential to turn what has just been a principle for over 17 years, into a reality. To put the poorest recipients of aid and other forms of support at the centre, rather than the periphery or the final tick on the checklist. Because in the end, this is all we really want. Moyo was advocating for the death of aid, but there are circumstances in which it has been useful and helped millions of people. But if aid – from all sources – is to really make a difference, to help 395 million people living on the African continent lift themselves out of poverty, as well as the increasing numbers of poor people in the US or the UK (as the SDGs suggest we should be concerned with), urgent reform is the only answer. With increasing aid actors, the complexity and difficulty of reform will only increase with time. We need to act now.

Is the future of aid emerging?

This paper was commissioned by Equal International on behalf of **International Civil Society Support** (ICSS) as part of a series of papers that aims to advance thinking on Overseas Development Assistance.

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⁹ An exception to this rule might be green growth, where creativity and flexibility will be needed by all actors.

¹⁰ The reason for this poor quantification seems more political than practical. Such trends are not necessarily difficult to track.

Reducing inequality, not just poverty, should be the central aim of aid

Jonathan Glennie

Article published by Devex, August 24th 2017

Equality is undeniably the new frontier for international cooperation. During the long period of negotiation that led to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), there were essentially two camps: those (generally including the major donors in the North) who preferred a kind of Millennium Development Goals-plus set of goals, still closely focused on MDG-like extreme poverty objectives; and those (generally including Southern governments) who were arguing for something more expansive, a holistic vision for a fairer world.

There is no doubt which side won.

Not only does income inequality have its own goal – confounding sceptics like myself who doubted whether some countries, such as the US and UK would sign up to such a thing – but inequality thinking imbues the SDGs, as we are encouraged to ‘leave no-one behind’ and disaggregate data to ensure that all social and income groups benefit from progress.

One needn’t resolve the debate over whether and by how much inequality is worsening to see that the international community and national leaders are taking inequality seriously in a way that was unthinkable only a few short years ago, when raising the issue marked you out in powerful circles as a potential socialist.

In the same way as the world woke up to racism and sexism in the 20th century and focused its considerable brainpower and solidarity on doing something about it, with some success, so in the 21st century, it seems plausible that a similar movement will be built around other forms of inequality.

In fact, the very concept of sustainable development has equality indelibly associated with it. In a world of limited resources and a growing population, sharing things out more fairly in the 21st century may be the only way humanity can survive into the 22nd.

The universality of the SDGs, breaking that patronising separation between developed and developing countries, implies a new era of equal treatment, whereby standards of living enjoyed by the wealthiest countries should now be in the purview of historically poorer ones.

But while the epic battle, played out in the grey corridors of UN conference rooms, has been won, the traditional world of aid appears not to have got the memo.

There is one major difference between extreme poverty and inequality. While it is conceivable, and on balance even looking probable, that the world will all but eradicate extreme poverty within a period of decades, the challenge of inequality will be perennial.

It is certainly possible to reduce levels of inequality both at an international level (between countries) and nationally (between citizens of the same country), as has been proven at various points in the past 50 years. But any sensible analysis of human history or present-day political conditions will conclude that, while it has peaks and troughs, inequality is a constant aspect of human societies.

Even what appear great steps forward for equality – as we saw in Latin America in the first decade of this century – are only pigeon steps when the scale of the problem is reviewed. In short, there is always so much more to do.

So what does that mean for aid in the SDG era? Let's follow the logic.

When the aim of aid was to end extreme poverty, it made sense to argue aid would end when that goal was achieved. But the new aim of aid is to fight inequality, and we know we will never end inequality and that constant work is required to combat it. Aid, therefore, will always be needed.

The challenge for aid in the 21st century is to respond in theory and practice to this changing reality, one in which all countries now expect not just to deal with extreme poverty but to converge on decent living standards for all.

Of course such assistance will only ever be a small part of the response to inequality and unsustainable development, just as it has been a bit part player in the fight against extreme poverty. But it plays a part nonetheless.

The aid industry needs to respond to this in two ways. First, it needs to alter its narrative, explaining to the public and politicians that aid is not temporary – as had previously been implied – but permanent. That might help end the constant media debate about whether to give aid and how much it should be. It is a permanent feature of the modern global economy.

And second, just as important, it needs to elaborate a new theory of aid that better reflects this new goal for aid and the new global context within which aid operates. The current theory of aid as a temporary injection of capital in a 'big push' to get poor countries moving economically is wholly inadequate for a world in which inequality is rising rather than falling in most countries, leaving a classic conundrum in which international assistance is required to support 'pockets of poverty' in countries that on paper could and should be far more redistributive.

As an example, the endless debate about aid to 'middle-income countries' is constrained not only by the difficult politics and limited budgets, but also by the lack of a theory to support such spending – even when backed up by an empirical analysis of the need and effectiveness of international cooperation in such contexts.

The conditions need to be set for global convergence and national-level social cohesion. Just as for racial and gender inequality, progress can be reversed just as it can be enhanced. Political will is required to set a conducive policy framework, and financial assistance across borders will be a part of that.

Reducing inequality, not just poverty, should be the central aim of aid. This is the profound paradigm shift now required to respond to the world as we find it today. The sooner academics and aid managers understand that, the sooner aid will emerge from the limbo in which it currently finds itself.

Reducing inequality, not just poverty, should be the central aim of aid.

This paper was published by Devex on 24th August 2017. This paper was commissioned by Equal International on behalf of **International Civil Society Support (ICSS)** as part of a series of papers that aims to advance thinking on Overseas Development Assistance.

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STOPAIDS.

Statement on middle-income countries (MICs) at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 4th High Level Meeting October 2017

My name is Mike Podmore and I am director of STOPAIDS, a network of 70 member organisations in the UK, which are working together on the global HIV response. I have been working on the issue of development aid in middle- and high-income countries, and the impact of the exit of bilateral and multilateral donor funding from an HIV perspective for over five years.

More recently, in my role as the Alternate Board Member of the Developed Country NGO Delegation of the Board of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria, I have been part of critical discussions around this issue – to fundamentally answer the central question of where and how the Global Fund should be working in order to achieve its goal of ending the three pandemics by 2030.

My background is in HIV and global health, but my experience of these issues has made clear that the fundamental assumptions and questions at their heart speak to the very structure of international development work as a whole, and how we need to change our approach to have a chance of reaching the ambitious global goals we have set ourselves.

This presentation will draw on these experiences to do three things:

- The first will be to highlight some of the changes to the global situation that we need to recognise, and some of the old assumptions that need to be overcome.
- The second will be to outline some of the problems with the current development co-operation approach, specifically in relation to transitions in relation to global health.
- The third will hopefully help you avoid indigestion by ending on a positive note, suggesting five key steps that need to be taken to address the issue more effectively.

1) What are the facts of our changing world and some of the assumptions we need to overturn?

The international development project has seen some huge successes, for example huge reductions in poverty and disease. At the state level, we are seeing convergence on a global scale, recipients are catching up with donors, and new power blocks are emerging.

As Jonathan Glennie writes in a recent article, there have been three shifting geographies:

- a. The first geography is that of wealth: towards the BRICs and a second tier of middle-income countries (MICs)
- b. The second geography is that of poverty: this means that more and more of the poorest and most marginalised people that are the focus of our development work are to be found in what are now termed middle-income countries. 80% of the world's poorest people – those who live on less than US \$2 per day – are now found in MICs.

For STOPAIDS and the HIV sector, we see the same dynamic. Whereas in 2000, two thirds of all people living with HIV resided in low-income countries (LICs), by 2020 an estimated 70% will live in MICs. The same is true of TB.

- c. The third geography is that of power and knowledge: with these economic shifts come changes in geopolitical power, leading countries to demand a seat at the table and in decision-making, requiring shifts in global governance. This leads to less western-centric and more heterogeneous approaches.

But with these changes, so many of our old assumptions about development have been exposed as either simplistic or just not true. Some of the assumptions we have to debunk are as follows:

- The first assumption is that countries can be plotted along a 'development continuum'. What we now realise of course is that countries are on multiple development continuums and progress in one aspect of society does not necessarily mean progress in another.
- The second assumption is that progress along what we might understand as multiple development continuums is neither steady or in one direction. Countries move back and forth in terms of progress and sometimes quite rapidly.
- The third assumption is that economic growth, and its measurement using gross national income per capita, can act as a meaningful main proxy on its own for knowing where to direct ODA. Its limitations are becoming clearer in a number of ways:
 - The historical focus of ODA on low-income countries is becoming ever more limiting as more countries find themselves in the MIC 'classification'. There are now only 31 LICs, compared to 63 in 2000.
 - In the SDG world, the new focus on 'leaving no one behind' means understanding *how* to address inequality within countries as much as it does inequality *between* countries. GNIpc does not tell us anything about the level of inequality in a country.
 - Within the health sector, it is assumed that an increasing GNI will automatically result in increasing domestic health resources and services for the poorest and most marginalised. As a result, many donors are pulling their funding out of MICs, particularly upper-middle income countries UMICs). While there is evidence that increasing domestic health resources do correlate with increasing GNI, there is sadly no direct correlation between increasing GNI and increasing services for the poorest and most marginalised in society. Put simply, inequality can happily thrive in a growing economy. If GNIpc continues to be used as the sole eligibility criteria, many millions will be left behind.

This brings me to the second part of my presentation:

- 2) What are some of the problems with the current development cooperation approach, specifically in relation to countries transitioning into higher income levels in the health sector?**

From a health perspective – using GNIpc and income classifications to direct funding to fight AIDS, TB or Malaria is causing some problems. For the Global Fund it has resulted in a focus of funding in countries that are low-income and have a high burden of disease. Of course this makes immediate common sense, but it is becoming increasingly clear that the over-emphasis on GNIpc as the primary criteria is leading to an imbalance.

We have targeted the majority of our funding to LICs in Africa, and have made very good progress in reducing AIDS-related deaths and new HIV infections – and this is to be celebrated.

However, we have seen funding fall dramatically and donors exit from MICs in regions such as Eastern Europe and Central Asia, Latin America, North Africa and the Middle East.

In many cases, countries were not ready to transition away from donor funding and to sustain HIV services. In some countries where it may have been possible, the only relatively recent adoption of the Sustainability, Transition and Co-financing policy meant that there was inadequate preparation and resources to ensure an effective transition.

This has led to HIV infections dramatically spiking not falling – for example, infections in Eastern Europe and Central Asia have increased 56% since 2010. This region also has the highest prevalence of MDR-TB with 8 of the 16 MDR-TB high-burden countries.

I think it would be helpful here to delve a little into the impact of transitions on civil society and key populations to understand the dynamics at play:

- Apart from countries like South Africa and Nigeria, in most MICs the HIV epidemic is what we call a concentrated epidemic – it is concentrated in a few specific groups in the population, particularly what we call key populations (KPs) – people who inject drugs (PWID), sex workers (SW), transgender (TG) and men who have sex with men (MSM).
- As you know, most KPs face discrimination and stigma in society, and in many countries they are criminalised. It is therefore often external donor funding that supports services for the poorest and most marginalised in MICs, usually delivered through civil society organisations.
- With ineffective planning and preparation for exiting donor funding, the domestic government will not pick up services for KPs.
- Many governments either do not acknowledge that these groups exist or are not politically willing to fund services for them.
- Even if governments might be willing to fund services for KPs, they often lack the technical knowledge to deliver effective tailored services.
- It would be ideal for governments to channel funding to civil society to deliver services, but often no social contracting mechanisms have been put in place.
- All this means that many HIV services for KPs in MICs have been gutted, and the epidemics among these populations have become resurgent.

Example in Romania:

- The Global Fund's grant for HIV finished on 30 June 2010, six months prior to the

ending of a major UNODC grant that provided technical support and innovative approaches for harm reduction in Romania. Both grants ended without proper transition process and without properly established government buy-in.

- Following the grant closure, there was no funding for HIV prevention programmes and HIV prevalence among PWIDs grew from 3.3% in 2010 to 29% in 2013.

Another current example is that of Venezuela:

- The case in Venezuela is a symptom of the failures of the global system – a gaping crack in the architecture of global health. The devastation faced by Venezuelans is mandated in part by the arbitrary rules and regulations that shape global health aid eligibility:
- Venezuela was classified by the World Bank as a high-income country in 2012, now an upper-middle income country, with national income levels dropping at dizzying speed. This makes Venezuelans ineligible for aid, thanks to over-broad national income measures that fail to capture the vast inequality, stagnant growth and soaring inflation within the country.
- Despite extensive documentation, Venezuela's government denies there is an emergency – so many other governments and some UN agencies look the other way.
- The Joti people of Venezuela must watch their children struggle through repeated bouts of malaria without adequate medicine. In its neglect, the international community has collectively doubled down on them and other victims of this rights violation. Aside from the ethical problems this poses to international aid agencies, as a global health strategy, it is absurdly short-sighted. Infectious diseases do not respect political parties or national borders. Health gains in neighbouring countries are now at risk: the states that are now experiencing a surge in malaria are on borders with Colombia and Brazil. Recovery from the Venezuelan crisis will take decades, and will cost millions in global aid. Swift action is in all our collective interest, and is urgently needed to save lives.

Ensuring flexibility in our eligibility and allocation processes is essential if we are to direct funding *where* and *when* it is most needed.

3) What needs to change?

But, you will rightly ask, what would be envisaged to change in terms of domestic and international funding in order to find a solution to this issue?

There is broad agreement globally that an ever increasing portion of the global HIV and global health response needs to be financed by domestic financing in LICs, LMICs and UMICs if we are going to end AIDS by 2030 and reach our other health-related goals.

That said, my first recommendation is that donor financing is targeted in a more nuanced way at appropriate levels and using different types of support to achieve each of the SDGs – in my case that would be ending AIDS as a public health threat in each and every country and among every population.

To enable this, my second recommendation is to invest in and adopt the findings of processes such as the Equitable Access Initiative to find a better set of eligibility and

allocation criteria that goes well beyond income classification to direct us towards our goals.

- In the context of the Global Fund this means using disease burden as the primary criteria for eligibility rather than GNI and looking at other factors such as fiscal space for health, political willingness to invest in health, and levels of inequality.

My third recommendation is that donors should only be transitioning out of a country when health or key development goals are achieved (for example, malaria is eliminated, HIV and TB are under control) or when a clear set of criteria necessary to sustain the health gains has been met. Otherwise previous investment is wasted and development gains are simply lost, leading to even greater expense in dollars and lives.

My fourth recommendation is that funding, and mechanisms for directing that funding for civil society, must be developed and scaled-up globally. It is civil society that is best positioned to hold their government to account; mobilise the most marginalised communities to access services; and to provide many of the most appropriate services for these communities, particularly those most marginalised and left behind.

My fifth and final recommendation is that all bilateral and multilateral donors should develop transition policies that have a consistent and long-term approach to developing transition plans with all key stakeholders. These transition plans should then be implemented over a long enough trajectory to allow meaningful development to create sustainable domestic responses. This may mean that the flow of donor exits from countries slows down and perhaps stops altogether.

But, ultimately the traditional system of ODA and process of allocating funding and support doesn't reflect the world as it is now. Cracks have not only appeared, but they are widening and sadly many people are falling in.

If we are to really focus our efforts and adjust how we work in order to achieve the SDGs, we will need to build a new development approach and narrative. This will include:

- focusing on overcoming inequalities between countries and people
- structuring global development governance around collaboration of equal partners – meaning *all* countries and *all* stakeholders
- moving from concepts of aid as 'charity' to concepts of 'international public investment', global solidarity and mutual benefit...

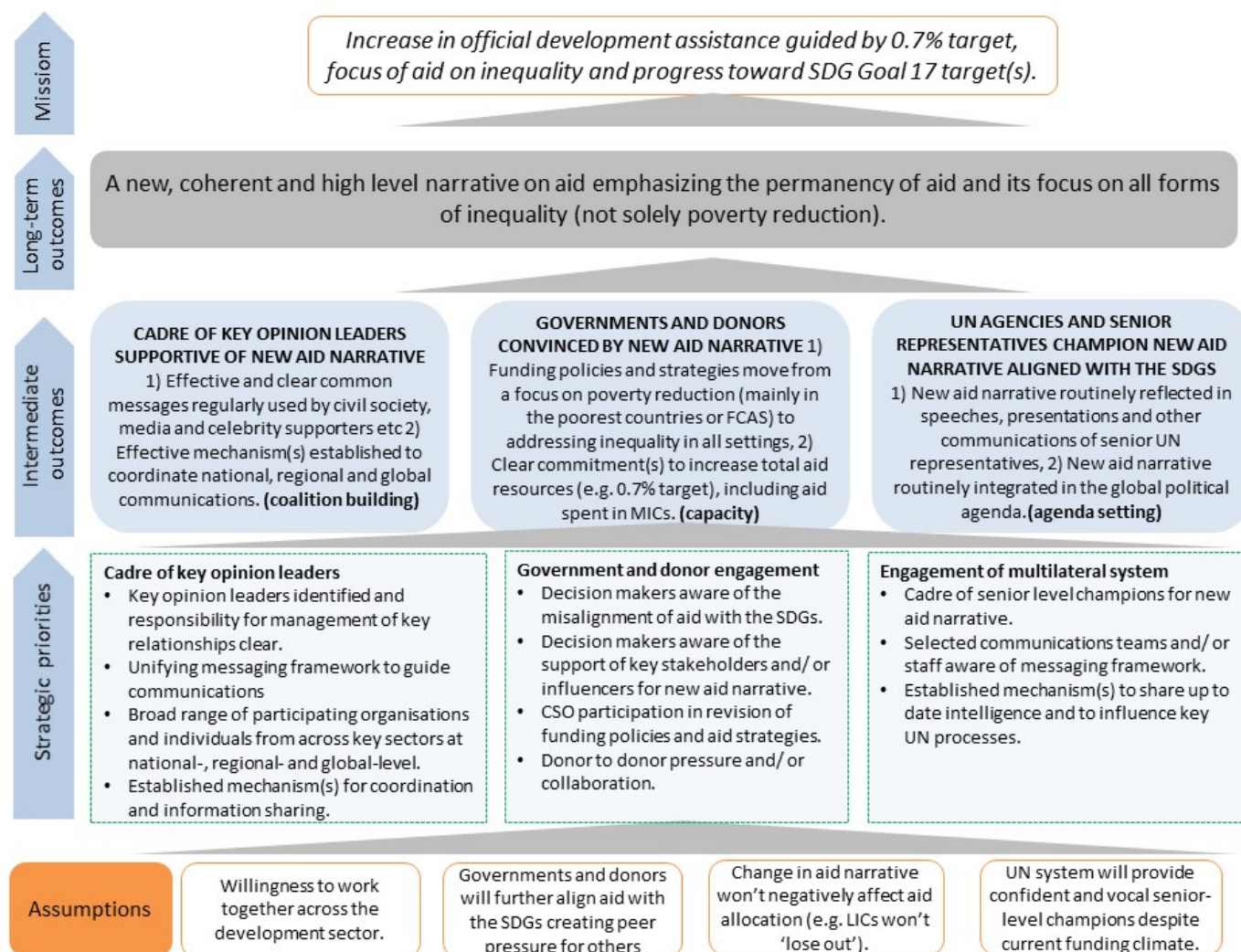
...to enable all to work to achieve Agenda 2030 together.

Thank you very much

Statement on MICs at the OECD 4th High Level Meeting

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Draft Theory of Change



Draft Theory of Change

This draft Theory of Change was developed on behalf of **International Civil Society Support (ICSS)** to help guide discussion during the Retreat.

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|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
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| 2. Guido Schmidt-Traub | 19. Jamie Drummond |
| 3. Jesse Griffiths | 20. Asia Russell |
| 4. Christoph Benn | 21. Peter van Rooijen |
| 5. David Hudson | 22. Brenda Killen |
| 6. Michael Anderson | 23. Jason Gagnon |
| 7. Gail Hurley | 24. Anton Ofield-Kerr |
| 8. José Antonio Alonso | 25. Signe Gosmann |
| 9. Jonathan Glennie | 26. Nick Corby |
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| 15. Kerstin Åkerfeldt | 32. Camilla Bune Sørensen |
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| 17. Mikaela Gavass | |

1. Chris Collins

Chris leads Friends' efforts to educate and engage US decision-makers on the life-saving work of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, and its effort to end these three epidemics. Previously, as Chief of the Community Mobilization Division at UNAIDS, Chris helped make the case for investment in civil society as an essential part of the AIDS response.

As Vice President and Director of Public Policy at The Foundation for AIDS Research (amfAR), Chris defended global AIDS funding and worked to advance domestic HIV policy and global key populations programming. He also helped drive the creation of the first comprehensive US National HIV/AIDS Strategy; helped develop and managed the International Treatment Preparedness Coalition (ITPC) Missing the Target series of reports on global HIV treatment scale up; and co-founded and served as Executive Director at AVAC: Global Advocacy for HIV Prevention.

As appropriations staff to Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) in the 1990s, Chris designed the first legislation to provide incentives for development and delivery of vaccines against HIV, TB and malaria. He holds a Master's Degree in Public Policy from Harvard University.
<https://www.theglobalfight.org/about-us/meet-our-team/>

2. Guido Schmidt-Traub

Guido Schmidt-Traub is Executive Director of the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN), which operates under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General to support the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals and the Paris Climate Agreement. Guido leads the SDSN's policy work, including on long-term pathways for sustainable land-use and food systems; financing for development; and the SDG Index and Dashboards. He serves on the Governing Council of Future Earth and other advisory bodies.

Previously, Guido was CEO of Paris-based CDC Climate Asset Management, an investment company regulated by the French financial markets regulator. He also served as climate change advisor to the Africa Progress Panel secretariat, and was Director and Partner at South Pole Carbon Asset Management in Zurich, a developer of greenhouse gas emission projects. Prior to managing the MDG Support Team at UNDP (2006-2008) he served as Policy Advisor and then as Associate Director of the UN Millennium Project in New York, which was tasked with developing an action plan to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, and advised countries around the world on their implementation.

Earlier Guido was a partner at IndexIT Scandinavia, a private equity fund for early-stage technology companies, and consultant at McKinsey & Company in Germany. He holds an M.Phil. in Economics from Oxford University (Rhodes Scholar) and a Masters in Physical Chemistry from the Free University Berlin. He resides in Paris with his family.

3. Jesse Griffiths

Jesse Griffiths has been Director of the European Network on Debt and Development (Eurodad) since April 2012. She oversees the work of the team, including strategic planning, fundraising, network building, research and advocacy. Jesse was previously the Coordinator of the Bretton Woods Project. Prior to that he headed ActionAid UK's Aid and Development Finance Policy Group; worked for the UK Department for International Development (DfID) in Nigeria, and in their Environment Policy Department; as well as for other NGOs in the UK and elsewhere on both development finance and international environmental policy.

4. Christoph Benn

Christoph Benn is the Director of External Relations at the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. He has been responsible for building and maintaining good relations with Global Fund partners and mobilising resources for the Global Fund almost since its creation in 2002. In this role he has managed the replenishment conferences, securing long-term commitments from donors, and spearheading innovative approaches to resource mobilisation including (Product) RED and Debt2Health.

Christoph has more than 20 years' experience in global health. As a physician with special training in tropical medicine, he worked as the Doctor in Charge of a hospital in rural Tanzania. Following additional training in public health at Johns Hopkins University, he was an advisor to many health programs in Africa and Asia. He also has extensive experience in advocacy, working with NGOs around the world. He co-founded the AIDS advocacy network – Action against AIDS – in his home country,

Germany, and was the first board member representing civil society from developed countries when the Global Fund was created in 2002.

5. David Hudson

David Hudson is Professor of Politics and Development at the University of Birmingham, and the Director of the Developmental Leadership Program (DLP). He has written widely on the politics of development, including: i) how people in rich countries engage with global development issues, as part of the Gates Foundation's Aid Attitudes Tracker (<https://devcommslab.org/>); ii) the role of coalitions, leadership and power in reform processes and how development actors can think and work politically as part of the Developmental Leadership Program (<http://www.dlprog.org/>); iii) the drivers of global migration, finance and trade and how these processes shape national development.

His current research projects involve fieldwork and data collection in Fiji, France, Germany, Jamaica, Myanmar, Rwanda, UK, and the US, using a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, including survey data and network analysis, as well as experiments, text analysis, interviews and focus groups. He has held grants from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), British Academy, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and the Leverhulme Trust.

6. Michael Anderson

Michael Anderson has worked in business, government, law, academia and non-profit organisations for over 30 years, focusing on international development. A policy entrepreneur involved with practical implementation and building strong organisations, he is a Visiting Fellow at the Center for Global Development, and CEO at the newly-established Credit Facility for Access to Medicines, based at the CDC Group in London. His previous roles include CEO at the Children's Investment Fund Foundation (CIFF); Special Envoy for Prime Minister Cameron on the UN Development Goals; and UK policy lead on development issues leading up to the UK-hosted G8 summit in June 2013.

Michael served in the UK Department for International Development (DFID) for 12 years, where he was Director General for Policy and Global Programmes, having led programmes on conflict prevention and the rule of law in India and the Middle East. Before joining government, he co-founded Bazian Ltd, a company providing statistical products for evidence-based medicine, which subsequently grew into a substantial consulting and statistical analysis firm, now part of the Economist Group.

Prior to his business career, Michael worked in law and academia. He was Director of Studies at the British Institute of International and Comparative Law, and a Fellow at the London School of Economics. A legal consultant for 16 years, he worked with a series of law firms providing advice on cross-border litigation, international disputes, human rights, trade law and environmental law. He was also a lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), where he taught law and development studies. Michael holds degrees in political science, social anthropology, and law from Washington, Oxford, and London universities. He was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, and in 2014 was made a Companion of the Order of the Bath for services to international development.

7. Gail Hurley

Gail Hurley has been a Policy Specialist on Development Finance at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in New York since January 2010. She advises UNDP on development finance and has written numerous research papers and articles, and regularly blogs on the subject. She has supported governments in the Caribbean and Africa to devise strategies for the expansion and diversification of domestic and external revenue bases, including through innovative financing approaches. Most recently, she has been exploring strategies to catalyse public and private investment in the 'blue economy' in small island states. She is also the Project Manager for the joint UNDP-OECD 'Tax Inspectors Without Borders'. Gail led UNDP's preparations for the July 2015 UN conference on financing for development in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and helps to formulate UNDP's corporate policies in development finance.

Prior to joining UNDP, Gail was a Policy and Advocacy Officer with the European Network on Debt and Development (Eurodad), and was seconded as an advisor to the Government of Ecuador at the Ministry of Economy and Finance. In 2006, she was seconded to Bolivia and Peru to advise the Latin American Network on Debt, Development and Rights (LATINDADD).

Gail is a member of the Board of Directors of the Center for Economic and Policy Research (CEPR), an economic policy think tank based in Washington DC, and also serves on the Advisory Board of the 'Righting Finance' initiative (an initiative that aims to develop a human rights approach to international and national financial regulation).

8. José Antonio Alonso

José Antonio Alonso is Professor of Applied Economics at Universidad Complutense de Madrid. He was Adjunct Professor at the Columbia University (SIPA); General Director of Economic Cooperation at the Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana; Vice-chancellor at Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo; and Director of the Instituto Complutense de Estudios Internacionales (ICEI). He is a member of the Committee for Development Policy (ECOSOC, UN), and the Consejo de Cooperación para el Desarrollo (Spain). His main research areas focus on growth and development, international economic relations and foreign aid policies, with several articles published in academic and specialised journals such as *Applied Economics*, *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, *European Journal of Development Research*, *Journal of Development Studies*, *Journal of International Development*, *Revista de Economía Aplicada*, *Principios. Estudios de Economía Política*, *International Journal of Development Planning Literature* or *CEPAL Review*. His most recent books are: (with J.A. Ocampo), *Development Cooperation in Times of Crisis*, Columbia University Press, 2012; *Alternative Development Strategies for the Post 2015 Era* (with G.A. Cornia and R. Vos), Bloomsbury Academic, 2013; *Global Governance and Rules for the Post-2015 Era* (with J.A. Ocampo), Bloomsbury Academic, 2015; and *¿Es útil la ayuda al desarrollo?*, RBA Editores, 2017.

9. Jonathan Glennie

Jonathan Glennie is Director of the Ipsos Sustainable Development Research Centre. Previously he was Director of Policy & Research at Save the Children UK; led ODI's research on aid and development finance; and was Country Director of Christian Aid in Colombia. He has worked on campaigns in the UK for debt relief and fair taxation;



researched the impact of mining companies on indigenous peoples in the Philippines; run an aid programme supporting communities displaced by Colombia's conflict; worked on the street with homeless children in Guatemala City and Calcutta; led research projects for USAID, the OECD, various UN agencies and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (to name a few), spoken at endless conferences and written copious columns in the *Guardian*. In 2008 he wrote *The Trouble with Aid* (Zed Books, 2008). He has a Master's Degree in Sustainable Development from Middlesex University and a Post-graduate Certificate in Economics from Birkbeck. His first degree was in theology at Cambridge.

10. Allan Ragi

Allan Ragi has over 35 years' experience as a public health specialist and advocate, with 27 of these as Executive Director of Kenya AIDS NGO Consortium (KANCO). Allan has contributed significantly to the national, regional and global health policy environment in access to health care. At the global level, he has amplified community voices to the Global Fund, and is currently part of the ACTION and RESULTS partnerships think tanks. He has represented civil society organisations (CSOs) in various national structures including the Kenya Global Fund Country Coordinating Mechanism, the Kenya National AIDS Control Council, and other donor health-related committees.

Allan is the Chair of ACTION global health advocacy partnership where he represents the interests of CSOs from the south with RESULTS Education Partners. He has been a member of the Global Fund to fight AIDS TB and Malaria (GFATM) developing NGO Countries Delegation, and a member of the Finance Operation and Performance Committee (FOPC) of GFATM as well as the International HIV/AIDS Alliance Policy Advisory Committee.

Under Allan's stewardship, KANCO has grown from a small organisation to a public health advocacy powerhouse. KANCO has over 1200 member organisations in Kenya and is working in the 47 counties while also supporting operations outside the Kenya borders covering the greater Eastern Southern and Western Africa Regions.

11. Irene Keizer

As part of the management team at Aidsfonds, a Dutch NGO, **Irene Keizer** is responsible for policy, lobbying and grants. Aidsfonds is a strategic partner of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and is the Fund Management Agent for the Robert Carr Civil Society Networks Fund (RCNF). The RCNF provides core funding to international civil society networks that contribute to the AIDS response. Irene started her career working for the Dutch government and supported the Dutch Minister of Health during the parliamentary debates on medical ethical issues such as the law on euthanasia, and other ethical issues such as abortion and wrongful life. Irene studied law and political science and did research on the liability of the tobacco industry towards smokers.

12. Juanita Olarte Suescún

Juanita Olarte Suescún is the Chief of Staff of the Director General of the Presidential Agency for International Cooperation, Colombia-APC, and has ten years' professional experience in international relations, with particular emphasis on addressing management and negotiation of international cooperation. Juanita was advisor to the bilateral cooperation on education with the French Embassy in Colombia for over 2





years (2004-2006) and worked with UNESCO in Paris and New York as part of the UN General Assembly (2007-2008).

Since August 2008, she has served as an advisor to the Presidential Agency for International Cooperation of Colombia, especially on strategic issues related to development cooperation agendas. Juanita holds a Degree in International Relations from the Universidad del Rosario of Bogotá and a Master's Degree in Diplomacy and Strategic Negotiation from the University of Paris 11.

13. Tony German

Tony German established Development Initiatives (with Judith Randel) in 1993 as an independent research and information consultancy working on poverty, aid and development policy, data and analysis. He led the establishment of the not-for-profit organisation – Development Initiatives Policy Research (DIPR) – to expand DI's impact. By 2015, when Tony stepped down as Executive Director, DI had 65 staff based in the UK, Kenya, Uganda, USA, Brazil and Nepal.

Tony's work at DI included: strategic direction of DI's Investments to End Poverty reports to focus not just on aid, but all resources that can contribute to poverty elimination; DI's aidinfo programme, helping establish the International Aid Transparency Initiative (IATI); work with ONE/DATA on the DATA Report to monitor Gleneagles 2005 G8 commitments to Africa; establishing and editing eight annual Reality of Aid reports www.realityofaid.org. He continues to work on the P20 Initiative, which aims to focus attention on the poorest 20% of people globally and in every country.

Prior to establishing DI, Tony was Director of Public Affairs at ActionAid. He studied law at Southampton University, UK. Tony lives and works from Evercreech, Somerset in the West of England, keeping cattle, sheep and pigs as well as working on international cooperation, social and economic development.

14. Alise Abadie

Alise Abadie works with the Global Health Financing Initiative in the Open Society Public Health Program. Her work focuses on improving governance for health by ensuring that global health funding is raised, allocated, and used in ways that meet the health needs of marginalised people.

Prior to joining Open Society, Abadie served as the head of mission in Guinea for Solthis, a French NGO dedicated to strengthening health systems for improved quality, accessibility, and sustainability of medical care, in the midst of the Ebola outbreak. She previously spent four years working with Association de Lutte Contre le Sida, an HIV-focused NGO in Morocco, and with Coalition Plus in France, to strengthen the research skills of their partner NGOs in Africa. Abadie holds an MPhil in Political Science from La Sorbonne in Paris and a diploma from the Institute of Political Sciences in Aix en Provence.

15. Kerstin Åkerfeldt (MSF)

Kerstin Åkerfeldt is Health Policy & Advocacy Advisor within the Analysis and Advocacy Unit of Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) Operational Centre, Brussels. Based in the MSF London office, she is the liaison for the MSF movement toward the Global Fund to fight AIDS, TB and Malaria (GFATM), and works closely with MSF HQ





and field teams, as well as the MSF Access Campaign for Essential Medicines on operational, policy and advocacy matters related to the three diseases and global health financing. She has served as a member of the Global Fund Developed Country NGO delegation to the Global Fund Board since 2010. Kerstin joined MSF in 2002 and has previously worked as a programme officer in the MSF Sweden office, carrying out missions in DRC and Guinea Conakry. She has a Master's Degree in International Studies from Uppsala University.

16. Mabel van Oranje

A global advocate for freedom, justice and development for over two decades, **Mabel van Oranje** is the initiator and Chair of Girls Not Brides: The Global Partnership to End Child Marriage. She is co-founder and the Executive Chair of the European Council on Foreign Relations. Mabel serves on the (advisory) boards of Crisis Action, Global Witness, the Malala Fund, the Open Society Foundations and The Elders. You can follow her tweets: @MabelvanOranje.

17. Mikaela Gavas

Mikaela Gavas is an experienced leader and respected authority in international development strategy and finance, and a leading specialist on European Union development cooperation. She has over 15 years' experience in research, policy, advisory and public affairs roles in political and parliamentary environments. Mikaela is the Head of ODI's Development Strategy and Finance Programme, comprising horizon-scanning, comparative analytics, agenda-setting, bespoke advisory and evidence-based problem solving. She has worked as a strategy adviser to governments, including France, Italy, Republic of Korea, Qatar, Switzerland and the UK. Mikaela is also Specialist Adviser to the UK parliament's International Development Committee (IDC).

18. Hannah Wanjie Ryder

Hannah Ryder is CEO of Development Reimagined – a pioneering consultancy/think tank based in China – and focused on improving Chinese and international organisations and businesses' contributions to global poverty reduction, particularly in Africa and through green growth. She is also China representative for China Africa Advisory. She brings over 15 years' high-profile, hands-on policy, research and management experience from around the world. This includes two years as UNDP's Head of Policy and Partnerships – supporting Chinese foreign aid and cooperation, four years bolstering development cooperation in DfID – including programmes in Ethiopia, Nigeria, Indonesia and Korea – and six years as the UK's Climate Change Finance Negotiator. In 2006 she was co-author of the Stern Review. She is a Kenyan and British dual national, a wife and mother.

19. Jamie Drummond

Jamie Drummond is an advocacy entrepreneur who co-founded ONE with Bono and other activists. ONE is a global pressure group with more than eight million members around the world, which campaigns against extreme poverty and for the transformation of developing economies and the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals. Right now, ONE is especially campaigning for investments into education, especially for girls in Africa; gender equality through enhanced education and health services for the most marginalised girls and women; and transparency in the extractives and financial sectors. We think transparency is key because it helps citizens follow the money from resources to results.



Back in the day Jamie was the Global Strategist for Drop the Debt (which helped cancel \$110b of mainly African debt) and co-founder of DATA.org (which helped double smart aid, especially for the health sector and the fight against AIDS, as well as boosting trade deals for Africa). We have a historic opportunity to be the great generation Mandela asked us to be – the great generation that could end the injustice of extreme poverty – but only if we act together, as ONE.

20. Asia Russell

Asia Russell has been a leader in the fight against HIV for over 20 years, first as a community organiser and treatment activist working with urban communities hard hit by HIV in the United States; and ultimately as part of the group that founded Health GAP in 1999. She served at Health Gap as Director of International Policy until 2014 when she became the Executive Director. Health GAP is an international policy and advocacy organisation founded to end HIV and to overcome barriers to access to medicines for all. Asia is based primarily in Uganda, where she works in partnership with civil society organisations, health-rights groups, and networks of people living with HIV. She works nationally and with networks from across Eastern and Southern Africa on increasing the size and improving the impact of donor and indigenous health and HIV investments; accelerating and strengthening the impact of the HIV response; ending preventable maternal mortality; and increasing access to safe abortion.

Asia's leadership has been recognised through a number of awards, including the Keith Cylar Courage Award from Housing Works (2008); the 2010 Kiyoshi Kuromiya Award from Philadelphia FIGHT; the 2011 John M. Lloyd Leadership Award; and an award in 2011 from The AIDS Service Organization (TASO), Uganda for her exceptional contribution as an AIDS activist.

21. Peter van Rooijen

Executive Director of International Civil Society Support (ICSS), **Peter van Rooijen** was trained as a clinical psychologist and has been involved in the HIV/AIDS response since 1984, starting as a volunteer, a psychotherapist and director of care services at the Schorer Foundation. In 1992 he joined the National Committee on AIDS Control, advisory committee of the Dutch government, followed by his appointment as Director of Aids Fonds. He was the Executive Director of Aids Fonds from 1993-2005 and of STOP AIDS NOW!, which he founded in 2000 (these organisations merged in 2017).

From April 2005-April 2007, Peter served on the Board of the Global Fund as the Board Member for the Developed Country NGOs. In that capacity he was a member and later Chair of the Finance and Audit Committee (FAC) and led the oversight of the Office of the Inspector General. He is currently still actively involved in the delegation.

Peter co-founded the Stop AIDS Alliance to advocate for improved HIV/AIDS policies and funding from the European Commission. He was also involved in the establishment of the World AIDS Campaign and AIDS Action Europe, the European network for HIV/AIDS NGOs. Peter has worked closely with the Dutch government on the national and international HIV/AIDS agenda.

Since 2006, he has headed International Civil Society Support, an NGO that facilitates the Free Space Process, a partnership of the 11 global civil society and community HIV networks, and the Global Fund Advocates Network, that brings together more than 400 individuals and organisations from the global North and South in advocating for a fully funded and effective Global Fund.

22. Brenda Killen

Brenda Killen is Deputy Director of OECD's Development Co-operation Directorate, driving efforts to improve policy-making, delivery, monitoring and accountability of global development finance. She works with partners around the world to ensure development resources are allocated and delivered in support of the SDGs. As OECD's envoy to the post-2015 process and G20 Development Working Group, she helped translate Agenda 2030 into OECD's action plan on the SDGs.

Brenda has over 25 years' experience in international development. As Deputy Director of Health Policy, Development and Services at WHO, she was responsible for defining WHO's development policy, advising on the macroeconomics of health and developing WHO's strategy for health systems strengthening. She has also worked for the UK Department for International Development (DfID) in several senior roles, including as Senior Economist for Asia and lead author of DfID's policy on middle-income countries. She has extensive field experience in Africa and is a member of the UN Secretary General's Independent Accountability Panel (EWEC).

23. Jason Gagnon

Jason is an economist with the Thematic Division and the Migration and Skills unit at the OECD Development Centre and has worked at the OECD since 2007, including with the International Migration Division in the Directorate on Employment, Labour and Social Affairs (ELS). His work has mainly focused on development and public policies, including studies on global shifting wealth, employment and the links between migration and development. In addition to his contribution on migration research, Jason is also the coordinator of the OECD Development Centre's Perspectives on Global Development (PGD) flagship publication, for which the 2019 edition will focus on rethinking development strategies. He has a PhD in economics from the Paris School of Economics (PSE).

24. Anton Ofield-Kerr

Anton Ofield-Kerr is the Director of Equal International, which he established in 2015. With a team of 26 Associates, Equal supports a range of clients with strategy, programmes, campaigns and evaluations that have a focus on those 'left behind'. He has over 25 years' experience in public health and international development, starting work as a professional general, community, psychiatric nurse and midwife in South Africa. Anton helped to establish some of the first clinics in Africa to provide life-saving ARV's. As Head of Policy for the International HIV/AIDS Alliance he pioneered the use of a theory of change approach to advocacy planning, monitoring, learning and evaluation. With 12 years' experience engaging with the Global Fund, Anton played a central role in supporting the Global Fund and its strategic partners in developing the Community Systems Strengthening Framework, and with numerous replenishment processes.

Anton has worked with a wide range of organisations in the global South and internationally, including UN agencies and key donor governments. He supports national and international organisations, networks and social movements to develop, implement and measure the impact of their organisations' strategies and campaigns. Anton is a trustee to the Board of STOPAIDS; Co-chair of the Commonwealth HIV & AIDS Action Group; member of the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Health; and a member of the National Health Equity Strategies Advisory Committee for the O'Neil Institute, Georgetown University.

25. Signe Gosmann

Signe Gosmann is an Equal Associate and research fellow at Goldsmiths University in London, with 15 years' experience in development, designing and evaluating governance, participation and advocacy initiatives internationally and in the UK. She has extensive experience in developing strategies, evaluating impact and working with diverse groups across sub-Saharan Africa, through organisations such as ActionAid and the World Bank. She has particular experience working with children and young people, including evaluating, programming and supporting children's rights and participation. Currently, Signe is engaged in a DfID-funded research project in Ethiopia and Nepal, looking into marginalised young people's responses to uncertainty and fragility. She sits on the Local Safeguarding Children's Board (LSCB) in Brighton, UK. Signe holds an MA in Anthropology from Copenhagen University and an MSc in NGO Management from Cass Business School in London.

26. Nick Corby

Nick Corby, Associate Director at Equal International, has more than 16 years' experience in international development. Nick has held senior positions in international NGOs and worked with numerous INGO's, civil society networks, UN agencies, governments, private sector and grassroots organisations to successfully create positive change at global, regional and national levels. Nick is a technical expert, thought leader and strong influencer in the areas of disability inclusion, HIV/AIDS and health. He has worked with Leonard Cheshire Disability, UNDP, UN Women and the Girls Education Challenge to mainstream disability inclusion.

27. Mike Podmore

Mike Podmore, Director of STOPAIDS, is an advocacy and network specialist who has been working in the field of HIV, health, gender and human rights for 15 years. In 2015 he became the director of STOPAIDS, a network of 70 UK international development agencies working to secure an effective global response to HIV. He is currently the Alternate Board Member of the Developed Country NGO Delegation of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria; a trustee of Stamp Out Poverty (UK); and a trustee of WACI Health (Kenya). He is on the Steering Committee of the Global Fund Advocates Network and of Action For Global Health UK.

Prior to moving to STOPAIDS, Mike was Policy Manager at the International HIV/AIDS Alliance for over four years. Before that, he worked for nine years at VSO (Voluntary Service Overseas) on HIV, gender and education campaigns and policy. He has held voluntary roles as a trustee of Jubilee Debt Campaign; co-convenor of Action for Global Health in the UK; steering committee member of AFGH EU; trustee and Chair of STOPAIDS; and as co-founder and co-facilitator of the Caregivers Action Network. Mike holds an MSc in Development Studies from SOAS.

28. Aaron Oxley

Aaron Oxley is the Executive Director of RESULTS UK, a grassroots advocacy organisation generating the public and political will to end the root causes of hunger and poverty. He joined RESULTS UK in 1998, working on their programmes with UK and European Parliaments, partner organisations and technical agencies on UK and international campaigns to create the public and political will to tackle major diseases of poverty (particularly TB and major child killers); increase access to education; and expand economic opportunity for the poorest. As a member of the ACTION Global Health Advocacy partnership, RESULTS UK has played a vital role in multi-partner, multi-year campaigns to increase investments and build political support for global health.

An international expert and spokesperson on global poverty issues, Aaron works closely with the World Health Organization; The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria; The Global Alliance on Vaccines and Immunizations; the Global Partnership for Education; and other international organisations. He represents the Developed Civil Society Constituency on the Stop TB Partnership Coordinating Board. Aaron holds a Bachelor's Degree in Engineering from Auckland University and a Master's in Global Politics from the London School of Economics.

29. Modibo M. Makalou

Modibo Makalou is Head of the Development and Cooperation Initiative in Mali. He has extensive experience in international development initiatives, including: representing the Working Party on Aid Effectiveness of the OECD/DAC in Paris (2004); drafting the Paris Declaration and its progress indicators (2005); coordinating the OECD/Strategic Partnership for the Africa Survey of the Alignment of Budget Support for National Poverty Reduction (2004), and surveys on Monitoring the Implementation of the Paris Declaration (2006 and 2008); preparing the Accra Agenda for Action (2008) in Ghana; the International Reference Group for the Paris Declaration; Chair of the Task Team on Civil Society Organisations Development Effectiveness and Enabling Environment (2009); Sherpa for 54 nations in the African Union Commission's negotiation of the Outcome Document of the High Level Forum for Development Effectiveness (2011), thereby creating the Global Partnership for Development Effectiveness (for which he also worked on the effectiveness monitoring framework).

Modibo's professional experience includes working as a financial and commercial manager in the mining and petroleum sectors; an administrative and financial coordinator of a USAID animal export project; managing his own international business consulting firm; and acting as Advisor on Infrastructures in the President's Office of Mali. He holds a Bachelor's Degree in Economics from the University of Montreal (1987), an MBA in International Finance from the American University (1992) in Washington DC, and an International Baccalaureate from the International European School (1984) in Paris.

30. Javier Hourcade Bellocq

Javier Hourcade Bellocq started working on HIV in 1988 in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and is a founding member of the Argentinean and Latin American PLWH Network. He worked for 13 years at the International HIV/AIDS Alliance, and recently became an independent international consultant. Javier currently serves as the Civil Society Representative in the CFATM LAC Board Delegation and as the Chair of the Board of the Global Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS. In addition to serving on the board of GNP+ during 1995 and 2000, Javier has served on many international and regional boards, committees and working groups, such as the UNAIDS Program Coordinating Board and the Global Fund Board and boards of four International AIDS Conferences.

31. Dr Mohga Kamal-Yanni

Dr Mohga Kamal-Yanni is a Senior Health & HIV Policy Advisor at Oxfam, and has extensive experience of health policy and programming in developing countries. She was a member of the Expert Advisory Group advising the UN High Level Panel on Medicine. Currently Mohga is a key advisor to the NGOs delegation to UNITAID board – having served for four years as NGOs representative. For four years she was also a member of the World Bank Civil Society Consultation Group. She represented NGOs on the Global Fund medicine committees and was the alternate board member for the Developed Countries NGOs delegation to the Global Fund.

Mohga has written policy papers, published articles, and made presentations on health issues including access to medicines, financing and delivery of health care, HIV/AIDS, non-communicable diseases and gender and health. She is the editor of www.globalhealthcheck.org blog dedicated to health issues including universal health coverage. After graduating as a medical doctor in Egypt, she has worked in a number of developing countries as a medical doctor, programme manager, and health policy advisor. Mohga holds an MPhil in Primary Health Care and was awarded an MBE in 2009.

32. Camilla Bune Sørensen

With a M.Sc. in development economics, Camilla has undertaken various positions in the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Copenhagen as Head of Section, mainly within EU development policy and humanitarian affairs. Most recently, she worked as Advisor at the Danish Permanent EU Representation in Brussels, representing Denmark in the Council of the European Union. Here, she was responsible for Central Asia and Southern Caucasus as well as human rights in EU's external action. Prior to that, Camilla worked with an NGO in Copenhagen (IWGIA, International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs) as Programme Support Officer working in all stages of programme and project management with partners in Asia, Africa and Latin America. During her studies, Camilla held internships both with the Danish Embassy in Zambia and with UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) in Brussels. Camilla currently works as Global Fund Advocacy Officer at Stop AIDS Alliance in Brussels, with a particular focus on EU policies and processes around development cooperation and financing.

33. Revanta (Kanna) Dharmarajah

Revanta (Kanna) Dharmarajah is the Global Fund Lead for the International HIV/AIDS Alliance. Prior to his current work at the Alliance, he was managing technical support platforms and projects working with governments and communities to strengthen national responses through technical assistance and scaling up innovations. The technical assistance provided focused on improving the quality and capacity of countries to deliver sustainable HIV services.

He has also worked closely with regional networks and UN agencies to advocate for and mobilize resources to scale up key population programming and strengthen community systems in Asia and the Pacific. This includes his work on supporting community engagement with the Global Fund processes and grant architecture. Since 2006, Mr. Dharmarajah has been a member of the Global Fund's Community Systems Strengthening Framework Advisory Group, the Inter Organizational Task Team (IOTT) on Community Systems Strengthening, the Joint Civil Society Action Plan (JSACP) Task Team and the Global Fund's Communities, Rights and Gender Advisory group.

NOTES