

JONATHAN
GLENNIE



THE FUTURE OF AID

GLOBAL
PUBLIC
INVESTMENT

Internationalist perspectives seem to be losing ground just when the world needs them most. This can be changed, if people put pressure on leaders to choose bold responses based on solidarity. Jonathan Glennie's short but powerful book makes a convincing case for Global Public Investment based on statutory contributions (rather than patronising "aid" from rich to poor countries) as a necessary element to deal with the challenges we face.

*Jayati Ghosh
Professor of Economics,
Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi*

Most people think of foreign aid in terms of humanitarian assistance. Jonathan Glennie has bolder ambitions. He suggests using aid for global public investments that make everyone better off. With COVID-19 underlining the inequalities and unsustainability of the current structure of development finance, big new ideas are needed. That is what this book provides.

*Homi Kharas
Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution*

At a time when reforming international co-operation has become a matter of urgency and all perspectives should be heard, Jonathan Glennie's thought-provoking book sets the stage for a paradigm shift, with its proposal for global public investment.

*Mario Pezzini
Director, OECD Development Centre*

Jonathan Glennie brilliantly recommends the transformation of foreign aid into Global Public Investment and, in alignment with the Sustainable Development Goals, he advocates for a universal and sustainable approach, to renew our understanding of the international system. A reading must!

*Patti Londoño
Former Colombian foreign minister*

It is hard not to feel overwhelmed by the relentless onslaught of current global events. The planet that sustains us is barely coping with extreme weather events, bush fires, and the decimation of wildlife. Conflicts and

other human-made disasters are driving mass movements of populations to seek safety, refuge and better livelihoods and gains in poverty reduction are in serious threat of being reversed. The Covid-19 pandemic could not have hit at a worse time. Nonetheless, the amalgamation of these events could be the catalyst for the change we need to address these challenges – and in *The Future of Aid: Global Public Investment*, Jonathan Glennie, persuasively, provides important insights and critical analyses to deliberate on how we might do this... Based on scholarly reviews and dialogue, *The Future of Aid: Global Public Investment* is a demonstration of a rare skill in an academic author; the ability to combine fairly dense ideas with engaging prose to make the text accessible to a broad audience. It is timely and required reading for those tasked to engage in international public finance.

Pascale Allotey
Director, United Nations University
International Institute for Global Health

This publication is timely and necessary. It not only provides very practical ideas on how countries could come together to fight immediate global challenges such as the Covid-19 pandemic, but also offers a framework on how to sustainably finance the SDGs. It is a first of its kind and should shape global policy and development co-operation in years to come. It is a must read for any policy maker and practitioner!

Vitalice Meja
Executive Director, Reality of Aid Africa

Jonathan Glennie revives the conversation on development cooperation at the right time. The world can no longer be seen as a patchwork of countries, but as a global community working towards common goals. From the objectives to the practices of development cooperation, this book presents the key areas of debate and the types of creative thinking needed in the future. The book is an invitation to the development community to re-imagine itself by questioning some strongly held beliefs about international cooperation. The world has changed from how it was seen at the beginning of this century. This is a must-read for anyone interested in a new international response to global problems.

Andrea Ordóñez
Director, Southern Voice

By boldly thinking outside the box and challenging the conventional wisdom regarding aid, this timely book offers an entirely new approach to how we should confront the global challenges of the 21st century. Calling for a sweeping change in the objectives, concepts and practice of development finance, it will garner support from scholars and practitioners alike.

André de Mello e Souza
Senior Researcher, Institute for Applied
Economic Research, Rio de Janeiro

Global social justice is the ultimate global public good. We need Global Public Investment to make global social justice happen. This brilliant book explains how. You should read it.

Gorik Ooms
Honorary Professor of Global Health Law &
Governance, London School of Hygiene &
Tropical Medicine

Abandoning the hierarchical and demeaning concept of “aid” for the dignified and responsible concept of Global Public Investment, Glennie shifts focus from national priorities to the global good. GPI is an exciting new concept in which public funds are a proactive and long-term investment in the common endeavour of development.

Nora Lester Murad
Founder, Dalia Association, Ramallah

Covid-19 threatens to plunge millions of people back into poverty. We need unprecedented ambition to respond to this extraordinary crisis, and to other challenges such as climate change. This book sets out one part of the answer.

Andy Sumner
Professor of International Development,
King's College, London

Today's world is very different from that in which international aid was created. New international powers have emerged, the range of official and private providers has enlarged, and new and more complex issues threaten our future progress and wellbeing. In accordance, we are obliged to go beyond aid and transit to a more ambitious and inclusive system

of public collective action at the international level. Jonathan Glennie draws up some of the required components of this alternative approach. In an illuminating book, he offers to us a fresh view on this topic, with defiant proposals and illuminating insights.

*José Antonio Alonso
Professor of Applied Economics,
Complutense University, Madrid*

For those interested in international development, this book could hardly be more timely. The traditional model of rich north, poor south, and the aid paradigm which was part of it, suffered a major body-blow with the global financial crash of 2008/9. Coronavirus is a more recent and powerful incentive to think about the world and the relationship between its constituent parts in a different way. This thoughtful and provocative volume does not pretend to have all the answers. It is a beginning, an invaluable contribution to the thinking required to set us on the path to finding the concessional resources needed to address the global challenges - enshrined within the Sustainable Development Goals - which we must address urgently, and together.

*Myles Wickstead
Visiting Professor, King's College,
London, and former UK Ambassador to Ethiopia*

The Future of Aid: Global Public Investment usefully exposes gaps between old paradigms and new realities in international development cooperation. While arguing to retire the concept of “foreign aid,” Glennie maintains that international public finance is a unique resource for greater equity and sustainability, amidst increasingly diverse financing sources and complex risks like climate change and Covid-19. His proposals for adapting development finance to meet the ambition of the SDGs are certain to stimulate thinking and debate.

*Navid Hanif
Director, Financing for Sustainable
Development Office, UNDESA*

A new vision for global public finance has been long overdue. Jonathan Glennie's concept of Global Public Investment (GPI) comes at the right time, when we urgently need new ideas to shape the future of public finance. Poverty, inequality, fragility and access to food, water and other

essential resources remain critical headwinds the world must tackle to become sustainable and stable. None of them can be tackled without adequate financing. They require new international financing mechanisms which build on the past but respond to the future. GPI is an idea whose time has come.

Harpinder Collacott
Executive Director, Development Initiatives

The change of approach this book is calling for fits perfectly in the spirit that guided the development of Agenda 2030, with solidarity as the backdrop. Global Public Investment is a platform meriting proper consideration... and a potential rallying point as we plan ahead how to reconstruct the socio-economic fabric after the pandemic.

Francisco Songane
Former Minister of Health of Mozambique

Aid is obsolete. But, in an era of pandemic, climate change and rising inequality effective international cooperation is an existential issue for humanity. In *The Future of Aid: Global Public Investment* Jonathan Glennie lays out both a new paradigm and a practical agenda for international public financing to achieve social justice and sustainability. The arguments are radical but feasible - a 'must read' for anyone interested in global development.

David Hulme
Executive Director, Global Development Institute,
University of Manchester

Jonathan Glennie has long been one of the most original and insightful voices within the aid world. In this revolutionary book he brilliantly insists that we raise the level of our ambition in the way we fund public goods and services globally. The era of aid is over. In these pages Glennie sketches out the beginnings of a new paradigm for a fairer, greener and more stable world.

Simon Reid-Henry
Director, Institute for the Humanities and
Social Sciences, Queen Mary, University of London

The world needs to build back better following the unprecedented Covid-19 crisis. This will require an extraordinary amount of resources

in all countries. Jonathan Glennie's innovative concept of Global Public Investment offers the best opportunity to date to succeed in this vital effort.

*Christoph Benn
Director, Global Health Diplomacy,
Joep Lange Institute*

This book articulates what many intuitively feel but few say out loud: that aid needs reformed, increased and maintained for the long term. Not charity, but smart investment in a more just and sustainable world. Glennie eloquently lays out a new vision for the necessary international public finance required. If you are serious about fighting inequality and climate change this is a must read.

*David McNair
Executive Director, Global Policy,
The ONE Campaign*

The COVID-19 pandemic should have shown how international cooperation for the provision of global public goods and fighting inequalities is more needed than ever. But it didn't; instead, we witness a growing noise about deglobalization. That's why Glennie's *The Future of Aid: Global Public Investment* hits home. It reframes the development agenda, tackling its goals, means and narratives. Glennie's book brings the fight against inequality to the fore, as the ultimate goal of international cooperation for development. Moreover, it makes the compelling case that Global Public Investment (GPI) is the way forward for providing global public goods and, therefore, to contribute to a fairer distribution of wealth. *The Future of Aid* goes beyond an abstract universalism and a dyadic notion of responsibility. A mitigated universalism underpins its narrative, combining two principles adopted by Southern countries: differentiation and mutuality. Glennie's vision stresses the idea that progressive differentiation (every state should contribute according to its capacities), is based on self-interest (the contribution will, ultimately, benefit the contributor). In a time of growing suspicion of multilateralism, Glennie's work on GPI is a most needed roadmap to tackle intractable challenges and to revive the 2030 Agenda.

*Paulo Esteves
Director, BRICS Policy Center*

The international community, bracing with the changes in the development cooperation landscape, has been in a reflective mood in recent times. The Covid-19 pandemic has provided a compelling boost to this process of rethinking. It is now widely recognised that novel ideas and gutsy initiatives are the need of the day to evolve a more effective global arrangement of collaboration for sustainable development. At this very opportune moment, Jonathan Glennie has come forward with the ambitious proposal of transforming the traditional aid regime to “global public investment”. His analytical narrative touches upon issues related to motivation and incentives as well as sourcing and governance. Discerning readers will find the book engaging and intriguing.

*Debapriya Bhattacharya
Distinguished Fellow, Centre for
Policy Dialogue, and former Bangladesh
Ambassador to WTO and UN*

With passion and academic proficiency, Glennie calls to replace the “aid” paradigm of international cooperation i.e. transfers from affluent nations to underprivileged ones, with an internationalist democratic approach cemented on the belief in the capacities of peoples to collectively work on an equal footing for the common good of all: Global Public Investment. Repairing a ship in the midst of a tempest requires not charity between those in upper and lower decks, but the full investment of everyone’s actions and expertise. As the pandemic has shown, for each nation, its economic wellbeing and health of its population crucially depend on the fate of other nations. Practitioners, policy makers, academics and students of international development and global affairs will benefit enormously from this book; the world too, if politicians in power heed Glennie’s advice.

*Juan Carlos Moreno-Brid
Professor of Economics, UNAM, and
co-founder of the World Economic Association*

I am so excited about this book! It’s the first really inspired take on the changes we need to make in the aid and global development system I’ve seen this year. As countries struggle to address health, social and economic fall-outs of the COVID-19 pandemic, one thing remains clear: the ideals of equality, dignity and justice are as relevant now as

they were during civil rights and anti-colonial movements of the previous century. We urgently need governments across the world to reinforce international obligations to advance human rights and civic freedoms, and ensure that civil society is an equal partner in the achievement of an equal and sustainable world. As this book rightly argues, rethinking aid as a global public investment is critical if we are to secure our undeniably inter-dependent future.

Lysa John
Secretary-General, Civicus
(global alliance of civil society)

Glennie offers a timely and critical examination of the “aid paradigm” that has governed global cooperation for most of the 20th century. This book is his manifesto for remaking foreign aid to address new political realities and development challenges. A book for aid theorists and policy practitioners alike, he offers a powerful rationale for concessional public financial transfers: international solidarity that serves all of our collective interests as co-inhabitants of planet Earth. At the same time, his idealism is tempered by a keen realism of the geopolitics of foreign aid, including the ways it must build diplomatic bridges and tear down ‘us and them’ mentalities. A book for our times that is bound to both provoke and stimulate in equal measure.

Nilima Gulrajani
Senior Research Fellow, Overseas
Development Institute

“First and most important thing to say is that I love this! The basic argument is both timely and visionary – and if taken up genuinely world changing on a massive scale – and I think it has a real chance of being taken up. I think it’s an incredibly important book, with the potential to really make a difference. It’s also very well written – conceptually packaged clearly and persuasively – and written in a credible and intelligent, but also accessible and readable, style”.

Martin Drewry Director, Health Poverty Action

The Future of Aid

International cooperation has never been more needed, but the current system of “aid” is outdated and ineffective. *The Future of Aid* calls for a wholesale restructuring of the aid project, a totally new approach fit for the challenges of the 21st century: Global Public Investment.

Across the world, billions of people are struggling to get by in unequal and unsustainable societies, and international public finance, which should be part of the answer, is woefully deficient. Engagingly written by a well-known expert in the field, *The Future of Aid* calls for a series of paradigm shifts.

- From a narrow focus on poverty to a broader attack on inequality and unsustainability.
- From seeing international public money as a temporary last resort, to valuing it as a permanent force for good.
- From North-South transfers to a collective effort, with all paying in and all benefitting.
- From outdated post-colonial institutions to representative decision-making.
- From the othering and patronising language of “foreign aid”, to the empowering concept of Global Public Investment.

Ten years ago, in *The Trouble with Aid*, Jonathan Glennie highlighted the dangers of aid dependency and the importance of looking beyond aid. Now he calls for a revolution in the way that we think about the role of public money to back up our ambitious global objectives. In the wake of the Covid-19 crisis, it is time for a new era of internationalism.

Jonathan Glennie is a writer and campaigner on human rights, sustainable development and poverty. His work looks in particular at the changing nature of international cooperation as dominant paradigms and global relationships evolve. He has held senior positions in several international organisations, including Save the Children, Christian Aid, and Ipsos. He has published two previous books on aid (*The Trouble With Aid: Why Less Could Mean More for Africa* and *Aid, Growth and Poverty*, with Andy Sumner) and helped set up *The Guardian's* Global Development website. As a consultant, he has worked with governments, international agencies and civil society organisations as they renew their strategies for a new era. He lives in Colombia.



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Global Public Investment

Jonathan Glennie

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Foreword

The Covid-19 pandemic threatens to set back development progress for a generation as its health, social and economic impacts play out. But in this critical moment, it is also clearer than ever that serious structural changes are needed to safeguard communities around the world, and the planet itself. As inequality widens and threats to global health and sustainability multiply, so also the progress made on reducing extreme poverty has been halted – the numbers living in extreme poverty are rising for the first time this century. With growing nationalism in many countries, we need now to strengthen our discourse of solidarity and shared responsibility. The changing nature of geopolitics is conducive to doing that as the voices of the Global South continue to strengthen in the international arena.

This is the context in which this book proposes a new vision for development cooperation. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) offer a bold global framework through which to address common challenges and build a coherent response, but we still haven't worked out how to safeguard and enhance the provision of public goods and services across the world. Clearly, the current financial system is not working. Building on the best of "aid", Jonathan Glennie suggests a series of paradigm shifts to modernise our approach. Those shifts include raising ambitions from the level of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to that of the more comprehensive SDGs, emphasising the unique value of concessional international public finance as a complement to other sources of development finance, recognising the shifting geography of development cooperation to which all the world's countries now contribute one way or another and suggesting governance arrangements to reflect that. We should also insist on a new narrative to replace the old-fashioned and misleading language of "donors" and "aid".

Many of these changes are already underway, thanks to the hard work and vision of many working in governments, civil society and

international organisations around the world. This book pushes us to go further in redesigning this crucial sector for a new era, one now in flux as never before as the Covid-19 crisis continues. Never has internationalism been more needed than today. Never have the opportunities been so great, nor the price of failure so devastating. I hope the ideas in this book will provoke new ways of thinking and contributing which will help us navigate through our present challenges and build a fairer and more sustainable world.

Rt Hon. Helen Clark
Former Administrator of UNDP
Former Prime Minister of New Zealand

Helen Clark was Prime Minister of New Zealand for three successive terms from 1999-2008. She was the first woman to become Prime Minister following a General Election in New Zealand and the second woman to serve as Prime Minister. From 2009 until 2017 she served as Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, the first woman to lead the organisation. Helen serves on a number of advisory boards and commissions, including in the capacity of Chair of the Boards of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and the Partnership for Maternal, Newborn and Child Health, and of the Advisory Board of UNESCO's Global Education Monitoring Report. She is also the Patron of The Helen Clark Foundation which has been established as a think tank to support evidence-informed debate on issues about which Helen has been passionate all her life.