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Private foundations and development cooperation: insights from Tanzania

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Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik German Development Institute

Studies

Private Foundations and Development Cooperation

Insights from Tanzania

Erik Lundsgaarde Evelyn Funk Anja Kopyra Jennifer Richter Hannah Steinfeldt

Private foundations and development cooperation

German Development Institute (DIE)

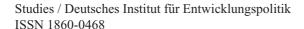
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Private foundations and development cooperation
Insights from Tanzania

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Abbreviations

BMZ Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und

Entwicklung (German Federal Ministry for Economic Coopera-

tion and Development)

CSO Civil Society Organisation

DAC Development Assistance Committee

DFID Department for International Development
DPG Development Partners Group of Tanzania
EAAG East African Association of Grantmakers

ECOSOC Economic and Social Council

EDCF Economic Development Cooperation Fund

EU European Union

GAVI Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunisation

GFATM Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria

GIZ Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

GNI Gross National Income

IDA International Development Association

IDEA Office of Innovation and Development Alliances

IMF International Monetary Fund

JAST Joint Assistance Strategy for Tanzania

KfW Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau

KOICA Korea International Cooperation Agency
MCC Millennium Challenge Corporation
NGO Non-Governmental Organisation
ODA Official Development Assistance

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

REPOA Research on Poverty Alleviation
TAS Tanzania Assistance Strategy

UN-DESA UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs
USAID United States Agency for International Development

WHO World Health Organization

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Most of the input that we received for this research project came from interviews with development partners, foundation representatives, government representatives, foundation grantees, and other stakeholders that were conducted during a visit to Tanzania in August, 2011, during a preparatory phase in Germany in late 2011, and during the field stay in Tanzania. We would like to sincerely thank all of our interview partners for setting aside time to discuss the research topic with us, and for sharing their knowledge and experiences both in informal background conversations and during more formal interview sessions.

Finally, we wish to thank the individuals who attended our workshop in Dar es Salaam on April 20 for offering feedback on our preliminary findings that informed the further development of our thinking on the subject.

Summary

Private foundations are among the so-called 'new' actors in international development that have the potential to provide additional and alternative sources of financing for development and introduce innovative models of providing development assistance. At the same time, these actors may present challenges to the OECD-DAC (OECD Development Assistance Committee) community and partner governments by introducing competing priorities or modes of implementation and adding to existing coordination hurdles. Recognizing the potential contribution that new actors can make to achieving development goals, the traditional OECD-DAC donor community has sought to expand dialogue with these players under the umbrella of an emerging Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation, an extension of efforts to improve aid and development effectiveness.

Although private foundations have attracted growing interest in the development policy community, there is still a limited information base on the nature of the priorities of foundations in development, their modes of implementing assistance, their relationships with developing country partners, and their relationships with official aid programmes. To address these deficits, this study assesses how private foundations provide development assistance in the context of a single country: Tanzania. Using common claims appearing in the literature on foundation engagement in international development as a guide, the study examined stakeholder perceptions on the character of foundation work in interviews with development partners, foundation representatives, government representatives, and foundation grantees in a field study conducted in Tanzania between February and April, 2012.

The portrait of private foundations in global development

Private foundations are commonly defined as non-governmental, non-profit organisations that are self-sustaining due to an endowment and accountable to the organisation's board of directors. The presence of an endowment is considered to be a feature that distinguishes foundations from other private actors and is the source of several claims about the qualities of foundation engagement in international development, including that foundations can take more risks or adopt a longer-term

perspective in comparison to other aid providers. In reality, not all organisations that are labeled foundations have an endowment. Many corporate foundations depend instead on regular allotments from their founding companies, while other foundations may receive financing from diverse external sources such as OECD DAC donors or contributions from individuals. These organisational variations present a complication in considering private foundations as a unique and homogenous group of actors in development cooperation.

Reflecting the perceived growing international orientation of foundation giving in the last decade, organisations including the OECD DAC, the US-based Foundation Center, the European Foundation Centre, and the Hudson Institute have sought to compile data on foundation funding for global development in recent years. On the basis of available data, foundations were estimated to provide between USD 7 billion and USD 9.5 billion in 2009 for development globally, reflecting a small sum in comparison to Official Development Assistance (ODA) figures. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is the source of a significant share of this funding, disbursing volumes of aid that are comparable to annual spending of official donors such as Belgium, Denmark, or Switzerland on its own. The large scale of funding from the Gates Foundation as well as the agenda-setting role that it plays in its priority areas have thus made this particular organisation a focal point in the debate on foundations in development cooperation. In spite of efforts to improve the extent of data coverage on foundation giving for global development overall, estimates remain incomplete at the global level. A similar information deficit exists in examining foundation funding directed to specific countries.

The assertion that private foundations are significant aid providers was one of several claims on foundation engagement in development cooperation that this study assessed in the Tanzanian context. Positive assumptions on the character of foundation work that are commonly repeated include that these organisations tend to support innovation and seek to fill niches where other actors have not provided adequate financing. Other claims about foundation engagement imply a mixed judgment on their development contributions. Because of their financial independence, foundations are presumed to have a distant relationship to partner governments and official donor coordination structures. This detachment from the world of official development assistance may be beneficial in

terms of addressing neglected issues but might also lead to unnecessary duplication of activities and place strains on country-level capacities for aid management.

Foundations, especially those established in the last two decades, are often considered to promote an approach to providing assistance guided by the application of business principles, translating into a focus on direct engagement and assessing the effectiveness of interventions. While the business approach to development advanced by foundations can be viewed positively as a source of efficiency, it has also invited criticism that it might lead to the neglect of systemic concerns. Finally, existing work on private foundations in development highlights competing claims concerning the relationship between grant-making foundations and their grantees, raising the question of whether foundation engagement has a supply-driven or demand-driven character in particular.

This study examined whether private foundations operate in a manner consistent with how they are portrayed in the debate on foundations as development cooperation actors. In a first step, the research team sought to document the foundations that have provided support for development work in Tanzania in recent years based on internet research. In a second step, the research team relied on semi-structured interviews with stakeholders to examine how foundation assistance was perceived in Tanzania.

Overview of research findings from Tanzania

A main finding from this research project is that the distinction between private foundations and other aid providers is not evident to many stakeholders. The difficulty of distinguishing foundations from other actors can have several sources. First, foundations are not perceived to form part of a foundation community and do not have a national umbrella platform that might increase their level of cooperation with other foundations and their visibility. Second, many foundations have a limited country presence. This suggests that their footprints in the country are likely to be visible only indirectly through the work of implementing organisations. At the same time, their limited presence may also account for the conflation of foundations with other aid providers such as development partners or non-governmental organisations that have more substantial country-level representation. Third, distinguishing foundations from other groups of

development cooperation actors is difficult due to heterogeneity among foundations. This study identified a variety of foundation organisational models, including organisations following the classical definition of a foundation with an endowment, corporate foundations dependent on regular contributions from a company, foundations relying on a mixture of funding from public and private sources, and foundations by name that are NGOs dependent on fundraising.

Finally, it may be difficult to distinguish foundations as a group of development actors for the simple reason that they share many characteristics with other aid providers and that claims related to foundation engagement also apply to NGOs or development partners. This difficulty in distinguishing private foundations from other development cooperation actors introduced grounds for caution in interpreting findings related to the assessment of general claims on the character of foundation engagement in Tanzania.

This study compiled figures on resource flows to the country from 40 of 125 foundations identified as supporting development work in Tanzania. Drawing on published data on country-level disbursements, information from interviews with foundation representatives and grantees, and responses to a general email inquiry, annual private foundation funding for development in Tanzania can be estimated to be at the level of USD 45 million at a minimum. Even though this figure can be considered a low estimate given that the foundations that are thought to disburse the largest sums to the country are not included, it suggests that the significance of foundation support to Tanzania is comparable to aid provided by single mid-sized donors in the country such as Finland or Ireland. Numerous issues complicate efforts to assess the scale of private foundation giving at the country level. Foundation support may often be channeled through international governmental or non-governmental organisations and foundations may pursue a regional rather than country-level orientation in their programming. Foundation reporting on country-level financial flows also appears to be limited.

Consistent with positive claims on the character of foundation engagement, many stakeholders emphasized that foundations promote innovation in the Tanzanian context by supporting the introduction of new approaches, new technologies, or new financing tools. One reflection of foundation support for innovation is their interest in financing pilot pro-

jects that other development actors can replicate and scale up. Foundations are also perceived to provide financing that fills niches at the country level, either by complementing the work of the government where policies have not been put into practice because of a lack of funding or know-how or by addressing neglected topics in development cooperation.

While foundations are perceived to maintain independence from national development cooperation structures, this study also suggests that foundations do not avoid alignment with national development strategies and are not averse to coordinating their efforts with other aid providers. However, foundations also vary in terms of how closely they engage with governmental actors and development partners.

With respect to alignment to the national development strategy, there are cases where private foundations consider their work to be closely aligned to governmental priorities at the national level and cases where foundations operate independently of governmental development frameworks, reflecting the diversity within the foundation sector. One challenge in assessing the fit between foundation priorities and national priorities is the broad character of national development goals and the generally narrow character of foundation investments. Foundation alignment with governmental priorities was also not always considered to be essential given that foundations may be able to address gaps in governmental strategies.

Below the level of formal alignment, foundations can work to improve the consistency of their funding choices with national priorities through interactions with governmental officials. Contact between foundations and government representatives takes place at various levels, including at the highest level of government for high-profile organisations. Foundations active in specific sectors may have working relationships with individuals in relevant line ministries or regular interactions with specialized public agencies. This study also identified examples of cooperation with government at the sub-national level where many foundation-financed projects are implemented.

In spite of these examples, one finding from interviews with government representatives was that there does not appear to be a high level of awareness about foundation-financed activities in the country among governmental actors. This low awareness may have numerous sources, including deficits in information sharing between foundations and governmental

actors, between development partners with an awareness of foundation activities and the government, or between different levels of government within Tanzania.

Similar to the portrait of alignment, while this study found that foundations interact with development partners at the level of information exchange and in select cases implement joint projects with other aid providers, it did not find evidence of a stronger degree of harmonisation reflected in common programming. Foundation engagement with bilateral and multilateral development partners in Tanzania takes place at different levels. Prior to providing funding in the country, foundations may approach development partners to obtain information about the local development context. In some cases, foundations have also participated intermittently in sector-level dialogue with other aid providers. While increased coordination based on improved information exchange is considered welcome among development partners, some interview respondents also stressed that integrating foundations into bureaucratic aid coordination processes might detract from the flexibility and innovative quality of foundation work. Closer coordination may also be inhibited by the small size of many foundations compared to bilateral and multilateral donors, the lack of a country presence, and the narrow thematic focus of foundation activities. At another level, foundations may partner with development partners as co-financiers of projects or as implementing partners. Because private foundations and public aid providers in many cases support the work of the same implementing partners, this study indicated that efforts on the part of private foundations and public aid providers to standardize administrative procedures would be welcome among grantees.

In line with the common portrait of private foundation engagement in global development, the majority of foundations and many grantees interviewed in Tanzania affirmed the importance of business principles for foundation work, positively associating a business approach with measurable indicators of success, returns on investment, calculated risk-taking, and financial sustainability. Effectiveness, efficiency, and flexibility in disbursing funding and adapting to proposed grantee changes in the course of a project cycle were also mentioned in this context. One general downside that was identified in relation to the business approach was possible impatience with long-term development processes and the potential for funding priorities to shift suddenly, placing implementing

partners in a difficult position. Stakeholder interviews also confirmed the characterization of private foundations as narrowly focused in their work, a quality that stems not only from the small scale of foundation financing but also from an interest in observing impacts or leveraging investments to promote broader changes. This narrow focus was not perceived to mean that foundations neglect systemic issues, however, as many foundations appear to recognize the value of considering holistic development approaches.

Finally, many private foundations are considered to be responsive to the needs expressed by grantee organisations and appear to have an engaged relationship with grantees even when foundations do not have a field presence. They also support capacity development in grantee organisations in many cases. However, the demand-driven quality of foundation engagement does not seem to be as strong with respect to grantee selection, as many foundation implementing partners are selected due to informal networking or strategic choices made by foundations rather than via open application processes.

Concluding considerations for stakeholders and areas for further research

The final section of this report discusses lessons from the analysis related to three main topics: improving information exchange on foundation-funded activities, capitalizing on the business orientation of foundation engagement, and improving the conditions for the organisations that foundations fund.

Obtaining more accurate information on foundation engagement can allow other development actors to learn from approaches that foundations have tested in their focal areas, to identify potential partners, and to assess the complementary character of their work within the national development cooperation context. Given that private foundations often seek to assume a niche-filling role, it is also in their interest to better publicize their funding flows to ensure that additional resources are reaching areas where investment is needed and has been lacking. At the country level, this study revealed that the Government of Tanzania and its development partners do not have a systematic overview of resources provided to the country by non-governmental actors more generally. Increased financial reporting from foundations to the national aid management platform as

well as greater use of mapping exercises within specific sectors that include private aid providers should help the government to identify underfunded areas and obtain a basis for clearly expressing preferences on where additional funding from foundations should be directed. Another dimension of information exchange relates to foundation participation in aid dialogue processes. While it is likely unrealistic to expect small foundations without a country presence to engage extensively in dialogue processes, governmental actors can establish guidelines for when foundations would be expected to participate in aid dialogue, for example distinguishing expectations by the level of financing provided by different actors.

The business orientation of foundation engagement presents an opportunity to development stakeholders in that it opens an avenue for engagement with private sector actors more broadly, which may contribute additional resources and ideas and mobilize new networks for development. In practice, business-oriented actors and many other development assistance providers share an interest in topics such as results-based management and risk management which can be a basis for dialogue and mutual learning.

This study also identified room for improvement in foundation relationships with grantees related to how cooperation is initiated and the administrative burden that grantees experience in implementing projects. Given their interest in supporting innovative work, private foundations can be encouraged to make more use of open application processes. Regional foundation associations can potentially play a role in consolidating information about available foundation funding to increase the chances for grantee organisations to identify relevant funders. Although foundation administrative requirements were often considered to be lean in comparison to other types of aid providers, because many grantees receive funding from multiple sources, differences in reporting requirements can add to existing capacity constraints. As a result, greater cooperation among private foundations and between foundations and other types of aid providers to standardize reporting processes would be fruitful.

Finally, this study also identified several areas where research on private foundations in development cooperation could be pursued further. First, researchers could probe the compatibility of concepts that are used by both private foundations and traditional aid providers to describe their

work. Both foundations and OECD-DAC aid providers emphasize the importance of innovation and results-based aid, for example, so there is room to explore whether there are similarities or differences in how these concepts are applied by different actors in practice. Second, researchers could further examine the linkages between corporate foundations and their parent companies, not only to discern the influence of the business on the development work on the foundation but also to determine whether foundations transmit ideas to parent firms that inform how corporations engage in developing countries. Third, future research could examine the issue of organisational diversity among foundations and other development actors in more detail to assess whether and how the organisational set-up of assistance providers influences the nature of development results.

1 Introduction: Foundations as new actors in international development

The diversification of the donor landscape is one changing facet of development cooperation. So-called 'new' actors in international development have the potential not only to provide alternative sources of resources for developing countries, but also to introduce innovative models for providing assistance and to create opportunities for new forms of partnerships with more traditional development cooperation actors. At the same time, the proliferation of actors may present challenges to the OECD-DAC (OECD Development Assistance Committee) community and partner governments by introducing competing priorities or modes of implementation and adding to existing coordination hurdles.

Private foundations are among the development actors attracting growing interest in development policy circles. Interest in the development role of foundations is more broadly linked to increasing attention to private sector development contributions among donors and developing country governments (Davies 2011). At a global level, the 2002 Monterrey Consensus and 2008 Doha Declaration on Financing for Development highlighted the need for increased private resource mobilisation from international sources to address development challenges (United Nations 2003; 2008). While efforts to increase private resource mobilization are not considered a substitute for upholding donor commitments to increasing Official Development Assistance (ODA), the impetus for attracting a larger private sector contribution to support development goals has grown as OECD-DAC donors have faced mounting budgetary constraints. The overall scale of foundation giving for global development activities, estimated to lie between USD 7 and 9.5 billion, nevertheless remains modest in relation to global ODA volumes (Edwards 2011).

Together with state actors like Brazil, China, India, and South Africa, private foundations fall under the broad label of 'non-DAC development assistance providers' that the OECD-DAC community increasingly seeks to include in a 'Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation' as an extension of efforts to improve aid effectiveness (OECD-DAC 2011b). While resource flows from foundations are considered to be similar in nature to ODA, there is still uncertainty about how compatible foundation giving is with the principles for effective aid delivery outlined in the Paris

Declaration and Accra Agenda for Action emphasizing country ownership of development strategies, the alignment of external flows with recipient priorities, and the need for improved coordination among aid providers. As with other non-DAC donors, this uncertainty results not only from diversity among actors in this category, but also from limitations in the availability and transparency of data on overall volumes, priorities, and modes of implementation of foundation sector engagement in global development (Prada / Casabonne / Bezanson 2010)

In spite of the perceived affinity between ODA from OECD-DAC aid providers and development financing from private foundations, explicit donor strategies for engaging with foundations appear to be scarce. Engagement with private sector actors instead generally focuses on the non-governmental organisations and business actors that either implement a share of ODA programmes or rely on support from donors to advance business goals such as increasing exports or developing partnerships with firms in developing countries. Bilateral and multilateral donors may often lump foundations together with other categories of actors with different organisational logics. In example, the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN-DESA) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) consider foundations to be civil society organisations.1

Foundations are part of a large and heterogeneous philanthropic sector that includes a variety of non-governmental actors.² Some foundations have invested in global development for decades: the Rockefeller Foundation's support of the agricultural research that contributed to the Green Revolution in Asia and Latin America is illustrative of this (OECD-DAC 2003). Other organisations have entered the development business only recently. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has provided development-related funding for just over a decade; its large financial footprint has helped to bring the foundation sector into the international spotlight. The foundation sector in-

See http://www.un.org/en/civilsociety/index.org; http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/ pdf/civ.pdf.

² Foundation giving is considered to be a form of philanthropy, a term also used to refer to a broad range of activities outside of the scope of the present study including personal philanthropy through platforms such as Kiva which enable person-to-person giving (see http://www.kiva.org). The terms "philanthropic foundation" and "private foundation" are often used interchangeably. Because philanthropy generally connotes altruism, however, the remainder of this report uses the more specific and neutral term "private foundation" to reference the actors that are the object of study.

cludes both organisations founded by wealthy individuals and organisations established by private firms. It also has an international character, including foundations from Europe and developing countries alongside prominent American foundations (Lundsgaarde 2010).

Numerous claims exist about the nature of foundation engagement in global development, including that these organisations are more efficient, results-oriented, and innovative compared to traditional aid providers (Hudson Institute 2010). These positive claims are tied to the perception that their integration of business principles in development practice fosters more successful development outcomes. However, as foundation giving has grown in scale, so too has scrutiny about the activities of these aid providers. Criticism has emerged about the nature of the interests they pursue, their accountability, management capacities, the sustainability of engagement, and the effectiveness of interventions, among other concerns (Edwards 2009; 2010; Srivastava / Oh 2010).

There is still a limited knowledge base on the nature of the priorities of foundations in development, their modes of implementing assistance, their relationships with developing country partners, and their relationships with official aid programmes. To address these deficits, this study assesses how private foundations provide development assistance in the context of a single country: Tanzania. Given strained donor budgets, the potential for future growth in the foundation sector, and continuing reflection on how to make ODA redundant in the long-term, generating additional information on the activities that foundations fund and how they operate can provide partner governments and aid providers with cues on how to adapt to the diversifying actor landscape in development cooperation.

To analyse the role of private foundations in development cooperation in Tanzania, this report proceeds as follows. Chapter 2 introduces the features of private foundations that are generally considered to distinguish them from other actors and outlines the state of knowledge on the scale and character of their engagement in development cooperation. The chapter situates the study in the existing literature on private foundations in development cooperation and discusses the main claims concerning the character of foundation engagement that appear in this literature. Chapter 3 outlines the research question guiding the study and elaborates on the research process, and chapter 4 presents findings derived from an assessment of key claims on the quality of foundation engagement in development cooperation. A final

chapter (Chapter 5) presents issues for consideration for key stakeholders and identifies avenues for further research.

2 Private foundations in development cooperation

Private foundations are portrayed as a new group of actors with unique attributes increasingly active in development cooperation. This chapter outlines the defining features of private foundations (2.1) and describes their increasing engagement in development cooperation, illustrated by the scale of their financial contributions (2.2). In a final section, this chapter summarizes prominent claims concerning the nature of private foundations and their engagement in development cooperation (2.3).

2.1 Definition of private foundations

Most publications that provide a definition of private foundations use criteria laid out in 1956 by Frank Emerson Andrews who studied the societal role of private foundations in the United States. According to Andrews, a foundation is:

"a nongovernmental, non-profit organization having a principal fund of its own, managed by its own trustees or directors, and established to maintain or aid social, educational, charitable, religious, or other activities serving the common welfare" (Andrews 1956, 11).

This classic definition stresses that foundations are part of the non-governmental sphere and have a mission to contribute to the common good. Many other types of organisations share these characteristics. The element of this definition considered to make foundations a *distinct* category of actors is that each foundation has "a principal fund of its own." According to the classic definition, this principal fund is an initial endowment made by the founding individual or family which is then used to generate resources for the foundation through interest or other investment income. Such an endowment is presumed to be a secure source of income. Other actors, in contrast, are considered to be dependent on external resource allocations. For example, classic NGOs do not have an endowment and are therefore dependent on fundraising from governments, individuals, private foundations or others. An additional source of income can be membership contributions.

Bilateral donor governments are dependent on funding from taxpayers allocated in a national budgetary process, while multilateral donors are mainly dependent on allocations from governments.

In addition to fostering financial independence, an endowment is presumed to make private foundations exclusively accountable to their own boards of trustees or directors. Other types of organisations, in contrast, are also considered to be accountable to external actors. While bilateral donors are accountable to their parliaments and tax-payers, NGOs and multilateral donors are accountable to their members and funders.

Beyond this common definition, foundations have commonly been distinguished by type. The distinctions made between grant-making and operational foundations on the one hand and between personal or family foundations and corporate foundations on the other provide relevant groupings for foundations active in development cooperation. These basic distinctions are useful as a way to broadly classify private foundations without detailed knowledge about their financing models and internal governance structures.

Grant-making and operational foundations: Foundations can be distinguished by whether they exclusively give grants to other organisations or whether they assume responsibility for programme or project implementation themselves (CSI 2008). Even with an administrative structure for implementation in place, operational foundations may still provide grants to external organisations. In development cooperation, grant-making foundations usually operate from their headquarters in their country of origin, while operational foundations additionally have an office or a representative in the country in which the activities take place.

Personal/family and corporate foundations: This distinction relates to the origin of a foundation, i.e. the character of its founder. Personal or family foundations are foundations set up by an individual or a family. For Andrews, this group of foundations typically included small entities with limited administrative structures that in rare cases became more significant in their reach over time (Andrews 1956). Corporate foundations are established by companies. While there may be various linkages between corporate foundations and their founding firms, giving channelled via corporate foundations has been distinguished from other forms of corporate giving because the foundation as an organisational form is considered to be independent from its parent company (CSI 2008). The founder, whether an individual or a

corporation, typically not only provides the financial resources to establish a foundation, but also determines the foundation's focus and field of activity.

Though the presence of an endowment is considered to be a common property of private foundations and the source of their financial independence, this research project indicated that Andrews' definition should be regarded as an ideal type. In reality, not all organisations that call themselves foundations and are regarded as foundations by other stakeholders actually have the characteristics Andrews outlines. The endowment in particular may be non-existent or one source of financing among others.³ Nevertheless, some foundations which do not have an endowment might still have a secure resource base, in particular corporate foundations that benefit from regular allotments from their founding companies. In most of these cases, the accountability mechanism is still an internal one so that the foundation is not accountable to the company but only to the foundation's board of trustees or directors. Other organisations call themselves foundations, but do not have an endowment and do not have a merely internal accountability mechanism. They rather share the characteristics of NGOs which usually have to engage in fundraising in order to finance their activities and which therefore are not only internally accountable to their own board, but also externally accountable to their sponsors. Contrasted with the classic definition, these organisations can be considered foundations by name (see 4.1).4

2.2 The growing engagement of private foundations in development cooperation

Traditionally, private foundations have had a local focus, funding libraries, schools or hospitals in their cities and countries of origin (Anheier / Daly 2007, 9). Their growing engagement in development cooperation is a recent

³ As an example, the development funding provided by the Clinton Foundation stems in large part from donations varying widely in scale from diverse public and private actors, including governments, other foundations, and private individuals (Youde 2011).

⁴ As a further complication to this picture, development NGOs such as the German organisation Welthungerhilfe and the American organisation Heifer International have established endowments managed under a dedicated foundation in order to increase predictability in funding to support their organisational goals. See http://welthungerhilfe.de/4075. html; http://www.heiferfoundation.org.

trend. Over the past two decades, more and more foundations have started to go abroad and provide funding to developing countries. On the basis of a survey of grant-making trends among US-based foundations, the Foundation Center noted that between 2002 and 2006, foundation funding for health initiatives increased by 159 per cent, while funding for international development and relief work increased more than threefold (Foundation Center 2008). These areas registered the fastest rates of growth in international foundation giving.

The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is the largest foundation engaging in development cooperation in financial terms and has been at the centre of attention in discussions about private foundations in international development. The Gates Foundation accounted for nearly all of the growth in foundation funding for global health and almost half of the growth in US foundation funding for international development and relief work between 2002 and 2006 (Foundation Center 2008). With an endowment of USD 36.3 billion, its annual grant disbursement amounted to USD 2.6 billion in 2009. As a development assistance provider, the Gates Foundation was thus in a league with OECD-DAC donor countries such as Switzerland (USD 2.3 billion), Denmark (USD 2.4 billion) and Belgium (USD 3.0 billon) in 2009. In 2011, the Gates Foundation began reporting its annual global health spending to the OECD-DAC, facilitating comparisons of its investments with those of other aid providers (Smith 2011).

The Gates Foundation plays an especially prominent role in the field of global public health, where over 60 per cent of its grants are directed (Gates Foundation 2011, 1). As table 1 indicates, it has been one of the top donors in the health sector in recent years. In 2009 and 2010, its aid commitments in this area were similar in scale to health funding provided by the US government and accounted for roughly 14 per cent of total funding in the sector from donors reporting to the DAC (OECD 2012a). Due to the scale of its financial resources and its broader agenda-setting role in the areas in which it provides assistance, the Gates Foundation has attracted special scrutiny and been a focal point of the debate on the role of private foundations in development cooperation (McCoy / McGoey 2011; Faubion / Paige / Pearson 2011). Given its financial weight, however, it is clear that the Gates Foundation is an exception in the foundation landscape and should not be regarded as representative of the foundation sector in general.

Table 1: Donor funding for health, 20	009 and 2010 (U	JSD million)	ı
Donor	2009	2010	Total
Global Fund	1272.05	1458.38	2730.43
United States	1095.96	1478.43	2574.39
Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation	1379.27	1193.98	2573.25
IDA (World Bank)	485.22	830.97	1316.19
United Kingdom	598.86	698.44	1297.30
European Union Institutions	516.28	665.05	1181.33
Canada	575.98	587.17	1163.15
GAVI	444.88	710.91	1155.79
WHO	398.59	339.46	738.05
Japan	298.91	388.37	687.28
DAC Donor Total	4984.31	5077.69	10062.00
All Reporting Donors	8747.77	9849.61	18597.38
Note: This table lists the most significant	icant aid provid	ers in the hea	lth sector.
Source: OECD 2012a			

Discourse on the role of private foundations and other private philanthropists in international development suggests that foundations spend high amounts for development activities and are newly emerging powerful actors in this field (Brainard / LaFleur 2008; Hudson Institute 2011). However, a closer look at the figures reveals that the empirical basis for such assumptions is rather thin.

Comparative data on foundations and their engagement in development cooperation is hardly available and may be flawed for a number of reasons. First, contrary to public perception, most foundations (whether they engage in development cooperation or not) are rather small. Because of their small size, many foundations only have limited capacities for financial reporting (Witte 2008, 12). The identification of private foundations itself is a second obstacle. Depending on the width of the definition used and the variety of legal forms that foundations can take in various countries, researchers may come to different conclusions on the relative importance of foundations for development cooperation.⁵ Third, in most countries there are no central foundation registers and foundations have limited obligations for financial disclosure.⁶ This is true for many European countries. In the US, foundations are categorized as so-called 501(3)c organisations that have to publish their annual tax declarations

In spite of these challenges, various organisations have tried to capture the volume of foundation giving. The most important organisations trying to collect data on private foundations and their scale of engagement in development cooperation are the OECD-DAC, the US-based Foundation Center, the European Foundation Centre and the US-based Hudson Institute. As summarized in table 2, these organisations differ in their data coverage and in their data collection method. The data sets hint at the structure and scale of foundation giving in development, but unfortunately none of them draws a complete picture.

OECD-DAC: The OECD-DAC does not exclusively look at foundations but analyses private voluntary agencies in general. It draws on figures that are reported by OECD members on a regular basis. These statistics, however, are sometimes incomplete or even nonexistent because they are based on "voluntary and outdated surveys of all non-governmental organizations" (Hudson Institute 2011, 16).

Foundation Center: The Foundation Center regards itself as "the most authoritative source of information on private philanthropy in the United States" (Foundation Center 2010) and maintains a grants database that can

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⁵ For example: Adelman 2009, drawing on OECD data, looks at "private philanthropy" which includes foundations, but also corporations, private and voluntary organisations, universities and colleges, and religious organisations, and then comes to the conclusion that US private philanthropy accounts for 16 per cent of the US total economic engagement with developing countries (Adelman 2009, 26).

⁶ Despite the general perception that foundations show little willingness to increase their transparency, various umbrella associations such as the European Foundation Center have brought forward codes of conduct that their members can sign on a voluntary basis (Witte 2008).

be accessed online.⁷ This database includes 76,545 US-based foundations, among them 2,733 corporate foundations, and thereby accounts for about half of all US foundation giving. Due to the financial reporting obligations for foundations in the US, the grants database is a fairly sound resource. Comparable databases do not exist for European foundations.

European Foundation Centre: One source of data on European foundation giving is the European Foundation Centre, which has conducted surveys in 2003-5 and 2006-8 in 14 European countries, including a total of 58,588 foundations (EFC 2007). Data on international spending of these private foundations, however, is only available for 6 countries.

Hudson Institute: The Hudson Institute has also attempted to determine the scale of development cooperation of private actors outside the US based on national documents, annual reports of foundations and interviews. However, for most of the 13 countries under examination, the institute only presents aggregate figures of philanthropic giving including not only foundation giving, but also donations made by individuals or by other non-governmental organisations (Hudson Institute 2011, 13 f.).

One recent estimate combining figures from those various data sets suggests that foundations worldwide provided between USD 7 billion and USD 9.5 billion for development-related activities in 2009, with two thirds of this total sum coming from US-based foundations (Edwards 2011). A study conducted by the Foundation Center arrives at a similar conclusion, reporting that US foundations spent USD 5.4 billion on international activities in 2007, including the impressive sum of USD 2.5 billion provided by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation alone (Foundation Center 2008). Drawing on data from the European Foundation Centre, Edwards estimates that about 12 per cent of all foundation spending in Europe went to "international development" in 2008 – a total of USD 1.75 billion (Edwards 2011, 5).

Edwards also compares his overall estimate to ODA spending, concluding that foundation spending amounted to under seven per cent of total ODA in 2009 (Edwards 2011, 5). The Foundation Center in turn stresses that there seems to be a trend that private resources spent on international develop-

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⁷ http://www. Foundationcenter.org/findfunders/statistics

Table 2:	Data on foundation giving in development cooperation	opment cooperation	
Institution	Institution Data coverage / scope	Data collection method	Numbers
OECD- DAC	Private voluntary agencies in OECD-DAC member states	Numbers are being reported annually to OECD-DAC by member states	Grants by private voluntary agencies: USD 22 billion (2009)
The Foundation Center	US foundations	Data taken from the Foundation Center's Grant Database which includes all grants of USD 10.000 or more made by 1.384 foundations (about one-half of all US foundation giving)	Total US international giving by private foundations: USD 6.7 billion (2009)
European Foundation Centre	Public-benefit foundations from Belgium, Finland, France, Hungary, Netherlands, Sweden and United Kingdom	National surveys conducted by members of the European Foundation Centre in 2003-2005 and 2006-2008; data analyzed and aggregated by EFC	Total international giving by European private foundations: USD 5.5 billion (2003/2006)
The Hudson Institute	US foundations Non-US foundations: Denmark, Finland, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom	Data on US Foundations: Foundation Centers Grant Database Data on non-US private international philanthropy: Various sources such as national documents, annual reports of foundations and interviews	Total US international giving by private foundations: USD 4.6 billion (2009) Total international giving by non-US private philanthropy (not specific to foundations): USD 15 billion (2009)
Source:	Own compilation		

ment are rising (Foundation Center 2010, 2). Whether this amount and this trend justify regarding foundations as newly emerging powerful actors remains open. Reflecting this point, the *Evaluation of the Paris Declaration (Phase 2)* indicates that "many of the claims pointing to a new age of private international philanthropy aimed at the poorest countries would seem to be highly inflated" (Wood et al. 2011, 11). At any rate, available figures make clear that the Gates Foundation is an exception among foundations active in development cooperation.

Apart from the general data on foundation giving that is provided by OECD-DAC and regional databases, some researchers have attempted to produce region and sector-specific overviews of foundation engagement, providing an impression of foundation priorities and the organisations receiving foundation grants for limited time periods. Foundation engagement in the health sector in Africa, for instance, has been analysed and mapped with regard to both European and US-based foundations (EFC 2003; AGAG 2004). Due to the focus on one sector and one region, these reports present a more detailed picture of foundation giving, but still suffer from weak data availability. Even when initiatives that have a global scope in examining foundation giving and more focused surveys are considered together, the information base concerning the scale of foundation engagement in international development remains quite incomplete.

2.3 The quality of foundation engagement in development cooperation: a review of the current debate

Private foundations in development cooperation have attracted growing interest among traditional donors, developing country governments, academia and the public over the last decade not only because they may contribute additional resources to global development efforts but also because they may support new approaches to providing assistance (Nelson 2008). In this respect, the discussion on the role of private foundations in development mirrors debates on the role of emerging state actors as aid providers, which are viewed as a source of alternative policy ideas in addition to being an increasingly important source of development finance (Zimmermann / Smith

⁸ This trend may also reflect the growth of the foundation sector itself. About half of all European foundations operating today were founded within the last 15 years (EFC 2008, 8). The same is true for US-based foundations.

2011). As a result, it is relevant to examine how foundations are perceived to provide assistance in addition to documenting the scale of their engagement. The following section introduces the discussion on the quality of foundation engagement in development cooperation which guided the research process.

2.3.1 Sources of the debate

The debate on the role and the quality of private foundation giving in development cooperation takes place on different levels. While there is a wealth of literature on the role foundations play in their own societies (see Anheier / Daly 2007), their role in development cooperation has only recently invited academic interest. One of the main publications on private foundations in development cooperation was published by the OECD-DAC in 2003 and remains a reference point for a variety of international institutions and academics (OECD-DAC 2003). Following on the OECD's 2003 study, the Hudson Institute's *Index of Global Philanthropy*, published annually since 2006, has also raised the visibility of the topic (Hudson Institute 2006). As suggested above, a main objective of the Hudson Institute's work on this subject has related to documenting the scale of private aid flows, with an initial emphasis on private giving from the United States.

The book *Philanthrocapitalism: How Giving Can Save the World* and related articles by Matthew Bishop and Michael Green from 2008 onward represent another reference point in the discussion of foundation approaches to providing development assistance (Bishop 2006; 2009; Bishop / Green 2010). Presenting numerous examples of foundation-financed initiatives, including many relating to prominent organisations such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Clinton Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation, Bishop and Green advance the idea that a new generation of private foundations characterized by a certain business approach to providing assistance is emerging with the capacity to tackle the most pressing problems worldwide (Bishop / Green 2010). This publication provoked critical responses especially by Michael Edwards who discussed the contributions and the characteristics of this new generation of private foundations in the book *Just Another Emperor? The Myths and Realities of Philanthrocapitalism* and several related treatments of the topic. In these texts, Ed-

⁹ The first time Bishop referred to the idea of philanthrocapitalism was in the article "The Birth of Philanthrocapitalism", published 2006 in the Economist (Bishop 2006).

wards raises doubts about the proven effectiveness and accountability of business-oriented philanthropy and the ability of philanthrocapitalists to address deep-seated social problems such as inequality (Edwards 2008a; 2008b; 2009; 2010; 2011).

Several other authors and practitioners have contributed to this debate. Consistent with concerns expressed by Edwards, Ramdas questions the contribution of philanthrocapitalists in promoting social transformation because of their support for economic models that enable inequality (Ramdas 2011). In a similar vein, Jenkins identifies numerous risks associated with the new generation of philanthropy, emphasizing its potential to shift the way that non-profit organisations pursue social change (Jenkins 2011). Other researchers have explored the general characteristics of the philanthrocapitalist approach and examined recent trends in foundation giving for development, stressing both the potential of the approaches promoted by foundations and challenges associated with the current generation of private aid providers (see Marten / Witte 2008; Plewes 2008; Brooks et al. 2009).

Parallel to the discussion on the new generation of foundations, the activities of foundations are more broadly portrayed and discussed in newspaper articles, thereby introducing their work to a broader public. Many of these articles focus on big foundations like the Bill and Melinda Gates and the Clinton Foundation or on foundations set up by celebrities such as Shakira's Barefoot Foundation (see among others McLean 2006; Rauch 2007; Albrecht 2008; Bunzenthal 2011; Grefe 2011). This suggests that popular perceptions of foundation involvement in global development may be shaped by an awareness about the work of a small number of high-profile organisations.

Foundations are also mentioned in national and international policy documents on development cooperation as part of an emerging group of actors in international development. The OECD-DAC, for instance, strives to include foundations in a "global partnership for international development co-operation" (OECD-DAC 2011b, 23). In the "DAC Global Relations Strategy," foundations are named as key development stakeholders alongside international organisations, the private sector and civil society organisations (OECD-DAC 2011a, 2). In a similar fashion, a Tanzanian policy document prepared in the lead up to the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan lists international foundations separately as relevant partners alongside civil society organisations, non-DAC donors and vertical funds as actors to include in the national aid dialogue (GoT 2011, 3). Apart from

identifying foundations as prospective partners for collaboration, however, these documents do not elaborate approaches for engagement that reflect any specificities of foundations as a group of actors. While foundations may be perceived as new important players in development cooperation by development stakeholders at national and international levels, actual knowledge on their approach to providing assistance is rather limited.

Some institutions have recognized this lack of systematic knowledge. In the lead up to the 2012 Development Cooperation Forum, for example, the UN Secretariat commissioned a study on private philanthropy designed to the knowledge base on the role of foundations in global development (ECOSOC 2012, 1). Around the same time, the British House of Commons published a report on the challenges and opportunities private foundations may present to the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) and other aid providers. Considering foundations as increasingly important players in international development, the report noted that the potential for foundations to contribute to innovation in development practice has not yet been fully tapped. The report also encouraged public donors to do more to involve private foundations in dialogue on global development issues (House of Commons 2012).

Finally, the debate on the quality of foundation engagement in development cooperation is also shaped by foundations themselves. Foundations may significantly influence the way they are perceived by development stakeholders and the public through their online presence, advocacy work, and interviews with the media

2.3.2 Assumptions on foundation engagement

In the debate on private foundations in development cooperation, numerous observers have either made bold claims about the comparative advantages of foundations or severely criticized their approach to providing assis-

¹⁰ In this context ECOSOC hosted a Special Policy Dialogue on "Private Philanthropic Organizations in International Development Cooperation: New Opportunities and Specific Challenges" in February, 2012.

tance.¹¹ Major claims concern the focus of foundations on innovation, their niche-filling function, their position towards the principles of the international aid effectiveness agenda, and their perceived lack of transparency and accountability. This section also discusses claims derived from the debate on the new generation of private foundations relating to their emphasis on applying business principles, their focus on specific problems, and foundation relationships with grantees.

Innovation: Several authors indicate that private foundations have distinct advantages in comparison to traditional donors and that they have already made important contributions to the field of development cooperation. One advantage that is commonly discussed in literature is that foundations appear to focus on innovation. The financial independence of foundations is considered to foster innovation, allowing them to take risks that traditional donors may be unwilling to take and to invest in projects that only produce results in the long-term (see OECD-DAC 2003, 11 ff.; Marten / Witte 2008, 16; Edwards 2011; Gates / Gates 2011; Bishop / Green 2010, 12). The role of foundations as innovators may imply support for the transfer of existing ideas into new fields, the identification of relevant new issue areas, or testing new approaches for addressing specific issues, for example via support for pilot projects (Anheier / Daly 2007).

A number of foundation activities have been put forward as noteworthy examples of innovative approaches in development cooperation that involved a higher risk. These include activities in the area of infectious disease control (e.g. the engagement in the fight against malaria of the Rockefeller Foundation, Nuffield Foundation, Wellcome Trust and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation), the support of the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations for the Green Revolution in Asia and Latin America as well as the Ford Foundation's initial support for the Grameen Bank of Muhammad Yunus (OECD-DAC 2003, 19 ff.; Marten / Witte 2008, 17; Edwards 2011, 7; Gates Foundation 2012b). These examples highlight that the innovation role of foundations may be associated with a willingness to fund controversial top-

¹¹ The role and engagement of philanthropic foundations in society have been critically examined for a long time. The *Commission on Industrial Relations*, established in 1915, provides an early example. This commission investigated the "legal status of general purpose foundations and their accountability to the public, their exemption from taxation, their impact on the institutions and research they funded, and the dangers of concentrating power in so few hands" (Arnove / Pinede 2007, 389 f.).

ics, an interest in supporting research and development, or the early application of new technologies (OECD-DAC 2003).

Notwithstanding these examples, some authors question whether foundations are really willing to take the risks that their financial independence allows. For example, existing evidence on the geographical distribution of foundation spending for global development indicates that they often show a preference for middle income countries like Brazil, China, India and South Africa over low income countries where risks would possibly be higher and rely heavily on implementing partners based in North America and Europe (Marten / Witte 2008, 17; Srivastava / Oh 2010, 466).

Innovation is also frequently used by foundation themselves to describe their work and their approach to providing assistance. The Rockefeller Foundation is even celebrating its centenary with the slogan "Innovation for the next 100 years" (Rockefeller Foundation 2012; see also Gates Foundation 2012c, Carnegie Foundation 2012). Foundation innovations may have a broader impact on development cooperation if the new ideas and approaches they introduce serve a demonstration function. Innovative foundation-funded initiatives may be taken over and scaled up by national governments or traditional donors once proven successful (Bishop / Green 2010, 282).

Niche-fillers: A second positive assertion on foundation engagement in literature relates to the perception that foundations occupy a special niche in development cooperation compared to other aid providers. Niches may relate to the kinds of projects foundations finance, for example projects with a more innovative character, or to issues or sectors that attract less attention from traditional donors (OECD-DAC 2003, 19 ff.; Bishop / Green 2010, 62; McCoy / McGoey 2011, 157; Gates Foundation 2012a). The niche-filling role of foundations may also be associated with funding intended to complement government investments, either by providing additional resources for underfunded government programmes or by creating partnerships with governmental actors to address particular problems (Anheier / Daly 2007). While some foundations may focus on issues that are underserved or neglected by traditional donors or national governments, Marten and Witte acknowledge that there are also foundations that work on the same issues as traditional donors, such as reproductive health or microfinance (Marten / Witte 2008, 26).

Alignment and harmonisation: A third issue discussed in the literature on private foundations in development cooperation focuses on their quality as

political actors and their position towards the international aid effectiveness agenda, which promotes country-level ownership of development priorities and processes and improved donor coordination in order to ensure that development cooperation achieves results.

Because foundations are considered to be financially independent and privately governed, some authors argue that foundations do not recognize a need to consider official relations and agreements and that they tend to characterize their own work as apolitical or neutral in character (Marten / Witte 2008, 15 f.; Srivastava / Oh 2010, 460 ff.; Edwards 2011, 3; Jenkins 2011, 767). This self-perception has invited criticism that foundations – like other private actors in development cooperation – may neither feel the necessity to align their funding with national development strategies nor to coordinate their activities with other development actors.

Independence from politics and governments can be viewed positively as it may allow foundations to focus on issues neglected by official development discourse and advance innovative and potentially unpopular ideas. Viewed more cautiously, the detachment from governments and official coordination structures and a stronger focus on close cooperation with non-state actors bears the risk of creating parallel implementation structures as well as duplicating and interfering with other strategies, programmes and projects (Marten / Witte 2008, 15 ff.; Edwards 2011, 3 f.). Foundation funding may generally contribute to fragmentation in the development cooperation landscape and place strains on country-level capacities (McCoy / McGoey 2011, 152). In this sense, foundations may hamper efforts by the OECD-DAC community to make aid more effective. Although these aspects are critically discussed in the literature on foundations, researchers also acknowledge that a limited or nonexistent field presence may complicate efforts to integrate foundations into development cooperation structures. In addition, the integration of too many foundations, especially the numerous smaller ones, may overburden already complicated coordination structures and limit the flexibility and innovative potential of foundations (Marten / Witte 2008, 18 ff.).

Business approach: As mentioned above, much of the recent literature on private foundations in development cooperation focuses on the new generation of private foundations which is said to pursue a certain business approach to providing assistance. In this discussion, the role of private foundations in development is often discussed alongside business-oriented de-

velopment financing taking other forms, such as corporate giving that is not channeled through a dedicated foundation or corporate business models intended to promote social development goals (Brainard / LaFleur 2008). This generation is commonly associated with the term "philanthrocapitalism" and related concepts such as social entrepreneurship, strategic philanthropy, and venture philanthropy. ¹² The debate on the new generation of foundations draws attention to their presumed business approach to development, their perceived self-understanding as problem solvers, their relationship with grantees, their focus on measurable results and their visibility in the media.

Foundations considered to be part of a new generation of foundations are said to take an approach to providing assistance that integrates business and market principles, translating into a strong focus on direct engagement, efficiency, and effectiveness, including an emphasis on developing measurable indicators of success and (social) returns on investment within a specified timeframe. Foundations associated with this new generation are often founded and managed by successful entrepreneurs who want to tackle the world's most pressing problems and aspire to bring the strategies that made them successful in business to the world of international development (Plewes 2008; Brooks et al. 2009, 9 f.; Bishop / Green 2010, 2 ff.; Edwards 2011, 8; Jenkins 2011, 754 f.; McCoy / McGoey 2011, 146 f.). In pursuing a business-oriented approach to giving, this new generation of funders is considered to seek a departure from traditional forms of philanthropic practice (Bishop / Green 2010; Lundsgaarde 2010). For corporate foundations, the application of business principles to philanthropic practice may also imply a stronger linkage between foundation activities and corporate strategy (Jarvis / Goldberg 2008).

Although the new business approach to foundation engagement in development cooperation has been characterized as a promising alternative to more traditional forms of providing assistance (Adelman 2009, 30; Bishop / Green 2010; Clinton 2010), it has also provoked critical responses question-

¹² For more details on the concept of philanthrocapitalism see Bishop / Green (2010). This term is widely used and associated mainly with the integration of market principles into private giving practices. However, how 'philanthrocapitalism' actually differs in practice from the development assistance approaches of a variety of other actors including OECD DAC donors has been understudied.

ing the qualities of the business approach and its implications for the field.¹³ As Edwards suggests, for example, the business approach to giving may privilege particular types of development goals at the expense of others such as strengthening institutions that can be critical for long-term development success (Edwards 2008a).

Problem solvers: Another element of the self-perception of the new generation of funders is that they pursue a problem solving approach to giving. Philanthrocapitalists presumably focus their work rather on the most acute and in their view most important problems than on long-term societal change (Marten / Witte 2008, 15 ff.; Brooks et al. 2009, 9; Bishop / Green 2010, 30 ff.; Edwards 2011, 8). The following quote from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation aptly illustrates this self-perception:

"We focus on only a few issues because we think that's the best way to have great impact, and we focus on these issues in particular because we think they are the biggest barriers that prevent people from making the most of their lives" (Gates / Gates 2011).¹⁴

Although a strategic and problem-focused approach often promises measurable results – which are considered to be a central aim for many foundations as well as other development actors – some critics argue that this focus may lead to the neglect of systemic issues and result in a preference for vertically organised programmes. These vertically organised programmes in turn may lead to the creation of parallel implementation structures and weaken public systems (Marten / Witte 2008, 15 ff.; Edwards 2011, 8 f.; McCoy / McGoey 2011, 151 ff.).

At a global level, the association of private foundations with vertical programming is linked to the prominent role that the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has played as a funder for the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (GFATM) and the GAVI Alliance. As of 2011, the Gates Foundation had pledged USD 1.4 billion for commitment periods up to 2015 to the Global Fund, accounting for approximately 80 per cent of pledges from private sources on its own. Given the dominance of public

Some scholars also question the novelty of the business approach. For example, McCoy and McGoey note that the Rockefeller Foundation – similar to the new generation of foundations – has been pursuing a strategic, problem-focused and results-oriented approach to philanthropic giving for decades (McCoy / McGoey 2011, 147; see also Marten / Witte 2008, 14 f.; Katz 2005).

¹⁴ For a similar statement see Ford Foundation 2012.

financing for the GFATM, however, contributions from the Gates Foundation to the fund represented only about 3.5 per cent of total contributions reported by 2011 (GFATM 2011). The role of the Gates Foundation in the GAVI Alliance has been more significant, with foundation pledges or contributions to the organisation up to 2012 amounting to some 16 per cent of total pledges and contributions (GAVI 2012).

Relations with grantees: The relationship between foundations and their grantees represents another point of controversy in the discussion on the changing quality of foundation modes of operation. A common assertion is that foundations have traditionally made efforts to strengthen the infrastructure of social change and tackle the root causes of social problems. In pursuing the long-term objective of societal transformation, foundations tended to support actors and institutions capable of contributing to systemic change and put an emphasis on bottom-up strategies (OECD-DAC 2003, 15 f.; Arnove / Pinede 2007, 392; Edwards 2011, 1 ff.). Jenkins argues that this traditionally entailed a relationship between foundations and their grantees that could be characterized as "a coequal partnership" (Jenkins 2011, 769, see also Edwards 2011, 7). This preference for a responsive model of grant-making emphasizing initiatives on the ground is also reflected in the following statement by the Ford Foundation, a representative of the older generation of foundations:

"We believe the best way to achieve these goals is to encourage initiatives by those living and working closest to where problems are located; to promote collaboration among the nonprofit, government and business sectors; and to ensure participation by men and women from diverse communities and all levels of society" (Ford Foundation 2012).

In contrast, Jenkins argues that the business approach associated with the new generation of foundations has influenced and significantly altered the relationship between foundations and their grantees:

"[A]lthough donors have always had a certain degree of disproportionate control in grantor-grantee relationships, this new movement, with its use of cutting-edge language about strategy and effectiveness, exacerbates the divide and strains these relationships further. As a result, grantmakers influenced by this movement are becoming more paternalistic, leaning toward foundation-centered problem-solving models that disempower grantees and the communities they serve" (Jenkins 2011, 758/759).

The use of business language provides one example of how grantmakers can shape the priorities and modes of operation of the organisations that they fund and reflects the potential for foundation giving to assume a supply-driven character. Given that the preference for direct engagement linked to the concept of venture philanthropy in particular also implies support for organisational development via knowledge transfer and capacity building, however (Moody 2008), funding relationships where grantees identify needs and set priorities should also be compatible with a business-oriented approach to foundation giving.

Edwards highlights that in the history of foundations there has always been a tension between a rather scientific and top-down selection of problems and the identification of solutions adapted to local contexts. For instance, the support of the Ford Foundation for population control in India or the Rockefeller support for the Green Revolution can be characterized as top-down, while the support of the Rockefeller Foundation for future leaders of the civil rights movement in the US took a completely different approach (Edwards 2011, 4 ff.).

Influence of prominent founders: Another development associated with the new generation of private foundations can be linked to the prominence of a few philanthropists that are sometimes called celanthropists, political philanthropists or mega-philanthropists. Highly visible and wealthy philanthropists like Bill Gates or George Soros, aided by celebrities like Bono, Bob Geldof or Oprah Winfrey, often generate public support and awareness for international development (Marten / Witte 2008, 19; Bishop / Green 2010, 195 ff.). Many celebrities have now set up foundations. Their high media visibility and their capacity to broadly mobilise the public may not only be used to raise awareness but also to exert political pressure and influence – or perhaps even distort – the development agenda (West 2008).

Transparency and Accountability: The perceived lack of transparency and accountability represents another common theme in discussions on the role of private foundations in global development. As noted above, the classic definition of private foundations assumes that these organisations are only accountable to their boards of trustees and are generally not obliged to disclose their activities and account for them to governments or other stakeholders. However, the tax exemptions that foundations receive with the expectation that their work will generate public benefits justifies asking

foundations to publicly share information about their assets and activities (EFC / DAFNE 2011).

Limited transparency and accountability can have varied sources. As the OECD notes: "some philanthropists feel it is undignified to publicise their good works; and some foundations may fear interference from lobby groups if their activities become well-known" (OECD-DAC 2003, 29; see also Edwards 2011, 11). The accountability of foundations to external stakeholders as well as internal learning processes may also be hindered by a lack of consistent monitoring and evaluation. A study on US foundations by the Urban Institute and Grantmakers for Effective Organizations found that less than 45 per cent of foundations surveyed conducted formal evaluations of the work they funded at least occasionally (Ostrower 2004, 11). As some observers have noted, the lack of external accountability, inconsistent monitoring and evaluation and the lack of transparency can become especially problematic when foundations grow in size and complexity and disburse large volumes to possibly contested projects (Edwards 2011, 11; McCoy / McGoey 2011, 152).

Many of the assumptions about the character of private foundation engagement in development cooperation outlined on the preceding pages are related to how foundations are characterized in general terms regardless of their field of activity. It is also worth noting that numerous elements of the portrait of the quality of foundation engagement in development cooperation appeared in a similar discussion taking place roughly ten years before foundations drew broad interest. In the 1990s, the NGO sector grew rapidly in transforming societies, resulting in high interest from both academia and political actors. Similar to foundations today, NGOs were often portrayed in an idealized way and praised for their political neutrality, their non-profit approach, their efficiency and their potential for innovation (Fisher 1997, 442-446).

3 Examining foundations at country level: research design

This chapter outlines research design and methodological considerations that guided the research process. A first section (3.1) presents the main research question, building on the discussion of claims about foundation engagement in chapter 2. Section 3.2 deals with the research process. It

provides reasons for the selection of Tanzania for this country-level study of foundation engagement in development cooperation (3.2.1), discusses the process of data collection (3.2.2), describes the sample of this study (3.2.3) and outlines the process of qualitative data analysis (3.2.4). Finally, various practical, methodological and analytical challenges that arose during the different stages of the research process are discussed in section 3.3.

3.1 Research question and analytical framework

As chapter 2.2 indicated, while several initiatives have sought to improve the information base on the scale of foundation giving for global development, the incomplete character of available figures on foundation engagement suggests that the documentation of their work is still at an early stage. Chapter 2.3 highlighted that numerous claims have been put forward concerning the quality of foundation engagement in development cooperation. While some authors praise foundations for their emphasis on innovation, their niche-filling potential and their problem solver attitude, other observers remain critical and underline the distance of foundations from alignment and harmonisation efforts or their business-driven focus on measurable results as potentially negative aspects of foundation engagement. These claims are often based on individual observations or linked to examples from a small number of high profile foundations, especially the work of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Systematic empirical evidence supporting the various claims remains limited.

Building on the literature, the research process was guided by positive and negative claims that dominate the debate on private foundations in development cooperation. Consequently, the research process centred on the following research question:

Do private foundations operate in a manner consistent with how they are described in the debate on foundations as development actors?

The claims guiding this study were derived from the literature referenced in chapter 2.3. The research focused on a number of claims which are presented in table 3. Reflecting how foundations are commonly depicted as development actors, these claims provide guidance for assessing the significance of foundations in development cooperation, the character of their approach to providing assistance, and the nature of their relations with other development actors.

The final list of claims orienting the research process consists of 13 claims that are grouped into eight topics in order to highlight the affinity among claims that often appear together in the literature and to draw attention to alternative perspectives on the presumed character of foundation engagement. These claims provided a basic structure for the questions included in interview protocols developed for different types of stakeholders. The semi-structured interview protocol allowed for a systematic but still flexible examination of all claims in every interview.

The list of claims guiding the research process is not exhaustive. For example, it does not include transparency and accountability as key orienting concepts. While transparency and accountability remain relevant themes in examining the role of private foundations in development cooperation, one complication in focusing on them is that these topics relate to an assessment

Table 3: Analytical framework: claims on private foundations in development cooperation	
Topic	Claim
Overarching claim	Foundations are a distinct group of actors in development cooperation.
Resources	Foundations provide significant resources to development activities.
Innovation	Foundations are innovative. They have / apply / support new ideas.
Niche-fillers	Foundations take risks.
Alignment and harmonization	Foundations invest in long-term goals. / Foundations have a long-term commitment.
Business approach	Foundations fill niches and do things the government and its development partners do not do.
Problem solvers	Foundations do not align with national priorities.
Relations with grantees	Foundations do not harmonize with other donors.
Source: Own compilation	

of performance in different arenas, both within the countries of origin of individual foundations and in the recipient country context.

3.2 Research process

The following section outlines the research process, starting with a description of why Tanzania was selected for this country study (3.2.1). It then elaborates on data collection procedures, undertaken first via internet research and then using the method of semi-structured interviews during a field study in Tanzania (3.2.2). A third section (3.2.3) discusses how foundations providing funding for development in Tanzania were identified and how the research team selected organisations to study from this broader group of actors (3.2.3). This section concludes with a discussion of various challenges that arose during the research process (3.2.4).

3.2.1 Country selection: Tanzania

Empirical research for this study was conducted in a single country in order to situate foundations in a fixed development cooperation context. While a general assessment of many claims on foundation engagement would be possible without reference to a specific country context, a country-level assessment is particularly useful in defining the relationship of foundations toward national development strategies and development cooperation structures.

One key motivation for selecting Tanzania for the assessment of foundation engagement in development was the importance of development cooperation in the Tanzanian economy. Tanzania is a 'donor darling' and has received high aid volumes over the past two decades. Between 1999 and 2009, it benefited from a substantial increase that doubled total net ODA within ten years (from USD 1441.62 million to USD 2934.22 million). ODA levels are high compared not only to other East African countries but also to most other developing countries. Tanzania ranked seventh among the recipients of country programmable aid in 2009 and fifth in 2010, having received close to USD 3 billion in both years (OECD 2012b). This external support contributes to a high level of aid dependency, and it is estimated that aid receipts represented about 14 per cent of Tanzanian GNI in 2009 and

accounted for approximately 35 per cent of government spending in 2008-2009 (World Bank 2011; DPG 2011).

Tanzania has a complex and densely populated donor landscape. With 37 bilateral and multilateral donors active in the country in 2009, the donor presence in Tanzania largely exceeded the average of donors in developing countries generally (21) and in Africa more particularly (24) (OECD 2011). Nearly all OECD-DAC members (21 out of 23) and a large number of multilateral agencies (16 out of 21) provided ODA in 2009 (OECD 2011). Non-state actors active in Tanzania add another level of complexity to the landscape. The country has experienced an "NGO boom" since the 1990s (Levine 2002, 1043). Stressing the difficulty in accurately estimating the number of NGOs active in the country, a recent study mapping development-related activities of faith-based organisations notes that one indication of the number of NGOs operating in Tanzania is registration under the 2002 NGO Act which included 3,263 NGOs in 2009 (Leurs / Tumaini-Mungu / Mvungi 2011, 26).

A starting assumption for this study was that the same factors that have made Tanzania an important aid destination for a variety of state and non-state actors would also lead private foundations to invest in the country. Existing analyses of the geographical priorities of foundation giving suggest that foundations have tended to concentrate their engagement in rather attractive recipient countries, especially Middle Income Countries and countries in Eastern and Southern Africa (Marten / Witte 2008, 17; Lundsgaarde 2010, 19).

A second main motivation for selecting Tanzania is that it has been portrayed as a pioneer in implementing the principles and commitments that are part of the international aid effectiveness agenda (Odén / Timmes 2003; Economic and Social Research Foundation 2005). Following an impasse in the relations between the Government of Tanzania and its official development partners in the beginning of the 1990s, a new era of development cooperation between Tanzania and its official development partners emerged after 1995. The Tanzanian Assistance Strategy (TAS) from 2002 and the Joint Assistance Strategy for Tanzania (JAST) from 2006 provided the framework for improved collaboration between the government and development partners, emphasising the need to strengthen Tanzania's ownership of the national development process and to harmonize donor activities (GoT 2006; Wangwe 2010).

Surveys monitoring the performance of the Tanzanian government and development partners in upholding aid effectiveness commitments have reported progress over the last decade with respect to national ownership and in the alignment of donor policies to national priorities through increasing use of country systems and the reduction of parallel implementation units (GoT 2011). Responding to calls to improve harmonisation among development partners, official donors established the Development Partners Group of Tanzania (DPG) in 2004, which facilitates information sharing and coordination among its members through regular meetings of its main group and various sub-groups (DPG 2010).15 A new dialogue structure introduced in 2008 was intended to further strengthen coordination efforts by reducing the number of parallel national dialogue processes between the government and development partners (GoT n. d.). Although Tanzania is considered a good performer in international comparison in terms of improving harmonisation, monitoring reports have concluded that development partners have not adequately increased their joint analytical work or reliance on joint missions over the last decade (GoT 2011).

These deficits concerning harmonisation indicate that in spite of progress toward reaching aid effectiveness commitments, Tanzanian development cooperation continues to face numerous challenges that are independent of the rise of new actors in the development landscape. Variations in development partner commitments to implementing aid effectiveness principles in Tanzania and differing preferences among government ministries concerning aid modalities provide key examples (Hydén / Mmuya 2008; Harrison / Mulley / Holtom 2009).

3.2.2 Data collection

Internet research: Given the lack of prior data on the nature of private foundation engagement in Tanzanian development cooperation, this study had

¹⁵ As of 2012, the DPG has members from 17 bilateral and 5 multilateral agencies, the UN organisations counting as one. The bilateral members are Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany (German Embassy, KfW and GIZ), Ireland, Italy, Japan (Embassy of Japan and JICA), Korea (KOICA and EDCF/Korea Exim Bank), Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK (DFID), USA (USAID and MCC). Multilateral members are the World Bank, United Nations, the European Commission, the African Development Bank and the IMF (see http://www.tzdpg.or.tz).

an exploratory orientation. A first step in the data collection process was systematic internet research to identify foundations providing funding to the country and to generate information about funding priorities. Starting points included information on foundation engagement in Tanzania gathered from exploratory interviews in Tanzania in August 2011 and with representatives of German development agencies in December 2011, the Foundation Center database and national foundation associations of major OECD countries. "Foundation" and "Tanzania" were used as general search terms.

The internet research was initially limited to three aspects: the existence or absence of an endowment as the main funding source of an organisation to determine whether an organisation fulfils the working definition of foundations used in the study, the sectors of engagement in Tanzania and the volumes of resource flows to specific sectors in Tanzania. Accordingly, collected data essentially consisted of a list of foundations providing funding to Tanzania, the sectors in which these foundations invest and, whenever possible, the volume of resources spent. This list was continuously expanded throughout the research process whenever new foundations were identified. However, it cannot be considered to be exhaustive given that many foundations, especially smaller ones, do not present their activities in English and that internet research in general is subject to a number of limitations outlined below. Internet research also provided the source for more detailed data on foundations active in key sectors.

Finally, to complete the figures on resources spent by private foundations in Tanzania, foundations which had not provided information on their spending in either interviews or on their websites were contacted through a general inquiry sent by email in May 2012. This included more than 50 foundations thought to disburse funding to Tanzania. Twenty organisations responded to this inquiry.

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¹⁶ Examining whether a foundation possessed an endowment or not was necessary because a number of non-governmental organisations seem to use the label "foundation" even though they do not have an endowment, but are funded by means of membership fees, donations or the like.

¹⁷ The list of foundations supporting development work in Tanzania (table 5 in the annex) includes some organisations that are considered 'foundations by name' in this analysis because they appear to be dependent on donations rather than an endowment. The organisations listed may also provide support other than direct financial support for project implementation in Tanzania. Examples included support for volunteering or social entrepreneurship awards given to Tanzanian recipients.

Internet research was conducted for practical and theoretical considerations. From a practical point of view, it generated valuable data prior to the field visit to prepare and guide the research process. It is relatively time and resource efficient and allows for a rather broad coverage. From a theoretical point of view, the analysis of texts and documents retrieved online, very much like document analysis, is advantageous in that the data analysed is not created as a result of the case study, but unobtrusive (Yin 2009, 102). This can be of benefit in corroborating or contrasting findings from the field phase. These advantages were considered to outweigh limitations that this type of internet research entails, namely problems of retrievability and biased selectivity related to variations among foundations with respect to their internet presence that may lead to incompleteness, problems of unknown bias of authors and problems of variability of internet sources over time. Bearing in mind these trade-offs, internet research still seemed both valuable and legitimate if submitted to critical interpretation (Yin 2009, 102).

Semi-structured interviews: During a field study conducted in Tanzania between February and April, 2012, semi-structured interviews were the most substantive method of data collection. Interviews were conducted with representatives of line ministries and development partners, foundation staff and other stakeholders in key sectors, and with representatives of organisations receiving funding from foundations. Building on the claims concerning the character of foundation engagement in development cooperation presented above, an interview protocol was developed in advance for each group of stakeholders. A rather open, introductory question was prepared for each of the eight topics, followed by a number of optional questions and stimuli for discussion. The order of the eight thematic blocks could be arranged spontaneously during an interview depending on the progress of the conversation. The final versions of the interview protocols for foundation and grantee representatives are included in this report's annex. In general, two members of the research team were present at each interview, allowing one person to take detailed notes. These notes were then transcribed to facilitate the analysis of interview responses.

Qualitative interviews provided the main methodological pillar of this study as they constitute a targeted approach to specific aspects of a topic and offer insights into the perceptions of interviewees (Yin 2009, 102). The study opted for semi-structured interviews more specifically because these are open-ended, allowing for a flexible and spontaneous handling of interview questions on a case by case basis that was particularly suitable for the ex-

ploratory research approach taken. When conducting semi-structured interviews, the interviewer may change the order of questions, ask follow-up questions or formulate new questions entirely if unexpected aspects surface during the interview (Hopf 2007, 351). These are major advantages compared to standardized interviews.

Flexibility of interviews comes at the expense of comparability, but this is a trade-off that can be judged as acceptable in view of the objectives and the explorative nature of the study. Semi-structured interviews are also demanding for the interviewer, requiring a high degree of sensitivity to what has been said and the capacity to keep in mind the relevance of questions and answers for the research purpose (Flick 2002, 144 f.). Finally, semi-structured interviews are subject to common problems of bias due to poorly articulated or suggestive questions and comments on the part of the interviewer as well as response bias, reflexivity (the interviewee gives the answer which the interviewer wants to hear) and inaccuracies due to poor recall on the part of the interviewee (Yin 2009, 108). The authors are aware of these challenges and tried to minimise such effects to the extent possible.

Social desirability is another issue that potentially leads to systematic bias in interview research. Social desirability, on the one hand, is understood as an individual's need for social recognition (Schnell / Hill / Esser 2005, 355 f.). In an interview, this need may lead the interviewee to give answers that presumably please the interviewer. In order to diminish this kind of social desirability, the research team sought to adopt a rather neutral attitude, e.g. by acknowledging given answers as "interesting". Social desirability can also refer to the interviewee's expectations of certain consequences of the interview. In the context of this study, grantees that are dependent on funding from certain foundations and other donors might tend to answer rather positively if they expect their funders to learn about their statements. This kind of social desirability can be prevented by giving contextual information on the research design of the study. Prior to every interview, the interviewers stressed that they were working on a research project conceived and carried out by an independent research institute and assured confidentiality. Social desirability can never be completely excluded in interview situations, but with these strategies this problem was presumably mitigated.

3.2.3 Sample

Prior to the field study in Tanzania, the research team identified criteria to ensure that the characteristics of foundations examined in the field study reflected the heterogeneity of the broader group of foundations providing funding to the country. Results of the internet research that had been conducted during the desk study phase informed the selection of foundations to approach in the research process. The literature research suggested several characteristics to be of central relevance in reflecting the diversity of the foundation landscape. These variables included the size of a foundation in terms of global spending, the primary sector of engagement, the width of engagement of a foundation (engagement in one or more sectors), the country of origin, the country presence in Tanzania, and the type of foundation (personal vs. corporate).

The sample was selected from an extensive list of private foundations that was produced during the desk study phase and gradually complemented during field research in Tanzania (see table 5 in the annex). This list included over 100 private foundations that currently finance or implement development activities in Tanzania or have been engaged in activities during the past three years. Annual volumes range from small grants of a few thousand US-dollars to large commitments of several million US-dollars. Reflecting global trends in foundation giving, the desk study indicated that the health and education sectors were the most popular areas of investment for private foundations in Tanzania: almost two-thirds of all foundations identified engage in one or both of these sectors. Other sectors of concentration are agricultural development and private sector development, while smaller numbers of foundations are active in the areas of environmental protection and climate change, finance, water, social welfare and governance. The great majority of private foundations are grant-making and not operational. Most foundations do not have an office or a permanent representative within the country, but rather operate from their headquarters and give grants to local partners. As far as the research team could assess, out of 125 foundations, only fifteen ran an office or employed a representative in Tanzania.

Keeping in mind variations with respect to foundation size and type, country presence, and sectors of engagement, about 40 foundations were chosen from the extensive list and included in the original sample of foundations to approach for further information about their activities. Due to a low response rate and the absence of many foundations in Tanzania, the research

team was not able to arrange interviews with all of these foundations. In the end, representatives of 16 foreign private foundations were interviewed for the study, with a still satisfying degree of internal heterogeneity.

Some interview partners representing foundations were permanently based in Tanzania, others happened to be in Tanzania for visits, and another group was interviewed via telephone. One foundation provided written answers to selected interview questions. Most foundations in the final sample are based in the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom and Switzerland. This mirrors the origins of foundations included in the extensive foundation list, as most of them have headquarters in Western Europe or in North America, with half of them coming from the United States or the United Kingdom and still substantial numbers from the Netherlands, Switzerland and Germany. Seven of these foundations were founded prior to 1990 while nine foundations were established after that. 18 Another six can be qualified as corporate foundations. Personal foundations make up the remainder of the sample, but some of these in turn were founded by businessmen. Two foundations could not be qualified as either corporate or personal. The foundations interviewed also vary in their financial set-up. Of the eleven foundations with an endowment, six engaged in additional fundraising. Three out of six foundations receiving regular contributions from a company fund their activities exclusively from these contributions. The foundations are mainly active in health, education and agriculture.

Interviews with foundations were not the only source of information about foundation engagement in Tanzania, however. Through interviews with grantees, government representatives, development partners, and other observers of development cooperation, the research team had an opportunity to collect additional perspectives on the work of private foundations in the country. Apart from providing information about initiatives funded by foundations that were interviewed for the project, these interviews also contributed information on foundations outside of this group. As a result, the activities of some 30 other foundations providing financing in the country were referenced during the field study.

¹⁸ This also reflects the general pattern in the longer list of foundations providing funding to Tanzania, as roughly half of these organisations were founded after 1990.

3.2.4 Data analysis

During the initial desk study phase, the list of foundations active in Tanzania was analysed to establish figures on the number of foundations active in different sectors and the volume of resource flows involved. These figures were revised at a later stage of the research process and completed gradually with information gathered during interviews with various stakeholders.

Data collected in the context of interview research during the field phase was first coded and grouped into categories organised around the claims presented in 3.1 in order to compare findings on different claims, to reveal differences, similarities and relations and to identify key concepts. The study used Atlas.ti for computer-based qualitative data analysis. Computer-based data analysis was considered valuable because it allowed for administrating extensive amounts of data, which in this case consisted largely of transcribed interviews. Automated functions for indexing text passages and searching for indexed passages are time and personnel efficient, facilitate group research and leave more room for experimenting with data (Kelle 2007). This proved advantageous for the data analysis conducted in the course of this research.

In order to ensure confidentiality, interviews were given individual labels consisting of a letter that indicates the type of stakeholder (F=foundation representative, D=donor, Gov=government representative, Gran=grantee, O=others) and a number. For example, 11 interviews with government representatives were carried out for the study, so these interview protocols are labelled Gov1 to Gov11.¹⁹ To protect the anonymity of interviewees, these labels refer to the chronological order in which interviews were conducted, while the individuals interviewed for the study are listed in alphabetical order in the annex.

¹⁹ Due to uncertainties about the organisational set-up of organisations interviewed, some interviews marked as foundation interviews are interviews with NGOs that are foundations by name only while some interviews marked as grantee interviews also include interviews with foundations by name.

3.3 Research Challenges and Limitations

During the data collection process, the research team had to deal with several practical, methodological and analytical challenges.

Early in the data collection process, practical challenges arose from the poor availability of information on private foundations that are engaged in Tanzania. Although a long list of more than 100 foundations could be produced by systematic internet research prior to the field study, it later proved to be spotty and incomplete. In retrospect, some foundations did not appear on the list because they are not members of national or international foundation associations and therefore could not be found in the respective databases, or because they simply do not publish sufficient information on their activities in Tanzania. This does not only concern small foundations, but also a few large ones which contribute high volumes for development activities in Tanzania.

The list of foundations therefore had to be revised continuously during the research process. Further foundations could be added with the help of valuable information from stakeholder interviews in the field phase. The quality of data, however, was low in some cases, meaning that important information on the foundations' activities in Tanzania as well as contact details were scarce. Consequently, creating a sample with a sufficient degree of internal heterogeneity as well as contacting foundation representatives and arranging interviews were major practical challenges.

A last practical challenge resulted from the fact that the great majority of foundations provide funding for development activities in Tanzania are grant-making organisations and therefore do not maintain a country presence. As research was mainly conducted from within Tanzania, the research team carried out telephone interviews via sometimes unreliable connections in order to increase the number of foundation perspectives included in the analysis.

Besides the practical and methodological challenges, the research team also encountered some analytical challenges. For instance, the definition of what constitutes a foundation presented a major analytical challenge in the field. Initially, the classic definition of Andrews which emphasizes that every foundation has financial independence because it has "a principal fund of its own" was used to identify foundations (Andrews 1956, 11). However, the examination of foundations on the ground revealed a different picture un-

derlining variations in the organisational structure of foundations. Based on these findings, the definition was reconsidered so it would include not only foundations that finance their activities with returns on endowments, but also foundations that experience similar financial stability through regular contributions from companies, for instance. Varying organisational structures are confusing not only for observers but also for stakeholders. Many interviewees did not share our understanding of what a foundation is and included a number of different non-governmental organisations in their definition. What is more, some did not distinguish between private and public money because all their donors appeared to be rather similar. Consequently, statements from interview partners always had to be analysed carefully within the context of the whole interview.

A second analytical challenge resulted from the small number of foundation representatives which could be interviewed for this study. Although valuable information on foundations was also generated in interviews with other development stakeholders, because only 16 foundations were interviewed for this study, the basis for drawing strong generalisations about the foundation sector was limited.

The scope of the research project was further limited in three key respects. First, this study did not conduct a comprehensive mapping of foundation-financed activities in Tanzania. The research team did collect information via internet sources and stakeholder interviews on the regions where foundations directed funding, including in four regions where foundation funding was perceived to be more heavily concentrated (Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Morogoro, Mwanza). However, information on the geographical distribution of foundation financing in the country remains incomplete. Second, the study focused on the activities of foreign private foundations and not Tanzanian foundations given that development cooperation involving cross-border resource flows was the study's frame of reference. Local foundations were however consulted in their capacity as implementing partners for foreign private foundations. Finally, the study did not attempt a systematic evaluation of the activities of foreign private foundations in Tanzania with regard to the relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability of their work. This limitation was justified by the lack of baseline information about the characteristics of foundation engagement in the country needed to make such general assessments, and the acceptance of an explicit trade-off in collecting more general information on foundation activities at the expense of evaluating selected initiatives in detail.

4 Foundation engagement in Tanzania: key findings

This chapter provides an overview of the research findings. A first section summarizes general findings on the difficulties of actually distinguishing private foundations from other actors in development cooperation and gives an impression of the heterogeneity of foundations encountered in the field study (4.1). These findings were compiled throughout the research process and relate to the overarching claim in literature that private foundations are distinct from other actors in development cooperation. A second section presents findings referring to the other claims that guided the research process (4.2).

4.1 Distinguishing private foundations from other actors in development cooperation

Based on the debate on private foundations in literature, a starting point of this study was the assumption that private foundations are a distinct group of actors that can be distinguished within the development cooperation landscape because they have certain common characteristics. The characteristic that is commonly stressed in this context is that foundations have an endowment that gives them a high level of financial independence. This in turn informs many of the other claims that guided our research. Hence, assessing the assumption that foundations are distinct proved to be a crucial question for the study.

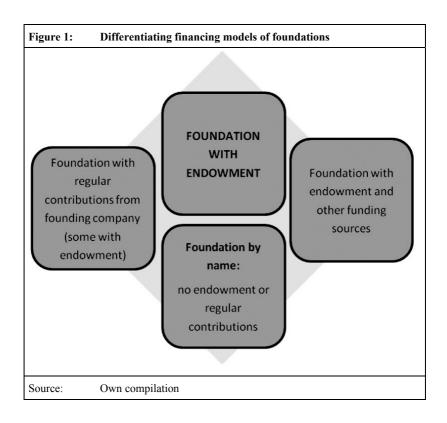
We found that distinguishing foundations from other development cooperation actors is difficult in several respects. A finding that could be directly observed in our interviews is that the distinction between foundations and other aid providers is not evident to many stakeholders. While most private foundations perceived themselves as being distinct, most of the other stakeholders subsumed foundations under the category of donors or civil society organisations. This was evident for grantees in particular, but also for government officials. Even though most foundation grantees also had experience with bi- or multilateral and/or non-governmental donors, they often did not systematically distinguish foundations from these other categories. Government officials often regarded foundations to be part of a broader CSO community. Interviewees were often unaware of the concept of an endowment.

Confronted with these difficulties of interviewees in distinguishing foundations, our research identified some other aspects that in part explain why the distinction may be difficult.

- 1. Absence of a foundation community: First, we found that foundations do not act as a group and do not seem to form a "foundation community" that would make it easier to distinguish them from other donors. There is no forum or umbrella organisation in Tanzania that could function as platform for foundations to exchange ideas and engage in joint activities. ²⁰ There are instances of dialogue or even joint projects between foundations in certain sectors, but most foundations that we encountered rather cooperate with other actors ranging from small CSOs to government agencies or development partners or work in isolation. Private foundations may also be unaware of the work of other foundations, even if organisations are investing in similar areas. When supporting NGOs or other institutions, they are one among several donors most of the time. In short, foundations seem to be embedded in the development cooperation landscape rather than sticking out as a distinct group.
- 2. Limited country presence: Related to this, very few foreign foundations have offices in Tanzania. Most provide grants to organisations in the country from headquarters and occasionally send delegations or monitoring missions, if at all. This limited country presence may be another factor that contributes to limited visibility of foundations as a distinct group. At the same time, this characteristic distinguishes foundations from development partners and non-governmental organisations that have representatives in the country. This could explain why stakeholders would group foundations together with other more visible types of aid providers.
- 3. Heterogeneity: Thirdly, private foundations are a heterogeneous group, in particular with respect to their financing models. In fact, quite a substantial number of organisations referred to as foundations do not conform to the classic definition of foundations (see chapter 2) and display similarities with other types of non-governmental organisations. Both the foundations we in-

²⁰ Emerging from a foundation learning group sponsored by the Ford Foundation beginning in 2001, the East African Association of Grantmakers (EAAG) was founded in 2003 to provide a forum for foundations and other grant-making organisations in East Africa to network, exchange best practice, and promote philanthropy in the region. Foreign foundations including the Aga Khan Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation are members of this association. See http://www.eaag.org.

terviewed and the additional foundations we identified are illustrative of this heterogeneity. Internet searches carried out in connection with this research project identified 125 foreign private foundations that have financed development work in Tanzania in recent years (see table 5 in the annex). These foundations have different countries of origin which each have a different legal context that may define foundations differently or may not restrict which organisations can call themselves foundations at all. The Netherlands is an example of a country where the legal context is non-restrictive as to which organisation may call itself a foundation (Gouwenberg / Van der Jagt / Schuyt 2007). In the United States, the legal definition of a foundation is an extension of tax legislation related to an organisation's source of income prescribing minimum spending and restricting the scope of foundation activities (Toepler 2007).



Still more importantly, private foundations in Tanzania have diverse organisational set-ups. While the archetypical foundation is thought to have an endowment as its financial source, the endowment played a limited role or was even nonexistent for many of the foundations encountered in the field study. The foundations identified can be differentiated with respect to financing models deviating from the archetypical foundation relying exclusively on an endowment (see figure 1). However, in many cases it is difficult to categorise foundations in this manner because transparency about funding sources is limited. For a substantial number of foundations identified, we were not even able to determine whether or not they have an endowment.

Foundations with an endowment only: Some foundations do indeed rely on an endowment as their only source of income, but this group is by no means dominant within the group of organisations that are referred to or refer to themselves as foundations. Endowments may be gradually increased over time by the founder, through donations from other wealthy individuals, or through gains from investments made with the initial endowment. Many foundations with an endowment have been founded by businessmen who equip the foundation with a part of their personal fortune. The Rockefeller Foundation, founded in 1913 with initial gifts of USD 35 million from John D. Rockefeller Sr., is a classic example.²¹

Foundations with spend out trusts: A variation of a classic endowment is a spend out trust. In this case, the initial endowment is gradually disbursed over a fixed time period to exhaust an organisation's capital stock. An example is the Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund. Founded in memory of its namesake in 1997, this organisation plans to spend its capital by the end of 2012.²²

Foundations with regular contributions from a company: A second large group are corporate foundations which are directly affiliated to a founding company that pays regular contributions to the foundation – these might be fixed to a certain percentage of annual dividends, for instance, or be negotiated on an annual basis. The Novartis Foundation for Sustainable Development, an organisation tracing its lineage back to the Basel Foundation for Developing Countries founded by several Swiss pharmaceutical companies

²¹ See http://www.rockefellerfoundation.org

²² See http://www.theworkcontinues.org

in the 1960s, provides an example of a foundation financed through regular contributions from its founding company (Novartis).²³

Not all corporate foundations follow this financing model, however. There are some cases of corporate foundations which have an endowment in addition to or instead of receiving regular contributions. This initial capital can take the form of company shares which the foundation holds.

Foundations with an endowment and other public or private funding sources: Many non-corporate foundations have other additional sources of income to fund their activities, making the endowment one among various sources of income that may be more or less important compared to donations from private individuals or companies, grants from other NGOs and foundations or public funding. These foundations may share many similarities with classic NGOs as they often rely on fundraising to a large extent. Examples include the William J. Clinton Foundation (founded in 2001 by the former US President) and the Deutsche Stiftung Weltbevölkerung, a foundation focusing on population dynamics and family planning issues founded by two German entrepreneurs in 1991.²⁴ Foundation financing structures can be very complex, with global funding chains that may include a large number of actors. Smaller foundations often benefit from grants provided by larger foundations.

Foundations by name: Finally, there are organisations that neither have an endowment nor receive regular contributions from a company – they are NGOs which are "foundations by name". They are financed mainly through public funding and private donations, thus relying exclusively on fundraising. An example is the Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation, an organisation established in 1988 that aims to contribute to the elimination of paediatric HIV/AIDS through research, advocacy, prevention and treatment programmes. These organisations were included in the list of foundations, but were not counted as part of the sample of sixteen foundations that is referenced in the findings.

²³ See http://www.novartisfoundation.org

²⁴ For more information about the William J. Clinton Foundation, see http://www.clinton-foundation.org; for more information about the Deutsche Stiftung Weltbevölkerung, see http://www.weltbevoelkerung.de.

²⁵ See http://www.pedaids.org

In sum, the term foundation can be considered a label which is applied to different organisational set-ups rather than to a clearly defined and clearly distinguishable institutional form. One factor that may contribute to this label being so widespread is that the term usually has positive connotations.

4. Similarities to other aid providers Finally, it became clear in the research process that private foundations share many characteristics with other aid providers. As noted above, interview partners sometimes referred to aid providers more generally rather than explicitly distinguishing foundations from others. While this in part reflects limited awareness of definitional questions, it is most certainly also due to similarities among different actors. Many of the characteristics attributed to foundations, both positive and negative, were not exclusively brought up with regard to foundations, but also with regard to other aid providers. A specific focus, a long-term perspective, innovative potential or the attempt to integrate business principles into development activities are only some examples. Grantees, government and development partners also raised many issues that are relevant for development cooperation in the country at large, such as coordination.

Hence, some of the following assessments of different claims should be treated with caution. While the assessment does give a good idea of the perceptions of foundations that we encountered, it should not be mistaken as a portrait of foundations as a homogenous and unique group of actors.

4.2 Findings on claims about private foundations in development cooperation

4.2.1 Resources

In the current debate, foundations are often presumed to contribute significant volumes of resources for development. On the basis of information collected from various sources (see 3.2), this study can only present a very tenuous estimate of the scale of private foundation giving in Tanzania. It was possible to identify funding that 40 foundations provided to Tanzania between 2008 and 2012, with many gaps in information on funding from individual organisations in particular years. In some cases, foundations provided estimates of average annual disbursements rather than figures for specific years. From these sources, annual funding from private foundations to

Tanzania can be conservatively estimated to lie around USD 45 million at a minimum. This figure would make foundation funding collectively comparable to resources provided by single mid-sized donors to Tanzania such as Finland or Ireland (OECD-DAC 2012). However, this rough estimate should also be interpreted with caution because it to a large extent excludes financing from the private foundations that are presumed to be among the most important foundations funding development work in the country, which may provide funding similar in scale to mid-sized donors on their own (D2).²⁶

This study identified several issues that complicate efforts to assess the scale of private foundation financing at the country level. One is the indirect character of foundation funding to partner organisations. Foundation support may be channelled to Tanzanian partners through international NGOs, foreign universities, or multilateral initiatives (Gran1). In a similar vein, foundations disbursing funding in Tanzania may themselves be recipients of funding from other sources, including other private foundations or public organisations (F2; F11). This can lead to confusion about the contributions that individual organisations might make to a particular project. Another factor making it difficult to trace foundation financing is that selected foundations apply a regional rather than country-level orientation in programming (F11; F20). For corporate foundations, it may be difficult to estimate yearly funding because of linkages with the sponsoring company which can lead to in-kind donations of equipment or other products (F8; F10).

Although many foundations provide useful information on their activities through their websites, including financial reports and in some cases even searchable databases of grants that they have awarded, reporting on financial flows to specific countries appears to be limited. On the basis of the information collected in this study, private foundations appear to be relatively small players in the crowded Tanzanian development cooperation landscape.

²⁶ Please remember that interviews were given individual labels consisting of a letter that indicates the type of stakeholder (F=foundation representative, D=donor, Gov=government representative, Gran=grantee, O=others) and a number in order to ensure confidentiality. For example, 11 government representatives were interviewed for the study, so these interview protocols are labelled Gov1 to Gov11. To protect the anonymity of interviewees, the numbers refer to the chronological order in which interviews were conducted, while the individuals interviewed for the study are listed in alphabetical order in the annex.

4.2.2 Innovation

Innovative potential is one characteristic of foundations that is often brought up in the debate on private foundations in development cooperation. Foundations are considered to promote new ideas and take risks and thereby provide innovative responses to development challenges.

Innovative potential was a prominent issue in both foundation and grantee interviews. Asked about the importance of new ideas, piloting and risk-taking in foundation activities, many interviewees perceived foundation engagement in development cooperation to have an innovative quality. Some interviewees perceived foundations to be innovative themselves (F2; F7; F10; F14; F16; F20; F24) while others rather perceived them to give grants to other organisations that have developed innovative approaches (F14; Gran3; Gran7; Gran12; Gran18; Gran19; Gran24; Gran28; Gran29). Several grantees indicated that they received foundation grants because foundations are looking for innovation in their partners (Gran18; Gran28; Gran29). Indeed, a number of foundations have established schemes to support organisations with particularly innovative approaches. Social entrepreneurship awards represent one type of scheme for encouraging innovation. As examples, the Skoll Foundation and the Stars Foundation have given such awards to Tanzanian NGOs in recent years.²⁷

To illustrate foundation support for innovation, interviewees often mentioned pilot projects. Many foundations stressed piloting as an important feature of their work and this was confirmed by grantees (F2; F7; F8; F10; F11; F14; F16; F19; F20; F21; F22; Gran3; Gran12; Gran15; Gran23; Gran25; Gran26; Gran29). In this context, innovation was commonly perceived to mean bringing in new approaches into development or certain sectors: new curricula or ways of teaching in schools (F2; Gran7; Gran29), new forms of medical treatment (F8), new training methods in health or agriculture (F6; Gran12; Gran25), new technologies (F7; F20; Gran13) or new financing tools (such as loan or bond schemes) (F7; F14; F20; F22; Gran25; D9; O2). It was often stressed that an approach was considered to be new in Tanzania or in the East African region (F2; F7; F10; Gran13; D2; D3). Pilot projects are either carried out by the foundations themselves or by their grantees.

²⁷ See the respective foundation websites (http://www.skollfoundation.org; http://www.starsfoundation.org.uk/) for details.

Many foundations display a strong interest in creating replicable models and scaling up (F8; F10; F11; F12; F19; F22). Scaling up commonly implies transitioning from foundation sponsorship of a particular initiative to support from the government or from other donors, an objective that a large number of foundations seem to aspire to (F2; F7; F8; F14; F16; F20; F22; Gran13; Gran15; Gran25). Aware of their limited resources, few foundations seem to consider scaling up without the support of other actors. In practice, however, only a handful of examples of successful scaling-up in partnership with others came to the attention of the research team (F8; F10; F22; Gran13; Gran15; Gran25).

In some interviews, innovation was also associated with risk-taking in the sense of trying out or testing new ideas and being ready to withdraw or change if an approach proves unsuccessful (F2; F7; F8; F10; F11; F13; F20; Gran1; Gran2; Gran3; Gran16; Gran24; Gran25; O4). Some interviewees stressed that risks had to be calculated and properly assessed (F7; F10), indicating that decisions to make risky investments can involve careful deliberation and planning.

Unfortunately, most interviewees did not explicitly compare the innovative potential of foundations with that of other actors. Promoting new ideas and pilot projects seem just as important for many grantees and foundations by name, indicating that innovative potential is not a trait exclusive to foundations (F5; F9; Gran7; Gran14; Gran16; Gran20; Gran29; O2). However, some foundations clearly perceive themselves to be more innovative than others and stress that there is a need for new ideas because more traditional approaches have failed (F7; F14; F22).

4.2.3 Niche-fillers

Foundations are often depicted as entering a field when the state or other aid providers have failed to provide sufficient assistance. According to this claim, foundations fill niches by acting in a complementary manner to other actors and by concentrating on issues they feel are neglected.

Almost all of our interview partners, be it government representatives, grantees or foundations themselves, agreed with this claim. Foundations are perceived to complement the work of the Government of Tanzania where strategies or policies have not yet been put in practice because of a lack

of funds or know-how. For example, one foundation put an official policy paper into practice that promises free treatment for certain diseases (F7). Another foundation took over vaccination campaigns when the government lacked funding to implement these campaigns nationwide (Gran13). Often, foundations are reported to complement the government's work in financial terms. The majority of government representatives who contributed to our study confirmed that foundations fill niches and emphasized that they welcome any effort that complements the Government of Tanzania's work even though project support is not its priority modality. However, this positive attitude does not only seem to be directed towards foundations, but towards other sources of development finance as well.

Many interviewees did not only see complementarity in the sense described above, but also indicated that foundations specialize on issues that are not prioritized by the government or other donors. Some of these "neglected issues" are, for example, certain areas of medical treatment (F6) or areas of agricultural research (F16). Foundations in particular seem to regard their niche-filler function as one of their crucial features. Three of the foundation representatives interviewed for this study even recalled that the neglect of a certain issue was a criterion for them to start their work in Tanzania (F6; F11; F14). Another foundation representative argued that his foundation was looking explicitly for a sector in Tanzania with as "little donor distortion" as possible (F13).

Some interviewees suggested that the focus on neglected issues may have to do with the need of small organisations to tackle very specific problems in order to "make a difference" and sharpen their profile, so it is not a feature that is a characteristic of foundations only (F6, Gran1). Another possible explanation for the emphasis of foundations on neglected issues is that foundations are more able to focus on certain areas because they do not need to raise funds and therefore do not need to follow the development mainstream.

While the niche-filling function that foundations can assume indicates that these organisations may be able to compensate for resource deficits in underserved areas, it also opens questions concerning how development needs are identified within the country and how foreign and domestic actors setting priorities are held accountable for development results. Like other forms of additional development finance, foundation funding has both the

potential to complement government efforts and to support priorities that do not appear in national development plans.

4.2.4 Alignment and harmonisation

Along with other 'new' actors in international development, private foundations are perceived to present a potential challenge to the international aid effectiveness agenda by acting independently of governmental development strategies and existing donor coordination structures. This section assesses the nature of foundation alignment with governmental priorities and the character of foundation interaction with other development assistance providers.

Information obtained through stakeholder interviews does not provide strong support for the claim that foundations avoid alignment and harmonisation. Nevertheless, the portrait of foundation engagement emerging from this study also indicates that these organisations maintain independence from national development cooperation structures and that there is variation among foundations in terms of how closely they engage with governmental actors and development partners.

Alignment: The aid effectiveness agenda encourages development actors to align their approaches with governmental strategies and to use country systems for implementation in order to strengthen country-level ownership of the development process. While selected private foundations may use national development strategies as a point of orientation for their work, engagement with governmental actors appears to be more prominent at the level of implementation. This study found examples of foundations that consider their work to be closely aligned with governmental priorities at the national level as well as examples of foundations that appear to operate independently of governmental development frameworks (F4; F7; F10; F16; F20). The broad nature of national development strategies and the specialized character of foundation engagement complicate the assessment of alignment with national priorities. On the one hand, many different types of interventions are linked to national development strategies and this makes it easy to demonstrate alignment even if a foundation does not consider its work to be closely aligned with governmental policy (F13). On the other hand, a foundation working on a small scale in a particular niche area might only respond to a minor sub-set of articulated government priorities which may not be considered to be the most pressing.

Foundation alignment with governmental priorities was not considered to be essential by all respondents. Like other non-state actors, foundations may be seen as organisations that can fund areas that the government has not prioritized and may therefore respond to gaps in governmental strategies (D3). This reflects the idea that one advantage that foundations have is their ability to invest in neglected or underserved areas. Foundations themselves may underline the need to experiment with new approaches that can generate lessons for the government and this requires that the organisations retain a certain level of independence in conceiving and initiating projects (F2).

Below the level of formal alignment by linking the selection of foundation priorities to the national development strategy and using country systems for managing aid, foundations can work to improve the consistency of their funding choices with government priorities through interactions with governmental officials. Contact between foundations and government representatives takes place at various levels. For foundations established by influential personalities (the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the Clinton Foundation), the highest level of government represents an entry point for engagement (D1; Gov3). Foundations working in specific sectors in select cases develop working relationships with individuals in the respective line ministries, especially where foundations have formalized a relationship through public-private partnerships (F8; F10). The focused nature of foundation engagement can also lead to more frequent interactions with specialized public agencies in key sectors (Gov1; F13; F19). Finally, several foundations indicated that cooperation with governmental actors takes place at the sub-national level where many projects are implemented. Examples of foundation linkages to public actors at this level include the orientation of foundation work toward district development plans, involvement of district officials in trainings, or informal information exchange with district officials (F2; F17; F21). Foundations can also increase the consistency of their funding choices with government priorities at a sub-national level in an indirect manner by providing financing to organisations that view engagement with governmental representatives at district or local levels as a necessity in order to achieve their goals (Gran28; Gran29).

Although this study identified numerous examples of engagement between private foundations and the Government of Tanzania, interviews with government representatives suggested that there is not a high level of awareness of foundation-financed activities among governmental actors (Gov1; Gov 3; Gov4; Gov8; Gov9; Gov10; Gov11). For small foundations without a country presence, the low visibility of their investments is easily explained. As outlined above, the indirect character of foundation funding flows to the country can also contribute to low governmental awareness. Non-governmental organisations active in the country are required to register with the government and to submit activity reports and audited financial reports on an annual basis.²⁸ However, these requirements only apply to foundations with a country presence. Moreover, private resource flows are not currently captured in the national Aid Management Platform, which is limited to ODA and has gaps in coverage even with respect to public aid providers (Gov4).²⁹ Low governmental awareness of foundation-sponsored work may more generally reflect deficits in terms of information sharing between foundations and governmental actors, between development partners who may have an awareness of some foundation activities and the government, or between different levels of government within Tanzania (Gov3; Gov4; Gov7; Gov8; Gov9; Gov10).

For governmental representatives, obtaining more information on foundation activities does not necessarily mean that there is an interest in controlling these resources. Indeed, the Joint Assistance Strategy for Tanzania from 2006 recognizes the independence of non-state actors in managing their own resources (GoT 2006). Rather, stakeholders considered information sharing to be an important step in providing relevant guidance on the priorities that foundations and other actors pursue and in identifying how the work supported by foundations complements the work of other organisations active in a particular area (Gov7; Gov9).

Harmonisation: Another key element in enhancing aid effectiveness is improving cooperation among external aid providers through the development of mechanisms to promote mutual learning, the reduction of donor fragmentation through division of labour exercises, and the use of common planning, disbursement, and monitoring frameworks. While this study found that foundations interact with development partners at the level of

²⁸ Registration procedures for non-governmental organisations active in Tanzania are outlined on the following website: http://www.tanedu.org/Procedures_NGO_registration.pdf (accessed 18 May 2012).

²⁹ See http://amp.mof.go.tz (accessed 18 May 2012).

information exchange and in select cases work more closely together with other aid providers by implementing joint projects, it did not find evidence of foundation activities displaying a stronger degree of harmonisation characterized by common programming.

Foundation engagement with bilateral and multilateral development partners takes place at various levels. A first level of engagement consists of informal information exchange. As foundations consider whether and how to invest resources at the country-level, they may approach development partners to collect information about ongoing development initiatives and the local development context (D5; D6). Interaction of this type is perceived to take place especially between foundations and development partners from their countries of origin (D2), which may also facilitate introductions to other relevant development actors in the country (F22). The role that embassies play in supplying foundations with information can give governmental actors the impression that the embassies also assume a coordinating role for foundations and other non-state actors coming from their countries (Gov3; Gov4). However, this study did not identify any examples of donor coordination of non-state activities from their countries of origin.

Participation in more formal dialogue structures associated with the Development Partners Group represents a second level of foundation engagement with the traditional OECD donor community. Interview respondents indicated that a small number of private foundations already participate in sector-level dialogue with other aid providers (F10; F20; D1), although this participation does not appear to be very active. While increased coordination built around improved information exchange is considered welcome from the perspective of development partners (D1; D4; D5; D6), development partners also expressed a preference for including foundations that disburse relatively large volumes of resources in dialogue structures and excluding smaller organisations from these processes (D4; D5). In addition, multiple interviewees indicated that integrating foundations into sectoral working groups within the Development Partners Group would be a sensible way of improving coordination (D2; D5; O1).

Even while welcoming improved coordination with foundations, some respondents stressed that the flexibility or innovative quality of foundations might not be compatible with efforts to increase coordination, and that mixing foundations into bureaucratic processes associated with development partners might not be a good idea (D2; D5; D6). An additional challenge

to integrating foundations into coordination structures relates to the sometimes unclear distinctions between foundations, CSOs, and other private actors. This raises the question of whether foundations should participate in existing coordination structures that are designed for CSOs, or whether another channel might be more appropriate (D3).

From the foundation perspective, other factors appear to limit participation in formal coordination processes organized around the Development Partners Group. A key factor is the limited scale of foundation financing compared to bilateral and multilateral development partners and the small organisational size of foundations themselves (F8). Small foundations with no country presence likely have difficulties committing resources to participate in coordination processes (Gran3). Because smaller organisations may also work on more narrow themes in comparison to OECD donors, foundations may also perceive limited thematic overlap in the work that foundations and donors do (F13). The differences in the scale of activities that foundations and OECD donors finance also provides an explanation for why certain foundations prefer to collaborate with other private foundations instead of public partners (F6; F14).

A third level of cooperation between foundations and development partners consists of partnerships related to implementation. Operational foundations serve as implementing partners for bilateral and multilateral donors, which remain attractive funding sources because of the significant development resources they provide (F2; F21). In other cases, foundations co-finance activities with public aid providers in order to leverage their own investments or to encourage bilateral or multilateral donors to assume responsibility for projects supported by foundations in the long-term (D5; F7; F8). This can also take place in the context of multilateral cooperation, where foundation contributions to multilateral organisations can serve goals such as encouraging wider commitments to specific funding instruments (F7) or to reducing the risk of creating parallel implementation structures (F8).

In spite of these perceived advantages of cooperation between foundations and other aid providers, the study also identified a number of obstacles in fostering closer ties between foundations and development partners. For implementing organisations, time-consuming bureaucratic requirements of OECD donors can present a disincentive for pursuing cooperation (F17). Shifting political priorities in donor countries that lead to short-term changes in commitments to specific initiatives can also complicate efforts to co-

operate with foundations due to conflicting time horizons (F2; D1; D3). An obstacle to cooperation in the context of joint funding pools is that such arrangements can limit visibility and make it more difficult for foundations to trace results (F8).

Even if they do not pursue common programming, development partners and private foundations may support the work of the same implementing partners. As a result, differences in administrative requirements between various public and private aid providers can add to the workload of implementing organisations with limited capacities. Numerous grantees indicated that private foundations generated a lower reporting burden than bilateral and multilateral development partners (Gran11; Gran19; Gran21; Gran27). However, organisations may also receive funding from multiple private foundations relying on different reporting formats, placing added demands on grantee staff (Gran 20; Gran23; Gran28). This suggests that there is room for improvement in standardizing administrative procedures both between public and private funders and among private funders themselves.

4.2.5 Business approach

According to the debate on private foundations in global development, there is a new generation of foundations which pursues a different approach to providing assistance by integrating business principles into their work. Markers of the business approach to foundation giving include a strong focus on direct engagement, effectiveness, efficiency, measurable indicators of success and (social) returns on investment within a specified timeframe.

The majority of foundations as well as many grantees that were interviewed in the course of this study affirmed the importance of business principles in foundation engagement (F2; F7; F8; F10; F13; F14; F17; F20; F21; F22; Gran1; Gran3; Gran5; Gran15; Gran16; Gran19; Gran20; Gran22; Gran23; Gran25; Gran31). One foundation representative even emphasized that grantees are considered to be business partners with autonomy in managing their resources, reflecting the foundation's commitment to local ownership and providing demand-driven support for development (F22).

Interviewees often positively associated the business approach with an emphasis on measurable indicators of success, returns on investment (F2; F7; F8; F10; F13; F14; F20; F21; Gran1; Gran3; Gran5; Gran15; Gran19;

Gran20; Gran22; Gran25; Gran31), innovation (F7, F10, F14, Gran20), calculated risk-taking (F7; F10), and financial sustainability (F2; F7; F8; F10; F14; Gran19; Gran23). Furthermore, foundation representatives mentioned with regard to their business orientation that they have to prove the soundness of investment in projects to the board of trustees, that grantees need to have a business plan, or that they have adopted a value-chain approach to grant-making, implying a progression of funding commitments for particular initiatives if their effectiveness is proven (F8; F14; F17).

Effectiveness and efficiency were mentioned in a variety of contexts to describe foundation approaches to providing assistance. One donor representative perceived a progression in foundation interest in assessing effectiveness over time (D6). For foundations, a focus on effectiveness can translate into careful analysis in the selection of implementing partners or an emphasis on conducting project evaluations (F7; F14). The concept of efficiency was linked both to foundation interest in ensuring the appropriate use of resources (Gran19) and to the low administrative costs associated with a foundation's organisational structure (Gran23).

In numerous cases, foundations were characterized as being flexible in comparison to other types of aid providers. Flexibility was associated with the speed with which organisations are able to disburse funding (D1; D3; D6; F10; Gran2; Gran3; Gran5; Gran9), as well as with a willingness on the part of foundations to accept adjustments in how grantees use resources or to provide additional funding in the course of a project cycle (F11; F16; F20; Gran1; Gran2; Gran3; Gran16; Gran23; Gran24; Gran25; Gran29). However, foundations can also vary in terms of their speed in processing proposals and in their readiness to respond to emerging issues in implementation given organisational differences (Gran3; Gran7). While funding flexibility may be advantageous in ending underperforming projects (F13), a downside of flexibility is that it can also lead to sudden shifts in funding priorities that might create difficulties for implementing partners (Gran3; Gran5; O4).

The importance of business principles in the approach of foundations to providing assistance is not very surprising as a high number of foundations interviewed were either corporate (six foundations) or founded by former or active businessmen (six foundations). Corporate foundations have links to the founding company that can be financial (F8; F10; F13; F14; F17; F22), content-related (F8; F13; F17; F19) or related to the infrastructure, expertise and networks of the funding company (F8; F10; F13; F17; F19). Several

foundations attributed the presence of business principles in their work to the exchange between the foundation and the funding company and/or the presence of businessmen in the foundation (F7; F8; F10; F13; F17). Even though several corporate foundations acknowledged more or less intense relationships with the respective company, some stressed that the foundation acts independently of the founding company and that the foundation does not serve to open up new markets for the company (F8; F10; F14; F17).

Although many interview partners valued the incorporation of business principles in providing assistance, some critical voices also mentioned the risks and challenges of applying strict business thinking to development cooperation. One interviewee highlighted that the business approach may imply a certain degree of impatience with sometimes complex and protracted development processes and that individuals with a stronger business orientation may not be as sensitive to the value of building consensus and involving people on the ground (F7). Other interviewees advised caution when applying business principles to sectors like health or education, where large investments might be needed to ensure broad public benefits, stressing that these fields might need stable public support in order to guarantee access for all (D4; F8; Gran18; O2).

Interviewees did not make any systematic comparison between the business orientation of foundations and that of other development actors. However, several interviewees (F8; F21; Gran3; Gran15; Gran31) perceived the business approach as already being or becoming relevant for traditional donors and CSOs more generally. Moreover, a focus on measurable results generally appears to be an important feature of foundation engagement in development cooperation that was not only mentioned with reference to the business approach (D2; D6; F5; F6; F9; F11; F16; Gov7).

4.2.6 Problem solvers

Private foundations are often portrayed positively as effective problem solvers that concentrate on narrowly defined priorities. However, foundations have also been criticized for having such a narrow focus that they neglect important systemic issues. This aspect of foundation giving is similar to the niche-filling role discussed above, but relates more to the character of foundation priorities than to the role that foundation funding plays in the financing landscape.

Foundation, grantee and donor interviewees concur that a particular focus is a common characteristic of private foundations (D2; D3; D4; D5; D6; F2; F6; F7; F8; F10; F11; F13; F17; F19; F20; Gran1; Gran3; Gran5; Gran12; Gran15; Gran16; Gran22; Gran23; Gran29). A number of different factors help to explain this specific focus. First, there is the influence of the founder or founding company, which may have intentionally dedicated the foundation to a certain issue (F2; F6; F8; F11; F17; F19; Gran3; Gran15). A foundation affiliated to a pharmaceutical company, for instance, is very likely to focus on the health sector, even if their activities might also touch upon other sectors. A foundation linked to a firm active in the food industry may focus on nutrition. In personal foundations, the focus often is the result of the interest the founder or founding family has taken in a specific issue or region. As an example, a priority funding area for the Howard G. Buffett Foundation is agricultural development, reflecting the founder's interest in farming.³⁰

Another factor explaining the focused character of foundation work is the size of a foundation and its resources. Many foundations are aware that they are rather small actors compared to traditional state donors (F6; F22). As such, they may be incapable of covering entire systems and can have more impact if they concentrate their efforts on certain issues (F13; F20; Gran8). A final factor stressed by a number of interviewees as an explanation for a narrow focus of foundation work is that foundations may try to use one important issue as a leverage point, hoping that this will generate positive dynamics that may spill over to other sectors (F2; F16; F22; Gran4). Consequently, the specific focus is mostly viewed positively. A number of foundations and some other stakeholders emphasized that what foundations try to do is to identify a problem and tackle it (D1; F7; F10; F13; F19; F22; Gran15; Gran26; O5). Some interviewees implied that other actors have been incapable of finding effective solutions to these problems (F7; F10; F13; F22; Gran26; O2).

The potential downside of the specific focus – the allegation that foundations tend to neglect systemic issues – cannot be confirmed from our assessment of stakeholder perceptions. On the contrary, many interviews stressed that private foundations recognize the importance of holistic approaches to development (F2; F6; F7; F8; F11; F13). Rather than working on isolated aspects of a problem, most seem to consider various dimensions of a prob-

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³⁰ See http://www.thehowardgbuffettfoundation.org/

lem. Many foundations and foundation grantees stressed that they pay close attention to capacity-building or value and supply chains, for example in agricultural or health systems (F7; F10; F13; F16; F17; F20; Gran7; Gran8; Gran10; Gran17; Gran22; Gran23; Gran25). Examples that were raised in interviews included a number of agricultural projects attempting to go beyond production, taking into account marketing and farmer livelihoods (F13; F16; F17; Gran25). For some foundations, it seems that the recognition that a holistic approach is necessary partly stems from internal learning processes and a realization that addressing one aspect is not enough to tackle a problem (F7; F10; F16; Gran3; Gran15).

Unfortunately, hardly any responses related to this claim included elements of direct comparison with other actors. This makes it difficult to assess whether stakeholders perceive foundations as more focused or more problem-oriented than other aid providers. However, the research process also included interviews with NGOs – a large number of grantees as well as a number of foundations by name – that suggest that non-governmental organisations more generally focus on specific issues rather than pursuing very broad approaches to development (F5; F9; F18; Gran4; Gran7; Gran14; Gran16; Gran20; Gran29; O2). Hence, the specific focus of foundations is not a characteristic that would necessarily distinguish them from other non-governmental organisations.

4.2.7 Relations with grantees

There are two opposing claims in the literature concerning the relationship between foundations and their grantees. While some authors claim that foundations have very specific ideas about what they want to achieve and therefore just need a partner in the developing country to implement their ideas, others claim that foundations are responsive to the needs on the ground and maintain a cooperative relationship with their grantees.

Most of the foundations funding development work in Tanzania are grant-making rather than operational, meaning that they do not implement projects themselves, but rely on other organisations to directly engage in the field. Reflecting this broader pattern, operational foundations represented a minority among the foundations interviewed for this study. The 29 grantees interviewed provide an impression of the features of foundation partners. Grantees were mainly active in the three key sectors of foundation engage-

ment (health, education, agriculture), but some were also active in governance, social welfare or community development more generally. The group included 22 Tanzanian and seven foreign grantees, the majority of which were NGOs. Funding to grantees with a public affiliation was primarily oriented toward research. Almost two thirds received funding from more than one private foundation or had experience with different foundations in the past. It was rare that one or more foundations were the only or even the main source of funding: grantees also relied on funding from donations, bi- or multilateral donors and/or other NGOs. Most grantees received grants for their own projects. Only a minority implemented projects that were initiated or conceptualized by the foundation itself.

Stakeholder interviews indicated that many foundations have an engaged relationship with their grantees and that they listen to and react to the needs voiced by their grantees. Half of the foundations emphasized that they have a close relationship with grantees and/or are responsive to the needs and developments on the ground (F2; F3; F4; F10; F12; F14; F16; F17; F20). This point of view was confirmed by many grantees, who stressed that they have continuous interactions with foundations that fund their work and that foundations are open to the grantee's ideas (Gran2; Gran6; Gran7; Gran11; Gran12; Gran22; Gran 23; Gran24; Gran25; Gran26; Gran29). Some grantees pointed out that foundations display trust in their capacities and the approaches they promote (Gran2; Gran3; Gran5; Gran8; Gran 19; Gran23; Gran28; Gran30). A few grantees explicitly described the relationship with the foundation(s) as a partnership, implying an interest from the foundation's side in supporting rather than directing the work of grantees and a readiness to learn from grantee experiences (Gran8; Gran15; Gran23). However, grantees also reported instances of mistrust (Gran18), unrealistic expectations related to limited sensitivity to challenges in the country context (Gran3) and lack of flexibility (F7; Gran3).

Our results suggest that the most common way of entering in a partnership with a foundation seems to be through personal contact. These personal contacts can be established at conferences, through other partner organisations, or through business networks or individual contacts. Another common way of initiating cooperation is the strategic choice of partners on the part of foundations. In this case, foundations conduct background research to determine which organisations would be interesting for them to work with. Our results give the impression that only a small share of foundations accepts open proposals. In these cases, open proposals may be one

of several means that the foundation employs to identify relevant partner organisations.

Once a partnership is established, foundations provide assistance in various forms. Most assistance comes as financial support of certain projects or programmes. In a few rare cases, foundations contribute to the core budget of their grantees, giving them more predictability and room for manoeuvre in running their day-to-day business apart from their project work (F3; F7; F12; Gran4; Gran16; Gran24; Gran28). For certain grantees, foundations and other donors are expected to contribute a fixed percentage of the grant volume to cover organisational expenses (Gran8; Gran9), however the ability to make this demand may vary depending on how established the grantee is. Organisational funding additional to project financing can enable grantees to invest in staff and necessary infrastructure (Gran1; Gran29).

Many foundations put an emphasis on capacity building and pay for trainings in project management, fundraising and accounting (F2; F11; F16; Gran3; Gran8; Gran11; Gran17; Gran 22; Gran23). Organisational capacity building can be linked to foundation support for innovation in that it may contribute to strengthening the field of partner organisations that can address emerging issues or increase the potential for organisations to foster innovation on their own (F7; Gran10). In one case, an additional form of foundation assistance was support in developing research proposals (F11).

Foundations with an endowment (or regular allotments in case of corporate foundations) are presumed to have the capacity to pursue a long-term perspective in their support given their financial independence. There are several examples of long-term commitments in Tanzania with private foundations having been engaged with one or more partners not only for years but for decades (F3; F8; F10; F11; F16). Foundations were compared favorably to official development partners or NGOs dependent on public financing in this respect because of their potential to pursue programming continuity over longer periods, while development partners might change priorities across shorter time periods due to political shifts at home (D1; D3; D6; Gran10). At the same time, however, there are examples of foundations being very flexible in changing their priorities and ending funding rather abruptly (Gran22; Gran23). This highlights that there are variations among foundations in terms of the longevity of their funding commitments. While some acknowledge that a long-term commitment is necessary in order to observe outcomes resulting from their investments and to accompany the development of partner organisations, others prefer short-term commitments to particular initiatives, generally not exceeding a duration of 5 years (F8; Gran1; Gran12).

On the basis of the stakeholder perceptions summarized above, many private foundations are considered to be responsive to the needs expressed by grantee organisations and appear to engage continuously with grantees even when foundations do not have a field presence. Foundations also seem to support capacity development in local organisations in many cases. In the area of grantee selection, however, the demand-driven quality of foundation engagement does not appear to be as strong, given that funding relationships may often be established via personal networking or strategic choices from the foundation side rather than through open application processes. For grantees, ensuring predictability of funding and providing flexibility through core organisational support were identified as means of enhancing the ability of grantees to respond to local development challenges. These issues reflect general challenges in funder-grantee relationships and are also valid for the other public and private aid providers that support the organisations that foundations select as implementing partners.

5 Conclusions

5.1 Concluding considerations for development stakeholders

This final section extracts key lessons from the study for foundations, governmental representatives, development partners, and potential foundation grantees. It focuses on three main themes: the importance of improving information exchange on foundation-funded activities, the potential role that private foundations can play in building bridges between traditional development cooperation actors and the private sector, and areas for reflection about how foundations can improve conditions for organisations that they fund.

5.1.1 Improving information exchange

A key conclusion from this research project is that available data on private foundation financing for development remains limited both at the glob-

al level and at the country level. As section 2.2 highlighted, while several organisations have sought to increase the information base on foundation giving worldwide, data collected to date only captures a share of funding from US-based foundations that are presumed to dominate the foundation sector globally and remains even more incomplete for foundations with different national origins. In the Tanzanian context, this study was also only able to document a portion of private foundation financing flowing to the country from scattered sources, as section 4.2.1 indicates. Without accurate information on foundation engagement, other development actors may miss opportunities to learn from the approaches that foundations have tested in their focal areas, to identify foundations that could act as relevant partners in implementation, or to assess how foundation investments can complement their own work in general. Increasing the availability of information on foundation funding is also necessary in order to more accurately estimate their importance in comparison to other aid providers.

Although increasing the availability of information on foundation giving implies allocating scarce organisational resources to reporting efforts, foundations themselves should also have incentives to increase the information base on the scale, location, and focus of their investments. Given the niche-filling role that they often seek to fulfil (see section 4.2.3), private foundations should have an interest in documenting and publicising their funding flows to ensure that additional resources are reaching areas where investment is needed and has been lacking.

To improve information flows on foundation giving at the global level, foundations can be encouraged to make more use of existing platforms for voluntary reporting of financial flows to developing countries. One option at this level would be to strengthen the role of the OECD-DAC as a repository of development statistics to ensure that financial flows from non-state actors to developing countries are better captured. Another option would be for foundations to sign on to the International Aid Transparency Initiative, which seeks to increase the accessibility and comparability of aid flows from diverse actors. At present, the Hewlett Foundation is one of 29 signatories to the International Aid Transparency Initiative and together with the Open Society Foundation is also a primary funder of the 'Publish what you

Fund Campaign' to improve aid transparency, setting an example for other foundations to follow.³¹

At the country level, the findings from this study indicated that the Government of Tanzania and its development partners do not seem to have a systematic overview of resources provided to the country by non-governmental actors more generally. The government and development partners should seek to extend national efforts to track official development finance to private aid providers and should encourage non-state actors to increase aid reporting. Obtaining a better picture of public and private development financing in Tanzania through national platforms and via mapping exercises in specific sectors should assist the government in identifying underfunded regions, localities, or thematic areas. This in turn could provide a basis for governmental actors to more clearly express where private funding might be most needed. Foundations, governmental actors, and development partners should all have a common interest in making financial flows more transparent as it is a prerequisite for documenting neglected areas or funding gaps and avoiding the wasteful duplication of investments.

Bilateral donors can also play a role in increasing information exchange on foundation-financed activities in Tanzania to improve the knowledge base on the scale and quality of foundation engagement in the country. In some cases, development partners already have connections to individual foundations from their countries of origin. Bilateral donors can encourage these foundations to share more information on their activities and explore ways to disseminate knowledge about foundation activities to other development partners.

Foundations themselves have a responsibility to more effectively communicate what they are doing to the government at both national and subnational levels as well as to the donor community. Such communication is especially important if foundations seek to disseminate innovative approaches in development practice that are tested in pilot projects. As noted in section 4.2.2, private foundations in many cases expect the government or development partners to scale up foundation-financed projects that have been proven to be effective in a pilot phase. One avenue for foundations to increase their visibility and thereby share lessons that they have learned with other organ-

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³¹ See www.aidtransparency.net and www.publishwhatyoufund.org/ for more information on these initiatives.

isations is to make more use of existing dialogue structures at the country level. Foundations with a country presence can participate more actively in dialogue structures that are designed to include a variety of civil society organisations in policy discussions. Participation in these dialogue structures can create opportunities for networking with potential partners and potentially lead to greater coordination among non-governmental actors in the country. Foundations that do not have a country presence can consider making greater use of regional or international platforms for information sharing among grant-making organisations to foster mutual learning and coordination among grant-makers providing funding to Tanzania.

As Kharas (2011) suggests, though the benefits of increasing available information about small scale development financing from many private aid providers have traditionally not been considered to outweigh the costs, as private aid funding increases in scale, the relevance of greater transparency and coordination become more apparent. Government representatives interviewed for this study expressed interest in increasing the flow of information on private aid provision but did not highlight different expectations for organisations operating on different scales. Representatives of donor agencies in Tanzania did signal that private organisations disbursing significant volumes of resources should play a more prominent role in country-level aid coordination, but this study did not identify a particular financial threshold that would provide a marker of a higher expectation that private foundations or other private aid providers improve reporting and participate in donor coordination efforts. It follows that the government and donors should establish guidelines for private actors that distinguish responsibilities based on the scope of their engagement in the country.

A key constraint in improving information exchange at different levels is available organisational capacity. Foundations themselves may have a limited administrative capacity that restricts the personnel they can devote to improving reporting. Development partners may have difficulty allocating staff time to systematizing knowledge on foundations or other non-governmental sources of development finance from their countries of origin and sharing this information with colleagues outside of their embassies. At subnational and national levels of government, there may not only be limitations in human resources that can be devoted to tracking financial flows and learning about the substance of foundation-funded projects, but also limitations related to the information management systems needed in order to document activities financed by different kinds of aid providers and

to share this information with other governmental actors. Because of these capacity limitations, foundations, governmental representatives, and development partners will need to design solutions for improving possibilities for information exchange that are as bureaucratically lean as possible.

5.1.2 Capitalizing on the business orientation of foundations

As noted above, one prominent characteristic of private foundations in development cooperation is their interest in applying business thinking to development cooperation efforts. The application of business principles may support aid effectiveness goals, for example by emphasizing the importance of assessing the impact of development investments. For governmental actors and traditional donors the business orientation of foundations is also important because foundations may be able to serve a bridge-building function between public actors and the private sector both through the transmission of ideas and the mobilization of additional resources. Viewing engagement with foundations as a vehicle for broader engagement with the private sector should be especially appealing in the current climate of declining public aid commitments and the interest in leveraging resources through partnerships with private actors.

The application of business principles to development cooperation can have a positive influence on development practice as well as downsides. Given that increasing the assessment of the impact of development investments under the label of results-based management is one of the pillars of the aid effectiveness agenda, improving monitoring frameworks and institutionalizing mechanisms to promote organisational learning from failure as well as from success should be areas where private foundations and other aid providers can find a common agenda. As the debate on results-based aid more generally suggests, a strong emphasis on results or impact can be beneficial in terms of increasing accountability, but may also place grantees under strain to demonstrate quantifiable results, privileging interventions that produce clear short-term gains at the possible expense of a willingness to invest in initiatives where benefits may be visible only in the longer term. In a similar manner, foundations may neglect investments in areas where impact is more difficult to measure. This highlights a tension between the perceived advantage of foundations in terms of having the freedom to experiment with new approaches where outcomes are difficult to quantify or to predict and the business emphasis on demonstrating returns on investment. One area for increased dialogue between foundations and other aid providers and partner governments that this discussion suggests relates to risk management in aid provision and determining the place of investments linked to more uncertain outcomes within aid portfolios.

5.1.3 Making life easier for foundation grantees

Given the limited scale of investments from many private foundations, their development impact is likely to depend on the quality of the work that grantee organisations are able to carry out on their behalf. This study suggests two key areas where foundations can work to improve the framework conditions influencing grantee work. The first area relates to how funding relationships are initiated. The second area concerns reporting requirements.

The commitment of foundations to addressing very specific problems and their ability to make investments independently of political cycles can result in the creation of long-term relationships with grantees that are beneficial for organisational development. At the same time, focused, strategic partnerships with specific organisations may exclude other potential grantees from accessing an interesting source of financing. As section 4.2.7 noted, private foundations vary in terms of how they select partner organisations, but many foundations opt for closed selection processes linked to personal networking or a strategic choice of partners. In the interest of supporting innovation, foundations should strike a balance between making commitments to organisations with which foundations may have personal ties and maintaining an openness to cooperation with more unknown grantees, for example through the use of open calls for tender. Transparent grant application processes would also make clear to prospective grantees what standards foundations expect them to fulfil.

Closed grant-making processes that build on informal contacts between foundations and implementing partners can have obvious benefits for foundations that have a clear strategic focus and a limited capacity to vet proposals. For organisations interested in receiving funding from foundations that do not have open calls for proposals, personal networking and efforts to increase the visibility of the organisation could help to overcome this obstacle. However, one basic challenge that potential foundation grantees face in increasing the visibility of their own work is that information on the

availability of funding from foundations may be scattered or non-existent. To improve grantee access to information about open funding opportunities, regional foundation associations could potentially play a role in consolidating information concerning the regions or countries where foundations fund work, the funding priorities of grant-makers, and the nature of grant application requirements.

As with other donors, the standards that private foundations require grantees to uphold to promote accountability can impose an administrative burden on organisations that have limited capacities. Even when foundation reporting requirements are considered lean in comparison to those of traditional aid providers, organisations receiving funding from multiple sources can still face a challenge in producing numerous reports in response to different reporting formats (see section 4.2.4). To reduce administrative headaches for grantees, foundations and other aid providers can promote the adoption of common reporting formats as a means of reducing transaction costs for organisations with limited resources. Although it may be difficult for smaller organisations to advocate for common reporting standards, grantees could nevertheless pressure their funders to pursue greater harmonisation in this technical area. Lowering the reporting burden on grantees is an area where greater cooperation among private foundations themselves could be especially fruitful, given that foundations often like to support the same types of organisations. In the same vein, foundations should consider supporting pooled funding mechanisms for individual grantees to a greater degree in order to increase the flexibility that grantees have to respond to challenges on the ground (see section 4.2.7). By minimising the reporting burden and giving grantees more freedom to allocate their own resources, private foundations should be able to foster the lean and innovative work in development with which they are often associated.

5.2 Avenues for further research

A starting point for this research project was that information on foundation engagement in development cooperation at the country-level remains limited. To assess foundation engagement in a single country context, this study used claims derived from the literature on foundations in international development as a frame of reference. In the process of analyzing the consistency of foundation engagement at the country-level with more general

depictions of their organisational characteristics, the study also identified other interesting issues that are beyond the scope of the present analysis but which may be taken up in further research on the topic.

One avenue for further research relates to deepening the analysis of the concepts that are associated with particular claims in order to assess whether private foundations pursue distinctive approaches to development cooperation in comparison to other types of development actors, including non-governmental organisations and traditional OECD donors. On the one hand, this study noted that private foundations are often not perceived to represent a distinct group of actors at the country-level. On the other hand, private foundations were generally considered to support innovation and the application of business principles in development work, qualities that are thought to distinguish foundations from other development actors. However, OECD-DAC aid providers have also demonstrated an interest in promoting development approaches that have these qualities. As examples, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) established an Office of Innovation and Development Alliances (IDEA) in 2010 and the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) set up an 'Innovation Council' in 2011.³² Given this interest, it would be useful to gain greater conceptual clarity on what innovation in development practice actually means and how different actors attempt to foster it through the initiatives that they support.

In a similar manner, OECD-DAC aid providers have also displayed interest in increasing the results-orientation of aid in recent years and have in the context of the aid effectiveness agenda made clear international commitments to do so. This raises the question of whether foundations and other development actors mean the same thing when they emphasize principles such as the measurement of results or even aid effectiveness. In other words, future research can consider whether the use of similar discourse translates into broader similarities in development practice.

The business orientation of foundation engagement in development cooperation is linked to the source of foundation funding, which is commonly either an entrepreneur or a corporation. Although foundations established

³² For more information on the USAID Office of Innovation and Development Alliances, see http://idea.usaid.gov. For information on the BMZ Innovation Council see http://www.bmz.de/en/ministry/innovationsbeirat/index.html.

by high-profile individuals may have greater visibility in international discussions on foundations in development, this study highlights that there are also many corporate foundations financing development activities. These organisations raise interesting questions for further research due to their linkages with their parent companies, which may assume a variety of forms. Corporate foundations might in some cases be regarded with skepticism because the funding disbursed via a foundation may be viewed as an attempt to burnish a corporate image. Examining the roles of foundations in firms' business strategies could provide insights on the motives for establishing entities separate from the firm to support charitable work as well as on the relationship between foundation investments and the firm's core business. From another perspective, it would be interesting to assess whether the development mandate of a corporate foundation has any influence on business practice within the firm itself. As development cooperation actors, corporate foundations may be exposed to issues that are not commonplace in the day-to-day work of their parent companies or interact with different types of stakeholders. Hence, there is a prospect that corporate foundations can transmit ideas to firms that shape corporate engagement in developing countries. Future research could examine these possible linkages between the work of corporate foundations and parent firms.

The business orientation of many private foundations also indicates that these organisations can potentially contribute to expanding networks across communities that may encourage a diverse set of actors to contribute resources and ideas to achieving key development objectives. Thus, the extent and success to date of the advocacy efforts that high-profile individuals behind particular foundations have already undertaken to reach out to communities outside of the world of traditional development cooperation (the private sector) could also be explored further.

This study highlighted that the term private foundation can apply to organisations with diverse forms. An extension of this research topic could probe the issue of organisational diversity in order to clarify the range of alternative models of aid provision that exist among foundations and private actors more generally. Indeed, this type of analysis could extend beyond private actors and examine organisational diversity in aid provision from state actors as well. Identifying relevant groupings of organisations could contribute to the analysis of whether and how differences in organisational set-up influence the prospects for delivering more effective development results. However, because this study suggested that many foreign aid providers are

viewed in a similar manner by development stakeholders regardless of their organisational characteristics, examining variations in the internal structures of organisations may prove to be less important than assessing what organisations actually do. As a result, the examination of where private aid providers including foundations distribute assistance, what priorities they support, and how they deliver aid will remain a relevant area of study both in the Tanzanian context and in other countries where the landscape of external aid providers is diverse.

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Table 4: List of inte	erview partners
Name	Institution / Organisation
Abdulla, Salim	Ifakara Health Institute
Atupele, W. M.	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, United Republic of Tanzania
Bichmann, Wolfgang	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW)
Bigambo, Christine	Regional Commissioner's Office, Mwanza
Biswalo, David	Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Cooperatives, United Republic of Tanzania
Bourez, Tom	Comprehensive Community Based Rehabilitation in Tanzania (CCBRT)
Bunten-Wren, Katie	Mkombozi
Courtright, Paul	Kilimanjaro Centre for Community Ophthalmology (KCCO)
Dix, Olivia	Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund
Doerken, Axel	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)
Dumea, Pilli	Children's Book Project for Tanzania
Ervin, Victoria	Touch Foundation
Ezekiel, Said	Faraja Trust
Fichtl, Reinhard	UBS Optimus Foundation
Foster, James	Wood Family Trust
Gwaja, Andrew	Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation
Hanne, Detlef	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW)
Hart, Craig	United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
Hasham, Altaaf	Aga Khan Foundation

Table 4: List of into	erview partners
Name	Institution / Organisation
Hedley, Rodney	Hilden Charitable Fund
Heim, Claus	USA River Rehabilitation Center
Huntington, Corey	High Commission of Canada
Hveem, Trine	Norwegian Church Aid
John, Elia	Muhimbili University of Health and Applied Sciences
Kabati, Mary	Tanzania Home Economics Association
Kalinga, Muhwela	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, United Republic of Tanzania
Kambarage, Dominic	Sokoine University of Agriculture
Karanja, Mercy	Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation
Kessy, Flora	Tanzanian Training Center for International Health
Kihoza, Noel	Education Development Foundation
Kikuli, Regina	Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, United Republic of Tanzania
Kindoli, Bernard	Foundation for Civil Society
Kippenberg, Mathias	Rummelsberger Stiftungszentrum
Kishekya, Duncan	Maarifa Ni Ufunguo
Knudsen, Niels	Development Partners Group (DPG) Secretariat, UNDP
Lachmund, Ian	Deutsche Investitions- und Entwicklungsgesellschaft (DEG)
Lang, Helmut	Stiftung der Rummelsberger Anstalten – Hilfe für Tansania
Likwelile, Servacius	Ministry of Finance, United Republic of Tanzania
Luena, Olive	Tanzania Gatsby Trust

Table 4: List of into	erview partners
Name	Institution / Organisation
Lwitika, Sikana	Ifakara Health Institute
Lyaruu, Deanness	Mount Meru Hospital
Mader, Jacques	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
Maggid, Hadija	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, United Republic of Tanzania
Malecela, Mwele	National Institute for Medical Research
Malima, Kweba	Sokoine University of Agriculture
Malisa, Philipina	Ministry of Finance, United Republic of Tanzania
Malisa, Ruth	Regional Commissioner's Office, Kilimanjaro
Mariki, Isabella	Regional Commissioner's Office, Mwanza
Martinsen, Mari	Development Partners Group (DPG) Secretariat, UNDP
Mattee, Amon	Sokoine University of Agriculture
McCrystal, Kelly	Clinton Health Access Initiative
Meyer, Carmen	Pestalozzi Children's Foundation
Minga, Eulalie	Regional Commissioner's Office, Morogoro
Missokia, Elizabeth	HakiElimu
Monnens, Becky	McKnight Foundation
Mosha, Theobald	Sokoine University of Agriculture
Mosha, Tina	Norwegian Church Aid
Moshiro, Tadeus	Hanns R. Neumann Stiftung
Msogoya, Theodosy	McKnight Foundation
Msuya, Omari	Regional Commissioner's Office, Kilimanjaro
Mwaipopo, Edson	Kilimanjaro Centre for Community Ophthalmology (KCCO)

Table 4: List of into	erview partners
Name	Institution / Organisation
Naidoo, Pat	Elma Philanthropies Services Ltd.
Nalingigwa, Beatrice	Pestalozzi Children's Foundation
Ndaba, Margaret	Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Cooperatives, United Republic of Tanzania
Ndile, Mussa	Tunajali
Ndossa, Anza-Amen	Regional Commissioner's Office, Arusha
Neumann-Silkow, Frauke	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)
Ngaeje, Mariam	Ariel Glaser Pediatric Aids Healthcare Initiative
Ngodu, Abdallah	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, United Republic of Tanzania
Ngulubayi, Susan	Regional Commissioner's Office, Arusha
Nkinde, Mohamed	Monduli Pastoralist Development Initiatives
Nkini, Blandina	Regional Commissioner's Office, Arusha
Noah, L. G.	Regional Commissioner's Office, Morogoro
Olan'g, Silas	Revenue Watch Institute
Owaga, Peter	Deutsche Stiftung Weltbevölkerung
Pemba, Senga	Tanzanian Training Center for International Health
Peuse, Gene	United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
Rajani, Rakesh	Twaweza
Ramadhani, Bundala	Tanzania Home Economics Association
Reinhard, Dirk	Munich Re Stiftung

Table 4: List of into	erview partners
Name	Institution / Organisation
Ringo, Dominick	Research Community and Organizational Development Associates (RECODA)
Riwa, Lydia	Regional Commissioner's Office, Kilimanjaro
Ruchyahinduru, Alex	Policy Forum
Rulaze, Evodins	Regional Commissioner's Office, Morogoro
Sanare, Erasto	Monduli Pastoralist Development Initiatives
Schulze, Alexander	Novartis Foundation for Sustainable Development
Senkoro, Ellen	Benjamin William Mkapa HIV/Aids Foundation
Stokes, Justin	Cluster Competitiveness Program, Tanzania Private Sector Foundation
Tesha, Jovin	PASADA
Tolle, Lorena	Baylor International Pediatric Aids Initiative
Tolle, Mike	Baylor International Pediatric Aids Initiative
van den Hombergh, Jan	PharmAccess Foundation
Vesterager, Jens	Rockwool Fonden
Vitalis, Mbilinyi	Economic and Social Research Foundation (ESRF)
Walsh, Conor	Catholic Relief Services
Wengrzyk, Ina	Hanns R. Neumann Stiftung
Willems, Ank	Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Dar es Salaam
Wilson, Andy	Abbott Fund
Yeomans, Michael	H.J. Heinz Foundation

Table 5: List of foun	dations suppo	List of foundations supporting development work in Tanzania	t work in Tanzar	ia is
Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
Abbott Fund	NSA	Health	Dar es Salaam	abbottfund.org
African Conservation Foundation	UK	Environment	/	africanconservation.org
Aga Khan Foundation	Switzerland Health, Educati Private Finance	Health, Education, Private Sector, Finance etc.	Dar es Salaam	akdn.org
AGRA Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (Gates / Rockefeller)	USA	Agriculture	1	agra-alliance.org
Andrew W. Mellon Foundation	USA	Agriculture	/	mellon.org
Antares Foundation	Netherlands Health	Health	/	antaresfoundation.org
ASML Foundation	Netherlands	Education	/	asml.com/asml/show.do?lang=EN&ctx=1432&rid=366
Banyan Tree Foundation	/	Education	/	bany an treeglobal foundation. com
Baring Foundation	UK	Social Welfare	/	www.baringfoundation.org.uk

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Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
Bernard van Leer Foundation	Netherlands Education	Education	/	bernardvanleer.org
Better Way Foundation	Sn	Education	/	betterwayfoundation.org
Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation	USA	Health, Finance, Agriculture	1	gatesfoundation.org
BioRe Stiftung	Switzerland Health, Agricul	Health, Agriculture	1	www.remei.ch/biore-stiftung
Bristol Meyers-Squibb Foundation	USA	Health	/	bms.com/foundation/Pages/home.aspx
BRS (formerly Belgian Raiffeisen Foundation)	Belgium	Finance	/	www.brs-vzw.be/default.aspx?sc_lang=en
Carnegie Corporation of New York	USA	Education	/	carnegie.org
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation	USA	Social Welfare	/	mott.org
Citi Foundation	USA	Finance	/	citifoundation.com

Table 5: List of foun	dations suppo	List of foundations supporting development work in Tanzania	t work in Tanzan	ia
Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
Coca-Cola Africa Foundation	Swaziland	Health, Water, Private Sector	/	tccaf.org
Coca-Cola Foundation	NSA	Health	/	$the coca-cola company.com/citizenship/foundation_coke.html\\$
Conrad N. Hilton Foundation	USA	Health	/	hiltonfoundation.org
Credit Suisse Foundation	Switzerland Education, Finance	Education, Finance	/	responsibility.credit-suisse.com
David and Elaine Potter Foundation	UK	Environment	/	potterfoundation.com
Desk and Chair Foundation	UK	Health, Education, Social Welfare, Water	/	tdcf.org.uk
Deutsche Stiftung Weltbevölkerung	Germany	Health, Education	Arusha	weltbevoelkerung.de

Table 5: List of foun	dations suppo	List of foundations supporting development work in Tanzania	t work in Tanzan	i.
Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund	UK	Health	/	www.theworkcontinues.org
DOB Foundation (formerly Netherlands Agriculture, De Oude Beuk Foundation)	Netherlands	Agriculture, Private Sector	/	www.dobfoundation.nl/eng
Doris Duke Charitable Foundation	USA	Health	/	ddcf.org
Eckart-Schwerin-Stiftung	Germany	Education	/	www.schulen-in-tansania.de
Edmund Rice Foundation	Australia	Education	/	erf.org.au/projects//anzania
Earth Assistance Foundation	Australia	Health, Education, Environment	Arusha	earthassistance.org
ELMA Philanthropies	USA	Health, Education	Dar es Salaam	elmaphilanthropies.org
Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric AIDS Foundation	USA	Health	Dar es Salaam	pedaids.org

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Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
Emirates Airline Foundation	Dubai	Health, Water, Social Welfare	/	emiratesairlinefoundation.org/english
Elton John AIDS Foundation	UK	Health	/	ejaf.com
Finnish Children and Youth Foundation	Finland	Education	/	nuori.fi/en
Finnish Foundation for Media, Communication and Development	Finland	Media	/	vikes.fi/vikes-in-english
FEMI Foundation	Netherlands	Netherlands Social Welfare	/	femi.org
Firelight Foundation	USA	Education, Health, Social Welfare	/	firelightfoundation.org
Flora Family Foundation	USA	Education, Social Welfare, Water, etc.	/	florafamily.org

Table 5: List of foun	ndations suppo	List of foundations supporting development work in Tanzania	t work in Tanzan	ia
Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
Fondation Mérieux	France	Health	/	fondation-merieux.org
Fondazione Cariplo	Italy	Health	/	www.fondazionecariplo.it
Force Foundation	UK	Education	/	force-foundation.org.uk
Ford Foundation	USA	Education, Agriculture, Science	/	fordfoundation.org
Fred Hollows Foundation	Australia	Health	/	hollows.org/tanzania
Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian	Portugal	Health	/	www.gulbenkian.pt
Fundacion Roviralta	Spain	Health	/	roviralta.org
Google Foundation	USA	Education	/	google.org/foundation.html
Gordon V. & Helen C. Smith Foundation	USA	1	/	/
Gatsby Charitable Foundation	UK	Private Sector, Agriculture, etc.	/	www.gatsby.org.uk

Table 5: List of foun	dations suppo	List of foundations supporting development work in Tanzania	t work in Tanzan	ia
Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
Hands of Africa Foundation	Netherlands Health, Educati	Health, Education	Dar es Salaam	handofafricafoundation.com
Hanns R. Neumann Foundation	Germany	Agriculture, Private Sector, Environment	Moshi	hrnstiftung.org
H.J. Heinz Foundation	USA	Health	/	heinz.com/sustainability.aspx/social/heinz-foundation.aspx
Hope in Tanzania Foundation	USA	Agriculture	/	www.hopeintanzania.org
Hopeful Futures Foundation	UK	Education	Tanga	hopefulfutures.org.uk
Hilden Charitable Fund	UK	Health, Water, Education	/	hildencharitablefund.org.uk
IBM International Foundation	USA	Private Sector, Environment	1	ibm.com/ibm/responsibility
Howard G. Buffet Foundation	USA	Agriculture, Water	/	thehowardgbuffettfoundation.org

Table 5: List of foun	idations suppo	List of foundations supporting development work in Tanzania	t work in Tanzan	ia
Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
International Tree Foundation	UK	Environment	/	internationaltreefoundation.org
Izumi Foundation	USA	Education	/	izumi.org
Jack Petchey Foundation	UK	Education	/	jackpetcheyfoundation.org.uk
John Ellerman Foundation	UK	Environment, Social Welfare	/	www.ellerman.org.uk
King Baudouin Foundation	Belgium	Private Sector, Agriculture, Health,	,	kbs-frb.be
Laerdal Foundation for Acute Medicine	Norway	Health	/	laerdalfoundation.org
Lemelson Foundation	USA	Agriculture	/	lemelson.org
Lien Foundation	Singapore	Health	/	lienfoundation.org
Liliane Fonds	Netherlands	Health	/	lilianefonds.nl

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Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
Liz Clairborne Art Ortenberg Foundation	USA	Environment	/	lcaof.org
Love Hope Strength Foundation	USA	Health	/	lovehopestrength.org
Lloyds TSB Foundation for Scotland	UK	Education	/	Itsbfoundationforscotland.org.uk
Fondation Marie & Alain Philippson	Belgium	Health	/	www.philippsonfoundation.org
MacArthur Foundation	USA	Governance, Environment	/	macfound.org
Mondo Challenge Foundation	UK	Education, Private Sector	/	mondochallengefoundation.org
New England Biolabs Foundation	USA	Environment	/	nebf.org

Table 5: List of foun	idations suppo	List of foundations supporting development work in Tanzania	t work in Tanzan	ia
Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
McKnight Foundation	USA	Education, Agriculture, Private Sector, Environment	Morogoro	mcknight.org
Nelson Mandela Foundation	South Africa	Education	/	nelsonmandela.org
Novartis Foundation	Switzerland Health	Health	1	www.novartisfoundation.org
Nuffield Foundation	UK	Health	1	nuffieldfoundation.org
Oak Foundation	Switzerland	Social Welfare	1	oakfnd.org
Open Society Foundations	USA	Governance	/	soros.org
Oswald Family Foundation	USA	Education	/	oswaldfoundation.org
Our Lady Queen of Peace Foundation	USA / Canada	Education	/	ourladyqueenofpeacefoundation.com
PharmAccess Foundation	Netherlands	Health	Dar es Salaam	pharmaccess.org
Plan Stiftungszentrum	Germany	Water	/	plan-stiftungszentrum.de

Table 5: List of found	dations suppo	List of foundations supporting development work in Tanzania	t work in Tanzan	ia
Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
Pestalozzi Children's Foundation	Switzerland	Education	Dar es Salaam pestalozzi.ch	pestalozzi.ch
Rabobank Foundation	Netherlands Agriculture	Agriculture	/	rabobank.com/content/csr/rabobank_foundation
Ria und Arthur Dietschweiler Stiftung	Switzerland	Switzerland Environment	/	dietschweiler-stiftung.ch
Rockefeller Foundation	USA	Health, Agriculture, Private Sector, Environment		rockefellerfoundation.org
Rufford Small Grants Foundation	UK	Environment	/	ruffordsmallgrants.org/rsg
Rummelsberger Stiftungszentrum	Germany	Health, Education	/	rummelsberger-stiftungszentrum.de
Rockwool Fonden	Denmark	Agriculture	/	rockwoolfonden.dk
Shell Foundation	UK	Private Sector, Environment	/	shellfoundation.org

Table 5: List of foun	dations suppo	List of foundations supporting development work in Tanzania	t work in Tanzan	ia
Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
Schwab Foundation for Social Entrepreneurship	Switzerland various	various	/	www.schwabfound.org
Sigrid Rausing Trust	UK	Governance	,	sigrid-rausing-trust.org
Stars Foundation	UK	Health, Social Welfare	/	starsfoundation.org.uk
Stephen Lewis Foundation	Canada	Health	/	stephenlewisfoundation.org
Skoll Foundation	USA	Health, Private Sector	/	skollfoundation.org
Stichting Connect International	Netherlands Health, Educati	Health, Education	/	connectinternational.nl/english/home
Stiftung der Rummelsberger Anstalten - Hilfen für Tansania	Germany	Health, Education	/	rummelsberger.de/cms/index.php?id=287
Stewarts Law Foundation	UK	Health	/	stewartslaw.com

Table 5: List of foun	dations suppo	List of foundations supporting development work in Tanzania	t work in Tanzan	ia
Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
Stichting Het Groene Woudt	Netherlands	Netherlands Environment	/	/
Stromme Foundation	Norway	Education, Finance	/	strommestiftelsen.no
Tanzania Development Trust	UK	Education, Water	/	tanzdevtrust.org
Tides Foundation	USA	Health, Education, Social Welfare, Water	,	tides.org
Touch Foundation	USA	Health	Mwanza	touchfoundation.org
Tony Blair Faith Foundation	UK	Health	1	tonyblairfaithfoundation.org
Tubney Charitable Trust	UK	Education	/	tubney.org.uk
Turing Foundation	Netherlands Education, Environme	Education, Environment	/	turingfoundation.org

Table 5: List of foun	ndations suppo	List of foundations supporting development work in Tanzania	t work in Tanzan	ia
Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
Tuwapende Watoto	Switzerland	Education, Social Welfare	/	tuwapende-watoto.org
UBS Optimus Foundation	Switzerland Health, Educati	Health, Education	/	ubs.com/optimus
Udo Lindenberg Stiftung	Germany	Social Welfare	/	udo-lindenberg-stiftung.de
Ukengee Foundation	Netherlands	Education	/	ukengee.org
ViAfrica Foundation	Netherlands	Education	Moshi	viafrica.org
Vodafone Foundation	NU	Health	/	vodafone.com/start/foundation.html
Volkswagen Stiftung	Germany	Agriculture	/	volkswagenstiftung.de
Wakina Mama na Watoto Stiftung	Switzerland	Education, Social Welfare	/	wakina.ch
Waterloo Foundation	UK	Education, Agriculture	/	waterloofoundation.org.uk
Watoto Foundation	Netherlands Education	Education	/	watotofoundation.nl/en/

Table 5: List of foun	dations suppo	List of foundations supporting development work in Tanzania	t work in Tanzar	ia
Name of foundation	Country of origin	Sectors of engagement	Country office	Country office Foundation website
Wellcome Trust	UK	Health	1	wellcome.ac.uk
Wheelchair Foundation	USA	Health	/	wheelchairfoundation.org
William and Flora Hewlett USA Foundation	USA	Education	/	hewlett.org
William J. Clinton Foundation	USA	Health, Education	/	clintonfoundation.org
Wood Family Trust	UK	Agriculture	Dar es Salaam	Dar es Salaam woodfamilytrust.org
Woodford Foundation	UK	Education	1	woodfordfoundation.org.uk
World Lung Foundation	US	Health	/	worldlungfoundation.org

Interview protocols

As described in the text (section 3.2.2), this study largely builds on interviews that were conducted with government representatives, development partners, foundation staff, representatives of organisations that receive funding from foundations, and other stakeholders between February and April, 2012. Interview protocols were developed in advance for different stakeholder groups. A rather open, introducing question was prepared for each of the eight topics, followed by a number of optional questions and stimuli. The order of the eight thematic blocks, therefore, could be arranged spontaneously during an interview depending on the progress of the conversation. During the first two weeks of the field study, the protocols were revised and adapted. The final versions of the protocols for foundations and for grantees are presented here for reference.

Interview protocol for foundations

,		
· ·	Date	
	Begin	
	End	
	Interviewer(s)	
	Name and location of the foundation	
	Name and position of the interviewee	
	Remarks on the interview situation	
	Conclusions, main points	
	_	

Introduction

- Introduce us and our research project explain that we are interested in foreign private foundations and explain research objectives (hand over flyer and/or business cards)
- Present the way of recording the interview: taking notes
- Affirm confidentiality (results will not be traceable to the person/foundation)
- Inform the interviewee that there will be a final workshop in which we will present our findings, invite them to it and offer to provide a (digital) copy of our final report
- Ask if there are open question before interview starts. Ask how much time IP can spend on the interview

Foundation's work in Tanzania in general	ıl	
Overall question	Topic	Concrete question
We already have an idea of your	History	a) How long have you been engaged in Tanzania?
foundation's work from your website and found it very interesting. Can you please		b) Why did your foundation choose to go to Tanzania?
tell us a bit more about [go to relevant	Regions	c) What regions are you engaging in?
topics prepared for each interview]	Projects	d) What projects are you engaged in at the moment?
	[add more topics that	
	seem interesting from	
	website]	

Self-perception of the foundation's work in Tanzania	on's work in Tanzania	
1) Do you implement your projects yourself or do you	Demand- vs. Supply-driven	a) Do you ask organisations to apply for grants with their own project idea or do you call for tenders?
give grants?		b) What are your requirements towards organisations that apply for grants \prime tender?
		c) Do you support capacity building of the implementing partner's staff?

Self-perception of the foundation's work in Tanzania	on's work in Tanzania	
2) What are the main goals of you	ır foundation in Tanzan	2) What are the main goals of your foundation in Tanzania and how do they relate to overall foundation goals?
2.1) What would you say is your contribution to	Niche-filler	Do you engage in activities or regions that are different from those that traditional donors are active in? If so, why?
development in 1 anzama (in comparison to other actors)?		Would you say that you complement the work of the government of Tanzania and other donors?
2.2) Do you think it is better to	Problem-solvers	What are your priorities within [sector(s)]?
focus on particular issues or do you prefer working on [sector] as a whole?	vs. horizontal approach	What do you plan to have accomplished in five years? Would you say that your foundation shows more long-term commitment than other development actors?
2.3) Are you willing to invest in new projects even if it's	Innovative potential	Do you feel that you are/were breaking new ground with initiative \mathbb{X}_2^2
uncertain if they will be successful or not?		Do you think foundations are more prone to take risks than other development actors?
		Do you think your approach could inspire or influence the work of other donors or the government?
		[if the word innovation is mentioned] What does it mean for you to be innovative?

Self-perception of the foundation's work in Tanzania	on's work in Tanzania	
Relations with partners		
3) What is your relationship	Alignment	How do government strategies influence your work?
with the Government of Tanzania like?		Does your foundation interact or cooperate with governmental actors, national or local? Can you give us an example?
		Did you approach the government or did they approach you?
		Would you like to have a closer relationship with government actors?
4) What is your relationship with other aid-providers like?	Harmonisation	How do you engage with other donors? Have you engaged in any joint projects with bi- and multilateral donors?
		Do you also contribute to program pools?
		Are you integrated into coordination structures, e.g. the work of the DPG or of sector working groups?
		IF NOT: Do you think it could be beneficial to your work to be part of coordination structures?
		IF SO: How do you benefit from being part of the coordination structures?
	Paris	Are the principles of the Paris agenda of any practical relevance for your work?

Self-perception of the foundation's work in Tanzania	n's work in Tanzania	
5) In literature, you often find	Business approach	What is your understanding of "business approach"?
the claim that some foundations adopt a business approach to development. Would you say that is true?		Do you adopt a business approach?
6) Can you give us an idea of financial volumes that your	Provide significant resources	How do you fund your activities? (donations, returns from endowment)
foundation spends in Tanzania?		How important are these different sources of income for your foundation?
7) Would you say you are a typical foundation?	Meta-claim: Foundations are a	What are differences and similarities between [foundation's name] and other foundations operating in Tanzania?
	distinct category of actors.	Do you feel your foundation is part of a foundation community or rather of a NGO community?

- Final question: Is there anything we haven't touched upon that you would like to mention?
- Could you recommend anybody else we could approach to talk about foreign private foundations?
- Ask for specific contacts (in government agencies, with donors) that have been mentioned in the interview. (example: if a cooperation has been mentioned)

- Ask if we can visit projects.
- Thank for interview
- Can we contact you again if we have any further questions?
- Inform the interviewee again that there will be a final workshop in which we will present our findings, invite them to it and offer to provide a (digital) copy of our final report

Additional questions:

- What are your general impressions of foreign private foundations in Tanzania? (their work, place in the development landscape) Would you say they have any advantages or disadvantages compared to other aid-providers?
- In general, would you say that foundations are organized differently than other development actors?

Interview protocol for implementing organisations

Interview protocol for implementing organisations	organisations
Date	
Begin	
End	
Interviewer(s)	
Name and location of the organisation	
Name and position of the interviewee	
Remarks on the interview situation	
Conclusions, main points	

Introduction

- Introduce us and our research project explain that we are interested in foreign private foundations and explain research objectives (hand over flyer and/or business cards)
- Present the way of recording the interview: taking notes
- Affirm confidentiality (results will not be traceable to the person/foundation)
- Inform the interviewee that there will be a final workshop in which we will present our findings, invite them to it and offer to provide a (digital) copy of our final report
- Ask if there are open question before interview starts. Ask how much time IP can spend on the interview!

Organisation's work		
Overall question	Topic	Concrete question
We read about your organi-	History	How long have you been engaged in Tanzania?
sation on the internet and know already about your		IF FOREIGN: Why did your organization choose to work in Tanzania?
activities. But nevertheless	Regions	What regions are you engaging in?
maybe you could describe your organisation's work in	Projects	What projects are you engaged in at the moment?
your own words in a few sentences	[add more topics that seem interesting from website]	

Organisation's work with foundations	undations	
Overall question	Topic	Concrete question
Could you give us an overview of the foundations that fund your activities? Besides thefoundations, are	List of foundations	
there other foundations that	Projects	What projects are you engaged in at the moment?
tund your projects?	Amount of financing	Amount of financing How much of your work is financed by foundations (%)?

Perception of foundations		
1) How did you start the cooperation with the foundation(s)? How	Demand- vs. supply- driven	Did you apply for grants with your own project idea or did you respond to a call for tenders?
would you describe the ongoing cooperation with the foundation(s)?		What requirements did the foundation have for the application process?
		Would you say that the foundation's requirements were rather easy or difficult to follow?
		IF MORE THAN 1 FOUNDATION/DONOR: Did you see differences in the requirements between foundations or in contrast to other donors?
		Does the grant cover expenses for administrative tasks and other things like capacity building of your staff?
		How much and what kind of interaction do you have with the foundation(s)?
2) Do you have the impression that foundations rather focus on one	Problem-solvers vs. horizontal approach	Do you know the foundation's/foundations' priorities within the [sector(s)]?
particular issue in a sector or do they rather work on a sector as a whole?		IF YES: Why do you think this is a priority?

Percention of foundations (cont.)		
		Do you think that the project you implement is key to improving the situation in [sector] as a whole?
		Compared to other aid providers, do you think that foundations are more or less specialized?
3) What would you say is the foundation's / foundations' contribution to development in Tanzania (in	Niche-filler	Does the foundation engage in activities or regions that are different from those that traditional donors are active in? If so, why?
comparison to other actors)?		Would you say that foundations complement the work of the government of Tanzania and other donors?
4) Would you say that foundations rather prefer to fund established approaches or do they rather sup-	Innovative potential	Are foundations more willing than other aid providers to invest in promising new projects even if it's uncertain if they will be successful or not?
port new ideas and approaches?		Do you think foundations are more prone to take risks than other development actors?
		Would you say that foundations show more long-term commitment than other development actors?
		Do you think that [innovative project] might be an inspiration for other donors?

Percention of foundations (cont.)		
5a) For the projects you implement for the foundations, did you inter-	Alignment	Did the foundation voice a preference for cooperation with the government?
act or cooperate with governmental actors, national or local?		How do government strategies influence the project you implement for the foundation(s)?
		Did you approach the government or did they approach you?
		Would you like to have a closer relationship with government actors?
5b) Do you have any idea how foundations relate to other aid pro-	Harmonisation	Do you know if the foundation also supports program pools?
VICEIS III TAIIZAIIIA?		Do you think that foundations should communicate about their projects with other aid providers in the country?
6) Do you think foundations have	Meta-claim: Founda-	What would you say is a typical foundation?
distinct features or do you perceive them to be a part of the NGO community?	tions are a distinct category of actors.	Are there any differences and similarities between [foundation's name] and other foundations operating in Tanzania?
		Do foundations as a source of financing have particular advantages and disadvantages compared to other donors?

7) In the debate on foundations,	Business approach	What is your understanding of a "business approach"?
you often find the claim that some foundations adopt a business app-		Do you think that [the foundation] adopts a business approach?
roach to development. Would you		
say that is true?		
8) Could you give us rough num-	Provide significant	
bers on the financial volumes you	resources	
receive from foundation?		

- Final question: Is there anything we haven't touched upon that you would like to mention?
- Could you recommend anybody else we could approach to talk about foreign private foundations?
- Ask for specific contacts (in government agencies, with donors) that have been mentioned in the interview (example: if a cooperation has been mentioned).
- Ask if we can visit projects.
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Additional questions:

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- In general, would you say that foundations are organized differently than other development actors?

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