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Rethinking Multilateralism

ASSESSING GLOBAL VACCINATION MEASURES TO ADDRESS COVID-19



IGARAPÉ INSTITUTE
a think and do tank

Rethinking Multilateralism

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Introduction

While there is growing global appetite for networked multilateralism, there is less empirical evidence about what it looks like in practice. Policy makers can be helped in their efforts to design and bolster cooperation on key public goods challenges if they could better visualize effective collaboration in action. One way to do this is by applying network analytics – mapping the constellation of state, non-state and private actors operating on common problem sets. Network analysis can help better apprehend the density and distribution of the nodes and edges connecting international actors, providing insight into the nature of cooperation, or lack thereof.

In order to generate a more robust empirical case for networked multilateralism, the Igarapé Institute initiated a series of short studies to map global cooperation networks including international efforts to vaccinate against COVID-19.² The focus of this short treatment is on COVAX vaccine funding commitments and vaccine allocations. The goal of the initiative is to highlight the dimensions of networked multilateralism, the key actors involved in the COVAX vaccine ecosystem, as well as to ascertain the form and function of “impact hubs” driving action. The intention is not to provide an exhaustive account, but rather intended to illustrate the multiple ways in which global cooperation manifests over time.

1 This paper draws from <<https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/06/21/global-vaccination-covax-gavi-covid-19-pandemic-impact-hubs-public-private-funding-united-nations>>.

2 Igarapé Institute's other experiments in networked multilateralism mapping include visualizations of nuclear non-proliferation initiatives <<https://embed.kumu.io/52524b0d5c3956896b6b888397e9f648#networked-multilateralism-nuclear-non-proliferation-initiatives>> and of climate financing initiatives <<https://embed.kumu.io/5405e477b20d971652c5781769d047ac#untitled-map>>.

Overview

By definition, network maps offer more intuitive and dynamic visual representations than written text. Sharing these kinds of graphics can also reduce information asymmetries and potentially help stimulate collective action from stakeholders, especially as they better understand the varied contributions of other entities. In this assessment, maps highlight:

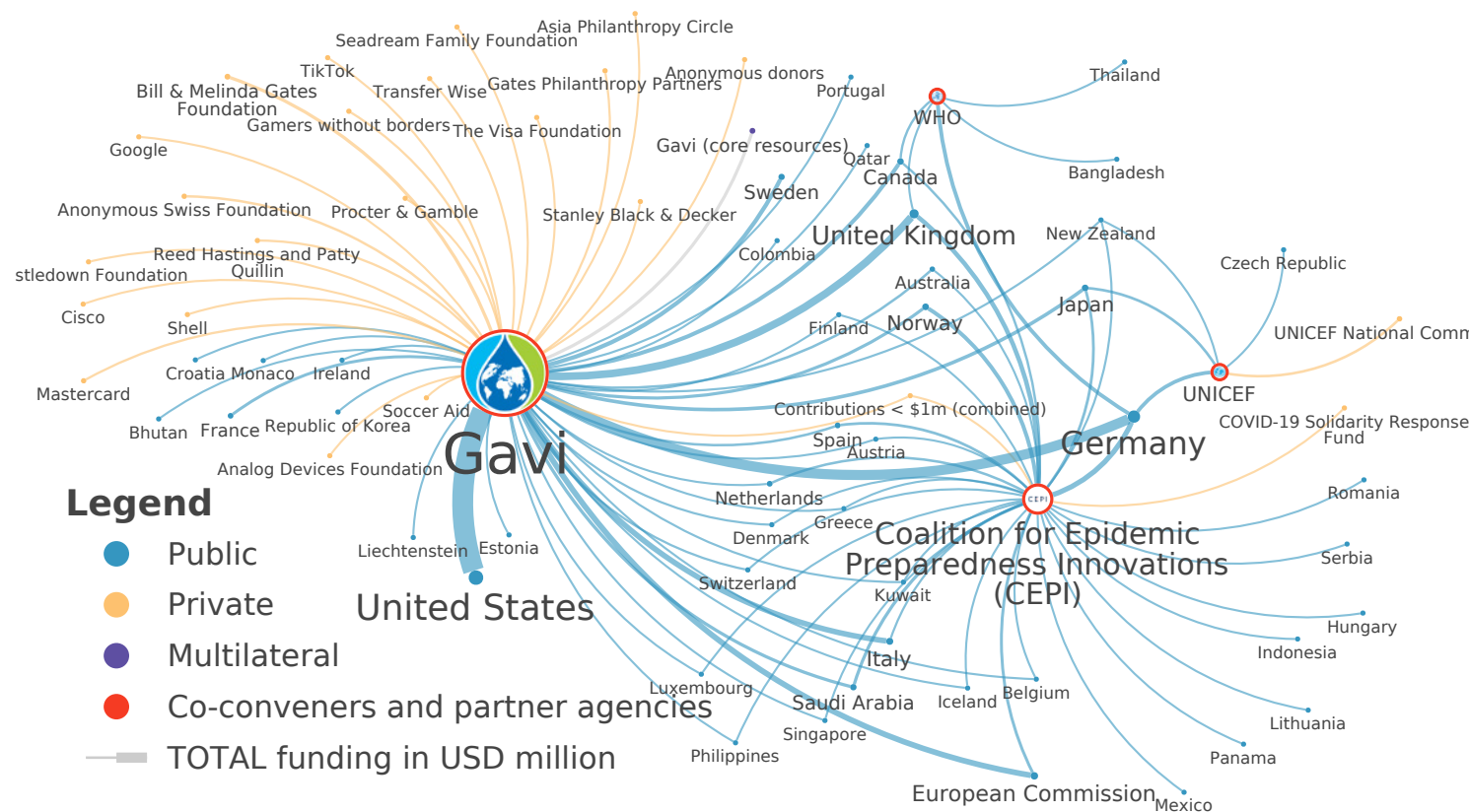
- 1 The surprisingly diverse range of countries, companies and organizations that are involved in COVAX;**
- 2 The ways in which COVAX vaccine funding are overwhelmingly concentrated among a handful of states, foundations and corporations;**
- 3 That extent to which COVAX vaccine distribution has proceeded equitably, despite widespread claims to the contrary; and**
- 4 The pivotal role of GAVI as a model impact hub, one that gathers private and public contributions and facilitates the production and distribution of a public good.**

The network maps assembled here offer a pathway to measuring the COVID-19 response ecosystem. They were developed using the KUMU platform.³ Data for both the COVAX vaccine pillar funding and allocations were obtained from the WHO ACT Accelerator's Funding Commitment Tracker.⁴ Future investigations will map additional sectors involved in global vaccination distribution, including international and national manufacturers and distributors. The Igarapé Institute will also undertake longitudinal analysis to track the evolution of the COVAX network over time.

A wide number of countries and organizations have committed vaccine-specific funding to GAVI, CEPI, UNICEF, and the WHO. Figure 1 draws on information supplied by the WHO tracker (April 29 2021). States are depicted in blue, private donors in yellow, and co-conveners and partners agencies are red. The thickness of an edge corresponds to the extent of funding committed to that particular co-convener or agency. The size of the label on a node corresponds to the amount of that node's total funding commitments.

³ KUMU Platform <<https://kumu.io>>.

⁴ World Health Organization. Access to COVID-19 tools funding commitment tracker. 23 July 2021 <<https://www.who.int/publications/m/item/access-to-covid-19-tools-tracker>>.

Figure 1. COVAX financing (April 2021)

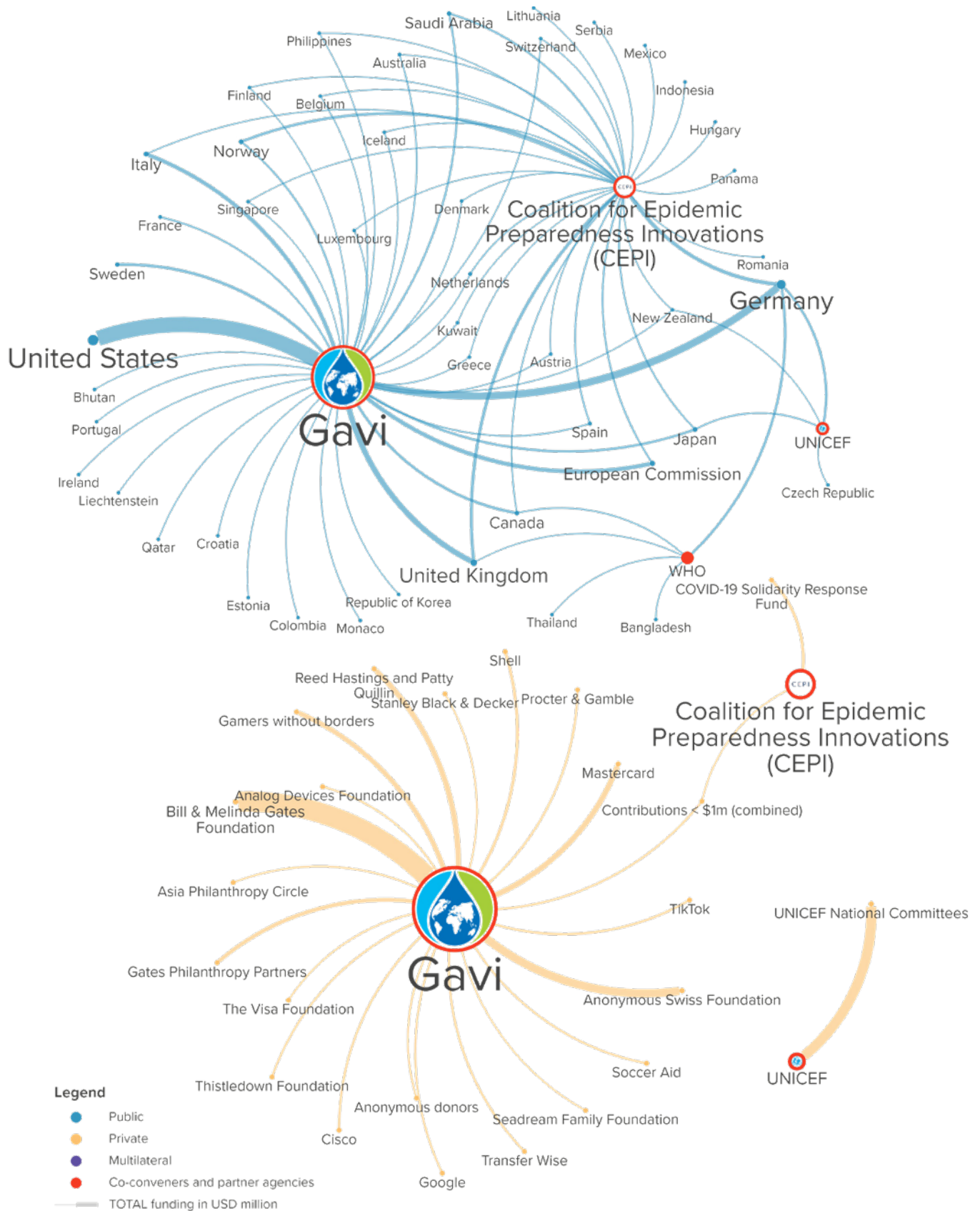
Source: Igarapé Institute (2021)⁵

The figure reveals that over \$8.9 billion has been pledged for vaccines as of late April 2021. GAVI received almost three-quarters of this funding (\$6.8 billion), followed by CEPI with \$1.6 billion. The vaccine-specific funding received by UNICEF and WHO totals around \$250 million. Bilateral agencies account for

\$8.4 billion of funding, led by the US with \$2.5 billion, Germany with \$1.8 billion, and the UK with \$1 billion. Figure 2 reveals that private donors account for \$331 million of the funding to the vaccine pillar, roughly half of which comes from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (\$156 million).

⁵ Access the dynamic representation of COVAX Vaccine Pillar Funding at <<https://embed.kumu.io/e075a9ce6eb412de68523670e7eff270# covid-19-vaccines-global-access-covax>>.

Figure 2. Comparing public and private donors for COVAX



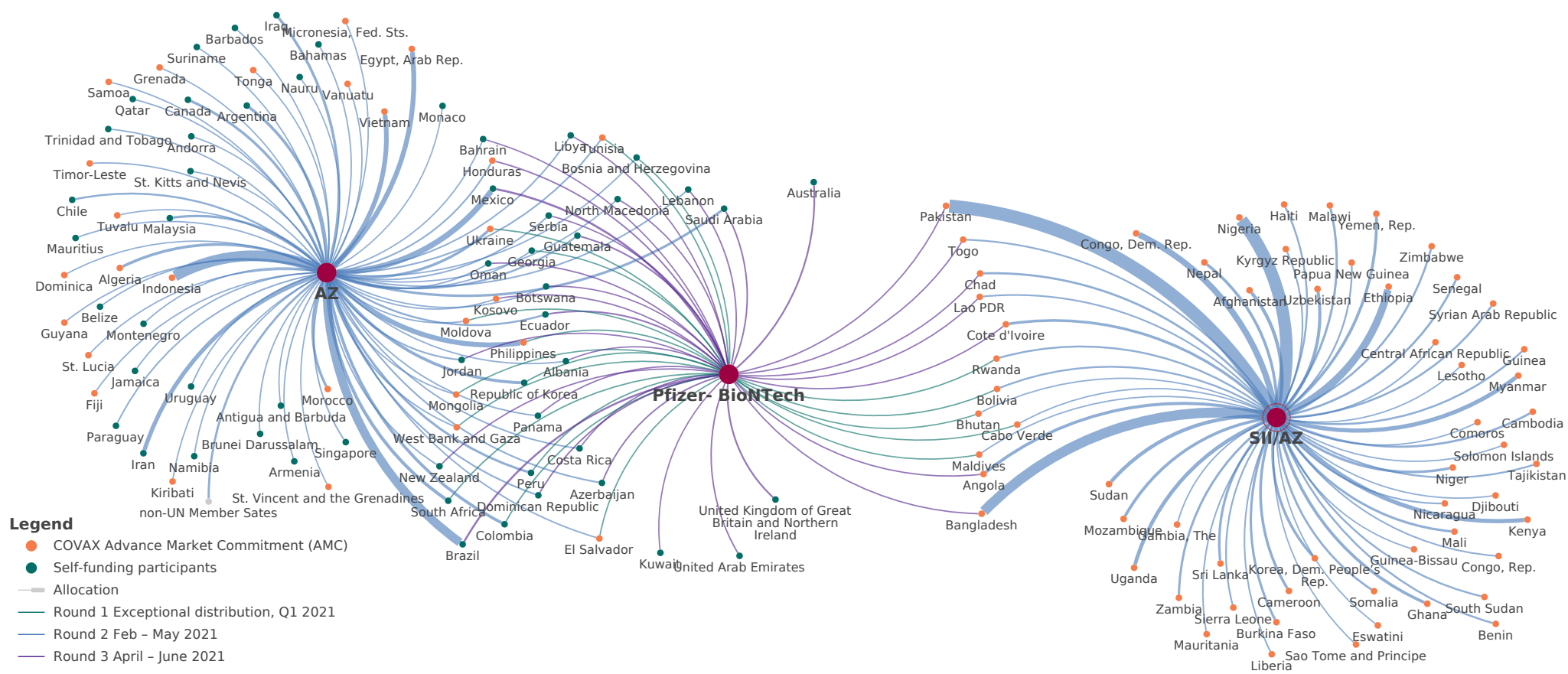
Source: Igarapé Institute (2021)⁶

6 Access the dynamic representation of COVAX Vaccine Allocations at <<https://embed.kumu.io/3a6eb2ebb8caabd14553a4b76a75aac9#untitled-map>>.

Figure 3 provides cumulative totals of three rounds of COVAX vaccine allocations thus far in 2021. Nations that are self-funded are represented as green nodes, and those receiving financing assistance from the COVAX Advance Market Commitment are

orange nodes. The thickness of the edge corresponds to the quantity of vaccines allocated. The color of an edge corresponds to the particular allocation round. The red hubs represent the type of vaccine delivered.

Figure 3. Cumulative vaccine allocations for COVAX (2021 totals)

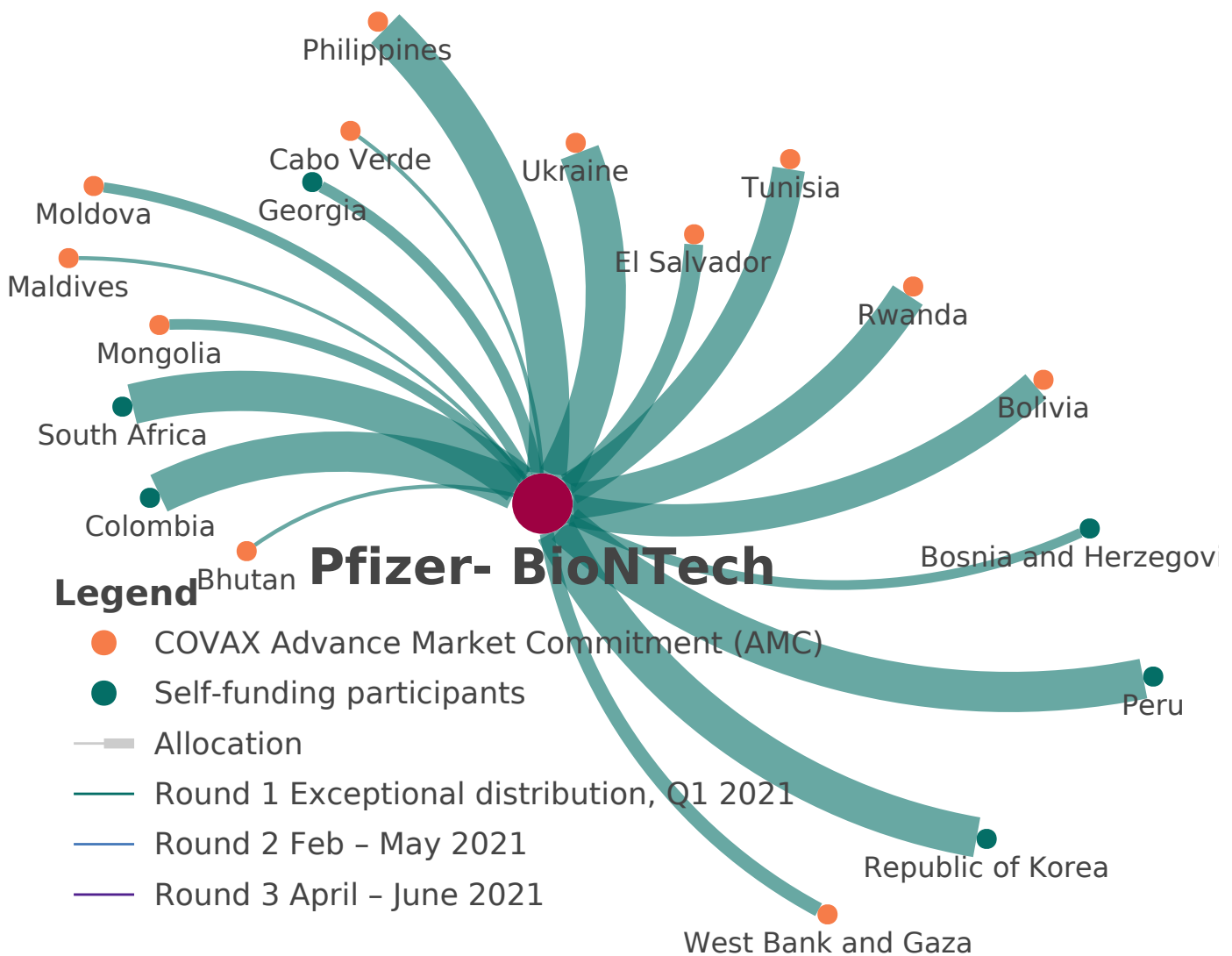


Source: Igarapé Institute (2021)

Specifically, the first round of allocation comprised 1.2 million doses of the Pfizer/BioNTech vaccine in the first quarter of 2021. In this allocation, highlighted in Figure 4, 18 countries received doses. Six of these countries (Colombia, Philippines, Peru, Republic of South Korea, South

Africa, and Ukraine) received the maximum allocation in this round, 117,000 doses each. Six countries were self-funding participants (Georgia, Republic of Korea, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Colombia, South Africa, and Peru).

Figure 4. First round of COVAX vaccine allocations (first quarter of 2021)

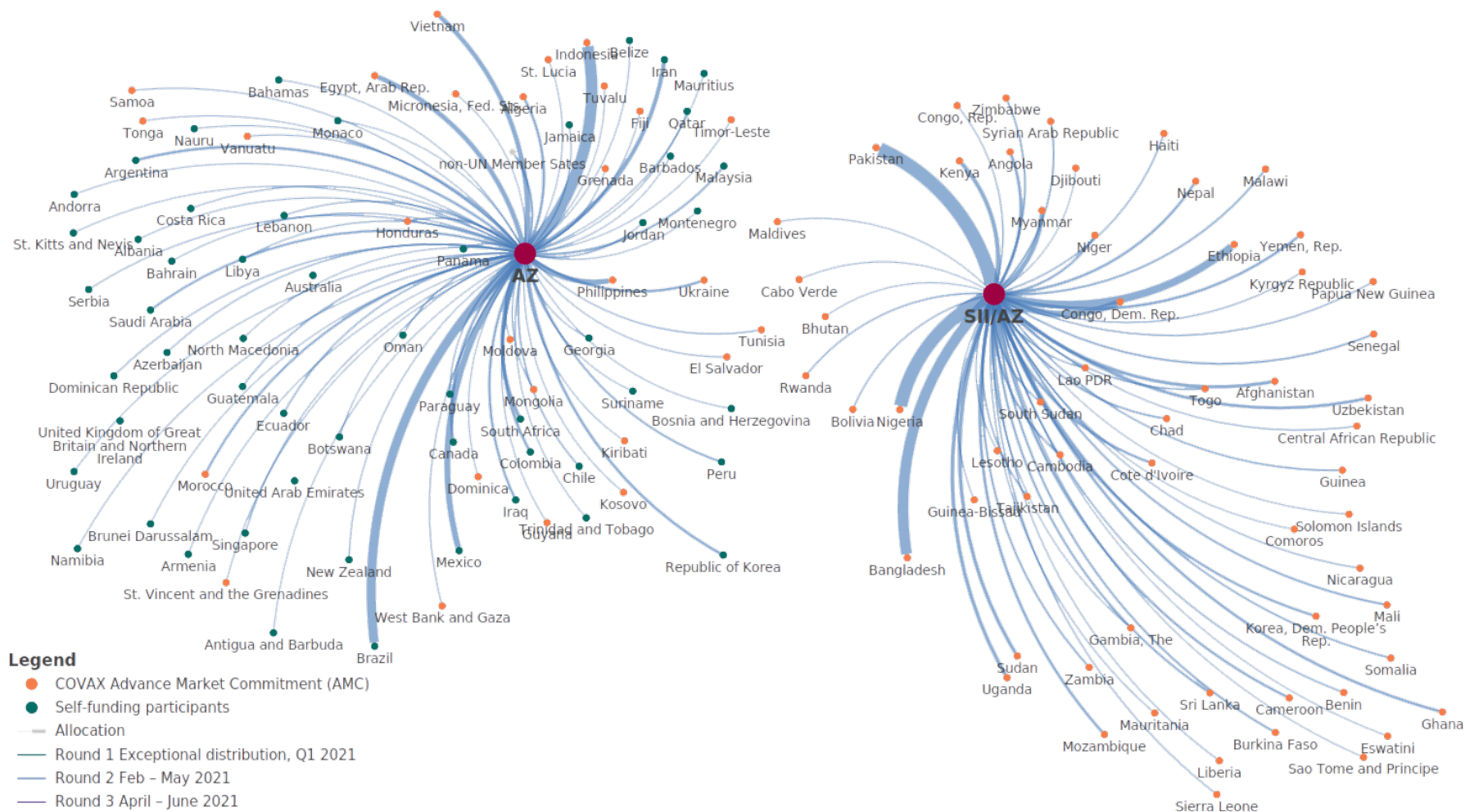


Source: Igarapé Institute (2021)

The second allocation round was substantially larger, including 237 million doses of the AZ/Oxford vaccine – manufactured by AstraZeneca (AZ) and under a manufacturing license by the Serum Institute of India (SII/AZ). The doses were allocated to 142 nations

through May 2021. The maximum allocations (of more than 11 million doses) were delivered to Pakistan, Nigeria, Indonesia, and Bangladesh, as can be seen in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5. Second round of COVAX vaccine allocations (first and second quarter 2021)

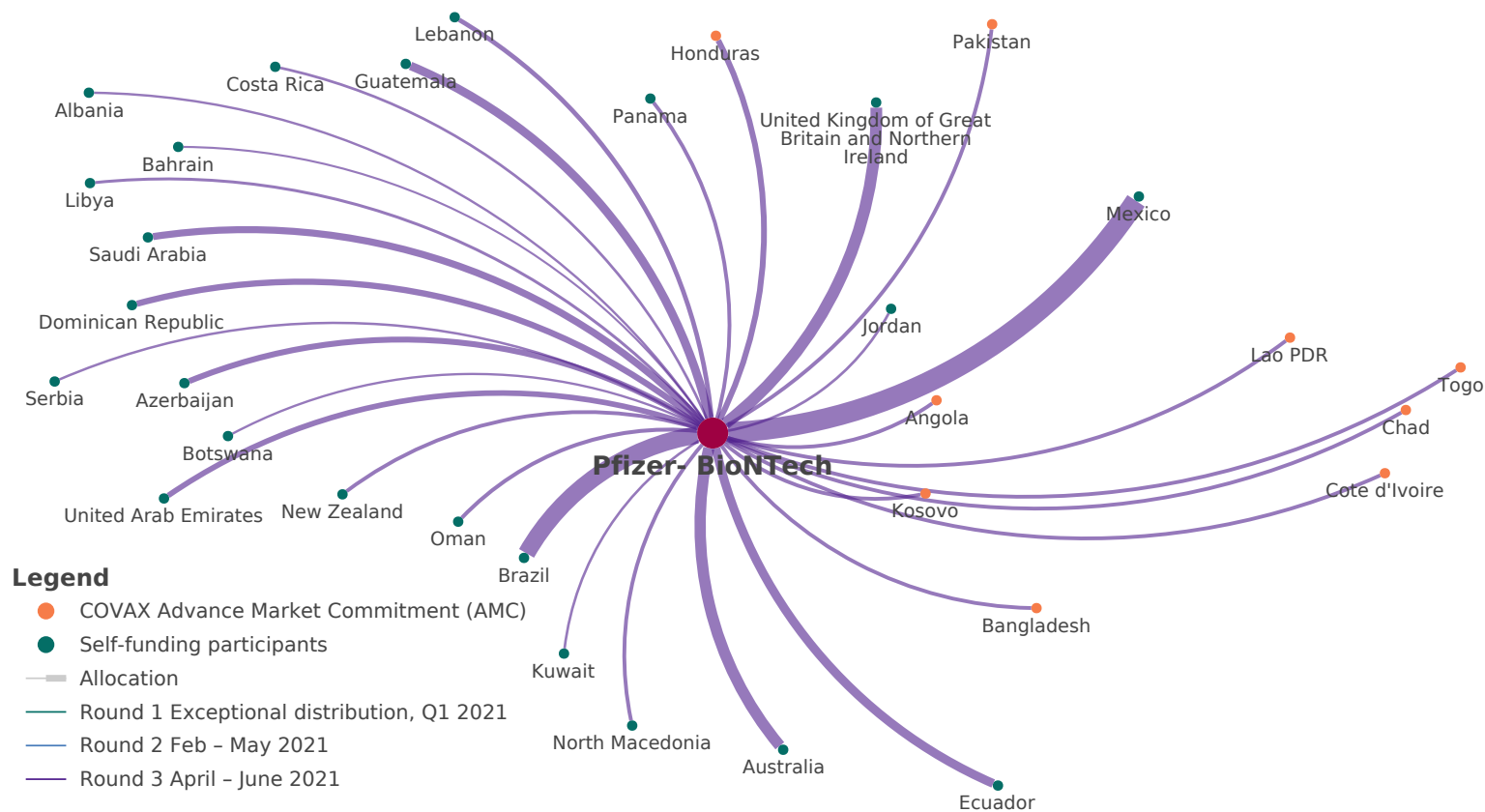


Source: Igarapé Institute (2021)

Meanwhile, the third round of COVID-19 vaccine allocations comprised 14.1 million doses of the Pfizer/BioNTech vaccine, distributed to 47 nations, from April to June 2021. These are

depicted in Figure 6 below, and highlight the large allotments to Brazil, Mexico and to a lesser extent Australia, Ecuador, Guatemala and the UK.

Figure 6. Third round of COVAX vaccine allocations (first and second quarter 2021)



Source: Igarapé Institute (2021)

Findings

The vaccination landscape is changing rapidly. The recent focus of the G7 on expanding vaccine availability, the debate on waving patents and proposals to establish new manufacturing centers for vaccines could change the game. The addition of new vaccines such as Sinovac and Sinopharm to the global rollout and the expansion of vaccine diplomacy could serve as a shot in the arm to expanding availability, especially in middle- and lower-income countries that are facing alarm deficits. A concerted initiative to scale-up vaccination would cost roughly \$50 billion. Failure to do so could cost the global economy upward \$9 trillion⁷.

Nevertheless, the analysis above detected a diverse array of stakeholders involved in the COVAX vaccine funding and distribution. As the network maps demonstrate, nodes contributing funding include states, corporations, private foundations, and civil society organizations. This is a testament to the global nature of the crisis – the fact that literally all parts of society are affected by the COVID-19 pandemic – and that despite vaccine nationalism, there is growing awareness that vaccinating the world is in the self-interest of every actor in society.

Notwithstanding the fact that vaccine rollout is slower than it could be, COVAX vaccine allocation has generally been equitable. The vaccine allocation maps highlight both the wide range of countries receiving supply from COVAX and that countries with larger populations have generally received more doses. This is not to say that vaccine roll-out in general has

been equitable – indeed, there is highly uneven global distribution. Future research will provide much more insight into the extent to which generally effective COVAX distribution persists, and whether it is sufficient to address the incredible needs of affected countries.

Even so, funding commitments are highly concentrated among just a few states and a very small number of private foundations. By June 2021, the US, UK, Germany, and the European Commission account for most of the funding. States account for \$8.4 billion of the \$8.9 billion committed to the vaccine pillar thus far.⁸ Half of the entire corporate-foundation contribution total comes from one donor, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

There is an urgent need to expand and diversify non-state funding – and an opportunity to marshal more resources from the private and philanthropic sectors. Multinational corporations have compelling financial interests in global vaccination; the sooner the pandemic ends, the sooner global, regional, national and subnational economies – and, for many corporations, profits – will recover. Increased fundraising effort should focus on these entities.

In fact, not only that states are giving vastly more than the private sector/philanthropy but that the relatively small size of private/philanthropic giving creates an opportunity (Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation provided \$156 million out of \$331 million from private donors overall), accordingly the WHO- ACT Accelerator Commitment Tracker. This provides an opportunity to promote funding among corporations who

7 Çakmaklı, Demiralp, Kalemli-Özcan, Yeşiltaş, and Yıldırım (2021). The economic case for global vaccinations: an epidemiological model with international production networks. NBER Working Papers. Working Paper 28395 <http://www.nber.org/papers/w28395>.

8 The WHO- ACT Accelerator Commitment Tracker provides transparent reporting on funding commitments made against ACT Accelerator Pillar budgets. Available at <https://www.who.int/initiatives/act-accelerator/funding-tracker>.

have signed on to the Global Compact. The network maps show you who is giving and participating but also show you the gaps. But also, showing how about getting all the impact funders to line-up their investees who can play a role in fighting the pandemic.

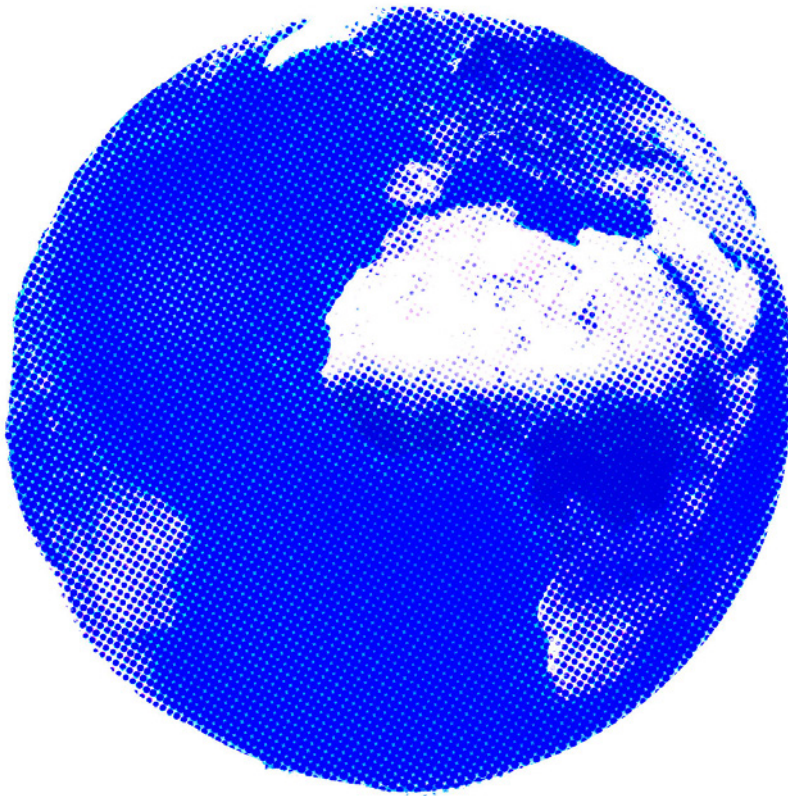
Crucially, GAVI stands out as a model “impact hub” that offers a replicable template for other areas of networked multilateralism. An impact hub is an international organization capable of bringing together the contributions, capabilities, and talents of a diverse range

of institutions – such as states, multilateral organizations, corporations, and civil society organizations – and then delivering a public good at scale. Figure 1 highlights GAVI’s input ecosystem, showing the wide range of contributing organizations that it incorporates. In a networked multilateralist approach, impact hubs such as GAVI can harness a greater volume and range of contributions than solely state-based multilateral organizations, and they can often more efficiently and creatively deliver at scale.

Next steps

The application of network analysis to COVAX vaccination funding and distribution can help visualize networked multilateralism in practice. When it comes to mapping relationships, dynamic and interactive visualizations are potentially more convincing to decision-makers than oral or written presentations. These types of heuristics can help parties identify where there are gaps and how to bridge deficits. A key question moving forward is how best to market “impact hubs” not just to governments, but also impact investors. This means helping them understand if they are investing in public, private or non-profit organizations with positive effects (including in relation to ESGs) across specific issue sets.

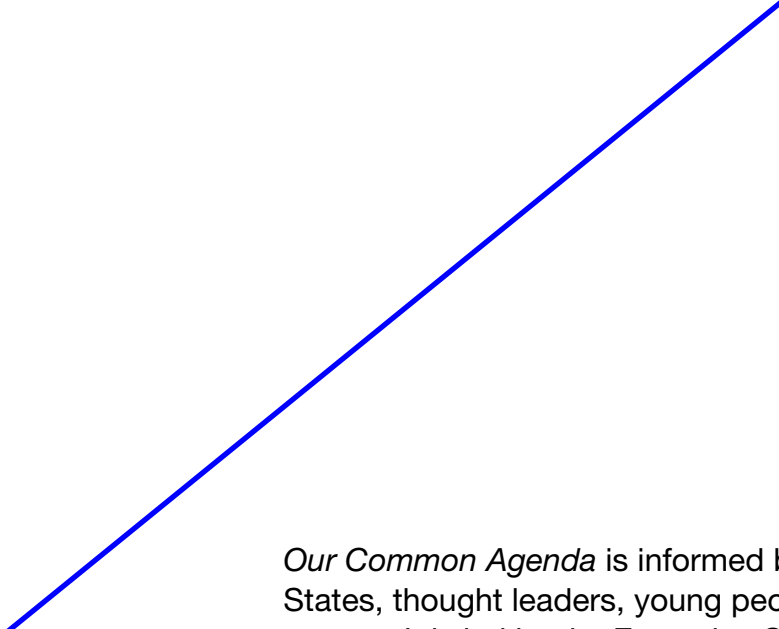
With more time and data, network maps can be generated that illustrate other facets of the COVID-19 vaccine landscape. This includes a time element to capture the changes and addition to the budgets. For example, these could include manufacturing facilities, production agreements, and Chinese and Russian vaccine distribution, which could be combined with the COVAX allocation map to generate a more comprehensive representation of global vaccination. The application of more advanced network analysis metrics, such as betweenness centrality and eigenvector centrality, could better show which medium to smaller states and organizations are most essential to overall vaccination efforts.



Our Common Agenda

The world is contending with multiple interconnected challenges ranging from global health threats and geopolitical tensions to massive digital transformation and accelerating climate change. These complex risks threaten to overwhelm existing multilateral institutions. New thinking is required. To this end, the Igarapé Institute is supporting the United Nations Secretary-General craft [*Our Common Agenda*](#). The Agenda is committed to delivering on the promise of the United Nations Charter by refocusing investment in international cooperation.

Our Common Agenda is intended to accelerate a new kind of multilateralism. It is mandated by a UN Member States Declaration commemorating the 75th anniversary of the United Nations. The Secretary-General was explicitly requested to report back to Member States with recommendations to address current and future challenges to the UN General Assembly before the end of the 75th session in September 2021.



Our Common Agenda is informed by consultations with Member States, thought leaders, young people, civil society, and the UN system. It is led by the Executive Office of the Secretary-General with support from the [UN Foundation](#) and [Igarapé Institute](#), along with a network of partners from around the world, including ACCORD (South Africa), [Southern Voice](#) (a network of 50 think tanks from Africa, Asia, and Latin America) and the [Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy](#) of the National University of Singapore.

Our Common Agenda proposes a series of very practical measures to advance the 12 themes set out in the [UN75 Declaration](#). Among other things, it calls for a reimagined social contract, greater solidarity across generations, reinvigorated protection of the global commons and more rapid and inclusive delivery of global public goods.

During 2020 and 2021, the Igarapé Institute helped backstop the Executive Office of the Secretary-General in its development of *Our Common Agenda*. The Institute conducted research, reviewed recommendations and coordinated a global digital consultation with support from a diverse range of partners.

Research: The Institute produced analytical papers on ways to accelerate inclusive and networked multilateralism and developed data visualizations of international cooperation on issues such as global vaccination, nuclear non-proliferation, and climate finance.

Consultations: The Institute led a global consultation involving non-governmental organizations, impact investors, philanthropists, parliamentarians, city leaders, academic institutions, and under-represented groups. The process generated 523 proposals from 1,759 participants from 147 countries.



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The Igarapé Institute is an independent think and do tank focused on public, climate and digital security and their consequences for democracy. Its objective is to propose solutions and partnerships for global challenges through research, new technologies, communication and influence on public policymaking. The Institute works with governments, the private sector and civil society to design data-based solutions. Prospect Magazine named Igarapé Institute the best Human Rights NGO in 2018 and the best think tank on social policy in 2019.

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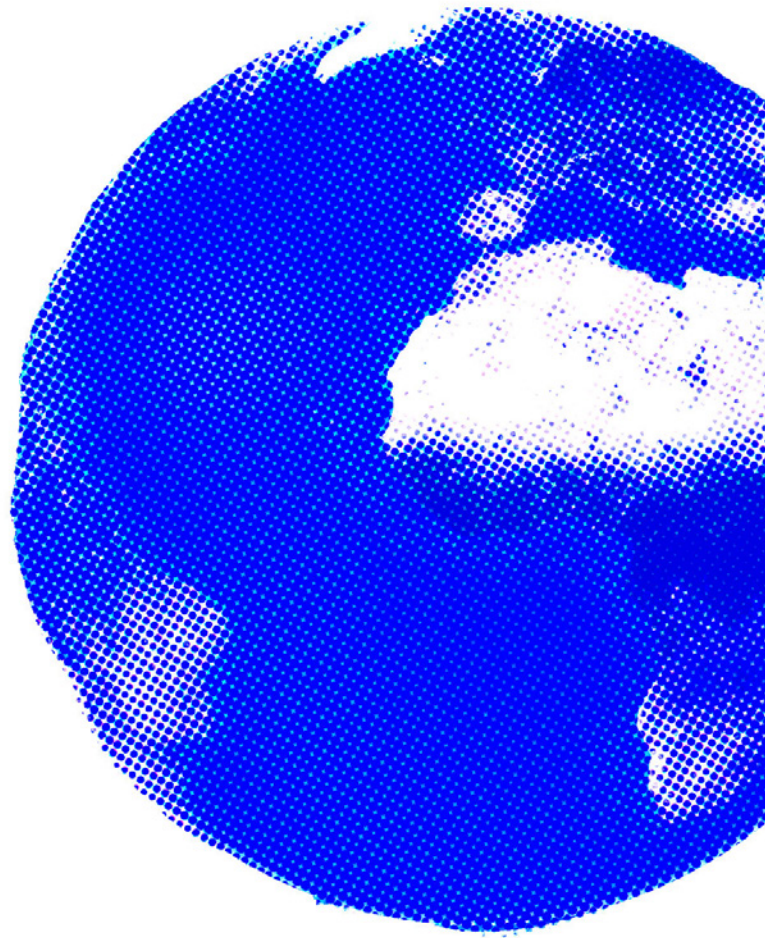
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