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PRESIDENTIAL ENCORES: INTERNATIONAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN HEALTH POLICY

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DECLARATION

This work is substantially my own, and where any part of this work is not my own, I have indicated this by acknowledging the source of that part or parts of the work.

ABSTRACT

Ex-Presidents Carter and Clinton are forging new paths for post-presidential activities. With their respective action-oriented public policy institutions, the Carter Center and the Clinton Foundation, they have introduced vehicles through which they can establish independent and influential roles as former presidents. Their activities in the global health arena, specifically Guinea Worm Disease and HIV/AIDS, demonstrate that their influence is a function of their ability to act as international policy entrepreneurs. This thesis argues that the influence of ex-Presidents Carter and Clinton has been strengthened by their respective foundations and that they function as unique policy entrepreneurs, namely, ex-president entrepreneurs. They are successful in advocating for policy change through using the attributes of ex-president entrepreneurs: skills, the ability to mobilise resources and the ability to operate in a social arena. The thesis has forged a new path by considering theory originally developed to examine domestic policies in an international context.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
ARVs	Antiretroviral drugs
BCCI	Bank of Credit and Commerce International
CDC	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CHAI	Clinton Initiative Against HIV/AIDS
DEP	Dracunculiasis Eradication Program
EU	European Union
GWD	Guinea Worm Disease
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
IO	International Organisation
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
The Center	The Carter Center
The Foundation	The William J. Clinton Presidential Foundation
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organisation

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‘When you leave the presidency, you lose your power but not your influence’

President Bill Clinton (Skidmore 2004:3)

INTRODUCTION

The role of former presidents of the United States is evolving and changing as demonstrated by the successful post-presidential career of James Earl Carter. Carter, in his twenty-five years since leaving office, has demonstrated that ex-presidents can now act independently of the sitting president, determine their own programs, and find ways to remain influential in public life. Carter has achieved this through the Carter Center (hereafter the Center), the non-profit institution through which he carries out his post-presidential activities. William Jefferson Clinton left office twenty years after Carter and has publicly stated that he is basing his post-White-House years on Carter's acclaimed ex-presidency (Clinton 2004a). The William J. Clinton Foundation (hereafter the Foundation) similarly enhances his global dealings. Recently, President George W. Bush stated that he plans to set up 'a fantastic Freedom Institute … [to] keep him in the game' after leaving the White House (Draper 2007:406). While at this stage an inchoate idea, described by him as 'an institute that, really, you know, just kind of imparts knowledge and deals with big issues', it would appear that President Bush is also considering some sort of policy institution after he leaves office (Draper 2007:406).

A growing body of literature claims the influence of recent ex-presidents is increasing, particularly in the global health arena (see Belenky 1999; Brinkley 1999; Schaller and Williams 2003; Skidmore 2004). This thesis will examine the influence of former Presidents Carter and Clinton through two case studies in global health policy, in particular Carter and the eradication of the Guinea worm parasite and Clinton and his work in HIV/AIDS. By applying theoretical insights primarily used to examine domestic policy-making, this thesis

argues that Clinton and Carter act as unique policy entrepreneurs in the international arena, which this thesis will call ex-president entrepreneurs. Their success is facilitated through the development of their respective policy institutions, through which they are able to channel their skills and mobilise resources as well as effectively operate within a social environment.

The first chapter will look at the post-presidential roles played by previous ex-presidents. These roles, while varied, do present some common patterns, although it is clear that ex-Presidents Carter and Clinton have taken a different path from their predecessors, and differ in one very marked way: they have acted politically in their post-presidencies without the incumbent president requesting them to do so. They have acted independently of the sitting presidents through their respective policy institutions, which are quite different from other presidential libraries or institutions in that they are action-based institutions in which they are both active, hands-on leaders.

The second chapter will consider the literature on entrepreneurs to establish the theoretical underpinning of ex-president entrepreneurs as a special subgroup of policy entrepreneurs. This group of entrepreneurs is 'the world's most exclusive trade union' and has had, at any time, a maximum of five members[1] (Updegrove 2006:xvii). At present there are three members: Presidents Carter, H. Bush and Clinton. The literature on policy entrepreneurs has been analysed for its relevance to ex-president entrepreneurs and each theoretical framework or lens has been considered as offering a valuable contribution. This thesis categorises the attributes of policy entrepreneurs into three clusters or groupings: their skills, their ability to mobilise resources, and their ability to operate with a particular social image. Carter and Clinton have been able to exert more influence than previous ex-presidents through

[1] See Appendix 1.

the establishment of policy institutions which have strengthened their entrepreneurial role and provided a vehicle for them to establish independent and influential roles as ex-president entrepreneurs in the global health arena.

The next two chapters will look at the two case studies, firstly, Carter and the Guinea worm eradication program and, secondly, Clinton and HIV/AIDS and the distribution of life-saving antiretroviral drugs (ARVs). Both case studies involve humanitarian work in global health in different cultural settings, both have been extremely successful in achieving policy change over different political systems, and aptly demonstrate Carter's and Clinton's impact and role as an ex-president entrepreneur. The case studies use extensive personal records and memoirs as well as recorded interviews.

As Carter and Clinton's post-presidential activities are extensive and diverse, ranging from childhood obesity to election monitoring, there are several possible case studies from which to choose. However, a narrow scope allows for more in-depth examination and these two case studies have been selected as public health in developing countries is an area in which Carter and Clinton both operate and is an enormous social and economic problem affecting tens of millions of people. Additionally, the methods utilised by Carter and Clinton in combating Guinea Worm Disease (GWD) and HIV/AIDS respectively are demonstrative of the methods used in their other spheres of work. The limited focus will clearly demonstrate the theoretical underpinnings of the increasing influence of ex-Presidents Carter and Clinton and the results of their ability to influence global health policy.

Chapter Three critically examines the work of Carter and the Center in terms of the Guinea worm eradication program. It will look at the policy changes Carter has effected and

how his success can be explained by the literature on policy entrepreneurs. In Chapter Four, Clinton's work is described and compared to Carter's work to ascertain whether his influence can also be adequately described in terms of the literature on policy entrepreneurs, and if there are any important differences, especially as Clinton's post-presidency started twenty years after Carter's and after a two-term successful presidency rather than a one-term weak presidency.

This thesis will encourage criticism and closer examination of the influential role of ex-presidents and their policy institutions in the global health arena. As Schaller and Williams (2003:199) state, 'former ex-presidents in recent decades have grown increasingly important in public issues, partisan politics, and public affairs generally … [and] … they can remain relevant by trading on the currency of their status'. It is in this unique role as an ex-president entrepreneur, operating through their particular institutions, that they are able to influence global policies and agendas. By studying the theoretical basis of their influence, it is possible to more closely assess their role and whether, for example, they should be more accountable to the US public for their actions. This thesis will also encourage further research on whether theories of policy entrepreneurship and agenda-setting designed for a domestic domain can be applied to an international domain, and to ex-presidents.

1. Mr Smith Leaves Washington: A Brief Overview of Ex-Presidents

Clinton has noted that 'there's no real job description of a former president' (Clinton 2004a). Of the forty-three presidents of the United States, thirty-four have lived to have a post-presidency and have established some patterns of post-presidential influence. Many US presidents, including Jefferson, Lincoln and both Roosevelts, have been revered by the American public, and even achieved 'mythical proportions as leaders' (Edwards 2000:12). Few, however, have received great acclaim for their post-presidency, even though many have been active in a variety of formal and informal roles, and none has forged an independent public-service oriented ex-presidency along the lines of Carter and Clinton.

a. Ex-presidents as authors and speech-makers

The most common endeavour of former presidents has been to write, ranging from day-to-day correspondence through to memoirs and books. The first three presidents, Washington, John Adams and Jefferson, whilst retiring to private life, set an early pattern of corresponding vigorously with each other and others in positions of power (Feldman 2000:11). Indeed, every former president since Coolidge, who left office in 1929, has written a book (with the exception of except George H. Bush) and Presidents Grant, Truman, Nixon and Carter used book contracts to 'stave off debt' (Updegrove 2006:xxi). Carter has written twenty-four books,

including novels and poetry, however, Clinton's reported $12 million book contract has set a new record for a former president's memoirs (Updegrove 2006:xxi). Another common activity of modern presidents once leaving the White House is to supplement their income with speeches, both in America and overseas. Ford generated $15,000 to $50,000 per speech and Reagan made $2 million for 8 days of speaking engagements in Japan (Updegrove 2006:xxi-xxii). President W. Bush recently admitted that he could 'replenish the ol' coffers' by making 'ridiculous' money on the lecture circuit (Draper 2007:406). These books and speeches have provided valuable resources for scholars of history and politics and, recently, have been of great value to the ex-presidents.

b. Careers outside politics

Some former presidents have pursued careers outside politics. Harrison, in 1893, and Wilson, in 1921, opened law practices after leaving office while Taft, in 1913, took a lecturing position at Yale University before being appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court by President Harding (Feldman 2000:76,95,90). A number of presidents retired from the White House to universities, including Jefferson and Madison (Feldman 2000:17, 20). In more recent years, President Ford moved to California where he 'spent a lot of time on his golf swing and his skiing form' and served on boards of large corporations (Feldman 2000:138-139). Reagan, after writing his memoirs and giving lucrative speeches, was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease in 1993 and retreated into private life and H. Bush has spent his post-presidential career serving as an advisor or board member for business interests, for example, intervening

in a dispute in Indonesia regarding gold mining on behalf of a client, Barrick Gold (Feldman 2000:147,150). Thus a pattern of private enterprise is well established for post-presidencies.

c. Ex-presidents as elder statesmen and advisers

Updegrove (2006:xvii-xviii) argues that in the early years of the presidency, unless a president returned to active public service, a former president's influence 'came primarily in the form of playing the role of elder statesman … acting as counselor, mediator, or ambassador for those in power, or those seeking it'. While Carter and Clinton are carving out independent roles in their post-presidency, modern ex-presidents are still sometimes asked to informally or formally assist the incumbent president. In the past few decades, ex-presidents have been used collectively to lend symbolism to significant occasions or causes. For example, in 1981 Nixon, Ford and Carter went to Anwar Sadat's funeral to represent Reagan, with Alexander Haig calling it the 'presidential hat trick' (Updegrove 2006:xvi). Again, in 2005, Clinton attended the funeral of Pope John Paul II at the request of President W. Bush (Ridgeway 2005). Ex-Presidents Ford, Carter and Bush were photographed 'shoulder to shoulder with President Clinton at the White House to show their support of the controversial North American Free Trade Agreement, forming a 'united presidential front' (Updegrove 2006:xvii). Recently, George H. Bush and Clinton undertook Tsunami and Hurricane Katrina relief work at the request of the current President Bush.

Ex-presidents have offered advice to incumbent presidents, especially in more recent times in the area of foreign affairs, and often across party lines. The post-White-House years

of Eisenhower, the thirty-fourth president, were spent, according to Feldman (2000:120), 'nearly as involved with politics as he had been as president' as he advised Presidents Kennedy and Johnson while trying to move the Republican party towards a more central political position. Similarly, Feldman (2000:133-134) remarks that Richard Nixon returned from disgrace to act as an advisor on China to President Carter and wielded significant influence in the Reagan administration. President H. Bush would often ask for a briefing after one of ex-President Carter's overseas trips, and asked Carter to intervene in elections in Nicaragua in 1989, but this stopped when Carter tried to undermine US policy in Iraq and Kuwait by sending a sensitive letter to UN members (Updegrove 2006:xix).

Until recently a former president's influence was dependent on having a relationship with the incumbent president. While it was unusual when Theodore Roosevelt openly criticised Wilson for his reluctance to become involved in World War One, today ex-presidents have more freedom to follow their own 'deeply held views' and 'now often have their own agendas and aggressively pursue them independent of those in power' (Updegrove 2006:xviii). In October 2007, for example, Carter criticised the Bush administration, calling Vice President Dick Cheney a 'militant' and a 'disaster' (Cohen 2007).

d. Behind-the-scenes influence

It will always be extremely difficult to account for the influence of former presidents working behind the scenes. Ex-presidents often have access to and the ears of their former staffers who are in positions of power. Similarly, ex-presidents may have influence through family

members, for example there have been father and son presidents, John Adams and John Quincy Adams and the Bushes, and a possible husband and wife team of Clinton and Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton as the possible Democratic presidential nominee at the time of printing. This influence, although possibly substantial, is beyond the scope of this thesis. It should be noted that the 22nd Amendment, ratified in 1951, prohibits being elected president more than twice (Skidmore 2004:2).

e. Humanitarian causes

Whilst humanitarian causes have only recently been enthusiastically taken up, especially by Carter and then Clinton, there is some history of this with ex-presidents, although mainly within formal power structures. The sixth president, John Quincy Adams, retired to Massachusetts but then returned to Washington as a member of Congress where, for 17 years, he 'pounded mercilessly on the slavery issue' despite a gag order prohibiting discussion of slavery (Feldman 2000:24-25). Updegrove (2006:xiii) claims he was a 'powerful abolitionist voice in the congressional debates on slavery' and is still a powerful symbolic figure, who has been compared to Carter in terms of his humanitarian work. In Boston in January of this year, at his public inauguration the first black American Governor of Massachusetts, Deval Patrick, evoked Adam's legacy in combating slavery (Patrick 2007).

The nineteenth president, Rutherford Hayes, supported 'liberal social causes' after leaving office including federally supported education for all citizens (Feldman 2000:64). Hoover, the thirty-first president, spent his post-presidential years assisting, at the bequest of

the incumbent president, in distributing food after the Second World War, circling the globe 'documenting needs, finding surpluses, defusing political roadblocks, and arranging shipping,' before being appointed chairman of the Commission on Organisation of the Executive Branch by President Truman, and again under President Eisenhower (Feldman 2000:108). Updegrove (2006:xv) states that the relief effort orchestrated by Hoover was 'enormously effective in staving off famine in the areas hardest hit by the war'. Whilst Hoover established an institute (The Hoover Institute) before becoming president, he did not utilise it in a policy capacity.

f. State support

Up until 1958, former presidents retired without state support. Now, the Former Presidents Act (1958) (72 Stat. 838; U.S.C. 102) allows funding for ex-presidents, including a salary, office and staff, with Secret Service protection added in 1965.[2] Updegrove (2006:xxi) believes these congressional provisions have unduly escalated in recent years, and in any case are a 'mere pittance' compared to the money ex-presidents can now make. The Presidential Libraries Act (1955) (69 Star. 695) provides federal funding for presidential libraries and as a result, every president since Hoover, excepting Nixon, has a presidential library managed by the National Archives and Records Administration (Chambers 1998:406; Smith 2007:6). However whilst each ex-president must raise the funds required to build the libraries, they present history from

[2] According to the Congressional Research Service's Report to Congress, Clinton will receive a pension of US $201,000 plus, for example, rental payments $516,000, travel $50,000 and telephone expenses of $79,000, with total expenses of $1,162,000; Carter will receive a pension of US$191,000 plus rental $102,000, travel, $2000 and telephone, $10,000 and total expenses of $518,000 Smith, S. (2007). Former Presidents: Federal Pensions and Retirement Benefits. Washington D.C, Congressional Research Service.

each ex-president's viewpoint and reinforce the image of ex-presidents as powerful leaders and, as well, provide valuable archives for scholarly research and intellectual development.

Many ex-presidents, including Nixon, Johnson, Ford, Reagan and H. Bush, have established or lent their names to institutions which promote scholarship and public discussion of issues, as early in fact as Jefferson and the University of Virginia, but none has had the action-oriented policy role and ex-presidential hands-on leadership of the Center and the Foundation.

g. Why study the influence of ex-presidents?

Former presidents do have influence and it is unusual for 'any figure to have so much influence without considerable public scrutiny' (Skidmore 2004:171). There have been suggestions to formalise the work of ex-presidents, for example, a non-voting Senate position, and Clinton suggested a council of ex-presidents to discuss 'serious issues' of the day (Skidmore 2004:172). Research into post-presidential influence will contribute to a better understanding of ex-presidents' special role in the US and international arena and whether or not more research should be undertaken to consider a more formal role or, indeed, a more restricted role. Former presidents are now younger when they leave office and are living longer, and perhaps healthier, lives, thus looking to an active post-presidency, and at any time there will most likely be several ex-presidents able to exert influence in the US and global arenas. Carter was 56 when he left office in 1981, and has now been an ex-president for 25 years; Clinton left office in 2001 at the age of 54.

While there have been patterns set by ex-presidents, only Carter and Clinton have had the use of a not-for-profit foundation to boost their influence. President W. Bush will leave office at 62, 'still able to sustain a heart rate of 140 during ninety minutes of biking' and is presently negotiating with Southern Methodist University in Dallas to 'build a Hoover Institute'… 'but with a different feel to it' (Draper 2007:406). While the numbers of ex-presidents will always be low, it is possible that ex-presidents Carter and Clinton plus their respective policy institutions will have more influence than previous ex-presidents, and this may be the emerging pattern.

h. Existing studies on the influence of ex-presidents

Whilst considerable attention has been paid to the policymaking agenda of presidents, particularly in relation to Congress, there have been very few studies of the agenda-setting power of ex-presidents, and none in-depth (Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Kingdon 2003). Schaller and Williams (2003:189,190) believe that 'just as presidential power is contextual, so too is the influence of former presidents' and changes such as electronic media and the globalisation of policies have led to 'unprecedented opportunities to influence politics and policies'. Updegrove (2006:xviii) also believes that with the 'advent of globalisation in a world dominated by the US, the opportunity for former [ex-presidents] to make their marks has increased significantly'. Schaller and Williams (2003:199) assert that the inexperience of recent incumbent presidents in the myriad of international relations and policies of the US has forced them to rely on the knowledge of ex-presidents and their advisers, and even to use ' the

surrogate diplomatic prowess' of the former presidents. Thus they believe that while the influence of ex-presidents appears to come from their energy and their dedication to particular projects, it is actually a product of the environment in which they are operating, however they still believe that Carter has 'redefined the ex-presidency' (Schaller and Williams 2003:196). Even given their view that the influence of ex-presidents is contextual, they do not attempt to explain how ex-presidents exercise that influence.

This thesis builds on Chambers' article on Carter's post-presidential activities. Chambers (1998:424-5) believes that Carter has 'redefined the ex-presidency and established new dimensions of public service for former presidents' but he is not doing this by himself, he is doing it institutionally and 'through massive public-private fundraising and coordinated efforts … [which have] … made the Carter Center one of the most active and prestigious nongovernmental organisations in the world today'. Chambers (1998:425) describes Carter's post-presidential model as 'a Public Policy Ex-Presidency'. This thesis will examine how Carter created a new pattern for former commanders-in-chief through the establishment of a public policy institution skillfully guided by his own hand, a pattern also adopted by Clinton. John Quincy Adams famously stated that 'there is nothing in life so pathetic as a former president' (McCabe 2001). Modern ex-presidents may well be proving Adams wrong as they establish a post-presidential model which will see some achieve more, or as much, acclaim for this role as for their presidency. Carter recalls a *New Yorker* cartoon which depicts a young boy looking up at his father stating, 'Daddy, when I grow up, I want to be a former president' (Carter 2004b).

2. The Second Time Around: Policy Entrepreneurs and Ex-Presidents

There are many issues competing for attention and elevating one project onto the international agenda is difficult. Kingdon (2003:3) defines *agenda* as a 'list of subjects or problems' which are receiving 'some serious attention at any given time'. Theories on agenda-setting are quite generalised and based on the fact that, due to limited resources, the number of potential agenda issues is much greater than 'the capabilities of decision-making institutions to process them' (Cobb, Ross et al. 1976:126). The policy process is usually divided into stages of agenda-setting, policy formation and adoption, decision-making, implementation, and evaluation with each stage involving many actors (Sabatier 2007:6). The agenda-setting stage is possibly where 'the most intensive political bargaining' occurs and where important individual actors and their skills and resources are most important (Kalu 2004:71,73). Theories of agenda-setting study the role of these key actors, called policy entrepreneurs. Mintrom (2000:3,5) believes that the study of policy entrepreneurs not only helps to explain policy change, it also demonstrates a 'transformative' quality in that policy entrepreneurs can make people think and act in different ways.

After many years of research, the literature on policy entrepreneurs, and entrepreneurs in general, has not reached an agreed definition. For example, Mintrom (1997) and Goldfinch and 't Hart (2003) focus on the personal attributes and resources of individual policy entrepreneurs, others (for example, Kingdon 2003) focus on the process by which entrepreneurial opportunities are identified, and others (for example, Hwang and Powell 2005)

on the broader context within which entrepreneurial activity takes place. The definitions and focus vary with the particular theoretical framework or lens through which the entrepreneur is viewed, however essentially the theories complement each other and a list of skills and resources can be established. Mintrom (2000:60) lists the characteristics of policy entrepreneurs: creative and insightful, socially perceptive, able to gain valuable information in social and political circumstances and use contacts, argue persuasively, possess strategic skills and prepared to lead by example. Ingram (2001:429) believes Mintrom restores 'an appreciation for the roles of leadership and individual motivation' to policy making. Goldfinch and 't Hart (2003:238-241) similarly list certain skills of policy entrepreneurs which are more likely to lead to success: dramatic portrayal of a problem or issue to provide a 'potential momentum for reform'; a cohesive team of allies; communicating a personal commitment; using persuasion; securing support amongst other actors as early as possible and anticipating problems; and tight control over crisis-management. What is clear, is that entrepreneurship uses 'multiple theoretical lenses' allowing for 'creative integration and synthesis' of theories (Zahra 2005:256,257). Nevertheless, to explain the influence of ex-presidents entrepreneurs it is necessary to group these characteristics found in the literature into three clusters: the skills of entrepreneurs, their ability to mobilise resources and their social context. By grouping them in this way, the thesis can more easily explain how ex-president entrepreneurs gain their influence in the global health arena as attention can be focused on their overall strengths rather than on a long list of attributes.

There are some general definitions of entrepreneurs which attempt to distil all the characteristics into one simple definition. For example, entrepreneurs are 'innovative, opportunity-oriented, resourceful, value-creating change agents' (Dees, Emerson et al.

2002:xxx). Other definitions emphasise the processes involved, for example, Stuart and Sorenson (2005:233) define the challenges facing entrepreneurs as falling into 'two basic tasks: identification of a promising opportunity and the mobilisation of resources'. Mahoney and Michael (2005:46) similarly believe that entrepreneurs 'identify an opportunity and a vision, and then seek resources in order to develop the opportunity'. Regardless of the shades of difference in how scholars define what policy entrepreneurs are, and what they do, there is general agreement that policy entrepreneurs are critical in agenda setting and in advancing policy options.

a. Policy entrepreneurs: From the domestic arena to the international arena

Most literature on agenda-setting and policy entrepreneurs was developed to examine domestic US politics, although some recent studies have looked at the European Union (EU) and international arenas. There have been specific studies on international policy entrepreneurs and Moravcsik (1999:267), for example, describes 'supranational political entrepreneurs' who 'regularly intervene to initiate new policies, mediate among governments and mobilise domestic groups' and cites regime theorists such as Haas and constructivists such as Finnemore who 'go further' and assert that these entrepreneurs are often a necessary part of 'successful international cooperation'. Although Moravcsik (1999:270-271) argues this type of leadership has been exaggerated, citing the cases of Monnet[3] and Delors[4] in the EU, he does define the characteristics of an informal supranational political entrepreneur as someone

[3] One of the founders of the EU.
[4] President of the European Commission, 1985-1995.

with ‘specific political resources’, persuasion and influence allowing them to ‘manipulate ideas and information’. Moravcsik (1999:275) also cites the most common explanation for supranational policy entrepreneurs is that they are ‘simply more ingenious, imaginative, skilful and creative’, command recognition, and have a record of previous achievements. With increasing globalisation and specific international research, the studies which are based on US domestic policies may now also be seen to have international relevance.

Other studies support this assumption, for example, Timmermans and Scholten (2006:1104) consider the theory of policy entrepreneurs in terms of science institutions as policy venues in the Netherlands and show that while the theory is US-based, it has ‘the potential for broader application’. Others studies are more circumspect, for example, Baumgartner, Green-Pederson and Jones (2006:965) find that the role of policy entrepreneurs diminishes where political parties are stronger. However others find that stronger political parties do not make an important difference (see John 2006a). Even given their caution over political parties, Baumgartner, et al. (2006:961) state that there is ‘tremendous potential for expanding the theoretical and empirical scope of agenda-setting studies from their traditional American focus to a more comprehensive and comparative view’.

There is a sub-group of policy entrepreneurs called social entrepreneurs who provide an excellent example of policy entrepreneurs who have been studied in their domestic context but are now being studied in a global context (See Dees, Emerson et al. 2002; Bornstein 2004). The Ashoka organisation defines social entrepreneurs as a mix of business entrepreneur and social reformer, individuals with innovative solutions to social problems (Ashoka 2007). Bornstein (2004:281) believes social entrepreneurs working at the global level ‘are addressing many of the causes of today’s global instability: lack of education, lack of women’s rights, the

destruction of the environment, poverty'. For this reason alone, policy entrepreneurs working at a global level should be studied. The literature on policy entrepreneurs developed in the US domestic context is just beginning to be tested in an international context. This thesis looks at that literature and applies it to the international arena, and ex-presidents.

b. Grouping One: The skills and attributes of policy entrepreneurs

It is clear from the literature that policy entrepreneurs use their skills to promote their projects, with different projects requiring an emphasis on certain skills more than others. For example, Zahariadis (2007:78-9) believes that whether or not policy entrepreneurs are successful depends on the type of opportunity which opens up and what 'skills, resources and strategies' they have available 'to focus attention and bias choice' for their particular project. The greater the skills of policy entrepreneurs, the more influential they will be. The skills that are critical for policy entrepreneurs to advance a cause are their ability to identify an opportunity; to give time, commitment and energy to a project; to persuade; and to expand and frame issues.

Ex-president entrepreneurs have very considerable personal skills from their time in the White House, plus their journey to it, and together these skills increase their global influence. Additionally, by looking at their skills it is possible to ascertain the important platform provided by ex-Presidents Carter and Clinton's respective policy institutions.

i. Identification of an opportunity

The importance of recognising an opportunity has been addressed in the literature on policy entrepreneurs. Policy entrepreneurs are thought to be alert to the possibilities of effecting policy change and thus grasp an issue at the right time 'and/or when favourable contextual factors have arisen' (Michalowtiz 2007:135). Most literature addressing policy entrepreneurs discusses Kingdon (2003) and his 'windows of opportunity' during which policy entrepreneurs couple three relatively independent streams: problems, politics and policies. Kingdon (2003:165) and his multiple streams framework view policy windows as fleeting 'opportunit[ies] for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions, or to push attention to special problems'. Entrepreneurs search for, or are alerted to, a solution already in the policy stream to link with their particular problem and take advantage of a particularly receptive political event or climate to tie together the problem and solution. Schlager (2007:302,303) explains that in the multiple streams framework, policy entrepreneurs are critical and while they 'do not control events … they can anticipate them and bend events to their purposes to some degree'.

Whilst policy entrepreneurs can be explained within all the theoretical frameworks, some confer less importance than others on their ability to recognise an opportunity and in some they have to share the limelight with collective action. For example, Aberbach and Christensen (2001:419) consider that 'most enthusiastic reformers' already know the answer to their problems but simply need a policy entrepreneur 'with the skills and leverage to carry the day, and a window of opportunity' to leap through. Within advocacy coalitions theory, social constructions theory and common-pool resources theory, policy entrepreneurs are not

seen as a ‘spark for collective action’ rather ‘greater attention’ is given to collective action (Schlager 2007:305). Constructivists, for example, focus on policy entrepreneurs and their ability to frame an issue in a way that fits with a positive identity construction, so that it is likely to be accepted onto an agenda (Schlager 2007:304). Other theories, such as the punctuated equilibrium theory, state that political systems are only moved to action and ready for a policy entrepreneur when ‘collective attention’ emerges around an issue (Baumgartner, Green-Pedersen et al. 2006:962). It is however clear that when policy entrepreneurs identify or are alerted by collective action to an opportunity, they immediately bring all their skills into play.

ii. Time, commitment and energy

The literature on policy entrepreneurs emphasises a passionate commitment to a cause and a willingness to expend time and energy on that cause. Wallis and Dollery (1997:7) discuss the ‘degree of emotional energy or passion’ of policy entrepreneurs and, similarly, Kingdon (2003:122) refers to their persistence and their willingness to invest their ‘time, energy, reputation and sometimes money’. Studies of social entrepreneurs likewise describe them as having ‘a committed vision and inexhaustible determination as they seek to change an entire system’ (Sen 2007:540). Similarly, Heath (2002:146) believes that commitment and energy ‘bring disparate communities together around solutions no one else has tried’. The image of entrepreneurs in general is that their commitment in some way directs their other activities, whether operating domestically or internationally, and motivates followers.

iii. The ability to persuade

It is critical, at all levels, that policy entrepreneurs have very considerable powers of persuasion to promote their project. Kingdon (2003:180) states, firstly, that a policy entrepreneur must have a 'claim to a hearing' either through expertise, speaking for others, or from a position of 'authoritative decision-making'. Further, policy entrepreneurs must understand 'what arguments will persuade others to support their policy ideas' (Mintrom 1997:739). Neustadt (1991) in his seminal work on presidential power presents a compelling argument that the most important power a president possesses is the power to persuade. Neustadt, emphasising agency over structure, indicated that a president's power comes from 'political influence not constitutional language', although, also, to an extent from the status and authority of the office and the 'rituals of the nation' (Ragsdale 2000:35). Schaller and Williams (2003:196) believe that if this is true for presidents who command formal powers, it is 'truer still for former presidents who command no such power', and that the influence of ex-presidents is 'almost entirely' a function of their persuasive abilities. Kingdon (2003:181) similarly believes that the power to negotiate is an extremely important skill for a policy entrepreneur. Thus ex-presidents can rely on their considerable persuasive powers developed in the White House, and beyond.

iv. Adept at issues expansion and framing issues

The ability of policy entrepreneurs to expand and frame issues in a way that will capture the imagination of those in positions of power emerges as an important factor in agenda-setting. Policy entrepreneurs have to manipulate information to focus attention on their project, to broaden its political relevance or enlarge its significance, or to target their information.

Princen and Rhinard (2006b:1129) believe that this 'strategic framing is…crucial' and closely linked to the venues in which the issue is being discussed. Policy entrepreneurs may even have to define issues differently before different audiences, tailoring the message to specific groups, and this 'crafting [of] arguments' is 'critical for policy entrepreneurs' (Mintrom 1997:740). Duncan Green from Oxfam put it more prosaically, saying it is useless to have a 'well-argued paper' on an issue if you do not have a 'killer fact' to grab the imagination of those in positions of power (Court, Mendizabal et al. 2006:1). Policy entrepreneurs have to be adept at getting people to see old problems in new ways which Kingdon (2003:115) claims is a 'major conceptual and political accomplishment'. Baumgartner, et al. (2006:960) also believe that issues are never placed on agendas 'without significant changes in how they are understood'. The way a problem is defined or an issue is presented can affect the perception and thus the support for an issue. For example, HIV/AIDS can be presented as a 'health, educational, political or moral issue' (Zahariadis 2007:66). Similarly, eradication of the Guinea worm can be classified as a crisis, a health or economic problem or a human rights issue. It is thus important when analysing the role of policy entrepreneurs to consider their skill in using cultural and symbolic images to relate issues to particular perspectives, or worldviews, to mobilise supporters.

Experience in giving speeches and using language is critical for policy entrepreneurs. Policy entrepreneurs attempt to find a 'symbol that captures their problem in a nutshell' (Kingdon 2003:204). They are more successful when they link issues with symbols which 'apply to the entire community' and which 'reach more people' and 'evoke a stronger emotional reaction' (Zahariadis 2007:75,76). Issues become more plausible if they 'resonate with enduring themes that transcend specific issue domains' (Gamson 1992:134). Zahariadis

(2007:76) believes that ‘symbols that derive from the core of a nation’s identity’ are more likely to facilitate a policy’s adoption and certainly lead to a more emotive rather than a rational discussion. The use of symbols enables policy entrepreneurs to strategically change ‘the dynamics of choice by highlighting one dimension’ of an issue over others and change ‘the context, meaning and policies over time’ (Zahariadis 2007:70). For example, Pralle (2006a:58) describes how the anti-logging movement in Clayoquot Sound in Canada expanded the conflict to the global environmental movement and connected to basic democratic values. Skill at this expansion or framing stage can make the difference between success and failure. Ex-presidents bring that experience from the White House, and their journey to it.

Policy entrepreneurs must work in an environment where issues have existing frames and in which national moods dictate how an issue is viewed, and this may vary across nations. Ingram, et al. (2007:120) point out that the creation of target groups and the social meanings attached to them mean that policy entrepreneurs can ‘diminish social inequality and divisiveness and encourage active citizenship’. This is even more important at the global level and makes the work of ex-president entrepreneurs even more crucial and important.

c. Grouping Two: Policy entrepreneurs and the mobilisation of resources

There is theoretical support for the fact that policy entrepreneurs can effectively mobilise resources to effect policy change. It has become accepted that ‘much entrepreneurial activity entails a recombination of existing materials’ rather than innovation or new technology

(Hwang and Powell 2005:202). In fact, Hwang and Powell (2005:214) believe that success for a policy entrepreneur may be as simple as a new way of mobilising resources to produce new programs and policies. Mintrom (2000:87) claims that policy entrepreneurs, just like market entrepreneurs, are very adept at coordinating resources in new ways. Sen (2007:535) states that an opportunity for change is like a play which needs a 'good producer and a good promoter, even if it's a masterpiece'. There is, however, less theoretical justification for how policy entrepreneurs use the resources available to them. Kingdon (2003), for example, does not discuss in detail how policy entrepreneurs operate, although Zahariadis (2007:74) clarifies his position by stating that successful policy entrepreneurs have 'greater access to policy makers' and have more resources. Pralle (2006:989) claims it is the scale and type of resources available to a policy entrepreneur which usually determine success or failure. By looking at the resources available to ex-president entrepreneurs, it is clear that much of their influence lies in their ability to consolidate their resources in their respective institutions as well as gaining access to the resources of those institutions.

i. Important contacts

Policy entrepreneurs must be able to mobilise important contacts to help them to push their project onto the relevant agenda. A feature of policy entrepreneurs is that they must therefore work hard at 'developing close ties with people through whom they can realise their policy goals' (Mintrom 1997:765). Policy entrepreneurs must also have easy access to politicians and people in power (Zahariadis 2007:78). When strategising to expand participation in a project it is critical to involve 'political allies', especially to 'recruit highly visible and powerful individuals' to assist in creating a 'bandwagon effect' (Pralle 2006a:24). Ex-

presidents have working relationships with most world leaders, established while in office, as well as global business and media leaders, and their institutions also foster these connections.

ii. The media

The more easily an issue can be adapted by a policy entrepreneur to a message which will command attention from a larger audience, the more likely the policy change will be successful, if not to a large audience, to the audience that matters. Thus policy entrepreneurs must be able to mobilise media resources to advance their cause, both domestically and internationally. Of course, the media can itself frame issues so the process can be difficult. For example, Carter, when in office, was depicted as a 'nice guy but not up to the job' (Kumar 2000:412). Nevertheless, Kingdon (2003:58-59) believes that media reports do not have an 'independent effect' on agendas, they simply pass on necessary information. Walgrove and Aelst (2006:90) support this pointing out that the limited agenda-setting power of the media may be due to their 'short attention span', thus diluting any impact on the longer process of policy change. However, when an issue is continually presented in the media it is more likely to come to the attention of political elites, as well as the attentive public and the general masses, thus effectively mobilising support for that issue (Jones and Baumgartner 2005:50-1; Walgrave and Aelst 2006). Research has shown that not all interest groups are able to have an equal impact on the media and consequently, successful policy entrepreneurs must be able to mobilise media resources to communicate and promote an issue where it influences public opinion and, consequently, agenda-setting (Baumgartner and Jones 1993:106; John 2006b:1054; Beyer and Kerremans 2007:274). There is 'anecdotal evidence that the president is America's number one news-maker' (McCombs 2004:100). Whilst virtually everything they

do is considered newsworthy, it also follows that they learn how to assemble their media resources to be most effective in furthering their strategic plans.

It is, however, also true that many stories are based on press releases. A study of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* found that over twenty-four years nearly half the stories were 'substantially based on press releases' (McCombs 2004:102-103). For example, the AIDS coverage in 1980s was set by the scientific and medical agenda, but 'sustained by the appearance in the latter half of the decade by new frames for telling the AIDS story' (Donovan 1993; McCombs 2004:103). Policy entrepreneurs are thus, if experienced and capable in this area, able to use this aspect of the media to direct the media interest. Baumgartner and Jones (1993) suggest that the media rarely cover all aspects of an issue at the one time, they look at each component separately leaving people with a 'multifaceted' image which allows different issues to be emphasised with different groups (Pralle 2006a:156). This is of great advantage to policy entrepreneurs, and an intensive media campaign at the right time can be very effective for pushing a favourite project. This highlights the importance of the resources attached to an ex-president's policy institution, and both the Center and the Foundation issue regular press releases.

iii. Networks and coalitions

Successful policy entrepreneurs must develop strategies and quickly be able to communicate information, so they must have effective networks in place. Policy specialists, technical experts and administrative experts are important resources for policy entrepreneurs. Heclo (1995:48,50) describes leaders of networks as 'experts in using experts', who demonstrate

‘mushiness on the most sensitive issues’ and are basically able to move among networks as ‘journeymen of issues’. The network approach conceptualises policy-making as a ‘process involving a diversity of actors who are mutually interdependent’, with policy entrepreneurs mobilising the resources within these networks (Adam and Kriesi 2007:146).

Networks of information have been a product of increasing globalisation and the ‘transnationalisation of policy-making’ and are particularly important for policy entrepreneurs working on global projects (Adam and Kriesi 2007:132). Access to networks enables policy entrepreneurs to be alert to opportunities for change, especially any underlying changes, and to quickly access information. Schneider, Teske and Mintrom (1995:4) believe that ‘successful policy entrepreneurs establish and maintain networks’. Mintrom (2000:273) argues that policy entrepreneurs must be ‘strategic team builders’ to find the best coalition to support their project and Pralle (2006a:80) also claims that besides all the other resources available, policy entrepreneurs must have an organisation to back them up and provide a structure for their leadership. Ex-Presidents Carter and Clinton have developed extremely effective networks under the auspices of the Center and the Foundation. Without the access they provide to important networks, ex-Presidents Carter and Clinton would be without the important organisational and technical support with which to expand and continue their individual entrepreneurial activities. Also, Pralle (2006:990) points out that in an international arena a policy entrepreneur must be organised in several venues, thus necessitating an institution to meet the organisational challenges. It is the combined force of the ex-presidents and their non-profit foundations, encapsulated in the image of the ex-president entrepreneur, which is so influential.

iv. Fundraising

Ex-presidents are extraordinarily adept at mobilising fundraising resources in order to fund, and hence advance, their causes. The Center, for example, raised approximately $160million in 2005-2006, demonstrating that the 'better connected' entrepreneurs most easily attract 'investors' (Stuart and Sorenson 2005:238; The Carter Center 2006:67). Drucker (1991) claims that 'people no longer give to charity, they buy into results', and thus ex-Presidents Carter and Clinton often include potential donors on their overseas trips. When, for example, ex-President Carter visits Africa, he is often accompanied by some of the Center's substantial donors, such as the CEO of the pharmaceutical company Merck and philanthropists Becky and John Moores (Carter 2005). It would be very difficult for ex-Presidents Carter and Clinton to so easily raise funds for particular projects without the accountability and organisational structure of the Center and the Foundation. Fundraisers need to be accountable to their investors, must be able to provide information on their performance and, repeatedly, reinforce and advertise their values and mission.

d. Grouping Three: The social arena in which ex-presidents operate

A policy entrepreneur's skills and attributes must operate within an existing social context. As Economy (2002:72) states, successful entrepreneurs must use their personal skills to mobilise resources effectively and to 'motivate people to follow new paths', while taking advantage of their particular context. Whilst entrepreneurs have considerable scope to use their attributes and skills and organise their resources as discussed above, their actions are 'socially

embedded' (Mintrom 2000:116). There is a 'dynamic' quality to the policy processes as the external environment is constantly changing so that policy entrepreneurs need to be flexible and adapt to shifts and changes (Pralle 2006a:6). Mintrom (2000:282) thus suggests that policy entrepreneurs should be thought of as 'individuals who, through their skills they develop over time, are able to exercise greater levels of agency than other members of the policymaking communities'. It is important that policy entrepreneurs recognise that they are operating in a social arena and must consider the importance of this when planning their strategies. Ex-presidents have a social construction which may change over time as they work to effect policy change.

Policy change itself can affect underlying values. A policy change can force 'individuals and groups in society to act in new ways and to establish new habits of thought that reinforce their adjusted behaviour' (Mintrom 2000:268-9). Ingram, et al. (2007:96.97) consider that policy changes send 'implicit messages' about how important a particular target population's problems are and that particular policy decisions reinforce and influence 'aspects of the societal context', including such things as an understanding of citizenship and justice, and even democracy. International policy entrepreneurs must be very aware of different sets of values and different venues. Policy venues are 'locations where policies originate, obtain support and are adopted', and need to be considered at an international level as there are many different venues (Timmermans and Scholten 2006:1105). Policy entrepreneurs will seek venues where they are more likely to succeed and where they can influence such things as the issue definition.

i. Legitimate leadership based on values and ethics

It is generally accepted that policy entrepreneurs cannot act alone (Mintrom 2000; Kingdon 2003; Pralle 2006a). Mintrom (2000:101) argues that entrepreneurship emerges from social relations and as such entrepreneurs must 'devote significant amounts of time and energy to the coordination of others'. Because entrepreneurs operate in a social environment, leadership is important, and they must therefore 'specialise in communication' and be able to articulate 'a broader vision, and impose it on others' (Foss and Kline 2005:60). Thus in order to inspire others, entrepreneurs must include values and ethics in their leadership.

This view of leadership coincides with James MacGregor Burns' (1978) concept of transforming leadership. MacGregor Burns (2003a:26,168) believes that whilst transactional leaders have an impact on outcomes they do not influence their environment, whereas transforming leaders 'champion and inspire followers', empower them and, ultimately, effect 'real world changes' based on a strong values system. He argues that the key to leadership is to take the initiative, 'seizing the … attention' of followers and 'spark[ing] further interaction', as well as having the skills to mobilise resources (MacGregor Burns 2003a:172,212) . Transforming leadership is an important aspect of policy entrepreneurship, especially on a global scale, and coincides with the way ex-presidents are viewed in society.

With the widespread reporting of global events, the actions of US presidents are observed around the world, and the US president is still expected to provide exemplary leadership. Greene (2004:12) believes that the authority bestowed on US presidents 'is born of the democratic instinct upon which the country was founded'. The world still expects moral leadership from the US president, and thus also from its ex-presidents. John Edwards

(2007:19), a candidate for the Democratic presidential nominee recently stated: 'we must reengage with our tradition of moral leadership on issues ranging from the killings in Darfur to global poverty and climate change'. Even if ex-presidents leave office with a low approval rating, they still have areas of strong legitimacy, for example, Nixon was regarded as an expert on foreign policy, especially with China, and Carter an expert on human rights. Strong cultural forces depict the president as 'the nation's voice to the world' and 'make presidents' public prestige an independent factor in presidents' personal influence *for all presidents*' (Ragsdale 2000:41). The symbolism of the office is very strong, as after all, the president is the 'symbol of the nation', reinforced by the fact that he is the only official elected (theoretically) by the whole nation (Ragsdale 2000:41). This gives ex-presidents legitimacy as potential transforming leaders.

Joffe (2006:206) contends that 'legitimacy is vaguer than legality, and yet it may exert a stronger influence on world politics than international law' and has a normative component. He believes that leadership is based on legitimacy but that obligation is 'legitimacy's twin' and thus with the presidency comes an obligation to look after international public goods (Joffe 2006:228). This is what ex-presidents carry with them after the White House: a belief, still, both at the mass public level and among other world leaders that it is their role to address certain global issues. This is what is often referred to as the moral leadership of the US president. A successful ex-president must therefore provide leadership in line with embedded cultural values. MacGregor Burns (2006:194) states that Americans have come to expect transforming leadership from their presidents, 'to achieve deep and enduring change for the common good'. This is also what they expect from their ex-presidents. Moravcsik (1999:280)

also believes international policy entrepreneurs possess ideological legitimacy and communicate a definite and consistent ideology as a key to successful entrepreneurship.

ii. Cult of celebrity

Any research into the role of ex-presidents as special policy entrepreneurs needs to consider the impact of their celebrity status. In today's world, this power of celebrity is critical to success, and their celebrity status both extends and cements their influence. Updegrove (2006:xviii) believes that the opportunity for former presidents to 'make their marks has increased significantly' as they are considered 'international celebrities' and as such are seen as 'American ambassadors, emissaries, and conduits to the current U.S. administration' and can thus pursue their own agendas, especially globally. After all, the 'Oval Office may be the most powerful spot in the world' and 'celebrity is a force all its own' (Tumulty 2006:1). Alan Schroeder (2004:5) believes that Americans recognise only two branches of royalty: presidents and entertainers, and when these combine the result is a 'powerful force'. Today there is a 'mediated intimacy' with presidents, and ex-presidents, where citizens feel they know them (Ragsdale 2000:40). Globalisation of the entertainment industry means these attitudes are prevalent throughout much of the world, even though MacGregor Burns (1978:248) points out that 'idolised heroes are not…authentic leaders because no true relationship exists between them and the spectators'. By considering their socially constructed identities as legitimate leaders and celebrities, the role of their respective institutions can be evaluated. Ex-president entrepreneurs are thus arguably the most influential policy entrepreneurs working globally.

e. Second time around: How ex-presidents gain influence

Carter's image as an ex-president is that he is 'transform[ing] the lives of more people in more places over a longer period of time than any recent president…[and]…transform[ing] our conception of human rights' (Kristof 2007a). Similarly, that he is 'rehabilitating the image of the US abroad and transforming the lives of the world's most wretched people' (Kristof 2007b). Carter's approval rating in the mid-90s was 74 per cent 'well over twice what it had been at the end of his presidential term' (Updegrove 2006:167). MacGregor Burns believes that leadership is critical in the fight against world poverty for 'the two billion people on $2 a day', because only transforming leadership will 'bring the best out' in their followers (MacGregor Burns and Collingwood 2003b:15). This sort of leadership ultimately becomes moral as it 'transcend[s] the claims of multiplicity of everyday wants and needs to respond…to the high levels of moral development' thus transforming leader and followers (MacGregor Burns 1978:46). MacGregor Burns (1978:391) strongly argues that ex-presidents need to confront the overriding moral and social issues of the day, and that they should be prepared to be measured by 'the moral and practical criteria of the values espoused by them' when president.

The existing literature explains the influence of policy entrepreneurs in general terms, with each theoretical framework providing a somewhat different focus. By amalgamating these complementary views of policy entrepreneurs into three categories or groupings, it is possible to better understand the role of ex-Presidents Carter and Clinton and the role of their respective institutions in effecting global health policy changes. Their institutions provide a platform for their skills, provide necessary support for mobilising resources and strengthen

their social image, thus enabling Carter and Clinton to operate and gain influence in the global health arena as ex-president entrepreneurs.

3. A SECOND CHANCE: CARTER, THE CARTER CENTER AND ERADICATION OF GUINEA WORM DISEASE

James Earl Carter, the 39th president of the United States[5] has been an active ex-president and in his present role he is more popular and respected than when he left office (Brinkley 1998:30; Feldman 2000:140). In fact, he has been such an active ex-president that 'some critics deride his presidency as merely a preparation for his ex-presidency, whilst some admirers call it his 'Second Term' (Chambers 1998:408). Some view Carter as ego-driven and attempting to redress a failed presidency, but Carter (2007b:xii,166) points out that the citizens he now deals with 'do not play a major role in shaping the world's political, military, and economic future' and are 'often the poorest, most isolated and neglected people on Earth'. Accordingly in 2002 Carter won the Nobel Peace Prize for his diplomatic and humanitarian work. Most of Carter's work has been in the international arena, including health care and agricultural policies, and he has mediated an end to civil wars and monitored, to date, 62 elections (Carter 2007a). Domestically, Carter has not been as active, even though he has received much publicity for lending his name to support *Habitat for Humanity* and the *Atlanta Project*, which campaigned for legislative change. Carter, with the backing of the Carter Center, has emerged as a very successful ex-president entrepreneur.

[5] 1977-1981

a. The Carter Center

Jimmy Carter has emerged as one of America's greatest ex-presidents, even though his time in office was relatively unimpressive. His presidency was plagued by stagflation, oil shortages and the hostage crisis in Iran and 'ended in apparent abject failure' (Kane 2003:785). He overwhelmingly lost the 1980 election to Ronald Reagan, and, even though shocked at the extent of his loss, he states in *Keeping Faith*, written soon after leaving office, that '[a]s one of the youngest of former presidents, [he] expected to have many useful years ahead' (Carter 1982:584). He rejected going into commerce or business, even though he was in considerable debt, and states:

> 'I decided that it would be better to continue to use my influence, perhaps with greater freedom now, to promote the same ideals I had espoused during my presidency … [and] … [w]ithout attempting to represent the government of my own country as a former president, there was, perhaps, a world-wide forum I might address which could influence the actions of political leaders' (Carter 1982:584).

He felt strongly from the very beginning of his post-presidential career that he had a role to play in 'alleviating tension in the troubled areas of the world, promoting human rights, enhancing environmental quality, and pursuing other goals which were important to [him]' (Carter 1982:584). Thus Carter left office with a determination to continue some aspects of the work of his presidency, particularly human rights and humanitarian issues.

Carter decided by early 1982 that he needed some type of non-profit organisation to give him an effective role as a former president. Charles Kirbo, Carter's long-time political mentor, stated in an interview in August 1993 that Carter, after the 1980 election, had been interested in 'establishing some kind of public policy institute' but could not determine how to structure it (Brinkley 1998:76). Carter stated he wanted to develop a place 'to help people who

want to resolve disputes' so that 'if two countries really want to work something out' they do not have to go to the United Nations and 'get one-hundred-and-fifty other countries involved in the argument' (Carter and Carter 1995:26). This led Dean Rusk, former secretary of state to quip that 'Carter wanted to create a mini-United Nations in downtown Atlanta' (Brinkley 1998:91). The Carters spent some time researching existing foundations and Carter's former Deputy of State Warren Christopher stated that the Carters visited '50 benevolent foundations', and looked at Harvard and Stanford Universities' connections with non-profit institutions, but Carter wanted 'something less academic but more result oriented' (Carter and Carter 1987:30; Brinkley 1998:77).

In October 1984 the $26 million Center opened[6] in Atlanta, Georgia after a considerable fundraising effort (Updegrove 2006:159). The fundraising has continued and, for example, in the year ended 31 August 2006, the Center's total revenue was $160million (in 2005, it was $183million) with over 75 per cent from corporate and individual donors; it employed 160 people; and 180 volunteers gave 11,868 hours (The Carter Center 2006:2,36). Thus the Center is a 'major public policy institute' from which Carter and Rosalynn Carter can continue to be active in public policy as they still have 'an intense concern with the issues [they] faced in the White House (Carter and Carter 1987:27). The Carters commented in 1987: 'we may even be able to do more than if we had won the election in 1980' (Carter and Carter 1987:27).

The Center has a 'fundamental commitment to human rights and alleviation of human suffering, it seeks to prevent and resolve conflicts, enhance freedom and democracy and improve health' (The Carter Center 2007e). Carter insists that the Center does not duplicate

[6] Dedicated and officially opened in October 1986.

what others are doing and their agenda is 'micro in its perspective, dealing with a family, a little village or a country that is basically ignored – rather than dealing with the vast panoply of things that a president has to address' (Carter 1999:448). The Center is affiliated with Emory University which provides permanency, status and support (Chambers 1998:416).[7] Thus Carter, with the Center to support him, was ready to help those in need around the globe, and one of his first projects was the eradication of GWD.

b. 'The Fiery Serpent': Guinea Worm Disease

Carter and the Center have been an integral part of the successful project to eradicate GWD, also known as Dracunculiasis, from the phrase 'affliction with little dragon' (McNeil 2006:1). The disease can be traced back to Egyptian mummies and is commonly believed to be the 'fiery serpent' described in the Old Testament (McNeil 2006:1). Carter acknowledges it as the Center's biggest success and William Gates Snr notes that Carter has taken a disease which had been ignored by others and all but eliminated it (Sternberg 2006). The Center itself states that it 'is unique' in being able to mobilise 'political will, financial support, technical expertise, and strong partnerships', access world leaders to gain support for the Guinea worm eradication campaign, and, additionally, empower village communities to improve their own health (The Carter Center 2007d:6).

A Guinea worm grows up to one metre in length inside the human body before 'erupting' through blisters on the skin from any part of the body, including the eye socket

[7] In 1994, the Carter Center became a permanent part of Emory University.

(McNeil 2006:1; Mastony 2007:1). Once the worm emerges it can be pulled out only gradually each day, wrapped around a small stick, a process which usually takes weeks or months (CDC 2004:2). The patient experiences a debilitating, searing pain that leaves them unable to work during the time it is being extracted and if the worm accidentally breaks, 'the dead and rotting portion' can cause a 'potentially fatal infection', although generally is rarely fatal (Carter 2007b:166). Rather, patients are incapacitated for approximately three months, on average, due to the pain and secondary infections (Hopkins, Ruiz-Tiben et al. 2000:163). GWD is contracted through drinking stagnant water which is contaminated with fleas carrying larvae. The disease, for which there is no vaccine or medication, is spread when a person with a protruding worm comes into contact with sources of drinking water and releases larvae into the water, from which the cycle continues (CDC 2004:1). Prior to Carter's intervention, patients would soak the area where the worm was erupting in water to alleviate the pain, described as akin to being stabbed, thus re-infecting the source (McNeil 2006:1).

GWD impacts the entire community leaving children and adults debilitated and unable to attend school or work. Studies in Nigeria into the temporary disability found that 58 to 76 per cent of patients were unable to leave their bed for around a month while a worm emerged (Cairncross, Muller et al. 2002:227). Another study in Ghana found that nearly a third of patients were affected in some way up to 18 months after the emergence of the worm (Cairncross, Muller et al. 2002:228). While the disability is temporary, the seasonal cycle means that the numbers affected reach their maximum at harvest time when labour is most needed (McNeil 2006:2). In south-eastern Nigeria, it is estimated that rice farmers lost US$20million in one year due to a Guinea worm outbreak (The Carter Center 2007d:1). The

disease is thus a major reason for school absenteeism and affects food production (Hopkins, Ruiz-Tiben et al. 2002:415).

GWD is preventable through low technology measures combined with health education such as teaching villages to filter and boil water and filtering water through a cloth or straw (McNeil 2006:2; The Carter Center 2007a:5). Other prevention methods include constructing boreholes, deep wells or 'safe pipe-borne' water and treating drinking water with a safe chemical larvicide, Abate (Hopkins 1990:26; Barry 2006:1; McNeil 2006:2; The Carter Center 2007b:5).

c. Carter and policy change

In 1986, when Carter (2007b:177) and the Center took over the leadership of the campaign to eradicate GWD in twenty nations in Africa, India, Pakistan, and Yemen, there were an estimated 3.3 to 3.6 million cases worldwide, however by 2007 there are 25,471 reported cases, an increase on the 2005 figures due to the Sudanese Civil War. The disease is currently active in only nine countries in Africa (Sudan, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Togo, Ethiopia, Burkina Faso, Cote D'Ivoire) (The Carter Center 2007d:2). Carter (1994:443) has stated that 'the idea of tackling a specific disease and removing it from the face of the planet is daunting' but he has always been, and remains, very positive of achieving eradication. The success of the program demonstrates that Carter and the Center have had a policy impact.

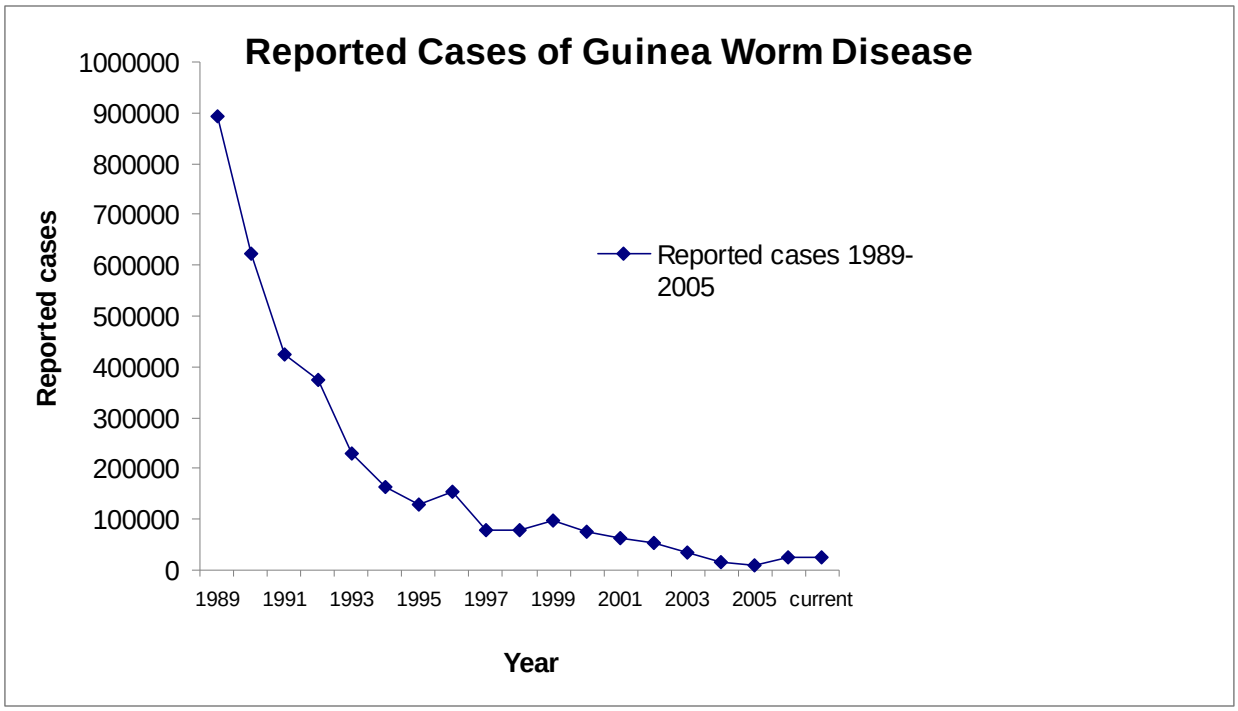


Fig 3.1: Diagram of reported cases of Guinea Worm Disease (WHO 2002; Hopkins, Ruiz-Tiben et al. 2005; WHO 2006).

Carter had a direct, and almost immediate, influence on the domestic health policies of the countries he visited. The effectiveness of Carter's initial work was demonstrated in December 1988 in Ghana where within days of Carter's visit, the Ghanaian Ministry of Health, in partnership with the Center's Global 2000[8], started working with the Department of Community Development of the Greater Accra Region to educate the 800 inhabitants of two villages on GWD and its prevention (Hopkins 1990:27). The Center's policy is to use voluntary health workers and Peace Corps volunteers, which Carter describes as a 'tremendous advantage in using…limited funds more efficiently' (Carter 2007b:169). The volunteers in Ghana taught villagers to create *patas* (small sheds) near sources of drinking

[8] Program to advance agriculture and health in the developing world. Uses this name instead of his own so that village chiefs can take some credit for success Carter, J. (2007b). Beyond the White House: Waging Peace, Fighting Disease, Building Hope. New York, Simon & Schuster., p.170.

water to allow people with emerging worms to rest out of the sun while someone else collected water for them and each household was provided with a nylon cloth to filter their drinking water (Hopkins 1990:27). Additionally, the American Cyanamid Company, as a result of Carter's lobbying, donated 100 litres of Abate which was used on contaminated water sources monthly and in 1989 two boreholes were sunk with funding from the Ghanaian Bank of Credit and Commerce with UNICEF providing hand-pumps for three wells (Hopkins 1990:27). In June that year the Ghanaian Head of State, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, under Carter's prompting, visited twenty-one impacted villages, encouraging villagers and their leaders to protect themselves from the disease and convinced 'political and medical leaders as well as the news media that this dreadful disease could be eliminated' (Hopkins 1990:27). When Carter returned in August 1989, the number of cases in the two villages had dropped by 90 percent (Hopkins 1990:27). The success of the program demonstrates the direct influence of Carter in affecting domestic policies in health care delivery in Ghana.

The success in Ghana was repeated in other venues as a result of Carter and the Center's skills and their ability to mobilise and direct resources. Carter (2007b:169) explains that 'having been president of a great nation, [he] can short-circuit' the usual procedure of other International Organisations (IOs) and having notified the leader of his purpose prior to arrival can quickly negotiate an official contract or Memorandum of Understanding between the nation and the Center. The process they follow in most countries is to provide 'one of the world's most noted experts' who will train key workers and also to 'furnish all the needed supplies, such as filter cloths, special medicines' and even seeds to encourage agriculture (Carter 2007b:169-70). Global 2000 subsequently signed agreements with, for example, Nigeria in 1988, Uganda in 1991, Mali and Niger in 1993 and Sudan in 1995 and provided an

adviser to work in each country's ministry of health to guide the programme and maintain enthusiasm for its support (Hopkins and Reubush 1996:25).

d. Grouping One: Carter's skills as an ex-president entrepreneur

Even though GWD is relatively easy to eradicate, efforts by Dr Hopkins, who had a key role in the eradication of Smallpox, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and the World Health Organisation (WHO) failed to get the necessary attention to implement policy change (Mastony 2007). This demonstrates that it takes more than facts and the authority of IOs to successfully implement international health policy changes. Carter's skills in recognising an opportunity when presented to him, his energy and commitment, his persuasive abilities and ability to reframe and expand an issue all proved valuable in instituting a successful eradication program. The Center provides a platform for Carter and his skills as well as organisational support to implement policy change.

i. Identification of an opportunity

GWD is, compared to other diseases, relatively easy to eradicate as the larvae are not mobile, the carrier state in the human hosts is limited, diagnosis is easy and cheap, there is inexpensive and effective prevention measures and it is in a limited geographical area (Cairncross, Muller et al. 2002). Staff, in particular Dr Hopkins, at the CDC first targeted the possibility of eradicating GWD in 1980 (Mastony 2007, p.1). Hopkins began by writing a series of letters and lobbying but he could not garner enough support to comprehensively tackle the disease

(Mastony 2007:2). As Cairncross, et al. (2002:232) point out, 'choosing a target is easy compared with the task of mobilising the resources for the battle' and the advocacy effort needs to be repeated and maintained in every country. In 1986 Dr Peter Bourne alerted Carter to the disease, and when Carter learnt that nothing more than 'political will' was needed to overcome the disease, he decided to lead the eradication effort (Brinkley 1998:223). Carter (2007b:166) says that 'guided by Hopkins … [the Center] adopted the complete eradication of the disease as [its] first major health project'. Kingdon (2003:205) emphasises that there is a long process of softening up of 'the mass public, specialised publics and the policy community itself … [which] … takes years of effort'. This period enabled Hopkins and Bourne to build up information and momentum before encouraging Carter and the Center to take the opportunity to make an impact on global health.

ii. Time, commitment and energy

Carter's work is often described in terms such as a 'relentless 20-year campaign' (McNeil 2006:1). He has also been described, for example, as having 'a Christian missionary's philanthropic zeal…boundless energy [and] a tenacious will' (Updegrove 2006:156). Many similar descriptions describe Carter's time, commitment and energy which have resulted in GWD being positioned to become the first disease since Smallpox to be eradicated, with a target date of 2009. Former President Carter and Rosalynn Carter have travelled to Africa, at least annually, since 1988 to visit the affected countries, and have visited all but two of the endemic countries in order to maintain the program and provide the necessary leadership (Hopkins and Reubush 1996:25). In just a few short months in 2004, for example, Carter attended a Center conference on GWD, then visited Africa in February and in May attended

the World Health Assembly of ministers of all remaining disease-endemic countries to persuade them to sign a 'Geneva Declaration' to pledge to eradicate GWD by 2009 (Hopkins, Ruiz-Tiben et al. 2005:672).

When, for example, the success rate of the eradication program faltered in the late 1990s, Carter showed great commitment and energy to overcome complacency and apathy, inadequate funding and some political instability by speaking to political and medical leaders, enlisting allies and donors and generating much-needed publicity (Hopkins, Ruiz-Tiben et al. 2005). Chambers (1998:416) points out, however, that what is often overlooked is that Carter has been able to give this commitment and energy to the program and 'been able to serve so effectively as an ex-president' because of 'the institutional base' he has created for his 'continued public role'. Carter emphasises that the Center is designed to be 'action-orientated' and '[u]nless we believe at the very beginning that there will be an action result, we don't take it on' (Chambers 1998:416). Together Carter and the Center provide the time, commitment and energy which the literature deems necessary for entrepreneurship.

iii. The ability to persuade

Carter's ability to persuade permeates all his work, and Carter was quickly able to persuade not only world leaders, but also technical experts and businesses to help in the eradication program. McNeil (2006:2) argues that Carter 'persuaded world leaders, philanthropists and companies to care about an obscure and revolting disease and help him fight it'. He has been able to convince the best technical people to join the Center to complement his leadership, for example, the Center employs William Foege and Donald Hopkins, both renowned for

developing the strategy that ended Smallpox (Chambers 1998:419). This means that while Carter met with international leaders and persuaded them to take part in the program, the Center very expertly and efficiently established the programs. Carter's ability to persuade is also important in African villages as Carter (2007b:165) states that he explains to the chiefs of the villages that there must be restrictions for one year, and discusses concepts of 'sacred' wells. Carter (2007b:170) also describes how they use cartoons to disseminate information where the are literacy problems and limited media. Carter's persuasive abilities, honed in his years as president, have been critical to the success of the eradication project.

iv. Adept at problem identification and reframing issues

The problem of the Guinea worm can be viewed as a local problem, or it can be redefined as part of a wider issue, such as a human right, or as a right to clean water, or as part of a cycle of poverty. Carter and the Center together have successfully reframed GWD as a human rights issue. Carter argues 'that we conceive human rights too narrowly as political or civil rights, and that we also need to fight for the human rights of children to live healthy lives' (Kristof 2007a). In a recent interview, Carter stated that he had 'deliberately picked the poorest, most destitute, forgotten and needy people on Earth', immediately making GWD a global problem (Carter and Stephanopolous 2007). This is a disease that without Carter's involvement may never have reached the global health agenda as, despite years of suffering, it was a disease hidden in poor villages in some of the poorest countries of the world.

How the issue is framed also defines who can be the 'authoritative voice' concerning its solutions (Rochefort and Cobb 1994:14). As soon as it is defined as a human rights

problem, Carter and the Center become one of the expected authorities because that is what his ex-presidency and the Center signify. For example, Updegrove (2006:159) claims the Center has become a 'beacon for the world's poor and downtrodden', and as such is a natural voice for the eradication of GWD. Pralle (2006a:60,61) emphasises the importance of attaching an issue to a popular symbol and to use a 'previously accepted connection'. There are formal and informal boundaries to issues, which show 'where a problem ends, how far it reaches, and who has jurisdiction over it' (Pralle 2006a:21). Carter has pushed the boundaries out of Africa and the poorest nations to the West to mobilise resources to overcome the disease.

The literature indicates that the expansion of an issue can refer to its importance or its intensity, to the number of participants or groups involved, and how they attempt to involve the public (Schattschneider 1960; Cobb and Elder 1972; Baumgartner and Jones 1993). In this case, Carter and the Center expanded the issue in Africa through involving the public, especially volunteer health workers, and intensified the issue and its importance. Carter and the Center are also expanding the issue as not only a human rights issue, but as a crisis in global health to motivate those involved to keep going until all countries are free of GWD, which occurs after three years without any reported cases. Kalu (2004:75) somewhat cynically, states that 'these crises are forced on the public by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) whose existence depends on bringing such issues to public debate'. Nevertheless, while this may be true, expanding the conceptualisation of the final stages of the project as a crisis may well be an excellent move to ensure success.

e. Grouping Two: Carter's mobilisation of resources

The scale of the resources available to Carter and the Center and his effective mobilisation of these resources have led to the success of the program. McNeil (2006) claims it was a cause in need of a leader and Carter provided the leadership to mobilise resources. Carter and the Center have used 'tenacity, flexibility and cooperative innovative strategies' to implement 'innovative public health initiatives' (Barry 2006:1). To do this Carter has effectively mobilised world political and business leaders, the media, networks and coalitions and fundraising efforts, all complemented by and coordinated through the Center.

i. Global leaders

US presidents leave office with a working relationship with all world leaders. This has proved invaluable to Carter in his role as an ex-president entrepreneur. Carter acknowledges the key to his success is dealing with the top leadership, stating that 'bringing leaders together who are both knowledgeable and have authority to act is one of the best ways to deal with a problem' (Carter and Carter 1987:120). He notes that because he was president, he is 'able to deal directly with the leaders of governments' and can 'let it be known what [they] want to do in advance' (Carter and Stephanopolous 2007; Carter 2007b:169). He further claims that organisations such as WHO or UNICEF, for example, cannot do this (Carter 2007b:169).

In 1986, when the Center, under its Global 2000 Program, commenced its work to eradicate GWD, Carter went straight to the Pakistani leader, General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, and they agreed to work together to eradicate GWD in Pakistan (Hopkins and Reubush

1996:25). Carter approached Pakistan's billionaire banker, Agha Hasan Abedi[9] who offered Carter $4million for feeding the global poor, but this turned out to be the 'tip of iceberg' and Abedi became chairman of Global 2000 and its largest benefactor, and by early 1988 Abedi had contributed $17million in direct support to the Global 2000 project (McNulty 1990:1-6; Brinkley 1998:224). This and a continuing five-year commitment ensured the success of the eradication program in Pakistan.

Carter's reports of his visits to Africa, published through the Carter Center, are littered with examples of his immediate and effective access to Africa's political and diplomatic leaders. Carter's trip in February 2004 provides an excellent example as his report cites a meeting with Togo's then President Eyadema where they 'concentrated on health issues… [and]…the President agreed with all our requests' and also notes his 'close personal friendship with Mali's president AT Touré (Carter 2004a:2). Hopkins, et al. (2005:673) state that 'the importance of mobilising political leaders and strong political will has been illustrated repeatedly throughout this campaign'. They (2005:673) believe that Carter's persuasion of two former heads of state, AT Touré and Nigeria's Yakubu Gowan, to passionately advocate for GWD eradication as they travelled their countries extracting promises was of critical importance at that point. Carter also brokered a four-month 'Guinea Worm Cease-Fire' to halt Sudan's civil war in 1995 to allow medical personnel access to war-torn areas where the disease was flourishing as he had access to both leaders involved (Hopkins and Reubush 1996:25; Carter 2007b:173-176). Recently, when cases in Ghana increased, Kofi Annan agreed to help, as well as representatives from WHO, UNICEF, Japan, the EU, the UK and the

[9] Chairman of Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI).

Peace Corps (Carter 2007a). Carter's mobilisation of global leaders, IOs and business leaders is exceptional and one of the keys to his influence in global health.

ii. The media

Carter has mobilised media resources in Africa to lend support to and maintain enthusiasm for the 'Dracunculiasis Eradication Program' (DEP). He claims his visits to African countries 'generate considerable local coverage and help inspire public support for eradication programs' (Carter 1992:9). Over the years, the Center has spearheaded intensive media campaigns in Africa, including broadcasts over the Voice of America, BBC and Cable News Network International, besides national and local radio (Hopkins, Ruiz-Tiben et al. 2005:671). Carter and the Center have mobilised volunteers in thousands of villages to help with the program (McNeil 2006:2). When, for example, Carter was negotiating a Sudanese cease-fire he took the African CNN crew with him to put pressure on President Bashir (Carter 2007b:174).

Carter also effectively mobilises the international media to raise awareness of his programmes and to gain fundraising support. Carter gets a disproportionate amount of media time for his one week per year with *Habitat for Humanity*. When, for example, Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter first volunteered with others to assist *Habitat for Humanity* in New York, Carter's involvement 'touched off a media blitz' and 'all the major network morning shows devoted segments to it' and it was the front-page story in the *New York Times* (Updegrove 2006:158). Updegrove (2006:158) believes 'the indelible image of Carter as humanitarian construction worker was unlike anything the public had seen before from an ex-president.

Even Hayward (2004:197), a critic of Carter's, believes this 'ranks amongst the most counter-intuitive and remarkable steps ever taken by an ex-president'. Carter believes the media turnaround from his presidency to his ex-presidency is due to the visible work he completed for *Habitat for Humanity* in 1984 (Chambers 1998:412).

As a result, the media now mainly emphasise Carter's successes, although he came under strong criticism recently for a new book on the Palestinian issue (Cohen 2007). Nevertheless, mobilising media attention has significantly strengthened Carter's effectiveness as an ex-president entrepreneur. Chambers (1998:411) comments that media approval is significant as it contributes to the effectiveness of Carter's work as he brings the media spotlight and 'public acclaim' to his work which increases his leverage in negotiations. Hopkins, et al. (2005:671) add that Carter's Nobel Prize was an unplanned but invaluable addition to the campaign. As a result Carter is able to build on 'his moral authority and his obvious empathy (albeit with a paternalistic cast) for the poor and oppressed' which raises awareness and 'mobilises public support' for his work (Chambers 1998:424). The media is particularly important in order to 'activate a bystander public that may be geographically far removed from the site of conflict and politically unaware of the specific issues at stake' (Pralle 2006a:95). The Center complements Carter by distributing press releases giving information and statistics including a count-down to success to motivate those involved in the project. Together Carter and the Center very effectively mobilise media resources.

iii. Networks and coalitions

The eradication involves an alliance of public and private sector organisations, and Chambers (1998:418) insists that 'the model Carter developed for his Center drew on his strengths as a systematic planner and manager as well as his issue network ability'. Carter is able, through the Center, to bring together groups from the private and public sector to develop strategies for solving particular problems. Chambers (1998:418) comments that by 'dividing up the work strategically, and pulling in new sources of support where they are needed, these coalitions (or task forces) often obtain results where scores of nonprofit groups, working individually, ha[ve] failed'. The Center itself claims that these alliances give the Center's work greater importance (The Carter Center 2006:36). The Center has alliances with CDC, the WHO, UNICEF, various governments and foundations such as Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Conrad Hilton Foundation, the Saudi Fund for Development and the United Nations Foundation (The Carter Center 2007a:6). These alliances are mainly to provide funds, in-kind support or supplies for the DEP.

Pralle (2006a:80) points out that 'advocacy groups must provide an organisational structure to channel the involvement of new actors'. The Center is a permanent structure giving Carter enormous resources for each project and it provides the 'excitement at being part of something 'big" (Pralle 2006a:90). Baumgartner and Jones (1993:90) point out that 'each success comes with a greater likelihood of further success' and the generation of bigger audiences, more resources and more information to attract even more good people. The Center has recruited many talented technical and organisational people, attracted by the work, the vision, the other people working there and, of course, the Carters. Carter and the Center demonstrate that advocacy is not limited to 'just engaging a wider public', it is possible to be

'more sophisticated' and look for a 'more favourable venue' or maybe effective alliances (Baumgartner and Jones 1993:36). In this way, Carter is affecting not only domestic policy in other countries but also the international agendas, including convincing WHO to select GWD as the second disease to be eradicated from the earth (Brinkley 1998:169). This demonstrates what Goldfinch and 't Hart (2003:239) refer to as 'acting in tandem with other key players in the policy arena'.

iv. Fundraising

Carter and the Center have been extremely successful with fundraising, something neither could have achieved alone, with Carter (2007b:167) claiming he is 'chief fund-raiser'. Carter with the backing of the Center can rally corporate funding, often with personal visits. In 1989, for example, Global 2000 held an international donors' conference in Nigeria, in partnership with the UN and UNICEF, which raised US$10million which stunned Hopkins, who had been desperately trying to raise money himself for the eradication program but with little success. (Hopkins and Reubush 1996:25). Carter (2007b:167) gives another example of when he visited a 'long-time friend, Edgar Bronfman who agreed to contribute $50,000 each year for five years for filter cloths' and as his family had connections with *DuPont*,[10] the Center was the recipient of two million square metres of filter cloth, which Carter claims was 'the key to…success'. Carter (2007b:176-7) gives another example of the Center partnering a Norwegian NGO which agreed to make three million PVC pipes with filter cloths for drinking water in Sudanese war zones. Carter also secured major donations from the United Arab Emirates, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), a consortium of

[10] A chemicals, materials and energy company.

Japanese businessmen (*Keidanran*) and 'Japan International Corporation Agency' (Hopkins and Reubush 1996:25). In an interview, philanthropist John Moores claims, for example, that Carter 'didn't mince words' with Wolfensohn, the head of the World Bank, when 'he insisted the World Bank must act', which resulted in the World Bank and WHO promising to raise $124million (Brinkley 1998:266). When the success in eradicating the Guinea worm flattened out in the late 1990s, the Gates Foundation gave $28.5million to the Carter Center, the World Bank and WHO to reinvigorate the eradication, where the Carter Center was responsible for those countries with more than 100 cases, WHO for those with less than 100 cases and UNICEF for dealing with the issue of safe drinking water (Hopkins, Ruiz-Tiben et al. 2002:421). Hopkins, et al. (2005:673) believe that the continuity of funding of the Gates Foundation in 2000 and 2005 had a huge impact.

While Carter's fundraising has been unremitting, including personal approaches to foundations and philanthropists, the Center has also been active in sending out extensive mail and internet requests for donations (Carter 2007b:11). The Carters have made 'personal visits to big givers, invited some of the larger donors on vacation excursions with them, and held regular auctions of Carter's hand-made furniture' (Chambers 1998:420). Carter, with the Center's backing, has been able to gain massive funding and, as well, the associated influence.

f. Grouping Three: Carter's social environment

Carter and the Center clearly have all the skills and resources to act as an ex-president entrepreneur. Unlike other post-presidential institutions, Carter is a hands-on leader directing

the Center and empowering his followers. The scale of Carter's influence in the global health arena is reinforced by his positive social image.

i. Legitimacy and leadership

During his presidency, Carter championed human rights. His passion for human rights was seen as 'principled' and in his inaugural address he stated that 'our commitment to human rights must be absolute…Because we are free, we can never be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere' (Carter 1977). Carter made US aid and support dependent on a human rights record and referred to human rights as 'the soul of our foreign policy' (Brinkley 1998:18-19). While American voters soundly rejected Carter as president, he did not lose his moral authority. He has enormous international standing, not only as a former US president but as a world figure 'recognised for his integrity and his dedicated moral commitment to peace and justice … a global humanitarian [who] has become the leading American 'do-gooder' for the world' (Chambers 1998:410).

Carter's moral leadership has remained legitimate and has been reinforced by his post-presidential activities. MacGregor Burns (2003a:205) believes that transforming leaders demonstrate that public values are 'the most powerful of principles because they represent the most broadly relevant, deeply felt, longest lasting, morally grounded commitments humankind can make'. Just as with transforming leaders, Mintrom (2000:153) argues that policy entrepreneurs must be able to 'lead by example'. Carter is a very 'hands-on' active ex-president entrepreneur, and Chambers accredits his success partly to the way other former presidents have been portrayed as 'living the high life', in the case of Gerald Ford, or keeping

a low profile, such as H. Bush (Chambers 1998:412). Chambers (1998:406,424) further states that 'despite sometimes cloying self-righteousness, Carter is able to articulate and often exemplify some of the nation's highest ideals and yearnings for peace, justice and universal betterment…[and]…as an ex-president, Carter seems somehow more presidential'. Thus Carter is demonstrating the very values that the US and the world believe are legitimate for an ex-president. The Center reinforces this role by publicly displaying and promoting the mission and values of the institution.

ii. Celebrity status

Carter's influence is enhanced by his celebrity status. Wherever he goes crowds and cameras follow. In October 2007, at his latest book signing, people started queuing five hours before he was scheduled to arrive (Cohen 2007). Early this year, in Ghana, a chartered plane touched down at the regional airport, and a motorcade 'preceded by flashing lights and sirens' went to Savelugu hospital, where a chorus of children sang for the ex-president as the crowds and cameras followed him (Mastony 2007:3) His legitimacy gives him credibility and his celebrity ensures his work, and that of the Center, is noticed. In the words of a villager in Africa: 'President Carter's visit is very, very important. His coming will let us all work harder, we will overwork ourselves to eradicate Guinea worm in Northern Ghana' (Parvin 2004:7).

Carter's celebrity status is further encouraged by his friendships with other celebrities and wealthy donors, such as Ted Turner (Brinkley 1998:96-98). Chambers points out that Carter always 'goes directly to the top, where his status gains him access' and beside his empathy and considerable skill, Carter brings 'promises of additional personnel, technology,

and perhaps most importantly, media recognition' to these leaders, especially in Africa, which 'in turn helps to produce political and financial support' (Chambers 1998:411). A new documentary entitled 'Jimmy Carter Man From the Plains' chronicling Carter's controversial book tour for 'Palestine: Peace not Apartheid' is being released in late 2007 (Cohen 2007). The celebrity reinforces the work of the Center, which in turn supports Carter's celebrity with organisation and action.

Carter's ability to gain a Guinea worm cease-fire in the Sudan exemplifies his leadership and celebrity status. In Sudan, the civil war had made endemic villages inaccessible and there was thus a desperate need to gain access to war-torn areas where the disease was flourishing (WHO 2002:339). In a report circulated after his return, Carter described meeting with the Muslim government officials and 'finally persuading them that a cease-fire in their battle against Christian rebels in the South was necessary to allow medical personnel into southern villages to combat the guinea worm' (Wall 1995:499). Wall (1995:499) believes that Carter's determination, plus his global status 'impressed the Sudanese, who didn't want to be publicly criticised by Carter for not making this humanitarian gesture'.

Conclusion

The GWD case study demonstrates the ability of Jimmy Carter as an ex-president entrepreneur to have a direct influence on domestic policy making and domestic health provisions in developing countries, as well as to influence and change policies in IOs such as the WHO. It also shows his ability to influence the international agenda. The Center has provided a

platform for Carter to demonstrate his personal skills, support to complement Carter's ability to mobilise resources and an institutional base on which to ground his socially constructed image. Clinton has followed a similar model in his post-presidential activities with his Foundation.

4. Global Citizen Bill Clinton and the William J. Clinton Foundation: HIV/AIDS

Bill Clinton, at 54, is the youngest former president in recent history and founder and head of the Foundation. Like Carter, he is institutionalising his work and influence in his Foundation, although he has adapted Carter's model to today's context and to his personality (Moore 2004). This case study will be considered in the light of the case study on Carter and GWD and the literature on policy entrepreneurs, and will look at similarities and important differences with Carter's model of an ex-president entrepreneur.

Clinton notes that he admires Carter for essentially asking, after his presidency, where he could still have an impact (Clinton and Jennings 2004:7). Clinton has commented that former presidents 'should feel obliged to give something back' for what they have been given and that today's ex-presidents are 'changing the culture' of their role (King and Clinton 2007b). Here, as with Carter, an ex-president with impressive skills is, with the aid of his Foundation, mobilising all the resources of an ex-president entrepreneur, including displaying the moral leadership so expected and tolerated in US ex-presidents and moving around the world with enormous celebrity status.

a. The William J. Clinton Presidential Foundation

Clinton (2004a) says he has 'become an NGO' due to his Foundation's work both internationally and in America. Clinton established the Foundation after leaving office, with the aim to 'strengthen the capacity of people in the United States and throughout the world to meet the challenges of global interdependence' (The Clinton Foundation 2007b). In 2007, the Foundation has 600 employees and volunteers in twenty-five countries and, as with Carter, the Foundation is not just his in name only (Clinton 2007:181). Clinton is a hands-on policy initiator who uses 'his diplomatic talents and global clout' and 'already sees himself as the informal leader of the amorphous group of NGOs' operating globally (Khanna 2006:38). Clinton states: 'Jimmy Carter has made a real difference in his post-presidential years, and I thought I could too' (Clinton 2004b:876).

The main work of the Foundation, which operates from Little Rock, Arkansas, New York and Massachusetts, is HIV/AIDS treatment and care and the *Clinton Global Initiative* which is an annual meeting for business and world leaders (The Clinton Foundation 2007b). The remainder of the work is in climate change; obesity; sustainable economic growth; supporting small business owners and entrepreneurs in New York; leadership development; and racial, religious and ethnic reconciliation (The Clinton Foundation 2007b; 2007c; 2007d). It is notable that Clinton has focused more than Carter on the US and specifically mentions America in his mission statement (The Clinton Foundation 2007b).

Clinton's Foundation is different from Carter's in one important aspect: it is run along business lines. This is reflective of the way Clinton has reframed the HIV/AIDS problem as an economic one, which will be discussed in the next section. This also resonates with studies and research into social entrepreneurship which emphasise a combination of market entrepreneurship and social reform (Bornstein 2004). McLean (2006:4) similarly argues this is contextual and 'part of a new turn in philanthropy' in which there is a blurring of the lines between not-for-profits, politics and business. Clinton states that the foundation 'takes a lot of cues from the business world' and has 'very entrepreneurial people and a very entrepreneurial process' of identifying a problem, analysing it and taking action (McLean 2006:2-3). Clinton (2007:178) states that the same strategies used by market entrepreneurs:

> 'to organise and expand markets that enhance the public good and empower their customers to do the same can be adopted by NGOs involved in philanthropic work, [and] can help a lot more people and dramatically increase the impact of their donors' time and money'.

Clinton has only been an ex-president for six years compared to Carter's twenty-five, but he has started with a strong institutional base, which while not identical to Carter's gives Clinton a platform and support for his work. Joe Cerrell, the director of health advocacy at the Gates Foundation stated that '[t]here's no question that the work and the accomplishments have been dramatic' (McLean 2006:7). As with Carter, the Foundation provides the necessary back-up for Clinton's work.

b. Policy Change: The Clinton Initiative against HIV/AIDS (CHAI)

Clinton recently stated that he wishes he could say that he had 'some master plan' when he left the White House in 2001 to explain the '750,000 people around the world on AIDS drugs as a

result of the contracts' he and his Foundation have negotiated', but says he had had no idea he 'would wind up doing this', and acknowledges that his Foundation gave him 'a platform and an organisation to take these things on' (King and Clinton 2007a). Clinton became involved when he and Nelson Mandela were approached by the prime minister of St Kitts & Nevis at the XIV International AIDS Conference, which they were co-chairing, to ask for help in setting up a health network and getting medicines to AIDS victims (Clinton 2004a). Clinton then recruited Ira Magaziner, the architect of Senator Rodham Clinton's health care effort when she was First Lady, to begin to negotiate deals with the pharmaceutical industry (Tumulty 2006:2). Clinton, like Carter, immediately recognised an opportunity when offered to him to act in the international arena and was able to recruit world technical leaders to his cause.

CHAI operates as a microcosm of the Foundation. McLean (2006:4) points out that CHAI's model of operating is like a 'for-hire blue-chip consultant' and it endeavours to change the market structure rather than just distributing money and this has become a blueprint for the entire Foundation. Anil Soni, Director of Pharmaceutical Services and Ira Magaziner, Chairman of CHAI, have described the approach of the foundation in supplying ARVs as a not-for-profit endeavour working with, not against, drug manufacturers (Soni and Magaziner 2005:1). Soni and Magaziner (2005:1) state that a few years ago the markets for ARVs was small and fragmented which meant that the 'economies of scale common to pharmaceutical production could not be realised, sales volumes were unpredictable, and purchasers often paid late or defaulted altogether'. In 2002, CHAI began to work with African and Caribbean Governments to increase the access to ARV treatment using plans which would rapidly increase the volume of sales of ARVs (Soni and Magaziner 2005:1). Essentially CHAI

guaranteed a high volume of sales to manufacturers so that costs could be proportionally lowered.

The concept of ongoing sales with a 'low-margin but high-volume of business proved to be very effective' (Soni and Magaziner 2005:1). Another source of savings was 'forward pricing' where knowing that costs would fall, over time and with experience, suppliers agreed to forward pricing 'to help stimulate demand and to gain market share' (Soni and Magaziner 2005:1). All this worked to increase volumes and bring prices down even further, while of course emphasising the emergency around the AIDS pandemic (The Clinton Foundation 2007f). By 2006, CHAI could announce that access to the lower prices was available to forty-eight countries representing 70 percent of all HIV/AIDS sufferers, and that twenty-five countries had ordered over 200 million pills which is 180,000 patients on treatment purchased under CHAI agreements (Soni and Magaziner 2005:2). According to WHO, the prices secured under CHAI agreements in low-income countries are, on average, 20 percent lower than drugs secured outside of CHAI (Soni and Magaziner 2005:2). In 2006, Clinton described the success of CHAI as having organised to reduce the first–line generics from $500 to $140 in four years (Clinton 2006c). Clinton (2007:182) explains that the lower prices set by their partners and the big sales increases 'sparked a ripple effect on the market, accelerating considerable price decreases for other purchasers of AIDS generics' and 'now even nations not part of [CHAI's] buying group can treat many more people within their budgets'.

CHAI also set out to lower the cost of pediatric ARVs, a bigger problem because of low demand. The Foundation formed a partnership with the Children's Investment Fund in 2005 when more than 500,000 children were dying from AIDS each year with only 25,000

receiving pediatric medicines (Clinton 2007:20). Clinton and the Foundation raised funds to negotiate a reduction from $600 to around $196 thus 'setting off a surge in funding for kids and further price reductions in pediatric medicine' (Clinton 2007:21). Peter McDermott, chief of HIV and AIDS programs at UNICEF, believes that 'children are alive in numbers we couldn't have imagined a couple of years ago because of what he's done' (Dugger 2006:3).

c. Grouping One: Clinton's skills, particularly reframing the HIV/AIDS issue

Clinton displays the same skills as Carter but with different strengths and weaknesses. Clinton's strength is his extraordinary ability as a communicator whereas Carter's is his focused and organised commitment and energy. Clinton is particularly well-known for his naturally empathetic communication style, and his excellent capacity for making impromptu speeches. His travels to Africa have 'underlined his reputation as a great communicator' but have also allowed him 'the opportunity to see what is working and what needs to be done to address the epidemic' (Gill 2006:16; Clinton 2006a). He appears to be more humble than Carter regarding the importance of his being there, but as with Carter he regularly gives time, commitment and energy to the project.

> Clinton has also worked at overcoming the framing of AIDS. He recently stated:
>
> 'We must continue to focus on those who are most undeserved, particularly children and those living in rural areas, where the impact of the disease is often most acute and access to health-care services least available…[and]…must take the opportunity to learn from the people doing the hard work in these ravaged countries … listen to them to learn from them, and to figure out how we can best support and enable them' (Clinton 2006a).

He states, to emphasise the removal of any negative stigmas attached to AIDS, that he has 'learn[t] that, across the globe, intelligence and drive are evenly distributed, but opportunity and the systems needed to implement change and reward efforts are not' (Clinton 2006a). Baumgartner and Jones (1993) claim it is difficult to break through a group of actors who control the existing image of a policy problem. When, for example, Clinton began his work on HIV/AIDS there was an existing issue frame on AIDS. Donovan (1993:5) looked at the way people with AIDS were given 'culturally constructed positive and negative images' which influenced the types of policies directed towards them from 1981-1990 in the US. Donovan (1993:7) argues the way a particular group is defined and categorised by the medical community and by cultural stereotypes affects its access to benefits, including ARVs. He argues that a shift to frames of a 'deserving target population', such as women and children, has led to disproportionate funding to 'innocents' and an 'inordinate focus on children with AIDS' (Donovan 1993:13,17,18,24).

While Clinton is not solely responsible for initiating the changes in drug prices, as changes had begun before CHAI became involved, he has importantly reframed the issue. In fact, advocacy groups including Médecins Sans Frontières were protesting against the high drug prices and framing the issue as a violation of human rights (McLean 2006:5). However, Clinton has successfully reframed the issue as an economic one of market fragmentation with an economic solution. Clinton states that they 'set out to organise a drug market to shift it from a high-margin, low volume, uncertain payment process to a low-margin, high-volume, certain payment process' (Clinton 2006c). Clinton has also secured funding from partners based on an

economic reframing argument. For example, in announcing the 'South Asia Pacific Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS'[11] in Sydney, Clinton (2006b:1) stated that it:

> 'isn't just the right thing for Australian businesses to do; it's also the smart thing, it makes good economic sense for them to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS in the Asia Pacific region, because the disease has the potential to undermine the very source of their success – the sustained growth of markets in the Asia Pacific'.

In this way, Clinton has successfully reframed the HIV/AIDS issue, especially in relation to ARV procurement in developing countries.

d. Grouping Two: Clinton, mobilisation of resources and multilateralism

Clinton and the Foundation can mobilise support from world and business leaders and the media just as Carter and the Center can. As with Carter, Clinton and his Foundation are placing health policy changes on the agendas of IOs and NGOs, as well as national governments. Clinton, like Carter, acknowledges that '…the presence of the global media, for all its frustrations … has been incredibly empowering' as it enables 'an ordinary person with a deep conviction' to have 'an incredible impact' (Clinton and Lewis 2006:1).

Through his skills as an ex-president entrepreneur and in particular his mobilisation of resources, Clinton has changed the policies of nations and the way nations interact. He has firstly brought about a fundamental shift to multilateralism and partnering with IOs. Clinton has also transformed HIV/AIDS drug procurement from a unilateral endeavour to a multilateral one. CHAI has 66 Procurement Consortium member countries who all have

[11] A partnership between the Foundation and AusAid.

access to the lower drug prices secured by CHAI, which represents 90 per cent of worldwide AIDS cases (The Clinton Foundation 2006d:1). By signing up with CHAI these countries assist in increasing ARV sale volumes which reduces the production cost so these countries are no longer purchasing drugs unilaterally but as a partner country in a multilateral organisation (Soni and Magaziner 2005:2). CHAI also has 25 partner countries with whom it works through local government and IOs to expand access to treatment, develop national treatment and care plans, improve infrastructure, train healthcare workers and develop organisational systems (Clinton 2006a:1; The Clinton Foundation 2007e:1).

Clinton also has access to, and the ability to create, multilateral alliances and coalitions through his Foundation. CHAI has created The Care Consortium which consists of worldwide leading AIDS research and treatment institutions which provide expertise in the countries in which CHAI works and in 2006 Clinton, Secretary General Annan and President Chirac announced a partnership between UNITAID[12] and CHAI (The Clinton Foundation 2006c; 2007g). Other CHAI partners include UNICEF, WHO and US Doctors For Africa and The World Bank Group (The Clinton Foundation 2007h).

As a former president, like Carter, Clinton has maintained and built upon his fundraising abilities. For example, the Irish Government provided €70 million to Mozambique and Lesotho and, in 2006, CHAI announced a partnership with the ANTIAIDS Foundation and the Victor Pinchuk Foundation which committed a combined total of $2.5 million to support CHAI's HIV/AIDS work in Ukraine until 2010 (The Clinton Foundation and IrishAid

[12] International drug purchasing facility.

2003:2-3; The Clinton Foundation 2006b). The Gates Foundation has donated $750,000 to the foundation and is currently evaluating two more grants (McLean 2006:1). Thus Clinton has been able to secure both public and private donations for his foundation, using his ability to mobilise resources and the back-up of the Foundation.

Clinton has been able to use his moral leadership to secure 'partial funding from wealthier nations to help pay for drugs and improvements in developing health care systems (BBC 2003:2). He also makes personal requests to donors and they often accompany him on trips to Africa. For example, Chris Stamos accompanied Clinton to Africa and was persuaded to donate when in response to a question about his administration's failure during the Rwandan genocide, Clinton replied that it 'didn't happen under my administration…it happened under me', which Stamos found to be 'so unpolitical' (McLean 2006:8). In 2006 the Sterling Stamos Capital Management, L.P, announced US$2.1million funding for the Foundation's work in HIV/AIDS in Cambodia and the Dominican Republic with the CEO stating that the contribution is an 'integral part of [their] investment philosophy – one that recognises quality healthcare not only as a human right, but as the foundation for economic growth' (The Clinton Foundation 2006a).

e. Grouping Three: Clinton's social environment

The moral leadership of former President Clinton has remained and indeed increased in his post-presidential life. Despite making a 'terrible public/personal mistake', Clinton claims he never 'lied to the American people about [his] job [or] ever let the American people down'

and points to the fact he ‘had more support from the world, and world leaders and people around the world, when [he] quit than when [he] started’ (Clinton and Jennings 2004:6). MacGregor Burns and Sorenson (1999:332) believe the lack of accountability in the ‘private realm’ does not flow over to his ‘ethical responsibilities in the public realm’. The moral leadership of American presidents transcends individual performance and Clinton is accordingly seen as ‘someone so great that he has outgrown the US’ and whose ‘appeal in the Third World is massive’ (Khanna 2006:38-9). Clinton ‘continues to be seen as a source of hope’ and there is no-one ‘even remotely approaching his ability to develop a rapport with foreign leaders’ (Khanna 2006:39). Clinton’s stated aims are ‘to make a difference and keep working to move our nation and the world away from poverty, disease, conflict and climate change’ which resonates with a global audience still looking to the US for ethical leadership (Clinton 2007:5). He continually emphasises that the job of former presidents is ‘to try and make America and the world a better place’ (Clinton and Jennings 2004:3).

Clinton believes that until the HIV/AIDS pandemic is controlled in developing countries, the social and economic goals in those countries will be unattainable, and hence it is necessary to combat HIV/AIDS to ensure democratisation, development and security in the global community (The Clinton Foundation 2007a). He further believes that people dying of AIDS would eventually ‘undermine democratic governments’ (Clinton 2004a). As with Carter, Clinton has a global vision, stating that he is committed to providing more care to people with HIV and AIDS and believes he ‘can still do something about it in both America and the world' (King and Clinton 2007a). He believes that he has ‘a lifelong responsibility to use whatever influence [he] retains to help other people’ (Updegrove 2006:246). The AIDS disaster he has been able to focus public attention on the need for access to drugs for those in

the world's poorest communities, and challenged the ideas and the meaning of democracy on a global scale (Gill 2006:98). Clinton, as with Carter, has a social image giving him legitimate leadership as an ex-president entrepreneur to deal with this type of problems in the global health arena.

Clinton's celebrity status is very different from Carter's, and as Dr Kline, president of the Baylor clinic, says: 'no one has star power like Clinton' (McLean 2006:7). In 2002, for example, he was 18th on the Forbes Celebrity 100 list and he 'generated more press clippings than any other celebrity (Updegrove 2006:251). Nevertheless his celebrity leads to the same results in Africa as Carter's. On a trip to Rwanda in 2006 'what seemed like half the village followed Clinton from room to room' (McLean 2006:82). Dugger (2006:2-3) claims it is his celebrity which has affected his relationships with political leaders in affected countries enabling negotiations with drug companies.

Clinton is greatly admired around the world. Jennings (Clinton and Jennings 2004:7), remarks that Clinton is extremely popular globally, is 'often regarded by countries as an honorary citizen and treated like a rock star' and has a 'particular touch' with all people. The *New York Times* commented that when in Africa he displays a 'remarkable ability to establish a human connection' with people he meets (Dugger 2006:2). Dr Yusuf Hameid[13] claims the 'Clinton name holds more charisma and credibility in India than any other American name' and in December 2006 in Vietnam last year, for example, he was 'greeted by cheering crowds' and heralded as 'always welcome' (Agence France-Presse 2006; Dugger 2006:3). J. Stephen

[13] Chairman of drug company *Cipla*.

Morrison[14] comments that 'Clinton's popularity and the esteem with which he is held in India, China and southern and eastern Africa' gives him an enormous advantage when entering into negotiations on AIDS and ARVs (Associated Press 2004:1). Ira Magaziner believes that the work of the Foundation 'would never get as far…without President Clinton mobilising people' and notes that he is treated as a rock star in the countries he visits and consequently attracts hundreds of volunteers (Associated Press 2004:1). In fact, his image has developed to a stage where he is seen as fighting AIDS almost single-handedly around the globe (Associated Press 2004:1). Clinton's influence in the global health arena stems from his ability to act as an ex-president entrepreneur with the backing of the Foundation.

Conclusion

This case study emphasises that Clinton and the Foundation have enormous influence to affect global health policies and, importantly, that Carter is not a one-off ex-president entrepreneur, as Clinton is following in the same path. Carter and Clinton whose strengths and respective institutions are quite different both fit the model of an ex-president entrepreneur.

[14] Director, Africa Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies.

CONCLUSION: PRESIDENTIAL CITIZENS

Ex-Presidents Carter and Clinton with their respective institutions, the Center and the Foundation, are proving to be unique forces in the globalisation of health care. At the same time, they are forging new paths for post-presidential activities. Carter has been an ex-president for twenty-five years, and Clinton for just six, but they demonstrate that if ex-presidents desire to continue in public service after leaving the White House, there is a successful model to follow, initiated by Carter and modified by Clinton.

This thesis set out to examine the ability of ex-Presidents Carter and Clinton, acting as international policy entrepreneurs, labeled ex-president entrepreneurs, to effect change in global health policy. After examining the literature, it became clear that to understand their ability to act independently of the incumbent president and US government structures, to initiate partnerships with IOs, to raise funds for their projects, and to negotiate with the governments of other nations, it would be necessary to look at the impact of their respective institutions.

To do this, the features of policy entrepreneurs were split into three baskets or groupings: their skills, their ability to mobilise resources and the social arena in which they operate. These groupings made it easier to look at the overall strength of ex-presidents, rather than being distracted by individual differences which may have occurred if all the attributes had been viewed separately. The case studies on GWD and HIV/AIDS evidenced the fact that

both Carter and Clinton have considerable personal skills which enable them to act as ex-president entrepreneurs. These skills include recognising an opportunity, committing time and energy, persuasive powers and the ability to communicate and reframe an issue. While Carter and Clinton have very different skills, overall their basket of skills operates at an impressively high level, enabling them to exert considerable influence.

The second basket or grouping represents their abilities to mobilise such resources as world leaders, media, networks and fundraising efforts to support their cause. Again, overall both demonstrate strength in this basket, in fact, the scale of their resources is massive compared to other NGOs and IOs. The third basket considered the reinforcement of their influence as a result of their socially-embedded image as legitimate moral and transforming leaders who possess considerable celebrity status. The fact that Carter left office after one term with a low approval rating and Clinton after two terms with a high rating does not affect their social image as globally people look to them for moral leadership with a celebrity role.

The baskets of attributes also focus on how their respective institutions interact and complement their activities. In fact, while the Center and the Foundation are structured quite differently, and to some extent reflect the personality of their founders and the environment in which they were founded, the case studies demonstrate that neither Carter nor Clinton could function as an ex-president entrepreneur without their institution. The case studies evidence that the Center and the Foundation provide:

- A platform and back-up resources and support to augment their skills and deliver on policy change.

- A network and an organisation to deliver technical, specialist and administrative aspects of resource mobilisation.
- The necessary stability and the continued promulgation of their mission and values to complement and advance their celebrity status and moral leadership.

Their institutions complement their transforming leadership and 'define their values so meaningfully, that [their followers] can be moved to purposeful action' (MacGregor Burns 1978:44). This can only be achieved by both ex-presidents with the backing of their non-profit institutions.

This thesis has shown that, regardless of individual differences, Carter and Clinton do gain their influence in the global health arena by acting as ex-president entrepreneurs. It also demonstrates that they could not do this without their institutions. The thesis, because of the particular grouping of the attributes of international policy entrepreneurs, isolates areas for further research as well as demonstrating that it is possible to extend agenda-setting literature developed in the domestic arena into the international arena. Further research is needed to explain the motivation of ex-presidents; whether all future ex-presidents will look for, and plan while in office, a similar post-presidency; and what projects they will take on. Clinton has commented that he and Carter have both used their post-presidency to work in areas they 'cared a lot about' whilst in office and areas where they 'could still have an impact' after leaving office (Clinton 2004a). Given their social image it is most likely that these areas will be humanitarian causes, but if not, the question of the accountability of ex-presidents may arise.

It is hoped that one area of further research will in fact be the accountability of ex-president entrepreneurs, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. Schaller and Williams (2003:198) believe that it is possible that if ex-presidents continue to be successful in advocating and effecting policy change in such areas as global health policies that the human rights work of the US government could be progressively outsourced to the institutions surrounding ex-presidents 'with the approval of incumbent presidents, other times as solo freelancers'. Without accountability of some sort this has strong implications for democracy.

It is clear that an ex-president entrepreneur is dependent on a hands-on, action policy institution to function effectively, it is less clear whether the institution can function effectively without the entrepreneur. MacGregor Burns (1978:454) insists that the 'most lasting tangible act of leadership' is to create an institution so that the moral leadership and social change can continue after 'the creative leaders are gone'. Carter (2007b:10) states the Center will be a 'permanent institution' and an endowment has been set up to ensure its continuation. Carter (2007b:250) believes it may in fact be easier for the Center's leaders to intercede in some nations without having 'a former president's high profile'. Clinton will no doubt similarly ensure his Foundation's continuation. Certainly the humanitarian work of both institutions should continue as they are assisting some of the most needy and isolated people around the globe.

APPENDICES

Appendix One

Fig A1: Table of Presidents of the United States

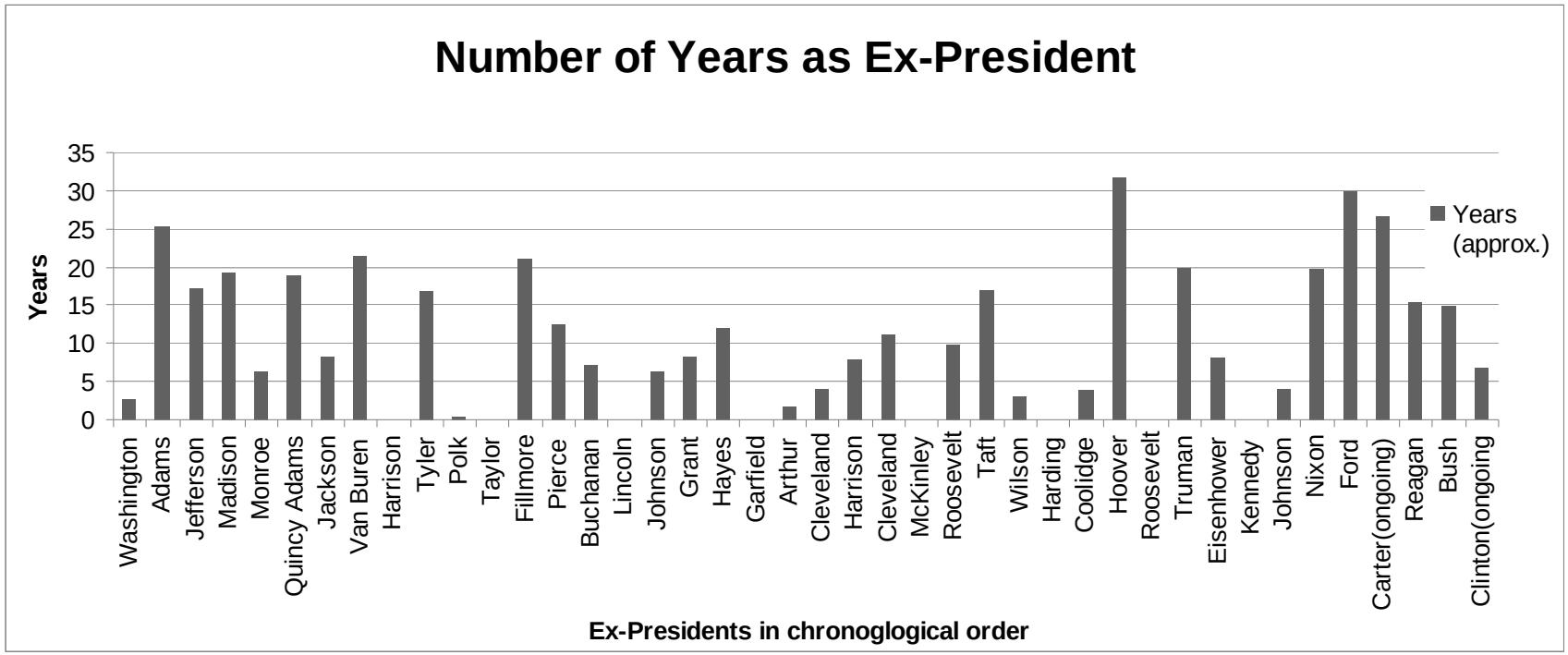
President	Born	Died	Dates of Presidency	Age when left office	Number of years as ex-president
George Washington	1732	1799	Apr 1789 – Mar 1797	65	2 ½
John Adams	1735	1826	Mar 1797 – Mar 1801	65	25
Thomas Jefferson	1743	1826	Mar 1801 – Mar 1809	65	17
James Madison	1751	1836	Mar 1809 – Mar 1817	66	19
James Monroe	1758	1831	Mar 1817 – Mar 1825	67	6
John Quincy Adams	1767	1848	Mar 1825 – Mar 1829	61	19
Andrew Jackson	1767	1845	Mar 1829 – Mar 1837	70	8
Martin Van Buren	1782	1862	Mar 1837 – 1841	58	21
William Henry Harrison	1773	1841	Mar 1841 – Apr 1841	Died in office	0
John Tyler	1790	1862	Apr 1841 – Mar 1845	54	17
James K. Polk	1795	1849	Mar 1845 – Mar 1849	53	¼
Zachary Taylor	1784	1850	Mar 1849 – Jul 1850	Died in office	0
Millard Fillmore	1800	1874	Jul 1850 – Mar 1853	53	21
Franklin Pierce	1804	1869	Mar 1853 – Mar 1857	52 ½	12 ½
Abraham Lincoln	1809	1865	Mar 1861 – Apr 1865	Assassinated	0
Andrew Johnson	1808	1875	Apr 1865 – Mar 1869	60	6 ½
Ulysses S. Grant	1822	1885	Mar 1869 – Mar 1877	56	8 ½
Rutherford B. Hayes	1822	1893	Mar 1877 – Mar 1881	58	12
James A. Garfield	1831	1881	Mar 1881 – Sep 1881	Assassinated	0

Chester A. Arthur	1830	1886	Sep 1881 – Mar 1885	55	1 ¾
Grover Cleveland	1837	1908	Mar 1885 – Mar 1889	51	4
Benjamin Harrison	1833	1901	Mar 1889 – Mar 1893	59	8
Grover Cleveland	1837	1908	Mar 1893 – Mar 1897	59	12
William McKinley	1843	1901	Mar 1897 – Sep 1901	Assassinated	0
Theodore Roosevelt	1858	1919	Sep 1901 – Mar 1909	50	11
William Howard Taft	1867	1930	Mar 1909 – Mar 1913	55	17
Woodrow Wilson	1856	1924	Mar 1913 – Mar 1921	64	3
Warren G. Harding	1865	1923	Mar 1921 – Aug 1923	Died in office	0
Calvin Coolridge	1872	1933	Aug 1923 – Mar 1929	56	4
Herbert Hoover	1874	1964	Mar 1929 – Mar 1933	58	31 ½
Franklin Delano Roosevelt	1882	1945	Mar 1933 – Apr 1945	Died in office	0
Harry S. Truman	1884	1972	Apr 1945 – Jan 1953	69	14
Dwight D. Eisenhower	1890	1969	Jan 1853 – Jan 1961	78	8
John F. Kennedy	1917	1963	Jan 1961 – Nov 1963	Assassinated	0
Lyndon B. Johnson	1908	1973	Nov 1963 – Jan 1969	60	4
Richard M. Nixon	1913	1994	Jan 1969 – Aug 1974	61	19 ¾
Gerald R. Ford	1913	2006	Aug 1974 – Jan 1977	63	39
Jimmy Carter	1924		Jan 1977 – Jan 1981	26	Ongoing (26 ¾)
Ronald Reagan	1911	2004	Jan 1981 – Jan1989	77	15 ½
George H.W. Bush	1924		Jan 1989 – Jan 1993	68	Ongoing (14 ¾)
William Jefferson Clinton	1946		Jan 1993 – Jan 2001	54	Ongoing (6 ½)
George W. Bush	1946		Jan 2001 – Present	Will be 62	Not commenced

Compiled from: (Skidmore 2004:vii - ix)

Appendix Two

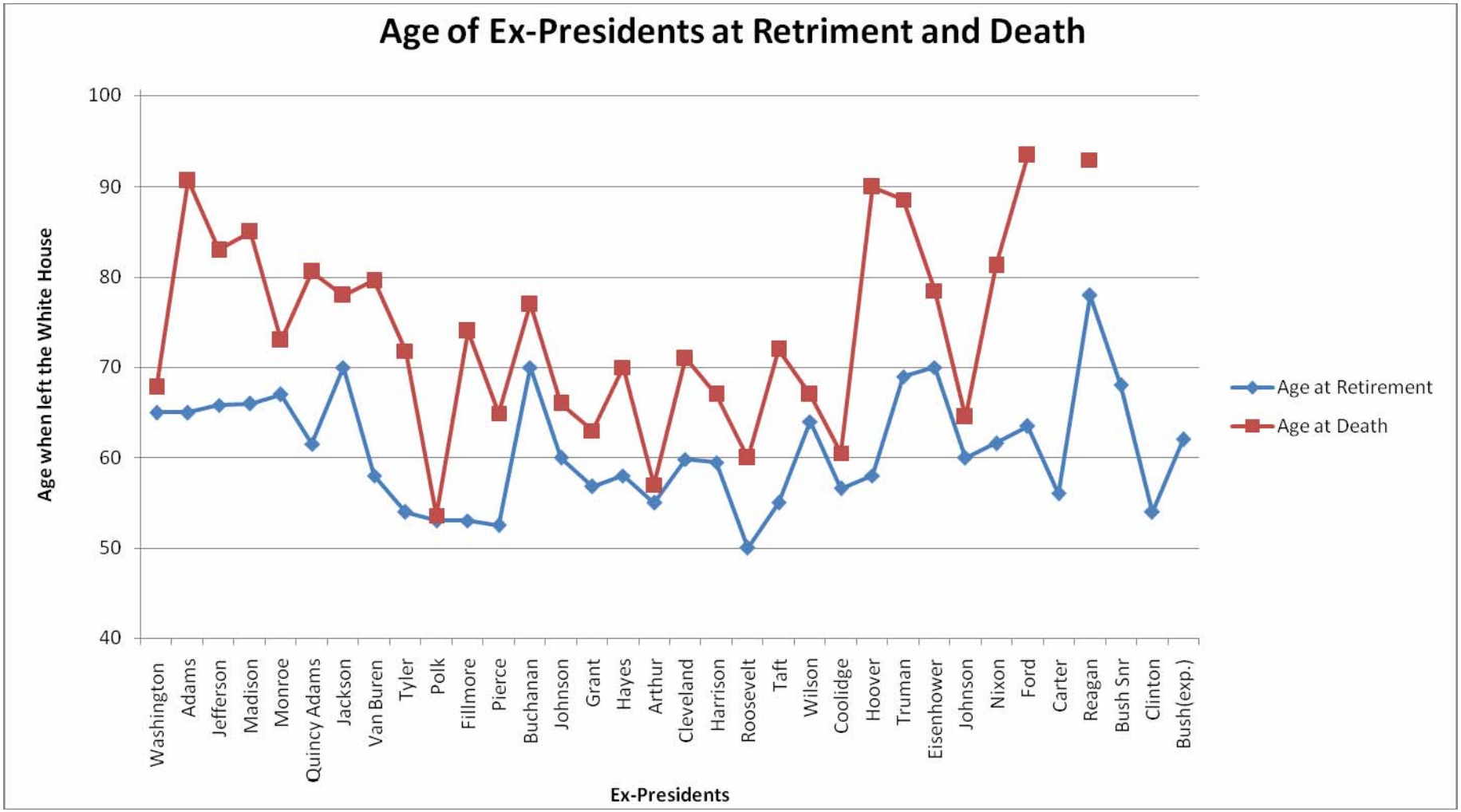
Fig A2: Chart Showing the Number of Years as Ex-President



Complied from: (Skidmore 2004:vii-ix)

Appendix Three

Fig A4: Chart showing age of ex-presidents at retirement and death



Source: (Skidmore 2004:vii-ix)

Appendix Four

Fig A4: Table Showing Number of Living Ex-Presidents

Start Date	End Date	Determining Event	President	No. of Ex Presidents	Ex-Presidents
April 1789	March 1797	Inauguration – George Washington	George Washington	0	
March 1797	December 1799	Inauguration – John Adams	John Adams	1	George Washington
December 1799	March 1801	Death – George Washington	John Adams	0	
March 1801	March 1809	Inauguration – Thomas Jefferson	Thomas Jefferson	1	John Adams
March 1809	March 1817	Inauguration – James Madison	James Madison	2	John Adams Thomas Jefferson
March 1817	March 1825	Inauguration – James Monroe	James Monroe	3	John Adams Thomas Jefferson James Madison
March 1825	July 1826	Inauguration – John Quincy Adams	John Quincy Adams	4	John Adams Thomas Jefferson James Madison James Monroe
July 1826	July 1826	Death – Thomas Jefferson	John Quincy Adams	3	John Adams James Madison James Monroe
July 1826	March 1829	Death – John Adams	John Quincy Adams	2	James Madison James Monroe
March 1829	July 1831	Inauguration – Andrew Jackson	Andrew Jackson	3	James Madison James Monroe John Quincy Adams
July 1831	June 1836	Death – James Monroe	Andrew Jackson	2	James Madison John Quincy Adams
June 1836	March 1837	Death – James Madison	Andrew Jackson	1	John Quincy Adams
March 1837	April 1841	Inauguration – Martin Van Buren	Martin Van Buren	2	John Quincy Adams Andrew Jackson
March 1841	March 1845	Inauguration – William H. Harrison	William H. Harrison/ John Tyler	3	John Quincy Adams Andrew Jackson Martin Van Buren
March 1845	June 1845	Inauguration – James K. Polk	James K. Polk	4	John Quincy Adams Andrew Jackson Martin Van Buren John Tyler

June 1845	February 1848	Death – Andrew Jackson	James K. Polk	3	John Quincy Adams Martin Van Buren John Tyler
February 1848	March 1849	Death – John Quincy Adams	James K. Polk	2	Martin Van Buren John Tyler
March 1849	June 1949	Inauguration – Zachary Taylor	Zachary Taylor	3	Martin Van Buren John Tyler James K. Polk
June 1849	March 1853	Death – James K. Polk	Zachary Taylor / Millard Fillmore	2	Martin Van Buren John Tyler
March 1853	March 1857	Inauguration – Franklin Pierce	Franklin Pierce	3	Martin Van Buren John Tyler Millard Fillmore
March 1857	March 1861	Inauguration – James Buchanan	James Buchanan	4	Martin Van Buren John Tyler Millard Fillmore Franklin Pierce
March 1861	January 1862	Inauguration-Abraham Lincoln	Abraham Lincoln	5	Martin Van Buren John Tyler Millard Fillmore Franklin Pierce James Buchanan
January 1862	July 1862	Death – John Tyler	Abraham Lincoln	4	Martin Van Buren Millard Fillmore Franklin Pierce James Buchanan
July 1862	April 1865	Death – Martin Van Buren	Abraham Lincoln	3	Millard Fillmore Franklin Pierce James Buchanan
April 1865	June 1868	Inauguration – Andrew Johnson	Andrew Johnson	3	Millard Fillmore Franklin Pierce James Buchanan
June 1868	March 1868	Death – James Buchanan	Andrew Johnson	2	Millard Fillmore Franklin Pierce
March 1869	October 1869	Inauguration – Ulysses S. Grant	Ulysses S. Grant	3	Millard Fillmore Franklin Pierce Andrew Johnson
October 1869	March 1874	Death – Franklin Pierce	Ulysses S. Grant	2	Millard Fillmore Andrew Johnson
March 1874	July 1875	Death – Millard Fillmore	Ulysses S. Grant	1	Andrew Johnson
July 1875	March 1877	Death – Andrew Johnson	Ulysses S. Grant	0	
March 1877	March 1881	Inauguration – Rutherford B. Hayes	Rutherford B. Hayes	1	Ulysses S. Grant
March 1881	September 1881	Inauguration – James Garfield	James Garfield	2	Ulysses S. Grant Rutherford B. Hayes
September 1881	March 1885	Inauguration – Chester A. Arthur	Chester A. Arthur	2	Ulysses S. Grant Rutherford B. Hayes
March 1885	July 1885	Inauguration – Grover Cleveland	Grover Cleveland	3	Ulysses S. Grant Rutherford B. Hayes Chester A. Arthur

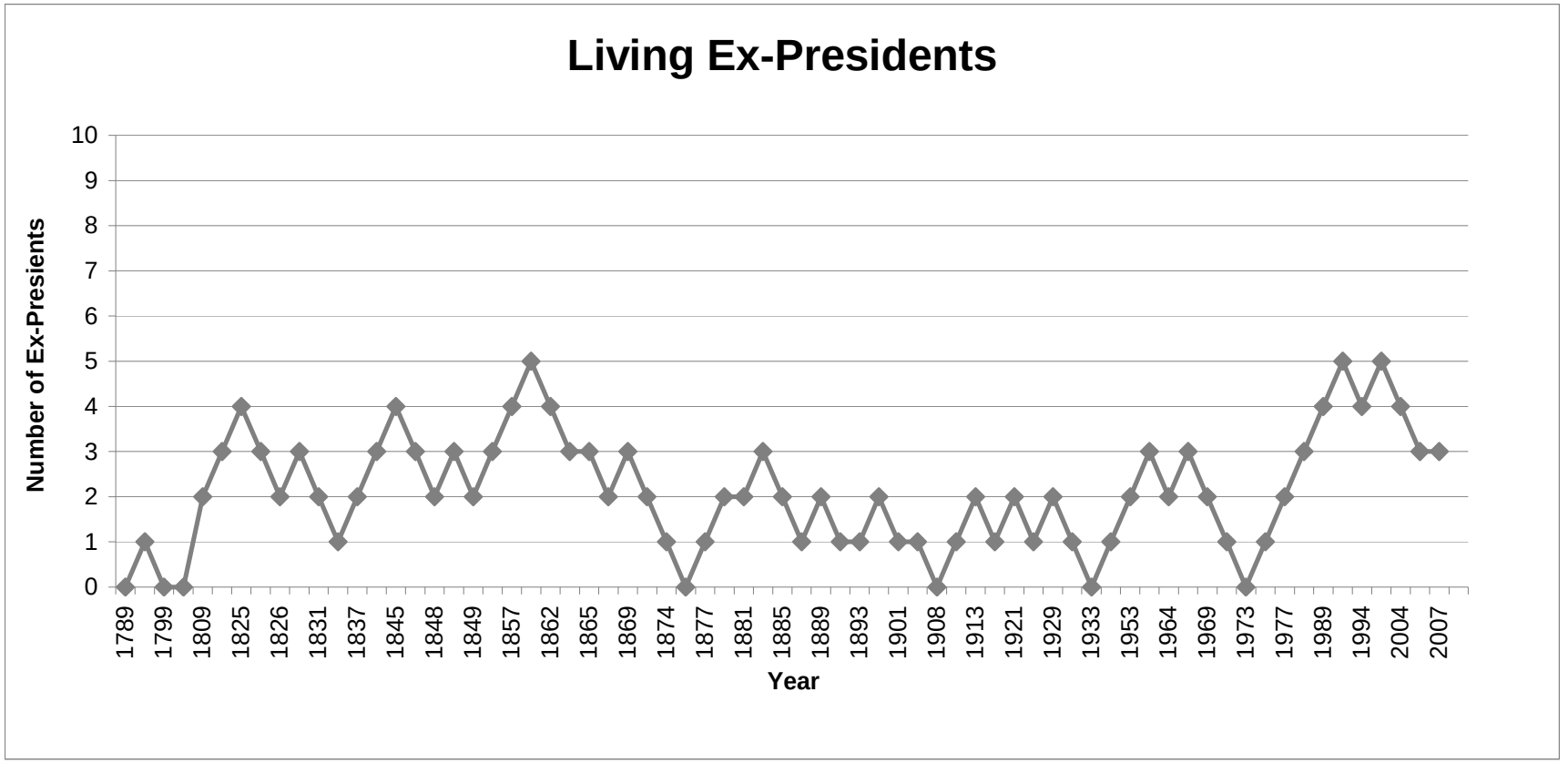
July 1885	November 1886	Death – Ulysses S. Grant	Grover Cleveland	2	Rutherford B. Hayes Chester A. Arthur
November 1886	March 1889	Death – Chester A. Arthur	Grover Cleveland	1	Rutherford B. Hayes
March 1889	January 1893	Inauguration – Benjamin Harrison	Benjamin Harrison	2	Rutherford B. Hayes Grover Cleveland
January 1893	March 1893	Death – Rutherford B. Hayes	Benjamin Harrison	1	Grover Cleveland
March 1893	March 1897	Inauguration – Grover Cleveland	Grover Cleveland	1	Benjamin Harris
March 1897	March 1901	Inauguration – William McKinley	William McKinley	2	Grover Cleveland Benjamin Harrison
March 1901	September 1901	Death – Benjamin Harrison	William McKinley	1	Grover Cleveland
September 1901	June 1908	Inauguration – Theodore Roosevelt	Theodore Roosevelt	1	Grover Cleveland
June 1908	March 1909	Death – Grover Cleveland	Theodore Roosevelt	0	
March 1909	March 1913	Inauguration – William H. Taft	William H. Taft	1	Theodore Roosevelt
March 1913	January 1919	Inauguration – Woodrow Wilson	Woodrow Wilson	2	Theodore Roosevelt William H. Taft
January 1919	March 1921	Death – Theodore Roosevelt	Woodrow Wilson	1	William H. Taft
March 1921	February 1924	Inauguration – Warren G. Harding	Warren G. Harding / Calvin Coolidge	2	William H. Taft Woodrow Wilson
February 1924	March 1929	Death – Woodrow Wilson	Calvin Coolidge	1	William H. Taft
March 1929	March 1930	Inauguration – Herbert Hoover	Herbert Hoover	2	William H. Taft Calvin Coolidge
March 1930	January 1933	Death – William H. Taft	Herbert Hoover	1	Calvin Coolidge
January 1933	March 1933	Death – Calvin Coolidge	Herbert Hoover	0	
March 1933	January 1953	Inauguration – Franklin D. Roosevelt	Franklin D. Roosevelt / Harry S. Truman	1	Herbert Hoover
January 1953	January 1961	Inauguration – Dwight D. Eisenhower	Dwight D. Eisenhower	2	Herbert Hoover Harry S. Truman
January 1961	October 1964	Inauguration – John F. Kennedy	John F. Kennedy/ Lyndon B. Johnson	3	Herbert Hoover Harry S. Truman Dwight D. Eisenhower
October 1964	January 1969	Death – Herbert Hoover	Lyndon B. Johnson	2	Harry S. Truman Dwight D. Eisenhower
January 1969	March 1969	Inauguration – Richard Nixon	Richard Nixon	3	Harry S. Truman Dwight D. Eisenhower Lyndon B. Johnson
March 1969	December 1972	Death – Dwight D. Eisenhower	Richard Nixon	2	Harry S. Truman Lyndon B. Johnson
December 1972	January 1973	Death – Harry S. Truman	Richard Nixon	1	Lyndon B. Johnson

January 1973	August 1974	Death – Lyndon B. Johnson	Richard Nixon	0	
August 1974	January 1977	Inauguration – Gerald Ford	Gerald Ford	1	Richard Nixon
January 1977	January 1981	Inauguration – Jimmy Carter	Jimmy Carter	2	Richard Nixon Gerald Ford
January 1981	January 1989	Inauguration – Ronald Reagan	Ronald Reagan	3	Richard Nixon Gerald Ford Jimmy Carter
January 1989	January 1993	Inauguration – George H. W. Bush	George H. W. Bush	4	Richard Nixon Gerald Ford Jimmy Carter Ronald Reagan
January 1993	April 1994	Inauguration – Bill Clinton	Bill Clinton	5	Richard Nixon Gerald Ford Jimmy Carter Ronald Reagan George H. W. Bush
April 1994	January 2001	Death – Richard Nixon	Bill Clinton	4	Gerald Ford Jimmy Carter Ronald Reagan George H. W. Bush
January 2001	June 2004	Inauguration – George W. Bush	George W. Bush	5	Gerald Ford Jimmy Carter Ronald Reagan George H. W. Bush Bill Clinton
June 2004	December 2006	Death – Ronald Reagan	George W. Bush	4	Gerald Ford Jimmy Carter George H. W. Bush Bill Clinton
December 2006		Death – Gerald Ford	George W. Bush	3	Jimmy Carter George H. W. Bush Bill Clinton

Adapted from: (Skidmore 2004:vii-ix; Wikipedia 2007:1-10)

Appendix Five

Fig A5: Chart of Number of Living Ex-Presidents



Explanatory notes: The high occurrence of ex- presidents from 1845 to 1865 is a result of a string of one- term presidents and the deaths of Zachary Taylor and Abraham Lincoln in office. Adapted from: (Skidmore 2004:vii-ix; Wikipedia 2007:1-10)

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