

The World Bank Participatory Development Approach in the Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) Paper for the Republic of Senegal: Rhetoric or Reality?

By

Rokhaya Ndiaye

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Committee:

Committee Chair
Professor of Economics
Mohammed El-Hodiri

Committee Member
Assistant Professor of Political
Science
Catherine Weaver

Committee Member
Professor Richard Lynn Ground

Date of Defense

The Thesis Committee for Rokhaya Ndiaye certifies
that this is the approved Version of the following thesis:

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Committee:

Chairperson*

Date approved: _____

ABSTRACT

Rokhaya Ndiaye, M.A.

Department of International Studies, Fall 2008

University of Kansas

The aim of this thesis is to study the World Bank's participatory development process in the 2007 Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) for the Republic of Senegal. I seek to shed light on the question of whether or not the Bank is willing to follow through its participatory commitment. Participatory development refers to the process of developing strategies which incorporate beneficiaries of development in their own development. Over the two last decades, practitioners of economic development initiatives have implemented development programs which embrace the participatory approach to put developing countries in the path of development.

In this thesis, I undertake an examination of the participatory process through the lens of the 2007 Senegalese' CAS, which is a World Bank' strategy to help borrowing countries meet their key development challenges by incorporating Civil Societies Organizations (CSOs) in the process of the formulation and implementation. I looked at the evolution of economic development thinking since the 1950s to present decade to show how participatory development has been adopted as part of the development agenda in the development community. Going beyond the discourse about the effectiveness of participatory development, I examine the critiques of the process as analyzed by critics of the World Bank, and then broadly examine how the participatory process is perceived by main stakeholders in Senegal. I argue that, in the case of Senegal, the Bank is prompted to put participation in practice the CAS drafting but the process does not fully reach out all stakeholders such as the marginalized groups and some NGOs. Evidences suggest that, the Bank consult widely with the Senegalese government as evidence of participation, however large number of stakeholders are not active participants with decision-making power in the participatory development process.

In memory of my beloved Mother Marieme Mbodji, who passed away while I was writing this thesis.

May ALLAH bless her soul.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One: Introduction.....	p. 1
Chapter Two: Participatory Development in Theory: A Review of the Literature.....	p. 9
Section one: Evolution of Development Strategies.....	p. 9
A. Economic Development Theories During the 1950s-1960s.....	p.11
B. Economic Development Theories During the 1960s-1980s.....	p.14
C. Economic Development Theories During the 1980s- 2005s.....	p.15
Section two: Key Concepts and Discourse around Participatory Development.....	p.20
Chapter Three: Critiques of the World Bank.....	p.31
A. The Criticisms and Issues.....	p. 32
B. The Bank’s interaction with CSOs and NGOs.....	p. 36
C. The Critiques of the Participatory Approach.....	p. 39
D. The Responses and reaction of the Bank to its Critics.....	p.48
Chapter Four: The Participatory Approach in the 2007 CAS.....	p.54
A. Country Economic, Political, and Social Profile.....	p.54
B. Poverty as Interpreted by Senegalese Citizens.....	p.58
C. The World Bank’s Role in the PRSP/CAS Consultation Process.....	p.60
D. The 2007 CAS Timeline and Consultation Process.....	p.62
E. Consultation Process as Perceived by the Government and the Civil Society.....	p.66
Chapter Five: Improving the Participatory Process.....	p.71
Bibliography.....	p.77
Annexes.....	p. 83

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List of acronyms.

ADB: Asian Development Bank
ARPP: Annual Review of Portfolio Performance (World Bank)
BIC: Bank Information Center
CAS: Country Assistance Strategy (World Bank)
CAEs: Country Assistance Evaluations (World Bank)
CDF: Comprehensive Development Framework (World Bank)
CNJS : National Youth Council of Senegal
CNTS : The National Confederation of Senegalese Workers
CONGAD: Conseil des ONG d'appui au Développement
CSOs: Civil Society Organizations
ENDA: Environment and Development in Africa
FAFS: Federation of Women's Associations in Senegal
FCFA: Franc Communauté Financière d'Afrique
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
HIPC: Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
IBRD: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
IDA: International Development Association (World Bank)
IEG: Independent Evaluation Group (World Bank)
IFC: International Finance Corporation (World Bank)
ILO: International Labor Organization
IMF: International Monetary Fund
LDCs: Less Developed Countries
MDG: The Mozambican Debt Group
NGOs: Non Governmental Organizations
OECD: Organization for Economic Co Operation and Development
OED: Operations Evaluations Department (World Bank)
PPAs: Participatory Poverty Assessment (World Bank)
PRSP: Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (World Bank)
QAG: Quality Assurance Group (World Bank)
ROC: Regional Operations Committee (World Bank)
SAP: Structural Adjustment Programs (World Bank)
SYNPICS: Syndicat des Professionnels de l'Information et de la Communication du Senegal
UNSAS: Union of Autonomous Labor Union of Senegal

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

WAEMU: West African Economic and Monetary Union

The World Bank's¹ Participatory Development Approach in the Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) Paper for the Republic of Senegal: Rhetoric or Reality?

Chapter 1: Introduction

“At the local level or national level, the projects and policy reforms must be supported by affected groups. For this, we must build opportunities for participation into the development processes at all levels, from community level projects to the design of USAID’s country strategies. Development assistance fails if we forget that it is their country, not ours”²

Practitioners of economic development, academics, government and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have dominated the discourse on how successful development programs can transform the living conditions of people in less developed countries (LDCs).³ A review of recent literature on economic development shows that development organizations are focusing on participatory development as a means for achieving sustainable development in developing countries. Participatory development, also known as peoples’ participation in development, is a concept that has emerged directly from development practitioners and professionals motivated to create a theory of development that would work in many different developing countries rooted in the motivation of development practitioners to make development work in many developing

¹. The term World Bank Group refers to the five agencies which are: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), International Development Association (IDA), International Finance Corporation (IFC), Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and International Center for the settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID).

². Hartmut Schneider et al., *Participatory Development from Advocacy to Action* (Development Center Seminars OECD, 1995) 50-51.

³. By considering economic development theories, we can understand the prevailing development theories that have been applied in the least developed countries’ (LDCs) economic strategies. It is characterized by periods: When development was about modernization, building infrastructure, government intervention in market, structural adjustment, attention to basic human needs, and the debate on participatory development. The role of economic development theories will be considered in chapter 2.

countries. The 1999 United Nations World Summit for Social Development focused on the fact that effective development needs to address the needs of the poor in a fashion that includes them in the development process, as they are the priority beneficiaries of development programs.⁴ Additionally, the strategy of participatory development has re-shaped the agendas of many development agencies. For example, a 1995 OECD report shows that development institutions have supported development programs relevant to participation since 1960s; however, in the past two decades, there are an increasing number of development agencies that have actively implemented strategies to incorporate beneficiaries of development projects in their own development process.⁵

Throughout the development literature, there is no single and unifying definition for participatory development because the meaning or mode of participation differs according to the specifics of each situation where participation is involved. For example, on one hand, the definition of participation may be viewed from a grassroots level with respect to empowerment, influence, and control on the part of participants. On the other hand, the definition of participation may embrace a more conventional conception where the development agency retains decision-making power with respect to project functions but still incorporates participants in the process. There is, however, a general consensus among development practitioners that participation should embrace some form of empowerment of local people in the decision-making process. At the most fundamental level, participatory development should include a consultation process through which the beneficiaries of development come to share a vision for the scope and goals of the project while exercising influence over policy formulation by contribution their input

⁴. United Nations. *Participatory Approaches to Poverty Alleviation in Rural Community Development* (Department of Economic and Social Affairs. New York. 1999). 3.

⁵. Hartmut Schneider et al., *Participatory Development from Advocacy to Action*, 21.

to the project implementation.⁶ In fact, the World Bank (the Bank) defines participatory development as: “A process by which people, especially disadvantaged people, can exercise influence over policy formulation, design alternatives, investment choices, management, and monitoring of development interventions in their communities.”⁷

Development practitioners and scholars provide several arguments for the effectiveness of participatory development as a means of bringing development. One reason offered is that peoples’ experience of poverty includes the sense of pervasive hopelessness and a feeling of powerlessness to improve their situation. Participatory development directly addresses these realities by engaging people in developing countries to work on their own development strategies because they know their realities better than anyone else. Understanding the relationship between poverty reduction and participatory development matters a great deal in the sense that these two concepts have a strong relationship when it comes to bringing development in LDCs. For example, a 1985 World Bank’s Operations Evaluation Department (OED) report states that 50% of Bank-funded projects that embraced participatory development had achieved long-term sustainability.⁸ Moreover, a 1990 USAID (United States Agency for International Development) study of 52 projects showed a positive correlation between participation and project success.⁹ People’s participation in development promotes a significant sense of ownership by putting development’s beneficiaries in the driver’s seat’ of their own development.

⁶. Ibid., 10.

⁷. Bhuvan Bhatnagar and Aubrey C. Williams, “Participatory development and the World Bank: Potential directions for changes,” Bhuvan Bhatnagar and Aubrey C. Williams. World Bank discussion papers; 183 (1992): 7.

⁸. Ibid., 8.

A 1985 report from the Bank's Operations Evaluation Department, which analyzed completed projects, documented the link between grassroots participation and project sustainability. The projects were a number of 25 and the evaluation were conducted 5 to 10 years after completion.

⁹. Ibid., 8.

Participatory development should be a priority for development agencies if these agencies, such as the Bank, want a world free of poverty. It should be at the center of development efforts because development projects that are especially designed for poor people should include the intended beneficiaries in the implementation process. As Katherine Marshall and Rosemary McGee emphasize, a development project which embraces a participatory approach is far more likely to be efficient than a project without it. Participation brings an organic type of commitment that can lead to greater sustainability¹⁰. Several organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the World Bank have adopted participatory development in their agendas. In addition to this growing interest, the practice has expanded over time to adopt a demand-driven process to better ensure economic sustainability both of projects and of development more generally.¹¹

My research question is located at the intersection of two bodies of literature: the participatory development rhetoric and its operational practice through development projects. In this paper, I undertake a critical examination of participatory development practice through the lens of the World Bank's 2007 Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) for the Republic of Senegal. World Bank's rhetoric on participatory development implies that the Bank actively practices participatory development.¹² My research tries to ascertain the Bank's actual practice of participatory development in the case of the Senegal CAS. Senegal is one of the active borrowers from the two branches of the Bank: the International Development Association (IDA) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).

¹⁰. Ibid., 9.

¹¹. Hartmut Schneider et al., *Participatory Development from Advocacy to Action*, 17

¹². Bhatnagar and Williams, *Participatory development and the World Bank*, 12.

I focus on the CAS because the participatory development approach is at the center of this particular strategy paper. The aim of the World Bank's CAS for Senegal is to help borrowing countries meet their key development challenges and bring sustainable development by incorporating country authorities, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), development partners, and other stakeholders in the process of CAS formulation and implementation.¹³ It is very important to highlight the fact that the CAS, as the Bank states it, puts forward first the country's own vision for its development.¹⁴ Therefore, the process is country driven which is where the participatory approach takes place. The CAS puts forward the new Bank-supported development projects and the arguments in support of participatory development during the medium-term. The CAS also contains a menu of technical assistance and studies to support the country's development during the medium-term period covered. Additionally, the CAS strives to support the country's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), which is prepared by the member governments through a participatory process involving domestic stakeholders as well as external development agencies.

The way the CAS is designed leads to the conclusion that the program fully embraces participatory development, at least in theory: "CASs are designed to promote collaboration and coordination among development partners in a country."¹⁵ In the literature on participatory development, it is apparent that development practitioners and scholars are concerned about the Bank's commitments to participatory development. Clearly, researchers who write about

¹³. World Bank, Executive summary to the "*Memorandum of The President of the International Development Association to the Executive Directors on a Country Assistance Strategy for the Republic of Senegal*". (Report no 25498-SE, 2003)

¹⁴. www.web.worldbank.org

¹⁵. World Bank, the CAS' strategy
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/MENAEXT/MOROCCOEXTN/0,,contentMDK:20195011~pagePK:141137~piPK:141127~theSitePK:294540,00.html>

participatory development claim its effectiveness in bringing economic progress in developing countries. However, many also express their skepticism about the Bank's willingness to follow through on its participatory development process. For example, in the case of Mozambique, NGOs, such as the Mozambican Debt Group (MDG), have criticized the consultation process in the 1997 CAS for the Republic of Mozambique.¹⁶

Going beyond the discourse on the effectiveness of participatory development as well as the inclusion of beneficiaries of development in the process, the purpose of this paper is two-fold. I will initially focus on discussions surrounding participatory development and those who criticize the Bank for not doing enough. I will review the literature on participatory development. This will include criticisms of the Bank by scholars and NGOs through an assessment of the Bank's participatory development rhetoric compared to the reality on the ground. Second, I will empirically examine how participatory development has been implemented through the 2007 CAS for the Republic of Senegal. Has the approach involved participation of stakeholders? If so, to what extent? Did their participation contribute significantly to the formulation and implementation of the CAS? To this end, this paper will tackle the following questions:

- How broad was the consultation process in the formulation and implementation of the CAS?
- Who was involved in the drafting and implementation of the Country Assistance Strategy (CAS)?
- Participatory development process is about consultation: what are the various phases in the consultation process within the Bank and the Senegalese government?

¹⁶ Joseph Halnon, "World Bank Urged to Delay Decision on Controversial Mozambique Country Assistance Strategy" (www.africaaction.org, 1997)

- How does the Bank analyze the economic costs and benefits of participation?
- Participation and borrowing governments: what is the importance of borrowing governments for the Bank's support for participation?
- In selecting development priorities and projects, how responsive should the Bank be to priorities chosen by local people themselves who do not have economic and technical skills?
- Who determines which partners should get involved in the development process? The Bank or the borrowing country?

Through an analysis of these questions, this paper will assess whether the Bank is following through on its commitment on participatory development. This thesis is based on a review of the most salient literature on participatory development including research and reports of development institutions and NGOs. At the center of my thesis is an one Bank's project: the 2007 Senegalese Country Assistance Strategy, where participation has been an explicitly stated objective. I conducted several interviews with two members of the World Bank staff in the Bank office in Senegal, the president of CONGAD, which is an umbrella council for 178 NGOs from around the country, and a staff of the Ministry of Finance which represents the government of Senegal in the CAS' consultation process. I did not have the opportunity to interview other development institutions or NGOs involved in the CAS' consultation process because of both limited time and limited responses to my inquiries. The information gathered from these interviews has allowed me to analyze a contrast between the World Bank's rhetoric on participatory development and the reality on the ground.

This thesis is structured around four main chapters. The focus of chapter 2 is to analyze the evolution of economic development thinking to demonstrate how the concept of participatory development has been adopted within the development community. Also, I examine the discourse around participatory development and its link to poverty reduction. To begin, an emphasis is made on prevailing development theories that were applied in developing countries. At the same time, I examine the evolution of development thinking in the World Bank, since the evolution of these prevailing theories of development has helped to shape interventions by international institutions.

Chapter three focuses on criticisms expressed by both scholars in the development community and by NGOs against the Bank's practical role in participatory development. Because they are the primary advocates for the promotion of participatory development, I will bring a special on NGOs. How do the critics design their criticisms, and what are the concerns and issues that they address, are questions that are addressed in chapter three. For greater insight into the questions, I examine how the Bank is handling and responding to its critics.

Chapter four performs my main analysis of the practice of participatory development in the 2007 Senegalese CAS. The analysis will be from two different perspectives: that of the Bank, based on reports written by the Bank and my interviews of Bank staff who worked on the 2007 CAS: and that of Senegalese stakeholders (the Senegalese government and one NGO, which represents 178 Senegalese NGOs).

The objective of the conclusion is to draw lessons from the participatory approach in the 2007 Senegalese CAS. I assessed the contrast between the Bank's rhetoric and its practice on the

ground in this case. Finally, I made suggestions regarding strategies and methodological issues to be pursued in the future work on participatory development in the CAS for the case of Senegal.

CHAPTER 2: Participatory Development in Theory: A Review of the Literature

Section 1: Evolution of Development Strategies

This chapter will analyze the evolution of economic development thinking through a review of the most salient literature. It provides an overview of the evolution of development strategies from theories of economic development, to the attention to basic needs, the prevalence of structural adjustment and the subsequent ascendancy of participatory development. The first section of this chapter will review the literature on economic development in order to have a better understanding of how participatory development has been adopted as the primary agenda throughout the development community. Then, the second section will offer an overview of participatory development. The term economic development that is used in this paper refers to the strategies used to improve the living standard of poor people in developing countries.

Helping the world's poorest countries means examining how they can best achieve economic development and live in progressively better conditions. When the poorest people are able to meet basic needs such as education, clean water, food, shelter, improved and community infrastructure, their standard of living is significantly raised. Development agencies and scholars such as Paul Collier have argued that the poorest countries are trapped in poverty from which they cannot emerge without outside support such as investments, grants, and structural reforms

which directly address constraints to development. Only then will poor countries succeed at self-sustained development.

The end of the Second World War marked the beginning of a new regime for the less developed countries involving the evolution from a dependent to a somewhat more independent relation vis-à-vis the ex-colonial powers. It also marked the beginning of serious interest among scholars and policy makers in studying and understanding the development process as a basis for designing appropriate development policies and strategies: “It was not until the 1950s that development economics emerged as a special sub discipline of economics.”¹⁷ Meier made reference to the first World Bank’s country mission to Colombia in 1949, which emphasized economic development in a way the Bank had not yet done before. The Bank Colombia mission team, in fact, argued that there were no comparable missions to the 1949 Colombia one.¹⁸ Remarkably, it is in the 1950s and 1960s that the field of development economics was rediscovered.¹⁹ During this period, there was an intensive interest among economists in finding solutions to the poverty and underdevelopment. It is almost impossible to find any study in the development field that does not link economic development to development institutions such as the World Bank, USAID, or the UN. These development institutions were the continuation of economic development thinking in the sense that they put into practice economic theories in development projects and policies to achieve their mission to eradicate poverty.

¹⁷. Gerald M. Meier, (2005). *Biography of A Subject: An Evolution of Development Economics* (Oxford New York, 2005), 12

¹⁸. *Ibid.*, 12-14.

¹⁹. Gustav Ranis, (2004) “*The Evolution of Development Thinking: Theory and Policy.*” (Paper prepared for the Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics. Washington, DC, 2004), 1.

In order to understand the reasons why the participatory development approach has a widespread interest among researchers, it would be helpful to look at the vast amount of literature that has been written on the evolution of development thinking recent decades. Each decade has required significant changes, with the intervention of development institutions trying always to find the right solutions to fight poverty in LDCs. How the meaning of economic development has changed during these last two decades is a question that needs to be addressed to better understand how the concept of participatory development has been adopted in the development agenda.

For greater insight into this question, the scope of analysis will emphasize the recent literature on development and how the focus of development has become geared toward a participatory approach. It is in this context that I will assess the evolution of development thinking within the development literature in general and within the World Bank in particular. In reviewing World Bank literature, the focus will be on how and why the Bank adopted participatory development in its development agenda. The Bank is the largest multilateral international development organization in the world today, and it exerts profound influences on many developing countries through its loans, grants, equity investments, and technical assistance²⁰.

A. Economic Development Theories During the 1950s-1960s

Since economic development is about theories, models, policies, and empirical applications, a useful way of capturing the evolution of development theories is to survey a brief sequential discussion of the prevailing theories in each decade and survey the empirical applications by the Bank. Much of the literature that I survey identifies the starting point of economic development

²⁰. Catherine Weaver, *The Hypocrisy Trap: the World Bank and the Poverty of Reform* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008) Chapter three.

in the 1950s. After the World War II, there were a growing number of economists trying to find solutions to the poverty and underdevelopment.²¹ This period coincides with the wave of decolonization, as many developing countries became independent during the 1950s and 1960s. The decolonization period explains the widespread interest among economists to think of economic development theories that would bring economic development in these colonies which have experienced difficulties linked to poverty.

One of the first economic development theories that emerged focused on the acceleration of economic growth.²² Economic growth became the main policy objective in the newly independent LCDs as well as other poor countries such as those of Latin America. It was generally believed that poverty could be eliminated through economic growth. Mavrotas and Shorrocks, among other authors, argue that the main theoretical contribution of the development literature during this decade was in the way it articulated the role of investment in generating modern economic growth.²³ If LDCs wanted to overcome poverty, they would have to follow the paradigm of developed countries that is, they would need to invest in infrastructure, institutions and production. In fact, Rostow's five stages of economic growth were embraced by many development advocates who believed that LDCs must go through these stages if they want to attain growth.²⁴ During this development era, investment and industrialization were seen as the drivers of growth in the rest of the economy. The focus on investment led to less emphasis on technological change in the agriculture sector, focusing instead on capital scarcity and savings

²¹. Piasecki Ryszard and Wolnicki Miron, "The Evolution of Development Economics and globalization" *International Journal of Social Economics* (2004): 2

²². George Mavrotas and Anthony F. Shorrocks, *Advancing Development: Core Themes in Global Economics*. (United Nations University, 2007), 7.

²³. *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁴. Rostow's five stages of economic growth are: Traditional society, the pre-conditions for take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass consumption.

driven growth.²⁵ As Ranis argues, one of the main reasons behind the inclination for investments and an interventionist state as key instruments of development was the desire to cut pre-independence colonial ties. The strategy required each national entity to demonstrate its independence and to begin by creating infrastructure in their own state.

Economic development thinking and policy during the 1950s, 1960s and into the first part of the 1970s was relatively dominated by the interventionist state seeking to promote growth through investment financed by foreign indebtedness. The World Bank tested the theory of investing in infrastructure as the means of bringing economic development in developing countries. The Bank's development thinking was symbolized by ways in which development theories were put in practice within the development projects. When it comes to the evolution of development thinking within the Bank, there were several prevailing school of thought.²⁶

The concept of development as viewed in the World Bank during the 1950s and 1960s focused on investment in infrastructure as a mean to achieve economic growth and development. For instance, as Todd Moss argues: "In the 1960s the dominant ideas about development emphasize the role of state planning to generate a "takeoff" in developing countries. Therefore, the Bank's strategy was to focus on building large infrastructure projects, such as dam construction in the early 1960s."²⁷ After its initial attention to European reconstruction, the Bank turned in the 1950s to developing countries by addressing their infrastructure needs such as roads,

²⁵. Gustav Ranis, *the Evolution of Development Thinking*, 3.

²⁶. Bebbington et al, *The Search for Empowerment: Social Capital as Idea and Practice at the World Bank*. (Kumarian Press, 2006), 11.

²⁷. Todd J. Moss, *African Development: Making Sense of the Issues and Actors*. (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006), 126.

The Bank was initially focused on helping to build large infrastructure projects, such as the massive Akosombo Dam in Ghana constructed in the early 1960s.

electricity, and phones.²⁸ It was under McNamara presidency that the Bank's early emphasis was on project financing for physical infrastructure. Since it was about developing infrastructure in LDCs, the Bank adopted a mechanistic approach, dominated by engineers and financial analysts.²⁹

This is how the Bank responded in practice to the prevailing theories of development. Besides the influence of prevailing development theories, the Bank's agenda was also highly influenced by the Bank's specific organizational leaders.³⁰

B. Prevailing Economic Development Theories During the 1960s-1980s

After decades of focusing on building infrastructure and industrialization through interventionist state policies as a means to generate economic growth in LDCs, many countries started to observe waning economic growth.³¹ There was a slight change of focus during this period as theories of economic development emphasized the role of state planning to generate a "takeoff" in developing countries. The conception of economic development was still centered on growth as a key objective; however, it became increasingly obvious that even though necessary, growth might not be sufficient or that excessive state intervention could actually stifle growth.

Toward the end of the 1960s the increasing seriousness of the unemployment problem in the developing world led to a shift in focus on unemployment as an objective: "the launching of the World Employment Programmed by the ILO in 1969 signaled that the primary objective should be to raise the standard of living of the poor through increased employment

²⁸. Gerald M. Meier, *Biography of a Subject: An Evolution of Development Economics* Meier, 47.

²⁹. *Ibid.*, 34.

³⁰. Catherine Weaver, "The Intellectual culture of the Bank" in *The Hypocrisy Trap*.

³¹. The Japan International Cooperation Agency Report, "The Aid study committee of participatory development and good governance (1995), from. <http://www.jica.go.jp/english/publications/reports/study/topical/part/>

opportunities.”³² Also development agencies such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Bank, and the International Labor Organization (ILO) proposed development strategies that replaced the previous focus on economic growth by attempts to redistribute wealth while, for example, promoting rural development that directly targeted the poor, and by greater emphasis both on adequately meeting basic human needs like education, health care, food, and clean water.³³

For example, according to Meier, “After the mid-1970s, attention was given to sector loans, which are agriculture and social sectors.”³⁴ This new focus under the McNamara presidency seemed to be somewhat successful, for example, with agriculture projects that linked farming to projects in transport and healthcare.³⁵ With a wave of political instability, and civil wars in many developing countries, as well as a series of economic shocks such as the petroleum price shocks, and the excessive foreign indebtedness and excessive government intervention in many developing economies, the economies of most LDCs deteriorated. The old development approaches advocated by the Bank which focused completely on investment, foreign borrowing and government intervention proved to be inadequate.

C. Prevailing Economic Development Theories During the 1980s- to the Present Decade

The first decade of this period saw a radical change in the development community: “A combination of events, including an extremely heavy foreign aid debt burden reflecting the

³². Mavrotas and Shorrocks, *Advancing Development: Core Themes in Global Economics*, 11.

³³. The Japan International Cooperation Agency Report. “The Aid study committee of participatory development and good governance” (1995) from. <http://www.jica.go.jp/english/publications/reports/study/topical/part/>

³⁴. Gerald M. Meier, *Biography of a Subject: An Evolution of Development Economics* Meier, 27.

³⁵. These new projects launched by the Bank were successful, especially international effort to combat river blindness in West Africa. A related strategy, called “integrated rural development” also emerged that tried to support agriculture.

cumulative effects of decades of borrowing and manifested by large and increasing balance-of-payments and budget deficits in most of the developing world combined with higher interest rates and a recession in creditor countries, radically changed the development and aid environment at the beginning of the 1980s.”³⁶

Consequently, a sustainable balance of payments became the objective to restore economic growth as well alleviate poverty in LDCs. Developing countries failed to industrialize or modernize. In the development literature, the decade of the 1980s is called the ‘lost development decade’ not only because of the debt crisis and stagnation but because of a decline in GDP per capita in many developing countries.³⁷ This debt crisis, combined with the political instability in many developing countries, led the development community to stabilize the situation by implementing adjustment policies. The focus was on domestic factors as being the root of the development dilemma.

During the 1980s, economists’ expectations for growth and development did not materialize in the developing countries.³⁸ Inequality and poverty grew in many developing countries, triggering a big shift in development economics starting in the mid-1980s: “After the failures of economic policies in Mexico, Brazil, and Bolivia, it was obvious that massive borrowing alone would not solve their problems; a new approach was required.”³⁹ Furthermore, it has been noted that in sub-Saharan Africa, a majority of developing countries were facing serious adjustment problems. The issue was whether adjustment policies without complementary

³⁶. Mavrotas and Shorroks, *Advancing development: Core themes in Global economics*, 15.

³⁷. *Ibid.*, 15.

³⁸. Miron Wolnicki and R. Piasecki, “The Evolution of Development Economics and Globalization,” *International Journal of Social Economics* (2004): 3.

³⁹. *Ibid.*, 4.

reforms, within the context of Africa, could provide the necessary initial conditions for a take-off into sustained growth and poverty alleviation.⁴⁰

However, despite this situation, important contributions to economic development theories evolved during this decade: for example, the role of human capital in development, the link between trade and growth, and the role of collective action in development.⁴¹ In the first half of the 1990s, stabilization and adjustment were still the dominant objectives. It was clear to the development community that fundamental changes to reduce corruption and facilitate the installation of market economies were a precondition to successful development. It is after this period that the concept of the importance of poor people's participation in shaping development started to emerge in the community development. Although the concept has its origin in 1960s and 1970s, it began to receive new attention as an explicit goal in development assistance in the late 1980s.⁴² This is partly due to the fact that the development community wanted to emphasize project sustainability and policy reform. Initially, however, the participatory development approach poised at the discourse stage within the development community, while practice at the project level lagged far behind awareness of its benefits to poor people. At this point, it was mainly about rhetoric and public declarations as a development objective and strategy to bring sustainable development in LDCs.

The Bank responded to and helped shape the evolution of economic thinking throughout this period. In fact, within the Bank, the focus of development became to assist LDCs with Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). The structural adjustment lending programs were put in

⁴⁰. Ibid., 24.

⁴¹. Mavrotas and Shorrocks, *Advancing development: Core themes in Global economics*, 15-19.

⁴². Karen Brock and Rosemary Mcgee, "Knowing poverty: Critical reflections on participatory research and policy" (2002), 34.

place by the Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to alter domestic policies, including state intervention in activities where private ownership and management were more efficient. This was done by reducing policy-induced price distortions that misallocated resources and hindered growth. It was also accomplished by improving overall macroeconomic management through bringing government spending into line with resource constraints.⁴³ The central idea behind SAPs was to foster free-markets in developing countries. The Bank's views and practices of SAPs reflect the core of what became known as the Washington Consensus, which espoused the view that "the combination of democratic government, free markets, a dominant private sector, and openness to trade is the recipe for prosperity and growth."⁴⁴ The Washington Consensus both reflect and played an important role in the development thought of the Bank during the 1980s and 1990s.

The need for participation of community groups in development projects started gaining a voice within the Bank in early and mid-1990s.⁴⁵ By the 1990s, the Bank's agenda grew broader, including deeper involvement in the promotion of civil society and social issues. The 21st century in the Bank was less about policy reform and more characterized by concepts of ownership, participation, and transparency. In many ways, the Bank's agenda was so wide and diffuse that there were calls for the Bank to draw back and focus more narrowly on what it could reasonably be expected to achieve.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, in the early 1990s, in a variety of forums, Western nations began advocating the promotion of principals of freedom and democracy, as well as free markets, to achieve sustainable development. The Bank's response to this call was indeed to focus more

⁴³. Tood J. Moos, *African Development: Making Sense of the Issues and Actors*, 126.

⁴⁴. Daniel Monty-Mara, "Deconstructing the debt debate: Understanding the failure of the heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC) initiative in Sub-Saharan Africa" (Master Thesis., University of Kansas, 2005), 19.

⁴⁵. Bebbington et al, "The Search for empowerment: Social Capital as Idea and Practice at the World Bank," (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press), 186.

⁴⁶. Tood J. Moss, *African Development: Making Sense of the Issues and Actors*, 127.

on those principals. Under James Wolfensohn, who was appointed President of the Bank in 1995, the Bank's agenda became much more focused on poverty reduction and good governance. Those two concepts became the new watchwords.⁴⁷ At this time, the Bank was identified with Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), which were geared towards core policies known for cuts in public spending, monetary and fiscal policies, privatization of state-owned companies, and trade and investment liberalization. These SAPs have not been particularly popular in many developing countries. For example in Senegal, through SAPs many state-owned companies were privatized, and they subsequently went out of business. Demba Moussa Dembale argues that the agricultural sector, which employs more than seventy per cent of the population, has been severely affected by liberalization and the dissolution of many state controlled enterprises: "Trade liberalization and deregulation combined with the dismantling of the Senegalese public sector, from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s, led to the collapse of both the agricultural and industrial sectors."⁴⁸ As the result, of its widely criticized SAPs, the Bank tried to recast its image by making poverty reduction its top priority.⁴⁹

Following the SAPs in the 1980s and 1990s, the primary focus of development changed to a participatory approach that involved development institutions, borrowing governments, NGOs, as well as beneficiaries of development projects. The next ideological wave for the Bank was to raise again the poverty reduction agenda with a focus on involving civil society in the

⁴⁷. Bello Walden and Shalmali Guttal, "The Limits of Reform: The Wolfensohn Era at the World Bank." (Race and Class, 2006), 69.

⁴⁸. Demba Moussa Dembale, "Debt and destruction in Senegal: A Study of Twenty years of IMF and World Bank policies," (2003): 8.

⁴⁹. Bello Walden and Shalmali Guttal, "The Limits of Reform: The Wolfensohn Era at the World Bank," 69. At that time, Wolfensohn was the president of the Bank. His mission was not to move away completely from the SAPs but to recast the Bank's mission to the elimination of poverty as its central mission, promote good governance, and environmentally sensitive lending.

development process, hence, the rise of participatory development.⁵⁰ One can argue that the participatory development approach took place as a result of the efforts of development practitioners to both effectively combat poverty and give a voice to the intended beneficiaries of development programs.

Section 2: Key Concepts and Discourse around Participatory Development.

This section will facilitate a better understanding of the issues surrounding efforts to bring participatory development to the center of economic development. It will discuss key concepts of participatory development and incorporate analyses from the relevant work on participatory development process in general, and to that of the World Bank in particular. Additionally, it will explore the scope of the participatory concept, its major issues, concerns, risks and benefits for promoting participation.

In the development community, the discourse centered on participatory development originally emanated from a desire to improve the sustainability of individual projects by mobilizing the support of local organizations in developing countries. The development literature's recent concern for participatory development grows out of discussions of empowerment and participation of the poor.⁵¹ There is an on-going discussion among scholars, development agencies, NGOs, and civil societies about the reasons participatory development was brought onto the development agenda. World poverty was growing in many developing

⁵⁰. By involving civil society in the development process, they become part of the decision-making in developing and implementing of development projects.

⁵¹. Bebbington et al, "Of texts and practices: Empowerment and organizational cultures in World Bank-funded rural development Programs," *Journal of Development Studies* (2006): 3.

countries in the 1980s and 1990s, though world poverty declined sharply during the 21st Century until the onset of the recent recession. The question is not whether some developing countries have benefited from the advantages of globalization and technological change, but much still needs to be done in the sense of reducing poverty in many developing countries.

Much of the effort to bring participation and poverty reduction closer together has focused on the sense of ownership. In 1999, for instance, the Bank launched the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) to better address poverty in developing countries by focusing more on community development and allowing countries to both own and direct their development agenda.⁵² The scholarly work on participatory development shows a growing interest in examining and identifying the major theoretical and conceptual aspects of participatory development. Much is known about aspects of sustainable development, but the attention is currently on approaches which involve poor people in the development process. In general, concepts around participation capture a sense of ownership, which means including beneficiaries of development projects in every stage of the development process.

The Bank and other development agencies are increasingly supporting development projects which adopt a participatory approach. For example, the World Bank Learning Group on participatory development has recommended that the Bank organize training activities for Bank staff to develop personal and professional skills needed to deal with the practice of participation in development programs.⁵³ A number of organizations and bilateral aid agencies have moved in the same direction of promoting participatory development. According to Irene Guijt and Meera

⁵². The World Bank, the aim of Comprehensive Development Framework, <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/PROJECTS/STRATEGIES/CDF/0,,pagePK:60447~theSitePK:140576,00.html>

⁵³. Bhatnagar and Williams, "Participatory Development and the World Bank," 16.

Kaul Shah, the failure of past development efforts was largely attributable to the lack of participation: “development was carried out for the people, but not by them.”⁵⁴ Also as an example, USAID is promoting strong participation by beneficiaries in its development work. USAID’s principles on participatory development issued in 1993 by J. Brian Atwood, then Director of USAID, have identified broad access and participation by local people in their country’s decision-making processes. They also identified participation as fundamental to sustainable development: “To pursue the goal of sustainable development, the development approaches themselves must be sustainable.”⁵⁵

Literature on participatory development focuses on the importance of embracing a participatory approach in development projects and the ways in which stakeholders within borrowing countries can participate in the way these projects are designed and carried out.⁵⁶ Stakeholders are at the center of the participatory process, and they designate people in borrowing countries who are involved in the process of implementing development projects.⁵⁷ Stakeholders, as defined in the *2001 Asian Development Bank* special evaluation study on participatory development processes are: “persons, groups, or institutions with interests in a project program. Primary stakeholders are those ultimately affected, either positively or negatively, and are referred to as the customers for the services provided under the project. Key

⁵⁴. Irene Guijt and Meera Kaul Shah, *The Myth of Community: Gender issues in Participatory Development* (London, 1998), 91.

⁵⁵. J Brian Atwood, “USAID Forum on Participatory Development,” November 1993.

⁵⁶. Michael Redclift (1992) “Sustainable development and popular participation: A framework for analysis” in. *People’s Participation in Sustainable Development*, ed by Ghai and Vivian, 23.

⁵⁷. Stakeholders are the government, civil societies, the private sector, NGOs, and other local stakeholders.

stakeholders are those that can significantly influence or are important to the success of the project.”⁵⁸

Stakeholders range from the ultimate beneficiaries in a given society or setting to individuals or institutions with indirect interests. This means stakeholders can include government, business, civil society, and NGOs. There are two forms of stakeholders: primary stakeholders, who are those beneficiaries directly affected by the outcomes of projects; and secondary stakeholders, such as the intermediaries in the delivery of the project such as the Civil Society Organizations.⁵⁹ NGOs can help implement projects if they possess the requisite experience and skills. Some NGOs initially promoted and applied participation in small development projects.⁶⁰ Furthermore, it is worth indicating that NGOs usually work with local people on the ground and, when they do not serve as an implementing agency of a donor-funded project, they are often less constrained by political or bureaucratic obstacles than international development agencies.

Stakeholders are selected at the project formulation stage by the borrowing national government in the case of government owned projects, like the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). They are generally selected by the Bank in consultation with the Government in case of Bank-financed projects and its Country Strategy Papers.⁶¹ It is at this stage that the participatory approach has to be carefully followed because those in charge of selecting stakeholders may exclude other potential stakeholders. This selection process can create

⁵⁸. Asian Development Bank, “Special Evaluation Study on Participatory Development Processes in Selected Asian Development Bank Projects in Agriculture, Natural Resources, and Social Infrastructure Sectors.” (2001): Appendix 3, 1.

⁵⁹ The World Bank, “World Bank Consultation Source Book” (2007), 9.

⁶⁰. Development Assistance Committee (DAC), “Evaluation of the Programs promoting Participatory Development and Good Governance,” OECD, synthesis report (1997): 89.

⁶¹. Asian Development Bank, Introduction to “Special Evaluation Study on Participatory Development Processes” (ADB, 2001)

frustration among beneficiaries and thus fail the participatory process and goals. Therefore, governments' predisposition to allow citizens full participation in the process is key to project success. The World Bank states that without the borrowing government's commitment to allow citizen participation, development agencies can do little to broaden and sustain participation.⁶²

I argue that this does not mean development agencies should relax and wait for the government; instead, they should take an active role in influencing the government to commit to its own citizens' participation. The World Bank, as it noted in its 1992 Participatory Development report, is engaged in intense dialogue with borrowing countries about appropriate policies which promote people's involvement in the development process.⁶³

In the case of Senegal, the World Bank has prepared the Senegal Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) for the 2007-2010 period. The primary objective is to support the government's effort to implement its development program outlined in its Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). One Bank staff, whom I have interviewed, explained that in addition to the government's priorities, both the views and needs of the society were taken into account in preparing the CAS for Senegal.⁶⁴ This shows how deeply governments are involved in the process. After all, borrowing governments and their partners are responsible for their own economies.

In general, the participatory development process, as conducted by many development agencies, is divided into two main activities: listening to and consulting with stakeholders.

⁶². Bhatnagar and Williams, "Participatory development and the World Bank," (1992) : 11.

⁶³. Ibid., 11

It is also worth to indicate that Bank interacts more with central governments, states and provincial governments. One can ask the question how about the interaction at the local level. In this line, the report argues that dialogue at the local level has been limited and when it happened it was mainly in urban projects. The Bank highlights the fact that project supported by the Bank are Bank funded projects and that the ownership of projects lies with borrowing countries.

⁶⁴. Interview over the phone with Senegalese Bank staff. 10/20/2008

Activities range from sharing basic information to fully empowering local stakeholders to participate in the implementing of the CAS. The listening phase is key in the participation process because it is the moment when stakeholders get to express their needs and development priorities. Development agencies incorporate the inputs gathered from stakeholders into the projects they design. Projects are likely to be most effective when they are rooted in an understanding of the strategies that poor people are pursuing to overcome poverty and when they support strategies that have proven effective. As stated in the 2007 World Bank Consultation Sourcebook: “Listening to the poor about the world as they perceive it should be an important building block in laying the foundation for sustainable policies for poverty reduction.”⁶⁵ Also, the World Bank Learning Group on participatory development reports that development staff should develop personal skills, such as the ability to listen, to ensure that the voice of poor people has been heard at the earliest stage of the process.⁶⁶

Moreover, the 1995 OECD report on Participatory Development argues that at the preliminary stage, project preparation process must be based on people’s views and interests.⁶⁷ It is in the listening phase where empowerment begins because it allows direct exchange of information and local actors to start developing a sense of ownership which will strengthen their relationship with development agencies. Thus, agencies can join with local actors in the search for ways of overcoming their problems: “The strengthening of people’s organizations and of their members’ capabilities is a necessary condition if development assistance is to fall on fertile ground.....”⁶⁸

⁶⁵. The World Bank, “World Bank Consultation Source Book” (2007): 10.

⁶⁶. Bhatnagar and Williams, “Participatory development and the World Bank,” (1992): 16.

⁶⁷. Hartmut Schneider, et al., “Participatory Development From Advocacy to Action,” (Development Center Seminars, OECD, 2005), 38.

⁶⁸. Ibid., 38

The second activity that follows the listening phase is the consultation process, which is at the heart of participatory development. Consultation is defined in the 2007 World Bank Consultations Sourcebook as: “A process through which subjects or topics of interest are discussed within or across constituency groups. It is a deliberation, discussion, and dialogue.”⁶⁹ Consultations are usually conducted in the form of seminars where the staff of development agencies meet and discuss with stakeholders during project preparation and implementation. The aim of the consultation process is not only to seek information and opinion that will inform project preparation and implementation, but it serves to share information with citizens of borrowing countries: “Providing and sharing information is seen as the foundation of an effective consultation process.”⁷⁰ The consultation process requires more time and preparation than the listening process, and it differs across development agencies. For example, the consultation process for the economic and sector work for the Bank-funded 1993 Zaire Environment and Forestry Project was stretched over three years to try to make sure that all selected beneficiaries could participate in the consultative process.⁷¹

The World Bank’s annual World Development Report often employs extensive global consultations in its preparation⁷². During the process of consultations, stakeholders commonly raise their specific concerns and provide inputs on key issues (see Box 1 as an example of the Asian Development Bank consultative mechanism and stakeholder involvement). Consultation is a key to participatory success as it generates consensus between stakeholders and development

⁶⁹. The World Bank, section one of the “World Bank Consultation Source Book” (2007): 2.

⁷⁰. Ibid., 2.

⁷¹. Bhatnagar and Williams, “Participatory development and the World Bank,” (1992): 23.

⁷². The World Development Report 2004 was subject to a consultation process with the World Bank and Civil Society Organizations in its drafting. It was conducted in a form of a moderated electronic discussion on the draft report, which took place during a period of seven weeks. This allowed a wide range of stakeholders to exchange views about the content of the draft.

agencies. For example, in the consultation process during the 2007-2010 CAS with the Republic of Senegal, the Country Director of the Bank, Madani M. Tall, consulted with more than one hundred participants representing civil society organizations, the private sector, elected officials, and some thirty Senegalese senior government officials. This shows the importance of the consultation process. In fact, over a three-day period in June 2006 (20th-23rd) the World Bank mobilized a team headed by Jacques Morisset, its Lead Economist for Senegal, to present the first draft of the CAS to the Stakeholders.⁷³ This point will be further developed in Chapter Four where the consultation process for the 2007 Senegal CAS is analyzed in depth.

This brings me to several important points: the World Bank's capacity to support participatory development, the costs associated with participation, and the obstacles to participation. Development practitioners recognize the great importance of having a participatory approach in development agencies, and they also assess the costs that development agencies incur when they implement a participatory approach. From a development perspective, I argue that change is often threatening, risky, and hard to master. Promoting sustainable participation requires investment in the process, and development agencies that embrace a participatory approach in their projects should be prepared for the comprehensive nature of the investment required. First, people should invest time and effort in establishing entirely new patterns of performance based on participation. One may ask whether development agencies would be willing to support the participatory approach knowing the risks and cost they would incur.

The World Bank has expressed their determination to follow through with the participatory process at all levels of the Bank. This is the view expressed by the World Bank's Learning Group

⁷³. Mamadou Dione's interview, Senegalese World Bank staff . 10/20/08

on Participatory Development in 1992.⁷⁴ At an early stage, the Learning Group agreed on a set of twenty-one priority questions on participation and on where they should focus their attention; the group also ensured that Bank staff at all levels address these questions.⁷⁵ (See annex 1 for the list of 21 questions). Specifically, at the Bank the learning process drew on experience both within and outside the Bank, and there was a personal commitment from staff, professional social scientists, that have always believed in including peoples' voice in development projects. At that time, many development agencies organized workshops to spread the word on participation within their institutions. In the case of the World Bank, in 1992, its Learning Group on Participatory Development stated:

“Regional environment divisions have used funds to assist task managers in strengthening the participatory dimension of their work. The environment division, Asia Technical Department, for example, has recruited an experienced consultant to assist country departments in complying with the participatory requirements of the operational directive on Environmental Assessments.”⁷⁶

I argue here that participation is a plus in the development process in terms of time and costs. With the introduction of participation in development projects, development agencies are compelled to spend more time and money in designing and implementing projects. However, studies have shown that, in the long run, it is worth it to invest in participation because it fosters better project outcomes.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, participation is much easier to talk about than to put into practice, given the many constraints that hinder its implementation in client countries. Obstacles are numerous and can arise at any stage of the process. The fact that poor people have been dependent upon development agencies for a long time can make them incapable of making their own decisions

⁷⁴. Bhatnagar and Williams, “Participatory development and the World Bank,” (1992): 6.

⁷⁵. Ibid., 7.

⁷⁶. Ibid., 7.

⁷⁷. Ibid., 8.

and or reluctant to express their views. From the perspective of stakeholders in developing countries, it can be difficult for local actors to gain confidence in their own power to control decisions for themselves.⁷⁸ Furthermore, many of the stakeholders may not possess the expertise and skills that are required in project preparation and implementation. Wendy Philips highlighted the example of delays observed in the drafting of the 2002 Senegalese Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP).⁷⁹ One of the reasons of the delays is that the first version of the Senegal PRSP that was submitted to the Bank in December 2001 was met with skepticism about its feasibility. The PRSP is the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) approach which was adopted to alleviate the debt crisis in many developing countries. Preparing a PRSP is a condition for debt relief for the poorest countries, which have to draft a strategy detailing how the money the country would have spent servicing its debt will be spent instead to reduce poverty.⁸⁰

Another obstacle relates to the borrowing government. In many developing countries, government can be highly centralized and the participatory approach does not work well in a centralized structure. Governments tend to keep people away from decision making processes because they want to monopolize power for themselves. The Bank is encouraging borrowing governments to make the right determination for stakeholders to ensure that participation is for all. The process, not just the outcomes, is the key to successful participatory development. A strong and shared commitment to participation by stakeholders and development agencies should represent all levels of the society and address the needs of all groups of people. It is true that all

⁷⁸. Hartmut Schneider, et al., "Participatory Development From Advocacy to Action," (Development Center Seminars, OECD, 2005), 154.

⁷⁹. Wendy Philips, "Driving Under the Influence: Senegal's PRSP Process," Social Justice Committee, (2005): 3

⁸⁰. Wendy Philips, Executive Summary of "Driving Under the Influence: Senegal's PRSP Process," Social Justice Committee, (2005).

groups cannot be physical participants in the process; however, the government as well as development agencies should make sure that their voices are heard and that their concerns are not to be marginalized. This is why the World Bank states its commitment to promote the participation of disadvantaged groups as full participants in the development process.⁸¹

Costs are associated with long term project preparation and implementation due to the need to consult and negotiate with project beneficiaries. One thing worth highlighting is the Asian Development Bank's (ADB) interpretation of the costs of participation. They shed light on ways we should view and understand cost of participation. The ADB concurs that costs related to participation are just a fraction of those compared to infrastructure investment; however, the returns may emerge quickly, partly because benefits from the consultative process have always outweighed their additional costs.⁸²

Meanwhile, the World Bank, in its effort to promote participatory development throughout development agenda has been criticized for claiming to follow a participatory approach when, in fact, in many cases, it fails to do so. Critics are usually from NGOs, which argue that the Bank continues to exercise all the power of decision-making and thus borrowing governments, such as Senegal, are unduly under the influence of the Bank.⁸³ The next chapter will focus on these criticisms expressed toward the Bank's record on participatory development by NGOs and scholars in the development community. How do the critics articulate their criticisms, and what are the primary concerns and issues that they address. Also, I will look into how the Bank responds to its critics.

⁸¹. Bhatnagar and Williams, "Participatory Development and the World Bank," (1992): 19.

⁸². Asian Development Bank, "Special Evaluation Study on Participatory Development Processes," ADB, (2001): 19.

⁸³. Wendy Philips, "Driving under the Influence: Senegal's PRSP Process". The Social Justice Committee. (2005): 3.

Chapter 3: Critiques of the World Bank.

The World Bank's motto, emblazoned on the frontispiece of the World Bank Headquarters building in Washington, D.C, is "Our dream is a world free of poverty." However, the reality does not seem to reflect success after more than sixty years of the Bank's existence. The bottom line is that many development programs launched by the Bank with a stated goal of bringing sustainable development to developing countries have not been terribly effective.⁸⁴ This is not to argue that all of the Bank's development projects are inefficient, but the reality we observe is that many developing countries still have very large numbers of people who live in poverty in spite of the Bank's development programs. Fortunately, China and many countries in South Asia are cases where development actually has succeeded or is succeeding. Nevertheless, for a number of developing countries, there is a long road of them before they can fulfill their desire for development. Despite the good intentions behind the Bank's motto, critics show that there is significant room for improvement. The critics from outside the Bank point out a wide variety of problems, and they are also calling for stronger accountability from the Bank.

In the field of development, there are mounting pressures from civil society organizations which demand greater transparency and accountability from the World Bank. There are two different views of the Bank's approaches to its interaction with developing countries. On one hand, Bank staff and its Executive Directors consider the Bank to be highly disciplined and skilled institution that interacts objectively to each country's situation, supporting the best development policies. On the other hand, critics perceive the Bank as an institution that champions its own economic approach with little room for consultation with the primary

⁸⁴. William Easterly (2006), *The White's Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So much Ill and So Little Good*, (Penguin Group, 2006), 11.

beneficiaries of development aid.⁸⁵ Many of the Bank's critics are from Civil Societies Organizations (CSOs). The Bank defined CSOs as the wide range of nongovernmental and not-for-profit organizations that have the same interests as their members, based on cultural and political considerations.⁸⁶ One of the main goals of those CSOs is to monitor all aspects of the Bank's activities: a considerable number of their critiques are concentrated on the Bank's project selection, design, and implementation.

This chapter does not assess the full range of criticism leveled at the Bank's record on participatory development. Instead, it summarizes the arguments of those who seek to change the Bank's way of interacting with developing countries. It discusses the way in which these outside critics characterize the Bank as not following through on its commitment to participatory development approaches as well as its policies, operations, and management of general development practices in developing countries. It will also focus on how the Bank interacts with and responds to its critics as well as why outside criticism of the Bank is changing the Bank in a constructive way.

A. The Criticisms and Issues

The World Bank, a global institution that is working with NGOs, member country governments, and other development partners, has been at the center of many discourse

about its ability to pursue its mission and goals in developing countries. From the perspective of the critics, the main complaint about the Bank's operations is that the Bank's development views are too dogmatic and not adapted to individual country circumstances, and

⁸⁵. Katherine Marshall, *Global Institutions: the World Bank Institution from Reconstruction to Development to Equity*, (London, New York: Routledge, 2008), 143.

⁸⁶. The World Bank, "Sourcebook Working Document: Consultations with Civil Society," (2005): 1.

that the Bank, in fact, has a negative influence on developing countries.⁸⁷ Criticisms of the Bank fall into four main areas: the Bank's staff, its development projects, policy implementation, and the Bank's governance. For example, critics have raised the problem associated with the Bank's choice of its Country Director in developing countries. In Mozambique local actors were concerned that their Country Director was not a resident in Mozambique. In response to this concern, James Wolfensohn, president of the Bank at that time, made a commitment to have eighteen out of forty-eight country directors to be based in the countries they serve: "in order to get the Bank closer to 'our clients' real needs."⁸⁸ However, in 1997 when the Mozambican Debt Group (MDG) asked to have the Bank Country Director reside in the country, in line with the new policy, the Bank rejected the claim arguing that it would be too costly. However, the position of the Bank is that a Country Director is usually responsible for more than one country, therefore, it is impossible for a Country Director to be a resident of every country which it serves, as was the case of Country Manager Pr Richard Lynn Ground who served simultaneously for Sierra Leone and Mongolia. Additionally, at the project designing and policy level, critics are pushing for greater accountability from the Bank.⁸⁹ Finally, at the governance level, they are calling for a greater transparency in decision making.⁹⁰

Overall, critics argue that the Bank too often imposes its stipulations on borrowing governments without sufficient consultation with those involved in the development process:

⁸⁷. Ibid., 144.

⁸⁸. Joseph Hanlon. Africaaction e-journal <http://www.africaaction.org/docs97/moz9712.htm>.

⁸⁹. Joseph E. Stiglitz, "Democratizing the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank: Governance and Accountability," Oxford, (2003): 111.

⁹⁰. Alnoor Ebrahim, and Herz Steve, "Accountability in Complex Organizations: World Bank responses to civil society," Faculty Research working papers series, (2007): 1.

“development was carried out for the people, but not by them.”⁹¹ Marshall emphasizes this point by arguing that: “The bank is portrayed by critics as serving the political and economic interests of the wealthy and powerful, seeking to increase their wealth at the expense of poor countries and poor people.”⁹²

In the past, the Bank argued that it did not want to grant access to information to the public regarding its projects and lending for the sake of its clients which are borrowing governments. The Bank claims that in doing so, it wanted to protect the right to confidentiality of its clients.⁹³ This prompted many NGOs to organize campaigns aiming to inform the public of the harmful consequences of some of the Bank’s projects. They are usually opposed to projects that have, in their view, negative economic, social and environmental impacts on poor people. For instance, in August 1996, a Bangladesh NGO called the Jamuna Char Integrated Development Project (JCIDP) fought for the island inhabitants against a project (the Jamuna Bridge Project) which was financed by the Bank in Bangladesh. The NGO argued that the project would be a threat for the people who live in the area and for the environment as well.⁹⁴

Today, NGOs are given the opportunity to directly address the Bank (via a specific correspondence process) when they have the need to express their concerns over a project or a specific matter; moreover, they can obtain the endorsement of many other organizations that are quite small or under funded. This can be done through the Bank Information Center (BIC). BIC is an independent NGO that advocates for the protection of rights, participation, transparency, and

⁹¹. Irene Guijt and Meera Kaul Shah, *The Myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory Development*. (London: Intermediate Technology Publications, 1998), 91.

⁹². Katherine Marshall, *The World Bank: From Reconstruction to Development to Equity*, 140.

⁹³. Saladin Al-Jurf, “Participatory Development and NGOs: A look at the Bank in the 1990s,” The University of Iowa, Center for International Financial and Development (2008): 5.

⁹⁴. Ibid page 9

public accountability in the governance and operations of the World Bank, regional development banks, as well as the International Monetary Funds (IMF). (See this link for a sample letter.)⁹⁵ The BIC organization and others such as the *Bretton Woods Projects* in London, *50 years is enough*, and *Africa Action* in DC are Bank watchdogs. Each year, these organizations publish a large number of reports and evaluations of the World Bank.⁹⁶

Some of the Bank's most effective critics are former Bank's staff members such as William Easterly, Joseph Stiglitz, and Katherine Marshall. They are speaking from experience and research, they know the problems well, and they have navigated through the Bank's internal environment. These critics regard the Bank as a problematic entity and essentially flawed because it does not fulfill its core mission to help developing countries get out of their poverty trap.⁹⁷

One ubiquitous feature of Bank criticism is its record on accountability. Accountability, in the case of the Bank, according to Joseph Stiglitz, requires three mandates: first, people have objectives to reach; second, there must be ways of assessing whether those objectives have been met; and third, there needs to be positive consequences on projects of Bank success with respect to its goals as well as negative consequences for the Bank when it fails to meet its objectives.⁹⁸ This raises the issue of how the Bank relates to its clients: the borrowing governments and the poor communities who are their *raison d'être*. A great number of academics and former staff members have expressed this concern. Joseph Stiglitz, a former chief economist at the World Bank, illustrates problems that the Bank faces in establishing a system of accountability. In some cases, failure could not be attributed to the Bank or staff involved. For instance, Stiglitz points

⁹⁵. <http://bicusa.org/en/Article.3289.aspx> a sample endorsed letter from NGOs claims.

⁹⁶. <http://www.africaaction.org/> , <http://www.50years.org/>

For more information on their publications, visit these links.

⁹⁷. Katherine Marshall, *The World Bank: From Reconstruction to Development to Equity*, 150.

⁹⁸. Joseph Stiglitz, "Democratizing the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank," 111.

out problems that are related to the existence of multiples objectives within the institution, which make it hard to hold the Bank accountable.⁹⁹ If the Bank failed in one of its objectives, it can still claim that it was trying to reach another objective: “At times, to bank staff members, it appears that, rather than the lack of accountability that some critics pose as the fundamental problem, they are accountable to everyone everywhere all the time.”¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, it may be difficult to determine why the Bank fails to meet its objectives because any given failure may be the result of an external shock outside of the Bank’s control.

In addition to their concerns about the Bank’s operations, critics argue that the Bank is hard to understand despite its efforts to open up, and that it represents an enigma.¹⁰¹ However, a close examination of studies and reviews from the Bank and its critics illuminates a different point of view of what the Bank has tried to do, what is happening on the ground, and why developing countries have failed to follow the intended path of development. In order to fully understand both the critic’s perspective and the perspective from within the Bank, it would be instructive to analyze the Bank’s interaction with CSOs and NGOs.

B. The Bank’s Interaction with CSOs and NGOs.

In the early 1990s, around the time of its 50th anniversary, the World Bank became far more open and engaged with a wide range of outside critics. NGOs such as *As 50 years Is Enough* and *Abolish the Bank* reveal their positions with their names.¹⁰² Nevertheless, a fundamental

⁹⁹. Ibid., 112.

¹⁰⁰. Katherine Marshall, *The World Bank: From Reconstruction to Development to Equity*, 150.

¹⁰¹. Ibid., 137.

¹⁰². <http://www.50years.org/>

question to ask is who are those NGOs and CSOs that are raising voices of protest to question the mandate and practical actions of the Bank. With the existence of these NGOs clamoring for more transparency from the Bank, the Bank's autonomy and influence in developing countries might be at risk. The Bank at first was averse to working with NGOs, but it eventually realized the benefits of doing so. As discussed previously, NGOs bring their expertise and competence to reach out to poor people with whom the Bank cannot always connect.¹⁰³

In response to its outside critics, the Bank has put in place the Participation and Civil Society Engagement Department, which is a large group of staff that explicitly focuses on improving interaction with civil society organizations and the Bank.¹⁰⁴ The 2002 Bank OED report on NGOs and civil society engagement outlines the Bank's definition of NGOs: "As private organizations that pursue activities to relieve the suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development."¹⁰⁵

The Operations Evaluations Department (OED), now called Independent Evaluation Group (IEG) has published a number of studies that address issues related to the Bank's interaction with NGOs.¹⁰⁶ The creation of these evaluation departments has led to more understanding and contact with international and local NGOs in countries where the Bank is active. However, one of the OED reports finds that NGOs and CSOs have been underutilized in

¹⁰³. Saladin Al-Jurf, "Participatory Development and NGOs: A Look at the Bank in the 1990s," 24.

¹⁰⁴. For a complete list of most relevant civil societies movements that interact with the Bank, visit the Bank's civil society website.
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/CSO/0,,contentMDK:20098376~menuPK:277367~pagePK:220503~piPK:220476~theSitePK:228717,00.html>

¹⁰⁵. The World Bank, "Non-Governmental Organizations and Civil Society Engagement in World Bank Supported Projects: Lessons From OED Evaluations," Operation Evaluation Department, Lessons and Practices no 18(2002): 1.

¹⁰⁶. <http://www.worldbank.org/oed/> visit this website to find a relevant studies on Bank and NGOs relationship

Bank work. According to this study, there is a gap between what the Bank promises with respect to NGOs and its performance.¹⁰⁷ The Bank states that this situation has improved over time, and, in fact, the 2007 OED report found that involvement of NGOs was high in Bank projects where participation was critical. The reality, however, is different according to many NGOs' who participate in Bank projects, studies and strategy papers.¹⁰⁸ For example, the Country Assistance Evaluations (CAEs) for the republic of Mozambique called for a strategic approach in getting NGOs and civil society involved in all phases of the project cycle rather than only in project design.¹⁰⁹

Working relationships among those who should work as development partners are often ineffective because governments, NGOs, CSOs, and other bilateral and multilateral development agencies sometimes fail to cooperate effectively and to realize opportunities that collaboration presents. When the Bank implements a project in a specific country, chances are that tensions develop between local actors because of the distribution of power. For example, in the consultation process of the 2007 CAS for the republic of Senegal, there was tension between the government and NGOs. This can cause the collaboration between development partners to fail. More often than not, the Bank and other development agencies might follow independent paths regarding NGO interaction because of their different organizational culture. The coordination is difficult because each organization and its complex bureaucracy is motivated by unique political mandate.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷. The World Bank, "Non-Governmental Organizations and Civil Society Engagement in World Bank Supported Projects," 1.

¹⁰⁸. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁰⁹. The World Bank, "Country Assistance Evaluations for the Republic of Mozambique,"

¹¹⁰. Catherine Weaver, Organizational Competitors in *The Hypocrisy Trap: World Bank and the Poverty Reform*.

C. The Critiques of the Participatory Approach

It is important to highlight that the Bank's interaction with NGOs and civil society throughout this decade has influenced the ways in which the Bank currently operates. This is part of an essential learning and adaptation process, which sometimes brings positive changes. At present, the relationship between the Bank and NGOs is starting to be regarded as one of cooperation because there is now a permanent consultative process with them. The World Bank 2007 Consultation Sourcebook on Civil Society highlights this fact by emphasizing the deep consultation process that the Bank engages in with civil society throughout the countries where it is active.¹¹¹

In the history of criticism of the Bank, a well-known report from a conservative U.S. academic, Alan Meltzer, unearthed disturbing findings based on the Bank's own data. This report, referred to in the literature as the *Meltzer report*, was from the International Financial Institutions Advisory Commission, appointed by the U.S. Congress in 1998 to analyze the future roles of regional development banks, the World Bank, and the IMF.¹¹² The report's main findings were devastating and statistically disturbing: (i) 70% of Bank's loans were concentrated in eleven developing countries, leaving the remaining 30% to 145 other countries; (ii) 80% of the Bank's resources were devoted to the better-off countries that have better credit ratings; and (iii) 65-70% of Bank's projects failed in the poorest societies and 55-60% failed in all developing countries.

¹¹¹. The World Bank, "Consultations Sourcebook.," 19.

¹¹²(Walden Bello, Shalmali Guttal, 2005, 69)This report has been cited by many of the Bank critics. The financial institutions reviewed were the IMF, the World Bank Group, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the African Development Bank, the World Trade Organization, and the Bank for International Settlements. www.adb.org

Overall, the report found that the Bank was irrelevant in accomplishing its mission of ending global poverty.¹¹³

Meanwhile, many critics have criticized the Bank's willingness to follow through on its rhetoric on participatory development. The Bank has several development projects and activities in which citizens and civil society organizations in developing countries can get involved. In many of its reports and evaluations, the Bank claims that those activities are fully participatory, but the two main ones that have caught the attention of many critics are the Poverty Reduction Strategic Papers (PRSP) and the Country Assistance Strategies (CAS). Consultations with civil society organizations and borrowing governments, at the country level, are at the heart of these two strategy papers, both of which I will discuss in depth in chapter 4. The fundamental difference between the two is that the PRSP is government-owned, whereas the CAS is owned by the Bank and derives from the PRSP document. One of the aims of the consultation for the CAS and the PRSP is to set development goals that mirror those of the stakeholders.

According to criticism by NGOs and CSOs, the Bank is not following through with the participatory approach.¹¹⁴ In order to illustrate this, I will present the critics' point of view on the Bank's consultation process in implementing the CAS in three developing countries: Mozambique, Senegal, and Tanzania. The view of the critics is essentially the same in analyzing these three countries. According to these critics, the Bank always states that it has increasingly engaged in dialogue with civil societies and NGOs, whereas a number of these organizations

¹¹³. Allan H Meltzer, "International Financial Institutions Advisory Commission," Meltzer commission Report (Washington, DC, US congress, 2000) <http://www.house.gov/jec/imf/meltzer.htm>

¹¹⁴. Joseph Halnon, "World Bank urged to delay decision on controversial Mozambique CAS," *africaaction.org* E-journal, (November 12, 1997) . <http://www.africaaction.org/docs97/moz9712.htm>

claim the contrary. However, according to the Bank' webpage on participation and civil society engagement, the Bank admits that: "Participation is the most intense form of engagement where the Bank has the least experience."¹¹⁵ The following are three case studies of criticism of the Bank and its participatory development approach.

In Mozambique, the Mozambican Debt Group (MDG) in Maputo strongly attacked the Bank's way of preparing and drafting the Mozambican 1997 CAS. It is important to mention the fact that in 1997, the World Bank was just beginning to incorporate consultation in its CAS. This Mozambican organization is a coalition of NGOs and associations working together to advocate solutions to the debt problem in Mozambique. An analysis of the Mozambican CAS illuminates many issues related to the consultation process with the Bank and the civil society in Mozambique. First, according to the Mozambican Debt Group, the Bank did consult and discuss with local actors, but it failed to include their opinions in the CAS, which was one of the aims of the CAS consultation according to the Mozambican Debt Group.¹¹⁶ The Bank CAS strategy is to include the specific menu of instruments such as loans or grants for specific projects, and technical assistance for assisting Mozambique meet its development objectives; therefore the purpose of the document was not simply to collect and reflect the opinions of each NGO consulted by the Bank. The Mozambican Debt Group was skeptical about the CAS because they were denied access to documents related to the CAS and that were intended to include their opinions. While access to those documents was denied to NGOs, they were fully accessible to representatives of foreign governments, thus making the Mozambicans doubt the Bank's

¹¹⁵ <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/CSO/0,,contentMDK:20109146~isCURL:Y~menuPK:220468~pagePK:220503~piPK:220476~theSitePK:228717,00.html#Participation and Civic Engagement>

¹¹⁶ Joseph Halnon, "World Bank urged to delay decision on controversial Mozambique CAS," November 12, 1997) E-journal from africaaction.com. <http://www.africaaction.org/docs97/moz9712.htm>

willingness to follow through on its participatory approach.¹¹⁷ However, the article did not specify the exact name of documents to which the Bank denied them access.

Second, they pushed their claims further by accusing the Bank of misrepresenting the views of civil society in the 1997 CAS and in the HIPC (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries) agreements with the government of Mozambique. In fact, because of the alleged lack of participation, the Mozambican Debt Group asked the Bank to delay the completion of the CAS to gather and include more input to the CAS. According to Halnon, the Bank responded to the Mozambican Debt Group by claiming that a delay of the CAS would result in a delay of the HIPC Initiative because the Bank's Board needed to review the CAS before making decision on the HIPC Initiative.¹¹⁸ In response, the Mozambican Debt Group interpreted the Bank's position as a veiled threat that those asking for a CAS delay would do so at the expense of debt alleviation.

Finally, the general feeling of the Mozambican Debt Group was that the sole author of the 1997 CAS draft was the Country Director in Washington. This argument does not match the reality because the Task Team Leader for the CAS has the responsibility for writing the CAS, including incorporating input from others. The Mozambican Debt Group argued that the Bank Country Director for Mozambique made several presentations on what the content of the CAS, but he did not explain how discussions with local actors were going to be integrated into the CAS.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷. Ibid.,

¹¹⁸. Ibid.,

¹¹⁹. Ibid.,

In Senegal, the participation process was similar to the process in Mozambique. In its early stages, the participatory approach was mainly adopted in the PRSP, but later the Bank decided to include a participatory approach in the CAS in response to outside pressure.¹²⁰ According to Demba Moussa Dembale from the *Forum des alternatives Africaines*, the PRSP and the CAS do not fulfill their claims.¹²¹ The author argues that country ownership, a concept which is at the center of these papers, is merely rhetoric and that the reality on the ground is entirely different. He came up with the same argument developed by the NGO in Mozambique. He argues that participation was a frustrating process for local people, and that it was done in a way that only benefited the Bank, “Because in many cases civil society organizations (CSOs) have been frustrated by the process and have found they had been used more as an alibi, than considered as genuine partners.”¹²²

Wendy Philips shares this view. She also suggests that the Bank had an undue influence in the preparation of the PRSP for the Republic of Senegal. She argues, on the one hand, that the PRSP should be country-owned, which is what the Bank argues too. Conversely, she argues that borrowing countries are frequently passive.¹²³ She finally argues that a limited number of critics find that borrowing countries put in their draft of PRSP what the Bank would like to see rather than what the poor really want as their development priorities.¹²⁴

¹²⁰. Rokhaya’s Interview with Bank staff in Senegal 10/27/08

¹²¹. Demba Moussa Dembale, “The Myths and Dangers of PRSPs,” (2003)
<<http://brettonwoodsproject.org/art.shtml?x=19091>>

¹²². Ibid.,

¹²³. Wendy Philips, “Driving Under the influence: Senegal’s PRSP Process,” *The Social Justice Committee* (2005): 2.

¹²⁴. Whaites Allan, “Master of their Own development ?: PRSPs and the prospects for the Poor,” ed by Alan Whaites and produced by World Vision publications on behalf of the World Visions Partnerships (2002) : 5.

In one of my interviews with the Senior Communication Officer of the World Bank Office in Senegal, I learned that in the 2007 CAS consultation process with the focus groups the Bank asked stakeholders which projects they would like to see financed. The intention was to take into account the financing of the projects mentioned by stakeholders, and it should thus be included in the PRSP. Thus, the PRSP, even though it is government-owned, has to be consistent with Bank's policies in the CAS in order to have the endorsement of the Bank's Executive Board. This shows the influence that the Bank has on the PRSP.

What occurred in Senegal with the 2002 PRSP demonstrated, effectively, that the drafting of the PRSP is consistent with preferred Bank's policies. When the Senegalese government finished the final draft of the PRSP in December 2001, the Bank expressed skepticism over the feasibility of the macroeconomic framework. The Bank asked the government to redo the macroeconomic framework, in a fashion more in line with the Bank's macroeconomic policies.¹²⁵

Bank and IMF staffs prepare an assessment of each country's PRSP which is submitted to their Boards in connection with consideration of a country's suitability for debt relief under the HIPC Initiative. According to Wendy Philips, this reworking of the PRSP caused a significant delay to the Senegalese government because the government was hoping to get some projects financed during the 2002 fiscal year when the PRSP got approved: "Among a sample of participants in the PRSP process in Senegal, government, civil society and donors alike, time constraints were identified as the most restricting factor in the formulation of the Senegal

¹²⁵. Ibid., 3.

PRSP.”¹²⁶ The consequence of the rewriting of the PRSP is that the Senegalese PRSP was not officially submitted to the Bank and the Funds were not available at the originally expected date, which was December 2001.¹²⁷

How does this affect the Bank’s claim that they would like for its borrowing countries to develop a sense of ownership with the implementation of the CAS and PRSP by putting the people in the driver’s seat? The answer to that question is not straight forward. To put it simple, the Bank is not thoroughly accurate when it claims to allow borrowing governments to be the master of their own development. If the final draft of PRSP is undertaken by the Bank rather than the domestic governments, then one can certainly question the reality of country ownership.

I argue that the Bank has an influence in the PRSP that detours governments from full ownership of the PRSP. Authors such as, Wendy Philips have argued consistently that the Bank has an undue influence in the PRSPs and other development projects: “Critics have come to believe that PRSPs may be little more than a fig leaf for the implementation of IMF and World Bank macro-economic polices-mainly designed in secret in DC by unaccountable civil servants on a “one size fits all” templates.”¹²⁸

Demba Moussa Dembale argues that the Bank’s statements in its Staff Assessment of the 2002 Senegal PRSP mislead the public when it comes to the process of participation.¹²⁹ The participation of civil society in the preparation and implementation of the 2002 PRSP is described

¹²⁶. Wendy Philips, in “Master of their Own Development?” World vision Series., 17.

¹²⁷. Wendy Philips, “ Driving Under the Influence: Senegal’s PRSP Process,” 3.

¹²⁸. Allan Whaites, “Masters of their own development?” 5.

¹²⁹. Demba Moussa Dembale, “the Myths and dangers of PRSPs”

<http://brettonwoodsproject.org/art.shtml?x=19091>

by the Bank as mostly successful.¹³⁰ Regular informational meetings were held at the national and local levels, and the process was done in three phases: preparatory phase, PRSP preparation approach design phase, and PRSP preparation phase.¹³¹ During these consultations, the Bank organized working groups to discuss central themes. However, the question was whether the input gathered during the consultation process was actually meaningful to the PRSP. Philips points out that: “A targeted research survey done by World Vision among eleven NGOs who had participated extensively in the PRSP process found that none of the groups asked felt that participation had led to significant influence over the PRSP.”¹³²

The case of Tanzania is similar to the experience of Mozambique and Senegal with respect to participation the PRSP and the CAS. Tanzanian NGOs claimed that the process of consultation in the 2003 PRSP was inadequate, while the Bank claimed the contrary.¹³³ According to the Tanzanian Gender Networking NGO, consultations were very superficial, and they were only conducted in late stages of the process, and they did not truly encourage civil society to participate in the process.¹³⁴ Indeed, the Bank did invite the NGOs to comment on government’s strategy, but the participation of civil society was missing in the final draft of the PRSP. One important aspect to highlight in this case is that borrowing governments are responsible for writing the PRSP, not the civil society; however, governments solicit comments on draft versions of the PRSP. Overall, the general feeling of the Tanzanian Gender Networking NGOS was that consultations were rushed without proper dialogue.¹³⁵ Furthermore, there is still centralization in

¹³⁰. The World Bank, “Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers” (2002) : 8.

¹³¹. Ibid., 8.

¹³². Wendy Philips, “Driving under the influence: Senegal’s PRSP,” 5.

¹³³. <http://brettonwoodsproject.org/art.shtml?x=15307>

¹³⁴. Ibid.,

¹³⁵. Ibid.,

policy formulation involved in the 2003 PRSP because consultations took place without the involvement of many stakeholders.

Critics such as Allan Whaites and Dembale Moussa argue that there is really only lip service given to the consultation process in the formulation of the PRSP and the CAS, as opposed to the type of meaningful engagement reflected in a PRSP and a CAS that incorporates the active participation of a variety of stakeholders, particularly those who are supposed to benefit from poverty reduction. It seems that civil society organizations have been reacting very angrily to the Bank in spite of its attempts to work more closely with them.¹³⁶ The conclusion of the NGO World Vision is quite striking when they say that they are convinced that the participatory process involved in the PRSP is not satisfactory. Many countries have prepared PRSPs—and governments manage the participation process; presumably some are enthusiastic about participation and some are not. They stated: “the case studies point very firmly to the wider truth that World Vision has not yet encountered what might be termed a satisfactory participatory process.”¹³⁷

However, while many critics argue that the Bank has been unwilling to follow through on its participatory agenda, the Bank created a Department of Participation and Civic Engagement, which is working to enhance the Bank’s engagement with NGOs. In addition, the number of staff of this department has increased in the past few years. As a result, the number of Bank reports on participatory development has increased, and one can see that the Bank is making a greater effort to improve its participatory processes. For example, the way the Department of Participation and Civic Engagement is structured shows that the commitment to follow through on the participatory

¹³⁶. The World Bank, “The Source Book for Civil Engagement,” (2007): 3.

¹³⁷. Allan Whaites, “Master of their Own Development?” 18.

approach is there, although the critics would argue that it is not working effectively. At the country, regional, and global levels, the number of staff working specifically to reach out to Civil Society Organizations and get them involved in development projects totals 120 staff.¹³⁸ Furthermore, many more Bank staffs are actively working with CSOs in various ways.

D. The Responses and Reaction of the Bank to Its Critics

Today, the Bank is conscious of its public image and thus its critics. There has been a clear message from academics and NGOs that the Bank should consider taking into account outside criticism of its development approach and attempt to learn from it in a constructive way. After many years, the Bank has begun to respond to and engage its critics in the NGO community by developing numerous studies and evaluations to show its commitment to work with its main critics.

The Bank's response to public and internal criticism has taken many forms. The Bank has been especially efficient in creating focus groups or departments within its structure that explicitly monitor and focus on specific issues. For example, in 1993, the Bank created the Inspection Panel in response to great pressure from NGOs who fought for more representation of citizens who have complaints about Bank's policies.

The Bank has its own internal watchdogs, such as the aforementioned Independent Evaluation Group (IEG, formerly OED) and the Quality Assurance Group (QAG). The QAG was

¹³⁸. See the Bank's website <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/CSO/0,,contentMDK:20093777~menuPK:225317~pagePK:220503~piPK:220476~theSitePK:228717,00.html>

created in 1996 following the findings of an internal report on the Portfolio Management Task Force. The Report found that the declining performance of the Bank's projects was largely because implementation and sustainability at the early stages of project design had been neglected.¹³⁹ The QAG's functions include downstream and upstream evaluation of projects to help ensure and assess their long-term effectiveness. The IEG's function is to examine development projects as well as the overall effectiveness of the Bank. For the most part, these evaluation groups are very critical to the work of the Bank, and after a thorough evaluation of projects, they report all of their findings to the Board of Executive Directors.

The reports of the OED/IEG and QAG are important to Bank management and staff and to critics outside the Bank. However, the Annual Review of Portfolio Performance (ARPP), written by the QAG, was not made public until 2002.¹⁴⁰ This lack of disclosure called into question the independence of the QAG. The fact that many of the Bank's reports were kept secret gave ammunition to outside critics to argue for more accountability and transparency regarding the Bank's activities. The Bank progressively increased public access to its reports beginning in the early 1990s. In 2005, the Bank revised its policy on the disclosure of information, giving the public much greater access to its internal documents. These changes include certain key categories of information and documents that can be used effectively by those inside and outside the Bank.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹. Catherine Weaver, Organizational Competitors of *The Hypocrisy Trap: World Bank and the Poverty Reform*.

¹⁴⁰. Ibid.,

In the 2002 information disclosure policy, the Bank has made commitment to publish many of its reports and evaluations available to the public.

¹⁴¹. These categories of documents are: the CAS and the CAS public information notices, the Board minutes, the Operational Policy and Strategy Papers; information related to IDA Mid-Term Reviews, procurement plans, IMF-Bank Relations Annexes, Country Re-engagement Notes, Project Completion Notes, the Staff Manual, the Budget

The Bank thus responded to those critics who asked for more transparency and published much of Bank's work on its website as well as in the Bank Information Center (BIC) in Washington, D.C. Visitors to the Bank's website can observe a high level of information sharing. Numerous Bank publications are posted online and in many languages. With the information disclosure policies in place at the Bank, the criticism of the Bank for lack of transparency has been resolved. However, as Katherine Marshall points out, there is some room for improvement: "A long path lies ahead before the institution fulfills its stated desire for transparency and clarity."¹⁴²

The NGO Department within the Bank was created under the presidency of James Wolfenshon who was willing to manage constructively criticisms from NGOs.¹⁴³ Indeed, the Bank wanted to show its willingness to listen and be more responsive to its critics. In its 2002-2004 Civil Society Engagement report, the Bank states that: "The Bank's most significant civil society engagement efforts occurred at the country level in the 100 developing countries where it worked during this period."¹⁴⁴

To reassure the public, the Bank gave statistical findings in the 2002-2004 World Bank Civil Society Engagement regarding its improved consultations with civil society organizations. As detailed in the report, 63 of 65 documents (31 full CASs and 34 Joint Bank and International Finance Corporation projects), have included civil society participation.¹⁴⁵ For greater

paper, the staff compensation paper, the Trust Funds Annual Report, and annual reports for specific trust fund programs; Documents related to grant programs funded by the Development Grant Facility (DGF); Board documentation related to project modifications. Virtually all documents and reports are now available to the public. <http://www1.worldbank.org/operations/disclosure/>

¹⁴². Katherine Marshall, *The World Bank: From Reconstruction to Development to Equity*, 147.

¹⁴³. Bello and Guttal, "The limits of Reform: the Wolfensohn Era at the World Bank," *Race and Class* (2006): 72.

¹⁴⁴. The World Bank, "The World Bank Civil Society Engagement," (2002-2004): xiv.

¹⁴⁵. *Ibid.*, 8.

involvement, the Bank launched the results-based CASs in 2005, which focuses explicitly on the outcomes of the CAS and its impact on poverty reduction.¹⁴⁶

One of the Bank's reports on participatory processes in the CASs clearly responds to its critics who disputed the Bank's willingness to follow through its commitment to the participatory development model in the past few years.¹⁴⁷ Essentially, the Bank finds that the CAS is increasingly participatory, based on a review of twenty-eight CASs in different developing countries.¹⁴⁸ The main finding of the document is that 90% of the CASs involved civil society in the implementation of the strategy, and 90% of the CASs were made available to the public. The report shows that there is much greater involvement of governments in formulating the Bank's strategy in the country. Overall, the report finds that there is a satisfactory participatory process that involves the beneficiaries of development projects and reflects the Bank's appreciation of people's interpretation of poverty.¹⁴⁹ Readers who go through the report can conclude that those findings directly contradict what the Bank's critics have alleged.

The creation of the Bank's Inspection Panel in 1993 originated from pressure by NGOs, governments, as well as management and staff in the Bank who argued for the need for increased accountability for the Bank. The function of the Inspection Panel is to rule on specific allegations that Bank projects have negatively affected certain communities. Communities in developing countries may submit a request for inspection if they can demonstrate that their interests will be

¹⁴⁶. Ibid., 8.

¹⁴⁷. Vidhya Muthuram and Parmesh Shah. "Participatory Processes in the Country Assistance Strategy: Retrospective. FY 01," Participation and Civic Engagement Group of the Social Development Department (2002) <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPCENG/1143251-1116574134357/20509179/partprocessCAS2001.pdf>

¹⁴⁸. For a complete list of countries that were reviewed, consult the article.

¹⁴⁹. Vidhya Muthuram and Parmesh Shah. "Participatory Processes in the Country Assistance Strategy: Retrospective. FY 01," Participation and Civic Engagement Group of the Social Development Department (2002): 2.

affected because of the Bank's failure to adhere to its operational procedures and policies, for example, with respect to environmental impacts, for the projects it helps finance.¹⁵⁰

However, as some critics have argued that the Inspection Panel's investigation process was not transparent enough.¹⁵¹ Additionally, Bello Walden and Shalmali Guttal argue that the transparency of the Inspection Panel is debatable because its decision-making apparatus is constrained by the Bank's Board of Directors.¹⁵² For example, the Board of Directors can deny the panel's request to investigate a claim for any reason; and only cases that are approved by the Board of Executive Directors and borrowing countries can be heard and processed.

The protests against and criticisms of the Bank, as well as the internal drive to reform the institution, have transformed the institution by making it much more accountable, transparent, and responsive to clients and critics. Many Bank reforms were launched on the initiatives of its management and staff. The Bank is now more open to dialogue with its critics demonstrates greater willingness to allow unfettered access to its documents and reports. Nonetheless, as many critics argue, more can be done. The Bank knows that it carries momentous responsibilities with developing countries; and it should continue to focus on how it responds to its critics in the professional development community who represent people in poor communities.

Following this chapter, it is instructive to analyze in depth the consultation process in the 2007 CAS for the Republic of Senegal. Placing all the blame on the Bank for what some have perceived to be an inadequate participatory processes is simply not accurate. The Conseil des

¹⁵⁰. Saladin Al-Jurf, "Participatory Development and NGOs: A look at the Bank in the 1990s," 17.

¹⁵¹. Catherine Weaver, Organizational Competitors of *The Hypocrisy Trap: World Bank and the Poverty Reform*

¹⁵². Bello Walden and Shalmali Guttal, "The Limits of Reform: The Wolfensohn Era at the World Bank." 72.

ONG d'appui au Développement (CONGAD)¹⁵³ staff that I interviewed made it clear that the failure to encourage civil society's full participation in the 2007 CAS was partly due to the government. For instance, many of the NGO members were unaware that meetings with focus groups organized by the government were taking place. She argues that the government was purposefully trying to limit consultations with civil society organizations, and there were a limited number of civil societies with which the government was willing to consult. This can be explained by the fact that the authorities believed that the consultation process constrained their decision making power. I will further develop this aspect by analyzing how the consultation process took place in the 2007 CAS for the Republic of Senegal.

¹⁵³. CONGAD is the largest NGO in Senegal. It regroups 178 NGOs members throughout the country. It is the council for NGOs in support of development.

CHAPTER 4: The Participatory Approach in the 2007 CAS

“The Senegal CAS was built following intensive consultations between the World Bank and its partners, including Government, local authorities, private sector, donors, NGOs, and media.”¹⁵⁴

This chapter will focus on the Bank’s participatory approach in the 2007 Senegalese CAS, and it will analyze how the process has been conducted. First, it will be instructive to give a brief description of the Senegalese economy.

A. Country Economic, Political, and Social Profile

Senegal is located in West Africa and is part of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU). Its population is estimated at about 13 million people, with a growth rate of 2.6 percent.¹⁵⁵ There are several factors that represent the strengths of the country, including its people; natural resources in the form of fisheries and fertile farm land; massive remittances and capital inflows from Senegalese living overseas; remarkable political stability, and a strong cultural heritage. But there are weaknesses, as evidenced in widespread poverty, mostly in rural areas; a low level of human development; (the Human Development Index places the country

¹⁵⁴. Madani Tall, Senegal Country Director opened statement during the discussion in Washington, D.C. on economic growth and equity in the CAS. 06/20/2007.
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/PROJECTS/0,,contentMDK:21381033~menuPK:64282137~pagePK:41367~piPK:279616~theSitePK:40941,00.html> (Press Release : no2007/464/AFR)

¹⁵⁵. The World Bank. Senegal at a glance. http://devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/sen_aag.pdf

156th out of 177 countries)¹⁵⁶, poor long-term macroeconomic performance (though in the past five years growth has accelerated); and sparse electricity coverage throughout the country.

Until 2005, Senegal's economic performance was characterized by a real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which grew on average about five percent annually. In 2006 Senegal's economic performance weakened with a real GDP growth that slowed to 2.3 percent.¹⁵⁷ The decrease was largely due to the surge in international oil prices, the temporary closing of the national oil refinery, and financial difficulties in the electricity sector as well as in the phosphate company, *Industries Chimiques du Sénégal* (ICS). GDP growth in 2007 reached 4.8 percent. It is worth noting that in 2007 the overall Balance of Payment was negative with a total of 1.002 US\$ millions. Senegal's imports amounted to about 3,574 US\$ millions compared to 1,628 US\$ millions in exports. This huge trade imbalance reflected both ample inflows of external aid and remittances of Senegalese residing abroad.¹⁵⁸

The role of the agriculture sector has declined over time from almost 15 percent of the GDP in 1960 to 7 percent of the GDP in 2004. The informal sector plays an important role in the economy as it is one of the main sources of employment for rural immigrants and youth who are unsuccessful in their education. It accounts for about 60 percent of the GDP.¹⁵⁹ The rural economy frequently suffers from drought and lacks access to basic infrastructure, leading to low productivity, high emigration, and higher poverty rates in rural areas. The urban population

¹⁵⁶. In the UNDP 2009 Human Development Report.
http://hdrstats.undp.org/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_SEN.html

¹⁵⁷. The World Bank, "Senegal Economic Profile," (2007)
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/SENEGALEXTN/0,,contentMDK:21759847~pagePK:141137~piPK:141127~theSitePK:296303,00.html>

¹⁵⁸. The World Bank, Senegal at a Glance. http://devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/sen_aag.pdf

¹⁵⁹. The World Bank, "Country Assistance Strategy for the Republic of Senegal" International Development Association and International Finance Corporation (2007): 9.

represents forty-two percent of the population. This ratio is projected to increase up to sixty percent by 2015.¹⁶⁰ Inflation was estimated at 5.9 percent in 2007, a rate unprecedented since the devaluation of the FCFA (Franc Communauté Financiere d’Afrique) that occurred in January 1994.¹⁶¹ Price increases were especially pronounced for basic foodstuffs such as milk, rice, vegetable oil, and sugar. These price increases have resulted in frequent riots organized by citizens who protest the high cost of living. For example, between December 2006 and December 2007, the price of milk increased by 42 percent, vegetable oil rose by 29 percent, wheat meal and its derivatives by between 16 and 27 percent, and cereals by 12 percent.¹⁶² Mamadou Dione, the World Bank resident economist, argues that: “Given the economic situation, it would be dangerous to correlate macroeconomic results with social performances, because of the economic growth elasticity of poverty.”¹⁶³ The economic growth observed during the 2007 year, he argues, has created inequalities that make it difficult to maintain economic performance and social stability. However, the Gini Coefficient, which measures inequality in income distribution decreased by 6.4 percent from 2001 to 2005.¹⁶⁴

In 2000, Senegal became eligible to receive support under the HIPC Initiative. In 2007, Senegal’s outstanding debt to the International Development Association (IDA), The World Bank’s concessional and grant making facility was US\$671 million, and total debt payments to IDA were US\$5 million.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, Senegal received US\$133 million in loan and grant disbursements from IDA in 2007. Because of the HIPC initiatives, Senegal’s debt burden

¹⁶⁰. Ibid., Introduction in the CAS (2007).

¹⁶¹. The World Bank. Senegal at glance. http://devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/sen_aag.pdf

¹⁶². The International Comparaison Program (ICP Africa).

¹⁶³. Mamadou Dione, World Bank Senegal resident economist. Quaterly newsletter, Echos de la Banque.

04/29/2008

¹⁶⁴. http://www.undp.org/sn/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=54&Itemid=99999999.

¹⁶⁵. Ibid.,

has been drastically reduced from 81.2 percent of GDP in 1997 to 21.4 percent in 2006. IDA and the IMF are the country's two principal sources of external financing. Senegal's debt with IDA accounted for 25 percent of its total external debt.

Even though Senegal has benefited from the forgiveness of most of its public debt, it is still facing a major problem with its young people. The Senegalese economy has not managed yet to create enough jobs and provide education for all of its young people. In consequence, a great number of young people risk their lives to get to Europe by dangerous means, especially in canoes intended for small fishing. It is sad that one of the youth mantras, 'Barcelona or Barzakh' (Barcelona or death), is at the heart of a country brimming with enormous potential and the birthplace of so many talented people. The economic and social situation in Senegal remains challenging. Even though many people are very poor, they are proud and do not want to show their poverty. The growing number of Senegalese living overseas has generated a steady increase in remittances, which has helped to promote economic growth and social protection in Senegal.

Investment in infrastructure has increased substantially with the construction of many roads, bridges, tunnels, and the light system in the capital city of Dakar. In March 2000, President Abdoulaye Wade made the promise that he will build roads and bridges so that the capital city will look like Paris. However, I argue that the government is not rational in its choice of investments because, even though infrastructure investment is key to foster production and productivity, the country needs first to invest in agriculture, education, job creation, and a health care system. Through prudent agricultural projects, the country importation of food can decrease and this will create jobs in the rural areas. Also, food prices may decrease. Early in 2008, people organized riots to protest against food prices, and one of their slogans was, "We are not talking

about building roads, food is what we need." The priorities of the people are very different, and the citizens for whom the government is building roads and bridges do not have the proper means to use them efficiently. The roads and bridges are built mainly in the capital city for the flow of transportation. There would be a greater benefit realized if investment were made building roads in the rural area so that farmers could transport their products to the market and sell them. With the money spent on building urban roads, the Senegalese government could have invested in agriculture or jobs-creation allowing many more citizens to improve their standards of living.

B. Poverty as Interpreted by Senegalese Citizens.

The above description of the economic situation is based on statistics. However, the main signs of poverty identified by people themselves are the difficulties they have in getting food; finding jobs, and accessing quality health care, clean water and decent housing. When asked about what should be the government's priorities in fighting poverty and improving the living condition of Senegalese, the answers are the same: create employment for the youth, decrease the prices of food and services, put in place a good education system, offer access to basic health care, and develop a better energy plan.¹⁶⁶

The government has promised to create 20,000 jobs for the youth since 2000 when the new president was elected. However, the government did not facilitate the creation of those promised jobs by putting in place efficient policies. In 2005, the unemployment rate in Senegal was 11.7 percent.¹⁶⁷ Though the informal sector is flourishing and has a significant importance in the economy, many youth are trying to earn a living by any means to be able to take care of their

¹⁶⁶. The main energy that the Senegal lacks is electricity. There are power outages every day (where electricity is available) and this can result in lower production in any sector that uses electricity.

¹⁶⁷. Based on a household survey. <http://laborsta.ilo.org/STP/do>

family's basic needs. They would risk their lives in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean to search for employment. When they leave, they are conscious that they have very few chances to make it because the European coasts are securely guarded by immigration police, thus leaving them small chance for success to enter illegally European territories, and furthermore, many of them have lose their lives during travel on the ocean. Most Senegalese people who emigrate in Europe and other industrialized countries through visa programs have been successful, and they play an important role in the economy by sending funds home. What is regrettable is the fact that parents are involved in this phenomenon. In many cases, parents provide the money used to pay the travel because they have faith that once their children make it to Europe, they will be able to provide for the whole family. In general, the price of the journey is between CFA 500.000 to 1.000.000 (which is US\$1000 to US\$2000). This is a significant amount of money that could be invested in a small business to make a living in Senegal, but they prefer to risk their life for a better living.

The World Bank's involvement in Senegal attempts to help the government and its citizens pull themselves out of poverty and improve their living conditions. Thus, the Bank prepares the CAS with the objective of framing its strategy to support development and poverty reduction in Senegal. In this context, the Bank has launched many development projects for Senegal.

The task of the CAS is to define strategies that will concretely improve the lives of the Senegalese. The question that needs to be addressed is: how will the World Bank manage the CAS to answer the priorities of Senegalese people in poverty reduction? As the Bank stated in the 2007 CAS, "the activities in the CAS are clustered around three pillars and one cross-sector

governance.”¹⁶⁸ The three main pillars are: to foster economic growth through the private sector, to improve human capital through better delivery of social services, and to enhance rural and urban synergies.¹⁶⁹ The World Bank, in collaboration with other development agencies, NGOs, the Senegalese government, and civil society has focused on these three strategic pillars to help achieve economic growth and strong national synergies through the CAS.

Next, I will analyze the consultation process in the 2007 CAS as reported by the World Bank in Senegal, the Ministry of Finance, and the council of NGOs that purports to represent the civil society (CONGAD). At the Bank level, I have interviewed two Bank staff in Senegal and exchanged email with the Bank Task Team Leader for the CAS. At the government level, I interviewed the person in charge of the PRSP document. At the civil society level, I talked with the NGOs’ council (CONGAD)

C. The World Bank’s Role in the PRSP/CAS Consultation Process caps

The consultations that are involved in the PRSP are managed by the Senegalese government. The World Bank’ staff with whom I have spoken, claims that the Bank is not the owner of the consultation process involved in the PRSP, but rather that it plays the role of facilitator in government consultation efforts for the PRSP. However, Bank staff members do take an active role in convening and participating in the consultations. The Bank recognizes its role as convener and facilitator: “Understanding the role of the Bank as a facilitator, convener, or decision maker is a crucial element to any effective consultation.”¹⁷⁰ The Bank remains in the consultation background while supporting dialogue and it offers its feedback to the government

¹⁶⁸. The World Bank, Introduction in the “Country Assistance Strategy for the Republic of Senegal”. International Development Association and International Finance Corporation (2007)

¹⁶⁹. Ibid.,

¹⁷⁰. The World Bank, The Consultation Source Book, (2007): 6.

on various drafts of the PRSP: “PRSP is accepted by the Bank only if it is participative.” said Mademba Ndiaye, one staff of the Bank in Senegal.¹⁷¹

The CAS sets out the development priorities of the country and how the Bank will help the government achieves those development priorities, so the CAS is a tool to help the country reach its stated goals in the PRSP. Initially, when the Bank starting producing the CAS for each borrowing country, the document did not entail a formal participatory approach although, typically, ongoing consultations with government officials and people outside government did inform the CAS document; but eventually, as discussed earlier, far greater emphasis was attached to a participatory process.

Therefore, it is important to understand that the CAS is a Bank-owned document and that the Bank manages the consultation process. Thus, the Bank is fully accountable for the outcome of the consultations. One of the Bank’s interviewees argues that: “The PRSP is like a store where the CAS (a customer) enters to buy products for the CAS activities. The products chosen from the PRSP are those that the Bank wants to finance for the government.”¹⁷² In addition, he emphasizes the fact that consultations can be extensive with a broad range of stakeholders. The Bank consults with the private sector, the media and civil society. However, in his view, there is a lack of capacity in this sector. At the local level, many associations or people that are involved in the consultation process do not possess the background and skill to put in place a development agenda.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹. Interview on 10/20/08

¹⁷². Remarks from Mademba Ndiaye, Senegal Bank staff. Interviewed on 10/20/08

¹⁷³. Mamadou Dione. Resident Economist at the Senegal Bank office. Interviewed 10/20/08

D. The CAS Timeline and Consultation Process

The timeline

The CAS document for the Republic of Senegal begins its journey from the Bank headquarters in Washington, D.C and eventually goes to the Minister of Finance in Senegal. The Team Leader for the 2007 CAS for Senegal was Jacques Morisset, the Bank's Lead Economist for Senegal. To paraphrase one Bank staff, Morisset is the person who is supposed to know the country's macroeconomic situation better than anyone else at the Bank.¹⁷⁴

Morisset uses the PRSP to sketch out plans for introducing the CAS premises and preparing a first draft, which he then shares with the Country Director. This draft document is sent to the World Bank's country team for Senegal by email, which then provides feedback. It is important to note that a task team's presence in a country depends on the projects under its supervision. After the CAS Task Team Leader shares the draft CAS, each one of the Country Team Members will analyze the CAS based on his/her future activities, and then check whether the CAS potentially contains activities that the Team Leader will manage in Senegal. This exchange of information is done through emails, meetings, and video conferences. Staff will then justify their need to include more or fewer activities in the CAS.¹⁷⁵

During June 20-22, 2006 the Bank organized meetings with civil society to benefit from the input from Senegalese. The first day of the consultation involved the Bank partners and the next two other days were with government partners, NGOs and the private sector. After factoring

¹⁷⁴. Ibid.,

¹⁷⁵. Mademba Ndiaye, Bank staff interviewed on 10/20/2008

in these inputs, the Task Team Leader, Country Team and the Country Director subsequently, present the draft CAS to the Africa Regional Operations Committee (ROC), headed by the Vice President for Africa, at Bank Headquarters in Washington, D.C.

If the ROC signs off on the draft CAS, then it is finalized and submitted to the Managing Director for Africa for his/her approval before being submitted to the Board of the Bank. The Africa Vice President, the Country Director and the Task Team Leader present the CAS to the Board of Executive Directors of the Bank for their consideration and questions. The Board endorses, in effect, the CAS, but does not formally approve (or disapprove) the CAS. There is no Board meeting on the CAS until all concerned agree that the CAS is appropriate, including the Government of Senegal and its Executive Director on the Bank's Board.

The Consultation Process

During June 20-23, 2006, the Bank mobilized a team lead by Jacques Morisset, to present the draft CAS to hundreds of participants representing civil society, the private sector, and elected officials who, along with some 30 Senegalese senior government officials who participated in consultations on the World Bank's CAS for Senegal for the 2007-2010 period. The Bank organized meetings with stakeholders to obtain feedback on their views on which projects and studies should be prioritized with Bank financing. However, financed projects have to be aligned with the PRSP objectives. One point to highlight is that the Bank, through the International Development Association, does not give loans to the private sector but it can extend guaranties for priority projects with private sector participation in consultation with the Senegalese Government. In addition, the International Finance Corporation, also part of the

World Bank Group, can either invest in the form of equity or loans in private firms in Senegal, also in line with the priorities identified in the PRSP and the CAS.

As stated earlier, engaging stakeholders in consultation can be both resource and time-intensive. The Bank states that the CAS is more expensive than a non-participatory project for the Bank to prepare and supervise. The costs of civic engagement can be significant for both governments and the Bank. The Bank allocates a budget for the CAS, which is used for the preparation and consultation phases, and it will pay the related expenses. In general, the preparation of the CAS takes up to two years, including the consultation process. In addition, consultations and other mechanisms of participation can introduce tensions, such as competition among stakeholders with different interests. The process can also raise expectations which cannot be met by the specific set of projects supported by the CAS. Mamadou Dione notes that the benefits of participation outweigh the costs, even though the process is slow and costly. The Bank's staff is generally persuaded that the CAS and PRSP are two significant contributions to development in that they help in obtaining better results.¹⁷⁶

This following describes the three main phases of consultation (Box 1) adopted by the Bank's Country Team for Senegal to reach out to stakeholders. Groups that were represented included: NGOs, unions, women's organizations, religious groups, media, universities and research institutes. The main representative of NGOs was CONGAD, which is a council for NGOs that groups 178 NGOs around the country. Their objective is to promote social, political, economic, and cultural dialogue. The following groups represented the civil society in the consultation process:

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Mamadou Dione. 10/20/08

- The main representative of Senegalese NGOs was CONGAD, which is an umbrella council for 178 NGOs from around the country. Their objective is to promote social, political, economic, and cultural dialogue. ENDA (Environment and Development in Africa) represented NGOs.
- The National Council for Rural Dialogue and Coordination represented agriculture producers in the rural areas.
- FAFS (Federation of Women’s Associations in Senegal) represented women’s groups.
- CNJS (National Youth Council of Senegal) and OJP (Organization of Pan-African Youth) represented young people’s associations
- The Senegalese Civic League and African League of Human Rights are the umbrella groups for and represented human rights organizations.
- CNTS (National Youth Council of Senegal), UNSAS (Union of Autonomous Labor Union of Senegal), and SYNPICS (Syndicat des Professionnels de l’Information et de la Communication du Senegal), are national umbrella groups for and represented trade unions.

Box1. The Three Steps of the 2007 Senegal CAS Consultation Process.¹⁷⁷

Step 1. January to March 2006.

At the end of January, the Bank organized a brainstorming session with Bank staff from Washington and Senegal. These were incorporated into the draft CAS, which was shared with the core Senegal Country team. Preliminary consultations with government officials started in February 2006 with the Government unit that is charged with the implementation of the PRSP. The key challenges were shared with a group of stakeholders in Senegal on February 27. The Bank with other donors organized dialogues around Senegal’s key development challenges. The

¹⁷⁷. This is the consultation process adopted by the Bank in the 2007 CAS.

objective of the consultations was to listen and increase understanding of country conditions and concerns, and interests of diverse stakeholders. These preliminary meetings helped the Bank define the basic structure of the CAS.

Step 2. April-May 2006. (In three stages)

The process was sequential and the first stage was meant to share the proposed results-based mythology with the CAS team through a series of conferences. There was a second stage of four sessions to draft the outcome-based matrix around the three pillars of the CAS. The last stage was for the final draft matrix involving the Task Team Leader and core members of the CAS preparation team.

Meanwhile, informational consultations were held in Dakar. These were organized by the Bank's Senegal Office to exchange information and opinions between the CAS team and stakeholders such as the government, civil society, media and the private sector. The government was represented by the Minister of Economy and Finance and they organized meetings with Bank staff to discuss the Bank's vision and agree on a tentative timetable for in-country consultations. On June 20, there was a one day workshop in which stakeholders and the Bank discussed the broad lineaments of the proposed 2007-10 CAS.

Step 3. July 2006-March 2007

A formal consultation process was launched in the country with the collaboration of the Bank's CAS Task Team Leader. The Bank states that the consultations were fully integrated in the participatory process conducted for the finalization of the PRSP by the government. This process allowed the Bank to align the CAS with the PRSP priorities. The Bank states that participants welcomed the consultation as an opportunity to raise national issues such as the role of civil society, transparency in the use of public resources, human development growth, public sector accountability, and mechanisms for private sector governance.

E. Consultation Process as Perceived by the Government and the Civil Society

At the civil society level, the 2007 CAS Consultation was perceived by the council of NGOs, as not being transparent, as discussed below. For this reason, they recently put in place a

committee to address the role and responsibility of civil society in the consultation process.¹⁷⁸ Their main problem with the process of consultation was that there was a lack of information about what their roles were intended to be. In fact, there were discussions and interactions with the Bank, but they did not see the outcomes in the final draft of the CAS. In other words, their input, as they explained them during meetings, was not in the CAS. One of the CONGAD members argues that they do not get to see the revised CAS after the meetings have been held, which is a problem.

After those meetings and prior to the finalization of the CAS, the Bank sent them a client survey to rate the consultation process (See annex 2 for the client survey). The CONGAD member explained how donors like the USAID operate consultation differently from the Bank. For example, the USAID system of consultation consults directly with the citizens, especially in rural areas, to ask them what the community priority development needs are. Then, they finance the projects by phase of accomplishment. For instance, they will divide a project into four parts and do the financing after each phase as the project progresses. The CONGAD member argues that this is how they would like the Bank to operate with them when they want to finance projects. However, what they do not know is that the Bank lends only to the government.

As to the question of whether or not there were follow-up sessions with the Bank or the government with respect to the implementation of the CAS, the interviewee answered that she was not aware of any such sessions.¹⁷⁹ However, both the Bank and the government, argue that there are periodic follow-up meetings between the Country Director for Senegal and other Bank

¹⁷⁸. CONGAD, “Atelier National sur la Participation de la Société civile a la réflexion sur l’efficacité de l’aide publique au développement”. (2008) <http://www.congad.sn/spip.php?article257>

¹⁷⁹. CONGAD staff interviewed on 11/1/08

staff and that all ministries are implementing Bank-financed projects. These follow-up meetings are held to discuss project implementation issues, how problems should be dealt with and by whom.¹⁸⁰

To respond to concerns raised among stakeholders about their role in the consultation process, the World Bank organized a workshop in Washington, D.C. on June 26, 2008 after the CAS draft was finalized.¹⁸¹ Fifty participants were present including representatives from civil society, the private sector, and the media. During this workshop, the Country Director, Madani Tall, addressed the concern of the Bank in improving governance: “ Consultations are reforms that are sometimes complex and costly, which cannot be implemented successfully or within reasonable time periods without strategic partnerships with key stakeholders such as the private sector, civil society, and other development partners.”¹⁸²

The Bank endeavors to reflect in its agenda the concerns of civil society but the question remains whether the Bank is willing to adopt what the civil society wants. Senegalese NGOs are seeking clarification about their role and responsibility as stakeholders in the drafting of the CAS. These NGOs also would like the Bank to develop an institutional framework for consultation to build up civil society capacity.¹⁸³

At the government level, there are more intensive consultations with the Bank than with the civil society. In all consultation processes, the Ministry of Finance represents the Senegalese

¹⁸⁰. Remark from Mamadou Dione. Economist chief at the Bank in Senegal. 10/20/08

¹⁸¹. For a complete draft of the workshop visit this Bank website:
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/SENEGALEXTN/0,,contentMDK:21838906~menuPK:296308~pagePK:2865066~piPK:2865079~theSitePK:296303,00.html>

¹⁸². Ibid

¹⁸³. Ibid.

government while the various relevant government departments represent education, health, agriculture and so on. In the Bank, an expert of each sector works closely with the related department to make sure that priorities in the CAS are aligned with those in the PRSP. At this level, the government consults with other donors, especially the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Consultations were conducted between the Bank and the government in the following manner: the government writes a draft letter to the Bank about a specific subject, for example, health care. The Bank then organizes thematic groups when each draft is received from the government to discuss the draft and address questions. During this stage the UNDP and the Bank get together to answer to the draft submitted by the government.¹⁸⁴ There is a permanent dialogue between development partners and each sector in the government. For each project, there is a team and a follow-up committee within the Bank office in Senegal to monitor the operations.

The consultations with the Bank and the government seem to be satisfactory on both sides. Consequently, the main concern about the consultations arises from a civil society organization, namely, CONGAD, which purports to represent the voice of many poor people. In the PRSP document, it is the duty of the government to consult with the civil society and some NGOs have expressed their skepticism and reservations about the government following through on its commitment of consulting with the civil society: “The government is addressing the question of poverty in consulting with NGOs about it but addressing it or consulting civil society does not mean that it will change something.”¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ . Mamadou Dione. 10/20/08

¹⁸⁵ . Wendy Philips in “Master of their Own development” 55.

To summarize, the general conclusion we can draw from the consultation process in the 2007 CAS is that there were intensive consultations but the outcomes of that consultation is a question to be further addressed. It is crucial to conduct intensive consultations, but what are the benefits if the input gathered from this process is not exploited in an efficient way. Why, after all these consultations, are certain civil society organizations still raising concerns about them? Where is the problem? At this point, the Bank should already have learned its lesson from previous consultations, but it is still not completely effective in managing the consultations process according to the judgment of CONGAD.

Based upon the observation of the process of consultation in the 2007 CAS, it appears that there is room for improvement, and the Bank should build momentum to better engage with the civil society. In the following chapter, I will discuss whether or not the Bank's rhetoric matches its actions on the ground in the case of Senegal.

CHAPTER 5: Improving the Participatory Process:

The debate about participatory development revolves around whether the participatory development process adopted by the Bank is working efficiently. The World Bank is committed to follow through with its participatory development process, but after two decades, the process still misses a critical dimension. I argue that the missing dimension has put participation in practice to an extent but not as a concrete part of the CAS drafting. In fact, civil society is complaining about its role and responsibility in the drafting process. Complaints from some civil society representatives suggest that the Bank uses them as evidence of participation but not as active participants with decision-making power in the process.

The case that I have analyzed demonstrates that the participatory development approach is a very complex process. Evidence has shown that the Bank has much improvement to make in years to come. The bottom line is that the Bank has not yet met the standards of what might be termed a satisfactory participatory development process as far as civil society organizations are concerned. The Senegal's CAS participatory process can be improved in many ways which I will address below. I argue that the participatory approach is a long process which should follow the bottom-up instead of the top-down approach. An integral part of this process will be to look for the missing links in the previous process and analyze how the process can be improved.

One important aspect to highlight is the fact that concerns and complaints about the Bank's consultation process are from the civil society side. Indeed, the government is satisfied with ways in which the consultations process is conducted. The Bank and the Ministry of Finance, which represents the government, describe the process as satisfactory in the sense that

there was a permanent dialogue between the government and the Bank. The government, which should represent its own people, always tries to satisfy the World Bank by adopting its policies.

The Senegalese people remain convinced that the government is not representing them efficiently, rather worries about its responsibility to the Bank. Because the government does not represent the people's voice, this situation undermines democracy and the stated objectives in the CAS. In fact, IDA gives loans only to the government, so it is understandable that there is intensive dialogue between the World Bank and the government. This situation raises the question of government accountability to the people of the country. The government should first be accountable to its own people. I argue that the Bank should put pressure on the government and require greater responsibility for its people before granting loans to the country.

In addition, I argue that NGOs, in the case of Senegal, might not represent the voice of the people. Despite significant ground gained and their ability to reach out to people, the approach used by many NGOs is still not representative. In fact, NGOs already have their own development agenda and priorities; thus, when the Bank consults with them, they might be biased by their agenda and fail to address the general view of the population. Therefore, the Senegalese government should establish institutions that monitor the population's development priorities in collaboration with NGOs, civil society, media, and other stakeholders. The institutions' only objective would be to engage in intensive dialogue with multiple stakeholders to address the development priorities of the population. The institution could reach out to rural areas where poverty is more widespread than in the city. Therefore, development agencies could consult with these institutions directly.

At this time, some civil society organizations are reluctant to get involved deeply in the participatory development process because they think that their input is not taken into account. However, with the number of workshops, meetings, studies, and reports organized by the Bank on participatory approach, it is impossible to say that the Bank fails to advocate participatory development. Nevertheless, the way the Bank operates on the ground is very different from its commitment still the main question remains: does the Bank practice what it preaches?

I argue that the Bank should go beyond any previous consultation strategies and improve the process. The civil society had a limited role in the drafting of the Senegalese CAS. In fact, it would have been more appropriate for the government and the Bank to make documentation available to participants before any consultation. In order to meet this goal in the future, it will be important to have informational sessions before the CAS is launched. Thematic groups which are organized by the Bank in the middle of the CAS, should be launched at the very beginning to inform civil society about their roles and responsibilities in the drafting of the CAS. Similarly along the same lines, the Bank should survey the civil society about areas in which they could improve.

One Bank staff argues that, in general, civil society lacks the capacity to participate in economic policy discussions. Mamadou Dione, a Senegalese Bank staff argues that there is a problem of deficit and capacity especially at the local level. According to him, the Bank loses in terms of leadership at each level. This means that some stakeholders who are engaged in the CAS consultation sometimes lack technical skills. In this case, it would be better for the Bank to strengthen the capacity of civil society groups and help them understand the implications of macroeconomic policy choices. It is important that the Bank look at methods and tools which

can be used for setting up grassroots information systems, and thereby ensure greater inclusion of the poor in the participatory process from the very beginning of the process. Additionally, people themselves can provide analyses of the complex state of poverty and propose policy solutions. They can share their impressive ability to identify their main priorities as well as realistic strategies to improve their situation.

Various NGOs, under the umbrella of CONGAD, are also concerned with the fact that there are no follow-up sessions after consultations with the Bank. This concern demonstrates that the Bank's consultation process in the CAS is a broken instrument that must be fixed before the Bank can gain credibility again among NGOs. The complexities and multifaceted lives of people in developing countries are difficult to understand without a continuous dialogue.¹⁸⁶ If the Bank wants its services to be accessible and reach the stated goals, then it is clear that consultations should be intensive and on-going. The main problem with the Bank's formal consultations is that there is no follow up with those people with whom the Bank consults who need to know how their input is being incorporated in the drafting.

The Bank, as it did with the Senegalese government, should always organize follow-up meetings after each consultation and before the CAS is submitted to the Bank's Board of Directors for discussion. After the Bank collects input from the civil society, they should include the input into the draft because this is what defines the participatory development approach. For example, the Bank could broaden the content of the CAS and include summaries of the main issues raised by stakeholders. In doing so, the Bank would better include stakeholders in the

¹⁸⁶. Wendy Philips in "Master of Their Own Development" 58.

development process and prove its willingness to follow through with its participatory development approach.

Certain groups in the process are marginalized, which is a big issue the Bank has promised to address. The definition of marginalized group itself contradicts the objectives of participatory development. Marginalized groups are defined by the Bank as youth, women, people with disabilities, and old people.¹⁸⁷ In fact, the problem with this definition is that if these people are excluded from the consultation process, what is left in the cross-section will not be representative for meaningful consultations. The problem of marginalized groups is more concentrated in rural areas than in urban center, due to the structure of the Senegalese society: women and youth are relegated to the lowest level of society. Their main role is to take care of the house and the family and not to express their view about the poverty situation. However, women and youth in rural areas have a very good sense of what poverty is and what development strategies they need to fight poverty. Women are in charge of the family and the education of the children; they are always confronted with the realities of poverty and know how to deal with this situation in daily basis.

Perhaps the most important issue, I argue, is the connectivity between macroeconomic objectives and social policies. In the case of Senegal, it is highly important to design a strategy to integrate social and economic policy objectives. In fact, as stated in the previous chapter, Senegal's people interpret poverty as a lack of basic social needs such as sufficient food, clean water, and adequate health care. Even though the government is pleased with the statistics that show a growth rate of 4.8 percent, the population would like to see improvement that is more

¹⁸⁷. Bhatnagar and Williams, "Participatory Development and the World Bank" 16.

tangible throughout the country: more food, water, electricity, and better health care rather than statistical growth based on capital.

The government has invested money in improving Senegal's infrastructure, in building roads and bridges. Unfortunately, the people see this infrastructure as a way to make the country look more beautiful. What they need instead is social assistance. If the social priorities are not connecting with macroeconomic policy, then the CAS objectives will become unrealistic and this will result in disappointment among people. In the future, the Bank's challenge is to make the consultation process work from the bottom-up. Perhaps with more time and resources in investigating the main development priorities of the people, the Bank will gain momentum and reach its mission. The propositions that I have outlined, along with those in the field of development research, represent promising prospects for the future of participatory development, but the Bank has to be open to for changing its way of conducting consultations.

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Annexes

Box 1: Consultative Mechanisms and Stakeholder Involvement

In the case of the Cordillera Highlands Agricultural Resource Management Project, the project preparatory technical assistance took place over six months. This period provided opportunities for conducting consultations and joint assessments, including the use of participatory rural appraisals in several selected communities. It was particularly important to make provision for this additional time for consultation since the Project represented a significant strategic shift away from the previous Asian Development Bank-funded project in the area (Highland Agriculture Development Project).⁹ However, despite the attempt to involve local communities in these types of needs assessment techniques, attention to the involvement of local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) was lacking. Consultations would likely have provided an opportunity for assessing the capacity of the local NGOs as well as discussing the proposed project. During implementation, the Project experienced considerable delays, partly because of complex government contractual procedures, but also because the NGOs involved had limited capacity. More in-depth consultation during project preparation would have identified these deficiencies and developed the required implementation strategies. Further weaknesses in the consultative mechanisms emerged when the selection of municipalities was managed by the PPTA consultants and then finalized during the appraisal mission without full consultation with the LGUs. As a result of the lack of clearly defined selection criteria, some severely depressed areas were omitted.

Source: Asian Development Bank. Participatory development study questionnaires, 1999.

Annex 1. Twenty-one priority questions set by the Bank-wide Learning Process on Popular Participation.

These were the priority questions exposed through a workshop organized by the Bank in February 1992.

1. Do some of the 20 projects selected for study as part of the learning process suggest ways to provide flexibility to allow for popular participation?
2. Is more than average elapsed time typically required for preparation and supervision of Bank supported participatory operations?
3. What does it cost the Bank to support popular participation in Bank supported operations?
4. What skill mix is required of Bank Staff to appraise and supervise Bank supported participatory projects?

5. Is a World Bank field presence important for participatory projects?
6. Do participatory projects require longer than average staff continuity?
7. Do participatory Bank financed projects typically build upon small scale efforts, perhaps initiated by other institutions?
8. How do Bank policies regarding procurement, disbursement, auditing, and local cost financing affect popular participation in Bank supported operations?
9. Have other agencies helped by pressing the Bank for a more participatory approach?
10. Has pressure from people themselves contributed to the development of Bank supported operations that allow them to participate in decisions?
11. Have attitudes of borrowing governments inhibited and /or enhanced what the Bank does to support popular participation?
12. How can Bank supported operations appropriately relate to and strengthen women's roles in development activities?
13. How can projects pay attention to the special needs of indigenous communities?
14. How can local elites be prevented from capturing more than their fair share in Bank supported operations?

15. Which institutional processes used to organize popular participation are most effective in different situations?

16. How can government extension services involve people more effectively?

17. How can governments encourage popular participation? What is the relationship between popular participation and government public policies toward NGOs?

18. What are the lessons to be learned from these 20 projects and participatory projects undertaken by other agencies regarding the formation and maintenance of local organizations?

19. What are the various institutional processes for encouraging local consultation and information sharing?

20. Which funding mechanisms support popular participation?

21. What are the qualitative and quantitative factors to examine in evaluating the costs and benefits of popular participation?

Source: Bhuvan Bhatnagar and Aubrey C. Williams. (1992) "Participatory development and the World Bank: Potential directions for changes,"

Annex 2. The World Bank Senegal Client Survey FY 2007

The World Bank
Senegal
Client Survey FY 2007

Report of Findings

January 2007

Appendix C: World Bank Client Survey 2007 – Senegal Questionnaire



World Bank Client Survey FY07 – SENEGAL

The World Bank is interested in gauging the views of clients and partners who are either involved in development in Senegal or who observe activities related to social and economic development. The following survey is meant to give the Bank’s team that works in Senegal, more in-depth insight into how the Bank’s work is perceived. This is one tool the Bank uses to assess the views of its critical stakeholders. With this understanding, the World Bank hopes to develop more effective strategies, outreach and programs that support development in Senegal.

The World Bank commissioned an independent firm to oversee the logistics of this effort in Senegal. This ensures anonymity and confidentiality. We hope you’ll be candid. To complete the survey, please use a soft black pencil, and completely fill in the circle that most accurately

reflects your view. **If you prefer not to answer a question, please leave it blank.**

Section A. BACKGROUND

A1. Which of the following best describes your current position? (Please mark only one response)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="radio"/> 1. Office of the President, Prime Minister, Minister, Parliamentarian | <input type="radio"/> 8. Independent Government Institution (i.e., regulatory Agency, Central Bank) |
| <input type="radio"/> 2. Employee of a Ministry, Ministerial Department or Implementation Agency | <input type="radio"/> 9. Trade Union |
| <input type="radio"/> 3. Local Government Office or Staff | <input type="radio"/> 10. Faith based groups |
| <input type="radio"/> 4. Bilateral or Multilateral Agency | <input type="radio"/> 11. Academia or Research Institute |
| <input type="radio"/> 5. Private sector organization | <input type="radio"/> 12. Judiciary |
| <input type="radio"/> 6. NGOs (including CBOs) | <input type="radio"/> 13. Other (please specify):
_____ |
| <input type="radio"/> 7. Media (Press, Radio, TV, Web etc.) | _____ |

A2. Please identify the primary specialization of your work. (Please mark only one response)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="radio"/> 1. Agriculture, Agribusiness, Forestry | <input type="radio"/> 7. Infrastructure (e.g., Transport, Water, Energy, Telecommunications) |
|--|--|

- 2. Commerce, Trade and Manufacturing
- 3. Communications, Information Services
- 4. Economic Management
- 5. Environment, Natural Resource Management
- 6. Finance, Banking, Insurance

- 8. Law, Justice
- 9. Legislature, Politics
- 10. Social Services (e.g., Education, Health)
- 11. Other (please specify) :

A3. How familiar are you with the work of the World Bank in Senegal on a scale of 1-10, 1 meaning “not familiar at all”, 10 meaning “extremely familiar”?

Not familiar at all											Extremely familiar
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	10	
<input type="radio"/>											

A4. How long have you been involved with (or a close observer of) the World Bank’s activities?		
<input type="radio"/> Less than one year	<input type="radio"/> One to three years	<input type="radio"/> More than three years

Section B. GENERAL ISSUES FACING SENEGAL

B1. On a scale of 1-10, 1 meaning “extremely pessimistic”, 10 meaning “extremely optimistic”, please indicate your perspective on the future of the next generation in Senegal.

Extremely Pessimistic											Extremely Optimistic	Don’t know
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	10	10	10
<input type="radio"/>												

<p>B2. Listed below are a number of development priorities in Senegal. Please identify which one of these you consider the first most important development priority. Then identify which one you consider the</p>	<p>Most Important Development priority</p>	<p>Second Most Important Development priority</p>
---	---	--

second most important development priority.	(Choose ONE)	(Choose ONE)
1. Economic growth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. HIV/AIDS and Malaria (and other communicable diseases)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Government effectiveness/governance	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Reducing corruption	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Promote policies to stimulate foreign direct investment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Increasing access to education	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Increasing access to health services	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Reducing poverty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. Improving the effectiveness of law and justice system	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. Improving basic infrastructure	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. Improving environmental quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. Increasing employment/ income generating opportunities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. Private sector development/accelerated growth	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. Agriculture development	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. Improving trade and exports	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
16. The electricity sector	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17. The water sector	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. The road sector	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. Improving investment climate	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. Economic equity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
21. Social protection (protection of vulnerable groups)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
22. Regional integration	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

23. Urban and rural planning	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
24. Other (please specify): _____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Section B. GENERAL ISSUES FACING SENEGAL (continued)

B3. How significant of an impact do you believe each of the following challenges will have on sustainable growth and development in Senegal?

	Level of Impact				
	Not a significant impact at all 1	Not terribly significant impact 2	Significant impact 3	Very significant impact 4	Don't know
B3a. Inadequate wealth creation (accelerated growth strategy)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
B3b. Inadequate access to social services (e.g., health, education)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
B3c. Protection of vulnerable groups	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
B3d. Government commitment to reform	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
B3e. Inadequate improvement in governance	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
B3f. Decentralization of the national government	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
B3g. Inadequate agricultural development	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

B4. Poverty reduction is a broad term that encompasses work in many different areas. Which TWO areas of development listed below do you believe would contribute most to reducing poverty in Senegal.

(Choose only TWO)	
<input type="radio"/>	1. Agriculture development
<input type="radio"/>	2. Reducing corruption
<input type="radio"/>	3. Improving governance
<input type="radio"/>	4. Private sector development/accelerated growth
<input type="radio"/>	5. Infrastructure development
<input type="radio"/>	6. Education
<input type="radio"/>	7. Health
<input type="radio"/>	8. Protecting the fish stock
<input type="radio"/>	9. Increasing income generating activities/employment
<input type="radio"/>	10. Increasing foreign direct investment
<input type="radio"/>	11. Greater distribution of wealth
<input type="radio"/>	12. Protection of vulnerable groups
<input type="radio"/>	13. Government decentralization
<input type="radio"/>	14. Protecting the environment
<input type="radio"/>	15. Other (please specify): _____

Section C. OVERALL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE WORLD BANK

C1. Overall, please rate how favourable your impression of the World Bank’s effectiveness is in Senegal on a scale of 1-10, 1 being “Very Unfavorable”, 10 being “Very Favourable.”

Very Unfavorable											Very Favourable	Don 't know
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	0	0
<input type="radio"/>												

C2. Knowing what you do about the capacity of the World Bank in Senegal where would it be most productive for the institution to focus most of its resources? **(Choose only TWO)**

<input type="radio"/>	1. Economic growth
<input type="radio"/>	2. HIV/AIDS and Malaria (and other communicable diseases)
<input type="radio"/>	3. Government effectiveness/governance
<input type="radio"/>	4. Reducing corruption
<input type="radio"/>	5. Promote policies to stimulate foreign direct investment
<input type="radio"/>	6. Increasing access to education
<input type="radio"/>	7. Increasing access to health services
<input type="radio"/>	8. Reducing poverty
<input type="radio"/>	9. Improving the effectiveness of law and justice system
<input type="radio"/>	10. Improving basic infrastructure
<input type="radio"/>	11. Improving environmental quality
<input type="radio"/>	12. Increasing employment/ income generating opportunities
<input type="radio"/>	13. Private sector development/accelerated growth
<input type="radio"/>	14. Agriculture development
<input type="radio"/>	15. Improving trade and exports

<input type="radio"/>	16. The electricity sector
<input type="radio"/>	17. The water sector
<input type="radio"/>	18. The road sector
<input type="radio"/>	19. Improving investment climate
<input type="radio"/>	20. Economic equity
<input type="radio"/>	21. Social protection (protection of vulnerable groups)
<input type="radio"/>	22. Regional integration
<input type="radio"/>	23. Urban and rural planning
<input type="radio"/>	24. Other (please specify): _____

C3. In your opinion, what should be the level of involvement of the World Bank in Senegal’s development strategies?	
<input type="radio"/>	1. The Bank should be more involved
<input type="radio"/>	2. The Bank is currently involved at an optimum level
<input type="radio"/>	3. The Bank should be less involved
<input type="radio"/>	4. The Bank shouldn’t be involved at all
<input type="radio"/>	5. Don’t know/refused

Section C. OVERALL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE WORLD BANK (continued)

C4. In broad terms of economic and social development, what is the “greatest” <i>value</i> brought by the World Bank to Senegal? What is the “second greatest” value?	Greatest value	Second Greatest value
	(Choose only ONE)	(Choose only ONE)
1. The Bank’s knowledge (studies and analyses)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Technical advice	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Policy and economic advice	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

4. Lending when others won't	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. Convener/facilitator	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Donor coordination	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Ability to mobilize resources (from private sector, government, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Ability to build implementation capacity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. Financial resources	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. Other (please specify) : _____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. None of the above – (The World Bank serves no useful purposes)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

C5. The World Bank wants to ensure that the knowledge and studies it produces in Senegal are relevant. Which TWO of the following areas do you think would be most valuable for the Bank to focus its research efforts on in the next few years: (**choose TWO only**)

<input type="radio"/>	1. Education	<input type="radio"/>	8. Enhanced business environment for private sector development	<input type="radio"/>	15. Labor markets/job creation
<input type="radio"/>	2. Health	<input type="radio"/>	9. Energy	<input type="radio"/>	16. Financial markets
<input type="radio"/>	3. Social protection	<input type="radio"/>	10. Agri-business	<input type="radio"/>	17. Urban/metropolitan development
<input type="radio"/>	4. Transport	<input type="radio"/>	11. Water and sanitation	<input type="radio"/>	18. Environmental sustainability/ natural resources management
<input type="radio"/>	5. Poverty	<input type="radio"/>	12. Monitoring and Evaluation	<input type="radio"/>	19. Improving equality of opportunity
<input type="radio"/>	6. Governance	<input type="radio"/>	13. Public expenditure	<input type="radio"/>	20. Other (please specify): _____ _____
<input type="radio"/>	7. Anti-corruption	<input type="radio"/>	14. Public sector performance		

C6. Which of the following do you identify as the Bank's greatest weaknesses in its work in Senegal?

<input type="radio"/>	1. Imposing technocratic solutions without regard to political realities
-----------------------	--

<input type="radio"/>	2. Not exploring alternative policy options
<input type="radio"/>	3. Too bureaucratic in its operational policies and procedures
<input type="radio"/>	4. Staff too inaccessible
<input type="radio"/>	5. Is arrogant in its approach
<input type="radio"/>	6. Too influenced by donor countries (e.g., France, the US)

Section C. OVERALL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE WORLD BANK (continued)

On a scale of 1-10, 1 meaning you strongly disagree, 10 meaning you strongly agree, please respond to the following statements about the World Bank.

	Strongly Disagree									Strongly Agree	Don't Know
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
C7. Overall the Bank currently plays a relevant role in development in Senegal	<input type="radio"/>										
C8. The Bank's work is aligned with what I consider the development priorities for this country.	<input type="radio"/>										
C9. The Bank's work reflects its own mission of poverty reduction	<input type="radio"/>										
C10. The World Bank recommends programs and strategies that are realistic for Senegal	<input type="radio"/>										
C11. The World Bank treats clients and stakeholders in Senegal with respect.	<input type="radio"/>										
C12. The World Bank collaborates with other donors here	<input type="radio"/>										
C13. Overall I like to work/interact with Bank staff	<input type="radio"/>										
C14. The Bank is an effective catalyst for discussion on issues related to poverty	<input type="radio"/>										
C15. In general, the strategies that the Bank recommends are sustainable	<input type="radio"/>										

over time

C16. The World Bank's work promotes country ownership of development strategies	<input type="radio"/>										
C17. The Bank's work promotes the empowerment of poor people to participate in development	<input type="radio"/>										
C18. The World Bank imposes reasonable conditions on its lending	<input type="radio"/>										
C19. The Bank gives appropriate priority to growth issues	<input type="radio"/>										

Section D. THE WORK OF THE WORLD BANK

For each item in the following section, please provide two responses: first, *importance*, meaning, in your opinion, how important it is for the Bank to be involved in that particular area of work in Senegal. Second, *effectiveness*, meaning, how effective do you believe the World Bank is in terms of having a positive impact on that area of development in Senegal.

	Level of IMPORTANCE						Level of EFFECTIVENESS					
	important	fairly unimportant	Average	Fairly important	important	Don't know	effective	ineffective	Average	Fairly effective	Very effective	Don't know
D1. Helping to reduce poverty	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D2. Helping to bring about economic growth	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D3. Encouraging greater transparency in governance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D4. Helping to strengthen the private sector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D5. Helping to strengthen the financial system	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D6. Helping to strengthen the regulatory framework	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D7. Helping to strengthen the judicial system	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D8. Helping to strengthen the public sector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D9. Helping to strengthen the education sector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D10. Helping to strengthen the health sector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D11. Safeguarding against corruption in projects/ programs that it funds with its procurement rules	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D12. Helping to lay the foundation to integrate Senegal into the global economy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D13. Helping Senegal regionally integrate.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Level of IMPORTANCE						Level of EFFECTIVENESS					
	Very important	Important	Average	Fairly important	Not important	Don't know	Very effective	Effective	Average	Fairly effective	Very ineffective	Don't know
D14. Ensuring that attention is paid to the environmental impact (the physical environment – land, water, air) of Bank supported programs and strategies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D15. Ensuring that attention is paid to gender disparities	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D16. Helping to strengthen agricultural development	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D17. Helping to support Job creation in Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D18. Supporting efforts to help vulnerable groups (e.g., street kids, women)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D19. Supporting efforts to improve the population's access to clean water	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D20. Supporting government efforts to decentralize	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D21. Helping the government to more effectively manage urban/rural land use	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Section D. THE WORK OF THE WORLD BANK (continued)

	Level of IMPORTANCE						Level of EFFECTIVENESS						
	important	fairly important	Average	Fairly important	important	Don't know	effective	Fairly ineffective	Average	Fairly effective	Very effective	effective	Don't know
D22. Helping to strengthen infrastructure development	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D23. Helping to strengthen environment and natural resources management	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D24. Helping to strengthen the social protection sector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D25. Helping to improve the quality of life in urban areas	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D26. Helping to reduce corruption in the country with its advice and support	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D27. Helping to empower communities to participate in their own development	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Section E. THE WAY THE WORLD BANK DOES BUSINESS

Please rate the World Bank in terms of its effectiveness vis-à-vis the particular attribute/activity listed below:	Level of World Bank Effectiveness					
	Not Effective	Fairly Ineffective	Average	Fairly Effective	Very Effective	Don't know
E1. Technical competence	0	0	0	0	0	0
E2. Producing “knowledge” (studies, analyses) that is useful	0	0	0	0	0	0
E3. Making the results of studies and analyses readily	0	0	0	0	0	0

available						
E4. Sharing knowledge about international best practices	<input type="radio"/>					
E5. Ability to adapt its knowledge to your country's needs	<input type="radio"/>					
E6. Ensuring its staff is accessible	<input type="radio"/>					
E7. Providing sound policy and economic advice	<input type="radio"/>					
E8. Straightforwardness in its dealings with you	<input type="radio"/>					
E9. Maintaining consistent messages	<input type="radio"/>					
E10. Promoting the inclusion of local communities (beneficiaries) in the development of strategies	<input type="radio"/>					
E11. Promoting the inclusion of civil society (NGOs, religious groups, interest groups) in the development of strategies	<input type="radio"/>					
E12. Promoting the inclusion of local project experts in the development of strategies	<input type="radio"/>					
E13. Promoting the inclusion of private sector in the development of strategies	<input type="radio"/>					
E14. Giving appropriate priority to poverty reduction	<input type="radio"/>					
E15. Lending in a way that promotes effective development	<input type="radio"/>					

Section F. PROJECT/PROGRAM RELATED ISSUES

The following section should be filled out only by respondents who have/have had direct experience and/or involvement in the implementation of World Bank programs and/or projects.

Please rate how much you agree with the following statements on a 1-10 scale, 1 meaning you “Strongly Disagree”, 10 meaning you “Strongly Agree”.

	y Disagree										Strongly Agree	Don't Know
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
F1. The Bank is flexible in terms of adjusting to changing circumstances	<input type="radio"/>											
F2. The Bank disburses funds promptly	<input type="radio"/>											
F3. The Bank works efficiently	<input type="radio"/>											

Please rate how much you agree with the following statements on a 1-10 scale, 1 meaning you “Strongly Disagree”, 10 meaning you “Strongly Agree”.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Strongly Agree	Don't Know
F4.	The Bank effectively monitors and evaluates the projects and programs it supports	<input type="radio"/>											
F5.	The Bank helps to build capacity at the community level	<input type="radio"/>											
F6.	The Bank helps to build capacity of government officials	<input type="radio"/>											
F7.	The Bank and partners in government collaborate well together on Bank supported programs and projects in Senegal	<input type="radio"/>											
F8.	The Bank helps to strengthen institutional capacity.	<input type="radio"/>											
F9.	The Government supports and takes responsibility for development efforts in Senegal	<input type="radio"/>											
F10.	The Bank’s procurement requirements are reasonable	<input type="radio"/>											

Section G. COMMUNICATION AND OUTREACH

<p>G1. From where do you get most of your information about economic and social development issues in Senegal? (Choose TWO at most)</p>	<p>G2. From where do you get most of your information about the World Bank’s development activities in Senegal? (Choose TWO at most)</p>
<p><input type="radio"/> 1. Local newspapers</p>	<p><input type="radio"/> 1. Local newspapers</p>
<p><input type="radio"/> 2. International newspapers</p>	<p><input type="radio"/> 2. International newspapers</p>
<p><input type="radio"/> 3. Local radio</p>	<p><input type="radio"/> 3. Local radio</p>
<p><input type="radio"/> 4. International radio</p>	<p><input type="radio"/> 4. International radio</p>
<p><input type="radio"/> 5. Local television</p>	<p><input type="radio"/> 5. Local television</p>
<p><input type="radio"/> 6. International television</p>	<p><input type="radio"/> 6. International television</p>
<p><input type="radio"/> 7. Periodicals</p>	<p><input type="radio"/> 7. Periodicals</p>
<p><input type="radio"/> 8. Internet</p>	<p><input type="radio"/> 8. Internet</p>
<p><input type="radio"/> 9. Other (please specify): _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>—</p>	<p><input type="radio"/> 9. Other (please specify): _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>—</p>

<p>G3. I use/have used the World Bank website: <input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No</p>
<p>G4. I know “Echos de la Banque Mondiale, Magazine du bureau regional de Dakar”: <input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No</p>
<p>G5. I primarily use: <input type="radio"/> The World Bank’s country website [www.banquemondiale.org/senegal]</p>

<input type="radio"/> The World Bank's main website [www.worldbank.org]
G6. I use/have used the World Bank's Public Information Centers (PICs) in Senegal:
<input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/> I don't know what PIC is

To what extent do you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statements:	Level of Agreement				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't know
G7. The World Bank's PIC is a valuable source of information related to development in Senegal (Only answer if you have used the PIC)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
G8. I find the Bank websites easy to navigate. (Only answer if you have used a Bank website)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
G9. I find the information on the Bank's websites useful. (Only answer if you have used a Bank website)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
G10. When I need information from the World Bank I know how to find it (e.g., whom to call, where to reach them, etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
G11. The Bank is appropriately responsive to my information requests and inquiries	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
G12. The magazine "Echos de la Banque Mondiale, Magazine du bureau regional de Dakar" give me relevant information and information on the work of the Bank (Only answer if you have read EBM):	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THE SURVEY.

