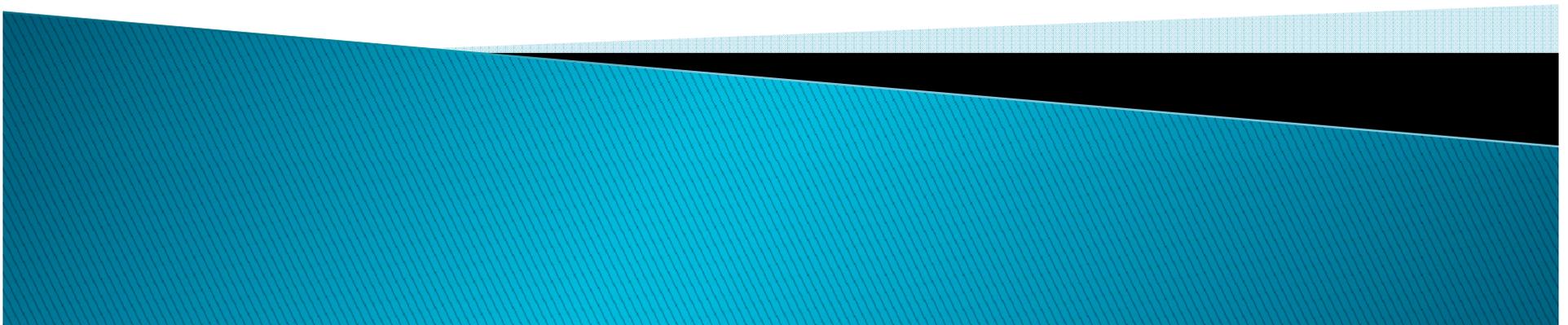


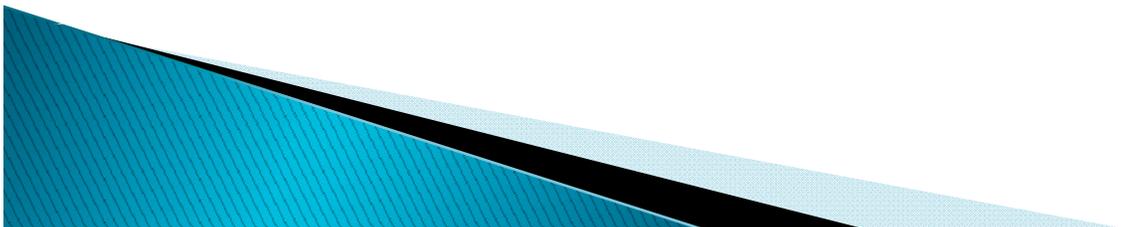
Portrait of Global Civil Society at the Bretton Woods Institutions, 2000–2009

Robert E. Kelly
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Outline

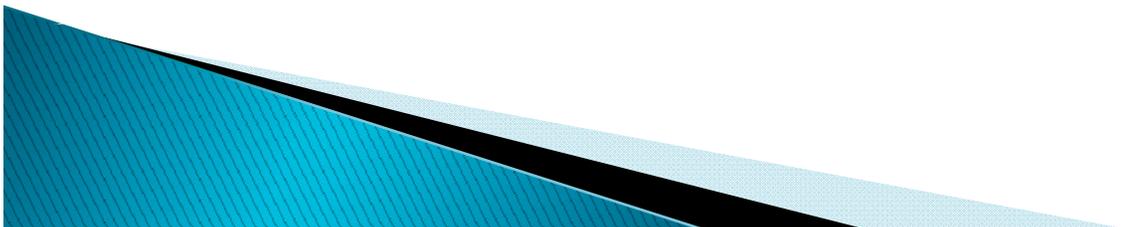
- ▶ History of BWI–NGO Interaction
- ▶ Data Challenges of Studying Global Civil Society
 - Utility of Civil Society Dialogues
- ▶ Civil Society Dialogues
 - Coding NGOs
- ▶ NGO Portrait
 - Who Comes from Where to What Kinds of Meetings?
- ▶ Inferences / Conclusions?
 - 2007 vs 2009



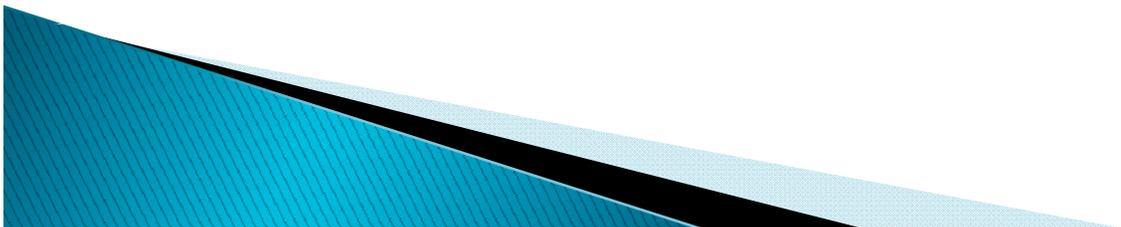
History of BWI-NGO

- ▶ Minimal Interaction during the Cold War
 - Dominance of Security Imperatives
 - US Hegemony over BWI

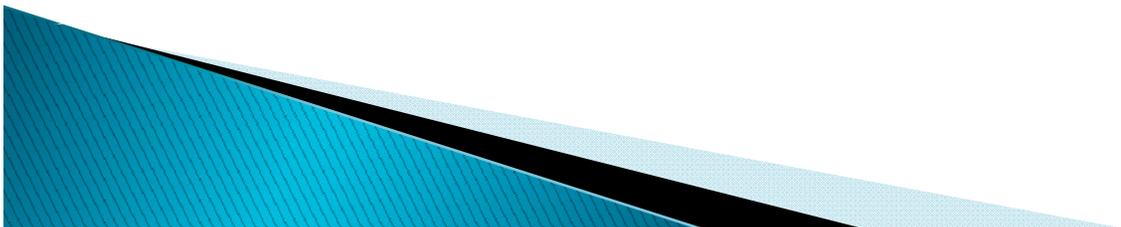
- ▶ First Interactions of 1970s & 80s
 - Service-providers on projects at WB
 - Early Formalization of NGO-WB Interaction
 - World Bank-NGO Committee
 - Little/Nothing at the IMF
 - First Protests at Annual Meetings



- ▶ 1990s: Neoliberalism and the Upsurge of NGO Protest
 - Post-CW Liberalization Empowers GCS
 - NGO Shift to Policy
 - Politicization
 - NGOs 're-imagined' as democratizers/pluralizers of Global Governance
 - Role/Legitimacy remains Unresolved
 - Regularization of Protest at Meetings



- Growing Formalization of WB–NGO Interaction
 - NGO Committee collapses
 - Increasing Consultation in DC & project countries
 - Access for largest NGOs
 - Use of local NGOs for consultation, semi-approval, project improvement/ownership
- First HQ Organizational Changes Due to NGO Pressure
 - Transparency
 - Environment
 - Creation of NGO Offices/Staff



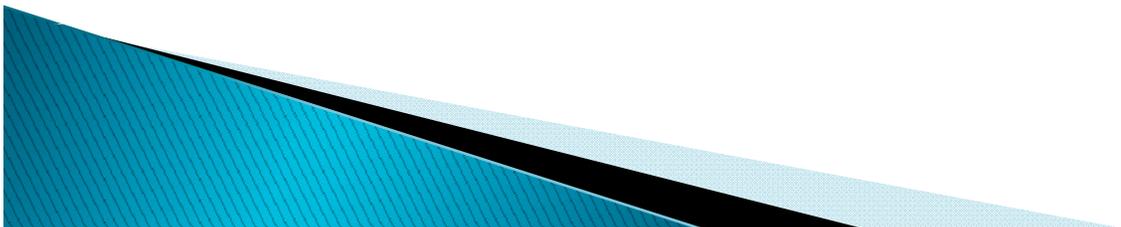
▶ MAI/Seattle/Prague Turn

- NGOs → Antiglobalization Movement
- Increasing Existential Threat to BWI
- Moral Impact on Northern Publics
 - Unaccustomed publicity
 - Unprepared for media scrutiny
- Perception of BWI
 - Aloof/Distant
 - Dominated by the rich
 - Exploitative, Cold to suffering
 - Korea, Indonesia, dams, relocations, subsidy elimination
- Wolfensohn's 2000 Decision to Engage
 - Not foreseen as formal, long-term process
 - Slow Evolution into Civil Society Dialogues (CSDs)



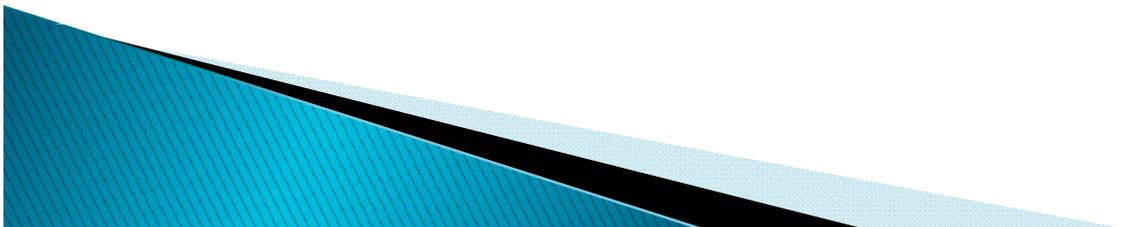
Data Challenges of Studying Global Civil Society

- ▶ So Who are the BWI-relevant NGOs?
 - Lots of protests, but hard to pin down who they are
 - Utility of the CSDs in determining who actually cares enough about the BWI to show up, even once
- ▶ Few Datasets of GCS
 - Union of International Associations
 - ECOSOC
 - Both global
 - UN-NLGS, WSF, GCS Yearbook, CONGO
 - Few lists, patchy, hard to access



Civil Society Dialogues

- ▶ Spring & Annual Meetings
 - Began with Annuals 2000 (Skipped Annuals 2001)
- ▶ Evolution toward formal consultation
 - Increasing differentiation of titles
 - Creation of registration process
 - NGO opportunities to shape and focus the topics
 - Sign-in sheets: Opportunity to track
 - which NGOs come,
 - from where,
 - with how much staff,
 - to which kinds of meeting



► Spreadsheet Example

- Selection of NGOs in Attendance at IMF CSDs, 2001–2002

- *Legend:*

CAL = Capital Account Liberalization

PRSP = Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

IEO = Independent Evaluation Office

HIPC = Highly Indebted Poor Country

SDRM = Sovereign Debt Restructuring Mechanism

Year ►	2001				2002								
Meeting Set ►	Spring				Spring				Annual				
Civil Society Dialogue ►	Financing for Development	Conditionality	CAL and Poverty	HIPC/PRSP	SDRM	IEO	HIPC	PRSP	PRSP	HIPC	Trade	Conditionality	IEO
NGO ▼													
Academy for Educational Development									2				
ACDI/VOCA													
Action for Economic Reforms		1	1										
Action for Solidarity, Equality, Environment and Diversity													
Action Aid				3				4	4		2		1
Advocates for Youth													
Africa-Diaspora Partnership for Empowerment & Development (ADPED)													
Africa Faith and Justice Network													
African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD)				1									
AfriJapan Foundation													
Agency for Research and Protection of the Taiga													
Agir Ici									1				
Al Majmoua/Lebanese Association for Development													
Al-Fatat Club (Girls Club)													
Alboan													
American Friends Service Committee													
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee													
Amnesty International										1	1		

▶ Coding

- 3-part Definition of NGO

- Non-profit
- Principled or value-based actors.
- Social change promotion

- Exclusions

- Unions
- GONGOs
- Northern Think-Tanks

❖ Robert Kelly, “From IR to Global Governance Theory: Conceptualizing NGOs after the Rio Breakthrough of 1992,” *Journal of Civil Society*, 3/1 (2007): 81–99

❖ Robert Kelly, “Portrait of Global Civil Society at the Bretton Woods Institutions: Civil Society Dialogue Participation, 2000–2007,” *Korean Journal of International Relations*, 48/5 (2008): 51–80

NGOs at the BWI, 2000a – 2009s

▶ Aggregate Numbers

- WB CSDs:
 - 132+ meetings
 - 469 NGOs (at least once)
 - 2007: 82+ meetings with 358 NGOs
- IMF CSDs
 - 66+ meetings
 - 348 NGOs (at least once)
 - 2007: 47+ meetings with 287 NGOs
- “+”: individual meeting details not available for 2000a (Prague) & 2003a (Dubai, UAE)



▶ Which NGOs ? – Top Performers, 2009

• Total Number of Meetings Attended: WB

- Region Codes: 1 – North America 2 – Latin America/Caribbean 3 – Western Europe/Australia
4 – Eastern Europe 5 – Africa 6 – Middle East 7 – South Asia 8 – East Asia

NGO	Meetings Attended	Region	Macro-Region
Bank Information Center	61	1	N
Oxfam International	41	1	N
Jubilee 2000 Network	40	1	N
World Vision	38	1	N
Action Aid	36	1	N
InterAction	33	1	N
European Network on Debt and Development (EURODAD)	30	3	N
Save the Children	30	1	N
Bretton Woods Project	28	3	N
Catholic Relief Services (CRS)	25	1	N
Campagna per la riforma della Banca mondiale	22	3	N
Center of Concern	21	1	N
Christian Aid	20	3	N
Environmental Defense Fund	19	1	N
African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD)	18	5	S
Social Justice Committee	17	1	N
Transparency International	17	3	N
Friends of the Earth	15	1	N
Halifax Initiative	15	1	N
World Conservation Union – IUCN	15	3	N
Gender Action	14	1	N
New Rules for Global Finance Coalition	14	1	N
World Economy, Ecology and Development	14	3	N
Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst	13	3	N
Third World Network	13	8	S

▶ Top 25, WB, 2007

NGO	Meetings Attended	Region	Macro-Region
Bank Information Center	40	1	N
World Vision	35	1	N
Action Aid	28	1	N
Jubilee 2000 Network	28	1	N
Oxfam International	28	1	N
Save the Children	28	1	N
European Network on Debt and Development (EURODAD)	28	3	N
InterAction	27	1	N
Bretton Woods Project	24	3	N
Christian Aid	20	3	N
Center of Concern	19	1	N
Campagna per la riforma della Banca mondiale	18	3	N
Catholic Relief Services	17	1	N
Environmental Defense Fund	14	1	N
Social Justice Committee	13	1	N
World Economy, Ecology and Development	13	3	N
Friends of the Earth	12	1	N
Korach Civil Society Forum	12	6	S
Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD)	11	3	N
Third World Network	11	8	S
Citizens Network of Essential Services	10	1	N
Halifax Initiative	10	1	N
Broederlijk Delen	10	3	N
Cooperation International pour la Developpement et la Solidarite (CIDSE)	10	3	N
Norwegian Campaign for the Cancellation of Debt (SLUG)	10	3	N

▶ Top Performers, 2009

• Total Number of Meetings Attended: IMF

- Region Codes: 1 – North America 2 – Latin America/Caribbean 3 – Western Europe/Australia
4 – Eastern Europe 5 – Africa 6 – Middle East 7 – South Asia 8 – East Asia

NGO	Meetings Attended	Region	Macro-Region
Action Aid	29	1	N
Bretton Woods Project	28	3	N
Oxfam International	28	1	N
Jubilee 2000 Network	27	1	N
Bank Information Center	24	1	N
European Network on Debt and Development (EURODAD)	24	3	N
World Vision	21	1	N
Center of Concern	20	1	N
African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD)	18	5	S
Save the Children	18	1	N
Social Justice Committee	16	1	N
Christian Aid	15	3	N
New Rules for Global Finance Coalition	15	1	N
Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst	14	3	N
Friends of the Earth	14	1	N
Trocaire	14	3	N
Campagna per la riforma della Banca mondiale	13	3	N
Norwegian Campaign for the Cancellation of Third World Debt (SLUG)	13	3	N
Halifax Initiative	12	1	N
InterAction	12	1	N
World Economy, Ecology and Development	12	3	N
Cooperation International pour la Developpement et la Solidarite (CIDSE)	11	3	N
Third World Network	11	8	S
Catholic Relief Services	10	1	N
Debt and Development Coalition	10	3	N

▶ Top 25, IMF, 2007

NGO	Meetings Attended	Region	Macro-Region
Bretton Woods Project	23	3	N
Jubilee 2000 Network	23	1	N
Action Aid	21	1	N
Oxfam International	21	1	N
World Vision	21	1	N
Center of Concern	19	1	N
European Network on Debt and Development (EURODAD)	19	3	N
Save the Children	17	1	N
Bank Information Center	16	1	N
Christian Aid	15	3	N
Social Justice Committee	14	1	N
Trocaire	14	3	N
Friends of the Earth	13	1	N
African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD)	12		S
Campagna per la riforma della Banca mondiale	12	3	N
World Economy, Ecology and Development	12	3	N
Cooperation International pour la Developpement et la Solidarite (CIDSE)	11	3	N
InterAction	11	1	N
Debt and Development Coalition	10	3	N
New Rules for Global Finance Coalition	10	1	N
Norwegian Campaign for the Cancellation of Debt (SLUG)	10	3	N
Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD)	9	3	N
Third World Network	9	8	S
Catholic Relief Services	8	1	N
Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst	8	3	N

▶ Top Performers: WB, 2009

• Total Number of NGO Staff Sent (Intensity of Interest)

- Region Codes: 1 – North America 2 – Latin America/Caribbean 3 – Western Europe/Australia
4 – Eastern Europe 5 – Africa 6 – Middle East 7 – South Asia 8 – East Asia

NGO	Number of Attendees	Region	Macro-Region
Bank Information Center	177	1	N
Jubilee 2000 Network	108	1	N
Oxfam International	101	1	N
World Vision	70	1	N
Save the Children	59	1	N
Action Aid	56	1	N
InterAction	55	1	N
Friends of the Earth	55	1	N
European Network on Debt and Development (EURODAD)	42	3	N
Transparency International	33	3	N
Bretton Woods Project	32	1	N
Catholic Relief Services (CRS)	27	3	N
Environmental Defense Fund	27	1	N
Center of Concern	25	3	N
Christian Aid	25	1	N
Campagna per la riforma della Banca mondiale	23	3	N
Debt and Development Coalition	21	3	N
African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD)	20	1	S
Social Justice Committee	20	3	N
World Conservation Union - IUCN	19	3	N
Central and Eastern European Bankwatch	18	5	N
World Economy, Ecology and Development	17	3	N
Gender Action	16	1	N
Halifax Initiative	15	8	N
New Rules for Global Finance Coalition	15	8	N
Third World Network	15	1	S
Government Accountability Project	15	1	N
World Learning	15	1	N

▶ 2007, WB, Top Performers, Intensity

NGO	# of Attendees	Region	Macro-Region
Bank Information Center	113	1	N
Jubilee 2000 Network	85	1	N
Oxfam International	85	1	N
World Vision	65	1	N
Save the Children	57	1	N
Friends of the Earth	50	1	N
InterAction	49	1	N
Action Aid	45	1	N
European Network on Debt and Development (EURODAD)	40	3	N
Bretton Woods Project	28	3	N
Christian Aid	25	3	N
Center of Concern	22	1	N
Environmental Defense Fund	22	1	N
Catholic Relief Services	19	1	N
Campagna per la riforma della Banca mondiale	19	3	N
Debt and Development Coalition	19	3	N
Social Justice Committee	16	1	N
World Economy, Ecology and Development	16	3	N
Central and Eastern European Bankwatch	14	3	N
Shining Stone Community Action	14	8	S
Global Health Council	13	1	N
Institute for Policy Studies	13	1	N
World Conservation - IUCN	13	3	N
Third World Network	13	8	S
World Wildlife Fund	12	1	N

▶ Top Performers: IMF, 2009

• Total Number of Staff Sent (Intensity of Interest)

- Region Codes: 1 – North America 2 – Latin America/Caribbean 3 – Western Europe/Australia
4 – Eastern Europe 5 – Africa 6 – Middle East 7 – South Asia 8 – East Asia

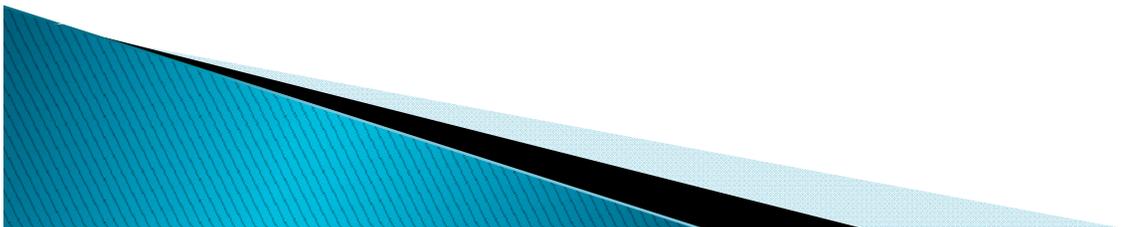
NGO	Number of Attendees	Region	Macro-Region
Oxfam International	86	1	N
Jubilee 2000 Network	83	1	N
World Vision	49	1	N
Friends of the Earth	46	1	N
Action Aid	45	1	N
Bank Information Center	42	1	N
European Network on Debt and Development (EURODAD)	34	3	N
Bretton Woods Project	30	3	N
Save the Children	29	1	N
Center of Concern	23	1	N
Social Justice Committee	20	1	N
Christian Aid	20	3	N
Debt and Development Coalition	20	3	N
African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD)	19	5	S
New Rules for Global Finance Coalition	18	1	N
Trocaire	18	3	N
InterAction	17	1	N
Campagna per la riforma della Banca mondiale	16	3	N
Norwegian Campaign for the Cancellation of Third World Debt (SLUG)	15	3	N
Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst	14	3	N
World Economy, Ecology and Development	14	3	N
Wateraid	14	3	N
Results	13	1	N
Halifax Initiative	12	1	N
Third World Network	12	8	S
Catholic Relief Services	12	1	N
Transparency International	12	3	N

▶ 2007, IMF, Top Performers, Intensity

NGO	# of Attendees	Regions	Macro-Region
Jubilee 2000 Network	75	1	N
Oxfam International	73	1	N
World Vision	49	1	N
Friends of the Earth	45	1	N
Action Aid	33	1	N
European Network on Debt and Development (EURODAD)	28	3	N
Save the Children	28	1	N
Bank Information Center	27	1	N
Bretton Woods Project	25	3	N
Center of Concern	22	1	N
Christian Aid	20	3	N
Debt and Development Coalition	20	3	N
Social Justice Committee	18	1	N
Trocaire	18	3	N
InterAction	16	1	N
Campagna per la riforma della Banca mondiale	15	3	N
Wateraid	14	3	N
World Economy, Ecology and Development	14	3	N
African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD)	13	6	S
New Rules for Global Finance Coalition	12	1	N
Norwegian Campaign for the Cancellation of Debt (SLUG)	12	3	N
Cooperation International pour la Developpement et la Solidarite (CIDSE)	11	3	N
Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD)	10	3	N
Catholic Relief Services	10	1	N
Central and Eastern European Bankwatch	10	3	N

▶ Which NGOs? – Bottom Performers

- Meetings Attended, 2009
 - WB: 238/469 NGOs attended only 1 meeting: 50.7%
 - 202 of these sent only 1 staffer
 - 109: North
 - 127: South
 - IMF: 215/348 NGOs attended only 1 meeting: 61.8%
 - 176 of these sent only 1 staffer
 - 101: North
 - 114: South
- 2007
 - WB: 195/358 – 54.5%
 - IMF: 195/287 – 67.9%



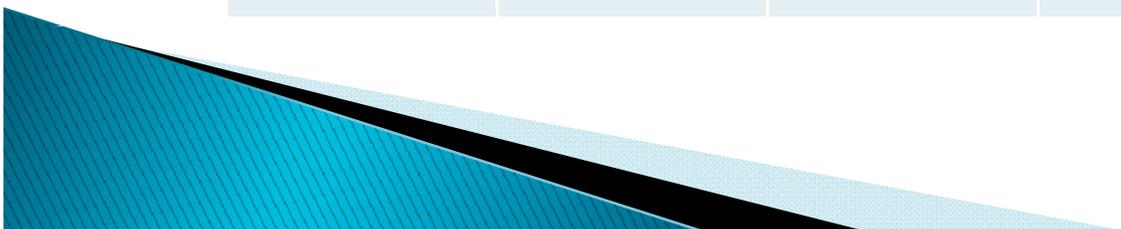
▶ 2007 vs 2009 Attendance

- Top Performers (attend at least at least 10% of CSDs)

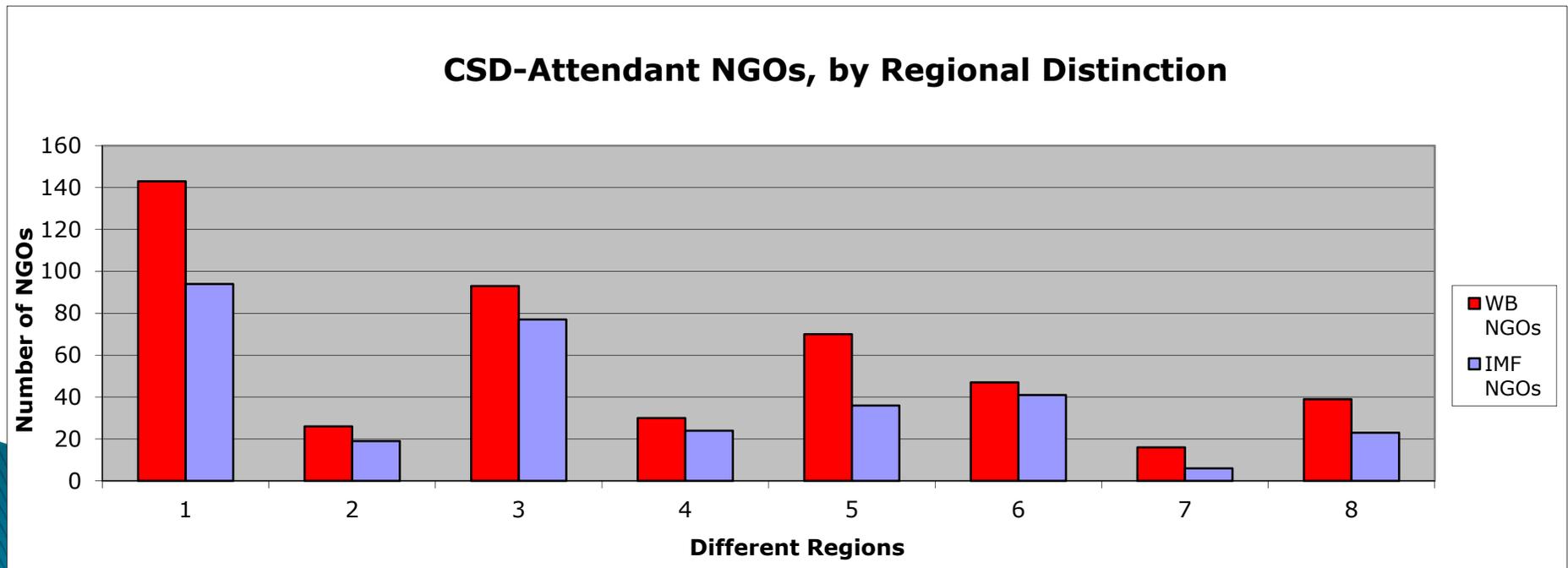
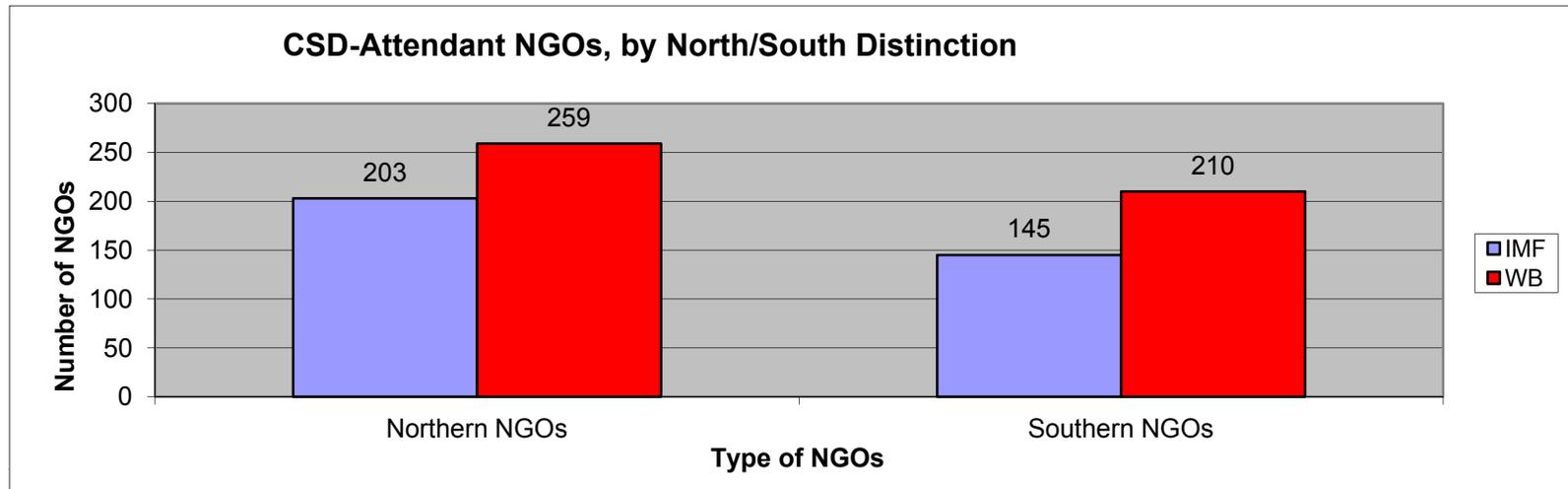
	2007		2009		Change
World Bank	30/358	8.4%	25/469	5.3%	↓ 3.1%
IMF	47/287	16.4%	39/348	11.2%	↓ 5.2%

- Bottom Performers (attended only 1 CSD ever)

	2007		2009		Change
World Bank	195/358	54.5%	238/469	50.7%	↓ 3.8%
IMF	195/287	67.9%	215/348	61.8%	↓ 8.1%



▶ From Where?



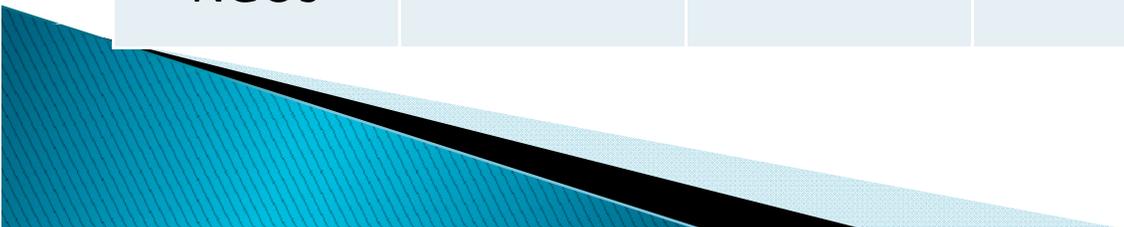
▶ 2007 vs 2009

- WB

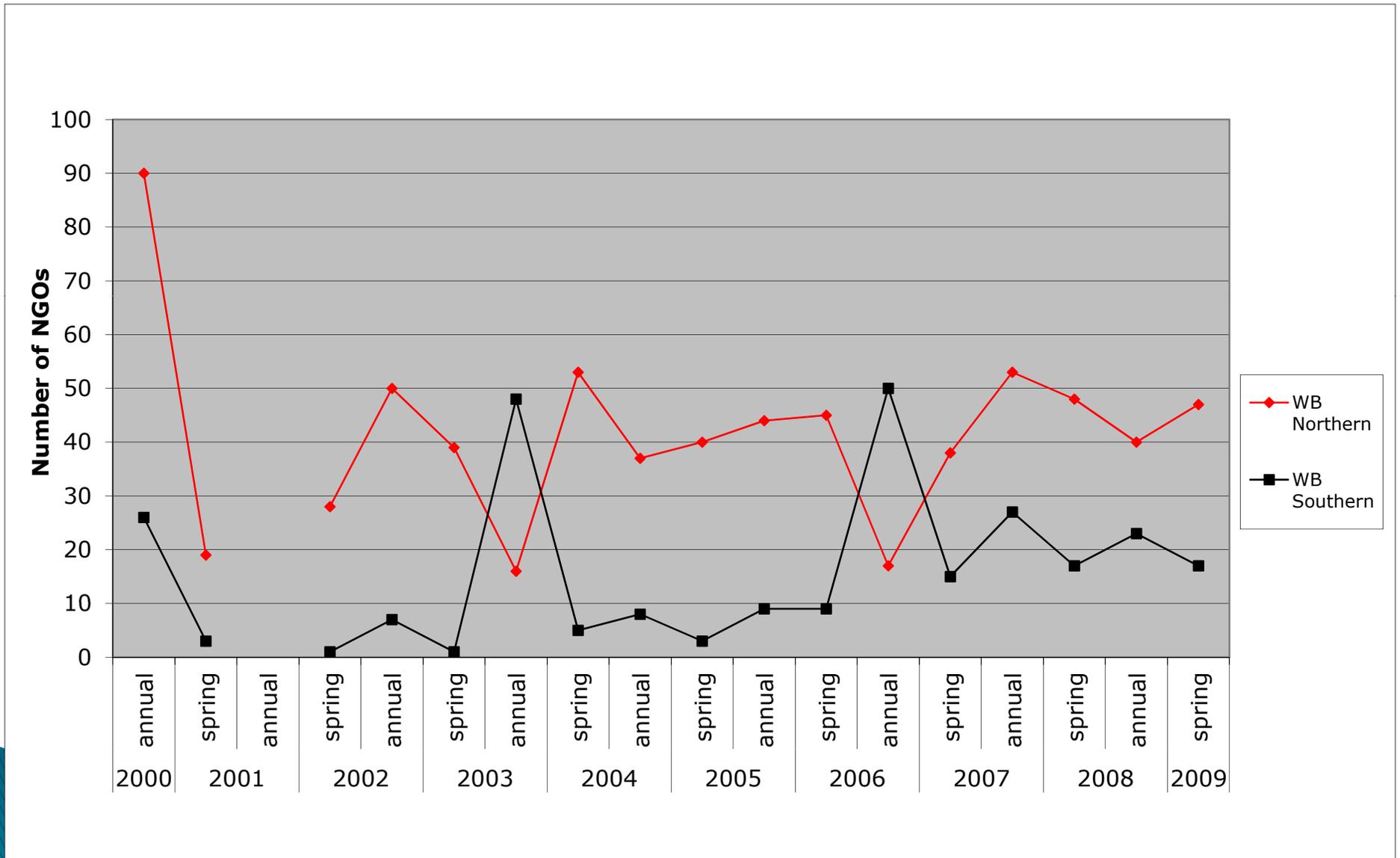
	2007		2009		Change
Northern NGOs	203/358	56.7%	259/469	55.2%	↓ 1.5%
Southern NGOs	155/358	43.3%	210/469	44.8%	↑ 1.5%

- IMF

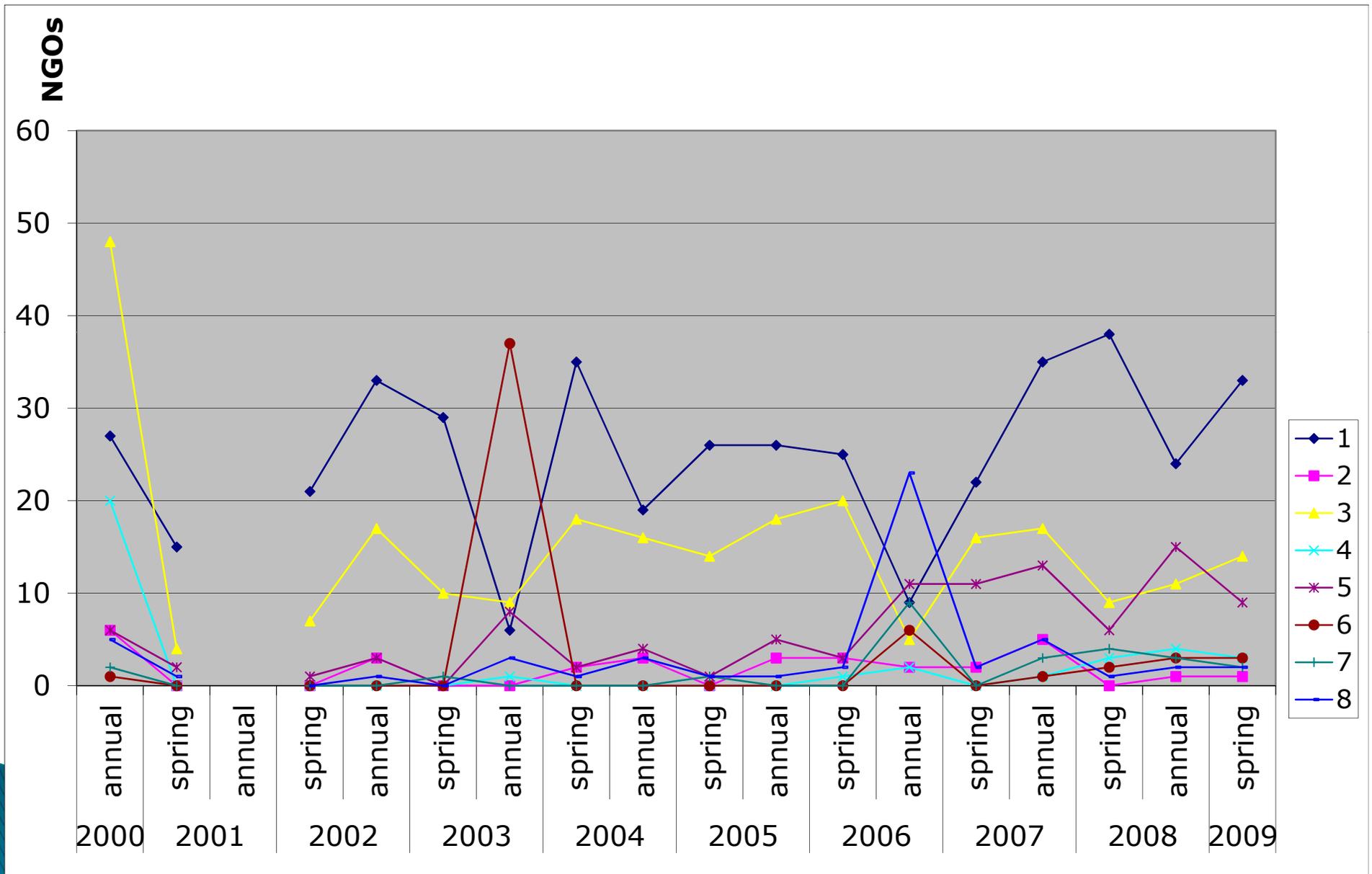
	2007		2009		Change
Northern NGOs	171/287	59.6%	203/348	58.3%	↓ 1.3%
Southern NGOs	116/287	40.4%	145/348	41.7%	↑ 1.3%



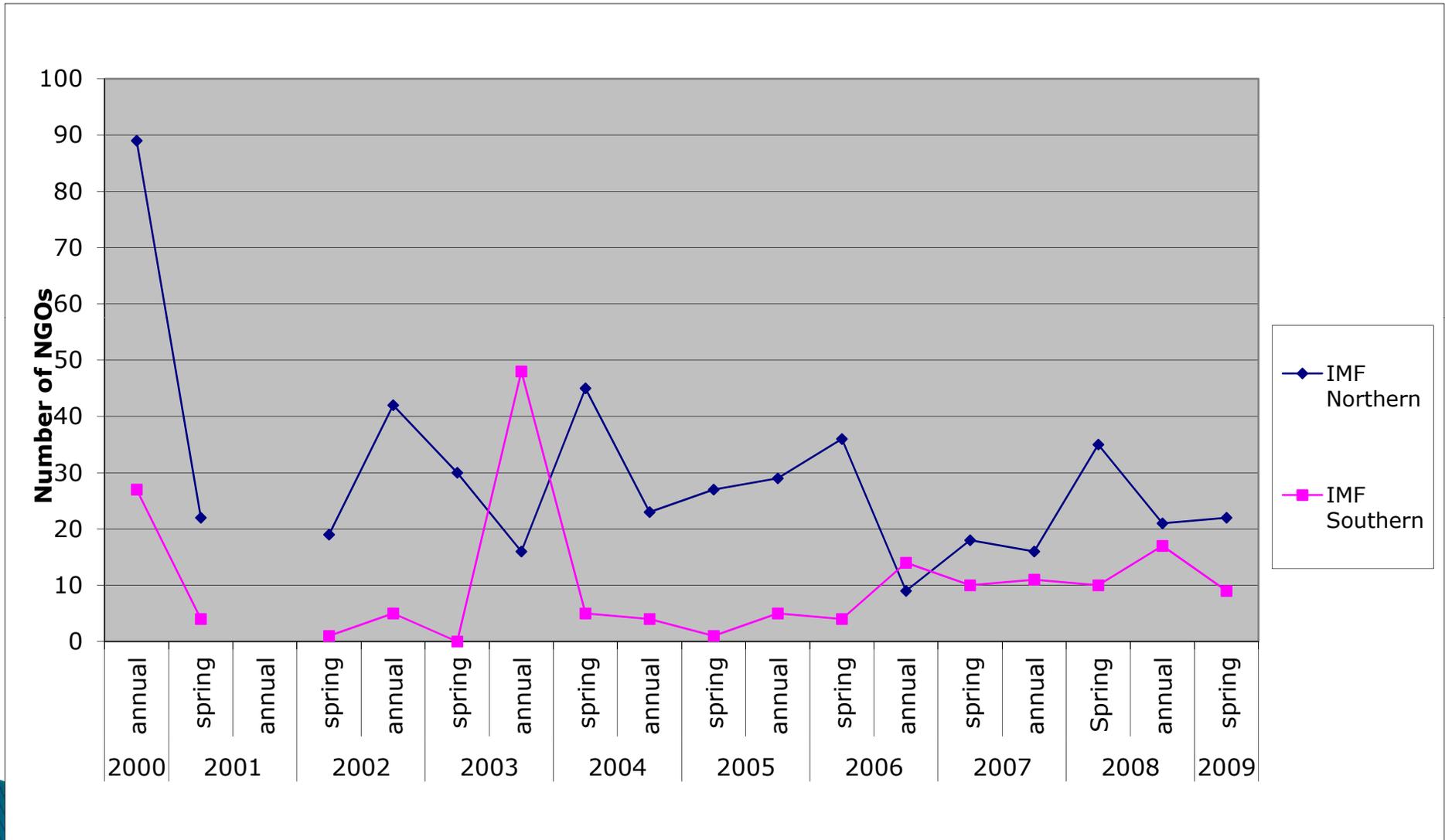
▶ WB N/S Attendance, 2000a - 2009s



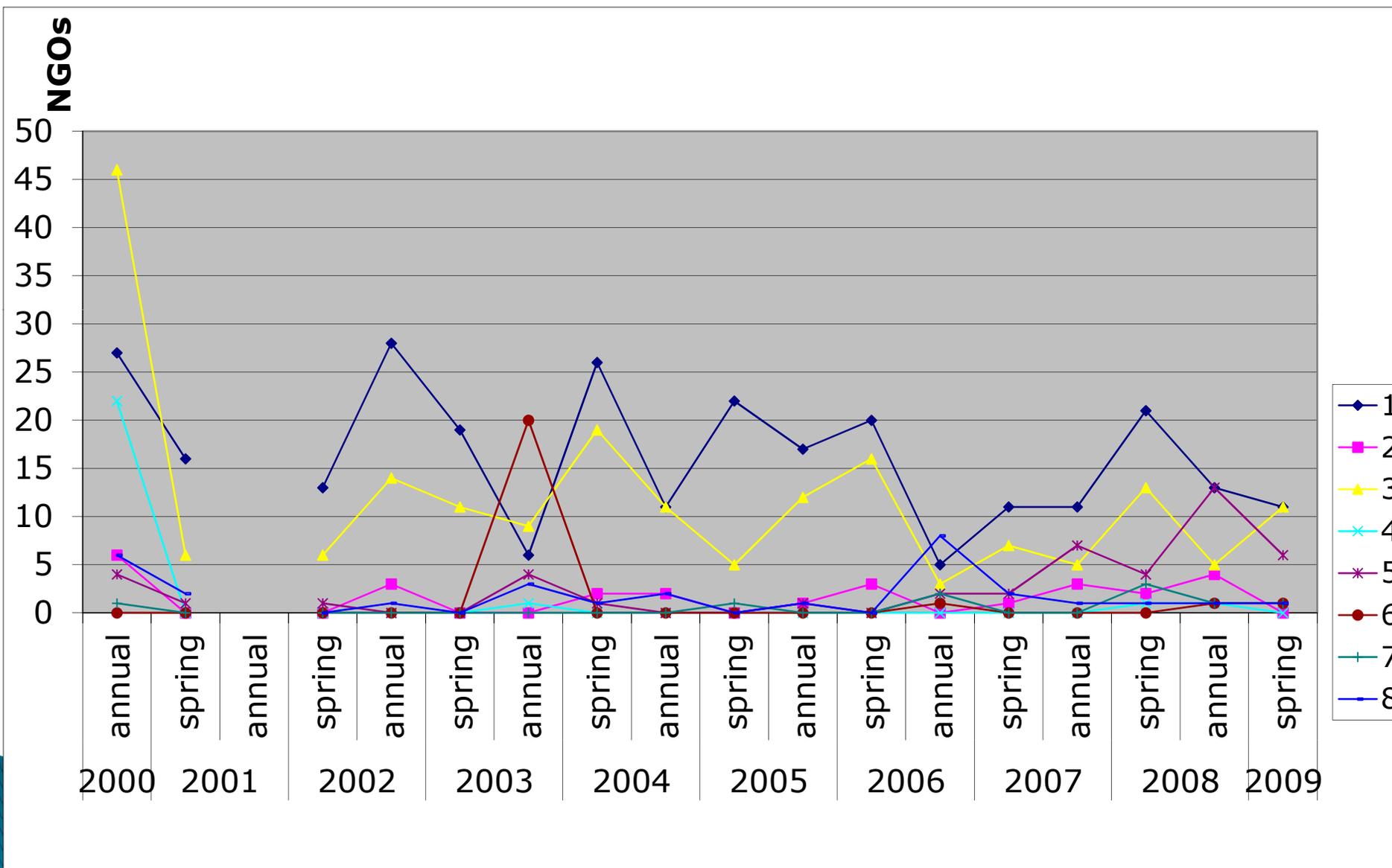
WB Regional Attendance, 2000a - 2009s



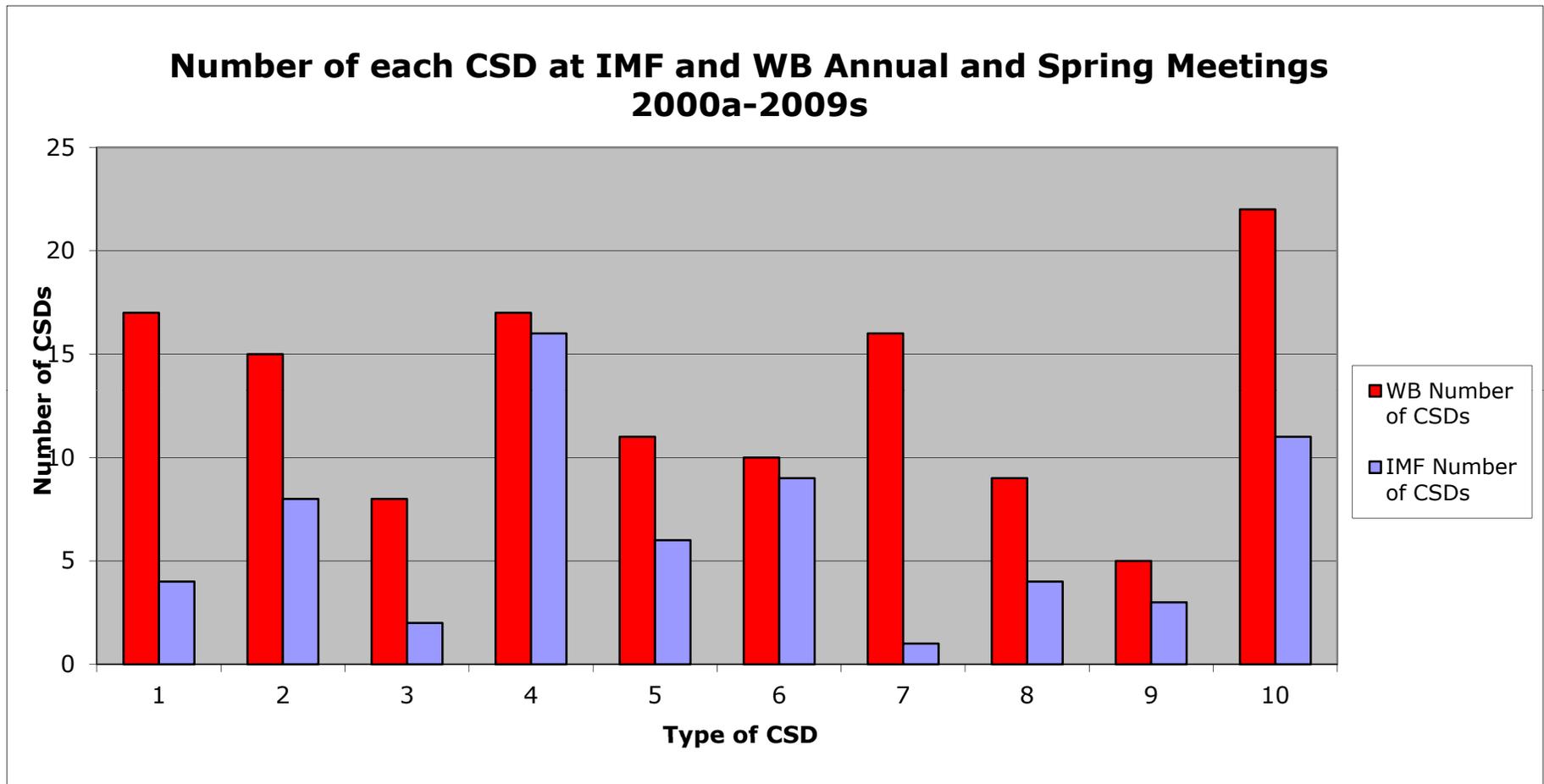
▶ IMF N/S Attendance, 2000a - 2009s



▶ IMF Regional Attendance, 2000a - 2009s



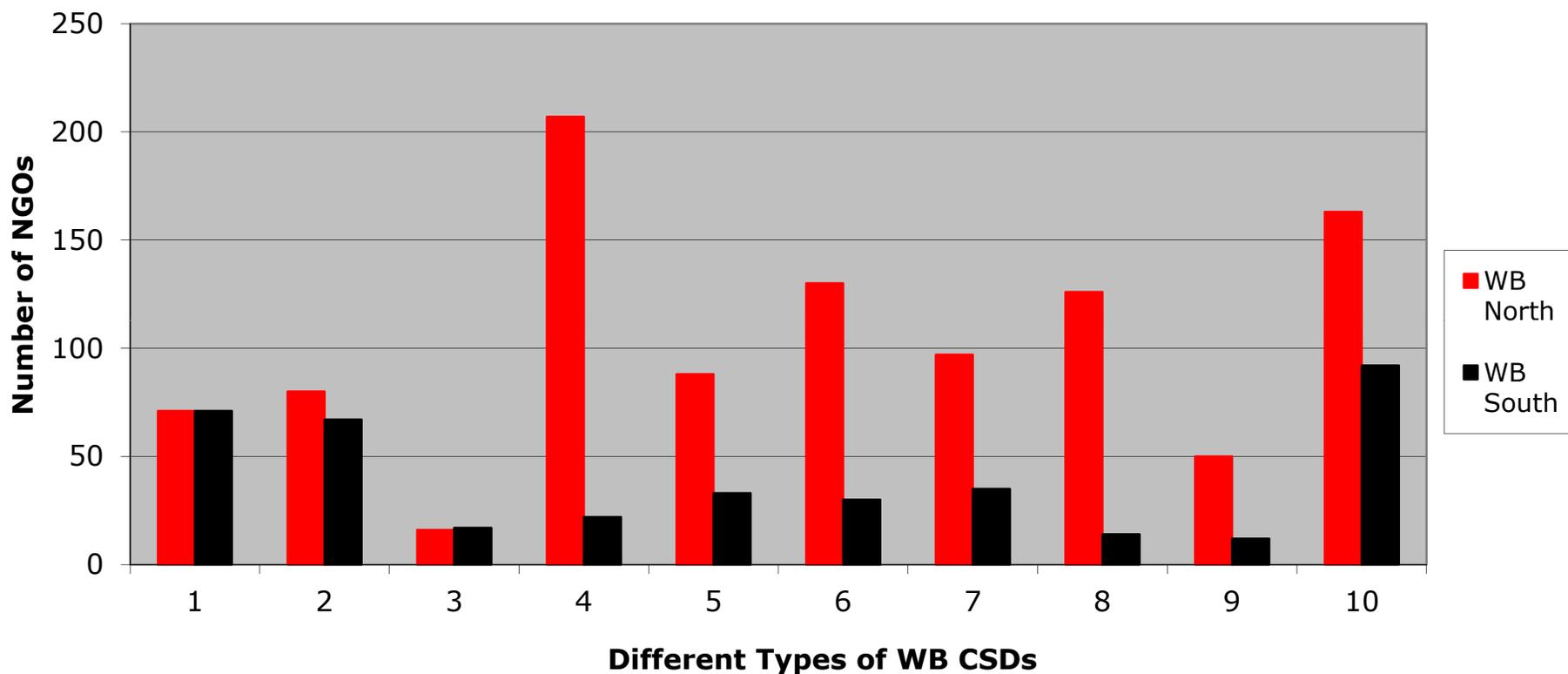
▶ To What Kinds of Meetings?



▶ Meeting Types:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 – Individual Countries & Regions | 6 – Poverty |
| 2 – Globalization/Development Policy | 7 – Environment/Energy |
| 3 – Development Financing & Private Sector | 8 – Rules Governing IFI Instruments |
| 4 – Aid & Debt | 9 – Trade |
| 5 – Health | 10 – Transparency/Oversight/ Accountability/Governance of BWI |

NGO Attendance to Different WB CSDs by North/South Distinction



▶ Meeting Types:

1 - Individual Countries & Regions

2 - Globalization/ Development Policy

3 - Development Financing & Private Sector

4 - Aid & Debt

5 - Health

6 - Poverty

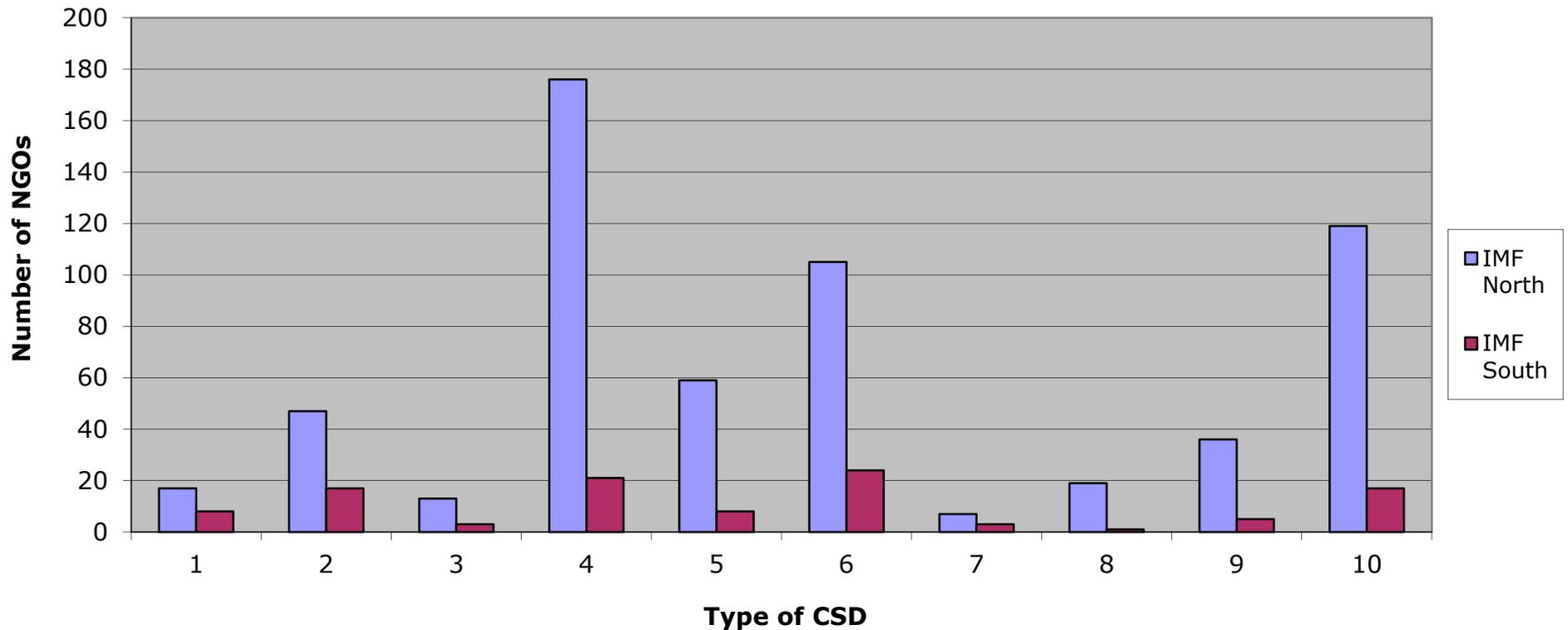
7 - Environment/Energy

8 - Rules Governing IFI Instruments

9 - Trade

10 - Transparency/Oversight/ Accountability/Governance of BWI

NGO Attendance to Different IMF CSDs by North/South Distinction



▶ Meeting Types:

1 - Individual Countries & Regions

2 - Globalization/ Development Policy

3 - Development Financing & Private Sector

4 - Aid & Debt

5 - Health

6 - Poverty

7 - Environment/Energy

8 - Rules Governing IFI Instruments

9 - Trade

10 - Transparency/Oversight/ Accountability/Governance of BWI

▶ 2007 vs 2009: WB Meeting Types

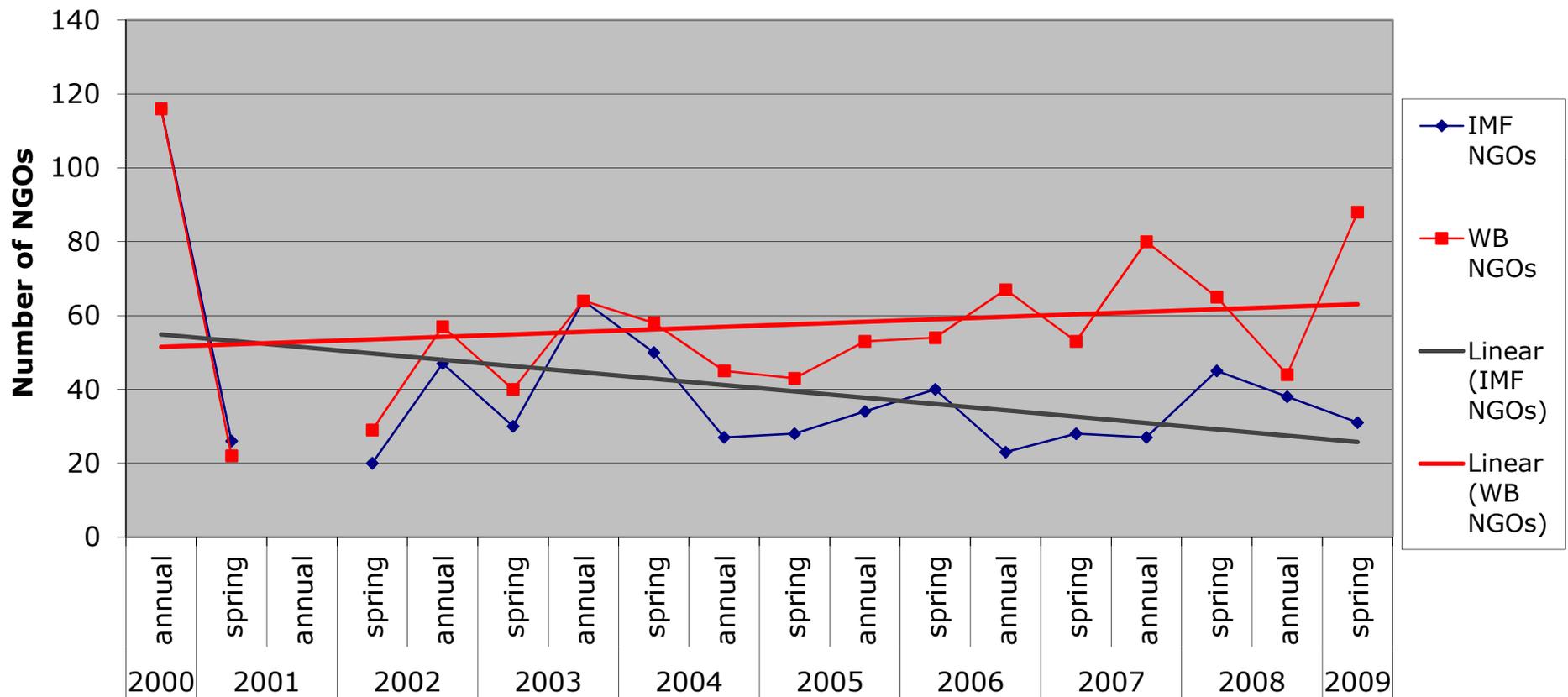
Meeting Type	2007		2009		Change
Individual Countries & Regions	6	7.5%	17	13.1%	↑ 5.6%
Globalization/Development Policy	11	13.8%	15	8.5%	↓ 5.3%
Development Financing & Private Sector	5	6.3%	8	6.2%	↓ 0.1%
Aid & Debt	14	17.5%	17	13.1%	↓ 4.4%
Health	7	8.8%	11	8.5%	↓ 0.3%
Poverty	7	8.8%	10	7.7%	↓ 1.1%
Environment/Energy	8	10%	16	12.3%	↑ 2.3%
Rules Governing IFI Instruments	7	8.8%	9	6.9%	↓ 1.9%
Trade	5	6.3%	5	3.8%	↓ 2.5%
Transparency/Oversight/ Accountability/Governance of BWI	10	12.5%	22	16.9%	↑ 4.4%
TOTALS	80		130		

▶ 2007 vs 2009: IMF Meeting Types

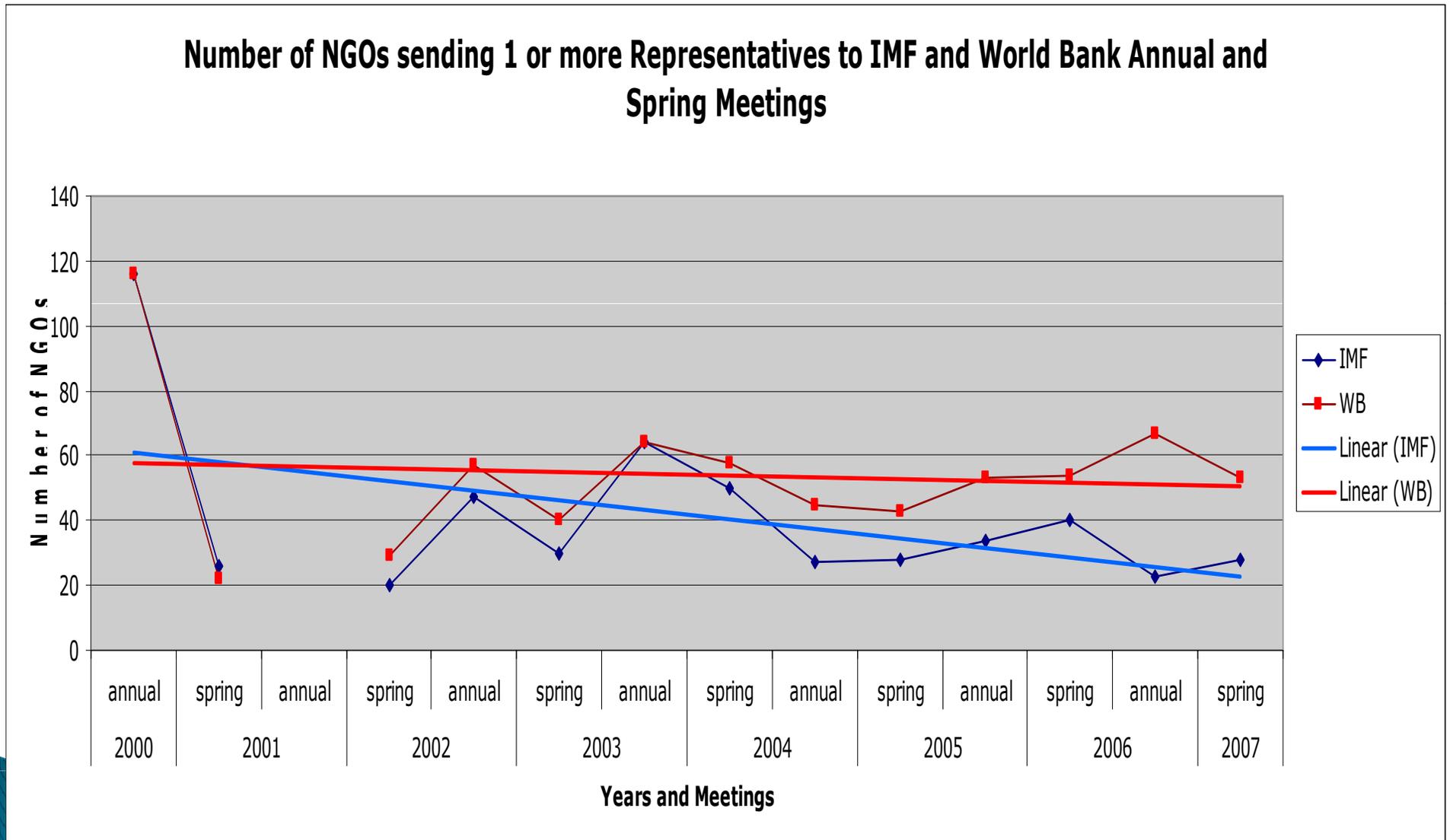
Meeting Type	2007		2009		Change
Individual Countries & Regions	2	4.4%	4	6.3%	↑ 1.9%
Globalization/Development Policy	5	11.1%	8	12.5%	↑ 1.4%
Development Financing & Private Sector	1	2.2%	2	3.1%	↑ 0.9%
Aid & Debt	12	26.7%	16	25.0%	↓ 1.7%
Health	4	8.9%	6	9.4%	↑ 0.5%
Poverty	7	15.6%	9	14.1%	↓ 1.5%
Environment/Energy	0	0.0%	1	1.6%	↑ 1.6%
Rules Governing IFI Instruments	3	6.7%	4	6.3%	↓ 0.4%
Trade	3	6.7%	3	4.7%	↓ 2.0%
Transparency/Oversight/ Accountability/Governance of BWI	8	17.8%	11	17.2%	↓ 0.6%
TOTALS	45		64		

▶ Aggregate Portrait: WB vs IMF, 2000a–2009s

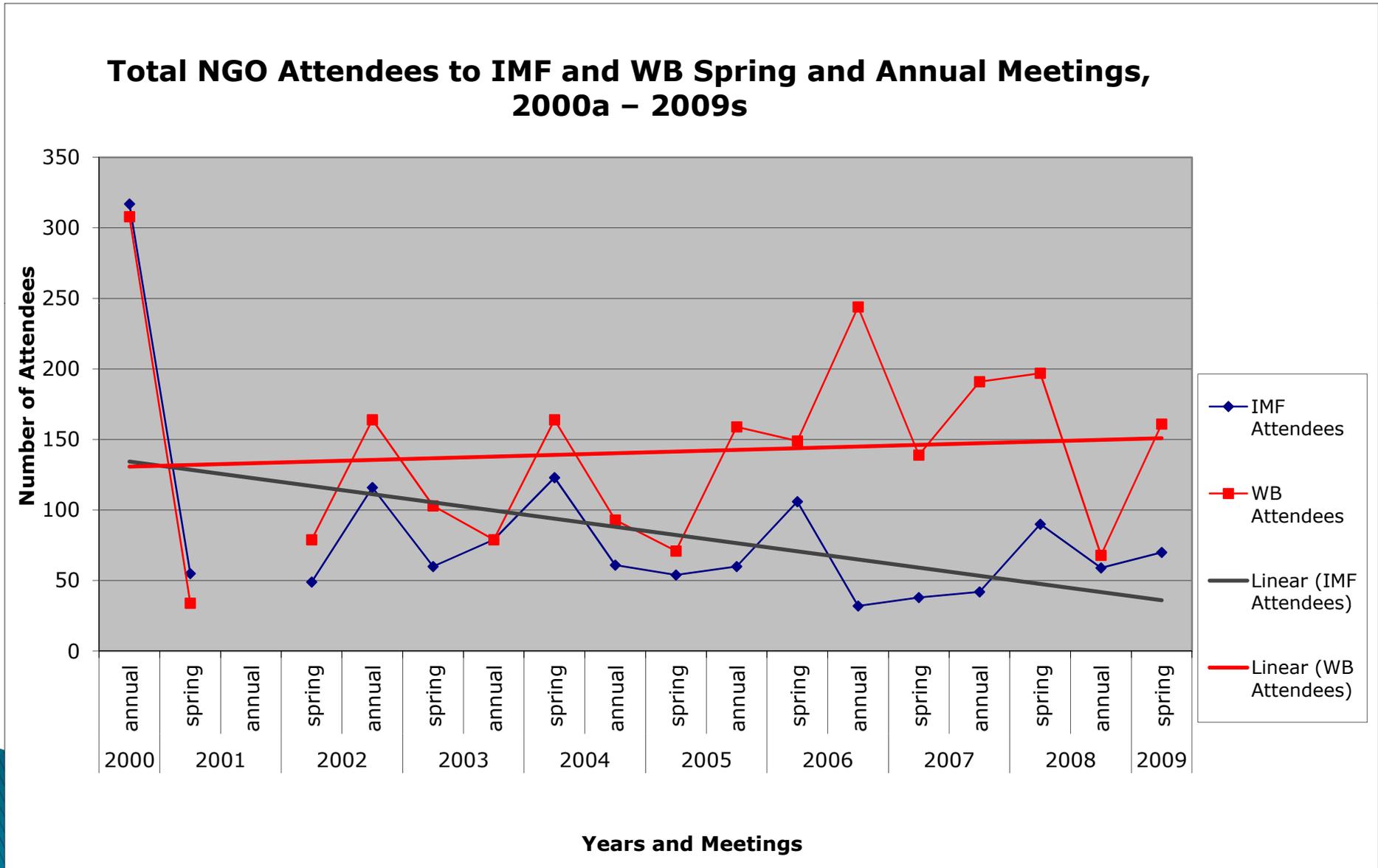
NGOs sending 1 or more Representatives to the IMF and World Bank Annual and Spring Meetings



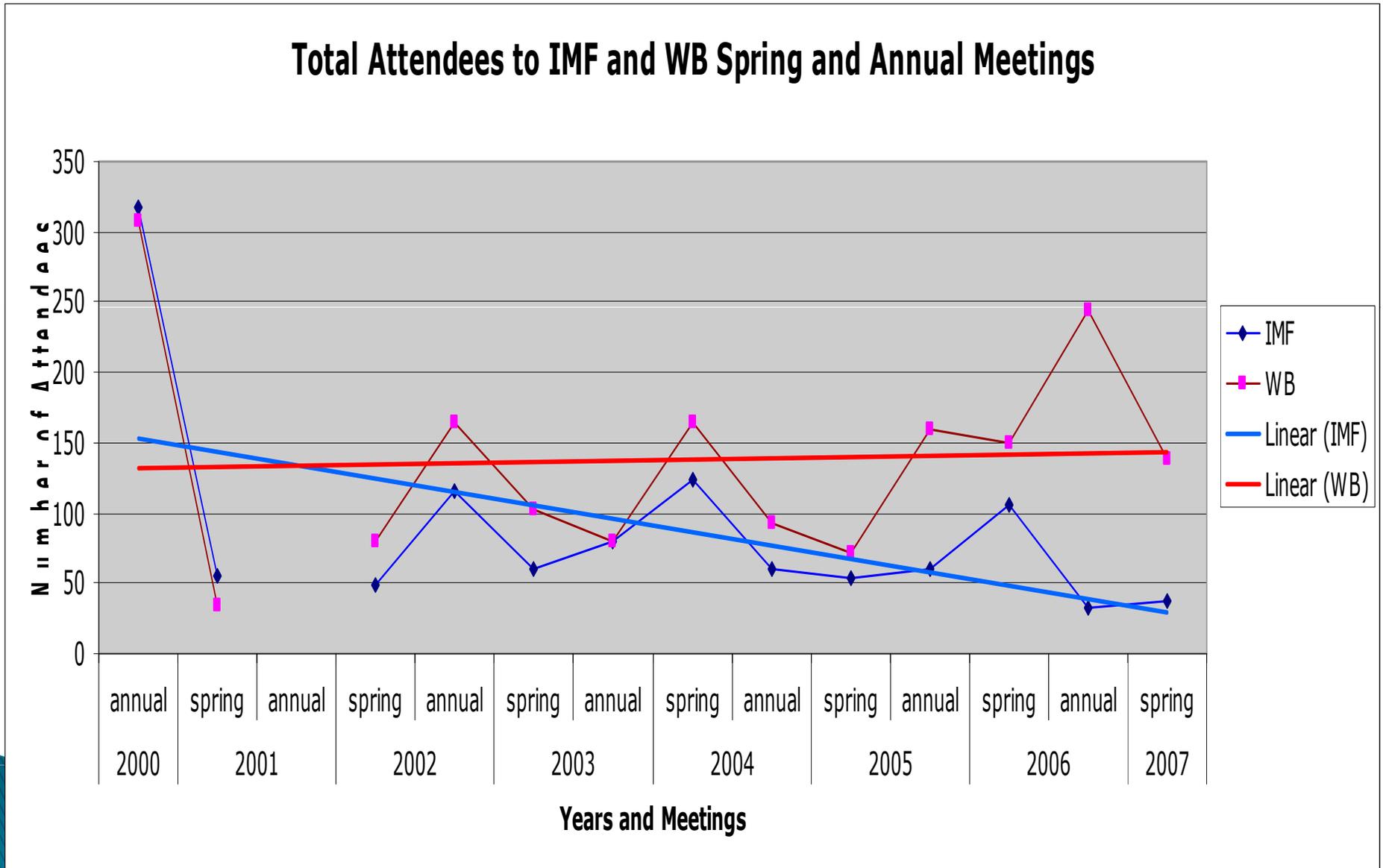
▶ WB vs IMF, 2000a–2007s



▶ WB vs IMF, 2000a–2009s, Attendees

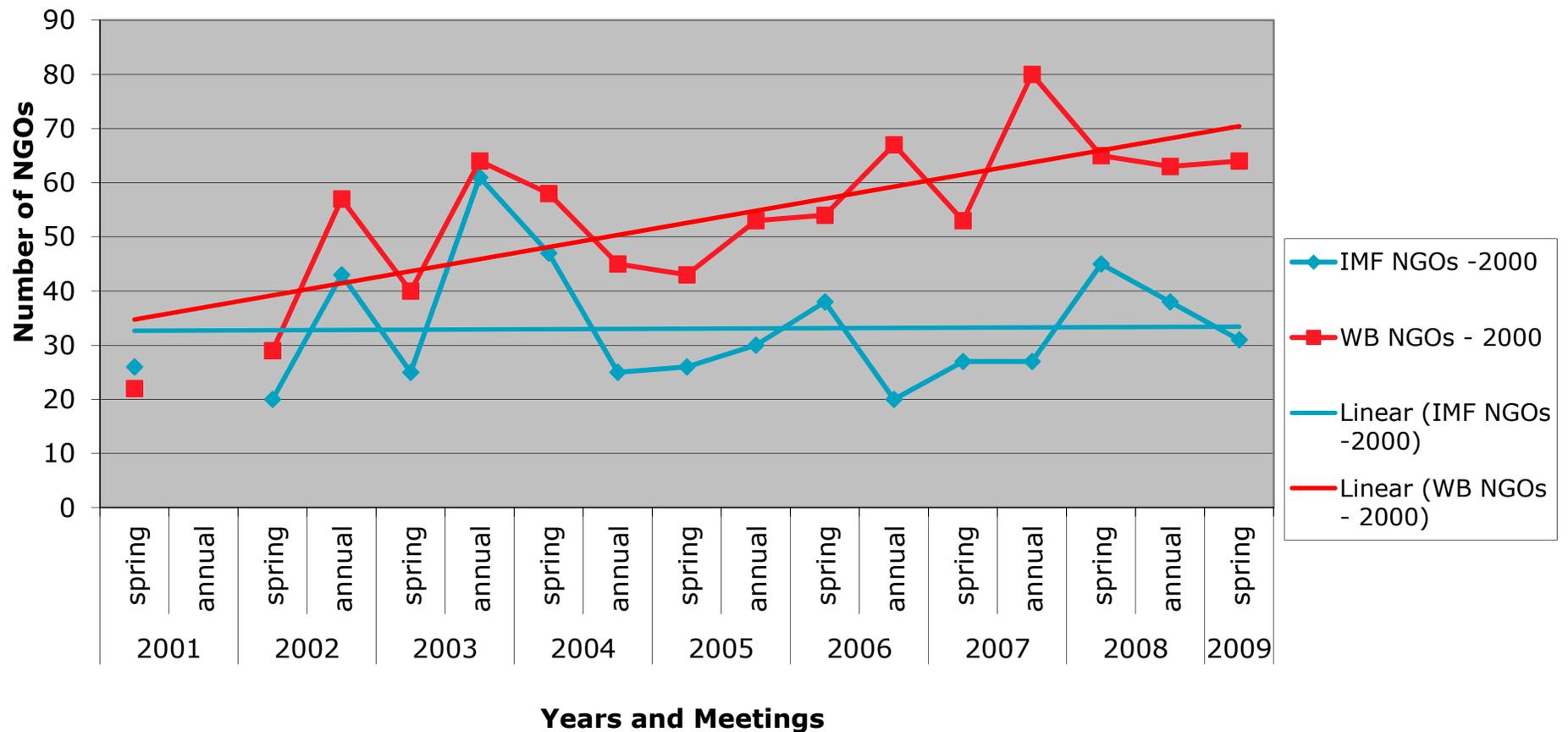


▶ WB vs IMF, 2000a–2007s, Attendees

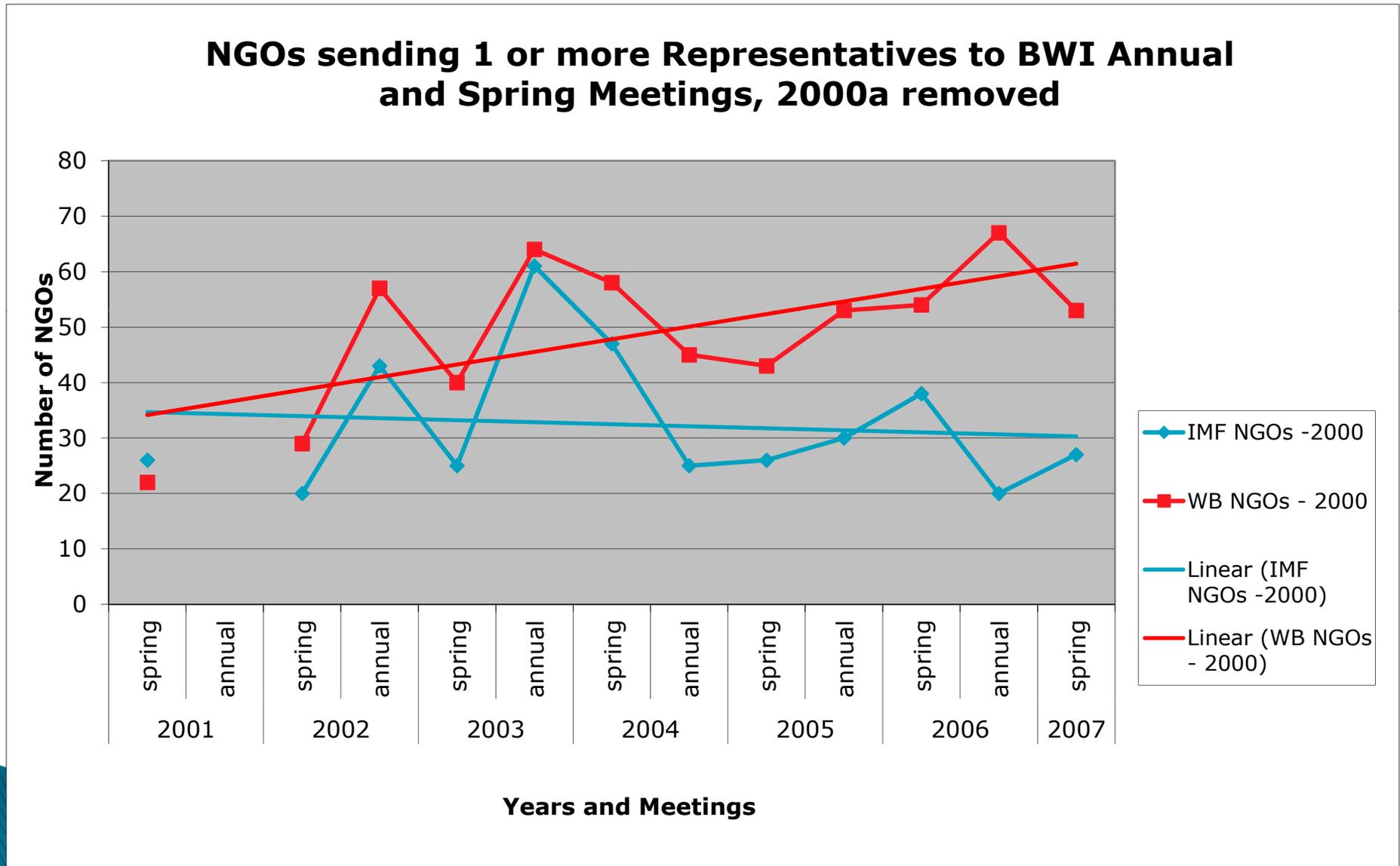


▶ WB vs IMF, 2001s–2009s

NGOs sending 1 or more Representatives to BWI Annual and Spring Meetings, 2000a removed



▶ WB vs IMF, 2001s–2007s



Inferences / Conclusions

▶ 2007

- Decline of CSD Process
 - Similar to collapse of NGO–Bank Cmte & JFC
 - High Hopes from Wolfensohn era of NGO Policy impact inevitably disappointed
 - Breach with the IMF
- Northern Domination ?
 - Mostly Northern NGOs and Northern issues
 - Southern spikes when Annual Meeting is in South
- Coopted Epistemic Community
 - Few Intensive Repeat NGO Attendees
 - ‘Usual suspects’ on both NGO and BWI sides at CSDs



▶ 2009 Conclusions

- CSD Revival
 - Attendance up for both (cp. slides 37 & 38)
 - NGO split b/t WB & IMF
 - Much greater NGO attendance at Bank (slides 33 & 35)
 - More meetings at Bank (slide 11)
 - Mild Southernization
 - Small increases in Southern NGO attendance (slide 23)
 - More CSDs focused on individual borrowers (slides 31 & 32)
 - Northerners do not set the CSD topics (cp. ss. 29/30 & 28)
 - Some Deconcentration
 - Fewer top & bottom performers (slide 21)
 - Still a Hard Core
 - Continuing Higher Northern Attendance (slides 24 & 26)
 - Both top 25s include only 2 Southern NGOs (slides 12 & 14)
 - 2007 & 2009 top 25s almost identical (slides 12 – 19)
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