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INDEPENDENT EVALUATION GROUP

Seven Findings for the Nexus of Infrastructure, Agriculture, and the Environment

EVALUATION BRIEFS

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Evaluation Briefs 1



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Seven Findings for the Nexus of Infrastructure, Agriculture, and the Environment

Development thinking has come in waves. The emphasis has shifted from infrastructure, to agriculture, to the macro economy, to human development. There is renewed interest in infrastructure and agriculture at the World Bank, following a decline in lending to these sectors during the 1990s. Although this decline is now being reversed, the application of the lessons of experience, such as neglect of environmental sustainability, will contribute to better results.

Experience shows that countrywide reforms can accelerate development. Furthermore, progress in one area positively influences other areas. For example, improved health contributes to better learning outcomes, and vice versa. There are also common lessons across sectors on the role of government.

This brief clarifies the degree of variations in lending. It then focuses on seven findings that are crucial to the Bank's interest in supporting infrastructure and agriculture, together with concern for the environment. These findings draw primarily on recent evaluations by the Independent Evaluation Group (IEG; see annex), but they resonate with findings from other sources as well. Many of these findings have influenced Bank policy and operations.

Bank Lending

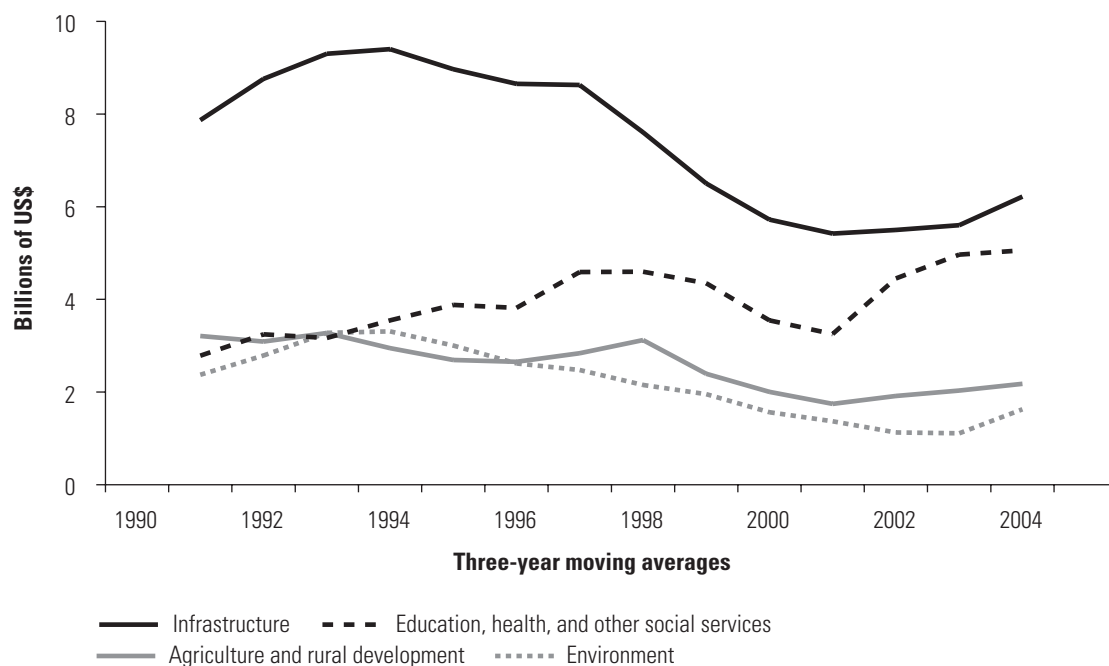
There is nothing magical about particular lending levels of the past. For reference, the figure on the following page presents broad trends with a three-year moving average. It shows that infrastructure lending declined, from a peak in 1993 to a low in 2002. The largest declines were in electric power and water supply.

In the mid-1990s, before the Asian financial crisis, rapid growth in the volume of private sector investments was widely expected to continue unabated. Coupled with serious concern over the environmental and social impact of several large-scale projects, this expectation prompted the Bank to reduce its support for public investments in civil works. With the introduction of the Infrastructure Action Plan in 2003, infrastructure lending began to increase again.

Lending for agriculture and rural development suffered a steady decline from 1990 to 2000. Contributing to this decrease was the secular decline in agricultural prices (brought about by the success of the Green Revolution) and reductions in government involvement in agriculture (such as input and credit subsidies). The largest declines of the 1990s were in forestry and in agricultural research and extension. More proactive management, combined with a growing appreciation that most of the world's poor reside in rural areas, has led to increased lending over the past three years.

Since 1990, lending to the social sectors has increased in response to the recognized previous neglect of this area. International Development Association (IDA) replenishment agreements (IDA 10–12) required increases in the share of investment lending in these sectors. The Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) Initiative also required beneficiary countries to allocate funds that had been freed up from debt service to public expenditures on the social sectors. Lending to education, health, and other social services peaked at 31 percent of total lending in 2003 before falling back to 18 percent in 2005.

IBRD/IDA Commitments by Sector



Source: World Bank database.

Thus, considering the past 15 years as a whole, lending for infrastructure and agriculture is now rebounding. As of 2005, the real neglect was in areas that cut across infrastructure and human development, such as urban and rural spaces.

Country and Sector Differences

No single strategy—whether public sector reform, private sector development, decentralization, or community-based development—applies equally well to every sector. The approach needed depends on the characteristics of the reform area and the level of the country's development.

In the 1990s, private investment was concentrated in a few sectors (notably telecommunications), unevenly distributed among developing countries, and declined sharply after the 1997 Asian crisis. Private sector participation (including private management) in the electric power and water supply sectors, however, has occurred more widely.

A critical challenge is the design and implementation of stable and effective regulation that takes into account which segments of each sector are naturally competitive (given the size of the country) and which are naturally monopolistic. A further challenge is to improve the governance of public service providers and to ensure that they have enough incentives to meet demand effectively and efficiently. It matters less whether infrastructure services are publicly, privately, nationally, or locally owned than that they are provided in a businesslike manner in a stable, transparent, and effective regulatory environment.

In agriculture too, different strategies appear to be suited to different areas. Central and state governments continue to fund research, extension, and livestock services (because of their strong public goods elements), while private sector investment tends to be associated with land markets, agricultural marketing, and rural finance. Local governments are key to improving rural infrastructure, and local

communities are crucial to improving the management of renewable natural resources such as pastures, forests, and fisheries, provided incentives, including harvest or property rights, are in place.

Differentiated approaches are needed across countries to identify the appropriate roles of public and private sector organizations and to promote decentralized decision making and implementation in environmental matters. The need for strong central agencies and a diversity of approaches is particularly evident in the arena of water, which encompasses irrigation and drainage, water supply and sanitation, hydro-

power, water transport, flood control, and biodiversity conservation (wetlands).

There is greater potential for private sector participation in infrastructure in some countries than in others, and there is great potential for decentralizing agricultural extension or promoting sustainable and equitable community-based management of local natural resources in yet other countries. Central governments also usually retain important functions, such as providing nationwide coordination, developing human resource capacity, administrating financial transfers, and establishing and enforcing realistic service standards.

FINDING 1

Sector Investments Need to Support Macroeconomic Stability and Growth

Better sector outcomes are associated with ensuring macroeconomic stability, the relevance of the strategies, and country ownership of reforms.

Infrastructure

Progress is strong when infrastructure investment is positioned within a sound macroeconomic framework. Constraints to such progress include weak government institutions, a lack of capacity to engage the private sector, and difficulties in developing appropriate tariff policies. The Bank is therefore focusing on improvements in governance, including legal and regulatory frameworks; increased transparency; capacity building; the elimination of price distortions; and the establishment of tariffs that cover the cost of efficient service delivery.

Infrastructure can support macroeconomic stability and growth, as it has done for the transport corridor projects (roads, railways, and ports) in Mozambique. In several East Asia countries, annual investments of more than 7 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) support and contribute to the economic growth associated with the fast-growing urban centers of China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and Vietnam.

This investment ensures that the national infrastructure networks are internationally competitive, thereby stimulating trade and improving internal productivity and communications. By their very nature, however, large infrastructure investments can sometimes undermine macroeconomic stability because of the associated fiscal risks.

In Brazil, India, and the former Soviet Union, for example, large infrastructure projects were

implemented, but with substantial subsidies at a high macroeconomic cost. Instability, however, can also be the result of poor policies for allocating risks, controlling construction costs, and recovering service costs. In India, the debts of the power sector are threatening the stability of the financial system.

Irrigation

Transferring responsibility for operations and maintenance from government agencies to groups that use the water is necessary to sustain irrigated agriculture. This transfer must be supported by changes in the incentive regime, including a pricing structure that allows for cost recovery and reflects the growing competition for water.

The case for using economic and financial instruments to efficiently allocate water at the river-basin level is now broadly acknowledged, but this knowledge has yet to be translated into action. Recovery of operations and maintenance costs will be complicated if—as in certain Middle Eastern and North African countries—water subsidies continue to be regarded as an inviolable part of the government's welfare program. Also, farmers will have no incentive to conserve water if the fee structure does not reflect the actual volume of water used.

Agriculture

While the focus of reform in Africa has been on removing market distortions, the challenge in transition economies has been to create markets where none exists. In Africa, adjustment has had less impact on agricultural growth than expected. In transition economies, adjustment has been more typically associated with drastic shrinkage of the agriculture sector, although Albania is a significant exception.

The costs of government subsidies in the previously planned economies (largely intended to keep urban food prices low) far outweighed the benefits for agricultural development. Adjusting prices (including exchange rates) has now been largely achieved in transition economies, but in most cases, the necessary offsetting measures needed to protect food security and provide safety nets have been neglected, and the need to monitor poverty trends was overlooked until the mid- to late 1990s.

Environment

For many developing countries, the annual costs of environmental degradation have been estimated at 4 to 8 percent of GDP. The links

between environmental sustainability and poverty alleviation are important, both for natural resource management in rural areas and for urban areas, where a growing proportion of the poor live and are affected by pollution. Neglect of environmental quality significantly affects human health, and thus productivity.

The institutional reforms that underlie policy adjustments usually take longer than the time allotted them in quick-disbursing operations. The reform process is as important as its substance. A set of diverse but mutually reinforcing interventions over a longer period—interventions that require a mix of analytic work, technical assistance, and policy-based and investment loans—is needed for successful policy and institutional reform.

FINDING 2

The Scale of Projects Needs to Be Tailored to Economics and Technology

The size of projects should be in keeping with the imperatives imposed by technology and the size and level of development of each country. Reputational risk is clearly higher for larger projects, since the cost of failure is visible to all.

Where a large project is the best alternative, the Bank needs to ensure that project preparation is adequate, not just for the physical works but also for environmental mitigation, the relocation of affected households, and communication with stakeholders. Demand estimates, especially in the electric power and water supply sectors, have often proved too optimistic, particularly when taking into account the steep price increases needed for financial viability. Well-designed beneficiary surveys are important in gaining an understanding of consumption patterns and public perceptions of the desirability of improved service quality.

Infrastructure

In many instances, the unbundling of large schemes and a modular approach to infrastructure delivery make sense, and these approaches have produced sound results. But the issue of country size is also relevant to the model pursued for infrastructure reform. One of the Bank's early mistakes was to recommend the unbundling of electric power systems, even in very small countries where regulated monopolies (both public and private) might have made more sense. The Bank learned quickly from this lesson.

Agriculture

Supporting the development of sound national agricultural systems (NARS) remains a Bank policy. Achieving substantial economies of scale

in agricultural research is beyond the reach of most African countries, however.

Thus, while the capacity of NARS in Brazil, China, and India now exceeds that of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research, capacity in Africa has declined. Currently, 80 percent of Africa's agricultural researchers are concentrated in 13 countries, while the remaining 20 percent are dispersed in 35 countries across the continent. This uneven concentration of talent affects research priorities, organization, and financing.

The Bank and the international donor community might help build 5 to 10 regional agricultural science bases in Africa, ensuring that each has a critical mass of scientific expertise to produce new technology. The Bank and donors could also establish a competitive system for agricultural science grants.

The Bank has retreated from its former endorsement of the Training and Visit System of agricultural extension, based on concerns about the cost, monolithic approach, and lack of responsiveness to local variations in farmer needs. Recent initiatives seek to downsize public agricultural extension systems, redefine the role of the public sector, devolve responsibility for agricultural services to local governments, and make adaptive research more responsive to farmers' needs.

Environment

Large-scale environmental projects have been overambitious and have had too many components. Exacerbating this problem has been a frequent lack of capacity in borrower institutions.

There are successful examples, however: the Global Environment Facility Project in Russia for Ozone Depleting Substance Phase-out; the regional project for the Aral Sea countries; and the Mexico National Protected Areas Project.

Conversely, Mexico's Northern Areas Border Project and Brazil's Matto Grosso and Rondonia Natural Resource Management Projects were burdened by their size and excessive components.

FINDING 3

Private Investment Needs to Be an Integral Part of the Reform Agenda

Private sector investment requires an effective and accountable public sector that will protect property rights and ensure equitable and consistent treatment under the law. The quality of public sector institutions affects growth; these institutions shape incentives and thereby influence private investment decisions and the ways firms organize their production processes.

Infrastructure

The drop in private sector financing for infrastructure in the late 1990s was largely triggered by the Asian financial crisis. It was also a byproduct of disappointment with privatization.

While the return to macroeconomic stability has helped encourage more private investment, reforms are needed to strengthen the regulatory framework; improve incentives to private providers; and confront vested interests, corruption, and risks in achieving potential revenue streams. Government capacity to engage the private sector needs strengthening, particularly in low-income countries.

Agriculture

Private sector development, including the creation of markets for land and rural finance and post-privatization restructuring, has been difficult to realize. Few agricultural or rural projects include measures intended to improve the climate for private sector investment, such as regulation and competition policy.

Bank lending for agribusiness development is limited, representing less than 1 percent of its lending to rural areas (although it is a significant line of business for the International Finance

Corporation [IFC]). Agribusiness components tend to be part of larger, multisector projects. While microfinance is a high-potential poverty-reduction tool, it has proven difficult to scale up.

Creating the right institutional framework for forest plantations has been difficult. With respect to the creation of forest gene banks and biodiversity conservation, a concern has been the continuance of funding once Global Environment Facility projects end. But there are some successful examples. Small investments in engineering and vegetative technologies, for example, have been shown to greatly enhance watershed management.

Environment

Few environmental projects actively engage the private sector (apart from water treatment utilities operated in conjunction with water supply), although many work successfully with nongovernmental organizations.

Even so, there have been some notable successes when sufficient institutional analysis has been done and care has been taken with the selection of pilot projects to mitigate risks—for example, the Bulgaria Environmental and Privatization Program, the Poland Rural Environmental Protection Project, and the Serbia and Montenegro Environmental Infrastructure Project.

Environment and cultural heritage are also important national resources that attract private sector investment, as well as tourists.

The Bank's carbon finance programs demonstrate how the Bank can work in partnership with the private sector to mobilize new (grant) resources

for its borrowers while addressing global environmental problems. There is unexploited potential at the Bank's project and policy levels to identify carbon emission–education opportunities, in-

crease energy efficiency, and build in market-based mechanisms that can serve as prototypes for emissions trading systems for other industrial pollutants.

FINDING 4

The Bank Needs to Take Bolder Measures to Confront Corruption

Corruption—defined as using public office for private gain—is deeply rooted in many of the Bank’s borrowing countries. It is essential for the Bank to establish what it wants to achieve in individual countries in the areas of public sector governance and anticorruption. The Bank should monitor and measure its accomplishments.

These kinds of reforms require that the Bank understand each country’s domestic political economy and make realistic assessments of country ownership, because these reforms entail changes in power and influence within countries. Rather than across-the-board reforms, it may be better to pursue selective, step-by-step reforms that address the specific forms of corruption in each country and each sector.

Infrastructure

Corruption and weak governance constrain good infrastructure projects, but are difficult to pin down. For example, cost differences were the foundation of Judge Warioba’s 1998 report on the Status of Corruption in Tanzania, which led to the arrests of those involved. The case was in High Court for more than three years, but corruption was impossible to prove because cost increases have many causes.

The Bank could view corruption as an opportunity to improve standards and accountability. As with the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, the Bank can help get a project back on track when allegations of corruption threaten its success. Small grass-roots infrastructure projects, such as the highly satisfactory Republic of Yemen Public Works Projects, also show that where communities have a

strong involvement, increased transparency may help curtail the potential for corruption.

Agriculture

Strengthening the quality and the capacity of national and local public sector institutions is probably the single most important cross-cutting issue in agricultural and rural development. Much corruption was previously associated with the public provision of private goods by state-owned enterprises (such as agricultural marketing and credit), and significant corruption may remain at the local level in the provision of rural roads and rural water supply.

Today, corruption is probably more associated with the regulation of private sector activities and the administration of agricultural land markets (including forest lands) than with public sector investments. In Indonesia, the forest sector has been plagued with governance problems, which made the implementation of the Bank’s 1991 Forest Policy ineffective. But in Cameroon, the Bank has helped generate and maintain political support for a forest sector reform agenda. It has done this by engaging country reformers, partnering with the International Monetary Fund and other development actors, and creatively using the HIPC and Poverty Reduction Support Credit frameworks.

Extractive Industries

The Bank and the development community have long been aware that economies that depend on revenues from extractive industries—oil, gas, and mining—are at particular risk of corruption, rent seeking, and government ineffectiveness. Collecting and managing revenues in the public

interest, enforcing social and environmental regulations, and formulating policies to use the resource endowments for sustainable growth all require transparency and good governance.

Almost half of Bank-supported extractive industries projects approved during 1993–2002 had at least

one component that addressed transparency and governance issues such as property rights, accounting and auditing standards and practice, disclosure, and public consultation. But these components were generally narrow in scope and were not linked to the Bank's overall assistance strategies or analytical work on governance.

FINDING 5

The Bank Needs to Promote Effective and Innovative Social and Environmental Safeguards

The World Bank Group's safeguard policies, guidelines, good practice manuals, and notes are widely accepted, even where the Bank is not involved.

Other public financial institutions use them, and recently some of the largest private project finance banks have committed to adopting them. Since their establishment in the early 1990s, safeguards have had different impacts across the sectors.

Infrastructure

There is some evidence that the introduction of rigorous safeguard policies has made the Bank staff and managers more risk averse and has sometimes motivated them to discourage large, complex projects in favor of simpler alternatives—or no project at all. The focus in the Country Assistance Strategies has also moved away from large projects, as the Bank may have gained a reputation with some governments and private developers for being a burdensome partner because of the considerable transaction costs of complying with its safeguard procedures.

Environment

Clearer, more consistent guidance is needed for the environmental assessment categorization of technical assistance projects, the identification of applicable safeguards at project screening, the appropriate scope and arrangements for monitoring safeguard implementation, and the reporting and evaluation of results at project completion. Improvement is particularly important for extractive industries, given the large share of technical assistance

projects, inadequacies in monitoring and reporting, and the controversial nature of the sector.

Beyond safeguards, the Bank Group's efforts with respect to “doing good” by addressing existing environmental conditions and building capacity for the management of environmental and social impacts of extractive industries have yielded mostly satisfactory results. There is continuing potential for the Bank to make a valuable contribution to the development of the extractive industries sector in areas the private sector alone cannot address.

Agriculture

Except for irrigation, there is little evidence that the decline in Bank lending to agriculture and rural development can be attributed to the introduction of safeguards. Other factors, such as declining support for public investment in private goods (such as agricultural marketing and credit), were more important. The biggest problems in implementing the safeguards have been too much focus on compliance and a lack of internal support.

For instance, OP 4.09 on Pest Management (1994,1998) was not accompanied by sufficient internal support (financial or technical). It relied primarily on seconded expertise. This stifled the promotion and mainstreaming of sound productivity-enhancing pest-management practices in projects, including attention to new technologies.

Positive incentives are needed to increase integrated pest management practices in projects in health and environment.

The Bank's 1991 Forestry Strategy gave primacy to conservation, including a ban on support for commercial logging in primary tropical forests. The strategy was only partially implemented. The nontropical forest resource was overlooked, and the ban had "a chilling effect on innovation." Meanwhile, forest projects had mixed success in tackling poverty, finding that it is "much easier to manage forests for trees than for the poor."

FINDING 6

Sub-Saharan Africa Needs Special Attention

In Sub-Saharan Africa, absolute poverty (living on less than \$1 a day) has increased both relatively and absolutely since 1981, and per capita food production has stagnated over the past 40 years.

Food security in the Region is also compromised by droughts, internal conflicts, and the impact of HIV/AIDS. Africa's quest for economic growth, poverty alleviation, and food security depends critically on broad-based agricultural growth, because agriculture is the primary source of livelihood for two-thirds of its people.

Agriculture

The Bank's most recent rural development strategy identified the following constraints to agricultural and rural development in Africa, compared with other developing regions:

- Predominance of rain-fed agriculture (95 percent)
- Technological lag
- Weak public institutions and civil society organizations
- Insecure property rights
- Underdeveloped local and regional markets
- Inefficient agricultural marketing institutions
- State-owned enterprises in need of reforms
- Weak rural financial systems
- Damage from agricultural and trade policies of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

In light of these constraints, the Bank's strategy for rural development in Africa emphasizes issues of governance, including the general framework for security, rule of law, and probity in public sector institutions.

Infrastructure

Sub-Saharan Africa is characterized by high transportation costs that are the result of relatively low freight volumes, low population density, and poor institutional capacity to manage and maintain the existing infrastructure. The economies of some countries are small; other countries are landlocked with limited transport options.

The Bank has had mixed success in building institutions, encouraging the use of appropriate financing mechanisms, and facilitating the reduction of trade barriers along selected corridors from the interior to ports. It can gain much by customizing solutions to prevailing local circumstances and by ensuring that designs can be maintained within the ability of the local organizations and communities.

Environment

Environmental management approaches that have been proven in other Regions have been transferred to Africa. These approaches have met with mixed success. Major issues include lack of sound institutions, inadequate capacity, and poor governance.

More attention should be given to comprehensive pilot projects that require local buy-in and financial support, embody greater understanding of local needs, enhance relevance, and reduce risks. When this is done, the outcomes can be highly satisfactory, as illustrated by Senegal's Sustainable and Participatory Energy Management Project.

Conversely, failure to build effective local partnerships led to the unsatisfactory outcome

of the West Africa Community-Based Natural Resources and Wildlife Management Project. Many African environmental projects have numerous cofinanciers, which significantly increases transaction costs and delays project completion. The complex Ghana Natural Re-

sources Management Project had four cofinanciers and took almost three years longer than planned. Country interests need to be put before those of donors, thereby creating supportive partnerships that build on local capacity.

FINDING 7

The Bank Needs to Capitalize on Synergies Across Sectors

The Bank's major contribution in this arena is not so much its investments in individual sectors as it is its partnership in helping countries identify synergies that will get the biggest results for their development efforts.

This calls for multisectoral approaches at the country and global levels. As the only global financial institution with a multisector capacity, the Bank is uniquely positioned to help.

Infrastructure

Although infrastructure investments have sometimes failed to identify synergies and impacts between sectors, there are signs of improvement. For example, the movement of freight is now regarded as a logistical issue, and several recent projects involved transport corridors across political boundaries. These include the Maputo and Nacala Corridor Projects in Mozambique and the Madeconia Transit Facilitation Project. In these projects, customs, security, and harmonized regulations and tariffs are considered.

By their very nature, urban development projects are also based on a synergistic approach. There are several examples of successes, including the Cambodia Urban Water Supply Project and the Benin Urban Rehabilitation and Management Project.

Cross-institutional coordination is particularly critical in infrastructure when the IFC and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) are involved. Careful monitoring is needed of cases where potential conflicts of interest arise—for example, where the Bank Group is helping governments design and implement privatization

and regulatory policies while they simultaneously pursue investment opportunities.

Rural Development

Integrated rural development was a top-down initiative stymied by the difficulty of coordinating line agencies and transferring funds to communities expeditiously. Community-based and -driven development retains the same multisector focus but gives communities a larger role in setting priorities and managing funds.

The sustainability of the latter activities has remained low because the Bank's subproject cycle at the community level is generally too short to build capacity. Community-based projects need to adapt interventions carefully to the social characteristics of each beneficiary community to improve outcomes. They also need to provide for a long-term presence to strengthen local organizations so they are capable of operating and maintaining infrastructure.

Environment

IEG's 2002 environment study showed that through the 1990s (1992–99), only half of the Bank's Country Assistance Strategies adequately addressed environmental issues across sectors.

For instance, although Country Assistance Evaluations reported serious environmental problems in Europe and Central Asia, only 0.9 percent of total lending between fiscal years 1989 and 2003 went to environmental protection. In the Russian Federation, the Bank did not give sufficient attention to the links between energy production and environmental sustain-

ability, despite the large role of the energy sector, dependence on nonrenewable sources, and the energy sector's responsibility for much of the country's environmental degradation.

However, evidence is emerging that more recent projects are integrating multiple and comple-

mentary themes. The recently evaluated Sustainable and Participatory Energy Management Project in Senegal, which had a highly satisfactory outcome, sought to achieve forest and biodiversity conservation, poverty reduction, women's empowerment, and improved governance.

ANNEX: RELEVANT IEG THEMATIC REVIEWS (2000–PRESENT)

Related Multisectoral Reviews

Improving Investment Climates: An Evaluation of World Bank Group Assistance (joint World Bank, IFC, MIGA evaluation). 2006.

2004 Annual Review of Development Effectiveness: The World Bank's Contributions to Poverty Reduction. 2005.

Addressing Challenges of Globalization: An Independent Evaluation of the World Bank's Approach to Global Programs. 2004.

Infrastructure

Improving the Lives of the Poor through Investment in Cities: An Update on the Performance of the World Bank's Urban Portfolio. 2004.

Efficient Sustainable Water Supply for All. 2003.

Power for Development: A Review of the World Bank Group's Experience with Private Participation in the Electricity Sector (joint World Bank, IFC, MIGA evaluation). 2003.

Bridging Troubled Waters: Assessing the World Bank Water Resources Strategy. 2002.

Information Infrastructure: The World Bank Group's Experience (joint World Bank, IFC, MIGA evaluation). 2001.

Agriculture and Rural Development

The CGIAR at 31: An Independent Meta-Evaluation of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research. 2004.

The Next Ascent: An Evaluation of the Aga Khan Rural Support Program, Pakistan. 2002.

Toward Sharpening the Focus on Rural Poverty: A Review of the World Bank Experience. 2002.

Agricultural Extension: The Kenya Experience. An Impact Evaluation. 2000.

Environment

Extractive Industries and Sustainable Development—An Evaluation of the World Bank Experience (joint World Bank, IFC, MIGA evaluation). 2005.

Promoting Environmental Sustainability in Development—An Evaluation of the World Bank's Performance. 2002.

Cultural Properties in Policy and Practice: A Review of World Bank Experience. 2001.

The World Bank's Forest Strategy: Striking the Right Balance. 2000.



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