



Symposium on India's Engagements and Experiences with Accountability Mechanisms of Multilateral Development Banks: A Report

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Working Group on International Financial Institutions

6/6 Jangpura B, New Delhi – 110 014

Phone : 011 2437 4535

Email: wgonifis@gmail.com

Website: <https://wgonifis.net>

Centre for Financial Accountability

R-21, Ground Floor, South Extension-2, Delhi – 110049 Phone: +91-11-49123696

E-mail: info@cenfa.org

Website: <http://www.cenfa.org/>

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SESSION I: UNDERSTANDING THE IMPRINT OF GLOBAL CAPITAL IN INDIA TODAY

A change was witnessed in global policies after the collapse of Soviet Union. Marketization took over the common imagination. Global capital (GC) was flushed into not just developing but also weaker economies since all were designated as potential markets by global institutions. A narrative was built that this liquidity in the market would make them the next China or Korea. So initially, these capital investments were thought to bring about a positive change in the economies but it has also met with several unfavorable consequences.

In India, the period of mid 1960s where a Balance of Payment crisis happened, we turned to IFIs for capital needs. The influx of global capital led the following things:

1. Increased number of projects undertaken
2. Role in marginalization of inclusive growth
3. Larger role in determining policies to accommodate GC especially World Bank (WB) in to the Indian mainframe

Disparities has risen over the years. Inequality in India is as wide as 1% controlling 22% of the income. This is constantly rising since liberalization of 1991. If we see, IFIs aren't very relevant in quantitative terms since the amount of capital given is not very large. It has a bigger influence substantially in policy and finance consultancy. This disjunction in roles of IFIs needs thorough understanding of, by the country.

Today, there are many more players other than WB. The enormity of WB made us question and have more safeguards. Smaller investments such as from Japan, fewer questions are being asked. Gujarat International Finance Tec-City (GIFT) city in Gujarat is one such example. Now with the losses incurred by the joint venture, LIC is asked to table a bail out.

There is also a need being witnessed to bring in international consultants to advice on policies. A phenomenon of 'Proxy Advisors' has come up with the same. These are individuals and institutions setup/funded by international corporations to influence policy decisions in favor of them.

Introduction of GST, demonetization and digitization has led to some major disruptions in the Indian economy. These would smoothen the flow of capital for the industrialists but the other sectors, especially the informal sector, incurred heavy losses which is still continuing. And it is the largest employer of workforce in India at 92% and about 45% of the total output generated.



Digitization makes transactions faster. With increased speed, there are higher chances of error which can lead to breaking of the system. This short-termism of economy has higher capital mobility and much lower labor mobility. This is used to get concessions. A 'race to the bottom' is seen post 1991 by IFIs which are ready to provide capital at high concessions. This again substantiates the point that IFIs are looking to expand their reach in market than just investing in social infrastructure or development projects. The substantial value that concretizes in the form of more open markets, easier flow of capital and favorable policy making.. All capital, big or small, is brought into the ambit of investment. Example: rise in mutual funds; minimum balance in savings account; Jan Dhan Accounts; shift from providing health care to insuring health care.

GC also builds tax havens which is getting money out of companies through a process called layering. The Swiss bank is a very good example of this. An important implication of this is loss of sovereignty of countries. These institutions aren't at all accountable to the country or its people. This presents a positive sum game for them. GC has wide array of influences on the country which needs to be moderated. The ratings and data presented by foreign agents hardly has accurate information to begin with. Still they are presented as a source to legitimize their credibility which gets them into the financial structures of economies. If we want to have an equal hand on the table, a collective effort is in order to tackle these concerns.



SESSION II: LOOKING AT THE GENESIS AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF INSPECTION PANEL



The Inspection Panel (IP) was established in 1993. The World Bank, however, started lending in 1945 which accounts for lapse of a 43 year period in establishment of an Independent Accountability Mechanism (IAM).

It is important to understand that IAMs were formed out of people's movements. IP was one of the earliest established IAMs and has evolved over time. However, its mandate has remained more or less the same.

The International financial institutions (IFIs) such as World Bank deal with 3 kinds of

conflicts: internal; with nation states; with civil society organizations (CSO), NGOs, people's movements. The general tendency is to deal with them politically. The session looked to see the political dynamism that works behind the role of IP in its work as an IAM.

The internal conflicts are always suggestive of profitability of the bank's investment. This could be seen clearly during the Sardar Sarovar Dam (SSD) project. The rate of return was proving to be unsuitable along with people's movement against it which resulted in the bank moving out.

The Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate change (MoEFCC), Government of India didn't give clearance to SSD. The Narmada Panel, 1979 recommended land based concessions for the displaced populations. But after the WB confirmed its investment, the project was given conditional clearance. This is a clear example of

how the involvement of global capital leads to tweaking of systems on the ambit of development.

The people's movement against SSD are well known, Narmada Bachao Andolan being the front face of it. In response to the agitations, WB appointed 2 different third party CSOs to investigate which came up with absolutely distinct scenarios representing the politics of it all.

One of the main reason behind the successful withdrawing of WB was that people directed their resistance directly towards the bank. There were no middle level. The affected people needed a channel to put forward their grievances. For such conditions IAMs were set up.

The question to be asked is whether IP only acts as a buffer for WB?

The process that is followed to investigate the complaints is ill-planned and without basic studies in place. The consultants that are appointed are hardly familiar with the region leading to a poor consultation. The long term effect of such a project is devastating. Hence, IP is hardly a mechanism which actually fixes the complaints. Its mechanisms and recommendations only act as a buffer to the WB.

Another major point to be considered is states as stakeholders with the capitalists. Now, this leads to a different scenario altogether & leaving no place to go for redressal. We are already seeing it in cases of TATA Mundra & Asia Development Bank. The arrogance and alliance of the state politics and global capital puts the marginalized at the very bottom.

Redressal mechanisms are at time shocked by the ground reality themselves. The reports presented by them hardly have any impact on ground. And a lot of times they are just shelved or deferred. A clause by clause report, on the other hand, is hardly made public. Hence, the focus should be more on people's struggle on the social- political conditions because they are the only ones seeming to get results.

A few suggestions that were made were:

- Engagement with political parties is necessary. Also, politicians who get clean chits in the country shouldn't be continued. Accountability of the political class is extremely important.
- Courts: In the recent times, courts have proved to be the final repose. This pillar of democracy does come with its own surprises when large investments are involved. Best example could be the Morse Committee.
- The question of whether WB could provide any justice to the people? The IP is a powerful tool which makes the bank listen to the voices of the people affected. It should be used.
- Another political question that needs to be addressed is that of the grassroots movements and how they are stifled early on by flawed leaderships.

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SESSION III: CIVIL SOCIETY ENGAGEMENT WITH THE IAMs

The session brought out the Indian experiences of civil society with Independent Accountability Mechanisms (IAMs) by looking into case studies of 2 projects- TATA Mundra and TATA in Assam tea plantations. Also, what role CSOs play in decision making processes and how much their representation steers the creation of a political will in a development paradigm?

To begin with, most banks today have IAMs. To list a few: Inspection Panel (World Bank), Compliance Panel (Islamic Development Bank), Compliance Advisor Ombudsman (International Finance Corporation) etc.

Experience from TATA Mundra project: The IAMs that function have a limited mandate and the CSOs hence have an even more limited engagement with them. There are multiples reasons for this:

- Operational principles and safeguards
- The complaints must be within the boundaries defined by the bank like the violations should be by the bank

- Language and articulation issues
- Limited information regarding the IAMs and their process hence hindering access
- The burden on community to bring forward 'credible' evidences. (which is highly subjective)

The involvement of IFIs change the dynamics of the project in itself. Since these are huge institutions, other investors also get on board. The enormity of IFIs is also a critical reason for the highlighting of issues. This calls for even a more important role of the IAMs in resolution of complaints. Communities that get impacted must be aware of the ways to approach the IAMs.

However, there is a need to curb the community expectations. The reasons for this are:

- The limited mandate of the IAMs is the biggest reason. They only act as fact finding devices with no control over actual resolution decisions.
- Sometimes, even the reports presented contain essential environmental and scientific points but don't get reflected in the management response.
- Deficiency of tangible results for the community. It only adds more credibility and sense of accomplishment for the CSO(s) involved.

TATA in Assam tea plantation (Accountability Council): This case study looks into how Accountability council works in a very constraint industry with Compliance Advisor Ombudsman (CAO) [IAM for International Finance Corporation (IFC)].

Amalgamated Plantation Pvt. Ltd. is the company that works under the aegis of TATA Global Beverages (having a share of 41%). Earlier, TATA faced issues of functioning in the plantations due to insurgency. Today, they have come up with business model which has a worker shareholder structure. This was fairly successful in Kerala which can be attributed to high literacy and a robust trade unionism. In Assam, however, this has failed miserably. This is mainly due to lack of literacy amongst workers who are mostly adivasis, whose migration is a colonial residue and the complete dependence of workers on their employers. The Plantation Labor Act, 1951 (PLA) makes it mandatory for the employers to provide for every aspect of a workers life. This has led to hyper surveillance. Trade unionism is very weak in the plantations. Assam Chah Mazdoor Sangha (ACMS) is the largest union, almost having a monopoly. The plantation owners influence the union decisions which has negative consequences for the workers

There were a number of findings of the CSO which can be listed as follows:

- There were restriction in talking to people from outside and permissions had to be taken. At time, the workers would sneak out to talk to the CSO representatives.
- There were violations of almost all norms of the PLA.
- Poor housing & sanitation facilities.(Presented with empirical proof)
- The performance standard tool compliance is extremely difficult.



The conclusion of the findings of the CSO has been that IFC must have never invested in the first place. But it relied on the huge reputation of TATA. Further, the reports by the CAO were rejected by the bank and reports of another corporate NGO were accepted. Hence, in this case, CAO played a favorable role, only to be rejected by its own parent body. The proposal for calling in a third independent party is also questionable. This can be explained by the fact that IFC sees itself as banks and not means of welfare. The profitability of a project trumps other concerns.

The session concluded with the acknowledgement of the fact that IAMs are a necessary tool. Although, the powers that have been given right now are too few to have any proper impact on the ground. It's a direct channel to the bank, which makes it occupy a unique place in resolution of issues. The CSOs must use this tool effectively, while pushing more awareness about the resolutions mechanisms in their communities.

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SESSION IV: HOW EFFECTIVE A TOOL ARE IAMs FOR COMMUNITIES?

The session had a diverse panel with representatives from both people's movements, CSOs and compliance agencies. Their experience across different IFIs provided a wide view which is helpful in determining the effectiveness of IAMs for the affected communities.

In the Indian context, the first study was taken from Vizhinjam Port development project, Kerala where IFC was called in for Advisory Support (AS) in 2009. The contributions of the institution was limited just to preparing a 'Strategic Options Report' and an Environment Impact Assessment (EIA) Report (which was a shorter version since the main EIA was prepared by L&T). The project has been seen as a high risk investment with huge inputs from the government. The MoEFCC initially refused on similar grounds such as viability and impact on community but later was given permission to put ToR citing 'public interest' by Expert Appraisal Committee in 2011. This was when 3 complaints with CAO were registered. IFC was however asked to leave before the report came out which had 2 broad non-compliance based findings:

- IFC took lead role without reasonable assurance of client commitment to develop project in accordance to Performance Standards.
- EIA by IFC not fully in consistency with Performance standards.

These however, hardly has any impact on ground. Ernst & Young were called in as AS and tenders were given to Adani Group who were the sole bidders. Multiple reports were also published like that of CAG (Comptroller and Audit General) stating that the terms of projects are more favorable for Adani group rather than the affected community. These issues were hardly resolved through CAO and the on ground impact was negligible. A similar experience with the CAO was seen in hydro-electricity projects in Uttarakhand.

Another case that was taken up was the Amravati Project, Telangana which has World Bank backing. The bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh into two states lead up to the development of the capital city, Amravati. The Shivram Krishna Committee Report's recommendation were against the bifurcation. A few reasons are listed below:

- Large scale of displacement due to diversion of land for development projects. The area is called the 'Rice bowl' of the region with almost 3 crop/year cycle.
- The land pulling scheme by CRDA (Capital Region Development Authority) stands in clear contradiction to the Land Acquisitions Act.

The report was however, ignored. The impact on livelihood is massive especially for the people living on the flood plains of Krishna River. The land grabbing issues haven't been addressed.

The Inspection Panel (IP) Report that came out was withdrawn by World Bank citing administrative mistake with an extension of 6 months to come up with a new report. Therefore, despite the active action by IP, the result has not been fruitful.

The experience and limitations from the representative of CAO were as following:

- CAO acts as a mediator between the community and bank for dispute redressal. The participation is voluntary. Meaning, if the bank refuses to engage with the complainants, CAO cannot proceed on the complaints at all.
- The investigation of compliance and the report hence prepared is the only modus operandi of the body. After the submission, it's on the IFC's management to respond on the report findings.
- A major limitation expressed was the lack of a guaranteed and satisfactory response from IFC.
- The difference in perspective of the CAO which indicated towards the fact how many complaints are rejected because they aren't seen as viable concerns for the CAO and IFC.
- Some major changes to look forward in the coming years as rigorous discussions are in line to learn from previous cases and make CAO more efficient as a redressal mechanism.
- This review is something to look forward to. This would be an indication for the communities on how to move forward with their struggles.

From all the views discussed, a clear conclusion drawn is to curb the unrealistic expectation off of IAMs since their mandate is too small to cause any actual change on ground. They are tools to start a dispute redressal



process which may or may not bear results. There is also a clear need to learn from previous struggles that communities have fought. The broad and most important thing is remedy. The people aren't concerned about reports. What they need is something that will cause and actual change in the conditions on ground, in their homes.

SESSION V: INTERACTION WITH INSPECTION PANEL: LOOKING BACK AT PANEL'S EFFECTIVENESS

World Bank loans are extended to India extensively. Hence, it is important to understand how its IAM functions and how effective is it? In conversation with Birgit Kuba of the Inspection Panel (IP), this session brought forward important mandates, its functioning and limitations.

Key information about IP:

- It is an independent, 3 member panel which reports directly to the board. The members are appointed from outside of WB on a non-renewable term to insure that IP stays independent of any interference from the WB management.
- It has a separate budget.
- The reports are published in the public domain to ensure transparency. The reports are aimed at being closely academic to stay factual correct and objective.
- Its function is only till investigation of compliance review.
- Complaint registration with IP needs minimum 2 PAPs (project affected people).

There is an increasing trend in the number of cases being reported to IP. 126 cases registered till now in 25 years of its functioning. Highest number of the cases are related to 'environmental issues' followed by 'rehabilitation' and 'problems faced by indigenous people'.

Four different cases were discussed to see how IP functions under different circumstances and its outcomes.

1. Paraguay: Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development Project
 - There were concerns about the facilitation of participation of IP.
 - An Action Plan report was presented to the management. Although registration of the complaints was postponed by 3 months, it was taken up.
 - Happy with the outcome.
2. Armenia: Irrigation System Enhancement Project
 - There were concerns regarding lack of water for irrigation, destruction of gorge and lack of compensation.
 - Later, findings of IP indicated active measure by the government to resolve the issues.
 - Decision taken to not investigate the project.
3. Kenya: Electricity Expansion Project
 - The project required rehabilitation of indigenous Maasai communities living within the Hell's Gate National Park in the Rift Valley for construction of geo-thermal power plants.
 - The community had agreed earlier but were having concerns about the resettlement process and wanted land rights.
 - A joint investigation was conducted by IP and EIB (European Investment Bank) and findings were that the Indigenous People's Policy was not being applied.
 - EIB has a mediation process through which an Action plan was made and accepted.
4. Uganda: Transport Sector Development Project
 - The concerns were manifold, such as: gender based violence, sexual abuse, teenage pregnancy, resettlement, child labor, road safety, occupational safety etc.
 - WB cancelled the project even when the investigations were in progress which confirmed the concerns.
 - The impact of the complaint: action taken to keep girls in school, Labor Influx Guidance Note, Global gender based task force established at the bank in all projects of WB across the globe.
 - The case studies presented with many varied situations and how IP responded on ground. The outcomes, however, are quite mixed. There are cases where the inspection of IP has resulted in fruitful changes but there are also places where the impact has been negligible.

During the question round, there were multiple queries raised. These have been summarized as follows:

1. The mandate of the panel is only to conduct investigations and present the report of non-compliance to the bank. Its mandate does not include:
 - Stopping a project
 - Implementing recommendations
 - Has no role in Action Plan
2. Investigation provides guidance. The panel's report has had some institutional changes in the project areas. Uganda can be taken as an example.
3. There is a lack of information amongst communities about IAMs which needs to be bridged. Since there is no obligation to put signs indicating WB financing, it poses a problem. Various steps have been taken by IP to create more awareness:
 - Social media outreach
 - Publishing documents in the public domain
 - Outreach workshops where meetings held with CSOs, National-regional-local-informal groups.
 - Video conferencing



4. There is a new Environment and Social Framework (ESF) coming up in the coming year that has a stronger focus on borrower system and national laws.

The above stated points reflect the restrictions with which IP functions. An efficient tool whose mandate must be increased in order to increase its effectiveness.

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SESSION VI: IAM FINDINGS AND THE MANAGEMENT RESPONSE



The session takes experiences from different projects (ongoing and concluded) to determine the trend in responses of IFI management to IAM findings.

Odisha

- GMR Kamalanga Energy Ltd received funding from IIF (India Investment Fund), an IFC supported Financial Intermediary (FI) which makes investments in infrastructure projects solely in India. There were concerns regarding the project within the community. Proper consultation were not done, irregularities in land acquisition, police misconduct and major environmental & social impacts on the villages. There were informal protests which lead to making of a Rehabilitation and Peripheral Development Advisory (RPDA) but it didn't have adequate representation from the community.
- In 2011, Odisha Chas Parivesh Sureksha Parishad (Odisha Agriculture and Environmental Protection Council) filed a complaint with CAO on behalf of the community. CAO decided to go with dispute resolution which was delayed and meanwhile, construction kept going on the project site. This continued with multiple failed meetings between the management and the CSO. Interventions and reports CAO had hardly any impact on the project and accounted to a failure.

Uttar Pradesh

- Singrauli Super Thermal Power plant sources its coal from Rihand valley. There have been quite a number of issues with the functioning of the power plant. Ash disposal near Rihand, resettlement of villages & environmental impact are left unaddressed. The power plant has lead up to a health emergency in the area with spreading of diseases such as cancer, skin infections.
- Inspection Panel recommended a full investigation into the concerns raised. The WB

management ignored the recommendations and allowed only limited investigation into the NTPC (National Thermal Power Corporation) which was to be conducted at Washington DC. This shows a clear failure of the management on the reports of IAMs and the affected communities.

Gujarat

TATA Mundra Ultra Mega Power Project received funding from IFC and ADB. There were concerns raised regarding falsification of reports, discharged water temperature that was affecting the fishing grounds and the natural habitats of fishes. In 2011, CAO received a complaint from Machimar Adhikar Sangharsh Sangathan (MASS) representing the affected fishing communities. Another 2011 audit report confirmed violation of standards in the project. It concluded the following:

- Fish migration happening at an accelerated pace
- Productivity of food reduced significantly
- The Coastal Salinity & Control Program started by WB wasn't able to keep the agricultural water from turning unusable.

The management response was to undermine the situation with no remedial action taken. TATA Mundra project case has its hearing on 31st October in United States Supreme Court.

The flawed responses from management point towards the following facts:

- They are concerned only with reputation building rather than actual problem solving. There have been times when the IFI has confirmed a failure on its part, yet no action has been taken.
- The roles of IAM are restricted only to investigation and monitoring. The institution which is responsible for the concerns raised is given the power to decide remedies. This is a bizarre situation.
- The focus stays on some remedial action and no justice. This keeps getting pushed for several years which indicates a failure of the accountability mechanism.
- There are violations of basic principles of natural justice.

The only positive outcome has been changes in the financial intermediary. There are numerous pre-conditions for accountability and on very specific components of the project. It is important to understand that the reputation of these institution in itself brings in investment from other institutions. The lack of responsibility from the IFI's part leads to uprooting of livelihoods of marginalized communities who do not have any access to alternate resources.

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SESSION VII: IAMs AND THE LARGER CHALLENGE OF ACCOUNTABILITY

In recent times, there has been a linguistic shift in conversations. Comparing it to dystopian Orwellian society, Dr. Usha makes an observation on how words such as acquisition- rehabilitation are used to describe uprooting of livelihoods. Words are used to 'invisibilize' communities. This impacts on how they are seen by the world and creates a question around their rights. The idea and process of impoverishment is set to action by organizations. For example: the compensation to tribals is given with the mindset that any amount would suffice since they own almost nothing. The social costing is not done at all.

Since 1894 to 2013, there have been a tremendous change in laws and their language.

- 'Primitive Tribal Group', which indicates a closeness to natural resources which is the actual core of their subsistence were revamped and named as 'Particularly Vulnerable Tribal groups'.
- PAPs (Project Affected Person) came into the public discourse.
- Transition from the classic idea of using private property for public use to state having the first right over all land and resource. [This has also been done with identities (here: Aadhaar)]
- Reasonable restrictions on Fundamental Rights that are exercised by the state indiscriminately.



For holding an institution accountable, we need to ask the right questions and ask them correctly. And there is a need to question our own actions on the lines of the law. This can be understood in 3 parts:

1. The Global capital (GC) encounters 3 kinds of conflicts in the process of accountability:
 - a. Within itself: GC fights within itself for control over resources.
 - b. With National Capital
 - c. With CSOs, NGOs, masses
 - o What are the ways that we have to interact with GC?
 - a. Negotiate
 - b. Reject
 - c. Work out changes around the system
 - o We must focus on the changes of structure of GC and not just in its financial understanding. There has been a shift from public to private which makes it defacto more focused on economy generating activities. Hence, the investments that are made are always made from a capitalist mindset which mandates profitability.
 - o IAMs lack in making any changes confirms the above notion. It is important to understand them in clarity if we want to move forward on the road to real accountability.
2. IAMs initially did not have specialists. The team lacked a world view. However, today the consultants that are appointed are hardly from the region which is a mismatch.
3. The cost benefit analysis by the banks needs to be understood.

A case study of Himachal Pradesh Clean Energy Development Project funded by Asian Development Bank (ADB) through a public sector company called HPPCL. The funding amounts to 53% of the total project cost of about \$1.5 billion. The central thrust of the project is clean energy. This was the first time electricity generation was opened to the private sector.

Issues with the project:

- Over time it was seen that there were several cost and time overruns by HPPCL.
- A CAG report highlighted issues like financial irregularities in awarding contracts, delays by contractors, procurement of poor quality materials.
- Negligence in safeguards were recorded.
- There have been several other concerns like drying up of sources of water for the community, coming down of an entire village due to the construction of the dam, faulty implementation of Forest Rights Act (FRA) and non-payment of wages to workers.

There had been indication that investment in the development project may not be financially viable. Yet ADB decided to finance it to make investment in this sector attractive to private sector. There have been hundreds

of large and small dams proposed across the entire course of River Satluj. A few places see the river to be completely underground due to excessive tunneling.

It is difficult to hold ADB accountable since it does not consider it to be an 'ADB project'. Complaints were asked to be redirected to HPPCL through which the funding was channeled. Such claims on the technicality of funding are difficult to circumvent and highlight the unwillingness to take responsibility by the bank.

Representative from ADB commented on a few aspects accountability:

- On the drying up of sources: Need to come up with a plan B to address this issue
- Refused the claim of the village being destroyed due to landslides caused by construction.
- FRA: Report resent due to technical problems with documentation
- Non-payment of wages: ADB has no authority over wages and is only confined to funding.

Financial viability of such projects is poor and the funding by IFIs leads to disruptive conditions on ground and on the livelihoods of, generally which are, marginalized communities. Such complexities make the process of accountability tough.

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SESSION VIII: LOOKING FORWARD FROM PAST LEARNINGS

This final session focused on the learnings from previous cases and the collective experience with IFIs and their IAMs. It was not a strategy session since the larger picture involves several stakeholders and so one-size-fits-all is not viable. This process should be seen more as a strengthening one.

- When the communities/CSOs/NGOs interact with IAMs, they legitimize these mechanisms.
- One must look at larger principles of engagement in a larger context than just in once-in-a-while conferences.
- Funding from IFIs have seen a downwards graph, the chances of interactions have reduced significantly.
- Despite DPRs and EIAs, there has hardly been an improvement in the conditions on ground. Social impact assessments are hardly done.
- In countries such as India, there is a general tendency to accept authority. Engaging with institutions as big as IFIs seems like a daunting task. But it is an extremely empowering process and very much possible. Here the example of Sardar Sarovar Project can be taken as an example.
- The community needs to be educated about these mechanisms for negotiation is a political process. The



community needs to become a powerful collective for which education is needed. This tool hasn't been used efficiently in the past.

- Need for mass engagement to strengthen the movements. Governments and corporations do the bidding and isolate the struggles by communities. The momentum of a larger movement is difficult to ignore. The task here is to mobilize more people for the cause. This is a challenge because of the sheer enormity of these institutions and also the changing society & its energy intensive lifestyle.
- To resist global capital, there is a need for a global agenda.
- Primacy should be given to all stakeholders and not just the affected. A dialogue with the bank and its representatives should be done. Also with the ones who gain from the projects.
- We have to realize our own accountability towards the people. There is a need to make a panel of the affected community as well. These panels should have people from the affected communities. This would strengthen the accountability mechanism much more. Example- Narmada Bachao Andolan for Sardar Sarovar Dam.
- Constitutional angle must also be explored. There have been several acts passed by the law makers which affects these projects and people, both positively and negatively. There is a need to educate ourselves with those loopholes and safeguards so that the struggle is much more equipped.
- Principle of eminent domain: The Britishers made several laws to make the structure more suitable for their ambitions. We need to engage with such archaic laws critically. A need to recognize the extent and potential of our resources is paramount. This role must be played by the people who are working with the communities and fighting for their rights.
- Alternatives should be explored through referendums. This tool is hardly used and needs focusing on.
- Should be wary of overdependence on court decisions. There have been several occasions where it didn't turn out favorable for the affected communities.
- Need for transparency and accountability: Minutes of meetings should be posted; translation should be done in different regional languages to ensure that people know about what is happening and what steps were taken. This is an important part of the mechanism that needs to be structured for delivery of justice.
- All the IAMs should meet collectively with multiple stakeholders and come up with a concrete memorandum.
- Engagement with political class: Today's development paradigm highlights the need to engage with political parties. A dialogue is crucial to understand how policies are formed and the designation done.
- Internal conflicts should be addressed. Example: teams of CAO were not given permission for monitoring on ground on technical grounds. These should be avoided for better functioning of IAMs. Communication, fact finding, documentation and transparency are key.

A collective effort can bring forward a major change on ground and in these institutions. With an accurate assessment of experiences of what worked and what failed, the above can work as a base guideline for all stakeholders in these projects.





WGonIFIs

Working Group on International Finance Institutions (WGIFIs) is a collective of organisations and individuals to critically look at and evaluate the policies, programmes and investments of various International Finance Institutions (IFIs), and joining the celebration of the people and communities across the world in resisting them.



CFA

Centre for Financial Accountability (CFA) aims to bring in accountability in financial institutions who lend money to development projects, through research and campaigns. CFA engages in critical analysis, monitoring and critique of the role of financial institutions – national and international, and their impact on development, human rights and the environment, amongst other areas.

