

SUPPORTING SMALL-SCALE FISHERIES:  
WORLD BANK AID, OBJECTIVES AND INTERVENTIONS OVER TIME

by

Jill Hamilton

Dr. Xavier Basurto, Advisor  
Dr. John Virdin, Advisor

April 27, 2018

Master's project submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the Master of Environmental Management degree in  
the Nicholas School of the Environment of  
Duke University

# Abstract

Small-scale fisheries account for 38 percent of the total oceanic fish catch and are the ocean's largest employer. Ninety percent of small-scale fisheries (SSF) are located in developing countries, and the proper management of SSF plays a key role in global food security and poverty eradication. The World Bank, a multilateral aid organization focused on reducing poverty and promoting sustainable development globally, is the biggest individual funder of SSF, and analyzing World Bank aid targeted to support small-scale fisheries can thus be a valuable proxy for understanding broader global aid trends and support strategies. A review of World Bank projects targeted to support SSF was conducted, and funding amount, problems identified, project objectives and project intervention type were identified and analyzed over time. The World Bank provided more than \$463 million in funds explicitly targeted to support small-scale fisheries from 2000 to 2018, with the majority of aid allocated to countries in Africa, South Asia, and East Asia and the Pacific. Project objectives and interventions changed over time, shifting from a focus on utilizing under-exploited fisheries resources to a focus on conserving and sustainably managing fisheries resources. Additionally, a review of national policy planning documents for countries receiving SSF funding suggests that aid for SSF may be country-driven, although these results are limited. Future efforts to support SSF may wish to align their objectives and interventions with best-practices outlined in international SSF policy instruments, such as the Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries.

# Executive Summary

The World Bank, a multilateral aid organization focused on reducing poverty and promoting sustainable development globally, is the biggest individual funder of marine small-scale fisheries (SSF) worldwide. Small-scale fisheries account for 38 percent of total oceanic fish catch and are the ocean's largest employer, and with ninety percent of small-scale fisheries located in developing countries, the proper management of SSF plays a key role in global food security and poverty eradication. Analyzing World Bank aid can be a valuable proxy for understanding broader global aid trends and support strategies for SSF, and is the focus of this Master's Project.

This Master's Project is comprised of three main sections: 1) A review of the World Bank's online project database to identify projects supporting SSF and to explore the objectives, problems identified, and interventions used in these projects, 2) A review of the 2004 World Bank Fisheries Sector Approach Paper, a report published by the Bank outlining its strategies for supporting fisheries and SSF, and 3) A review of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) from countries receiving SSF aid from the World Bank, in order to explore whether aid disbursement is country-driven or World Bank-driven, and to consider how national policy planning documents may drive World Bank aid decisions for SSF support. Inland small-scale fisheries were not included in this study.

Results show that from 1971 to 2018, the World Bank funded at least **56 projects** explicitly targeted to support to small-scale fisheries, and provided more than **\$463 million USD** in explicit SSF funding since the year 2000. From 2000 to 2018, the majority of this aid was allocated to support projects in East Asia and the Pacific (36.1%), Africa (32.8%) and South Asia (22.4%), with limited aid supporting projects in Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe, and the Middle East.

Project objectives and interventions changed over time, shifting from a focus on utilizing under-exploited fisheries resources to a focus on conserving and sustainably managing fisheries resources. Projects prior to the year 2000 were largely focused on development, and focused on providing technology innovations to fishers, predominantly in the form of more efficient boats and fishing gear. Projects approved after the year 2000 reflect a more multi-dimensional view of small-scale fisheries, focusing not only on the exploitation of fisheries resources, but also on ecosystem health, livelihoods and the well-being of fishers. The support strategies discussed in the 2004 World Bank Fisheries Sector Approach Paper align with these changing objectives and interventions over time.

In a review of PRSPs for countries receiving aid, findings suggest that World Bank aid targeted to support small-scale fisheries may be partially driven by national policy planning documents, as many of the countries receiving SSF aid explicitly discuss the importance of fisheries and SSF in their PRSPs. This suggests that World Bank aid for SSF may be country-driven, rather than driven by the World Bank, and that countries wishing to receive more support for small-scale fisheries may be able to do so by explicitly discussing SSF in national policy planning documents. These findings are preliminary and limited by a small sample size, and future studies are needed to explore this potential relationship.

Recognizing the changing nature of World Bank support for small-scale fisheries, future support efforts should seek to align objectives and interventions with current best-practices for support. Policy tools providing guidance for the sustainable management of SSF, such as the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals and the Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries, can be used to guide these efforts.

# Index

Abstract, **2**

Executive Summary, **3**

I. Introduction, **6**

II. Methods, **7**

i. World Bank online project database: 1960 – 2018, **7**

Quantifying Aid by Intervention Type: 2000 – 2018, **7**

Identifying Problems and Objectives: 1960 – 2018, **8**

ii. 2004 Fisheries Sector Approach Paper, **9**

iii. National policy planning documents as drivers of aid, **10**

III. Results, **10**

i. Geographic disbursement of aid, **10**

ii. Changes in problem definition over time, **12**

iii. Changes in project objective over time, **13**

iv. Intervention types, **15**

v. The 2004 Fisheries Sector Approach Paper, **17**

vi. National policy planning documents as drivers of aid, **18**

IV. Discussion, **20**

V. Acknowledgements, **22**

VI. Appendix, **23**

VII. References, **28**

# I. Introduction

Marine small-scale fisheries account for 38 percent of the total global fish catch, with over 100 million full- and part-time workers directly depending on SSF for their livelihoods.<sup>i</sup> Ninety percent of these individuals operate in developing countries and 5.8 million earn less than \$1 USD per day.<sup>ii</sup> While lacking a universally agreed upon definition, small-scale fisheries are commonly differentiated from large-scale, industrial fisheries by their location (i.e. operating less than 40 km from shore), the fishing technology used (i.e. boats less than 18m), or the intended use of fisheries resources (i.e. subsistence use).<sup>iii</sup> “Artisanal fisheries” and “subsistence fisheries” are terms commonly used synonymously with “small-scale fisheries.”<sup>iv</sup>

The World Bank Group (the World Bank, or Bank) is a multilateral aid agency focused on reducing poverty and promoting sustainable development worldwide,<sup>v</sup> and is the largest individual funder of SSF.<sup>vi</sup> Due to its prominence in the international aid arena, World Bank aid targeted to support SSF can be used as a valuable proxy for understanding broader global aid trends. Understanding historic World Bank support for small-scale fisheries since the 1960s, as well understanding more detailed trends in funding and support in the past two decades, can provide guidance for the World Bank and other organizations wishing to support SSF into the future. This approach builds off the work of Rare Conservation, who in 2016 analyzed philanthropic funding targeted to support small-scale fisheries.

The sustainable management of small-scale fisheries has been identified as a key strategy for reducing poverty and increasing food security around the world. International policy instruments, including the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nation’s *Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication* (the SSF Guidelines), have been developed in recent years to provide guidance on best-practices for SSF governance and development,<sup>vii</sup> and the sustainable management of SSF plays an important role in meeting the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, particularly Goal 14: “Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development.”<sup>viii</sup>

This Master’s Project strives to 1) Broadly explore how the World Bank has supported small-scale fisheries since the 1960s, 2) Explore in detail how the World Bank has supported small-scale fisheries since the year 2000, 3) Consider how national policy planning documents may drive World Bank allocation of funds for small-scale fisheries, and 4) Consider how trends in World Bank funding can inform future efforts to support SSF.

## II. Methods

In order to identify trends in World Bank support for SSF over time, I completed three main tasks: 1) A review of the World Bank's online project database to identify projects supporting SSF and explore the objectives, problems identified, and interventions used by these projects, 2) A review of the 2004 World Bank Fisheries Sector Approach Paper, a report published by the Bank outlining its strategies for supporting fisheries and SSF, and 3) A review of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) from countries receiving SSF aid from the World Bank, in order to explore whether aid disbursement is country-driven or funder-driven, and consider how national policy planning documents may drive aid decisions for SSF.

### *i. World Bank online project database: 1960 - 2018*

First, I conducted a review of all projects in the World Bank's online project database ([www.projects.worldbank.org](http://www.projects.worldbank.org)), which includes all projects, from all sectors and regions of the world, from 1947 to 2018. I used 10 search terms, 'ocean,' 'oceanscape,' 'seascape,' 'coastal,' 'marine,' 'fishery,' 'fisheries,' 'fish,' 'fishing, or 'coral reef,' and removed all projects with a Status of 'Dropped' or 'Deleted,' and projects occurring in landlocked countries.

Next, I identified which projects had components supporting SSF by reviewing online project documents, including the Project Performance Audit Report, Project Appraisal Document and Project Completion Report, all of which varied in availability for each project. I considered projects to be supporting SSF if they used the terminology 'small-scale fisheries,' or if they referenced support to 'coastal fisheries,' 'artisanal fishing,' or other terminology implying an SSF focus.

### *Quantifying Aid by Intervention Type: 2000 – 2018*

For projects with an Approval Date between 2000 and 2018, I reviewed the Detailed Project Description of the Project Appraisal Document to quantify the amount of total project funding explicitly targeted to support SSF, and added projects with explicit funding to my database (n = 28). I did not include project funding for port expansion, maritime safety, maritime transportation, coastal pollution, coastal tourism, coastal zone management, aquaculture or coastal protection, unless explicitly targeting SSF or as a form of alternative livelihood for SSF. I then categorized project funding explicitly targeted to support SSF by the type of intervention it was supporting, using the seven intervention types outlined in Basurto et al., 2017 (Table 1; Complete intervention type descriptions in Appendix A).

For projects with an Approval Date prior to 2000, I did not quantify funding explicitly targeted to support SSF nor to specific intervention types, as specific funding amounts were often

unquantifiable in early project documents. I added projects with an Approval Date prior to 2000 (n = 28) to my database without financially quantifying intervention types.

**Table 1.** Summary of intervention typology from Basurto et al., 2017.

<i>Science and research</i>	Supporting the provision of biological, ecological, and/or social science information used for management
<i>Capacity building</i>	Increasing fishers' ability to produce natural and/or social science information; improve leadership, organizational capacity and financial skills
<i>Bridging support</i>	Facilitating the sharing of information across geographies; i.e. locally-managed marine area networks
<i>Policy development</i>	Facilitating/promoting the creation of new governing/management frameworks, protection of critical fishing habitats, labor and well-being standards
<i>Policy delivery</i>	Supporting agents in the administration of governing/management frameworks, enforcement of frameworks
<i>Alternative livelihoods/compensation for reduced fishing</i>	Providing subsidies to encourage fishers to pursue non-fishing economic activities (including aquaculture)
<i>Technology innovations</i>	Providing fishing gear, fishing techniques, marketing techniques, improvement in the monitoring and enforcement of fishing rules

*Identifying Problems and Objectives: 1960 – 2018*

Next, I uploaded a document for each project (n = 56) to QSR NVivo to code for how each project defined the problems faced by SSF and for project objectives. For projects approved between 2000 and 2018, I uploaded the Project Appraisal Document; for projects approved prior to 2000, I uploaded either the Project Performance Audit Report or the Project Completion Report, depending which document was available for the project online.

I reviewed each project document, and coded all mentions of the problems facing SSF, the majority of which were found in the “Main sector issues” section of Project Appraisal Documents, or in sections providing general project background. I developed categories for problems facing SSF from Basurto et al., 2017’s “The ‘Problems’ Characterized in the Scientific Literature on SSFs and their Proposed Solutions”, with additional categories that I identified while reviewing project documents. I coded project documents for problems facing SSF, and grouped the coded sections into the following six problem categories:

1. *Under-exploitation*: SSF are being underutilized due to inefficient fishing methods, gear or ports, and have significant development potential<sup>ix</sup>
2. *Overexploitation*: Overfishing is occurring, due to illegal fishing, population growth, or other factors
3. *Habitat degradation and destruction*: SSF habitats are experiencing negative effects, due to destructive fishing practices, pollution, storms, or other factors
4. *Biodiversity loss*: Coastal or marine ecosystems are experiencing a loss of species or habitat, negatively affecting SSF
5. *Value and use conflicts*: Conflicts between industrial and small-scale fisheries, as well as conflict over how to best use fisheries resources and habitats (i.e. subsistence use vs. tourism vs. conservation) are negatively affecting SSF<sup>x</sup>
6. *Poor governance*: An overall lack of appropriate processes for “discussing, agreeing, designing, and implementing informal and formal rules”<sup>xi</sup> for SSF exists, including policies, laws, or management strategies related to SSF

To identify project objectives, I coded documents in a similar manner, first coding all mentions of objectives or project goals, and then grouping objectives into categories. I developed categories for project objectives from Basurto et al., 2017’s “Goals of governing small-scale fisheries”, and adapted the definitions slightly in order to incorporate non-governance-specific objectives. I categorized objectives into the following three categories, using the following definitions. Projects were coded into more than one objective category, where applicable:

1. *Development*: Projects seeking to increase the efficiency, productivity, and competitiveness of small-scale fisheries,<sup>xii</sup> including methods to promote the increased exploitation of fisheries resources
2. *Conservation*: Projects seeking to protect marine resources for ecological value and non-consumptive/extractive use; environmental preservation
3. *Support people and their communities*: Projects seeking to support fishers, fishing communities and fishing culture; increase overall well-being, improve livelihoods, protect human rights

## ***ii. Fisheries Sector Approach Paper***

In order to supplement my understanding of World Bank interventions, identified problems and objectives for supporting SSF over time, I reviewed the World Bank’s 2004 Fisheries Sector Approach Paper, *Saving fish and fisheries: towards sustainable and equitable governance of the global fishing sector*. I identified the objectives, problems and strategies for support that the World Bank planned to implement for small-scale fisheries, and used this information to supplement and compare with my coding performed on World Bank SSF project documents.

### *iii. National policy planning documents as drivers of aid*

Finally, in order to conduct a preliminary assessment on how national policy planning documents may drive aid decisions for SSF, I obtained Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) from the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) website for countries receiving World Bank aid targeted to support small-scale fisheries. Starting in 1999, the World Bank and the IMF began the PRSP process in the context of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative,<sup>xiii</sup> a joint IMF-World Bank approach to debt reduction and poverty alleviation.<sup>xiv</sup> PRSPs are prepared by low-income countries wishing to receive aid from the World Bank, IMF, and other aid organizations, and describe a country's current poverty context as well as the nation's current and planned policies a for reducing poverty and debt.<sup>xv</sup>

In order to be reviewed for analysis, the PRSP had to be from a country receiving World Bank funding for SSF, and it had to be published in a year prior to when SSF projects in that country began. I found a total of 11 PRSPs matching these requirements. I searched these documents using the keywords "fish," "coastal," and "marine," to locate any potential discussions of small-scale fisheries. I reviewed the sections I found, and counted how many PRSPs articulated the importance of small-scale fisheries to their economies, community livelihoods, or other areas.

## **III. Results**

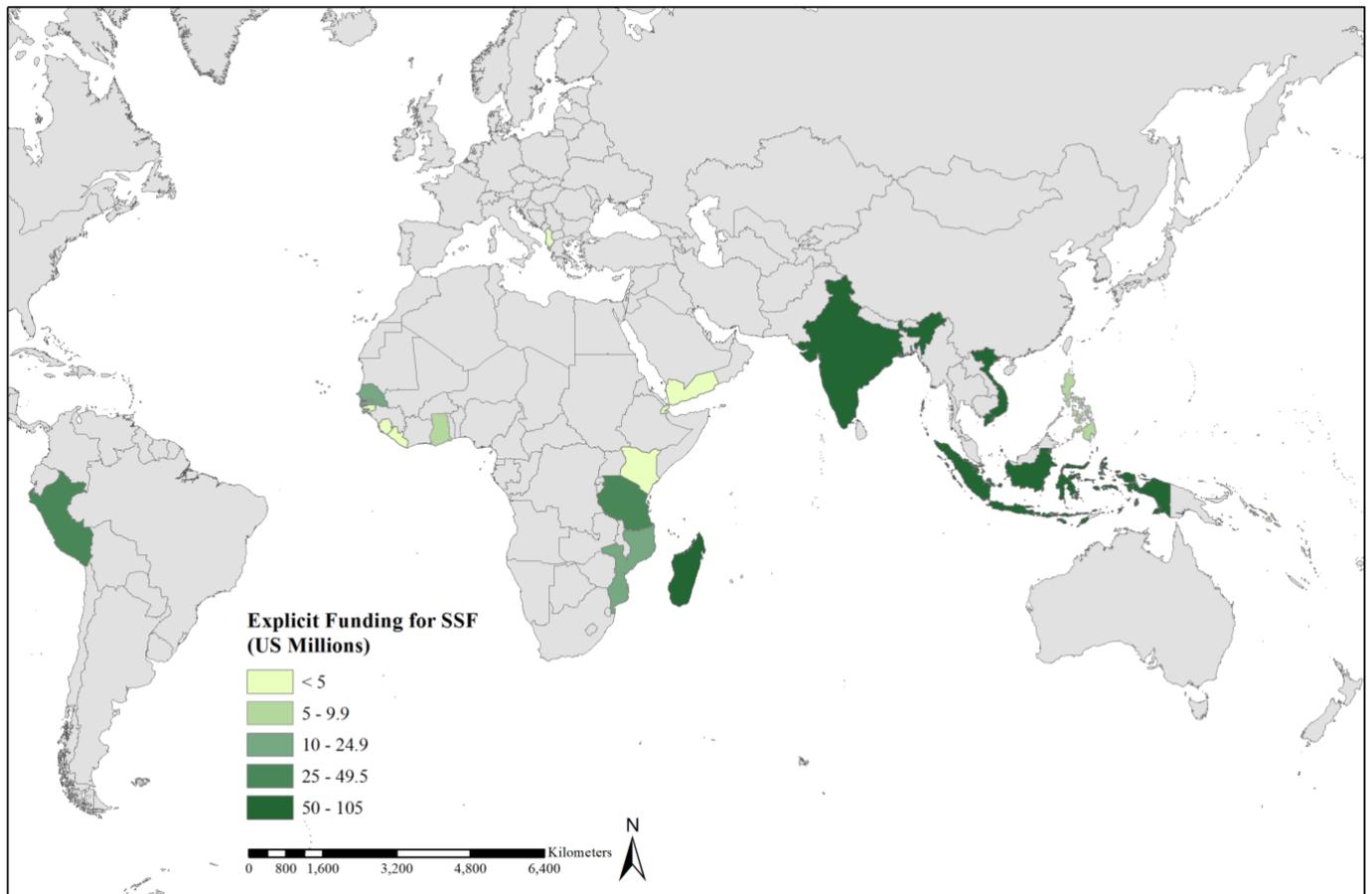
I identified several trends in World Bank support of small-scale fisheries over time. In summary, from 1971 to 2018, the World Bank funded at least 56 projects explicitly targeted to support small-scale fisheries, and provided more than \$463 million USD in explicit SSF funding since the year 2000.

The following sections present the geographic trends in World Bank aid for SSF, how issues faced by small-scale fisheries have been defined over time, the objectives of SSF projects, and the type of interventions used in each location receiving aid targeted to support SSF. A review of the World Bank's 2004 Fisheries Sector Approach Paper was compared to these trends to see if stated World Bank objectives for small-scale fisheries aligned with what was implemented, and finally, a review of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers for countries receiving SSF aid provided the insight that aid for SSF may be country-driven, although these results are limited.

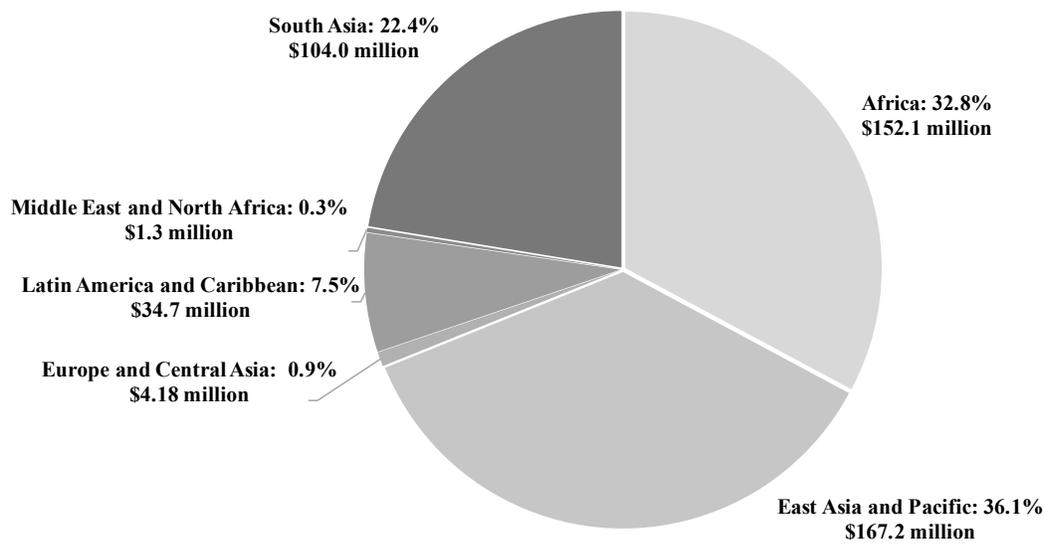
### *i. Geographic disbursement of aid*

From 2000 to 2018, the majority of World Bank aid for small-scale fisheries was allocated to support projects in Africa (32.8%), East Asia and the Pacific (36.1%), and South Asia (22.4%) (Figure 1, Figure 2, and Appendix B). Very few projects targeting small-scale fisheries were

identified in Latin America and the Caribbean (7.5%), Europe and Central Asia (0.9%), or the Middle East and North Africa regions (0.3%).



**Figure 1.** Explicit World Bank funding targeted to support small-scale fisheries, 2000 to 2018.



**Figure 2.** Geographic regions receiving World Bank funding targeted to support small-scale fisheries, 2000 to 2018.

*ii. Changes in problem definition over time*

The way that projects defined the problems that small-scale fisheries are facing changed over time in World Bank project documents (Figure 3). During the 1960s and until the early 1990s, the under-exploitation of fish stocks was the most common-discussed problem in World Bank project documents. Project documents commonly cited “Inadequate fishing techniques and lack of infrastructure,”<sup>xvi</sup> and “Local catches [that] are insufficient to meet domestic demand”<sup>xvii</sup> as problems faced by small-scale fisheries. Yemen’s Fisheries Project, approved in 1982, discussed the country’s past support efforts and the current issues faced by SSF in the following terms (bold lettering added for emphasis):

“The country's indigenous traditional fisheries sector, accounting for about half the country's fish landings, received only marginal support that left its productive resources **undeveloped and under-exploited**. It is against this background that [the World Bank] responded to a request from the Government of Yemen for assistance in financing a project that would provide the country with a specialized training capability for its fisheries sector and **improve the traditional subsectors' productivity**.”<sup>xviii</sup>

In the mid- to late-1990s, the main problems faced by small-scale fisheries shifted from discussions of under-exploitation to a focus on overexploitation. Additionally, mentions of habitat degradation of important fisheries ecosystems, and a lack of strong governance needed to manage SSF, emerged as issues faced. The Coral Reef Rehabilitation and Management Project (COREMAP), approved in 1998, discussed “overfishing” and “destructive practices (bombing and cyanide fishing)” as threats to SSF in the project region.<sup>xix</sup> COREMAP also cites “poor

management of existing threats,” “unclear institutional mandates and inadequate institutional capacity,” and “a weak policy and legal framework” as the key issues affecting Indonesia’s coral reefs and small-scale fisheries.<sup>xx</sup>

In the 2000s, projects begin to cite biodiversity loss and value and use conflicts as additional problems faced by SSF. Overexploitation, a lack of strong governance, and habitat degradation remain commonly-discussed problems, as well. Senegal’s Integrated Marine and Coastal Resources Management project, approved in 2004, states that “[Senegal’s Fisheries Law] does not directly regulate artisanal fisheries, setting no limit on who can fish, where they can fish, what they can catch or how much they can catch. There is clear evidence that such ungoverned, open access fisheries are ecologically, economically, and socially unsustainable.”<sup>xxi</sup> Projects in the 2000s commonly cite problems in this manner, recognizing multiple facets of problems facing small-scale fisheries and setting objectives and interventions to reflect this view.

These findings are consistent with the results of Basurto et al. 2017, who found similar trends in a review of the scientific literature on SSF for the same period of time.

### ***iii. Changes in project objective over time***

Project objectives also changed over time (Figure 4). Prior to the 2000s, the majority of projects (72%) were focused solely on Development, seeking strategies to increase the efficiency and overall exploitation of fisheries resources to reduce poverty and increase incomes. Project objectives aimed to “promote the efficient exploitation, by traditional small-scale fishing vessels,”<sup>xxii</sup> “use more intensively...fisheries resources for domestic consumption,”<sup>xxiii</sup> and “[develop] the fish resources in a region possessing considerable under-exploited reserves.”<sup>xxiv</sup> A small portion of projects (14%) during this time period incorporated objectives focused on both Conservation and Development.

### ***Problems Faced by SSF***

#### **1960s – early 1990s:**

##### *Under-exploitation*

- Inefficient/insufficient fishing methods, boats, gear
- Deterioration of ports

#### **1990s:**

##### *Overexploitation*

- Illegal fishing

##### *Habitat degradation and destruction*

##### *Poor governance*

#### **2000s:**

##### *Overexploitation*

- Illegal fishing
- Population growth

##### *Habitat degradation and destruction*

- Destructive fishing practices
- Pollution
- Storms

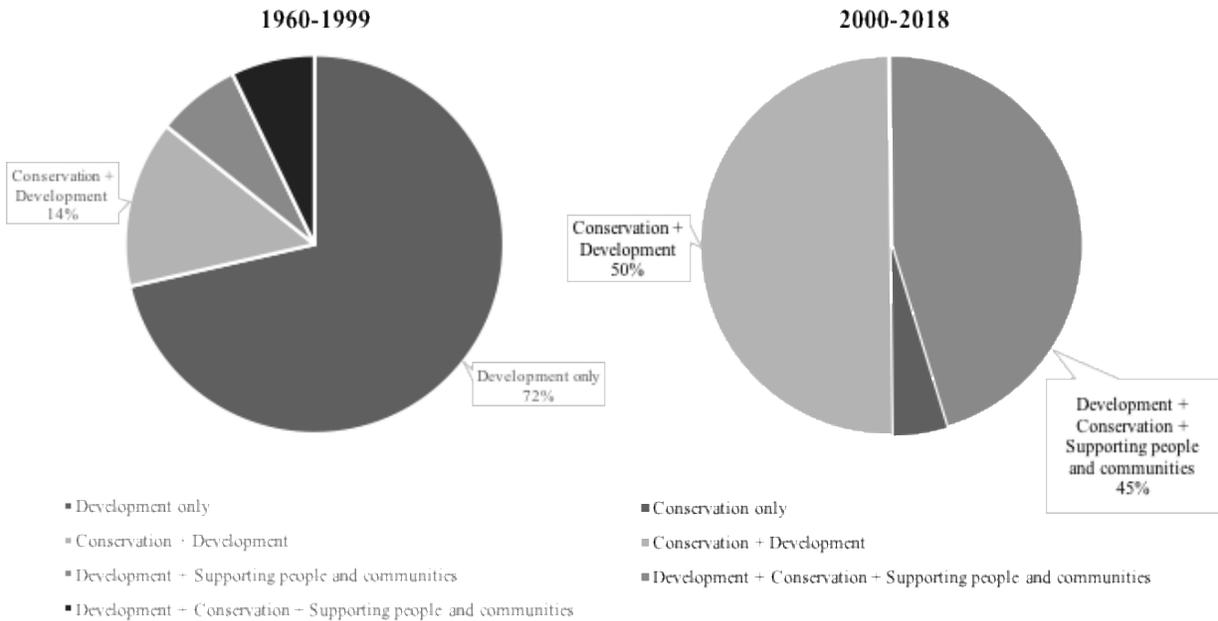
##### *Biodiversity loss*

- Infrastructure development as a threat to biodiversity
- Poverty as a threat to biodiversity

##### *Value and use conflicts*

##### *Poor governance*

***Figure 3.*** Changes in how World Bank project documents discuss the problems faced by small-scale fisheries over time.

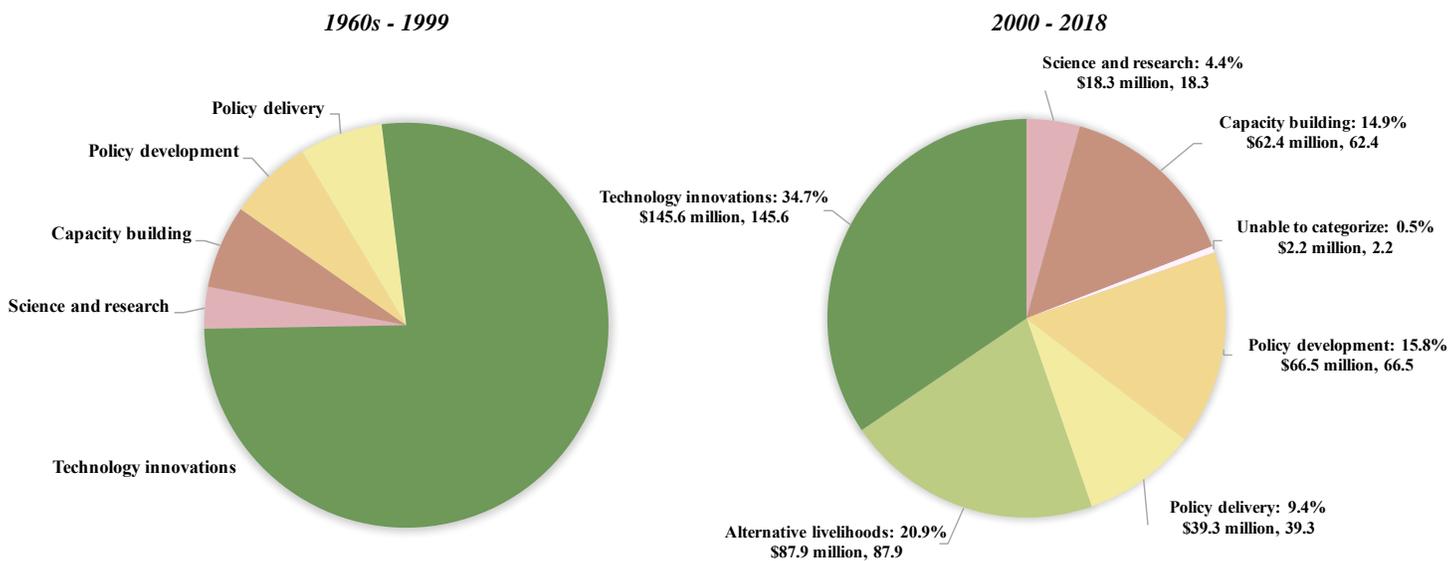


**Figure 4.** Geographic distribution of World Bank aid by intervention type from 2000 to 2018, using intervention typology developed by Basurto et al., 2017 (Appendix A).

Half of all projects from 2000 to 2018 were categorized as both Conservation and Development focused (50%), and a similarly large portion incorporated an additional third objective of Supporting People and Communities (45%). Mirroring the trends in how issues were defined, projects approved after the year 2000 tend to reflect a more multi-dimensional view of small-scale fisheries, focusing on not only the exploitation of fisheries resources, but on ecosystem health and the livelihoods and well-being of fishers, as well.

#### *iv. Intervention types*

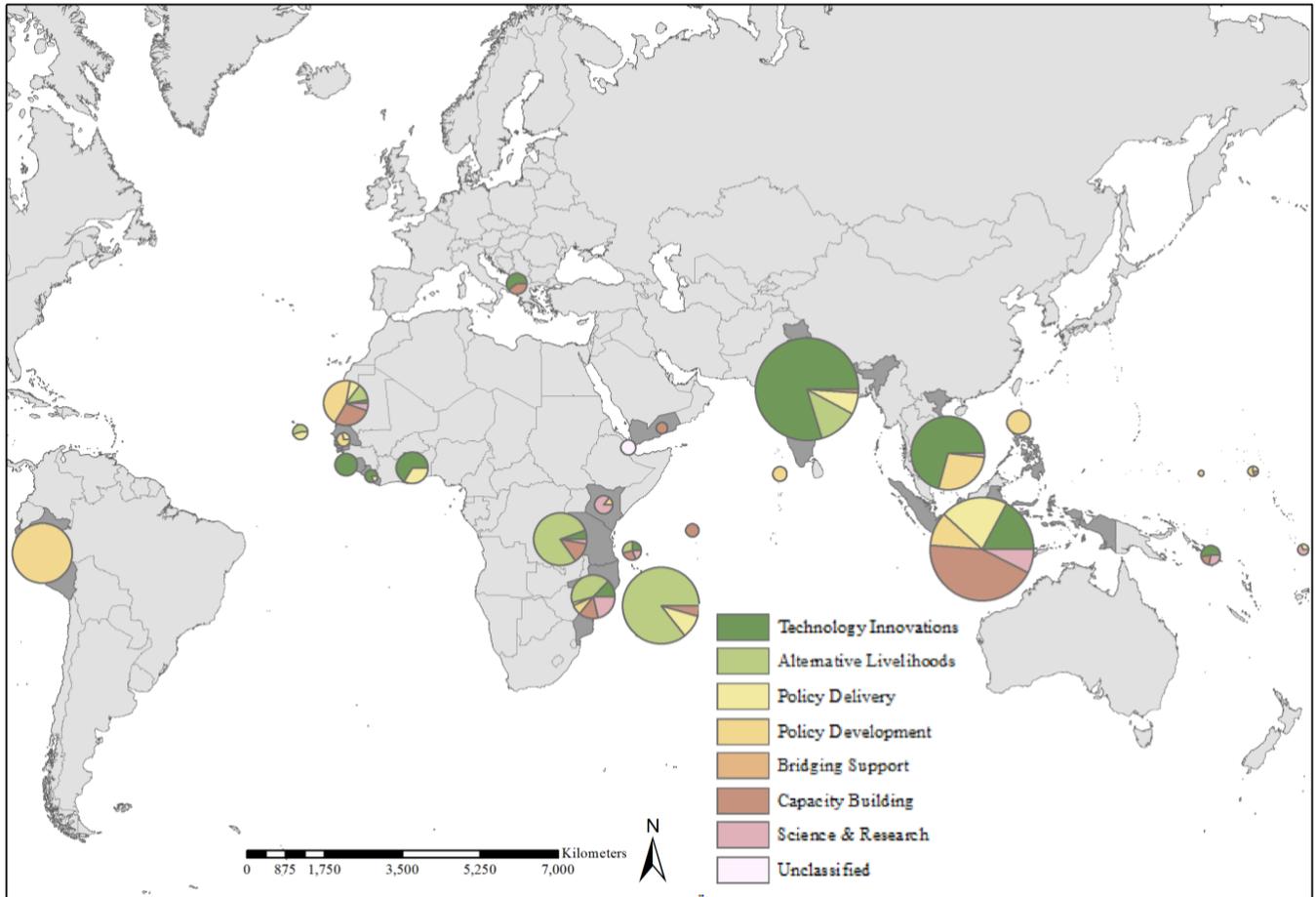
World Bank projects targeted to support small-scale fisheries prior to the year 2000 were largely focused on providing technology innovations to fishers, predominantly in the form of more efficient boats and fishing gear (Figure 5). Since 2000, a more diverse set of interventions have been utilized by the World Bank (Figure 5, Table 2). Technology innovations more often take the form of efficient monitoring and enforcement techniques for SSF rather than on gear for increasing catch and efficiency, and accounted for 34.7% of total funding between 2000 and 2018. Alternative livelihoods and compensation for reduced fishing accounted for 20.9% of total intervention funding, and projects of this intervention type were implemented predominantly in Africa (Figure 6). Additional interventions, such as policy delivery, policy development, and capacity building, also accounted for a larger percentage of project funding in the 2000s than in previous decades.



**Figure 5.** World Bank interventions explicitly targeted to support small-scale fisheries from 1960 – 1999 and from 2000 – 2018, using intervention typology developed by Basurto et al., 2017 (Appendix A). Interventions from 1960 – 1999 were not able to be quantified in specific monetary amounts due to lack of data in project documents, and were approximated to reflect the overall prevalence of intervention types mentioned in project documents.

**Table 2.** World Bank funding explicitly targeted to support small-scale fisheries by intervention type. (See Appendix B for detailed description of intervention typology used, from Basurto et al. 2017). Funding amounts do not include Program Management funds, and total funding amounts therefore differ from the \$463 million total stated previously.

<i>Intervention</i>	<i>Amount Explicitly Targeting SSF (USD millions)</i>	<i>Percentage of Total World Bank Aid Explicitly Targeting SSF (%)</i>
Science and research	18.3	4.4
Capacity building	62.4	14.9
Bridging support	0.0	0.0
Policy development	66.5	15.8
Policy delivery	39.3	9.4
Alternative livelihoods/compensation for reduced fishing	87.9	20.9
Technology innovations	145.6	34.7
Unable to categorize	2.2	0.5
Total	420.1	100.0



**Figure 6.** Geographic distribution of World Bank aid by intervention type from 2000 to 2018, using intervention typology developed by Basurto et al. 2017 (Appendix A).

**v. *The World Bank’s 2004 Fisheries Sector Approach Paper***

The World Bank’s 2004 Fisheries Sector Approach Paper (Approach Paper), *Saving fish and fisheries: towards sustainable and equitable governance of the global fishing sector*, outlines the objectives and strategies of Bank support for fisheries and SSF. It analyzes the issues faced by the fisheries sector as a whole, provides an overview of best-practices for management, and suggests future strategies for World Bank support for fisheries, including SSF.<sup>xxv</sup> The 2004 Approach Paper is the most recent World Bank report discussing World Bank objectives and support strategies for fisheries to date.

When defining the problems facing small-scale fisheries, the Bank cites overfishing, including overfishing “down the food chain” for “smaller and less-valuable species” as a threat, leading to decreased overall biomass.<sup>xxvi</sup> Additionally, degradation of ecosystems that are important to small-scale fisheries is discussed as an issue.<sup>xxvii</sup> The Bank goes on to discuss the negative effects of these problems, including a decline in income for 30 million small-scale fishers.<sup>xxviii</sup> Poor governance is also cited as a problem, the Bank stating that “over the last several decades...small-scale fisheries became too numerous and unregulated to sustainably exploit the fisheries resources of the seas. Poor governance, leading to open access and poorly defined

property rights, allowed this expansion, and competition and conflict have marred management.”<sup>xxix</sup>

Building off these identified problems, the Bank outlines its planned strategies for the small-scale fisheries sector. Starting in 2004, the Bank plans to focus on the “organization of fishers, the allocation of use rights, alternative employment and income-generating opportunities where needed, and the establishment of MPAs”<sup>xxx</sup> as key strategies for small-scale fisheries. It also states that its focus will be on the fisheries-related objectives of the Millennium Development Goals and the outcomes of the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development, both high-level policy tools discussing strategies and objectives for global poverty reduction and sustainable growth.

Notably, the Bank discusses in its 2004 Approach Paper the importance of policy planning documents, including Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), to the fisheries sector. It encourages the integration of the fisheries sector into policy planning documents and country-specific development programs, stating that this integration “will be crucial to increase World Bank and other donor involvement in the sector.”<sup>xxxi</sup>

#### *vi. National policy planning documents as drivers of aid*

Of the 11 Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) reviewed for countries receiving World Bank support for SSF, 10 referenced SSF in some manner, discussing the importance of small-scale fisheries for the country, the issues that fisheries face, and/or the goals and objectives the country has for its small-scale fisheries and the communities that depend on them.

Many countries discuss the importance of fisheries and SSF in their PRSPs. In Kenya’s 2005 PRSP, the importance of small-scale fisheries was highlighted in a chapter outlining strategies for Equity and Poverty Reduction, Kenya stating that “Fresh water and marine fisheries have significant growth potential in improving the livelihood of communities of Western and Coastal regions of Kenya.”<sup>xxxii</sup> Similar statements highlighting the importance of fisheries for nation states are made throughout PRSPs, with emphasis often placed on the role of SSF in coastal livelihoods, food security and protein intake. Mozambique’s 2011 PRSP illustrates this in a chapter outlining the challenges in combatting poverty, stating “Agricultural and fisheries production, in particular at the family level, is crucial for food and nutritional security and the well-being of the population.”<sup>xxxiii</sup>

Many countries also discuss the issues facing small-scale fisheries in their PRSPs. Sierra Leone highlights factors limiting artisanal fisheries production in its 2005 PRSP, noting “inappropriate fishing gears, destructive fishing methods, lack of adequate skills and technology in seafood preservation...and high post-harvest losses”<sup>xxxiv</sup> in the sector. In its 2007 PRSP, Mozambique explicitly lists small-scale fishing as an economic sector in need of more attention.<sup>xxxv</sup>

Senegal similarly mentions the major issues in its fishing sector in its 2007 PRSP, citing “insufficient knowledge regarding the state of resources...increasing conflicts between artisanal fishermen and between practitioners of artisanal fishing and industrial fishing, due in part to the narrow fishing zones under exploitation...and obsolete techniques for catching and preserving fish on board small craft,”<sup>xxxvi</sup> among other challenges. Countries, such as Tanzania in its 2006 PRSP, also address the unrealistic trajectory of fisheries resource use in the country, stating that the “present use of natural resources is unsustainable,”<sup>xxxvii</sup> in reference to fishing practices.

Finally, along with aforementioned discussions of SSF importance and challenges faced, numerous countries’ PRSPs explicitly state that the sustainable management of SSF is a priority for the nation, and an objective the country is working towards achieving. Mozambique’s 2007 PRSP provides a strong example of a country stating clear objectives for SSF, in a section of the PRSP discussing strategies for sustainable economic development (bold lettering added for emphasis):

“The **major objective** of the [non-industrial fishing] sector in this area is to **improve the standard of living of communities of fishermen** and to ensure that fisheries resources and aquaculture are **exploited in a sustainable manner**. The government’s actions in this area are directed at: (i) creating and/or rehabilitating infrastructures that support non-industrial fishing in the principal fishing centers; (ii) increasing the supply of domestic fish to the internal market; (iii) encouraging the distribution and marketing of fish and fishery inputs; and (iv) raising production by those who practice non-industrial aquaculture.”<sup>xxxviii</sup>

Mozambique’s 2007 PRSP goes on to discuss specific actions that are sought to achieve the stated objectives, listing actions the country plans to take, including to:

“**Support participation** by non-industrial fishermen in fisheries management; Train the management committees and community fishery councils; **Move forward with regulations for non-industrial fishing** and aquaculture; Proceed to implement the master statistical plan for fisheries; Strengthen institutional coordination in managing aquatic conservation areas; [and] **Introduce, perfect, and publicize improved techniques for fishing**, conservation, and processing the products of non-industrial fishing.”<sup>xxxix</sup>

In its 2011 PRSP, Mozambique reiterates these objectives in a concise manner, stating that “promoting the development of traditional (“artisanal”) fishing and aquaculture”<sup>xl</sup> is a general objective for the nation.

## IV. Discussion

As the results from this Master's Project illustrate, World Bank support for small-scale fisheries has changed over time, seen in the shifts in how problems are defined, changes in project objectives, and changes in the types of interventions used. The changing landscape of World Bank support for SSF highlights the importance of studying how organizations are supporting small-scale fisheries; the identified problems, objectives and interventions used by aid organizations play a role in the type of support that is provided to SSF, which in turn influences the environmental, social and economic outcomes that can be achieved.

Looking at the geographic trends of World Bank support for SSF, the majority of aid has been provided to countries in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, with very little aid disbursed to countries in Latin America, the Caribbean and other regions of the world. Whether or not geographic disbursement of aid mirrors the distribution of small-scale fisheries globally is not a possible question to answer looking solely at trends in World Bank aid, however future studies conducted for regional development banks, bi-lateral development banks and additional multilateral development banks could help comprehensively understand the landscape of SSF aid and identify potential geographic gaps in support. Whether or not different aid organizations (i.e. philanthropic versus multilateral) target different regions of the world with their support may be a potentially valuable question to ask, as well.

Results show that the World Bank has defined the problems faced by small-scale fisheries differently over time. A shift from viewing small-scale fisheries resources as being underexploited from 1960 until the early 1990s, to defining the main problems faced by SSF as overexploitation, habitat degradation, poor governance, and other factors in the 2000s illustrate this trend. Changes in project objectives over time mirror these trends, shifting from a primary focus on development to more diversified project goals that include objectives for conservation and the betterment of livelihoods.

From the 1960s through the early 1990s, interventions used to support SSF were primarily technology interventions aimed at increasing fish catch and efficiency. From the mid-1990s onward, interventions utilized by the World Bank diversified, and began to include interventions for policy development and delivery, capacity building, and technology innovations aimed at more effectively monitoring and enforcing SSF regulations, among other goals. This shift mirrors the aforementioned changes in problem definition and project objectives over time. These objectives and trends are mirrored in the Bank's 2004 Fisheries Sector Approach Paper, although this comparison was broad, and is therefore limited.

While preliminary and limited in sample size, findings from this study also suggest that World Bank aid targeted to support small-scale fisheries may be partially driven by national policy planning documents, as many of the countries receiving SSF aid discuss the importance of fisheries and SSF in their Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers. Additionally, the World Bank emphasizes the importance of including the fisheries sector in PRSPs in its 2004 Strategy Sector Approach Paper, suggesting that the inclusion of SSF in PRSPs is a valuable strategy for countries wishing to increase their international aid allocation for this sector. While the sample size and analysis for the review of PRSPs was limited, future studies looking at the relationship

between national policy planning documents and aid disbursement would be valuable. Understanding whether SSF aid is predominantly driven by countries' stated needs or by aid agencies' objectives and geographic prioritizations could provide guidance for countries wishing to increase their funding targeted to support SSF.

Recognizing the historically changing nature of support for World Bank SSF projects, future support efforts should be open to shifts in strategies and objectives, seeking to align interventions with current best-practices. Policy tools providing guidance and objectives for the sustainable management of SSF, such the *Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication*, could be used to guide these efforts.

Finally, it is important to note that this study does not analyze the outcomes and effectiveness of World Bank projects supporting small-scale fisheries. While understanding project objectives and the geographic distribution of aid and intervention types is a valuable step forward, it is equally, if not more important to measure how successful projects were. Understanding project successes and failures, achieved through the use and analysis of appropriate indicators, will be a crucial step for improving support for small-scale fisheries, both for the World Bank and aid organizations as a whole.

## V. Acknowledgements

My sincere gratitude is extended to my Master's Project co-advisors, Dr. Xavier Basurto and Dr. John Virdin, whose expertise and guidance were instrumental to this project's success. Their knowledge of the challenges faced by small-scale fisheries, the governance strategies and interventions being utilized to address these challenges, and the responses and structure of international aid organizations was invaluable in all stages of this project. Additionally, my gratitude is extended to all authors of the 2017 Oak Foundation report, *Strengthening Governance of Small-Scale Fisheries: An Initial Assessment of Theory and Practice*, whose methodology, terminology and findings provided the foundation for my Master's Project. Rare Conservation's work on philanthropic aid for small-scale fisheries also provided valuable insight for this project.

Additional thanks are extended to numerous faculty members at the Nicholas School of the Environment and the Duke Marine Lab whose classes and advice provided guidance and inspiration throughout this endeavor, and to my parents, for their unwavering encouragement and support.

## VI. Appendix

**Appendix A:** Typology of Interventions to Support Small-Scale Fisheries;\* Basurto, X., Viridin, J., Smith, H. and R. Juskus. 2017. Strengthening Governance of Small-Scale Fisheries: An Initial Assessment of Theory and Practice. Oak Foundation: [www.oakfnd.org/environment](http://www.oakfnd.org/environment).

### Science and research

- Provision of biological and ecological information useful for localized management (i.e. knowledge about biological and ecological characteristics, diversity and structure).
- Provision of social science information useful for localized management (i.e. knowledge about demographics, sociocultural characteristics, economics and human behavior related to production, commercialization and marketing).

### Capacity building

- Building fishers' capacity to produce natural and/or social science information useful for management (e.g. training fishers on biological monitoring techniques, and/or collection of social science survey data).
- Training fishers' leadership skills (e.g. coaching, self-confidence and leadership techniques to key members of the community).
- Building CSOs' leadership and/or organizational capacity skills (e.g. coaching, training on how to lead the organization, and/or how best to organize, manage and communicate the work).
- Building CSOs' financial sustainability (e.g. coaching, training on how to become financially sustainable and access new sources of capital as needed).

### Bridging support

- Facilitating the sharing of information across geographies and communities (e.g. support for bridge organizations, networks like the locally-managed marine area network; fisher exchanges; creation of bridge organizations and sustaining support; sharing information about licenses, monitoring and enforcement, etc.).

### Policy development

- Facilitating/promoting the creation of new governing/management frameworks (e.g. supporting all aspects of the design and implementation of governing frameworks consistent with the SSF Guidelines).
- Facilitating/promoting the creation of fisheries management plans (e.g. supporting all aspects of working with fishers' organizations, bridging organizations and/or governments towards designing and enacting valid fisheries management plans).
- Facilitating/promoting the protection of critical fishing habitats (e.g. supporting all aspects of working with fishers' organizations, bridging organizations and/or governments towards designing and enacting marine protected areas, fisheries refugia or any other type of protected area).

- Facilitating/promoting the creation of fishers' labor and well-being standards (e.g. supporting all aspects of working with fishers' organizations, bridging organizations and/or governments towards protecting labor, gender, and other individual human rights).
- Facilitating/promoting the creation of new production and commercialization standards (e.g. supporting all aspects of working with fishers' organizations, bridging organizations and/or governments towards improving supply chain, traceability, labeling, etc.).

#### Policy delivery

- Supporting relevant agents in the administration of governing/management frameworks (e.g. support for implementation of rules, management plans).
- Supporting relevant agents in the enforcement of compliance with governing/management frameworks (e.g. monitoring, surveillance of fisheries).

#### Alternative livelihoods/compensation for reduced fishing

- Providing a range of subsidies, in-kind and cash grants (e.g. economic, technological, administrative and/or intellectual support to entice fishers to engage in non-fishing economic activities).

#### Technology innovations

- Intervening in any technical aspects of the production and/or commercialization process (e.g. design, test, implement more selective fishing gear, more environmentally-friendly fishing techniques; creation of new marketing techniques, infrastructure and more efficient processing, traceability, labelling based on technological advancements).
- Improving the monitoring and enforcement of fishing rules (e.g. training, staffing, patrols, satellite monitoring capabilities, smart phone cameras, drones, etc.).

\*Non-exhaustive list based on stakeholders interviewed for this study.

**Appendix B:** World Bank aid targeted to support small-scale fisheries by geographic region, 2000-2018.

<i>Region / Country</i>	<i>Total Amount Explicitly Targeting SSF (USD millions)</i>	<i>Percentage of Total World Bank Aid Explicitly Targeting SSF (%)</i>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>152.2</b>	<b>32.8</b>
<i>Cape Verde</i>	2.2	0.4
<i>Comoros</i>	3.3	0.7
<i>Djibouti</i>	2.2	0.5
<i>Ghana</i>	9.7	2.1
<i>Guinea-Bissau</i>	1.7	0.4
<i>Kenya</i>	3.3	0.7
<i>Liberia</i>	1.6	0.3
<i>Madagascar</i>	56.8	12.3
<i>Mozambique</i>	18.4	4.0
<i>Senegal</i>	19.3	4.2
<i>Seychelles</i>	1.7	0.4
<i>Sierra Leon</i>	4.8	1.0
<i>Tanzania</i>	27.2	5.9
<b>East Asia and Pacific</b>	<b>167.2</b>	<b>36.1</b>
<i>Indonesia</i>	103.6	22.3
<i>Marshall Islands</i>	1.0	0.2
<i>Micronesia</i>	0.3	0.1
<i>Philippines</i>	5.4	1.2
<i>Solomon Islands</i>	3.6	0.8
<i>Tuvalu</i>	1.1	0.2
<i>Vietnam</i>	52.2	11.3
<b>South Asia</b>	<b>104.0</b>	<b>22.4</b>
<i>India</i>	102.0	22.0
<i>Maldives</i>	1.9	0.4
<b>Europe and Central Asia</b>	<b>4.2</b>	<b>0.9</b>
<i>Albania</i>	4.2	0.9
<b>Latin America and Caribbean</b>	<b>34.7</b>	<b>7.5</b>
<i>Peru</i>	34.7	7.5
<b>Middle East and North Africa</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>0.3</b>
<i>Yemen</i>	1.3	0.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>463.5</b>	<b>100</b>

**Appendix C:** Projects from the World Bank’s online project database (1947 to 2018) with funds targeted to support small-scale fisheries.

<i>Project Title</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Approval Date</i>	<i>Total Commitment Amount (USD millions)</i>	<i>Status</i>	<i>Amount Explicitly Targeted to Support SSF (USD millions)</i>
Fisheries Project	Tunisia	14-Sep-71	2	Closed	-
Fisheries Project	Yemen, Republic of	10-Apr-73	3.5	Closed	-
Fisheries Credit Project	Philippines	15-May-73	11.6	Closed	-
Fisheries Project (02)	Indonesia	4-Jun-74	6.5	Closed	-
Fisheries Project	Iran, Islamic Republic of	10-Sep-74	12.5	Closed	-
Fisheries Credit Project (02)	Philippines	25-May-76	12	Closed	-
Fisheries Project - Gujarat	India	31-Mar-77	18	Closed	-
Fisheries Project - Andhra Pradesh	India	30-May-78	17.5	Closed	-
Agriculture and Fisheries Credit Project	Portugal	27-Jun-78	70	Closed	-
Fisheries Project	Maldives	15-May-79	3.2	Closed	-
Fisheries Project (02)	Yemen, Republic of	12-Jun-79	10	Closed	-
Fisheries Project (02)	Tunisia	28-Jun-79	28.5	Closed	-
Fisheries Project - YAR	Yemen, Republic of	20-May-80	17	Closed	-
Fisheries Project	Kenya	24-Jun-80	10	Closed	-
National Fisheries Project	Philippines	25-May-82	22.4	Closed	-
Fisheries Project (03)	Yemen, Republic of	24-Jun-82	6	Closed	-
Central Visayas Regional Project - CVRP	Philippines	6-Dec-83	25.6	Closed	-
Fisheries Project	Somalia	1-May-84	13.5	Closed	-
Fisheries Support Services Project	Indonesia	16-Dec-86	24.5	Closed	-
Environmental Monitoring and Development Project	Mauritius	6-Dec-90	12.4	Closed	-
Fisheries Development Project (04)	Yemen, Republic of	13-Jun-91	13.2	Closed	-

Fisheries Project (03)	Maldives	7-Jan-92	10	Closed	-
National Rural Finance Project	Morocco	23-Nov-93	100	Closed	-
Fisheries Subsector Capacity Building Project	Ghana	2-May-95	9	Closed	-
Community Based Resource Management Project	Philippines	24-Mar-98	50	Closed	-
Coral Reef Rehabilitation and Management Project (COREMAP)	Indonesia	31-Mar-98	6.9	Closed	-
Maluku Regional Development Project	Indonesia	31-Mar-98	16.3	Closed	-
Pilot Fisheries Development Project	Morocco	6-May-99	5	Closed	-
Coastal and Marine Biodiversity Management Project	Mozambique	1-Jun-00	5.6	Closed	2.4
Pilot Fishery Development Project	Albania	28-Feb-02	5.6	Closed	4.18
Coral Reef Rehabilitation and Management Program Phase II	Indonesia	25-May-04	56.2	Closed	56.2
Coastal and Biodiversity Management Project	Guinea-Bissau	9-Nov-04	3	Closed	1.7
Integrated Marine and Coastal Resources Management Project	Senegal	11-Nov-04	10	Closed	10
Marine and Coastal Environment Management	Tanzania	21-Jul-05	51	Closed	14
Fisheries Resource Management and Conservation	Yemen, Republic of	15-Dec-05	25	Closed	1.29
Mindanao Rural Development Project - Phase 2	Philippines	22-Mar-07	83.75	Closed	5.4
Sustainable Management of Fish Resources	Senegal	16-Dec-08	3.5	Closed	3.5
West Africa Regional Fisheries Program	Western Africa (Cape Verde,	20-Oct-09	45	Closed	14.4

	Liberia, Senegal, Sierra Leone)				
Integrated Coastal Zone Management	India	15-Jun-10	221.96	Active	13.18
Kenya Coastal Development Project	Kenya	27-Jul-10	35	Closed	3.27
Ghana - West Africa Regional Fisheries Program	Ghana	14-Jul-11	50.3	Active	9.69
Coastal Resources for Sustainable Development Project	Vietnam	10-May-12	100	Active	52.22
Tamil Nadu and Puducherry Coastal Disaster Risk Reduction Project	India	20-Jun-13	236	Active	88.85
Coral Reef Rehabilitation and Management Program-Coral Triangle Initiative (COREMAP-CTI)	Indonesia	21-Feb-14	47.38	Active	47.38
Mozambique Conservation Areas for Biodiversity and Development Project	Mozambique	18-Nov-14	40	Active	0.92
Pacific Islands Regional Oceanscape Program Forum Fisheries Agency	Pacific Islands (Solomon Islands, location of Secretariat)	22-Dec-14	3.97	Active	1.75
Pacific Islands Regional Oceanscape Program - FSM	Micronesia, Federated States of	22-Dec-14	5.5	Active	0.31
Pacific Islands Regional Oceanscape Program - Republic of the Marshall Islands	Marshall Islands	22-Dec-14	6.75	Active	1
Pacific Islands Regional Oceanscape Program - Solomon Islands	Solomon Islands	22-Dec-14	9.75	Active	1.84
Pacific Islands Regional Oceanscape Program - Tuvalu	Tuvalu	22-Dec-14	7	Active	1.15

AFCC2/RI-South West Indian Ocean Fisheries Governance and Shared Growth Project 1	Africa (Comoros, Mozambique, Tanzania)	27-Feb-15	75.5	Active	31.61
Development Response to Displacement Impacts Project in the HoA	Africa (Djibouti)	31-May-16	175	Active	2.2
National Program for Innovation in Fisheries and Aquaculture	Peru	27-Jan-17	40	Active	34.69
Second South West Indian Ocean Fisheries Governance and Shared Growth Project	Southern Africa (Madagascar)	28-Mar-17	74	Active	56.8
Sustainable Fisheries Resources Development Project (Fourth South West Indian Ocean Fisheries Governance and Shared Growth Project)	Maldives	11-Apr-17	18	Active	1.93
Third South West Indian Ocean Fisheries Governance and Shared Growth Project (SWIOFish3)	Africa (Seychelles)	29-Sep-17	5	Active	1.67

## VII. References

- 
- <sup>i</sup> Basurto, X., Virdin, J., Smith, H. and R. Juskus. 2017. Strengthening Governance of Small-Scale Fisheries: An Initial Assessment of Theory and Practice. Oak Foundation: [www.oakfnd.org/environment](http://www.oakfnd.org/environment).
- <sup>ii</sup> Voluntary guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries: in the context of food security and poverty eradication. (2015). Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
- <sup>iii</sup> Basurto, et al., 2017
- <sup>iv</sup> Ibid
- <sup>v</sup> Who We Are. Retrieved from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/who-we-are>
- <sup>vi</sup> Basurto, et al., 2017
- <sup>vii</sup> Voluntary guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries: in the context of food security and poverty eradication. (2015). Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
- <sup>viii</sup> Goal 14: Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform. Retrieved from <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg14>
- <sup>ix</sup> Basurto, et al., 2017
- <sup>x</sup> Ibid
- <sup>xi</sup> Ibid
- <sup>xii</sup> Ibid
- <sup>xiii</sup> International Monetary Fund. (2016, March 14). Poverty Reduction Strategy in IMF-supported Programs. Retrieved from <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/prsp.htm>
- <sup>xiv</sup> International Monetary Fund. (2018, March 8). Debt Relief Under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative. Retrieved from <https://www.imf.org/en/About/Factsheets/Sheets/2016/08/01/16/11/Debt-Relief-Under-the-Heavily-Indebted-Poor-Countries-Initiative>
- <sup>xv</sup> International Monetary Fund. (2016, March 14). Poverty Reduction Strategy in IMF-supported Programs. Retrieved from <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/prsp.htm>
- <sup>xvi</sup> The World Bank. *Project Completion Report: Tunisia Second Fisheries Project* (Rep. No. 7772).
- <sup>xvii</sup> The World Bank. *Project Appraisal Document: Kenya Coastal Development Project* (Rep. No. 54486-KE).
- <sup>xviii</sup> The World Bank. *Project Completion Report: Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen Third Fisheries Development Project* (Rep. No. 11265).
- <sup>xix</sup> The World Bank. *Project Appraisal Document: Republic of Indonesia Coral Reef Rehabilitation and Management Project* (Rep. No. 17333-IND).
- <sup>xx</sup> Ibid
- <sup>xxi</sup> The World Bank. *Project Appraisal Document: Senegal Integrated Marine and Coastal Resources Management Project* (Rep. No. 30291).
- <sup>xxii</sup> The World Bank. *Project Performance Audit Report: Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen Second Fisheries Project* (Rep. No. 7959).
- <sup>xxiii</sup> The World Bank. *Project Completion Report: Indonesia Fisheries Credit Project* (Rep. No. 4468).

- 
- <sup>xxiv</sup> The World Bank. *Project Performance Audit Report: Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen Second Fisheries Project* (Rep. No. 7959).
- <sup>xxv</sup> The World Bank. *Saving Fish and Fishers: Toward Sustainable and Equitable Governance of the Global Fishing Sector* (Rep. No. 29090-GLB).
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Ibid
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Ibid
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Ibid
- <sup>xxix</sup> Ibid
- <sup>xxx</sup> Ibid
- <sup>xxxi</sup> Ibid
- <sup>xxxii</sup> International Monetary Fund. *Kenya Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* (Rep. No. 05/11)
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> International Monetary Fund. *Republic of Mozambique Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* (Rep. No. 11/132)
- <sup>xxxiv</sup> International Monetary Fund. *Sierra Leone Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* (Rep. No. 05/191)
- <sup>xxxv</sup> International Monetary Fund. *Republic of Mozambique Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* (Rep. No. 07/37)
- <sup>xxxvi</sup> International Monetary Fund. *Senegal Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* (Rep. No. 07/316)
- <sup>xxxvii</sup> International Monetary Fund. *United Republic of Tanzania Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* (Rep. No. 06/142)
- <sup>xxxviii</sup> International Monetary Fund. *Republic of Mozambique Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* (Rep. No. 07/37)
- <sup>xxxix</sup> Ibid
- <sup>xl</sup> Ibid