Political economy analysis in Senegal:

To what extend can the global governance framework be reformed?
Background

2011/2012: 2 years of democratic transition

- 23 June 2011: violent protest against proposed change of Constitution

- EU pushed for withdrawal of constitutional change proposal
Background

M 23 created by civil society (Y en a marre) joined by political parties
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Background: electoral campaign focus on governance

- Political campaign of the opposition parties focused on radical changes of the **governance** system
- EU with EU MS act as a **mediator**
- **EU Electoral Observation Mission** from January to March 2012

- **Macky SALL wins** on the 2\textsuperscript{nd} tour on 25 March 2012 with the support of all opposition parties
- **President Macky SALL wants the EU to assist on governance reforms**
Launching a PEA“ who, how and what ?”

- **Governance reform** was on all the agendas: government, civil society, donors
- Programming of 11th EDF was starting: what could be realistically be expected ? Which were the windows of opportunities ?

**With whom to work ?**

- ECDPM was a natural partner :Jean Bossuyt was interested and he proposed to work with Professor Ismael Madior Fall .
- We had also already initiated a civil society mapping and a diagnosis of the functioning of the National Assembly and completed recently a PEFA
- We wanted to associate key Senegalese stakeholders and make the exercise as open as possible
Launching a PEA“ who, how and what ?”

How did the PEA unfold ?

• Spread in time from March 2012 to March 2013
• Close cooperation with delegation staff ( all sections)
• Public process with large consultation of numerous stakeholders
• Restitution to national authorities ( Minister of Good Governance, Presidency) , parlementarians, civil society, academics
• Two documents: a long version and a short one still on the Delegation Website:

Launching a PEA “who, how and what?”

What?

- Decision to assess the global governance framework
- Good analysis of both the political and economic models entrenched in the Senegalese society: the social contract between political power and other groups based on reciprocal rewards. Privileged access to public resources by the elites and redistribution networks.
- Useful analysis of the key actors in particular the role of the Muslim “Brotherhoods”.
- Identification of the sources of revenues: land, mines, forests, fisheries, energy supply, donor assistance.
Launching a PEA “who, how and what?”

What?

• Identification of potential **reform actors**: Court of Auditors, Public Procurement Authority, CENTIF, Citizen movements, UEMOA

• **Leverage** for change:
  - Institutional reforms
  - Public sector reform
  - Budget processes
  - Fiscal reform
  - Local economic development
  - Transparency and accountability
Did it help?

On the government side: steps in the right direction in number of areas identified in PEA:

• Reduction of presidential mandate to 5 years
• Creation of OFNAC (anticorruption office)
• Activation of the CREI (Wade’s son sentenced)
• Civil servants Data Base linked to payroll
• Fiscal Reform /Budget more transparent
• End illegal fishing / EU agreement signed
• Land reform Commission launched
• Adoption of PLAN SENEegal Emergent
Did it help?

On the government side: many challenges remain:

- **Clientelism** is persistent: family and clan prevailed in local elections
- No transparency in the **financing of political parties**; corruption practices continue
- **Hyper presidentialism**, rubber stamped NA
- Power of elites with privileged access to resources in the area of forestry (reformist Minister dismissed), land, oil supply ...
- Religious Brotherhoods keep special status
Did it help?

On the EU side: it depends on where you sit…

- **Delegation perspective:** *very useful*. Helped the programming, choice of sectors & actors to support. EU position reinforced.

- **Headquarters perspective:** “it went to far…it was dangerous for our relationship…” Choice of sectors was to be decided by HQ. Governance was not an issue since the democratic transition went well.
Did it help?

- PEA = Useful tool to understand the politics and economics behind public policies and assess chances and obstacles to reforms
- PEA needs to be contextualised
- Good communication between delegations and HQ and within HQ should be ensured
- Flexibility of EU instruments is needed