

**It's One World Out There:
The Global Consensus on Selecting the World Bank's Next President**

By David Wheeler

Abstract

In May 2007 CGD launched an online survey of the global development community on three issues: the selection process for the next World Bank president; criteria for rating the candidates; and actual ratings for nine candidates who had been named by the international media. Between May 22 and May 31, CGD received nearly 700 responses from people whose characteristics reflect the diversity of the international development community. Survey participants represent 71 nations; all world regions; high-, middle- and low-income countries; a variety of professional affiliations; and all adult age groups. About 30% of respondents are women.

Although the participants are diverse, their responses indicate striking unity on all three survey issues. First, both U.S. and non-U.S. participants reject the traditional selection prerogative of the U.S. by large margins, with equally strong support for an open, transparent, competitive selection process. Second, participants exhibit uniformity in the relative importance they ascribe to CGD's five proposed criteria for selecting candidates. Most respondents assign the highest priorities to management effectiveness and international organization experience, followed in order by knowledge of development, banking/finance experience and political/diplomatic experience. Third, the participants exhibit uniformity in rating the nine candidates. Our survey suggests that despite their diversity, survey participants from the U.S., high-, medium- and low-income countries and the World Bank display striking uniformity in their preference for an open, competitive selection process, their weighting of selection criteria, and their assessment of potential candidates for president of the World Bank.

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The Global Consensus on Selecting the World Bank's Next President**

Evidence from CGD's Online Survey

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Many people contributed to the design and implementation of CGD's online survey. Particular thanks are due Lawrence MacDonald, Jim Cashel and Tony Kopetchny, whose dedicated efforts got the survey launched in record time. For valuable comments and suggestions on survey design, many thanks to Nancy Birdsall, Dennis de Tray, Lawrence MacDonald, Ruth Levine, Steve Radelet, David Roodman and Mead Over. The Center for Global Development provided financial support for the survey and analysis summarized in this paper. All remaining errors in computation or interpretation are my own.

Keywords: World Bank; president; selection; international; finance; development

JEL Codes: F3 - International Finance
F33 - International Monetary Arrangements and Institutions

Summary

On Tuesday, May 22, the Center for Global Development (CGD) launched an online survey of the global development community on three issues: the selection process for the next World Bank President; criteria for rating the candidates; and actual ratings for nine candidates who had been named by the international media. CGD notified approximately 10,000 subscribers to the Center's e-mail newsletter, but participation was open to others as well. Between May 22 and May 31, CGD received nearly 700 responses from people whose characteristics reflect the diversity of the international development community. Survey participants represent 71 nations, all world regions, high-, middle- and low-income countries; and all adult age groups. About 30% of respondents are women. Participants' professional affiliations are also diverse, including the private sector (14.6% of participants), NGO's (12.9%), governments (11.1%), universities and policy research institutions (24.8%), the World Bank (14.6%), other multilateral institutions (11.4%) and other institutions (10%).

Our analysis of survey results incorporates this diversity by dividing participants into five mutually-exclusive assessment groups, four based on nationality: the US, other high-income countries, middle-income countries, low-income countries and World Bank staff members. Although the participants are diverse, their responses indicate striking unity on all three survey issues. First, both US and non-US participants reject the traditional selection prerogative of the US by large margins, with equally strong support for an open, transparent, competitive selection process. Agreement with an open process characterizes over 90% of respondents from both high- and low-income countries, as well as World Bank staff members. Strong majority support also characterizes US respondents, with percentages by institutional affiliation ranging from 66% to 89%.

Second, participants exhibit uniformity in the relative importance they ascribe to CGD's five proposed criteria for selecting candidates. Despite their diversity, all five assessment groups assign the highest priorities to management effectiveness and international organization experience, followed in order by knowledge of development, banking/finance experience and political/diplomatic experience.

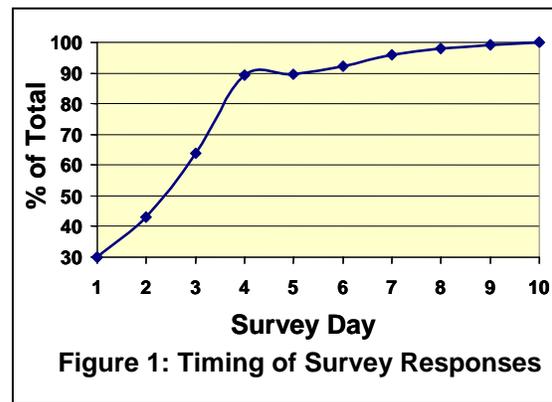
Third, the participants exhibit uniformity in rating the nine candidates. The survey asks participants to rate each candidate on each of the five selection criteria, using a 4-number scale. We find very high correlations for candidate rankings by our five assessment groups. All five groups assign the same candidates to higher and lower tiers, and our results identify one candidate as the clear consensus choice of survey participants.

To summarize, our survey suggests that despite their diversity, survey participants from the US, high-, medium- and low-income countries and the World Bank display striking uniformity in their preference for an open, competitive selection process, their weighting of selection criteria, and their assessment of potential candidates for President of the World Bank.

Introduction

After Paul Wolfowitz' resignation as World Bank President, the Center for Global Development (CGD) launched an online survey of the global development community on three issues: the selection process for the next World Bank President; criteria for rating the candidates; and actual ratings for nine candidates who had been named by the international media. The survey questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix 1. CGD notified approximately 10,000 subscribers to the Center's e-mail newsletter, but participation was open to others as well. Nearly 700 people completed the survey in 10 days, with 90% responding during the first four days (Figure 1). We tallied responses in collaboration with Forum One, Inc., a web development firm, using software provided by SurveyMonkey.com.

Survey participants exhibit striking diversity, with 71 nationalities distributed as follows by World Bank country income class: high (19), middle (28), low (24). They come from Africa (18 countries), Asia (15), Europe (18), and Latin America and the Caribbean (16), as well as the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The participants work at a variety of organizations: business firms (14.6% of participants), NGO's (12.9%), governments (11.1%), universities and policy research institutions (24.8%), the World Bank (14.6%), other multilateral institutions (11.4%) and other organizations (10%). They also include a significant number of women (28.8% of the total) and people in all adult age categories: 21-35 (34.6% of respondents), 36-50 (29%), 51-65 (24.5%) and over 66 (12%).



Survey respondents selected themselves and participation was open to the public, so our results are not "representative" in the scientific sense. However, it is not clear how such a survey could be representative, even if time and resources permitted a standard sampling exercise, because the target population cannot be precisely identified. Relevant sampling populations might include development professionals; the political community whose representatives sit on the World Bank's Executive Board; the population of the developing world; or even the global population. But random sampling on such a specialized topic in large, diffuse populations would confront validity problems because many respondents would lack the requisite information.

Although our participants are not randomly selected, analytical leverage is provided by their diversity in professional affiliation, home-country development status, region of origin, gender and age. These characteristics may be important sources of difference in assessing the three survey issues: the selection process for World Bank President, the criteria for selection, and candidates for the position. Accordingly, this paper focuses on testing the impact of respondents' characteristics on their assessment of the three issues. From a sampling perspective, we are likely to have a significant problem if participants' views are strongly affected by their personal characteristics, because the distribution of these characteristics in the

respondent population may differ significantly from their distribution in any of the potentially-relevant sampling populations. Logically, the converse is also true: Our results are more likely to reflect a broad global consensus if participants’ assessments of the three survey issues are not significantly affected by their professional affiliation, home-country development status, region of origin, gender or age.

In deference to the majority of potential readers, this paper is organized in two sections. Section 1 focuses on the main results, using a few illustrative tables, while Section 2 provides detailed tabular results and technical discussion. Although we explore other sources of diversity, we focus particularly on results for our five assessment groups: nationals from the US, high-, medium- and low-income countries, and World Bank staff. We avoid double-counting by excluding World Bank staff from the first four groups. Appendix 1 reproduces the online survey questionnaire, while Appendices 2 and 3 summarize survey participants’ views on other presidential selection criteria and alternative candidates.

1. Main Results

1.1 Views on the Selection Process

The first part of the survey asks for participants’ views on five propositions related to selection of the World Bank’s President. Table 1.1 displays the propositions and responses for all participants, with the dominant response tally in bold for each proposition. Responses to the first and fifth propositions indicate a large, consistent majority in favor of reform. Among all participants in the survey, 85% disagree or strongly disagree with continuation of the status quo (row one), and 85% agree or strongly agree with replacement of the current system by an open, competitive international process (row five). A majority of respondents (57%) also disagree or strongly disagree with proposition two, in which the US retains its right to select the candidates. In the same vein, majorities favor options three (65%) and four (62%), which propose alternative ways to internationalize the selection process.

Table 1.1: Participants’ Views on Propositions Related to Presidential Selection

Proposition	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Response Total
Continuation of the status quo (the US chooses the President)	4.6% (31)	4.1% (28)	6.5% (44)	25.5% (173)	59.4% (403)	679
Choice among US-selected candidates by the Bank’s Board	7.6% (51)	20.7% (139)	14.9% (100)	33.3% (224)	23.6% (159)	673
Choice by the Board among candidates selected by a panel of “eminent persons”	31.4% (210)	33.5% (224)	16.5% (110)	13.5% (90)	5.1% (34)	668
Simultaneous majorities in two Bank classes: country members and voting shares determined by financial participation	22.7% (152)	39.6% (265)	20.3% (136)	11.0% (74)	6.4% (43)	670
Replacement of the current presidential selection system by a process that is open, competitive and merit-based, without regard to nationality	69.3% (474)	15.5% (106)	5.3% (36)	5.0% (34)	5.0% (34)	684

Although the overall results seem clear, they may mask significant differences among interest groups.¹ We explore this possibility in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 (Section 2), which report detailed results for regressions that relate participants' characteristics to their assessment of the five propositions. Characteristics tested include employer organization for US nationals, the per-capita income status of the home country, employment by the World Bank, age, gender and region of origin. Except for very scattered age and gender effects, only the views of employees of US private businesses differ systematically from the views of other participants.

Table 1.2 summarizes the views of our five assessment groups on the basic issue of reform. For the first two propositions, which reflect the status quo, Table 1 displays the percents in each group who *disagree or strongly disagree*. For the last three, the table presents the percents who *agree or strongly agree* with the proposition.

**Table 1.2: Assessment of Survey Propositions by Group
(Percent of Group Respondents)**

Group	Status Quo: Disagree Or Strongly Disagree (%)	Board Chooses US Candidate: Disagree Or Strongly Disagree (%)	Eminent Panel Chooses Candidates: Agree or Strongly Agree (%)	Selection by Two-Class Vote: Agree or Strongly Agree (%)	Open Process: Agree or Strongly Agree (%)
US Government	66	45	59	55	76
US Private Sector	75	41	44	54	66
US NGO	82	48	62	64	78
US University or Research Inst.	83	55	61	56	83
US Multilateral (non-World Bank)	87	41	59	57	78
US Other Organization	86	71	59	63	89
High-Income Home Country	90	63	64	68	87
Middle-Income Home Country	84	64	74	61	89
Low-Income Home Country	78	62	78	59	93
World Bank Staff	92	58	76	69	91

The first and fifth columns of Table 1.2 provide evidence on rejection of the status quo and support for an open, competitive selection process. On this strategic issue, the results are remarkably consistent: The status quo is strongly rejected by all groups. Aside from employees of the US government and US private business, over 80% of US respondents disagree with the status quo. Around 80% of middle- and low-income nationals reject the status quo, and the rejection rate rises to around 90% for non-US high-income nationals and World Bank staff members. A similar pattern holds for support of an open, competitive process. US nationals are strongly supportive, and only US private-sector employees fall below 76% approval. For all non-US participants, support is near 90%.

¹ The sample in this paper is larger than the sample currently cited online, because an interim website change forced a reset of reporting by Survey Monkey (<http://www.cgdev.org/content/article/detail/13760/#results>).

Views are more mixed on the three propositions that address the tactics of process reform. Respondents express the least enthusiasm for Board selection from a list of US-approved candidates, with non-US participants disagreeing in substantially higher percentages than their US counterparts. Between the other two tactical options, US participants are split about evenly. Among non-US participants, high-income nationals slightly prefer selection by two-class voting, while middle- and low-income nationals and World Bank staff members clearly prefer selection by an eminent panel.

1.2. Criteria for Selecting the President

The survey asks participants to assess five selection criteria: banking and finance experience, knowledge of development, management effectiveness, international organization experience, and political and diplomatic experience. Respondents characterize each criterion as not important, somewhat important or very important. Table 1.3 provides a summary of respondents' assessments, with the dominant response tally in bold for each criterion. Participants clearly assign the most importance to efficient management (rated very important by 82%), followed by international organization experience (77%), knowledge of development (61%), banking and finance experience (45%) and political and diplomatic experience (41%).

Table 1.3: Participants' Assessments of Selection Criteria²

Selection Criteria	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important	Response Total
Banking and Finance Experience	8.5% (58)	46.5% (319)	45.0% (309)	686
Knowledge of Development	4.8% (33)	33.9% (233)	61.3% (421)	687
Efficient Manager	0.4% (3)	17.6% (121)	82.0% (565)	689
International Organization Experience	2.6% (18)	20.8% (143)	76.5% (525)	686
Political and Diplomatic Experience	10.6% (73)	48.1% (330)	41.3% (283)	686

To test for differences among interest groups, we score these responses 0 (not important), 1 (somewhat important) and 2 (very important), and estimate the regressions reported in Table 2.3 (Section 2). The regressions relate quantified participant assessments to employer organization for US nationals, the per-capita income status of the home country, employment by the World Bank, age, gender and region of origin. Again, we find a sparse and apparently random pattern of significance for participant characteristics. Since we find no systematic differences across US organizations, we group US nationals into one category for this part of the analysis.

² The results in Table 1.3 have been rechecked to verify consistency with the raw sample data, but they differ markedly from those reported in Table 2 of the current online summary. With apologies to previous online visitors (<http://www.cgdev.org/content/article/detail/13760/#results>), we conclude that website Table 2 is incorrect. However, the other website tables do tabulate the raw data accurately.

Table 1.4 displays responses by our five assessment groups, expressed as percents to ensure comparability. To obtain the table entries for each group, we compute the mean score for each criterion, add the mean scores for all five criteria, and re-express each score as a percent of the total. The table indicates strongly-consistent scoring: All five groups assign the highest importance to management effectiveness and international organization experience, followed in order by knowledge of development, banking/finance experience and political/diplomatic experience. World Bank staff members assign slightly more weight to management effectiveness and knowledge of development, and less weight to banking and finance experience.

**Table 1.4: Assessment Group Scores for Selection Criteria
(Expressed as Percents of Total Group Scores)**

	Banking & Finance Experience (%)	Knowledge of Development (%)	Effective Manager (%)	International Organization Experience (%)	Political and Diplomatic Experience (%)	Total Score (%)
US National	18	20	24	22	17	100
High-Income Home Country	18	21	23	23	16	100
Middle-Income Home Country	18	19	22	23	17	100
Low-Income Home Country	18	19	23	24	17	100
World Bank Staff	15	22	25	22	16	100

The survey also provides an opportunity to suggest other selection criteria, and 299 participants have responded. The most commonly-suggested criteria are integrity (59 participants), development experience (41), international leadership (24), passion for development (23), independence (19) and communication skills (10). Appendix 2 provides more detail, and lists all criteria that have been suggested by five or more participants.

1.3 Candidate Ratings

The survey asks participants to score nine candidates on the five selection criteria. It includes only candidates frequently identified by the international media, without adjusting for obvious gender bias (surprisingly, no women have received significant media attention). Five US nationals are on the list, including the candidate recently nominated by the US government. Participants score candidates by selection criteria as follows: 1: Fair; 2: Good; 3: Excellent; 0: Lacks this qualification or experience.

Our analysis of candidate results considers four factors: The participants' overall ratings; the number of participants rating each candidate; possible effects of participants' characteristics on candidate scores; and computation of overall ratings. Not all participants have responded in this section, possibly because of the time involved in assigning 5 numerical ratings to 9 candidates. Hundreds have responded, however, and their assessments differ markedly by candidate and selection criterion. Table 1.5 illustrates this diversity by displaying the percent of respondents who rated each candidate as excellent for each selection criterion. The ranges between minimum and maximum percents are striking, and indicate that respondents devoted

serious attention to rating the candidates. Seven of the nine candidates have a range of at least 40 percentage points across criteria scores, and four of the five criteria have a range of at least 70 points across candidates.

**Table 1.5: Assessment of Candidates by Selection Criterion:
Percent Rated Excellent (Candidates in Alphabetical Order)**

	Banking & Finance Experience	Knowledge of Development	Effective Manager	International Organization Experience	Political and Diplomatic Experience	Min	Max
Montek Ahluwalia	46	67	19	41	30	19	67
Tony Blair	7	18	43	25	84	7	84
Kemal Dervis	52	78	34	78	54	34	78
Stanley Fischer	82	54	33	70	27	27	82
Robert Kimmitt	26	4	8	8	27	4	27
Richard Levin	20	7	29	6	10	6	29
Trevor Manuel	60	60	30	15	56	15	60
Robert Rubin	85	14	58	19	55	14	85
Robert Zoellick	30	7	21	22	50	7	50
Minimum	7	4	8	6	10		
Maximum	85	78	58	78	84		

Table 1.6 suggests that respondent numbers are strongly related to the public visibility of the candidates. Tony Blair has the most ratings (455), followed by Robert Rubin (349) and Stanley Fischer (347), while Richard Levin has the fewest (157). In light of these differences, it is important to address the potential problem of respondent bias: Is respondents' differential attention to candidates reflected in the scores they assign, or do other characteristics affect scoring? To test for these possibilities, we compute average candidate scores for each respondent and use regression analysis to test systematic differences in scores by assessment group, US employer, gender, age and region of origin. For both international and US candidates, we find no indication of such differences (see Section 2 for details).

Table 1.6: Candidate Ratings – Respondent Numbers

Candidate	US	High Income	Middle Income	Low Income	World Bank	Total
Tony Blair	176	115	49	42	73	455
Robert Rubin	158	66	33	25	67	349
Stanley Fischer	126	77	41	30	73	347
Robert Zoellick	128	68	31	23	64	314
Kemal Dervis	104	72	40	26	64	306
Trevor Manuel	80	60	27	24	60	251
Montek Ahluwalia	82	55	24	33	44	238
Robert Kimmitt	82	35	18	17	40	192
Richard Levin	63	28	20	19	27	157

From participants’ responses, we compute overall rankings for the nine candidates using two methods. In the first approach, for each of our five assessment groups, we apply the group’s average priority scores for selection criteria to the group’s average criteria scores for each candidate. In the second, we apply each participant’s selection criteria scores to his/her scores for each candidate and calculate 1st quartile, median and 3rd quartile scores for each assessment group. Scores from the first approach and median scores from the second approach yield the same overall ranking of candidates. We summarize the results for the first approach in Table 1.7, which is sorted by average score for the five groups. Group rankings are very similar, and most intergroup rank correlations are 90% or higher. Classification in three tiers by average rank provides a reasonably accurate composite view.³

Table 1.7: Candidate Ranks by Group

	US	High-Income	Middle-Income	Low-Income	World Bank	Average	Tier
Kemal Dervis	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
Stanley Fischer	2	2	3	3	1	2	
Trevor Manuel	3	4	2	5	3	3	
Montek Ahluwalia	5	3	4	2	5	4	2
Robert Rubin	4	5	5	4	4	5	
Tony Blair	6	7	7	7	6	6	
Robert Zoellick	7	6	6	6	7	7	3
Richard Levin	9	9	8	8	9	8	
Robert Kimmitt	8	8	9	9	8	9	

The survey asks participants to propose other candidates, and 291 have responded. The most popular alternative candidates are Bill Clinton (37 respondents), Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala (22) and Muhammad Yunus (18). Appendix 3 provides more detail, and lists all candidates who have been suggested by three or more participants.

1.4 Summary and Conclusions

Although the survey participants are diverse, their responses indicate striking unity on the three survey issues. First, large majorities in all five assessment groups reject the traditional US selection prerogative and support an open, transparent, competitive selection process. Among US nationals, support reaches international levels in two institutional groups (universities and research institutions; other organizations). Although two US groups – government and the private sector -- exhibit less support, they still have clear majorities in favor of an open, competitive process.

Second, participants exhibit uniformity in the relative weights they assign to CGD’s five proposed criteria for selecting candidates. Despite their diversity, all five of our assessment groups assign the highest priority to management effectiveness and international organization

³ Of the 45 rank entries for candidates (9) and selection criteria (5), 10 entries are misclassified by the three-tier grouping: two in the top tier, five in the middle tier, and three in the bottom tier.

experience, followed in order by knowledge of development, banking/finance experience and political/diplomatic experience.

Third, the participants exhibit uniformity in rating the nine candidates, and the survey results indicate little or no systematic bias in scoring. Each of the five assessment groups assigns very similar ratings to each candidate in each rating category. With relatively few exceptions, division of the nine candidates into 3-member top, middle and bottom tiers by rank yields the same classifications for the five assessment groups.

To conclude, despite their diversity, the survey participants exhibit striking uniformity in their assessment of the presidential selection process, the criteria for choosing a candidate, and the named candidates themselves. They reject US-dominated selection, support open, transparent, competitive international selection, assign very similar priorities to selection criteria, and assign similar ratings to the candidates. Despite the controversy over US-dominated selection, one American candidate is assigned to the top tier by all five groups. The US government's current nominee for World Bank President is assigned to the bottom-tier group by US and World Bank participants, and to the bottom of the second-tier group by participants from high-, middle-, and low-income countries. At the same time, our survey participants have a clear consensus candidate for World Bank President. Kemal Dervis is rated first by the US and high-, middle- and low-income groups, and second by World Bank participants. In an open, transparent international competition of the type favored by our survey participants, he would undoubtedly be a strong contender.

2. Detailed Analysis and Technical Discussion

2.1 Views on the Selection Process

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 report linear probability and probit regression estimates for models that relate participants' characteristics to their assessment of five propositions related to the presidential selection process:

- Continuation of the status quo (the US chooses the President);
- Choice among US-selected candidates by the Bank's Board;
- Choice by the Board among candidates selected by a panel of "eminent persons";
- Simultaneous majorities in two classes: country members of the Bank and voting shares determined by financial participation in the Bank;
- Replacement of the current presidential selection system (the US chooses the Bank President; Europe chooses the head of the IMF) by a process that is open, competitive and merit-based, without regard to nationality.

Regression dependent variables are all coded 1 if the respondent agrees or strongly agrees with reform; 0 otherwise. In the first two cases, responses are therefore coded 1 if the respondent disagrees or strongly disagrees with the proposition; 0 otherwise. In the last three cases, responses are coded 1 if the respondent agrees or strongly agrees with the proposition; 0 otherwise. Independent variables include employer for US nationals; middle- or low-income home country (high-income status is excluded to avoid perfect collinearity; its effect is absorbed by the constant term); employment by the World Bank; age; gender; and region of origin. In all regressions, resistance to reform is implied by a negative, statistically-significant parameter estimate.

Table 2.1 reports linear probability and probit results for the first and fifth propositions, which reflect polar views of reform. In all four regressions, estimated coefficients are almost all insignificant by the conventional statistical criteria. Among US employers, only the private sector yields relatively consistent, negative results. Women have a significantly higher preference for an open, competitive system, but this is not reflected in significantly higher disagreement with the status quo.

Table 2.2 reports results for the second, third and fourth options, which propose specific reforms. US private-sector employment is significantly associated with resistance to the second and third propositions; age is significantly associated with support for the third proposition. Otherwise, all estimated effects are statistically insignificant.

2.2 Criteria for Selecting the President

The survey asks participants to assess five selection criteria: banking and finance experience, knowledge of development, management effectiveness, international organization experience, and political and diplomatic experience. Respondents characterize each criterion as not important, somewhat important or very important. For the statistical analysis we score these responses as 0, 1 and 2, respectively. Table 2.3 reports regression results for the five criteria,

using the previously-identified independent variables. Again, the results indicate a sparse pattern of significance for participants' characteristics. US NGO employees, middle-income nationals and women assign significantly higher importance to banking and finance experience; lower importance is assigned to it by Latin American and Caribbean nationals; and its assigned importance declines significantly with respondent age. Women also assign significantly higher importance to knowledge of development. Management effectiveness is assigned greater importance by employees of US NGO's, universities and research institutions, as well as World Bank staff members. US private-sector employees assign more importance to political and diplomatic experience, while its perceived importance declines with age.

2.3 Candidate Ratings

2.3.1 Response Frequency by Candidate and Group

The survey asks participants to score nine candidates on the five selection criteria. Five US nationals are on the list, including the candidate recently nominated by the US government. Participants score candidates by selection criteria as follows: 1: Fair; 2: Good; 3: Excellent; 0: Lacks this qualification or experience. Not all participants have responded in this section, possibly because of the time involved in assigning 5 numerical ratings to 9 candidates. Hundreds have responded, however. Table 2.4.1 displays the distribution of responses by candidate and group. Respondent numbers seem strongly related to the public visibility of the candidates. Tony Blair has the most ratings (455), followed by Robert Rubin (349) and Stanley Fischer (347), while Richard Levin has the fewest (157). Table 2.4.2 indicates that assessment groups have different familiarity with and/or willingness to rate the candidates. The rank correlations in Table 2.4.3 suggest that similarities among respondents reflect both physical proximity and proximity in the international income distribution. Across candidates, for example, the correlation of US responses is highest with those of the World Bank and high-income countries (rank correlations of .84 and .77, respectively), somewhat lower for middle-income countries (.74), and significantly lower for low-income countries (.51).

2.3.2 Response Bias

In light of these differences, it is important to address the potential problem of respondent bias: Is respondents' differential attention to candidates reflected in the scores they assign, or do other characteristics affect scoring? To test for these possibilities, we compute average candidate scores for each respondent and regress the average scores on our standard set of independent variables (assessment group, US employer, gender, age, region of origin). Results for international candidates, summarized in Table 2.5, indicate a very sparse incidence of significant deviations in scoring. Employees of US private firms are the exception, with three of four deviations significant (higher for Tony Blair, lower for Montek Ahluwalia and Kemal Dervis). Employees of US NGO's and nationals of Australia and New Zealand also exhibit significant upward deviations for Tony Blair, while World Bank employees assign significantly lower scores to Montek Ahluwalia. In all other cases, the personal characteristics of respondents do not significantly affect their scoring of international candidates.

For US candidates (Table 2.6), significant deviations are also sparse. Significantly higher scores are assigned to Robert Zoellick by employees of US private firms, to Robert Rubin by US employees of non-World Bank multilaterals, and to Stanley Fischer by World Bank staff members. Nationals of Australia and New Zealand assign significantly lower scores to Robert Kimmitt, and scores for Stanley Fischer increase significantly with the age of the respondent. In all other cases, personal characteristics have no significant effect on scoring. Table 2.7 reports candidates' average scores by selection criterion and assessment group. Inspection of the table reinforces the conclusion of the regression analysis: For each selection criterion and candidate, average scores are very similar across assessment groups.

2.3.3 Overall Candidate Ratings

From participants' responses, we compute overall rankings for the nine candidates using two methods. In the first approach, for each of our five assessment groups, we apply the group's average priority scores for selection criteria to the group's average criteria scores for each candidate. In the second, we apply each participant's selection criteria scores to his/her scores for each candidate and calculate the distribution of scores for each assessment group.

The first, or aggregative, approach proceeds in the following steps for each group: (1) Compute the average score for each of the five selection criteria. (2) Add the five criteria scores to obtain a total criteria score. (3) Divide each criterion score by the total to obtain a percent. This step ensures comparability across groups. (4) For each of the five selection criteria, calculate the average score for each candidate. (5) Multiply the candidates' average criteria scores obtained in step (4) by the percent weights obtained in (3). (6) Add the results from (5) for each candidate to obtain overall candidate scores.

Table 2.8.1 reports the results for our five assessment groups and nine candidates, along with each candidate's average group score. The table is sorted from highest to lowest average score, and table entries are converted to ranks in Table 2.8.2. Table 2.8.3 displays rank correlations, which confirm the pattern visible in Table 2.8.2: Rankings are quite consistent across groups. The correlations of US rankings with those of the World Bank staff and high- and middle-income nationals are all .93 or higher, and the correlation of US rankings with rankings by low-income nationals is .85. The slightly-lower correlation for low-income nationals seems principally due to the higher scores they assign to Montek Ahluwalia. Overall, however, we observe a striking consistency in rankings.

The second, or individual, approach proceeds in the following steps for each survey respondent: (1) Add the five criteria scores to obtain the total criteria score. (2) Divide each criterion score by the total to obtain a percent. This step ensures comparability across individuals. (3) Multiply each criterion score by the corresponding candidate score. (4) Add the results to obtain the weighted candidate score. (5) For each of the five assessment groups, find the median, 1st quartile and 3rd quartile scores for each candidate.

Tables 2.9.1-2.9.3 report results for the median, 1st quartile and 3rd quartile scores by assessment group. Results are expressed as ranks to facilitate comparisons. Comparison of individual-method median ranks in Table 2.9.1 with aggregative-method ranks in Table 2.8.1

indicates that they are identical for average scores, and very similar for each group. Comparison of median rankings in Table 2.9.1 with quartile rankings in Tables 2.9.2 and 2.9.3 shows that the distribution of ranks is very stable. In the overall averages, movement across quartiles leads to rank-switching for two pairs of neighboring candidates (Manuel/Ahluwalia; Levin/Kimmitt).

Table 2.1
Status Quo vs. Open, Competitive Process

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Status Quo	Status Quo	Open Process	Open Process
	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree
	Lin. Prob.	Probit	Lin. Prob.	Probit
US Government	-0.190 (2.14)*	-0.625 (1.92)	-0.104 (1.23)	-0.383 (1.13)
US Private	-0.134 (1.98)*	-0.456 (1.74)	-0.196 (3.01)**	-0.613 (2.38)*
US NGO	-0.064 (0.88)	-0.245 (0.85)	-0.075 (1.08)	-0.303 (1.05)
US University	-0.034 (0.55)	-0.131 (0.51)	-0.026 (0.42)	-0.081 (0.32)
US Other MLO	-0.002 (0.02)	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.047 (0.51)	-0.173 (0.47)
Middle Income	0.035 (0.43)	0.224 (0.61)	0.061 (0.76)	0.371 (0.97)
Low Income	-0.035 (0.37)	-0.028 (0.07)	0.115 (1.25)	0.632 (1.47)
World Bank	0.034 (0.66)	0.194 (0.80)	0.045 (0.89)	0.264 (1.10)
Female	0.020 (0.58)	0.094 (0.67)	0.090 (2.78)**	0.446 (2.88)**
Age	-0.000 (0.02)	-0.000 (0.07)	0.001 (0.94)	0.004 (0.84)
Africa	-0.103 (1.05)	-0.447 (1.12)	-0.044 (0.47)	-0.283 (0.65)
Asia	-0.049 (0.57)	-0.269 (0.76)	-0.066 (0.80)	-0.365 (0.98)
Europe	0.064 (1.27)	0.361 (1.56)	0.053 (1.09)	0.274 (1.22)
Latin America & Caribbean	-0.096 (1.11)	-0.446 (1.21)	-0.011 (0.13)	-0.107 (0.27)
Australia & New Zealand	0.037 (0.38)	0.185 (0.43)	-0.003 (0.03)	-0.045 (0.12)
Constant	0.849 (12.07)**	1.030 (3.49)**	0.775 (11.45)**	0.723 (2.47)*
Observations	632	632	632	632
R-squared	0.04		0.06	

Absolute value of t statistics in parentheses

* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Table 2.2
Specific Process Reforms

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	US Chooses Candidates Disagree Lin. Prob.	US Chooses Candidates Disagree Probit	Eminent Panel Chooses Candidates Agree Lin. Prob.	Eminent Panel Chooses Candidates Agree Probit	Two-Class Voting Agree Lin. Prob.	Two-Class Voting Agree Probit
US Government	-0.166 (1.41)	-0.422 (1.41)	-0.092 (0.81)	-0.233 (0.77)	-0.175 (1.52)	-0.454 (1.51)
US Private	-0.227 (2.52)*	-0.578 (2.51)*	-0.242 (2.79)**	-0.617 (2.64)**	-0.152 (1.73)	-0.395 (1.71)
US NGO	-0.177 (1.85)	-0.452 (1.85)	-0.011 (0.12)	-0.030 (0.12)	-0.043 (0.46)	-0.118 (0.47)
US University	-0.108 (1.31)	-0.278 (1.32)	-0.035 (0.44)	-0.086 (0.40)	-0.086 (1.05)	-0.227 (1.06)
US Other MLO	-0.233 (1.85)	-0.596 (1.84)	-0.108 (0.89)	-0.279 (0.87)	-0.109 (0.89)	-0.287 (0.90)
Middle Income	-0.011 (0.10)	-0.033 (0.12)	0.176 (1.66)	0.502 (1.70)	-0.101 (0.94)	-0.269 (0.95)
Low Income	-0.053 (0.42)	-0.143 (0.44)	0.223 (1.83)	0.652 (1.91)	-0.112 (0.91)	-0.301 (0.92)
World Bank	-0.073 (1.05)	-0.191 (1.07)	0.091 (1.37)	0.263 (1.42)	0.002 (0.03)	0.006 (0.03)
Female	0.032 (0.72)	0.086 (0.75)	0.050 (1.16)	0.137 (1.16)	0.039 (0.89)	0.107 (0.92)
Age	0.001 (0.92)	0.004 (0.94)	0.003 (2.17)*	0.008 (2.15)*	-0.001 (0.42)	-0.002 (0.44)
Africa	0.024 (0.19)	0.068 (0.20)	-0.126 (1.00)	-0.377 (1.08)	0.052 (0.41)	0.143 (0.42)
Asia	-0.003 (0.03)	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.063 (0.57)	-0.178 (0.59)	-0.071 (0.64)	-0.180 (0.61)
Europe	0.037 (0.54)	0.097 (0.56)	-0.007 (0.11)	-0.015 (0.08)	-0.006 (0.09)	-0.015 (0.09)
Latin America & Caribbean	-0.016 (0.14)	-0.039 (0.13)	-0.105 (0.95)	-0.304 (0.99)	0.077 (0.68)	0.206 (0.68)
Australia & New Zealand	-0.132 (1.03)	-0.335 (1.04)	0.010 (0.09)	0.030 (0.09)	0.115 (0.92)	0.358 (1.00)
Constant	0.553 (5.92)**	0.134 (0.56)	0.484 (5.38)**	-0.067 (0.27)	0.684 (7.46)**	0.480 (1.96)*
Observations	632	632	632	632	632	632
R-squared	0.03		0.05		0.02	

Absolute value of t statistics in parentheses

* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Table 2.3
Presidential Selection Criteria

	(1) Banking & Finance Experience	(2) Knowledge of Development	(3) Effective Manager	(4) International Organization Experience	(5) Political & Diplomatic Experience
US Government	0.034 (0.23)	-0.130 (0.93)	0.067 (0.70)	-0.111 (0.94)	0.114 (0.76)
US Private	0.175 (1.60)	0.056 (0.53)	0.034 (0.47)	-0.050 (0.56)	0.379 (3.30)**
US NGO	0.245 (2.08)*	-0.018 (0.16)	0.193 (2.52)*	0.041 (0.43)	0.061 (0.49)
US University	-0.118 (1.17)	0.038 (0.39)	0.181 (2.73)**	-0.118 (1.43)	0.083 (0.78)
US Other MLO	-0.148 (0.96)	0.042 (0.28)	0.066 (0.66)	-0.119 (0.95)	0.025 (0.16)
Middle Income	0.275 (2.05)*	0.008 (0.06)	-0.002 (0.02)	0.162 (1.48)	0.217 (1.54)
Low Income	0.067 (0.43)	-0.001 (0.01)	0.013 (0.12)	0.100 (0.79)	0.065 (0.40)
World Bank	-0.185 (2.20)*	0.045 (0.55)	0.144 (2.61)**	-0.129 (1.88)	0.001 (0.01)
Female	0.156 (2.85)**	0.148 (2.79)**	0.044 (1.23)	0.011 (0.24)	0.099 (1.72)
Age	-0.005 (2.67)**	0.000 (0.22)	-0.001 (1.00)	-0.003 (1.92)	-0.006 (2.91)**
Africa	0.022 (0.14)	-0.069 (0.44)	0.108 (1.03)	-0.025 (0.19)	0.056 (0.33)
Asia	-0.111 (0.79)	0.009 (0.06)	-0.021 (0.23)	-0.120 (1.04)	-0.027 (0.18)
Europe	-0.101 (1.23)	0.018 (0.23)	-0.033 (0.62)	-0.113 (1.69)	0.023 (0.27)
Latin America & Caribbean	-0.300 (2.13)*	0.017 (0.12)	0.009 (0.10)	-0.082 (0.71)	-0.085 (0.58)
Australia & New Zealand	-0.060 (0.39)	0.028 (0.19)	-0.143 (1.40)	-0.173 (1.37)	-0.333 (2.05)*
Constant	1.575 (13.81)**	1.485 (13.46)**	1.789 (23.89)**	1.918 (20.62)**	1.451 (12.10)**
Observations	626	627	629	626	627
R-squared	0.09	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.06

Absolute value of t statistics in parentheses

* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Table 2.4.1: Candidate Ratings - Respondent Numbers

Candidate	US	High Income	Middle Income	Low Income	World Bank	Total
Tony Blair	176	115	49	42	73	455
Robert Rubin	158	66	33	25	67	349
Stanley Fischer	126	77	41	30	73	347
Robert Zoellick	128	68	31	23	64	314
Kemal Dervis	104	72	40	26	64	306
Trevor Manuel	80	60	27	24	60	251
Montek Ahluwalia	82	55	24	33	44	238
Robert Kimmitt	82	35	18	17	40	192
Richard Levin	63	28	20	19	27	157

Table 2.4.2: Candidate Ratings, Respondent Numbers Rank by Group

Candidate	US	High-Income	Middle-Income	Low-Income	World Bank
Tony Blair	1	1	1	1	1
Robert Rubin	2	5	4	5	3
Stanley Fischer	4	2	2	3	1
Robert Zoellick	3	4	5	7	4
Kemal Dervis	5	3	3	4	4
Trevor Manuel	8	6	6	6	6
Montek Ahluwalia	6	7	7	2	7
Robert Kimmitt	6	8	9	9	8
Richard Levin	9	9	8	8	9

Table 2.4.3: Candidate Respondent Numbers: Rank Correlations

	US	World Bank	High Income	Middle Income
World Bank	0.84			
High Income	0.77	0.96		
Middle Income	0.74	0.96	0.97	
Low Income	0.51	0.66	0.68	0.73

Table 2.5
International Candidate Ratings

	Montek Ahluwalia	Tony Blair	Kemal Dervis	Trevor Manuel
US Government	-0.063 (0.23)	0.327 (1.91)	-0.019 (0.10)	-0.174 (0.76)
US Private	-0.523 (2.06)*	0.333 (2.34)*	-0.355 (2.02)*	-0.115 (0.59)
US NGO	0.127 (0.47)	0.482 (2.90)**	-0.132 (0.73)	0.224 (0.98)
US University	0.056 (0.34)	0.232 (1.83)	0.022 (0.17)	-0.055 (0.35)
US Other MLO	0.145 (0.62)	0.273 (1.40)	-0.136 (0.73)	0.080 (0.35)
Middle Income	-0.134 (0.57)	0.047 (0.24)	0.149 (0.88)	0.044 (0.22)
Low Income	0.040 (0.17)	0.153 (0.72)	-0.319 (1.65)	-0.092 (0.42)
World Bank	-0.274 (2.02)*	0.136 (1.24)	-0.011 (0.11)	0.012 (0.10)
Female	0.169 (1.68)	0.032 (0.44)	0.119 (1.59)	0.151 (1.73)
Age	0.001 (0.20)	-0.004 (1.53)	-0.001 (0.46)	0.002 (0.49)
Africa	-0.181 (0.71)	0.157 (0.73)	-0.047 (0.24)	-0.095 (0.46)
Asia	0.128 (0.56)	-0.305 (1.55)	0.166 (0.99)	-0.138 (0.71)
Europe	0.102 (0.72)	0.006 (0.05)	-0.037 (0.35)	-0.050 (0.41)
Latin America & Caribbean	0.147 (0.60)	-0.032 (0.17)	-0.094 (0.55)	-0.070 (0.37)
Australia & New Zealand	-0.200 (0.60)	0.439 (2.19)*	-0.231 (0.90)	0.192 (0.56)
Constant	2.128 (9.77)**	1.887 (12.51)**	2.531 (15.67)**	2.193 (11.93)**
Observations	227	430	285	235
R-squared	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.04

Absolute value of t statistics in parentheses

* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Table 2.6
US Candidate Ratings

	Stanley Fischer	Robert Kimmitt	Richard Levin	Robert Rubin	Robert Zoellick
US Government	0.074 (0.37)	-0.264 (0.86)	0.034 (0.11)	0.226 (1.26)	0.090 (0.45)
US Private	-0.054 (0.32)	-0.171 (0.70)	0.026 (0.10)	0.198 (1.35)	0.400 (2.09)*
US NGO	0.136 (0.68)	-0.097 (0.34)	0.345 (0.89)	0.011 (0.07)	0.015 (0.07)
US University	0.001 (0.01)	-0.005 (0.02)	0.062 (0.27)	0.130 (0.99)	0.207 (1.42)
US Other MLO	0.225 (1.16)	-0.119 (0.45)	-0.101 (0.26)	0.404 (2.20)*	0.222 (1.02)
Middle Income	-0.217 (1.17)	0.045 (0.16)	0.473 (1.38)	-0.063 (0.29)	-0.019 (0.08)
Low Income	-0.180 (0.85)	0.095 (0.32)	0.465 (1.38)	-0.002 (0.01)	0.069 (0.28)
World Bank	0.225 (2.06)*	-0.037 (0.22)	-0.010 (0.05)	-0.002 (0.02)	-0.016 (0.13)
Female	-0.050 (0.62)	-0.162 (1.24)	-0.134 (0.90)	0.043 (0.53)	-0.024 (0.27)
Age	0.005 (2.01)*	-0.003 (0.82)	-0.000 (0.09)	-0.000 (0.03)	-0.001 (0.44)
Africa	-0.088 (0.41)	0.018 (0.06)	-0.377 (1.15)	-0.166 (0.72)	0.036 (0.14)
Asia	-0.073 (0.40)	-0.448 (1.70)	-0.208 (0.68)	0.051 (0.26)	-0.097 (0.44)
Europe	-0.006 (0.05)	-0.224 (1.29)	-0.156 (0.77)	0.035 (0.30)	0.116 (0.90)
Latin America & Caribbean	0.052 (0.29)	-0.324 (1.21)	-0.496 (1.30)	0.044 (0.21)	0.141 (0.67)
Australia & New Zealand	-0.236 (0.96)	-0.874 (2.48)*	-0.315 (0.44)	-0.263 (0.92)	-0.107 (0.40)
Constant	2.112 (12.73)**	1.837 (7.61)**	1.525 (5.20)**	2.068 (12.74)**	1.776 (9.58)**
Observations	325	178	148	326	295
R-squared	0.09	0.08	0.05	0.04	0.04

Absolute value of t statistics in parentheses

* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Table 2.7: Candidate Scores by Category and Country Group

	Banking & Finance Experience	Knowledge of Development	Effective Manager	International Organization Experience	Political & Diplomatic Experience
Montek Ahluwalia					
USA	2.37	2.50	1.88	2.08	1.95
World Bank	1.67	2.34	1.68	2.10	1.76
High Income	2.22	2.65	1.90	2.12	2.10
Middle Income	2.14	2.58	1.95	2.00	1.95
Low Income	2.55	2.64	2.03	2.28	1.97
Tony Blair					
USA	1.25	1.82	2.24	1.82	2.71
World Bank	1.12	1.76	2.24	1.25	2.76
High Income	0.87	1.55	2.04	1.44	2.71
Middle Income	0.89	1.42	2.22	1.43	2.58
Low Income	0.83	1.73	2.00	1.67	2.59
Kemal Dervis					
USA	2.40	2.63	2.06	2.60	2.30
World Bank	2.35	2.77	2.05	2.81	2.42
High Income	2.19	2.72	2.12	2.72	2.52
Middle Income	2.62	2.88	2.42	2.75	2.51
Low Income	2.33	2.44	2.05	2.61	2.41
Stanley Fischer					
USA	2.73	2.33	2.11	2.56	1.93
World Bank	2.82	2.59	2.27	2.81	2.16
High Income	2.88	2.30	2.15	2.60	1.72
Middle Income	2.58	1.87	2.03	2.26	1.84
Low Income	2.55	2.11	2.00	2.29	2.00
Robert Kimmitt					
USA	1.91	0.96	1.63	1.14	1.84
World Bank	1.97	1.00	1.68	0.86	1.86
High Income	1.70	0.85	1.76	0.90	2.10
Middle Income	1.71	1.00	1.59	1.35	1.41
Low Income	1.56	1.13	1.33	1.50	1.63
Richard Levin					
USA	1.63	1.26	2.12	1.03	1.23
World Bank	1.48	1.24	1.87	0.78	1.61
High Income	1.52	1.33	1.61	0.88	1.26
Middle Income	1.89	1.30	1.80	1.25	1.55
Low Income	1.61	1.56	1.88	1.24	1.41

	Banking & Finance Experience	Knowledge of Development	Effective Manager	International Organization Experience	Political & Diplomatic Experience
Trevor Manuel					
USA	2.55	2.51	2.15	1.60	2.45
World Bank	2.45	2.64	2.00	1.48	2.48
High Income	2.53	2.49	2.20	1.45	2.47
Middle Income	2.35	2.35	2.13	1.79	2.16
Low Income	2.22	2.18	1.89	1.68	2.33
Robert Rubin					
USA	2.85	1.54	2.55	1.62	2.39
World Bank	2.76	1.52	2.53	1.26	2.34
High Income	2.84	1.28	2.31	1.37	2.41
Middle Income	2.48	1.55	2.26	1.67	2.23
Low Income	2.46	1.61	2.47	1.73	2.27
Robert Zoellick					
USA	1.97	1.32	1.84	1.70	2.29
World Bank	2.02	1.38	1.57	1.38	2.30
High Income	1.95	1.32	1.71	1.49	2.25
Middle Income	2.00	1.39	1.93	1.67	2.00
Low Income	1.68	1.32	2.00	1.73	2.26

**Table 2.8.1: Candidate Average Scores by Group
(Aggregate Method)**

Candidate	US	High Income	Middle Income	Low Income	World Bank	Average
Kemal Dervis	47.8	49.1	52.7	47.3	49.5	49.3
Stanley Fischer	46.6	46.9	42.4	43.7	50.5	46.0
Trevor Manuel	44.4	43.9	42.7	40.6	43.5	43.0
Montek Ahluwalia	42.9	43.9	42.3	45.7	38.5	42.7
Robert Rubin	43.5	39.9	40.5	41.9	40.8	41.3
Tony Blair	39.4	34.1	34.0	35.2	36.7	35.9
Robert Zoellick	36.1	34.2	35.8	35.8	33.5	35.1
Richard Levin	29.5	26.3	31.0	30.8	28.0	29.1
Robert Kimmitt	29.5	28.4	28.3	28.4	28.6	28.6

Table 2.8.2: Candidate Ranks by Group

	US	High- Income	Middle- Income	Low- Income	World Bank	Average
Kemal Dervis	1	1	1	1	2	1
Stanley Fischer	2	2	3	3	1	2
Trevor Manuel	3	4	2	5	3	3
Montek Ahluwalia	5	3	4	2	5	4
Robert Rubin	4	5	5	4	4	5
Tony Blair	6	7	7	7	6	6
Robert Zoellick	7	6	6	6	7	7
Richard Levin	9	9	8	8	9	8
Robert Kimmitt	8	8	9	9	8	9

Table 2.8.3: Group Rank Correlations

	US	World Bank	High Income	Middle Income
World Bank	0.98			
High Income	0.93	0.92		
Middle Income	0.93	0.90	0.93	
Low Income	0.85	0.82	0.95	0.88

**Table 2.9.1: Median Candidate Scores - Ranks by Group
(Individual Method)**

	US	High Income	Middle Income	Low Income	World Bank	Average
Kemal Dervis	1	1	1	1	2	1
Stanley Fischer	2	2	4	3	1	2
Trevor Manuel	3	3	2	4	3	3
Montek Ahluwalia	5	4	3	2	4	4
Robert Rubin	4	5	5	6	5	5
Tony Blair	6	7	7	5	6	6
Robert Zoellick	7	6	5	8	7	7
Richard Levin	8	9	8	7	9	8
Robert Kimmitt	9	8	9	9	8	9

Table 2.9.2: 1st Quartile Candidate Scores - Ranks by Group

	US	High Income	Middle Income	Low Income	World Bank	Average
Kemal Dervis	1	1	1	1	1	1
Stanley Fischer	2	2	3	3	2	2
Montek Ahluwalia	4	4	2	2	5	3
Trevor Manuel	2	2	4	5	3	4
Robert Rubin	5	5	5	4	4	5
Tony Blair	6	6	6	6	6	6
Robert Zoellick	7	7	7	8	7	7
Robert Kimmitt	9	8	9	7	8	8
Richard Levin	8	9	8	9	9	9

Table 2.9.3: 3rd Quartile Candidate Scores - Ranks by Group

	US	High Income	Middle Income	Low Income	World Bank	Average
Kemal Dervis	1	1	1	1	2	1
Stanley Fischer	2	2	2	1	1	2
Montek Ahluwalia	3	2	5	3	4	3
Trevor Manuel	5	4	2	6	3	4
Robert Rubin	4	5	4	4	5	5
Tony Blair	6	7	7	4	6	6
Robert Zoellick	7	6	6	7	7	7
Richard Levin	8	9	9	8	8	8
Robert Kimmitt	8	8	8	9	9	9

World Bank New President Survey

1. World Bank President Survey: Process, Qualifications, Candidates

This survey seeks views on three issues related to the selection of the World Bank President: the process; desired experience and qualifications; and the perceived qualifications of several possible candidates identified in press reports.

The survey is open to members of the international development community. At the end we request your name and e-mail for verification purposes. Your responses are private and we will not disclose your participation in the survey or share your e-mail address with anyone.

1. Selection Process: For each question, please indicate your level of agreement.

	strongly agree	agree	not sure	disagree	strongly disagree
The status quo should continue: the U.S. should maintain its customary prerogative of seeking World Bank Board approval for a single American candidate, after informal consultations with other shareholders, in order to help ensure U.S. support for the World Bank.					
The process should evolve: the U.S. should continue to play a dominant role, for example, by presenting a list of candidates for Board consideration (which could include both U.S. and non-U.S. citizens).					

<p>A new process should be formalized: the Board should appoint an eminent persons group to conduct a search and present a limited number of qualified candidates to the Board.</p>			
<p>The bank's members should agree on a voting process (variations of which are used at the Inter-American and the Asian Development Banks) in which, for example, a candidate would need to receive both a majority of the country members' votes and a majority of the voting shares. (For example, the U.S. would have one vote as a country but 14% of the voting shares.)</p>			
<p>The U.S. prerogative to name the World Bank president and the European prerogative to name the head of the IMF should be replaced by a selection process that is open, competitive and merit-based, without regard to nationality.</p>			

2. Qualifications: Please indicate the importance you attach to each of the following qualifications for becoming World Bank president.

	very important	somewhat important	not important
Effective Manager			
Knowledge of Development			
International Organization Experience			
Political and Diplomatic Experience			
Banking and Finance Experience			

3. Are there additional qualifications you think very important? What are they?

4. Candidates Qualifications: Following are some of the individuals mentioned in press reports as possible candidates to become president of the World Bank. Please indicate your perception of their qualifications and experience using the following scores: 1: Fair; 2: Good; 3: Excellent; 0: Lacks this qualification or experience. If you do not have an opinion, do not know, or do not otherwise wish to comment on any candidate, leave the fields blank.

(Note: CGD staff did not consult with any of the individuals listed and arbitrarily limited the number of names to make the survey manageable; inclusion on this list does not imply endorsement by CGD.)

	Banking & Finance Experience	Knowledge of Development	Effective Manager	International Organization Experience	Political & Diplomatic Experience
Kemal Dervis	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Montek Ahluwalia	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Trevor Manuel	<input type="text"/>				
Robert Rubin	<input type="text"/>				
Robert Zoellick	<input type="text"/>				
Richard Levin	<input type="text"/>				
Stanley Fischer	<input type="text"/>				
Robert Kimmitt	<input type="text"/>				
Tony Blair	<input type="text"/>				

5. Is there somebody else that you would recommend for World Bank President not mentioned here?

6. What ratings would you give this recommended person?

Name	Banking & Finance Experience	Knowledge of Development	Effective Manager	International Organization Experience	Political & Diplomatic Experience
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

*** 7. Please tell us about yourself: First Name**

*** 8. Last Name**

*** 9. E-mail Address**

*** 10. Nationality**

*** 11. Country of Residence**

*** 12. Which type of organization best describes your current or most recent employment?**

Government

Private company

University or think tank

NGO / advocacy organization

World Bank

Other multilateral organization

Other (please specify)

13. Age

*** 14. Gender**

Male

Female

Appendix 2 Selection Criteria Identified by Survey Participants

After asking participants to rate the importance of CGD’s five criteria for selecting the next World Bank President, the survey poses the following questions: Are there additional qualifications you think very important? What are they? The responses from 299 people vary from single words to sentences. To provide a summary perspective, we have recoded the responses into one- or two-word descriptives and tabulated suggestions made by at least five people. The following table presents the results, sorted in descending order of frequency. Integrity is cited most often, by 59 respondents, followed by concrete development experience (41). Participants who cite development experience express concern that our related criterion – knowledge of development – is too abstract. Other criteria cited by 8 people or more provide a composite image of an ideal World Bank President: an empathetic (8), multilingual (8), widely-recognized international leader (24); a practical visionary (9) with a passion for development (23), political and intellectual independence (19) and excellent communication skills (10). This image is daunting, of course – but so is the job.

Selection Criterion	Number of Respondents
Integrity	59
Development Experience	41
International Leadership	24
Passion for Development	23
Independence	19
Communication Skills	10
Practical Visionary	9
Multilingual	8
Empathy	8
Cross-Cultural Skill	7
Economics Proficiency	7
Intellectual Leadership	6
Cross-Disciplinary Skill	6
Successful Implementer	6
Consensus Builder	6
Charisma	6
Donor Support	5
Advanced Education	5
Management Skill	5

Appendix 3 Other Candidates Proposed by Participants

After asking participants to rate nine candidates for World Bank President, the survey poses the following question: Is there somebody else that you would recommend for World Bank President not mentioned here? The responses from 291 people include last names, lists of names, and first/last names in a variety of spellings. Responses have been recoded to standard first/last names and, to preserve parity among participants, each respondent has been limited to the first name cited. The table below includes people cited at least three times, sorted by frequency.⁴

Candidate	Number of Respondents
Bill Clinton	37
Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala	22
Muhammad Yunus	18
Nancy Birdsall	16
Joseph Stiglitz	9
Jeffrey Sachs	9
Kofi Annan	8
Mark Malloch Brown	6
Jimmy Carter	5
Amartya Sen	5
Ernesto Zedillo	5
Al Gore	4
Colin Powell	4
Paul Volcker	4
Henry Paulson	4
Bono	4
Peter Mcpherson	4
Fernando Cardoso	4
Pedro Malan	4
Bill Gates	3
Larry Summers	3
Gro Harlem Brundtland	3

⁴ One of the proposed candidates is from CGD, and it would obviously be problematic for her tally to include nominations by CGD staff members. In fact, CGD staff members appropriately recused themselves; all of the nominations are from non-CGD participants.. The CGD candidate's name and respondent numbers have therefore been included, in deference to the non-CGD participants who suggested her. It would scarcely be appropriate to do otherwise, since this survey reflects CGD's larger commitment to transparency in the presidential selection process. The CGD candidate was not involved in this tabulation.