'It's the Economy, Stupid!' Political Economy Analysis and Political Corruption Studies

Inge Amundsen, senior researcher, Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen/Norway Wednesday, 20th of November 2019 ANU workshop, Canberra, Australia



Political Economy Analysis and Political Corruption Studies

Political Economy Analysis

- Upcoming political science approach
- PEA theories and approaches

The Resource Curse theory

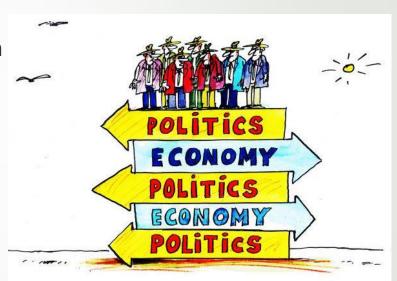
- Economic and political aspects
- The democracy first theory

Political Corruption Studies

- Political vs administrative corruption
- Political corruption as power preservation

Analytical Tools

Research questions



Political Economy Analysis

- Interdisciplinary: economics, sociology and political science
- Explains how political institutions, the political environment, and the economic system influence each other
- Economic interests of politicians
- Political influence of economic interests





The Resource Curse

- The Dutch Disease
- The Paradox of Plenty
- The Rentier State model

- Oil rich countries can be worse off
 - Rich in natural resources
 - Poor in economic development

Explanations

- Economic explanations
- Political explanations

Democracy first theory

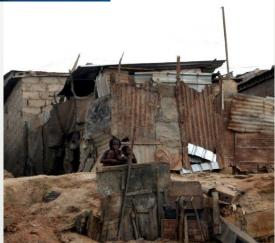
- Norway
- Australia
- Canada
- Chile
- Brazil
- Malaysia
- Botswana
- ..

- ay
 - Angola
 - DR Congo
 - The Sudan

Nigeria

- Sierra Leone
- Liberia
- Zambia
- Colombia
- Azerbaijan
- Tajikistan
 - ...







Economic Explanations

Relative price effect

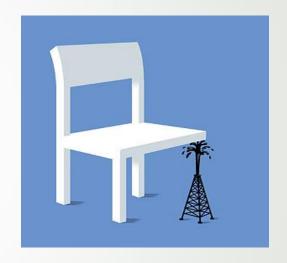
- Higher currency value
- More imports (cheaper)
- Competition difficult

The 'Dutch Disease'

- Over-investment in extractive industries
- Under-investments in manufacture, agriculture
- "Crowding out" (decline of competitiveness)
- De-industrialisation
- Limited/difficult economic diversification

Volatility

- Uncertainty for businesses
- Government waste and debt
- Government borrowing
- Capital flight





Political Explanations

The prize increases

- Higher government revenues
- Large benefits of being the "state elite"
- Consumption, enrichment, corruption

State autonomy increases

- Off-shore, foreign, High-Tech
- "Un-earned", easy
- Little taxation domestic economy
- No "social contract"
- Little influence business/middle class
- Little influence of civil society

State power increases

- Means to manipulate institutions
- Means to buy (off) rivals
- Means to buy instruments of coercion



Conflict increases

- Uneven distribution
- Increasing inequality
- Increasing poverty

Authoritarianism increases

- Entrenched elites
- Violent defence of privileges
- Weak institutions

Democracy First Theory

A country will be cursed only when it becomes oil-export dependent before accountable and democratic state institutions are established and consolidated

The First Law of
Petropolitics: The price of
oil and the pace of
freedom always move in
opposite directions in oilrich petrolist states.
Thomas Friedman 2006

Exceptions?



Norway "4 times blessed"

- 1 Established democracy
 - Rules of the game settled
- 2 Resource management experience
 - Hydro-electric power plants
 - Competent civils service
- 3 No big expectations
 - Modest start
- 4 Big finds







Phillips 1962 \$/year: 2 000 000 Gvt. income \$/year: 20 000 000 000 Petroleum Fund 2019: 1 100 000 000 000



Political Corruption

Abuse (capture) of public power for private benefit

- Misuse of entrusted power for private gain
- Political when political decision makers abuse their power for private benefit

Political

Power holders Rules of the game

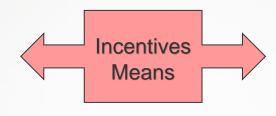


Bureaucratic

Implementors

Political Corruption: Two faces/phases

Extraction



Bribery

- Corruption per se
- Kickbacks, sweeteners, percentages, grease money, ...

Embezzlement

- Theft
- Privatisations

Fraud

- Economic crime
- Element of cheating
- Tax systems

Extortion

- Element of violence
- No/little returns

Power preservation

Buying friends

- Favouritism
- Clientelism, patronage
- Co-optation
- Nepotism

Buying support

- Vote buying, handouts
- Majorities

Buying impunity

- Courts and judges
- O&C institutions
- Political nominations

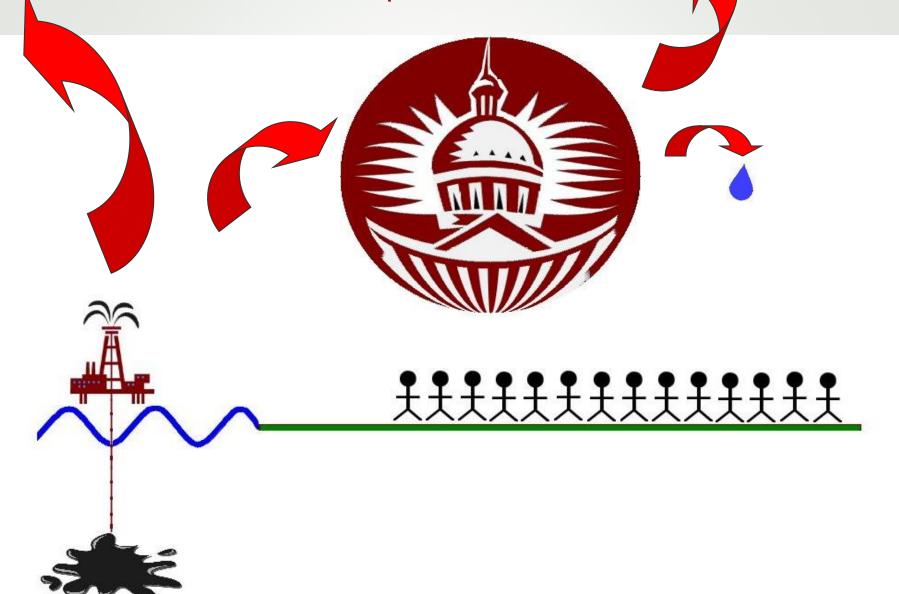
Buying security

Means of violence

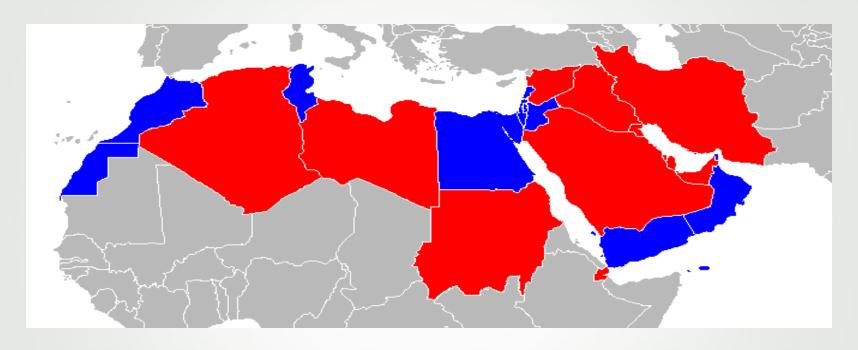
The petroleum sector ideal



Petroleum sector corruption



Political Corruption as Power Preservation: MENA



Extraction

- Bribery
- Embezzlement
- Fraud
- Extortion



Power preservation

- Buying friends
- Buying support
- Buying impunity
- Buying security

Research Questions

Developmentalist states?

- State autonomy
- Incentives
- Capabilities
- Established crony capitalism



From business to politics or vv?

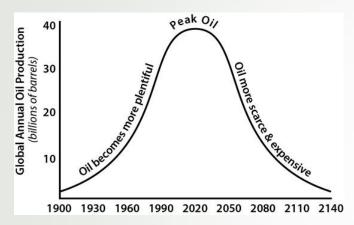
- Regime characteristics
- New politicians

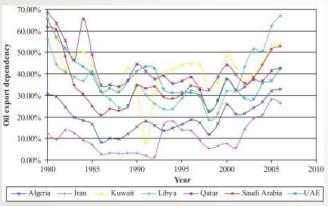




Seek ye first the political kingdom and all else shall be added unto you

Research Questions





When petrodollars run out?

- Peak oil
- Diversification
- Social contract
- Conflict

