

# **Price Volatility and The Political Economy of the Resource Curse**

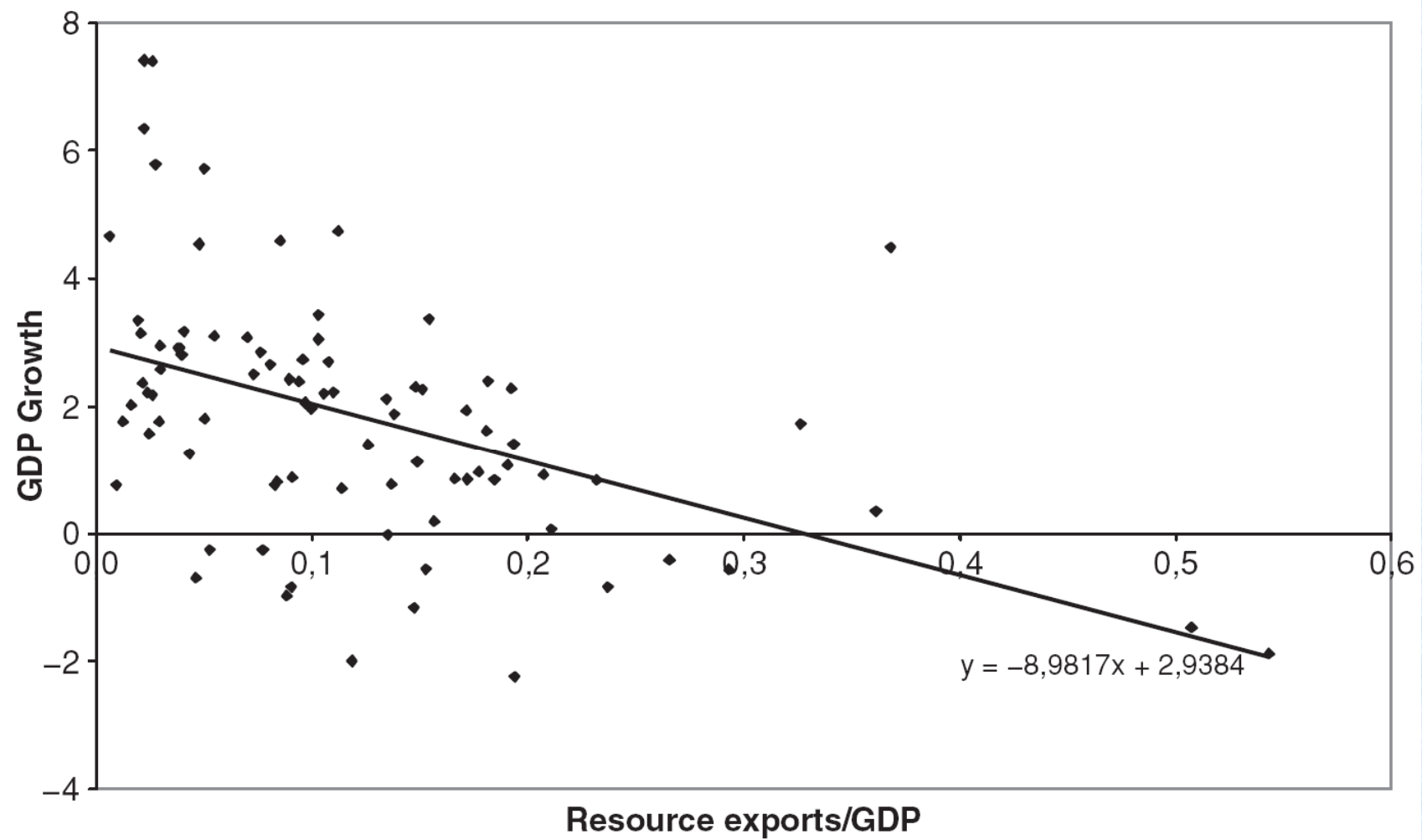
Thierry Verdier  
(PSE and CEPR)

## Introduction (I)

- An old standing question :  
Natural Resources & Economic Performances: blessing or curse ?
- Prior to late 80s: conventional wisdom : a blessing !  
Economic historians / Industrial revolution : USA, Britain, Australia  
(Viner 1952, Lewis 1955, Rostow 1961, Krueger 1980)

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- After the 80s: Presumption of a Curse !



Source: Data used in Mehlum *et al.* (2006).

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(Viner 1952, Lewis 1955, Rostow 1961, Krueger 1980)
- After the 80s: Presumption of a Curse !
  - Cross country empirical work : Sachs and Warner (1995, 1999),  
Bushy, Isham, Pritchett, Woolcock (2003)  
Bannon and Collier 2003; Davis et al.2003  
Mehlum, Moene and Torvik (2006),
  - Case studies : Gelb (1988), Karl (1997), Auty (2001), Ross (1999, 2001),  
Sala-i-Martin and Subramanian (2003), Eifert et al. (2003)



## Introduction (II)

- In fact : great variety of outcomes (even in LDCs) :  
Botswana, Chile, Malaysia, Oman and Thailand (Abidin 2001)  
Algeria, Ecuador, Mexico, Nigeria, Trinidad & Tobago, Venezuela, Zambia

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- In fact : great variety of outcomes (even in LDCs) :  
Botswana, Chile, Malaysia, Oman and Thailand (Abidin 2001)  
Algeria, Ecuador, Mexico, Nigeria, Trinidad & Tobago, Venezuela, Zambia
- Skepticism/controversies about existence of Resource Curse  
Pbs of statistical robustness / generalizations / endogeneity:  
  
Manzano and Rigobon (2001), Ding and Field (2005), Alexeev and Conrad (2009),  
Brunnschweiler and Bulte (2008), van der Ploeg and Poelhekke (2010)  
  
Collier and Goderis (2007); Butkiewicz and Yanikkaya (2010)

## Introduction (III)

- Shifts in literature from « average effects » of resources to:
  - 1) Explaining diversity of outcomes and mechanisms :  
«Why some resource-abundant countries succeed while others do not? »



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role of institutions and policies:

Mehlum, Moene and Torvik (2006), Iimi 2007, Kolstad (2009) : Quality of institutions

Andersen and Aslaksen (2008): Presidentialism vs Parliamentary democracies

Arezki and van der Ploeg (2007) : Trade policies/openness

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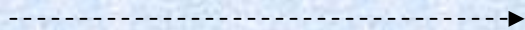
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political economy dimensions

## **Introduction (IV)**

### 2) Volatility curse : volatility of prices/policies

- Volatility and growth :
  - Aizenman and Marion (1991)
  - Ramey and Ramey (1995)
  - Aghion, Angeletos, Banerjee, Manova (2005)
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  - Aghion, Bachetta, Rancière and Rogoff (2006)
- Volatility curse :
  - Haussman and Rigobon (2002): reinforcing effects: specialization in non tradables / financial frictions/ RER volatility
  - van der Ploeg and Poelhekke (2010) : direct positive effect of resource on growth  
indirect negative effect through volatility
  - Bleaney and Halland (2009): negative effect of resources on growth  
through fiscal volatility
  - Leong and Mohaddes (2011) : volatility curse /mitigating role of institutions



## **In this talk... (I)**

- Political economy dimensions / volatility curse

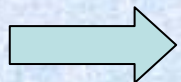


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- Political economy dimensions / volatility curse
- Political economy channel :
  - «Bad policy » induced by Resource rents
  - Dysfunctional state behavior \ large public sectors \  
Inefficient redistributive policies \(Gelb (1988), Gavin (1993), Karl (1997), Auty (2001), Ross (2012))

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- Political economy dimensions / volatility curse
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  - Dysfunctional state behavior \ large public sectors \ Inefficient redistributive policies \  
(Gelb (1988), Gavin (1993), Karl (1997), Auty (2001), Ross (2012))
- How Resource Booms / volatility affect the extent of inefficient redistribution ?



Interactions between political incentives / price shocks  
volatility

## **In this talk...(II)**

- Political models of resource extraction with price volatility
- Probabilistic voting Model (Lindbeck-Weibull 1993)  
incumbent politician\ resource extraction

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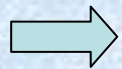
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incumbent politician\ resource extraction
- Inefficient redistribution : clientelism \ patronage :  
system of political exchange with voters  
Public employment: redistribution of rents (Auty 2001)
  - Two sided credibility: patron\voters
  - Exclusivity of patron: social network (Robinson and Verdier (2012))
  - Way to gain political support



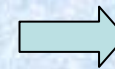
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Price shocks  
Volatility



Political support.  
Incumbent's incentives  
Public Policies



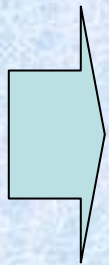
Resource  
Curse



## Main Insights (I)

### Deterministic price shocks (Robinson, Torvik, Verdier 2006)

- Over extraction of natural resources
- Permanent resource boom: improves efficiency of extraction
- Permanent resource boom: increase resource misallocation in the rest of the economy
- Impact of resource boom : depends on nature of political institutions

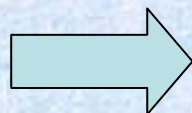


Resource booms create underdevelopment  
not because of inefficiency in the rate of resource extraction  
But because of what politicians do with the resource rents.

## Main Results (II)

### Extension to Stochastic Resource Prices and Volatility

Volatility

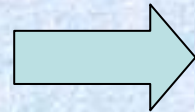


- Political support / turnover  
(fiscal volatility for risk averse voters)
- Value of staying in power  
(for risk averse politicians)

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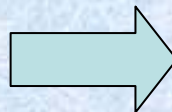
Volatility



- Political support / turnover  
(fiscal volatility for risk averse voters)
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- When incumbent's constituency « more sensitive » to fiscal shocks than rest of population :

Higher resource  
volatility



Inefficient Patronage policies  
Crowding out of public investment  
  
Magnification of over extraction  
of natural resources  
  
More so under « weak » institutions

# Roadmap

- 1) Political Economy models of the resource curse
- 2) A simple model of clientelism, price shocks and resource curse
- 3) Political clientelism under price volatility
- 4) Political clientelism, public investment and price volatility
- 5) Resource extraction under price volatility
- 6) Conclusions



## Economic /Political models of the resource curse (I)

Surveys: van der Ploeg (2010), Deacon (2011), Frankel (2012).

- «Dutch Disease » literature: Corden and Neary (1982), van Wijnbergen (1984), Krugman (1987), Matsuyama (1992), Sachs and Warner (1995), Gylfason *et al.* (1999), Torvik (2001), Matsen and Torvik (2005), van der Ploeg and Venables (2011)  
Haussman and Rigobon (2002)



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Haussman and Rigobon (2002)
- « Rent-Seeking » Literature : Tornell and Lane (1999): « Voracity Effect »
  - || Baland and François (2000) Occupational choices
  - || Torvik (2002), Hodler (2006)
- Need for some negative multiplier /externality/ increasing returns effect:  
not internalized by political system decentralized
- No explicit role for political/institutional parameters

## Political/ Economic models of the resource curse (II)

- Political Economy Models of the resource curse

- Political theories of the « rentier » state: North and Thomas (1973)  
Karl (1997), Ross (1999, 2001)

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- Civil conflicts :

Collier and Hoeffler (2004): Rebels' incentives and capacity

Aslaksen and Torvik (2006): violent vs democratic competition

- Incumbency distortions and lobbying:

Acemoglu, Robinson and Verdier (2006): Elite's behavior

Damania and Bulte (2003): Lobbying incentives

Caselli and Cunnigham (2009): leader's incentives/ non monotonic effects  
survival function

- Public sector distortions:

Robinson, Torvik and Verdier (2006) : public employment /clientelism

Robinson and Torvik (2005) : « white elephants »

Smith (2008) : Selectorate theory / windfalls / composition of public goods

## A Simple Political Economy Model (I)

(Robinson, Torvik and Verdier 2006)

- Two-period probabilistic voting model : periods 1 and 2
- Two parties \ politicians: incumbent A and challenger B.
- Election is at the end of period 1
- Mass of voters normalized to 1
- Stock of natural resources: prices  $p_1, p_2$
- Resource extracted in period 1:  $e$   
in period 2 :  $R(e)$   
with  $R'(e) < 0$  and  $R''(e) < 0$



## A Simple Political Economy Model (II)

- Resource income can be used in two possible ways:
  - Consumption by the incumbent
  - Distribution as patronage: public jobs / influence election outcome
  - No taxes
- After election, political winner consumes remaining resource rents.
- No commitment to policies
- Incumbent politician: clientelism / offers public jobs:  $L_p < 1$   
public wage:  $W > H$   
 $H$  : productivity in private sector
- Re-election probability:  $\Pi = \Pi(L_p)$  with  $\Pi' > 0$



## A Simple Political Economy Model (III)

- The incumbent decides policy before the election:  
Resource extraction  $e$  and public sector employment  $L_P$

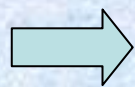
$$\max_{e, L_P} p_1 e - WL_P + \Pi(L_P)[p_2 R(e) - WL_P]$$

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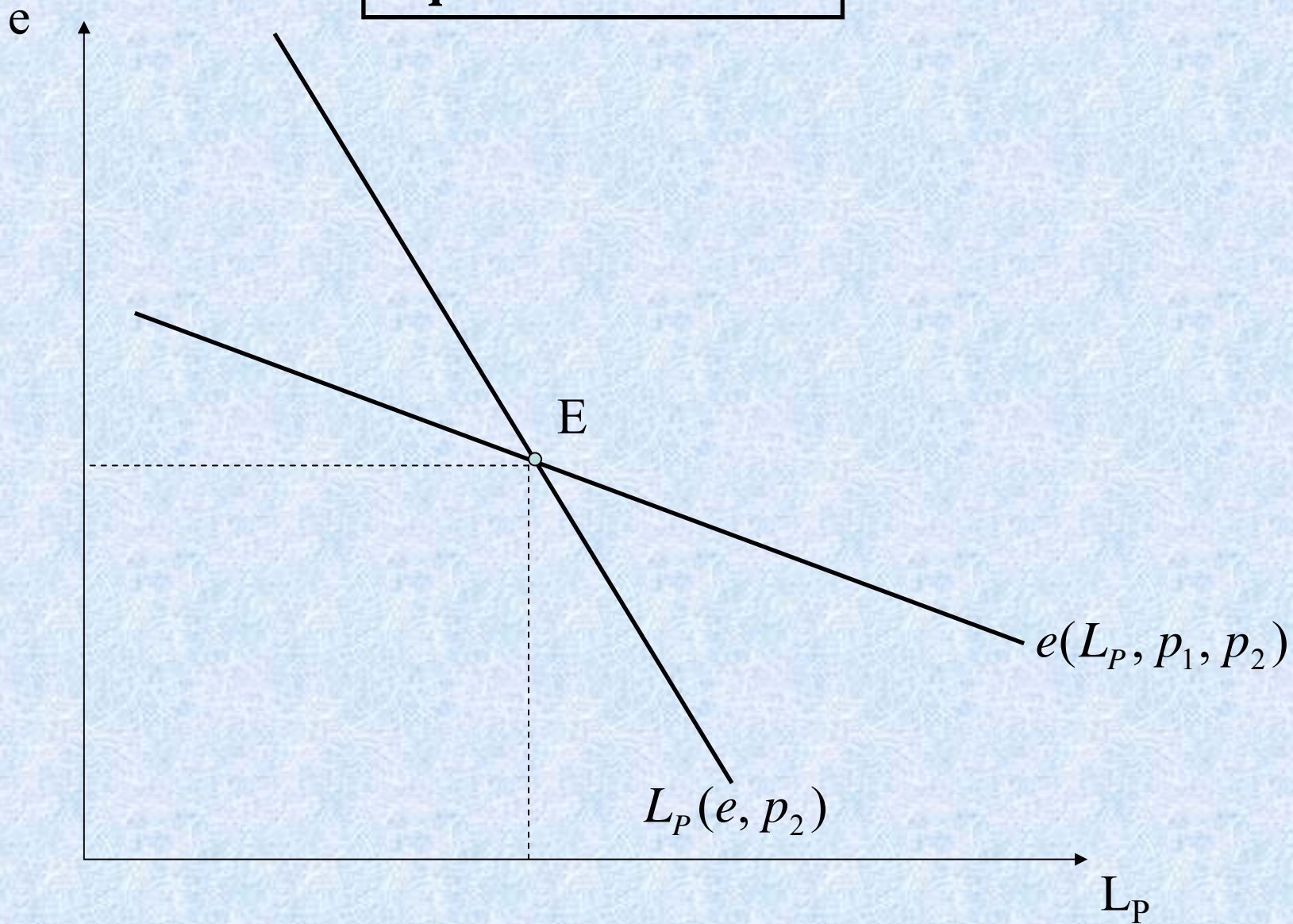
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$$p_1 + \Pi(L_P)p_2 R'(e) = 0$$



$$-[1 + \Pi(L_P)]W + \Pi'[p_2 R(e) - WL_P] = 0$$

## Equilibrium Policies



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- Efficient extraction path :  $\text{Max}_e p_1 e + p_2 R(e)$

$$(F): p_1 + p_2 R'(e) = 0 \quad \longrightarrow \quad e > e^f$$



## Price Shocks and Extractive Efficiency (I)

- Resources are inefficiently over-extracted :  $e > e^f$

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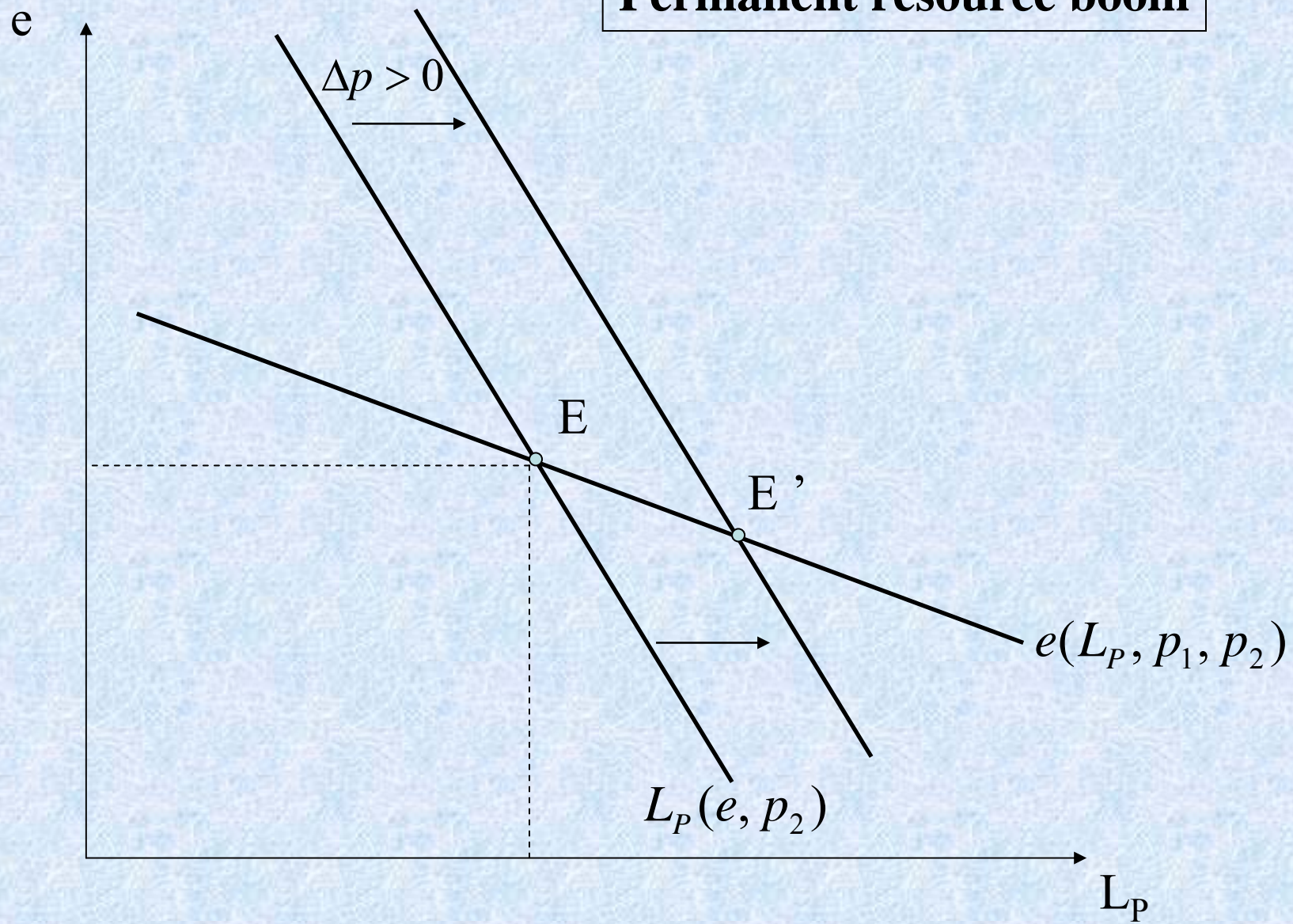
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Intuition:

- value of staying in power:  $\nearrow$
- more incentives to bias political competition
- probability of staying in power :  $\nearrow$
- politician is less myopic



**Permanent resource boom**



## Price Shocks and Extractive Efficiency (I)

ii) temporary resource boom:  $dp_1 > 0$  and  $dp_2 = 0$

iii) anticipated future resource boom:  $dp_1 = 0$  and  $dp_2 > 0$

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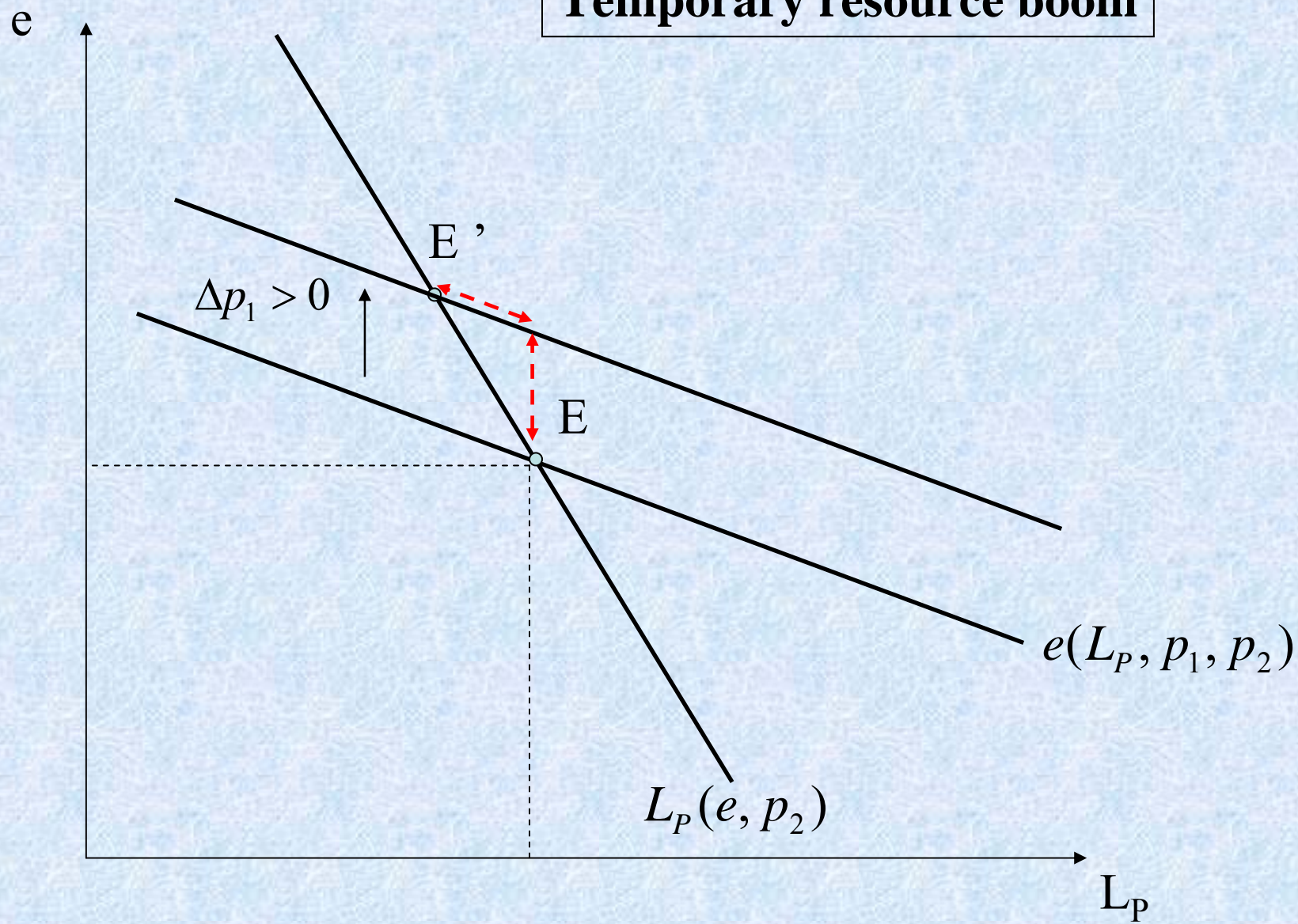
- increases extraction rate and reduces efficiency if  $R'''(e) \geq 0$

- equilibrium extraction path change

Endogenous effect of clientelism: increases myopia

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**Temporary resource boom**





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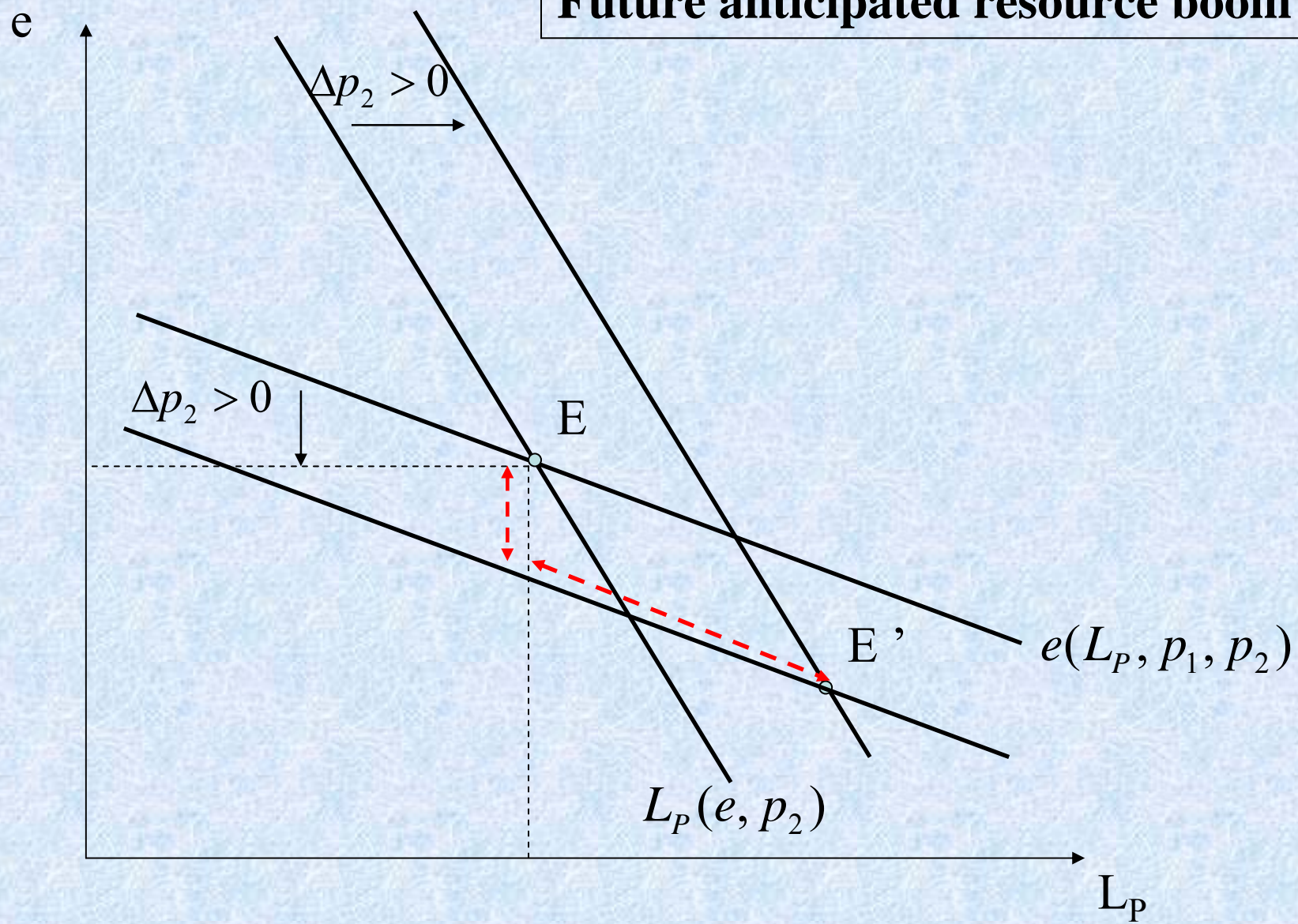
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**Future anticipated resource boom**



## Resource booms and resource allocation (I)

permanent resource boom:

- public sector employment ↑
- Private sector employment ↓

$$\frac{dp_1}{p_1} = \frac{dp_2}{p_2} = \frac{dp}{p}$$

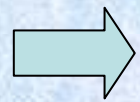


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Resource Booms lead to politically motivated expansions of the public sector :

- Gavin (1993): Oil Boom in Nigeria from 1973 to 1987  
and expansion of public employment
- Gelb (1988): Nigeria
- Auty (1999) : Trinidad and Tobago
- Gelb (1988): Ecuador and Venezuela
- Bates and Colliers (1993), Gelb, Knight and Sabot (1991): Zambia

## Resource curse ? (I)

- Opposite extraction path effect and labor misallocation effect :
- ex: permanent boom: - efficiency of extraction rate increases  
- more labor in public sector
- Impact of resource booms on total income: ambiguous

$$Y = 2(1 - L_P)H + p_1e + p_2R(e)$$

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$$Y = 2(1 - L_P)H + p_1 e + p_2 R(e)$$

$$\frac{dY}{dp/p} = \underbrace{p_1 e}_{+} + \underbrace{p_2 R}_{+} + \underbrace{(p_1 + p_2 R') \frac{de}{dp/p}}_{-} - \underbrace{2H \frac{dL_P}{dp/p}}_{-}$$

Resource value increase      Positive extraction path effect      Negative reallocation effect

## **Resource booms and resource allocation (II)**

- Negative reallocation effect stronger on public sector when politician has more ability to influence political process through « patronage » redistribution



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- Importance of institutions for resource curse :

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- Negative reallocation effect stronger on public sector when politician has more ability to influence political process through « patronage » redistribution
- Importance of institutions for resource curse :

- |  |   |                   |
|--|---|-------------------|
| • Weak institutions:<br>(subject to clientelism) | → | Resource curse    |
| • Strong institutions                            | → | No resource curse |



Consistent with Mehlum et al. (2006), Iimi (2007), Kolstad (2009) :  
Positive effects of Resources on growth when institutions are good

## Price Volatility and Political Economy (I)

- Exogenous natural resource endowment:  $Z$
- Intertemporal path of prices  $(p_1, p_2)$  :

$$p_1 = \bar{p}_1 > 0 \text{ (deterministic)}$$

$$p_2 = \bar{p}_2 + \epsilon \text{ (stochastic)} \quad \bar{p}_2 > 0$$

$\epsilon$ : random variable defined on  $[-a, a]$

$$E(\epsilon) = 0 \quad \text{var}(\epsilon) = \sigma^2$$

- Microfoundations of political competition (probabilistic voting):
  - 2 groups of individuals A and B: size 1/2.
  - 2 politicians: incumbent from group A / challenger from group B
  - Different preferences: private good/ group specific public good

## Price Volatility and Political Economy (II)

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 \text{voters of type } A : & u^A(C_t, G_t) = C_t - \gamma^A \frac{(\bar{G} - G_t)^2}{2} \\
 \text{voters of type } B : & u^B(C_t) = C_t
 \end{array}
 \quad \begin{array}{l}
 \bar{G} > 0 \\
 \gamma^A > 0
 \end{array}$$

- concave public good utility: risk aversion for fiscal volatility
- group specific public good: fiscal volatility affects political turnover
- quadratic specification : “certainty equivalent” forms

- Each politician cares about his own utility:

$$V_t^A = R_t^A - \gamma^A \frac{(\bar{G} - G_t)^2}{2}$$

$$V_t^B = R_t^B$$

$R_t^i$ : politician's private good consumption



## Price Volatility and Political Economy (III)

- Productivity in private sector:  $H$
- Productivity in public sector:  $0$ , wage  $W$
- $L_P$  : public sector workers decided by incumbent in period 1  
credible commitment for incumbent in period 2  
(political patronage / clientelistic social networks)  
No commitment for challenger (Robinson and Verdier 2012)
- Per-period Gvt budget constraints (no taxes):

$$G_1 + R_1^A = p_1 Z - WL_P$$

$$G_2(A) + R_2^B = p_2 Z - WL_P$$

$$G_2(B) + R_2^B = p_2 Z$$

## Price Volatility and Political Economy (IV)

- Probabilistic voting model :  $U_t^i (A) + \sigma^i + \theta > U_t^i (B)$

$\sigma^i$  : « idiosyncratic component » uniformly distributed on  $\left[-\frac{1}{2s}, \frac{1}{2s}\right]$

$\theta$  : incumbent specific popularity uniformly distributed on  $\left[-\frac{1}{2h}, \frac{1}{2h}\right]$

## Price Volatility and Political Economy (IV)

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$\sigma^i$  : uniformly distributed on  $\left[-\frac{1}{2s}, \frac{1}{2s}\right]$

$\theta$  : uniformly distributed on  $\left[-\frac{1}{2h}, \frac{1}{2h}\right]$

- Timing:

- period 1: - Incumbent chooses:  $(L_P, G_1, R_1^A)$ 
  - production, consumption
- period 2: - political competition:  $\begin{pmatrix} G_2(A), R_2^A \\ G_2(B), R_2^B \end{pmatrix}$ 
  - winner implements ex post optimal rent  $R_2$
  - realization of the price shock  $\varepsilon$
  - production, consumption and public good provision

## Equilibrium Policies in period 2 (I)

- Credible policies: backward induction

Period 2:

- If politician of type B is elected :  $G_2(B) = 0$

No public jobs

consume all the rent  $p_2 Z$



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- For incumbent of type A:

$$G_2(A) = \max[p_2 Z - R_2^A - WL_P; 0]$$

Public jobs:  $L_P$

$$\text{Choice of } R_2^A : \quad \max_{R_2^A} R_2^A - \gamma^A E \left[ \frac{(\bar{G} - G_2(A))^2}{2} \right]$$

We will consider only regimes where  $G_2(A) > 0$  for all realizations of  $p_2$



## Equilibrium Policies in period 2 (II)

- Incumbent of type A maximizes expected utility:

$$\max_{R_2^A} R_2^A - \gamma^A \frac{(\bar{G} - E[G_2(A)])^2}{2} - \gamma^A \frac{\sigma^2}{2} Z^2$$

$$\text{with } E[G_2^A(A)] = \bar{p}_2 Z - R_2^A - WL_P$$

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$$\text{with } E[G_2^A(A)] = \bar{p}_2 Z - R_2^A - WL_P$$

- Optimal level of incumbent's rent :  $R_2^A = \bar{p}_2 Z - WL_P + \frac{1}{\gamma^A} - \bar{G}$
- Provision of the public good A :  $G_2(A) = [p_2 - \bar{p}_2]Z + \bar{G} - \frac{1}{\gamma^A}$

## Equilibrium Policies in period 2 (II)

- For incumbent of type A:

$$\max_{R_2^A} R_2^A - \gamma^A \frac{(\bar{G} - E[G_2(A)])^2}{2} - \gamma^A \frac{\sigma^2}{2} Z^2$$

$$\text{with } E[G_2^A(A)] = \bar{p}_2 Z - R_2^A - WL_P$$

- Optimal level of incumbent's rent :  $R_2^A = \bar{p}_2 Z - WL_P + \frac{1}{\gamma^A} - \bar{G}$

- Provision of the public good A :  $G_2(A) = [p_2 - \bar{p}_2]Z + \bar{G} - \frac{1}{\gamma^A}$

- Assumptions for an interior solution:  $R_2^A > 0$  and  $0 < G_2(A) < \bar{G}$

$$\left| \begin{array}{ll} aZ < \min\left\{\frac{1}{\gamma^A}; \bar{G} - \frac{1}{\gamma^A}\right\} & \longrightarrow 0 < G_2(A) < \bar{G} \\ \bar{p}_2 Z - \frac{W}{2} > \bar{G} - \frac{1}{\gamma^A} & \longrightarrow R_2^A > 0 \end{array} \right.$$

## Equilibrium Voters Utilities (I)

- Period 2 expected utility of private sector voters:

$$U_2^A(A) = H - \frac{1}{2\gamma^A} - \frac{\gamma^A \sigma^2}{2} Z^2 \quad \text{and} \quad U_2^A(B) = H - \frac{\gamma^A}{2} (\bar{G})^2$$
$$U_2^B(B) = U_2^B(A) = H$$

- Voters of type A: - Utility benefit of average public good provision

$$\frac{\gamma^A}{2} (\bar{G})^2 - \frac{1}{2\gamma^A} > 0$$

- Fiscal volatility cost related to fluctuations of  
resource income  $p_2 Z$

$$-\frac{\gamma^A \sigma^2}{2} Z^2$$

- Assume volatility not too high :  $U_2^A(A) > U_2^A(B)$

## Equilibrium Voters Utilities (II)

- Expected utility for public employees in group A :

$$U_2^L(A) = W - \frac{1}{2\gamma^A} - \frac{\gamma^A \sigma^2}{2} Z^2 \quad \text{and} \quad U_2^L(B) = H - \frac{\gamma^A}{2} (\overline{G})^2$$

- Again when volatility not too high :  $U_2^L(A) > U_2^L(B)$



## Election probability (I)

- group B voters:
  - Post-election income independent of election outcome:
  - Support incumbent A:  $\sigma^i + \theta > 0$

$$N_B = \frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{1}{2} + s\theta \right)$$

## Election probability (I)

- group B voters:
  - Post-election income independent of election outcome:
  - Support incumbent A:  $\sigma^i + \theta > 0$

$$N_B = \frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{1}{2} + s\theta \right)$$

- Group A voters:
  - private employees:  $U_2^A(A) + s^i + \theta > U_2^A(B)$

$$N_A^H = (1 - L_P) \left( \frac{1}{2} + s \left( \theta + [U_2^A(A) - U_2^A(B)] \right) \right)$$

- public workers:

$$N_A^P = L_P \left( \frac{1}{2} + s \left( \theta + [U_2^L(A) - U_2^L(B)] \right) \right)$$

## Election probability (II)

• Election probability of incumbent:  $\Pi = \Pr \left\{ N_B + N_A^P + N_A^L \geq \frac{1}{2} \right\}$

$$\longrightarrow \Pi = \Pr \left[ \theta + \frac{\gamma^A}{2} \left[ \overline{G}^2 - \frac{1}{\langle \gamma^A \rangle^2} - \sigma^2 Z^2 \right] + (W - H)L_P \geq 0 \right]$$

$$\Pi(L_P, \sigma^2) = \frac{1}{2} + h \left\{ \frac{\gamma^A}{4} \left[ \overline{G}^2 - \frac{1}{\langle \gamma^A \rangle^2} - \sigma^2 Z^2 \right] + (W - H)L_P \right\}$$

## Election probability (III)

- Election probability of incumbent:  $\Pi = \Pr \left\{ N_B + N_A^P + N_A^L \geq \frac{1}{2} \right\}$

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- Depends positively on public employment  $L_P$   
Clientelism influences probability to stay in power

## Election probability (IV)

- Relection probability of incumbent:  $\Pi = \Pr \left\{ N_B + N_A^P + N_A^L \geq \frac{1}{2} \right\}$

$$\longrightarrow \Pi = \Pr \left[ \theta + \frac{\gamma^A}{2} \left[ \bar{G}^2 - \frac{1}{(\gamma^A)^2} - \sigma^2 Z^2 \right] + (W - H)L_P \geq 0 \right]$$

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- Depends negatively on volatility of the resource price

- Type A voters suffer from fiscal volatility when incumbent reelected
- Reduces political support of these voters.
- Economic volatility translates into political instability
- (asymmetry between incumbent/challenger is crucial)



## Equilibrium patronage and Price Volatility (I)

- Period 1 problem of the incumbent:

$$\begin{aligned} \max_{R_1^A, G_1, L_P} & R_1^A - \gamma^A \frac{(\bar{G} - G_1)^2}{2} + \Pi(L_P, \sigma^2) \left[ \bar{p}_2 Z - WL_P + \frac{1}{2\gamma^A} - \bar{G} - \frac{\gamma^A \sigma^2}{2} Z^2 \right] \\ & + (1 - \Pi(L_P, \sigma^2)) \left[ -\frac{\gamma^A}{2} (\bar{G})^2 \right] \end{aligned}$$

under budget constraint :  $G_1 + R_1^A = p_1 Z - WL_P$

# Equilibrium patronage and Price Volatility (I)

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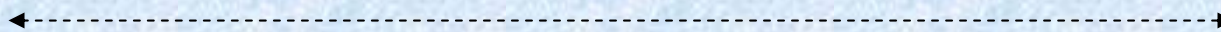
$$\max_{R_1^A, G_1, L_P} R_1^A - \gamma^A \frac{(\bar{G} - G_1)^2}{2} + \Pi(L_P, \sigma^2) \left[ \bar{p}_2 Z - WL_P + \frac{1}{2\gamma^A} - \bar{G} - \frac{\gamma^A \sigma^2}{2} Z^2 \right] \\ + (1 - \Pi(L_P, \sigma^2)) \left[ -\frac{\gamma^A}{2} (\bar{G})^2 \right]$$

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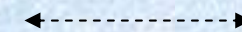


Equilibrium level of public employment (patronage) :

$$\Pi'_L \left[ \bar{p}_2 Z - WL_P + \frac{1}{2\gamma^A} - \bar{G} - \frac{\gamma^A \sigma^2}{2} Z^2 + \frac{\gamma^A}{2} (\bar{G})^2 \right] - W[1 + \Pi] = 0$$



Marginal benefit of patronage



Marginal cost  
of patronage

## **Equilibrium patronage and Price Volatility (II)**

- Effect of price volatility on patronage :

## Equilibrium patronage and Price Volatility (II)

- Effect of price volatility on patronage :
  - in general : ambiguous
- Volatility reduces value to stay in power (marginal benefit) :

$$V_{\text{power}} = \bar{p}_2 Z - WL_P + \frac{1}{2\gamma^A} - \bar{G} - \frac{\gamma^A \sigma^2}{2} Z^2 + \frac{\gamma^A}{2} (\bar{G})^2$$



Reduces political patronage  $L_P$

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 Reduces political patronage  $L_P$

- Volatility reduces proba of reelection / expected cost of public jobs

 Increases political patronage  $L_P$



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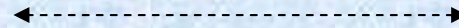
 Increases political patronage  $L_P$

- For our parametric specification:  $L_P \nearrow$  with volatility  $\sigma^2$   
when public wages are not too high (ie.  $W/H < 2$ )  
/ Politician not too risk averse

## Resource Curse and Volatility (I)

- Total expected wealth :

$$Y = 2H + p_1Z + \overline{p_2}Z - (1 + \Pi(L_P))L_P H$$



Expected resource cost of political  
patronage

## Resource Curse and Volatility (I)

- Total expected wealth :

$$Y = 2H + p_1Z + \bar{p}_2Z - (1 + \Pi(L_P))L_P H$$

←-----→  
Expected resource cost of political  
patronage

- ➡ Price volatility leads to a resource curse when political patronage increases
- ➡ Moreover when average resource income  $\bar{p}_2Z$  is large enough, Negative effect is stronger, the weaker the institutions (ie.  $\Pi'_L \uparrow$  )

## Public Investment and Political Patronage (I)

- Extend the model to public investment/growth
  - Curse not only through clientelistic policies but also through crowding out of public investments (infrastructures/education) (Caselli (2006), Caselli and Cunningham 2010).
- Productivity of private sector :  $H_1 = H$  ;  $H_2(I) = H + \delta I$   
 $\delta > 0$
- Government can tax private sector at the tax rate  $\tau > 0$



## Public Investment and Political Patronage (II)

- Prb of reelection :

$$\Pi(L_P, I) = \min \left[ \frac{1}{2} + h \left\{ \frac{\gamma^A}{4} \left[ \overline{G}^2 - \frac{1}{(\gamma^A)^2} - \sigma^2 Z^2 \right] + \underbrace{[W - H_2(I)(1 - \tau)]}_{\text{Rent depends negatively on I}} L_P \right\}; 1 \right]$$

$\downarrow$   
 $\downarrow$   
 $+$      $-$

Public investment reduces the effectiveness of political clientelism

$$\frac{\partial^2 \Pi}{\partial L_P \partial I} < 0$$

Political patronage increases the cost of public investment on re-election proba



## Public Investment and Political Patronage (III)

- First period problem of the incumbent :

$$\begin{aligned} \max_{R_1^A, G_1, L_P, I} & R_1^A - \gamma^A \frac{(\bar{G} - G_1)^2}{2} \\ & + \Pi(L_P, I) \left[ \tau H_2(I)(1 - L_P) + \bar{p}_2 Z - WL_P + \frac{1}{\gamma^A} - \bar{G} - \frac{\gamma^A \sigma^2}{2} Z^2 \right] \\ & + (1 - \Pi(L_P, I)) \left[ -\frac{\gamma^A}{2} (\bar{G})^2 \right] \end{aligned}$$

under the constraint :  $G_1 + R_1^A = \tau H_1(1 - L_P) + p_1 Z - WL_P - I$

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 \end{aligned}$$

under the constraint :  $G_1 + R_1^A = \tau H_1(1 - L_P) + p_1 Z - WL_P - I$

## Public Investment and Political Patronage (IV)

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{Marginal cost} & & \text{Marginal benefit} \\
 \leftarrow \text{-----} \rightarrow & & \leftarrow \text{-----} \rightarrow \\
 -(W + \tau H_1) - \Pi(W + \tau H_2) + \Pi'_L[V_{\text{power}}] = 0 & \text{-----} \rightarrow & L_P(I)
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 -1 + \Pi'_I[V_{\text{power}}] + \Pi\tau\delta(1 - L_P) = 0 & \text{-----} \rightarrow & I(L_P) \\
 \leftarrow \text{-----} \rightarrow & & \leftarrow \text{-----} \rightarrow \\
 \text{Marginal cost} & & \text{Marginal benefit}
 \end{array}$$

Where :

$$V_{\text{power}} = \tau H_2(1 - L_P) + \bar{p}_2 Z - WL_P + \frac{1}{\gamma^A} - \bar{G} - \frac{\gamma^A \sigma^2}{2} Z^2 + \frac{\gamma^A}{2} (\bar{G})^2$$

value to stay in power

## Public Investment and Political Patronage (V)

- How is patronage affected by public investment ?

Marginal cost                      Marginal benefit

←-----→                      ←-----→

$$-(W + \tau H_1) - \Pi(W + \tau H_2) + \Pi'_L[V_{\text{power}}] = 0 \quad L_P(I)$$

$I \uparrow$

# Public Investment and Political Patronage (V)

- How is patronage affected by public investment ?

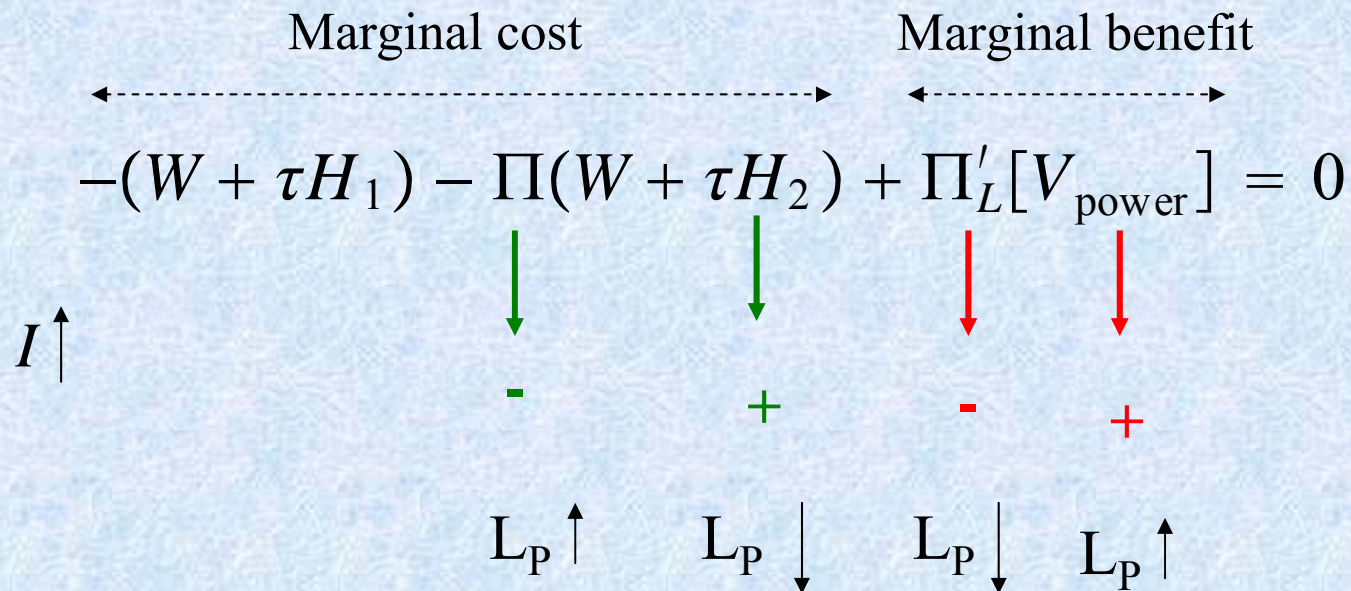
$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{cc}
 \text{Marginal cost} & \text{Marginal benefit} \\
 \leftarrow \text{-----} \rightarrow & \leftarrow \text{-----} \rightarrow
 \end{array} \\
 -(W + \tau H_1) - \Pi(W + \tau H_2) + \Pi'_L[V_{\text{power}}] = 0 & L_P(I) \\
 \begin{array}{cc}
 \downarrow & \downarrow \\
 - & + \\
 L_P \uparrow & L_P \downarrow
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

$I \uparrow$



# Public Investment and Political Patronage (V)

- How is patronage affected by public investment ?



- Large enough value of resource income  $\bar{p}_2 Z \implies$
- Patronage and public investment are *strategic substitutes*

$L_P(I) \searrow$

# Public Investment and Political Patronage (VI)

- How is public investment affected by patronage ?

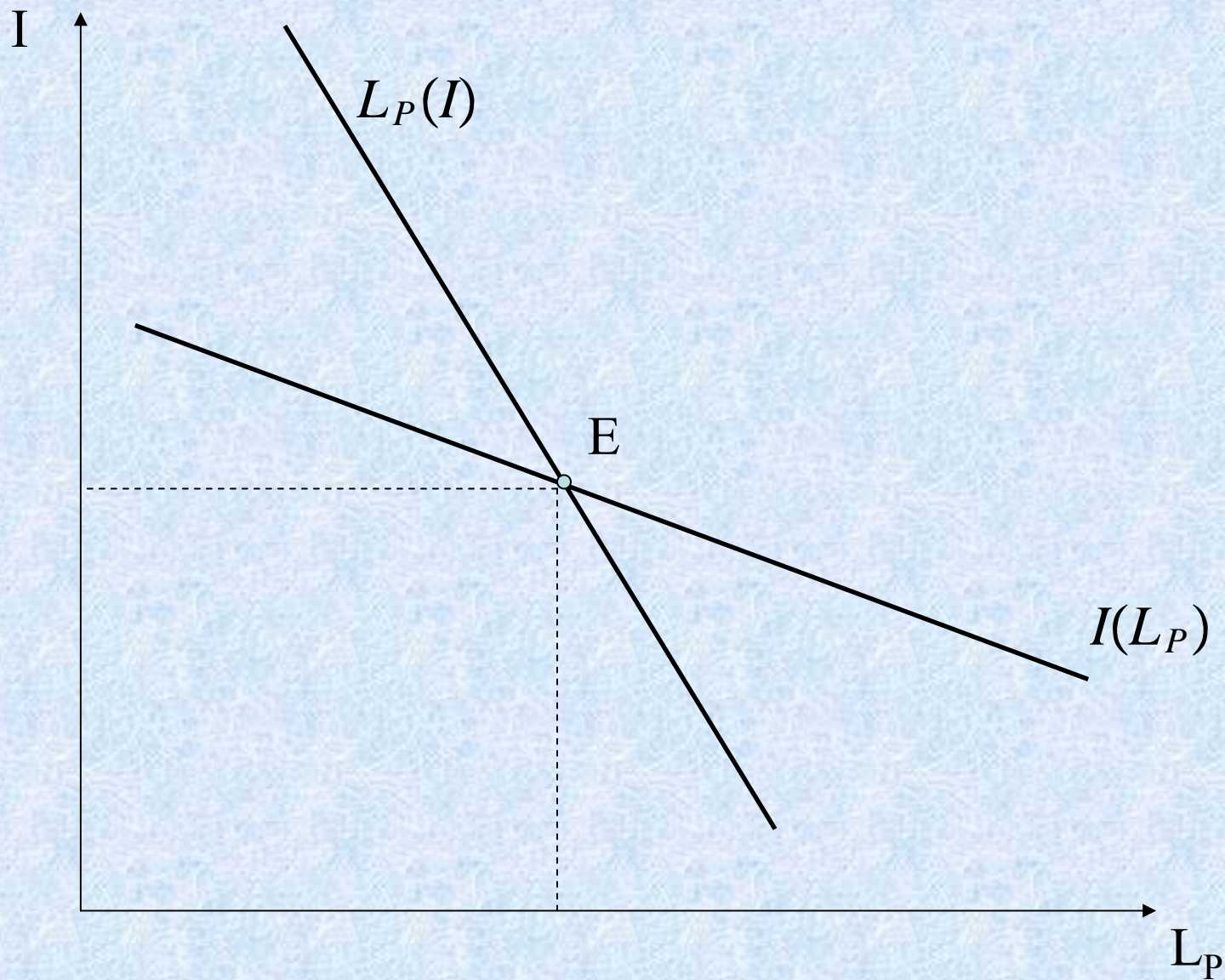
$$\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{cc}
 \text{Marginal cost} & \text{Marginal benefit} \\
 \overleftarrow{\hspace{1.5cm}} & \overleftarrow{\hspace{1.5cm}} \\
 -1 + \Pi'_I[V_{\text{power}}] & + \Pi\tau\delta(1 - L_P) = 0 \quad \text{-----} \rightarrow I(L_P)
 \end{array} \\
 \begin{array}{cccc}
 \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\
 - & + & + & - \\
 \downarrow & \uparrow & \uparrow & \downarrow \\
 I & I & I & I
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

$L_P \uparrow$

- Large enough value of resource income  $\bar{p}_2 Z$

$$\Rightarrow \boxed{I(L_P) \searrow}$$

# Public Investment and Political Patronage



## Public Investment and Political Patronage (VII)

- Effect of price volatility :  $\sigma^2 \nearrow$

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- Effect of price volatility :  $\sigma^2 \nearrow$

- Political patronage  $L_P(I)$

1) Political turnover	↑	Expected cost of public jobs	↓	$L_P$ ↑
2) Fiscal volatility	↑	Value to stay in power	↓	$L_P$ ↓



## Public Investment and Political Patronage (VII)

- Effect of price volatility :  $\sigma^2 \nearrow$

- Political patronage  $L_P(I)$

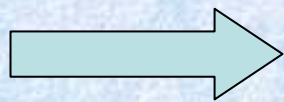
1) Political turnover $\uparrow$	Expected cost of public jobs $\downarrow$	$L_P \uparrow$
2) Fiscal volatility $\uparrow$	Value to stay in power $\downarrow$	$L_P \downarrow$

- Public investment  $I(L_P)$

1) Political turnover $\uparrow$	horizon for public Investment $\downarrow$	$I \downarrow$
2) Fiscal volatility $\uparrow$	cost on expected gains to stay in power $\downarrow$	$I \uparrow$

## Public Investment, Political patronage And the resource curse

- When public wage/sector not too large / politician not too risk averse



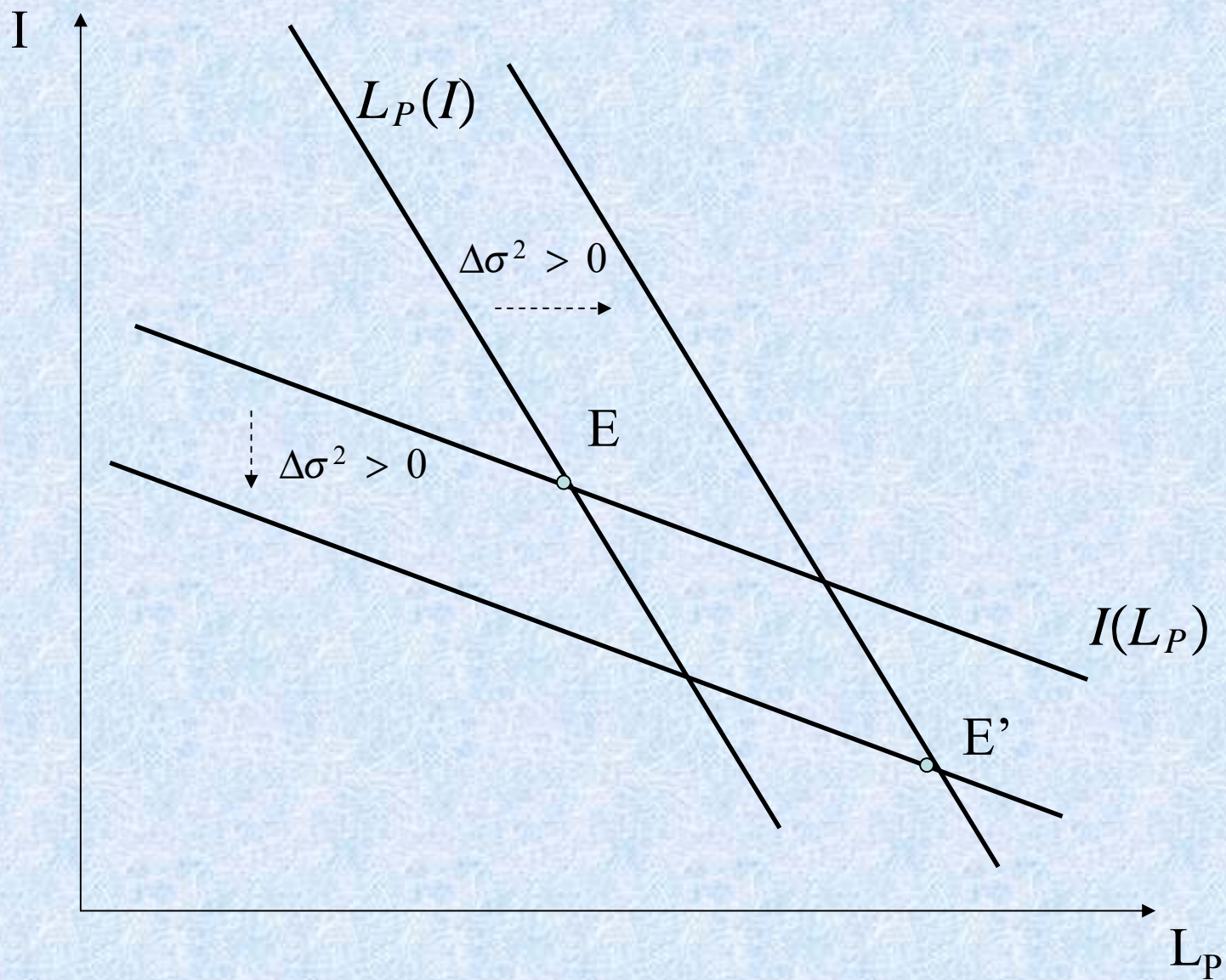
political turnover effect dominates

$I(L_P)$  decreases with price volatility

$L_P(I)$  increases with price volatility

- Volatility leads to resource curse :  
magnification effects of interaction between public investment  
and patronage

# Public Investment, Political Patronage and Price Volatility



## Rent extraction, Politics and Price volatility (I)

- Extension with rent extraction:  $Z_1 = e$        $Z_2 = R(e)$   
 $R' < 0$  and  $R'' < 0$
- No public investment I :  $H_1 = H_2 = H$
- No taxation  $\tau = 0$


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 $R' < 0$  and  $R'' < 0$

- No public investment I :  $H_1 = H_2 = H$

- No taxation  $\tau = 0$

- Proba of incumbent's election:

$$\Pi(L_P, e) = \frac{1}{2} + h \left\{ \frac{\gamma^A}{4} \left[ \overline{G}^2 - \frac{1}{(\gamma^A)^2} - \sigma^2 R(e)^2 \right] + [W - H] L_P \right\}$$


- Proba of reelection increases with extraction rate  $e$  :  
Utility cost for voters of type A of price volatility  
is reduced with lower stock of the resource in period 2.



## Rent extraction, Politics and Price volatility (II)

- The effect of  $e$  on  $\Pi$  stronger when volatility parameter  $\sigma^2$  larger :

$$\Pi''_{e\sigma^2} = -h \frac{\gamma^A}{2} R(e) R'(e) > 0$$

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- Equilibrium extraction in case without patronage (ie.  $L_P=0$ ) :

$$p_1 + \Pi \bar{p}_2 R'(e) + \Pi_e (V_{\text{power}}(e, L_P)) - \Pi \gamma^A \sigma^2 R(e) R'(e) = 0$$

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$$\underbrace{p_1 + \Pi \bar{p}_2 R'(e)}_{\text{Average price effects}} + \underbrace{\Pi_e (V_{\text{power}}(e, L_P))}_{\text{Political turnover effect}} - \underbrace{\Pi \gamma^A \sigma^2 R(e) R'(e)}_{\text{Fiscal volatility effect}} = 0$$

## Rent extraction, Politics and Price Volatility (III)

- Comparative statics on extraction rate  $e$ :

$$\frac{\partial e^*}{\partial p_1} > 0$$

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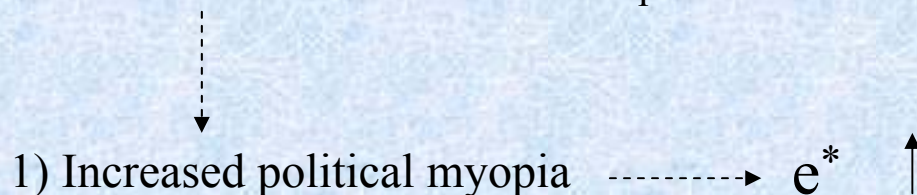
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$\downarrow$   
 2) Increased political turnover effect  $\longrightarrow e^* \uparrow$

## Rent extraction, Politics and Price Volatility (III)

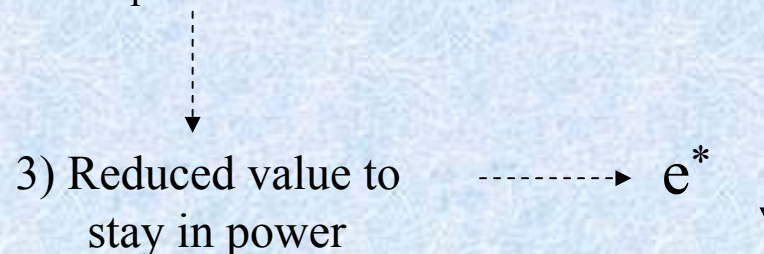
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## Rent extraction, Politics and Price Volatility (III)

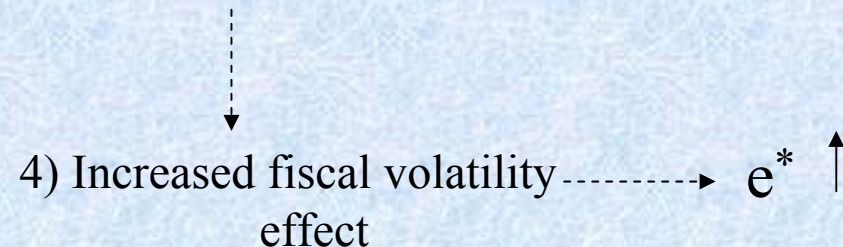
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$$p_1 + \Pi \bar{p}_2 R'(e) + \Pi_e(V_{\text{power}}(e, L_P)) - \Pi \gamma^A \sigma^2 R(e) R'(e) = 0$$


  
 4) Increased fiscal volatility effect  $\longrightarrow e^* \uparrow$



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$$\frac{\partial e^*}{\partial \bar{p}_2} < 0 \quad (\text{when price volatility not too high})$$

- Effect of  $\sigma^2$  :

$$p_1 + \Pi \bar{p}_2 R'(e) + \Pi_e(V_{\text{power}}(e, L_P)) - \Pi \gamma^A \sigma^2 R(e) R'(e) = 0$$

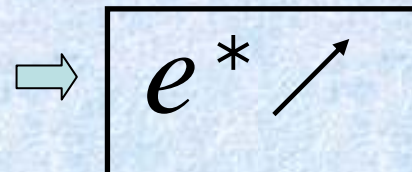
1) Increased political myopia +

2) Increased political turnover effect +

3) Reduced value to stay in power -

4) Increased fiscal volatility effect +

Price volatility  
not too strong



## **Rent extraction, Politics and Price Volatility (IV)**

- More aggressive extraction in context of price volatility

Van der Ploeg (2010) : social planner's context /  
modified optimal Hotelling rule  
Social optimum extraction path brought  
forward by future price volatility

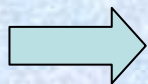
## Rent extraction, Politics and Price Volatility (IV)

- More aggressive extraction in context of price volatility

Van der Ploeg (2010) : social planner's context /  
 modified optimal Hotelling rule  
 Social optimum extraction path brought  
 forward by future price volatility

- Here social utilitarian optimum :

$$\begin{aligned} \max S = & X_1 + \frac{1}{2}u^A(C_1^A, G_1^A) + \frac{1}{2}u^B(C_1^B) \\ & + E\left[X_2 + \frac{1}{2}u^A(C_2^A, G_2^A) + \frac{1}{2}u^B(C_2^B)\right] \\ X_1 + G_1^A = & p_1 e \quad \quad X_2 + G_2^A = p_2 R(e) \end{aligned}$$



$$p_1 + \bar{p}_2 R'(e) - \frac{\gamma^A}{2} \sigma^2 R(e) R'(e) = 0$$

Optimum extraction brought forward by price volatility

## Rent extraction, Politics and Price Volatility (V)

$$p_1 + \bar{p}_2 R'(e) - \frac{\gamma^A}{2} \sigma^2 R(e) R'(e) = 0 \quad (\text{social optimum})$$

$$p_1 + \Pi \bar{p}_2 R'(e) + \Pi_e (V_{\text{power}}(e, L_P)) - \Pi \gamma^A \sigma^2 R(e) R'(e) = 0 \quad (\text{political eq.})$$

## Rent extraction, Politics and Price Volatility (V)

$$p_1 + \bar{p}_2 R'(e) - \frac{\gamma^A}{2} \sigma^2 R(e) R'(e) = 0 \quad (\text{social optimum})$$

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Political turnover  
effect

Fiscal volatility  
effect



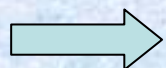
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$$p_1 + \bar{p}_2 R'(e) - \frac{\gamma^A}{2} \sigma^2 R(e) R'(e) = 0 \quad (\text{social optimum})$$

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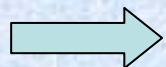
Political turnover  
effect

Fiscal volatility  
effect



Over extraction of the resource under price volatility  
Inefficiency likely to increase with  $\sigma^2$

Expected total wealth :  $Y = 2H + p_1 e + \bar{p}_2 R(e)$



Resource curse associated to higher  $\sigma^2$

## Rent extraction, Politics and Price Volatility (VI)

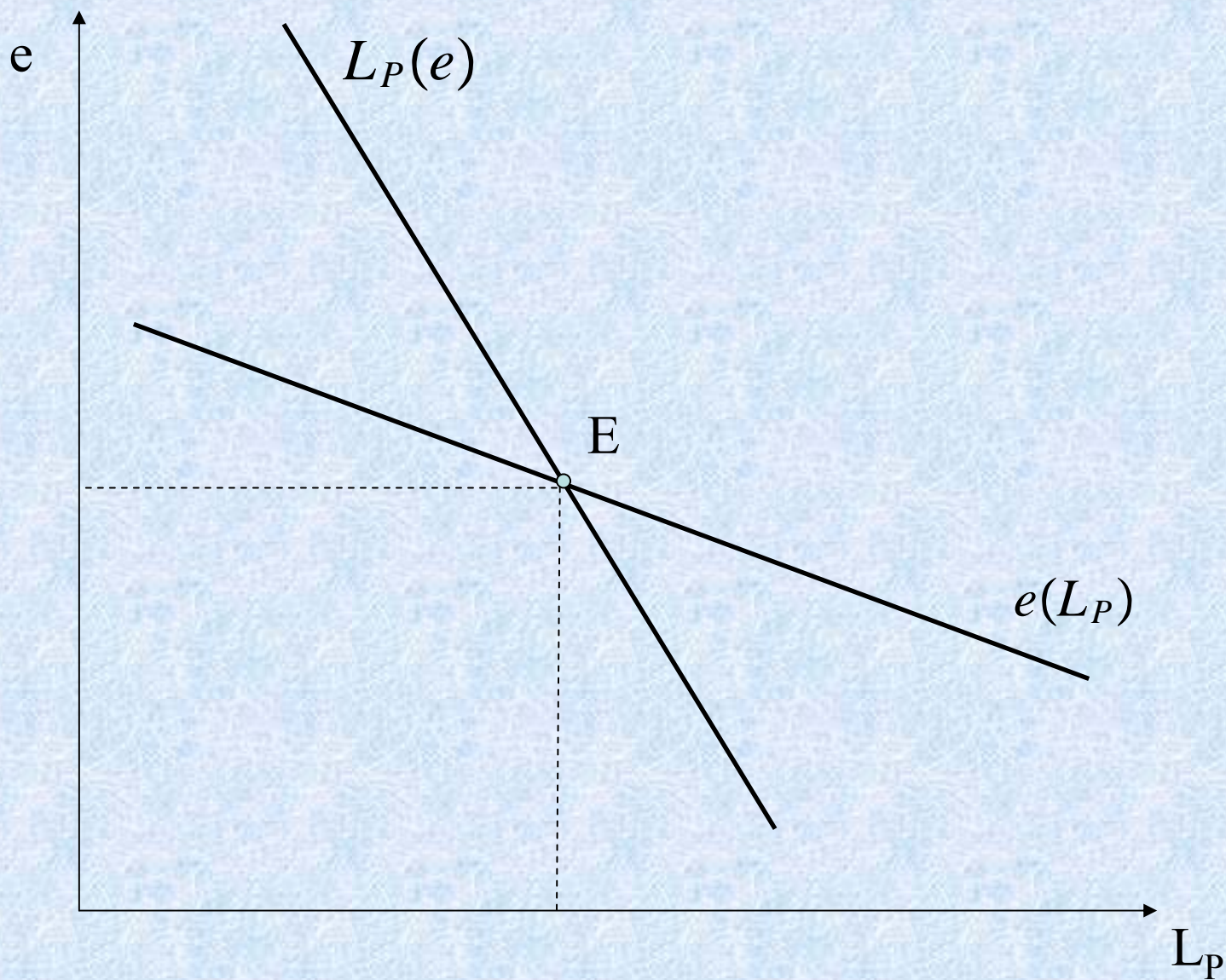
- Analysis can be extended to positive political patronage (ie.  $L_P > 0$ )

$$-(1 + \Pi)W + \Pi'_L[V_{\text{power}}] = 0 \quad \text{-----} \rightarrow L_P(e)$$

$$p_1 + \Pi_e[V_{\text{power}}] + \Pi[\bar{p}_2 - \gamma^A \sigma^2 R(e)]R'(e) = 0 \quad \text{-----} \rightarrow e(L_P)$$

With:  $V_{\text{power}} = \bar{p}_2 R(e) - WL_P + \frac{1}{2\gamma^A} - \bar{G} - \frac{\gamma^A \sigma^2}{2} R(e)^2 + \frac{\gamma^A}{2} \bar{G}$

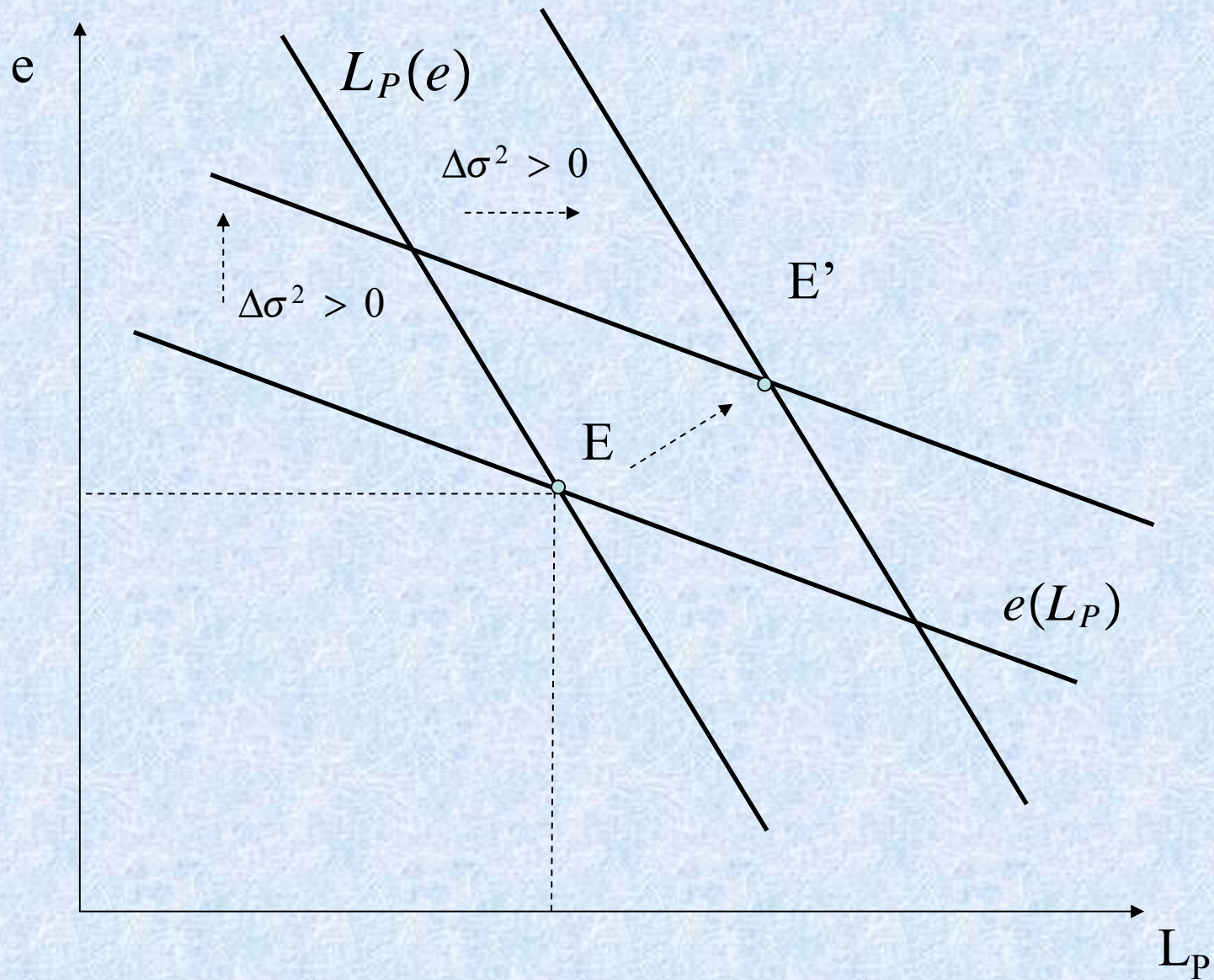
## Rent extraction, Politics and Price Volatility



## Rent extraction, Politics and Price Volatility (VI)

- Effect of volatility:  $\left| \begin{array}{l} L_P(e) \\ e(L_P) \end{array} \right.$  shifted up with  $\sigma^2$


## Rent extraction, Politics and Price Volatility





## Rent extraction, Politics and Price Volatility (VII)

- Effect of volatility:  $L_P(e)$  shifted up with  $\sigma^2$   
 $e(L_P)$

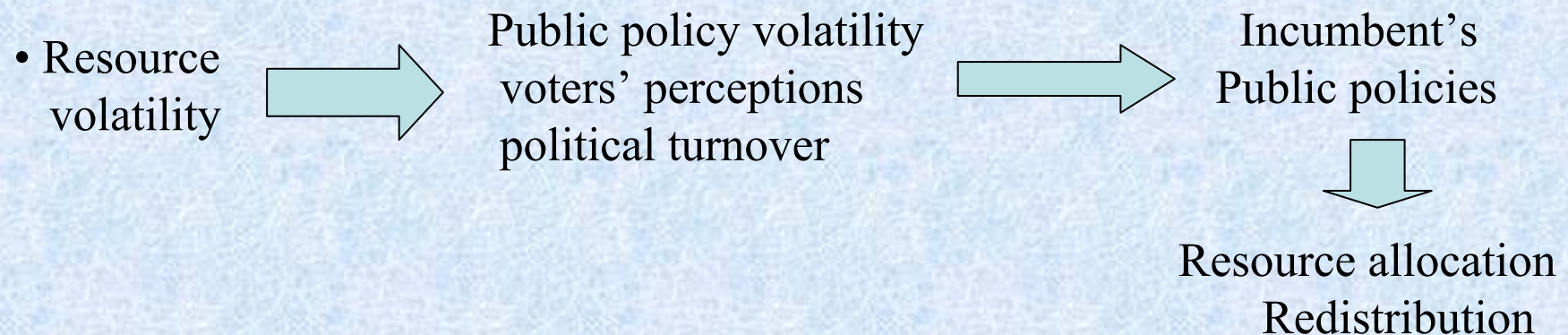
- At least one of the two policy variables:  $e^*$  ;  $L_P^*$    
with price volatility
- Negative impact of price/fiscal volatility on income  
when both variables increase :
  - over extraction / inefficient public employment

## Conclusions (I)

- Political-economy models of the resource curse :  
How political incentives interact with price shocks/volatility
- Incumbent's asymmetric capacity:
  - Clientelism: inefficient redistribution through public jobs  
tool for influencing people's political behavior.
- Resource booms create underdevelopment  
not because of inefficiency in rate of resource extraction  
But because of political redistribution of the rents.

## Conclusions (I)

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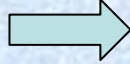
## **Conclusions (II)**

- Limited public instruments : risk shifting to voters
- Asymmetric effects on constituencies between incumbent/challenger



## Conclusions (II)

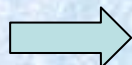
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volatility  « bad » incumbent's policies  
political channel for volatility curse



## Conclusions (II)

- Limited public instruments : risk shifting to voters
- Asymmetric effects on constituencies between incumbent/challenger

volatility  « bad » incumbent's policies  
political channel for volatility curse

- Extensions:
  - The role of Liquidity constraints/ Financial frictions
  - Debt policy
  - Other public policies
  - Nontraded\ traded goods: « Political » Dutch disease ?