

POLS 280:  
Politics of Development  
and Foreign Aid

Class 18:  
Neopatrimonialism

# Recap

- Developmental performance of democracies and authoritarian regimes:
  - Mixed evidence overall, but much wider range of developmental performance among authoritarian regimes →
- Importance of relations between the state and society?

# Plan for today

- Neopatrimonialism

# Patrimonialism

- The necessity of impersonal institutions in high-capacity modern states
- Patrimonialism as the natural form of social relationships:
  - “The natural human propensity to favor family and friends”
    - Fukuyama, Francis. 2011. *The origins of political order: from prehuman times to the French Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Difficulty of depatrimonialization (and possibility of inside capture and repatrimonialization)
  - Fukuyama, Francis. 2011. *The origins of political order: from prehuman times to the French Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
  - Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political order and political decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the globalization of democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.



# Patrimonial and modern states according to Fukuyama

- Modern:
  - “Staffed by officials chosen on the basis of merit and expertise, and run for the sake of a broad public interest”
- Patrimonial:
  - “Governments staffed by the family and friends of the ruler, and run for their benefit”
    - Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political order and political decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the globalization of democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

What is the relationship  
between patrimonialism  
and state capacity?

# Patrimonialism in the contemporary world

- “Today, not even the most corrupt dictators would argue, like some early kings or sultans, that they literally “owned” their countries and could do with them what they liked. Everyone pays lip service to the distinction between public and private interest.

Hence patrimonialism has evolved into what is called ‘*neopatrimonialism.*’”

- Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political order and political decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the globalization of democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

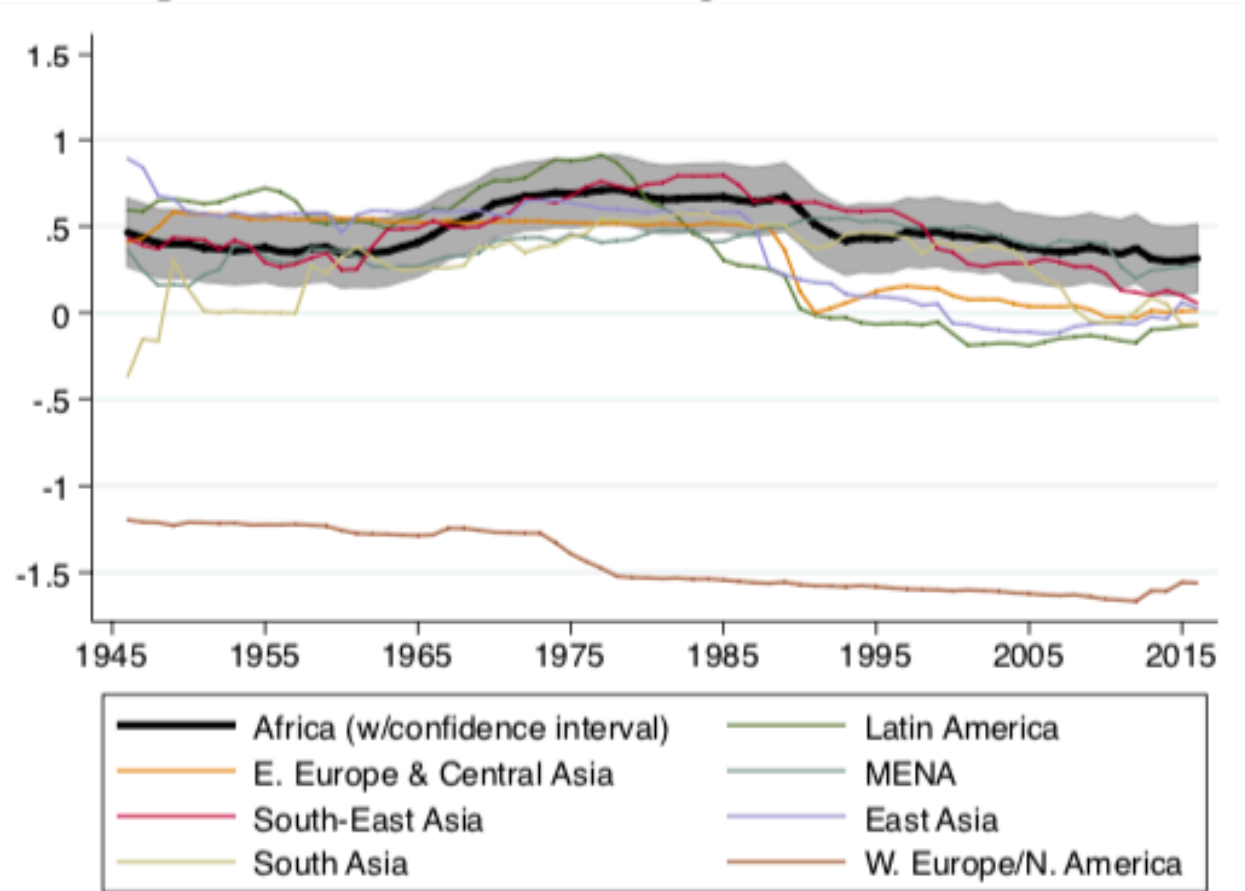
# Neopatrimonial states

- Outward form of a modern state:
  - Constitution
  - Office holders
  - Legal system
  - Pretensions of impersonality
- Actual operation of the government centered on sharing state resources with friends and family
  - Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political order and political decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the globalization of democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.



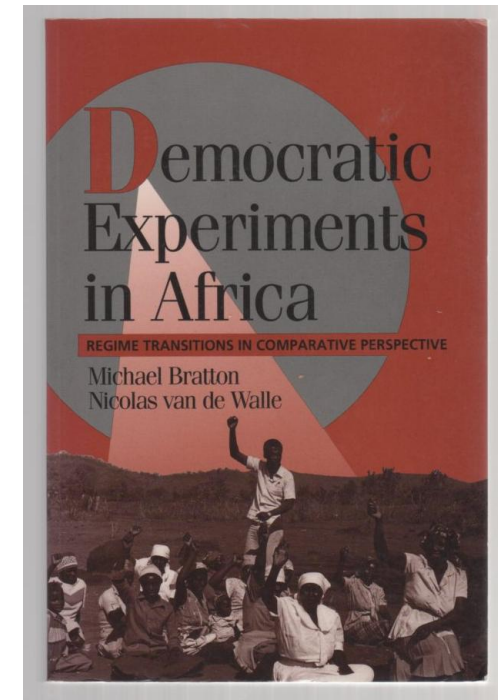
# Neopatrimonialism across the world

Figure 1: Global Trends in Neopatrimonialism Index



# Neopatrimonialism in Africa

- Bratton and Van de Walle:
  - Neopatrimonialism as “the core feature of politics in Africa”
    - Bratton, Michael, and Nicholas Van de Walle. 1997. “Neopatrimonial Rule” in *Democratic Experiments in Africa*, pp. 61-96.

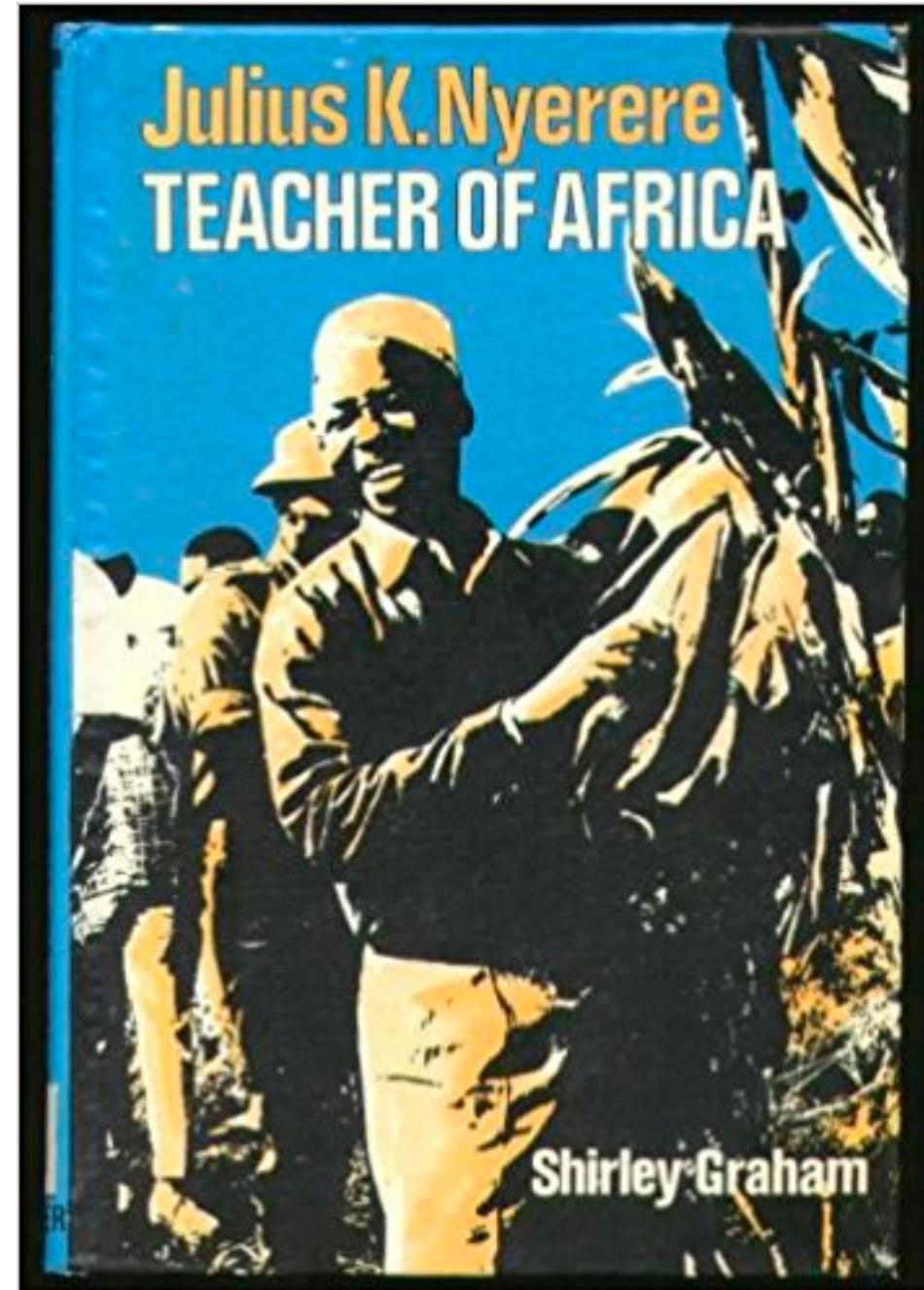


# Characteristics of African neopatrimonialism according to Bratton and Van de Walle

- Presidentialism
- Appropriation and use of state resources to cultivate political support and systematic clientelism
  - Bratton, Michael, and Nicholas Van de Walle. 1997. "Neopatrimonial Rule" in *Democratic Experiments in Africa*, pp. 61-96.
- Low state capacity
  - Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political order and political decay: from the Industrial Revolution to the globalization of democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- State autonomy
- Weak civil society
- Hybridity
  - Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

# Presidentialism

- Big Man politics
- Personalization of loyalty to the state / nation
- Cult of personality
- Centralization of political power
  - Presidential political systems
- Lack of checks and balances
- Lack of term limits



# Clientelism according to Fukuyama



<https://youtu.be/GLMXSWobiHM>

# Clientelism

Table 2.7. *African Government Cabinet Size, 1979–1996*

	1979	1986	1996
Average Number of Members	19.1	20.9	22.6
– excluding microstates*	20.3	22.0	23.9
Smallest Cabinets*	Ghana (11) Gambia (11)	Namibia (8) Gambia (13)	Gambia (13) Lesotho (13)
Largest Cabinets	Gabon (35) Côte d’Ivoire (31)	Gabon (54) Cameroon (34)	Cameroon (42) Sudan (38)

Sources:

Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*The Independent*: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/ghana-president-nana-akufo-addo-appointment-110-ministers-government-a7636921.html>

News > World > Africa

## Ghana's President defends appointing 'elephant-size' government of 110 ministers

Nana Akufo-Addo hit back at his opponents saying it is 'a necessary investment' and that 'it is not going to be a holiday' for ministers

Chloe Farand | Saturday 18 March 2017 15:27 GMT | 

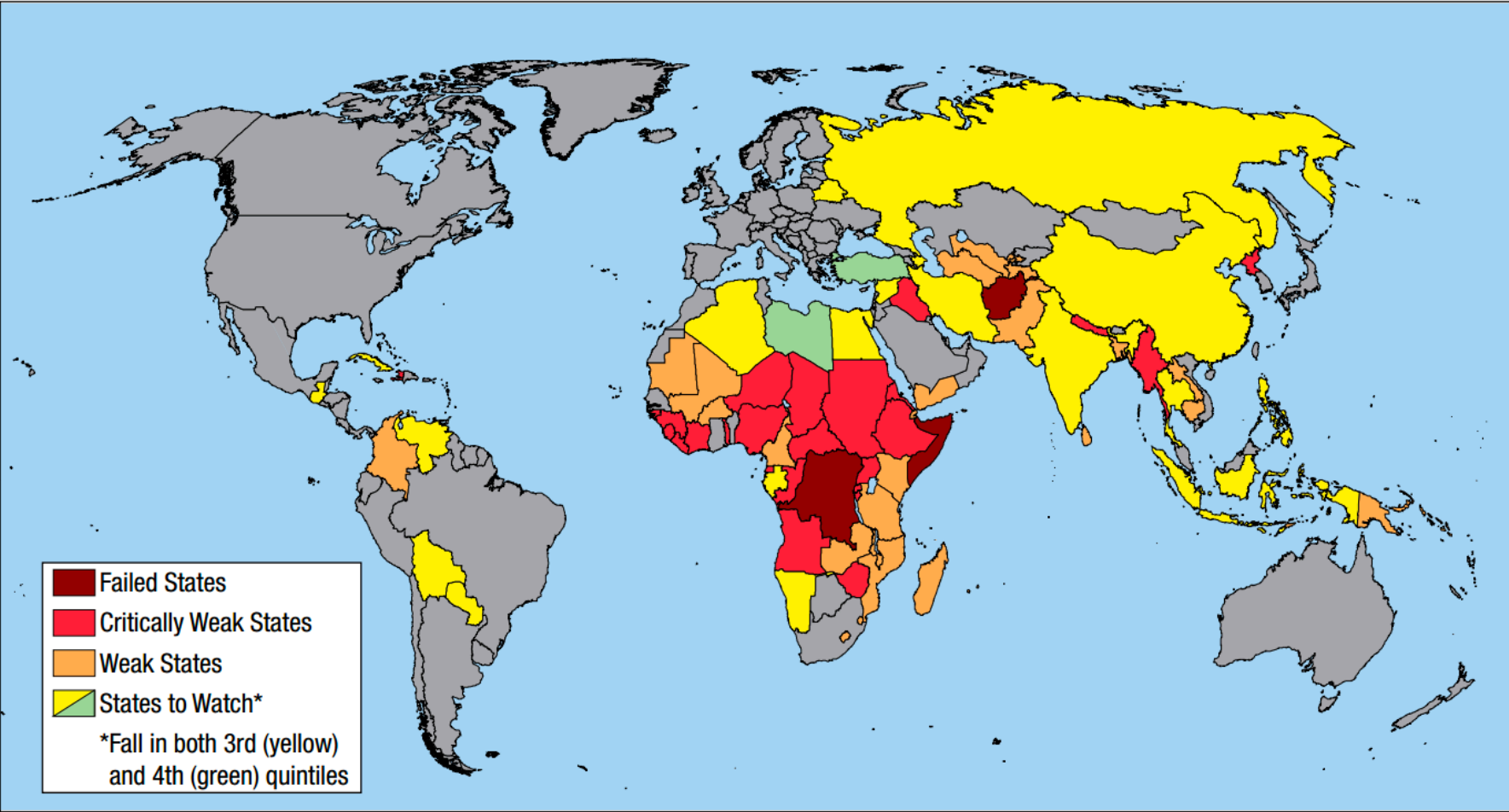
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# State autonomy and weak civil society



# Low state capacity





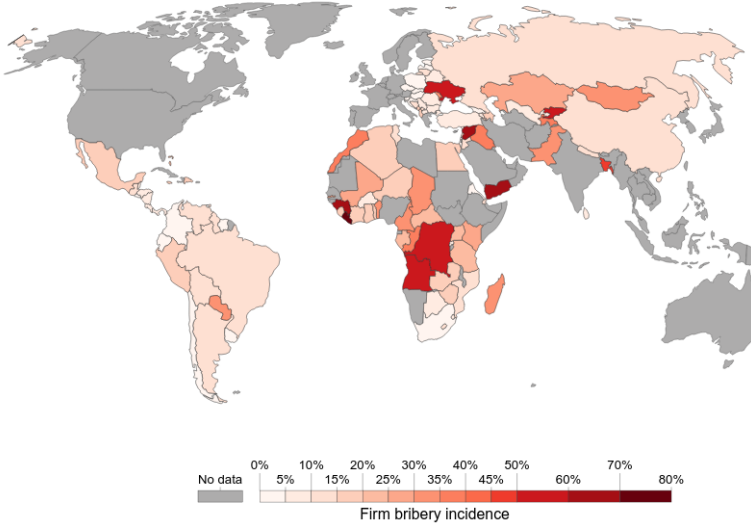
# Hybridity

- Coexistence of informal institutions with the formal trappings of the modern state
- Bratton and Van de Walle:
  - “[W]hen patrimonial logic is internalized in the formal institutions of neopatrimonial regimes, it provides essential operating codes for politics that are valued, recurring, and reproduced over time.”

# Developmental effects of neopatrimonialism

## Incidence of bribe requests, private sector, 2013

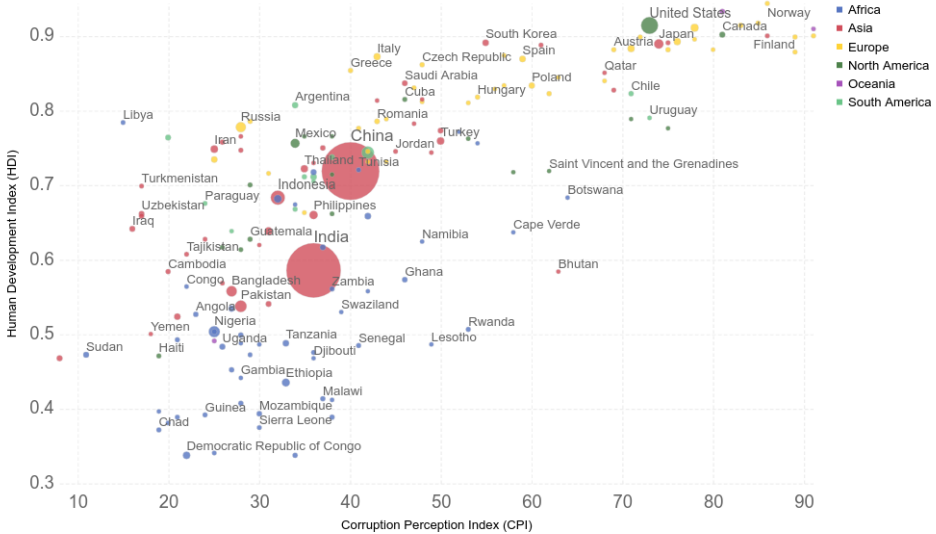
Percent of firms experiencing at least one bribe payment request during 6 transactions dealing with utilities access, public licences, and taxes.



Source: World Bank – Enterprise Survey

## Human Development Index vs. Corruption Perception Index

The vertical axis shows scores in the UN Human Development index (2013 data, lower values reflect lower development). The horizontal axis shows scores in Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (2013 data, lower values reflect higher perceived corruption). Colors reflect world regions.

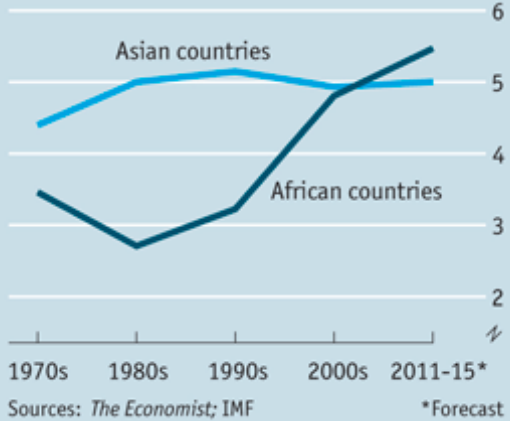


OurWorldInData Source: Transparency International - CPI, United Nations Human Development Index (HDI)

OurWorldInData.org/corruption/ • CC BY-SA

## The forgotten continent

GDP growth, unweighted annual average, %



Sources: The Economist; IMF \*Forecast

Table A.2. Africa's Share of Global Economic Activity, 1980–1996 (as a percentage of world total)

	1980	1996
Population	8.6	10.3
GDP	2.5	1.1
Value added, Manufacturing	1.4	0.9
Merchandise Exports	3.8	1.3
Foreign Direct Investment	0.3	0.6

Source: Calculated from World Bank, *World Development Indicators, 1998* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1998), Tables 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, and 6.8. Additional data from the World Bank, *African Development Indicators* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1997), Table 5.1.

# Takeaways

- The most important aspects of neopatrimonialism for this class:
  - State autonomy
  - Low state capacity
- Negative effects of neopatrimonialism for development →
- State-society relations as an important determinant of development outcomes