

# EVENTS CALENDAR

Globalization Speaker Series

## JULIA GRAY



### ***Patronage Explanations for the Survival of International Organizations***

Wednesday, April 20, 2016, 3:30PM - 5:00PM

Mershon Center for International Security Studies

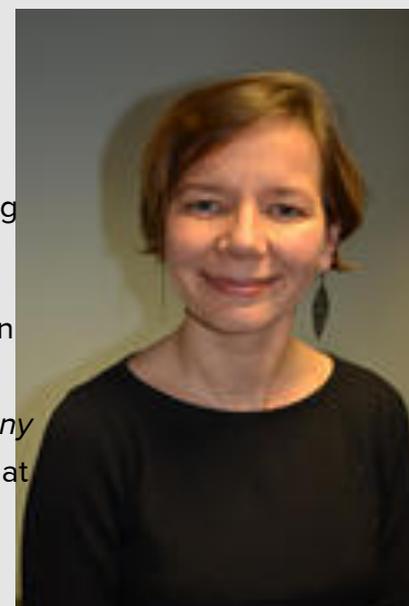
1501 Neil Avenue | Room 120 Columbus, Ohio 43201

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Julia Gray is associate professor of political science at University of Pennsylvania, specializing in international relations with a focus on international political economy. She received her Ph.D. in political science from the University of California, Los Angeles, an M.Sc. with distinction in international political economy from the London School of Economic, and a B.A. summa cum laude from Amherst College. Her research centers on the effects of international economic relations and economic organizations in emerging markets.

Her work in international political economy and international organization has appeared or is forthcoming in the *American Journal of Political Science*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *European Journal of Political Research*, and *Review of International Organizations*. Her book, *The Company You Keep: International Organization and Sovereign Risk in Emerging Markets*, is currently under contract at Cambridge University Press.



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#### **Abstract**

This paper argues that even ineffective international organizations can serve valuable patronage functions for their member states. Even if IOs fail in their goals, the bureaucracies surrounding them can still be used for patronage, defined here as the use of public office for political and personal gain.

The bureaucracies surrounding international organizations can offer substantial private rents for member state governments. The perks that an IO can offer can lead to ineffective organizations hanging on, even if they do not fulfill their original mandate. Patronage can thus be an unintended consequence of IOs, leading to a misuse of the structure of IOs for corrupt purposes.

This goes beyond the study of bureaucratic drift to present a more pathological version of IOs. I illustrate this argument using two sets of empirical tests. The first establishes the broad logic of patronage as a driver of IO survival, and the second demonstrates the microfoundations. For the first, I use an original dataset of international economic organizations around the world to show that the survival of ineffective IOs is particularly likely when member states are corrupt.

Patronage inclinations in member states makes ineffective organizations 15 percent more likely to survive. This demonstrates the broader pattern of the relationship between IO survival and patronage; I then go on to illustrate the patronage mechanism through examining finer-grained data from a subset of IOs. Using budget data gathered firsthand from 11 international economic organizations across the world, I show that member states where corruption is high tend to be associated with IOs where patronage practices persist. Through these budget data, I develop original measures of patronage in IOs: slush funding in organizations and the nonwage benefits awarded to staff, differentiated from such benefits received by member states. These novel measures offer unique insight into the ways in which IOs can be used for private gain.

