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## The Ubiquity of Patronage

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## **The Ubiquity of Patronage**

*Examining the relationship between patronage, democracy, and policy change in the Global North and Global South*

An Honors Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Honors in Political Science and International Studies.

By  
Mykaela Brown

Under the mentorship of Dr. Srobana Bhattacharya

### ABSTRACT

Patron-client relations affect politics in various ways, especially the efficacy and implementation of policies. My research question is how does patronage politics affect policy change in democracies. I examine four democracies, two from the Global North (Canada and the United States) and two from the Global South (Botswana and South Africa). Using news articles and government websites surrounding a major issue in each of my four cases, I use qualitative methods (document analysis) to analyze patron-client relations in order to determine key actors in patron-client relations.

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## **Introduction**

Patron-client relations affect politics in various ways, especially the efficacy and implementation of policies. Whether much needed policies that could alleviate poverty, ensure access to potable water, or promote equality becomes a reality depend on the interests of patrons and clients. The complexities of patronage leads to questions about corruption, meritocracy and institutionalization of bureaucracy, development and state-building, or even political ideology but the most important question is when and where is patronage prominent. While in developing and corrupt countries patronage serves as the foundation of the informal mechanisms of institutions, in other countries, patronage is more covert. My research question is how does patronage politics affect policy change in democracies.

Defining patronage has always been a major issue in the patronage scholarship. Weingrod (1968) asserts that patronage has different meanings in political science and anthropology. In political science, patronage refers to the distribution of jobs or favours in exchange for electoral support; therefore, patronage is often associated with political parties only. In this context, patronage only exists as a practice that political parties employ in order to consolidate and/or maintain political power and dominance during election cycles. On the other hand, patronage in the anthropological sense refers to an unequal and reciprocal relationship between people. Even though the patron has most power in relation to the client, both parties understand the need for the other in order to survive. Sorauf (1961), Weingrod (1968), and Bearfield (2009) recognize the ambiguities of the concept, citing its political science and anthropological significance inside and outside of each discipline.

Sorauf (1961) conceptualized patronage as an incentive system with far-reaching political implications for political machines, voters, and politics in general. Weingrod (1968) continues proposing the necessity for types of patronage as well as the importance for creating a concrete definition. When Bearfield (2009) re-examined patronage, he re-emphasized that differing definitions in political science and anthropology exist. Not only that, he conceptualizes patronage as a practice when arguing that “patrons pursue their...goals by invoking a variety of ‘patronage styles’” (Bearfield, 68). His arguments for an anthropological examination of patronage still seem to be following a political science approach since these styles are typically used in political contexts. On the other hand, an operational anthropological definition opens up research opportunities beyond political appointments into bureaucratic settings.

Even though Bearfield (2009) reimagined patronage as a concept and practice, there still seems to be a delay in its acceptance across the field of political science due to the negative connotation that civil service reform and scholars wrapped the term in over time. This is significant because of how limited the current study of patronage is, shrouding the ubiquitous and multifaceted nature of patronage. Fortunately, patronage scholarship is now turning to developed countries. No matter where the concept is applied, it seems that researchers find that patronage depends on the interests of the person in power; therefore, whomever holds the most power also has greater influence in politics (Beresford 2015; Holmes and Sunstein 2000).

In this paper, I argue that patronage can exist in any country in the world in the context of global social inequality. While patronage politics in developing countries are synonymous with corruption, such attributes are not generally associated with Global

North although some levels of patronage politics or ‘political friendships’ are frequent in these countries as well. To demonstrate the ways that patronage exists in democracies around the world, I examine four democracies, two from the Global North and two from the Global South. Canada and the United States (US) represent the Global North, and Botswana and South Africa represent the Global South. Using news articles and government websites surrounding a major issue in each of my four cases, I use qualitative methods (document analysis) to analyze patron-client relations in order to determine key actors in patron-client relations. My thesis is organized as follows. First, it traces the origins of patronage as a concept and makes a case explaining why political patronage deserves a new definition in the literature review. Secondly, it positions my assertions alongside those made by previous scholars in my theoretical contribution. Here I juxtapose democracy, patronage, policy change, corruption, wealth, and power to demonstrate how these concepts interact in the Global North versus the Global South. Next, it outlines how I set out to explain the connection between patronage and democracy as well as my analysis of the interaction between wealth-based patronage and democracy for each case study in the research design and analysis portion. Following a detailed analysis of each case, the discussion portion situates these findings in the context of the broader concepts of political patronage and democracy. Finally, this line of research concludes with the implications of wealth-based political patronage and applies it to the current state of global politics, namely the rise of populism and the decline in the legitimacy of democracy in order to reaffirm the general applicability of wealth-based political patronage.

## Literature Review

Literature on patronage politics mentions how it works negatively and promotes corruption. However, it does not mean that we will see it only in corrupt countries. The inner workings of patronage politics are complex and it can affect a wide variety of regime types. Civil service reform labelled patronage as evil, destabilizing, and unproductive. Caiden (1991) listed patronage as one of 175 common bureaupathologies, comparing its existence to the destabilizing existence of corruption and favoritism. Bureaupathologies are the “vices, maladies, and sickness of bureaucracy” (Caiden, 490). This negative association between patronage and corruption also limits research to cases where corruption exists. While Chabal and Daloz (1999) argue that patron-based politics is how ‘Africa works’ and thus unable to achieve the level of electoral democracy that exists in the west. Pitcher, Moran, and Johnston (2009) have noted that many African countries actually have a hybridized political system that do not undermine democratic processes or development.

Good governance and democracy literatures contend that competition serves as the antidote to patronage. However, in some cases, competition among candidates increases the likelihood and necessity of patronage (Driscoll 2017). Chazan et al (1999) specifically highlight the fact that political patronage can assume a variety of forms. In most cases, candidates and incumbents use campaigns and public office as a means of personal gain. This results in heated competitions during election cycles. Dawson’s (2014) earlier research on patronage from below also highlights how political competition increases instances of patronage. Whether in the anthropological sense or political science sense, patrons and clients recognize their interdependence. Candidates

vying for power or incumbents wishing to maintain their position will do all they can to appease their clients to gain power or maintain it as a result.

Despite the assumption that clients are unwilling participants, they are aware of their place in the political hierarchy and often exercise their position more than their patrons in the Global South (de Kadt & Larreguy 2018). Dawson (2014), Beresford (2015), and Driscoll (2017) agree that in the context of global capitalism and unequal development, this exercise of power by clients can prove potentially dangerous, and create newer forms of patronage that are not covered by the traditional political definition. In Dawson's (2014) case, the citizens often protested when their needs were not met, which more often than not resulted in the removal of that person from office. According to her, this creates competition around vacant political positions and even contributes to the manipulation of citizens so that political rivals can unseat each other.

Beresford (2015) asserts that competition and the expectation of loyalty and reciprocity from elected officials contributes to gatekeeper politics, a manifestation of patronage that consolidates power and leads to corruption and degradation of democratic institutions. He also insists that as long as patronage, poverty, corruption, cronyism and inequality exist, patronage will continue to dominate politics anywhere in the world. His statement makes sense given that patronage, at its core, exists as a reciprocal, informal arrangement between people of unequal power and authority. In the same vein, he argues the importance of placing patronage in the context of the asymmetrical global capitalist system which has effectively increased the power and influence of those who have money to support campaigns. More competition seems like the perfect "remedy" to patronage, but it is also important to remember that patronage is not the antithesis of

democracy or bureaucracy, and that as a practice and concept it evolves based on the environments it is rooted in.

Beresford (2015), Kopecky (2016) and (Ozei-Hwedie 2001) make the most compelling arguments. We should understand patronage in the context of an unequal system because it is in that inequality that people feel more reliant on their government to secure the things they require. However, the delivery of these things can become trapped in the rhetoric of politics and masked behind incomprehensive tax code on campaign contributions. As highlighted in the case of Botswana, patronage becomes entrenched when leadership remains in power for extended period of time (Ozei-Hwedie 2001). By having more years in office, a party is more likely to succumb to patronage selfishly. Not only that, they may be even less likely to provide public goods that would typically require multiple terms to complete. Short term limits invite patchwork fixes to more involved issues such as clean water and improved air quality, so we are more likely to see construction projects as a result because those projects are indeed more visible to the people (Povitkina & Bolkvadze 2019). These cases demonstrate the mutations that patronage can make in certain contexts; thereby making it undetectable with current party centric understandings of the term. With that being said, I feel that patronage does require a more anthropological understanding so that we can see how these relationships – between people and between people and the world they live – affect policies. My theoretical contribution and analysis should demonstrate the political as well as the anthropological aspects of patronage politics.



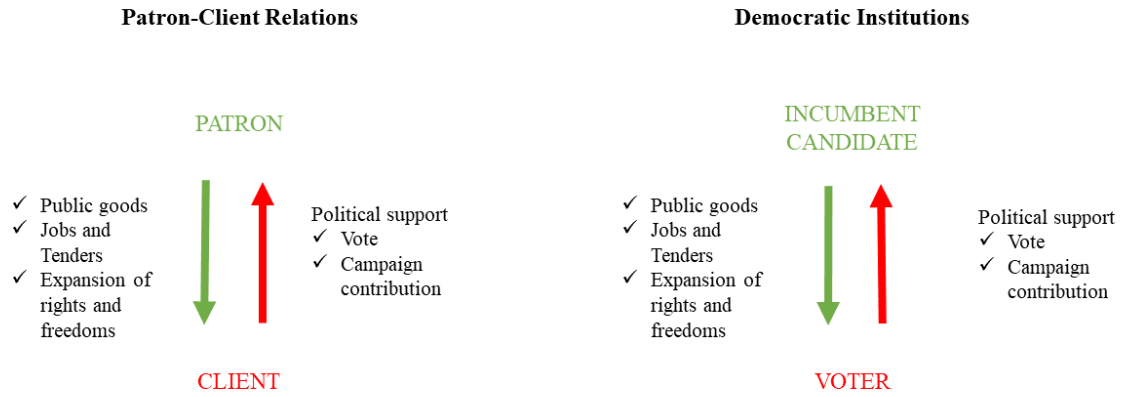
## **Theory**

With this paper, I argue that patronage is embedded in democratic systems, covertly as well as overtly. The presence of patronage in democracies influence the rate of policy changes because it is enmeshed with the interests of elected officials. The ubiquity of patronage results from socioeconomic divisions – real or imagined – by all actors engaged in the political arena. My focus lies in the relationship between actors and the effect of said relationship on policies because of its semblance to the inner workings of a democratic regime. My theoretical contribution is as follows: first I once again address the significance of the limited scope of patronage and how that correlates to conversations about patronage and democracy. Next, I provide an explanation of how patronage works in the Global South and the Global North. This general explanation of patronage in the context of these geopolitical zones includes the actors involved in patronage as well as the symptoms of patronage which should be the same across the board. Finally, based on my arguments, I lay out my hypothesis.

### ***Limited Scope of Patronage***

The literature presents democracy and patronage as two opposite regime types, especially outside of the Global South (Caiden 1991; Bearfield 2009); therefore, many scholars paint patronage as something endemic to the Global South (Chabal and Daloz 1999, Yaghi 2015), while only recently patronage studies have been extended to cases outside the Global South (Kopecky et al). I argue that patronage can be embedded in democratic systems covertly and overtly.

*Figure 1. Modus Operandi of Patron-Client Relations and Democratic Institutions*



*Figure 1: Modus Operandi of Patron-Client Relations and Democratic Regimes - Brown, 2020*

As indicated above, patron-client relations and democratic regimes utilize a reciprocal relationship between those in power and those with less power. Patrons and candidates/incumbents often make promises to (or give) their clients and voters the things they want in order to stay in office. The need to *visibly* fulfill the wishes of some of those who voted them in is especially robust as the term limits are particularly short (Povitkina & Bolkvadze 2019), and theoretically and realistically the power lays in the hands of the people. These observations thereby refute arguments on the antithetical nature of patronage on democratic regimes.

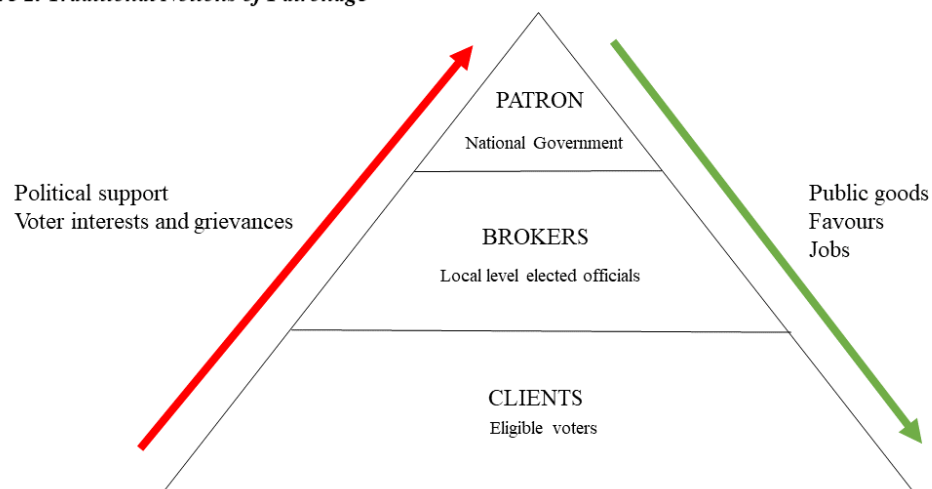
The recent interest in patronage outside the Global South shows the ubiquity of patronage; however, our understandings of patronage require broadening beyond party lines and financial support. Even though I make a case for a more comprehensive

understanding of patronage, party loyalties and financial support laws still hold their significance in relation to the modus operandi of patronage and present-day democratic systems. For these reasons in conjunction with social inequality borne out of the global capitalist system, I insist that we examine patronage through a reciprocal lens, and take into account the changes in the actors in political arenas across the globe.

By combining anthropological and political science understandings of patronage, I define and understand patronage as a reciprocal political quid pro quo between actors of unequal power and authority. This interpretation of patronage includes all potential actors in the political arena who have a stake in policy changes such as voters, incumbents, candidates, nongovernment organizations and intergovernmental organizations, and multinational corporations. In relation to my case studies, I utilize the reciprocal lens and comprehensive delineation of patronage indicated here.

### ***Patronage of the Global South***

*Figure 2. Traditional Notions of Patronage*



***Figure 2. Traditional Notions of Patronage - Brown, 2020***

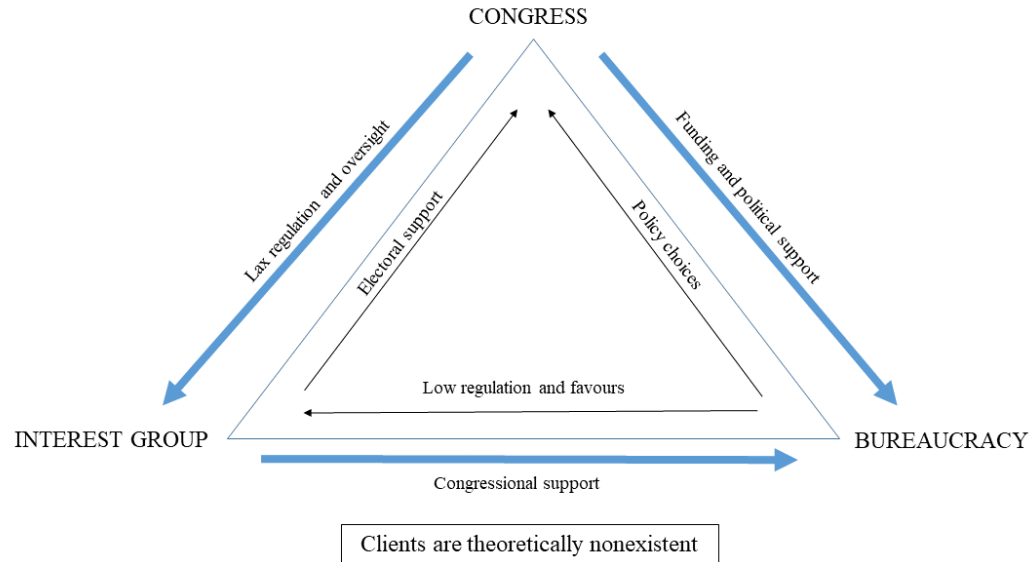
Most scholars characterize patronage in a simplistic fashion, with three main actors (Dawson 2014). In Global South patronage cases, an actor's place in the patronage hierarchy also determines their position in the government hierarchy. The three actors are patrons, brokers, and clients. Patrons are the most powerful because they possess all the resources. For this reason, we typically associate patrons with the national government. Brokers serve as liaisons between patrons and clients, just as the local government's critical role is to be the intermediary between citizens and the national government. Brokers often switch between being a patron and client themselves, depending on their position in the government hierarchy. Clients, on average, do not have as many resources, and in some cases they lack power due to their socioeconomic status, but where they lack resources they have an abundance on their impact of their continued interest in the political arena. Voters in the Global South, quite particularly Africa, view their government as an entity that should take care of them, so when their interests are not met, the people readily vote out the irresponsible patron out for a patron who will be responsive. This means that as long as patrons deliver, clients will continue to support that particular patron's campaign each possible time.

Patron-client relations instituted by former colonial powers hold the governments of Botswana and South Africa together (Chazan 1999; Gordon and Gordon 2013); however, it also makes these countries more susceptible to outside influences. Following decolonization, colonial government structures still existed, including the local leaders and the regions they were assigned. The indirect ruling of the colonial administrations gave way to this representation of patronage flows because (1) the colonial

administrations controlled the national governments, thereby consolidating power and resources at the top of the hierarchy (patron), (2) colonial powers indirectly controlled their colonies from afar by granting power to local leaders of their choice (broker), and (3) this exchange between colonial powers and local people gave the colonial administration more power and control over the local people while bestowing an immense amount of power to local leaders and the people as well (patronage ‘from below’). While indirect rule extends as much power to the people as democracy, it can be easily disrupted by leaders with interests that have the potential to exclude most of the population as well as persisting colonial sociopolitical cleavages (i.e. ethnicity and wealth). More often than not, foreign companies slowly begin to capture states in the Global South, with or without the knowledge of the leader, thus leading to unfinished projects and increasing poverty, unemployment, and crime which can become push factors for the people to emigrate to countries that have more opportunities. Many people emigrate from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region as well as Central and South America to countries in Europe and North America because of the perceived “cleanness” of the regimes. Unfortunately, immigrants are not truly escaping corruption because it exists in the Global North too.

## *Patronage of the Global North*

*Figure 3. Bureaucratic Patronage (Institutionalised patronage)*



*Figure 3. Bureaucratized Patronage (Institutionalised patronage) - Adams 1982*

The framework for traditional notions of patronage does exist in the Global North, but they seem more evolved by bureaucracy and bureaucratic processes accompanying democracies. According to Gordon Adams (1982), policies are trapped in something called an “iron triangle.” His iron triangle includes Congress, the bureaucracy (departments or ministries), and interest groups. Now that nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), and multinational corporations (MNCs) have involvement in the political arena, voter interests can be manipulated, and their significance to the patronage model is almost nonexistent. The most active relationships flow between the actors of the iron triangle at the top of the hierarchy, in other words, at the patron, or national level. Local level patronage does exist in tandem to national level patronage in the Global North as well due to the introduction

of new actors to the political arena. Despite the associations given to the Global South, bureaucratic patronage in the Global North seems more pernicious due to its undetectability.

Civil service reforms in the US and Canada made overt patronage a symbol of corruption, so it was replaced with more covert forms of patronage such as party loyalty, two party systems, and partisan ideologies. Political machines, spoils, and bossism of old did not disappear. Instead it became more complex, entangled in tax code and case law. Bureaucratic patronage plays on meritocracy, party loyalty, and ideologies on freedom (individual and economic). This type of patronage also perfectly captures the inner workings of Global North countries because of the association of political power and economic power throughout history. Enmeshed in bureaucratic patronage are the interests of businesses, and like incumbent parties in the Global South, conservative parties ensure that they maintain their hold on power, whether they have a majority or not. Legal maneuvers to maintain power and manipulation of the masses are what make patronage in the Global North pernicious (Hacker and Pierson 2011; Gilens and Page 2014; Berman 2016).

Each actor in Gordon Adams' "iron triangle" is vulnerable to business interests. Interest groups are particularly vulnerable because many think tanks and other research organizations are often funded by specific donors. Plus, any interest group can lobby Congress if they have the resources to. As entrenched as business interests, wealth, and politics are with history, it is out of the scope of this paper to explain the details behind those contributing factors; however, the effect, systemic inequality, is not out of the scope of this paper.

### ***Hypotheses on Patronage and Policy Change***

*Hypothesis I: if there is vast social inequality, then there is patronage*

*Hypothesis II: if the wealthy have more political influence, then there is patronage*

Patronage and democracy typically reflects the interests of the voters; however, all voters are not made equal. Historically speaking, the wealthy have more political influence and thus more ability to ignore laws due to their political connections (Holmes and Sunstein 2000; Gilens and Page 2014). Multinational corporations and other organizations headed by the super-wealthy have the ability to shape voter behavior because of the immense resources they can expend to do so.

Patronage and policy are linked because policies should reflect the interests of voters. Policy changes and efficacy in democracies should ideally be inclusive and applicable to the entire population, but that is not the case. In many cases, policies benefit only a few. This disconnect here is where patronage becomes significant. If a democracy is running as a democracy should, as in run by the people's interests, then policies should benefit all, thus rendering the power of sociopolitical cleavages irrelevant. Instead, built-in sociopolitical cleavages, case law equating individuals and corporations, pressure on the Global South by the Global North (and other countries in the Global South) to value democracy and wealth through foreign policies and supranational agendas have exacerbated inequality, blazing a trail for the super-rich at the cost of ordinary individuals and families (Chazan 2013; Gilens and Page 2014). Since patronage in the Global South has its roots in sociopolitical inequality, and the Global North has a tendency to favour wealthy business interests, policy change is often hijacked by the most politically dominant group. I hypothesize that in the context of inequality, policy changes are a



result of the politically powerful’s approval of it; therefore, policies that expand universal access to public goods and services are often unlikely to be passed.

### **Research Design**

In order to demonstrate the ubiquity of patronage, I examine two countries from the Global North, Canada and the United States, and two countries from the Global South, Botswana and South Africa. With these four cases, I investigate where the loyalties of the administrations lie by monitoring their responses to increased demand for energy infrastructure alongside increased demand for a greener economy and allegations of money laundering and state capture. I use a qualitative method of analysis. For my data, I rely on newspaper articles dated from the onset of the issue until March 1st 2020 in conjunction with speeches, readouts, and remarks by the Prime Minister and President from their official websites serve as my primary sources of information for document analysis. The amount of information available for the Global North and Global South case studies varies considerably, but a second newspaper source is used to supplement any national or intergovernmental acknowledgement of the events. By conducting document analysis, I show the existence of patronage as well as discern the most politically powerful group in each case.

#### ***Case studies: summary of issue and data sources for analysis***

<b><i>Table 1. CASE STUDIES</i></b>			
Country	Administration	Event/Issue	Data Sources
Canada	Trudeau (2015-)	Trans Mountain Expansion Project (TMX)	New York Times pm.gc.ca
United States	Trump (2016-)	Keystone XL Pipeline	New York Times

		(KXL)	whitehouse.gov
Botswana	Khama (2008-2018)	National Petroleum Fund money laundering scandal case	Botswana Gazette Botswana Guardian
South Africa	Zuma (2009-2018)	State capture of South Africa: Zuma-Gupta relationship	Guptaleaks.com

*Canada: Trudeau and the Trans Mountain Expansion Project*

After making a public commitment to a clean energy economy, Liberal Prime Minister Justin Trudeau approves the construction of the Trans Mountain Pipeline to fund the transition. This decision shattered relations between British Columbia and Alberta as well as divided Canada and the First Nations between those who support a strong economy and those who support environmental preservation. Since Trudeau won the 2015 election on a completely different platform, this reversal seems puzzling. I use seven articles from the New York Times and eight speeches and readouts from the official Prime Minister site (pm.gc.ca) in order to find out why he made this choice and how Canadians feel about it.

*United States: Trump and Keystone XL*

Despite the previous administration's ruling that the Keystone XL pipeline would hurt their credibility as a climate leader, shortly after inauguration, President Trump invites TransCanada (now TC Energy) to resubmit the application for a presidential permit. Trump approved the project, but it split the country, especially in the states that will be impacted by the pipeline. To properly monitor the developments with this case, I use 12 articles from the New York Times and seven remarks from whitehouse.gov.

*Botswana: Khama and NPF Scandal Case*

Botswana's National Petroleum Fund (NPF) served as a price cushion for consumers, until funds were diverted. Khama has a role in this, as does the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), because they did not investigate the disappearance of the funds. In fact, the disappearance of the funds is one of many failures of the Khama presidency. At the start of his presidency, Khama made many plans and promises which turned out to be hollow. To see who benefited from his failures, I use three articles from the Botswana Gazette and five from the Botswana Guardian. Due to lack of information available at embassy sites or on the Council for Foreign Relations, I chose two domestic newspapers as data sources for my analysis.

*South Africa: Zuma and Gupta relationship*

The Zuma-Gupta relationship is indicative of what happens when the interests of the wealthy trump the interests of your own people. The Guptas, an immigrant family from India, came to South Africa in the nineties in order to start their own media firm. This firm among many others came to fruition in South Africa, but it was not because they were good businessmen. Their success came at the cost of the South African people. Under Zuma, many projects stalled, which left thousands without salaries. In order to figure out how the "Zuptas" came to be, I use four articles from Guptaleaks.com, an investigative journalism site which is the result of the collaborative effort of four news sources based in South Africa.

## Data and Analysis

### *Canada Case*

<i>Table 2. KEY ACTORS</i>	
Name/Title	Relevance to TMX issue
Prime Minister Trudeau	He nationalized the pipeline expansion, amongst three other energy projects, despite campaigning as a proponent of clean energy
British Columbia (BC)	TMX will twin a preexisting pipeline that runs through BC, thus increasing tanker traffic near Burnaby and the likelihood of an oil spill and subsequent disruption of British Columbia's tourist industry (environmentalist)
Alberta	Proponent of the pipeline as well as other energy projects being brought to them because it will bring jobs (energy and economy proponent)
Conservatives	Supports the project and criticizes Trudeau's handling of TMX in order to galvanize electoral support in the West to regain their majority
Federal Court of Appeals (FCA)	Determines whether legal cases concerning TMX are heard or not, thus taking the political decisions surrounding the pipeline project out of Trudeau's hands
First Nations (indigenous peoples of Canada)	Have the potential to gain economically or lose their lands and water -- the First Nations have been divided on the issue, bolstering the cases of both sides

The only clear beneficiaries seem to be Conservatives and Alberta, with Conservatives regaining political power in Parliament and Alberta, essentially, gaining power over Trudeau and any other Liberal. Due to skepticism over Trudeau's interests and Alberta's seemingly ignored economic condition, Alberta and Saskatchewan voted Conservative in 2019. Even though Trudeau's Liberal Party still has enough seats to

remain in power, they lost the popular vote which is indicative of citizen discontent and the obligation of Trudeau to lay out clear policies instead of enacting ones which make everyone happy.

Despite some faith in Trudeau's government that things will be taken care of, Trudeau cannot directly extend anything to anyone without backlash. Due to rising far-right conservatism, Trudeau played it safe by letting the FCA determine how TMX progresses. Even though his plans for TMX to serve as the money generator for the clean energy economy transition, it seems he has a plan no matter which way public opinion sways. On the other hand though, his moderate position seems more costly politically considering that he won over Canada with a Liberal platform.<sup>1</sup>

His reversal raises many questions on the politics in Canada, but one thing is clear: TMX is a symbol. By supporting a clean economy and protesting TMX, you are a Liberal, while supporting the energy infrastructure and economic growth that TMX can bring makes you a Conservative. These ideological fault lines lie at the heart of the entire issue in Canada. It does not seem that Trudeau needed to appeal to the West, the Conservative heartland, considering what his victory meant (Puzic 2015). However, on the same day he made his pipeline announcement in 2016, he also announced other policies that his government had implemented: Natural Resource Project, Ocean Protections Plan, and the Alberta Climate Leadership Plan. The other three plans clearly follow the Liberal ideology, but he approved TMX and the Line 3 Replacement Project. Why did he do that?

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<sup>1</sup> See appendix

With the data available, there are not many answers, but his attempt to please everyone in order to maintain his status as Prime Minister is much appreciated from a strictly theoretical sense. My interpretation suggests that the Conservatives and the Canadian West, mainly Alberta and Saskatchewan, are the most politically powerful in Canada. This could be because of how much they contribute financially to the government of Canada in taxes relative to the rest of the country. If Alberta and Saskatchewan do not support policies put forward by the Prime Minister, the plans will fall apart. This explains why Trudeau agreed to TMX as long as Alberta committed to the national carbon tax (Alberta Climate Leadership Plan). Even though Trudeau has prepared a way for Canada to make the necessary transitions to a clean energy economy, his plans may be checked by Conservatives at the provincial level.

*US Case*

<b><i>Table 3. OPPONENTS AND PROPONENTS FOR KXL PROJECT</i></b>	
<b>Opponents</b>	<b>Proponents</b>
Sierra Club	ProPetrol (TX based company)
National Resources Defense Council	Enbridge (Canadian company)
Nebraskan landowners	TC Energy (Canadian company) CEO of TC Energy Russ Girling (Canada)
Native Americans	Jim Carr (Canadian
	American Petroleum Institute: Robin Rorick and Jack Gerard (US)
	Heartland Institute: Tim Huelskamp (US)
	Nebraska Governor and Chamber of Commerce
	President Trump & Republicans

*Figure 4. US Patronage Network*



*Figure 4. US Patronage Network*

Many scholars discussing patronage situate it as a phenomenon endemic to the local level; however, the US may be providing evidence of the first instance of patronage at the national level with the Republican monopoly on government. Unlike Trudeau, Trump did not reverse course on his campaign promises, but his actions to ensure energy infrastructure projects come to fruition benefit him and people in his administration more than it does the people. As stated before, voters and candidates/incumbents are no longer the only people in the political arena; thereby making voters more susceptible to influences that affect their voting habits and ideals. With the drastic difference between red and blue states, as well as the very real and perceived social distance of people in these states, actors with a product to sell can easily prey on these inequalities. Despite evidence from the New York Times saying that the pipelines do not bring as many jobs as proponents trumpet, Americans value working and making money, especially if they

need it to survive, no matter the industry.<sup>2</sup> Like Canada, the US also has its liberal-conservative dichotomy playing out through KXL, except conservatives are Trump's base. Playing to his base is not problematic in and of itself unless you closely examine each policy choice he and his party have made. According to FiveThirtyEight, the House and Senate Majority leaders opposed a bill requiring the EPA to issue regulations regarding certain chemicals (2020) and preserving 400,000 acres of land in Colorado (2019) while supporting motions to repeal rules requiring energy companies to reduce waste and emissions as well as repeal of the stream protections rule in 2017. Where Trudeau tried to find a happy medium in this dichotomy, there is no medium in the United States. Conservatives often describe environmental regulations as an impediment to industry, which is why Trump implemented two executive orders: one gives him supreme authority over pipelines, the other limits the ability of states to fight pipelines. Trump actions, as well as the Republican Party's stance on energy demonstrate that their interests are not with the people as they claim. It is quite safe to say that they wish to enrich the corporations whom they bail out politically as the patronage triangle as well as the US patronage network explains. Many of the proponents of KXL are also potential beneficiaries of profits if the project comes to fruition. Broadly, the US and Canada both can expect gains from this project, despite allegations about the risk of spills; however, a variety of people have their say on what side they are on regarding KXL.

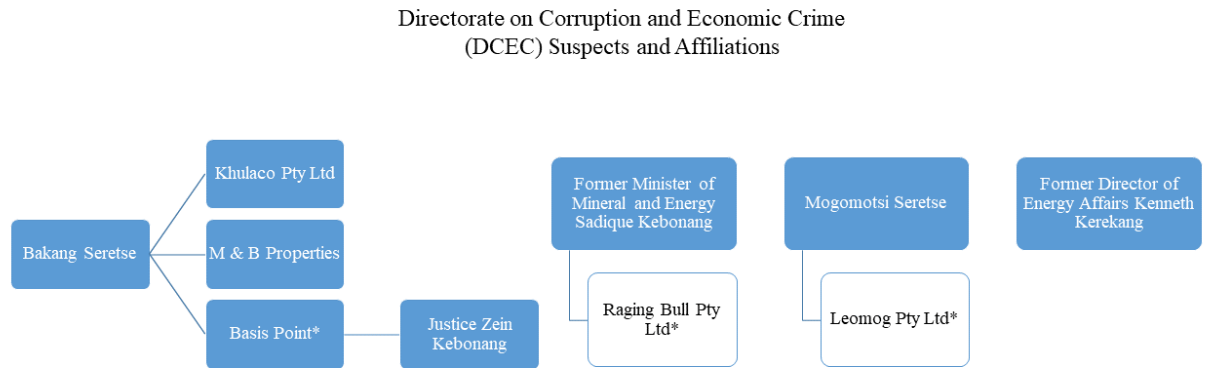
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<sup>2</sup> Leslie, Jacques. 2018. "Do Pipelines Really Create Lots of Jobs?" New York Times, May 10. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/10/opinion/environment-pipelines-jobs-carbon.html>



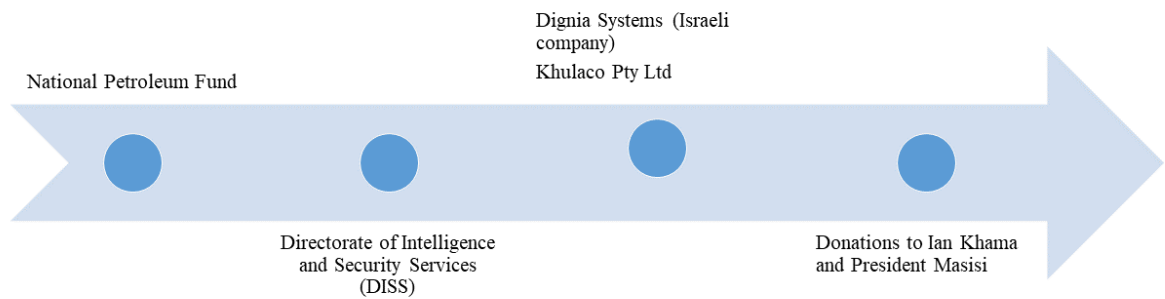
**Botswana Case**

**Figure 5. Botswana Patronage Network (Suspects and Affiliations)**



**Figure 5. Botswana Patronage Network**

**Figure 6. Flow of Funds from National Petroleum Fund (NPF)**



**Figure 6. Flow of funds from National Petroleum Fund (NPF)**

Botswana is often a model that other countries in Africa should be able to achieve if they follow the same steps; however, it may be a better idea if other African countries do what is best for themselves rather than follow Botswana. Ian Khama is only a snapshot into the decades of systematic corruption and state capture under the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). When P230 million disappeared from the National Petroleum Fund (NPF), it seems as though that was Botswana's final straw dealing with the trappings of destabilizing patronage.<sup>3</sup> According to publicly obtained correspondence, Former Directorate on Intelligence and Security Services (DISS) Director General Isaac Kgosi wrote to the Department of Energy Affairs asking that P230 million be diverted from the NPF to the DISS for fuel storage. Former Acting Permanent Secretary Dr. Obakeng approved the diversion, but later reversed, which were used for two things: (1) paying Israeli security company Dignia Systems and (2) a transfer payment on behalf of DISS to Khulaco. According to the Botswana Guardian, there is no guarantee if Khama or the Israeli government knew about the contract at all since Kgosi is not talking. It seems that the Fund had been looted twice, once in 2017 when P250 million disappeared and last year, in 2019 based on the Botswana Gazette. More recent sources indicate that P230 million disappeared from the Fund, launching domestic petrol prices into chaos amongst the rising unemployment and discontent. This second looting and its possible connections to former president Khama and current President Masisi have given way to debates about the use of state institutions for political gain. Even though Masisi is not my focus for Botswana, he did campaign on ending corruption. Could his fight to end

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<sup>3</sup> P230 Million = 230 million pula

corruption, something that has blemished Botswana's credibility as a model, all be just a ploy for his political gain?

Their infighting is fracturing the BDP, leading to splinter parties. With the BDP weakening due to factional disputes, it gives power to the other parties that do exist in Botswana, but that does not mean that the BDP has lost all power. The BDP led Botswana out of the colonial era, uniting all Motswana in their common goal to be liberated, so one could argue that people see the BDP in the light from the sixties instead of for what it has become today. For some reason though, despite the more fumbling under Khama, the people voted in Masisi, another BDP candidate. Part of the BDP's organization is all the money that it has, most likely from diverting funds from critical infrastructure and illicit business deals in diamonds, mining, and oil. Foreign direct investments (FDI) gave the businesses that helped develop Botswana more political power than the people themselves, opening the country up to be manipulated into poverty and abuse of power by its own officers as we can see here. Many of the suspects in the NPF looting also have companies in which they are directors. Whether it was two lootings or not, Kgosi only accounted for P118 million in 2018, leaving over P100 million unaccounted for. This proves that there is evidence of corruption and patronage is apparent with the main beneficiaries being elected officials and their families and businesses. In 2019, Botswana pumped half a billion into the NPF. Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Minerals, Mmelta Masire revealed that Botswana owes P800 million in debt to companies. While Botswana has debt to a number of companies, its elite had properties and luxury items from the monies laundered from the NPF. Botswana is not

demonstrate a model that other African countries should copy. In fact, it is following the Global North model into economic, partisan, and ethnic chaos.

*South Africa Case*

<b>Table 4. KEY ACTORS</b>	
Name/Title	Relevance to State Capture
Ashu Chawla and Naresh Khosla	Gupta agents that falsified and backdated documentation for Indian nationals’ work visa with their start-up company, Sahara
Gupta brothers	Ajay, Atul, and Rajesh extended favours to many elected officials, helped get people into power, brought in many Indian immigrants to work in South Africa
Bell Pottinger (Tim Bell)	PR Firm in England that started the white monopoly narrative to stoke racial tensions in hopes to distract from the state capture
Duduzane Zuma	Son of President Zuma, billionaire and shareholder in a Gupta company, key decision maker and connection between Guptas and President Zuma at the time
President Jacob Zuma	Allowed the Guptas to control government job posts

State capture by businessmen seems like a trend in Africa, which makes sense.

Many foreign governments invest into mining companies, oil companies, and any other natural resource or business venture that African countries can offer them, usually at the cost of the integrity of the political structure. During Zuma’s regime, he and his family got tangled up with the Guptas, a family of three brothers from India who came to start a media firm. The connection could have begun with the involvement with Bell Pottinger or when the Guptas gave Duduzane Zuma a director position in one of their firms, but it seems that the Guptas snuck into South Africa by falsifying documents.<sup>4</sup> How their

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<sup>4</sup> McKenzie, Roy. 2018. “#Guptaleaks: How Sahara handed SA Jobs to Foreigners.” *Guptaleaks*, Sept 20. <https://www.gupta-leaks.com/information/guptaleaks-how-sahara-handed-sa-jobs-to-foreigners/>

interests became entangled with Zuma's presidency is not particularly clear with the data, but the same thing in Botswana can be said for South Africa: other interests have captured the state, plunging the rest of the country into crime, poverty, and dilapidation.

Despite the underpinnings of ideology shaping interests, the Guptas seem to have made their way to South Africa, interacting with the former president in limited instances until they had gained control of the government. Their connection to the Zumas led to the appointments of their cronies and special treatment which is sometimes illegal in South Africa.<sup>5</sup> For all intents and purposes, the Guptas were just using South Africa for their own personal use, extending gifts to the Zuma family from time to time and helping modify public opinion with the PR Firm. Gupta websites began disseminating a narrative citing a white monopoly on the economy as to why the allegations against the Guptas arose, thus inciting racial tensions in South Africa. Their efforts did fail, and now everyone knows about state capture in South Africa, which has received negative feedback from the US especially. There seem to be no policies, no positions, only gifts and favours back and forth. The interests served are of the wealthy and not of the people, but these wealthy people are not from South Africa, and therefore not sympathetic of the political issues in South Africa.

## **Discussion**

Patronage works differently in different countries, but it does exist, in some form everywhere. In the Global North, patronage seems to lie in the wrappings of ideology while in the Global South patronage networks often feed foreign patrons rather than domestic ones. The relationships in Global North are based on political and financial

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<sup>5</sup> See appendix: South Africa, "Why you should care about #Guptaleaks" and "#Guptaleaks: The Presidency Captured"

support from organizations and people respond to favours because of their need for money in their personal lives. Global capitalism enriches the Global North at the cost of the Global South. In other cases, countries within the Global South often work against each other to achieve a status similar to countries in the Global North, as evidenced by the state capture of my two Global South cases by immigrants from another country in the Global South. Unfortunately, where the Global North operates discreetly behind ideology, the Global South operates blatantly due to the lack of development and rampant corruption. Voters all across the world are suffering as a result of patronage networks, but that is more true for the US, Botswana, and South Africa.

There is no difference in how patronage works in any democracy, “developed” or “developing.” While Trudeau cannot be implicated as the culprit based on the datasets, his actions show that conservative ideology governs Canadian energy interests, despite evidence of the dangers of continued usage. As he unites Canada for the future, local premiers focus on his mishandlings of generous energy projects, citing how much he hates the west and other stereotypes in order to win Parliament. This strategy led to the election of Donald Trump in 2016 in the US. By presenting himself as an outsider and a man for the people, he overtly campaigned to build more pipelines and strip away limits to economic growth (dog-whistle for environmental protections). Considering the evidence of the danger that brings, much of his campaign promises have been realized, including the streamlining of energy projects and the rollback of over 90 environmental regulations. During the time that he overtly campaigned on conservative ideology, he covertly used legal maneuvers as well as powers granted to the president to ensure his promises were realized. The building of pipelines, which bring jobs and economic

growth, would ensure his reelection, as well as continue the reign of conservatives at the national and local levels. Unfortunately, unrestrained economic growth comes at the cost of human rights and the environment, barriers that many business leaders and interest groups wish to ignore. The data shows the bureaucracy and interest groups at work, but Trump's rhetoric and the two most powerful republicans in Congress are necessary to ensure their clients (wealthy business owners who funded their campaigns) stay happy and continue to "vote" for them in the future. Big business interests tangling with politics seems a bit more obvious in the Global South, but without the entire story on how political fights began and why, it is a little more difficult to discern the influence of dominant political parties over time; however, the relationships are there, outwardly, between business moguls and elected officials in both Botswana and South Africa. Botswana's elite are directors of companies implicated in the case against those responsible for looting the NPF. On the other hand, Zuma's presidency became muddy when his troublesome son became entangled with the Guptas through one of their companies. Whether or not he knew is no longer a question considering the meetings and the gifts given to close members of his family.

Each case study proves that patronage exists and it does benefit the few at the cost of the majority, despite the majority's vote on certain policies. Even if votes went in the correct direction so to speak, that manipulation is the handiwork of patronage network actors, those with the most political power (and economic power). With their power they sway public opinion with firms or with ideologies, maintain business interests and political ones, and destroy the fabric of society and democracy. The only good thing about the existence of patronage is the fact that it exposes those at the top of the hierarchy

for who they are, creating more informed and transparency-hungry voters. The connections between wealth and power can be explained a million times over in this paper, but those connections lay at the heart of patron-client relations and democracies everywhere. Who the “the people” are in a democracy ultimately determine who will be heard politically. As we can see, it is no longer the common man, or even the middle man, but the richest men with all their wealth and power generated over time through deliberate unequal systems imposed across the globe.

### **Conclusion**

Patronage has many different understandings, and while they are mostly negative, there is no difference between patron-client relations and democracy. By looking at the Global North and the Global South, it is evident that patronage has evolved. Where it has stayed overt, it has become covert in line with connotations about patronage. The covert nature of patronage is hidden, but no different and destabilizing as the most overt forms found in the Global South. The nature of patronage, covert or overt, has major effects on the lives of normal people. TMX has the potential to destroy the Pacific Coast. KXL will bring benefits to 35 people permanently, but only during construction will employment and economic growth surge. The NPF has been looted twice, raising petrol prices in an era of chaos for the common man under Khama. The Guptas’ dealings with former president Zuma undermined the institution, but they started many companies that favored Indian immigrant work over South Africans. It does not matter how it works, because it is there and has been since colonisation.

This line of research raises many questions about ideology, history, and the meaning of “the people” in democracies across the world. While it has cast conservatives



in a bad light, it opens doors into research into the connection between conservative ideology and patronage networks. There has already been research done with the connection between state-building and patronage, but the Global South often imitates the Global North, why is the visibility in patronage so different? Is it seriously connotation as indicated here? Clearly, there is some psychology behind how people understand how their government works. By continuing this line of research, policies that benefit the common man can become more common in order to close sociopolitical gaps that often transform into social and/or ethnic tensions usable by corrupt officials. Patronage research, outside the typical patronage cases, are crucial for all people. Populism, plutocracies, kleptocracies, and far-right conservatism is rising and faith in democracy is waning as a result of the patronage networks contributing to these new political arrangements. The policies that the most powerful in the world support only benefit them, and they selectively choose which groups of common people to extend benefits to after the fact.

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## Appendix

### DOCUMENT DATASETS

<b>Canada</b>				
<b>Source(s)</b>	<b>Source Type</b>	<b>Source Information</b>		
		<b>Author Location*</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
New York Times	Newspaper article	Ian Austen	Canada approves expansion of controversial Trans Mountain pipeline	6/18/19
New York Times	Newspaper article	Ian Austen	Canadian court halts expansion of Trans Mountain oil pipeline	8/30/18
New York Times	Newspaper article	Ian Austen	Canadian government to buy Kinder Morgan's Trans Mountain pipeline	5/29/18
New York Times	Newspaper article	Ian Austen	Justin Trudeau approves oil pipeline expansion in Canada	11/29/16
New York Times	Newspaper article	Ian Austen	In Canada, 2 provinces feud over pipeline: will it bring jobs or spills?	4/14/18
New York Times	Newspaper article	Ian Austen	Trudeau won the election, but hasn't won over western Canada	11/20/19
New York Times	Newspaper article	Ian Austen	A Victory in court for pipelines, but the debate still continues	2/7/20
pm.gc.ca*	Speech	Ottawa, Ontario	Trans Mountain expansion will fund Canada's future clean economy	6/18/19
pm.gc.ca*	Speech	Ottawa, Ontario	Prime Minister state on the Trans Mountain Pipeline Project	4/15/18
pm.gc.ca*	Readout	Ottawa, Ontario	Prime Minister speaks with Premier Horgan on agreement on the Trans Mountain Expansion Project	5/29/18
pm.gc.ca*	Readout	Ottawa, Ontario	Prime Minister speaks with Premier Notley on agreement on the Trans Mountain Expansion Project	5/29/18
pm.gc.ca*	Readout	Ottawa, Ontario	Prime Minister Trudeau, Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland, and Special Representative Jim Carr meet with Calgary Mayor Naheed Nenshi	11/21/19

pm.gc.ca*	Speech	Ottawa, Ontario	Prime Minister Trudeau's pipeline announcement	11/29/16
pm.gc.ca*	Speech	Houston, TX	PM Speaking notes for the annual international gathering of energy industry leaders	3/9/17
pm.gc.ca*	Speech	Davos, Switzerland	Prime Minister keynote speech at the World Economic Forum 2018	1/23/18

## United States

Source (s)	Source Type	Source Information		
		Author Location*	Title	Date
New York Times	Newspaper article	Clifford Krauss	Trump signs order to speed up oil and gas pipeline construction	4/10/19
New York Times	Newspaper article	Mitch Smith	Keystone XL pipeline plan is approved by Nebraska Supreme Court	8/23/19
New York Times	Newspaper article	Eric Lipton and Danielle Ivory	Trump says his regulatory rollback already is the "most far reaching"	12/14/17
New York Times	Newspaper article	Eric Lipton and Danielle Ivory	Under Trump, EPA has slowed actions against polluters, and put limits on enforcement officers	12/10/17
New York Times	Newspaper article	Clifford Krauss	Keystone XL Pipeline: A New opening but what lies ahead	1/26/17
New York Times	Newspaper article	Lisa Friedman and Coral Davenport	Judge blocks disputed Keystone XL Pipeline in setback for Trump	11/9/18
New York Times	Newspaper article	Mitch Smith	Nebraska allows Keystone XL Pipeline, but picks a different path	11/20/17
New York Times	Newspaper article	Mitch Smith	With big oil spill to clean, pipeline owner seeks Keystone XL Approval	11/17/17
New York Times	Newspaper article	Mitch Smith and Julie Bosman	Keystone Pipeline leaks 210,000 gallons of oil in South Dakota	11/16/17
New York Times	Newspaper article	Mitch Smith	Risen from the grave, Keystone XL Pipeline again divides Nebraska	4/27/17



New York Times	Newspaper article	Clifford Krauss	US, in reversal, issues permit for Keystone oil pipeline	3/24/17
New York Times	Newspaper article	Peter Baker and Coral Davenport	Trump revives Keystone Pipeline rejected by Obama	1/24/17
whitehouse.gov*	Presidential memoranda	Energy and Environment	Presidential Memoranda Regarding Construction of the Keystone XL Pipeline	1/24/17
whitehouse.gov*	Remarks	Energy and Environment -- Oval Office	Remarks by the President in TransCanada Keystone XL Pipeline Announcement	3/24/17
whitehouse.gov*	Statement and releases	Energy and Environment	President Trump Expedites Priority Energy and Infrastructure Projects	1/24/17
whitehouse.gov*	Remarks	Energy and Environment -- LNG Export Terminal, Hackberry, Louisiana	Remarks by President Trump on Promoting Energy Infrastructure and Economic Growth   Hackberry, LA	5/14/19
whitehouse.gov*	Remarks	Energy and Environment -- US Dept of Energy, Washington, DC	Remarks by President Trump at the Unleashing American Energy Event	6/29/17
whitehouse.gov*	Remarks	Energy and Environment -- Shell Pennsylvania Petrochemicals, Monaca, Pennsylvania	Remarks by President Trump on American Energy and Manufacturing   Monaca, PA	8/13/19
whitehouse.gov*	Remarks	Energy and Environment -- Environmental Protection Agency, Washington, DC	Remarks by President Trump at Signing of Executive Order to Create Energy Independence	3/28/17

## Botswana

<b>Botswana</b>				
Source(s)	Source Type	Source Information		
		Author	Title	Date
Botswana Gazette	Newspaper article	Lethogile Mpuang and Tefo Pheage	Masisi, Khama escape NPF charges	1/23/20
Botswana Gazette	Newspaper article	Admin	State pumps half a billion	8/5/19

			into NPF	
Botswana Gazette	Newspaper article	Gazette Reporters	Khama fights for financial accounts seized by DISS	2/28/19
Botswana Guardian	Newspaper article	Portia Nkani	Petroleum Fund sitting at P600 million	10/7/16
Botswana Guardian	Newspaper article	Moeti Mohwasa	DIS being used to settle political scores	1/22/19
Botswana Guardian	Newspaper article	Nicholas Mokwena	Ngakaagae, Kgosi face off in court duel	4/20/18
Botswana Guardian	Newspaper article	Nicholas Mokwena	Kgosi, owns up to NPF's P118 million	4/20/18
Botswana Guardian	Newspaper article	Nicholas Mokwena	Big fish hauled in NPF P250m net	12/4/18

## South Africa

Source (s)	Source Type	Source Information		
		Author	Title	Date
Gupta-leaks.com	Website article	Sally Evans	#Guptaleaks: UK PR Firm Tried to Push White Monopoly Capital Agenda	6/1/17
Gupta-leaks.com	Website article	Sally Evans	#Guptaleaks: Duduzane Zuma, kept and captured	6/1/17
Gupta-leaks.com	Website article	Kelly Anderson	#Guptaleaks:The Captured Presidency	7/19/17
Gupta-leaks.com	Website article	Sally Evans	Why you should care about the #Guptaleaks - an international view	8/9/17