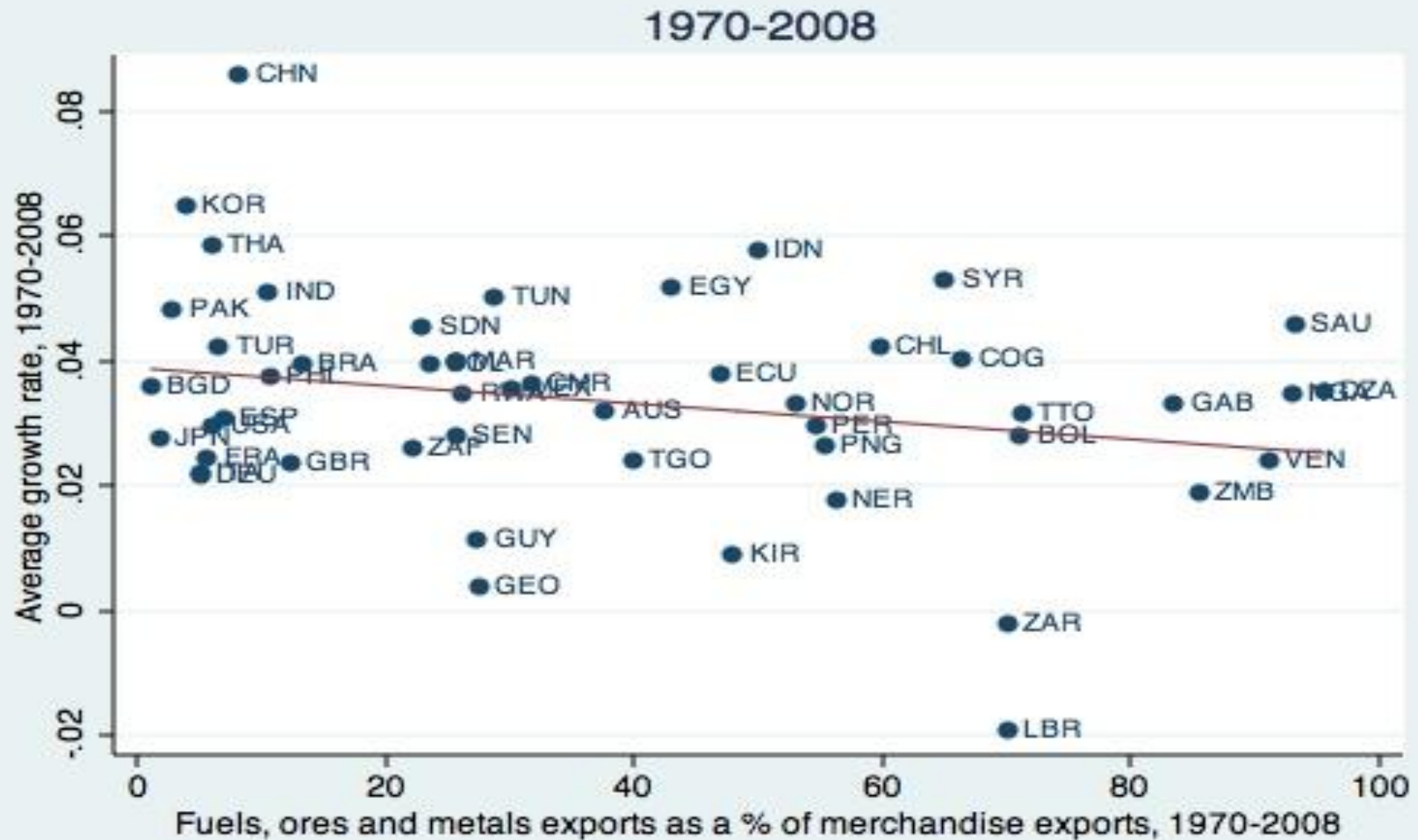




# Mozambique's Coming Natural Resource Boom

Prepared by Dr. Tyler Biggs

# Natural Resource Wealth and Economic Performance



# Three Channels of Transmission through which Abundant Resources Can Lead to Poor Economic Performance

- **Volatility**
- **Dutch Disease Effects**
- **Institutions**

# Volatility

- World commodity prices are extremely volatile
- Countries with low diversification and large share of resources in GDP therefore suffer large swings in revenues and growth per capita
- High volatility and boom and bust cycles shown to be harmful to economic growth, particularly where financial markets less developed
- Research finds that volatility is the core issue of the “resource curse” problem

# Why Is Volatility a Problem for Growth?

- Cyclical shifts of resources (labor, land, equipment) back and forth across economic activities incurs costs (particularly transaction costs)
- Frictional unemployment and incomplete utilization of capital raises costs and reduces productivity
- Volatility in commodity prices and revenues in developing countries often leads to macroeconomic and political instability
  - monetary and fiscal policy tends to be pro-cyclical – expansionary in booms and contracting in busts, adding to extent of volatility
    - ✓ resource riches create incentive to borrow and spend
    - ✓ booms act to undercut political decision-making and create false sense of security, encouraging wasteful investment, increases in government employment and benefits, expansion of welfare programs, etc.
- In addition, there are pro-cyclical private capital inflows as speculators move into local assets.

# Dutch Disease Effects

- “Dutch Disease” refers to negative adverse spillover effects of booming resource exports
- Four major Dutch Disease Effects:
  - Large inflows of forex (export revenues and FDI inflows) cause real exchange rate appreciation
  - Windfall revenues cause huge increase in spending (from firm profits, worker incomes, government tax and royalty receipts)
  - Real appreciation and spending effect influence relative prices in economy causing expansionary and contractionary effects in economy
    - ✓ Expansionary – non-tradable prices and output increase
    - ✓ Contractionary – non-resource tradables (manuf., agric, tourism) decline
  - Real appreciation and spending effect create incentives for labor and capital to move into booming sector and non-tradables production

# Two important Impacts on the Economy from Dutch Disease

- The decline of non-resource tradables can have adverse effects on future growth
  - Tradables are “special” – crucial for technical change in economy
- Welfare effects on Economy
  - Firms and workers in booming sector gain (higher profits and incomes)
  - Government benefits from higher taxes and dividends
  - Producers of non-tradable goods and services gain
  - Primary losers will be producers of non-resource tradables (including import-competing activities)
- There will be losers and this is a big part of the Dutch Disease problem



# Institutions

- Resource dependence found to have significant influence on quality of institutions and this is major channel through which resource curse affects growth
  - Booming revenues can worsen governance resulting in corruption and policy mismanagement undermining growth
- Conversely, effects of resource boom on economy (macroeconomic stability and growth) are moderated by quality of institutions
  - Countries with strong institutions at start of boom shown to do much better, turning possible curse into blessing. Countries with weak institutions shown to do worse.
- “Point-source resources” (oil, gas, minerals, diamonds) found to have the most negative effects on institutions because of central command of resource revenues by government



# Mozambique's vulnerabilities to Adverse Effects of The Coming Resource Boom

- Expectations Regarding the Extent of the Coming Boom and Impact on the Economy
- Boom-Related Vulnerabilities
  - Volatility
  - Sensitivity of the Exchange Rate to Fluctuations in Commodity Prices and Capital Inflows
  - Quality of Institutions
  - Absorptive Capacity and Non-tradable Prices

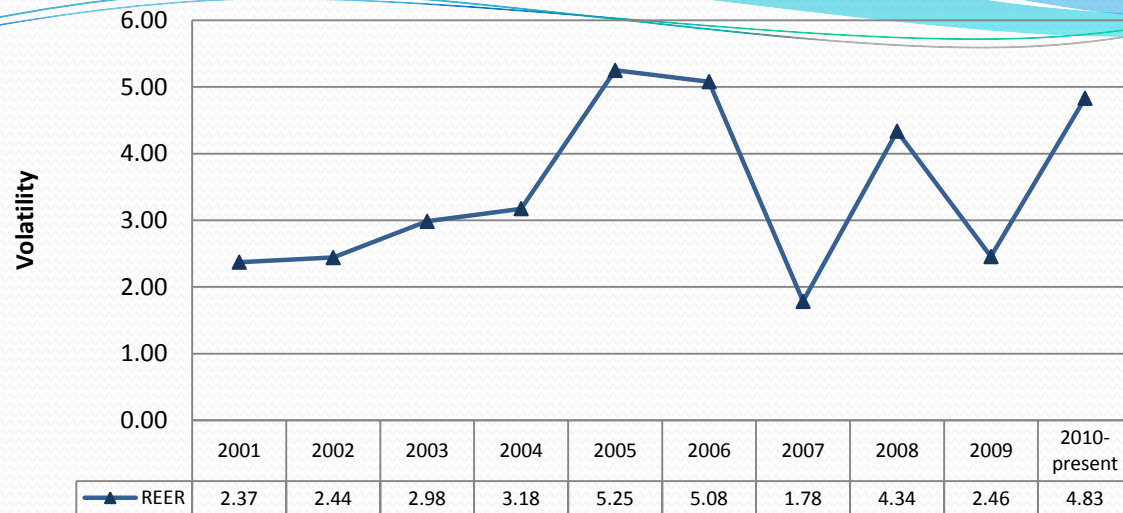
# Expected Extent of the Boom and Economic Impact

- Early estimates (2003-10) of mega-project's contribution to GDP and living standards (Mozal, Sasol, Moma, Electricity)
  - 13 % per year to GDP(at factor cost) depending on year; up to 4 % points to growth; effect on living standards low
- More recent IMF estimates assuming 50% rise in Sasol; start of coal production Vale and Rio Tinto, full capacity by reached by 2020
  - Boost to mega-project share in GDP to 18-20 % by about 2016 to 2020
- Projections with new Anadarko and ENI gas discoveries
  - Assuming value of discoveries \$400b over 4 decades, exports of \$10b per year, extraction companies take 50% share, Mozambique's revenues roughly \$5b. Mega-projects add another 20% to IMF projected GDP in year 2020
- So mega-projects by around 2020 roughly 40 to 50% of GDP plus capital inflows

# Boom-Related Vulnerabilities: Volatility

- Mozambique primed to experience adverse effects of commodity price shocks
  - Small economy, production and exports concentrated in commodities
  - Less developed financial market (few instruments to hedge)
  - Monetary and fiscal policy likely to be pro-cyclical amplifying price swings
- Data show Mozambique already experiences high volatility in key economic variables
  - Striking feature of real exchange rate has been persistent volatility (see next slide)
  - High exchange rate volatility can reduce investment, productivity, and growth and have negative effects on tradables

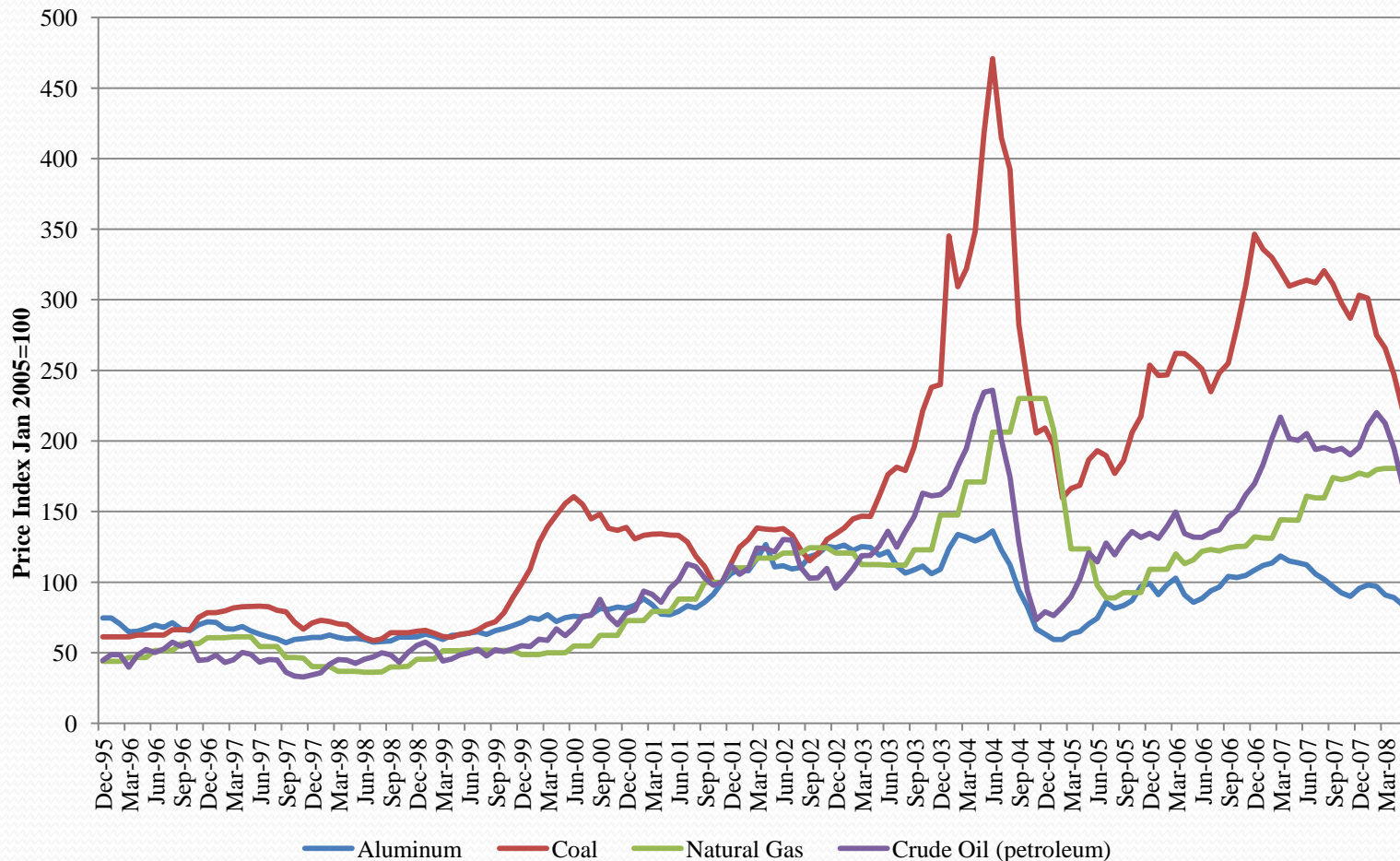
**FIGURE 2: VOLATILITY OF REAL EFFECTIVE EXCHANGE RATE**



Year	REER (std. dev. first diff of logs)
2001	2.37
2002	2.44
2003	2.98
2004	3.18
2005	5.25
2006	5.08
2007	1.78
2008	4.34
2009	2.46
2010-present	4.83
Period	REER (std. dev. first diff of logs)
2001-2003	2.55
2004-2006	4.65
2007-2009	3.65
2010-Present	4.83

Risks of volatility-related effects apt to grow larger as export basket shifts from aluminum towards coal and natural gas.

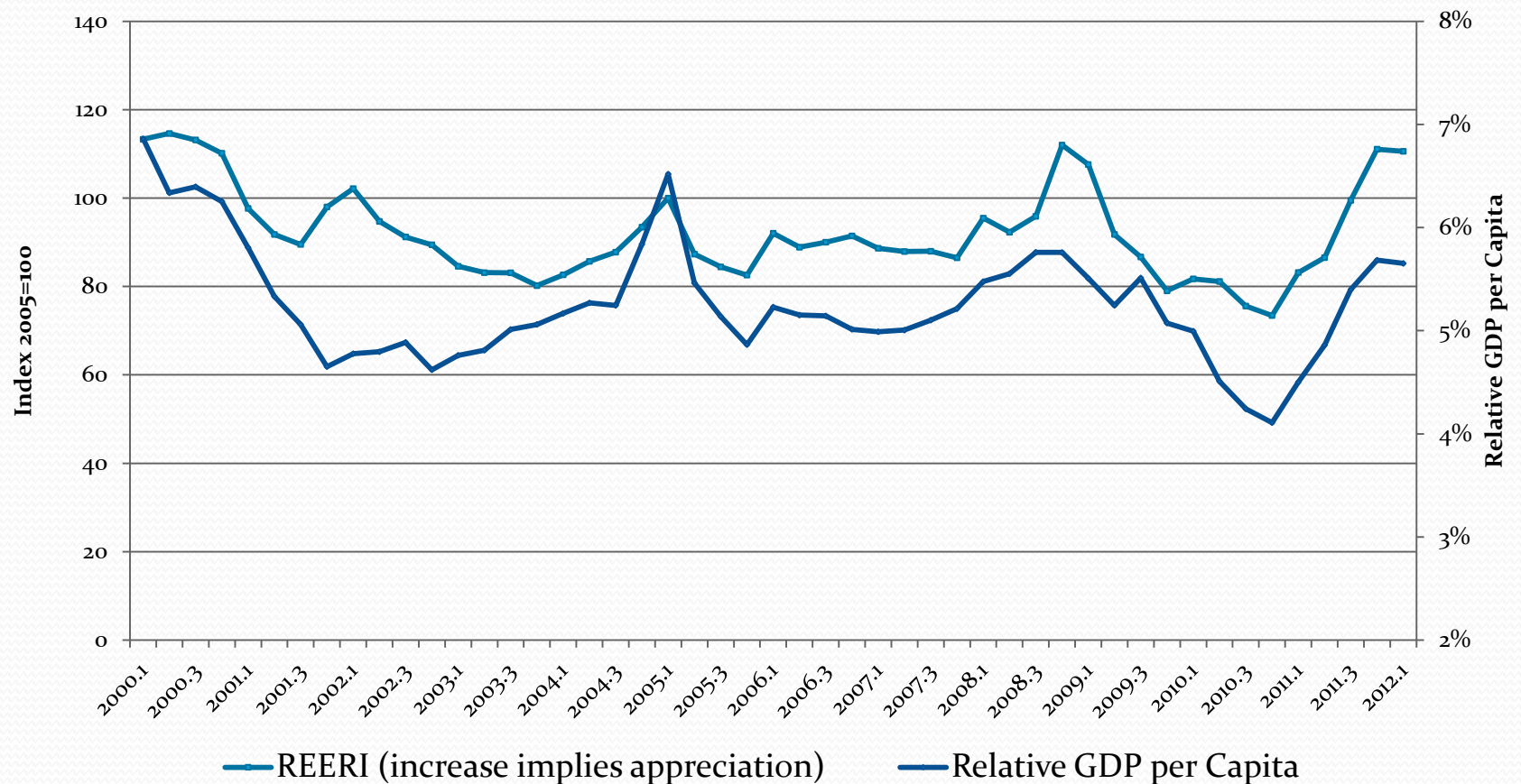
Commodity Prices: Monthly Averages 2000-2012



# SENSITIVITY OF REAL EXCHANGE RATE TO COMMODITY PRICE AND SUPPLY –SIDE AND DEMAND-SIDE SHOCKS

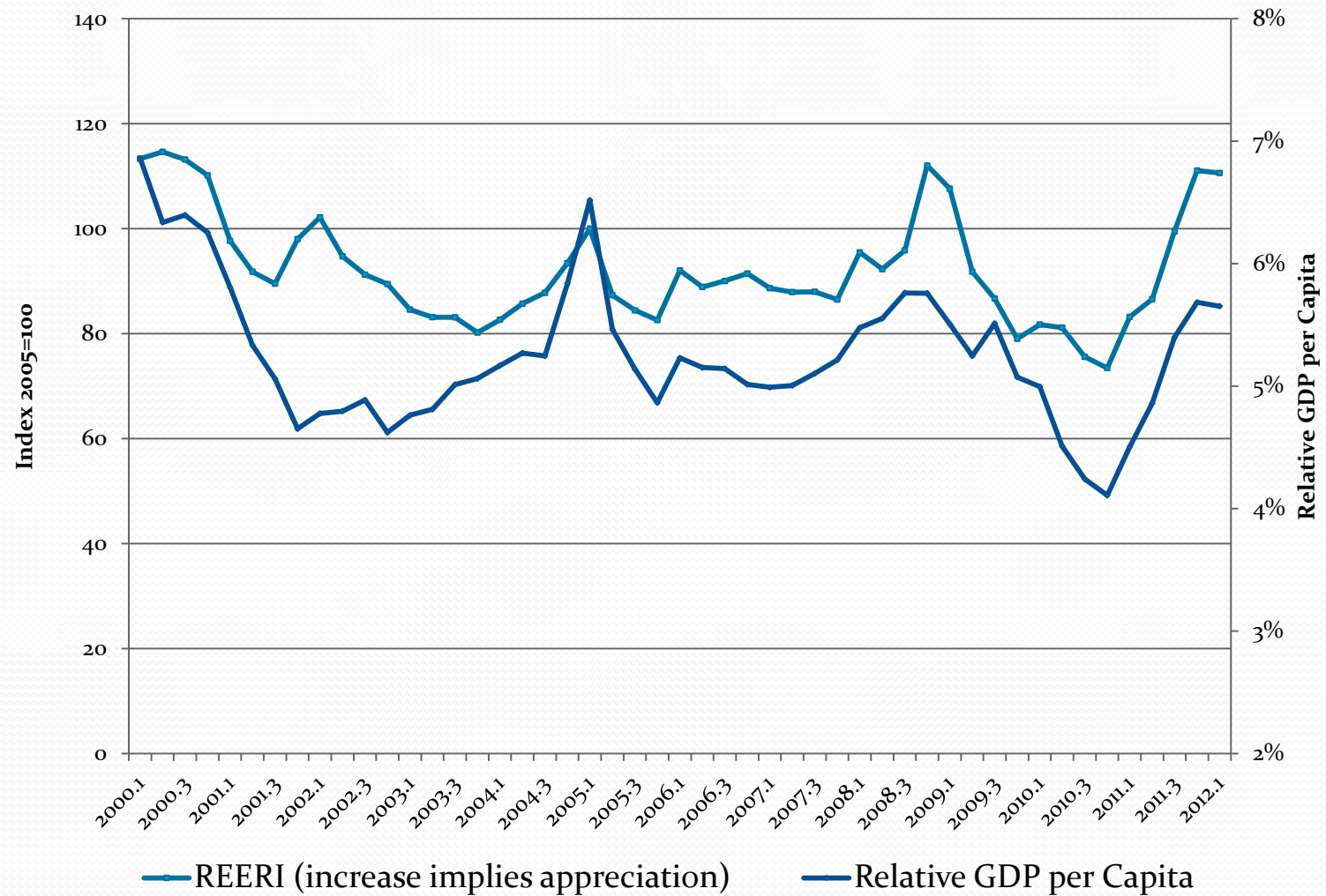
- Key adverse effect of a resource boom is real appreciation of the exchange rate
- What are the major determinants of long-run movements of metical exchange rate?
  - Is metical a “commodity currency” like the currencies of some other commodity exporters – appreciates when prices of export commodities rise and depreciates when they fall?
  - How responsive is metical to supply-side shocks, such as changes in productivity differentials verses trading partners?
  - How sensitive is metical to inflows of capital, such as FDI and AID?
- **Finding:** metical is a “commodity currency”; real world-price of aluminum has significant and stable effect on real exchange rate – a 10 percent increase in real commodity price results in a 1.7% real appreciation in the metical
  - Underscores fact that key vulnerability in coming resource boom is sensitivity of metical to commodity price fluctuations
- **Finding:** supply-side shocks like changes in productivity differentials are key determinants of long-run real exchange rate movements.
- **Finding:** capital flows play significant role in determining movements in exchange rate; influence negative, as capital flows associated with large leakages (imports, profit remittances) and intervention by BOM

## Real Exchange Rate and Relative GDP per Capita

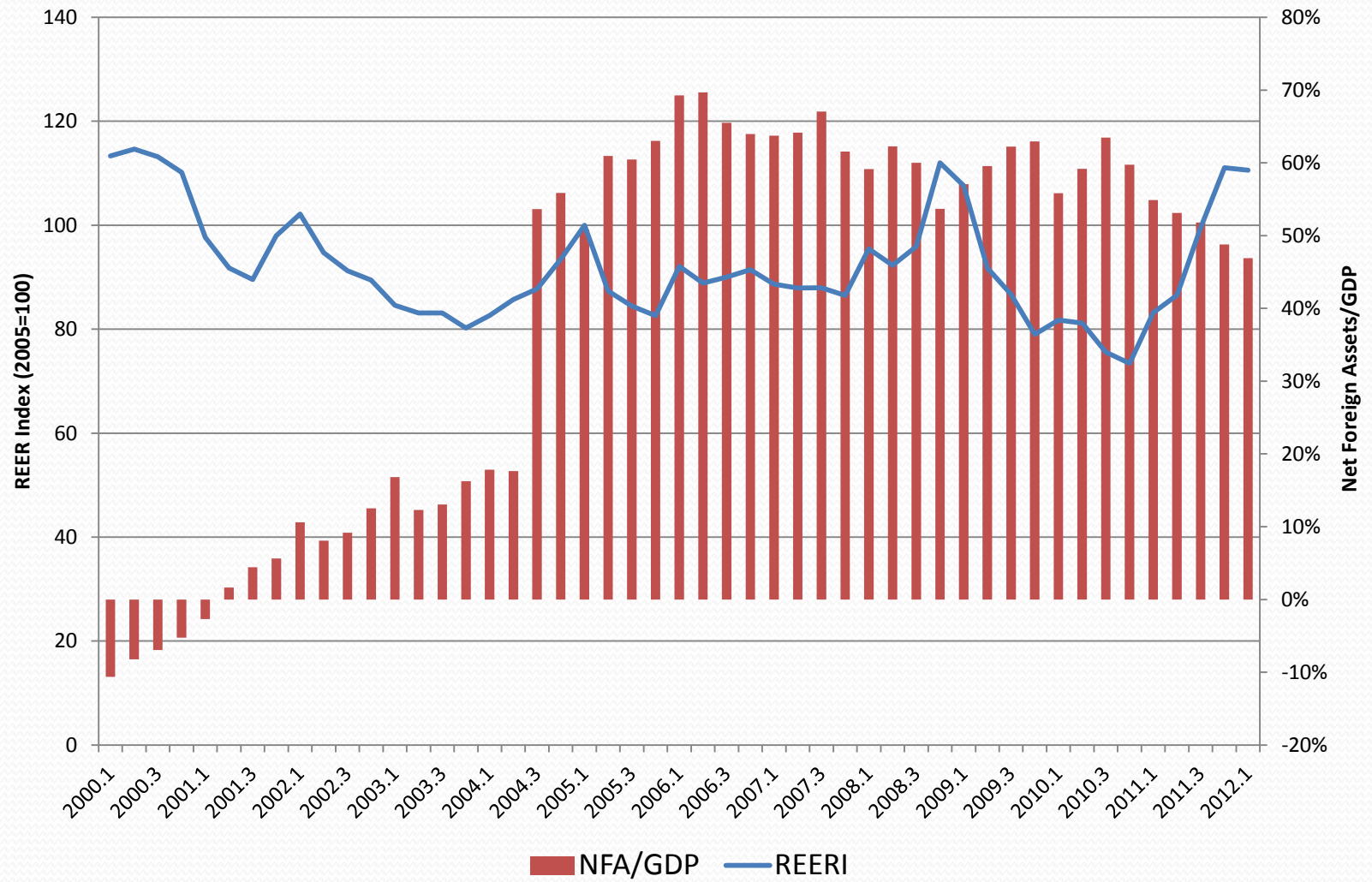




## Real Exchange Rate and Relative GDP per Capita



## REER and Net Foreign Assets/GDP



# Quality of Institutions

- Significant vulnerability is quality of institutions; outlook for low-income countries with weak institutions before resource windfall is particularly worrying
- World Bank's Governance Indicators for Mozambique 1996-2010
  - Scores poor in government effectiveness, corruption, and rule of law and they have not improved much over years
  - areas of relative strength observed in voice and accountability and political stability – large improvement over period
- Fact that government effectiveness, corruption, and rule of law continue to be weakest areas is worrying because all research shows that “point-source” resource exports are problem for countries lacking strong institutional capability.
- Government adoption of Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative is a positive sign for future

# Absorptive Capacity and Non-tradable prices

- Vulnerabilities, plus market imperfections, embryonic financial markets, scarce skilled labor, inadequate infrastructure reduce Mozambique's absorptive capacity
- Ability to absorb large resource windfall extremely limited in short to medium-run; spending (investment or consumption) will quickly run into bottlenecks, reducing the value of spending
- Basic problem: steep supply curves, particularly for non-tradable goods and factors, cause spending to result in higher prices, including real exchange rate appreciation
- Steep supply curves caused by (a) critical shortages in "home-grown" capital (skills, infrastructure) for production of non-tradables (b) inefficiencies and constraints in the business environment

# Absorptive Capacity cont'd

- Overcoming bottlenecks and building the economy's absorptive capacity will take time.
- Bottlenecks can be avoided by importing
  - But not all necessary human and physical capital can be imported (some has to be “home-grown”), and importing everything not politically feasible or good for long-run development in Mozambique
- Absorption constraints already beginning to show up in rising prices of non-tradables, particularly in urban centers ( e.g., real estate, skilled labor)

# Policy Options for Managing the Coming Resource Boom

- Overarching constraints to policy formulation:
  - Revenues result from depleting finite stock of resources, so temporary.
  - Revenues highly uncertain, as commodity prices highly volatile.
  - Low-income, capital-scarce country needs to raise consumption to reduce poverty and increase investment in public goods (education, infrastructure, etc.) to grow faster
  - Current capacity to rapidly absorb windfall revenues quite limited; investment process in country not capable of delivering high returns on very large volumes of investment
  - Capacities associated with effective governance and economic management are still weak
- Constraints mean (a) policies for managing revenues constrained by absorptive capacity (b) adverse effects of boom likely to be stronger; so policy must also address volatility and Dutch Disease directly

# Policy Options for Managing the Boom cont'd

- Top priority of revenue management: raise domestic investment, both public and private, to increase growth and, boost consumption
- Implementing priority involves complications – low absorptive capacity severely constrains potential investment returns
- Until investment capacity improved, no other practical option than buy time by accumulating resources in a Sovereign Wealth Fund (SWF) or broader Natural Resource Fund (NRF)
  - Form of national savings, ensures gains partially shared with future generations
  - Important not to allow overseas operations of Fund to delay improvements in the absorptive capacity
  - safeguards needed to ensure Fund not raided by politicians – ultimate safeguard is transparency (The Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative)
- Government's role in raising investment must also involve policies to stimulate more private sector investment (e.g. improve investment environment)



# Policy Options for Managing the Boom

## cont'd

- Second important priority: allocate fraction of revenues directly to citizens
  - Important to raise consumption straight away to address poverty
  - Increment to incomes would finance some private sector investments
  - Direct distribution would reduce risk of public misuse of resources and establish principle that resources belong to all the citizens
- Given volatility of revenues, consumption should be raised slowly to avoid future costly roll-backs
- Implementing direct transfers to citizens not easy, would take some time
  - No system of citizen registration and everyone not in the tax system
  - Given no infrastructure set up for direct distributions, program running through central, district, municipal governments will incur “leakages,” but not impossible task – done in other countries
  - Most efficient approach use new technologies, e.g., biometric identification, smartcards and electronic payments into mobile bank accounts, etc.

# Policy Options for Managing the Boom cont'd

- Dealing with potential adverse effects of boom: (a) coping with volatility (b) moderating Dutch Disease
- Coping with long-run volatility of resource depletion – make high-return investments in domestic assets to increase future incomes; save portion of revenues (SWF, NRF) for future generations
- Coping with short-run volatility of commodity price fluctuations
  - Index contracts with international companies based on future market conditions with agreement to share gains and losses in some proportion
  - Stabilize consumption and allow investment rate to fluctuate

# Policy Options for Managing the Boom cont'd

- Moderating Dutch Disease – best option is SWF or NRF
  - Reduces spending effects in economy and generates capital exports
  - Special kind of exchange rate protection policy; benefits firms in lagging, non-resource tradable sectors in a uniform way, not selectively
- Another way to protect exchange rate: accumulating reserves via foreign exchange intervention by BOM
  - But some difficulties with increasing reserves, once BOM has enough (judged by precautionary and monetary criteria); costly as a long-run strategy
- Final option to moderate Dutch Disease is selective protection (e.g., subsidies, tax breaks, tariffs); much less desirable than first-best policy of exchange rate protection
  - Selective, uneven protection can be inefficient and generate rent-seeking

# Policy Options for Managing the Boom cont'd

## Welfare Effects of Interventions to Moderate Dutch Disease

- First, there will be **Losers** (e.g., firms benefiting from more capital investment in Mozambique rather than abroad); and **winners** (e.g., firms in non-resource tradable sector); so redistribution of income in economy
- Second, intervention imposes costs in form of potential underinvestment in Mozambique – if revenues go to lower-return foreign investment (via SWF) over higher-return investment in Mozambique, then intervention results in a “cost of protection”
- Policy argument this study: “cost of protection” imposed by allocating revenues to SWF or NRF, today, low, given low absorptive capacity; cost will rise as capacity improves; revenues should thus be allocated over time to raising the domestic investment rate.