Democracy, Dictatorship, and Default

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) predicts that, in the coming years, more than fifty countries are at risk of default. Yet we understand little about the political determinants of this decision to renege on promises to international creditors. This book develops and tests a unified theory of how domestic politics explains sovereign default across dictatorships and democracies. Professor Ballard-Rosa argues that both democratic and autocratic governments will choose to default when it is necessary for political survival; however, regime type has a significant impact on what specific kinds of threats leaders face. While dictatorships are concerned with avoiding urban riots, democratic governments are concerned with losing elections, in particular the support of rural voting blocs. Using cross-national data and historical case studies, Ballard-Rosa shows that leaders under each regime type are more likely to default when doing so allows them to keep funding costly policies supporting critical bases of support.

CAMERON BALLARD-ROSA is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He is a recipient of the David A. Lake award for best paper from the International Political Economy Society.

Democracy, Dictatorship, and Default

Urban–Rural Bias and Economic Crises across Regimes

CAMERON BALLARD-ROSA

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108836494 DOI: 10.1017/9781108871310

© Cameron Ballard-Rosa 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow, Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data NAMES: Ballard-Rosa, Cameron, 1982– author.

TITLE: Democracy, dictatorship, and default : urban–rural bias and economic crises across regimes / Cameron Ballard-Rosa, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, [2020] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2019057513 (print) | LCCN 2019057514 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108836494 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108819138 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108871310 (epub)

sUBJECTS: LCSH: Debts, Public–Political aspects. | Financial crises–Political aspects. | Rural-urban relations–Political aspects. | Democracy–Economic aspects. | Dictatorship–Economic aspects.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC HJ8015 .B35 2020 (print) | LCC HJ8015 (ebook) | DDC 336.3/4–dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019057513

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019057514

ISBN 978-1-108-83649-4 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

Lis	t of Figures	<i>page</i> vii	
Lis	t of Tables	ix	
Ack	Acknowledgments		
I	Introduction	I	
	1.1 Economic Crisis and Political Reform	4	
	1.2 My Argument in Brief	10	
	1.3 Outline of the Book	13	
2	Political Survival, Mass Politics, and Sovereign Default	16	
	2.1 Political Survival and Sovereign Default	16	
	2.2 Mass Politics and Political Survival	17	
	2.3 Rural Bias and Democratic Default	32	
3	Regime-Contingent Biases and Sovereign Default, 1960-2009	55	
	3.1 Motivation	55	
	3.2 Data and Estimation	59	
	3.3 Results	65	
	3.4 Alternate Accounts	67	
	3.5 Temporal/Systemic Factors	70	
	3.6 Subsidy Costs	74	
	3.7 Discussion	78	
4	Default Pressures in Closed versus Electoral Autocracy: Zambia		
	and Malaysia	80	
	4.1 Introduction	80	
	4.2 Zambia	82	
	4.3 Malaysia	94	
	4.4 Discussion	115	

v

vi		Contents
5	Default Pressures in Consolidated versus Contentious D	emocracy:
5	Costa Rica and Jamaica	. 116
	5.1 Theoretical Predictions for Democratic Default	116
	5.2 Costa Rica	119
	5.3 Default in Contentious Democracy	137
	5.4 Jamaica	138
	5.5 Discussion	155
6	Urban-Rural Pressures across Regime Types: The Case of	Turkey 157
	6.1 Introduction	157
	6.2 Case Selection	159
	6.3 Initial Transition to Democracy	159
	6.4 Build-Up to the First Crisis	160
	6.5 The Crisis of 1978–1979	162
	6.6 Rural Electoral Advantages	164
	6.7 Military Intervention, 1980–1985	167
	6.8 Discussion	169
7	Conclusion	171
,	7.1 Interrelationship between Domestic Politics and Interr	national
	Markets	172
	7.2 Urban–Rural Politics	173
	7.3 Looming Fiscal Crises in the Developed World	174
	7.4 Concluding Remarks	175
Bibliography		177
Inc	dex	191

Figures

Proportion of countries in default, 1800–2009.	page 3
Optimal electoral subsidy, as a function of the urban population	
share (α) .	39
Proportion of years spent in default in autocracies, by	
urbanization.	56
Proportion of years spent in default in democracies, by	
urbanization.	57
Relative Rate of Assistance (RRA) to agriculture, by regime type.	· 77
	Optimal electoral subsidy, as a function of the urban population share (α). Proportion of years spent in default in autocracies, by urbanization. Proportion of years spent in default in democracies, by urbanization.

Tables

3.1	Autocratic sovereign defaults, 1960–2009	page 60
3.2	Democratic sovereign defaults, 1960–2009	61
3.3	Food imports, urbanization, and debt default, 1960-2009	66
3.4	Systemic effects and debt default, 1960–2009	72
3.5	Food export status and democratic default, 1960–2009	75
3.6	High subsidies and debt default, 1960–2009	79
4.1	Malaysia: Compliance with lending guidelines, selected sectors	105

Acknowledgments

For a book about the failure to honor one's debts, it is crucial to acknowledge the incredible array of support that made this work possible. The book is an outgrowth and refinement of a dissertation written in the Department of Political Science at Yale University, where my first set of intellectual debts were accrued. To this end, no single individual has been more influential in shaping my academic career than Ken Scheve, who was an incredible chair, both from across the hall and from across the country. Ken was a fantastic and selflessly devoted mentor and role model – a successful scholar, teacher, and colleague. I thank him for his (sometimes searing) intellectual honesty and incredible practical guidance. I also wish to thank Alex Debs, whose class on political economy first allowed me to get my hands dirty digging into important formal models in the literature. Throughout graduate school, Alex provided unyielding support, always treated me like a colleague, and delved deeper into the appendix of my formal theory than any person should have to do. Rounding out my stellar committee was Thad Dunning, whose astounding diversity of research talents has improved every aspect of my own work. I am extremely grateful to Thad for advice and direction, and for emphasizing the importance of each prong of multimethod approaches.

Beyond members of my dissertation committee, the origins of this book also benefitted tremendously from a rich set of conversations with other scholars. Peter Aronow, Rob Blair, Quintin Beazer, Allison Carnegie, Gary Cox, Allan Dafoe, Madhavi Devasher, Shawn Fraistat, Nikhar Gaikwad, Petr Gocev, Lucy Goodhart, James Hollyer, Greg Huber, Susan Hyde, Sigrun Kahl, Malte Lierl, Nuno Monteiro, Tatiana Neumann, Celia Paris, Maggie Peters, Luis Schiumerini, Rachel Silbermann, Pia Raffler, John Roemer, Nick Sambanis, Sue Stokes, Rory Truex, Jeremy Wallace, Steven Wilkinson, and Libby Wood all provided invaluable feedback and suggestions at various stages of the project. I am also thankful to audience participants at Yale's Comparative Politics

xi

Acknowledgments

Workshop and International Relations Workshop, the Leitner Political Economy Seminar, the Midwestern Political Science Association, and the International Political Economy Society for additional sources of critique and new directions for refinement.

Once the original dissertation had been expanded into a full book, I was lucky to be able to host a book conference supported financially by the Institute for Arts and Humanities at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC). This day-long workshop helped refine literally every single section of the work that sits before the reader today; it is no stretch of hyperbole to suggest that the current manuscript is publishable only due to the incredible attention to detail and support of the attendees of this conference. Extra special thanks goes to those readers who were given the arduous task of reading and providing comments on the entire document: I cannot express sufficiently my gratitude to Pablo Beramendi, Mark Copelovitch, Layna Mosley, Tom Pepinsky, and Mike Tomz for the dedication of time and collective brainpower represented at the conference. I also benefitted from feedback on sections of the manuscript from several of my colleagues at UNC who attended the book workshop, including Tim McKeown, Jason Roberts, and Graeme Robertson.

Parts of this manuscript were written while I was a research fellow at Princeton University's Niehaus Center for the Study of Globalization and Governance. The time afforded by this fantastic fellowship to dig deeply into primary archival material for several of my cases was an invaluable contributor to the richness of historical detail this book presents. As I expanded my historical material to include additional cases, Kai Stern and Michelle Smoler provided fantastic research support in identifying relevant secondary source material.

Finally, while the academic debts incurred in the progress of completing this book are legion, I would be remiss in not also acknowledging the personal debts I have accrued to important individuals in my private life. First, I would like to express my gratitude to Ryan Marenger and Eric Bourne, for lifelong friendship and intellectual stimulation of widely varying ambit. Next, I wish to thank Garett and Kate Ballard-Rosa, for making home my favorite place to be and providing a much-needed shelter and escape from the stresses and pressures of academic life. I am tremendously grateful to my parents, Michael and Maurine Ballard-Rosa – whose academic experiences were an inspiration for my own – for creating a family environment in which education was valued above all other pursuits, and for unending love. Dad, I wish you were here today. Mom, I'm so thankful you are.

Finally, my deepest debts are to my brilliant and loving wife. This book is dedicated to Lucy Martin, for everything. You are the base of my support, my truest critic, fiercest champion, and best friend.

xii