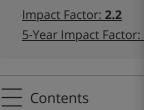
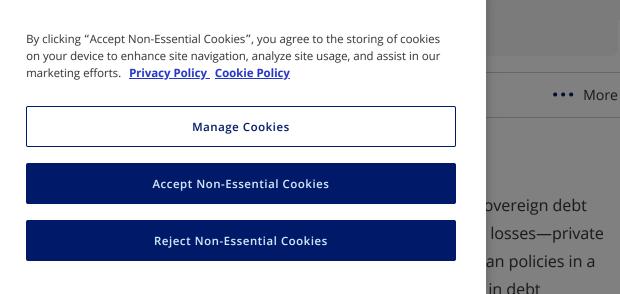
#### Journal of Conflict Resolution



# **Abstract**

When do private cre crises? In this study, creditors take in del globalized economy



negotiations. Left governments, representing constituents most likely to be hurt from higher debt repayment, credibly demonstrate more bargaining power and extract greater concessions from creditors. Distributive politics, however, is an indeterminate factor in explaining states entrance into debt negotiations. We use recently released data on the outcome of sovereign debt restructuring cases between states and private creditors from 1975 to 2013 to test our expectations. Results from a double-hurdle model indicate that creditors receive a larger haircut when negotiating with left governments.



# Get full access to this article

View all access and purchase options for this article.



# References

Abadie Alberto, Herr Jane Leber, Imbens Guido W., Drukker David M. 2004, June. *NNMATCH: Stata Module to Compute Nearest-neighbor Bias-corrected Estimators*. Statistical Software Components. Boston, MA: Boston College, Department of Economics.

Abbas S. M. Ali, Belhocine Nazim, El-Ganainy Asmaa, Horton Mark. 2011, November. "Historical Dataset on Debt." *IMF Economic Review* 59:717–42.

### Crossref

# **Google Scholar**

Alesina Alberto. 1987. "Macroeconomic Policy in a Two-party System as a Repeated Game." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 102 (3): 651–78.

### Crossref

# Google Scholar

Asonuma Tamon, Trebesch Christoph. 2016. "Sovereign Debt Restructurings: Preemptive or Post-default." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 14 (1): 175–214.

### Crossref

# Google Scholar

Ballard-Rosa Cameron. 2016. "Hungry for Change: Urban Bias and Autocratic Sovereign Default." *International Organization* 70 (2): 313–46.

### Crossref

# **Google Scholar**

Beaulieu Emily, Cox Gary W., Saiegh Sebastian. 2012. "Sovereign Debt and Regime Type: Reconsidering the Democratic Advantage." *International Organization* 66 (4): 709–38.

### Crossref

### Web of Science

### Google Scholar

Beazer Quintin H., Woo Byungwon. 2016. "IMF Conditionality, Government Partisanship, and the Progress of Economic Reforms." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (2): 304–21.

### Crossref

# **Google Scholar**

Beers David T., Nadeau Jean-Sebastien. 2015. *Database of Sovereign Defaults, 2015*. Technical report. Ottawa, Canada: Bank of Canada.

# Google Scholar

Benson Todd. 2004. "Holders' Group Shuns Argentine Debt Plan." The New York Times, June 9, W1, W7.

# **Google Scholar**

Biglaiser Glen, Staats Joseph L. 2012. "Finding the 'Democratic Advantage' in Sovereign Bond Ratings: The Importance of Strong Courts, Property Rights Protection and the Rule of Law." *International* 

*Organization* 66 (3): 515–35.

### Crossref

# **Google Scholar**

Biglaiser Glen, DeRouen Karl Jr, Archer Candace C. 2011. "Politics, Early Warning Systems, and Credit Rating Agencies." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7 (1): 67–87.

### Crossref

# **Google Scholar**

Birdsall Nancy, Claessens Stijn, Diwan Ishac. 2004. "Policy Selectivity Forgone: Debt and Donor Behaviour in Africa." In *Debt Relief for Poor Countries*, edited by Addison Tony, Hansen Henrik, Tarp Finn, 59–89. London, UK: Springer.

### Crossref

# **Google Scholar**

Brender Adi, Drazen Allan. 2013. "Elections, Leaders, and the Composition of Government Spending." *Journal of Public Economics* 97:18–31.

### Crossref

### Web of Science

# Google Scholar

Brooks Sarah, Cunha Raphael, Mosley Layna. 2015. "Categories, Creditworthiness, and Contagion: How Investors' Shortcuts Affect Sovereign Debt Markets." *International Studies Quarterly* 59:587–601.

### Crossref

### **Google Scholar**

Bulow Jeremy, Rogoff Kenneth. 1989. "Sovereign Debt: Is to Forgive to Forget?" *The American Economic Review* 79 (1): 43–50.

### Web of Science

# Google Scholar

Bunte Jonas B. 2018. "Sovereign Lending after Debt Relief." *Review of International Political Economy* 25 (3): 317–39.

### Crossref

# **Google Scholar**

Campello Daniela. 2013. "The Politics of Financial Booms and Crises Evidence from Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (2): 260–86. doi: 10.1177/0010414013488539.

#### Crossref

# **Google Scholar**

Campello Daniela. 2015. *The Politics of Market Discipline in Latin America: Globalization and Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

# Crossref

# **Google Scholar**

Cheibub Jose Antonio, Gandi Jennifer, Vreeland James Raymond. 2010. "Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited." *Public Choice* 143:67–101.

### Crossref

Web of Science

# Google Scholar

Chew Jonathan. 2015. "Greek Crisis." *Time Magazine Online*, July 6. Accessed July 6, 2015. <a href="http://time.co">http://time.co</a> <a href="magazine-online">m/3946586/greece-varoufakis-quotes/</a>.

# Google Scholar

Clark William Roberts. 2009. *Capitalism, Not Globalism: Capital Mobility, Central Bank Independence, and the Political Control of the Economy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

# Google Scholar

Clay K. Chad, DiGiuseppe Matthew. 2017. "The Physical Consequences of Fiscal Flexibility: Sovereign Credit and Physical Integrity Rights." *British Journal of Political Science* 47 (4): 783–807.

#### Crossref

### Web of Science

# Google Scholar

Cragg John G. 1971. "Some Statistical Models for Limited Dependent Variables with Application to the Demand for Durable Goods." *Econometrica: Journal of the Econometric Society* 39 (5): 829–44.

### Crossref

### Web of Science

### Google Scholar

Cruces Juan J., Trebesch Christoph. 2013. "Sovereign Defaults: The Price of Haircuts." *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics* 5 (3): 85–117.

### Crossref

Curtis K. Amber, Jupille Joseph, Leblang David. 2015. "Iceland on the Rocks: The Mass Political Economy of Sovereign Debt Resettlement." *International Organization* 68 (3): 721–40.

# Crossref

# **Google Scholar**

Das Udaibir S., Papaioannou Michael G., Trebesch Christoph. 2012. *Sovereign Debt Restructurings 1950–2010: Literature Survey, Data, and Stylized Facts*. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.

# **Google Scholar**

DiGiuseppe Matthew. 2015a. "Guns, Butter and Debt: Sovereign Creditworthiness and Military Spending." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (5): 680–93.

### Crossref

Web of Science

# Google Scholar

DiGiuseppe Matthew. 2015b. "The Fiscal Autonomy of Deciders: Creditworthiness and Conflict Initiation." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 11 (3): 317–38.

# Crossref

Web of Science

### Google Scholar

DiGiuseppe Matthew, Shea Patrick E. 2018. "Sovereign Credit and Political Survival in Democracies." *Business and Politics* 20 (3): 360–89.

#### Crossref

### Google Scholar

DiGiuseppe Matthew, Shea Patrick. 2015. "Sovereign Credit and the Fate of Leaders: Reassessing the 'Democratic Advantage.'" *International Studies Quarterly* 59 (3): 557–70.

### Crossref

### **Google Scholar**

DiGiuseppe Matthew, Shea Patrick. 2016. "Borrowed Time: Sovereign Finance, Regime Type, and Leader Survival." *Economics & Politics* 28 (3): 342–67.

### Crossref

Web of Science

Dreher Axel. 2006. "IMF and Economic Growth: The Effects of Programs, Loans, and Compliance with Conditionality." *World Development* 34 (5): 769–88.

Crossref

Web of Science

# **Google Scholar**

Easterly William. 2002, October. "How Did Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Become Heavily Indebted? Reviewing Two Decades of Debt Relief." *World Development* 30:1677–96.

Crossref

Web of Science

# Google Scholar

Eichengreen Barry. 2003. "Restructuring Sovereign Debt." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17 (4): 75–98.

Crossref

### Google Scholar

Flores-Macías Gustavo A., Kreps Sarah E. 2013. "Political Parties at War: A Study of American War Finance, 1789–2010." *American Political Science Review* 107 (4): 833–48.

Crossref

Web of Science

# **Google Scholar**

Flores-Macías Gustavo A., Kreps Sarah E. 2017. "Borrowing Support for War The Effect of War Finance on Public Attitudes toward Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (5): 997–1020.

Crossref

Web of Science

# Google Scholar

Frieden Jeff. 1988. "Classes, Sectors, and Foreign Debt in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 21 (1): 1–20.

Crossref

Frieden Jeffry, Walter Stefanie. 2017. "Understanding the Political Economy of the Eurozone Crisis." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20:371–90.

Crossref

Web of Science

### **Google Scholar**

Furceri Davide, Zdzienicka Aleksandra. 2012. "How Costly Are Debt Crises?" *Journal of International Money and Finance* 31:726–42.

Crossref

### **Google Scholar**

Graham Benjamin A. T., Johnston Noel P., Kingsley Allison F. 2018. "Even Constrained Governments Take: The Domestic Politics of Transfer and Expropriation Risks." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (8): 1784–813. doi: 10.1177/0022002717701181.

Crossref

Web of Science

# Google Scholar

Green Leonard, Myerson Joel, Lichtman David, Rosen Suzanne, Fry Astrid. 1996. "Temporal Discounting in Choice between Delayed Rewards: The Role of Age and Income." *Psychology and Aging* 11 (1): 79.

Crossref

PubMed

# Google Scholar

Greene William H. 2002. Econometric Analysis, 5th ed. Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

# **Google Scholar**

Guembel Alexander, Sussman Oren. 2009. "Sovereign Debt without Default Penalties." *The Review of Economic Studies* 76 (4): 1297–320.

Crossref

### **Google Scholar**

Haggard Stephan, Webb Steven B. 1993. "What Do We Know about the Political Economy of Economic Policy Reform?" *The World Bank Research Observer* 8 (2): 143–68.

Crossref

Web of Science

### Google Scholar

Heckman James J. 1979. "Sample Selection Bias as a Specification Error." *Econometrica: Journal of the Econometric Society* 47 (1): 153–61.

### Crossref

Web of Science

# **Google Scholar**

Hibbs Douglas A. 1977. "Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy." *American Political Science Review* 71 (4): 1467–87.

# Crossref

Web of Science

# Google Scholar

Huber John, Inglehart Ronald. 1995. "Expert Interpretations of Party Space and Party Locations in 42 Societies." *Party Politics* 1 (1): 73–111.

### Crossref

Web of Science

### Google Scholar

Jandhyala Srividya, Henisz Witold J., Mansfield Edward D. 2011. "Three Waves of BITs: The Global Diffusion of Foreign Investment Policy." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 (6): 1047–73.

### Crossref

Web of Science

### Google Scholar

Kaminsky Graciela L., Reinhart Carmen M., Végh Carlos A. 2005. "When It Rains, It Pours: Procyclical Capital Flows and Macroeconomic Policies." *NBER Macroeconomics Annual* 19 (2004): 11–53.

### **Google Scholar**

Kaplan Stephen B. 2013. *Globalization and Austerity Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

### Crossref

Keele Luke. 2009. *An Overview of Rhounds: An R Package for Rosenbaum Bounds Sensitivity Analysis with Matched Data*. Technical report. CRAN.

# Google Scholar

Kinne Brandon J., Bunte Jonas. 2018. "Guns or Money? Defense Cooperation and Bilateral Lending as Coevolving Networks." *British Journal of Political Science*. 1–22. doi: 10.1017/S0007123418000030.

### Crossref

# Google Scholar

Koenigsberger Robert. 2004. "Argentina Argument Ignores Larger Issue." *Financial Times* September 27, 14.

### Google Scholar

Kroszner Randall S. 2003. "Sovereign Debt Restructuring." The American Economic Review 93 (2): 75–79.

### Crossref

# Google Scholar

Krueger Anne. 2003. "Sovereign Debt Restructuring: Messy or Messier?" *The American Economic Review* 93 (2): 70–74.

#### Crossref

### Google Scholar

Levi Margaret. 1988. *Of Rule and Revenue*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

# Google Scholar

Marshall Monty G., Jaggers Keith. 2010. *POLITY IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions,* 1800–2007 Dataset Users Manual. Center for International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland. Accessed January 24, 2014. <a href="http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscrdata.html">http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscrdata.html</a>.

### Google Scholar

McDonald Patrick J. 2009. *The Invisible Hand of Peace: Capitalism, the War Machine, and International Relations Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

### Crossref

### Google Scholar

McGillivray Fiona, Smith Alastair. 2008. *Punishing the Prince: A Theory of Interstate Relations, Political Institutions, and Leader Change*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

### Crossref

# Google Scholar

Moody's Investor Service. 2015. *Stable Outlook Despite Low Growth, Jittery Markets and Uneven Reforms*. Moody's Investor Service. Outlook: Sovereigns—Global. November 4. New York, NY.

Morrison Kevin M. 2009, Winter. "Oil, Nontax Revenue, and the Redistributional Foundations of Regime Stability." *International Organization* 63: 107–38.

Crossref

Web of Science

### **Google Scholar**

Mosley Layna. 2003. *Global Capital and National Governments*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Crossref

### **Google Scholar**

Murillo Maria Victoria. 2005. "Partisanship amidst Convergence: The Politics of Labor Reform in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 37 (4): 441–58.

Crossref

Web of Science

# **Google Scholar**

Narizny Kevin. 2007. *The Political Economy of Grand Strategy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

# Google Scholar

North Douglass C., Weingast Barry R. 1989. "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutional Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-century England." *The Journal of Economic History* 49 (4): 803–32.

Crossref

Web of Science

# Google Scholar

Panizza Ugo, Sturzenegger Federico, Zettelmeyer Jeromin. 2009. "The Economics and Law of Sovereign Debt and Default." *Journal of Economic Literature* 47 (3): 1–47.

Crossref

### **Google Scholar**

Pearl Judea. 2000. Causality: Models, Reasoning, and Infer. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

### **Google Scholar**

Persson Torsten, Svensson Lars E. O. 1989. "Why a Stubborn Conservative Would Run a Deficit: Policy with Time-inconsistent Preferences." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 104 (2): 325–45.

Crossref

### Web of Science

# Google Scholar

Reinhart Carmen M., Rogoff Kenneth S. 2008. *This Time Is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

### Crossref

### Google Scholar

*Reuters*. 2015. "S&P Lowers Saudi Arabia's Rating to 'A plus/A-1.'" *Reuters*. October 30. Accessed November 1, 2015. <a href="http://www.reuters.com/article/saudiarabia-ratings-sp-idUSL3N12U6AO20151030">http://www.reuters.com/article/saudiarabia-ratings-sp-idUSL3N12U6AO20151030</a>.

# **Google Scholar**

Ritter Emily Hencken. 2014. "Policy Disputes, Political Survival, and the Onset and Severity of State Repression." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58 (1): 143–68.

### Crossref

### Web of Science

# Google Scholar

Rose Andrew K. 2005. "One Reason Countries Pay Their Debts: Renegotiation and International Trade." *Journal of Development Economics* 77 (1): 189–206.

### Crossref

### **Google Scholar**

Rosenbaum Paul R. 2002. "Covariance Adjustment in Randomized Experiments and Observational Studies." *Statistical Science* 17 (3): 286–327.

### Crossref

#### Web of Science

### Google Scholar

Saiegh Sebastian M. 2009. "Coalition Governments and Sovereign Debt Crises." *Economics & Politics* 21 (2): 232–54.

#### Crossref

# Google Scholar

Scartascini Carlos, Cruz Cesi, Keefer Philip. 2017. *The Database of Political Institutions 2017. Inter- American Development Bank. Numbers for Development*. Accessed June 22, 2017. <a href="https://mydata.iadb.org/reform-Modernization-of-the-State/Database-of-Political-Institutions-2017/938i-s2bw">https://mydata.iadb.org/reform-Modernization-of-the-State/Database-of-Political-Institutions-2017/938i-s2bw</a>.

### Crossref

### Google Scholar

Schultz Kenneth, Weingast Barry. 2003. "The Democratic Advantage: Institutional Foundations of Financial Power in International Competition." *International Organization* 57 (4): 3–42.

### Crossref

### **Google Scholar**

Shea Patrick. 2014. "Financing Victory: Credit, Democracy, and War Outcomes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58 (5): 771–95.

### Crossref

Web of Science

# **Google Scholar**

Shea Patrick E., Poast Paul. 2018. "War and Default." Journal of Conflict Resolution 62 (9): 1876–904.

### Crossref

Web of Science

# Google Scholar

Smith Tony. 2003. "Holders of Argentine Bonds Reject 25% Redemption Offer." *The New York Times*, September 23, W1, W7.

# Google Scholar

Stasavage David. 2011. *States of Credit: Size, Power, and the Development of European Polities*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

### Crossref

# Google Scholar

Stasavage David. 2015. "What We Can Learn from the Early History of Sovereign Debt." *Explorations in Economic History* 59:1–16.

### Crossref

# Google Scholar

Stiglitz Joseph, Weiss Adrew. 1981. "Credit Rationing in Markets with Imperfect Information." *The American Economic Review* 71 (3): 393–410.

### Web of Science

Sturzenegger Federico, Zettelmeyer Jeromin. 2006. "Haircuts: Estimating Investor Losses in Sovereign Debt Restructurings, 1998–2005." *Journal of International Money and Finance* 27 (5): 780–805.

# Crossref

# Google Scholar

Tomz Michael. 2007. *Reputation and International Cooperation: Sovereign Debt across Three Centuries*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

# **Google Scholar**

Tomz Michael, Wright Mark L. J. 2013. "Empirical Research on Sovereign Debt and Default." *Annual Review of Economics* 5 (1): 247–72.

### Crossref

# **Google Scholar**

U.S. State. 2015. *Government of Jordan Issues \$1.5 Billion in Bonds with U.S. Guarantees. U.S. Department of State Press Release*, June 30. Accessed November 1, 2015. <a href="http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2015/06/244508.htm">http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2015/06/244508.htm</a>.

### Google Scholar

Vaaler Paul M., Schrage Burkhard N., Block Steven A. 2006. "Elections, Opportunism, Partisanship and Sovereign Ratings in Developing Countries." *Review of Development Economics* 10 (1): 154–70.

# Crossref

# **Google Scholar**

Vance Colin, Ritter Nolan. 2014. "Is Peace a Missing Value or a Zero? On Selection Models in Political Science." *Journal of Peace Research* 51 (4): 528–40. doi: 10.1177/0022343314528200.

### Crossref

### Web of Science

# Google Scholar

Walter Stefanie. 2016. "Crisis Politics in Europe: Why Austerity Is Easier to Implement in Some Countries Than in Others." *Comparative Political Studies* 49 (7): 841–73.

### Crossref

### Web of Science

# **Google Scholar**

Wellhausen Rachel L. 2015a. "Bondholders vs. Direct Investors? Competing Responses to Expropriation." *International Studies Quarterly* 59 (4): 750–64.

Wellhausen Rachel L. 2015b. "Investor–State Disputes: When Can Governments Break Contracts?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (2): 239–61.

Crossref

Web of Science

### **Google Scholar**

Weymouth Stephen, Lawrence Broz J. 2013. "Government Partisanship and Property Rights: Cross-country Firm-level Evidence." *Economics & Politics* 25:229–56.

Crossref

### **Google Scholar**

Wise Peter. 2015. "Portugal Divided by Austerity." *The Financial Times*, December 1. Accessed December 1, 2015. <a href="http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/4a0a2c44-8489-11e5-8095-ed1a37d1e096.html">http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/4a0a2c44-8489-11e5-8095-ed1a37d1e096.html</a>.

# Google Scholar

World Bank. 2017. World Development Indicators. Washington, DC: World Bank.

### **Google Scholar**

Zielinski Rosella Capella. 2016. How States Pay for Wars. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Crossref

Google Scholar

# Supplementary Material

Please find the following supplemental material available below.

For Open Access articles published under a <u>Creative Commons License</u>, all supplemental material carries the same license as the article it is associated with.

For non-Open Access articles published, all supplemental material carries a non-exclusive license, and permission requests for re-use of supplemental material or any part of supplemental material shall be sent directly to the copyright owner as specified in the copyright notice associated with the article.



replication haircut jcr.zip

7.50 MB

### Similar articles:



Restricted access

Relative Bargaining Power in International Debt Negotiation: Collective Action, Sovereignty En Garde, or Mutual Partisan Adjustment?

Sho	w Details		
	ton Woods Forty Years Later		
<b>CQ I</b> Repo	<b>Researcher</b> ort		
Sho	w Details Y		
International Finance			
	<b>E Knowledge</b> k chapter		
Show Details Y			
World Debt Crisis			
<b>CQ I</b> Repo	<b>Researcher</b> ort		
	e recommends:		
	<u>View More</u>		
	Show Details ∨		
	Two-level games and market constraints on politics in Europe		
A	Restricted access		
	Close the IMF, abolish debt and end development: a class analysis of the international debt crisis  Show Details		
<u> </u>	Restricted access		
	Show Details		

You currently have no access to this content. Visit the <u>access options</u> page to authenticate.

<u>View full text</u> | <u>Download PDF</u>

# Also from Sage

CQ Library	Sage Data
Elevating debate	Uncovering insight
Sage Business Cases	Sage Campus
Shaping futures	Unleashing potential
Sage Knowledge	Sage Research Methods
Multimedia learning resources	Supercharging research
Sage Video	Technology from Sage
Streaming knowledge	Library digital services