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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates why some developing countries maintain weak and undervalued exchange rates while others do not. I argue that one key feature of the 'developmental state' – namely, state control over the financial system – contributes to an undervalued exchange rate. However, state control of finance promotes undervaluation under a narrower set of conditions than most developmental state theories suggest. State-owned banks increase support for exchange rate undervaluation from certain interest groups. When those interest groups are politically important, state-owned banks encourage policymakers to undervalue their exchange rates. Two sets of empirical analyses support the argument. Using time-series – cross-sectional data, I show that state-owned banks are associated with undervalued exchange rates, but only in developing countries with large manufacturing sectors. Second, analyses of firm-level survey data reveal that state-owned banks increase the manufacturing sector's support for an undervalued exchange rate. These findings suggest that state institutions influence exchange rate policy, though their effects are contingent upon the configuration of interests in society.

KEYWORDS:

- <u>exchange rates</u>
- currency policy
- <u>export-led growth</u>
- state-owned banks
- <u>developmental state</u>
- <u>interest groups</u>



rate regime. The third study (Iversen and Soskice <u>Citation2010</u>) focuses on a different group of countries from the present paper: advanced industrialized nations, rather than developing ones. Steinberg's (<u>Citation2015</u>) book contains cross-national statistical analyses of the political determinants of exchange rate levels in developing countries.

- 2. By comparison, it seems less likely that a meritocratic bureaucracy, another commonly cited attribute of a developmental state, would influence exchange rate policy.
- 3. By contrast, the short-run effects of undervaluation may not be positive. Devaluations often reduce output within their first year (Gupta et al. <u>Citation2007</u>).
- 4. Rodrik (<u>Citation2008</u>) argues in favor of undervaluation on the grounds that it helps correct for market failures. For an example of the orthodox position, see Williamson (<u>Citation1990</u>), which lists a 'competitive exchange rate' defined as a non-overvalued exchange rate as one of the ten elements of The Washington Consensus. According to Williamson (<u>Citation2009</u>: 9), 'overvalued exchange rates are worse than undervalued rates, but a rate that is neither overvalued nor undervalued is better still.'
- 5. There are many examples of high-level policymakers that have recognized the benefits of maintaining an undervalued exchange rate. For example, former Nigerian Finance Minister, Kalu Idika Kalu, 'question[ed] the merits of having a strong currency' (Fuady, Citation2013: 162). Many top officials in Indonesia's government during the 1970s and 1980s recognized the wisdom of maintaining a relatively weak exchange rate (Fuady, Citation2013: 166-169). One year prior to becoming Argentina's Finance Minister, Domingo Cavallo published an article showing that overvalued exchange rates reduce economic growth (Cottani, Cavallo, and Khan, Citation1990).
- 6. For strong evidence that individuals tend to discount the future benefits of policies, see Jacobs and Mathews (<u>Citation2012</u>).
- 7. Agriculture is, in principle, a tradable industry, but high transportation costs render agriculture a *de facto* nontradable industry in many developing countries (Broz et al., Citation2008: 433-4). Moreover, substantial barriers to collective action leave the agricultural sector wit

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- 15. The main results are similar when a lagged-dependent variable is used in place of the AR1 term (see online appendix). The latter is more appropriate because lagged-dependent variables absorb the time-series dynamics and prevent the regressors from explaining changes in the level of the dependent variable (Plümper et al., Citation 2005).
- 16. Brambor et al.'s (Citation 2006) formula was used to generate the marginal effects and their confidence intervals.
- 17. The sources for these variables are Karcher and Steinberg (Citation 2013), Ilzetzki et al. (<u>Citation2008</u>), and Wacziarg and Welch (<u>Citation2008</u>), respectively.
- 18. Although useful as a robustness check, Dollar's measure has several weaknesses, including a small sample size, and the inclusion of some questionable variables (e.g., regional dummies) in the equation used to estimate the equilibrium real exchange rate.
- 19. These variables are taken from Ilzetzki et al. (Citation 2008).
- 20. I use Frankel and Rose's (Citation1996) widely used definition of a currency crisis, which is a nominal exchange rate depreciation greater than 25% that is also a 10% or larger increase in the rate of depreciation. Using the percentage change in the nominal exchange rate instead produces similar results (see the appendix).
- 21. La Porta et al.'s (Citation2002) data are not suitable for panel analyses because they are only available for two years, 1975 and 1995.
- 22. When using Micco et al.'s (Citation 2007) variable, the estimates are not statistically significant, though their magnitude is similar to the other models.

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