

# WORLD POLITICS

*A Quarterly Journal of  
International Relations*

**Volume 67, Number 3 July 2015**

UNDER THE EDITORIAL SPONSORSHIP OF  
PRINCETON INSTITUTE FOR  
INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL STUDIES

PUBLISHED BY CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

*EDITORIAL BOARD*

DEBORAH J. YASHAR, *Chair*

KRISTIAN SKREDE GLEDITSCH, ANNA GRZYMALA-BUSSE, TORBEN IVERSEN, STATHIS KALYVAS,  
GARY KING, JONATHAN KIRSHNER, MICHAEL MASTANDUNO, JONAS PONTUSSON,  
DANIEL N. POSNER, KENNETH M. ROBERTS, MICHAEL L. ROSS, KENNETH A. SCHULTZ,  
BETH A. SIMMONS, EDWARD S. STEINFELD, MICHAEL TOMZ, LILY L. TSAI,  
NICOLAS VAN DE WALLE, JOHN WATERBURY, DANIEL ZIBLATT

*Editorial Committee:* MARK R. BEISSINGER, MIGUEL A. CENTENO, THOMAS J. CHRISTENSEN,  
CHRISTINA L. DAVIS, G. JOHN IKENBERRY, AMANEY A. JAMAL, HAROLD JAMES,  
ATUL KOHLI, GRIGORE POP-ELECHES, DEBORAH J. YASHAR (*Chair*)

*Associate Editors:* FAISAL Z. AHMED, DAVID B. CARTER, RAFAELA DANCYGIER, DAVID LEHENY,  
JACOB N. SHAPIRO, RORY TRUOX, KEREN YARHI-MILO

*Executive Editor:* JOY M. SCHARFSTEIN *Editorial Assistant:* YANG-YANG ZHOU  
*Office Assistant:* RACHEL GOLDEN

The editors invite submission of articles, research notes, and review articles bearing upon problems in international relations and comparative politics. Manuscripts and notes should be double-spaced and submitted through the Web-based submission system, Manuscript Central, at <http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/wp>. Research articles and review articles may be up to 12,500 words in length, including notes and references; research notes may be up to 10,000 words, including notes and references. Tables, figures, appendixes, and supplementary materials need not be included in the word count. Word count should be indicated. Manuscripts that exceed the limit *will not be considered*. Guidelines for articles and special issues, abstracts of forthcoming and recently published articles, and other information can be found on the *World Politics* Web page, at [www.princeton.edu/piirs/worldpolitics-journal](http://www.princeton.edu/piirs/worldpolitics-journal).

Authors can expect to receive decisions on their submissions within four months. Procedures for reviewing manuscripts are based on the anonymity of the author and the confidentiality of readers' and editors' reports; author anonymity is preserved, as well, during the editorial decision-making process. Self-references should therefore be removed. Referees are drawn from Princeton and other institutions; published articles have usually been reviewed by at least one editor and two readers from other institutions. Referees for the previous calendar year are acknowledged annually in issue 4 of the journal. In the case of an article deemed to be inappropriate for *World Politics*, the editors strive to notify the author within a month of submission that the article has been withdrawn from consideration.

*World Politics* does not accept manuscripts that have already been published, are scheduled for publication elsewhere, or have been simultaneously submitted to another journal; this applies to both print and online formats. Statements of fact and opinion appearing in the journal are the responsibility of the authors alone and do not imply the endorsement of the editors or publisher. The journal does not publish communications to the editor or rejoinders to specific articles. Scholars who believe they have been challenged are encouraged to submit an article that will advance the scholarly debate.

Copyright 2015 ©Trustees of Princeton University  
Volume 67

# WORLD POLITICS

Vol. 67

• July 2015

• No. 3

## CONTENTS

Trade Competition and American Decolonization	<i>Thomas B. Pepinsky</i>	387
Terrorism and the Fate of Dictators	<i>Deniz Aksoy, David B. Carter, and Joseph Wright</i>	423
Ethnic Inequality and the Dismantling of Democracy: A Global Analysis	<i>Christian Houle</i>	469
Subnationalism and Social Development: A Comparative Analysis of Indian States	<i>Prerna Singh</i>	506
REVIEW ARTICLE		
Neopatrimonialism and the Political Economy of Economic Performance in Africa: Critical Reflections	<i>Thandika Mkandawire</i>	563
The Contributors		ii
Abstracts		iii

## THE CONTRIBUTORS

THOMAS B. PEPINSKY is an associate professor of government at Cornell University. He studies the social, historical, and institutional foundations of comparative and international political economy, with a special focus on Southeast Asia. His most recent book, *Beyond Oligarchy: Wealth, Power, and Contemporary Indonesian Politics*, was coedited with Michele Ford. He can be reached at pepinsky@cornell.edu.

DENIZ AKSOY is an associate research scholar in the Department of Politics at Princeton University. Her research focuses broadly on comparative political institutions and political violence. Current projects show how attacks by terrorist groups and counterterrorist actions by governments respond to the timing of elections. Her work has been widely published. She can be reached at daksoy@princeton.edu.

DAVID B. CARTER is the Charles G. Osgood University Preceptor and an assistant professor of politics at Princeton University. His research explores territoriality and conflict, and the roles violent nonstate actors play in international relations and in states' domestic politics, in addition to other topics. His current projects explore the role of historical boundary precedents in the emergence of territorial disputes, how border institutions affect trade flows, and how violent nonstate actors strategically choose tactics in anticipation of the state's response. His work has been widely published. He can be reached at dbcarter@princeton.edu.

JOSEPH WRIGHT is an associate professor of political science at Pennsylvania State University. He studies comparative political economy with a particular interest in how international factors, including foreign aid, economic sanctions, human rights prosecutions, and migration, influence domestic politics in autocratic regimes. His coauthored book with Abel Escriba-Folch, *Foreign Pressure and the Politics of Autocratic Survival*, is forthcoming. He is currently working on a second book project, "How Dictatorships Work," with Erica Frantz and Barbara Geddes. He can be reached at josephwright@gmail.com.

CHRISTIAN HOULE is an assistant professor of political science at Michigan State University. His main research interests focus on the comparative politics of developing countries. He is particularly interested in topics related to democratization and democratic consolidation, political instability, inequality, redistribution, and social mobility. He can be reached at houlech1@msu.edu.

PRERNA SINGH is Mahatma Gandhi assistant professor of political science and international studies and a faculty fellow in the Watson Institute at Brown University. In 2015–16 she is also a junior scholar at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies and coconvenor of the Brown-Harvard-MIT Joint Seminar in South Asian Politics. Her research interests include the comparative political economy of development, especially the politics of welfare and public health; identity politics including ethnic politics and nationalism, and gender politics; and state-society relations and the politics of South Asia and East Asia. Singh's publication include, as author, *How Solidarity Works for Welfare: Subnationalism and Social Development in India* (2015), and, as coeditor, *Handbook of Indian Politics* (2013). She can be reached at prerna\_singh@brown.edu.

THANDIKA MKANDAWIRE is chair in African Development at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He is the former director of both the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) and the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). A widely published author, Mkandawire's research interests include development theory; economic development and social policy in developing countries; and the political economy of development in Africa. He can be reached at t.mkandawire@lse.ac.uk.

## ABSTRACTS

### TRADE COMPETITION AND AMERICAN DECOLONIZATION

By THOMAS B. PEPINSKY

This article proposes a political economy approach to decolonization. Focusing on the industrial organization of agriculture, it argues that competition between colonial and metropolitan producers creates demands for decolonization from within the metropole when colonies have broad export profiles and when export industries are controlled by colonial, as opposed to metropolitan, interests. The author applies this framework to the United States in the early 1900s, showing that different structures of the colonial sugar industries in the Philippines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico—diverse exports with dispersed local ownership versus monocrop economies dominated by large US firms—explain why protectionist continental-agriculture interests agitated so effectively for independence for the Philippines, but not for Hawaii or Puerto Rico. A comparative historical analysis of the three colonial economies and the Philippine independence debates complemented by a statistical analysis of roll call votes in the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act supports the argument. In providing a new perspective on economic relations in the late-colonial era, the argument highlights issues of trade and empire in US history that span the subfields of American political development, comparative politics, and international political economy.

### TERRORISM AND THE FATE OF DICTATORS

By DENIZ AKSOY, DAVID B. CARTER, and JOSEPH WRIGHT

The authors study the influence of domestic political dissent and violence on incumbent dictators and their regimes. They argue that elite with an interest in preserving the regime hold dictators accountable when there is a significant increase in terrorism. To pinpoint the accountability of dictators to elite who are strongly invested in the current regime, the authors make a novel theoretical distinction between *reshuffling* coups that change the leader but leave the regime intact and *regime-change* coups that completely change the set of elites atop the regime. Using a new data set that distinguishes between these two coup types, the authors provide robust evidence that terrorism is a consistent predictor of reshuffling coups, whereas forms of dissent that require broader public participation and support, such as protests and insurgencies, are associated with regime-change coup attempts. This article is the first to show that incumbent dictators are held accountable for terrorist campaigns that occur on their watch.

### ETHNIC INEQUALITY AND THE DISMANTLING OF DEMOCRACY

A GLOBAL ANALYSIS

By CHRISTIAN HOULE

Does inequality between ethnic groups destabilize democracies? While the literature largely agrees that inequality harms democracies, previous studies typically focus on the overall level of inequality in a society, leaving unanswered questions about the effect of inequality between ethnic groups. This article fills this gap and argues that inequality between ethnic groups harms the consolidation of democracy but that its effect is strongest when inequality within groups is low. Using group- and country-level data from more than seventy-one democracies and 241 ethnic groups worldwide, the author conducts the first cross-national test to date of the effect of ethnic inequality on transitions away from democracy. Results provide support for the hypothesis: when within-ethnic-group inequality (WGI) is low, between-ethnic-group inequality (BGI) harms democracy, but when WGI is high, BGI has no discernable effect.

## SUBNATIONALISM AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

### A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF INDIAN STATES

By PRERNA SINGH

The quality of life that a person leads depends critically on where it is led. Even taking into account levels of economic development, the chances of an individual surviving through infancy, growing up literate, or living a healthy, long life vary dramatically across regions of the world, in different countries, and within the same country. What are the causes of such variation in wellbeing? This article points to a factor that has been virtually ignored in the vast scholarship on social welfare and development—the solidarity that emerges from a sense of shared identity. The argument marks an important departure from the traditional emphasis on the role of class and electoral politics, as well as from the dominant view of the negative implications of identity for welfare. Combining statistical analyses of all Indian states and a comparative historical analysis of two Indian provinces, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh, this article demonstrates how the strength of attachment to the subnational political community—subnationalism—can drive a progressive social policy and improve developmental outcomes.

## NEOPATRIMONIALISM AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE IN AFRICA

### CRITICAL REFLECTIONS

By THANDIKA MKANDAWIRE

During the past two decades, neopatrimonialism has become the convenient, all purpose, and ubiquitous moniker for African governance. The school of thought behind this research program, which the author refers to as the neopatrimonialism school, has produced an impressive literature on Africa. Its analysis informs policymakers and its language permeates media reportage on African states. While neopatrimonialism has long been a focus of development studies, in recent times it has assumed politically and economically exigent status. The school identifies causal links between neopatrimonialism and economic performance, and makes predictions drawing from what is referred to as the “logic of neopatrimonialism.” Neopatrimonialism is said to account for trade policies, hyperinflation, economic stagnation, low investment in infrastructure, urban bias, and ultimately, the lack of economic development in Africa. This article examines the empirical basis of predictions and policy prescriptions. It argues that while descriptive of the social practices of the states and individuals that occupy different positions within African societies, the concept of neopatrimonialism has little analytical content and no predictive value with respect to economic policy and performance.