

ITAM
Departamento de Ciencia Política

Elección Pública II

Primavera 2021
Martes y Jueves 13:00-14:30
Río Hondo, Salón 212 (si se ponen las pilas con las vacunas)

Adrián Lucardi
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Contacto: Martes y Jueves 15:00-16:30 o previa cita vía Canvas

¿Por qué muchas decisiones colectivas son (in)eficientes y/o favorecen a algunos a expensas de otros? ¿Cuáles son las fuentes de la desigualdad en la distribución del poder político? ¿En qué medida la disponibilidad de información sobre las intenciones, acciones o expectativas de los demás genera resultados colectivos subóptimos? Así como hay países (y empresas, y partidos políticos, y clubes de fútbol) que “funcionan bien,” otros parecen estancados en un equilibrio perverso del que (casi) todos se beneficiarían de salir. En este curso explicaremos dicha variación no como consecuencia de la bondad o maldad de los seres humanos, ni como producto del accionar maligno de fuerzas oscuras, sino como resultado de la interacción entre múltiples actores que pueden tener buenas razones para desconfiar de las intenciones, capacidades o expectativas de sus pares.

El curso consta de cuatro partes. Comenzaremos viendo en qué medida el comportamiento de los individuos de carne y hueso se ajusta al ideal del *Homo oeconomicus*, y cómo ello afecta la interpretación de los modelos que veremos a lo largo de la clase. Luego estudiaremos cómo las asimetrías de información y los problemas de agencia moldean la representación política y el funcionamiento de las instituciones jerárquicas, como las burocracias y las “máquinas” clientelares. En tercer lugar pasaremos revista al rol de la coordinación de expectativas en fenómenos como las campañas electorales, la adopción y eficacia de normas (in)formales, las protestas ciudadanas, y la obediencia a las autoridades. Concluiremos examinando por qué la dificultad de comprometerse a actuar en contra de los propios intereses suele resultar en instituciones y políticas estables pero colectivamente subóptimas.

Calificación

- **Participación en clase (18%).** Debes leer la bibliografía obligatoria y participar activamente en las discusiones, sea personalmente o en el chat.
- **Reseña (1): Película (28%).** A más tardar el martes 6 de abril a las 13hs, deberás entregar un ensayo de hasta 5 páginas, a doble espacio, explicando cómo la película *Z* refleja (algunos de) los temas vistos en el curso.

- **Reseña (II): Libro (54%).** Debes elegir uno de los libros listados en la siguiente sección y escribir una reseña discutiendo la conexión del mismo con (alguno de) los temas vistos en el curso. La calificación del trabajo final tendrá tres componentes:
 - *Selección.* La fecha límite para elegir el libro a reseñar es el jueves 28 de enero a las 23hs. Enviar tu opción a tiempo contará por el 1% de la calificación final.
 - *Síntesis del argumento.* A más tardar el jueves 29 de abril a las 13hs deberás entregar un texto de 3-4 páginas, a doble espacio, sintetizando el argumento del libro elegido *con tus propias palabras*. El texto será calificado como (i) bueno (8% de la calificación final); (ii) regular (4%); ó (iii) no entregado (0%).
 - *Reseña.* A más tardar el miércoles 26 de mayo a las 10am deberás entregar un texto de hasta 8 páginas, a doble espacio, analizando el libro elegido a la luz de las lecturas vistas en el curso. La reseña contará el 45% de la calificación final.

Lecturas

Además de la bibliografía correspondiente a cada sesión, para la reseña final debes elegir alguno de los siguientes libros:

- Peter Heather. *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005 [2007]. (Hay traducción al español: Peter Heather. *La Caída del Imperio Romano*. Crítica, Barcelona, 2005 [2009].)
- Frank Dikötter. *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962*. Bloomsbury Press, New York, 2010 [2018]. (Hay traducción al español: Frank Dikötter. *La Gran Hambruna en la China de Mao: Historia de la Catástrofe más Devastadora de China (1958-1962)*. Acantilado, Barcelona, 2010 [2011].)
- Ian Kershaw. *The End: The Defiance and Destruction of Hitler's Germany, 1944-1945*. Penguin, London, 2011. (Hay traducción al español: Ian Kershaw. *El Final: Alemania 1944-1945*. Península, Barcelona, 2011 [2013].)
- Jason Stearns. *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and the Great War of Africa*. PublicAffairs, New York, 2011.
- Stephen R. Platt. *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom: China, the West, and the Epic Story of the Taiping Civil War*. Knopf, New York, 2012.
- Christopher Clark. *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*. Harper Collins, 2013. (Hay traducción al español: Christopher Clark. *Sonámbulos: Cómo Europa Fue a la Guerra en 1914*. Galaxia Gutenberg, 2013 [2017].)
- Timothy Snyder. *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning*. Random House, New York, 2015. (Hay traducción al español: Timothy Snyder. *Tierra Negra: El Holocausto como Historia y Advertencia*. Galaxia Gutenberg, 2015.)
- Michael J. Klarman. *The Framers' Coup: The Making of the United States Constitution*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2016.

Todas las lecturas son accesibles a través de Canvas. Las lecturas marcadas con un asterisco (*) incluyen material técnicamente complejo, con el cual puedes no estar familiarizado. Puedes pasar dichas secciones por alto; el foco del curso es la intuición detrás de los modelos, no las demostraciones matemáticas de los mismos.

Integridad académica y plagio

Según el artículo 5 bis del Reglamento de Titulación del ITAM, “la reproducción parcial o total de textos o productos ajenos, de autor conocido o anónimo, publicados por cualquier medio o inéditos, sin entrecomillar los pasajes o elementos reproducidos o sin hacer la referencia bibliográfica pertinente,” constituye plagio o fraude académico. Las citas a otros autores son bienvenidas, pero deben ser reconocidas como tales. El uso de fragmentos y/o traducciones literales de textos ajenos sin la debida atribución será causal para reprobar la materia y merecerá la amonestación oficial al alumno por parte de la Dirección Escolar del Instituto.

Calendario

Sesión 1 (Enero/12). Introducción + Enigma #1: ¿Importan las Instituciones?

- (1) William H. Riker. Implications from the Disequilibrium of Majority Rule for the Study of Institutions. *American Political Science Review*, 74(2):432–446, 1980 (pp. 442-5 únicamente).
- (2) Ferdinand Lassalle. *¿Qué Es una Constitución?* Ariel, Barcelona, 1862 [2012] (únicamente sec. 1 de la primera conferencia – pp. 31-47 en la edición de elaleph.com).

Sesión 2 (Enero/14). Enigmas #2 y #3: ¿Quién custodia a los custodios? y ¿Por qué el clientelismo es tan ineficiente?

- (1) James Madison, *Federalist* #51 (varias ediciones).
- (2) *Daron Acemoglu. Why Not a Political Coase Theorem? Social Conflict, Commitment, and Politics. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 31(4):620–652, 2003 (pp. 620-33 únicamente).
- (3) Susan C. Stokes, Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013, cap. 2 (hojear).

i. Los Jugadores Realmente Existentes

Sesión 3 (Enero/19). “La razón de la sinrazón que a mi razón se hace...”

- (1) Yusra Murad, “Majority of Voters Back National Health Plan – Unless It’s Called ‘Single Payer’”, *Morning Consult*.
- (2) Joseph Alois Schumpeter. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. Routledge, London, 1942 [2003], sec. XXI.III (“Human Nature in Politics”).
- (3) Daniel Kahneman. *Thinking, Fast and Slow*. Macmillan, London, 2011, cap. 1.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Jon Elster. *Explaining Social Behavior: More Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, cap. 12.
- (2) Richard H. Thaler. From Cashews to Nudges: The Evolution of Behavioral Economics. *American Economic Review*, 108(6):1265–1287, 2018.
- (3) Jacob K. Goeree and Charles A. Holt. Ten Little Treasures of Game Theory and Ten Intuitive Contradictions. *American Economic Review*, 91(5):1402–1422, 2001.
- (4) Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan, and Jeffrey A. Karp. Why Politicians Like Electoral Institutions: Self-Interest, Values, or Ideology? *The Journal of Politics*, 68(2):434–446, 2006.
- (5) *Florian Zimmermann. The Dynamics of Motivated Beliefs. *American Economic Review*, 110(2):337–361, 2020.
- (6) *Douglas Almond and Xinming Du. Later Bedtimes Predict President Trump’s Performance. *Economics Letters*, 197, 2020.

Sesión 4 (Enero/21). Errores cognitivos de los votantes (I): “What have you done for me lately?”

- (1) *John Marshall. Tuning In, Voting Out: News Consumption Cycles, Homicides, and Electoral Accountability in Mexico. Unpublished manuscript, 2019.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) *Andrew Healy and Gabriel S. Lenz. Substituting the End for the Whole: Why Voters Respond Primarily to the Election-Year Economy. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(1):31–47, 2014.
- (2) Nicolás Ajzenman and Ruben Durante. Salience and Accountability: School Infrastructure and Last-Minute Electoral Punishment. Working Paper #238, European Bank of Reconstruction and Development, 2019.
- (3) Christopher H. Achen and Larry M. Bartels. *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2016, cap. 6.
- (4) *Michael M. Bechtel and Jens Hainmueller. How Lasting Is Voter Gratitude? An Analysis of the Short- and Long-Term Electoral Returns to Beneficial Policy. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(4):852–868, 2011.

Sesión 5 (Enero/26). Errores cognitivos de los votantes (II): Es más complejo

- (1) *Ernesto Dal Bó, Pedro Dal Bó, and Erik Eyster. The Demand for Bad Policy when Voters Underappreciate Equilibrium Effects. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 85(2):964–998, 2018 (pp. 964-982 únicamente).

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Matthew A. Baum. Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public. *American Political Science Review*, 96(1):91–109, 2002.
- (2) *Helios Herrera, Guillermo Ordoñez, and Christoph Trebesch. Political Booms, Financial Crises. *Journal of Political Economy*, 128(2):507–543, 2020.
- (3) *Alberto Alesina, Davide Furceri, Jonathan D. Ostry, Chris Papageorgiou, and Dennis P. Quinn. Structural Reforms and Elections: Evidence from a World-Wide New Dataset. Working Paper 26720, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2020.
- (4) *Rupert Sausgruber and Jean-Robert Tyran. Testing the Mill Hypothesis of Fiscal Illusion. *Public Choice*, 122(1):39–68, 2005.
- (5) *Scott Morgenstern and Elizabeth Zechmeister. Better the Devil You Know Than the Saint You Don't? Risk Propensity and Vote Choice in Mexico. *The Journal of Politics*, 63(1):93–119, 2001.

Sesión 6 (Enero/28). Economía del Comportamiento: Discusión

Elección del libro a reseñar. Subir a Canvas antes de las 23:00.

- (1) Scott Sumner, “[Let’s Not Emphasize Behavioral Economics](#)”, *Econlib*.
- (2) Brendan Nyhan. Facts and Myths about Misperceptions. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 34(3):220–236, 2020.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Donald P. Green and Ian Shapiro. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1994, cap. 2.
- (2) Robert J. Aumann. A Synthesis of Behavioural and Mainstream Economics. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 3(7):666–670, 2019.
- (3) *Ingela Alger and Jörgen W. Weibull. Homo Moralís—Preference Evolution Under Incomplete Information and Assortative Matching. *Econometrica*, 81(6):2269–2302, 2013.
- (4) *Lior Sheffer, Peter John Loewen, Stuart Soroka, Stefaan Walgrave, and Tamir Sheafer. Nonrepresentative Representatives: An Experimental Study of the Decision Making of Elected Politicians. *American Political Science Review*, 112(2):302–321, 2018 (+ *corrigendum*).
- (5) Victor Stango and Jonathan Zinman. We are all Behavioral, More or Less: A Taxonomy of Consumer Decision Making. Technical Report 28138, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2020.

Sesión 7 (Febrero/2). La ¿paradoja? del voto

- (1) Donald P. Green and Ian Shapiro. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1994, cap. 4.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) John H. Aldrich. Rational Choice and Turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 37(1):246–278, 1993.
- (2) *Alexander Coppock and Donald P. Green. Is Voting Habit Forming? New Evidence from Experiments and Regression Discontinuities. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(4):1044–1062, 2016.
- (3) *Daniel de Kadt. Voting Then, Voting Now: The Long-Term Consequences of Participation in South Africa’s First Democratic Election. *The Journal of Politics*, 79(2):670–687, 2017.
- (4) *Jens Olav Dahlgaard. Trickle-Up Political Socialization: The Causal Effect on Turnout of Parenting a Newly Enfranchised Voter. *American Political Science Review*, 112(3):698–705, 2018.

Sesión 8 (Febrero/4). La (participación) política como subproducto

- (1) Tyler Cowen, [“Move On – This Isn’t True Here”](#).
- (2) Robin Hanson, [“Politics Isn’t about Policy”](#).
- (3) Eitan Hersh. Political Hobbyism: A Theory of Mass Behavior. Unpublished manuscript, 2017.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Pierre Ostiguy. The High and the Low in Politics: A Two-Dimensional Political Space for Comparative Analysis and Electoral Studies. Working paper #360, Working Paper #360, Hellen Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, Hellen Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, 2009. Kellogg Institute Working Paper #360.
- (2) *Anthony Fowler. Defending Sober Voters against Sensationalist Scholars: A Reply to Rogers. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 15(2):213–219, 2020.
- (3) *Noah Carl, Lindsay Richards, and Anthony Heath. Preference for Realistic Art Predicts Support for Brexit. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 70(4):1128–1134, 2019.
- (4) *Joshua N. Zingher. On the Measurement of Social Class and Its Role in Shaping White Vote Choice in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election. *Electoral Studies*, 64, 2020
- (5) John Marshall. Signaling Sophistication: How Social Expectations Can Increase Political Information Acquisition. *The Journal of Politics*, 81(1):167–186, 2019.

II. Asimetrías de Información

Sesión 9 (Febrero/9). Principal-Agente: Teoría

- (1) *Joram Mayshar, Omer Moav, and Zvika Neeman. Geography, Transparency, and Institutions. *American Political Science Review*, 111(3):622–636, 2017.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Daron Acemoglu, David Laibson, and John A. List. *Microeconomics, Global Edition [Second Edition]*. Pearson, 2nd edition, 2019 (secs. 16.1-16.2 únicamente).
- (2) George A. Akerlof. The Market for “Lemons”: Quality Uncertainty and the Market Mechanism. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 84(3):488–500, 1970.
- (3) *Bengt Hölmstrom. Moral Hazard and Observability. *The Bell Journal of Economics*, 10(1):74–91, 1979.

Sesión 10 (Febrero/11). “Gaming the system”

- (1) Anuschka de Rohan. Why Dolphins Are Deep Thinkers. *The Guardian*, July 2003.
- (2) *Robin Harding and David Stasavage. What Democracy Does (and Doesn’t Do) for Basic Services: School Fees, School Inputs, and African Elections. *The Journal of Politics*, 76(1):229–245, 2014.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Burton A. Abrams. How Richard Nixon Pressured Arthur Burns: Evidence from the Nixon Tapes. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 20(4):177–188, 2006.
- (2) *Anandi Mani and Sharun Mukand. Democracy, Visibility and Public Good Provision. *Journal of Development Economics*, 83(2):506–529, 2007.
- (3) *Tim Groseclose and Jeffrey Milyo. Sincere Versus Sophisticated Voting in Congress: Theory and Evidence. *The Journal of Politics*, 72(1):60–73, 2010.
- (4) *Sarah F. Anzia. Election Timing and the Electoral Influence of Interest Groups. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(2):412–427, 2011.
- (5) *Thushyanthan Baskaran, Brian Min, and Yogesh Uppal. Election Cycles and Electricity Provision: Evidence from a Quasi-experiment with Indian Special Elections. *Journal of Public Economics*, 126:64–73, 2015.
- (6) *Aditya Dasgupta and Devesh Kapur. The Political Economy of Bureaucratic Overload: Evidence from Rural Development Officials in India. *American Political Science Review*, 114(4):1316–1334, 2020.

Sesión 11 (Febrero/16). ¿Qué elegimos cuando votamos?

- (1) *James D. Fearon. Electoral Accountability and the Control of Politicians: Selecting Good Types versus Sanctioning Poor Performance. In Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, and Bernard Manin, editors, *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*, pages 55–97. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) *John Ferejohn. Incumbent Performance and Electoral Control. *Public Choice*, 50(1-3):5–25, 1986.
- (2) *Mark Andreas Kayser and Michael Peress. Benchmarking across Borders: Electoral Accountability and the Necessity of Comparison. *American Political Science Review*, 106(3):661–684, 2012.
- (3) *Daniela Campello and Cesar Zucco. Presidential Success and the World Economy. *The Journal of Politics*, 78(2):589–602, 2016.
- (4) James E. Alt, David D. Lassen, and John Marshall. Credible Sources and Sophisticated Voters: When Does New Information Induce Economic Voting? *The Journal of Politics*, 78(2):327–342, 2016.
- (5) *Gustavo J. Bobonis, Luis R. Cámara Fuertes, and Rainer Schwabe. Monitoring Corruptible Politicians. *American Economic Review*, 106(8):2371–2405, 2016.

Sesión 12 (Febrero/18). Medios, información, y representación electoral

- (1) *Rafael Di Tella and Ignacio Franceschelli. Government Advertising and Media Coverage of Corruption Scandals. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 3(4):119–151, 2011.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) *Andrea Prat and David Strömberg. The Political Economy of Mass Media. In Daron Acemoglu, Manuel Arellano, and Eddie Dekel, editors, *Advances in Economics and Econometrics: Volume 2, Applied Economics: Tenth World Congress*, pages 135–187. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013.
- (2) *Claudio Ferraz and Frederico Finan. Exposing Corrupt Politicians: The Effects of Brazil’s Publicly Released Audits on Electoral Outcomes. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 123(2):703–745, 2008 (pp. 703-28 únicamente).
- (3) John Mcmillan and Pablo Zoido. How to Subvert Democracy: Montesinos in Peru. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 18(4):69–92, 2004.
- (4) *James M. Snyder and David Strömberg. Press Coverage and Political Accountability. *Journal of Political Economy*, 118(2):355–408, 2010.
- (5) *Ruben Enikolopov, Maria Petrova, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia. *American Economic Review*, 101(7):3253–3285, 2011 (secs. I-III únicamente).
- (6) *Filipe R. Campante and Quoc-Anh Do. Isolated Capital Cities, Accountability, and Corruption: Evidence from US States. *American Economic Review*, 104(8):2456–2481, 2014.
- (7) *Horacio A. Larreguy, John Marshall, and James M. Snyder. Leveling the Playing Field: How Campaign Advertising Can Help Non-dominant Parties. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 16(6):1812–1849, 2018.

Sesión 13 (Febrero/23). Subordinados ¿leales?

- (1) Albert Breton and Ronald Wintrobe. The Bureaucracy of Murder Revisited. *Journal of Political Economy*, 94(5):905–926, 1986.
- (2) Anonymous, “I Am Part of the Resistance Inside the Trump Administration”, *The New York Times*, 05-SEP-2018.
- (3) David Bandurski, “The Dawn of the Little Red Phone”, *China Media Project*.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Friedrich A. Hayek. *The Road to Serfdom. The Definitive Edition*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944, cap. 10.
- (2) *Mathew D. McCubbins, Roger G. Noll, and Barry R. Weingast. Administrative Procedures as Instruments of Political Control. *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization*, 3(2):243–277, 1987.
- (3) *Georgy Egorov, Sergei Guriev, and Konstantin Sonin. Why Resource-Poor Dictators Allow Freer Media: A Theory and Evidence from Panel Data. *American Political Science Review*, 103(4):645–668, 2009.
- (4) *Tiberiu Dragu and Mattias Polborn. The Administrative Foundation of the Rule of Law. *The Journal of Politics*, 75(4):1038–1050, 2013.
- (5) *Ryan D. Enos and Eitan D. Hersh. Party Activists as Campaign Advertisers: The Ground Campaign as a Principal-Agent Problem. *American Political Science Review*, 109(2):252–278, 2015.
- (6) *Ritva Reinikka and Jakob Svensson. Local Capture: Evidence from a Central Government Transfer Program in Uganda. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 119(2):679–705, 2004.

Sesión 14 (Febrero/25). Por qué el clientelismo funciona (tan mal)

- (1) *Susan C. Stokes, Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013, caps. 3-4.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Susan C. Stokes. Political Clientelism. In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, editors, *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, pages 604–627. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007.
- (2) *Chang-Tai Hsieh, Edward Miguel, Daniel Ortega, and Francisco Rodríguez. The Price of Political Opposition: Evidence from Venezuela’s “Maisanta”. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 3(2):196–214, 2011.
- (3) *Horacio Larreguy, Cesar E. Montiel Olea, and Pablo Querubin. Political Brokers: Partisans or Agents? Evidence from the Mexican Teachers’ Union. *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(4):877–891, 2017.
- (4) *Lucas M. Novaes. Disloyal Brokers and Weak Parties. *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(1):84–98, 2018.
- (5) *Francisco Cantú. Groceries for Votes: The Electoral Returns of Vote Buying. *The Journal of Politics*, 81(3):790–804, 2019.

III. Información, Expectativas y Coordinación

Sesión 15 (Marzo/2). Juegos de coordinación y “common knowledge”

- (1) Michael Suk-Young Chwe. *Rational Ritual. Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2001, cap. 1.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Paul A. David. Clio and the Economics of QWERTY. *American Economic Review*, 75(2):332–337, 1985.
- (2) Richard H. McAdams. A Focal Point Theory of Expressive Law. *Virginia Law Review*, 86(8):1649–1729, 2000 (pp. 1649-63 únicamente).
- (3) Kaushik Basu. *The Republic of Beliefs: A New Approach to Law and Economics*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2018, sec. 3.2.
- (4) *Alexander Tabarrok. The Private Provision of Public Goods via Dominant Assurance Contracts. *Public Choice*, 96:345–362, 1998.
- (5) *Robertas Zubrickas. Contingent Wage Subsidy. *Journal of Public Economic Theory*, 22(4):1105–1119, 2020.
- (6) *Todd C. Lehmann and Yuri M. Zhukov. Until the Bitter End? The Diffusion of Surrender Across Battles. *International Organization*, 73(1):133–169, 2019.

Sesión 16 (Marzo/4). Coordinación electoral (I)

- (1) Gary W. Cox. *Making Votes Count. Strategic Coordination in the World’s Electoral Systems*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997, caps. 2 y 4 (pp. 69-80 únicamente).
- (2) Rodrigo Castro Cornejo. ¿Son las Encuestas una Forma de Primera Vuelta Electoral? Sobre el Voto Útil (Estratégico) en México. *Nexos*, February 2018.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Gary W. Cox. *Making Votes Count. Strategic Coordination in the World’s Electoral Systems*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997, caps. 1 y 13.
- (2) *Santosh Anagol and Thomas Fujiwara. The Runner-Up Effect. *Journal of Political Economy*, 124(4):927–991, 2016 (ignora la sec. 4.1).
- (3) *Vincent Pons and Clémence Tricaud. Expressive Voting and Its Cost: Evidence From Runoffs With Two or Three Candidates. *Econometrica*, 86(5):1621–1649, 2018.
- (4) *Brian F. Crisp and Betül Demirkaya. Strategic Entry and Strategic Voting in Majoritarian Systems. *The Journal of Politics*, 82(1):57–71, 2020.

Sesión 17 (Marzo/9). Coordinación electoral (II)

- (1) *Thomas Fujiwara. A Regression Discontinuity Test of Strategic Voting and Duverger’s Law. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 6(3-4):197–233, 2011 (pp. 197-214 únicamente).

- (2) *Annika Fredén, Ludovic Rheault, and Indridi H. Indridason. Betting on the Underdog: The Influence of Social Networks on Vote Choice. *Political Science Research and Methods*, forthcoming.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) *Andy Baker, Barry Ames, and Lucio R. Renno. Social Context and Campaign Volatility in New Democracies: Networks and Neighborhoods in Brazil's 2002 Elections. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2):382–399, 2006.
- (2) Noam Lupu. Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America. *World Politics*, 66(4):561–602, 2014.
- (3) Sandra Botero, Rodrigo Castro Cornejo, Laura Gamboa, Nara Pavão, and David W. Nickerson. Under Friendly Fire: An Experiment on Partisan Press, Fragmented Opposition and Voting Behavior. *Electoral Studies*, 60, 2019.
- (4) *Andrew C. Eggers and Nick Vivyan. Who Votes More Strategically? *American Political Science Review*, 114(2):470–485, 2020.
- (5) *Christopher Kam, Anthony M. Bertelli, and Alexander Held. The Electoral System, the Party System and Accountability in Parliamentary Government. *American Political Science Review*, 114(3):744–760, 2020.

Sesión 18 (Marzo/11). El “gran coordinador”

- (1) Kaushik Basu. *The Republic of Beliefs: A New Approach to Law and Economics*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2018, secs. 2.2 y 2.4.
- (2) Richard H. McAdams. A Focal Point Theory of Expressive Law. *Virginia Law Review*, 86(8):1649–1729, 2000 (pp. 1663-1729 únicamente).

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Thomas C. Schelling. *The Strategy of Conflict*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1960, cap. 3.
- (2) Jack Knight. *Institutions and Social Conflict*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, caps. 3 y 5.
- (3) Kaushik Basu. *The Republic of Beliefs: A New Approach to Law and Economics*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2018, cap. 5.

Sesión 19 (Marzo/16). Convenciones, *bullying*, y discriminación (I)

- (1) Klaus Abbink and Gönül Doğan. How to Choose your Victim. *Games and Economic Behavior*, 113:482–496, 2019.
- (2) Gerry Mackie. Ending Footbinding and Infibulation: A Convention Account. *American Sociological Review*, 61(6):999–1017, 1996.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, London, 2nd edition, 1983 [1991]. (Hay traducción al español: Benedict Anderson. *Comunidades Imaginadas. Reflexiones sobre el Origen y la Difusión del Nacionalismo*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1983 [2007].)
- (2) David D. Laitin. The Tower of Babel as a Coordination Game: Political Linguistics in Ghana. *American Political Science Review*, 88(3):622–634, 1994.
- (3) *Emilio Depetris-Chauvin, Ruben Durante, and Filipe R. Campante. Building Nations Through Shared Experiences: Evidence from African Football. Working Paper 24666, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2018.
- (4) *Oriana Bandiera, Myra Mohnen, Imran Rasul, and Martina Viarengo. Nation-building Through Compulsory Schooling during the Age of Mass Migration. *The Economic Journal*, 129(617):62–109, 2019.
- (5) *David Schindler and Mark Westcott. Shocking Racial Attitudes: Black G.I.s in Europe. *The Review of Economic Studies*, forthcoming.

Sesión 20 (Marzo/18). Convenciones, *bullying*, y discriminación (II)

- (1) George Akerlof. The Economics of Caste and of the Rat Race and Other Woeful Tales. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 90(4):599–617, 1976 (secs. I y v-vi únicamente).
- (2) *Suresh Naidu, Sung-Ha Hwang, and Samuel Bowles. The Evolution of Egalitarian Sociolinguistic Conventions. *American Economic Review*, 107(5):572–577, 2017.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Timur Kuran. *Private Truths, Public Lies: The Social Consequences of Preference Falsification*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1997.
- (2) *Samuel Bowles, Glenn C. Loury, and Rajiv Sethi. Group Inequality. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 12(1):129–152, 2014.
- (3) *Young-Chul Kim and Glenn C. Loury. To Be, or Not to Be: Stereotypes, Identity Choice and Group Inequality. *Journal of Public Economics*, 174:36–52, 2019.
- (4) *Daniel Indacochea. A Farewell to Army Segregation: The Effects of Racial Integration During the Korean War. Unpublished manuscript, 2019.
- (5) *Leonardo Bursztyn, Georgy Egorov, and Stefano Fiorin. From Extreme to Mainstream: The Erosion of Social Norms. *American Economic Review*, 110(11):3522–3548, 2020.

Sesión 21 (Marzo/23). Película

Z (Costa-Gavras, 1969). No hay clase.

Sesión 22 (Marzo/25). La (des)obediencia como juego de coordinación

- (1) Lee Drutman, [“If Republicans Ever Turn On Trump, It’ll Happen All At Once”](https://www.fivethirtyeight.com/news/2019/03/03/if-republicans-ever-turn-on-trump-itll-happen-all-at-once/), *fivethirtyeight.com*, 03-OCT-2019.

- (2) Ferdinand Lassalle. *¿Qué Es una Constitución?* Ariel, Barcelona, 1862 [2012] (únicamente la parte de la denegación de impuestos – sec. II.2 de la *segunda* conferencia, pp. 77-85 en la edición de elaleph.com).
- (3) *Ashlea Rundlett and Milan W. Svobik. Deliver the Vote! Micromotives and Macrobehavior in Electoral Fraud. *American Political Science Review*, 110(1):180–197, 2016.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Kaushik Basu. *The Republic of Beliefs: A New Approach to Law and Economics*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2018, cap. 3.
- (2) Randall L. Calvert. Leadership and Its Basis in Problems of Social Coordination. *International Political Science Review*, 13(1):7–24, 1992.
- (3) Michael Suk-Young Chwe. *Rational Ritual. Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2001, cap. 2.
- (4) Elizabeth Levy Paluck and Donald P. Green. Deference, Dissent, and Dispute Resolution: An Experimental Intervention Using Mass Media to Change Norms and Behavior in Rwanda. *American Political Science Review*, 103(4):622–644, 2009.
- (5) *Dimitri Landa and Scott A. Tyson. Coercive Leadership. *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(3):559–574, 2017.

Marzo/30 y Abril/1. Semana Santa

No hay clase.

Sesión 23 (Abril/6). Custodiando a los custodios

Reseña de Z. Subir a Canvas *antes* del comienzo de la clase.

- (1) Barry R. Weingast. The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law. *American Political Science Review*, 91(2):245–263, 1997.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) *Roger B. Myerson. The Autocrat’s Credibility Problem and Foundations of the Constitutional State. *American Political Science Review*, 102(1):125–139, 2008.
- (2) *James D. Fearon. Self-Enforcing Democracy. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 126(4):1661–1708, 2011.
- (3) Mila Versteeg, Timothy Horley, Anne Meng, Mauricio Guim, and Marilyn Guirguis. The Law and Politics of Presidential Term Limit Evasion. *Columbia Law Review*, 120(1):173–248, 2020 (hojear secs. IV y V únicamente).
- (4) *Milan W. Svobik. When Polarization Trumps Civic Virtue: Partisan Conflict and the Subversion of Democracy by Incumbents. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 15(1):3–31, 2020.

Sesión 24 (Abril/8). Principal-Agente × Coordinación = Corrección Política

- (1) Alexander Tabarrok, “Too much Transparency Makes the World More Opaque”.
- (2) Arnold Kling, “Gossip at Scale”.
- (3) Glenn C. Loury. Self-Censorship in Public Discourse: A Theory of “Political Correctness” and Related Phenomena. *Rationality and Society*, 6(4):428–461, 1994.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Lisa Wedeen. Acting “As If”: Symbolic Politics and Social Control in Syria. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40(3):503–523, 1998.
- (2) Stephen Morris. Political Correctness. *Journal of Political Economy*, 109(2):231–265, 2001.
- (3) *Andrea Prat. The Wrong Kind of Transparency. *American Economic Review*, 95(3):862–877, 2005.
- (4) George Orwell. Politics and the English Language. *Horizon*, 13(76):252–265, 1946.

Sesión 25 (Abril/13). Desobediencia masiva en la práctica

- (1) Timur Kuran. Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989. *World Politics*, 44(1):7–48, 1991.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Joshua A. Tucker. Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(3):535–551, 2007.
- (2) Philipp Kuntz and Mark R. Thompson. More than Just the Final Straw: Stolen Elections as Revolutionary Triggers. *Comparative Politics*, 41(3):253–272, 2009.
- (3) Alberto Simpser. *Why Governments and Parties Manipulate Elections: Theory, Practice, and Implications*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013, caps. 4* y 6.
- (4) *Gary King, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression. *American Political Science Review*, 107(2):326–343, 2013.
- (5) Juan S. Morales. Perceived Popularity and Online Political Dissent: Evidence from Twitter in Venezuela. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 25(1):5–27, 2020.

iv. Problemas de Credibilidad

Sesión 26 (Abril/15). Políticas ineficientes

- (1) *Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. Inefficient Redistribution. *American Political Science Review*, 95(3):649–661, 2001.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) Donald Wittman. Why Democracies Produce Efficient Results. *Journal of Political Economy*, 97(6):1395–1424, 1989.
- (2) *Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. Political Losers as a Barrier to Economic Development. *American Economic Review*, 90(2):126–130, 2000.
- (3) Stephen Haber, Armando Razo, and Noel Maurer. *The Politics of Property Rights: Political Instability, Credible Commitments, and Economic Growth in Mexico, 1876-1929*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003, cap. 5.
- (4) Pablo T. Spiller and Mariano Tommasi. *The Institutional Foundations of Public Policy in Argentina*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, Introducción y caps. 1, 6 y 7.
- (5) *Raghuram G. Rajan. Rent Preservation and the Persistence of Underdevelopment. *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, 1(1):178–218, 2009.
- (6) *Naomi R. Lamoreaux and John Joseph Wallis. Economic Crisis, General Laws, and the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Transformation of American Political Economy. Working Paper 27400, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2020.

Sesión 27 (Abril/20). Principal-Agente × Credibilidad (I): Por qué algunos problemas persistentes persisten

- (1) *Robert Powell. Why Some Persistent Problems Persist. *American Political Science Review*, 113(4):980–996, 2019 (ignorar pp. 984-6).

Lecturas optativas

- (1) *Daron Acemoglu, Leopoldo Fergusson, James A. Robinson, Darío Romero, and Juan F. Vargas. The Perils of Top-down State Building: Evidence from Colombia's False Positives. Working Paper 22617, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2016.
- (2) *Abhijit Banerjee, Rema Hanna, Jordan Kyle, Benjamin A. Olken, and Sudarno Sumarto. Tangible Information and Citizen Empowerment: Identification Cards and Food Subsidy Programs in Indonesia. *Journal of Political Economy*, 126(2):451–491, 2017.
- (3) *Hernán Flom. State Regulation of Organized Crime: Politicians, Police, and Drug Trafficking in Argentina. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 61(3):104–128, 2019.

Sesión 28 (Abril/22). Transiciones a la democracia

- (1) Ferdinand Lassalle. *¿Qué Es una Constitución?* Ariel, Barcelona, 1862 [2012] (únicamente secs. II-III de la primera conferencia, pp. 47-64 en la edición de elaleph.com).
- (2) Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, cap. 2.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) *Toke S. Aidt and Raphael Franck. Democratization under the Threat of Revolution: Evidence from the Great Reform Act of 1832. *Econometrica*, 83(2):505–547, 2015.

- (2) Todd A. Eisenstadt. Mexico's *Concertaciones*: The Rise and Fall of a Substitutive Informal Institution. In Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky, editors, *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*, pages 227–248. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD, 2006.
- (3) Beatriz Magaloni. The Game of Electoral Fraud and the Ousting of Authoritarian Rule. *American Journal of Political Science*, 54(3):751–765, 2010.
- (4) *Verena Kroth, Valentino Larcinese, and Joachim Wehner. A Better Life for All? Democratization and Electrification in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *The Journal of Politics*, 78(3):774–791, 2016.
- (5) *Daniel Treisman. Democracy by Mistake: How the Errors of Autocrats Trigger Transitions to Freer Government. *American Political Science Review*, 114(3):792–810, 2020.

Sesión 29 (Abril/27). El *trade-off* entre competencia y lealtad (I): Partidos políticos

- (1) *James R Hollyer, Marko Klačnja, and Rocío Titiunik. Parties as Disciplinarians: The Electoral Strategies of Centrist Parties. Unpublished manuscript, 2019.

Lecturas optativas

- (1) John H. Aldrich. *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1995, cap. 2.
- (2) *Alberto Díaz-Cayeros. *Federalism, Fiscal Authority, and Centralization in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 35-97.
- (3) Ora John Reuter. *The Origins of Dominant Parties: Building Authoritarian Institutions in Post-Soviet Russia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2017, caps. 2 y 5.

Sesión 30 (Abril/29). Principal-Agente × Credibilidad (II): El *trade-off* entre competencia y lealtad (II)

Síntesis del argumento del libro. Subir a Canvas *antes* del comienzo de la clase.

- (1) Bello, “[The Problem of Latin America’s Proxy Presidents](#)”, *The Economist*, 12-NOV-2020.
- (2) *Alexei V. Zakharov. The Loyalty-Competence Trade-Off in Dictatorships and Outside Options for Subordinates. *The Journal of Politics*, 78(2):457–466, 2016.
- (3) *Adam Scharpf and Christian Gläbel. Why Underachievers Dominate Secret Police Organizations: Evidence from Autocratic Argentina. *American Journal of Political Science*, 64(4):791–806, 2020 (hojear).

Lecturas optativas

- (1) *Milan W. Svoblik. Power Sharing and Leadership Dynamics in Authoritarian Regimes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(2):477–494, 2009.
- (2) *Carles Boix and Milan W. Svoblik. The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian Government: Institutions, Commitment, and Power-Sharing in Dictatorships. *The Journal of Politics*, 75(2):300–316, 2013.

- (3) *Daniel Krmaric. Should I Stay or Should I Go? Leaders, Exile, and the Dilemmas of International Justice. *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(2):486–498, 2018.
- (4) *Shaun Larcom, Mare Sarr, and Tim Willems. Dictators Walking the Mogadishu Line: How Men Become Monsters and Monsters Become Men. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 32(3):584–609, 2018.

Sesión 31 (Mayo/4). Respondiendo los enigmas/Repaso

Última clase. No hay lecturas

Mayo/26. Trabajo final

Subir a Canvas antes de las 10:00am.