ECON 754 – Theory of Political Economy Class Meetings: TueThur 9:30AM - 10:45PM

https://umd.zoom.us/j/98983189549?pwd=VU1hSHcwYXZOeDkzSko1bGlHdi82QT09

Meeting ID: 989 8318 9549 Passcode: 0302

Professor Allan Drazen (Office Hours: W 3:30 -5 or by appointment.)

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This course is a first course in political economy, with the aim giving students a solid grounding in methods and subject matter of modern political economy, stressing concepts and theory. The prerequisites for this course are the first-year micro and macro sequences. There will be a final exam at the end of the semester as well as a student presentation of one area on the reading list. The course website is on ELMS.

Texts: (None is "required")

Austen-Smith and Banks, Positive Political Theory I and II, U. of Michigan Press (ASB)

Drazen (2000), Political Economy in Macroeconomics, Princeton (D)

Grossman and Helpman, Special Interest Politics, MIT Press (GH)

Persson and Tabellini (2000), Political Economics, MIT Press (PT)

Riker (1982), Liberalism Against Populism, Waveland Press (R)

Roemer, J. (2001), Political Competition: Theory and Applications, Harvard University Press (JR)

1. Basic Electoral Models

a) Introduction and Background

D, ch. 1

R, ch. 1

<u>Dewan, T. and K.A. Shepsle (2011), "Political Economy Models of Elections," Annual Review of Political Science 14, 311–30</u>

b) Equilibrium in Direct Democracy – Preference Aggregation

PT, pp. 19-25

<u>Levin, J. and B. Nalebuff (2005), "An Introduction to Vote-Counting Schemes," Journal of Economic Perspectives 9(1), 3–26.</u>

<u>Caplin, A. and B. Nalebuff (1991), "Aggregation and Social Choice: A Mean Voter Theorem,"</u>
<u>Econometrica</u> 59(1), 1-23

PT, pp. 35-38

Romer, T., and Rosenthal, H. (1978), "Political resource allocation, controlled agendas and the status quo." *Public Choice* 33(4): 27–43

Baron, D. and J. Ferejohn (1987), "Bargaining and Agenda Formation in Legislatures," *American Economic Review* 77:2, pp. 303-309

Shepsle, K. and B. Weingast (1981), "Structure-Induced Equilibrium and Legislative Choice," *Public Choice* 37, 503-19

ASB, Political Theory I, section 2.1

Geanakoplos, J. (2005), "Three Brief Proofs of Arrow's Impossibility Theorem," *Economic Theory* 26(1), 211-215

c) Information Aggregation

Mueller, D. (2003), Public Choice III, Cambridge University Press, section 6.1

<u>Austen-Smith D, and J. Banks (1996), "Information Aggregation, Rationality, and the Condorcet Jury Theorem," American Political Science Review 90, 34–45</u>

<u>Feddersen, T. and W. Pesendorfer (1997), "Voting Behavior and Information Aggregation in Elections</u> with Private Information," *Econometrica* 65, 1029-1058

Myerson, R. (1998), "Population Uncertainty and Poisson Games," *International Journal of Game Theory* 27(3), 375–392.

Bouton, L. and M. Castanheira (2010), "One Person, Many Votes: Divided Majority and Information Aggregation," *Econometrica* 80, 43-87

Piketty, T. (2000): "Voting as Communicating," Review of Economic Studies, 67(1), 169–191

2. Participation and Turnout

a) Pivotal Voter Models

Cox, G. (2010), "Swing voters, core voters, and distributive politics," ch. 13 in I. Shapiro, et al. (eds.), *Political Representation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 342-357

<u>Palfrey, T. and H. Rosenthal (1985), "Voter Participation and Strategic Uncertainty," American Political</u>
<u>Science Review 79, 62-78</u>

Feddersen, T. and W. Pesendorfer (1996), "The Swing Voter's Curse," American Economic Review 86, 408-24

b) Ethical Voter Models

<u>Coate, S. and M. Conlin (2004), "A Group Rule-Utilitarian Approach to Voter Turnout: Theory and Evidence," American Economic Review 94, 1476-1504</u>

<u>Feddersen, T. and A. Sandroni (2006), "A Theory of Participation in Elections," American Economic</u>
<u>Review 96, 1271-1282</u>

Levine, D. and A. Mattozzi (2017), "Voter Turnout with Peer Punishment", working paper Ali, S. N. and C. Lin (2013), "Why People Vote: Ethical Motives and Social Incentives," *American Economic Journal: Microeconomics* 5(2), 73–98.

3. Politicians – Basic Models

a) Equilibrium with Opportunistic Candidates

JR, pp. <u>13-27</u>, <u>52-55</u>

PT, pp. 47-58

b) Policy-Motivated Candidates

JR, pp. <u>28-37</u>, <u>55-72</u>

Callander, S. (2008), "Political Motivations," Review of Economic Studies 75, 671-697

c) Commitment to Platforms and Candidate Entry

Besley, T. and S. Coate (1997), "An Economic Model of Representative Democracy," Quarterly Journal of Economics 112, 85-114

Osborne, M. and A. Slivinski (1996), "A Model of Political Competition with Citizen-Candidates,"

Quarterly Journal of Economics 111, 65-96

- Lee D., E. Moretti, and M.J. Butler (2004) "Do Voters Affect or Elect Policies? Evidence From the U.S. House," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 119, 807-59
- Banks, J. (1990), "A Model of Electoral Competition with Incomplete Information," *Journal of Economic Theory* 50, 309-325

4. Credibility of Policy

D, pp. 175-207

Backus, D. and J. Driffill (1985), "Inflation and Reputation," *American Economic Review* 75, 530-38

Vickers, J. (1986), "Signaling in a Model of Monetary Policy with Incomplete Information," *Oxford Economic Papers* 38, 443-55

Rogoff, K., (1987), "Reputational Constraints on Monetary Policy," *Carnegie-Rochester Conference Series on Public Policy* 26, 141-181

<u>Drazen, A. and P. Masson (1994), "Credibility of Policies versus Credibility of Policymakers," Quarterly</u>
<u>Journal of Economics 109, 735-54</u>

5. Political Agency and Accountability

a) Moral Hazard

Ferejohn, J. (1986), "Incumbent Performance and Electoral Control," *Public Choice* 50, 5-26.

Besley (2006), *Principled Agents: Motivation and Incentives in Politics*, Oxford, Chapter 3

Austen-Smith D. and J. Banks (1989), "Electoral Accountability and Incumbency," in P.C. Ordeshook

(ed.) *Models of Strategic Choice in Politics*, Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press

b) Selection and Accountability

- Banks, J. and R. Sundaram (1993), ""Adverse Selection and Moral Hazard in a Repeated Elections

 Model," in Barnett, ed. *Political Economy: Institutions, Information, Competition, and Representation*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Fearon, J. (1999), "Electoral Accountability and Control of Politicians: Selecting Good Types Versus
 Sanctioning Poor Performance," in Przeworski, Stokes, and Manin (eds.) Democracy,
 Accountability, and Representation, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press
- Aruoba, B., A. Drazen, and R. Vlaicu (2019), "A Structural Model of Electoral Accountability,"

 International Economic Review 60, 517-45
- Alesina, A. and G. Tabellini (2007) "Bureaucrats or Politicians? Part I: A Single Policy Task," American Economic Review 97, 169-179.

c) Political Budget Cycles

Rogoff, K. (1990), "Equilibrium Political Budget Cycles," American Economic Review 80, 21-36

Brender, A. and A. Drazen (2008), "How Do Budget Deficits and Economic Growth Affect Reelection

Prospects? – Evidence from a Large Panel of Countries," American Economic Review 98, 2203-20

6. Legislatures

a) Legislative Bargaining

Baron, D. and J. Ferejohn (1989), "Bargaining in Legislatures," *American Political Science Review* 83, 1181-1206

- Austen-Smith, D. and J. Banks (1988), "Elections, Coalitions and Legislative Outcomes," *American Political Science Review* 82, 405-422
- Baron, D. (1991), "A Spatial Bargaining Theory of Government Formation in Parliamentary Systems,"

 American Political Science Review 85, 137-164.
- Baron, D. (1993), "Government Formation and Endogenous Parties," *American Political Science Review* 87, 34-47.
- Baron, D. and D. Diermeier (2001), "Elections, Governments, and Parliaments in Proportional Representation Systems." *QJE* 116, 933-967
- Krehbiel, K. (1996), "Institutional and Partisan Sources of Gridlock: A Theory of Divided and Unified Government," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 8(1), 7-40

b) Legislative Rules

- <u>Diermeier, D. and T. Feddersen (1998), "Cohesion in Legislatures and the Vote of Confidence</u> Procedure," *American Political Science Review* 92, 611-623
- Gilligan, T. and K. Kreihbel (1987), "Collective Decision-making and Standing Committees: An

 Informational Role for Restrictive Amendment Procedures." Journal of Law, Economics and

 Organization 3, 287-335
- <u>Dziuda, W. and A. Loeper (2016), "Dynamic Collective Choice with Endogenous Status Quo," Journal of Political Economy 124(4), 1148-1186</u>

c) Legislative Dynamics

Battaglini, M. and S. Coate (2008), "A Dynamic Theory of Public Spending, Taxation and Debt,"

American Economic Review 98, 201-36

Drazen, A. and E. Ilzetzki (2018), "Kosher Pork," working paper

7. Special Interest Politics

a) Redistribution

D, ch. 8

- <u>Dixit, A. and J. Londregan (1996), "The Determinants of Success of Special Interests in Redistributive Politics," Journal of Politics 58, 1132-55</u>
- Myerson, R. (1993), "Incentives to Cultivate Favored Minorities under Alternative Electoral Systems," American Political Science Review, 87, 856-869
- Alessandro Lizzeri and Niccolo Persico (2001), "The Provision of Public Goods under Alternative Electoral Incentives," *American Economic Review* 91, 225-239.
- Tabellini, G. (1991), "The Politics of Intergenerational Redistribution," *Journal of Political Economy* 99, 335-57
- <u>Coate, S. and S. Morris (1995), "On the Form of Transfers to Special Interests," Journal of Political</u>
 <u>Economy 103, 1210-35</u>

b) Resistance to Policy Change

- Fernandez, R. and D. Rodrik (1991), "Resistance to Reform: Status Quo Bias in the Presence of Individual Specific Uncertainty," *American Economic Review* 81, 1146-55
- Jain, S. and S. Mukand (2003), "Redistributive Promises and the Adoption of Economic Reform,"

 American Economic Review 93, 256-64

- Alesina, A. and A. Drazen (1991), "Why are Stabilizations Delayed?," *American Economic Review* 81, 1170-88
- Acemoglu, D. and J. Robinson (2000), "Political Losers as a Barrier to Economic Development,"

 American Economic Review 90, 126-30
- Acemoglu, D. and J. Robinson (2008) "Persistence of Power, Elites and Institutions," American Economic Review 98, 267–93

c) Influence

GH Ch. 3

<u>Drazen, A. and N. Limão (2008), "A Bargaining Theory of Inefficient Redistribution Policies,"</u>
<u>International Economic Review 49, 621-57</u>

GH Ch. 4, 5, 6

8. Campaign Financing

Ansolabehere, S., J. de Figueiredo, J. Snyder, 2003, "Why Is There So Little Money in U. S. Politics?," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17, 105-130

Bouton, L. M. Castanheira, and A. Drazen (2020) "A Theory of Small Campaign Donors," working paper Coate, S. (2004), "Pareto Improving Campaign Finance Policy," *American Economic Review* 94, 628-55 Prat, A. (2002), "Campaign Advertising and Voter Welfare," *Review of Economic Studies* 69, 999–1018

9. Polarization and Ambiguity

- <u>Dixit, A. and J. Weibull (2007), "Political Polarization," Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences</u> 104(18), 7351-7356
- Baliga, S., E. Hanany, and P. Klibanoff (2013), "Polarization and Ambiguity," *American Economic Review* 103(7): 3071–3083
- Jensen, T. (2009), "Projection Effects and Strategic Ambiguity in Electoral Competition," *Public Choice* 141, 213–232
- Tomz, M. and R. Van Houweling (2009), "The Electoral Implications of Candidate Ambiguity," *American Political Science Review* 103(1), 83-98
- Callander, S. and C. Wilson (2008), "Context-Dependent Voting and Political Ambiguity," *Journal of Public Economics* 92, 565–581
- <u>Drazen, A. and Yucel, E. (2020), "Candidate Dislikability, Policy Extremism and Negative Advertising,"</u> working paper

10. Behavioral Political Economy

- Ortoleva, P. and E. Snowberg (2015), "Overconfidence in Political Behavior," *American Economic Review* 105(7), 504-35.: 3071–3083
- Bendor, J., D. Diermeier, D. Siegel & M. Ting (2011), *A Behavioral Theory of Elections*, Princeton:

 Princeton University Press. (BDST), chapter 2, chapter 5
- Rabin, M., and J. Schrag (1999), "First Impressions Matter: A Model of Confirmatory Bias," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 114 (1), 37–82
- Glaeser, E. and G. Ponzetto (2017), "Fundamental Errors in the Voting Booth," NBER Working Paper 23683

11. Populism

- Margalit, Y. (2019), "Economic Insecurity and the Causes of Populism, Reconsidered," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 33(4), 152-170
- Gennaioli, N. and G. Tabellini (2019), "Identity, Beliefs, and Political Conflict," CESifo Working Paper, No. 7707, Center for Economic Studies and Ifo Institute, Munich
- Acemoglu, D., G. Egorov, and K. Sonin (2013), "A Political Theory of Populism," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128(2), 771-805

12. Political Parties

- Krehbiel, K. (1993), "Where's the Party?," British Journal of Political Science, 23(1):235-66.
- Snyder, J. and M. Ting (2002) "An Informational Rationale for Political Parties," *American Journal of Political Science*, 46, 90-110
- <u>Caillaud, B. and J Tirole (2002), "Parties As Political Intermediaries," Quarterly Journal of Economics</u> 117, 1453-89