

Elección Pública III

Departamento de Ciencia Política ITAM, primavera 2019

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Jueves 16:00–19:00, salón 306

Objetivo: Este es último curso de la serie de elección pública del programa de ciencia política. El hilo conductor del primero fue la conducta estratégica y su análisis; del segundo, el proceso de agregación de preferencias de la elección social. El de este curso es la negociación. Buscaremos un mejor entendimiento de cómo influyen las preferencias, las reglas y los partidos en las decisiones colectivas, para lo cual revisaremos modelos canónicos de negociación en democracia. El curso hará hincapié en la conexión fundamental entre teoría y evidencia empírica.

Horas de oficina: Lunes y miércoles de 13:00 a 14:00, o con cita.

Evaluación: Habrá un examen parcial y otro final. En su momento anunciaré el formato. A priori, cada uno contará 40% de la calificación final y el 20% restante valorará la participación en clase y la impresión general que deje en su profesor.

Notas: (1) La página del curso es <https://github.com/emagar/ep3/>. Alberga este temario y las lecturas. (2) El temario sufrirá modificaciones marginales en el transcurso del semestre para quitar, añadir o cambiar la secuencia de algunos temas. Anunciaré esto en clase. (3) Coordinaré reposición de clases faltantes más adelante.

Días de asueto: 2019-02-04, 2019-03-18, 2019-04-15 2019-04-17 y 2019-05-01

Semestre termina: 2019-05-17

1 Los modelos y el método científico

- Clarke y Primo (2007) "Modernizing political science: a model-based approach" 12 pp.
- McCubbins y Thies (1996) "Rationality and the foundations of PPT" 39 pp.
- Borges (1944) "Funes el memorioso" 8 pp.

2 Argumentos y validez deductiva

- Schwartz, The Art of Logical Reasoning (extractos), pp. 3-31, 133-158.

3 Prueba de hipótesis y regresión lineal, un repaso

- Shively (1974) *The Craft of Political Research*,
 - cap. 7 "Introduction to statistics: measuring relationships for interval data" 22 pp.

4 Aplicación de lo anterior

- Bawn y Rosenbluth (2006) "Short versus long coalitions" 15 pp.

Tarea: reconstruya el argumento deductivamente válido del paper (à la Schwartz) y resuma la evidencia que aportan las autoras en sus modelos de regresión (à la Shively).

5 Negociación y coaliciones en regímenes parlamentarios

- Laver y Shepsle (1990) "Coalitions and cabinet government" 18 pp.
- Laver y Shepsle (1996) *Making and Breaking Governments*
 - cap. 1 "Theory, institutions, and government formation" 15 pp.
 - cap. 2 "The social context of government formation" 25 pp.
 - cap. 3 "The government formation process" 16 pp.
 - cap. 4 "Government equilibrium" 29 pp.
 - cap. 5 "Strong parties" 33 pp.
 - cap. 6 "Two cases: Germany 1987; Ireland 1992-3" 22 pp.
 - cap. 7 "Theoretical implications, data, and operationalization" 11 pp.
 - cap. 8 "Exploring the model: a comparative perspective" 16 pp.
 - cap. 9 "A multivariate investigation of portfolio allocation" 19 pp.
- Bawn y Rosenbluth (2006) "Short versus long coalitions" 15 pp.
- Huber (1996) "The vote of confidence in parliamentary democracies" 14 pp.
- Heller (2001) "Making policy stick: why government gets what it wants in multiparty Parliaments" 19 pp.

6 El modelo de política espacial

- Grofman (1989) "The geometry of majority rule"
- Romer y Rosenthal (1979), "The Elusive Median Voter," pp. 143-70. Romer y Rosenthal (1978) "Political resource allocation, controlled agendas, and the status quo" 17 pp.

7 Aplicaciones del modelo de manipulación de la agenda

- Gerber (1996) "Legislative response to the threat of popular initiatives" 30 pp.
- Kiewiet y McCubbins (1988) "Presidential influence on congressional appropriations" 14 pp.
- Dion y Huber (1996) "Procedural Choice and the House Committee on Rules" 28 pp.
- Krehbiel (1998) *Pivotal Politics*
 - cap. 2, "A theory" 29 pp.
- Cameron (2000) *Veto Bargaining*
 - cap. 1, "Divided government and interbranch bargaining" 32 pp.
 - cap. 2, "A natural history of the veto" 35 pp.
 - cap. 4, "Models of veto bargaining" 40 pp.
 - cap. 5, "Explaining the patterns" 29 pp.
 - cap. 6, "Testing the models" 27 pp.
- Magar (2007) "A model of executive vetoes with testable predictions" 27 pp.
- Magar (2003) "The incidence of executive vetoes in comparative perspective: the case of US state governments" 31 pp.

- Alemán y Schwartz (2006) "Presidential Vetoes in Latin American Constitutions" 23 pp.
- Heller y Weldon (2003) "Reglas de votación y la estabilidad en la Cámara de Diputados" 35 pp.
- Tsebelis *Veto Players*.
- Morgenstern y Nacif, algunos capítulos.
- Talbert y Potosky (2002) "Setting the Legislative Agenda: The Dimensional Structure of Bill Cosponsoring and Floor Voting" 27 pp.
- Sinclair on rules (Brady+McCubbins).
- Cox y McCubbins (2005) "Agenda power in the US House of Representatives, 1877-1986" 39 pp.

8 Ideología

- Poole y Rosenthal (1997) *Congress*,
 - cap. 1 "The liberal/conservative structure" 8 pp.
 - cap. 2 "The spatial model and Congressional voting" 16 pp.
 - cap. 7 "Sophisticated voting and agenda manipulation" 20 pp.
- Estévez, Magar y Rosas (2008) "Partisanship in non-partisan electoral agencies and democratic compliance: Evidence from Mexico's IFE" 15 pp.
- Magar, Magaloni y Sánchez (2010) "No self-control: the dimensional structure of the Mexican Supreme Court" 22 pp.

9 Herestética

- Shepsle (2003) "Losers in politics" 9 pp.
- Riker (1986) *The art of political manipulation*
 - cap. 1 "Lincoln at Freeport" 9 pp.
 - cap. 2 "Chauncey DePew and the seventeenth amendment" 8 pp.
 - cap. 7 "Pliny the Younger and parliamentary law" 11 pp.

10 Causalidad y método comparativo

- Holland "Fundamental problem of causal inference"

11 Representación política

- Pitkin

12 Cuotas de género y acción afirmativa

- Leslie Schwindt
- Piscopo
- India

13 La reelección legislativa

- Mayhew
- Cain, Ferejohn y Fiorina, *The personal vote*
 - Introduction 24 pp.
 - cap. 1 Member visibility and member images 23 pp.
 - cap. 5 Unravelling a paradox 14 pp.
- Kerevel (2015) *Pork-Barreling without Reelection? Evidence from the Mexican Congress*
- Carson y Engstrom (2005) *Assessing the Electoral Connection in the Early United States*.
- Magar y Moreno, *Reelección en Coahuila*.
- Cox (1987) *The Efficient Secret*.

14 Dinastías

- Smith (2017) *Dynasties and Democracy*
 - cap. 1 Introduction 27 pp.
 - cap. 2 Japan into comparative perspective 20 pp.
 - cap. 3 Theory of dynastic candidate selection 34 pp.
 - cap. 5 Inherited incumbency advantage 25 pp.

15 Coordinación electoral

- Duverger, Riker, Bogdanor
- Cox, *Making Votes Count*
 - cap. 2 Duverger's propositions 21 pp.
 - cap. 3 On electoral systems 32 pp.
 - cap. 4 Strategic voting in single-member single-ballot systems 29 pp.
 - cap. 5 Strategic voting in multimember systems 24 pp.
 - cap. 7 Some concluding comments on strategic voting 10 pp.
 - cap. 8 Strategic voting, party labels, and entry 24 pp.
 - cap. 9 Rational entry and the conservation of disproportionality: Evidence from Japan 6 pp.

16 Redistribución

- Lujambio y Vives (2008) "From politics to technicalities: Mexican redistricting" 12 pp.
- McDonald (2008) "United States redistricting: comparative look at the 50 states" 18 pp.
- Johnston, Pattie y Rossiter (2008) "Electoral distortion despite redistricting by independent commissions" 20 pp.
- Magar et al *polGeo*
- Engstrom *Partisan gerrymandering*

17 El mercado de los votos

- Díaz Cayeros, Estévez y Magaloni (2009) "The Political Manipulation of Pronasol Transfers" 33 pp.
- Cox y McCubbins (1986) "Electoral politics as a redistributive game" 20 pp.
- Cox (2010) "Swing voters, core voters, and distributive politics" 23 pp.
- Nichter (2008) "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot". American Political Science Review, 102(1):19–31, 2008

18 La teoría de la empresa

- Smith, The Wealth of Nations (extractos), pp. 33-43.
- Coase, "The Nature of the Firm," pp. 72-85.
- Alchian y Demsetz, "Production, Information Costs, and Economic Organization," pp. 111-134.
- Fama, "Agency Problems and the Theory of the Firm," pp. 196-208.

19 Negociación en el Congreso estadounidense

- Mayhew, Congress: The Electoral Connection (1974), pp. 18-29.
- Shepsle y Weingast, "Institutional foundations of committee power" (1987) 20 pp.
- Weingast y Marshall, "The industrial organization of Congress; or why legislatures, like firms, are not organized as markets" (1988), 31 pp.
- Shepsle y Weingast, "Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions," pp. 5-36.
- Hammond y Miller (1987) "The core of the constitution"
- Baron y Ferejohn (1989) "Bargaining in legislatures" 26 pp.
- Fiorina, "The Decline of Collective Responsibility in American Politics," pp. 25-44.

20 Los partidos como agentes de gobierno

- Krehbiel (1993) "Where's the party"
- Cox y McCubbins (1993) Legislative Leviathan,
 - Introduction, 15 pp.
 - cap. 3 "Subgovernments and the representativeness of committees" 21 pp.
 - cap. 5 "A theory of legislative parties" 30 pp.
 - cap. 8 "Contingents and parties" 42 pp.
- Cox y McCubbins (1995) "Bonding, structure, and the stability of parties" 17 pp.
- Cox y Magar (1999) "How Much is Majority Status in US Congress Worth?" 12 pp.
- Cox (1987) The Efficient Secret.
- DenHartog and Monroe (2010) Parties in the Senate.
- Jones y Hwang (2005) "Party Government in Presidential Democracies: Extending Cartel Theory beyond the U.S. Congress" 16 pp.

21 La delegación: piedra nodal del gobierno y de la democracia

- Kiewiet y McCubbins (1991) *The Logic of Delegation*,
 - cap. 2 "Delegation and agency problems" 17 pp.
- McCubbins y Schwartz (1984) "Congressional oversight overlooked: police patrols vs. fire alarms" 15 pp.
- Raustiala (2004) "Police patrols and fire alarms in the NAAEC" 25 pp.

22 Proceso legislativo

- Power et al Brasil.
- Magar, Urgencia en Chile
- Magar, Urgencia en Brasil
- Cox y Morgenstern, Proactive reactive
- Magar y Moraes (2008) "Facciones y legislación en Uruguay".
- Palanza y Sin, veto.

23 Decretos

- O'Donnell Delegative Democracy
- Carey y Shugart
- Amorim Neto en Brasil