

ITAM  
Departamento de Ciencia Política

## Elección Pública II

Otoño 2024  
Lunes y Miércoles 10:00-11:30  
Río Hondo, Salón 212

Adrián Lucardi  
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Contacto: Lunes y Miércoles 12:00-13:00 o previa cita

¿Por qué muchas decisiones colectivas son (in)eficientes y/o favorecen a algunos a expensas de otros? ¿De dónde viene la desigualdad en la distribución del poder político? ¿En qué medida la escasez 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 percepciones y expectativas divergentes, o simplemente buenas razones para desconfiar de las intenciones o capacidades 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 æconomicus*, y cómo ello afecta la interpretación de los modelos que veremos en el resto de la clase. Luego estudiaremos cómo las asimetrías de información moldean la representación política y el funcionamiento de las instituciones jerárquicas, y cómo los medios de comunicación afectan el comportamiento de los votantes y los políticos. En tercer lugar discutiremos el rol de la coordinación de expectativas en fenómenos como las campañas electorales, la adopción y eficacia de normas (in)formales, las protestas ciudadanas, la democracia, 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 (24%).** Debes leer la bibliografía obligatoria y participar activamente en las discusiones en clase.
- **Reseña (1): Película (24%).** A más tardar el miércoles 23 de octubre a las 10:00hs deberás entregar un ensayo de hasta 5 páginas, a doble espacio, explicando cómo

(algunos de) los temas vistos en el curso aparecen reflejados en la película *El Gentil Arte de la Extorsión Japonesa*.

- **Reseña (II): Libro (42%).** Debes escribir una reseña discutiendo la conexión entre uno de los libros listados en la siguiente sección y (alguno de) los temas vistos en el curso. La calificación del trabajo final tendrá tres componentes:
  - *Selección.* Elegir el libro a reseñar antes del miércoles 28 de agosto a las 23:00hs contará el 1% de la calificación final.
  - *Síntesis del argumento.* A más tardar el lunes 11 de noviembre a las 10:00hs deberás entregar un texto de 3-4 páginas, a doble espacio, sintetizando *con tus propias palabras* el argumento del libro elegido. El texto será calificado como (i) bueno (4% de la calificación final); (ii) regular (2%); ó (iii) no entregado (0%).
  - *Reseña.* En fecha a definir 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 37% de la calificación final.
- **Examen final (10%).** En fecha y hora a definir por el ITAM tendrá lugar el examen final presencial.

## Lecturas

Para la reseña final debes elegir alguno de los siguientes libros:

- Eugen Weber. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914.* Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, 1976.
- François-Xavier Guerra. *México: Del Antiguo Régimen a la Revolución. 2 vols.* Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 2016 [1985]. Solo tienes que leer los capítulos I, III.1, IV.2, V-VI y IX-XI.
- 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].)
- Javier Cercas. *Anatomía de un Instante.* Mondadori, Madrid, 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].)
- 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].)

- Michael J. Klarman. *The Framers' Coup: The Making of the United States Constitution*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2016.

Todas las lecturas se encuentran disponibles en [Google Drive](#), con la única excepción del libro de Guerra, que se consigue en librerías. 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. Los textos que entregues deben reflejar tu entendimiento, perspectiva y análisis, y no los de otras inteligencias, sean inanimadas o humanas. 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 (Agosto/12). Introducción

### Sesión 2 (Agosto/14). Algunos enigmas

- (1) 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).
- (2) James Madison, *Federalist #51* (varias ediciones).
- (3) \*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).

## I. Los Jugadores Realmente Existentes

### Sesión 3 (Agosto/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) 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) 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.
- (3) \*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.
- (4) Emily Prinsloo, Kate Barasz, Leslie K. John, and Michael I. Norton. Opportunity Neglect: An Aversion to Low-Probability Gains. *Psychological Science*, 33(11):1857–1866, 2022.

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

- (1) Joseph Alois Schumpeter. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. Routledge, London, 1942 [2003], sec. XXI.III (“Human Nature in Politics”).
- (2) \*John Marshall. Tuning In, Voting Out: News Consumption Cycles, Homicides, and Electoral Accountability in Mexico. Unpublished manuscript, 2022.

## 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) \*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.
- (3) Nicolás Ajzenman and Ruben Durante. Saliency and Accountability: School Infrastructure and Last-Minute Electoral Punishment. *Economic Journal*, 133(649):460–476, 2023.
- (4) Christopher H. Achen and Larry M. Bartels. *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2016, cap. 6.
- (5) \*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 (Agosto/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) \*Isabelle Brocas and Juan D. Carrillo. Steps of Reasoning in Children and Adolescents. *Journal of Political Economy*, 129(7):2067–2111, 2021.
- (2) \*Helios Herrera, Guillermo Ordoñez, and Christoph Trebesch. Political Booms, Financial Crises. *Journal of Political Economy*, 128(2):507–543, 2020.
- (3) \*Rupert Sausgruber and Jean-Robert Tyran. Testing the Mill Hypothesis of Fiscal Illusion. *Public Choice*, 122(1):39–68, 2005.
- (4) \*Clayton Nall, Christopher S. Elmendorf, and Stan Oklobdzija. Folk Economics and the Persistence of Political Opposition to New Housing. SSRN Scholarly Paper 4266459, Rochester, NY, 2022.
- (5) \*Claudio Deiana, Vikram Maheshri, and Giovanni Mastrobuoni. Migrants at Sea: Unintended Consequences of Search and Rescue Operations. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 16(2):335–365, 2024.

### Sesión 6 (Agosto/28). Errores cognitivos de las elites

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

- (1) \*Douglas Almond and Xinming Du. Later Bedtimes Predict President Trump’s Performance. *Economics Letters*, 197, 2020.
- (2) Scott Sumner, “[Let’s Not Emphasize Behavioral Economics](#)”, *Econlib*, 28-DIC-2018.

### Lecturas optativas

- (1) 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.
- (2) Ryan D. Enos and Eitan D. Hersh. Campaign Perceptions of Electoral Closeness: Uncertainty, Fear and Over-Confidence. *British Journal of Political Science*, 47(3):501–519, 2017.
- (3) \*David E. Broockman and Christopher Skovron. Bias in Perceptions of Public Opinion among Political Elites. *American Political Science Review*, 112(3):542–563, 2018.
- (4) \*Adam Thal. Do Political Elites Have Accurate Perceptions of Social Conditions? *British Journal of Political Science*, 53(4):1189–1207, 2023.
- (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.

## II. Asimetrías de Información

### Sesión 7 (Septiembre/2). 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.
- (4) \*Jonathan Bendor and Piotr Swistak. On Accountability and Hierarchy. *American Political Science Review*, forthcoming.

### Sesión 8 (Septiembre/4). “Gaming the system”

- (1) Anuschka de Rohan. Why Dolphins Are Deep Thinkers. *The Guardian*, July 2003.
- (2) Wikipedia, “[Goodhart’s Law](#)”.
- (3) Tim Harford. *The Data Detective: Ten Easy Rules to Make Sense of Statistics*. Riverhead Books, New York, 2021, cap. 2. Únicamente pp. 55-8 (la parte de la “tiranía de las métricas”).
- (4) \*Daron Acemoglu, Leopoldo Fergusson, James Robinson, Dario Romero, and Juan F. Vargas. The Perils of High-Powered Incentives: Evidence from Colombia’s False Positives. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 12(3):1–43, 2020.

### Lecturas optativas

- (1) \*Anandi Mani and Sharun Mukand. Democracy, Visibility and Public Good Provision. *Journal of Development Economics*, 83(2):506–529, 2007.
- (2) \*Tim Groseclose and Jeffrey Milyo. Sincere Versus Sophisticated Voting in Congress: Theory and Evidence. *The Journal of Politics*, 72(1):60–73, 2010.
- (3) \*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.
- (4) \*Andrew C. Baker, David F. Larcker, Charles G. McClure, Durgesh Saraph, and Edward M. Watts. Diversity Washing. *Journal of Accounting Research*, forthcoming.

### Sesión 9 (Septiembre/9). ¿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) Burton A. Abrams. How Richard Nixon Pressured Arthur Burns: Evidence from the Nixon Tapes. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 20(4):177–188, 2006.

- (3) \*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.
- (4) \*Daniela Campello and Cesar Zucco. Presidential Success and the World Economy. *The Journal of Politics*, 78(2):589–602, 2016.
- (5) 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.
- (6) \*Eoin F. McGuirk, Nathaniel Hilger, and Nicholas Miller. No Kin in the Game: Moral Hazard and War in the US Congress. *Journal of Political Economy*, 131(9):2370–2401, 2023.

### **Sesión 10 (Septiembre/11). Información y comportamiento electoral**

- (1) Florian Foos and Daniel Bischof. Tabloid Media Campaigns and Public Opinion: Quasi-Experimental Evidence on Euroscepticism in England. *American Political Science Review*, 116(1):19–37, 2022.
- (2) \*Alexsandros Cavgias, Raphael Corbi, Luis Meloni, and Lucas M. Novaes. Media Manipulation in Young Democracies: Evidence From the 1989 Brazilian Presidential Election. *Comparative Political Studies*, 57(2):221–253, 2024.

#### Lecturas optativas

- (1) \*Alan S. Gerber, Dean Karlan, and Daniel Bergan. Does the Media Matter? A Field Experiment Measuring the Effect of Newspapers on Voting Behavior and Political Opinions. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 1(2):35–52, 2009.
- (2) \*Jonathan McDonald Ladd and Gabriel S. Lenz. Exploiting a Rare Communication Shift to Document the Persuasive Power of the News Media. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(2):394–410, 2009.
- (3) \*Gregory J. Martin and Ali Yurukoglu. Bias in Cable News: Persuasion and Polarization. *American Economic Review*, 107(9):2565–2599, 2017.
- (4) B. K. Song. Television and Economic Voting in US Presidential Elections. *British Journal of Political Science*, 52(4):1622–1634, 2022.

### **Septiembre/16. Grito de Dolores**

No hay clase.

### **Sesión 11 (Septiembre/18). Los medios como fuente de información**

- (1) \*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).

#### Lecturas optativas

- (1) \*Timothy Besley and Robin Burgess. The Political Economy of Government Responsiveness: Theory and Evidence from India. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 117(4):1415–1451, 2002.
- (2) \*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.
- (3) \*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.
- (4) \*Milena Djourelouva and Ruben Durante. Media Attention and Strategic Timing in Politics: Evidence from U.S. Presidential Executive Orders. *American Journal of Political Science*, 66(4):813–834, 2022.
- (5) \*Adam Scharpf, Christian Gläsel, and Pearce Edwards. International Sports Events and Repression in Autocracies: Evidence from the 1978 FIFA World Cup. *American Political Science Review*, 117(3):909–926, 2023.

#### Sesión 12 (Septiembre/23). Los medios como tercer actor: Modelos de negocio

- (1) \*Milena Djourelouva, Ruben Durante, and Gregory J Martin. The Impact of Online Competition on Local Newspapers: Evidence from the Introduction of Craigslist. *The Review of Economic Studies*, forthcoming.

#### Lecturas optativas

- (1) John McMillan and Pablo Zoido. How to Subvert Democracy: Montesinos in Peru. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 18(4):69–92, 2004.
- (2) \*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.
- (3) \*Maria Petrova. Newspapers and Parties: How Advertising Revenues Created an Independent Press. *American Political Science Review*, 105(4):790–808, 2011.
- (4) \*Ángela Fonseca Galvis, James M. Snyder, and B. K. Song. Newspaper Market Structure and Behavior: Partisan Coverage of Political Scandals in the United States from 1870 to 1910. *The Journal of Politics*, 78(2):368–381, 2016.
- (5) \*Mark Andreas Kayser and Michael Peress. Does the Media Cover the Economy Accurately? An Analysis of Sixteen Developed Democracies. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 16(1):1–33, 2021.

#### Sesión 13 (Septiembre/25). Jugando en la oficina cuando el principal no está

- (1) \*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.



## Lecturas optativas

- (1) \*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.
- (2) Abhijit V. Banerjee, Esther Duflo, and Rachel Glennerster. Putting a Band-Aid on a Corpse: Incentives for Nurses in the Indian Public Health Care System. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 6(2-3):487–500, 2008.
- (3) \*Sarah F. Anzia. Election Timing and the Electoral Influence of Interest Groups. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(2):412–427, 2011.
- (4) Martin J. Williams. The Political Economy of Unfinished Development Projects: Corruption, Clientelism, or Collective Choice? *American Political Science Review*, 111(4):705–723, 2017.
- (5) \*Saad Gulzar and Benjamin J. Pasquale. Politicians, Bureaucrats, and Development: Evidence from India. *American Political Science Review*, 111(1):162–183, 2017.

## Sesión 14 (Septiembre/30). Incentivando subordinados

- (1) Albert Breton and Ronald Wintrobe. The Bureaucracy of Murder Revisited. *Journal of Political Economy*, 94(5):905–926, 1986.
- (2) Alexander Tabarrok, “[The us Government is Digging in the Couch to Find Change to Buy Drugs](#)”, *Marginal Revolution*, 06-MAR-2022.
- (3) David Bandurski, “[The Dawn of the Little Red Phone](#)”, *China Media Project*, 13-FEB-2019.
- (4) Max Seddon, Christopher Miller y Felicia Schwartz, “[How Putin Blundered into Ukraine – Then Doubled Down](#)”, *Financial Times*, 23-FEB-2023.

## Lecturas optativas

- (1) Friedrich A. Hayek. *The Road to Serfdom. The Definitive Edition*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944, cap. 10.
- (2) \*Jieun Kim. At Your Own Risk: A Model of Delegation with Ambiguous Guidelines. *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy*, 2(4):483–508, 2022.
- (3) \*Philipp Ager, Leonardo Bursztyn, Lukas Leucht, and Hans-Joachim Voth. Killer Incentives: Rivalry, Performance and Risk-Taking among German Fighter Pilots, 1939–45. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 89(5):2257–2292, 2022.
- (4) Jessica A. J. Rich. Outsourcing Bureaucracy to Evade Accountability: How Public Servants Build Shadow State Capacity. *American Political Science Review*, 117(3):835–850, 2023.
- (5) \*Georgy Egorov and Konstantin Sonin. Why Did Putin Invade Ukraine? A Theory of Degenerate Autocracy, 2023.

### Sesión 15 (Octubre/2). 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. 2 (hojear), 3 y 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 Querubín. 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 16 (Octubre/7). 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) Alexander Tabarrok, “[World’s First Dominant Assurance Contract Platform](#)”, *Marginal Revolution*, 31-ENE-2024.

### Sesión 17 (Octubre/9). 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) David D. Laitin. The Tower of Babel as a Coordination Game: Political Linguistics in Ghana. *American Political Science Review*, 88(3):622–634, 1994.
- (2) \*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.
- (3) \*David Schindler and Mark Westcott. Shocking Racial Attitudes: Black G.I.s in Europe. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 88(1):489–520, 2021.

### Sesión 18 (Octubre/14). 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).

#### 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) Timur Kuran. *Private Truths, Public Lies: The Social Consequences of Preference Falsification*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1997.
- (3) \*Samuel Bowles, Glenn C. Loury, and Rajiv Sethi. Group Inequality. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 12(1):129–152, 2014.
- (4) \*Suresh Naidu, Sung-Ha Hwang, and Samuel Bowles. The Evolution of Egalitarian Sociolinguistic Conventions. *American Economic Review*, 107(5):572–577, 2017.
- (5) Adam Baird. Becoming the ‘Baddest’: Masculine Trajectories of Gang Violence in Medellín. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 50(1):183–210, 2018.

### Sesión 19 (Octubre/16). Principal-Agente × Coordinación = Corrección Política

- (1) Alexander Tabarrok, “[Too much Transparency Makes the World More Opaque](#)”, *Marginal Revolution*, 10-ENE-2020.
- (2) Sandy Maguire, “[Why Is the Web So Monotonous? Google](#)”, *Reasonably Polymorphic*, 04-AGO-2022.
- (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.

- (4) Ruxandra Teslo, “Intellectual Courage as the Scarcest Resource”, *Ruxandra’s Substack*, 08-JUL-2024.

#### 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) George Orwell. Politics and the English Language. *Horizon*, 13(76):252–265, 1946.
- (4) \*Susan D. Hyde. Catch Us If You Can: Election Monitoring and International Norm Diffusion. *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(2):356–369, 2011.
- (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.
- (6) \*Yuen Ho and Yihing Huang. Breaking the Spiral of Silence. Unpublished manuscript, 2024.

#### Sesión 20 (Octubre/21). El “gran coordinador”

- (1) 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) Timur Kuran. *Private Truths, Public Lies: The Social Consequences of Preference Falsification*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1997, cap. 6.
- (4) Kaushik Basu. *The Republic of Beliefs: A New Approach to Law and Economics*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2018, caps. 2 y 5.
- (5) \*Mehdi Shadmehr, Sepehr Shahshahani, and Charles Cameron. Coordination and Innovation in Judiciaries: Correct Law versus Consistent Law. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 17(1):61–89, 2022.

#### Sesión 21 (Octubre/23). Custodiando a los custodios

**Reseña de *El Gentil Arte de la Extorsión Japonesa*. 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) \*Carles Boix and Milan W. Svobik. The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian Government: Institutions, Commitment, and Power-Sharing in Dictatorships. *The Journal of Politics*, 75(2):300–316, 2013.
- (3) Rory Truex. Focal Points, Dissident Calendars, and Preemptive Repression. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 63(4):1032–1052, 2019.
- (4) 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).

#### Sesión 22 (Octubre/28). Cómo (no) funciona la democracia

- (1) Adam Przeworski. Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense. In Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón, editors, *Democracy's Value*, pages 23–55. Cambridge University Press, New York, 1999.
- (2) Joshua A. Tucker. Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(3):535–551, 2007.

#### Lecturas optativas

- (1) Randall L. Calvert. Leadership and Its Basis in Problems of Social Coordination. *International Political Science Review*, 13(1):7–24, 1992.
- (2) \*James D. Fearon. Self-Enforcing Democracy. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 126(4):1661–1708, 2011.
- (3) \*Adam Przeworski, Gonzalo Rivero, and Tianyang Xi. Elections as a Conflict Processing Mechanism. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 39:235–248, 2015.
- (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 23 (Octubre/30). Desobediencia masiva

- (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.
- (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).

#### Lecturas optativas

- (1) Michael Suk-Young Chwe. *Rational Ritual. Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2001, cap. 2.
- (2) Alberto Simpser. *Why Governments and Parties Manipulate Elections: Theory, Practice, and Implications*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013, caps. 4\* y 6.

- (3) \*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.
- (4) \*Ashlea Rundlett and Milan W. Svobik. Deliver the Vote! Micromotives and Macrobehavior in Electoral Fraud. *American Political Science Review*, 110(1):180–197, 2016.

#### iv. Problemas de Credibilidad

##### Sesión 24 (Noviembre/4). 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.

##### Sesión 25 (Noviembre/6). Principal-Agente × Credibilidad (τ): Por qué algunos problemas persistentes persisten

- (1) \*Robert Powell. Why Some Persistent Problems Persist. *American Political Science Review*, 113(4):980–996, 2019 (saltearse pp. 984-6).
- (2) \*Daniela Donno, Sara Fox, and Joshua Kaasik. International Incentives for Women’s Rights in Dictatorships. *Comparative Political Studies*, 55(3):451–492, 2022.

##### Lecturas optativas

- (1) \*Raghuram G. Rajan. Rent Preservation and the Persistence of Underdevelopment. *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, 1(1):178–218, 2009.
- (2) Sarah Sunn Bush and Pär Zetterberg. Gender Quotas and International Reputation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65(2):326–341, 2021.
- (3) Mirko Draca, Jason Garred, Leanne Stickland, and Nele Warrinnier. On Target? Sanctions and the Economic Interests of Elite Policymakers in Iran. *The Economic Journal*, 133(649):159–200, 2023.

## Sesión 26 (Noviembre/11). Abriendo la Ventana de Oportunidad

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

- (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) Beatriz Magaloni. The Game of Electoral Fraud and the Ousting of Authoritarian Rule. *American Journal of Political Science*, 54(3):751–765, 2010.
- (3) Sebastián Garrido de Sierra. *La Reforma Definitiva: Un Análisis de Por Qué y Cómo la Reforma Electoral de 1996 Desencadenó la Caída del Régimen Priísta*. CIDE, CDMX, 2019, caps. III-IV.

## Sesión 27 (Noviembre/13). El *trade-off* entre competencia y lealtad (I): Partidos políticos

- (1) \*James R Hollyer, Marko Klačnja, and Rocío Titiunik. Parties as Disciplinarians: Charisma and Commitment Problems in Programmatic Campaigning. *American Journal of Political Science*, 66(1):75–92, 2022.

### 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) Noam Lupu. Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America. *World Politics*, 66(4):561–602, 2014.
- (3) \*Alberto Díaz-Cayeros. *Federalism, Fiscal Authority, and Centralization in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 35-97.
- (4) Ora John Reuter. *The Origins of Dominant Parties: Building Authoritarian Institutions in Post-Soviet Russia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2017, caps. 2 y 5.
- (5) Pablo Balán, Juan Dodyk, and Ignacio Puente. The Political Behavior of Family Firms: Evidence from Brazil. *World Development*, 151, 2022.
- (6) \*Sergio J. Ascencio. Retaining Political Talent: A Candidate-Centered Theory of Primary Adoption. *American Journal of Political Science*, 68(3):1152–1167, 2024.

## Noviembre/18. Día de la Revolución

No hay clase.

**Sesión 28 (Noviembre/20). Principal-Agente × Credibilidad (II): El *trade-off* entre competencia y lealtad (II): Eligiendo sucesores y subordinados**

- (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 Gläsel. 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. Svobik. Power Sharing and Leadership Dynamics in Authoritarian Regimes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(2):477–494, 2009.
- (2) \*Carles Boix and Milan W. Svobik. The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian Government: Institutions, Commitment, and Power-Sharing in Dictatorships. *The Journal of Politics*, 75(2):300–316, 2013.
- (3) Holger Albrecht and Dorothy Ohl. Exit, Resistance, Loyalty: Military Behavior during Unrest in Authoritarian Regimes. *Perspectives on Politics*, 14(1):38–52, 2016.
- (4) \*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.
- (5) Josef Woldense. The Ruler’s Game of Musical Chairs: Shuffling during the Reign of Ethiopia’s Last Emperor. *Social Networks*, 52:154–166, 2018.

**Sesión 29 (Noviembre/25). La elección pública del *Dedazo* y la transición democrática en México**

- (1) Joy Langston. The Birth and Transformation of the *Dedazo* in Mexico. In Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky, editors, *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*, pages 143–159. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD, 2006.
- (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.

**Fecha a definir. Trabajo final**

Ensayo final: subir a Canvas antes de las 10:00.