

## VITA

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**December 12, 2014**

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### Professional Experience:

2011- present	BB&T Professor of Economics, West Virginia University.
2013 - Present	Co-Editor <i>Constitutional Political Economy</i>
2011 - Present	Adjunct Scholar, Center for Study of Public Choice
1995 - 2011	Professor of Economics, George Mason University (Affiliated Professor of Economics 2011-12).
1988 - 2011	Senior Research Associate, Center for Study of Public Choice.
2011	Visiting Professor of Economics, Center for Interdisciplinary Economics, University of Muenster, Muenster, Germany (May-July).
2010	Visiting Fellow, Max Planck Institute, Evolutionary Economics, Jena, Germany (July).
2010	Visiting Professor, Economics, Bar Ilan University, Tel Aviv, Israel (May - June).
2008	Visiting Fellow, Amsterdam Center for Law and Economics, University of Amsterdam (May - June).
2006 - 2007	Fulbright Distinguished Professor of American Studies, USD, Odense, Denmark.
2005, 2006	Adam Smith Professor of Economics and Philosophy, Universitet Bayreuth, Germany (May - July).
2004 - 2006	Member Advisory Board, SNS, Stockholm, Sweden.
2004	Visiting Professor, Faculty of Law (Economia), La Sapienza, The University of Rome (April-May).
2004	Visiting Research Fellow, Politics, Nuffield College, Oxford University (January-February).
2003 - 2004	Visiting Professor of Public Policy, Universiteit of Leiden, Leiden, the Netherlands (August-June).
1999 - 2005	Senior Research Associate, SNS, Stockholm, Sweden.
1999 - 2002	<b>General Director</b> , Center for Study of Public Choice.

- 2000 Visiting Senior Research Associate, SNS, (Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle, Center for Business and Policy Studies) Stockholm, Sweden (August).
- 1998 Visiting Professor of Economics, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain (June-July).
- 1995 Visiting Professor of Economics, Stockholm School of Economics, Stockholm, Sweden (May-June).
- 1993 Director's Research Fellow, Research School for Social Science, Australian National University, Canberra Australia (May- July).
- 1990-1995 Senior Research Associate, International Institute, George Mason University.
- 1988-1995 Associate Professor of Economics, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA
- 1986-1988 Associate Professor of Economics, Clarkson University, Potsdam, NY.
- 1986-1987 Bradley Postdoctoral Fellow and Research Associate, Center for Study of Public Choice, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA (August-June).
- 1980-1986 Assistant Professor of Economics, Clarkson University, Potsdam, NY.
- 1979-1980 Post Doctoral Fellow and Adjunct Assistant Professor, New York University.
- 1978-1979 Adjunct Assistant Professor of Economics, Albion College, Albion, MI.
- 1977-1978 Instructor of Economics, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA

### **Education:**

Ph. D. 1978 (Economics) Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

M. A. 1976 (Economics) Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

B. A. 1974 (Economics) Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

### **Academic Honors and Awards**

Fulbright Distinguished Professor of American Studies, Syddansk U, Odense Denmark (2006-07).

Adam Smith Visiting Professor of Economics and Philosophy, Universitet Bayreuth (April-July 2005 and 2006).

Visiting Residential Fellow Nuffield College, Oxford University (Jan-February 2004).

Elected Honorary Member of the Executive Board of the Japanese Public Choice Society (July 2003).

Director's Research Fellowship, Research School for Social Sciences, Australian National University, (May-August 1993).

Bradley Post Doctoral Fellow, Center for Study of Public Choice, George Mason University (1986-87).

Post Doctoral Fellow in Austrian Economics, New York University (1979-80).

E B. Earhart Foundation Fellowship, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (1977-1978).

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute Medal for Mathematics and Science (1970).

## Books and Edited Volumes

- (1) *A Companion to the Rent-Seeking Literature*. (Edited, with A. Hillman) London: Edward Elgar Press. (forthcoming 2015).
- (2) *Perfecting Parliament: Liberalism, Constitutional Reform, and the Emergence of Western Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN-13: 9780521151696 and 9780521764605. 672 pages (2011).
- (3) To be translated into Japanese by H. Kato and colleagues, Tokyo: Keiso Shobo (forthcoming 2014).
- (4) *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research*. Edited with introduction by R. D. Congleton, A. L Hillman and K. Konrad. (Two Volumes) Heidelberg: Springer. ISBN 978-3-540-79181-2 and -79185-0, 1509 pages (2008).
- (5) *Democratic Constitutional Design and Public Policy: Analysis and Evidence*. Edited with introduction by R. D. Congleton and B. Swedenborg. Cambridge Mass: MIT Press. ISBN 0-262-03349-6, 373 pages (2006).
- (6) *Improving Democracy through Constitutional Reform: Some Swedish Lessons*. Boston, Dordrecht, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers. ISBN 1402074328, 256 pages (2003).
- (7) *Att Förbättra Demokratin: En Politisk-Ekonomisk Analys av Sveriges Grundlag* (In Swedish). Stockholm: SNS Förlag, ISBN 91 7150-842-2, 221 pages (2002).
- (8) *Politics by Principle, Not Interest: Towards Nondiscriminatory Democracy* (with James M. Buchanan) New York, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 170 pages (1998).
- (9) Translated into Chinese by the China Social Sciences Documentation Publishing House via agreement with Cambridge University Press. Yuan Ze Zheng Zhi, Er Fei Li Yi Zheng Zhi: Tong Xiang Fei Qi Shi Xing Min Shu. Beijing: She Hui Ke Xue Wen Xian Chu Ban She, ISBN 7801901630, 257 pages (2004).
- (10) *The Political Economy of Environmental Protection: Analysis and Evidence*. Edited with introduction by R. D. Congleton. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press. 289 pages (1996).
- (11) *The Economic Analysis of Rent Seeking*. (with R. D. Tollison) Edited, with introduction by R. D. Congleton and R. D. Tollison. London: Edward Elgar Press. 397 pages (1995).
- (12) A subset has been translated into Japanese by the Japanese Public Choice Society, *Economics of Rent Seeking*. (H. Kato), Tokyo: Kieso Sobo, ISBN4 326-50231-2. 264 pages. (2002)

## Doctoral Dissertation

- (13) "The Role of Information in Choice," Virginia Polytechnic University and State University (1978, directed by Professor James M. Buchanan).

## Articles Published in Academic Journals and Books (by Area of Research)

### Political Economy of Public Policy

- (14) "Coercion, Taxation, and Voluntary Association," in *Coercion and Social Welfare in Public Finance, Economic and Political Perspectives* J. Martinez-Vazquez and S. Winner (eds.) Cambridge University Press (2014): 91-116.
- (15) "Is It All about Competence? The Human Capital of U.S. Presidents and Economic Performance," *Constitutional Political Economy* 24 (2013): 108-24.
- (16) "Public Choice and the Modern Welfare State," (with A. Batinti, F. Bose, Y. Kim, and R. Pietrantonio) in in Shughart, W. F., L. Razzolini and M. Reksulak (Eds) *Elgar Companion to Public Choice*, Edward Elgar Publishers, Ltd. (2013, Ch. 22): 362-381.
- (17) "On the Political Economy and Limits of Crisis Insurance: the Case of the 2008–11 Bailouts." *Public Choice* 150 (2012): 399-423 (lead article).
- (18) Rent Extraction, Liberalism, and Economic Development," *Institutions and National Competitiveness*. (Y. B. Choi, Ed.) London: Routledge (2011, Ch. 4).
- (19) "The Rise of the Modern Welfare State, Ideology, Institutions, and Income Security: Analysis and Evidence" (with Feler Bose) *Public Choice* 144 (2010): 535-55.
- (20) "The Political Economy of the Financial Crisis of 2008," *Lessons from the Financial Crisis* (R. W. Kolb, Ed.) New York: Wiley and Sons Inc. (2010, pp. 23-9).
- (21) "On the Political Economy of the Financial Crisis and Bailout of 2008-09," *Public Choice* 140 (2009): 287-317.
- (22) "Efficient Mercantilism? Revenue-Maximizing Monopolization Policies as Ramsey Taxation," (with Sanghack Lee) *European Journal of Political Economy* 25 (2009): 102-14.
- (23) "On the Feasibility of a Liberal Welfare State: Agency and Exit Costs in Income Security Clubs," *Constitutional Political Economy* 18 (2007): 145-159. (Lead Article)
- (24) "International Public Goods and Agency Problems in Treaty Organizations," *Review of International Organizations* 1 (2006): 319-336. (Lead Article)
- (25) "The Story of Katrina: New Orleans and the Political Economy of Disaster," *Public Choice* 127 (2006): 5-30 (Lead Article).
- (26) "The Median Voter Model," *The Encyclopedia of Public Choice*, C. K. Rowley and F. Schneider, Eds, Kluwer Academic Press (2003): 382-386.
- (27) "Environmental Politics and Economic Development," *The Encyclopedia of Public Choice*, C. K. Rowley and F. Schneider, Eds, Kluwer Academic Press (2003): 224-228.
- (28) "Agency Problems and the Allocation of International Environmental Grants: The Return to Rio," *Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche* 20 (2002):125-146. (printed in late 2003).
- (29) "Tax-Base Enforcement and Leviathan: On the Allocation of Tax Enforcement Effort," *Public Finance Review* 30 (2002): 456-476.
- (30) "Governing the Global Environmental Commons: The Political Economy of International Environmental Treaties and Institutions," in Schulze, G. G. and Ursprung, H. W. Eds. *Globalization and the Environment*. New York: Oxford University Press (2001): 241-263.

- (31) "The Politics of Government Growth," in Shughart, W. F. and Razzolini L. *Elgar Companion to Public Choice*, Edward Elgar Publishers, Ltd. (2001): 457-493.
- (32) "Políticas y Decisiones Públicas Medioambientales", with J. Bacaria, in Galindo, M. A. Ed. *Economía y Medioambiente*, Madrid: Ed. Trotta (1999, in Spanish): 79-111.
- (33) "An Overview of the Political Economy of Environmental Protection," in *The Political Economy of Environmental Protection: Analysis and Evidence*. University of Michigan Press (1996): 3-30.
- (34) "On the Political Economy of State Highway Expenditures: Some Evidence of the Relative Performance of Alternative Public Choice Models," (with R. Bennett) *Public Choice* 84 (1995): 1-24. (Lead Article)
- (35) "The Economic Analysis of Rent Seeking," (with R. D. Tollison) in *The Economic Analysis of Rent-Seeking*. Edward Elgar Publishers Ltd. (1995): xi-xix.
- (36) "The Incumbency Dilemma and Rent Extraction by Legislators," (with J. M. Buchanan) *Public Choice* 79 (1994): 47-60.
- (37) "The Politics of Government Debt," *Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche* (1992, no.1): 17-34.
- (38) "Political Institutions and Pollution Control," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 74 (August, 1992): 412-421.
- (39) Reprinted in: *Environmental Planning*. Van Den Bergh, J, K. Button, and P. Nijkamp Eds. Elgar Reference Collection. *Classics in Planning* v 8. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing (2007):555-64.
- (40) Reprinted in: *The Political Economy of Environmental Regulation*. R. N. Stavins Ed. *The International Library of Critical Writings in Economics*, Edward Elgar (2004): 48-57.
- (41) Reprinted in: *The Economics of International Environmental Agreements*. A. A. Batabyal, Ed. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Co. (2000): 147-156.
- (42) Reprinted in: *The Political Economy of Environmental Protection: Analysis and Evidence*. R. D. Congleton, Ed. Ann Arbor Michigan: University of Michigan Press (1996): 273-289.
- (43) "Towards a First Best Conservation Regulation: On the Political Economy of Demand Side Management," *Public Choice Studies (in Japanese)* 23:(1994): 35-48.
- (44) "The Growth of Social Security Expenditures, Electoral Push or Political Pull?" (with W. Shughart) *Economic Inquiry* 28 (January, 1990): 109-132.
- (45) "Evaluating Rent-Seeking Losses," *Public Choice* 56 (1988): 181-184.
- (46) Reprinted in: *The Economic Analysis of Rent Seeking*. R. D. Tollison and Congleton R. D. Eds. London: Edward Elgar Press (1995):365-368.
- (47) "Economic Conditions and National Elections, Post-Sample Forecasts of the Kramer Equations," (with H. S. Atesoglu) *American Political Science Review* 76 (1982): 873-875.
- (48) "A Model of Asymmetric Bureaucratic Inertia," *Public Choice* 39 (1982): 421-425.
- (49) "The Price Variability of Onions," *Atlantic Journal of Economics* 9 (1981): 86-87.
- (50) "Proportional and Progressive Income Taxation with Utility Maximizing Governments," (with J. Buchanan) *Public Choice* 34 (1979): 217-230.
- (51) Reprinted in: *Explorations into Constitutional Economics*, Tollison, R. D. and Vanberg, V. Eds. Texas A&M Press (1989): 294-308.

## Political Economy of Constitutions

- (52) “On the Evolution of Organizational Governance,” in *Understanding Economic Change: Contributions to an Evolutionary Paradigm in Economics* (U. Witt ed), Cambridge University Press (forthcoming 2016).
- (53) “Risk, Uncertainty, and Constitutional Design,” Forward to *Behind a Veil of Ignorance? Power and Uncertainty in Constitutional Design*. L. M. Imbeau and S. Jacob (eds) forthcoming Edward Elgar (2015).
- (54) “Rent Seeking, Rules and Organizational Evolution,” *A Companion to the Rent-Seeking Literature*. (Edited, with A. Hillman) London: Edward Elgar Press. (forthcoming 2015).
- (55) “Constitutional Political Economy and Rent Seeking: Organizations, Rules, and the Control of Rent-Seeking Losses,” (Invited) *Revue d'économie Politique* (forthcoming, 2014).
- (56) “On the Inevitability of Divided Government and Improbability of a Complete Separation of Powers,” *Constitutional Political Economy* 24 (2013): 177-98.
- (57) Asymmetric Federalism: Constitutional and Fiscal Exchange, and the Political Economy of Decentralization, in Ahmad, S. E. and Brosio, G. *Handbook for Fiscal Federalism* (Second Edition), Cheltenham: Edgar Elgar (forthcoming 2014).
- (58) “Early Spanish Liberalism and Constitutional Political Economy: the Cádiz Constitution of 1812.” in Cabrillo, F. and M/ P. Navarro (eds.) *Constitutional Economics and Public Institutions*. Edward Elgar Publishers (forthcoming 2013).
- (59) “Why Local Governments Do Not Maximize Profits: On the Value Added by the Representative Institutions of Town and City,” (*Public Choice* 149 (2011): 187-207.
- (60) “America’s Neglected Debt to the Dutch, An Institutional Perspective,” *Constitutional Political Economy* 19 (2008): 35-60.
- (61) “From Royal to Parliamentary Rule without Revolution, the Economics of Constitutional Exchange within Divided Governments,” *European Journal of Political Economy* 23 (2007): 261-284. (Lead Article)
- (62) “Constitutional Exchange in Japan: From Shogunate to Parliamentary Democracy,” *Public Choice Studies* 47 (2006): 5-29. (Lead Article)
- (63) “Asymmetric Federalism and the Political Economy of Decentralization,” in *the Handbook of Fiscal Federalism*, E. Ahmad and G. Brosio, Eds., Edward Elgar Publishers, Ltd. (2006): 131-153.
- (64) “Rational Choice Politics and Political Institutions,” (with Birgitta Swedenborg) in *Democratic Constitutional Design and Public Policy: Analysis and Evidence*. (R. D. Congleton and B. Swedenborg, Eds.) Cambridge Mass: MIT Press (2006): 1-36.
- (65) “On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Intragovernmental Bargaining and Policy Stability,” in *Democratic Constitutional Design and Public Policy: Analysis and Evidence*. (R. D. Congleton and B. Swedenborg, Eds.) Cambridge Mass: MIT Press (2006): 163-188.
- (66) Reprinted in: Voigt, S. (Ed.) (2013) *Design of Constitutions*. (Chapter 14) Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

- (67) “Amendment Procedures and Constitutional Stability” (with B. E. Rasch) in *Democratic Constitutional Design and Public Policy: Analysis and Evidence*. (R. D. Congleton and B. Swedenborg, Eds.) Cambridge Mass: MIT Press (2006): 319-342.
- (68) “Mutual Advantages of Coercion and Exit within Private Clubs and Treaty Organizations: Toward a Logic of Voluntary Association,” *Revista de Political Economy* 94 (2004): 47-75.
- (69) Reprinted in: Brennan, G., Ed. *Coercive Power and its Allocation in the Emergent Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan (2005): 47-76.
- (70) “Economic Development and Democracy, Does Industrialization Lead to Universal Suffrage?” *Homo Economicus* 21 (2004): 283-311.
- (71) “On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Predictability within Partisan Politics,” European Governance, *Year Book of New Political Economy* Vol. 22. M. J. Holler, H. Kliemt, D. Schmidtchen, and M. E. Streit. Eds., Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck (2003): 29-49.
- (72) “Economic and Cultural Prerequisites for Democracy,” *Rational Foundations of Democratic Politics*. Breton, A., Galeotti, G., Salmon, P., and Wintrobe, R. Eds. New York: Cambridge University Press (2003): 44-67.
- (73) “A Theory of Menu Federalism, Decentralization by Political Agreement” (with Andreas Kyriacou and Jordi Bacaria) *Constitutional Political Economy* 14 (2003): 167- 190. (Lead Article)
- (74) Reprinted in: Ehtisham, A. and Broscio (Eds.) *Effective Federalism and Local Finance*. Edward Elgar (2011, Ch. 19).
- (75) “Rent Seeking and Political Institutions,” *The Encyclopedia of Public Choice*, C. K. Rowley and F. Schneider, Eds, Kluwer Academic Press (2003): 499-501.
- (76) “Generality and the Efficiency of Government Decision Making,” *The Encyclopedia of Public Choice*, C. K. Rowley and F. Schneider, Eds, Kluwer Academic Press (2003): 261-3.
- (77) “On the Durability of King and Council: the Continuum Between Dictatorship and Democracy,” *Constitutional Political Economy* 12 (2001):193-215. (Lead Article)
- (78) “A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking,” Galeotti, G. Salmon, P. and Wintrobe, R. (Eds.) *Competition and Structure: The Political Economy of Collective Decisions: Essays in Honor of Albert Breton*. New York: Cambridge University Press (2000): 284-308.
- (79) “The Stability Inducing Properties of Unstable Coalitions,” ( with R. D. Tollison) *European Journal of Political Economy* 15 (1999): 193-205.
- (80) “Political Efficiency and Equal Protection of the Law,” *Kyklos* 50 (1997): 485-505.
- (81) “The Economics of Ethnic Nationalism,” *Nationalism and Rationality*. Breton, A., Galeotti, G., Salmon, P., and Wintrobe, R. Eds. New York: Cambridge University Press (1995): 71-97.
- (82) “Constitutional Federalism and Decentralization,” *Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche* 12 (1994, no. 1): 15-30.
- (83) “Anayasal Federalizm ve Ademi Merkezizcilik (Constitutional Federalism and Decentralization)” *Ekonomik Anayasa Sempozyumu*, Takav Matbaabi: Ankara, Turkey (1993):115-134 (in Turkish).
- (84) “Committees and Rent-Seeking Effort,” *Journal of Public Economics* 25 (1984): 197-209.

- (85) Reprinted in: *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research*. R. D. Congleton, A. L Hillman and K. Konrad., Eds. Heidelberg: Springer (2008).
- (86) Reprinted in: *The Political Economy of Rent-Seeking*, C. Rowley, R. Tollison, and G. Tullock Eds. Kluwer Academic Publishers (1988): 251-266.
- (87) “Non-Global Social Contracts: A Note on Inefficient Social Institutions,” (with R. Blewett) *Public Choice* 41 (1983): 441-448.
- (88) “Competitive Process, Competitive Waste, and Institutions,” in *Towards a Theory of the Rent-Seeking Society*, Edited by J. Buchanan, R. Tollison, and G. Tullock, Texas A & M Press (1980): 153-179.
- (89) Reprinted in: *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research*. R. D. Congleton, A. L Hillman and K. Konrad., Eds. Heidelberg: Springer (2008, forthcoming).
- (90) Reprinted in: *The Economic Analysis of Rent Seeking*. R. D. Tollison and Congleton R. D. Eds. London: Edward Elgar Press (1995): 101-127.

### **Political and Economic Implications of Imperfect Information**

- (91) “Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy: the Jury Theorem, Yardstick Competition, and Ignorance,” *Public Choice* 132 (2007): 333-352.
- (92) “Informational Limits to Public Policy: Ignorance and the Jury Theorem,” *Journal of Economic Policy Studies* 2 (2005): 3-15 (Lead Article).
- (93) Reprinted in: *Public Choice and the Challenges of Democracy*. J. C. Pardo and P Schwartz, Eds. Edward Elgar (2007, pp. 206-219).
- (94) “Toward a Political Economy of Crisis Management: Rational Choice, Ignorance, and Haste in Political Decision Making,” *Public Choice Studies* 43 (2004): 5-16. (published in Japanese, lead article)
- (95) Reprinted in English: *Economics in a Changing World*, the proceedings of the First International Conference on Business, Management, and Economics. C. C. Aktan, Ed. Izmir: Yassar University. (December, 2005): 187-202.
- (96) An extended version was published in English as “The Political Economy of Crisis Management: Surprise, Urgency, and Mistakes in Political Decision Making,” *Advances in Austrian Economics* 8 (2005): 183-204.
- (97) “In Defense of Ignorance,” *Eastern Economic Journal* 27 (2001): 391-408.
- (98) “Rational Ignorance and Rationally Biased Expectations: The Discrete Informational Foundations of Fiscal Illusion,” *Public Choice* 107 (2001): 35-64.
- (99) “Voter Discernment and Candidate Entry in Pluralitarian Elections,” (with B. Steunenberg) *Public Choice* (1998): 287-305.
- (100) “Toward a Transactions Cost Theory of Environmental Treaties: Substantive and Symbolic Environmental Agreements,” *Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche* 13 (1995): 119-139.
- (101) “Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations, and Fiscal Illusion,” *Papers in Political Economy* 21 (May, 1992) ISBN: 0-7714-1387-4, University of Western Ontario.
- (102) “Ideological Conviction and Persuasion in the Rent-Seeking Society,” *Journal of Public Economics* 44 (February, 1991): 65-86.



- (103) Reprinted in: *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research*. R. D. Congleton, A. L Hillman and K. Konrad., Eds. Heidelberg: Springer (2008).
- (104) Reprinted in: *The Economic Analysis of Rent Seeking*. R. D. Tollison and Congleton R. D. Eds. London: Edward Elgar Press (1995): 265-286.
- (105) “The Value of the Veil, How Much Distributional Information is Enough?” (with W. Sweetser) *Public Choice* 73 (January, 1992): 1-19. (Lead Article)
- (106) “Information, Special Interests, and Single-Issue Voting,” *Public Choice* 69 (February, 1991): 39-49.
- (107) “Monitoring Rent-Seeking Managers: Advantages of Diffuse Ownership,” *Canadian Journal of Economics* 22 (August, 1989): 662-672.
- (108) Reprinted in: *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research*. R. D. Congleton, A. L Hillman and K. Konrad., Eds. Heidelberg: Springer (2008, forthcoming).
- (109) “Campaign Finances and Political Platforms: the Economics of Political Controversy,” *Public Choice* 62 (August, 1989): 101-118. (Lead Article)
- (110) “Rent-Seeking Aspects of Political Advertising,” *Public Choice* 49 (1986): 249-265.
- (111) Reprinted in: *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research*. R. D. Congleton, A. L Hillman and K. Konrad, Eds. Heidelberg: Springer (2008).

### **General Social Science, Methodology, and History**

- (112) “Preface to Individualism and Political Disorder,” (Y. Y. Yoon, Ed.) London: Edgar Elgar Press. (forthcoming 2015).
- (113) “The Nature of Rent Seeking,” *A Companion to the Rent-Seeking Literature*. (Edited, with A. Hillman) London: Edward Elgar Press. (forthcoming 2015).
- (114) “The Contractarian Constitutional Political Economy of James Buchanan,” *Constitutional Political Economy* (2014) 25: 39-67.
- (115) “On Some Neglected, But Profound, Contributions of Gordon Tullock,” in D. Lee (ed.) *The Origins of Public Choice: The Legacy of Buchanan and Tullock*. Hiedelberg: Springer (2012).
- (116) “Growing up with the Calculus of Consent,” *Public Choice* 152 (2012):273-78.
- (117) “The Constitutional Political Economy of Gordon Tullock,” *Public Choice* 152 (2012): 131-46.
- (118) “On the Distributional Effects of Political Decisionmaking, An Overview and Synthesis of Public Choice Research,” *International Journal of Economic Policy Studies* 3 (2008): 1-30. (Lead Article)
- (119) “The Moral Voter Hypothesis: Economic and Normative Aspects of Public Policy and Law within Democracies.” *Journal of Public Finance and Public Choice* 25 (2007): 3-30 (lead article, published in 2008).
- (120) “The Globalization of Politics: Rational Choice and the Internationalization of Public Policy,” *Civilization* (2007) 10: 35-45 (published in 2007, Invited)
- (121) “Social Science and History: How Predictable is Political Behavior?” in *Understanding Change: Models, Methodologies, and Metaphors*. A. Wimmer and R. Kossler, Eds. , New York: Palgrave Macmillan (2005): 260-269.

- (122) “The Political Economy of Gordon Tullock,” *Public Choice* 121(2004): 283-311.
- (123) “The Political Economy of Gordon Tullock,” reprinted in *Public Choice Studies* (2005): 5-23. (Japanese, Lead Article).
- (124) “The Future of Public Choice,” *Public Choice Studies* 40 (in English) (2003): 5-23. (Lead Article)
- (125) “Buchanan and the Virginia School,” *Method and Morals in Constitutional Economics. Essays in Honor of James M. Buchanan*. Berlin: Springer Verlag. (2002): 23-38.
- (126) “Help, Harm or Avoid: On the Personal Advantage of Dispositions to Cooperate and Punish in Multilateral PD Games with Exit ,” (with V. Vanberg) *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 44 (2001): 145-167.
- (127) “On the Rationality of Mutually Immiserating Coercion,” (with P. Fudulu) *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* (1996): 133-136.
- (128) “Rationality, Morality, and Exit,” (with Viktor Vanberg) *American Political Science Review* 86 (June, 1992): 418-431.
- (129) “The Economic Role of a Work Ethic,” *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 15 (1991): 365-385.
- (130) “Efficient Status Seeking: Externalities and the Evolution of Status Games,” *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 11 (1989): 175-190.
- (131) Reprinted in: *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research*. Edited with introduction by R. D. Congleton, A. L. Hillman and K. Konrad. Heidelberg: Springer (2008).
- (132) “An Overview of the Contractarian Public Finance of James Buchanan,” *Public Finance Quarterly* 16 (April 1988): 131-157. (Lead Article)

### **Book Reviews**

- (133) *Making Sense of Constitutional Monarchism in Post-Napoleonic France and Germany*. Markus J. Prutsch. Palgrave MacMillan (2013). Reviewed for *American Historical Review* (2014) 119: 243-4..
- (134) *Game Theory and Public Policy*. Roger A. McCain, Edward Elgar (2010). for *Public Administration* (2013) 91: 248-50.
- (135) *Reason, Religion, and Democracy*. D. C. Mueller. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (2010) Reviewed for *Public Choice* 145 (2010): 585-87.
- (136) *Is the Welfare State Justified?* D. Shapiro. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2007) Reviewed for the *Review of Austrian Economics*. (March 2010) 23: 103-05.
- (137) *Free Riding*. R. Tuck, Cambridge: Harvard University Press (2009) Reviewed for *Journal of Economic Literature* (September 2009) 47: 811-13.
- (138) *Collective Decisions and Voting*, T. N. Tideman, Aldershot: Ashgate Reviewed for *Public Choice* (2007) 133: 499-501.
- (139) *Understanding Institutional Diversity*, Elinor Ostrom, Princeton University Press. Reviewed for *Public Choice* (2007) 132: 509-511.
- (140) *Environmental Policymaking: Assessing the Use of Alternative Policy Instruments*, Ed. M. T. Hatch, University of NY Press. Reviewed for *Perspectives in Politics* 4 (2006): 429-30.

- (141) *The Dark Side of the Force: Economic Foundations of Conflict Theory*, by Hirshleifer, J., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Reviewed for *Management and Decision Economics* (2002) 23:143-147.
- (142) *Public Spending in the 20th Century*, by Vito Tanzi and Ludger Schuknecht, Cambridge University Press, 2000. Reviewed for *Public Choice* (2001): 197-200.
- (143) *Democratic Devices and Desires*, by Brennan, Geoffrey and Hamlin, Alan New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Reviewed for *The Independent Review* (2001, Summer): 132-135.
- (144) *The Making of Economic Policy: A Transactions Cost Politics Perspective*, by Avinash K. Dixit, Boston: MIT Press 1998. Reviewed for *Public Choice* (2001, January): 191-193.
- (145) *Democratic Choice and Taxation: A Theory and Empirical Analysis*, by Walter Hettich and Stanley L. Winer, Cambridge University Press, 1999. Reviewed for the *Journal of Economic Literature* (2000, March): 143-145.
- (146) *Agenda Formation*, Edited by William H. Riker. Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993. Reviewed for *Public Choice* 80 (1994): 407-409.
- (147) *Direct Democracy: the Politics of Initiative, Referendum and Recall*, by Thomas E. Cronin. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1989. Reviewed for *Public Choice* 75 (1993):192-193.
- (148) *Game Theoretic Analysis of Voting in Committees*, by Bezalel Peleg. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984. Reviewed for the *Southern Economics Journal* 52 (1985): 570-571.

### **Other Policy Oriented Publications**

- (149) "Terrorism, Interest Group Politics, and Public Policy: Curtailing Criminal Modes of Political Speech," *Independent Review* 7 (Summer, 2002): 47-67.
- (150) "Ask Two Economists, Get Two Answers." One of two opinion pieces on the Bush tax proposal, the other was by Richard Musgrave, emeritus, of Harvard University (*Newsday*. March 4, 2001, p. B5).
- (151) "Return to Rio: Agency Problems and the Political Economy of Environmental Treaties," *Diskussionsbeiträge, Sonderforschungsbereich 178 Internationalisierung der Wirtschaft*, serie II - Nr. 261. (28 pages, 1995).
- (152) "International Institutions for Environmental Protection: Transactions Costs and Environmental Treaties," Abstracted in: *Towards the World Governing of the Environment*. a cura di Amedeo Postiglione. International Court of the Environment Foundation (ICEF), 1995: 37.
- (153) "International Institutions for Environmental Protection: Transactions Costs and Environmental Treaties," Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, *Nota Di Lavoro* 39.94 ( 35 pages, 1994).
- (154) "The Economics of Geothermal Heatpumps," U. S. Department of Energy (81 pages, 1993).

### **Funded Research**

"Constitutional Foundations of Public Policy in Sweden: Analysis and Suggested Reforms," SNS, Stockholm Sweden (August 1999- May 2005).

“The Political Economy of Environmental Protection,” Institute for International Studies, George Mason University (July 1990 - May 1995).

“The Economics of Geothermal Heat Pumps,” U. S. Department of Energy (September 1991 - March 1993).

### **Editorial Boards Served on**

Co-Editor *Constitutional Political Economy* (with S. Voigt, U Hamburg) (2013 - Present)

*Public Choice* (2004 - present)

*Review of International Organizations* (2005 - present)

*European Journal of Political Economy* (2000 - 2003, 2005- present)

*Atlantic Economic Journal* (1999 - present)

*Public Choice and Constitutional Economics* (Turkish) (2001 - present)

Honorary Member of the Executive Board of the Japanese Public Choice Society (2003 - present)

### **Journals Refereed for**

*American Economic Review*

*American Journal of Political Science*

*British Journal of Political Science*

*Eastern Economic Journal*

*Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche*

*Economic Journal*

*Independent Review*

*Journal of Constitutional Political Economy*

*Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*

*Journal of Peace Research*

*Public Choice*

*Public Finance Quarterly*

*Review of Economics and Statistics*

*Review of Law and Economics*

*Social Science Quarterly*

*American Political Science Review*

*Atlantic Economic Journal*

*Canadian Economic Journal*

*Economic Inquiry*

*Economica*

*European Journal of Political Economy*

*International Review of Economics and Finance*

*Journal of Development Economics*

*Journal of Law and Economics*

*Journal of Public Economics*

*Publius*

*Quarterly Journal of Business and Economics*

*Review of International Organizations*

*Scandinavian Journal of Economics*

*Southern Economic Journal*

### **Granting Organizations Reviewed for**

National Science Foundation

U. S. Department of Energy

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

Danish Council for Independent Research

## Book Publishers Reviewed for

Cambridge University Press  
University of Michigan Press  
Kluwer Academic Publishers  
New York University Press  
Princeton University Press  
Routledge Publishers  
West Publishers

## Professional Affiliations (past and present)

American Economic Association  
Public Choice Society  
European Public Choice Society  
Royal Economic Society  
Japanese Public Choice Society

American Political Science Association  
Southern Economic Society  
Canadian Economic Association  
Western Economic Society

## Work in Progress: Book Manuscripts and Working Papers

*Moral Foundations of Capitalism: Ethics and the Extent of the Commercial Society* [**Book Manuscript**]

*Risk Uncertainty and the Welfare State, the Political Economy of Crisis Management* [ **Book Manuscript**]

"The Political Economy of Complex Healthcare Systems" (w. R. Pietrantonio)

"How Encompassing is a Dictator's Interest?"

"Conservation Regulation: Cyclic Demand, Externalities and Politics" (under review at the *Economics of Governance*).

"Manipulating the Demand for Bureaucratic Services" (with Fabio Padovano)

"Altruistic Voting, Some Electoral Implications of Civic Virtue"

"Democracy in America: Labor Mobility, Ideology and Constitutional Reform"

"Classical Foundations of Modern Constitutional Political Economy"

"Corruption in International Organization: Endogenous Corruption and the Demand and Supply of International Public Goods"

"On the Distributional Effects of Political Decision Making,"

"Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties."

"Do Constitutions Matter? Some Evidence from Swedish Constitutional History"

"Central Bank Independence and the Politicized Allocation of Credit," (with Gustavo Arteta).

"The Market for Politically Active Special Interest Groups"

"Political Agency, Institutions and Myopic Constitutional Dynamics" (with Karl Warneryd)

"The Political Economy of Crime Waves" (with R. D. Tollison).

"On the Progressivity of Lotteries"

"Intra-Familial Contracts" (with R. D. Tollison, and G. Anderson).

"Politics, Annexation Institutions and Local Fiscal Choice"

"Is a Rawlsian Bureaucracy Deadly, Dull, or Dynamic? Optimal Bounds for Bureaucratic Discretion"

## **Papers Presented at Academic Meetings**

- (1) "Rent Seeking and the Evolution of Organizational Design," Australian Public Choice Society, Melbourne Australia (December 6, 2014).
- (2) "The Political Economy of Privacy," Association for Private Enterprise Education, Las Vegas, NV (April 14, 2014).
- (3) "The Political Economy of Subsidized Medical Technology," Cambridge University, Cambridge UK (April 4, 2014).
- (4) "A Short History of American Liberalism Public Choice Society, Charleston SC (March 8, 2014)
- (5) "A Test of the Great Unraveling Hypothesis," Public Choice Society, Charleston SC (March 8, 2014)
- (6) "A Short History of American Liberalism," Association for Free Enterprise Education, Maui Hawaii (April 15, 2013).
- (7) "The Electoral Politics of Complex Healthcare Systems," European Public Choice Society, Zurich, Switzerland (April 5, 2013).
- (8) "Coercion, Taxation, and Voluntary Association," Public Choice Society, New Orleans (March 9, 2013).
- (9) "Democracy in America: Labor Mobility, Early Liberalism, and Constitutional Reform," (organized session on CPE and Constitutional History), World Congress of Public Choice, Miami FL. (March 10, 2012)
- (10) "On Some Neglected, But Profound, Contributions of Gordon Tullock," (Plenary Session) World Congress of Public Choice, Miami FL. (March 9, 2012).
- (11) "Reflections on Kazuyoshi Kurokawa," memorial plenary session, Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo, Japan (July 2, 2011).
- (12) "On the Origins of Organizational Governance," European Public Choice Society, Rennes France (April 28, 2011).
- (13) "An Overview of *Perfecting Parliament*," [part of a round table on *Perfecting Parliament*] Public Choice Society, San Antonio Texas (March 12, 2011).
- (14) "On the Evolution of Organizational Governance," Public Choice Society, San Antonio Texas (March 11, 2011).
- (15) "The Political Economy of the Bailouts of 2008-10: Are Their Limits to Crisis Insurance?" Southern Economics Association, Atlanta Georgia (November 20, 2010).

- (16) "Founding Myths: On the Origins of U. S. Democracy: the Role of Labor Mobility and Early Liberalism," Southern Economics Association, Atlanta Georgia (November 20, 2010).
- (17) "Rent Extraction, Liberalism, and Economic Development," European Public Choice Society, Izmir, Turkey (April 10, 2010).
- (18) "Rent Extraction, Liberalism, and Economic Development," Public Choice Society, Monterey, CA (March 13, 2010).
- (19) "The Constitutional Political Economy of Gordon Tullock," Southern Economics Association, San Antonio, Texas (November 22, 2009).
- (20) "On the Political Economy of the Financial Crisis of 2008," European Public Choice Society, Athens Greece, (April 4, 2009).
- (21) "On the Political Economy of the Financial Crisis of 2008," Public Choice Society, Las Vegas, (March 7, 2009).
- (22) "Public Choice and Development: Some Lessons from the Western Transition," Plenary Session, European Public Choice Society, Jena, Germany. (March 30, 2008).
- (23) "Chapter 19: Quantitative Evidence of Gradual Political Reform in the West during the 19th century," European Public Choice Society, Jena, Germany. (March 28, 2008).
- (24) "The Rise of the Modern Welfare State: Ideology, Institutions, and Income Security: Analysis and Evidence" (with Feler Bose) Public Choice Society, San Antonio, TX. (March 8, 2008).
- (25) "Democracy in America: Labor Mobility, Ideology and Constitutional Reform." Public Choice Society, San Antonio, TX. (March 8, 2008).
- (26) "Is It All About Competence? The Human Capital of Presidents and Economic Performance." (with Younjing Zhang) Public Choice Society, San Antonio, TX. (March 7, 2008).
- (27) "On the Distributional Effects of Political Decision Making," (Plenary Session) Japanese Economic Policy Association, Tokyo (December 8, 2007).
- (28) "Voting by Altruists: Some Electoral Implications of Civic Virtue," Southern Economics Association, New Orleans (November 20, 2007).
- (29) "Corruption in International Organization: Endogenous Corruption and the Demand and Supply of International Public Goods" World Congress of Public Choice, Amsterdam. (March 31, 2007).
- (30) "The Globalization of Politics: Rational Choice and the Internationalization of Public Policy," World Congress of Public Choice, Amsterdam. (March 30, 2007).
- (31) "The King and Council in Japan: From Shogunate to Parliamentary Democracy," Japanese Public Choice Society, Kyoto Japan (July 2, 2006).
- (32) "On the Feasibility of a Liberal Welfare State," European Public Choice Society, Turku, Finland. (April 21, 2006.)
- (33) "The Story of Katrina and the Political Economy of Catastrophe," Public Choice Society, New Orleans. (March 31, 2006)
- (34) Comments on "Trade Policy: What's Welfare Got to Do with It?" Southern Economic Association, Washington DC (November 20, 2005).

- (35) "Economic Development and Democracy, Does Industrialization Lead to Universal Suffrage?" European Public Choice Society, Durham, UK. (April 2, 2005).
- (36) "Economic Development and Democracy, Does Industrialization Lead to Universal Suffrage?" Public Choice Society, New Orleans, LA. (March 2005).
- (37) "On the Political Economy of Crisis Management." (Plenary Session) Japanese Public Choice Society, Senshu University, Tokyo, Japan (July 4, 2004).
- (38) "Informational Limits of Democratic Public Policy," European Public Choice Society, Berlin, Germany. (April 16, 2004).
- (39) "Informational Limits of Democratic Public Policy," Public Choice Society, Baltimore Md. (March 14, 2004).
- (40) "Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy," (Plenary Session) Japanese Economic Policy Association (JEPA) Nagoya University, Nagoya, Japan. (November 29, 2003).
- (41) "On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Predictability within Partisan Politics," Japanese Public Choice Society (Plenary Session) Hiroshima, Japan. (July 5, 2003).
- (42) "On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Predictability within Partisan Politics," Public Choice Society, Aarhus, DK (April 28, 2003).
- (43) "On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Predictability within Partisan Politics," Public Choice Society, Nashville TN (March 22, 2003).
- (44) "The Future of Public Choice," (Plenary Session) Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo, Japan (July 14, 2002).
- (45) "The Political Economy of Terrorism," Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo, Japan (July 14, 2002).
- (46) "Agency Problems and the Allocation of International Environmental Grants: The Return to Rio," Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo, Japan (July 13, 2002).
- (47) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties," European Public Choice Society, Belgirate, Italy (April 4, 2002).
- (48) "Politics by Extraordinary Means: An Overview of the Political Economy of Gordon Tullock," Public Choice Society, San Diego California (March 23, 2002).
- (49) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties," Public Choice Society, San Diego, California (March 23, 2002).
- (50) "From Dictatorship to Democracy without Revolution, Economic Growth and Constitutional Exchange within the King and Council Template," Allied Social Science Association Meetings (AEA session) Atlanta, Georgia. (January 5, 2002).
- (51) "Altruistic Voting, Some Electoral Implications of Civic Virtue," Japanese Public Choice Society Meetings, Tokyo, Japan. (July 7, 2001).
- (52) "Do Constitutions Matter? Some Evidence from Sweden," European Public Choice Society Meetings, Paris, France. (April 13, 2001).
- (53) "200 Years of Swedish Constitutional History, a Public Choice Approach," Public Choice Society Meetings, San Antonio TX (March 10, 2001).
- (54) "On the Durability of King and Council, a Universal Constitutional Template," (Millennium Plenary Session) European Public Choice Society, Sienna, Italy. (April 27, 2000).



- (55) "Government Policies, R&D, and Monopolization: Ramsay and Schumpeter meet Buchanan and Tullock," Public Choice Society, Charleston, SC. (March 12, 2000).
- (56) "Rent-Seeking, Leviathan, and Monopolization Policies: Schumpeter and Ramsay Meet Tullock and Buchanan," Public Choice Society, Charleston SC. (March 11, 2000).
- (57) "The Political and Economic Origins of Asymmetric Federalism" (with Andreas Kyriacou and Jordi Bacaria) European Public Choice Society, Lisbon, Portugal. (April 1999).
- (58) "The Politics of Government Growth," Public Choice Society, New Orleans. (March 1999).
- (59) "The Political and Economic Origins of Asymmetric Federalism" (with Andreas Kyriacou and Jordi Bacaria) Public Choice Society, New Orleans. (April 1999).
- (60) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking," European Public Choice Society, Goteberg, Sweden. (April 1998).
- (61) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking," Public Choice Society, New Orleans. (March 1998).
- (62) "Private Morality, Politics, and Public Policy," Public Choice Society of Japan, Chiba University, Tokyo (August 1997).
- (63) "Public Choice, Efficiency and Equal Protection," European Public Choice Society, Prague. (April 1997).
- (64) "Private Morality, Politics, and Public Policy," Public Choice Society, San Francisco. (March 1997).
- (65) "Generality without Uniformity: Federalism," Public Choice Society, San Francisco. (March 1997).
- (66) "Public Choice, Efficiency and Equal Protection," Public Choice Society, Houston, Texas. (April, 1996).
- (67) "Return to Rio: Agency Problems and the Political Economy of Environmental Treaties," Public Choice Society, Houston, Texas. (April, 1996).
- (68) "Joint Production, Exit and Reciprocity," European Public Choice Society, Saarbrucken, Germany. (April, 1995).
- (69) "Manipulating the Demand for Bureaucratic Services," European Public Choice Society, Saarbrucken, Germany. (April, 1995).
- (70) "Voting by Altruists," Public Choice Society, Long Beach California. (March 1995).
- (71) "Voting by Altruists," European Public Choice Society, Valencia, Spain. (April 7, 1994).
- (72) "Toward a First Best Conservation Regulation," Southern Economic Society, New Orleans. (November 21, 1993).
- (73) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo (July 27, 1993).
- (74) "The Market for Special Interest Groups," European Public Choice Society, Portrush, N. Ireland (April, 1993).
- (75) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Public Choice Society Meetings, New Orleans. (March 1993).

- (76) "Limitations of a Dictator's Encompassing Interest," Public Choice Society Meetings, New Orleans (March 1993).
- (77) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Western Economic Association, San Francisco (June 1992).
- (78) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations and Fiscal Illusion," Western Economic Association Meetings, San Francisco. (1992).
- (79) "Institutions for Internalizing International Environmental Externalities," European Public Choice Society, Turin, Italy. (April, 1992).
- (80) "Voter Discernment and Candidate Entry in Pluralitarian Elections," (with Bernard Steunenberg) European Public Choice Society Turin, Italy. (April 1992).
- (81) "The Market for Politically Active Special Interest Groups," Public Choice Society, New Orleans. (March, 1992).
- (82) "Voter Discernment and Candidate Entry in Pluralitarian Elections," (with Bernard Steunenberg) Public Choice Society, New Orleans. (March, 1992).
- (83) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations and Fiscal Illusion," Southern Economic Association Meetings, Nashville. (November, 1991).
- (84) "Political Regimes and Pollution Control," European Public Choice Society, Beaune, France. (April, 1991).
- (85) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations and Fiscal Illusion," Public Choice Society Meetings, New Orleans. (March, 1991).
- (86) "Complex Constitutional Dynamics," (with K. Warneryd) Public Choice Society Meetings, New Orleans. (March, 1991).
- (87) "Rationality, Reciprocity and Morality," (with Viktor Vanberg) Public Choice Society Meetings (1991) New Orleans. ( Also served as discussant for paper by Gordon Tullock.)
- (88) "The Politics of Pollution," American Economics Association, (1990) Washington, D. C. (Also served as discussant for papers by: S. Farrow and R. P. Judge.)
- (89) "Annexation Institutions and Local Fiscal Choice," Southern Economics Association (1990) New Orleans.
- (90) "Is a Rawlsian Bureaucracy Deadly, Dull, or Dynamic? Optimal Bounds for Bureaucratic Discretion," European Public Choice Society (1990) Meersburg, Germany.
- (91) "Is a Rawlsian Bureaucracy Deadly, Dull, or Dynamic? Optimal Bounds for Bureaucratic Discretion," Public Choice Society (1990) Tucson, Arizona.
- (92) "Ideology and Rent-Seeking," Public Choice Society (1989), Orlando, Florida.
- (93) "How Much Distributional Information is Enough: The Value of the Veil," Public Choice Society (1988) San Francisco (with W. Sweetser)
- (94) "Campaign Finances and Political Platforms: the Economics of Political Controversy," Public Choice Society (1987), Tucson, Arizona. (Also Chaired session on "Preferences and Elections").
- (95) "Annexation Institutions and Local Fiscal Choice," Public Choice Society (1986) Baltimore, Maryland. (Also Chaired session on "Constitutional Choice").

- (96) "Rent-seeking Aspects of Political Advertising," Public Choice Society (1985) New Orleans. (Also Chaired session on "Empirical Public Choice")
- (97) "Fiscal Choice, Locational Rents, and Property Values," (with J. Mullen) Public Choice Society (1984), Phoenix, Arizona.
- (98) "Tax Base Enforcement and the 'Voluntary' Overpayment of Taxes," Public Choice Society (1983) Savannah, Georgia.
- (99) "Global and Non-Global Social Contracts," (with R. Blewett) Public Choice Society (1982) San Antonio, Texas.
- (100) "Administrative Structure and Grant Seeking Effort," Public Choice Society (1981), New Orleans.
- (101) "Rent Seeking and the Costs of Competitive Processes," Public Choice Society (1979) Charleston, South Carolina.

### **Other Papers Presented (International)**

- (102) "Political Economy of Healthcare System Choice," Deakin University, Melbourne Australia (December 4, 2014).
- (103) "The Evolution of Organizational Government," Eucken Institute (Vanberg Conference), Freiburg, Germany (September 13, 2013).
- (104) "The Evolution of Organizational Government," Universita Roma degli Studi La Sapienza, Rome Italy (June 24, 2013).
- (105) "Political Economy of Healthcare System Choice," Johan Keplar Univesity, Linz, Austria (June 13, 2013).
- (106) "On the Inevitability of Divided Government," European Center for Study of Public Choice Conference, Freiburg, Germany (May 6, 2013)
- (107) "Political Economy of Healthcare System Choice," Walter Eucken Institut, Freiburg, Germany (April 8, 2013).
- (108) "Founding Myths and Democracy in America," CIW, Muenster University, Muenster, Germany (July 5, 2011).
- (109) "Overview of Perfecting Parliament," Department of Economics, University of Muenster (WWU), Muenster, Germany (June 28, 2011).
- (110) "Overview of Perfecting Parliament," (Symposium, w. discussants) Department of Politics, Oslo University, Norway (June 10, 2011).
- (111) "Is Rational Choice Possible in a World with Positive Information Costs? Some notes on the meaning and limits of rational choice and mistakes in a complex world," *Conference on Rationality and Irrationality*, in Game Theory Stockholm School of Economics, Stockholm, Sweden (June 4, 2011).
- (112) "On the Evolution of Organizational Governance," Department of Economics Seminar, Radboud University, Nijmegen, Netherlands (May 30, 2011).
- (113) "Evolution of Organizational Governance," Max Planck Institute, Jena, Germany (July 13, 2010).

- (114) “Constitutional Political Economy and the Political Economy of Crisis Management,” Invited **Lecture Series**, Bar Ilan University, (May 25 - June 3, 2010)
- (115) “*Perfecting Parliament: An Overview*,” Bar Ilan University, Economics, (May 25, 2010).
- (116) "Liberal Institutions as a Source of 'Permanent' Comparative Advantage," Institutions and National Competitiveness Conference, (Korean Economic Association and Korean Institution and Economic Association) Seoul National University (August 18, 2009).
- (117) "Liberal Institutions as a Source of 'Permanent' Comparative Advantage," Korean Economic Research Institute, Seoul, Korea (August 17, 2009).
- (118) “Perfecting Parliament: Constitutional Reform, Liberalism, and the Rise of Western Democracy” Department of Economics, University of Freiburg (December 9, 2008)
- (119) "The Rise of the Modern Welfare State; Ideology, institutions, and Income Security: Analysis and Evidence," Tinbergen Institute, Amsterdam (May 22, 2008).
- (120) "Quantitative Evidence of Gradual Constitutional Reforms in the 19th Century (Chapter 19)," Department of Economics Seminar, University of Amsterdam (May 19, 2008).
- (121) "The Rise of the Modern State; Ideology, institutions, and Income Security: Analysis and Evidence," Conference on Economic Policy and Public Choice: Recent Developments and Current Trends. St. Gallen, Switzerland (April 19, 2008).
- (122) “The European Union and its Transportation Policy,” Seminar, Japanese Department of Transportation (December 11, 2007).
- (123) “Constitutional Exchange and Democracy in America,” Conference on Institutions and Public Policy, Economics, Cambridge University (August 7 2007).
- (124) “Perfecting Parliament, Constitutional Exchange and the Peaceful Path to Democracy,” Departmental Seminar, Political Science, University of Southern Denmark (May 31, 2007).
- (125) “Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy,” Faculty Seminar, Economics, Stockholm School of Economics, Stockholm (March 9, 2007).
- (126) “On the Feasibility of a Liberal Welfare State,” Seminar. Ratio Institute, Stockholm Sweden (March 9, 2007).
- (127) “Generality and the Supply of Public Services,” Lecture Zhejiang University Department of Public Finance, Beijing, China (November 9, 2006).
- (128) “Economic and Political Origins of Decentralization and Asymmetric Federalism,” Lecture at the Zhejiang Institute of Finance and Economics, Hangzhou, China (November 9, 2006),
- (129) “An Overview of Public Choice, Past, Present, and Future,” Lecture at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Asia and Pacific Ocean Economy, Beijing, China (November 8, 2006).
- (130) “Generality and the Supply of Public Services,” Lecture at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Finance and Trade Economics, Beijing, China (November 7, 2006).
- (131) “Public Policy and Harmony, A Rational Choice Perspective,” Keynote Speaker, 7th Forum on Macroeconomic Performance and Policies: Public Policies and Harmonious Society, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing (November 4, 2006).
- (132) “The Globalization of Politics: Rational Choice and the Internationalization of Public Policy,” Tokai University Center for European Studies (October 30, 2006).

- (133) “An Overview of the NeoConservative Movement from Reagan to Clinton,” invited graduate seminar, Political Science, University of Southern Denmark (October 27, 2006).
- (134) “Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy,” graduate seminar, Economics, Aarhus Universitet, Denmark (October 9, 2006).
- (135) “Corruption in International Organization: Endogenous Corruption and the Demand and Supply of International Public Goods,” The Economy of Crime and Money Laundering, European Center for the Study of Public Choice, Rome, Italy (September 29, 2006).
- (136) “On the Feasibility of a Liberal Welfare State,” Institut für Philosophie, Universität Bayreuth (June 20, 2006).
- (137) “The Story of Katrina and the Political Economy of Catastrophe,” department seminar (Politics and International Relations, Public Policy Unit) Oxford University, May 30, 2006).
- (138) “Voter Ignorance and Condorcet’s Jury: Limits to Democratic Public Policy,” international conference: The Problems of Democracy, San Pablo-CEU, Madrid, Spain (December 1, 2005).
- (139) “Comments on Economic, Demographic, and Political Determinants of Pollution, A Sensitivity Analysis,” Silvaplana Conference, Switzerland (July 17, 2005).
- (140) “Political Economy of Crisis Management,” (undergraduate seminar) Department of Economics, Universität Jena, Germany (July 8, 2005).
- (141) “The Roles of Industrialization and Ideas in the Emergence of European Democracy,” Institut für Philosophie, Universität Bayreuth (July 5, 2005).
- (142) “Informational Limits of Democratic Public Policy,” Department of Economics, Universität Marburg, Germany (June 30, 2005).
- (143) “The Political Economy of Crisis Management,” Conference on Business, Management, and Economics, Cesme, Izmir, Turkey (June 19, 2005).
- (144) “Informational Limits of Democratic Public Policy,” Institut für Philosophie, Universität Bayreuth (May 24, 2005).
- (145) “On the Political Economy of Crisis Management.” Department Seminar, Politics and International Relations, Public Policy Unit, Oxford University, May 23, 2005).
- (146) “Informational Limits of Democratic Public Policy,” Faculty Seminar, Carlton University, Ottawa, Canada (October 1, 2004).
- (147) “Public Goods and Agency Problems in Treaty Organizations,” Faculty Seminar, Chuo University, Tokyo Japan (July 7, 2004).
- (148) “Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy,” Graduate Seminar, Economics, Senshu University, Tokyo, Japan (July 6, 2004).
- (149) “Organizational Design and Institutionalization, Rational Choice and Evolutionary Perspectives.” Conference: Why Public Organizations Become Institutions University of Leiden (June 12, 2004).
- (150) “Does Industrialization Lead to Democracy,” faculty seminar, University of Rome 3 (May 12, 2004).
- (151) “Informational Limits of Democratic Public Policy,” Graduate Seminar in Public Finance, University of Rome, Faculty of Politics (May 11, 2004).

- (152) “Roundtable on Constitutional Design,” Faculty Seminar, University of Rome, Faculty of Law (May 4 and 11, 2004).
- (153) “How Predictable is Democratic Politics?” Graduate Seminar (Theoretical Politics) the University of Oxford (January 26, 2004).
- (154) “Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy,” Conference on Globalization and National Government Policies, Aichi Gakuin University, Nagoya, Japan (November 27, 2003).
- (155) “On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Predictability within Partisan Politics,” Faculty Seminar, Department of Government, London School of Economics and Politics (LSE). (October 15, 2003).
- (156) “Mutual Advantages of Coercion and Exit within Treaty Organizations: Toward a Theory of Voluntary Association.” University of Rome Conference on Coercive Power and its Allocation in the Emergent Europe, Universita degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza,” Rome, Italy (September 26, 2003).
- (157) “On the Merits of Unbiased Bicameralism,” Conference on Constitutional Design. Stockholm, Sweden (This conference was jointly organized by myself and Birgitta Swedenborg, with SNS support, August 26, 2003).
- (158) “Economic Development and Democratic Political Reform” ICES Conference on Revolutions, Villa Gualino, Turin, Italy (June 7, 2003).
- (159) “On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Stability within Partisan Politics,” CSLE Conference on European Governance, Saarbrücken, Germany (October 10, 2002).
- (160) “Constitutionalism and Good Government, Organizing Governance to Broaden Consensus,” SNS, Stockholm, Sweden (September, 28, 2002).
- (161) “The Political Economy of Terrorism,” Chuo University, Tokyo, Japan (July 10, 2002).
- (162) “Some Lessons from Swedish Constitutional History, a Public Choice Perspective,” Seminar on Constitutional Reform, (Official release of Improving Democracy in Swedish) SNS, Stockholm, Sweden (April 26, 2002).
- (163) “Agency Problems and the Allocation of International Environmental Grants: The Return to Rio,” Stockholm School of Economics, Stockholm Sweden (April 25, 2002).
- (164) “Agency Problems and the Allocation of International Environmental Grants: The Return to Rio,” University of Rome, La Sapienza, Rome Italy (April 2, 2002)
- (165) “Assessing the Effects of Bicameral Legislatures within Partisan, Parliamentary, and Presidential Systems,” SNS Workshop on Constitutional Reform, Stockholm, Sweden (September 28, 2001).
- (166) “A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking,” Chuo University, Tokyo Japan (July 14, 2001).
- (167) “Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties” University of Kyoto, Japan, (July 9, 2001).
- (168) “Governing the Global Environmental Commons: The Political Economy of International Environmental Treaties and Institutions,” LAEP, University of Paris (the Sorbonne) Paris, France (May 22, 2001).
- (169) “Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties,” University of Mannheim, Germany (May 18, 2001).

- (170) “Governing the Global Environmental Commons: The Political Economy of International Environmental Treaties and Institutions,” University of Mannheim, Germany (May 18, 2001).
- (171) “Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties,” University of Freiburg, Germany (May 17, 2001).
- (172) “Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties,” St. Gallen University, Switzerland (May 15, 2001).
- (173) “Perfecting Parliament: Constitutional Analysis and Reform,” SNS Seminar. (November 9, 2000).
- (174) “On the Merits of Bicameralism,” Constitutional Reference Group, SNS, Stockholm (November 9, 2000).
- (175) “Economic and Cultural Prerequisites for Democracy,” Villa Columbella Meeting, Parma, Italy (September 9, 2000).
- (176) “Economic and Cultural Prerequisites for Democracy,” Università Roma degli Studi La Sapienza, Rome Italy (September 5, 2000).
- (177) “A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent Seeking,” Department of Economics, University of Montreal (September 29, 1998).
- (178) Conference Participant: “Liberty, Generality, and Minimal Coercion,” Spitzingsee, Germany (May 7-10, 1998). [A Liberty Fund Conference focused on the Buchanan and Congleton book.]
- (179) “The Public Choice Approach to Public Policy,” Seminar, Department of Economics, Jonkoping, Sweden (April 29, 1998).
- (180) “On the Political Economy of Environmental Protection,” (June 8, 1995). Seminar, Department of Economics, Wurzburg University.
- (181) “Return to Rio: Agency Problems and the Political Economy of Environmental Treaties,” (June 6, 1995). Workshop 1995: Environmental Policy in Open Economies, University of Konstanz.
- (182) “Return to Rio: Agency Problems and the Political Economy of Environmental Treaties,” (June 1, 1995). Department of Economics, Aarhus University.
- (183) “Joint Production, Exit and Cooperation,” Stockholm School of Economics, (May 16, 1995).
- (184) “International Institutions for Environmental Protection: Transactions Costs and Environmental Treaties,” Cini Foundation Conference “Towards the World Governing of the Environment,” (Forum 1A arranged by Eni Enrico Matei Foundation) (June 3, 1994) (Also presented the Forum 1/A overview in plenary session on June 5: translated into Italian, Spanish, French, and German.)
- (185) “Constitutional Federalism and Decentralization,” Università Roma degli Studi La Sapienza, Rome Italy (June 6, 1994).
- (186) “A Transactions Cost Theory of International Treaties,” Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain (April 11, 1994).
- (187) “Joint Production, Exit and Cooperation,” University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia (August 13, 1993).
- (188) “The Market for Special Interest Groups,” Tokai University, Tokyo, Japan (July 28, 1993).

- (189) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Department of Government, University Queensland, Brisbane, Australia (July 23, 1993).
- (190) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Department of Economics, University of Adelaide, Adelaide Australia (July 19, 1993).
- (191) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Research School for Social Science (Economics), Australian National University, Canberra Australia (July 16, 1993).
- (192) "Ethnic Clubs, Ethnic Conflict, and the Rise of Ethnic Nationalism," presented at the Villa Colombella conference, Perugia Italy (September 6, 1992).
- (193) "Constitutional Federalism and Decentralization" presented at Ekonomic Anayasa Sempozyumu (Conference on Economic Constitutions, Ankara, Turkey (May 29, 1992).
- (194) "Institutions for Internalizing Environmental Externalities," Twente University, Enschede, the Netherlands. (April 27, 1992).
- (195) "Public Policies and Fiscal Uncertainty: The Case of Debt," Università di Roma, "La Sapienza," Rome, Italy. (April 21, 1992).
- (196) "An Introduction to Constitutions, Public Goods and the Median Voter Model," Comenius University, Bratislava Czechoslovakia. Sponsored by the Mellon Foundation and the University of Pittsburgh. (October, 1991).
- (197) "Foundations of Public Choice: Majority Rule," Center for Economic Research and Graduate Education (CERGE), Charles University, Prague, Czechoslovakia. Sponsored by the Mellon Foundation and the University of Pittsburgh. (October, 1991).
- (198) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations, and Fiscal Illusion" presented at University of Western Ontario Political Economy Workshop. (November, 1991).

### **Other Papers Presented (United States)**

- (199) "Buchanan as Mentor," Memorial Conference for James Buchanan, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA (September 29, 2013).
- (200) "Buchanan's Constitutional Political Economy," Memorial Conference for James Buchanan, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA (September 28, 2013).
- (201) "A Short History of American Liberalism," BB&T Conference, Clemson University (May 29, 2013).
- (202) "Constitutional Design, Crisis Detection, and Survival," Department of Economics Seminar, Virginia Tech. (May 10, 2012).
- (203) "Constitutional Design, Crisis Detection, and Survival," PERC workshop on the Political Economy of Environmental Collapse, Clemson University (April 14, 2012).
- (204) "On the Political Economy and Limits of Crisis Insurance: the Case of the 2008-11 Bailouts," Department of Economics-Finance Seminar, Midwestern State University, Wichita Falls, Texas (April 2, 2012).
- (205) "On the Political Economy and Limits of Crisis Insurance: the Case of the 2008-11 Bailouts," Department of Economics Seminar, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (October 14, 2011).



- (206) “Why Local Governments Do Not Maximize Profits: On the Value Added by the Representative Institutions of Town and City Governments,” (Conference on Local Governance) DeVoe L. Moore Center, Florida State University (February 16, 2011).
- (207) “The Political Economy of the Bailouts of 2008-10, Are there Limits to Crisis Insurance?” Department of Economics Seminar, West Virginia University.
- (208) “Founding Myths and Democracy in America,” Wake Forest University, Winston Salem North Carolina (November 9, 2010).
- (209) “Coercion, Taxation, and Voluntary Association,” conference on Taxation and Coercion, George State University School of Public Policy, Atlanta, GA (October 1, 2010).
- (210) “Perfecting Parliament,” Center for Study of Public Choice, George Mason University (October 4, 2009).
- (211) “Does Economic Development Lead to Democracy?” Collective Choice Seminar, Hoover Institution, Stanford University (November 16, 2004).
- (212) “Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy,” Simon Lecture, Lafayette College, (February 16, 2004).
- (213) “On the Merits of Unbiased Bicameralism,” Center for Study of Public Choice (November 5, 2002).
- (214) “Congratulations: The Value of Fuzzy Plans,” Graduation Talk for the Virginia Tech Department of Economics Blacksburg, VA (May 11, 2002).
- (215) “Notes on the Political Economy of Terrorism,” Center for Study of Public Choice (Sept. 11, 2001).
- (216) “The Politics of Government Growth,” Center for Study of Public Choice (April 14, 1999).
- (217) “The Public Choice Approach to Environmental Policy,” for the graduate program in Environmental Science and Public Policy, GMU (February 3, 1999).
- (218) “Political and Economic Aspects of Federalism,” Presentation for visiting Taiwanese Provincial Government Officials for the GMU TIPP (the Institute for Public Policy, November 6, 1998).
- (219) “Free Riding and Exit: On the Personal Advantage of Cooperation in Voluntary Joint Enterprises,” National Science Foundation (April 8, 1998).
- (220) “A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking,” State University of New York at Binghamton (April 4, 1998).
- (221) “Two Lectures on Public Choice and Public Policy: An Introduction and Overview,” for the U. S. Department of State’s Foreign Service Institute (March 25 and 27, 1998).
- (222) “Private Morality and Public Policy,” for the Department of Economics, University of Delaware (February 24, 1998).
- (223) “A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking,” Center for Study of Public Choice (February 11, 1998).
- (224) “Some Problems with Stochastic Voting Models,” Public Choice Center Luncheon Seminar (March 25, 1997).
- (225) “Private Morality, Politics and Public Policy,” Public Choice Center Seminar (March 5, 1997).

- (226) “Generality without Uniformity,” Public Choice Center Luncheon Seminar (September 10, 1996).
- (227) “Public Choice, Efficiency and Equal Protection,” Public Choice Center Luncheon Seminar (February 13, 1996).
- (228) “The Political Economy of Crime,” Public Choice Center Luncheon Seminar (January 31, 1995)
- (229) “The Generalization Principle in Politics,” (with J. M. Buchanan) Public Choice Center Seminar, November 2, 1994.
- (230) “The Political Economy of Environmental Treaties,” Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (February 1, 1994).
- (231) “Altruistic Voting,” Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (September 7, 1993).
- (232) “Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation,” Department of Public Policy and Management, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, Luncheon Seminar (February 25, 1993).
- (233) “How Encompassing is a Dictator’s Interest?” Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (February 2, 1993).
- (234) “Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation,” Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (October 20, 1992).
- (235) “Preliminary Cost-Benefit Estimates of Geothermal Heat Pumps in Northern Virginia,” U. S. Department of Energy, Washington, D. C. (March 9, 1992).
- (236) “Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations, and Fiscal Illusion,” Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (October, 1991).
- (237) “Politics, Annexation Institutions, and Local Fiscal Choice,” presented at the University of Maryland Public Economics Seminar (March, 1991).
- (238) “Political Regimes and Pollution Control,” presented for the Public Choice Center’s Outreach Program (June, 1991).
- (239) “Rationality, Reciprocity and Morality,” (with V. Vanberg) presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (October, 1990).
- (240) “Political Regimes and Pollution Control,” presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (September, 1990).
- (241) “Ethnic Aspects of Public Finance,” presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (September, 1989).
- (242) “The Role of Ideology in a Rent-Seeking Society,” presented at the Institute for Humane Studies (April, 1989).
- (243) “Public Finance and Public Choice” presented for the Public Choice Center’s Outreach Program (June, 1989).
- (244) “Is Rawlsian Bureaucracy Deadly, Dull or Dynamic?” presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (September, 1988).
- (245) “The Growth of Social Security Expenditures, Demand Push or Political Pull” (with W. Shughart) presented to the University of West Virginia Economics Department (Spring, 1988).

- (246) "Politics, Annexation Institutions and Local Fiscal Choice," presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Seminar Series (Spring, 1987).
- (247) "The Value of the Veil, How Much Distributive Information is Enough?" Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (Fall, 1986).
- (248) "Rent Seeking in the Private Sector: comments on Demsetz, Tollison and Cornwall," presented at the Middlebury College Conference on Rent Seeking (Spring 1983).