

# VITA

## Roger D. Congleton

December 12, 2003

### Office

Center for Study of Public Choice  
Carow Hall MS#1D3  
George Mason University  
Fairfax, VA 22030  
(703) 993 2328  
(703) 993 2323 fax  
Congleto@gmu.edu

### Home

5423 McDuffie Lane  
Fairfax, VA 22030  
USA  
  
(703) 278 9659

### Professional Experience:

1995 - present	Professor of Economics, George Mason University
1988 - present	Senior Research Associate, Center for Study of Public Choice.
1999 - present	Senior Research Associate, SNS, Stockholm, Sweden.
2003 - present	Visiting Professor of Public Policy, Universiteit of Leiden, Leiden, the Netherlands.
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.
1998	Visiting Professor of Economics, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain.
1995	Visiting Professor of Economics, Stockholm School of Economics, Stockholm, Sweden.
1993	Director's Research Fellow, Research School for Social Science, Australian National University, Canberra Australia.
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, Fairfax, VA
1986-1987	Bradley Postdoctoral Fellow and Research Associate, Center for Study of Public Choice, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA
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

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 Monographs

- (1) *Improving Democracy through Constitutional Reform: Some Swedish Lessons*. Boston, Dordrecht, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers. ISBN 1402074328, 256 pages (2003).
- (2) *Att Förbättra Demokratin: En Politisk-Ekonomisk Analys av Sveriges Grundlag* (In Swedish). Stockholm: SNS Förlag, ISBN 91 7150-842-2, 221 pages (2002).
- (3) *Politics by Principle, Not Interest: Towards Nondiscriminatory Democracy* (with James M. Buchanan) New York, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 170 pages (1998).  
  
To be translated into Chinese by the China Social Sciences Documentation Publishing House via agreement with Cambridge University Press (2003: forthcoming).  
  
To be translated into Japanese by the Professor Hirada of the Japanese Public Choice Society.
- (4) *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).
- (5) *The Economic Analysis of Rent Seeking*. (with R. D. Tollison) Edited, with introduction by R. D. Congleton and R. D. Tollison. London: Edgar Elgar Press. 397 pages (1995).
- (6) 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)  
  
To be translated into Chinese by Mr. Xiangda Zhang, published by Dongbei University of Finance & Economics Press (2003: forthcoming).

## Articles Published in Academic Journals

- (7) "Mutual Advantages of Coercion and Exit within Private Clubs and Treaty Organizations: Toward a Logic of Voluntary Association," *Revista de Political Economy* (forthcoming, 2004)
- (8) "Economic Development and Democracy, Does Industrialization Lead to Universal Suffrage?" *Homo Economicus* (forthcoming, 2004)
- (9) "The Political Economy of Gordon Tullock," *Public Choice* (forthcoming, 2004).
- (10) "Agency Problems and the Allocation of International Environmental Grants: The Return to Rio," *Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche* (forthcoming, 2003).
- (11) "A Theory of Menu Federalism, Decentralization by Political Agreement" (with Andreas Kyriacou and Jordi Bacaria) *Constitutional Political Economy* 14 (2003):167- 190. (Lead article)
- (12) "The Future of Public Choice," *Public Choice Studies* 40 (in English) (2003): 5-23. (Lead article)
- (13) "Tax-Base Enforcement and Leviathan: On the Allocation of Tax Enforcement Effort," *Public Finance Review* 30 (2002): 456-476.
- (14) "In Defense of Ignorance," *Eastern Economic Journal* 27 (2001): 391-408.
- (15) "On the Durability of King and Council: the Continuum Between Dictatorship and Democracy," *Constitutional Political Economy* 12 (2001):193-215. (Lead article)
- (16) "Rational Ignorance and Rationally Biased Expectations: The Discrete Informational Foundations of Fiscal Illusion," *Public Choice* 107 (2001): 35-64.
- (17) "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.

- (18) "The Stability Inducing Properties of Unstable Coalitions," ( with R. D. Tollison) *European Journal of Political Economy* 15 (1999): 193-205.
- (19) "Voter Discernment and Candidate Entry in Pluralitarian Elections," (with B. Steunenberg) *Public Choice* (1998): 287-305.
- (20) "Political Efficiency and Equal Protection of the Law," *Kyklos* 50 (1997): 485-505.
- (21) "On the Rationality of Mutually Immiserating Coercion," (with P. Fudulu) *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* (1996): 133-136.
- (22) "Toward a Transactions Cost Theory of Environmental Treaties: Substantive and Symbolic Environmental Agreements," *Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche* (1995): 119-139.
- (23) "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)
- (24) "Constitutional Federalism and Decentralization," *Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche* (1994, no. 1):15-30.
- (25) "Towards a First Best Conservation Regulation: On the Political Economy of Demand Side Management," *Public Choice Studies* (in Japanese) 23:(1994): 35-48.
- (26) "The Incumbency Dilemma and Rent Extraction by Legislators," (with J. M. Buchanan) *Public Choice* 79 (1994): 47-60.
- (27) "The Politics of Government Debt," *Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche* (1992, no.1): 17-34.
- (28) "Political Institutions and Pollution Control," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 74 (August, 1992): 412-421.
- (29) Reprinted in: *The Political Economy of Environmental Regulation*. R. N. Stavins Ed. The International Library of Critical Writings in Economics, Edgar Elgar (forthcoming, 2004).
- (30) Reprinted in: *The Economics of International Environmental Agreements*. A. A. Batabyal, Ed. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Co. (2000): 147-156.
- (31) 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.
- (32) "Rationality, Morality, and Exit," (with Viktor Vanberg) *American Political Science Review* 86 (June, 1992): 418-431.
- (33) "The Value of the Veil, How Much Distributional Information is Enough?" (with W. Sweetser) *Public Choice* 73 (January, 1992): 1-19. (Lead Article)
- (34) "The Economic Role of a Work Ethic," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 15 (1991): 365-385.
- (35) "Ideological Conviction and Persuasion in the Rent-Seeking Society," *Journal of Public Economics* 44 (February, 1991): 65-86.
- (36) Reprinted in: *The Economic Analysis of Rent Seeking*. R. D. Tollison and Congleton R. D. Eds. London: Edgar Elgar Press (1995): 265-286.
- (37) "Information, Special Interests, and Single-Issue Voting," *Public Choice* 69 (February, 1991): 39-49.
- (38) "The Growth of Social Security Expenditures, Electoral Push or Political Pull?" (with W. Shughart) *Economic Inquiry* 28 (January, 1990): 109-132.
- (39) "Monitoring Rent-Seeking Managers: Advantages of Diffuse Ownership," *Canadian Journal of Economics* 22 (August, 1989): 662-672.
- (40) "Campaign Finances and Political Platforms: the Economics of Political Controversy," *Public Choice* 62 (August, 1989): 101-118. (Lead Article)
- (41) "Efficient Status Seeking: Externalities and the Evolution of Status Games," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 11 (1989): 175-190.
- (42) "Evaluating Rent-Seeking Losses," *Public Choice* 56 (1988): 181-184.
- (43) Reprinted in: *The Economic Analysis of Rent Seeking*. R. D. Tollison and Congleton R. D. Eds. London: Edgar Elgar Press (1995):365-368.

- (44) "An Overview of the Contractarian Public Finance of James Buchanan," *Public Finance Quarterly* 16 (April 1988): 131-157. (Lead Article)
- (45) "Rent-Seeking Aspects of Political Advertising," *Public Choice* 49 (1986): 249-265.
- (46) "Committees and Rent-Seeking Effort," *Journal of Public Economics* 25 (1984): 197-209.
- (47) Reprinted in: *The Political Economy of Rent-Seeking*, C. Rowley, R. Tollison, and G. Tullock Eds. Kluwer Academic Publishers (1988): 251-266.
- (48) "Non-Global Social Contracts: A Note on Inefficient Social Institutions," (with R. Blewett) *Public Choice* 41 (1983): 441-448.
- (49) "Economic Conditions and National Elections, Post-Sample Forecasts of the Kramer Equations," (with H. S. Atesoglu) *American Political Science Review* 76 (1982): 873-875.
- (50) "A Model of Asymmetric Bureaucratic Inertia," *Public Choice* 39 (1982): 421-425.
- (51) "The Price Variability of Onions," *Atlantic Journal of Economics* 9 (1981): 86-87.
- (52) "Proportional and Progressive Income Taxation with Utility Maximizing Governments," (with J. Buchanan) *Public Choice* 34 (1979): 217-230.
- (53) Reprinted in: *Explorations into Constitutional Economics*, Tollison, R. D. and Vanberg, V. Eds. Texas A&M Press (1989): 294-308.

### Other Papers in Books

- (54) "Social Science and History: How Predictable is Political Behavior?" in *Understanding Change: Economics, Natural and Social Sciences in Dialogue*. A. Wimmer, Ed., New York: Palgrave Macmillan (forthcoming, 2004).
- (55) "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 (forthcoming 2003).
- (56) "On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Predictability within Partisan Polities," *Year Book of New Political Economy* Vol. 22 (forthcoming 2003) M. J. Holler, H. Kliemt, D. Schmidtchen, and M. E. Streit. Eds., Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck.
- Entries in *The Encyclopedia of Public Choice*, C. K. Rowley and F. Schneider, Eds, Kluwer Academic Press (forthcoming 2003).
- (57) "The Median Voter Model"
- (58) "Rent Seeking and Political Institutions"
- (59) "Generality and the Efficiency of Government Decision Making"
- (60) "Environmental Politics and Economic Development"
- (61) "Buchanan and the Virginia School," *Method and Morals in Constitutional Economics. Essays in Honor of James M. Buchanan*. Berlin: Springer Verlag. (2002): 23-38.
- (62) "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.
- (63) "The Politics of Government Growth," in Shughart, W. F. and Razzolini L. *Elgar Companion to Public Choice*, Edward Elgar Publishers, Ltd. (2001): 457-493.
- (64) "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.
- (65) "Políticas y Decisiones Públicas Medioambientales", with J. Bacaria, in Galindo, M. A. ed. *Economía y Medioambiente*, Madrid: Ed. Trotta (1999, in Spanish): 79-111.
- (66) "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.

- (67) "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.
- (68) "The Economic Analysis of Rent Seeking," (with R. D. Tollison) in *The Economic Analysis of Rent-Seeking*. Edgar Elgar Publishers Ltd. (1995): xi-xix.
- (69) "Anayasal Federalizm ve Ademi Merkeziyetçilik (Constitutional Federalism and Decentralization)" *Ekonomik Anayasa Sempozyumu*, Takav Matbaabi: Ankara, Turkey (1993):115-134 (in Turkish).
- (70) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations, and Fiscal Illusion," *Papers in Political Economy* 21 (May, 1992) ISBN: 0-7714-1387-4, University of Western Ontario.
- (71) "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.
- (72) Reprinted in: *The Economic Analysis of Rent Seeking*. R. D. Tollison and Congleton R. D. Eds. London: Edgar Elgar Press (1995):101-127.

### Other Policy Oriented Publications

- (73) "Terrorism, Interest Group Politics, and Public Policy: Curtailing Criminal Modes of Political Speech," *Independent Review* 7 (Summer, 2002): 47-67.
- (74) "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).
- (75) "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).
- (76) "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.
- (77) "International Institutions for Environmental Protection: Transactions Costs and Environmental Treaties," *Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, Nota Di Lavoro* 39.94 ( 35 pages, 1994).
- (78) "The Economics of Geothermal Heatpumps," U. S. Department of Energy (81 pages, 1993).

### Internet and Other Publications

- (79) *A Festschrift in Honor of Gordon Tullock's 80th Birthday*. <http://publicchoice.org/TullockTales/index.htm>, (Center for Study of Public Choice website activated in Spring 2002)
- (80) "Politics by Extraordinary Means: An Overview of the Political Economy of Gordon Tullock," published in the *internet festschrift* honoring Gordon Tullock's 80th birthday (30 pages, 2002).
- (81) "Buchanan and the Virginia School," published in the *internet festschrift* honoring James Buchanan's 80th Birthday (17 pages, 1999).

### Book Reviews

- (82) *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.
- (83) *Public Spending in the 20th Century*. by Vito Tanzi and Ludger Schuknecht, Cambridge University Press, 2000. Reviewed for *Public Choice* (2001): 197-200.
- (84) *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.
- (85) *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.
- (86) *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.

- (87) *Agenda Formation*, Edited by William H. Riker. Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993. Reviewed for *Public Choice* 80 (1994): 407-409.
- (88) *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.
- (89) *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.

## Doctoral Dissertation

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

## Funded Research

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

"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

*Public Choice* (2004 - present)

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

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

*European Journal of Political Economy* (2000 - present)

*Atlantic Economic Journal* (1999 - present)

## Journals Refereed for

*American Economic Review*

*Eastern Economic Journal*

*Economic Inquiry*

*Economica*

*Independent Review*

*Journal of Constitutional Political Economy*

*Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*

*Journal of Public Economics*

*Public Finance Quarterly*

*Southern Economic Journal*

*Scandinavian Journal of Economics*

*Canadian Economic Journal*

*Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche*

*Economic Journal*

*European Journal of Political Economy*

*International Review of Economics and Finance*

*Journal of Development Economics*

*Journal of Law and Economics*

*Public Choice*

*Quarterly Journal of Business and Economics*

*Review of Economics and Statistics*

*Social Science Quarterly*

## Granting Organizations Reviewed for

National Science Foundation

U. S. Department of Energy

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

## Book Publishers Reviewed for

Cambridge University Press

University of Michigan Press

Kluwer Academic Publishers

New York University Press  
Princeton University Press  
West Publishers

## Professional Affiliations (past and present)

American Economic Association	Southern Economic Society
Public Choice Society	Western Economic Society
European Public Choice Society	Canadian Economic Association
Royal Economic Society	

## Ongoing Research: Working Papers and Book Manuscripts

"Rent-Seeking under Leviathan, How Efficient can Leviathan Be?" (with Sanghack Lee, Under review at the *Journal of Public Economics*.)

"The Moral Voter Hypothesis: Economic and Normative Aspects of Public Policy Formation within Democracies" (Under review at *the Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*)

"Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties" (*Under review at the Rand Journal of Economics*).

"Altruistic Voting, Some Electoral Implications of Civic Virtue," (under review at the *Journal of Political Economy*).

"Do Constitutions Matter? Some Evidence from Swedish Constitutional History" (under review at the *Journal of Economic History*)

*Perfecting Parliament: From Dictatorship to Democracy without Revolution* (Book manuscript in progress, est 300 pages) (Cambridge University Press).

*Constitutional Design and Prosperity*. (Edited Book manuscript, est 300 pages) (Cambridge University Press).

"Central Bank Independence and the Politicized Allocation of Credit," (with Gustavo Arteta, under revision for the *Journal of Monetary Economics*).

"Assessing the Effects of Bicameral Legislatures within Partisan, Parliamentary, and Presidential Systems"

"From Dictatorship to Democracy without Revolution: Economic Growth and Constitutional Exchange within the King and Council Template"

"Conservation Regulation: Cyclic Demand, Externalities and Politics"

"Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation: On the Political Economy of Demand Side Management."

"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, under revision for *Public Choice*).

"Manipulating the Demand for Bureaucratic Services" (With Fabio Padovano, under revision).

"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) "Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy," (*Plenary Session*) Japanese Economic Policy Association (JEPA) Nagoya University, Nagoya, Japan (November 29, 2003).
- (2) "On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Predictability within Partisan Polities," Japanese Public Choice Society (*Plenary Session*) Hiroshima, Japan. (July 5, 2003).
- (3) "On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Predictability within Partisan Polities," Public Choice Society, Aarhus, DK (April 28, 2003).
- (4) "On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Predictability within Partisan Polities," Public Choice Society, Nashville TN (March 22, 2003).
- (5) "The Future of Public Choice," (*Plenary Session*) Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo, Japan (July 14, 2002).
- (6) "The Political Economy of Terrorism," Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo, Japan (July 14, 2002).
- (7) "Agency Problems and the Allocation of International Environmental Grants: The Return to Rio," Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo, Japan (July 13, 2002).
- (8) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties," European Public Choice Society, Belgrate, Italy (April 4, 2002).
- (9) "Politics by Extraordinary Means: An Overview of the Political Economy of Gordon Tullock," Public Choice Society, San Diego California (March 23, 2002).
- (10) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties," Public Choice Society, San Diego, California (March 23, 2002).
- (11) "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).
- (12) "Altruistic Voting, Some Electoral Implications of Civic Virtue," Japanese Public Choice Society Meetings, Tokyo, Japan (July 7, 2001).
- (13) "Do Constitutions Matter? Some Evidence from Sweden" European Public Choice Society Meetings, Paris, France (April 13, 2001).
- (14) "200 Years of Swedish Constitutional History, a Public Choice Approach" Public Choice Society Meetings, San Antonio TX (March 10, 2001).
- (15) "On the Durability of King and Council, a Universal Constitutional Template," (*Millennium Plenary Session*) European Public Choice Society, Sienna, Italy (April 27, 2000).
- (16) "Government Policies, R&D, and Monopolization: Ramsay and Schumpeter meet Buchanan and Tullock," Public Choice Society, Charleston SC (March 12, 2000).
- (17) "Rent-Seeking, Leviathan, and Monopolization Policies: Schumpeter and Ramsay Meet Tullock and Buchanan," Public Choice Society, Charleston SC (March 11, 2000).
- (18) "The Political and Economic Origins of Asymmetric Federalism" (with Andreas Kyriacou and Jordi Bacaria) European Public Choice Society, Lisbon Portugal (April 1999).
- (19) "The Politics of Government Growth," Public Choice Society, New Orleans (March 1999)
- (20) "The Political and Economic Origins of Asymmetric Federalism" (with Andreas Kyriacou and Jordi Bacaria) Public Choice Society, New Orleans (April 1999).
- (21) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking," European Public Choice Society, Goteberg Sweden (April 1998).
- (22) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking," Public Choice Society, New Orleans (March 1998).
- (23) "Private Morality, Politics, and Public Policy," Public Choice Society of Japan, Chiba University and Tokyo Japan (August 1997).

- (24) "Public Choice, Efficiency and Equal Protection," European Public Choice Society, Prague (April 1997).
- (25) "Private Morality, Politics, and Public Policy," Public Choice Society, San Francisco (March 1997).
- (26) "Generality without Uniformity: Federalism," Public Choice Society, San Francisco (March 1997).
- (27) "Public Choice, Efficiency and Equal Protection," Public Choice Society, Houston, Texas (April, 1996).
- (28) "Return to Rio: Agency Problems and the Political Economy of Environmental Treaties," Public Choice Society, Houston, Texas (April, 1996).
- (29) "Joint Production, Exit and Reciprocity," European Public Choice Society, Saarbrucken, Germany (April, 1995).
- (30) "Manipulating the Demand for Bureaucratic Services," European Public Choice Society, Saarbrucken, Germany (April, 1995).
- (31) "Voting by Altruists," Public Choice Society, Long Beach California, (March 1995).
- (32) "Voting by Altruists," European Public Choice Society, Valencia, Spain (April 7,1994).
- (33) "Toward a First Best Conservation Regulation," Southern Economic Society, New Orleans (November 21, 1993).
- (34) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo, Japan (July 27, 1993)
- (35) "The Market for Special Interest Groups," European Public Choice Society, Portrush, N. Ireland (April, 1993).
- (36) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Public Choice Society Meetings, New Orleans (March 1993).
- (37) "Limitations of a Dictator's Encompassing Interest," Public Choice Society Meetings, New Orleans (March 1993).
- (38) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Western Economic Association, San Francisco (June 1992).
- (39) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations and Fiscal Illusion," Western Economic Association Meetings, San Francisco (1992).
- (40) "Institutions for Internalizing International Environmental Externalities," European Public Choice Society Turin, Italy (April, 1992).
- (41) "Voter Discernment and Candidate Entry in Pluralitarian Elections," (with Bernard Steunenberg) European Public Choice Society Turin, Italy (April 1992).
- (42) "The Market for Politically Active Special Interest Groups," Public Choice Society, New Orleans (March, 1992).
- (43) "Voter Discernment and Candidate Entry in Pluralitarian Elections," (with Bernard Steunenberg) Public Choice Society, New Orleans (March, 1992).
- (44) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations and Fiscal Illusion," Southern Economic Association Meetings Nashville (November, 1991).
- (45) "Political Regimes and Pollution Control," European Public Choice Society; Beaune, France (April, 1991).
- (46) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations and Fiscal Illusion," Public Choice Society Meetings, New Orleans (March, 1991).
- (47) "Complex Constitutional Dynamics," (with K. Warneryd) Public Choice Society Meetings, New Orleans (March, 1991).
- (48) "Rationality, Reciprocity and Morality," (with Viktor Vanberg) Public Choice Society Meetings (1991) New Orleans. ( Also served as discussant for paper by Gordon Tullock.)
- (49) "The Politics of Pollution," American Economics Association, (1990) Washington, D. C. (Also served as discussant for papers by: S. Farrow and R. P. Judge.)
- (50) "Annexation Institutions and Local Fiscal Choice," Southern Economics Association (1990) New Orleans.

- (51) "Is a Rawlsian Bureaucracy Deadly, Dull, or Dynamic? Optimal Bounds for Bureaucratic Discretion," European Public Choice Society (1990), Meersburg, Germany.
- (52) "Is a Rawlsian Bureaucracy Deadly, Dull, or Dynamic? Optimal Bounds for Bureaucratic Discretion," Public Choice Society (1990), Tucson, Arizona.
- (53) "Ideology and Rent-Seeking," Public Choice Society (1989), Orlando, Florida.
- (54) "How Much Distributional Information is Enough: The Value of the Veil," Public Choice Society (1988), San Francisco (with W. Sweetser)
- (55) "Campaign Finances and Political Platforms: the Economics of Political Controversy," Public Choice Society (1987), Tucson, Arizona. (Also Chaired session on "Preferences and Elections").
- (56) "Annexation Institutions and Local Fiscal Choice," Public Choice Society (1986), Baltimore, Maryland. (Also Chaired session on "Constitutional Choice").
- (57) "Rent-seeking Aspects of Political Advertising," Public Choice Society (1985), New Orleans. (Also Chaired session on "Empirical Public Choice")
- (58) "Fiscal Choice, Locational Rents, and Property Values," (with J. Mullen) Public Choice Society (1984), Phoenix, Arizona.
- (59) "Tax Base Enforcement and the 'Voluntary' Overpayment of Taxes," Public Choice Society (1983), Savannah, Georgia.
- (60) "Global and Non-Global Social Contracts," (with R. Blewett) Public Choice Society (1982), San Antonio, Texas.
- (61) "Administrative Structure and Grant Seeking Effort," Public Choice Society (1981), New Orleans.
- (62) "Rent Seeking and the Costs of Competitive Processes," Public Choice Society (1979), Charleston, South Carolina.

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

- (63) "Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy," Conference on Globalization and National Government Policies, Aichi Gakuin University, Nagoya, Japan (November 27, 2003).
- (64) "On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Predictability within Partisan Polities," London School of Economics and Politics (LSE), Department of Government Seminar. (October 15, 2003).
- (65) "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).
- (66) "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).
- (67) "Economic Development and Democratic Political Reform" ICES Conference on Revolutions, Villa Gualino, Turin, Italy (June 7, 2003)
- (68) "On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Stability within Partisan Polities," CSLE Conference on European Governance, Saarbrucken, Germany (October 10, 2002)
- (69) "Constitutionalism and Good Government, Organizing Governance to Broaden Consensus," SNS, Stockholm, Sweden (September, 28, 2002).
- (70) "The Political Economy of Terrorism," Chuo University, Tokyo, Japan (July 10, 2002).
- (71) "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).
- (72) "Agency Problems and the Allocation of International Environmental Grants: The Return to Rio," Stockholm School of Economics, Stockholm Sweden (April 25, 2002)

- (73) "Agency Problems and the Allocation of International Environmental Grants: The Return to Rio," University of Rome, La Sapienza, Rome Italy (April 2, 2002)
- (74) "Assessing the Effects of Bicameral Legislatures within Partisan, Parliamentary, and Presidential Systems," SNS Workshop on Constitutional Reform, Stockholm, Sweden (September 28, 2001)
- (75) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking," Chuo University, Tokyo Japan (July 14, 2001).
- (76) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties" University of Kyoto, Japan, (July 9, 2001).
- (77) "Governing the Global Environmental Commons: The Political Economy of International Environmental Treaties and Institutions," LAEP, University of Paris (the Sabone) Paris, France (May 22, 2001).
- (78) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties," University of Mannheim, Germany (May 18, 2001).
- (79) "Governing the Global Environmental Commons: The Political Economy of International Environmental Treaties and Institutions," University of Mannheim, Germany (May 18, 2001).
- (80) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties," University of Freiburg, Germany (May 17, 2001).
- (81) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties," St. Gallen University, Switzerland (May 15, 2001).
- (82) "Perfecting Parliament: Constitutional Analysis and Reform," SNS Seminar. (November 9, 2000).
- (83) "On the Merits of Bicameralism," Constitutional Reference Group, SNS, Stockholm (November 9, 2000).
- (84) "Economic and Cultural Prerequisites for Democracy," Villa Columbella Meeting, Parma, Italy (September 9, 2000).
- (85) "Economic and Cultural Prerequisites for Democracy," Universita Roma degli Studi La Sapienza, Rome Italy (September 5, 2000).
- (86) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent Seeking," Department of Economics, University of Montreal (September 29, 1998).
- (87) Conference Participant: "Liberty, Generality, and Minimal Coercion," Spitzingsee, Germany (May 7-10, 1998). [Conference focused on the Buchanan and Congleton book]
- (88) "The Public Choice Approach to Public Policy," Department of Economics, Jonkoping, Sweden (April 29, 1998).
- (89) "On the Political Economy of Environmental Protection," (June 8, 1995). Department of Economics, Wurzburg University.
- (90) "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.
- (91) "Return to Rio: Agency Problems and the Political Economy of Environmental Treaties," (June 1, 1995). Department of Economics, Aarhus University.
- (92) "Joint Production, Exit and Cooperation," Stockholm School of Economics, (May 16, 1995).
- (93) "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.)
- (94) "Constitutional Federalism and Decentralization," Universita Roma degli Studi La Sapienza, Rome Italy (June 6, 1994).
- (95) "A Transactions Cost Theory of International Treaties," Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain (April 11, 1994).
- (96) "Joint Production, Exit and Cooperation," University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia (August 13, 1993).
- (97) "The Market for Special Interest Groups," Tokai University, Tokyo, Japan (July 28, 1993)..

- (98) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Department of Government, University Queensland, Brisbane, Australia (July 23, 1993).
- (99) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Department of Economics, University of Adelaide, Adelaide Australia (July 19, 1993).
- (100) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Research School for Social Science (Economics), Australian National University, Canberra Australia (July 16, 1993).
- (101) "Ethnic Clubs, Ethnic Conflict, and the Rise of Ethnic Nationalism," presented at the Villa Colombella conference, Perugia Italy (September 6, 1992).
- (102) "Constitutional Federalism and Decentralization" presented at Ekonomik Anayasa Sempozyumu (Conference on Economic Constitutions, Ankara, Turkey (May 29, 1992).
- (103) "Institutions for Internalizing Environmental Externalities," Twente University, Enschede, the Netherlands. (April 27, 1992).
- (104) "Public Policies and Fiscal Uncertainty: The Case of Debt," Università di Roma, "La Sapienza," Rome, Italy. (April 21, 1992).
- (105) "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).
- (106) "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).
- (107) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations, and Fiscal Illusion" presented at University of Western Ontario Political Economy Workshop. (November, 1991).

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

- (108) "On the Merits of Unbiased Bicameralism," Center for Study of Public Choice (November 5, 2002).
- (109) "Congratulations: The Value of Fuzzy Plans," Graduation Talk for Virginia Tech Department of Economics Blacksburg, VA (May 11, 2002).
- (110) "Notes on the Political Economy of Terrorism," Center for Study of Public Choice (Sept. 11, 2001).
- (111) "The Politics of Government Growth," Center for Study of Public Choice (April 14, 1999).
- (112) "The Public Choice Approach to Environmental Policy," for the graduate program in Environmental Science and Public Policy, GMU (February 3, 1999).
- (113) "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).
- (114) "Free Riding and Exit: On the Personal Advantage of Cooperation in Voluntary Joint Enterprises," National Science Foundation (April 8, 1998).
- (115) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking," State University of New York at Binghamton (April 4, 1998).
- (116) "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).
- (117) "Private Morality and Public Policy," for the Department of Economics, University of Delaware (February 24, 1998).
- (118) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking," Center for Study of Public Choice (February 11, 1998).
- (119) "Some Problems with Stochastic Voting Models," Public Choice Center Luncheon Seminar (March 25, 1997)
- (120) "Private Morality, Politics and Public Policy" Public Choice Center Seminar (March 5, 1997)
- (121) "Generality without Uniformity," Public Choice Center Luncheon Seminar (September 10, 1996)

- (122) "Public Choice, Efficiency and Equal Protection" Public Choice Center Luncheon Seminar (February 13, 1996)
- (123) "The Political Economy of Crime" Public Choice Center Luncheon Seminar (January 31, 1995)
- (124) "The Generalization Principle in Politics" (with J. M. Buchanan) Public Choice Center Seminar, November 2, 1994.
- (125) "The Political Economy of Environmental Treaties," Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (February 1, 1994).
- (126) "Altruistic Voting," Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (September 7, 1993).
- (127) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Department of Public Policy and Management, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, Luncheon Seminar (February 25, 1993).
- (128) "How Encompassing is a Dictator's Interest?" Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (February 2, 1993)
- (129) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (October 20, 1992).
- (130) "Preliminary Cost-Benefit Estimates of Geothermal Heat Pumps in Northern Virginia," U. S. Department of Energy, Washington, D. C. (March 9, 1992)
- (131) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations, and Fiscal Illusion," Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar. (October, 1991)
- (132) "Politics, Annexation Institutions, and Local Fiscal Choice," presented at the University of Maryland Public Economics Seminar. (March, 1991)
- (133) "Political Regimes and Pollution Control" presented for the Public Choice Center's Outreach Program. (June, 1991)
- (134) "Rationality, Reciprocity and Morality" (with V. Vanberg) presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar. (October, 1990)
- (135) "Political Regimes and Pollution Control" presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar. (September, 1990)
- (136) "Ethnic Aspects of Public Finance" presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar. (September, 1989)
- (137) "The Role of Ideology in a Rent-Seeking Society" presented at the Institute for Humane Studies. (April, 1989)
- (138) "Public Finance and Public Choice" presented for the Public Choice Center's Outreach Program. (June, 1989)
- (139) "Is Rawlsian Bureaucracy Deadly, Dull or Dynamic?" presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar. (September, 1988)
- (140) "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)
- (141) "Politics, Annexation Institutions and Local Fiscal Choice" presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Seminar Series. (Spring, 1987)
- (142) "The Value of the Veil, How Much Distributive Information is Enough?" Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar. (Fall, 1986)
- (143) "Rent Seeking in the Private Sector: comments on Demsetz, Tollison and Cornwall" presented at the Middlebury College Conference on Rent Seeking. (Spring 1983).

### **Media Appearances and Interviews**

- (144) Interviewed by Gary Hoffmeister, WPZZ-FM, Indianapolis IN (July 23, 2002) "The Risk of Terrorism" (live).

- (145) Interviewed by Christian Bourge of *United Press International* (August 5, 2002) "Assessing the Risk of Terrorism." (Mentioned prominently in subsequent UPI story, which was published in *Washington Times*, and noted on Drudge's Web News Service.)
- (146) Interviewed by Tom Glendening, *American Live*, Jones Radio Networks, "The Risk of Terrorism" (August 5, 2002) A thirty station network based in Seattle Washington (taped).
- (147) Interviewed by Keith Larson, *The Keith Larson Show*, WBT-AM, Charlotte NC (August 6, 2002) "The Risk of Terrorism" (live).
- (148) Interviewed by Joe Starrs, *News on Demand*, Free Congress Institute, (August 19, 2002) "Assessing the Risk of Terrorism" (taped for syndicated distribution).
- (149) Interviewed by Ken Hamblin, *American View Radio*, Denver, Colorado (August 19, 2002) "Assessing the Risk of Terrorism" (live/tape on about a dozen radio stations, syndicated mainly in the western United States).
- (150) Interviewed by *AllSci Magazine* on "Quantitative vs. Qualitative Assessments of the Risk of Terrorism" (September 13, 2002).
- (151) Interviewed by Allan Prell, live on KNRC-AM radio, Denver, Colorado. "Tax Reform" (October 11, 2002).
- (152) Interviewed by *Wall Street Journal* regarding the risk of terrorism (April 4, 2003).