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Professional Experience

2011 - Present	BB&T/Truist Professor of Economics, West Virginia University
2013 - Present	Coeditor in Chief, *Constitutional Political Economy*
2011 - Present	Adjunct Scholar, Center for Study of Public Choice
2016 - Present	Member Executive Board of Public Choice Society
2026	Visiting Professor of Economics, Cambridge University (March-May).
2026	PPE Scholar in Residence, Political Science, Duke University (February).
2025	Visiting Scholar, Eucken Institute, University of Freiburg (September-November).
2018 - 2020	President Public Choice Society (March through March)
2018	Visiting Scholar, Peltason Center for Study of Democracy, University of California-Irvine (January-March)
2017	Visiting Scholar, Institute for New Economic Thought (INET), Cambridge University, Cambridge UK (November).
2017, 2018	Visiting Professor of Economics, Aarhus Universitet, Aarhus, Denmark (September-October, April-May).
1995 - 2011	Professor of Economics, George Mason University (Affiliated Professor during 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 Chair in American Studies, University of Southern Denmark (August - July).

2005, 2006	Adam Smith Professor of Economics and Philosophy, Universitet Bayreuth, Germany (May-July).
2004 - 2006	Reference Board, SNS, Stockholm, Sweden.
1999 - 2005	Senior Research Associate, 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 van Leiden, Leiden, the Netherlands (August-June).
1999 - 2002	**General Director**, 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

President of the Public Choice Society (2018-20)

Dean's Award of Distinction for Service (WVU) 2014.

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

Adam Smith Visiting Professor of Economics and Philosophy, Universitet Bayreuth (2005, 2006)

Visiting Residential Fellow Nuffield College, Oxford University (January-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).

GE Young Scholars in Economics Program, University of Chicago, Summer 1982.

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) *Solving Social Dilemmas: Ethics, Politics, and Prosperity.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK ISBN 9780197642766 [460 pages] (2022).

(2) *Oxford Handbook of Public Choice.* (Volume One) Edited, with Bernard Grofman and Stefan Voigt. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 9780190469733 [998 pages] (2019).

(3) *Oxford Handbook of Public Choice.* (Volume Two) Edited, with Bernard Grofman and Stefan Voigt. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 9780190469771. [960 pages] (2019).

(4) *A Companion to the Rent-Seeking Literature*. Edited, with A. Hillman, London: Edward Elgar Press. ISBN 978-1-7824-493-7 [532 pages] (2015).

(5) *Perfecting Parliament: Liberalism, Constitutional Reform, and the Emergence of Western Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN-13: 9780521151696 and 9780521764605. [672 pages] (2011).

(6) A Subset was Translated into Japanese by A. Yokoyama, H. Kato and colleagues, Tokyo: Keiso Shobo (Fall, 2015) ISBN978-4-326-50416-9.

(7) *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research*. (Volume One) Edited with introduction by R. D. Congleton, A. L Hillman and K. Konrad. Heidelberg: Springer. ISBN 978-3-540-79181-2 [695 pages] (2008).

(8) *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research*. (Volume Two) Edited with introduction by R. D. Congleton, A. L Hillman and K. Konrad. Heidelberg: Springer. ISBN 978-3-540-79185-0, [1509 pages] (815 pages) (2008).

(9) *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).

(10) *Improving Democracy through Constitutional Reform: Some Swedish Lessons*. Boston, Dordrecht, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers. ISBN 1402074328, [256 pages] (2003).

(11) *Att Förbättra Demokratin: En Politisk-Economisk Analys av Sveriges Grundlag* (In Swedish). Stockholm: SNS Förlag, ISBN 91 7150-842-2, [221 pages] (2002).

(12) *Politics by Principle, Not Interest: Towards Nondiscriminatory Democracy*. (with James M. Buchanan) New York, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [170 pages] (1998).

(13) 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).

(14) *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).

(15) *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).

(16) 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

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

Articles Published in Academic Journals (Organized by Date)

(18) "Constitutional Political Economy and the Nature and Effects of Rights," *Kyklos* 79(1) (2026): 273-284. https://doi.org/10.1111/kykl.70030

(19) "Rent Seeking in Constitutional Context: Linkages and Constraints," *Constitutional Political Economy* (2026) 37: 149-172. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10602-024-09460-1

(20) "Optimal Taxation for Democracies with Less than Perfect Voters: A Public Choice Perspective," *Kyklos* (2024) 77(1): 3-21. **https://doi.org/10.1111/kykl.12356**).

(21) "Grounding Multidisciplinary Public Policy Analysis in Methodological Individualism: With an Illustrating Study of the Economic and Political Effects of Variations in a Nation's Average Work Ethic," *International Journal of Economic Policy Studies*. (2023) 17: 351-83. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42495-023-00109-9

(22) "Federalism and Pandemic Policies," *Public Choice* (2023) 195: 73-100. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-021-00915-9.

(23) "Readership and Citations as Alternative Measures of Impact," (with A. Marsella and A. J. Cardazzi) *Constitutional Political Economy* (2022) 33: 100-14. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10602-021-09333-x

(24) "Behavioral Economics and the Virginia School of Political Economy: Overlaps and Complementarities," *Public Choice* (2022) 191: 387-404. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-019-00679-3

(25) "Ethics and Good Governance," *Public Choice* (2020) 184: 379-98. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-020-00824-3

(26) "The Institutions of International Treaty Organizations as Evidence for Social Contract Theory," *European Journal of Political Economy* (2020) 63: 101891. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2020.101891

(27) "Governance by True Believers: Supreme Duties with and without Totalitarianism," *Constitutional Political Economy* (2020) 31(1): 111-141. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10602-020-09300-y

(28) "On the Stability of U. S. Politics: Post-Sample Forecasts and Refinements of the Congleton-Shughart Models of Social Security and Medicare Benefit Levels," (with Y. Kim and A. Marsella) *Public Choice* (2020) 183(1): 101-132. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-019-00689-1

(29) "Fiscal Bargaining and the Implicit Fiscal Constitutions of Liberal Democracies: A Public Choice Perspective," *Public Policy Review* (PRI) (2019) 15 (2): 175-198.

(30) "A Test of the Institutionally Induced Equilibrium Hypothesis: On the Limited Fiscal Impact of Two Celebrity Governors," (with Y. Zhou) *Economics of Governance* (2019) 20:103-28. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10101-018-0218-z

(31) "On the Emergence of a Classic Work: A Short History of the Impact of Gordon Tullock's Welfare Costs of Tariffs, Monopolies, and Theft," Public *Choice* (2019) 181: 5-12. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-018-0542-4

(32) "On the Political Economy of Privacy in Communities that Include both Friends and Foes," *Journal of Public Finance and Public Choice* (2018) 33: 127-44. https://doi.org/10.1332/251569118X15383982417957

(33) "On the Codetermination of Tax-Financed Medical R&D and Healthcare Expenditures: Models and Evidence," (with A. Batinti) *European Journal of Political Economy* (2018) 54: 175-88. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2018.03.006

(34) "Intellectual Foundations of Public Choice, the Forest from the Trees," *Public Choice* (2018) 175: 229-44. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-018-0545-1

(35) "A Short History of Constitutional Liberalism in America," *Constitutional Political Economy* (2018) 29: 137-70. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10602-018-9257-2

(36) "Constitutional Bargaining and the Quality of Contemporary African Institutions: A Test of the Incremental Reform Hypothesis," (with D. W. Yoo) *Journal of Institutional Economics* (2018) 14: 233-58. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1744137417000224

(37) "The Electoral Politics and Evolution of Complex Healthcare Systems," (with A. Batinti and R. Pietrantonio) *Kyklos* 70(4) (2017): 483-510. https://doi.org/10.1111/kykl.12146 (Lead Article)

(38) "Robert Tollison and the Economics of Politics," *Public Choice*, (2017) 171: 23-28. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-017-0422-3

(39) "Gordon Tullock's Implicit Analytical History of Government," *Constitutional Political Economy* (2016) 27:179-93. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10602-016-9213-y

(40) "The Logic of Collective Action and Beyond," *Public Choice* 164 (2015): 217-34. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-015-0266-7

(41) "Constitutional Political Economy and Rent Seeking: Organizations, Rules, and the Control of Rent-Seeking Losses," (Invited) *Revue d'Economie Politique* (forthcoming 2016).

(42) "Thanks to Gordon Tullock," *Public Choice* 162 (2015): 229-33. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-015-0231-5

(43) "The Contractarian Constitutional Political Economy of James Buchanan," *Constitutional Political Economy* (2014) 25: 39-67. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10602-013-9151-x

(44) "On the Inevitability of Divided Government and Improbability of a Complete Separation of Powers," *Constitutional Political Economy* 24 (2013): 177-98. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10602-013-9143-x

(45) "Is It All about Competence? The Human Capital of U. S. Presidents and Economic Performance," (with Y. Zhang) *Constitutional Political Economy* 24 (2013): 108-24. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10602-013-9138-7

(46) "Growing up with the Calculus of Consent," (Invited) *Public Choice* 152 (2012): 273-78. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-012-9967-3

(47) "The Constitutional Political Economy of Gordon Tullock," *Public Choice* 152 (2012): 131-46. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-011-9854-3

(48) "On the Political Economy and Limits of Crisis Insurance: The Case of the 2008–11 Bailouts." *Public Choice* 150 (2012): 399-423. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-011-9902-z

(49) "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. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-011-9835-6

(50) "The Rise of the Modern Welfare State, Ideology, Institutions, and Income Security: Analysis and Evidence" (with Feler Bose) *Public Choice* 144 (2010): 535-55. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-010-9673-y

(51) "On the Political Economy of the Financial Crisis and Bailout of 2008-09," *Public Choice* 140 (2009): 287-317. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-009-9478-z

(52) "Efficient Mercantilism? Revenue-Maximizing Monopolization Policies as Ramsey Taxation," (with Sanghack Lee) *European Journal of Political Economy* 25 (2009): 102-14. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2008.07.001

(53) "America's Neglected Debt to the Dutch, An Institutional Perspective," *Constitutional Political Economy* 19 (2008): 35-59. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10602-007-9029-x

(54) "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)

(55) "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. https://doi.org/10.1332/251569207X15664516463916 (lead article, published in 2008).

(56) "Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy: The Jury Theorem, Yardstick Competition, and Ignorance," *Public Choice* 132 (2007): 333-352. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-007-9155-z

(57) "On the Feasibility of a Liberal Welfare State: Agency and Exit Costs in Income Security Clubs," *Constitutional Political Economy* 18 (2007): 145-159. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10602-007-9018-0 (Lead Article).

(58) "From Royal to Parliamentary Rule without Revolution, the Economics of Constitutional Exchange within Divided Governments," *European Journal of Political Economy* 23(2) (2007): 261-284. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2007.04.002 (Lead Article).

(59) "The Globalization of Politics: Rational Choice and the Internationalization of Public Policy," *Civilization* (2006) 10: 35-45 (published in 2007, Invited)

(60) "Constitutional Exchange in Japan: From Shogunate to Parliamentary Democracy," *Public Choice Studies* 47 (2006): 5-29. (Lead Article).

(61) "International Public Goods and Agency Problems in Treaty Organizations," *Review of International Organizations* 1 (2006): 319-336. (Lead Article).

(62) "The Story of Katrina: New Orleans and the Political Economy of Catastrophe," *Public Choice* 127 (2006): 5-30. (Invited, Lead Article)

(63) "Informational Limits to Public Policy: Ignorance and the Jury Theorem," *Journal of Economic Policy Studies* 2 (2005): 3-15 (Lead Article).

(64) Reprinted in: *Public Choice and the Challenge of Democracy.* J. C. Pardo and P Schwartz, Eds. Edward Elgar (2007, pp. 206-219).

(65) "Mutual Advantages of Coercion and Exit within Private Clubs and Treaty Organizations: Toward a Logic of Voluntary Association," *Rivista di Politica Economica* 94(4) (2004): 49-78.

(66) Reprinted in: Brennan, G. *Coercive Power and its Allocation in the Emergent Europe.* London: Palgrave Macmillan (2005): 47-76.

(67) "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.)

(68) 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.

(69) 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.

(70) "Economic Development and Democracy, Does Industrialization Lead to Universal Suffrage?" *Homo Oeconomicus* 21(2) (2004): 283-311.

(71) "The Political Economy of Gordon Tullock," *Public Choice* 121 (2004):213-38.

(72) "The Political Economy of Gordon Tullock," reprinted in *Public Choice Studies* (in Japanese) (2005): 5-23. (Lead Article)

(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) "The Future of Public Choice," Public *Choice Studies* 40 (in English) (2003): 5-23. (Lead Article)

(76) "Agency Problems and the Allocation of International Environmental Grants: The Return to Rio," *Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche* 20 (2002):125-146. (published in late 2003).

(77) "Tax-Base Enforcement and Leviathan: On the Allocation of Tax Enforcement Effort," *Public Finance Review* 30 (2002): 456-476.

(78) "In Defense of Ignorance," *Eastern Economic Journal* 27 (*2001*): 391-407.

(79) "On the Durability of King and Council: The Continuum Between Dictatorship and Democracy," *Constitutional Political Economy* 12 (2001):193-215. (Lead Article)

(80) "Rational Ignorance and Rationally Biased Expectations: The Discrete Informational Foundations of Fiscal Illusion," *Public Choice* 107 (2001): 35-64.

(81) "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.

(82) "The Stability Inducing Properties of Unstable Coalitions," (with R. D. Tollison) *European Journal of Political Economy* 15 (1999): 193-205.

(83) "Voter Discernment and Candidate Entry in Pluralitarian Elections," (with B. Steunenberg) *Public Choice* 95 (1998): 287-305.

(84) "Political Efficiency and Equal Protection of the Law," *Kyklos* 50 (1997): 485-505.

(85) "On the Rationality of Mutually Immiserating Coercion," (with P. Fudulu) *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* (1996): 133-136.

(86) "Toward a Transactions Cost Theory of Environmental Treaties: Substantive and Symbolic Environmental Agreements," *Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche* (1995): 119-139.

(87) "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)

(88) "Constitutional Federalism and Decentralization," *Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche* (1994, no. 1):15-30.

(89) "Towards a First Best Conservation Regulation: On the Political Economy of Demand Side Management," *Public Choice Studies* (in Japanese) 23:(1994): 35-48.

(90) "The Incumbency Dilemma and Rent Extraction by Legislators," (with J. M. Buchanan) *Public Choice* 79 (1994): 47-60.

(91) "The Politics of Government Debt," *Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche* (1992, no.1): 17-34. "Political Institutions and Pollution Control," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 74 (August 1992): 412-421.

(92) 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.

(93) 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.

(94) Reprinted in: *The Economics of International Environmental Agreements.* A. A. Batabyal, Ed. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Co. (2000): 147-156.

(95) 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.

(96) "Rationality, Morality, and Exit," (with Viktor Vanberg) *American Political Science Review* 86 (June 1992): 418-431.

(97) "The Value of the Veil, How Much Distributional Information is Enough?" (with W. Sweetser) *Public Choice* 73 (January 1992): 1-19**.** (Lead Article)

(98) "The Economic Role of a Work Ethic," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 15 (1991): 365-385.

(99) "Ideological Conviction and Persuasion in the Rent-Seeking Society," *Journal of Public Economics* 44 (February 1991): 65-86.

(100) Reprinted in: *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research.* R. D. Congleton, A. L Hillman and K. Konrad, Eds. Heidelberg: Springer (2008).

(101) Reprinted in: *The Economic Analysis of Rent Seeking.* R. D. Tollison and Congleton R. D. Eds. London: Edward Elgar Press (1995): 265-286.

(102) "Information, Special Interests, and Single-Issue Voting," *Public Choice* 69 (February 1991): 39-49.

(103) "The Growth of Social Security Expenditures, Electoral Push or Political Pull?" (with W. Shughart) *Economic Inquiry* 28 (January 1990): 109-132.

(104) "Monitoring Rent-Seeking Managers: Advantages of Diffuse Ownership," *Canadian Journal of Economics* 22 (August 1989): 662-672.

(105) Reprinted in: *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research.* R. D. Congleton, A. L Hillman and K. Konrad, Eds. Heidelberg: Springer (2008).

(106) "Campaign Finances and Political Platforms: The Economics of Political Controversy," *Public Choice* 62 (August 1989): 101-118. (Lead Article)

(107) "Efficient Status Seeking: Externalities and the Evolution of Status Games," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 11 (1989): 175-190.

(108) Reprinted in: *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research.* R. D. Congleton, A. L Hillman and K. Konrad, Eds. Heidelberg: Springer (2006, forthcoming).

(109) "Evaluating Rent-Seeking Losses," *Public Choice* 56 (1988): 181-184.

(110) Reprinted in: *The Economic Analysis of Rent Seeking.* R. D. Tollison and R. D. Congleton, Eds. London: Edward Elgar Press (1995):365-368.

(111) "An Overview of the Contractarian Public Finance of James Buchanan," *Public Finance Quarterly* 16 (April 1988): 131-157. (Lead Article)

(112) "Rent-Seeking Aspects of Political Advertising," *Public Choice* 49 (1986): 249-263.

(113) Reprinted in: *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research.* R. D. Congleton, A. L Hillman, and K. Konrad, Eds. Heidelberg: Springer (2008).

(114) "Committees and Rent-Seeking Effort," *Journal of Public Economics* 25 (1984): 197-209.

(115) Reprinted in: *Forty Years of Rent-Seeking Research.* R. D. Congleton, A. L Hillman and K. Konrad, Eds. Heidelberg: Springer (2008).

(116) Reprinted in: *The Political Economy of Rent-Seeking*, C. Rowley, R. Tollison, and G. Tullock Eds. Kluwer Academic Publishers (1988): 251-266.

(117) "Non-Global Social Contracts: A Note on Inefficient Social Institutions," (with R. Blewett) *Public Choice* 41 (1983): 441-448.

(118) "Economic Conditions and National Elections, Post-Sample Forecasts of the Kramer Equations," (with H. S. Atesoglu) *American Political Science Review* 76 (1982): 873-875.

(119) "A Model of Asymmetric Bureaucratic Inertia," *Public Choice* 39 (1982): 421-425.

(120) "The Price Variability of Onions," *Atlantic Journal of Economics* 9 (1981): 86-87.

(121) "Proportional and Progressive Income Taxation with Utility Maximizing Governments," (with J. Buchanan) *Public Choice* 34 (1979): 217-230.

(122) Reprinted in: *Explorations into Constitutional Economics*, Tollison, R. D. and Vanberg, V. Eds. Texas A&M Press (1989): 294-308.

Other Academic Papers Published in Books

(123) "The Median Voter Model," *Elgar Encyclopedia of Public Choice* (C. Bjornskov and J. A. Pin, Eds) (Edward Elgar, 2025), Ch. 62.

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(125) "Federalism and Tax-Financed Health Care: Economics Advantages, Dilemmas, and Solutions. Handbook on the Political Economy of Health Systems. Edgar Elgar (2023: 57-69).

(126) "A Rule-Based Model of Man, *Homo Constitutionalus*" in (R. E. Wagner Ed.) *James M. Buchanan: A Theorist of Political Economy and Social Philosophy*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan. (2019) 769-805.

(127) "On the Evolution of Organizational Governance," in *Understanding Economic Change: Contributions to an Evolutionary Paradigm in Economics* (U. Witt ed), Cambridge University Press (2019, Ch. 8): 258-287.

(128) "Buchanan on Ethics and Self-Interest in Politics: A Contradiction or Reconciliation? ," in: *Buchanan's Tensions: Reexamining the Political Economy and Philosophy of James M. Buchanan*, eds. Peter J. Boettke and Solomon Stein. Arlington, VA: Mercatus Center at George Mason University (Fall 2018).

(129) "Rational Choice and Politics, An Introduction to Public Choice," *Oxford Handbook of Public Choice* (2018, Ch. 1).

(130) "The Political Economy of Rent Creation and Extraction," *Oxford Handbook of Public Choice* (2018, Ch. 27).

(131) "Parliaments as Governmental Institutions," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. (W. R. Thomson et. al Eds) (2018).

(132) Forward to *Individualism and Political Disorder*. J. M. Buchanan and Y. Yoon Edward Elgar (2015).

(133) "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) Edward Elgar (2015, forthcoming).

(134) "Rent Seeking, Rules and Organizational Evolution," *A Companion to the Rent-Seeking Literature*. (Edited, with A. Hillman) London: Edward Elgar Press. (2015).

(135) "The Nature of Rent Seeking," *A Companion to the Rent-Seeking Literature.* (Edited, with A. Hillman) London: Edward Elgar Press. (2015).

(136) "Asymmetric Federalism: Constitutional and Fiscal Exchange, and the Political Economy of Decentralization," in Ahmad, S. E. and Brosio, G. *Handbook of Multilevel Finance*. Cheltenham: Edgar Elgar (2015: Ch. 6): 124-43.

(137) "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.

(138) "Public Choice and the Modern Welfare State," (with A. Batinti, F. Bose, Y. Kim, and R. Pietrantonio) in Shughart, W. F., L. Razzolini and M. Reksulak (Eds) *Elgar Companion to Public Choice*, Edward Elgar Publishers, Ltd. (2013): 362-81.

(139) "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 (2013, Ch. 4).

(140) "On Some Neglected but Profound Contributions of Gordon Tullock," in D. Lee (ed.) *The Origins of Public Choice: The Legacy of Buchanan and Tullock*. Heidelberg: Springer (2012):33-42.

(141) "Rent Extraction, Liberalism, and Economic Development," *Institutional Economics and National Competitiveness*. (Y. B. Choi, Ed.) London: Routledge (2011, Ch. 4).

(142) "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).

(143) "Forty Years of Research on Rent Seeking: An Overview," (with A. L. Hillman and K. A. Konrad) in *Forty Years of Research on Rent Seeking*. Heidelberg: Springer. (2008): 1-44.

(144) "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.

(145) Chapter 1, "Rational Choice Politics and Political Institutions," (with Birgitta Swedenborg) *Democratic Constitutional Design* (MIT Press, 2006).

(146) Chapter 6, "On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Intragovernmental Bargaining and Policy Stability," *Democratic Constitutional Design* (MIT Press, 2006).

(147) Reprinted in: Voigt, S. (Ed.) (2013) *Design of Constitutions*. (Chapter 14) Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

(148) Chapter 12, "Amendment Procedures and Constitutional Stability," (with B. E. Rasch) *Democratic Constitutional Design* (MIT Press, 2006).

(149) "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 (2005): 260-69.

(150) "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.

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Entries in *The Encyclopedia of Public Choice*, C. K. Rowley and F. Schneider, Eds, Kluwer Academic Press (2003).

(148) "The Median Voter Model," pp. 382-386.

(149) "Rent Seeking and Political Institutions," pp. 499-501.

(150) "Generality and the Efficiency of Government Decision Making," pp. 261-263.

(151) "Environmental Politics and Economic Development," pp. 224-228.

(152) "Buchanan and the Virginia School," Method and Morals in Constitutional Economics. Essays in Honor of James M. Buchanan. Berlin: Springer Verlag. (2002): 23-38.

(153) "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.

(154) "The Politics of Government Growth," in Shughart, W. F. and Razzolini L. Elgar Companion to Public Choice, Edward Elgar Publishers, Ltd. (2001): 457-493.

(155) "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): 365-397.

(156) "Políticas y Decisiones Públicas Medioambientales," with J. Bacaria, in Galindo, M. A. ed. *Economía y Medioambiente*, Madrid: Ed. Trotta (1999, in Spanish): 79-111.

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(158) "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.

(159) "The Economic Analysis of Rent Seeking," (with R. D. Tollison) in The Economic Analysis of Rent-Seeking. Edward Elgar Publishers Ltd. (1995): xi-xix.

(160) "Anayasal Federalizm ve Ademi Merkeziyetcilik (Constitutional Federalism and Decentralization)," Ekonomik Anayasa Sempozyumu, Takav Matbaabi: Ankara, Turkey (1993):115-134 (in Turkish).

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(162) "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.

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Book Reviews

(165) Ten Years Later: Why the Conventional Wisdom about the 2008 Financial Crisis is Still Wrong. Cambridge Scholars Press (2019). Reviewed for the Independent Review. (2020, forthcoming).

(166) *Choosing in Groups: Analytical Politics Revisited.* Michael C. Munger and Kevin M. Munger, Cambridge University Press *(2015)* reviewed for *Public Choice* 1(2015) 65: 169-170.

(167) *Economics and the State: What Went Wrong.* Timothy P. Roth. Edgar Elgar. Reviewed for the *Independent Review* (2015) 20: 178.

(168) "Optimal Taxation for Democracies with Less than Perfect Voters: A Public Choice Perspective." *Kyklos* (prepublication, **https://doi.org/10.1111/kykl.12356**).

(169) *Reason, Religion, and Democracy.* D. C. Mueller. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (2010) Reviewed for *Public Choice* 145 (2010): 585-87.

(170) *Is the Welfare State Justified?* D. Shapiro. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2007) Reviewed for the *Review of Austrian Economics*. (March 2010) 23: 103-05.

(171) *Free Riding.* R. Tuck, Cambridge: Harvard University Press (2009) Reviewed for *Journal of Economic Literature* (September 2009) 47: 811-13.

(172) *Collective Decisions and Voting*, T. N. Tideman, Aldershot: Ashgate Reviewed for *Public Choice* (2007) 133: 499-501.

(173) *Understanding Institutional Diversity*, Elinor Ostrom, Princeton University Press. Reviewed for *Public Choice* (2007) 132: 509-511.

(174) 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.

(175) 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.

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

(177) *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.

(178) *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.

(179) *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.

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

(181) *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.

(182) *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

(183) "Terrorism, Interest Group Politics, and Public Policy: Curtailing Criminal Modes of Political Speech," *Independent Review* 7 (Summer, 2002): 47-67.

(184) "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).

(185) "Return to Rio: Agency Problems and the Political Economy of Environmental Treaties," Diskussionsbeitrage, Sonderfoschungsbereich 178 *Internationalisierung der Wirtschaft*, serie II - Nr. 261. (28 pages, 1995).

(186) "International Institutions for Environmental Protection: Transactions Costs and Environmental Treaties," Abstracted in: *Towards the World Governing of the Environment.* a cura di Amedio Postigloine. International Court of the Environment Foundation (ICEF), 1995: 37.

(187) "International Institutions for Environmental Protection: Transactions Costs and Environmental Treaties," Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, *Nota Di Lavoro* 39.94 (35 pages, 1994).

(188) "The Economics of Geothermal Heat Pumps," U. S. Department of Energy (81 pages, 1993).

Other Internet Publications

(189) "Parliaments as Governmental Institutions," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. (W. R. Thomson et al., Eds.) [Web publication] (2018).

(190) *A Festschrift in Honor of Gordon Tullock's 80th Birthday* http://publicchoice.org/TullockTales/index.htm, (Center for Study of Public Choice, website established in Spring 2002).

(191) "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).

(192) "Buchanan and the Virginia School," published in the *internet festschrift* honoring James Buchanan's 80th Birthday (17 pages, 1999).

Funded Research

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

"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).

Editorships and Editorial Boards Served on

Coeditor *Constitutional Political Economy* (with S. Voigt, U Hamburg) (2013 - Present)
Public Choice (2004 - 2023)
Review of International Organizations (2005 - present)
Atlantic Economic Journal (1999 - present)
European Journal of Political Economy (2000 - 2003; 2005 to 2014)
International Journal of Economic Policy Studies (2019- present)
Honorary Member, Executive Board of the Japanese Public Choice Society (2003 - present)
Public Choice and Constitutional Economics (Turkish) (2001 - present)

Journals Refereed for

American Economic Review
American Political Science Review
American Journal of Political Science
Atlantic Economic Journal
British Journal of Political Science
Canadian Economic Journal
Constitutional Political Economy
Eastern Economic Journal
Economic Inquiry
Economia Delle Scelte Pubbliche
Economica
Economic Journal
European Journal of Political Economy
Independent Review
International Review of Economics and Finance
Journal of Development Economics
Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization
Journal of Institutional Economics
Journal of Law and Economics
Journal of Peace Research
Journal of Public Economics
Public Choice
Publius
Public Finance Quarterly
Quarterly Journal of Business and Economics
Review of Economics and Statistics
Review of International Organizations
Review of Law and Economics
Scandinavian Journal of Economics
Social Science Quarterly
Southern Economic Journal

Book Publishers Reviewed for

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

West Publishers

Granting Organizations Reviewed for

National Science Foundation
U. S. Department of Energy
Danish Council for Independent Research
Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

Professional Affiliations (past and present)

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

Current Research Projects: Working Papers and Book Manuscripts

Book Manuscript. Risk, Uncertainty, and the Welfare State: On the Political Economy of Crisis Management (Oxford University Press has expressed an interest in this book project) (450 pages)

Textbook Manuscript. An Introduction to Advanced Microeconomics: Toward a Broader Neoclassical Synthesis (in process, first or second drafts of all current chapters completed).

"Altruistic Voting, Some Electoral Implications of Civic Virtue,"

"On the Origins and Rediscovery of Public Economics"

"Classical Foundations of Modern Constitutional Political Economy"

"Conservation Regulation: Cyclic Demand, Externalities and Politics"

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

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

"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) "Public Choice and Good Government," Public Choice Society, San Antonio, Texas, (March 14, 2026).

(2) "A Retrospective Book Review of Limits of Liberty," Public Choice Society, San Antonio, Texas, (March 14, 2026).

(3) "Unraveling Liberal Democracy," Public Choice Society, San Antonio, Texas, (March 13, 2026).

(4) "Public Choice and the Theory of the Firm," European Public Choice Society, Riga, Latvia, (April 4, 2025).

(5) "Public Choice and the Theory of the Firm," Public Choice Society, Louisville, KY, (March 8, 2025).

(6) "Roundtable on Teaching Ethics in Economics Classes," Association of Private Enterprise Education annual meeting, Las Vegas, NV (April 9, 2024).

(7) "Solving Social Dilemmas," part of a Roundtable focused on my book, Solving Social Dilemmas, Association of Private Enterprise Education annual meeting, Las Vegas, NV (April 8, 2024).

(8) "Rent Seeking in a Constitutional Context: Linkages and Constraints," European Public Choice Society, Vienna, Austria, (April 2, 2024).

(9) "Buchanan's Theory of Rights," Roundtable on James Buchanan," Public Choice Society, Dallas, TX (March 16, 2024)

(10) "On the Nature and Use of Rights in Constitutional Political Economy," Public Choice Society, Dallas TX (March 16, 2024).

(11) "Toward a Rational Choice Approach to Multi-Disciplinary Policy Analysis," European Public Choice Society, Hannover, Germany (March 18, 2023).

(12) "Toward a Rational Choice Approach to Multi-Disciplinary Policy Analysis," Public Choice Society, Seattle, Washington (March 23, 2023).

(13) Remarks on the History of the Public Choice Society. **Plenary Session**, Public Choice Society Meetings (Seattle, WA, March 16, 2023).

(14) **Plenary Talk**. "Toward a Rational Choice Approach to Multi-Disciplinary Policy Analysis," Japanese Economic Policy Association, Kobe, Japan (November 19, 2022).

(15) "Optimal Taxation for Democracies, A Public Choice Perspective," Philosophy, Politics, and Economics Society, New Orleans, LA (November 4, 2022)

(16) "Optimal Tax Policies for Democracies with Less than Perfect Voters," European Public Choice Society, Braga, Portugal (April 13, 2022).

(17) "Optimal Tax Policies for Democracies with Less than Perfect Voters," Public Choice Society, Nashville, TN, (March 11, 2022)

(18) "Citations and Readership as Alternative Measures of Impact". Public Choice Society, Savannah Georgia (March 12, 2021).

(19) "On the Stability of U. S. Politics: Post-Sample Forecasts and Refinements of the Congleton-Shughart Models of Social Security and Medicare Benefit Levels." European Public Choice Society, Jerusalem, Israel (April 3, 2019).

(20) "On the Stability of U. S. Politics: Post-Sample Forecasts and Refinements of the Congleton-Shughart Models of Social Security and Medicare Benefit Levels." Public Choice Society, Louisville, KY (March 14, 2019).

(21) "Does Law and Economics need Ethics?" Public Choice Society, Charleston, SC (March 3, 2018)

(22) "Intellectual Foundations of Public Choice," (Plenary Talk). Public Choice Society, Charleston SC (March 1, 2018).

(23) The Political Economy of Rent Creation and Extraction," European Public Choice Society, Budapest, Hungary (April 20, 2017).

(24) "Constitutional Bargaining and the Quality of Contemporary African Institutions: A Test of the Incremental Reform Hypothesis," European Public Choice Society, Budapest, Hungary (April 19, 2017).

(25) "The Political Economy of Rent Creation and Extraction," Public Choice Society, New Orleans (March 3, 2017).

(26) "Constitutional Bargaining and the Quality of Contemporary African Institutions: A Test of the Incremental Reform Hypothesis," Southern Economics Association, Washington D.C. (November 21, 2016).

(27) "Does Rational Choice Politics Need Ethics?" European Public Choice Society, Freiburg, Germany (March 30, 2016).

(28) "Does Rational Choice Politics Need Ethics?" Public Choice Society, Fort Lauderdale, FL (March 11, 2016).

(29) "Comments on Michele Gieranno and Manuela Mosca," ASSA meetings, San Francisco, CA (January 4, 2016).

(30) "Ethical Foundations of the Commercial Society," BB&T Conference, Clemson University (May 28, 2015).

(31) "Ethics and the Commercial Society," Association for Private Enterprise Education. Cancun Mexico (April 13, 2015).

(32) "The Political Economy of Privacy," European Public Choice Society, Groningen NL (April 8, 2015).

(33) "The Logic of Collective Action and Beyond," Public Choice Society, San Antonio, Texas (March 13, 2015).

(34) "Gordon Tullock's Implicit Analytical History," Public Choice Society, San Antonio, Texas (March 12, 2015).

(35) "Rent Seeking and the Evolution of Organizational Design," Australian Public Choice Society, [Plenary Talk] Melbourne Australia (December 6, 2014).

(36) "The Political Economy of Privacy," Association for Private Enterprise Education, Las Vegas, NV (April 14, 2014).

(37) "The Political Economy of Subsidized Medical Technology," Cambridge University, Cambridge UK (April 4, 2014).

(38) "A Short History of American Liberalism Public Choice Society, Charleston SC (March 8, 2014)

(39) "A Test of the Great Unraveling Hypothesis," Public Choice Society, Charleston SC (March 8, 2014)

(40) "A Short History of American Liberalism," Association for Free Enterprise Education, Maui Hawaii (April 15, 2013).

(41) "The Electoral Politics of Complex Healthcare Systems," European Public Choice Society, Zurich, Switzerland (April 5, 2013).

(42) "Coercion, Taxation, and Voluntary Association," Public Choice Society, New Orleans (March 9, 2013).

(43) "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)

(44) "On Some Neglected, But Profound, Contributions of Gordon Tullock," (Plenary Session) World Congress of Public Choice, Miami FL. (March 9, 2012).

(45) "Reflections on Kazuyoshi Kurokowa," memorial plenary session, Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo, Japan (July 2, 2011)."

(46) "On the Origins of Organizational Governance," European Public Choice Society, Rennes France (April 28, 2011).

(47) "An Overview of Perfecting Parliament," [part of a round table on Perfecting Parliament] Public Choice Society, San Antonio Texas (March 12, 2011).

(48) "On the Evolution of Organizational Governance," Public Choice Society, San Antonio Texas (March 11, 2011).

(49) "The Political Economy of the Bailouts of 2008-10: Are Their Limits to Crisis Insurance?" Southern Economics Association, Atlanta Georgia (November 20, 2010).

(50) "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).

(51) "Rent Extraction, Liberalism, and Economic Development" European Public Choice Society, Izmir, Turkey (April 10, 2010).

(52) "Rent Extraction, Liberalism, and Economic Development," Public Choice Society, Monterey, CA (March 13, 2010).

(53) "The Constitutional Political Economy of Gordon Tullock," Southern Economics Association, San Antonio, Texas (November 22, 2009).

(54) "On the Political Economy of the Financial Crisis of 2008," European Public Choice Society, Athens Greece, (April 4, 2009).

(55) "On the Political Economy of the Financial Crisis of 2008," Public Choice Society, Las Vegas, (March 7, 2009).

(56) "Public Choice and Development: Some Lessons from the Western Transition," Plenary Session, European Public Choice Society, Jena, Germany. (March 30, 2008).

(57) "Chapter 19: Quantitative evidence of gradual political reform in the West during the 19th century," European Public Choice Society, Jena, Germany. (March 28, 2008).

(58) "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).

(59) "Democracy in America: Labor Mobility, Ideology and Constitutional Reform." Public Choice Society, San Antonio, TX. (March 8, 2008).

(60) "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).

(61) "On the Distributional Effects of Political Decision Making," (Plenary Session) Japanese Economic Policy Association, Tokyo (December 8, 2007).

(62) "Voting by Altruists: Some Electoral Implications of Civic Virtue," Southern Economics Association, New Orleans (November 20, 2007).

(63) "Corruption in International Organization: Endogenous Corruption and the Demand and Supply of International Public Goods" World Congress of Public Choice, Amsterdam (March 31, 2007).

(64) "The Globalization of Politics: Rational Choice and the Internationalization of Public Policy," World Congress of Public Choice, Amsterdam (March 30, 2007).

(65) "The King and Council in Japan: From Shogunate to Parliamentary Democracy," Japanese Public Choice Society, Kyoto Japan (July 2, 2006).

(66) "On the Feasibility of a Liberal Welfare State," European Public Choice Society, Turku Finland (April 21, 2006.)

(67) "The Story of Katrina and the Political Economy of Catastrophe," Public Choice Society, New Orleans (March 31, 2006)

(68) "Comments on Trade Policy: What's Welfare Got to Do with It?" Southern Economic Association, Washington DC (November 20, 2005).

(69) "Economic Development and Democracy, Does Industrialization Lead to Universal Suffrage?" European Public Choice Society, Durham, UK (April 2, 2005).

(70) "Economic Development and Democracy, Does Industrialization Lead to Universal Suffrage?" Public Choice Society, New Orleans, LA (March 12, 2005).

(71) "On the Political Economy of Crisis Management." (Plenary Session) Japanese Public Choice Society, Senshu University, Tokyo, Japan (July 4, 2004).

(72) "Informational Limits of Democratic Public Policy," European Public Choice Society, Berlin, Germany (April 16, 2004).

(73) "Informational Limits of Democratic Public Policy," Public Choice Society, Baltimore MD (March 14, 2004).

(74) "Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy," (Plenary Session) Japanese Economic Policy Association (JEPA) Nagoya University, Nagoya, Japan (November 29, 2003).

(75) "On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Predictability within Partisan Polities," Japanese Public Choice Society (Plenary Session) Hiroshima, Japan. (July 5, 2003).

(76) "On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Predictability within Partisan Polities," European Public Choice Society, Aarhus, DK (April 28, 2003).

(77) On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Predictability within Partisan Polities," Public Choice Society, Nashville TN (March 22, 2003).

(78) "The Future of Public Choice," (Plenary Session) Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo, Japan (July 14, 2002).

(79) "The Political Economy of Terrorism," Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo, Japan (July 14, 2002).

(80) "Agency Problems and the Allocation of International Environmental Grants: The Return to Rio," Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo, Japan (July 13, 2002).

(81) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties," European Public Choice Society, Belgirate, Italy (April 4, 2002).

(82) "Politics by Extraordinary Means: An Overview of the Political Economy of Gordon Tullock," Public Choice Society, San Diego California (March 23, 2002).

(83) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties," Public Choice Society, San Diego, California (March 23, 2002).

(84) "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).

(85) "Altruistic Voting, Some Electoral Implications of Civic Virtue," Japanese Public Choice Society Meetings, Tokyo, Japan (July 7, 2001).

(86) "Do Constitutions Matter? Some Evidence from Sweden" European Public Choice Society Meetings , Paris, France (April 13, 2001).

(87) "200 Years of Swedish Constitutional History, a Public Choice Approach" Public Choice Society Meetings, San Antonio TX (March 10, 2001).

(88) "On the Durability of King and Council, a Universal Constitutional Template," (Millennium Plenary Session) European Public Choice Society, Sienna, Italy (April 27, 2000).

(89) "Government Policies, R&D, and Monopolization: Ramsay and Schumpeter meet Buchanan and Tullock," Public Choice Society, Charleston SC (March 12, 2000).

(90) "Rent-Seeking, Leviathan, and Monopolization Policies: Schumpeter and Ramsay Meet Tullock and Buchanan," Public Choice Society, Charleston SC (March 11, 2000).

(91) "The Political and Economic Origins of Asymmetric Federalism" (with Andreas Kyriacou and Jordi Bacaria) European Public Choice Society, Lisbon Portugal (April 1999).

(92) "The Politics of Government Growth," Public Choice Society, New Orleans (March 1999)

(93) "The Political and Economic Origins of Asymmetric Federalism" (with Andreas Kyriacou and Jordi Bacaria) Public Choice Society, New Orleans (April 1999).

(94) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking," European Public Choice Society, Goteborg Sweden (April 1998).

(95) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking," Public Choice Society, New Orleans (March 1998).

(96) "Private Morality, Politics, and Public Policy," Public Choice Society of Japan, Chiba University and Tokyo Japan (August 1997).

(97) "Public Choice, Efficiency and Equal Protection," European Public Choice Society, Prague (April 1997).

(98) "Private Morality, Politics, and Public Policy," Public Choice Society, San Francisco (March 1997).

(99) "Generality without Uniformity: Federalism," Public Choice Society, San Francisco (March 1997).

(100) "Public Choice, Efficiency and Equal Protection," Public Choice Society, Houston, Texas (April 1996).

(101) "Return to Rio: Agency Problems and the Political Economy of Environmental Treaties," Public Choice Society, Houston, Texas (April 1996).

(102) "Joint Production, Exit and Reciprocity," European Public Choice Society, Saarbrucken, Germany (April 1995).

(103) "Manipulating the Demand for Bureaucratic Services," European Public Choice Society, Saarbrucken, Germany (April 1995).

(104) "Voting by Altruists," Public Choice Society, Long Beach California, (March 1995).

(105) "Voting by Altruists," European Public Choice Society, Valencia, Spain (April 7,1994).

(106) "Toward a First Best Conservation Regulation," Southern Economic Society, New Orleans (November 21, 1993).

(107) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Japanese Public Choice Society, Tokyo, Japan (July 27, 1993)

(108) "The Market for Special Interest Groups," European Public Choice Society, Portrush, N. Ireland (April 1993).

(109) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Public Choice Society Meetings, New Orleans (March 1993).

(110) "Limitations of a Dictator's Encompassing Interest," Public Choice Society Meetings, New Orleans (March 1993).

(111) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Western Economic Association, San Francisco (June 1992).

(112) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations and Fiscal Illusion," Western Economic Association Meetings, San Francisco (1992).

(113) "Institutions for Internalizing International Environmental Externalities," European Public Choice Society Turin, Italy (April 1992).

(114) "Voter Discernment and Candidate Entry in Pluralitarian Elections," (with Bernard Steunenberg) European Public Choice Society Turin, Italy (April 1992).

(115) "The Market for Politically Active Special Interest Groups," Public Choice Society, New Orleans (March 1992).

(116) "Voter Discernment and Candidate Entry in Pluralitarian Elections," (with Bernard Steunenberg) Public Choice Society, New Orleans (March 1992).

(117) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations and Fiscal Illusion," Southern Economic Association Meetings Nashville (November 1991).

(118) "Political Regimes and Pollution Control," European Public Choice Society; Beaune, France (April 1991).

(119) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations and Fiscal Illusion," Public Choice Society Meetings, New Orleans (March 1991).

(120) "Complex Constitutional Dynamics," (with K. Warneryd) Public Choice Society Meetings, New Orleans (March 1991).

(121) "Rationality, Reciprocity and Morality," (with Viktor Vanberg) Public Choice Society Meetings (1991) New Orleans. (Also served as discussant for paper by Gordon Tullock.)

(122) "The Politics of Pollution," American Economics Association, (1990) Washington, D. C. (Also served as discussant for papers by: S. Farrow and R. P. Judge.)

(123) "Annexation Institutions and Local Fiscal Choice," Southern Economics Association (1990) New Orleans.

(124) "Is a Rawlsian Bureaucracy Deadly, Dull, or Dynamic? Optimal Bounds for Bureaucratic Discretion," European Public Choice Society (1990), Meersburg, Germany.

(125) "Is a Rawlsian Bureaucracy Deadly, Dull, or Dynamic? Optimal Bounds for Bureaucratic Discretion," Public Choice Society (1990), Tucson, Arizona.

(126) "Ideology and Rent-Seeking," Public Choice Society (1989), Orlando, Florida.

(127) "How Much Distributional Information is Enough: The Value of the Veil," Public Choice Society (1988), San Francisco (with W. Sweetser)

(128) "Campaign Finances and Political Platforms: The Economics of Political Controversy," Public Choice Society (1987), Tucson, Arizona. (Also Chaired session on "Preferences and Elections").

(129) "Annexation Institutions and Local Fiscal Choice," Public Choice Society (1986), Baltimore, Maryland. (Also Chaired session on "Constitutional Choice").

(130) "Rent-seeking Aspects of Political Advertising," Public Choice Society (1985), New Orleans. (Also Chaired session on "Empirical Public Choice")

(131) "Fiscal Choice, Locational Rents, and Property Values," (with J. Mullen) Public Choice Society (1984), Phoenix, Arizona.

(132) "Tax Base Enforcement and the 'Voluntary' Overpayment of Taxes," Public Choice Society (1983), Savannah, Georgia.

(133) "Global and Non-Global Social Contracts," (with R. Blewett) Public Choice Society (1982), San Antonio, Texas.

(134) "Administrative Structure and Grant Seeking Effort," Public Choice Society (1981), New Orleans.

(135) "Rent Seeking and the Costs of Competitive Processes," Public Choice Society (1979), Charleston, South Carolina.

Other Papers Presented (International)

(136) "Unraveling Liberal Democracy," Silva Plana Conference, Pontresina, Switzerland, (July 27, 2026).

(137) "Rent-Seeking in Constitutional Context: The Effect of Linkages and Norms on Dissipation Rates," Graduate Seminar in Economics, Cambridge University (March 28, 2026).

(138) "Public Choice and the Theory of the Firm," Eucken Institute, Freiburg University (October 30, 2025).

(139) "Constitutional Political Economy and the Nature and Effects of Rights," Institute for Law and Economics, Universität Hamburg (October 15, 2025).

(140) "Knightian Uncertainty, Social Capacity, and the COVID-19 Vaccines," Silva Plana Conference, Pontresina, Switzerland, (July 24, 2025)

(141) "Solving Social Dilemmas with Viktor Vanberg," Walter Euken Institute, Freiburg, Germany (September 22, 2023).

(142) "Solving Social Dilemmas," Japanese Public Choice Society Workshop, Kobe, Japan, (November 18, 2022).

(143) "Solving Social Dilemmas," Silva Plana Conference, Pontresina, Switzerland, (July 27, 2022).

(144) **Plenary Talk.** "Does Rational Choice Politics Need Ethics?" Political Economy of Democracy and Dictatorship Conference, University of Muenster, Muenster, Germany (February 28, 2020).

(145) "Supreme Values without Totalitarianism," Silva Plana Conference, Pontresina, Switzerland (July 23, 2019).

(146) "A Test of the Institutional Reform Hypothesis, Africa in the Twentieth Century," Tuborg Research Centre Seminar, Aarhus Universitet (May 4, 2018).

(147) "Intellectual Foundations of Public Choice," (Plenary Talk). Public Choice Society, Charleston SC (March 1, 2018).

(148) "Ethics and the Emergence of Civil Society," Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies, School of Social Sciences, University of California–Irvine (February 15, 2018).

(149) "The Microeconomics of Ethics," Research Seminar in Political Economy, Kings College, London (November 8, 2017).

(150) "Ethics and Commerce," Workshop in Political Economics, Cambridge University (INEP), Jesus College. (November 6, 2017).

(151) "Ethics and the Law, "Hamburg Lectures in Law and Economics, Law and Economics Institute, Universitet Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany. (October 25, 2017).

(152) "Ethics, Exchange, and Production, " Tuborg Research Centre Seminar, Aarhus Universitet, Aarhus DK (September 19, 2017),

(153) "The Electoral Politics of Subsidized Healthcare Technology," Conference on the Political Economy of Public Policy, Ariel University, Ariel, Israel (September 12, 2017).

(154) "The King and Council in History: on the King and Cabinet and Transitions to Democracy," (**Keynote Talk**) University of Oslo (June 8, 2015).

(155) "Political Economy of Healthcare System Choice," Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia (December 4, 2014).

(156) "The Evolution of Organizational Government," Eucken Institute [Vanberg Conference, Freiburg, Germany (September 13, 2013)].

(157) "The Evolution of Organizational Government," Universita Roma degli Studi La Sapienza, Rome Italy (June 24, 2013).

(158) "Political Economy of Healthcare System Choice," Johan Kepler University, Linz, Austria (June 13, 2013).

(159) "On the Inevitability of Divided Government," European Center for Study of Public Choice Conference, Freiburg, Germany (May 6, 2013)

(160) "Political Economy of Healthcare System Choice," Walter Eucken Institut, Freiburg, Germany (April 8, 2013).

(161) "Founding Myths and Democracy in America," CIW, Muenster University, Muenster, Germany (July 5, 2011).

(162) "Overview of Perfecting Parliament," Department of Economics, University of Muenster (WWU), Muenster, Germany (June 28, 2011).

(163) "Overview of Perfecting Parliament," (Symposium, w. discussants) Department of Politics, Oslo University, Norway (June 10, 2011).

(164) "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).

(165) "On the Evolution of Organizational Governance," Department of Economics Seminar, Radboud University, Nijmegen, Netherlands (May 30, 2011).

(166) "Evolution of Organizational Governance," Max Planck Institute, Jena, Germany (July 13, 2010).

(167) "Constitutional Political Economy and the Political Economy of Crisis Management," Invited Lecture Series, Bar Ilan University, (May 25 - June 3, 2010).

(168) "Perfecting Parliament: An Overview," Bar Ilan University, Economics, (May 25, 2010).

(169) "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).

(170) "Liberal Institutions as a Source of 'Permanent' Comparative Advantage," Korean Economic Research Institute, Seoul, Korea (August 17, 2009).

(171) "Perfecting Parliament: Constitutional Reform, Liberalism, and the Rise of Western Democracy" Department of Economics, University of Freiburg (December 9, 2008)

(172) "The Rise of the Modern Welfare State; Ideology, institutions, and Income Security: Analysis and Evidence," Tinbergen Institute, Amsterdam (May 22, 2008).

(173) "Quantitative Evidence of Gradual Constitutional Reforms in the 19th Century (Chapter 19)," Department of Economics Seminar, University of Amsterdam (May 19, 2008).

(174) "The Rise of the Modern Welfare 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).

(175) "The European Union and its Transportation Policy," Japanese Department of Transportation, Tokyo (December 11, 2007).

(176) "Constitutional Exchange and Democracy in America," Conference on Institutions and Public Policy, Economics, Cambridge University (August 7, 2007).

(177) "Perfecting Parliament: Constitutional Exchange and the Peaceful Path to Democracy," Political Science Departmental Seminar, University of Southern Denmark (May 31, 2007).

(178) "Publishable Ideas and Research Circles," Workshop on Publishing in International Political Science Journals, University of Copenhagen (April 23, 2007).

(179) "Perfecting Parliament: Constitutional Exchange and the Peaceful Path to Democracy," Political Science Departmental Seminar, University of Copenhagen (April 23, 2007). "

(180) "Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy," Faculty seminar, Economics, Stockholm School of Economics, Stockholm (March 9, 2007).

(181) "On the Feasibility of a Liberal Welfare State," Seminar. Ratio Institute, Stockholm Sweden (March 9, 2007).

(182) "Generality and the Supply of Public Services," Lecture Zhejiang University Department of Public Finance, Beijing, China (November 9, 2006).

(183) "Economic and Political Origins of Decentralization and Asymmetric Federalism," Lecture at the Zhejiang Institute of Finance and Economics, Hangzhou, China (November 9, 2006),

(184) "An Overview of Public Choice, Past, Present, and Future," Lecture at the CASS Institute of Asia and Pacific Ocean Economy, Beijing, China (November 8, 2006).

(185) "Generality and the Supply of Public Services," Lecture at the CASS Institute of Finance and Trade Economics, Beijing, China (November 7, 2006).

(186) "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).

(187) "The Globalization of Politics: Rational Choice and the Internationalization of Public Policy," Tokai University Center for European Studies (October 30, 2006).

(188) "An Overview of the Neoconservative Movement from Reagan to Clinton," invited graduate seminar, Political Science, University of Southern Denmark (October 27, 2006).

(189) "Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy," graduate seminar, Economics, Aarhus Universitet, Denmark (October 9, 2006).

(190) "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).

(191) "On the Feasibility of a Liberal Welfare State," Institut für Philosophie, Universität Bayreuth (June 20, 2006).

(192) "The Story of Katrina and the Political Economy of Catastrophe," Department Seminar (Politics and International Relations, Public Policy Unit) Oxford University, May 30, 2006).

(193) "Voter Ignorance and Condorcet's Jury: Limits to Democratic Public Policy," Conference: The Problems of Democracy, San Pablo-CEU, Madrid, Spain (December 1, 2005).

(194) "Comments on Economic, Demographic, and Political Determinants of Pollution Reassessed: A Sensitivity Analysis," Silvaplana Conference, Switzerland (July 17, 2005).

(195) "Political Economy of Crisis Management," (Student Seminar) Department of Economics , Universität Jena, Germany (July 8, 2005).

(196) "The Roles of Industrialization and Ideas in the Emergence of European Democracy," Institut für Philosophie, Universität Bayreuth (July 5, 2005).

(197) "Informational Limits of Democratic Public Policy," Department of Economics, Universität Marburg, Germany (June 30, 2005).

(198) "The Political Economy of Crisis Management," Conference on Business, Management, and Economics, Cesme, Izmir, Turkey (June 19, 2005).

(199) "Informational Limits of Democratic Public Policy," Institut für Philosophie, Universität Bayreuth (May 24, 2005).

(200) "On the Political Economy of Crisis Management." department Seminar (Politics and International Relations, Public Policy Unit) Oxford University, May 23, 2005).

(201) "Informational Limits of Democratic Public Policy," faculty seminar, Carleton University (October 1, 2004).

(202) "Organizational Design and Institutionalization, Rational Choice and Evolutionary Perspectives." Conference: *Why Public Organizations Become Institutions* University of Leiden (June 12, 2004).

(203) "Does Industrialization Lead to Democracy," faculty seminar, University of Rome 3 (May 12, 2004).

(204) "Informational Limits of Democratic Public Policy," graduate seminar in Public Finance, University of Rome, Faculty of Politics (May 11, 2004).

(205) "Roundtable on Constitutional Design," faculty seminar, University of Rome, Faculty of Law (May 4 and 11, 2004).

(206) "How Predictable is Democratic Politics?" graduate seminar (Theoretical Politics) the University of Oxford (January 26, 2004).

(207) "Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy," Conference on Globalization and National Government Policies, Aichi Gakuin University, Nagoya, Japan (November 27, 2003).

(208) "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).

(209) "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*, Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza," Rome, Italy (September 26, 2003).

(210) "On the Merits of Unbiased Bicameralism," Conference on Constitutional Design. Stockholm, Sweden (This conference was jointly organized by Birgitta Swedenborg and I, with SNS support, August 26, 2003).

(211) "Economic Development and Democratic Political Reform" ICES Conference on Revolutions, Villa Gualino, Turin, Italy (June 7, 2003)

(212) "On the Merits of Bicameral Legislatures: Policy Stability within Partisan Polities," CSLE Conference on European Governance, Saarbrucken, Germany (October 10, 2002)

(213) "Constitutionalism and Good Government, Organizing Governance to Broaden Consensus," SNS, Stockholm, Sweden (September 28, 2002).

(214) "The Political Economy of Terrorism," Chuo University, Tokyo, Japan (July 10, 2002).

(215) "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).

(216) "Agency Problems and the Allocation of International Environmental Grants: The Return to Rio," Stockholm School of Economics, Stockholm Sweden (April 25, 2002)

(217) "Agency Problems and the Allocation of International Environmental Grants: The Return to Rio," University of Rome, La Sapienza, Rome Italy (April 2, 2002)

(218) "Assessing the Effects of Bicameral Legislatures within Partisan, Parliamentary, and Presidential Systems," SNS Workshop on Constitutional Reform, Stockholm, Sweden (September 28, 2001)

(219) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking," Chuo University, Tokyo Japan (July 14, 2001).

(220) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties." University of Kyoto, Japan, (July 9, 2001).

(221) "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).

(222) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties," University of Mannheim, Germany (May 18, 2001).

(223) "Governing the Global Environmental Commons: The Political Economy of International Environmental Treaties and Institutions," University of Mannheim, Germany (May 18, 2001).

(224) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties," University of Freiburg, Germany (May 17, 2001).

(225) "Policy Interests as a Source of Public Agency Problems: Some Evidence from International Environmental Treaties," St. Gallen University, Switzerland (May 15, 2001).

(226) "Perfecting Parliament: Constitutional Analysis and Reform," SNS Seminar. (November 9, 2000).

(227) "On the Merits of Bicameralism," Constitutional Reference Group, SNS, Stockholm (November 9, 2000).

(228) "Economic and Cultural Prerequisites for Democracy," Villa Columbella Meeting, Parma, Italy (September 9, 2000).

(229) "Economic and Cultural Prerequisites for Democracy," Universita Roma degli Studi La Sapienza, Rome Italy (September 5, 2000).

(230) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent Seeking," Department of Economics, University of Montreal (September 29, 1998).

(231) Conference Participant: "Liberty, Generality, and Minimal Coercion," Spitzingsee, Germany (May 7-10, 1998). [Conference focused on the Buchanan and Congleton book]

(232) "The Public Choice Approach to Public Policy," Department of Economics, Jonkoping, Sweden (April 29, 1998).

(233) "On the Political Economy of Environmental Protection," (June 8, 1995). Department of Economics, Wurzburg University.

(234) "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.

(235) "Return to Rio: Agency Problems and the Political Economy of Environmental Treaties," (June 1, 1995). Department of Economics, Aarhus University.

(236) "Joint Production, Exit and Cooperation," Stockholm School of Economics, (May 16, 1995).

(237) "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.)

(238) "Constitutional Federalism and Decentralization," Universita Roma degli Studi La Sapienza, Rome Italy (June 6, 1994).

(239) "A Transactions Cost Theory of International Treaties," Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain (April 11, 1994).

(240) "Joint Production, Exit and Cooperation," University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia (August 13, 1993).

(241) "The Market for Special Interest Groups," Tokai University, Tokyo, Japan (July 28, 1993).

(242) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Department of Government, University Queensland, Brisbane, Australia (July 23, 1993).

(243) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Department of Economics, University of Adelaide, Adelaide Australia (July 19, 1993).

(244) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Research School for Social Science (Economics), Australian National University, Canberra Australia (July 16, 1993).

(245) "Ethnic Clubs, Ethnic Conflict, and the Rise of Ethnic Nationalism," presented at the Villa Colombella conference, Perugia Italy (September 6, 1992).

(246) "Constitutional Federalism and Decentralization" presented at Ekonomic Anayasa Sempozyumu (Conference on Economic Constitutions, Ankara, Turkey (May 29, 1992).

(247) "Institutions for Internalizing Environmental Externalities," Twente University, Enschede, the Netherlands. (April 27, 1992).

(248) "Public Policies and Fiscal Uncertainty: The Case of Debt," Universitá di Roma, "La Sapienza," Rome, Italy. (April 21, 1992).

(249) "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).

(250) "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).

(251) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations, and Fiscal Illusion" presented at University of Western Ontario Political Economy Workshop. (November 1991).

Other Papers Presented (United States)

(252) "Knightian Science and the Covid-19 Vaccines," PPE Seminar, Duke University (February 29, 2026).

(253) "Comments on Geoffrey Brennan's Research," Liberty Fund Conference, Chicago, IL (September 15, 2023).

(254) "Solving Social Dilemmas," Center for Governments and Markets, University of Pittsburg, PA (via Zoom) (May 2, 2023). link

(255) "Federalism and Pandemic Policies: Variety as the Spice of Life." New York University. Conference on the Political Economy of Healthcare (via Zoom) (February 13, 2021).

(256) "Governance by True Believers: Supreme Duties with and without Totalitarianism," Theory History, and Development Seminar, Department of Economics, UC-Irvine (April 20, 2020, via Zoom).

(257) "Ethics and the Possibility of Communities," Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies, UC-Irvine (February 15, 2018).

(258) "A Short History of Liberalism in America," Peltison Center for Study of Democracy, UC-Irvine (February 9, 2018).

(259) "Comments on Escape from Democracy: The Role of Experts and the Public in Economic Policy," F. A. Hayek Program, Mercatus Center, George Mason University (May 5, 2017).

(260) "Buchanan on Ethics and Self-Interest: A Tension or Reconciliation?" F. A. Hayek Program for Advanced Study in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics, George Mason University Conference (December 15, 2016).

(261) "America's Neglected Debt to the Dutch," Economics of Governance Lecture, University of California-Irvine, Irvine CA (October 21, 2016).

(262) "Comments on Skaperdas and Hermalin," Conference on Political Persuasion. Laguna Beach, CA (January 10, 2016).

(263) "Does Rational Choice Politics Need Ethics?" Seminar. Department of Political Science, University of California - Irvine (January 8, 2016).

(264) "Ethics and Economic Progress," Buchanan Center Seminar, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA. (November 5, 2015).

(265) "The Implicit Analytical History of Gordon Tullock," Memorial Conference for Gordon Tullock, George Mason University, Fairfax VA (October 2, 2015).

(266) "Buchanan as Mentor," Memorial Conference for James Buchanan, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA (September 29, 2013)

(267) "Buchanan's Constitutional Political Economy," Memorial Conference for James Buchanan, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA (September 28, 2013).

(268) "A Short History of American Liberalism," BB&T Conference, Clemson University (May 29, 2013).

(269) "Constitutional Design, Crisis Detection, and Survival," Department of Economics Seminar, Virginia Tech. (May 10, 2012).

(270) "Constitutional Design, Crisis Detection, and Survival," PERC workshop on the Political Economy of Environmental Collapse, Clemson University (April 14, 2012).

(271) "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).

(272) "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).

(273) "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).

(274) "On the Political Economy of Bailouts of 2008-10: Are there Limits to Crisis Insurance" Economics, West Virginia University (December 17, 2010).

(275) "Founding Myths and Democracy in America," Wake Forest University, Winston Salem North Carolina (November 9, 2010).

(276) "Coercion, Taxation, and Voluntary Association," conference on Taxation and Coercion, Georgia State University School of Public Policy, Atlanta, GA (October 1, 2010).

(277) "Perfecting Parliament," Center for Study of Public Choice, George Mason University (October 4, 2009).

(278) "Does Economic Development Lead to Democracy?" Collective Choice Seminar, Hoover Institution, Stanford University (November 16, 2004).

(279) "Informational Limits to Democratic Public Policy," Simon Lecture, Lafayette College, (February 16, 2004).

(280) "On the Merits of Unbiased Bicameralism," Center for Study of Public Choice (November 5, 2002).

(281) "Congratulations: The Value of Fuzzy Plans," Graduation Talk for Virginia Tech Department of Economics Blacksburg, VA (May 11, 2002).

(282) "Notes on the Political Economy of Terrorism," Center for Study of Public Choice (Sept. 11, 2001).

(283) "The Politics of Government Growth," Center for Study of Public Choice (April 14, 1999).

(284) "The Public Choice Approach to Environmental Policy," for the graduate program in Environmental Science and Public Policy, GMU (February 3, 1999).

(285) "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).

(286) "Free Riding and Exit: On the Personal Advantage of Cooperation in Voluntary Joint Enterprises," National Science Foundation (April 8, 1998).

(287) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking," State University of New York at Binghamton (April 4, 1998).

(288) "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).

(289) "Private Morality and Public Policy," for the Department of Economics, University of Delaware (February 24, 1998).

(290) "A Political Efficiency Case for Federalism in Multinational States: Controlling Ethnic Rent-Seeking," Center for Study of Public Choice (February 11, 1998).

(291) "Some Problems with Stochastic Voting Models," Public Choice Center Luncheon Seminar (March 25, 1997).

(292) "Private Morality, Politics and Public Policy" Public Choice Center Seminar (March 5, 1997).

(293) "Generality without Uniformity," Public Choice Center Luncheon Seminar (September 10, 1996).

(294) "Public Choice, Efficiency and Equal Protection" Public Choice Center Luncheon Seminar (February 13, 1996).

(295) "The Political Economy of Crime" Public Choice Center Luncheon Seminar (January 31, 1995)

(296) "The Generalization Principle in Politics" (with J. M. Buchanan) Public Choice Center Seminar, November 2, 1994.

(297) "The Political Economy of Environmental Treaties," Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (February 1, 1994).

(298) "Altruistic Voting," Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (September 7, 1993).

(299) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Department of Public Policy and Management, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, Luncheon Seminar (February 25, 1993).

(300) "How Encompassing is a Dictator's Interest?" Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (February 2, 1993).

(301) "Towards a First Best Method of Conservation Regulation," Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (October 20, 1992).

(302) "Preliminary Cost-Benefit Estimates of Geothermal Heat Pumps in Northern Virginia," U. S. Department of Energy, Washington, D. C. (March 9, 1992).

(303) "Rational Ignorance, Rational Expectations, and Fiscal Illusion," Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (October 1991).

(304) "Politics, Annexation Institutions, and Local Fiscal Choice," presented at the University of Maryland Public Economics Seminar (March 1991).

(305) "Political Regimes and Pollution Control" presented for the Public Choice Center's Outreach Program (June 1991).

(306) "Rationality, Reciprocity and Morality" (with V. Vanberg) presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (October 1990).

(307) "Political Regimes and Pollution Control" presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (September 1990).

(308) "Ethnic Aspects of Public Finance" presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (September 1989).

(309) "The Role of Ideology in a Rent-Seeking Society" presented at the Institute for Humane Studies (April 1989).

(310) "Public Finance and Public Choice" presented for the Public Choice Center's Outreach Program (June 1989).

(311) "Is Rawlsian Bureaucracy Deadly, Dull or Dynamic?" presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (September 1988).

(312) "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)

(313) "Politics, Annexation Institutions and Local Fiscal Choice" presented at the Center for Study of Public Choice Seminar Series (Spring, 1987)

(314) "The Value of the Veil, How Much Distributive Information is Enough?" Center for Study of Public Choice Luncheon Seminar (Fall, 1986)

(315) "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

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

(317) 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.)

(318) 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).

(319) Interviewed by Keith Larson, *The Keith Larson Show,* WBT-AM, Charlotte NC (August 6, 2002) "The Risk of Terrorism" (live).

(320) Interviewed by Joe Starrs, *News on Demand*, Free Congress Institute, (August 19, 2002) "Assessing the Risk of Terrorism" (taped for syndicated distribution).

(321) 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).

(322) Interviewed by *AllSci Magazine* on "Quantitative vs. Qualitative Assessments of the Risk of Terrorism" (September 13, 2002).

(323) Interviewed by Allan Prell, live on KNRC-AM radio, Denver, Colorado. "Tax Reform" (October 11, 2002).

(324) Interviewed by *Wall Street Journal* for story on the risk of terrorism (April 4, 2003).

(325) Interviewed by Glen McGregor of the *Ottawa Citizen* for story on the risk of terrorism (November 22, 2004).

(326) Interview by Australian Broadcasting Corporation (TV) on the Financial Crisis and Bailout of 2008 (September 29, 2008) (Done with TV cameras in my office at GMU.)

(327) Interviewed by Robin Harding of the *Financial Times* regarding a project on Rent-Seeking (February 7, 2012). [Associated piece appeared on February 22, 2012.]

(328) Interviewed by Daisuke Nakia of Asahi Shimbun (New York Bureau) regarding a project on constitutional reform, especially with respect to amendment procedures (June 8, 2013).

(329) Interviewed for *Econ Roots* Podcast, by Stefan Kierkegard Slok-Madsen, re *Solving Social Dilemmas*. APEE meeting, Las Vegas, NV (April 7, 2024).

(330) Interviewed by Peter Boettke for podcast/Oral History of VPE (Virginia Political Economy) (September 9, 2025. (Done via Zoom while I was in Freiburg, DE).