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## ECO1222 ECONOMIA POLÍTICA

**OBJETIVOS** Objetivos da disciplina

Estudar modelos que explicam como a interação entre eleitores, grupos de interesse, incentivos eleitorais e arcabouços institucionais formam endogenamente as políticas econômicas. O curso é focado em aplicações empíricas que testam os modelos teóricos apresentados.

**AULAS** Quartas e Sextas 11h-13h

**PROGRAMA** 1<sup>a</sup> Parte

1. Introdução a Economia Política
2. Métodos de Avaliação de Impacto
3. Participação do Eleitor
4. Modelos Básicos de Competição Eleitoral
5. Modelos Políticos Partidários
6. Modelos de Agência

2<sup>a</sup> Parte

7. Cultura e Demanda por redistribuição
8. Políticas Redistributivas e Grupos de interesse
9. Informação e Mídia
10. Capacidade de Estado e Burocracia
11. Protestos e Democracia Direta

<b>AVALIAÇÃO</b>	O critério de avaliação é o número 3, onde: G1 = Listas de exercício (3 pontos) Prova dissertativa individual (7 pontos). Listas e provas serão enviadas na 6af para entrega na 2af. G2 = Trabalho em grupo com apresentação online (3 pontos) Trabalho individual com apresentação online (1 ponto) Prova dissertativa individual (6 pontos) Prova será enviada na 6af para entrega na 2af. <b>MÉDIA</b> = $(G1 + G2) / 2$ , se $G2 \geq 3,0$ $(G1 + (G2 * 3)) / 4$ , se $G2 < 3,0$
<b>CONTATO</b>	Marcio Gold Firma email: <a href="mailto:marciofirmo@puc-rio.br">marciofirmo@puc-rio.br</a>

**Livros de referência:**

Persson e Tabellini (2000): Political Economics: Explaining Economic Policy. The MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Menezes (org.) (2012), “Avaliação Econômica de Projetos Sociais”, Fundação Itaú Social.

**Bibliografia detalhada:**

**1. Introdução a Economia Política**

Acemoglu D., Johnson S. and Robinson J. (2004) "Institutions as the Fundamental Cause of Long-Run Growth" NBER Working Paper No. 10481. Published: Aghion, Philippe and Stephen Durlauf (eds.) Handbook of Economic Growth. North Pole: 2005.

Persson e Tabellini (2000), Cap. 1

Besley, T. (2004), “The New Political Economy”, Keynes Lecture at LSE

**2. Métodos de Avaliação de Impacto**

Menezes (org.) (2012), “Avaliação Econômica de Projetos Sociais”, Fundação Itaú Social.

Handbook on Impact Evaluation: Quantitative Methods and Practices, S. Khandker, G. Koolwal and H. Samad, World Bank, October 2009

### **3. Participação dos Eleitores**

Merlo, A. (2006). "Whither Political Economy? Theories, Facts and Issues," in Blundell, R., W. Newey and T. Persson (eds.) Advances in Economics and Econometrics Theory and Applications, Ninth World Congress, Vol I, Cambridge University Press.

(\*) Feddersen, T. J. (2004). "Rational Choice and the Paradox of Not Voting". Journal of Economic Perspectives 18, 99-112.

(\*) Gerber, A. et al (2008). "Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large Scale FieldExperiment". American Political Science Review, 102(1), 33-48.

Gentzkow, M. (2006) Television and Voter Turnout. Quarterly Journal of Economics, vol. 121, No. 3, Pages 931-972.

(\*) Funk, P. (2010) "Social Incentives and Voter Turnout: Evidence from the Swiss Mail BallotSystem", Journal of the European Economic Association, 8(5): 1077–1103.

(\*) Charles, Kerwin Kofi, and Melvin Stephens (2013). "Employment, Wages, and Voter Turnout."American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 5(4): 111-43.

(\*) Gine, Xavier and Ghazala Mansuri (2012). "Together we will: Experimental evidence on female voting behavior in Pakistan" World Bank Policy Research Working Paper.

Milligan, Kevin, Enrico Moretti, and Philip Oreopoulos, (2004). "Does education improve citizenship? Evidence from the United States and the United Kingdom" Journal of Public Economics 88: 1667-1695.

(\*) Washington, E. (2006) "How Black Candidates Affect Voter Turnout," Quarterly Journal of Economics, 121(3), 973-998.

### **4. Modelos Básicos de Competição Eleitoral**

Modelos de alocação política de recursos, comportamento de eleitores e concorrência política. Teoria do voto, ganhador de Condorcet, modelo Downsiano, equilíbrio do eleitor mediano, modelos de voto probabilístico e concorrência política.

(\*) Persson e Tabellini (2000), Cap. 2 e 3

### **Redistribuição responde às características dos eleitores?**

Husted e Kenny (1997), "The effects of the expansion of the voting franchise on the size of government", Journal of Political Economy, 105: 54-81.

Lott, J e L. Kenny (1999), "How Dramatically Did Women's Suffrage Change the Size andScope of Government", Journal of Political Economy 107, 1163-1198.

- (\*) Miller, G. (2008), "Women's Suffrage, Political Responsiveness, and Child Survival in American History", *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123 (3): 1287-1327.
- Bardhan, Pranab and Dilip Mookherjee (2010) "Determinants of Redistributive Politics: An Empirical Analysis of Land Reforms in West Bengal ,India" *American Economic Review*
- (\*) Cascio, Elisabeth and Ebonya Washington (2014) "Valuing the Vote: The Redistribution of Voting Rights and State Funds Following the Voting Rights Act of 1965, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.
- (\*) Fujiwara, Thomas (2014) "Voting Technology, Political Responsiveness, and Infant Health: Evidence from Brazil, *forthcoming Econometrica*.
- Gerber, Elisabeth and Jeffrey Lewis (2004) "Beyond the Median: Voter Preferences, District Heterogeneity, and Political Representation", *Journal of Political Economy*, 121(6), 1364-83.
- Naidu, Suresh (2012) "Suffrage, Schooling, and Sorting in the Post-Bellum U.S. South" *NBER Working Papers* 18129.

## **5. Modelos Políticos Partidários.**

Modelo cidadão-candidato, identidade de políticos.

(\*) Persson e Tabellini (2000), Cap. 5

(\*) Lee, David S., Enrico Moretti, and Matthew Butler, (2004), "Do Voters Affect or Elect Policies? Evidence from the U.S. House," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 119 (3), 807-860.

## **Partidos influenciam políticas?**

(\*) Pettersson-Lidbom, P. (2008), "Do Parties Matter for Economic Outcomes: A Regression Discontinuity Approach", *Journal of the European Economic Association* 6 (5): 1037-1056.

Ferreira, F. e J. Gyorko (2009), "Do Political Parties Matter? Evidence from U.S. Cities", *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 124 (1): 399-422.

Levitt, S., e J. Snyder (1995), "Political parties and the distribution of federal outlays", *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 958-80.

## **A identidade dos políticos importa?**

Bhalotra, Sonia, and Irma Clots-Figueras (2014). "Health and the Political Agency of Women" *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 6 (2): 164-97.

(\*) Chattopadhyay, R. e E. Duflo (2004), "Women as policy makers: Evidence from a Randomized Experiment in India", *Econometrica* 72: 1409-1443.

Pande, R. (2003), "Can Mandated Political Representation Increase Policy Influence for Disadvantaged Minorities? Theory and Evidence from India", *American Economic Review* 9: 1132-1151.

Washington, E. (2008), "Female Socialization: How Daughters Affect Their Legislator Fathers' Voting on Women's Issues," American Economic Review, 98 (1): 311-332.

### A qualidade (seleção) dos políticos importa?

(\*) Ferraz, C. e F. Finan (2011), "Motivating Politicians: The Impacts of Monetary Incentives on Quality and Performance", mimeo (Janeiro 2011).

Gagliarducci, S. e T Nannicini (2013), "Do Better Paid Politicians Perform Better? Disentangling Incentives from Selection." Journal of the European Economic Association, vol.11 (2), pages 369-398.

Acemoglu, Daron, Georgy Egorov and Konstantin Sonin (2010). "Political Selection and Persistence of Bad Governments" Quarterly Journal of Economics, vol.125 (4), pages 1511-1575, November.

Besley, Timothy (2004). "Paying Politicians: Theory and Evidence." Journal of the European Economic Association, 2:193–215.

(\*) Brollo, Fernanda, Tomasso Nannicini, Roberto Perotti, and Guido Tabellini (2012) "The Political Resource Curse", American Economic Review, 103(5): 1759:96.

(\*) Caselli, Francesco and Morelli, Massimo (2004). "Bad politicians," Journal of Public Economics, vol.88 (3-4), pages 759-782, March.

## 6. Modelos de Agência

(\*) Persson e Tabellini, cap. 4

Alt, J., E. Bueno de Mesquita e S. Rose (2011), "Disentangling Accountability and Competence in Elections: Evidence from U.S. Term Limits". Journal of Politics, 73(1): 171-186.

(\*) Besley T. e A. Case, "Does electoral accountability affect economic policy choices? Evidence from gubernatorial term limits", Quarterly Journal of Economics 110, 1995, 769- 798.

(\*) Ferraz, C. e Finan, F. (2010), "Electoral Accountability and Corruption in Local Governments: Evidence from the Audit Reports of Local Governments", American Economic Review 101: 1274-1311.

Ferraz, C. e Finan, F. (2008), "Exposing Corruption politicians: The Effects of Brazil's Publicly Released Audits on Electoral Outcomes", Quarterly Journal of Economics, 123(2), 703-745.

(\*) Akhmedov, A., e E. Zhuravskaya (2004), "Opportunistic Political Cycles: Test in a Young Democracy Setting." Quarterly Journal of Economics 119 (4): 1301-1338.

Drazen, A. (2005), "Political Budget Cycles in New versus Established Democracies", Journal of Monetary Economics 52 (7).

Banerjee, Abhijit et al. (2010), "Do Informed Voters Make Better Choices? Experimental Evidence From Urban India". Mimeo, MIT.

Besley, Timothy And Robin Burgess (2002). "The Political Economy Of Government Responsiveness: Theory And Evidence From India," Quarterly Journal Of Economics, vol.117 (4), Pages 1415-1451, November.

Dal Bó, Ernesto and Martín Rossi (2011). "Term Length and the Effort of Politicians," Review of Economic Studies, 78(4), 1237-1263.

Bobonis, Gustavo J., Luis R. Cámara Fuertes, and Rainer Schwabe (2013), "Monitoring Corruptible Politicians", Mimeo Toronto.

Lim, Claire S. H. (2013). "Preferences and Incentives of Appointed and Elected Public Officials: Evidence from State Trial Court Judges" American Economic Review, 103(4): 1360–1397

Canes-Wrone, Brandice, Michael C. Herron and Kenneth W. Shotts (2001). "Leadership and Pandering: A Theory of Executive Policymaking" American Journal of Political Science Vol. 45, No. 3, pp. 532-550

## 7. Cultura e Demanda por Redistribuição

Persson e Tabellini, cap. 6

Alesina, A. E Angeletos, G.-M. (2005). "Fairness And Redistribution". The American Economic Review, 95(4): 960-980.

Alesina, A. E Giuliano, P. (2010). "Preferences For Redistribution". In Jess Benhabib, Matthew O. Jackson And Alberto Bisin (Eds): Handbook Of Social Economics, 1a: 93-131.

(\*) Alesina, A. E Giuliano, P. "Culture and Institutions", forthcoming, Journal of Economic Literature

(\*) Alesina, A., Tella, R. D., E Macculloch, R. (2004). "Inequality And Happiness: Are Europeans And Americans Different?" Journal Of Public Economics, 88 (910): 2009-2042.

Benabou, R. E Tirole, J. (2006). "Belief In A Just World And Redistributive Politics". The Quarterly Journal Of Economics, 121(2): 699-746.

Cruces, G., Perez-Truglia, R., E Tetaz, M. (2013). "Biased Perceptions Of Income Distribution And Preferences For Redistribution: Evidence From A Survey Experiments". Journal Of Public Economics, 98: 100-112.

Fehr, E. E Schmidt, K. M. (1999). "A Theory Of Fairness, Competition, And Cooperation". The Quarterly Journal Of Economics, 114(3): 817-868.

Fong, C. (2001). "Social Preferences, Self-Interest, And The Demand For Redistribution". Journal Of Public Economics, 82(2): 225-246.

(\*) Guiso, L., Sapienza, P. e Zingales L. (2006). "Does Culture Affect Economic Outcomes?" *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Spring, 2006), pp. 23-48

(\*) Karadja, M., Möllerström J. E Seim D. (2014) "Richer (And Holier) Than Thou? The Effect Of Relative Income Improvements On Demand For Redistribution". Working Paper No. 1042

(\*) Kuziemko, I., Norton, M. I., Saez, E., E Stantcheva, S. (2013). "How Elastic Are Preferences For Redistribution? Evidence From Randomized Survey Experiments". Nber Working Paper 18865.

Norton, M. I. E Ariely, D. (2011). "Building A Better America, One Wealth Quintile At A Time". *Perspectives On Psychological Science*, 6(1): 9-12.

Piketty, T. (1995). "Social Mobility And Redistributive Politics". *The Quarterly Journal Of Economics*, 110(3): 551-584.

## 8. Política Redistributiva e Grupos de Interesse

Persson e Tabellini, cap. 5 e 7

### Como políticos redistribuem?

(\*) Brollo, F. and T. Nannicini, (2012), "Tying Your Enemy's Hands In Close Races: The Politics of Federal Transfers In Brazil" *American Political Science Review*, 106, p.742-761.

Levitt, S., and J. Snyder. (1995) "Political parties and the distribution of federal outlays", *American Journal of Political Science* 39, 958-80.

(\*) Mian, Atif; Amir Sufi and Francesco Trebbi (2010), "The Political Economy of the US Mortgage Default Crisis", *American Economic Review*, 100 (5): pp.1967-98.

(\*) Khwaja, Asim, and Atif Mian. (2005). "Do Lenders Favor Politically Connected Firms? Rent Provision in an Emerging Financial Market", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120(4).

(\*) Carvalho, Daniel (2014), "The Real Effects of Government-Owned Banks", *Journal of Finance* 69 (2), April 2014.

De Mello, J.M.; Leão, S. and C. Ferraz (2014), "Political Alliances and Credit Favoritism" Mimeo, PUC-Rio.

Bombardini, M. e F. Trebbi (2011), "Votes or Money? Theory and Evidence from the US Congress", *Journal of Public Economics* 95 (7-8): 587-611.

Levitt, S. (1994): "Using Repeat Challengers to Estimate the Effect of Campaign Spending on Election Outcomes in the U.S. House," *Journal of Political Economy* 102(4): 777-798.

De Mello, J. M. P. e Silveira, B. (2010) "Campaign Advertising and Election Outcomes: Quasi-Natural Experiment Evidence from Gubernatorial Elections in Brazil", Review of Economic Studies.

### **Eleitores respondem à redistribuição?**

(\*) De La, A. L., (2013), "Do Conditional Cash Transfers Affect Electoral Behavior? Evidence from a Randomized Experiment in Mexico", American Journal of Political Science, 57, (1), p.1

Levitt, S. D. and J. M. Snyder, (1997), "The impact of federal spending on House Election outcomes, "Journal of Political Economy 105 (1): 30-53.

(\*) Litschig, Stephan and Kevin Morrison (2010), "Government Spending and Re-election: Quasi-Experimental Evidence from Brazilian Municipalities" .Mimeo, UPF.

(\*) Manacorda, Marco, Edward Miguel, and Andrea Vigorito. (2010). "Government Transfers and Political Support", American Economic Journal: Applied Economics.

(\*) Labonne, Julian. "The local electoral impacts of conditional cash transfers ☆: Evidence from a field experiment", Journal of Development Economics Volume 104, September 2013, Pages 73–88

## **9. Informação e Mídia**

Besley, T. e A. Prat (2006), "Handcuffs for the Grabbing Hand?: Media Capture and Government Accountability", American Economic Review 96 (3): 720-736.

Besley, T. and R. Burgess (2002) "The Political Economy of Government" Responsiveness" Quarterly Journal of Economics, 1415-1451.

Campante, F. and D. Hojman (2011) "Media and Polarization: Evidence from the Introduction of Broadcast TV in the US", Harvard Kennedy School (mimeo).

(\*) Della Vigna, S. e E. Kaplan (2007), "The Fox News Effect: Media Bias and Voting," Quarterly Journal of Economics 122 (3): 1187-1234.

Eisensee, T. e D. Stromberg (2007), "News Droughts, News Floods and U.S. Disaster Relief,"Quarterly Journal of Economics 122 (2): 693-728.

(\*) Ferraz, C. e F. Finan (2008), "Exposing Corrupt Politicians: The Effect of Brazil's Publicly Released Audits on Electoral Outcomes", Quarterly Journal of Economics 123 (2): 703-745.

Stromberg, D. (2004), "Radio's Impact on Public Spending", Quarterly Journal of Economics 119 (1) 189-221.

(\*) Durante, R.e B. Knight (2009), "Partisan Control, Media Bias, and Viewer Responses: Evidence from Berlusconi's Italy". Journal of the European Economic Association 10 (3).

Enikopolov, Ruben, Maria Petrova and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya (2011) "Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia" American Economic Review, 111(7): 3253-85.

(\*) Gentzkow, M. (2006) "Television and Voter Turnout" Quarterly Journal of Economics, 931-972.

Gentzkow, M. and J. Shapiro (2006) "Media Bias and Reputation" Journal of Political Economy, 280-316.

Gentzkow, M. and J. Shapiro. (2010). "What Drives Media Slant? Evidence from U.S. Daily Newspapers" Econometrica 78(1): 35-71.

Mullainathan, S. and A. Shleifer (2005) "The Market for News" American Economic Review, 1031-1053.

(\*) Snyder, James M., Jr. and David Stromberg (2010). "Press Coverage and Political Accountability." Journal of Political Economy 118(2): 355-408.

Stromberg, D. (2004) "Radio's Impact on Public Spending" Quarterly Journal of Economics, 189-221.

Stromberg, D. and A. Prat (2011) "The Political Economy of Mass Media", Advances in Economics and Econometrics. Cambridge University Press. 2013.

Stromberg, D. (2015), "Media Bias and Politics". Mimeo.

Prat, A. (2014), "Media Power"

Yanagizawa-Drott, David (2014), "Propaganda and Conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide", Quarterly Journal of Economics, 2014, 129 (4), pp.1947---1994

### **Novas Mídias**

(\*) Aker, J.; Paul Collier and Pedro Vicente (2013) "Is Information Power? Using Mobile Phones and Free Newspapers during an Election in Mozambique." CGD Working Paper 328.

(\*) Campante, F.; Ruben Durante and Francesco Sobbrio (2014) "Politics 2.0: The Multifaceted Effect of Broadband Internet on Political Participation". NBER WP 19029.

(\*) Falck, Oliver, Robert Gold, and Stephan Heblisch. (2014). "E-lections: Voting Behavior and the Internet." American Economic Review, 104(7): 2238-65.

Halberstam, Yosh and Brian Knight (2015), "Homophily, Group Size, and the Diffusion of Political Information in Social Networks: Evidence from Twitter"

(\*) Miner, Luke (2013), "The Unintended Consequences of Internet Diffusion: Evidence from Malaysia". Mimeo.

## **10. Capacidade de Estado e Burocracia**

(\*) Besley, T., and T. Persson (2009): "The Origins of State Capacity: Property Rights, Taxation, and Politics," American Economic Review, 99 (4), 1218–44.

Besley, T., and T. Persson (2011): "Pillars of Prosperity. The Political Economics of Development Clusters. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gennaioli, Nicola and Ilia Rainer, 2007."The modern impact of precolonial centralization in Africa," Journal of Economic Growth, vol. 12 (3), pages 185-234, September.

Michalopoulos, Stelios and Elias Papaioannou (2013). "Pre-Colonial Ethnic Institutions and Contemporary African Development," Econometrica, Econometric Society, vol. 81 (1), pages 113-152, 01.

(\*) Sánchez De La Sierra, Raul (2015), "On The Origin Of States: Stationary Bandits And Taxation In Eastern Congo", Mimeo Harvard.

(\*) Ashraf, Nava, Oriana Bandeira, and Scott Lee (2014) "Do-gooders and go-getters: career incentives, selection, and performance in public service delivery", Working Paper.

(\*) Dal Bó, Ernesto, Frederico Finan, and Martín A. Rossi (2013) "Strengthening State Capabilities: The Role of Financial Incentives in the Call to Public Service", Quarterly Journal of Economics, 128(3): 1169-1218.

(\*) Muralidharan, Karthik; Paul Niehaus and Sandip Sukhtankar (2014), "Building State Capacity: Evidence from Biometric Smartcards in India", NBER working paper 19441.

Rasul, Imran and Daniel Rogger (2014) "Management of Bureaucrats and Public Service Delivery: Evidence from the Nigerian Civil Service", Working Paper.

## **11. Protestos e democracia direta**

### **Protestos**

(\*) Aguilar, A. and C. Ferraz (2015), "What Drives Social Unrest? Evidence from Brazil's Protests", Mimeo PUC-Rio

Campante, Filipe and Davin Chor (2014) "The People Want the Fall of the Regime: Schooling, Political Protest, and the Economy" Journal of Comparative Economics 42 (3): 495-517, August 2014.

Campante, F. and Davin Chor (2012), "Why was the Arab World Poised for Revolution? Schooling, Economic Opportunities, and the Arab Spring" Journal of Economic Perspectives 26 (2): 167-188, Spring 2012.

DiPasquale, D., and Glaeser, E. L. (1998). The Los Angeles riot and the economics of urban unrest. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 43 (1), 52-78.

Machado, F., Scartascini, C., and Tommasi, M. (2011). Political institutions and street protests in Latin America. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55(3), 340-365.

(\*) Madestam, Andreas et al. (2013) "Do Political Protests Matter? Evidence from the Tea Party Movement" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 2013, 128 (4), pp.1633-1685.

Passarelli, F., and Tabellini, G. (2013). Emotions and Political Unrest.

Ponticelli, J., & Voth, H. J. (2011). Austerity and anarchy: Budget cuts and social unrest in Europe, 1919-2008.

### **Ação coletiva e democracia direta**

Beath, Andrew, Fotini Christia, Ruben Enikolopov (2012) "Direct Democracy and Resource Allocation: Experimental Evidence from Afghanistan," Mimeo.

(\*) Bjorkman, Martina and Svensson, Jakob, (2009). "Power to the People. Evidence from a Randomized Experiment of a Citizen Report Card Project in Uganda", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 124 (2): 735-769.

Casey, Katherine, Rachel Glennerster, and Edward Miguel (2012) "Reshaping Institutions: Evidence on Aid Impacts Using a Pre-Analysis Plan," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 175-1812

(\*) Menno Pradhan et al (2012), "Improving Educational Quality through Enhancing Community Participation: Results from a Randomized Field Experiment in Indonesia." AEJ

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### **Tópico extra: Regras Eleitorais**

Persson e Tabellini, cap. 8, 9 e 10

(\*) Baqir, Reza (2002), "Districting and Government Overspending", *Journal of Political Economy* 110

Besley, T. e A. Case (2003), "Political Institutions and Policy Choices: Evidence from the United States", *Journal of Economic Literature* 41: 7-73.

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Persson, T., G. Tabellini e F. Trebbi (2003), "Electoral rules and corruption", *Journal of the European Economic Association* 1: 958-989.

Gagliarducci, S., T. Nannicini e P. Naticchioni (2011), "Electoral Rules and Politicians' Behavior", American Economic Journal: Economic Policy 3 (3):144-174.

(\*) Funk, Patricia e Christina Gathman (2013) "How do Electoral Systems Affect Fiscal Policy? Evidence from State and Local Governments, 1890 to 2005", Journal of the European Economic Association, forthcoming

(\*) Massimo Bordignon and Guido Tabellini (2009). "Moderating Political Extremism: Single Round vs Runoff Elections under Plurality Rule" IZA Discussion Paper No. 7561

Fujiwara, Thomas (2011). "A Regression Discontinuity Test of Strategic Voting and Duverger's Law" Quarterly Journal of Political Science 6: 197–233