# POLS GR8422: Political Economy Analysis of Political Behavior Department of Political Science, Columbia University

## Fall 2023 Class meetings: Thursdays, 2:10pm-4:00pm Location: 212A Lewisohn Hall

#### Professor: John Marshall (he/him)

Office: 705 International Affairs Building Office hours: Thursdays, 4:30-6:30pm; <u>signup</u> Email: <u>jm4401@columbia.edu</u>

## **COURSE OVERVIEW AND OBJECTIVES**

This course examines political behavior from a political economy perspective. We will focus on how incentives of various types drive the micro-level behavior of citizens (and, to some degree, also politicians), enabling us to rigorously examine – both theoretically and empirically – contemporary debates including:

- When will citizens engage in collective action?
- On what do voters base their policy and political preferences, beliefs, and voting choices?
- How do citizens adopt norms and form identities?
- Can voters effectively hold their governments to account for their performance in office?
- How do social networks, including social media, influence political behavior?

We will use formal models and design-based causal inference techniques to generate hypotheses, identify causal effects from across the democratic world – and, to a lesser degree, the non-democratic world – and ultimately seek to interpret them. Each topic will be covered over two classes, with the first covering theories and the second empirics.

In preparing PhD students for conducting their own research, the course has two main goals. The substantive goal is to familiarize students with core theoretical arguments and frontier empirical evidence pertaining to central questions in political economy in developed and developing contexts. The methodological goal is to empower students to read and write formal models, implement causal inference techniques in their research, and combine the two approaches to help interpret empirical evidence.

This class complements "POLS GU4423: Political Economy Analysis of Elites and Institutions," which takes a similar political economy approach to examining the behaviors and effects of political elites and institutions, rather than voters. While the statistical focus of this course is core

causal inference strategies, POLS GU4423 covers other methodological topics of interest that arise in applied research (e.g. measurement, causal mechanisms, placebo tests, synthetic controls, identification of subtler theoretical estimands). These courses need not be taken in a particular order. I expect to next teach POLS GU4423 in Spring 2025.

## **ENROLLMENT**

This course is intended for PhD students in political science and interested students in economics. A strong grounding in graduate-level game theory and econometrics/statistics will be assumed. Students will not need to write their own formal models or prove the results of others, but an ability to follow and engage with formal papers is strongly advised (it is, after all, half the course!). Enrollment requires instructor approval for non-PhD students, and the class will be capped at 20 students. Auditors are not permitted, but the class may be taken pass/fail with instructor approval for completing one main assignment.

## **COURSE STRUCTURE**

The weekly seminar will have the following structure:

- *Submit two questions*. Each week, every student will submit two questions that they would like to discuss in class *or* would like to see clarified in the lecture. Questions can be "big picture" or specific. Questions must be posted under the relevant week on the Discussions page on CourseWorks *by midnight of the Wednesday before class*, so everyone can read them in advance of class.
- *Lecture*. I will lecture for ~50 minutes. For theory weeks, I will summarize the key theoretical arguments and intuitions of the models (rather than derive formal results). For empirical weeks, I will provide a practitioner's overview of the week's empirical design (e.g. intuition for the design, identifying assumptions, and common tests of such assumptions). My slides will be uploaded to CourseWorks shortly before class.
- *General discussion*. The final ~60 minutes will be a general discussion. The goal is to highlight the limits of our understanding, and thus help to identify topics for the final paper and future research more generally. For empirical weeks, you should think about how the empirical studies speak to the previous weeks' theoretical models.

## GRADING

Grades will be assigned according to the following components of the course:

- *In-class participation (20%)*. All students are expected to submit their two questions in advance, attend every class having read all readings in advance, and actively participate in class discussion.
- *Replication and extension task (30%)*. Each student will conduct an individual replication and extension task that replicates one of the main results from a paper on the extended reading list before *extending the paper's analysis* (due by email by 11:59pm on October 26th). For theoretical papers, this could involve verifying a proof of a key result within the replicated paper and then developing additional formal results to extend it. For empirical papers, this could involve replicating a core finding using the authors' data, which is normally publicly available for recently-published papers and then extending it by either conducting robustness and/or sensitivity tests or by extending the analysis to other datasets or testing additional predictions within the same dataset. The write-up is expected to be around 10 double-spaced pages.
- *Research paper/proposal (50%)*. Your assignment (due by email by 11:59pm on December 22nd; you are welcome to take incompletes, but it is your responsibility to make sure that this is compatible with your program requirements) should be an original paper (20-30 double-spaced pages), and can be one of two types:
  - Research paper: an original paper addressing a topic related to the substantive themes of the course that applies some of the formal or empirical methods encountered in the course (or ideally both).
  - Pre-analysis plan/detailed grant application: these should pertain to a substantive theme of the course and contain a detailed (possibly formal) theory, design, power calculation, pre-analysis plan, and plan for external funding.

# **APPROACHING THE READINGS**

This course combines prominent and recent articles in political economy. These are either available on the course website, usually via Columbia's online library. An exception is Angrist and Pischke's *Mostly Harmless Econometrics*, which I recommend purchasing as a background reference to the econometric methods covered. You might also consider purchasing Persson and Tabellini's *Political Economics* or Gehlbach's *Formal Models of Domestic Politics* for useful overviews of foundational political economy models.

For theory readings, you might consider the following questions:

- What is novel or surprising about the predictions or mechanisms proposed by the theory? Is the feature of the model generating this result plausible?
- Do the theory's assumptions capture the defining features (relevant actors, strategies, motives, institutional constraints etc.) of phenomena in the real world? If not, would different assumptions produce different results/change incentives?

- What assumptions and predictions differentiate a given theory from other explanations of the same phenomenon? Are there similar simpler explanations?
- What empirical design could be used to test these predictions, and can it differentiate the theory from alternative explanations?
- Under what conditions would the theory fail to apply? Is the theory falsifiable?
- How could the theory be extended to other phenomena or nuances of empirical interest?

For empirical readings, you might consider the following questions:

- How compelling is the claim that the research design identifies causal effects? Are the identification checks sufficient? (Note that the evidence for different claims within a given paper may vary substantially.)
- To what extent does the specific source of variation capture the general theoretical argument? Is it generalizable? Can you think of better or different contexts to test it?
- Should we care about the magnitude of an effect or just its direction? If the former, what should we test other than the null hypothesis?
- Is there convincing "first stage" evidence validating that the treatment or source of exogenous variation works as theorized?
- How does the sampling strategy affect the internal and external validity of the estimates?
- How compelling is variable measurement? Does "noisy" measurement actually induce bias? Do they outcomes match the key theoretical predictions?
- At what level is the "treatment" assigned? What is the relevant level of variation?
- What is this evidence of? Given the theoretical readings, how should we interpret the effects? What tests could distinguish theoretical mechanisms or refine the interpretation?

# ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Columbia University does not tolerate cheating or plagiarism in any form. Students violating the code of academic and professional conduct will be subject to disciplinary procedures. Guidelines on academic integrity are available at <u>https://gsas.columbia.edu/student-guide/research/academic-integrity-and-responsible-conduct-research</u>, and all students are expected to be familiar with and abide by them.

## **COURSE OUTLINE**

Since my wife and I are expecting a baby to arrive in mid September, this class has been designed to incorporate one flexible week where there will be no class. All classes will then be pushed back by one week around the baby's birth.

Please note that + denotes a reading with core ideas that you might want to start the week's reading with. \* denotes an empirical reading associated with the week's research design focus.

#### Introduction and logistics, 9/7

Angrist, Joshua D., and Jörn-Steffen Pischke. 2008. *Mostly Harmless Econometrics: An Empiricist's Companion*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 2 and 3.

Ashworth, Scott, Christopher R. Berry, and Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2021. *Theory and Credibility: Integrating Theoretical and Empirical Social Science*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-3.

## I - Collective action and political participation

#### Theory week, 9/14

Dewan, Torun, and David P. Myatt. 2008. "The qualities of leadership: Direction, communication, and obfuscation." *American Political Science Review* 102(3):351-368.

+Esteban, Joan, and Debraj Ray. 2001. "Collective Action and the Group Size Paradox." *American Political Science Review* 95(3):663-672.

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 1996. "Explaining interethnic cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 90(4):715-735.

Kuran, Timur. 1989. "Sparks and prairie fires: A theory of unanticipated political revolution." *Public Choice* 61:41-74.

Palfrey, Thomas R., and Howard Rosenthal. 1985. "Voter Participation and Strategic Uncertainty." *American Political Science Review* 79(1):62-78.

#### Empirical week, 9/21 – field experiments

+\*Athey, Susan, and Guido W. Imbens. 2017. "The Econometrics of Randomized Experiments." In *Handbook of Economic Field Experiments: Volume 1*, edited by Abhijit V. Banerjee and Esther Duflo, Elsevier. Chapter 3. [You may want to skim some sections.] \*Björkman, Martina, and Jakob Svensson. 2009. "Power to the people: Evidence from a randomized field experiment on community-based monitoring in Uganda." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 124(2):735-769.

\*Cantoni, Davide, David Y. Yang, Noam Yuchtman, and Y. Jane Zhang. 2019. "Protests as Strategic Games: Experimental Evidence from Hong Kong's Antiauthoritarian Movement." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 134(2):1021-1077.

\*Casey, Katherine, Rachel Glennerster, and Edward Miguel. 2012. "Reshaping Institutions: Evidence on Aid Impacts Using a Preanalysis Plan." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 127(4):1755-1812.

Enikolopov, Ruben, Alexey Makarin, and Maria Petrova. 2020. "Social media and protest participation: Evidence from Russia." *Econometrica* 88(4):1479-1514.

\*Gerber, Alan S., Donald P. Green, and Christopher W. Larimer. 2008. "Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 102(1):33-48.

#### Non-required readings (theory and empirics)

Acemoglu, Daron, Tarek Hassan, and Ahmed Tahoun. 2018. "The Power of the Street: Evidence from Egypt's Arab Spring." *Review of Financial Studies* 31(1):1-42.

Alesina, Alberto, Reza Baqir, and William Easterly. 1999. "Public goods and ethnic divisions." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 114(4):1243-1284.

Alesina, Alberto and Eliana La Ferrara. 2000. "Participation in Heterogeneous Communities." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115(3):847-904.

Angeletos, George-Marios, and Alessandro Pavon. 2013. "Selection-free predictions in global games with endogenous information and multiple equilibria." *Theoretical Economics* 8:883-938.

+Athey, Susan, and Guido W. Imbens. 2017. "The State of Applied Econometrics: Causality and Policy Evaluation." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 31(2):3-32.

Baldwin, Kate, Dean Karlan, Christopher Udry, and Ernest Appiah. 2016. "Does Participatory Development Improve Governance? Evidence from a Long-Term Randomized Evaluation in Ghana." Working Paper.

Banerjee, Abhijit V., Rukmini Banerji, Esther Duflo, Rachel Glennerster, and Stuti Khemani. 2010. "Pitfalls of Participatory Programs: Evidence from a randomized evaluation in education in India." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 2(1):1-30.

Banerjee, Abhijit V., Sylvain Chassang, and Erik Snowberg. 2017. "Decision theoretic approaches to experiment design and external validity." In *Handbook of Economic Field Experiments* 1:141-174.

Banerjee, Abhijit, Lakshmi Iyer, and Rohini Somanathan. 2007. "Public Action for Public Goods." In *Handbook of Development Economics*, edited by T. Paul Schultz and John A. Strauss, Elsevier. Chapter 49.

+Banerjee, Abhijit V., Sylvain Chassang, Sergio Montero, and Erik Snowberg. 2020. "A theory of experimenters." *American Economic Review* 110(4):1206-1230.

Barbera, Salvador, and Matthew O. Jackson. 2020. "A Model of Protests, Revolution, and Information." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 15:297-335.

Bardhan, Pranab. 2002. "Decentralization of Governance and Development." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 16(4):185-205.

Battaglini, Marco, Rebecca B. Morton, and Thomas R. Palfrey. 2010. "The Swing Voter's Curse in the Laboratory." *Review of Economic Studies* 77:61-89.

Beath, Andrew, Fotini Christia, and Ruben Enikolopov. 2016. "Winning Hearts and Minds: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan." Working paper.

Bjorkman Nyqvist, Martina, Damien De Walque, and Jakob Svensson. 2017. "Experimental Evidence on the Long-Run Impact of Community-Based Monitoring." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 9(1):33-69.

Borgers, Tilman. 2004. "Costly voting." American Economic Review 94(1):57-66.

Brennan, Geoffrey, and Alan Hamlin. 1998. "Expressive voting and electoral equilibrium." *Public Choice* 95(1-2):149-175.

Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2010. "Regime Change and Revolutionary Entrepreneurs." *American Political Science Review* 104(3):446-466.

Chassang, Sylvain, Gerard Padro i Miquel, and Erik Snowberg, 2012. "Selective Trials: A Principal-Agent Approach to Randomized Controlled Experiments." *American Economic Review* 102(4):1279-1309.

Chwe, Michael Suk-Young. 2000. "Communication and Coordination in Social Networks." *Review of Economic Studies* 67(1):1-16.

Cochran, William G. 1977. Sampling Techniques. John Wiley and Sons.

+Deaton, Angus, and Nancy Cartwright. 2016. "Understanding and Misunderstanding Randomized Controlled Trials." NBER working paper.

DellaVigna, Stefano, John A. List, Ulrike Malmendier, and Gautam Rao. 2017. "Voting to tell others." *Review of Economic Studies* 84(1):143-181.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. An Economic Theory of Democracy. Harper and Row.

Duffy, John, and Margit Tavits. 2008. "Beliefs and voting decisions: A test of the pivotal voter model." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(3):603-618.

Duflo, Esther, Michael Kremer, and Rachel Glennerster. 2008. "Using Randomization in Development Economics Research: A Toolkit." NBER working paper.

Edmond, Chris. 2013. "Information Manipulation, Coordination, and Regime Change." *Review of Economic Studies* 80(4):1422-1458.

Fearon, James D., Macartan Humphreys, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2015. "How Does Development Assistance Affect Collective Action Capacity? Results from a Field Experiment in Post-Conflict Liberia." *American Political Science Review* 109(3):450-469.

Feddersen, Timothy, and Alvaro Sandroni. 2006. "A theory of participation in elections." *American Economic Review* 96(4):1271-1282.

Funk, Patricia. 2010. "Social incentives and voter turnout: evidence from the Swiss mail ballot system." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 8(5):1077-1103.

+Gerber, Alan S., and Donald P. Green. 2012. *Field Experiments: Design, Analysis and Interpretation*. W.W. Norton and Company.

Gugerty, Mary Kay, and Michael Kremer. 2008. "Outside funding and the dynamics of participation in community associations." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(3):585-602.

+Harrison, Glenn W., and John A. List. 2004. "Field Experiments." *Journal of Economic Literature* 42(4):1009-1055.

Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2009. "Field experiments and the political economy of development." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12:367-378.

Humphreys, Macartan, Raul Sanchez de la Sierra, and Peter van der Windt. 2017. "Institutional Change by Imitation: Introducing Western Governance Practices in Congolese Villages." Working paper.

+Imbens, Guido W. 2020. "Potential Outcome and Directed Acyclic Graph Approaches to Causality: Relevance for Empirical Practice in Economics." *Journal of Economic Literature* 58(4):1129-1179.

+Imbens, Guido W., and Donald B. Rubin. 2015. *Causal Inference for Statistics, Social, and Biomedical Sciences*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3-10.

Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44(1):7-48.

Lieberman, Evan S., Daniel N. Posner, Lily L. Tsai. 2014. "Does information lead to more active citizenship? Evidence from an education intervention in rural Kenya." *World Development* 60:69-83.

+Lin, Winston. 2013. "Agnostic Notes on Regression Adjustments to Experimental Data: Reexaming Freedman's Critique." *Annals of Applied Statistics*:295-318.

Lohmann, Susanne. 1994. "The Dynamics of Informational Cascades: The Monday Demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989-91." *World Politics* 47(1):42-101.

Madestam, Andreas, Daniel Shoag, Stan Vueger, and David Yanagizawa-Drott. 2013. "Do Political Protests Matter? Evidence from the Tea Party Movement." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128(4):1633-1685.

Manacorda, Marco, and Andrea Tesei. Forthcoming. "Liberation Technology: Mobile Phones and Political Mobilization in Africa." *Econometrica*.

McKenzie, David. 2012. "Beyond baseline and follow-up: The case for more T in experiments." *Journal of Development Economics* 99:210-221.

+Middleton, Joel A., Marc A. Scott, Ronli Diakow, and Jennifer L. Hill. 2016. "Bias amplification and bias unmasking." *Political Analysis* 24(3):307-323.

Miguel, Edward, and Mary Kay Gugerty. 2005. "Ethnic diversity, social sanctions, and public goods in Kenya." *Journal of Public Economics* 89(11):2325-2368.

Morris, Stephen, and Hyun Song Shin. 2002. "Social value of public information." *American Economic Review* 92(5):1521-1534.

Morris, Stephen, and Hyun Song Shin. 2003. "Global Games: Theory and Applications." In *Advances in Economics and Econometrics (Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of the Econometric Society)*, edited by M. Dewatripont, L. Hansen and S. Turnovsky. Cambridge University Press.

Olken, Benjamin A. 2015. "Promises and perils of pre-analysis plans." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 29(3):61-80.

Olken, Benjamin A. 2007. "Monitoring Corruption: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia." *Journal of Political Economy* 115(2):200-249.

Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Harvard University Press.

Ostrom, Elinor. 1998. "A Behavioral Approach to the Rational Choice Theory of Collective Action: Presidential Address." *American Political Science Review* 92(1):1-22.

Ostrom, Elinor. 2010. "Beyond Markets and States: Polycentric Governance of Complex Economic Systems." *American Economic Review* 100:641-672.

Ostrom, Elinor. 2005. Understanding Institutional Diversity. Cambridge University Press.

Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nanetti. 1994. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton University Press.

Raffler, Pia, Daniel Posner, and Doug Parkerson. 2023. "The Weakness of Bottom-Up Accountability: Experimental Evidence from the Ugandan Health Sector." Working paper.

Riker, William H., and Peter C. Ordeshook. 1968. "A Theory of the Calculus of Voting." *American Political Science Review* 62(1):25-42.

Rundlett, Ashlea, and Milan Svolik. 2016. "Deliver the Vote! Micromotives and Macrobehavior in Electoral Fraud." *American Political Science Review* 110(1):180-197.

Sellers, Emily. 2019. "Emigration and Collective Action." Journal of Politics 81(4):1210-1222.

Shadmehr, Mehdi, and Dan Bernhardt. 2011. "Collective Action with Uncertain Payoffs: Coordination, Public Signals, and Punishment Dilemmas." *American Political Science Review* 105(4):829-851.

Shadmehr, Mehdi, and Dan Bernhardt. 2017. "When can citizen communication hinder successful revolution?" *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 12(3):301-323.

Siegel, David A. 2009. "Social networks and collective action." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(1):122-138.

Steinert-Threlkeld, Zachary C. 2017. "Spontaneous Collective Action: Peripheral Mobilization During the Arab Spring." *American Political Science Review* 111(2):379-403.

+VanderWeele, Tyler J., and Miguel A. Hernán. 2013. "Causal Inference Under Multiple Versions of Treatment." *Journal of Causal Inference* 1(1):1-20.

Flexible week, 9/28 – instructor's baby arriving! (estimated)

## II – Citizen belief and preference formation

#### Theory week, 10/5

Bernheim, B. Douglas, Luca Braghieri, Alejandro Martínez-Marquina, and David Zuckerman. 2021. "A Theory of Chosen Preferences." *American Economic Review* 111(2):720-754.

Bikhchandani, Sushil, David Hirshleifer, and Ivo Welch. 1992. "A Theory of Fads, Fashion, Custom, and Cultural Change as Informational Cascades." *Journal of Political Economy* 100(5):992-1026.

Little, Andrew. 2023. "Bayesian Explanations for Persuasion." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 35(3):147-181.

+Persson, Torsten, and Guido E. Tabellini. 2000. *Political Economics: Explaining Economic Policy*. MIT Press. Chapter 6.

Zaller, John R. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3.

#### Empirics week, 10/12 – instrumental variables

\*Adena, Maja, Ruben Enikolopov, Maria Petrova, Veronica Santarosa, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2015. "Radio and the Rise of The Nazis in Prewar Germany." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 130(4):1885-1939.

+\*Angrist, Joshua D., and Jörn-Steffen Pischke. 2008. *Mostly Harmless Econometrics: An Empiricist's Companion*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 4.

\*Colantone, Italo, and Piero Stanig. 2018. "The Trade Origins of Economic Nationalism: Import Competition and Voting Behavior in Western Europe." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(2):936-953.

Kendall, Chad, Tommaso Nannicini, and Francesco Trebbi. 2014. "How do voters respond to information? Evidence from a randomized campaign." *American Economic Review* 105(1):322-353.

\*Marshall, John. 2019. "The anti-Democrat diploma: How high school education decreases support for the Democratic party." *American Journal of Political Science* 61(1):67-83.

Thaler, Michael. Forthcoming. "The Fake News Effect: Experimentally Identifying Motivated Reasoning Using Trust in News." *American Economic Journal: Microeconomics*.

#### Non-required readings (theory and empirics)

Alt, James E., David D. Lassen, and John Marshall. 2016. "Credible sources and sophisticated voters: When does new information induce economic voting?" *Journal of Politics* 78(2):327-343.

Anderson, Lisa R., and Charles A. Holt. 1997. "Information Cascades in the Laboratory." *American Economic Review* 87(5):847-862.

+Angrist, Joshua D., and Guido W. Imbens. 1995. "Two-stage least squares estimation of average causal effects in models with variable treatment intensity." *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 90(430):431-442.

Autor, David, David Dorn, Gordon Hanson, and Kaveh Majlesi. 2020. "Importing political polarization? The electoral consequences of rising trade exposure." *American Economic Review* 110(10):3139-3183.

Banerjee, Abhijit. 1992. "A simple model of herd behavior." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 107(3):797-818.

Beaman, Lori, Raghabendra Chattopadhyay, Esther Duflo, Rohini Pande, and Petia Topalova. 2009. "Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 124(4):1497-1540.

Benabou, Roland, and Efe A. Ok. 2001. "Social mobility and the demand for redistribution: the POUM hypothesis." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 116(2):447-487.

Benabou, Roland, and Jean Tirole. 2006. "Belief in a just world and redistributive politics." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 121(2):699-746.

Bernhardt, Dan, Stefan Krasa, and Mattias Polborn. 2008. "Political Polarization and the Electoral Effects of Media Bias." *Journal of Public Economics* 92(5-6):1092-1104.

+Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan, and Scott Tyson. 2020. "The Commensurability Problem: Conceptual Difficulties in Estimating the Effect of Behavior on Behavior." *American Political Science Review* 114(2):375-391.

Bullock, John G. 2009. "Partisan Bias and the Bayesian Ideal in the Study of Public Opinion." *Journal of Politics* 71(3):1109-1124.

Cantoni, Davide, Yuyu Chen, David Y. Yang, Noam Yuchtman, and Y. Jane Zhang. 2017. "Curriculum and ideology." *Journal of Political Economy* 125(2):338-392.

Carrillo, Juan, and Thomas Mariotti. 2000. "Strategic Ignorance as a Self-Disciplining Device." *Review of Economic Studies* 67:529-544.

+Cinelli, Carlos, and Chad Hazlett. 2022. "An omitted variable bias framework for sensitivity analysis of instrumental variables." Working paper.

Colantone, Italo, and Piero Stanig. 2018. "Global Competition and Brexit." *American Political Science Review* 118(2):201-218.

+Conley, Timothy G., Christian B. Hansen, and Peter E. Rossi. 2012. "Plausibly exogenous." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 94(1):260-272.

Davenport, Tiffany C. 2015. "Policy-Induced Risk and Responsive Participation: The Effect of a Son's Conscription Risk on the Voting Behavior of His Parents." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(1):225-241.

+de Chaisemartin, Clément. 2017. "Tolerating Defiance? Local average treatment effects without monotonicity." *Quantitative Economics* 8(2):367-396.

Della Vigna, Stefano, and Matthew Gentzkow. 2010. "Persuasion: Empirical Evidence." *Annual Review of Economics* 2:643-669.

Druckman, James N., and Arthur Lupia. 2000. "Preference Formation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3:1-24

Eyster, Erik, and Matthew Rabin. 2014. "Extensive Imitation is Irrational and Harmful." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129(4):1861-1898.

Erikson, Robert S., and Laura Stoker. 2011. "Caught in the Draft: The Effects of Vietnam Draft Lottery Status on Political Attitudes." *American Political Science Review* 105(2):221-237.

+Felton, Chris, and Brandon M. Stewart. 2022. "Handle With Care: A Sociologist's Guide to Causal Inference With Instrumental Variables." Working paper.

Gentzkow, Matthew, Michael B. Wong, and Allen T. Zhang. 2023. "Ideological Bias and Trust in Information Sources." Working paper.

Gerber, Alan S., Andrew Gooch, and Greg Huber. 2017. "Evaluations of Candidates' Non-policy Characteristics from Issue Positions: Evidence about Valence Spillover." Working paper.

Gerber, Alan S., and Donald P. Green. 1998. "Rational Learning and Partisan Attitudes." *American Journal of Political Science* 42(3):794-818.

Gerber, Alan S., and Donald P. Green. 1999. "Misperceptions about Perceptual Bias." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2:189-210.

Glynn, Adam N., Miguel R. Rueda, and Julian Schuessler. Forthcoming. "Post-Instrument Bias in Linear Models." *Sociological Methods & Research*.

+Goldsmith-Pinkham, Paul, Isaac Sorkin, and Henry Swift. 2019. "Bartik Instruments: What, When, Why, and How." Working paper.

Hall, Andrew B., and James J. Feigenbaum. 2015 "How Legislators Respond to Localized Economic Shocks: Evidence From Chinese Import Competition." *Journal of Politics* 77(4):1012-1030.

Healy, Andrew, and Gabriel S. Lenz. 2014. "Substituting the end for the whole: why voters respond primarily to the election - year economy." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(1):31-47.

Henrich, Joseph, Robert Boyd, Samuel Bowles, Colin Camerer, Ernst Fehr, Herbert Gintis, and Richard McElreath. 2001. "In Search of Homo Economicus: Behavioral Experiments in 15 Small-Scale Societies." *American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings* 91(2):73-78.

Hill, Seth J. 2017. "Learning Together Slowly: Bayesian Learning About Political Facts." *Journal of Politics* 79(4):1403-1418.

Hiscox, Michael. 2001. "Class Versus Industry Cleavages: Inter-Industry Factor Mobility and the Politics of Trade." *International Organization* 55(Winter):1-46.

+Imbens, Guido. 2014. "Instrumental Variables: An Econometrician's Perspective." *Statistical Science* 29(3):323-358.

Inoue, Atsushi, and Gary Solon. 2010. "Two-sample instrumental variables estimators." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 92(3):557-561.

Jha, Saumitra, and Moses Shayo. 2019. "Valuing Peace: The Effects of Stock Market Exposure on Votes and Political Attitudes." *Econometrica* 87(5):1561-1588.

Karadja, Mounir, and Erik Prawitz. 2019. "Exit, Voice, and Political Change: Evidence from Swedish Mass Migration to the United States." *Journal of Political Economy* 127(4):1864-1925.

Kunda, Ziva. 1990. "The case for motivated reasoning." Psychological Bulletin 108(3):480-498.

Kuklinski, James H., and Buddy Peyton. 2007. "Belief Systems and Political Decision Making." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*, edited by Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, 45-64.

Kuziemko, Ilyana, Michael I. Norton, Emmanuel Saez, and Stefanie Stantcheva. 2015. "How elastic are preferences for redistribution? Evidence from randomized survey experiments." *American Economic Review* 105(4):1478-1508.

Larcinese, Valentino. 2007. "Does Political Knowledge Increase Turnout? Evidence from the 1997 British General Election." *Public Choice* 131(3/4):387-411.

Laughlin, Benjamin. 2017. "How Information Cascades Cause Refugee Crises: Evidence from Kosovo." Working paper.

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Spenkuch, Jorg L., and Philipp Tillmann, Forthcoming. "Elite Influence? Religion and the Electoral Success of the Nazis." *American Journal of Political Science*.

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Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "Clientelism and voting behavior: Evidence from a field experiment in Benin." *World Politics* 55(3):399-422.

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

### III – Norms and identity

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Acemoglu, Daron, and Matthew O. Jackson. 2015. "History, expectations, and leadership in the evolution of social norms." *Review of Economic Studies* 82(2):423-456.

+Bisin, Alberto, and Thierry Verdier. 2001. "The Economics of Cultural Transmission and the Dynamics of Preferences." *Journal of Economic Theory* 97(2):298-319.

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Huber, John D. 2017. *Exclusion by Elections: Inequality, Ethnic Identity, and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4.

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#### Empirics week, 10/26 – regression discontinuity

Atkin, David, Eve Colson-Sihra, and Moses Shayo. 2021. "How Do We Choose Our Identity? A Revealed Preference Approach Using Food Consumption." *Journal of Political Economy* 129(4):1193-1251.

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Depetris-Chauvin, Emilio, Ruben Durante, and Filipe R. Campante. 2020. "Building nations through shared experiences: Evidence from African football." *American Economic Review* 110(5):1572-1602.

Fouka, Vasiliki. 2020. "Backlash: The Unintended Effects of Language Prohibition in US Schools after World War I." *Review of Economic Studies* 87(1):204-239.

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+Bernheim, B. Douglas. 1994. "A Theory of Conformity." *Journal of Political Economy* 102(5):841-877.

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Chen, Daniel L. 2010. "Club goods and group identity: Evidence from Islamic resurgence during the Indonesian financial crisis." *Journal of Political Economy* 118(2):300-354.

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+Imbens, Guido W., and Thomas Lemieux. 2008. "Regression discontinuity designs: A guide to practice." *Journal of Econometrics* 142(2):615-635.

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Lowe, Matt. "Types of contact: A field experiment on collaborative and adversarial caste integration." *American Economic Review* 111(6):1807-1844.

Lowes, Sara, Nathan Nunn, James A. Robinson, and Jonathan L. Weigel. 2017. "The evolution of culture and institutions: Evidence from the Kuba kingdom." *Econometrica* 85(4):1065-1091.

+Marshall, John. Forthcoming. "Can close election regression discontinuity designs identify downstream effects of winning politician characteristics?" *American Journal of Political Science*.

Mousa, Salma. 2020. "Building social cohesion between Christians and Muslims through soccer in post-ISIS Iraq." *Science* 369(6505):866-870.

Nekby, Lena, and Per Pettersson-Lidbom. 2017. "Revisiting the Relationship between Ethnic Diversity and Preferences for Redistribution: Comment." *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 119(2):268-287.

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## IV – Electoral accountability and selection

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Ashworth, Scott, Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, and Amanda Friedenberg. 2018. "Learning About Voter Rationality." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(1):37-54.

Ashworth, Scott. 2005. "Reputational Dynamics and Political Careers." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 21(2):441-466.

+Duggan, John, and Cesar Martinelli. 2017. "The Political Economy of Dynamic Elections: Accountability, Commitment, and Responsiveness." *Journal of Economic Literature* 55(3):916-984. [Focus on the first three sections.]

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Bhandari, Abhit, Horacio Larreguy, and John Marshall. Forthcoming. "Able and mostly willing: An empirical anatomy of information's effect on voter-driven accountability in Senegal." *American Journal of Political Science*.

\*Burgess, Robin, Remi Jedwab, Edward Miguel, Ameet Morjaria, and Gerard Padró i Miquel. 2015. "The value of democracy: Evidence from road building in Kenya." *American Economic Review* 105(6):1817-1851.

\*Fouirnaies, Alexander, and Andrew B. Hall. 2022. "How Do Electoral Incentives Affect Legislator Behavior?" *American Political Science Review* 116(2):662-676.

\*Marshall, John. 2023. "Tuning in, voting out: News consumption cycles, homicides, and electoral accountability in Mexico." Working paper.

+Roth, Jonathan, Pedro Sant'Anna, Alyssa Bilinski, and John Poe. 2023. "What's Trending in Difference-in-Differences? A Synthesis of the Recent Econometrics Literature." *Journal of Econometrics* 235(2):2218-2244.

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Abadie, Alberto, Alexis Diamond, and Jens Hainmueller. 2010. "Synthetic control methods for comparative case studies: Estimating the effect of California's tobacco control program." *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 105(490):493-505.

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Anzia, Sarah F., and Christopher R. Berry. 2011. "The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson effect: Why do congresswomen outperform congressmen?" *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3):478-493.

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Ashworth, Scott, and Anthony Fowler. 2020. "Electorates versus Voters." *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy* 1(3):477-505.

Avis, Eric, Claudio Ferraz, and Frederico Finan. 2018. "Do Government Audits Reduce Corruption? Estimating the Impacts of Exposing Corrupt Politicians." *Journal of Political Economy* 126(5):1912-1964.

Barro, Robert J. 1973. "The control of politicians: an economic model." Public choice 14(1):19-42.

Banks, Jeffrey S. 1990. "A Model of Electoral Competition with Incomplete Information." *Journal of Economic Theory* 50:309-325.

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+Bertrand, Marianne, Esther Duflo, and Sendhil Mullainathan. 2004. "How Much Should We Trust Differences-in-Differences Estimates?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 119(1):249-275.

Besley, Timothy, and Robin Burgess. 2002. "The Political Economy of Government Responsiveness: Theory and Evidence from India." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117(4):1415-1451.

Besley, Timothy, and Anne Case. 1995. "Does electoral accountability affect economic policy choices? Evidence from gubernatorial term limits." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 110(3):769-798.

Banerjee, Abhijit, Nils T. Enevoldsen, Rohini Pande, and Michael Walton. Forthcoming. "Public information is an incentive for politicians: Experimental evidence from Delhi elections." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*.

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Casey, Katherine. 2015. "Crossing party lines: The effects of information on redistributive politics." *American Economic Review* 105(8):2410-2448.

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Cruz, Cesi, Philip Keefer, Julien Labonne, and Francesco Trebbi. 2021. "Making Policies Matter: Voter Responses to Campaign Promises." Working paper.

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+de Chaisemartin, Clément, and Xavier D'Haultfoeuille. Forthcoming. "Two-Way Fixed Effects and Differences-in-Differences with Heterogeneous Treatment Effects: A Survey." *Econometrics Journal*.

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Feddersen, Timothy J., and Wolfgang Pesendorfer. 1996. "The Swing Voter's Curse." *American Economic Review* 86(3):408-424.

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Ferraz, Claudio, and Frederico Finan. 2008. "Exposing corrupt politicians: The effects of Brazil's publicly released audits on electoral outcomes." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(2):703-745.

Ferraz, Claudio, and Frederico Finan. 2011. "Electoral accountability and corruption: Evidence from the audits of local governments." *American Economic Review* 101(4):1274-1311.

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Fowler, Anthony, and Andrew B. Hall. 2018. "Do shark attacks influence presidential elections? Reassessing a prominent finding on voter competence." *Journal of Politics* 80(4):1423-1437.

+Freyaldenhoven, Simon, Christian Hansen, and Jesse M. Shapiro. 2019. "Pre-Event Trends in the Panel Event-Study Design." *American Economic Review* 109(9):3307-3338.

Fujiwara, Thomas, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2013. "Can informed public deliberation overcome clientelism? Experimental evidence from Benin." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 5(4):241-255.

Gagliarducci, Stefano, and Tommaso Nannicini. 2013. "Do better paid politicians perform better? Disentangling incentives from selection." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 11(2):369-398.

+Goodman-Bacon, Andrew. 2021. "Difference-in-differences with variation in treatment timing." *Journal of Econometrics* 225:254-277.

Gottlieb, Jessica. 2016. "Greater Expectations? A Field Experiment to Improve Accountability in Mali." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(1):143-157.

Grossman, Guy, and Kristen Michelitch. 2018. "Information Dissemination, Competitive Pressure, and Politician Performance between Elections: A Field Experiment in Uganda." *American Political Science Review* 112(2):280-301.

Healy, Andrew J., Neil Malhotra, and Cecilia Hyunjung Mo. 2010. "Irrelevant events affect voters' evaluations of government performance." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107(29):12804-12809.

Kayser, Mark Andreas, and Michael Peress. 2012. "Benchmarking across borders: electoral accountability and the necessity of comparison." *American Political Science Review* 106(3):661-684.

+Kim, In Song, and Kosuke Imai. 2019. "When Should We Use Unit Fixed Effects Regression Models for Causal Inference with Longitudinal Data?" *American Journal of Political Science* 63(2):467-490. Larreguy, Horacio, John Marshall, and James M. Snyder Jr. 2020. "Publicizing malfeasance: How local media facilitates electoral sanctioning of Mayors in Mexico." *Economic Journal* 130(631):2291-2327.

Mani, Anandi, and Sharun Mukand. 2007. "Democracy, visibility and public good provision." *Journal of Development Economics* 83(2):506-529.

Marx, Benjamin. 2018. "Elections as Incentives: Project Completion and Visibility in African Politics." Working paper.

+Miller, Douglas L. 2023. "An Introductory Guide to Event Study Models." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 37(2):203-230.

Prat, Andrea. 2005. "The Wrong Kind of Transparency." *American Economic Review* 95(3):862-877.

Prato, Carlo, and Stephane Wolton. 2018. "Electoral Imbalances and their Consequences." *Journal of Politics* 80(4):1168-1182.

Rogoff, Kenneth. 1990. "Equilibrium Political Budget Cycles." *American Economic Review* 80(1):21-36.

Sances, Michael. 2016. "The Distributional Impact of Greater Responsiveness: Evidence from New York Towns." *Journal of Politics* 78(1):105-119.

## V – Social networks

#### Theory week, 11/16

Bala, Venkatesh, and Sanjeev Goyal. 2000. "A noncooperative model of network formation." *Econometrica* 68(5):1181-1229.

Bénabou, Roland, and Jean Tirole. 2006. "Incentives and prosocial behavior." *American Economic Review* 96(5):1652-1678.

Chwe, Michael Suk-Young. 2000. "Communication and Coordination in Social Networks." *Review of Economic Studies* 67(1):1-16.

+Jackson, Matthew O. 2008. *Social and Economic Networks*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 2, 7, and 8.

Larson, Jennifer M. 2017. "Networks and Interethnic Cooperation." *Journal of Politics* 79(2):546-559.

## Thanksgiving break, 11/23 – no class

## Empirics week, 11/30 – social and spillover effects

\*Alt, James E., Amalie Jensen, Horacio Larreguy, David Lassen, and John Marshall. 2022. "Contagious political concerns: Identifying unemployment shock information transmission using the Danish population network." *Journal of Politics* 84(1):383-404.

Braghieri, Luca. 2021. "Political Correctness, Social Image, and Information Transmission." Working paper.

+\*Bramoullé, Yann, Habiba Djebbari, and Bernard Fortin. "Peer effects in networks: A survey." *Annual Review of Economics* 12 (2020): 603-629.

\*Bond, Robert M., Christopher J. Fariss, Jason J. Jones, Adam D.I. Kramer, Cameron Marlow, Jaime E. Settle, and James H. Fowler. 2012. "A 61-million-person experiment in social influence and political mobilization." *Nature* 489(7415):295-298.

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\*Enriquez, Jose Ramon, Horacio Larreguy, John Marshall, and Alberto Simpser. Forthcoming. "Mass political information on social media: Facebook ads, electorate saturation, and electoral accountability in Mexico." *Journal of the European Economic Association*.

## Non-required readings (theory and empirics)

Acemoglu, Daron, Kostas Bimpikis, and Asuman Ozdaglar. 2014. "Dynamics of information exchange in endogenous social networks." *Theoretical Economics* 9(1):41-97.

Acemoglu, Daron, Georgy Egorov, and Konstantin Sonin. 2012. "Dynamics and stability of constitutions, coalitions, and clubs." *American Economic Review* 102(4):1446-1476.

Alatas, Vivi, Abhijit Banerjee, Arun G. Chandrasekhar, Rema Hanna, and Benjamin A. Olken. 2016. "Network Structure and the Aggregation of Information: Theory and Evidence from Indonesia." *American Economic Review* 106(7):1663-1704.

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+Baird, Sarah, J. Aislinn Bohren, Craig McIntosh, and Berk Ozler. Forthcoming. "Optimal Design of Experiments in the Presence of Interference." *Review of Economics and Statistics*.

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Bramoullé, Yann, and Rachel Kranton. 2007. "Public goods in networks." *Journal of Economic Theory*, 135(1):478-494.

+Breza, Emily, Arun G. Chandrasekhar, Tyler H. McCormick, and Mengjie Pan. 2017. "Using Aggregated Relational Data to Feasibly Identify Network Structure without Network Data." Working paper.

Buchanan, James M., and Gordon Tullock. 1962. *The Calculus of Consent*. University of Michigan Press.

Bursztyn, Leonardo, Florian Ederer, Bruno Ferman, and Noam Yuchtman. 2014. "Understanding Mechanisms Underlying Peer Effects: Evidence from a Field Experiment on Financial Decisions." *Econometrica* 82(4):1273-1301.

Campbell, Arthur. 2013. "Word-of-mouth communication and percolation in social networks." *American Economic Review* 103(6):2466-2498.

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DeGroot, Morris H. 1974. "Reaching a consensus." *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 69(345):118-121.

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Della Vigna, Stefano, John A. List, Ulrike Malmendier, and Gautum Rao. 2017. "Voting to Tell Others." *Review of Economic Studies* 84(1):143-181.

Eckles, Dean, René F. Kizilcec, and Eytan Bakshy. 2016. "Estimating peer effects in networks with peer encouragement designs." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 113(27):7316-7322.

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