

Reading List
Public Choice
Economics 5533

Randall Holcombe

Spring 2010

This course will focus on the way in which individual preferences are aggregated into public sector output through governments. The goal of the course is to provide the student with a general framework within which public sector decisions can be evaluated. Specific theories will be placed within this general framework with the intention of making all of the individual models a part of a comprehensive theory of public choice. The reading list divides the broader subject matter into five sections: (1) a brief methodological analysis of economics and public choice, (2) the theory of constitutions, (3) democratic decision-making, (4) the political marketplace, and (5) public finance from a public choice perspective. There is more on this reading list than most students would read for a one-semester course, so I will provide more specific guidance to the readings in class.

I. Economic Methodology and Public Choice

1. Williamson, Oliver E., "A Comparison of Alternative Approaches to Economic Methodology," *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 146, No. 1 (March 1990), pp. 61-71.
2. Buchanan, James M., "Public Finance and Public Choice," *National Tax Journal* 28 (December 1975), pp. 383-394.
3. Kohn, Meir, "Value and Exchange," *Cato Journal* 24, no. 3 (Fall 2004), pp. 303-339.
4. Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson, "Institutions as the Fundamental Cause of Long-Run Growth," in Philippe Aghion and Steve Durlauf, eds., *Handbook of Economic Growth*, available at <http://emlab.berkeley.edu/users/chad/handbook9sj.pdf>
5. Coase, R.H., "The Institutional Structure of Production," *American Economic Review* 82, No. 4 (September 1992), pp. 713-719.
6. Holcombe, Randall G., *Economic Models and Methodology*. New York, Greenwood, 1989.
7. Hayek, Friedrich A., "The Use of Knowledge in Society," *American Economic Review* 35 (September 1945), pp. 519-530. (Reprinted in *Individualism and Economic Order*.)

II. Constitutional Decision-Making

A. The Social Contract Theory of the State

1. Gordon, Scott, "The New Contractarians," *Journal of Political Economy* 84, No. 3 (June 1976), pp. 573-590.
2. Rawls, John, *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge: Belknap, 1971.
3. Buchanan, J.M., *The Limits of Liberty*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.
4. Yeager, Leland B., "Rights, Contract, and Utility in Policy Espousal," *Cato Journal* 5, No. 1 (Summer 1985), pp. 259-294.
5. Holcombe, Randall G., *An Economic Analysis of Democracy*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985, chs. 2, 10.
6. Skaperdas, Stergios, "Cooperation, Conflict, and Power in the Absence of Property Rights," *American Economic Review* 82, No. 4 (September 1992), pp. 720-739.
7. Holcombe, Randall G., *The Economic Foundations of Government* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), chs. 2, 3, and 4.
8. Hirshleifer, Jack, "Anarchy and Its Breakdown," *Journal of Political Economy* 103, No. 1 (February 1995), pp. 26-52.
9. McGuire, Martin C., and Mancur Olson, Jr., "The Economics of Autocracy and Majority Rule," *Journal of Economic Literature* 34, No. 1 (March 1996), pp. 72-96.

B. The Theory of Constitutions

1. Buchanan, James M., "The Domain of Constitutional Economics," *Constitutional Political Economy* 1, No. 1 (Winter 1990), pp. 1-18.
2. Buchanan, James M., "An Economic Theory of Clubs," *Economica* (Feb. 1965), pp. 1-14.
3. Buchanan, J.M., and Gordon Tullock, *The Calculus of Consent*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962. Ch. 6.
4. Usher, Dan, "The Dynastic Cycle and the Stationary State," *American Economic Review* 79, No. 5 (December 1989), pp. 1031-1044.
5. Usher, Dan, *The Welfare Economics of Markets, Voting, and Predation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992.
6. Holcombe, Randall G., "Constitutions as Constraints: A Case Study of Three American Constitutions," *Constitutional Political Economy* 2, No. 3 (Fall 1991), pp. 303-328.
7. Holcombe, Randall G., "The Distributive Model of Government: Evidence from the Confederate Constitution," *Southern Economic Journal* 58, No. 3 (January 1992), pp. 762-769.
8. Persson, Torsten, and Guido Tabellini, "Constitutions and Economic Policy," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18, no. 1 (Winter 2004), pp. 75-98.
9. Persson, Torsten, and Guido Tabellini, *The Economic Effects of Constitutions: What Do the Data Say?* Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003.
10. Mueller, Dennis C., "Constitutional Political Economy in the European Union," *Public Choice* 124, nos. 1-2 (July 2005), pp. 57-73.

C. Conflict and Cooperation

1. Buchanan, James M., "The Relevance of Pareto Optimality," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (Nov. 1962), pp. 341-354.
2. Axelrod, Robert, *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Basic Books, 1984.
3. Coase, Ronald H., "The Problem of Social Cost," *Journal of Law & Economics* 3 (October 1960), pp. 1-44.
4. Buchanan, James M., "Politics, Policy, and the Pigouvian Margins," *Economica* n.s. 29 (Feb. 1962), pp. 17-28.

D. Equity

1. Konow, James, "Which is the Fairest of All? A Positive Analysis of Justice Theories," *Journal of Economic Literature* 41, no. 4 (December 2003), pp. 1188-1239.
2. Baumol, William J., "Applied Fairness Theory and Rationing Policy," *American Economic Review* 72, No. 4 (Sept. 1982), pp. 639-651.
3. Holcombe, Randall G., "Applied Fairness Theory: Comment," *American Economic Review* 73 No. 5 (Dec. 1983), pp. 1153-1156.
4. Holcombe, Randall G., "Absence of Envy Does Not Imply Fairness," *Southern Economic Journal* 63, no. 3 (January 1997), pp. 797-802.
5. Hochman, Harold, and James Rogers, "Pareto Optimal Redistribution," *American Economic Review* 59, No. 4 (Sept. 1969), pp. 542-557.
6. Stigler, George J., "Director's Law of Public Income Distribution," *Journal of Law & Economics* 13, No. 1 (April 1970), pp. 1-10.
7. Browning, Edgar K., "Inequality and Poverty," *Southern Economic Journal* 55, No. 4 (April 1989), pp. 819-830.
8. Bruce, Neil, and Michael Waldman, "Transfers in Kind: Why They Can Be Efficient and Nonpaternalistic," *American Economic Review* 81, No. 5 (December 1991), pp. 1345-1351.
9. Browning, Edgar K., "The Marginal Cost of Redistribution," *Public Finance Quarterly* 21, No. 1 (January 1993), pp. 3-32.

III. Resource Allocation By Democracy

A. The Median Voter Model

1. Holcombe, Randall G., "The Median Voter in Public Choice Theory," *Public Choice* 61, No. 2 (May 1989), pp. 115-125.
2. Bowen, Howard R. "The Interpretation of Voting in the Allocation of Economic Resources," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 58 (Nov. 1943), pp. 27-48.
3. Black, Duncan, *The Theory of Committees and Elections*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958.
4. Downs, Anthony, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row, 1957.
5. Romer, Thomas, and Howard Rosenthal, "Political Resource Allocation, Controlled Agendas, and the Status Quo," *Public Choice* 33, No. 4 (1978), pp. 27-43.
6. Holcombe, Randall G., "An Empirical Test of the Median Voter Model," *Economic Inquiry* 18, No. 2 (April 1980), pp. 260-274.
7. McEachern, William A., "Collective Decision Rules and Local Debt Choice: A Test of the Median Voter Hypothesis," *National Tax Journal* 31, No. 2 (June 1978), pp. 129-136.
8. Fernandez, Raquel, and Dani Rodrik, "Resistance to Reform: Status Quo Bias in the Presence of Individual-Specific Uncertainty," *American Economic Review* 81, No. 5 (December 1991), pp. 1146-1155.
9. Turnbull, Geoffrey K., and Salpie Djoundourian, "The Median Voter Hypothesis: Evidence from General Purpose Local Governments," *Public Choice* 81, Nos. 3-4 (December 1994), pp. 223-240.
10. Turnbull, Geoffrey K., and Peter M. Mitias, "Which Median Voter?" *Southern Economic Journal* 62, No. 1 (July 1995), pp. 183-191.
11. Gerber, Elisabeth R., and Jeffrey B. Lewis, "Beyond the Median: Voter Preferences, District Heterogeneity, and Political Representation," *Journal of Political Economy* 112, no. 6 (December 2004), pp. 1364-1383.
12. Benoit Le Maux, "Governmental Behavior in Representative Democracy: A Synthesis of the Theoretical Literature," *Public Choice* 141, nos. 3/4 (December 2009), pp. 447-465.

B. Public Goods and Efficiency

1. Holcombe, Randall G., *Public Finance and the Political Process*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983, ch. 2.
2. Samuelson, Paul A., "The Pure Theory of Public Expenditure," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 36 (Nov. 1954), pp. 387-389.
3. Samuelson, P.A., "A Diagrammatic Exposition of a Theory of Public Expenditure," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 37 (Nov. 1955), pp. 350-356.
4. Lindahl, Erik, "Just Taxation -- A Positive Solution," in Richard A. Musgrave and Alan T. Peacock, eds., *Classics in the Theory of Public Finance*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967, pp. 168-176.
5. Wicksell, Knut, "A New Principle of Just Taxation," in Musgrave and Peacock, *Classics*, pp. 72-118.
6. Tiebout, Charles M., "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures," *Journal of Political Economy* 64 (Oct. 1956), pp. 416-424.
7. Minasian, Jora R., "Television Pricing and the Theory of Public Goods," *Journal of Law & Economics* 7 (October 1964), pp. 71-80.
8. Varian, Hal R., "A Solution to the Problems of Externalities When Agents are Well-Informed," *American Economic Review* 84, No. 5 (December 1994), pp. 1278-1293.
9. Holcombe, Randall G., "Why Does Government Produce National Defense?" *Public Choice* 137, nos. 1-2 (October 2008), pp. 11-19.

C. Instrumental Versus Expressive Voting

1. Tullock, Gordon, "The Charity of the Uncharitable," *Economic Inquiry* 9 (December 1971), pp. 379-392.
2. Stigler, George J., "Economic Competition and Political Competition," *Public Choice* 13 (Fall 1972), pp. 91-106.
3. Brennan, Geoffrey, and Loran Lomasky, *Democracy and Decision: The Pure Theory of Electoral Preference*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
4. Fischer, A.J., "A Further Experimental Study of Expressive Voting," *Public Choice* 88, Nos. 1-2 (July 1996), pp. 171-184.
5. Caplan, Bryan, "Rational Irrationality and the Microfoundations of Political Failure," *Public Choice* 107 (2001), pp. 311-331.
6. Caplan, Bryan, "The Logic of Collective Belief," *Rationality and Society* 15, no. 2 (2003), pp. 218-242.
7. Caplan, Bryan, *The Myth of the Rational Voter: Why Democracies Choose Bad Policies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
8. Ashworth, John, Benny Geys, and Bruno Heyndels, "Everybody Likes a Winner: An Empirical Test of the Effect of Electoral Closeness on Turnout in a Context of Expressive Voting," *Public Choice* 128, nos. 3-4 (September 2006), pp. 383-405.

D. Alternative Voting Systems

1. Holcombe, Randall G., "The Florida System: A Bowen Equilibrium Referendum Process," *National Tax Journal* 30, No 1 (March 1977), pp. 77-84.
2. Tideman, T. Nicolaus, and Gordon Tullock, "A New and Superior Process for Making Social Choices," *Journal of Political Economy* 84 (Dec. 1976), pp.1145-1160.
3. Clarke, Edward H., "Multipart Pricing of Public Goods," *Public Choice* 12 (Fall 1971), pp. 17-33.
4. Clarke, E.H., *Demand Revelation and the Provision of Public Goods*. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1980.
5. Saari, Donald G., "Susceptibility to Manipulation," *Public Choice* 64, No. 1 (January 1990), pp. 21-41.
6. Brams, Steven J., and Jack H. Nagel, "Approval Voting in Practice," *Public Choice* 71, Nos. 1-2 (August 1991), pp. 1-17.
7. Levin, Jonathan, and Barry Nalebuff, "An Introduction to Vote-Counting Schemes," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 9, No. 1 (Winter 1995), pp. 3-26.
8. Persson, Torsten, and Guido Tebellini, "Constitutional Rules and Fiscal Policy Outcomes," *American Economic Review* 94, no. 1 (March 2004), pp. 25-45.
9. Blankart, Charles B., and Dennis C. Mueller, "The Advantages of Pure Forms of Parliamentary Democracy Over Mixed Forms," *Public Choice* 121, nos. 3-4 (October 2004), pp. 431-453.
10. Nicolaus Tideman, *Collective Decisions and Voting: The Potential for Public Choice*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006.

E. Multidimensional Political Competition

1. Arrow, Kenneth J., *Social Choice and Individual Values*, 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.
2. McKelvey, R.D., "Intransitivities in Multi Dimensional Voting Models and Some Implications for Agenda Control," *Journal of Economic Theory* 12, No. 3 (June 1976), pp. 472-482.
3. Hinich, Melvin J., "Equilibrium in Spatial Voting: The Median Voter Result is an Artifact," *Journal of Economic Theory* 16, No. 2 (December 1977), pp. 208-219.
4. Holcombe, R., and S.B. Caudill, "Tax Shares and Government Spending in a Median Voter Model," *Public Choice* 46, No. 2 (1985), pp. 197-205.
5. Holcombe, Randall G., "The Size and Significance of the Pareto Set in Spatial Voting Models," *Public Choice* 116, nos. 1-2 (July 2003), pp. 19-29.

F. Stability in Political Decision-Making

1. Tullock, Gordon, "Why so much Stability," *Public Choice* 37, No. 2 (1982), pp. 189-202.
2. Weingast, Barry R., Kenneth A. Shepsle, and Christopher Johnsen, "The Political Economy of Benefits and Costs: A Neoclassical Approach to Distributive Politics," *Journal of Political Economy* 89, No. 4 (August 1981), pp. 642-664.
3. Holcombe, *An Economic Analysis of Democracy*, chs. 4, 7, 9.
4. Holcombe, Randall G., and Russell S. Sobel, "The Stability of International Coalitions in United Nations Voting from 1946 to 1973," *Public Choice* 86, Nos 1-2 (January 1996), pp. 17-34.
5. Stratmann, Thomas, "Instability of Collective Decisions? Testing for Cyclical Majorities," *Public Choice* 88, Nos. 1-2 (July 1996), pp. 15-28.
6. Groseclose, Tim, and James M. Snyder, Jr., "Buying Supermajorities," *American Political Science Review* 90, no. 2 (June 1996), pp. 303-315.
7. Carrubba, Clifford J., and Craig Volden, "Coalitional Politics and Logrolling in Legislative Institutions," *American Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 1 (January 2000), pp. 261-277.
8. Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow, *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003.

IV. The Political Marketplace

A. Special Interests and Discretion

1. Parker, Glenn R., "Looking Beyond Reelection: Revising Assumptions About Factors Motivating Congressional Behavior," *Public Choice* 63, No. 3 (1989), pp. 237-252.
2. Beard, Charles A., *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. New York: MacMillan, 1913.
3. McGuire, Robert A., and Robert L. Ohsfeldt, "Self-Interest, Agency Theory, and Political Voting Behavior: The Ratification of the United States Constitution," *American Economic Review* 79, No. 1 (March 1989), pp. 219-234.

B. Ideology

1. Kau, James B., and Paul H. Rubin, "Self-Interest, Ideology, and Logrolling in Congressional Voting," *Journal of Law & Economics* 22, No. 2 (October 1979), pp. 365-384.
2. Kalt, Joseph P., and Mark A. Zupan, "Capture and Ideology in the Economic Theory of Politics," *American Economic Review* 74, No. 3 (June 1984), pp. 279-300.
3. Peltzman, Sam, "Constituent Interest and Congressional Voting," *Journal of Law & Economics* 27, No. 2 (April 1984), pp. 181-210.
4. Glazer, Amihai, and Bernard Grofman, "Why Representatives are Ideologists though Voters are Not," *Public Choice* 61, No. 1 (April 1989), pp. 29-39.
5. Dugan, William R., and Michael C. Munger, "The Rationality of Ideology," *Journal of Law & Economics* 32, No. 1 (April 1989), pp. 119-142.
6. Gallarotti, Giulio M., "Legitimacy as a Capital Asset of the State," *Public Choice* 63, No. 1 (October 1989), pp. 43-61.
7. Stratmann, Thomas, "The Effects of Logrolling on Congressional Voting," *American Economic Review* 82, No. 5 (December 1992), pp. 1162-1176.

C. Political Markets

1. Crain, W. Mark, "On the Structure and Stability of Political Markets," *Journal of Political Economy* 85, No. 4 (August 1977), pp. 829-842.
2. Kau, James B., Donald Keenan, and Paul H. Rubin, "A General Equilibrium Model of Congressional Voting," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 97 (May 1982), pp. 271-293.
3. Crain, W. Mark, Donald R. Leavens, and Robert D. Tollison, "Final Voting in Legislatures," *American Economic Review* 76, No. 4 (September 1986), pp. 833-841.
4. Koford, Kenneth J., "Centralized Vote Trading," *Public Choice* 39, No. 2 (1982), pp. 245-268.
5. Holcombe, Randall G., and Glenn R. Parker, "Committees in Legislatures: A Property Rights Perspective," *Public Choice* 70 (1991), pp. 11-20.

6. Anderson, Gary M., and Robert D. Tollison, "Congressional Influence and Patterns of New Deal Spending, 1933-1939," *Journal of Law & Economics* 34, No. 1 (April 1991), pp. 161-175.
7. Peltzman, Sam, "Voters as Fiscal Conservatives," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 107, No. 2 (May 1992), pp. 327-361.
8. Coate, Stephen, and Stephen Morris, "On the Form of Transfers to Special Interests," *Journal of Political Economy* 103, No. 6 (December 1995), pp. 1210-1235.
9. Levmore, Saul, "Voting Paradoxes and Interest Groups," *Journal of Legal Studies* 28, no. 2 (June 1999), pp. 259-281.
10. Keith Krehbiel, "Legislative Organization," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18, no. 1 (Winter 2004), pp. 113-128.
11. Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow, *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003.

D. Bureaucracy

1. Niskanen, William A., "The Peculiar Economics of Bureaucracy," *American Economic Review* 58 (May 1968), pp. 293-305.
2. Niskanen, W.A., *Bureaucracy and Representative Government*. Chicago and New York: Aldine-Atherton, 1971.
3. Niskanen, W.A., "Bureaucrats and Politicians," *Journal of Law & Economics* 18 (Dec. 1975), pp. 617-643.
4. Alchian, Armen A., "Some Economics of Property Rights," *Il Politico* 30, No. 4 (1965), pp. 816-829.
5. Holcombe, R. and Edward Price, "Optimality and the Institutional Structure of Bureaucracy," *Public Choice* 33, No. 1 (1978), pp. 55-59.

E. Rent Seeking

1. Tullock, Gordon, "The Welfare Costs of Tariffs, Monopolies, and Theft," *Western Economic Journal* 5 (June 1967), pp. 224-232.
2. Kreuger, Anne O., "The Political Economy of the Rent-Seeking Society," *American Economic Review* 64 (June 1974), pp. 291-303.
3. Posner, Richard A., "The Social Costs of Monopoly and Regulation," *Journal of Political Economy* 83 (Aug. 1975), pp. 807-827.
4. Tullock, G., "The Transitional Gains Trap," *Bell Journal of Economics* 6 (Autumn 1975), pp. 671-678.
5. McChesney, Fred S., "Rent Seeking and Rent Creation in the Economic Theory of Regulation," *Journal of Legal Studies* 16, No. 1 (January 1987), pp. 101-118.
6. McChesney, Fred S., *Money for Nothing: Politicians, Rent Extraction, and Political Extortion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
7. Anderson, Terry L., and Peter J. Hill, "Privatizing the Commons: An Improvement?" *Southern Economic Journal* 50, No. 2 (October 1983), pp. 438-450.

F. The Efficiency of Political Institutions

1. Becker, Gary, "A Theory of Competition Among Pressure Groups for Political Influence," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 98 (August 1983), pp. 371-400.
2. Denzau, Arthur T., and Michael C. Munger, "Legislators and Interest Groups: How Unorganized Interests Get Represented," *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 1 (March 1986), pp. 89-106.
3. Wittman, Donald, "Why Democracies Produce Efficient Results," *Journal of Political Economy* 97, No. 6 (December 1989), pp. 1395-1424.
4. Wittman, Donald A., *The Myth of Democratic Failure: Why Political Institutions are Efficient*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
5. Olson, Mancur, Jr., "Dollar Bills Left on the Sidewalk: Why Some Nations are Rich, and Others Poor," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 10, No. 2 (Spring 1996), pp. 3-24.

V. Public Finance from a Public Choice Perspective

A. Taxation

1. Holcombe, Randall G., "Tax Policy from a Public Choice Perspective," *National Tax Journal* 51, no. 2 (June 1998), pp. 359-371.
2. Winer, Stanley L. and Walter Hettich, "What is Missed if We Leave Out Collective Choice in the Analysis of Taxation?" *National Tax Journal* 51, no. 2 (June 1998), pp. 373-389.
3. Holcombe, Randall G., "The Ramsey Rule Reconsidered," *Public Finance Review* 30, no. 6 (November 2002), pp. 562-578.
4. Lohmann, Susanne, and Deborah M. Weiss, "Hidden Taxes and Representative Government: The Political Economy of the Ramsey Rule," *Public Finance Review* 30, no. 6 (November 2002), pp. 579-611.
5. Stroup, Michael D., "An Index for Measuring Tax Progressivity," *Economics Letters* 86 (2005), pp. 205-213.

B. Regulation

1. Stigler, George J., "The Theory of Economic Regulation," *Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science* 2 (Spring 1971), pp. 3-21.
2. Posner, Richard A., "Theories of Economic Regulation," *Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science* 5 (Autumn 1974), pp. 335-358.
3. Posner, Richard A., "Taxation by Regulation," *Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science* 2 (Spring 1971), pp. 22-50.
4. Peltzman, Sam, "Toward a More General Theory of Regulation," *Journal of Law & Economics* 19 (August 1976), pp. 211-240.
5. Benson, Bruce L., M.L. Greenhut, and Randall G. Holcombe, "Interest Groups and the Antitrust Paradox," *Cato Journal* 6, No. 3 (Winter 1987), pp. 801-817.

C. Government Growth

1. Robert Higgs, *Crisis and Leviathan: Critical Episodes in the Growth of American Government*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
2. Terry L. Anderson and P.J. Hill, *The Birth of a Transfer Society*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1980.
3. Pelzman, Sam, "The Growth of Government," *Journal of Law & Economics* 23, No. 2 (October 1980), pp. 209-287.
4. Peacock, Alan T., and Jack Wiseman, *The Growth of Public Expenditures in the United Kingdom*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.
5. Dudley, Leonard, "Punishment, Reward and the Fortunes of States," *Public Choice* 74, No. 3 (October 1992), pp. 293-315.
6. Holcombe, Randall G., "Are There Ratchets in the Growth of Federal Government Spending?" *Public Finance Quarterly* 21, No. 1 (January 1993), pp. 33-47.
7. Holcombe, Randall G., "The Growth of the Federal Government in the 1920s," *Cato Journal* 16, no. 2 (Fall 1996), pp. 175-199.
8. Holcombe, Randall G., "Veterans Interests and the Transition to Government Growth: 1870-1915," *Public Choice* 99, nos. 3-4 (June 1999), pp. 311-326.
9. Holcombe, Randall G., *From Liberty to Democracy: The Transformation of American Government*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.
10. Becker, Gary S., and Casey B. Mulligan, "Deadweight Costs and the Size of Government," *Journal of Law & Economics* 46, no. 2 (October 2003), pp. 293-340.

11. Holcombe, Randall G., "Government Growth in the Twenty-First Century," *Public Choice* 124, nos. 1-2 (July 2005), pp. 95-114.