

PSC231 W Money in Politics
Prof. L. Powell
Lechase 181

Tuesday 2-4:40
Office Hours: T-W 10:30-noon

We will examine two main questions: How much influence does money have in determining who seeks and who wins elective office? How much does money spent on contributions and lobbying influence government actions and policies?

Political scientists have reached no consensus on the answers to these questions. We will read the literature that debates these and closely related issues. Because many of the studies use quantitative methods, all students should have completed a basic statistics course. (This need not be a political science methods course.) Students should have a good basic understanding of American government.

The course will be a small seminar and will use a discussion format. Each student will be expected to read the assigned material before class, and to take turns summarizing and critiquing particular readings, as well as participating in class discussion.

Grades will be based on class discussion, on written and oral brief presentations on the readings and on a final research paper. The final research paper will constitute 60% of the grade and class presentations and discussions the remainder.

It is essential that every student do all the readings for each class and participate in class discussion. You should have a few questions for each of the readings for each class session. This will be part of the 40% of your grade that is based on class discussion and presentations.

Reading presentations: A student who is presenting a reading in class should write 1-2 single spaced pages summarizing and critiquing the reading. Explain the author's argument and evidence. In concluding, think of several critical questions about the reading. Points will be awarded for each reading presentation: written material 3 points = excellent, 2 points = solid, 1 point = needs improvement; oral presentation 2 points = excellent, 1 point = otherwise. The written material should be emailed to all class members by 10AM the day the reading is discussed. One point will be subtracted for each hour late. The readings will be divided equally among the seminar participants.

Each student will be responsible for learning how the campaign finance process works in one state. Each of you can then contribute detailed knowledge of one state to the class discussion. Most students will chose to write about some aspect of the campaign finance process in their state for their research paper, but you may propose other alternatives for the research paper. Readings: Most readings will be available on Blackboard or through the library databases. *The Influence of Campaign Contributions in State Legislatures* is available electronically on ebrary through the library and is at the bookstore.

Research papers: Each student will write a 15-20 page research paper. You may write about the campaign finance process in your state. Alternatively, you may write a review of the literature on one campaign finance topic. Or you could collect data and do your own original analysis in this area. Students should ok any topic with me. A university requirement for the W designation is that you turn in a portion of a draft for comments. (Minimum of 3 pages with some prose and the remainder outlined.) This will be due March 19th. Students will

present their research papers in the final 2 class sessions. The research papers should be emailed to all participants 24 hours before the class presentations begin April 23rd. The paper will be docked 1/3 of a letter grade for each 4 hours late, and a letter grade if the oral presentation is missed. For any of the oral presentations, a documented excuse is necessary to avoid the penalty. The paper late penalty can't be avoided unless your excuse means that you could not have finished it earlier. In other words, don't wait until the last minute to write the reading presentations or the research paper.

Readings:

January 22nd Why do we care about money? Discuss course setup. Describe how to choose states. Email me to choose states after 7 pm day of class—rank 3 choices.

January 29th

Schlozman, Kay, Sidney Verba and Henry Brady. 2012. Chapter 5 in *The Unheavenly Chorus*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bartels, Larry. 2008. Chapter 9 in *Unequal Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Gilens, Martin. 2012. Chapter 8 in *Affluence & Influence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hacker, Jacob S. and Paul Pierson. "Winner-Take-All Politics: Public Policy, Political organization, and the Precipitous Rise of Top Incomes in the United States" *Politics and Society*.

February 5th Federal regulation of presidential and congressional campaign finance.

Potter, Trevor. 2005. "The Current State of Campaign Finance Law" Chapter 2 in *The New Campaign Finance Sourcebook*. Washington: The Brookings Institution.

Franz, Michael 2010 "The *Citizens United* Election? Or Same As It Ever Was?" *The Forum* Vol 8 Issue 4.

Briffault, Richard. 2012. "Super PACs" Columbia Law School working paper.

Francia, Peter L. 2012. Chapter 2 "Public Financing of Elections: Past, Present and Future" in Matthew J. Streb (ed.) *Law and Election Politics: The Rules of the Game* 2nd ed. Routledge. .

How to find information on your state's campaign finance. Good start: Follow the Money.

February 12th What do states do?

Begin to research your own state. Be prepared to discuss what you have found out about campaign finance in your state and to share ideas for locating information.

Powell, Lynda W. 2012. "Patterns of State Legislative Campaign Finance." Chapter 2 in *The Influence of Campaign Contributions in State Legislatures*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Hamm, Keith E. and Gary F. Moncrief. 2012. Chapter "Legislative Politics in the States." In *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis*, 10th Edition by Rosenthal, Gray, Hanson and Kousser eds. CQ Press.

- Wilcox, Clyde. 2005. Designing Campaign Finance Disclosure in the States: Tracing the Tributaries of Campaign Finance. *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy*, 4/4: 371-86.
- Bender, Edwin, 2010. An Insider's View. Chapter in *Open Government: Collaboration, Transparency and Participation in Practice* available on www.followthemoney.org website under research and reports. Google "Edwin Bender An Insider's View"
- Witko, Christopher. 2005. Measuring the Stringency of State Campaign Finance Regulation. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 5/3: 295-310.

February 26th Who Gives & Why? How is money raised?

- Francia, Peter L., John C. Green, Paul S. Herrnson, Lynda W. Powell, and Clyde Wilcox. 2003. Read Chapters 3 and 4. *The Financiers of Congressional Elections*. Columbia University Press.
- Verba, Sidney, Kay L. Schlozman and Henry E. Brady. 2000. Rational Action and Political Activity. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 12/3: 243-68.
- Gordon, S.C., Hafer, C., and Landa, D. 2007. Consumption or Investment? On Motivations for Political Giving. *Journal of Politics*, 69/4: 1057-72.
- Gupta, Sanjay and Charles W. Swenson. 2003. "Rent Seeking by Agents of the Firm." *Journal of Law and Economics* 46: 253-268.

March 5th Effect of \$ on election outcomes.

- Powell, Lynda W. and Clyde Wilcox. 2010. Read pp 638-641. "Money and American Elections" In *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior* Ed. Jan E. Leighley Oxford University Press.
- Green, E.P. and Krasno, J.S. 1988. Salvation for the Spendthrift Incumbent: Reestimating the Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections. *American Journal of Political Science*, 32/4: 884-907.
- Gerber A. 1998. Estimating the Effect of Campaign Spending on Senate Election Outcomes Using Instrumental Variables. *American Political Science Review*, 92/2: 401-11.
- Erikson, R. S. and Palfrey, T. R. 2000. Equilibria in Campaign Spending Games: Theory and Data. *American Political Science Review*, 93/4: 595-609.

March 19th Effect of \$ on policy

- Ansolabehere, Stephen, John M. de Figueiredo and James M. Snyder Jr. 2003. "Why Is There so Little Money in U.S. Politics?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17:105-30.
- Stratmann, Thomas. 2005. "Some talk: Money in politics. A (partial) review of the literature." *Public Choice*. 124: 135-56.
- Powell, Lynda. Chapter 1 in *The Influence of Campaign Contributions in State Legislatures*.
- De Figueiredo, Rui J. P. Jr. and Geoff Edwards. 2007. Does Private Money Buy Public Policy? Campaign Contributions and Regulatory Outcomes in Telecommunications. *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy*, 16/3: 547-76.

March 26th Investment Model.

- Hall, Richard and Frank Wayman. 1990. "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees." *American Political Science Review* 84:797-820.
- Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M. and J. Tobin Grant. 1999. "All in a Day's Work: The Financial Rewards of Legislative Effectiveness." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 24:511-23.

Powell, Lynda. Chapter 3 and 4 in *The Influence of Campaign Contributions in State Legislatures*.

April 2nd Money and Influence

- Powell, Lynda. Chapter 6 in *The Influence of Campaign Contributions in State Legislatures*.
Apollonio, D. E. and Raymond J. La Raja. 2006. "Term Limits, Campaign Contributions and the Distribution of Power in State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31: 259-281.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen and James M. Snyder, Jr. 1998. Money and Institutional Power. *Texas Law Review*.
- Esterling, Kevin M. 2007. "Buying Expertise: Campaign Contributions and Attention to Policy Analysis in Congressional Committees" *American Political Science Review* 101:93-109.

April 9th Parties and Committees

- Powell, Lynda. Chapter 7 in *The Influence of Campaign Contributions in State Legislatures*.
Gordon, Tracy. 2005. Chapter 6 (plus define critical vote in preceding class and add pages 162-163 in *Campaign Contributions and Legislative Voting: A New Approach*. New York: Routledge.
- Cox, Gary W. and Eric Magar. 1999. "How Much is Majority Status in the U.S. Congress Worth?" *American Political Science Review* 93: 299-309.
- Kim, Henry A. and Justin H. Phillips. 2009. Dividing the Spoils of Power: How are the Benefits of Majority Party Status Distributed in U.S. State Legislatures. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*.

April 16th Lobbying

- Ansolabehere, Stephen, James M. Snyder and Michy Tripathi. 2002. "Are PAC Contributions and Lobbying Linked? New Evidence from the 1995 Lobby Disclosure Act." *Business and Politics*, Vol. 4, No 2, 131-155.
- Powell, Lynda. Chapter 8 in *The Influence of Campaign Contributions in State Legislatures*.
Parker, Glenn. 2008. Chapter 2 in *Capitol Investments: The Marketability of Political Skills*. University of Michigan.
- Blanes i Vidal, Jordi, Mirko Draca, and Christian Fons-Rosen, 2011, "Revolving door lobbyists," *American Economic Review*, forthcoming. Available on Google scholar.

April 16th Campaign Finance Regulation Revisited.

- Powell, Lynda. Conclusion in *The Influence of Campaign Contributions in State Legislatures*.
- Stratmann, Thomas. 2010. Do Low Contribution Limits Insulate Incumbents from Competition? *Election Law Journal*. 9/2.
- Hamm, Keith and Robert E. Hogan. 2010. Perspectives of State Legislative Candidates on Connecticut's Implementation of Clean Election Laws. Unpublished.
- Ackerman, Bruce and Ian Ayers. 2002 Chapters 2 and 3 in *Voting with Dollars*. Yale University Press.

Last 2 seminars for class presentations

April 23rd and April 30th