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Fall 2004, Mondays 2:00 - 4:40  
Office Hours: Tuesday 1-3 and by appt.  
www.rochester.edu/College/PSC/primo

## **PSC 231/231W: Money in Politics**

### *Course Description*

This seminar will examine the role of money in the U.S. political process. Topics include the historical development of campaign finance law, the electoral effects of campaign spending, the effects of campaign contributions on public policy outcomes, and various reform proposals (including the 2002 Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act). The institutions responsible for the creation, enforcement, and interpretation of campaign finance law will also be analyzed. Students will be asked to think critically about concepts such as equality, liberty, and representation, which drive the questions and debates in this area.

### *Course Requirements*

**Class Participation. 20 percent** of your grade will be based on participation in class discussions. It is essential for the success of the seminar that you come to class prepared and ready to discuss the readings. You are expected to attend each class, and you should let me know when you will not be attending. If you remain silent during the semester and/or come to class unprepared, your class participation grade will suffer.

**Take-Home Essays. 40 percent** of your grade will be based on **two** 750-1,000 word essays that will ask you to draw on the class readings. You will have one week to complete each essay. The first essay will be assigned on October 11 and will be due on October 25. The second essay will be assigned on November 8 and will be due on November 15. No late essays will be accepted.

**Research Paper. 25 percent** of your grade will be based on a 10-15 page research paper. **15 percent** of your grade will be based on an in-class presentation based on your paper. Details about the paper and presentation will be provided early in the semester. Topics will be due on October 11, and papers will be due on December 6. No late papers will be accepted.

**Additional Requirements for 231W Students.** Students enrolled in 231W are expected to meet with Writing Fellows throughout the semester to discuss their research paper; details will follow in the paper assignment. Also, 231W students must turn in a draft of their paper to me two weeks prior to the due date—November 22—for comments. Their final papers will be judged more heavily based on writing than others and must be 16-20 pages long. Failure to meet any of these requirements will result in being required to switch out of 231W and into 231.

## ***Readings***

There are three required books for this course; all other readings are available in a course packet available at the copy center in Meliora Hall. When appropriate, I will make available, either online or in class, additional short readings based on ongoing events in campaign finance.

Magleby, David, ed. 2002. *Financing the 2000 Election*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Smith, Bradley A. 2003. *Unfree Speech: The Folly of Campaign Finance Reform*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

West, Darrell M., and Burdett A. Loomis. 1999. *The Sound of Money: How Political Interests Get What They Want*. New York: Norton.

## ***Course Website***

<http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?page=11&searchtype=rcl&TheClass=6538>

If this link does not work, go to the main library web page, click on course resources, and follow the prompts.

## ***Other Websites of Interest***

Brookings Institution Site on Campaign Finance Reform

[http://www.brookings.edu/gs/cf/cf\\_hp.htm](http://www.brookings.edu/gs/cf/cf_hp.htm)

Campaign & Media Legal Center Site on the BCRA Case

<http://www.campaignlegalcenter.org/BCRA.html>

Center for Responsive Politics Money Data

<http://www.opensecrets.org/>

Campaign Finance Institute

<http://www.cfinst.org/>

Money Data

<http://www.politicalmoneyline.com>

## September 13: Introduction and Overview

## September 20: Federal Campaign Finance Law, Past and Present; Liberty vs. Equality

- Malbin, Michael J. 2003. "Thinking About Reform." In *Life After Reform*, ed. Michael J. Malbin. Washington, DC: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 3-20.
- Corrado, Anthony. 2003. "The Legislative Odyssey of BCRA." In *Life After Reform*, ed. Michael J. Malbin. Washington, DC: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 21-39.
- Excerpt from Potter, Trevor. 2003. "The Current State of Campaign Finance Law." (Note: Potter's analysis of *McConnell* summarizes the appeals court decision, not the Supreme Court decision.)
- Briffault, Richard. 2004. "*McConnell v. FEC* and the Transformation of Campaign Finance Law." *Election Law Journal* 3:147-176.
- Smith, chs. 1-2, 6, 8.
- Dworkin, Ronald. 1996. "The Curse of American Politics." *New York Review of Books* 43(16):19-24.
- Thompson, Dennis F. 2002. *Just Elections*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 104-118.

## September 27: Congressional Elections I: Overview

- Jacobson, Gary. 2004. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Pearson Longman, pp. 5-104.
- Herrnson, Paul S., and Kelly D. Patterson. 2002. "Financing the 2000 Congressional Elections." In *Financing the 2000 Election*, ed. David B. Magleby. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 106-132.
- Cigler, Allan J. 2002. "Interest Groups and Financing the 2000 Elections." In *Financing the 2000 Election*, ed. David B. Magleby. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 163-187.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Alan S. Gerber, and James M. Snyder, Jr. 2001. "Does TV Advertising Explain the Rise of Campaign Spending?" Working Paper.

## October 4: Congressional Elections II: Does Money Matter?

- Levitt, Steven D. 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.
- Goodliffe, Jay. 2001. "The Effect of War Chests on Challenger Entry in U.S. House Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 45(4):830-844.
- Milyo, Jeffrey, and Timothy Groseclose. 1999. "The Electoral Effects of Incumbent Wealth." *Journal of Law and Economics* 42(2):699-722.
- Stratmann, Thomas. 2004. "How Prices Matter in Politics: The Returns to Campaign Advertising." Working Paper.

## October 11: Presidential Elections

- **First Take-Home Essay Handed Out; Paper Topics Due**
- Wildavsky, Aaron, and Nelson W. Polsby. 2004. *Presidential Elections*. 11<sup>th</sup> edition. New York: Chatham House, ch. 3.
- Green, John C., and Nathan S. Bigelow. 2002. "The 2000 Presidential Nominations: The Costs of Innovation." In *Financing the 2000 Election*, ed. David B. Magleby. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 49-78.
- Corrado, Anthony. 2002. "Financing the 2000 Presidential General Election." In *Financing the 2000 Election*, ed. David B. Magleby. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 79-105.
- Corrado, Anthony. 2000. *Campaign Finance Reform*. New York: Century Foundation Press, ch. 5.
- Green, John C., and Anthony Corrado. 2003. "The Impact of BCRA on Presidential Campaign Finance." In *Life After Reform*, ed. Michael J. Malbin. Washington, DC: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 175-197.
- Campaign Finance Institute. 2003. *Participation, Competition, Engagement*. Washington, DC: Campaign Finance Institute, Executive Summary.

## October 25: Does Money Influence Policy Outcomes? I

- **First Take-Home Essay Due at 2 PM**
- West and Loomis (all)
- Hall, Richard L., and Frank W. Wayman. 1990. "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees." *American Political Science Review* 84:797-820.

## November 1: Does Money Influence Policy Outcomes? II

- 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* 17:105-130.
- Wright, John R. 1990. "Contributions, Lobbying, and Committee Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives." *American Political Science Review* 84(2):417-438
- Milyo, Jeff, David Primo, and Timothy Groseclose. 2000. "Corporate PAC Campaign Contributions in Perspective." *Business and Politics* 2:75-88.
- Kersh, Rogan. 2003. "To Donate or Not to Donate." Working Paper.

## November 8: Public Opinion and the Mass Media

- **Second Take-Home Essay Handed Out**
- Selection from *Inside the Campaign Finance Battle* (pp. 257-296)
- Coleman, John J., and Paul F. Manna. 2000. "Congressional Campaign Spending and the Quality of Democracy." *Journal of Politics* 62(3):757-789.
- Milyo, Jeff, and David Primo. 2003. "Campaign Finance and Political Efficacy: Evidence From the States." Working Paper.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Erik C. Snowberg, and James M. Snyder, Jr. 2004. "Unrepresentative Information: The Case of Newspaper Reporting on Campaign Finance." Working Paper.

## November 15: The U.S. States

- **Second Take-Home Essay Due at 2 PM**
- Gross, Donald A. and Robert K. Goidel. 2003. *The States of Campaign Finance Reform*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, ch. 1.
- Gierzynski, Anthony. 2002. "Financing Gubernatorial and State Legislative Elections." In *Financing the 2000 Election*, ed. David B. Magleby. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 188-212.
- Malbin, Michael J., and Thomas L. Gais. 1998. *The Day After Reform*. Albany, NY: Rockefeller Institute Press, ch. 2.
- Stratmann, Thomas. 2002. "Contribution Limits and Competitiveness: An Analysis of How State Campaign Finance Laws Affect Challengers and Incumbents." October 2002, U.S. PIRG Education Fund.

## November 22: Campaign Finance and the Impact of BCRA

- Reread discussions of BCRA and *McConnell* decision from the first week
- McCain, John. 2004. "Reclaiming Our Democracy: The Way Forward." *Election Law Journal* 3:115-121.
- McConnell, Mitch. 2004. "The Future Is Now." *Election Law Journal* 3:123-125.
- Malbin, Michael J. 2004. "Political Parties Under the Post-*McConnell* Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act." *Election Law Journal* 3:177-191.
- Other readings, based on ongoing events, to be distributed

## **November 29: Challenges to the System**

- Smith, chs. 3-5.
- Cohen, Joshua. 2001. “Money, Politics, and Political Equality.” In *Fact and Value*, ed. Alex Byrne, Robert Stalnaker, and Ralph Wedgwood. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 48-80.
- Ackerman, Bruce, and Ian Ayres. 2002. *Voting With Dollars*. New Haven: Yale University Press, chs. 1, 6.
- Selection From *Designing Democratic Institutions*
  - Ayres, Ian. 2000. “Disclosure Versus Anonymity in Campaign Finance.” In *Designing Democratic Institutions*, ed. Ian Shapiro and Stephen Macedo. New York: New York University Press, pp. 19-54.
  - Brennan, Geoffrey, and Alan Hamlin. 2000. “Paying for Politics.” In *Designing Democratic Institutions*, ed. Ian Shapiro and Stephen Macedo. New York: New York University Press, pp. 55-74.

## **December 6: Presentations and Wrap-Up**