

PSC231W Money in Politics

Prof. L. Powell

Tuesday 2-4:40

Dunkman Library in Wallis Center 1<sup>st</sup> Floor Harkness—no food allowed

Office Hours: W,Th 1-2:30

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. Students will present their research papers in the final 2-3 class sessions. The research papers should be emailed to all participants 24 hours before the class presentations. Absent a documented excuse, missing a class presentation or the final research presentation will incur a substantial penalty in the final grade.

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. We will be reading large sections from two books available in paperback that should be purchased. (I will request the library to put them on reserve also.) I haven't ordered them in the bookstore—they should be cheaper online from Amazon or other sellers.

Raymond J. La Raja. 2008. *Small Change: Money Political Parties and Campaign Finance Reform*.

Stacy B. Gordon. 2005. *Campaign Contributions and Legislative Voting*.

## Readings:

**January 18<sup>th</sup>. Why do we care about money?** Discuss course setup. Describe how to choose states. Email me to choose states—rank 3 choices.

**January 25<sup>th</sup>. Federal regulation of presidential and congressional campaign finance.**

In class, I'll summarize the basic rules and go thru the FEC's presentation:

[www.FEC.gov](http://www.FEC.gov) E-learning resources. Interactive Presentations: Contributions

Explains hard money donations

I'll summarize the basic changes over time in regulation, discuss the differences between soft money and hard money, and the differences between presidential and congressional campaign finance.

Please read:

La Raja, Raymond J. 2008. *Small Change* Chapters 1-4. University of Michigan.  
Potter, Trevor. 2005. The Current State of Campaign Finance Law. Chapter 2 in  
*The New Campaign Finance Sourcebook* ed. by Corrado, Mann, Ortiz and  
Potter.

La Raja, Raymond J. 2008. Has the U.S. Campaign Finance System Collapsed?  
*The Forum*, 6/1.

Mann, Thomas E. 2008. A Collapse of the Campaign Finance Regime?" *The  
Forum*, 6/1.

Hayward, Allison. 2008. Is That a Bundle in Your Pocket, Or...? *The Forum*,  
6/1.

How to find information on your state's campaign finance. Good start:  
OpenSecrets.org Campaign Finance Links

**February 1<sup>st</sup>. 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 *What Money Buys* Chapter 2 Patterns of State Legislative Campaign Finance.

Hamm, Keith E. and Gary F. Moncrief. 2007. Chapter 6 "Legislative Politics in the States." In *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis*, 9<sup>th</sup> Edition by Virginia Gray and Russell Hanson, 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](http://www.followthemoney.org) website under research and reports.
- Witko, Christopher. 2005. Measuring the Stringency of State Campaign Finance Regulation. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 5/3: 295-310.

**February 8<sup>th</sup>. 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.

**February 15<sup>th</sup>. 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.
- Levitt, S. D. 1994. Using Repeat Challengers to Estimate the Effect of Campaign Spending on Election Outcomes in the U.S. House. *The Journal of Political Economy*, 102/4:777-98.

Of interest, but not required:

- Jacobson, Gary C. 1990. The Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections: New Evidence for Old Arguments. *American Journal of Political Science*, 34/2: 334-62.
- Green, E.P. and Krasno, J.S. 1990. Rebuttal to Jacobson's "New Evidence for Old Arguments." *American Journal of Political Science*, 34/2: 363-72.

**February 22<sup>nd</sup>. 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. *What Money Buys* Chapter 1 Measuring the Influence of Campaign Contributions in the Legislative Process.
- 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 1st. 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. *What Money Buys* Chapters 3, 4 and 6.

### **March 15<sup>th</sup> . Money and Influence**

- Gordon, Stacy B. 2005. Chapters 4 and 5 in *Campaign Contributions and Legislative Voting: A New Approach*. New York: Routledge.
- 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.

### **March 22nd Parties and Committees**

- Powell, Lynda. *What Money Buys* Chapter 7 Fundraising for the Caucus.
- Gordon, Stacy B. 2005. Chapter 6 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*.

### **March 29th 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.

Lowery, David, Virginia Gray, Jennifer Benz, Mary Deason, Justin Kirkland and Jennifer Sykes. 2008. "Understanding the Relationship between Health PACs and Health Lobbying in the American States." *Publius* 39: 70-94.

Powell, Lynda. *What Money Buys* Chapter 8 Fundraising and Lobbying.

Parker, Glenn. 2008. Chapter 2 in *Capitol Investments: The Marketability of Political Skills*. University of Michigan.

**April 5<sup>th</sup>. Campaign Finance Regulation Revisited.**

Powell, Lynda. *What Money Buys* Conclusion.

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.

**We will need to see if we need 2 or 3 seminars for class presentations  
April 12<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup>**