

**POLSCI391MN:
Money, Influence, and Politics
University of Massachusetts
Spring 2015
Monday-Wednesday 4:00-5:15**

Instructor: Michael Kowal
Teaching Associate
Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Political Science
Thompson 6
mkowal@polsci.umass.edu

Office Hours: 3-4 MW
and by appointment.

Course Overview: "Politics has become so expensive that it takes a lot of money even to be defeated," the humorist Will Rogers once said. Journalists, citizens groups, and politicians alike express outrage over the amount of money involved in U.S. politics. But what role does money play in American politics, and how much money do Americans spend each year on political purposes? What does this money buy, and how does it contribute to who gets what? This course is designed to provide an in-depth survey of the role of money in American politics. Over the course of the semester, readings will focus on the origins and development of the campaign finance and lobbying system in place in the United States today, and will examine the practices of lobbying and campaign finance in other nations to provide a comparison. The course will finish with an examination of inequality and policy preference in the United States and around the world. Particular focus will be on understanding and exploring contemporary debates in the academic literature and popular culture.

Course Objectives: Students will gain an understanding of the role of money in American politics, and how politics can shape economic and distributive policies. Each student, through close readings and individual research and writing, will be able to coherently and knowledgeably engage in the ongoing debate over money in politics. Students will gain a perspective on American and international systems of campaign finance and lobbying, and learn to think critically about a vexing empirical and normative problem in American elections and policy making.

Required Books:

Corrado, Anthony, Thomas E. Mann, Daniel Ortiz, and Trevor Potter. 2005. *New Campaign Finance Reform Sourcebook*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press. *

Boatright, Robert. 2011. *Campaign Finance: The Problems and Consequences of Reform*. New York: International Debate Education Association.

La Raja, Raymond. 2008. *Small Change: Money, Political Parties and Campaign Finance Reform*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bartels, Larry. 2010. *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. Prince-

ton, NJ: Princeton University Press.*

Gilens, Martin. 2014. *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.*

*** available as eBook from UMass Library**

Grade Policy: All students must submit assignments on time. If any portion of an assignment is late, one letter grade will be taken off for each day that it is late.

Assignments:

Blog Posts 20%

Class Participation 20%

Money and Politics Problem Set 10%

Final Paper 35%

Persuasive Essay 15%

Blog: During the course of the semester, students will submit 3 posts to the course blog. These posts may be on a topic of the student's choice, and may touch on any area of campaign finance, lobbying, inequality, or money and politics. Posts should be thoughtful and well-written, and explain an aspect of money in politics to a general audience. Posts can take a popular news article and provide insight for a general audience about what political science tells us, or may translate political science research to a general audience. Posts may be related to news articles or other areas of contemporary debate. Each post should be about 5-7 paragraphs in length. Students will be expected to participate occasionally through comments on blog posts as part of class participation.

Research Paper: Each student will complete an original 10-15 page research paper on a topic of their choice related to campaign finance, lobbying or some other aspect of money and politics. Students will be required to receive approval from the instructor on the topic, and will be expected to complete portions according to a schedule handed out in the second week of class.

Class Participation: Students are expected to complete the readings for each class, and to come prepared to discuss them. Thoughtful, respectful debate will be encouraged in each class. Students are required to come to class with at least one current event, news story, or other issue which we may take up for discussion in that class. Reading blogs such as *The Monkey Cage*, *Mischief of Faction*, *Five Thirty-Eight*, and *The Upshot* are highly recommended each week. In addition, *The Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Politico*, and *Upshot* are all great resources for stories on money and politics.

Academic Honesty: As a University of Massachusetts Student, plagiarism and cheating will not be tolerated. Any instances of cheating will be dealt with according to the University code, and the student will be given an "F" in the course. All work must be properly cited.

Extra Help: Do not hesitate to come to my office during office hours or by appointment to discuss

any aspect of the course.

Course Outline:

- **Into to the Course** January 21
- **Money, Politics and Influence: An Introduction** January 26
Bennet, James. 2012. "The New Price of American Politics." *The Atlantic*. September 19.
<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/10/the/309086/>
American Political Science Association. 2004. "American Democracy in an Age of Rising Inequality." Reprt from the Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy. *American Political Science Association*.
- **Money, Politics and Influence: An Introduction Continued**..... January 28
Boatright 2011. Introduction and Chapters 1-3
- **So Much Money in Politics: Or Is There?** February 2
Ansolabehere, Stephen, de Figueiredo, and Snyder. 2003. Why Is There So Little Money in U.S. Politics? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 17: 105-130.
Milyo, Jeffrey, David Primo, and Timothy Groseclose. 2000. "Corporate PAC Campaign Contributions in Perspective." *Business and Politics*.2(1):75-88.
- **Working With Money and Politics Data: Part I** February 4
Sides, John. 2014. "A New Experiment Shows How Money Buys Access to Congress." *The Monkey Cage*. March 11. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/03/11/a-new-experiment-shows-how-money-buys-access-to-congress/>
- **What Does Money Buy You?** February 4
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.
Wright, John. 1990. "Contributions, Lobbying, and Committee Voting in the U.S. House of Representatives." *American Political Science Review*. 84(2):417-438.
"Big Money, Big Sky". *PBS Frontline*. Available here: <http://video.pbs.org/video/2298009584/>
- **Wealth, Money and Politics: A Gilded Age History** February 9
Josephson, Matthew. *The Robber Barrons*. Selections.
Carnegie. Andrew. "The Gospel of Wealth."
- **The History of Campaign Finance Reforms: Part I**..... February 11
La Raja, Raymond. 2008. *Small Change: Money, Political Parties and Campaign Finance Reform*. Ann Arbor: University of Michagan Press. Chapters 1-4.

- **The History of Campaign Finance Reforms: Part II** February 17
 Corrado, et al. Introduction through Chapter 2.
 Federal Elections Commission. 2013. "Public Funding of Presidential Elections."
<http://www.fec.gov/pages/brochures/pubfund.shtml>

- **Working With Money and Politics Data: Part II** February 18
 Kelner, Rober and Raymond La Raja. "McCain-Feingold's Devastating Legacy." *The Washington Post*. April 11.
http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/mccain-feingolds-devastating-legacy/2014/04/11/14a528e2-c18f-11e3-bcec-b71ee10e9bc3_story.html

- **Campaign Finance in a Comparative Context: Part I** February 23
 Boatright. Part 4.
 Atwill, Nicole. 2009. "Campaign Finance: Comparative Summary." *Library of Congress*.
<http://www.loc.gov/law/help/campaign-finance/comparative-summary.php>

- **Campaign Finance in a Comparative Context: Part II** February 25
 Fisher, Justin and Todd Eisenstadt. 2004. "Comparative Part Finance: What is to be done?" *Party Politics*. 10:619-626.
 Wingrove, Josh, and Hannay, Chris. 2014. "Everything you need to know about the Fair Elections Act." *Globe and Mail*. March 25. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/what-is-the-fair-elections-act/article17648947/>
 Thompson, Nick. 2012. "International campaign finance: How do countries compare?" *CNN*. March 5. <http://www.cnn.com/2012/01/24/world/global-campaign-finance/>

- **Campaign Finance in the States: Part I** March 2
 Boatright, Part 3. Pages 149-191.

- **Campaign Finance in the States: Part II** March 4
 Witko, Christopher. 2005. "Measuring the Stringency of State Campaign Finance Regulation." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*. 5(3): 25-310.
 La Raja, Raymond, and Brian F. Schaffner. *Forthcoming*. "The Effects of Campaign Finance Spending Bans on Electoral Outcomes: Evidence from the States." *Electoral Studies*.

- **Lobbying: Part I** March 9
 Loomis, Burdett. 2007. "Does K Street Run Through Capitol Hill? Lobbying Congress in the Republican Era." In Allan J. Cigler and Burdett Loomis, eds. *Interest Group Politics*. 7th Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. (*Available on Moodle.*)
 Kersh, Rogan. 2002. "Corporate Lobbyists as Political Actors: A View From the Field." In Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis. *Interest Group Politics*. 6th Edition. (*Available on Moodle.*)

- **Working With Money and Politics Data: Part III** March 11

- **Lobbying: Part II** March 23
 Loomis, Burdett. 2012. "Learning to Lobby: Groups, Venues, and Information in Eighteenth-Century America." In Allan J. Cigler and Burdett Loomis, eds. *Interest Group Politics*. 8th Edition.
 Victor, Jennifer Nicoll. 2012. "Gridlock Lobbying: Breaking, Creating, and Maintaining Legislative Stalemate." In Allan J. Cigler and Burdett Loomis, eds. *Interest Group Politics*. 8th Edition.

- **Campaign Finance Today** March 25
 Boatright Part 2. Pages 63-149.
 Franz, Michael M. "Interest Groups in Electoral Politics: 2012 in Context." *The Forum*. 10(4): 62-7.

- **Campaign Finance Today: Part II** March 30
 Corrado, Chapters 3-7.

- **Campaign Finance Today: Part III** April 1
 Farrar-Myers, Victoria A. and Skinner, Richard. "Super PACs and the 2012 Elections." *The Forum*. 10(4):105-118.
 Cigler, Allan J. 2012. "Interest Group Money in the 2008 Federal Election." In Allan J. Cigler and Burdett Loomis, eds. *Interest Group Politics*. 8th Edition.

- **Outside Groups and Campaign Finance** April 6
 Currinder, Marian, Joanne Connor Green, and M. Margaret Conway. 2007. "Interest Group Money in Elections." In Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, eds. *Interest Group Politics*. 7th Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. (*Available on Blackboard*)
 Kroll, Andy. 2012. "Follow the Dark Money." *Mother Jones* July/August.
<http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2012/06/history-money-american-elections>

- **Campaign Finance Networks** April 8
 Desmarais, Bruce A, La Raja, Raymond, and Kowal, Michael S. 2014. "The Fates of Challengers in U.S. House Elections: The Role of Extended Party Networks in Supporting Candidates and Shaping Electoral Outcomes." *American Journal of Political Science*.
 Gold, Matea. 2014. "Election 2014: A New Level of Collaboration Between Candidates and Big-Money Allies." *The Washington Post*. November 3.
http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/election-2014-a-new-level-of-collaboration-between-candidates-and-big-money-allies/2014/11/03/ec2bda9a-636f-11e4-836c-83bc4f26eb67_story.html

- **Inequality: Causes** April 13
 Bartels, Larry. 2009. *Unequal Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Selections.

- **The Rich: Not Like the Rest of Us**.....April 15
Page, Benjamin I., Larry M. Bartels, and Jason Seawright. 2013. "Democracy and the Policy Preferences of Wealthy Americans." *Perspectives on Politics*. 11(1).
- **Working With Money and Politics Data: Part IV**April 22
- **The Rich: They Get What They Want**April 27
Gilens, Martin. 2014. *Affluence and Influence* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Selections.
- **How Can We Fix Inequality?**April 29
Readings to be announced.