

# Money and Politics

POSC 209 – Fall 2019  
Carleton College  
Tu-Th 10:10-11:55 a.m.  
Weitz 133

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**Office Hours:** Tue. & Thur. 3:00 - 5:00 p.m. and by appt.

“There’s too much money washing around. And this money makes good people do bad things and bad people do worse things.” –John McCain

“Where did this notion get going that we were spending too much in campaigns? Compared to what?...Americans spent more on potato chips than they did on politics.” –Mitch McConnell

“We have the best government that money can buy” –Mark Twain

## Course Description

In this course, we will explore the role of money in U.S. political campaigns. We will consider campaign finance from four different angles: the regulatory environment, key players, its role in elections, and outcomes of campaign financing and regulations. We will first delve into the regulatory environment surrounding campaign finance including the historical rise and development of campaign finance regulation, recent unraveling and dismantling of regulations, and how regulations are currently being circumvented. We will explore the main ways money in elections has been regulated and learn how to track money in elections using the Federal Election Commission database. In the second section of the course, we will take a closer look at key players in campaign finance including individuals, interest groups, and political parties. In the third section, we will learn about the role of money in elections, specifically, in presidential nomination campaigns, general campaigns, congressional campaigns, and state/local campaigns. Within this electoral context, we will examine how race and gender influence campaign contributions and donor networks. Finally, we will draw on a wide range of political science academic research to try to identify the consequences and outcomes of money in politics. Are electoral outcomes influenced by the amount of money raised and spent in campaigns? How does money shape subsequent policy outcomes? Does it alter who runs for office or levels of political polarization? Finally, we turn to questions of reform and efforts to control the role of money in elections. By the end of this course, the complexity of campaign finance will be illuminated and you will be empowered to better consume political information and navigate modern campaigns.

## Notes

You are expected to read the entire syllabus at the beginning of the term. The syllabus should be referenced regularly throughout the term.

Please be aware that this syllabus contains hyperlinks. While you are encouraged to print out a hardcopy to read and reference through the term, you will also want to have an electronic version to easily access all external websites and resources.

## Course Objectives

By the end of the course, you will be able to:

- Understand key concepts, trends, theories, and literatures related to campaign finance
- Critically analyze campaign finance data
- Evaluate the role of campaign finance in American elections, policy outcomes, and other aspects of the broader political system
- Communicate campaign finance concepts and cases in clear and engaging presentations

## Required Readings

Magleby, D. B., editor (2019). *Financing the 2016 Election*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington.

- *Note*: This book is free and available for download through Carleton's Gould Library catalogue. There are a few hard copies also available through the bookstore if you prefer that format. Reading assignments will reference this book as *Financing 2016*.
- Other assigned readings will come from a variety of scholarly sources and research institutions and will be available on Moodle.

## Course Requirements and Expectations

All assignments should be submitted electronically via Moodle by 7:00 p.m. on the assigned due date. Submit written assignments as pdfs. File names should be named using the following structure: *LastnameFirstnameClassnameAssignmentnameYear*. It is your responsibility to make sure the file is not corrupted (you should be able to download and view the file after you upload it to Moodle). Corrupted files will be treated as though they are late until they are correctly uploaded. Your grade will be based on the following:

## Grading

Class Participation	10%	
Assignments	30%	
Follow the Money Worksheet and Report	8%	(Oct 3)
Key Term Informational Video and Script	8%	(Oct 10)
Social Construction of Campaign Finance Numbers	8%	(Oct 24)
Debate Preparation	6%	(Oct 30)
Campaign Finance in the States: Case Study	15%	(Nov 13)
Midterm	20%	(Oct 15)
Final	25%	(Nov 24)
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	

### Class Participation (Preparation, Attendance, Discussion and In-Class Activities) - 10%

Attendance is mandatory. Classes will contain in-class activities and discussions designed to teach you important concepts and skills. You are expected to come to class on time and regularly. If you need to miss class because of an emergency or illness, please send me an email before class starts. A pattern of unexcused absences will negatively impact your participation grade.

Number of Unexcused Absences	Penalty
2	Participation grade lowered by 1/3 (e.g., from B+ to B)
3	Participation grade lowered by full grade (e.g., from B+ to C+)
4	Participation grade lowered by two full grade (e.g., from B+ to D+)
5	Participation grade = 0
6	Automatic F for the class

If you do miss a class, you should first contact another student for notes before coming to see me during office hours.

To facilitate insightful and interesting discussions, you are required to complete the assigned readings *before* each class and contribute to class discussions. In class, I may use a randomly generated list to call on students during lectures to either summarize, analyze, or provide other insights regarding discussion points. This randomization of discussion has three goals: It will 1) help you develop verbal communication skills, 2) evenly distribute participation in class, and 3) provide incentives to read the assigned materials. While discussions will open with this randomized method, more organically produced follow-up responses are still expected to happen. As a result, discussion participation grades will be based on the objective randomized response check-list as well as a more comprehensive evaluation of your involvement in class discussions.

### Assignments - 30%

You will complete four assignments designed to teach you:

- How to navigate and analyze campaign finance data (**Due: 7 p.m. Thursday, October 3, 2019**),
- Understand and communicate key terms\* (**Due: 7 p.m. Thursday, October 10, 2019**),
- Develop quantitative reasoning skills (**Due: 7 p.m. Thursday, October 24, 2019**), and
- Help prepare for an in-class debate (**Due: 7 p.m. Wednesday, October 30, 2019**).

Full assignment details will be posted on Moodle.

\*Optional Recording Lab: Saturday October 5th in Weitz 031, 7am-5pm, (teleprompter and webcam will be provided). You will need to schedule an appointment with Melanie Freeze.

### **Campaign Finance in the States: Case Study - 15%**

**DATE: Wednesday November 13, 2019 at 7:00 p.m.**

**SUBMISSION FORMAT:** Submit a paper (convert to pdf) and powerpoint presentation via Moodle

In this assignment, you will examine campaign finance in a case study of a U.S. state. In a 6-7 page report (double-spaced), you will write about the historical evolution of campaign finance laws in the state and analyze how money in elections and regulations have influenced outcomes in the state (electoral, policy, economic, public opinion, third party activity, etc?). Case studies will be presented to the class on Thursday November 14 and Tuesday November 19. Full assignment details will be posted on Moodle.

### **Midterm- 20%**

**DATE: Tuesday, October 13th from 10:10-11:55 in Weitz 133**

The exam will consist of identifications (define and state significance of terms provided), short answers, and an essay. It will include materials covered up to (and including) Lecture 9 (Money in Elections: Presidential General Campaign).

### **Final - 25%**

**DATE: Sunday, November 24th from 3:30-6:00 p.m. in Weitz 133**

The exam will consist of identifications (define and state significance of terms provided), short answers, and an essay. The exam will be comprehensive and cover all of the material introduced in the class.

## Course Policies

### Grading Policies

A	93 or higher
A-	90-92
B+	87-89
B	83-86
B-	80-82
C+	77-79
C	73-76
C-	70-72
D+	67-69
D	63-66
D-	60-62
F	Below 60

### Late Work

Assignments are due by 7:00 p.m. on the deadline date indicated in the assignment. All written work should be submitted electronically on Moodle in pdf format (you can work in Word or another program, just print/save the final document to a pdf). Note that Moodle time stamps identify the minute of submission, so be sure to give yourself enough time and don't try to cut things too close. Any work submitted late (even by a minute) will face an automatic deduction of 4 percentage points (roughly equivalent to 1/3 letter grade) per 24 hours past the deadline. For example, if a 89% (B+) paper was submitted 1 minute late, it is automatically deducted to 85% (B). If the the paper was submitted 24 hours late, the grade will be reduced by 6 points to 81% (B-), etc. Unless there are campus-wide issues, technological difficulties do not excuse late work. Always backup your work. I highly recommend storing your files on Dropbox. Do not expect any grace period with online submissions.

### Extensions

Being able to reliably meet deadlines is a very useful skill. Simply having a lot of work or having a schedule conflict is not grounds for an extension. Take the time at the beginning of the term and build a clear calendar of your respective deadlines and then plan ahead. If you have a conflicting event, find a way to get your assignment done in advance. Prioritize your learning. In the case of an emergency or serious conflict, I ask that you reach out to your student dean and have them contact me, and we work to find an appropriate accommodation.

Because I understand the difficulties of juggling schedules and the fast pace of the Carleton term, I will allow you to have a 24-hour extension for only ONE assignment (does not apply to the final project or exams).

### Grade Complaints/Concerns

I will not receive grade complaints if more than one week has passed after the assignment has been returned to you. Before I review your grade you must first:

- Wait 24 hours (Technical problem dealing with errors in score calculations can be sent immediately).
- Schedule a time to meet with me to discuss your grade.
- Submit a formal appeal via email that clearly identifies content in the assignment and the reasons why you think your grade should be changed. Be clear that it is the an appeal in the subject heading. These appeals should refer to specific things in the assignment, and not to vague reasons like “I worked really hard.”

The second grade, whether higher or lower, will become your grade on the assignment.

## Electronics in Class Policy

If possible, I would like you to bring your own laptop (or mobile device) to class as we will often need to access the Internet for in-class activities. However, I expect you to be responsible in your use of electronic equipment: please avoid visiting social networking sites, or otherwise browsing the internet on sites unrelated to the course. I would also recommend you read through the discussion (including comments), *Computers in the Classroom*, to think about the possible pros and cons of using computers in a classroom setting. Individuals who abuse this privilege will find their participation grade reduced. Please turn off all cell phones during class.

## Academic Honesty

You are expected to abide by fundamental standards of academic honesty. A discussion of plagiarism can be found at: <https://apps.carleton.edu/campus/doc/integrity/>. All work is expected to be your own. Cheating, plagiarism (using someone else’s words or ideas without properly citing them), and all forms of academic misconduct will not be tolerated and will be strictly handled according to university policy. If you are uncertain, cite your sources!

## Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

Carleton College is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students. The Disability Services office (Henry House, 107 Union Street) is the campus office that collaborates with students who have disabilities to provide and/or arrange reasonable accommodations. If you have, or think you may have, a disability (e.g., mental health, attentional, learning, autism spectrum disorders, chronic health, traumatic brain injury and concussions, vision, hearing, mobility, or speech impairments), please contact [disability@carleton.edu](mailto:disability@carleton.edu) or call Jan Foley, Student Accessibility Specialist (x4464) or Chris Dallager, Director of Disability Services (x5250) to arrange a confidential discussion regarding equitable access and reasonable accommodations.

You can learn more about other academic support available at:

<https://apps.carleton.edu/campus/asc/syllabusstatements/speaking/>

## Online Resources

- Federal Election Commission (FEC) Finance Reports & Data

- Federal Election Commission E-learning Videos
- FEC Guide for Candidates
- Center for Responsive Politics, OpenSecrets.org
- MapLight.org
- Follow the Money
- Database on Ideology, Money in Politics, and Elections (DIME)
- National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) Campaign Finance Legislation, 2015-
- Ballotpedia.com: Federal Campaign Finance Laws and Regulations
- Institute for Free Speech
- Schnaars: Finding and Analyzing Data on FEC.gov (update Senate e-file since 2018)
- The Campaign Finance Institute (CFI)
- CFI Campaign Finance Laws Across the Nation
- Brennan Center for Justice: Money in Politics Research
- Political Party Time - a database of political fundraising events

# Course Schedule

## PART I: THE REGULATORY ENVIRONMENT

### Lecture 1, Tues. Sept. 17: Introduction

- *Financing 2016*, chapter 1 - Carefully consider Table 1-3, Figure 1-1, Table 1-4

### Lecture 2, Thus. Sept. 19: The Rise and Development of Campaign Finance Regulation

- *Financing 2016*, Table 1-1
- FEC Contribution Limits for 2019-2020
- Whitaker, L. P. (2018). Campaign finance law: An analysis of key issues, recent developments, and constitutional considerations for legislation, CRS Report R45320. *Congressional Research Service*. Accessed August 13, 2019 at <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R45320.pdf>.
- Garrett, S. R. (2018). The state of campaign finance policy: Recent developments and issues for congress, CRS Report R41542. *Congressional Research Service*. Accessed August 29, 2019 at <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41542.pdf>, pp. 1-5.

### Lecture 3, Tues. Sept. 24: The Unraveling and Dismantling of Campaign Finance Regulation

- *Financing 2016*, chapter 2
- Garrett, S. R. (2018). The state of campaign finance policy: Recent developments and issues for congress, CRS Report R41542. *Congressional Research Service*. Accessed August 29, 2019 at <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41542.pdf>, pp. 5-12.
- Campaign Finance and the Supreme Court. 2015. *National Conference of State Legislators*. Accessed August 13, 2019 at: <http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/campaign-finance-and-the-supreme-court.aspx>
- *Buckley v. Valeo*, UMKC excerpts
- *Citizens United v. FEC*, UMKC excerpts

### Lecture 4, Thurs. Sept. 26: Circumventing Campaign Finance Regulations

- Weiner, D. I. (2019). Fixing the FEC: An agenda for reform. *Brennan Center for Justice*, pages 1–19. Accessed July 15, 2019 at [https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/publications/2019\\_04\\_FECV\\_Final.pdf](https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/publications/2019_04_FECV_Final.pdf).
- Explore <https://www.youtube.com/user/FECTube>
- Optional: Schnaars: Finding and Analyzing Data on FEC.gov (note update–Senate e-files since 2018)

## PART II: KEY PLAYERS

### Lecture 5, Tues. Oct. 1: Individuals

- Broockman, D. E. and Malhotra, N. A. (November 30, 2018). What do donors want? heterogeneity by party and policy domain (research note). *Stanford University Graduate School of Business Research Paper*, No. 19-10. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3288862> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3288862>.



- Malbin, M. J. (2013). Small donors: Incentives, economies of scale, and effects. In *The Forum*, volume 11, pages 385–411
- Find and read a recently published news article about small donors in the 2020 race for U.S. president

### **Lecture 6, Thurs. Oct. 3: Interest Groups**

“FOLLOW THE MONEY” DUE TONIGHT AT 7:00 P.M.

- *Financing 2016*, chapter 3

### **Lecture 7, Tues. Oct. 8: Political Parties**

- *Financing 2016*, chapter 7
- Dwyre, D. (2018). Everything is relative: Are political parties playing a meaningful campaign finance role in U.S. federal elections? In Green, J. C., Coeffey, D. J., and Cohen, D. B., editors, *The State of the Parties, 2018: The Changing Role of Contemporary American Political Parties*, pages 223–247. Rowman & Littlefield, New York.

## **PART III: MONEY IN ELECTIONS**

### **Lecture 8, Thurs. Oct. 10: Presidential Nomination Campaigns**

“KEY TERM INSTRUCTIONAL VIDEO AND SCRIPT” DUE TONIGHT AT 7:00 P.M.

- *Financing 2016*, chapter 4
- Aldrich, J. (2009). The invisible primary and its effects on democratic choice. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 42(1):33–38

### **Lecture 9, Tues. Oct. 15: Presidential General Campaign**

- *Financing 2016*, chapter 5

### **Lecture 10, Thurs. Oct. 17: Midterm**

- MIDTERM in class

### **Lecture 11, Tues. Oct. 22: Congressional Campaigns**

- *Financing 2016*, chapter 6

### **Lecture 12, Thurs. Oct. 24: State and Local Campaigns**

“SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE NUMBERS” DUE TONIGHT AT 7:00 P.M.

- Guest Speakers in Class
- Powell, L. W. (2012). *The influence of campaign contributions in state legislatures: the effects of institutions and politics*, chapter Patterns of State Legislative Campaign Finance, pages 33–55. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
- Optional: Farrar-Myers, V. A. (2018). The political scientist candidate: From scholarship to the campaign. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 51(1):151–153.

### **Lecture 13, Tues. Oct. 29: Gender and Race**

“DEBATE PREP” DUE TOMORROW NIGHT (OCT 30) AT 7:00 P.M.

- Gimpel, J. G. and Glenn, J. H. (2019). Racial proximity and campaign contributing. *Electoral Studies*, 57:79–89.
- Thomsen, D. M. and Swers, M. L. (2017). Which women can run? gender, partisanship, and candidate donor networks. *Political Research Quarterly*, 70(2):449–463.

### **Lecture 14, Thurs. Oct. 31: Should Campaign Finance be Regulated or Not?**

- In-Class Debate

## **PART IV: CONSEQUENCES OF MONEY IN POLITICS AND REFORMATION PROPOSALS**

### **Lecture 15, Tues. Nov. 5: Does Money Influence Electoral Outcomes?**

- Stratmann, T. (2019). Campaign finance. In Congleton, R. D., Grofman, B. N., and Voigt, S., editors, *Oxford Handbook of Public Choice*, volume 1, pages 415–432. Oxford University Press, pp. 415–421.
- Bonica, A. (2017). Professional networks, early fundraising, and electoral success. *Election Law Journal*, 16(1):153–171.

### **Lecture 16, Thurs. Nov. 7: Does Money Influence Policy Outcomes?**

- Stratmann, T. (2019). Campaign finance. In Congleton, R. D., Grofman, B. N., and Voigt, S., editors, *Oxford Handbook of Public Choice*, volume 1, pages 415–432. Oxford University Press, pp. 421–426.
- Kalla, J. L. and Broockman, D. E. (2016). Campaign contributions facilitate access to congressional officials: A randomized field experiment. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(3):545–558.
- Ansolabehere, S., De Figueiredo, J. M., and Snyder Jr., J. M. (2003). Why is there so little money in U.S. politics? *Journal of Economic perspectives*, 17(1):105–130.

### **Lecture 17, Tues. Nov. 12: Other Consequences of Money in Politics, Public Financing, and other Proposed Campaign Finance Reforms**

“CASE STUDY SLIDES AND PAPER” DUE TOMORROW NIGHT (NOV 13) AT 7:00 P.M.

- Stratmann, T. (2019). Campaign finance. In Congleton, R. D., Grofman, B. N., and Voigt, S., editors, *Oxford Handbook of Public Choice*, volume 1, pages 415–432. Oxford University Press, pp. 426–428.
- *Financing 2016*, chapter 8
- Browse: Brennan Center for Justice-Proposed Reform Toolkit

## **CAMPAIGN FINANCE CASE STUDIES**

### **Lecture 18, Thurs. Nov. 14: Presentations**

- State Campaign Finance Case Study Presentations

### **Lecture 19, Tues. Nov. 19: Presentations**

- State Campaign Finance Case Study Presentations