

**POS 433: Money and Politics**  
**Language & Literature Room 249**  
**Wednesdays, 5:40 - 8:30 p.m.**  
**Fall 1999**

**Syllabus**

**<http://www.blackboard.com/courses/POS498/>**

Instructor: Ruth S. Jones, Professor  
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Office fax: 480.965.0865  
Office location: Administration Building, B Wing, Room B277  
Office Hours: Students should feel free to call and leave a voice mail or send an email explaining the issue, problem or suggestion to be discussed. The instructor will return the call as soon as possible. The instructor will be available before class and after class to address issues as well. Any student who wants to have a face-to-face meeting at some other time should arrange a mutually convenient time with the instructor's assistant, Susie Salem at 965-0548.

Course Overview

This seminar is designed to examine the role of money and special interests in election campaign politics and public policy making. The emphasis will be on developing a better understanding of concepts that are central to participatory democracy and American politics: pluralism, representation, equity, competition, elites, individualism. Our inquiries will include but not be limited to political parties, interest groups, lobbyists, fund raising, the FEC, state-level campaign finance regulation and reform, and PACs. The course format will include mini-lectures, discussions, critical reading and writing, guest speakers, and collaborative learning and assessment.

This is an upper division Social and Behavioral Sciences (SB) course. We will assume a certain degree of shared background in theoretical understanding, substantive content and methodological awareness. Status as a SB course requires the use of scientific methods of inquiry and empirical knowledge about human behavior, both within society and individually. This course addresses the challenge of understanding the diverse natures of individuals and cultural groups who live together in a world of diminishing economic, linguistic, military, political, and social distance. Students are advised at the outset that the course will involve a great deal of time and work. For each class there will be an assignment that must be completed as preparation for class meetings. Attendance and participation are essential. One of the goals of the course is to facilitate student learning through working independently, in small groups, in teams and as a contributor to the group unit as well as through work in the library, in the "field" and/or before the computer. The class is relatively small and thus informality is possible; informality should not be mistaken for lack of rigor. Learning and fun are natural companions; fun and hard work are not incompatible!

Discussion Guidelines

As political science students, we recognize that expression of competing attitudes, perceptions, and preferences is vital to the maintenance of democratic processes. No one person, candidate, party or interest has a corner on the market for truth, virtue, or patriotism. Consequently, we will try to achieve balance and breadth in our discussions; no one person or preference should dominate our exchanges. This is a university course; it is not an advocacy forum. The norms of common courtesy and the spirit of tolerance, inquiry, and sharing must prevail. If, at any time, a student feels the discussion is biased or

"closed", it is the student's responsibility to articulate this perception to the instructor or to voice competing positions and preferences in class discussion. Quality participation is required and is acknowledged in the grading scheme; disruptive behaviors or violations of norms or requirements will be acknowledged also.

### Course Materials

Required Text:

The Day After Reform: Sobering Campaign Finance Lessons from the American States, Michael J. Malbin and Thomas L. Gais, The Rockefeller Institute Press, Albany, New York 1998 Distributed by The Brookings Institution Press.

The Sound of Money: How Political Interests Get What They Want, Darrell M. West and Burdett A. Loomis, W. W. Norton and Company, New York, 1998.

Other texts that may be helpful:

Money in American Elections, Frank Sorauf, Little Brown College Division, Glenview, Illinois, c1988.

The Money Chase, David Magelby and Candice Nelson, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., c1990.

Money Matters, Robert K. Goidel, Donald A. Gross and Todd G. Shields, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Lanham, Maryland, 1999.

In this particular course, access to the Internet will be very helpful - - both for locating information for assignments and for participating in group assignments and contacting the instructor. However, access to the Internet is not a requirement and information can be obtained and shared, with some effort, by using more traditional techniques and materials.

### Academic Integrity

The statement on academic integrity applies to all students and is considered part of the syllabus for POS 433:

**Academic Integrity.** The highest standards of academic integrity are expected of all students. The failure of any student to meet these standards may result in suspension or expulsion from the university or other sanctions as specified in the University Student Academic Integrity Policy. Violations of academic integrity include, but are not limited to, cheating, fabrication, tampering, plagiarism, or facilitating such activities. The University Student Academic Integrity Policy is available from the Office of the Senior Vice President and Provost and from the deans of the individual colleges.

### Style manuals

*A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, Truabian  
*The Chicago Guide to Preparing Electronic Manuscripts*  
*A Short Guide to Writing about Social Science*

### Attendance

Participation, and therefore attendance, is important; missing one seminar session is the equivalent to missing three MWF classes or two TTh classes. The instructor understands that things happen and sometimes students must miss class. However, absences beyond one missed seminar will be reflected in the grading scheme under participation and contributions. It is the student's responsibility to determine what work was missed and to catch up.

### Assignments

The schedule of assignments applies to everyone; if changes are necessary, they will be announced in class and apply to all members. No delayed grades, make-up activities or incompletes should be expected.

All assignments are due on the date specified and unless there are extreme extenuating circumstances, penalties will be assessed for late assignments.

Throughout the semester, students are invited to consult with the instructor about projects, review drafts, etc., and special meeting times will be arranged. Students who have difficulty with course materials, assignments, or projects should alert the instructor to the problem at the earliest possible opportunity. Solutions are more likely to be found if problems are identified sooner rather than later.

### Grading

Grades for the course will be assigned on student performance in three categories:

- |    |  |     |
|----|--|-----|
| 1. | Active Involvement/Contribution                      | 10% |
|    | a. class contributions                               |     |
|    | b. additions to glossary and webliography            |     |
|    | c. team work and involvement                         |     |
|    | d. attendance  |     |
| 2. | Individual Student Work on written assignments       | 65% |
|    | a. Weekly assignments (5%)                           |     |
|    | b. Profile of the financing of a campaign (20%)      |     |
|    | d. Represent an interest in the policy process (20%) |     |
|    | e. Final Exam - in class (20%)                       |     |
| 3. | Group Assignment and Contribution                    | 25% |
|    | a. Stakeholder analysis (8%)                         |     |
|    | b. McCain Feingold Bill (8%)                         |     |
|    | c. Arizona Clean Elections Act (9%)                  |     |

**It is strongly recommended that students keep copies of all materials handed in for grading.**

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August 25

**Introductions, overview of the class**

Questions for discussion:

- 1) What are the major distinguishing characteristics of a democratic government?
- 2) How does "money in the U.S. political system" relate to these characteristics?

Assignment: Glossary Development

One of the first tasks is to certain that we all are using the same vocabulary for key aspects of the class. With this in mind, students are asked to contribute to the class glossary (as you will be asked to contribute to the construction of a class webliography later). For this assignment you will work in teams of two and develop a definition of an assigned term (or terms). The "definition" should relate the term to the concerns of the class and, where appropriate, provide a context or a contrast for best use or understanding of the term. Two examples are given.

Definitions should be sent to <http://www.blackboard.com/courses/POS498>. Select Student Tools on the left side bar, then Drop Box. Send the File to the instructor. Each definition cannot exceed 150 words and must be identified with the names of the authors who will be expected to explain/defend their definition if asked. These are due before the beginning of class on September 1.

For those not using e-mail, assignments must be postmarked by noon or delivered to Ruth Jones, Administration Building, B Wing, Room 275 by 5:00 on September 1, 1999.

Definition Examples:

**FECA AMENDMENTS OF 1974:** Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974 provide the basic campaign finance regulation for federal election campaigns. Together, the original act and these amendments provided for contribution limits (\$1,000 individuals; \$5,000 organization); reporting and disclosure, public funding of presidential primary and general election campaigns and party conventions, establishment of the Federal Election Commission and limits on what federal candidates could spend. While this framework is still basically in place, 25 years of experience, evolution, court decisions and politics has changed the way FECA influences elections. Thus, to simply read the provisions of FECA and the amendments of 1974 will not present a clear or complete picture of campaign financing in 1999; yet it is important to know this original "structure" because it provides the context for understanding the evolution of campaign finance issues and the arguments for and against "reform." (Jones/Salem)

**SOFT MONEY :** Contributions to political parties that are not regulated by FECA and are used by parties and their auxiliary organizations for party building activities, voter mobilization, generic advertising and issue advocacy. It is often viewed as the "loophole" in the law that permits large contributions from entities, individuals and organizations restricted under FECA to

enter the federal election campaign process. In contrast, money that is contributed and spent under the rules of FECA is known as “hard money”—which is more difficult to raise but is especially valuable for federal election candidates. (Jones/Salem)

### **Terms to be defined**

501C-3 (Tax status)  
Buckley v, Valeo  
Bundling  
conflict of interest  
coordinated contributions  
expenditure limits  
exploratory committee  
“fat cats”  
FECA, 1971  
First National Bank of Boston vs. Francis X. Bellotti  
flat grants  
“foreign money”  
grass roots lobbying  
“incumbent’s protection act”  
independent expenditures  
in-kind contributions  
issue advocacy  
leadership PAC  
matching funds/qualifying funds  
“money is speech”  
non-connected PACs  
seed money  
self-financed campaigns  
Tax add-on/Tax check-off  
Tax credit/tax deduction  
The Federal Election Commission v. Colorado State Republican Party  
USA v. HSIA

\*Whenever students come across a term or issue that should be added to the glossary, they should feel free to add another definition to the glossary (properly identified). It is expected that, over the course of the term, everyone will make some additional, individual contributions...either by adding a term or making the case that a definition should be changed.

#### September 1

**Understanding the concept of “stakeholder” and how to use it to understand the dance of legislation in U.S. politics and public policy formulation and adoption.**

Assignment: Read pages 1 - 44 and 141-166 in The Sound of Money.

Because we will be using, directly and indirectly, the “stakeholder management” approach throughout the class, please take very good lecture notes and be sure you understand how to approach a political issue using this approach. This material is not in your texts and thus this lecture is your source of information.

One of the pressing issues in American society is the status of health care. This is a multifaceted public policy domain that influences many people. As the baby boomers reach maturity, the expectation is that providing for a healthy, aging society will dominate the political scene. With this in mind, two members of Congress - Representative Wonderful (R, California) and Senator Integrity (D, New York) - have proposed legislation that would create the following program.

1. At the start of each program year, the insured pays \$60/month premium (\$720/year) plus \$10 co-pay/prescription. Both the premium and co-pay are pegged to inflation.
2. There is a \$2,000 initial limit in any program year for premiums and co-pays for the insured. Once this ceiling has been reached, Medicare assumes cost of coverage.
3. If Medicare should pay \$5,000 in costs for the insured, the prescription use of the insured is reviewed by a Medicare team .
4. If Medicare should pay \$8,000 in costs, number 2 above no longer applies and the insured is now subject to a 50% co-pay for remaining prescriptions within the given year.
5. Medicare will establish a master list of approved drugs to be reviewed every year and a petition process to request medication beyond the prescribed list.

This bill has been assigned to the Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee (of which Senator Integrity is a member) and the House Ways and Means Committee (of which Representative Wonderful is a member). It has several co-sponsors and is enlisting others.

### **ASSIGNMENT #1: Due September 8, 1999**

Each student to provide brief written answers.

1. What are the basic values involved with extending prescription drug coverage to the elderly?
2. What are two of the practical issues to be addressed?
3. What are two political issues most likely to surface?
4. Identify four stakeholders and their possible positions . . . try not to pick four of the most obvious.

### **ASSIGNMENT #2: Due September 29, 1999**

Team project activities based on this case.

September 8

**Review of the stakeholder management approach using the homework hypothetical cases.**

Assignment #1: Using what you learned about stakeholder management, provide written answers to the questions on the hypothetical case distributed September 1.

Assignment #2: Make a short (one-page minimum, two-page maximum) comparison of a key campaign finance regulation in two states or two countries. Suggest realistic, possible reasons for the similarities or differences. Due: September 22, 1999 at the beginning of class.

Make two copies of your work, one to keep and one to hand in.

Read pages 1 - 32 in The Day After Reform

Questions for discussion:

(1) Money is one resource for influencing politics and policies; what are some other resources?

(2) Review the "issues" that money presents to the political system. What are some of the ways public policies have addressed these issues.

Team Time: (1) Identify rules for the team. (2) Develop a work plan for identifying the role and strategy of your stakeholder group.

September 15

**Review of the structures of our political system and their relevance to issues of money in politics.**

Assignment: Read pages 45 - 71 in The Sound of Money.  
Read pages 33 - 50 in The Day After Reform

Bring to class (September 15) an article and one copy from some news magazine, newspaper or web site that discusses something about the role of money in our political system. Be prepared to identify the primary issue raised and/or position taken and then identify the basic value or process that is being influenced or challenged. Address the "so what?" question as well.

Questions for discussion:

1) What is the logic behind disclosure laws? What has been the impact of "disclosure" laws?

2) When is "information" advocacy (verb) and when is it information? When and how does issue advocacy impact candidate campaigns? Is money "speech" where a candidate campaign is involved? When an issue initiative is involved?

3) What is the tension between the role of the media in a democratic system and the costs of campaign media? Any suggestions for resolving or lessening this tension?

Team Time: Follow up on stakeholder role and strategy. Outline of key points due 5:40, September 29, 1999.

Note: September 17

Unrestricted withdrawal

September 22

**The McCain-Feingold Bill; State Reform**

Read pages 77-104 in The Day After Reform

Read the McCain-Feingold Bill

Be prepared to present your comparative analysis of one key regulation in campaign finance (assigned September 8).

Questions for discussion:

- 1) What are the major provisions of the McCain-Feingold bill?
- 2) Briefly, what is the history of this bill?
- 3) What are the underlying goals for the bill?
- 4) If it is a bi-partisan bill, why are there such very strong, competing positions on it?
- 5) Who benefits? Who loses? Which stakeholders seem most visible? Which do you think are working primarily behind the scenes? Why?

September 29

**Public Policy: Case Study "Medical Reform Revisited"**

Read pages 167-199 in The Sound of Money

Items for discussion:

Be prepared to discuss this case study in terms of stakeholder management and to raise questions about the processes involved.

Presentation of Group Stakeholder Projects: "Solving the Medicine Drug Coverage issue through foolproof strategies", or "What we think could happen and why".

October 6

**Stakeholder Management Applied**

- I. Group presentations of stakeholder assignment. (Papers due 5:40 p.m.)
  - a. What is the current state of this issue - - expanding Medicare to cover prescription drugs for seniors?
  - b. What are the:  
Cooperative advantages?  
Competitive threats?  
Profiles of Alpha - Epsilon group
  - c. What other stakeholders are key to the discussion? Why?
  - d. In reality, what will be the outcome of this issue in the Congress?
  - e. So what has the "stakeholder management" approach taught us?
- II. Group work on McCain - Feingold
- III. Profiles of Financing a Campaign: Assignment Due: November 3.  
Document may be submitted in electronic or written format, but must be received by the start of class. No papers will be accepted at class.

Each student, individually, will analyze the financing of a past or current political campaign - - candidate, issue, or third or minor political party effort. The purpose of the assignment is to provide an opportunity and challenge to develop a sophisticated understanding of money in political campaigns. Each analysis should include:

- 1) History and context
- 2) Brief overview of the rules governing the campaign
- 3) Contributors: amounts & sources

- 4) Expenditures: amounts & sources
- 5) Coordinated and independent expenditures if relevant
- 6) Opposition (brief overview of key features)
- 7) Apparent "strategy" of the campaign and the role money played/is playing

Format: Typed, double-spaced, readable font.  
 Cover page  
 120 word abstract and outline as page "i".  
No more than 8 pages of text plus  
 Up to 2 pages of tables or figures and  
 Bibliography and/or citations

October 13

### **Interest Groups in Perspective**

Review pp. 77-103, After Reform "How Interest Groups Have Adapted..."

- I. Questions for class discussion:
  1. Who "belongs" to interest groups? Why?
  2. How do special interest groups differ?
  3. How do special interests attempt to influence public policy? Evaluate different strategies.
  4. How does McCain - Feingold address interest group activity in the political process?
  5. Relate interest group activity to principles of democratic government.
  6. Relate interest group activity to public policy making in the U.S.
- II. Group Time: McCain - Feingold

October 20

Read pp. 105 - 132, After Reform

Class discussion

Group Time

October 27

McCain-Feingold papers due by 5:30 p.m.

Read pp. 51-76, After Reform

McCain-Feingold Group reports & discussion

New Groups meet: AZ Citizens Clean Elections Act Assignment (bring to class)  
 Clean Elections Act Assignments—Specifics to follow.

*Remember that this is an initiative, passed by the people of Arizona. Barely passed but valid just the same. Also, read the act and make your decisions based on the intent of the initiative...as outlined by the bill of particulars included in the act.*

*Your position should be as consultants to the Arizona Citizen's Clean Election Act which is charged with the duty of implementing, administering and enforcing the law.*

1. Develop a timeline and roadmap for potential candidates seeking to participate in the clean elections program. What do they do, when, why? Indicate how this differs from the timetable and roadmap for non-participating candidates.
2. Assess the methods for funding this act—included in the law and possible alternatives. What are the pros and cons of each? Your goal is to provide as much funding as possible for clean election candidates within the law and within what is reasonable to expect.
3. Review the appointment process, the structure and the budget available to the Commission. In each case, what is the impact on future Commissions and on the present Commission to get its work done. Suggest alternative ways to select Commission members---both for the first time and for continual operations of the commission.
4. Design a voter and candidate education program as mandated to the Commission that will stay within the budget and will meet Justice Department guidelines. Be specific about how, why, who and expected impact of the key steps of your program.
5. Identify the key areas created by the law where the Commission can expect to have enforcement issues...immediately and in the future. Be specific about future issues and discuss the likely reasons for failure to comply with the law and suggest remedies or measures the Commission might consider.

Your approach must be within the spirit of the law and something that reasonable people could be expected to understand. You need also to think about how feasible it is politically; do not suggest changes or remedies that clearly are impossible to achieve.

#### October 29

Restricted Course Withdrawal

#### November 3

Profiles of Financing a Campaign paper due before class.

Read pp. 133-166, After Reform

Class Discussion

Group Time

#### **Topics for group discussion groups**

1. What difference does the presence of "term limits" make to issues related to campaign finance—costs, contributions, expenditures, funding sources?
2. What difference does it make if a candidate can (does) self-finance her/his campaign? (Difference to the campaign? The electoral process? The goals of democratic government?)
3. Are the issues of campaign finance the same or different depending on the level (local, state, federal) and type (candidate/initiative; partisan/non-partisan) election? What are the implications for public policy related to campaign finance?

4. In our current global political economy, is it possible (and is it desirable) to exclude foreign interests and foreign money from involvement in U.S. election campaigns? How? Why?
5. Why is “revolving door” activity so common? What is its likely impact on public policy making and the political process? (Note: the rules vary from House/Senate/Executive branch and from state to state and federal to state to local governments.) Can/should it be regulated more/less?
6. What are the “issues” (controversies) surrounding “public financing of elections?” In what ways does/could public funding address current major issues in the U.S. elections? What other issues does it create?
7. How does the presence of new technologies impact the costs of campaigns (leaving out national television and radio ads)? How does the use of these technologies enhance or detract from basic goals of democratic elections?

#### November 10

Read pp. 75 - 199, The Sound of Money

Lead Groups: Washington, pp. 109-140

Lincoln, pp. 109- 140

Jefferson, pp. 141-166

Hamilton, pp. 141-166

Grant, pp. 167-199

#### November 17

Catching Up: Key Concepts, Terms

Class Discussion

Group Time

**NOTE:** November 22: Last day to present outline of the "Profile" paper due December 15.

#### November 24

No Class Held. Groups must arrange to meet with instructor by November 1, either online or in person.

Alpha: 10/14 3-5, B277

Beta: 10/28, 4-6

Delta: 10/19 3-5, online

Gamma: 10/29, Noon - 2

Epsilon: 10/22 11 a.m. - 1 p.m., B277 & conference call

#### December 1

AZ Clean Elections Act: Group Papers Due

Read pp. 203-247, Sound of Money

Read pp. 161-179, After Reform

Class Discussion & Group projects: ACCEA rule making

December 2

Restricted Complete Withdrawal Deadline

December 8

Instruction Ends

In class opportunity to demonstrate (in writing) your understanding of Money & Politics as studied in this class.

December 9

Reading Day

December 15

**Profile of an Interest Group: Attempting to Influence Public Policy**

Paper due before 5:40 p.m. May be sent email, regular post, fax, hand-delivered.