Most people who think about the role of money in politics in the United States come away with one of two opinions: they either hate the role that money is playing or they hate the laws that regulate the role that money plays. Political scientists may be a little more circumspect, but they are just as divided about the effects of unregulated political money and the effects of political regulation.

This course will examine these subjects in depth, using a variety of instructional techniques. There will be some traditional lecture/discussions on readings. Students will also be assigned to teams that will work together researching case studies from the congressional elections of 2014 and the presidential election of 2016 to see whether the claims made in the readings apply. Finally, because this is a writing intensive course, students will write a few short papers during the semester followed by a longer one at the end. A complete draft of the longer paper will be presented during the closing sessions, with student (and faculty) critiques. A revised version of this paper will be submitted in lieu of a final exam.

OBJECTIVES:
By the end of the semester, students should have accomplished the following:

1. Understood how the laws governing political contributions and expenditures in US federal elections have changed over time;
2. Understood the political and constitutional contexts within which the laws operate;
3. Engaged in a debate about the constitutionality of certain campaign finance regulations;
4. Learned how to do research with government documents and campaign finance records;
5. Weighed and debated claims of those who support and oppose various changes in the law; and
6. Written thesis-driven, evidence-based, multi-draft papers, including an end-of-semester paper that uses primary source research.
REQUIRED BOOKS
Available in the Campus Center Bookstore.

978-0-8157-2563-3.

All other required reading will be on Blackboard.  
Additional web-based research will be required.

GRADING AND ASSESSMENTS

3 short papers (3 pp.) – 25%  
Team reports – 20%  
Preliminary steps for end-of-semester paper: (title, bibliography, intro) 5%  
Draft of final paper – 10% (Presented in class Dec. 1, 3, 8)  
2 Written peer critiques of drafts – 5%  
Final version of final paper (12-15 pp.) – 30% (Due Dec. 14)  
Class Participation (includes attendance) – 5%

Revising and resubmitting: All students are required to submit a first and a final draft of the end-of-semester paper, each of which will be graded. For the three short papers: students may choose to revise and resubmit any or all of these papers. Resubmissions should show substantial substantive changes, not grammar checks or copy-editing. The due date for resubmission will be seven calendar days after I distribute my comments on the first draft. (If you are absent that day, the clock will be ticking.) The grade for the paper will be the average of the grades each draft receives separately.

POLICIES

Internet + Laptops:
Internet research will be required to complete the assignments in this course. On many days, teams will do Internet research together and report the results. Each team will be responsible for assuring that one or more laptops (in addition to any Tablets) are available for team use in class every day. Distributing students with laptops will be a consideration in forming teams. Using computers or cell phones during class for any purpose other than work for this class is prohibited and will be penalized.

Academic Honesty:
Students are expected to be familiar with and adhere to the university's regulations concerning academic honesty. A copy of those policies is provided at the end of this syllabus. Read them. You will also find a link there to the full set of policy guidelines. Violation will result in a severe penalty that may include a failing grade in the course and referral to the appropriate university judicial authority.

So far this is standard formula, so pay special attention to what is coming next: Penalties will be imposed for inadvertent as well deliberate plagiarism. Since inadvertent plagiarism by definition is not fully intentional, you need to be aware of what it is. It is easy to cut-and-paste material from the Internet, summarizing a source's logic, evidence, reasoning or language. When you do this, you are obliged to acknowledge that you are doing so within the text of your paper. You need to say something
like “Smith says that...” even when you paraphrase. Putting in a citation at the end of a series of directly paraphrased sentences is NOT adequate. Summarizing another person must be acknowledged, and close paraphrasing should be rare. When you paraphrase closely, you probably should be quoting.

If your paper turns out to be a series of quotes and paraphrases and you give all of the proper references within the text as well as in footnotes, then it will not be plagiarized. So far, so good – but that is still not enough to make a paper satisfactory. A paper must be made up of and organized around your thoughts – your thesis, reasoning and evidence, phrased in your words and serving your paper’s purpose. Compiling a series of quotes and paraphrases will not be enough to do a passable job. When you submit a paper as your own work, it must be your own. If you have any questions about any of this while you are writing, then it is your responsibility to ask questions in advance.

** Civility:**
Some issues discussed in this course may be contentious. People have differing opinions. I expect all discussions about these differences to be based on evidence and to be conducted with respect for each other’s perspective. Discussions should be about the other person’s point, not about the other person.

** Attendance:**
Attendance in class, on time, is expected. All teams will be working on material that will cumulate into graded group projects. Team members suffer when someone fails to contribute. The assessment of your performance by your peers is part of your grade. In addition, your attendance will be factored in with the instructor’s evaluations of your performance in group and other class activities. Missing class without a documented excuse will be penalized.

There will be no makeup assignments or team assessments. Excuses will be accepted only for an *adequately documented* illness or emergency. In the event of an appropriately documented excuse, the assessed activity will not be calculated as part of the student’s grade.

** Late papers and assignments:**
All papers and assignments are due on the date *and at the time* assigned. Excuses will be accepted only for an *adequately documented* illness or emergency. To give two examples: someone receiving professional treatment for an anxiety disorder that affects writing may well have a documented illness. Someone who has a conflicting exam or event does not. Nothing prevents the student with a known conflict from reading ahead and writing the paper early. The due dates are on the syllabus and instructions will be available early. A bad paper will receive a better grade than an unexcused late one is also covered under the above revise/resubmit policies. All papers will be submitted electronically.

** Blackboard:**
All readings and other assignments (except the textbooks) are posted on Blackboard and papers will be handed in through Blackboard. Chat rooms or lists will also be established for each of the learning teams. If necessary, change your email address on Blackboard to reflect the one you use. Blackboard can also forward messages to another email account.

** Special Needs:**
Students with special needs due to disabilities should register with the Disability Resource Center (Campus Center 137). The office will provide you with a letter describing the accommodations needed. Please give this letter to me within the first two weeks of the semester and remind me before each relevant event.
**SCHEDULE**

*Items with an asterisk are on Blackboard.
Download and bring to class on the day assigned.

**INTRODUCTORY CLASS (8/27)**
Th 8/27 – Introductory Class

**CONTEXT AND LEGAL HISTORY**
Tu 9/1 – Context:
* Demos and USPIRG, *Billion Dollar Democracy*, Executive Summary
  Herrnson, ch. 1
Th 9/3 – No class (APSA)
Tu 9/8 – *Corrado, History of Campaign Finance Law
Th 9/10 – Campaign Finance Law after Citizens United:
  *Tokaji and Strause, pp. 17-27
Tu 9/15 – No class (Rosh Hashanah)
Th 9/17 Read and prepare to debate:
  *Buckley v. Valeo, 1976*, (UMKC excerpts)
  *Citizens United v. FEC, 2010* (UMKC excerpts).

Additional required reading on writing papers (read and discuss today):
  *University of Washington, Tips and Techniques, all.

The first half of the reading covers within-text parenthetical citations. The second half
covers Works Cited [or References] pages at the end of a paper. Additional material
may be found at: [http://libguides.library.albany.edu/reference/](http://libguides.library.albany.edu/reference/)

Tu 9/22 – No class (Yom Kippur)

**CAMPAIGNING FOR CONGRESS**
Th 9/24 – Read:
  Congressional Campaign Structure, Budgeting, and Strategy, Herrnson, ch. 3, 6, 7.
Recommended additional reading on money in congressional elections:
  Donald Philip Green and Jonathan S. Krasno, “Rebuttal to Jacobson’s New Evidence for Old

  Read: *Financing 2012* ch. 5 (congressional).
Th 10/1. Assign teams. Learn web sources.
Tu 10/6 – Teams: Research and report back: Assigned 2014 Senate races.
POLITICAL PARTIES
Th 10/8 – Parties: Herrnson ch. 4 (44) and Financing 2012 ch. 6.
Tu 10/13 –
Team research on the political parties in class:
Th 10/15 – No class – Read ahead and begin to write 10/20 paper.
  *R. Pildes, Strengthen Political Parties.
  *News articles on Blackboard

Tu 10/20 – 3 pp. Paper on the reading. Party data in your paper should go through 2014. Class will be a discussion of the debate across the readings.

INTEREST GROUPS IN ELECTIONS
Th 10/22 – Interest Groups:
  Herrnson ch 5.
  Financing 2012 ch. 7.
  *Tokaji and Strause, pp.46-47
  *News articles on Blackboard

Tu 10/27 – Int. groups: Apply to case. Graded teams report.
Th 10/29 – Submit: End of semester paper topic.
  In class: Senate case studies. Prepare in class and report. Role of parties and groups. Team research + graded team report.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
Tu 11/3 – Read: Financing 2012, ch. 3 (Nominations); ch. 4 (General Election).
  *News articles on Blackboard
Th 11/5 – Submit: Starting bibliography for end of semester paper topic.
  (At least six items with substantive annotations for at least three.)
  In class: Teams on presidential Super PACs – research + report.

WHY CARE ABOUT MONEY IN POLITICS? -- DEBATING INFLUENCE
WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT THE CLAIMS?
Tu 11/10 Submit 3 pp. paper on the reading. Which author(s) has/have the better argument?
  *Lawrence Lessig, Republic, Lost Ch.10, 125-66.
  *Lynda Powell, “How Money Talks in State Legislatures”
  *John Samples, The Fallacy of Campaign Finance Reform, Ch. 3.

Recommended:
POLICY OPTIONS, REFORMS
Th 11/12 – Contribution Limit Variations, Constitutional Amendment
* NCSL – Contribution Limits in the States, read pp. 1-4, scan the remaining.
* Center for Competitive Politics – Contribution Limits Increase in 9 States (2013), pp. 1-8
* Move to Amend, “We the People Amendment”.
* Sen. Udall’s Proposed Constitutional Amendment (text).
* Udall/Simpson – Bipartisan Case for a Constitutional Amendment.
* Shapiro – The People’s Rights Amendment would knock out people rights.
* Heritage - Proposed Constitutional Amendment to Limit Political Speech (Against).
* Senate GOP blocks constitutional amendment (The Hill).

Recommended:

Tu 11/17 Disclosure
*NIMSP – Disclosure – Best practices guide (2010) (pp. 1-8)
*Brennan Center – Citizens United, Five Years Later (2015) p. 8
*Center for Competitive Politics – Primer on Disclosure

Also submit: thesis statement, opening paragraph for end of semester paper.

Th 11/19 – Tu 11/24: Public Financing – Issues and Options
* M. Malbin, “Public Financing and Political Tax Credits: What do we know? What are the effects? What are the options?”
* Lawrence Lessig, Republic, Lost, pp. 264-268 (vouchers).
* Jay Cost – For Political Contribution Tax Credits – The Weekly Standard (2 pp)

Recommended:

Nov. 26: Thanksgiving (no class)

DRAFTS OF FINAL PAPERS AND CRITIQUES
Tu 12/1, Thurs 12/3, Tu 12/8: Paper drafts and required critiques.

FINAL PAPER DUE AT TIME ASSIGNED FOR FINAL EXAM.
MONDAY, DEC. 14, 10:30AM-12:30PM
Expected length: 12-15 double-spaced pages.
APPENDIX 1: SELECTED SOURCES
(Borrowed from Anthony Corrado)

Sources for Data and Analyses

Federal Election Commission. www.fec.gov. The FEC is the federal agency responsible for disclosure in federal elections. This site contains summaries of financial activity in federal elections; candidate, party, and PAC disclosure reports; independent expenditures and electioneering communication reports; and FEC press releases, reports, regulatory decisions, and legal summaries.

Center for Responsive Politics. www.opensecrets.org. This nonpartisan organization tracks financial activity in federal elections. It has searchable data bases that allow users to search the disclosure reports filed with the FEC and track donors to federal candidates and political committees.

Internal Revenue Service. http://forms.irs.gov/politicalOrgsSearch/search/gotobasicSearch.action or http://eforms.irs.gov/search_results.asp. This website contains a searchable database for the disclosure reports and forms filed by Section 527 organizations. Please note that this database may not be accessible due to a recent IRS decision to limit access in light of investigations into nonprofit organizations. When it will be fully accessible remains to be seen.

National Institute on Money in State Politics. www.followthemoney.org. This nonpartisan organization is the best source available on campaign finance at the state and local level. Includes searchable data bases for state disclosure reports and donors to state campaigns.


The Campaign Finance Institute. www.cfinst.org. This nonpartisan organization issues regular reports on federal campaign finance, including statistical studies, analyses of the law and its effects, and analyses of reform proposals.

Brookings/American Enterprise Institute Vital Statistics on Congress. http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2013/07/vital-statistics-congress-mann-ornstein. This reference work, previously issued in book form, is now available online. It includes a variety of data tables on a wide range of topics related to Congress. Chapter 2 offers data on congressional elections. Chapter 3 offers data on congressional campaign finance. These chapters can be downloaded.

Legal and Policy Sources

Campaign Legal Center. www.campaignlegalcenter.org. This nonpartisan organization maintains a site that includes information on recent developments in the law and court cases and FEC regulatory decisions.

The Cato Institute. http://www.cato.org/campaign-finance. This nonpartisan public policy research organization offers research and policy analyses of campaign finance regulation viewed from the
perspective of individual liberty and market-based solutions. Extensive research and commentary is available on regulatory issues associated with campaign finance policy.

**Center for Competitive Politics.** [www.campaignfreedom.org](http://www.campaignfreedom.org). This nonpartisan organization seeks to provide information on effects of money and the value of a more competitive political system. Files legal briefs and other information, often from a perspective that argues from a First Amendment perspective and supports less regulation of money in politics.


**Rick Hasen’s Election Law blog.** [http://electionlawblog.org/](http://electionlawblog.org/). This widely followed site offers a daily compilation of news articles, reports, and commentary on a range of election law topics, including campaign finance. Offers regular commentary on developments or controversies in campaign finance. Search the site’s campaign finance section.

The Social Science Research Network, ssrn.com, is an online site that gathers recent academic research papers and draft articles that are forthcoming in journals, as posted by the authors. There is a political science section that often includes new research on elections and campaign finance.
APPENDIX 2: ACADEMIC HONESTY

The following pages have been copied from: http://library.albany.edu/usered/cite/citing.html

When and Why to Cite Sources

What is Plagiarism?

Plagiarism is defined as “a piece of writing that has been copied from someone else and is presented as being your own work” or “taking someone’s words or ideas as if they were your own.”

Plagiarism is a serious issue in the academic community. While plagiarism sometimes does occur intentionally, it also occurs because the writer doesn’t understand or does not know how to avoid it. Please visit our online tutorial: Plagiarism 101 for an entertaining and interesting look at why people plagiarize and strategies to avoid it.

Plagiarism occurs when you use someone else’s ideas and PRETEND they are your own. Avoiding plagiarism doesn’t mean that you can never use other people’s ideas. It’s a widely known secret that in fact you CAN use other peoples’ ideas and even their words. For many research papers you NEED to do this in order to prove your own points. So use their ideas! Use their words! Professors expect to see in your writing that you’ve done your research and understand what the experts think when you formed your own opinions. The trick is to acknowledge who these expert ideas really belong to by CITING them!

So let’s assume you don’t want to plagiarize, you’ve given yourself enough time to do it right, but you’re still not sure about “putting things in your own words,” judging when to cite work, or how to cite it. Read on for more information and examples.

Why Acknowledge Sources

Doing research for a paper is an exploration and learning process. By acknowledging our sources we show our reader the path we took to come to our conclusions. Citing the authors we read shows how we tied others’ research and ideas together and how we came to learn about and develop our own ideas and opinions.

Why should you cite your sources?

1. Citations reflect the careful and thorough work you have put into locating and exploring your sources.
2. Citations help readers understand the context of your argument and are a courtesy to the reader, who may share your interest in a particular area of study.
3. Citations allow you to acknowledge those authors who contributed to your learning and your work.
4. Citations, by illustrating your own learning process, also draw attention to the originality and legitimacy of your own ideas.
5. By citing sources you demonstrate your integrity and skill as a responsible student and participant in your field of study.

When to Cite Sources

While professors and scholars may have specific requirements based on the needs of their discipline, there are cases where you should **always** cite your sources.

1. Direct quotes of more than one word. If the author’s words are powerful or you need to be specific for your argument, the authors’ words can be used as a direct quote.
2. Paraphrasing or summarizing. If you want to use someone else’s idea to help you make your point or to support your own ideas, in this case you would “translate” the ideas into your own words. [NB: “Always cite.”]
3. **Information which may be common knowledge** but still unfamiliar to your reader. This would also include statistical information which may be familiar information but still requires confirmation.

4. **Not just books or articles** should be cited. Any source that you use for information can and should be cited including interviews, websites, TV programs, etc.

5. **Whenever you are not sure** if something should be cited, err on the side of caution and cite sources.

Let’s look at some examples...

**Direct quotes**

How much you quote will determine how it appears in the body of your paper but whether it is one word or an entire paragraph, direct quotes need to be cited.

> *Lappe’s explanation of a “thin democracy”* [1] *addresses a number of basic flaws within our American society.*

> *Global warming is being recognized as a major issue throughout the world and as Al Gore instructs, “it is time to make peace with our planet.”* [4]

**Paraphrasing or Summarizing**

This involves translating what you have read (or heard) and putting it into your own words. Paraphrasing typically refers to putting an idea or passage into your own words. Summarizing involves capturing the main idea or reducing a detailed piece to a shorter and more general synopsis. [Instructor’s additional comment: when summarizing someone else’s work, it is not sufficient to drop in a footnote. The text must also say something like “according to ...” or “Smith says that...” or “some historians have argued ....”]

**HERE’S AN EXAMPLE:**

"Instructors usually allow students to find their own topics for a major writing assignment; thus choose something of interest to you so you won’t get bored after a few days. At the same time, your chosen topic will need a scholarly perspective." [5]

**Paraphrase:** When students are permitted to select their own topic to write about they should choose one that is interesting to them. The topic should also be scholarly in nature so that students will be able to find appropriate research and resources on the topic. [5]

**Summary:** Students should select writing topics that are interesting and also lend themselves to academic research. [5]

A summary generally addresses the overall theme of a passage, article, opinion, etc. while a paraphrase generally restates a more specific thought or idea. The difference between summarizing and paraphrasing is sometimes obvious and sometimes subtle — do you see the difference?

**Common Knowledge? Or Not?**

Some basic facts are common knowledge and easily confirmed from a variety of sources. Statistics should always be cited, as well as opinions and less familiar facts. Information that is considered well-known within your field of study will also help determine if it is considered common or not. However, if you are not sure, cite it!

**Example 1:**

*The University at Albany located in Albany, New York and is part of the State University of New York.*

This is common knowledge and easily confirmed in a multitude of sources.
Example 2:

The State University of New York was officially established in February of 1948 and currently consists of 64 institutions. The University at Albany is one of ten University Centers that are part of the SUNY system. [6]

While the SUNY system is well known and these facts are easily confirmed, specific historical information or statistics should be cited.

How to Cite?

We’ve talked about plagiarism as well as why and when to cite. The next question is "How?"

There are two things you need to know from your professor.

The FIRST is how you will reference your sources within your paper. Generally you will use one of the following options:

- **IN TEXT** citation is when your source author is included within the body of your paper. This acts as a reference to your 'Works Cited' page.

- **END NOTES** format is used in this document. The cited idea or quote is noted with a number and the source is listed at the end of the paper.

- **FOOT NOTES** format is similar to end notes however the citations are listed at the bottom of each page.

The SECOND thing you need to know is what Format and Style Guide to use. There are very specific rules about how to do this that are not included in this document. Your professor will tell you which s/he wants you to follow. The choices will typically be one of the following:

- **MLA** Format and Style Guide (Modern Language Association)

- **APA** Format and Style Guide (American Psychological Association)

- **CHICAGO** Manual of Style

Please visit the University Libraries' Cite... Web page at Cite... for information and instructions on these style guides. Once you know what your professor wants you will need to follow the rules of that format accordingly.


