# **PSC 300 – Money and Politics**

Instructor

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315.443.8678

Syllabus: Fall – 2020

**Office Hours** 

Day: Wednesday Time: 9:30 - 11:00 Zoom Meeting ID: 973 2482 3929 (Password 664873)

**Teaching Assistant** 

Gunyeop Lee glee09@syr.edu
Office Hours: Tuesday 3:00-4:00 Zoom Meeting ID: 967 9908 3675

**Class Information** 

Days: Monday/Wednesday Time: 2:15 - 3:35

Classroom: Falk 275 Online: Zoom Meeting ID: 916 8587 2899 (Password 088215)

or access Zoom through Blackboard

#### **Continuous Feedback**

I am always interested in your feedback. For that reason, I have set up an online form in which you can tell me what you think works well in the class and what does not, or share anything that's on your mind. You can do so anonymously or with your name. You can access the form here: https://bit.ly/31hKbf3.

#### **Course Description**

Money and politics are inextricably linked. Interest groups or wealthy individuals try to use bribes or campaign contributions to influence political decisions. Politicians, in turn, need money to finance election campaigns, or they use their position to enrich themselves. And voters are thought to be more likely to vote for candidates who run expensive campaigns or hand out gifts. In this course, we will look at political science research on money and politics in different countries around the world. We will try to answer the following questions: How much money is there in politics, and how can we measure it? What is the money used for? How much does it influence policy? What are the consequences? And finally, should we try to reduce the influence of money on politics, and if so what ways to do so can be successful?

#### **Course Objectives**

- 1. Learn about the interaction of money and politics in a variety of countries around the world.
- 2. Identify different actors that are involved, what motivations they have, what mechanisms of special interest exchange are employed, and what consequences this has for politics.
- 3. Through the lens of money in politics, describe the structure and politics of the international system or countries outside the United States.

- 4. Conduct or evaluate political research, whether quantitative or qualitative in nature, and evaluate the extent to which arguments are well reasoned and/or empirically supported.
- 5. Communicate in written and oral form about politics in a way that demonstrates the ability to organize ideas, create and defend an argument, and use and cite sources properly.

# This Unpleasant Covid Thing

We unfortunately can't ignore the fact that we're doing this class in the middle of a worldwide pandemic. So things will be a bit different than usual, and probably in ways that are not reflected in this syllabus. What's in here right now is assuming the best-case scenario (cases remain low and we can safely do in-person instruction until Thanksgiving). I have no clue whether that's going to happen, and neither does anybody else. So we'll probably have to adjust things along the way. It'll probably be bumpy, and not everything is going to work in the way you (and I) want it to. But let's all do our best.

But here's the main thing: Whatever we do, the guiding principle is that your health, and all our health, is the most important thing.

- I'll offer in-person classes as long as it's safe to do so. One of the first things I do each morning is check the Covid statistics. If infections on campus or in the wider Syracuse area go beyond what experts consider to be safe, I will move class online.
- Do **not**, under any circumstance, come to class when you show any symptoms, even if it's just a runny nose. Just stay home and participate online until you're cleared (send us a quick email to let us know).
- If you experience personal stress or hardship (for any reason, Covid or not), *please* get in touch with me. I'll work with you to help you succeed in the class.

This class will follow a hybrid format. Here's what that means:

- You have the option to take the class fully online.
- The other option is to attend some of the classes in person, and the rest online. If you chose this option, you are assigned to group Odd or Even. You can attend class in person on the days that your group is scheduled to be in person. The other days, you participate in class online, synchronously, via Zoom.
- Of course, I understand if it's occasionally not possible to attend synchronously. For that purpose, all classes will be recorded, so you can catch up on them later. However, this should not be the default mode. We'll have many discussions and activities in class, and watching other people do these activities is not that useful. If you have good reasons why you are unable to participate synchronously on a regular basis, please get in touch with me and we'll figure something out. This may involve you getting extra assignments (e.g. class reflections).
- If you are in class *in person*, please wear a mask at all times and maintain a distance of at least 6 feet to other people. Eating and drinking require the lowering of the face mask, creating a potentially dangerous situation. For this reason, students are not allowed to eat or drink in class.

- If you do not follow public health guidelines, I will ask you to follow the class fully online for the rest of the semester.
- For *online* classes, please have your *camera on* with your *sound muted*. Please dress and behave as you would in a face-to-face class.

# Stay Safe Pledge

Syracuse University's Stay Safe Pledge reflects the high value that we, as a university community, place on the well-being of our community members. This pledge defines norms for behavior that will promote community health and wellbeing. Classroom expectations include the following: wearing a mask that covers the nose and mouth at all times, maintaining a distance of six feet from others, and staying away from class if you feel unwell. Students who do not follow these norms will not be allowed to continue in face-to-face classes; repeated violations will be treated as violations of the Code of Student Conduct and may result in disciplinary action.

## **Course Materials**

- Required Textbook: Fisman, Ray, and Miriam A. Golden. 2017. *Corruption. What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press. I have placed a copy of the book into Course Reserves, so you can check it out electronically for a short period of time.
- You need to purchase one case study (towards the end of the semester): https://hbsp.harvard.edu/import/751303. You'll have to sign up for an account.
- All additional readings will be posted to Blackboard.

## **Assignments and Grading**

Your grade in this class will be based on two exams, a country research paper, and your reading journal.

• 2 Exams (20% each): Exams will take place on **October 14** and **November 23**. I will distribute a list of essay questions roughly one week in advance. On the day of the exam, I will randomly chose some of the questions. I'll post the exam on Blackboard in the morning, and you can take it whenever you have a free block of time, as long as you upload it by the evening. Once you open the exam, you should not work more than 2 hours on it (or 2 hours times your ODS accommodation factor).

The more you research and prepare your answers in advance, the better and more organized your essays will be. Answers that have a more coherent argument, are more original, show more critical thinking, display a greater understanding of the material covered in class, are better organized, and are not full of terrible style and grammar will receive more points.

You are encouraged to incorporate material that you read or that we discussed. It is not necessary that you remember every detail, but you should be familiar with core ideas covered in class. You do not need to provide formal references in the exams. I do expect you to write a novel in 80 minutes. Short answers that are to the point are better than long and meandering answers.

If you have a good reason why you are unable to take the exam and can provide appropriate documentation (e.g. illness, death in the family), please notify me as soon as you can. If I know

about it in advance, we can work out something on a case-by-case basis. It tends to be harder to find a solution that works for everyone if you only come to me after you have missed an exam.

- Country Research Report (5% for first part, 30% for entire report, so 35% together): Imagine you work for a think tank as a political consultant. Your task is to write a research report on *one* way (e.g. bureaucratic corruption, campaign contributions, revolving door) in which money plays a role in politics in a country of your choice. The report should be 7-8 pages double-spaced (with up to 2 additional pages of graphs, if needed) and do the following things:
  - Describe what sort of money your report is about and briefly elaborate how important it is in the country you are studying. Provide necessary background information about the country, and pay careful attention to describing the organization of the venue you are discussing (e.g. the bureaucracy, parliament, local politics).
  - Describe how the type of money you are reporting on plays a role in the country: Who are the main actors involved, in what way does money flow from one actor to another, and what consequences does it have?
  - Discuss problems that arise as a consequence of the kind of money that you are reporting on.
  - Provide policy recommendations that can address these problems.

You should use sources from academic journals as well as policy reports and other material (use formal citations). To help you get started early on the report so you don't wait until the night before it is due, you have to hand in the first part (first bullet point, at most 2 pages double-spaced) before the beginning of class on **October 7** via Turnitin. This will account for 5% of your overall grade. The full report is due during the final exam period via Turnitin and counts for 25% of your overall grade.

I encourage you to discuss paper ideas with me and/or Gunyeop during office hours early in the semester. For each day the assignment is late, a penalty of 4 points (grading scale 0-100) will be given.

- Class Journal and Class Participation (25%): You will keep a class journal on Blackboard. Most entries will be reflections on the readings. It is crucial for your success in this class that you do the assigned readings before each class. This will allow you to follow the lecture more easily and to contribute to class discussions. To help you keep up with readings, you will receive a number of questions designed to help you understand the main points that the reading is making. You should answer them briefly in your class journal. We will randomly check journals at the beginning of each class. Each time your journal is checked, you will get a score from 0 to 3.
  - 0: Your journal has no or almost no entries since the last collection
  - 1: Your journal has entries since the last collection, but is only partially complete.
  - 2: Your journal has entries since the last collection, and is almost (but not fully) complete.
  - 3: Your journal has complete entires since the last collection.

For some sessions, you will be asked to write additional entries (for example reflections on the movies, case studies, and guest speakers). These entries will be graded separately.

In addition to the class journal, your participation will also influence this part of the grade. You get a higher score if you regularly participate in class in a thoughtful manner that demonstrates you have done the readings and thought about the class material.

Finally, there will be some miscellaneous small tasks throughout the semester for which you can get credit. For example, one is right here: To show that you read the syllabus, go to your research journal, create an entry called "Entertainment Recommendation" and tell me about your current favorite movie/TV show, book, album, or podcast. If you do, you'll receive credit towards your participation grade.

For your final grade, I use the following scale as a guide: A (93-100), A-(90-92), B+ (87-89), B (83-86), B-(80-82), C+ (77-79), C (73-76), C-(70-72), D (60-69), and F (0-59). However, the final determination about grades is with me and may deviate from this scale.

We will post grades to Blackboard. You are expected to keep track of your own grade using the raw scores from Blackboard and the weights above. Do not request your grade from the TA without working out the grade yourself using the scores from Blackboard.

If you feel, at any point, depressed, panicked, or anything the like, please come talk to me. There's always something that can be done to help you and to make sure you are in a position to complete the course. The same goes if you are in danger of failing the class. I'm happy to help, but I cannot read your mind or otherwise intuit what is going on in your life. So, come talk to me as early as possible. It's much more difficult to do something after the fact.

#### **Office Hours**

Office hours are the designated time that I set aside each week specifically for meeting with students. If you want to come during that time, you do not need to let me know in advance or ask permission, I will always be there. These hours are your chance to talk to me about course material, college in general, or just to chat so we can get to know each other. I am also happy to meet with you outside of the designated office hours, but for that you need to schedule an appointment in advance.

Due to Covid, I'll be holding my office hours on Zoom this semester. Connect using the information given above and you'll be admitted to the virtual waiting room. If you prefer to meet in person, send me an email and we'll find a spot outside where we can sit 6 feet apart from each other.

As mentioned in the previous section, it is easiest for everyone if you talk to me as early as possible about any issues or questions. Instead of waiting until you get a bad grade in an exam and asking how you can "make up" for it, come talk to me before the exam and ask questions about the material. That way, we can walk through the material together and I can explain a course concept in a different way. Similarly, rather than waiting until the end of the semester to tell me about issues that prevented you from focusing on school, talk to me earlier when there is still time for me to accommodate your circumstances. You get the point—if you find yourself asking whether you should come talk to me about something, come talk to me.

#### **Campus Resources**

As an SU student you have access to a variety of resources that can help you in this class and beyond. Please make use of them.

- Counseling Center: http://counselingcenter.syr.edu/faculty-staff/helping-stu dents-in-distress.html and http://counselingcenter.syr.edu/\_documents/Bill\_of\_Rights.pdf.
- Writing Center: http://wc.syr.edu/?\_ga=2.101027140.454082058.1534346263-13875 13330.1433439063
- Tutoring Services: CenterforLearningandStudentSuccess:http://class.syr.edu/tutoring
- Financial Counseling: http://financialaid.syr.edu/financialliteracy
- Career Services: http://thecollege.syr.edu/advising/index.html?\_ga=2.101048900 .454082058.1534346263-1387513330.1433439063
- Sexual Harassment/Title IX Concerns: Sheila Johnson-Willis, Compliance Officer. titleix@syr.edu. 315.443.0211
- Sexual & Relationship Violence Response Team: 315.443.4715

# Harassment, Confidentiality, and Mandatory Reporting

Federal and state law, and University policy prohibit discrimination and harassment based on sex or gender (including sexual harassment, sexual assault, domestic/dating violence, stalking, sexual exploitation, and retaliation). If a student has been harassed or assaulted, they can obtain confidential counseling support, 24-hours a day, 7 days a week, from the Sexual and Relationship Violence Response Team at the Counseling Center (315.443.4715, 200 Walnut Place, http://counselingcenter.syr.edu/\_documents/Bill\_of\_Rights.pdf).

Incidents of sexual violence or harassment can be reported non-confidentially to the University's Title IX Officer (Sheila Johnson Willis, 315.443.0211, titleix@syr.edu, 005 Steele Hall). Reports to law enforcement can be made to the University's Department of Public Safety (315.443.2224, 005 Sims Hall), the Syracuse Police Department (511 South State Street, 911 in case of emergency or 315.435.3016 to speak with the Abused Persons Unit), or the State Police (844.845.7269).

I will seek to keep information you share with me private to the greatest extent possible. It is my goal that you feel able to share information related to your life experiences in classroom discussions, in your written work, and in our one-on-one meetings. However, as a professor I have mandatory reporting responsibilities to share information regarding sexual misconduct, harassment, and crimes I learn about to help make our campus a safer place for all.

## **Electronic Devices Policy**

I usually have a paragraph here about how electronic devices can be distracting to you and the people around you, and that there is mounting evidence that allowing students to use electronic devices in class leads to worse learning outcomes overall (read: lower grades). So, I usually do not like students using them in class. But who are we kidding here, we're in the middle of a pandemic, half of you will only follow class online, and we'll probably spend at least 25 percent of each class solving technical problems. So if you must, go ahead and use your electronic device, but don't do things that aren't class related.

## Communication

If you have questions about the material, chances are that you are not the only one. Therefore the best way to ask questions is in class. If your question is not related to class material or relevant to other students, please come to my office hours to talk about questions, difficulties with the class material or with homework, and so on. If you cannot make office hours, feel free to send me an email to set up an appointment.

I will usually respond to email within 24 hours during the week. I will not respond to emails during weekends, except for urgent matters. As with all business-related correspondence, please include an appropriate salutation, identify yourself, and write in complete sentences. Students are expected to check their email accounts regularly, as I will be using email to provide announcements and updates about the course. See Syracuse's email policy at http://supolicies.syr.edu/it/email.htm.

# **Religious Observances**

SU's religious observances policy, at http://supolicies.syr.edu/emp\_ben/religious\_observance.htm, is intended to recognize the diversity of faiths represented among the campus community and protect the rights of students (as well as faculty and staff) to observe religious holy days according to their tradition. Under the policy, students are provided an opportunity to make up any examination, study, or work requirements that may be missed due to a religious observance - provided they notify their instructors no later than the end of the second week of classes.

#### Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

I am committed to supporting Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 as amended and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990. This means that in general no individual who is otherwise qualified shall be excluded from participation in, be denied benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity, solely by reason of having a disability.

If you believe that you need accommodations for a disability, please contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS) located at 804 University Avenue, third floor or go to the ODS website at http://disabilityservices.syr.edu and click current students tab to register on-line. You may also call 315.443.4498 to speak to someone regarding specific access needs. ODS is responsible for coordinating disability-related accommodations and will issue 'Accommodation Letters' to students as appropriate. Since accommodations may require early planning and are not provided retroactively, please contact ODS as soon as possible.

## **Academic Integrity**

Syracuse University's Academic Integrity Policy reflects the high value that we, as a university community, place on honesty in academic work. The policy defines our expectations for academic honesty and holds students accountable for the integrity of all work they submit. Students should understand that it is their responsibility to learn about course-specific expectations, as well as about university-wide academic integrity expectations. The policy governs appropriate citation and use of sources, the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments, and the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verification of participation in class activities. The policy also prohibits students from submitting the same work in more than one class without receiving written authorization in advance from both instructors. Under the policy, students found in violation are subject to grade sanctions determined by the course instructor and non-grade sanctions determined by the School or College where the course

is offered as described in the Violation and Sanction Classification Rubric. SU students are required to read an online summary of the University's academic integrity expectations and provide an electronic signature agreeing to abide by them twice a year during pre-term check-in on MySlice.

The Violation and Sanction Classification Rubric establishes recommended guidelines for the determination of grade penalties by faculty and instructors, while also giving them discretion to select the grade penalty they believe most suitable, including course failure, regardless of violation level. Any established violation in this course may result in course failure regardless of violation level. For more information and the complete policy, see http://class.syr.edu/academic-integrity/policy.

This class will use the plagiarism detection and prevention system Turnitin. You will have the option to submit your papers to Turnitin to check that all sources you use have been properly acknowledged and cited before you submit the paper to me. I will also submit all papers you write for this class to Turnitin, which compares submitted documents against documents on the Internet and against student papers submitted to Turnitin at SU and at other colleges and universities. I will take your knowledge of the subject matter of this course and your writing level and style into account in interpreting the originality report. Keep in mind that all papers you submit for this class will become part of the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers.

## **Privacy and Student Records**

The Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) sets forth requirements regarding the privacy of student records. FERPA governs both the access to and release of those records, known as education records, and the information they contain. Under FERPA, faculty have a legal responsibility to protect the confidentiality of student records. For additional information about FERPA and SU's FERPA policy, see: http://www.syr.edu/registrar/staff/ferpa.

# **Course Schedule and Assigned Readings**

• Aug 24 (All Online) – Introduction to the Course

# Part 1: What Are We Talking About?

*Questions*: What is corruption? What are problems with common definitions of corruption? How can we measure corruption? What problems do these measures have? What are basic patterns of corruption around the world?

- Aug 26 (Odd) Fisman and Golden, Ch. 2.
- Aug 31 (Even) Fisman and Golden, Ch. 3.

Part 2: Who is Involved in Money and Politics, Why, and How?

## (a) Bureaucrats and Citizens

Questions: Why are bureaucrats corrupt? Why do citizens and corporations participate in corruption?

- Sep 2 (Odd) Fisman and Golden, Ch. 5 (Sections 5.1, 5.4, 5.5 (skip the case study), 5.6-5.8)
- Sep 5 (Saturday) Case Study Preparation Time: Crawford, Robert J. and N. Craig Smith. 2019. Ziqitza Health Care Limited: Responding to Corruption. (Blackboard)
- Sep 7 (Split Class) Even: Case Study (see Sep 2 reading).

  Odd: Movie, "An Insignificant Man", https://www.idfa.nl/en/film/2859747f-22c4-4c
  10-bba9-0a8e6a1bae05/an-insignificant-man
- Sep 9 No Class (Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association)
- Sep 14 (Split Class) Odd: Case Study (see Sep 2 reading). Even: Movie, "An Insignificant Man", https://www.idfa.nl/en/film/2859747f-22c4-4c 10-bba9-0a8e6a1bae05/an-insignificant-man

# (b) Special Interests

*Questions*: Who tries to influence politicians? Why do special interests not spend more money on politics? What are the benefits of spending money?

- Sep 16 (Even) Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. *Excerpts: Ch. 1 (Sections A, B, nontechnical summary of D), Ch. 6 (Sections D and H)*. (Blackboard)
- Sep 21 (Odd) Ansolabehere, Stephen, John M. de Figueiredo, and James M. Jr. Snyder. 2003. "Why Is There so Little Money in U.S. Politics?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(1): 105-130. (Blackboard)

• Sep 23 (Even) – Fisman, Ray and Edward Miguel. 2008. *Economic Gangsters. Corruption, Violence and the Poverty of Nations*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. *Ch. 2.* (Blackboard)

## (c) Lobbyists

*Questions*: What is lobbying, and who are lobbyists? Who lobbies, why, and what for? How does lobbying work? Who lobbies successfully? What are the consequences?

- Sep 28 (Odd) You, Hye Young. 2020. "Dynamic Lobbying: How to Persuade Congress." *Working Paper*. (Blackboard)
- Sep 30 (All Online) Guest Speaker: Timothy Drumm, Executive Director Special Initiatives for Government Relations, Office of Government and Community Relations, Syracuse University.

## (d) Politicians and Voters

Questions: Why do politicians want money in politics? In what ways do they take money and what do they do with it? When do politicians enrich themselves, and how do they do it? Why do politicians spend so much money on election campaigns? What effect does this spending have on voters?

- Oct 5 (Even) Fisman and Golden, *Ch. 5 (Section 5.2 only)* and: Szakonyi, David. 2018. "Businesspeople in Elected Office: Identifying Private Benefits from Firm-Level Returns." *American Political Science Review* 112(2): 322-338. (Blackboard)
- Oct 7 (Odd) Gerber, Alan S., James G. Gimpel, Donald P. Green, and Daron R. Shaw. 2011. "How Large and Long-lasting Are the Persuasive Effects of Televised Campaign Ads? Results from a Randomized Field Experiment". *American Political Science Review* 105(1): 135-150. *Skip the section "Gauging the Effects of Broadcast Television and Radio"*. (Blackboard) First part of Country Research Report due.
- Oct 12 (Even) Hicken, Allen. 2011. "Clientelism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 14: 289-310. (Blackboard)
- Oct 14 Exam # 1
- Oct 19 (All Online) Guest Speaker: Rachel May, NY State Senator.

## Part 3: What Determines Money in Politics?

*Questions*: Why do some countries have more money in politics and others less? What is the effect of culture? What is the effect of institutions? What impact do voters have?

- Oct 21 (Odd) Fisman and Golden, Ch. 6-7.
- Oct 26 (Even) Fisman and Golden, Ch. 8.

## Part 4: What Are the Consequences of Money in Politics?

*Questions*: What consequences does money in politics and corruption have? How bad is it for citizens, businesses, the economy, and politicians themselves?

- Oct 28 (Odd) Fisman and Golden, Ch. 4.
- Nov 2 (Even) Gilens, Martin and Benjamin I. Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens." *Perspectives on Politics* 12(3): 564-581. (Blackboard) and:
  - Matthews, Dylan. 2016. "Remember that study saying America is an oligarchy? 3 rebuttals say it's wrong." *vox.com*. (Blackboard)
- Nov 4 (Odd) Avis, Eric, Claudio Ferraz, Frederico Finan, and Carlos Varjão. 2020. "Money and Politics: The Effects of Campaign Spending Limits on Political Entry and Competition." *Working Paper.* (Blackboard)

# Part 5: How Can We Reduce Money in Politics? Should We?

*Questions*: Which potential solutions exist to curb money in politics? How effective are they? Is it worth it trying to get money out of politics? And under what conditions can efforts be successful?

- Nov 9 (Split Class) Even: Case Study: Monteiro, Felipe L. and Tulio Albuquerque. 2018. *Doing Business in Brazil after Operation Car Wash*. (https://hbsp.harvard.edu/import/751303) Odd: Movie, "Dark Money"
- Nov 11 (Split Class) Odd: Case Study: Monteiro, Felipe L. and Tulio Albuquerque. 2018. *Doing Business in Brazil after Operation Car Wash*. (https://hbsp.harvard.edu/import/751303) Even: Movie, "Dark Money"
- Nov 16 (Even) Fisman and Golden, Ch. 9.
- Nov 18 (Odd) Rose-Ackerman, Susan and Bonnie J. Palifka. 2016. *Corruption and Government. Causes, Consequences and Reform. Second Edition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. *Ch.* 13-14. (Blackboard)
- Nov 23 Exam # 2
- Finals Period Country Research Report due