

Instructor

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or by appointment

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Class Information

Days: M/W

Time: 5:15 - 6:35

Classroom: Management 203

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.

Course Materials

- Required Textbook: Fisman, Ray, and Miriam A. Golden. 2017. *Corruption. What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- You should also buy a composition notebook for your reading journal (see below). They are available for purchase at the SU bookstore (they have set some aside in the bookstore).
- Finally, we will do two case studies (September 12 and December 3) that you can purchase as a “Coursepack” together here: <https://hbsp.harvard.edu/import/555625>. You’ll have to sign up for an account.

Assignments and Grading

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

- *2 Exams (25% each)*: Exams will take place on **October 15** and **December 5** in class. I will distribute a list of essay questions roughly two weeks in advance. On the day of the exam, I will randomly chose some of the questions.

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 illegible or 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. You are allowed to bring a single-page 8.5 x 11 sheet with you. What you put on it is entirely up to you.

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, 25% for entire report, so 30% 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 22** via Turnitin. This will account for 5% of your overall grade. The full report is due before the beginning of class on **November 14** via Turnitin and counts for 25% of your overall grade.

I encourage you to discuss paper ideas with me and/or Colleen during office hours early in the semester. For each day the assignment is late, a penalty of one-third of a letter grade will be given.

- *Reading Journal (20%)*: 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 are required to keep a research journal. For each reading, 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, using your composition notebook. We will randomly collect journals *at the beginning* of each class (so if you get to class after 5:15, we will not accept your journal). Each time your journal is collected, you will get a score from 0 to 3.
 - 0: You are not in class.
 - 1: You are in class, but your journal has no or almost no entries since the last collection
 - 2: Your journal has entries since the last collection, but is only partially complete.
 - 3: Your journal has complete entries since the last collection, showing that you have done the readings.

Of course, you are not allowed to copy your entries from someone else (see the Academic Integrity section below). For the final grade, we will drop the lowest score.

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 Colleen 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 by my office or send me an email. 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. Come talk to me as early as possible. It's much more difficult to do something after the fact.

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-students-in-distress.html>
- Writing Center: http://wc.syr.edu/?_ga=2.101027140.454082058.1534346263-1387513330.1433439063
- 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. sjohnson@syr.edu. 315.443.0211
- Sexual & Relationship Violence Response Team: 315.443.4715

Confidentiality and Mandatory Reporting

As instructors, one of our responsibilities is to help create a safe learning environment on our campus. We also have a mandatory reporting responsibility related to our roles as Professors and Teaching Assistants. It is our 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. We will seek to keep information you share private to the greatest extent possible. However,

we are required to share information regarding sexual misconduct and crimes with the University. Students may speak to someone confidentially by contacting the Sexual & Relationship Violence Response Team at 315.443.4715.

Electronic Devices Policy

Electronic devices can be distracting to people around the user as well as to the users themselves. There is mounting evidence that allowing students to use electronic devices in class leads to worse learning outcomes overall (read: lower grades). However, I realize that for a variety of reasons, some students do better when taking notes electronically. I therefore do not ban electronic devices outright, but I do have an opt-in policy. That is, if you want to use a laptop or tablet in class, you must talk to me in office hours, lay out your reasons why you need an electronic device, and obtain my permission.

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, feel free to approach me after class. I also encourage you to visit my office hours to talk about questions, difficulties with the class material or with assignments, 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 Syracuse University 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 27 – Introduction to the Course
- Aug 29 – No Class (Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association)
- Sep 3 – No Class (Labor Day)

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?

- Sep 5 – Fisman and Golden, *Ch. 2*.
- Sep 10 – 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 12 – Case Study: “Ziqitza Health Care Limited: Responding to Corruption” (Coursepack)
- Sep 17 – Fisman and Golden, *Ch. 5 (Sections 5.1, 5.4, 5.5 (skip the case study), 5.6-5.8)*

(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 19 – 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 24 – 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 26 – 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?

- Oct 1 – Drutman, Lee. 2015. *The Business of America is Lobbying. How Corporations Became Politicized and Politics Became More Corporate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 4. (Blackboard)
- Oct 3 – Guest Speaker: Timothy Drumm and Cydney Johnson, Office of Government and Community Relations at 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 8 – 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 10 – Weschle, Simon. 2018. “The Private Sector Earnings of Politicians.” *Working Paper*. (Blackboard)
- [Oct 15 – Exam # 1](#)
- Oct 17 – Hicken, Allen. 2011. “Clientelism.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 14: 289-310. (Blackboard)
- Oct 22 – Guest Speaker: Dan Maffei, Former Member of the House of Representatives. *No reading. Instead: Come up with at least three questions to ask our guest speaker.*
[First part of Country Research Report due.](#)
- Oct 24 – 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)

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 29 – Fisman and Golden, *Ch. 6-7*.
- Oct 31 – Fisman and Golden, *Ch. 8*.
- Nov 5 – Jeelani, Mehboob. 2011. “The Insurgent.” *Caravan Magazine*. (Blackboard). This reading is in preparation for the movie *An Insignificant Man* that we’ll be watching in class. (Blackboard)

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?

- Nov 7 – Fisman and Golden, *Ch. 4*.
- Nov 12 – 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 14 – Avis, Eric, Claudio Ferraz, Frederico Finan, and Carlos Varjão. 2017. “Money and Politics: The Effects of Campaign Spending Limits on Political Entry and Competition.” *Working Paper*. (Blackboard)

[Country Research Report due.](#)

- Nov 19 & Nov 21 – No Class (Thanksgiving Break)

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 26 – Case Study: “I Paid a Bribe (Dot) Com.” (Coursepack)
- Nov 28 – Fisman and Golden, *Ch. 9*.
- Dec 3 – 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)
- [Dec 5 – Exam # 2](#)