

## PS 330: Campaigns, Corruption, and Cash

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COURSE INFORMATION	Fall 2013 Room: Seigle 304 11:30 AM to 1:00 PM Tuesdays and Thursdays Office hours by appointment	Dr. Joshua D. Potter Office: Seigle 259 Phone: 314-935-3534 Email: <a href="mailto:jdpotter@wustl.edu">jdpotter@wustl.edu</a> Web: <a href="http://jdpotter.wustl.edu">jdpotter.wustl.edu</a>
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**COURSE OVERVIEW** Political corruption and campaign finance regulations are eternally at the forefront of debate in the United States – but these questions are also profoundly important in most countries around the world. This comparative course begins with presenting theories of democratic representation and then discusses how corruption challenges this link between voters and parliamentarians. We will review both the causes and effects of corruption and discuss ways to monitor, study, and discourage corrupt practices. We will next look at campaign finance as a potential (and particular) manifestation of corruption by relying on examples from other countries. Students will be asked to engage recent scholarship and current events across these topics

**COURSE STRUCTURE** I will assume that all students have taken at least one introductory level course in political science. At the same time, however, this course will start out with fairly basic concepts before building up to more complicated theories. Each class will be heavily predicated on lectures, but will also rely on participation from students (see course requirements below). Students will generally be responsible for 2-3 hours of reading in advance of each class meeting. I will be available regularly throughout the semester either via email or during office hours for consultation with students outside of class.

**REQUIREMENTS AND EVALUATION** Students will be evaluated along three criteria during the course of the semester: two in-class examinations, two term papers, and class participation. The specifics of each of these components are explained in greater detail below.

*Examinations.* Each exam will be worth 20% of the student's final grade and there will be two in total; one during the midterm week and one on the last day of class. The exams will mostly be comprised of short essay questions, but will also include a shorter section of more objective multiple choice questions. There is no final.

*Term Papers.* Each term paper will be worth 30% of the final grade and there will be two in total. I will take the assessment of your written work very seriously and I would encourage you to do the same. The specific requirements for each paper will be circulated at least three weeks prior to the due dates and I will be happy to read preliminary drafts and offer students advanced comments.

*Participation.* The above requirements constitute 100% of the final grade and attendance on a daily basis is not – strictly speaking – required. However, each day in class I will draw students' names at random. If his or her name is drawn, the student will be asked to answer a question either about the readings for that day or about some facet of the lecture presentation. If the student is present and answers correctly, she will receive 0.25% extra credit toward her final grade. If he is present and answers incorrectly, no penalty. However, if the student's name is called and he is not in attendance that day, then he will be assessed a penalty of -0.25% on his final grade. In this way, the prepared student who attends class should have a nice, 4-5% buffer by semester's end.

## GRADING SCALE

Score	Grade	Score	Grade	Score	Grade	Score	Grade
94-100	A	83-86	B	73-76	C	63-66	D
90-93	A-	80-82	B-	70-72	C-	60-62	D-
87-89	B+	77-79	C+	67-69	D+	< 60	F

## COURSE POLICIES

*Office Hours.* In my experience, the best predictor of a student's success in an upper level course is the whether he or she spent time consulting with the teaching staff outside of the classroom. This is particularly helpful in advance of major exams or papers. That being said, I have also noticed that regularly scheduled office hours tend to be too constraining for students' (and my) busy schedules. Thus, I am happy to meet with students at any point during the week, *provided* they have contacted me ahead of time to schedule a visit. In general, I keep regular business hours in my office – Seigle 259 – aside from the lunch hour and when I am teaching.

*Grade Appeals.* Across different types of evaluations, I will grade students' work carefully and without bias. When grading more subjective work, I read through all papers or all essay responses on exams before assigning a specific score to any individual paper or essay. This ensures that I am able to comparatively situate any given paper or essay score in the broader distribution of capabilities across all students. It also ensures that the student is not receiving an arbitrary or impressionistic assessment of his or her work.

I enjoy grading and I am always more than willing to discuss my grading decisions with students, preferably in person and outside of class meetings. As a standing policy for this particular course, however, *I will not regrade work* under any circumstances. Because there is only one grader in the class and no teaching assistants, I can guarantee a very high level of care, fairness, and homogeneity in the grading process. In return, I ask that you respect the outcome.

*Late Work.* I do not accept late work. Please plan ahead!

*Attendance.* Highly recommended. Note that I will not circulate lecture slides outside of class, so you will have to rely on classmates for help with missed materials. Additionally, please refer to the section on course requirements above to get an idea of how skipping class might adversely affect your grade.

*Technology.* This course is a dialogue, not a monologue. Although I will do most of the talking, you will also be asked to join in and you may always feel free to ask questions or offer insights during the lecture. Just as browsing the internet, text messaging, or talking on a cell phone would be disrespectful during conversation, so too is it disrespectful during course meetings. Please help me maintain a quiet, thoughtful environment where you and your peers can focus rigorously on the materials at hand. Repeatedly disruptive students will be asked to leave.

*Special Accommodations.* In private consultation with me, special accommodations can be made for a variety of reasons: exams can be rescheduled if they fall during a particular religious observance, exams can be administered in the Cornerstone teaching facility for students requiring more time, students can sit closer to the front of the room in the event of hearing or sight impairments, personal tragedies can be taken into consideration, etc. Please meet with me as early in the semester as possible so that we can work together on these issues. Keep in mind that foresight is always better than hindsight. Where documentation is appropriate, I will ask that you provide it.

ACADEMIC  
HONESTY

The lifeblood and grounding principle of a college education is that each student is responsible for his or her own learning. Plagiarism, cheating, or misrepresenting one's identity on assignments or exams will not be tolerated. Students are encouraged to review the university's policies regarding academic honesty, which can be found at <http://www.wustl.edu/policies/undergraduate-academic-integrity.html>. Please note that I routinely make and retain copies of papers and exams to cross check their validity. I will refer all suspected cases of academic dishonesty to the Committee on Academic Integrity. If this committee's review finds a student guilty, then he or she will automatically fail the course.

SAFETY

I will work to maintain a safe environment in the classroom. This includes, pursuant to university-wide regulations, enforcing the strictest of bans on firearms and other weapons on campus. On the first day of class and periodically as a reminder throughout the semester, we will review the university's safety policies related to sudden inclement weather or other on-campus emergencies.

COURSE  
READINGS

There are no required texts for this course other than what I circulate electronically to students (via the Blackboard course page). Typically, we will have 2-4 readings per class period and students should read the material before coming to class. In the schedule below, those readings listed next to each calendar date should be prepared for that day.

SCHEDULE

*Tuesday, August 27 – Introductory Class; No Readings*

*Thursday, August 29 – No Class; Potter at Conference*

*Tuesday, September 3 – The Fundamentals of Representation*

- Shepsle and Boncheck / “It Isn’t Rocket Science” & “Rationality”
- Powell / “Political Representation in Comparative Politics”
- Przeworski, Stokes, and Manin / “Elections and Representation”

*Thursday, September 5 – Chain of Responsiveness*

- Powell / “Elections as Instruments of Democracy”
- Powell / “The Chain of Responsiveness”
- Anderson and Guillory / “Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy”

*Tuesday, September 10 – Representation and Policy Outcomes*

- Adams / “Causes and Electoral Consequences of Party Policy Shifts”
- Tavits and Potter / “When Values Trump Interests”

*Thursday, September 12 – Retrospective Voting and Economic Voting*

- Anderson / “The End of Economic Voting?”
- Crisp, Olivella, Potter, Mishler / “Elections as Instruments”

*Tuesday, September 17 – Clientelistic and Charismatic Representation*

- Kitschelt / “Linkages Between Citizens and Politicians”
- Hicken / “Clientelism”
- Wantchekon / “Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from Benin”

*Thursday, September 19 – Case Study: The United Kingdom and Scotland*

- **Prompts for Paper 1** distributed and discussed in class
- Soroka and Wlezien / “Opinion-Policy Dynamics”
- Adams, Green, and Milazzo / “Has the British Public Depolarized?”
- Cairney / “The New British Policy Style”
- Carman / “Public Preferences for Parliamentary Representation”

*Tuesday, September 24 – Corruption: An Introduction*

- Svensson / “Eight Questions About Corruption”
- Jain / “Corruption: A Review”
- Rose-Ackerman / “Corruption and Politics”

*Thursday, September 26 – Detecting and Measuring Corruption*

- Treisman / “What Have We Learned About the Causes of Corruption?”
- Corruption Perceptions Index / Report
- Andersson and Heywood / “The Politics of Perception”
- Global Corruption Barometer / 2013 Report
- Klaus / “Laboratory Experiments on Corruption”
- Peisakhin / “Field Experimentation and the Study of Corruption”

*Tuesday, October 1 – The Causes of Corruption*

- Meier and Holbrook / “I Seen My Opportunities and I Took ‘Em”
- Tavits / “Clarity of Responsibility and Corruption”
- Potter and Tavits / “Curbing Corruption with Institutions”

*Thursday, October 3 – The Effects of Corruption*

- Rose-Ackerman / “Economic Impacts of Corruption”
- Méon and Sekkat / “Does Corruption Grease or Sand the Wheels of Growth?”
- Anderson and Tverdova / “Corruption, Political Allegiances, and Attitudes”
- Dreher and Schneider / “Corruption and the Shadow Economy”

*Tuesday, October 8 – Preventing Corruption*

- Ivanov / “The Limits of a Global Campaign Against Corruption”
- Persson, Rothstein, and Teorell / “Why Anticorruption Reforms Fail”
- Zagainova / “Anti-Corruption Policies in Post-Communist Countries”
- Lawson / “The Politics of Anti-Corruption Reform in Africa”

PAPER  
DEADLINE

*Thursday, October 10 – Paper 1 Due*

- Electronic submission to [jdpotter@wustl.edu](mailto:jdpotter@wustl.edu) required before 11:00 AM
- No required readings, but class will still meet

*Tuesday, October 15 – Case Study: Italy*

- In-class review and Q&A for exam
- Chang / “Electoral Incentives for Political Corruption”
- Della Porta and Vannucci / “The Resources of Corruption”
- Della Porta and Vannucci / “Corruption Exchanges”

EXAM  
DATE

*Thursday, October 17 – In-Class Exam 1*

*Tuesday, October 22 – Money in Politics: The American Context*

- Graded exams and papers distributed and discussed
- Samples / “The Origins of Modern Campaign Finance Laws”
- La Raja / “Super PACs: How the American Party System Outgrew”

*Thursday, October 24 – McCain-Feingold and Citizen’s United*

- Samples / “McCain-Feingold and the Market for Incumbent Protection”
- Franz / “Interest Groups in Electoral Politics: 2012 in Context”
- Jordan Brooks and Murov / “Assessing Accountability”

*Tuesday, October 29 – State-Level Campaign Finance Regulations*

- Primo and Milyo / “Campaign Finance Laws and Political Efficacy”
- Primo, Milyo, and Groseclose / “State Campaign Finance Reform”
- Hamm, Malbin, Kettler, and Glavin / “The Impact of Citizens United”

*Thursday, October 31 – Campaign Finance Reform Efforts*

- Cain / “Moralism and Realism in Campaign Finance Reform”
- Udall / “Amend the Constitution to Restore Public Trust”
- Ackerman and Ayers / “Reforming Reform”
- Friends of Democracy / “Connecting with Voters on Money in Politics”

*Tuesday, November 5 – Money in Politics: The Comparative Context*

- **Prompts for Paper 2** distributed and discussed in class
- Fisher and Eisenstadt / “Comparative Party Finance”
- Pinto-Duschinsky / “Financing Politics: A Global View”
- Scarrow / “Political Finance in Comparative Perspective”

*Thursday, November 7 – Comparative Data on Campaign Finance*

- IDEA Handbook / “Political Finance Regulations Around the World”
- Johnson / “Democracy and Disclosure”
- IFES / “Campaign Finance in Central and Eastern Europe”
- EISA / “Political Party Finances in Africa”

*Tuesday, November 12 – Comparative Parties and Finance*

- Hopkins / “The Problem with Party Finance: Theoretical Perspectives”
- McMenamin / “If Money Talks, What Does IT Say? Varieties of Capitalism”
- Van Biezen and Kopecky / “The State and the Parties”

*Thursday, November 14 – Comparative Campaign Finance and Its Impacts*

- Potter and Tavits / “The Impact of Campaign Finance Laws on Party Competition”
- Roper / “The Influence of Romanian Campaign Finance Laws”
- Samuels / “Does Money Matter? Credible Commitments and Campaign Finance”

*Tuesday, November 19 – Comparative Campaign Finance Reform*

- Scarrow / “Explaining Political Finance Reforms”
- Boatright / “Campaign Finance Reform”
- Clift and Fisher / “Comparative Party Finance Reform: France and Britain”
- Ansolabehere / “The Scope of Corruption”

*Thursday, November 21 – Case Study: Spain and Portugal*

- Van Biezen / “Party Financing in New Democracies”
- Barrio, et al. / “The Evolution of Party Funding Reforms in Spain”
- De Sousa / “The Regulation of Political Financing in Portugal”
- OSCE Monitor Report / “Spain, Election of 2011”
- OSCE Monitor Report / “Portugal, Election of 2009”

PAPER  
DEADLINE

*Tuesday, November 26 – **Paper 2 Due***

- Electronic submission to [jdpotter@wustl.edu](mailto:jdpotter@wustl.edu) required before 11:00 AM
- No actual class meeting

*Thursday, November 28 – No Class; Thanksgiving Break*

*Tuesday, December 3 – Semester Review and Wrap-Up*

- Graded papers distributed and discussed
- No required readings
- In-class activity
- In-class review and Q&A for exam

EXAM  
DATE

*Thursday, December 5 – **In-Class Exam 2***

*Thereafter*

- No final exam is required for this course
- Graded exams can be picked up in the political science departmental office after 12:00 PM on Friday, December 6
- Final grades and evaluations will be uploaded and emailed the same day