

## CONFERENCE ON LOBBYING AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE

Stanford University  
Program on American Democracy in Comparative Perspective  
November 14-15, 2014

### **FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14**

Location: The Hewlett Foundation, 2121 Sand Hill Road, Menlo Park, CA

8am Shuttle from Sheraton to Hewlett Foundation

8:30-9:00 Breakfast

9:00-9:15 **Introductory Remarks**

Lobbying and campaign finance reform are two topics of greatest frustration and disappointment for the reform community. What were we trying to do and why did it fail? Further, how have developments in lobbying and campaign finance distorted policy outcomes and the representative process? Is further reform pointless, or are there reforms that are both legally possible and potentially effective, given what we know empirically about lobbying and campaign finance?

Bruce Cain  
Steve Stedman

9:15-10:30 **Panel I: Lobbying Practices and Regulation**  
Chair: Steve Stedman

As with campaign finance reform, lobbying reforms have not worked out the way reformers have hoped. Influential players avoid registration by avoiding activities that trigger registration. Revolving door reforms have slowed the exodus at the highest levels to some degree, but have also increased demand for staffers at lower levels. What should lobbying reform aim for? Should we continue to rely primarily on regulatory tactics rather than enhancing Congressional staff careers or building technical expertise inside agencies?

Lee Drutman, "What to do about lobbying"  
Susan Yackee, "Influence and the Administrative Process"  
Beth Leech, "Lobbying, Money, and Agendas."  
Rick Hall, "Access to Congressional Allies: Small Money Matters"

10:30-10:45 Coffee Break

10:45-12:15 **Panel II: Comparative Perspectives on Lobbying**  
Chair: Didi Kuo

How do other countries handle lobbying? The EU's federal structure seems to invite more lobbying activity. US firms have entered the EU market, refusing to comply with voluntary guidelines. Is the EU headed on a path similar to the US? Is the European system better equipped to handle this problem, and if so, what can we learn from this?

Christine Mahoney, "Brussels vs. the Beltway: Corporate Influence in the US and the EU"

Nils Ringe, "Privileged Access through Legislative Member Organizations: Interest Group Ties to European Parliament Intergroups and Congressional Caucuses"

Claudius Wagemann, "Comparative Perspectives: Lobbying, Interest Intermediation, and the Revolving Door"

12:15-1:30pm Lunch

1:30-2:45pm **Panel III: Campaign Finance and Partisan Polarization**  
Chair: Nate Persily

Elite actions are a significant factor behind increasing political polarization in the United States. One underexplored connection is the role that campaign finance plays in the polarization trend. In what ways might campaign finance contribute to polarization? Would channeling more money to political parties as opposed to independent groups lessen the effect on policy polarization and/or strengthen the hand of mainstream political leaders?

Adam Bonica, "Avenues of Influence: On the Political Expenditures of Corporations and Their Directors and Executives"

Ray Laraja, "When Purists Prevail: How Campaign Finance Reform Polarizes American Legislatures"

Michael Barber, "Donor Motivations, Candidate Ideology, and Contribution Limits"

Ben Ginsberg, "Through the Looking Glass: The Unintended Consequences of the FECA/BCRA Party."

2:45-3:00pm Coffee Break

3:00-4:30 **Panel IV: Campaign Finance and Special Interest Influence**  
Chair: Nate Persily

Decades of empirical research have yielded mixed results regarding the effect that contributions and expenditures have on political and policy outcomes. Some of the

research points in the direction of less visible legislative and regulatory activities, and to the access that lobbyists need in order to insert language and ideas into bills. What do we know about this and what does it mean for potential reform?

Bob Bauer, "Campaign Money and Special Interest Influence: Should it Matter What We Know About It—or Don't?"

Richard Briffault, "Regulating Lobbyists Through Campaign Finance Law

Tom Mann, "The Contrasting Perspectives of Scholars, Practitioners, and the Public"

4:45pm        Shuttles from the Hewlett Foundation to Sheraton Palo Alto

6pm            Dinner at MacArthur Park, 27 University Ave, Palo Alto, CA

### **SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15**

Location: Stanford CISAC conference Center, Encina Hall, 616 Serra Street

8:30-9        Breakfast

9:00-10:30    **Panel V: Can We Fix Our Broken Campaign Finance Reform System?**

Chair: Bruce Cain

Public finance at the Federal level is essentially dead. The disclosure system has eroded with the emergence of the c4-SuperPAC escape route. Is any of this worth salvaging, and if so, how, given the constraints of recent legal decisions and partisan divisions over campaign finance reform?

Magnus Ohman, "Public financing; can anything be learnt from the rest of the world?"

Rick Hasen, "Money, Politics, and the Decline of American Democracy"

Frank Fukuyama, "Lobbying, Public Administration, and Institutional Design"

Rick Pildes (via Skype)

10:45-12      **Concluding Session on Possible Reforms**

Daniel Stid

Larry Diamond

12pm    Lunch and cars/taxis to airport

**PARTICIPANTS:**

Bob Bauer  
Michael Barber  
Adam Bonica  
Jean Bordewich  
Richard Briffault  
Lee Drutman  
David Gartner  
Ben Ginsberg  
Rick Hall  
Rick Hasen  
Ray LaRaja  
Beth Leech  
Christine Mahoney  
Thomas Mann  
Magnus Ohman  
Nils Ringe  
Marcus Siewert  
Daniel Stid  
Claudius Wagemann  
Susan Webb Yackee

**Stanford Affiliates:**

Bruce Cain  
Larry Diamond  
Sarah Flamm  
Frank Fukuyama  
Didi Kuo  
Steve Stedman  
Nate Persily  
Julia Payson

**Non-Stanford Affiliates:**

TJ Heyman  
Nancy Biffar  
Steve Kahng