

Interest Groups
Political Science 9160
Spring 2020

Tuesday 3:00-5:30
104 Professional Building
Office Hours: W 9:30-12:00
Office: 316 Professional Building

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Course Objectives:

This seminar provides a brief introduction to the broad range of research the role of political organizations seeking to influence the public policy agenda. Topics include the mobilization and organization of interest groups, the strategies and tactics used by groups to affect government institutions, public opinion, and elections, the process of lobbying the government, and specific case studies of interest groups and political movements pressuring for desirable public policy outputs. The purpose of the course is to present important questions in the field and a variety of theories and methodologies.

Course Requirements:

All readings should be completed by the date indicated on the syllabus, and students should be prepared to discuss the topic and the literature during that class session. Active participation and discussion is an important component of this course

Students will write three short (three to four pages) papers addressing an important theoretical or substantive issue raised in the readings or discussions. Short papers must be submitted on the dates shown on the course outline below. Generally, the papers may address issues raised in that section's readings: the previous three weeks' and the current week's readings.

The chief requirement for the course is a research paper (15-20 pages in length formatted in APSA style) which extends knowledge of interest groups beyond the assigned readings. The paper may review and critique relevant literature on one of the subtopics or may present some original theoretical or empirical research. A research design may an acceptable substitute for the full research paper, but the design must be on that could be implemented and the quality of research design should be excellent. Another option for the research paper is a case study, either of a group or an event such as the cases used in class.

A brief (one page!) description of the proposed paper topic ensures that the research paper is appropriate for the course. During the last week of the semester, each student should provide a brief (fifteen minute!) discussion of the research project. The final paper is due during finals week, one week after the final class meeting, although the paper may be submitted earlier.

Final course grades will be based on participation (30%), short papers (30%), and the research paper (40%).

Textbooks:

We will be covering all (or nearly all) material in the following required texts.

Frank R. Baumgartner and Beth L. Leech. 1998. Basic Interests: The Importance of Groups in Politics and in Political Science.

Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Beth L. Leech, David C. Kimball, and Marie Hojnacki. 2009. Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why.

Mancur Olson. 1971 (1965). The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups.

Note: some readings are available through links via Canvas. Many others are available electronically through J-STOR or other library links to electronic journals. Additional materials will be posted on the course Canvas site for those interested in more information on interest group behavior.

Honesty:

Academic honesty is fundamental to the activities and principles of a university. Each student's work must be responsibly and honorably acquired, developed, and presented. Plagiarism, cheating, and other forms of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. Any examination, paper, or assignment tainted by academic dishonesty will automatically receive a grade of F. University regulations also require reporting of incidents of academic dishonesty, which may lead to probation or expulsion.

Accommodation:

If you have special needs, such as those addressed by the Americans with Disabilities Act, please notify me privately before or after class or during office hours. Every reasonable effort will be made to assist you. Students with disabilities who request academic accommodation must register with the Disability Center, S5 Memorial Union, 882-4696 and establish an accommodation plan. If you need accommodations because of a disability, if you have emergency medical information to share with me, or if you need special arrangements in case the building must be evacuated, please inform me as soon as possible.

Course Outline and Reading Assignments:

Readings should be completed by the date of class shown, and students should be prepared to discuss these readings in class. Exercises and assignments will be assigned during each weekly seminar and will complement the learning objectives for that week. Written assignments are due when shown unless otherwise noted in class. The following outline is, as always, *subject to change*.

- Jan. 21 Introduction & Organization: What is an Interest Group?
- Jan. 28 The American System and Pluralism
The Federalist #10
 Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, volume I, chapter XII
 Arthur Bentley, *The Process of Government*, chapter 7
 David Truman, *The Governmental Process*, chapter 1
 Baumgartner and Leech, *Basic Interests*, chapters 1-2
 Robert D. Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," 1995,
Journal of Democracy 6 (January): 65-78.
- Feb. 4 Group Theory: Pluralism and Elitism
 Baumgartner and Leech, *Basic Interests*, chapter 3
 Robert Dahl, 1961, *Who Governs*, pp.
 Theodore Lowi, 1969, *The End of Liberalism*, pp.
 C. Wright Mills, 1956, *The Power Elite*, pp.
 E. E. Schattschneider, 1960, *The Semi-Sovereign People*, pp.
- Feb. 11 Group Formation, Mobilization, and Organization
 Baumgartner and Leech, *Basic Interests*, chapter 4
 David B. Truman, 1951, *The Governmental Process*, chapters 3-4
 Robert Salisbury, 1969, "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups," *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 13: 1-32
 Jack L. Walker, 1983, "The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups in America," *American Political Science Review* 77: 390-406
 Jack L. Walker, 1991, *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions, and Social Movements*, pp.
- Feb. 18 Rationality and Collective Action
 Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action* (focus on chapters 1,2,5,6)
 Peter Clark and James Q. Wilson, 1961, "Incentive Systems: A Theory of Organization," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 6:129-166.
First Paper Due: Can we reconcile theories of interest group formation and maintenance? How, or why not?
- Feb. 25 Economic Theories of Interest Representation
 Scott Ainsworth, *Analyzing Interest Groups*, chapter 4
 George Stigler, 1971, "The Economic Theory of Regulation," *Bell Journal of Economics* 2: 335-358
 Gary Becker, 1983, "A Theory of Competition among Pressure Groups for Political Influence," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 98: 371-400
 William Mitchell and Michael Munger, 1991, "Economic Models of Interest Groups: An Introductory Survey," *American Journal of Political Science*, 35: 512-546.
 Arthur Denzau and Michael Munger, 1986, "Legislators and Interest Groups: How Unorganized Interests Get Represented," *American Political Science Review* 80: 89-106

David Austen-Smith and John R. Wright, 1994, "Counteractive Lobbying," *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 24-44.

David Lowery, Virginia Gray, Jennifer Anderson, and Adam Newmark. 2004. "Collective Action and the Mobilization of Institutions." *Journal of Politics* 66: 684-705.

Mar. 3 The Diversity of Lobbyists - Strategies and Tactics

Baumgartner and Leech, *Basic Interests*, chapters 5-6

Kay Lehman Schlozman and John T. Tierney, *Organized Interests and American Democracy*, chapters

Robert L. Salisbury, 1984, "Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions," *American Political Science Review*

David Lowery and Virginia Gray, 1996, "The Population Ecology of Gucci Gulch, or the Natural Regulation of Interest Group Numbers in the States," *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 1-29

Anthony Nownes, Clive S. Thomas and Ronald J. Hrebendar, "Interest Groups in the States," in Virginia Gray and Russell L. Hanson (eds.), *Politics in the American States*, 9th ed., CQ Press, 2008.

Kay Lehman Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady. 2012. *The Unheavenly Chorus*, chapters 11, 12.

Anthony Nownes, 2006, *Total Lobbying*, chapter 7

James Endersby and William Horner, 2010, "Legislative Lobbying in Missouri" (skim only)

Mar. 10 Lobbying the Legislature

Baumgartner and Leech, *Basic Interests*, chapters 7-8

Baumgartner, et al. *Lobbying and Policy Change*, chapters 1-4

Kyle Kattelman, 2014, "Legislative Professionalism and Group Concentration," *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, 4: 165-184.

Adam J. Newmark, 2019, "Regulating Lobbying in the United States," in Allan J. Cigler, Burdett A. Loomis, and Anthony J. Nownes, *Interest Group Politics*, 10th ed.

Case Study: "The Regulation of Mud Flaps"

Mar. 17 Interest Groups and the Electoral Process

Wright, *Interest Groups and Congress*, chapters 2, 5

Baumgartner, et al. *Lobbying and Policymaking*, chapter 5

Richard Hall and Frank Wayman, "Buying Time," *American Political Science Review* 84(1990): 797-820

James W. Endersby and Michael C. Munger, 1992, "The Impact of Legislator Attributes on Union PAC Contributions," *Journal of Labor Research* 8: 79-97

Jay K. Dow and James W. Endersby, 1994, "Campaign Contributions and Legislative Voting in the California Assembly," *American Politics Quarterly*, 22: 334-353.

Stacy B. Gordon, 2001, "All Votes are Not Equal: Campaign Contributions and Critical Votes," *Journal of Politics* 63: 249-269

Second Paper Due: What political interests are represented? What characteristics produce effective influence of the political (legislative) process?

Mar. 24 Spring Break - no class

Mar. 31 Public Opinion, Media Messages, and Grassroots Campaigns

Kollman, *Outside Lobbying*, chapters 1-3

Lucig H. Danielian and Benjamin I. Page, 1994, "The Heavenly Chorus: Interest Group Voices on the TV News," *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 1056-78

Dennis Chong, *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*, chapter 2, 8

Nayda Terkildsen, Frauke I. Schnell and Cristina Ling, 1998, "Interest Groups, the Media, and Policy Debate Formation: An Analysis of Message Structure, Rhetoric, and Source Cues," *Political Communication* 15: 45-61.

Matt Grossman, 2012 *The Not-So-Special Interests*, chapter 5

A. Trevor Thrall, 2006, "The Myth of the Outside Strategy: Mass Media News Coverage of Interest Groups," *Political Communication* 23: 407-420

David Bergan, 2009, "Does Grassroots Lobbying Work?" *American Politics Research* 37: 327-352.

Research Paper Topic Due

Apr. 7 Lobbying the Executive

Mark A. Peterson, "The Presidency and Organized Interest Groups: White House Patterns of Interest Group Liaison," 1992, *American Political Science Review* 86: 612-625.

Martha Joynt Kumar and Michael Baruch Grossman, "Political Communications from the White House: The Interest Group Connection," 1986, *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 16: 92-101

Benjamin Ginsburg, Walter R. Mebane, and Martin Shefter, "The Presidency and Interest Groups" in Michael Nelson, *The Presidency and the Political System*, 1995

Heath Brown, 2014, "Interest Groups, the White House, and the Administration, in *New Directions in Interest Group Politics*

Baumgartner, et al. *Lobbying and Policy Change*, chapters 6-9

Apr. 14 Lobbying the Judiciary

Gregory A. Caldeira and John R. Wright, 1988, "Organized Interests and Agenda Setting in the US Supreme Court" *American Political Science Review* 1090-1127

Gregory A. Caldeira and John R. Wright, 1990, "Amici Curiae before the Supreme Court: Who Participates, When, and How Much?" *Journal of Politics* 782-806

Lee Epstein and C.K. Rowland, "Debunking the Myth of Interest Group Invincibility in the Courts," 1991, *American Political Science Review* 85: 205-217

Paul M. Collins, 2014, "Interest Groups in the Judicial Arena," in *New Directions in Interest Group Politics*

- Apr. 21 Lobbying the Bureaucracy: Subgovernments and Public Policy
 Thomas L. Gais, Mark A. Peterson, and Jack L. Walker "Interest Groups, Iron Triangles and Representative Institutions in American National Government," 1984, *British Journal of Political Science* 14: 161-186
 Hugh Heclo, "Issue Networks and the Executive Establishment," in Anthony King, *The New American Political System*, 1978
 William Browne, 1990, "Organized Interests and Their Issue Niches: A Search for Pluralism in a Policy Domain," *Journal of Politics* 52: 477-509
 Keith Hamm, "The Role of 'Subgovernments' in US State Policy Making," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 11(1986): 321-351
 John P. Heinz, Edward O. Laumann, Robert L. Nelson, Robert H. Salisbury, 1993, *The Hollow Core*, chapter 12
 Baumgartner, et al. *Lobbying and Policy Change*, chapters 10-12
 Thomas T. Holyoke, 2009, "Interest Group Competition and Coalition Formation," *American Journal of Political Science*, 53: 360-375
Third Paper Due: When should organized interests choose one method (or institution) for lobbying over another? Why?
- Apr. 28 Group Effects on Governance: Future Research
 Mancur Olson, *The Rise and Decline of Nations*, chapter 3
 Baumgartner and Leech, *Basic Interests*, chapter 9
 Kay Lehman Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady. 2012. *The Unheavenly Chorus*, chapters 13, 14
 Kevin Esterling, *The Political Economy of Expertise*, chapters 3, 4, 9
 Sarah F. Anzia and Terry M. Moe. 2019. "Interest Groups on the Inside: The Governance of Public Pension Funds." *Perspectives on Politics* 17(4): 1059-1078.
 Albert Hirschman, 1970, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*, chapter
- May 5 Presentation of Research Projects
Student Presentations of Research
- May 12 **Final Research Paper Due**