

POLITICAL SCIENCE 4773W
INTEREST GROUPS, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, AND
THE POLITICS OF RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER
(WRITING INTENSIVE COURSE)

Monday/Wednesday 4:00-5:15 PM
Spring 2012 (1/18/12 – 5/1/12)
Blegen Hall, Room 120

Professor: Robin L. Phinney
Office Hours: Wednesday 12:00-2:00pm or by appointment
Office Location: Room 1325 Social Sciences Building
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Teaching Assistant:
Office Hours:
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COURSE DESCRIPTION

What role do movements like the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street play in American politics? How do groups like the NAACP, National Organization for Women, and Coalition on Human Needs gain influence over policymaking? In this course, we will examine the role of interest groups and social movements in American politics. Over the semester, we will review both theoretical and empirical research on interest groups and social movements, paying particular attention to organizations and movements that represent women, racial and ethnic minorities, low-income populations, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people.

First, we will explore basic questions about the nature and extent of interest group participation in national politics. What is the difference between an interest group and social movement? What types of interests are represented by groups and movements? Are certain professions and constituencies overrepresented in the interest group community? Are others underrepresented? In Next, we will examine theoretical literature on interest group mobilization. Who joins interest groups and social movements, and why? How do theories of mobilization help explain patterns of interest group involvement in national politics?

We will then turn to the strategies and tactics of political advocacy. We will explore direct forms of lobbying, such as providing campaign contributions to legislators or offering expert testimony in Congressional hearings, as well as indirect forms of lobbying, such as mobilizing constituents to contact their elected representatives. Finally, we will conclude by examining empirical research on the influence of interest groups and social movements. When do groups succeed in influencing government? When do they fail? When should we expect advocacy to be effective?

WRITING-INTENSIVE REQUIREMENTS AND WRITING/RESEARCH SUPPORT

This course is writing-intensive, and writing instruction and activities are integral to the class. Writing assignments include short reflective papers, in-class writing assignments and peer “workshopping” activities, a presentation memo assignment, and the writing and revision of a 15-page research paper. Together, these activities represent 50 percent of your overall grade.

While writing instruction is incorporated into the class, students are encouraged to visit the Center for Writing for additional support (<http://writing.umn.edu/sws/index.html>). The Center offers free writing instruction, by appointment or walk-in, to all University of Minnesota students. You can meet with a writing consultant by setting up an appointment through the above website, calling the Center at 612-625-1893, or stopping by the attendant desk in 15 Nicholson Hall.

For the final research paper, you may wish to get in touch with one of the subject librarians at Wilson library. The subject librarian for political science is Rafael Tarrago (612-624-4317; r-tarr@umn.edu). A full list of subject librarians is available at the following address: <http://www.lib.umn.edu/about/selectors>. Subject-specific resources are listed at the following address: <http://www.lib.umn.edu/site/subjects.phtml>.

REQUIRED READINGS

There are three required books, available from the University Bookstore. Readings marked with * are available on the Ereserve website <http://eres.lib.umn.edu/eres/coursepage.aspx?cid=2361>. The password for the electronic reserves is: maawwx

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

Cigler, Allan J. and Burdett A. Loomis. *Interest Group Politics, 7th Edition*. Washington DC: CQ Press, 2007.

Piven, Frances Fox and Richard Cloward. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. New York: Vintage, 1978.

GRADING

Success in this class requires a combination of reading, discussion, and writing. Grades will be based on the following components, discussed in greater detail on the following pages.

1. Reading, Attendance, and Participation	30 points	15% of overall grade
2. Written Homework	20 points	10% of overall grade
3. Midterm Exam	50 points	25% of overall grade
4. Research Paper	70 points	35% of overall grade
5. Presentation and 1-pager	30 points	15% of overall grade
<i>Total</i>	200 points	100%

1. Reading, Attendance, and Participation (15%)

This course is conducted as a seminar, and your regular attendance and active engagement are essential to make it a success. While I will spend some time lecturing, we will devote a fair amount of class time to discussing and evaluating readings, and applying concepts from the readings to contemporary issues in American politics. Because the readings serve as a springboard for class discussion, all materials should be read *before* class. In-class, pop quizzes on the readings are possible to ensure that readings are completed prior to class.

Your reading, attendance, and participation grade will be based on your presence and engagement in class, your preparation and contributions to discussion, and your courtesy and respect for others. ***Please come to class on time and stay for the entire session.*** If you must arrive late, leave early, or if you anticipate missing a class, please notify me ahead of time. More than one unexcused absence will impact your participation grade.

2. Written Homework (10%)

Each student is responsible for submitting five comments or reflections on the assigned readings. These comments should engage at least two of the readings for the week, and should be between 250 and 500 words each. The comments must be emailed to me (rphinney@umn.edu) by Sunday evening *before* the class in which they will be discussed. Comments will be graded on the following scale: check-plus, check, check-minus, and zero (outstanding, satisfactory, below expectations, and not completed). For most comments, you may choose the weeks and readings to comment on. At various points in the semester, I may require comments on a particular set of readings.

Your comments should engage critically with the readings. The goal is not for you to summarize or offer a simple assessment of the material. Rather, the goal is reflection and analysis. Your comments should demonstrate that you understand and are thinking critically about the readings. For example: Did you find particular arguments interesting or provocative? Why or why not? Do you agree with the authors' key findings? Why or why not? How do the arguments of various authors work together? How do they differ? How do such ideas apply to issues in contemporary American politics?

While the comments provide an opportunity for you to express your thoughts on the readings, the structure and tone of the comments should be similar to that of a formal research paper. Among other things, this means that you should have a clear thesis, and avoid overly informal language.

3. Midterm Exam (25%)

There will be one midterm exam, held on February 29th in class. The midterm will consist of multiple choice, short answer, and essay questions.

4. Research Paper (35%)

Writing practice, revision, and research are an important component of the course. Each student is expected to write, and revise, a 15-page research paper related to interest groups and social

movements in American politics. In this paper, you will select an interest group or social movement, and analyze its attributes, activities, or influence through the lens of one or more of the theories examined in the semester. Alternatively, you may select an issue and explore the politics of interest group advocacy on that issue. In addition to the final paper, each student must submit a 1 page proposal (due February 1st in class), and 5-7 page paper draft and list of initial sources (due March 9th via email). Both the proposal and the paper draft will be graded. I will distribute a handout with additional guidelines for the proposal, draft, and final paper.

Instructor/TA feedback on the paper proposal and draft, and peer feedback from “workshopping” sessions, should be incorporated into your final paper. Your grade on the paper will incorporate the grade from your proposal and draft (10 of the 70 points), the strength of your final paper, and your improvement between the draft and final paper. All final papers must include a cover letter describing feedback received over the course of the semester, and how this feedback was incorporated into the final paper.

Important dates for the research paper

- ❖ February 1st: 1 page proposal due in class
- ❖ March 9th: 5-7 page paper draft and list of initial sources due via email to Instructor and TA
- ❖ May 9th: Final paper due. Submit 2 hard copies to Instructor’s mailbox (1414 Social Sciences) by 5pm.

5. Presentation and 1-pager (15%)

During the final three weeks of class, each student will prepare a 5-7 minute class presentation and “1-pager.” The presentation will be about the interest group or social movement that is the subject of your final paper. Rather than present on research/findings from the final paper, you will be asked to imagine that you are a representative of the group/movement, and have been granted a 5-minute meeting with President Obama. In the presentation, you will offer an argument for or against a contemporary issue of concern to your group/movement, as well as prepare a 1-page handout to leave with the President after the meeting. The purpose of this assignment is to think about the group or movement from a slightly different perspective, and engage in a different style of writing.

These assignments total 200 points. The relationship between points and overall grade is as follows:

A	(187-200 points, or 94-100 percent)	C	(147-152 points, or 74-76 percent)
A-	(179-186 points, or 90-93 percent)	C-	(139-146 points, or 70-73 percent)
B+	(173-178 points, or 87-89 percent)	D+	(133-138 points, or 67-69 percent)
B	(167-172 points, or 84-86 percent)	D	(127-132 points, or 64-66 percent)
B-	(159-166 points, or 80-83 percent)	S	139 or more points/70% or greater
C+	(153-158 points, or 77-79 percent)		

With respect to grade point average, the University utilizes plus and minus grading on a 4.000 cumulative grade point scale in accordance w/the scale listed at the following address:
<http://policy.umn.edu/Policies/Education/Education/GRADINGTRANSCRIPTS.html>

LATE POLICY

Please keep in mind the following dates/deadlines. There are many assignments in this class, and turning assignments in by each due date is your responsibility.

- ❖ February 1st: Paper proposal due in class
- ❖ February 29th: Midterm
- ❖ March 9th: Draft of final paper due
- ❖ April 8th: Last day to submit comments/reflections
- ❖ April 16th – April 30th: Student presentations
- ❖ May 9th: Final paper due by 5pm

Late papers *will not be accepted except under extraordinary circumstances*, and then only *with prior permission* from the instructor. Late papers will be penalized one grade per day.

Make-up exams are only permitted in the case of unavoidable or University-approved circumstances. Such circumstances include verified illness, participation in intercollegiate athletic events, subpoenas, jury duty, military service, bereavement, and religious observances. Such circumstances do not include voting in local, state, or national elections. For complete information, please see: <http://policy.umn.edu/Policies/Education/Education/MAKEUPWORK.html>.

TECHNOLOGY

Laptops and other electronic devices (cell phones, tablets, etc.) are not permitted in this class.

OFFICE HOURS AND EMAIL

Office hours are a great chance to ask questions or raise concerns you have about lectures, assignments, readings, or political science or public policy in general. My scheduled office hours are on Wednesday from 12:00-2:00pm in Social Sciences Building Room 1325. If you can't make office hours, I am happy to set up an appointment for another time on Monday, Wednesday, or Thursday.

If you need to contact me outside of class, the best way to reach me is via email (rphinney@umn.edu). You may email me with questions or concerns, and I will do my best to respond to you within 24 hours if your email is received Sunday-Thursday. Messages received Friday or Saturday may have to wait until Monday. I will conduct course-related business via email, and I expect you to make sure you regularly check your official UMN email.

Please remember that email is a *professional* communication and should be treated as such. This means that your emails should contain a greeting, and should be polite and formal in tone. Please make your emails clear and concise; even a brief email exchange takes time. I will not summarize lectures, discussions, readings, or missed classes via email.

LECTURE, READING, & ASSIGNMENT SCHEDULE

At various points throughout the semester, I may add/remove readings from the reading list.

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

Week 1 (January 26th): Introduction and Overview of the Course

Week 2 (January 23rd and 25th): Interest Groups and Social Movements: An Overview

- Loomis, Burdett A. and Allan J. Cigler. 2007. "Introduction: The Changing Nature of Interest Group Politics." In *Interest Group Politics, 7th Edition*: 1-36.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, and John T. Tierney. 1986. *Organized Interests and American Democracy*. Boston College: Harper Collins Publishers. Chapters 2 and 3 (pp.14-57).*
- Costain, Anne N. 1981. "Representing Women: The Transition from Social Movement to Interest Group." *The Western Political Quarterly* 34(1): 100-113.*

Week 3 (January 30th and February 1st)

January 30th: Participation, Bias, and the Sources of Group Membership

- Baumgartner, Frank and Beth Leech. 2001. "Interest Niches and Policy Bandwagons: Patterns of Interest Group Involvement in National Politics." *Journal of Politics* 63(4): 1191-1213.*
- Salisbury, Robert H. 1984. "Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 78: 64-76.*
- New York Times. 2012. "Times Topics: Occupy Wall Street." Available at <http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/organizations/o/occupy_wall_street/index.html>

February 1st: Writing and paper proposal workshop (**bring 4 copies of paper proposal to class**)

- Williamson, Vanessa, Theda Skocpol, and John Coggin. 2011. "The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism." *Perspectives on Politics* 9(1): 25-43.*
- Tea Party Patriots. 2011. "About the Tea Party Patriots." Available at <http://www.teapartypatriots.org/about/>.
- Scherer, Michael. September 16, 2010. "Tea Party Time: The Making of a Political Uprising." Available at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2019608,00.html>

PART 2: INTEREST GROUP MOBILIZATION

Week 4 (February 6th and 8th): Traditional Theories of Interest Group Mobilization

- Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. 1787-1788. [1787-1788.] *The Federalist Papers*. New York: Bantam Books. Numbers 10.*
- Alexis de Tocqueville. 1835. [1850.] *Democracy in America, 13th Edition*. New York: Harper Perennial. (Pp. 189-195 and 513-524)*
- Truman, David B. 1951. *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. (Excerpts)*

Week 5 (February 13th and 15th): The Collective Action Problem

- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (Excerpts)*
- Robert H. Salisbury. 1969. "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 13:1-32.*
- Moe, Terry M. 1981. "Toward a Broader View of Interest Groups." *Journal of Politics* 43: 531-43.*

Week 6 (February 20th and 22nd): Contemporary Issues

- Cress, Daniel M. and David A. Snow. 1996. "Mobilization at the Margins: Resources, Benefactors, and the Viability of Homeless Social Movement Organizations." *American Sociological Review* 61(6): 1089-1109.*
- Nelson, Michael. 2007. "The Politics of Tribal Recognition: Casinos, Culture, and Controversy." In *Interest Group Politics, 7th Edition*: 65-85.
- Putnam, Roberts. 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital."*
- Strolovitch, Dara. 2007. "A More Level Playing Field or a New Mobilization of Bias? Interest Groups and Advocacy for the Disadvantaged." In *Interest Group Politics, 7th Edition*: 86-107.

Week 7 (February 27th and 29th): Midterm Exam Week (no readings)

MIDTERM EXAM ON WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 29TH IN CLASS

PART 3: THE STRATEGIES AND TACTICS OF ADVOCACY

Week 8 (March 5th and 7th): Protest Movements

- Piven, Frances Fox and Richard Cloward. 1978. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. New York: Vintage.

Week 9 (March 19th and 21st): Interest Group Strategies for Political Influence

- Baumgartner, Frank R., Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech. *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009. Chapters 6-8 (pp. 110-165)
- Hall, Richard and Alan V. Deardorff. 2006. "Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 100, No. 1 (February): 69-84.*
- Imig, Douglas R. 1992. "Resource Mobilization and Survival Tactics of Poverty Advocacy Groups." *The Western Political Quarterly* 45(2): 501-20.*

PAPER DRAFT IS DUE BY MIDNIGHT ON FRIDAY, MARCH 9TH BY EMAIL
ENJOY YOUR SPRING BREAK!

Week 10 (March 26th and 28th): Inside Lobbying

- Hall, Richard L., and Frank W. Wayman. 1990. "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees." *American Political Science Review* 84: 797–820.*
- Hojnacki, Marie and David C. Kimball. 1998. "Organized Interests and the Decision of Whom to Lobby in Congress." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 92, No. 4. (December): 775-790.*
- Currinder, Marian, Joanne Connor Green and M. Margaret Conway. "Interest Group Money in Elections." In *Interest Group Politics, 7th Edition*: 182-211.
- Kersh, Rogan. "The Well-Informed Lobbying: Information and Interest Group Lobbying." In *Interest Group Politics, 7th Edition*: 389-411.

Week 11 (April 2nd and 4th): Outside Lobbying

- Kollman, Ken. 1998. *Outside Lobbying: Public Opinion and Interest Group Strategies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapters 2 (pp. 28-57)*
- Guth, James L., Lyman A. Kellstedt, John C. Green, and Corwin E. Smidt. 2007. "Getting the Spirit? Religious and Partisan Mobilization in the 2004 Elections." In *Interest Group Politics, 7th Edition*: 157-181.

PART 4: LOBBYING AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE

Week 12 (April 9th and 11th): Empirical Research on the Influence of Interest Groups

- Baumgartner, Frank R., Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech. 2009. *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-67) and Chapters 10-12 (pp.190-260)

LAST DAY TO SUBMIT COMMENTS , APRIL 8TH

Week 13 (April 16th and 18th): Student Presentations

Week 14 (April 23rd and 25th): Student Presentations

Week 15 (April 30th and May 2nd): Student Presentations and Wrap-up

May 2nd: Wrap-up and Looking Forward

- National Public Radio. "How Campaign Finance Ruling Changes Politics," Feb. 16, 2010. (Listen to the 30-minute podcast at: <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=123775551>)

FINAL PAPER DUE WEDNESDAY, MAY 9TH BY 5PM

GUIDELINES FOR WRITTEN HOMEWORK

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Each student is responsible for submitting **five** comments or reflections on the assigned readings. These comments should be between 250 and 500 words each (approximately 1-2 pages, double-spaced). The comments must be emailed as a word document to me (rphinney@umn.edu) by midnight on Sunday *before* the classes in which they will be discussed. Comments will be graded on the following scale: check-plus, check, check-minus, and zero (outstanding, satisfactory, below expectations, and not completed). For most comments, you may choose the weeks and readings to comment on. At various points in the semester, I may require comments on a particular set of readings. The first day to submit comments is January 22nd and the last day to submit comments is April 8th. Written comments are worth 20 points, or 10% of your overall grade.

Your comments should engage critically with at least two of the readings for that week (unless there is only one reading for the week). The goal is not for you to summarize or offer a simple assessment of the material. Rather, the goal is reflection and analysis. Your comments should demonstrate that you understand and are thinking critically about the readings. There are a wide range of topics you can write about, and I encourage you to be creative. If you are stumped for possible comment topics, here are some examples of questions you might consider:

- ❖ What arguments or key points did you find interesting or provocative? Why?
- ❖ Do you agree with the authors' key findings? Why or why not?
- ❖ How do the arguments of various authors work together? How do they differ?
- ❖ Do the theories presented in the readings apply to all types of groups/movements? Why or why not?
- ❖ How do such ideas apply to issues in contemporary American politics?
- ❖ What are the implications for representation and democracy?

While the comments provide an opportunity for you to reflect and express your thoughts on the readings, the structure and tone of the comments should be similar to that of a formal research paper. Among other things, this means that you should have a clear thesis, and avoid overly informal language.

RESEARCH PAPER GUIDELINES

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Each student is expected to write, and revise, a 15-page research paper related to interest groups and social movements in American politics. You have two options for this paper. Option A is to select an interest group or social movement, and analyze its attributes, activities, or influence using the theories and ideas introduced this semester. Option B is to select an issue in contemporary American politics, and explore interest group or social movement activity on this issue.

To facilitate your research and writing, you must submit a 1 page proposal (due February 1st in class), as well as a 5-7 page draft and list of initial sources (due March 9th via email). Both the proposal and paper draft will be graded, and count for 10 of the 70 points for your final paper. Your proposal should introduce the group, movement, or issue that you are thinking about writing about in your final paper, and identify one or more aspects of the group or issue that interest you. We will “workshop” these proposals in class. The goal of the workshop is to help you refine the paper’s subject and thesis. The 5-7 page draft should elaborate on your group, movement, or issue, and present the refined thesis. The draft should also include a list of initial sources.

Revision is an important element of successful writing, and instructor/TA feedback on the paper proposal and draft, as well as peer feedback from workshop sessions, should be incorporated into your final paper. **All final papers must include a cover letter describing feedback received over the course of the semester, and how this feedback was incorporated into the final paper.** This cover letter on your final paper does not count towards the page limit. The minimum number of pages is 10 (not including the bibliography); the maximum number of pages is 20 (including the bibliography).

Your grade on the paper will incorporate the grade from your proposal and draft (10 of the 70 points), the strength of your final paper, and your improvement between the draft and final paper. The strength of your final paper will be based on the quality of your writing, the content of your argument, and quality of your research.

Important dates for the research paper

- ❖ February 1st: 1-page proposal due in class
- ❖ March 9th: 5-7 page paper draft and list of initial sources due via email to Instructor and TA (rphinney@umn.edu and lutt0062@umn.edu)
- ❖ May 9th: Final paper due by 5pm. Submit 2 hard copies to Instructor’s mailbox (1414 Social Sciences).

The draft and final paper should be double-spaced with 1-inch margins, and Times New Roman, 12-point font. The proposal and cover letter can be single-spaced.

PRESENTATION AND 1-PAGER GUIDELINES

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During the final three weeks of class, each student will prepare a 5-7 minute class presentation and “1-pager.” The presentation will be about the interest group or social movement that is the subject of your final paper. If you are writing on an issue rather than a group or movement, you can present from the perspective of one of the organizations active on that issue.

In this presentation, you are asked to imagine that you are a representative of the group or movement, and have been granted a 5-minute meeting with President Obama. In the presentation, you will try to persuade the President to take action (or avoid action) on an issue of importance to your group or movement. The time-limit will be strictly enforced – therefore, you need to present an argument that is direct, concise, and persuasive. As part of this assignment, you will need to prepare a 1-page handout to leave with the President after the meeting. The purpose of this assignment is to think about the group or movement from a slightly different perspective, and engage in a different style of writing.

PAPER WORKSHOPPING GUIDELINES

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Today, we will be workshoping your paper proposals. The goal of workshoping is to help you develop and refine your ideas for your research paper through constructive conversations with your peers.

The procedures for workshoping are as follows:

- (1) Distribute proposals to group members, and decide the order in which you will discuss the proposals. You will workshop each proposal for 15 minutes. Designate one person to keep track of time.
- (2) For each proposal:
 - a. Begin by having everyone read the proposal
 - b. After everyone has read the proposal, the author should:
 - i. Restate the topic
 - ii. Say a little about why the topic interests you
 - iii. Explain how far you are in researching the topic, and highlight areas in which you are looking for specific feedback and guidance. For instance, are you having trouble narrowing down your topic? Are you unsure about the data sources that you will be using to investigate your topic?
- (3) Once the author has provided an overview of the topic and outlined his or her questions, group members should provide constructive feedback and advice. Group members should try to address the author's questions, but also incorporate their own ideas/advice. Pay particular attention to how the proposal topic aligns with theories/ideas that we have (or will) cover in class.
- (4) Don't forget to write down the comments and suggestions of your peers!
- (5) At the end of the class, hand in the extra copy of your paper proposal.

Remember that workshoping is an opportunity to learn from and help one another. Please aim for providing constructive comments and guidance, rather than criticism or evaluation.