

**POLITICAL ADVOCACY
INTEREST GROUPS, LOBBYING, AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE
IN THE UNITED STATES**

Public Policy and American Institutions 2660
Wednesday 4:00-6:20, Taubman Center Room 103
Spring 2011

Professor Robin L. Phinney
Email: Robin_Phinney@brown.edu

Office Hours: Monday 12-2
67 George Street, Room 109

DESCRIPTION

This course will examine political advocacy by interest groups in the United States. We will review theoretical and empirical research on how groups mobilize, interact with one another, and seek to influence electoral politics and policymaking. Throughout the course, we will explore real-world applications of theories of mobilization, lobbying, and influence through case studies, guest presentations, and a final research paper.

We will begin by asking basic questions about the nature and extent of interest group participation in national politics. What types of interests are represented in Washington? Are certain professions and constituencies overrepresented in the interest group community? Are others underrepresented? Next, we will examine theoretical literature on interest group mobilization. Who joins interest groups, and why? How do theories of mobilization help explain patterns of interest group involvement in national politics?

The next section of the course will focus on 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. We will also consider why interest groups engage in coalitional strategies, as well as alternate venues for influencing the government.

The course will conclude by examining empirical research on the influence of interest groups. When do groups succeed in influencing government? When do they fail? When and how often should we expect advocacy to be effective?

Both Masters and Doctoral students, as well as advanced undergraduates, are invited to participate in this course. Because Masters and Doctoral students often have different objectives for their graduate studies, assessment for Masters students and advanced undergraduates will include a class presentation and applied research project, while assessment for Doctoral students will involve a research proposal, replication, or original data analysis.

REQUIRED READINGS

There are 6 required books, available from the Brown Bookstore. All other required readings will be available through OCRA (password = *lobbying*).

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.

Berry, Jeffrey M., and David F. Arons. *A Voice for Nonprofits*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003.

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

Olson, Mancur. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Schattschneider, E.E. *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1975.

Truman, David B. 1993. [1971.] *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*, Second Edition. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies.

Students who wish to pursue further study in this area are encouraged to purchase the following books from your preferred book seller.

Walker, Jack. 1991. *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Baumgartner, Frank R. and Beth Leech, 1998. *Basic Interests: The Importance of Groups in Politics and in Political Science*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

COURSE STRUCTURE

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

Participation/weekly comments: 20%

Short papers: 30%

Masters Students: Presentation: 25%

Final Paper: 25%

Doctoral Students: Final Paper: 50%

- (1) Short Papers (15% each – 30% total): There will be two short (5-7 pages) papers assigned in this course, of the instructor's choosing. In these papers, you will be evaluated on your mastery of the course material, the clarity of your writing, and the quality of your argument. The first paper is due on Friday, March 4th at 5pm (via email). The second paper is due on Friday, April 1st at 5pm (via email).
- (2) Participation (20%): There are several components to your participation grade: your attendance, your preparation and contributions to class discussion, and your courtesy and respect for others. Regular attendance is essential to doing well in this course. If you anticipate missing a class or important deadline, please notify me ahead of time. More than one unexcused absence will impact your participation grade. Because materials covered in the readings will serve as a springboard for discussion, I expect you to have read and thought about the readings *before* class and to arrive ready to participate.

To facilitate class discussion, students are required to submit comments (roughly 1 page, double-spaced) for 6 of the class discussions. These comments may highlight readings or parts of readings that you found interesting, critique an author's argument, or apply concepts covered in the readings to a contemporary issue involving political advocacy. Comments will not be graded, but failure to submit comments that are thoughtful and well written will negatively impact your final participation grade. You may choose which weeks to submit comments.

MASTERS STUDENTS/ADVANCED UNDERGRADUATES:

- (3) Presentation (25%): You will be responsible for summarizing, presenting on, and facilitating discussion for one class period. Presentations may be individual or group-based (groups can include up to 3 students). Presentations will begin during Week 5 (March 2nd). Please sign up for a week on MyCourses.
- (4) Final Paper (25%): Masters students are required to prepare a 15-20 page research paper. The paper should either (a) produce a case study of a particular interest group's involvement in organizing, mobilizing, or lobbying the government, or (b) generate a proposal for organizing, mobilizing, and lobbying the government on behalf of a particular constituency. Students may examine the activities or potential activities of an organization of which they are associated, or an organization of which they are not associated. All papers must apply the concepts learned in class to the organization or constituency being examined, and will require outside research. Papers will be graded on the quality of the analysis, the evidence presented, and the clarity and presentation of the writing.

Students must discuss potential final paper topics with me (either in office hours or via email) by Wednesday, March 9th. A short overview of your paper (2-3 pages), including an initial set of references, is due by Friday April 15th at 5pm. This overview will not be graded, but I will provide comments and suggest additional sources. Failure to submit a draft will automatically lower your final paper by one letter grade. The final paper is due Wednesday May 18th by midnight.

DOCTORAL STUDENTS:

- (3) Final Paper (50%): Doctoral students are required to prepare a 25-30 page paper research paper that either (a) produces a case study of a particular interest group's involvement in organizing, mobilizing, or lobbying the government, or (b) carefully synthesizes the state of the literature in a particular area and offers a research design for carrying out a question that remains unanswered in the literature. Both topics require outside research; I can provide assistance in locating research not included in the course reading list.

Students must discuss potential topics with me (either in office hours or via email) by Wednesday, March 9th. An initial draft of your paper (5-10 pages), including an initial set of references, is due by Friday April 15th at 5pm. This draft will count for approximately 15% of your final grade. The final paper is due Wednesday May 18th by midnight.

IMPORTANT DATES/DEADLINES

- Monday, March 4th; Paper #1 is due by 5pm (via email)
- Wednesday, March 9th: Deadline for proposing a paper topic
- Friday April 1st: Paper #2 is due by 5pm (via email).
- Friday April 15th: Overview/draft of final paper is due by 5pm (via email)
- Monday May 18th: Final paper is due by midnight (via email)

OFFICE HOURS AND EMAIL

Office hours are a great chance to ask questions or raise concerns you have about discussions, assignments, readings, or public policy in general. My scheduled office hours are on Monday between 12 and 2 in the Taubman Center for Public Policy (67 George Street, Rm 109). If you cannot make office hours, I am happy to setup an appointment.

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. Please note that I will not summarize discussions, readings, or missed classes via email.

DISABILITY SUPPORT SERVICES

Students that require academic accommodations based on a disability should contact Disability Support Services (DSS) at 401-863-9588 or dss@brown.edu for information on registration and accommodation. Further information about this process is available on the DSS website: http://www.brown.edu/Student_Services/Office_of_Student_Life/dss/.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic dishonesty, including plagiarism, is absolutely unacceptable. Papers, assignments, and exams that violate standards of academic integrity are subject to penalties under Brown's Academic Code, which is available here:

http://www.brown.edu/Administration/Dean_of_the_College/curriculum/documens/principles.pdf

If you are unsure of the meaning of plagiarism, please discuss the matter with your professor or graduate student instructor. Penalties for academic dishonesty include, but are not limited to, noncredit for an assignment, a failing grade, and/or direct referral to the Dean.

LECTURE, READING, & ASSIGNMENT SCHEDULE

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

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

Week 2 (February 2nd): 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. (OCRA)
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman. 1984. "What Accent the Heavenly Chorus? Political Equality and the American Pressure System." *Journal of Politics* 46: 1006–32. (OCRA)
- Salisbury, Robert H. 1984. "Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 78: 64–76. (OCRA)
- 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.

PART 2: INTEREST GROUP MOBILIZATION

Week 3 (February 9th): Traditional Theories of Interest Group Mobilization

- Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. 1982. [1787-1788.] *The Federalist Papers*. New York: Bantam Books. Numbers 10 and 51. (OCRA)
- Alexis de Tocqueville. 1988. [1850.] *Democracy in America, 13th Edition*. New York: Harper Perennial. (Pp. 189-195 and 513-524) (OCRA)
- Truman, David B. 1951. *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. (Ch. 1-4, 16)
- Schattschneider, E. E. 1960. *The Semi-Sovereign People*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. (Ch. 1–4, 8)

Week 4 (February 16th): The Collective Action Problem

- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (Pp. 5-22; 33-65; 132-167)
- Wendy L. Hansen, Neil J. Mitchell, and Jeffrey M. Drope. 2005. "The Logic of Private and Collective Action." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (January): 150-167. (OCRA)

Week 5 (February 23rd): Overcoming the Collective Action Problem

- Robert H. Salisbury. 1969. "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups." *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 13:1-32. (OCRA)
- David B. Truman. 1993. [1971.] *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*, Second Edition. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies. (Ch. 5-7).

- Moe, Terry M. 1981. "Toward a Broader View of Interest Groups." *Journal of Politics* 43: 531-43. (OCRA)
- Jack L. Walker. 1983. "The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups in America." *American Political Science Review* 77:390-406. (OCRA)

PART 3: THE STRATEGIES AND TACTICS OF ADVOCACY

Week 6 (March 2nd): Strategies of Political Influence

- Gais, Thomas and Jack Walker. 1991. "Pathways to Influence in American Politics." In *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions, and Social Movements*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pp. 103-122. (OCRA)
- Hall, Richard and Alan V. Deardorff. 2006. "Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 100, No. 1 (February): 69-84. (OCRA)
- Holyoke, Thomas T. 2003. "Choosing Battlegrounds: Interest Group Lobbying Across Multiple Venues." *Political Research Quarterly* 56: 325-336. (OCRA)
- 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. (OCRA)

****PAPER #1 IS DUE ON FRIDAY, MARCH 4TH AT 5PM VIA EMAIL****

Week 7 (March 9th): Direct Lobbying

- Currinder, Marian, Joanne Connor Green and M. Margaret Conway. "Interest Group Money in Elections." In *Interest Group Politics, 7th Edition*: 182-211.
- 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. (OCRA)
- Kersh, Rogan. "The Well-Informed Lobbying: Information and Interest Group Lobbying." In *Interest Group Politics, 7th Edition*: 389-411.
- CRS Report, *Section 527 Political Organizations: Background and Issues for Federal Election and Tax Laws*. (OCRA)

Week 8 (March 16th): Grass-Roots Lobbying

- Kollman, Ken. 1998. *Outside Lobbying: Public Opinion and Interest Group Strategies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapters 2-3 (pp. 28-77) (OCRA)
- 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.
- Congressional Management Foundation Report. 2005. *Communicating with Congress: How Capitol Hill is coping with the Surge in Citizen Advocacy*. (OCRA)

Week 9 (March 23rd): Guest Lecturer

Week 10 (March 30th): Spring Break – no class

****PAPER #2 IS DUE ON FRIDAY, APRIL 1ST AT 5PM VIA EMAIL****

Week 11 (April 6th): Coalition-Building

- Hojnacki, Marie. "Interest Groups' Decisions to Join Alliances or Work Alone." *American Journal of Political Science* 41, no. 1 (1997): 61-87. (OCRA)
- Hula, Kevin. *Lobbying Together: Interest Group Coalitions in Legislative Politics*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press. Chapters 1 (pp. 1-9) and 9 (pp. 122-136). (OCRA)
- Phinney, Robin. "Interest Groups, Diverse Collaboration, and the Federal Welfare Reform of 1996." *Working paper* (OCRA)

Week 12 (April 13th): The Special Case of Nonprofit Organizations

- Berry, Jeffrey M., and David F. Arons. *A Voice for Nonprofits*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003.

PART 4: LOBBYING AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE

Week 13 (April 20th): Empirical Research on the Influence of Interest Groups

- 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.
- Patterson, Kelly D. and Matthew M. Singer. 2007. "Targeting Success: The Enduring Power of the NRA." In *Interest Group Politics, 7th Edition*: 37-64.

Week 14 (April 27th): Looking Ahead

- Cigler, Allan J. and Burdett A. Loomis. "Organized Interests, Political Parties, and Representation: James Madison, Tom DeLay, and the Soul of American Politics." In *Interest Group Politics, 7th Edition*: 433-454.
- *Citizens United vs. the Federal Election Commission* [Majority opinion (Kennedy) and Concurrent/Dissenting Opinion (Stevens)] (OCRA)