

INTEREST GROUP POLITICS
University of Pittsburgh
Political Science 2270 (20248), Graduate Seminar
Tuesday 10:30am-12:55pm
Posvar Hall 4500
Spring 2007

Instructor: Jennifer Nicoll Victor, Ph.D.
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Office Hours: M/W 2:00-3:00, or by appointment

I. Course Description

This graduate seminar on interest group politics is designed to provide advanced graduate students an opportunity to begin to explore the literature, methodology, and theories about organized groups of political actors. The course will primarily concentrate on the theories, experiences, histories, and applications of interest groups in the United States. The course is grounded in the theory of collective action, which we will study extensively at the beginning of the term. We will look at the origins of groups, how they solve collective action problems, and how they maintain themselves. Next we will examine lobbying from a variety of angles and examine the role that interest groups play with the U.S. Congress, bureaucracy, courts, and presidency. Then, we examine the role of groups with elections, paying special attention to campaigns, regulations, and PACs. In addition, we will examine several theoretically important topics including counteractive lobbying, coalition formation, outsider politics, and interest group scores. This variety of topics will allow students to become familiar with a wide range of theoretically and empirically rich research in this sub-field. This course is designed to help students prepare for advanced research in interest group politics and graduate-level exams in this field.

II. Course Goals

There are two primary goals for this course. First, students should gain a working familiarity with the literature on interest groups. Students planning to research and teach in this field should gain a fundamental grasp of substance of research in this vast field. Second, students will practice and improve their critical thinking, writing, and research skills in this class. Students will have a heavy reading load, which is necessary to begin to dissect the voluminous literature in this field. Students will also actively engage with one another in research, presentations, and writing assignments.

III. Course Components

There are three graded components to this course.

Class Presentation (10%) Each week, one student will be responsible for presenting the required readings. The student presenter should circulate discussion questions to the rest of the class prior

to the start of class (no later than Monday at 4:00pm). The presenter will provide a brief oral summary of the readings and help to start discussion about the day's topics. The presenter should note points of interest, confusion, or controversy in the readings and provide a thoughtful criticism.

Two Short Papers (40%) Each student is responsible for writing two short papers (5-7 pages each). These short papers should be a reaction to the readings from one week (or readings from more than one week if you choose). The goal is to develop a thesis that is analytical and critical of a subpart of the literature. Use evidence found in the readings to bolster your claims. I encourage you to place your argument into a larger context (*i.e.*, the broader literature) and use these assignments as an opportunity to display your analytical and rhetorical talents. These papers can be stepping-stones for your research paper if you like. Your first paper is due no later than **February 13**. Your second paper is due no later than **March 20**.

Research paper (50%) Each student is responsible for writing one "journal or conference quality" research paper. Use the literature to guide a creative thought process and to help you develop a reasonable research question. These papers will be completed in three stages. First, you will complete an introduction that states a thesis, or research question, and provides a basic outline of your paper (**due Jan. 30**). Second, you will write a research design (**due Feb. 27**). Third, you will hand in your completed project (**due Apr. 17**). Late assignments will result in a lowered grade.

IV. Logistics

Incompletes I am not inclined to offer incomplete grades. I strongly advise you to organize yourself to complete the coursework in a timely fashion. I am open to helping you with your assignments, of course, and will do my best to help you develop projects of a reasonable scale. Students rarely start the semester planning to take an incomplete, but it is easy to get behind. Know that I will not be comfortable offering incomplete grades.

Cheating, Plagiarism, and Academic Integrity. Students in this course will be expected to comply with the University of Pittsburgh's Policy on Academic Integrity (available at: <http://www.pitt.edu/~provost/ai1.html>). Any student engaged in any academic misconduct *will receive an F on the offending exam or assignment*. Egregious violations will result in an F grade for the course and will be reported to the appropriate Dean's office. These violations include cheating on an exam, using someone else's work as your own, and plagiarizing the written word. Plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without providing credit or citation) is a serious offense. *If you have any questions at all about what constitutes cheating, plagiarism, or academic misconduct, please ask the instructor.*

Students with Disabilities. If you have a disability for which you are or may be requesting an accommodation, please let me (the instructor) know and contact the Office of Disability Resources and Service, 216 William Pitt Union, (412) 648-7890/(412) 383-7355 (TTY) as early as possible in the term. DRS will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course. All discussions with me regarding disabilities are confidential.

V. Books

The following books have been ordered for this class and are available at the bookstore.

Cigler, Allan J. and Burdett A. Loomis, eds. 2007. *Interest Group Politics*, 7th ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press.

Grossman, Gene M. and Elhanan Helpman. 2001. *Special Interest Politics*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Hansen, John Mark. 1991. *Gaining Access: Congress and the Farm Lobby, 1919-1981*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Herrnson, Paul S., Ronald G. Shaiko, and Clyde Wilcox, eds.. 2005. *The Interest Group Connection: Electioneering, Lobbying, and Policymaking in Washington*, 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

Kollman, Ken. 1998. *Outside Lobbying: Public Opinion & Interest Group Strategies*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Olson, Mancur. 1971 (1965). *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Rozell, Mark J., Clyde Wilcox and David Madland. 2006. *Interest Groups in American Campaigns: The New Face of Electioneering*, 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press.

Schattschneider, E.E. 1975 (1960). *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. New York: Harcourt Brace Javonovich College Publishers.

Wright, John R. 1996. *Interest Groups & Congress: Lobbying, Contributions, and Influence*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

The following books are other recommended references relevant to the topics presented in this course:

Ainsworth, Scott H. 2002. *Analyzing Interest Groups: Group Influence on People and Policies*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co, Inc.

Bauer, Robert F. 2004. *More Soft Money Hard Law: The Second Edition of the Guide to the New Campaign Finance Law*.

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

Berry, Jeffrey M. 1977. *Lobbying for the People: The Political Behavior of Public Interest Groups*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

- Berry, Jeffrey M. 1999. *The New Liberalism: The Rising Power of Citizen Groups*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Berry, Jeffrey M. and Clyde Wilcox. 2007. *The Interest Group Society*, 4th ed. New York: Pearson Longman.
- Corrado, Anthony, Thomas E. Mann, Daniel R. Ortiz, and Trevor Potter. 2005. *The New Campaign Finance Sourcebook*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Goldstein, Kenneth M. 1999. *Interest Groups, Lobbying and Participation in America*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Lowi, Theodore J. 1979. *The End of Liberalism: The Second Republic of the United States*, 2nd ed. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Lowery, David and Holy Brasher. 2004. *Organized Interests and American Government*. Boston: McGraw Hill.
- Nownes, Anthony J. 2001. *Pressure and Power: Organized Interests in American Politics*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, and John T. Tierney. 1986. *Organized Interests and American Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row.

VI. Course Schedule and Reading Assignments

- T, Jan. 9** Introductions, syllabus, sign-up for presentations
- T, Jan. 16** GROUP ORIGINS AND THE COLLECTIVE ACTION PROBLEM
Readings: Cigler, Allan J. and Burdett A. Loomis, eds. 2007. *Interest Group Politics*, 7th ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press. **Ch. 1**
- Coase, R. H. "The Lighthouse in Economics," Ch. 7 of *The Firm, The Market, and the Law*.
- Grossman, Gene M. and Elhanan Helpman. 2001. *Special Interest Politics*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. **Ch.1**
- Herrnson, Paul S., Ronald G. Shaiko, and Clyde Wilcox, eds.. 2005. *The Interest Group Connection: Electioneering, Lobbying, and Policymaking in Washington*, 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. **Ch. 1**
- Madison, James. "Federalist #10"
- Olson, Mancur. 1971 (1965). *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. (concentrate on chs. 1, 2, 6)
- Schattschneider, E.E. 1975 (1960). *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. New York: Harcourt Brace Javoanovich College Publishers.(concentrate on pgs. 1-75)
- Walker, Jack. "The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups in America." APSR 1983.
- Rec. Readings:* Bachrach, Peter and Morton S. Baratz, "The Two Faces of Power." APSR 1962.

Bentley, Arthur. *The Process of Government*. 1908.
Dahl, Robert. *Who Governs*.
Dahl, Robert. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*.
Gehlbach, Scott. "The Consequences of Collective Action: An Incomplete-Contracts Approach." *AJPS*, 50:3. 2006.
Latham, Earl. *The Group Basis of Politics*. 1965.
Truman, David B. *The Governmental Process*. 1956.
Walker, Jack. "A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy." *APSR* 1966.

T, Jan 23

Readings:

GROUP MAINTENANCE

Cigler, Allan J. and Burdett A. Loomis, eds. 2007. *Interest Group Politics*, 7th ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press. **Chs. 2, 3, 4, 5**
Salisbury, Robert H. "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups." *MJPS* 1969.
Salisbury, Robert. "Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions." *APSR* 1984.

Rec. Readings: Wilson, James Q. 1995. *Political Organizations*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

T, Jan. 30

Readings:

INFORMATION AND LOBBYING

Paper Introductions are Due Today.

Browne, William P. and Won Paik. 1993. "Beyond the Domain: Recasting Network Politics in the Postreform Congress." *AJPS*.
Cigler, Allan J. and Burdett A. Loomis, eds. 2007. *Interest Group Politics*, 7th ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press. **Ch. 17**
Evans, Diana. "Before the Roll Call: Interest Group Lobbying and Public Policy Outcomes in House Committees." *PRQ*. 1996.
Salisbury, Robert H., Paul Johnson, John Heinz, Edward Laumann, and Robert Nelson. "Who you know versus what you know: the uses of government experience for Washington Lobbyists." *AJPS* 1989.
Shaiko, Ronald. "Reverse Lobbying: Interest Group Mobilization from the White House and the Hill," in *Interest Group Politics*, Allan Cigler and Burdett Loomis, eds. 1998.
Wright, John R. 1996. *Interest Groups & Congress: Lobbying, Contributions, and Influence*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Rec. Readings: Austen-Smith, David. "Information and Influence: Lobbying for Agendas and Votes." *AJPS* 1993.

Milbrath, Lester. 1963. *The Washington Lobbyists*.

T, Feb. 6

Readings:

LOBBYING

- Ainsworth, Scott and Itai Sened. "The Role of Lobbyists: Entrepreneurs with Two Audiences." *AJPS* 1993.
- Ainsworth, Scott. "The Role of Legislators in the determination of Interest Group Influence." *LSQ* 1997.
- Denzau, Arthur T. and Michael C. Munger. 1986. "Legislators and Interest Groups: How Unorganized Interests Get Represented." *APSR*
- Grossman, Gene M. and Elhanan Helpman. 2001. *Special Interest Politics*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. **Chs. 4, 5**
- Hall, Riachd L. and Alan Deardorff. "Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy." *APSR* 100:1. 2006.
- Herrnson, Paul S., Ronald G. Shaiko, and Clyde Wilcox, eds. 2005. *The Interest Group Connection: Electioneering, Lobbying, and Policymaking in Washington*, 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. **Chs. 7, 8, 9, 10**
- Hojnacki, Marie and David Kimball. "Organized Interests and the Decision of Whom to Lobby in Congress." *APSR*. 1998.
- Hojnacki, Marie and David Kimball. "The Who and How of Organizations' Lobbying Strategies in Committee." *JOP* 1999.
- Kollman, Ken. "Inviting Friends to Lobby: Interest Groups, Ideological Bias and congressional Committees." *AJPS* 1997.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman and John Tierney. "More of the Same: Washington Pressure Group Activity in a Decade of Change." *JOP* 1983.
- Smith, Richard. "Advocacy, Interpretation and Influence in the US Congress." *APSR*. 1984.
- Smith, Richard. "Interest Group Influence in the US Congress." *LSQ*. 1995.
- Strolovitch, Dara Z. "Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender." *JOP*. 68:4. 2006.

Rec. Readings: Bacheller, John. 1977. "Lobbyists and the Legislative Process: The impact of Environmental Constraints. *APSR*.

Baumgartner, Frank R. and Beth L. Leech. 2001. "Interest niches and Policy Bandwagons: Patterns of Interest Group Involvement in National Politics." *JOP*.

Berry, Jeffrey. *Lobbying for the People*

Berry, Jeffrey. *The Interest Group Society*.

Iarycaower, Matias, Pablo Spiller and Mariano Tommasi. "Judicial Lobbying: The Politics of Labor Law Constitutional Interpretation." *APSR* 100:1. 2006.

Jones, Bryan, and Frank Baumgartner. "Non-legislative Hearings and Policy

Change in Congress” *AJPS* 1995.

Nownes, Anthony J. 2006. *Total Lobbying What Lobbyists Want (and How They Try to Get it)*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Nownes, Anthony. *Pressure and Power*.

T, Feb. 13

MONEY AND CAMPAIGNS I

First Short Paper Due Today

Readings:

Ashworth, Acott. “Campaign Finance and Voter Welfare with Entrenched Incumbents” *APSR*. 100:1. 2006.

Cigler, Allan J. and Burdett A. Loomis, eds. 2007. *Interest Group Politics*, 7th ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press. **Chs. 7, 8, 9**

Langbein, Laura and Mark Lotwis. “The Political Efficacy of Lobbying and Money: Gun Control in the US House, 1986” *LSQ* 1990.

Langbein, Laura. “Money and Access: Some Empirical Evidence.” *JOP* 1986.

Rozell, Mark J., Clyde Wilcox and David Madland. 2006. *Interest Groups in American Campaigns: The New Face of Electioneering*, 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press.

T, Feb. 20

MONEY AND CAMPAIGNS II

Readings:

Austen-Smith, David. “Campaign Contributions and Access.” *APSR*. 1995.

Gais, Thoams L. and Jack Walker. “Pathways to Influence in American Politics.” In *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*, ed. Jack Walker. 1991.

Grossman, Gene M. and Elhanan Helpman. 2001. *Special Interest Politics*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. **Chs. 7, 8, 9, 10**

Hall, Richard and Frank Wayman. “Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees.” *APSR* 1990.

Herdon, James. “Access, Record, and Competition as Influences on Interest Group Contributions to Congressional Campaigns” *JOP* 1982.

Herrnson, Paul S., Ronald G. Shaiko, and Clyde Wilcox, eds.. 2005. *The Interest Group Connection: Electioneering, Lobbying, and Policymaking in Washington*, 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. **Chs. 2, 3, 4**

T, Feb. 27

PACs

Research Designs Due Today

Readings: Cox, Gary and Eric Magar. "How Much is Majority Status in the US Congress Worth?" *APSR* 1999.

Grenzke, Janet. "PACs and the Congressional Supermarket." *AJPS* 1989.

Grier, Kevin, and Michael Munger. "Comparing Interest Group PAC Contributions to House and Senate Incumbents, 1980-1986" *JOP* 1993.

Hojnacki, Marie and David Kimball. "PAC Contributions and Lobbying Contacts in Congressional Committees." *PRQ* 2001.

Kau, James B. and Paul H. Rubin. 1982. *Congressmen, Constituents, and Contributors: Determinants of Roll Call Voting in the House of Representatives*.

Romer, Thomas and James Snyder. "An Empirical Investigation of the Dynamics of PAC Contributions" *AJPS* 1994.

Wright, John "PAC Contributions, Lobbying and Representation." *JOP* 1989

Wright, John. "Contributions, Lobbying, and Committee voting in the US House of Representatives." *APSR* 1990.

Wright, John. "PACs, Contributions, and Roll Calls: An Organizational Perspective." *APSR* 1985.

Rec. Readings: Ginsberg, Benjamin and John C. Green. "The best Congress Money can Buy: Campaign Contributions and congressional Behavior." In. *Do Elections Matter?* Ed, Benjamin Ginsberg and Alan Stone. 1986.

Groseclose, Tim and James Snyder. "Buying Supermajorities." *APSR*. 90:2. 1996.

Groseclose, Tim, Seven Levitt and James Snyder, Jr. "Comparing Interest Group Scores Across Time and Chambers: Adjusted ADA Scores for US Congress." *APSR* 93:1. 1999.

Peltzman, Sam. 1984. "Constituent Interest and Congressional Voting." *Journal of Politics and Economics*.

T, Mar. 6 REGULATION OF GROUPS

Readings: Ainsworth, Scott. "Regulating Lobbyists and Interest Group Influence" *JOP* 1993.

Berry, William. "An Alternative to the Capture Theory of Regulation: The Case of State Public Utility Commissions." *AJPS* 1984.

Hansen, John Mark. 1991. *Gaining Access: Congress and the Farm Lobby, 1919-1981*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Rec. Readings: Austen-Smith, David and John Wright. "Competitive Lobbying for a Legislator's vote." *Social Choice and Welfare* 1992.

T, Mar. 13

COALITIONS OF GROUPS

Readings:

Herrnson, Paul S., Ronald G. Shaiko, and Clyde Wilcox, eds.. 2005. *The Interest Group Connection: Electioneering, Lobbying, and Policymaking in Washington*, 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. **Ch. 12**

Hojnacki, Marie. "Interests Groups' Decisions to Join Alliances or Work Alone." *AJPS* 1997.

Hojnacki, Marie. "Organized Interests' Advocacy Behavior in Alliances" *PRQ* 1998.

Salisbury, Robert, John Heinz, Edward Laumann, Robert Nelson. "Who works with Whom? Interest Group Alliances and Opposition." *APSR* 1987.

Rec. Readings: Hula, Kevin. *Lobbying Together: Interest Group Coalitions in Legislative Politics*. 1999.

T, Mar. 20

COUNTERACTIVE LOBBYING

Second Short Paper Due Today.

Readings:

Austen-Smith, David and John Wright. "Counteractive Lobbying." *AJPS* 1994.

Austen-Smith, David and John Wright. "Theory and Evidence for Counteractive Lobbying" *AJPS* 1996.

Baumgartner, Frank and Beth Leech. "The Multiple Ambiguities of Counteractive Lobbying." *AJPS* 1996.

T, Mar. 27

INTEREST GROUPS AND COURTS

Readings:

Caldeira, Gregory A. and John R. Wright. "Organized Interests and Agenda Setting in the US Supreme Court" *APSR* 1988

Caldeira, Gregory and John Wright. "Amici Curiae before the Supreme Court: Who Participates, When and How Much?" *JOP* 1990.

Caldeira, Greg and John Wright. "Lobbying for Justice: Organized Interests Supreme Court Nominations and US Senate" *AJPS* 1998.

Caldeira, Gregory, Marie Hojnacki, and John Wright. "The Lobbying Activities of Organized Interests in Federal Judicial Nominations." *JOP* 2000.

Cigler, Allan J. and Burdett A. Loomis, eds. 2007. *Interest Group Politics*, 7th ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press. **Chs. 15, 17 - 19**

Rec. Readings:

T, Apr. 3 OUTSIDER STRATEGIES
Readings: Kollman, Ken. 1998. *Outside Lobbying: Public Opinion & Interest Group Strategies*. Princeton: Princeton UP.

Lipsky, Michael. "Protest as a Political Resource." *APSR* 1968.

Rec. Readings: Haynes and Broder. Selected chapters in *The System*.

Mann, Robert. *The Walls of Jericho: Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, Richard Russell and the Struggle for Civil Rights*. 1997. Harvest Books.

Meyer, David S. 2007. *The Politics of Protest: Social Movements in America*. New York: Oxford UP.

T, Apr. 10 INTEREST GROUPS AND THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH/POLICY MAKING
Readings: Cigler, Allan J. and Burdett A. Loomis, eds. 2007. *Interest Group Politics*, 7th ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press. Chs. 10 - 16

Rec. Readings: Jones, Bryan, Frank Baumgartner, and Jeffrey Talbert. "The Destruction of Issue Monopolies in Congress." *APSR*. 1993.

Peterson, Mark. "The Presidency and Organized Interests: White House Patterns of Interest Group[Liaison]." *APSR*. 1992.

T, Apr. 17 **Research Papers Due**, present papers, summarize.