

Political Science 541

SEMINAR ON ORGANIZED INTERESTS

Spring 2006

6:00-9:00 p.m. Wednesday

Prof. Marie Hojnacki
Office hours: Tuesday 12:00-2:00
Wednesday 11:00-12:00

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Course Description

Interest groups play major roles in American politics and the policy making process. A variety of organizations of interests – business organizations, professional associations, public interest law firms, unions, corporations, governments at the national, state, and local level, and citizen groups advocating on behalf of a multitude of issues and causes – provide a mechanism for representation and contribute to the growth and diversity of the interest group universe.

The purpose of this seminar is to acquaint you with the significant themes, research approaches and questions addressed in recent and classic studies of organized interests. The topics we will survey during the seminar include the formation and maintenance of organizations; the forms of advocacy used by organization representatives to achieve their policy goals; the impact of organizational advocacy in the policy making process; the nature of interest group influence; and, the representativeness of and modes of bias apparent in organizational communities. Throughout the seminar we will be attentive to how political scientists think about, formulate, and execute research on groups. The seminar is designed to meet the needs of graduate students in political science who hope at some time in the future to do original research, master a doctoral field, or teach in one or more aspects of American politics.

Course Requirements

Throughout the semester, seminar participants will engage in three basic activities. First, each week we will as a group work through a set of required readings on a scheduled topic. I expect you to read and analyze these selections with care. (You may also wish to review some of the recommended selections but these readings are not required for the seminar discussion.) The readings, especially the articles, are often dense, and require time and patience to assimilate. You should come to each seminar prepared to discuss and debate what you have read, to dissect the arguments and evidence presented in the readings, and to raise and respond to questions about how the readings inform the topics we address.

Second, to assist your participation in the weekly seminars and to help you think critically about the work we cover, you will be required to prepare five short (a maximum of three pages) written responses to the readings (I will assign you weeks in which to respond). The reading responses are to be posted to ANGEL by 6:00 p.m. on Tuesday. These papers should help you to crystallize your thoughts on the readings and will serve as a basis for your contribution to the seminar discussion that week. Notice that I am not asking you to summarize the readings each week. Rather, I'm asking you to engage them, to take them up and consider why they are relevant. There is no single formula or approach to writing a

response paper. You should always communicate what is important about the material but beyond that your response to the work is likely to vary. For example, in some weeks you may believe that there is something important that the authors miss. In other weeks, the material may raise important questions that remain unaddressed. You might take issue with the strength of the authors' arguments and/or evidence. In addition, you might want to explore some interesting connections between the set of readings we cover in a week, between the current and a previous week's readings, or between the required and recommended material. I encourage you to draw into your discussion any additional reading that you deem relevant. On 18 January we will spend time in seminar drafting a response paper so that you have a clear sense of both my expectations and the nature of this exercise. You should read the papers posted each week as part of your preparation for the seminar meeting.

Third, each seminar participant will prepare a review of one book from among the recommended selections. **Asterisks denote the books that are eligible for review.** The reviews are to be posted to ANGEL by 6:00 p.m. on Tuesday. You will be required to summarize (but not read) your review during the seminar session. A good model for your review may be found in the book reviews published in *Perspectives on Politics* as well as those published in the *Journal of Politics*. Your review should not exceed five double-spaced pages.

There are two ways in which you can fulfill the final requirement for the course. First, you may design an original research project that takes up questions relevant to our understanding of organized interests. The research questions for this project design are due in class on February 15. Plan to submit the research question(s) for your project along with a brief description of why the questions you pose are important to the study of organized interests, and how answers to those questions can move the field forward (in other words, I'd like you to justify the importance of designing a project to address the questions you pose). Second, you may undertake some original research that addresses questions relevant to our understanding of organized interests. The research questions for the project you will undertake are due in class on February 15. Plan to submit the research question(s) for your project along with a *brief* description of why the questions you pose are important to the study of organized interests, how your questions relate to existing scholarship (you need not conduct an extensive literature review by this date but you do need to have some sense of the work that is done on the topic you pose), and how you plan to address your questions (e.g., data you expect to gather, research techniques you plan to use). If you opt to undertake original research, I encourage you to consider some type of smallish, pilot study that is doable in a semester rather than a large-scale research project that cannot be completed in the semester. Regardless of which option you choose, I encourage you to speak with me about your paper throughout the semester as questions arise, as you encounter difficulties, and so on. Seminar participants will present their research design/research in our final seminar session on April 26. Plan your presentation with the goal of educating seminar members about the research you completed, what you uncovered, and what you learned. You will have about 10 to 15 minutes to make your presentation (I will tell you a few weeks in advance about the format for this session). Final papers should be roughly 25 pages in length (not including tables or references).

Grading

I will base your final grade on the extent and quality of your participation in class (15 percent), the quality and coherence of your reading response papers (35 percent) and book review (15 percent), and your final research paper (35 percent). As is appropriate in a graduate seminar, I expect you to attend and

be prepared for each and every session, and to submit all assignments on time.

Required Books & Other Reading Material

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

Goldstein, Kenneth M. 1999. *Interest Groups, Lobbying, and Participation in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kollman, Ken. 1998. *Outside Lobbying: Public Opinion and Interest Group Strategies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

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

Rich, Andrew. 2004. *Think Tanks, Public Policy, and the Politics of Expertise*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, Mark A. 2000. *American Business and Political Power: Public Opinion, Elections, and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

A good portion of the following book also is assigned: Hansen, John Mark. 1991. *Gaining Access: Congress and the Farm Lobby, 1919-1981*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. It is available for you to purchase if you choose to do so.

Seminar participants who have no prior acquaintance with the literature on interest groups may find it useful to read Jack Wright's (1996) *Interest Groups and Congress: Lobbying, Contributions, and Influence*, Jeff Berry's (1997) *Interest Group Society*, 3rd edition, and/or David Lowery & Holly Brasher's *Organized Interests and American Government* as a prelude to and in preparation for our discussions in this seminar. These books serve well as introductions to the study of organized interests but each has a distinctive style. Wright examines empirically many of the key themes and questions in the literature. Berry's presentation is narrative and he gives more emphasis than Wright to the normative implications of changes in the group system. Lowery & Brasher use three distinct perspectives on organized interests to frame their presentation of how groups operate in the "influence production process."

All books listed above are available through regular reserve. Journal articles and excerpts from books are available through JSTOR or through electronic reserve except as noted.

Course Schedule

Week 1 (11 January): Introduction to the Course

Week 2 (18 January): The Formation and Maintenance of Organized Interests, Part I

How Do Common Interests and Incentives Affect the Formation of Groups? What Are the Difficulties of Collective Action?

Required

Truman, David B. 1951. *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. **Notes:** Read only chapters 2, 3, and 4. This book is available through regular reserve.

Clark, Peter B. and James Q. Wilson. 1961. "Incentive Systems: A Theory of Organizations." *Administrative Science Quarterly*. 6:129-66.

Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. **Note:** Read carefully chapters 1, 2, and 6. Skim through chapters 3, 4, and 5 with a goal of solidifying your understanding of Olson's theory and its implications for "group theory."

Salisbury, Robert H. 1969. "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups." *Midwest Journal of Political Science*. 13:1-32.

Week 3 (25 January): The Formation and Maintenance of Organized Interests, Part II

How Can the Collective Action Problem Be Overcome? Is Organization Possible in a World of Free Riders? Is Organizational Formation Best Explained Through a Focus on the Individual, the Context in Which the Individual Makes Choices, or Some Other Variables?

Required

Moe, Terry M. 1980. "A Calculus of Group Membership." *American Journal of Political Science*. 24:593-632.

Walker, Jack L., Jr. 1983. "The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups in America." *American Political Science Review*. 77:390-406.

Hansen, John Mark. 1985. "The Political Economy of Group Membership." *American Political Science Review*. 79:79-96.

Rothenberg, Lawrence S. 1988. "Organizational Maintenance and the Retention Decision in Groups." *American Political Science Review*. 82:1129-52.

Lowery, David and Virginia Gray. 1995. "The Population Ecology of Gucci Gulch, or the Natural Regulation of Interest Group Numbers in the American States." *American Journal of Political Science*. 39:1-29.

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

Also recommended

Lowry, Robert C. 2005. "Explaining the Variation in Organized Civil Society Across States and Time." *Journal of Politics*. 67: 574-594.

Tichenor, Daniel J. and Richard A. Harris. 2003. "Organized Interests and American Political Development." *Political Science Quarterly*. 117:587-612.

Bowler, Shaun, Todd Donovan, Robert Hanneman. 2003. "Art for Democracy's Sake? Group Membership and Political Engagement in Europe." *Journal of Politics*. 65:1111-1129.

Crowley, Jocelyn Elise, and Theda Skocpol. 2001. "The Rush to Organize: Explaining Associational Formation in the United States, 1860s-1920s." *American Journal of Political Science*. 45:813-29.

Skocpol, Theda, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson. 2000. "A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Volunteerism in the United States." *American Political Science Review*. 94:527-46.

***Gray, Virginia, and David Lowery. 1996. *The Population Ecology of Interest Representation: Lobbying Communities in the American States*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Ainsworth, Scott H., and John Anthony Maltese. 1996. "National Grange Influence on the Supreme Court Confirmation of Stanley Matthews." *Social Science History*. 20:41-62.

Leighley, Jan. 1996. "Group Membership and the Mobilization of Political Participation." *Journal of Politics*. 58:447-63.

Nownes, Anthony J. and Grant Neely. 1996. "Public Interest Group Entrepreneurship and Theories of Group Mobilization." *Political Research Quarterly*. 49:119-46.

Ainsworth, Scott H. 1995. "Electoral Strength and the Emergence of Group Influence in the Late 1800s: The Grand Army of the Republic." *American Politics Quarterly*. 23:319-38.

Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry A. Brady. 1995. "Participation's Not A Paradox: The View From American Activists." *British Journal of Political Science*. 25:1-36.

King, David, and Jack L. Walker, Jr. 1992. "The Provision of Benefits by Interest Groups in the United States." *Journal of Politics*. 54:394-426.

***Chong, Dennis. 1991. *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brown, Clyde. 1989. "Explanations of Interest Group Membership Over Time." *American Politics Quarterly*. 17:32-53.

Knoke, David. 1988. "Incentives in Collective Action Organizations." *American Sociological Review*. 53:311-29.

Bendor, Jonathan, and Dilip Mookerjee. 1987. "Institutional Structure and the Logic of Organizing Collective Action." *American Political Science Review*. 81:129-54.

Johnson, Paul Edward. 1987. "Foresight and Myopia in Organizational Membership." *Journal of Politics*. 49:678-703.

Cook, Constance E. 1984. "Participation in Public Interest Groups." *American Politics Quarterly*. 12:409-31.

Godwin, R. Kenneth, and R. C. Mitchell. 1982. "Rational Models, Collective Goods, and Nonelectoral Political Behavior." *Western Political Quarterly*. 35:160-80.

Moe, Terry M. 1980. *The Organization of Interests*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Marwell, Gerald, and Ruth E. Ames. 1979. "Experiments on the Provision of Public Goods: Interest, Group Size, and the Free Rider Problem." *American Journal of Sociology*. 84:1335-60.

Chamberlin, John. 1974. "Provision of Collective Goods As A Function of Group Size." *American Political Science Review*. 68:707-716.

Week 4 (1 February): Participation, Access, and Influence

What Types of Interests Attempt to Participate in Shaping Public Policy? What Types of Interests Gain Access to Decision Makers? Do Collective Action Problems Persist After Group Formation to Affect Political Participation? Do Participation and Access Provide Any Information About the Influence of Organized Interests?

Required

Baumgartner, Frank and Beth Leech. 2001. "Issue Niches and Policy Bandwagons: Patterns of Interest Group Involvement in National Politics." *Journal of Politics*. 63:1191-1213.

Caldeira, Gregory A., Marie Hojnacki, and John R. Wright. 2000. "The Lobbying Activities of Organized Interests in Federal Judicial Nominations." *Journal of Politics*. 62:51-69.

Leech, Beth L., Frank R. Baumgartner, Timothy M. La Pira, and Nicholas A. Semanko. 2005. "Drawing Lobbyists to Washington: Government Activity and the Demand for Advocacy." *Political Research Quarterly*. 58:19-30.

Hansen, Wendy L., Neil J. Mitchell, and Jeffrey M. Drope. 2005. "The Logic of Private and Collective Action." *American Journal of Political Science*. 49:150-167.

Caldeira, Gregory A., and John R. Wright. 1990. "Amici Curiae Before the Supreme Court: Who Participates, When, and How Much?" *Journal of Politics*. 52:781-806.

Hansen, John Mark. 1991. *Gaining Access: Congress and the Farm Lobby, 1919-1981*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. **Note:** Read carefully the Introduction, and chapters 1, 2, and 4. Skim through chapters 3 and 5, as well as the chapter entitled, "Commentary and Conclusions."

Also recommended

***Boehmke, Frederick J. 2005. *The Indirect Effect of Direct Legislation: How Institutions Shape Interest Group Systems*. Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press.

Schur, Lisa, Todd Shields, and Kay Schriener. 2005. "Generational Cohorts, Group Membership, and Political Participation by People with Disabilities." *Political Research Quarterly*. 58:487-496.

Gray, Virginia, David Lowery, Matthew Fellowes, and Jennifer L. Anderson. 2005. "Legislative Agendas and Interest Advocacy: Understanding the Demanding Side of Lobbying." *American Politics Research*. 33:404-34.

Hansen, Wendy L., Neil J. Mitchell, and Jeffrey M. Drope. 2004. "Collective Action, Pluralism, and the Legitimacy Tariff: Corporate Activity or Inactivity in Politics." *Political Research Quarterly*. 57:421-429.

Smith, Daniel A. and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2004. *Educated by Initiative: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Citizens and Political Organizations in the American States*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. Chapter 5.

Levi, Margaret. 2003. "Organizing Power: The Prospects for an American Labor Movement." *Perspectives on Politics*. 1:45-68.

Heitshusen, Valerie. 2000. "Interest Group Lobbying and U.S. House Decentralization: Linking Informational Focus to Committee Hearing Appearances." *Political Research Quarterly*. 53:151-76.

Caldeira, Gregory A. and John R. Wright. 1998. "Lobbying for Justice: Organized Interests, Supreme Court Nominations, and the United States Senate." *American Journal of Political Science*. 42:499-523.

DeGregorio, Christine. 1998. "Assets and Access: Linking Lobbyists and Lawmakers in Congress." In *The Interest Group Connection: Electioneering, Lobbying, and Policymaking in Washington*, ed. Paul S. Herrnson, Ronald G. Shaiko, and Clyde Wilcox. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers.

Flemming, Roy, Michael MacLeod, and Jeffrey Talbert. 1998. "Witness at the Confirmations? The Appearance of Organized Interests at Senate Hearings on Federal Judicial Appointments, 1945-1992." *Political Research Quarterly*. 51:583-617.

Ainsworth, Scott. 1997. "The Role of Legislators in the Determination of Interest Group Influence in Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 22:517-34.

DeGregorio, Christine. 1997. *Networks of Champions: Leadership, Access and Advocacy in the U.S. House of Representatives*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Leyden, Kevin M. 1995. "Interest Group Resources and Testimony at Congressional Hearings." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 20:431-40.

McGuire, Kevin T. 1994. "Amici Curiae and Strategies for Gaining Access to the Supreme Court." *Political Research Quarterly*. 47:821-838.

Ainsworth, Scott. 1993. "Regulating Lobbyists and Interest Group Influence." *Journal of Politics*. 55:41-56.

Peterson, Mark A. 1992. "The Presidency and Organized Interests: White House Patterns of Interest Group Liaison." *American Political Science Review*. 86:612-25.

Dexter, Lewis Anthony. 1969. *How Organizations Are Represented in Washington*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.

Zeigler, Harmon. 1964. *Interest Groups in American Society*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Milbrath, Lester W. 1963. *The Washington Lobbyists*. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Week 5 (8 February): Advocacy Targets, Tactics, and Objectives

What Are Organized Interests Trying to Accomplish When They "Lobby"? What Types of Activities Will They Engage in to Protect and Defend Their Interests? Do Organizations' Goals for Advocacy Vary? How and Why?

Required

Smith, Richard A. 1984. "Advocacy, Interpretation, and Influence in the U.S. Congress." *American Political Science Review*. 78:44-63.

Batcheller, John. 1977. "Lobbyists and the Legislative Process: The Impact of Environmental Constraints." *American Political Science Review*. 71:242-63.

Austen-Smith, David and John R. Wright. 1994. "Counteractive Lobbying." *American Journal of Political Science*. 38:25-44. **Note:** You should review the exchange about counteractive lobbying between Austen-Smith and Wright, and Baumgartner and Leech in the *AJPS* 40:521-69.

Hojnacki, Marie and David C. Kimball. 1998. "Organized Interests and the Decision of Whom to Lobby in Congress." *American Political Science Review*. 92:775-90.

Heberlig, Eric S. 2005. "Getting to Know You and Getting Your Vote: Lobbyists' Uncertainty and the Contacting of Legislators." *Political Research Quarterly*. 58:511-520.

Hall, Richard L. 2000. "Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.

Also recommended

Hansford, Thomas G. 2004. "Lobbying Strategies, Venue Selection, and Organized Interest Involvement at the U.S. Supreme Court." *American Politics Research*. 32:170-197.

Hansford, Thomas G. 2004. "Information Provision, Organizational Constraints, and the Decision to Submit an Amicus Curiae Brief in a U.S. Supreme Court Case." *Political Research Quarterly*. 57: 219-230.

Holyoke, Thomas T. 2003. "Choosing Battlegrounds: Interest Group Lobbying Across Multiple Venues." *Political Research Quarterly*. 56:325-336.

Schweikhardt, David B. and William P. Browne. 2001. "Politics by Other Means: The Emergence of a New Politics of Food in the United States." *Review of Agricultural Economics*. 23:302-318.

Epstein, Lee, and Jack Knight. 1999. "Mapping Out the Strategic Terrain: The Informational Role of Amici Curiae." In *Supreme Court Decision-Making*, eds. Cornell W. Clayton and Howard Gillman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hojnacki, Marie and David Kimball. 1999. "The Who and How of Organizations' Lobbying Strategies in Committee." *Journal of Politics*. 61:999-1024.

Kollman, Ken. 1997. "Inviting Friends to Lobby: Interest Groups, Ideological Bias, and Congressional Committees." *American Journal of Political Science*. 41:519-44.

Spriggs, James II, and Paul Wahlbeck. 1997. "Amici Curiae and the Role of Information in the Supreme Court." *Political Research Quarterly*. 50:365-386.

Evans, Diana. 1996. "Before the Roll Call: Interest Group Lobbying and Public Policy Outcomes in House Committees." *Political Research Quarterly*. 49:287-304.

McKissick, Gary J. 1995. "Interests, Issues, and Emphases: Lobbying Congress and the Strategic Manipulation of Issue Dimensions." Presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago.

Austen-Smith, David. 1993. "Information and Influence: Lobbying for Agendas and Votes." *American Journal of Political Science*. 37:799-833.

Scheppele, Kim L., and Walker, Jack L. 1991. "The Litigation Strategies of Interest Groups." In *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*, ed. Jack L. Walker, Jr. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Snyder, James M., Jr. 1991. "On Buying Legislatures." *Economics and Politics*. 3:93-109.

Caldeira, Gregory A., and John R. Wright. 1988. "Organized Interests and Agenda-Setting in the U.S. Supreme Court." *American Political Science Review*. 82:1109-1128.

Kobylka, Joseph F. 1987. "A Court-Created Context for Group Litigation: Libertarian Groups and Obscenity." *Journal of Politics*. 49:1061-1078.

Hayes, Michael T. 1981. *Lobbyists and Legislators: A Theory of Political Markets*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Bauer, Raymond A., Ithiel de Sola Pool, and Lewis Anthony Dexter. 1963. *American Business and Public Policy: The Politics of Foreign Trade*. New York: Atherton.

Truman, David B. 1951. *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Chapters 11 and 12.

Week 6 (15 February): Assessing the Influence of Organized Interests

How Do (Can) We Know When An Organization Has Been Influential? What Does It Mean to Say That An Interest Has Been Influential?

Required

Yackee, Jason Webb and Susan Webb Yackee. 2006. "A Bias Towards Business? Assessing Interest Group Influence on the U.S. Bureaucracy." *Journal of Politics*. 68:128-139.

Gerber, Elisabeth R. and Justin H. Phillips. 2003. "Development Ballot Measures, Interest Group Endorsements, and the Political Geography of Growth Preferences." *American Journal of Political Science*. 47:625-639.

Haider-Markel, Donald P. 1999. "Redistributing Values in Congress: Interest Group Influence Under Sub-Optimal Conditions." *Political Research Quarterly*. 52:113-144.

Robert C. Lowry and Matthew Potoski. 2004. "Organized Interests and the Politics of Federal Discretionary Grants." *Journal of Politics*. 66:513-533.

Smith, Richard. 1995. "Interest Group Influence in the U.S. Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 20:89-139.

Also recommended

***Gerber, Elisabeth R. 1999. *The Populist Paradox: Interest Group Influence and the Promise of Direct Legislation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tauber, Steven C. 1998. "On Behalf of the Condemned? The Impact of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund on Capital Punishment Decision Making in the U.S. Courts of Appeals." *Political Research Quarterly*. 51:191-219.

Songer, Donald R. and Ashlyn Kuersten. 1995. "The Success of Amici in State Supreme Courts." *Political Research Quarterly*. 48:31-42.

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

Stewart, Joseph, Jr. and James F. Sheffield, Jr. 1987. "Does Interest Group Litigation Matter? The Case of Black Political Mobilization in Mississippi." *Journal of Politics*. 49:780-98.

Week 7 (22 February): Organized Interests and Public Policy, Part I

To What Extent, If At All, Does Business Dominate Public Policy? What About the Impact of the Public? (How) Is the Public Interest Represented and Reflected in Policy? How Relevant is Public Opinion When Assessing the Impact of Organized Interests?

Required

Smith, Mark A. 2000. *American Business and Political Power: Public Opinion, Elections, and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gray, Virginia, David Lowery, Matthew Fellowes, and Andrea McAtee. 2004. "Public Opinion, Public Policy, and Organized Interests in the American States." *Political Research Quarterly*. 57:411-420.

Also recommended

Burstein, Paul. 2003. "The Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy: A Review and An Agenda." *Political Research Quarterly*. 56:29-40.

Mitchell, Neil J. 1998. *The Conspicuous Corporation: Business, Public Policy, and Representative Democracy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Mucciaroni, Gary. 1995. *Reversals of Fortune: Public Policy and Private Interests*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Rothenberg, Lawrence S. 1992. *Linking Citizens to Government: Interest Group Politics at Common Cause*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pertschuk, Michael. 1986. *Giant Killers*. New York: W.W. Norton.

McFarland, Andrew S. 1984. *Common Cause: Lobbying in the Public Interest*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishing.

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

McFarland, Andrew S. 1976. *Public Interest Lobbies: Decision-Making on Energy*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Press.

Week 8 (1 March): Organized Interests and Public Policy, Part II

What Is the Role of Expertise in Shaping Policy? Are Groups Purveyors of Expertise? How Does Expertise Vary Across Interests?

Required

Rich, Andrew. 2004. *Think Tanks, Public Policy, and the Politics of Expertise*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Also recommended

Esterling, Kevin M. 2004. *The Political Economy of Expertise: Information and Efficiency in American National Politics*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

***Berry, Jeffrey M. 1999. *The New Liberalism: The Rising Power of Citizen Groups*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Week 9 (15 March): Activating the Grassroots

Under What Conditions Should Organized Interests Seek To Engage the Public? Are Some Segments of the Public More Important to Activate Than Others? Can the Grassroots Compete With the Grasstops?

Required

Goldstein, Kenneth M. 1999. *Interest Groups, Lobbying, and Participation in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kollman, Ken. 1998. *Outside Lobbying: Public Opinion and Interest Group Strategies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Also recommended

Browne, William P. 1995. "Organized Interests, Grassroots Confidants, and Congress." In *Interest Group Politics*, 4th ed., eds. Allan J. Ciglar and Burdett A. Loomis. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Langbein, Laura I. and Mark A. Lotwis. 1990. "The Political Efficacy of Lobbying and Money: Gun Control in the U.S. House, 1986." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 14:414-40.

McGuigan, Patrick B. and Dawn M. Weyrich. 1990. *Ninth Justice: The Fight for Bork*. Washington, DC: Free Congress Research and Education Foundation.

Godwin, R. Kenneth. 1988. *One Billion Dollars of Influence: The Direct Marketing of Politics*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishing.

Petschuk, Michael and Wendy Schaezel. 1988. *The People Rising: The Campaign Against the Bork Nomination*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press.

Birnbaum, Jeffrey H. and Alan S. Murray. 1987. *Showdown at Gucci Gulch: Lawmakers, Lobbyists, and the Unlikely Triumph of Tax Reform*. New York: Vintage.

Fowler, Linda and Ronald G. Shaiko. 1987. "The Grassroots Connection: Environmental Activists and Senate Roll Calls." *American Journal of Political Science*. 31:484-510.

Week 10 (22 March): Interest Groups and Campaign Finance

Why Do Groups Make Political Action Committee Contributions? How Do Contributions Affect Public Policy and Decision Makers' Behavior?

Required

Wright, John R. 1985. "PACs, Contributions, and Roll Calls: An Organizational Perspective." *American Political Science Review*. 79:400-14.

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.

McCarty, Nolan and Lawrence S. Rothenberg. 1996. "Commitment and the Campaign Contribution Contract." *American Journal of Political Science*. 40:872-904.

Hojnacki, Marie and David C. Kimball. 2001. "PAC Contributions and Lobbying Contacts in Congressional Committees." *Political Research Quarterly*. 54:161-80.

Wawro, Gregory. 2001. "A Panel Probit Analysis of Campaign Contributions and Roll Call Votes." *American Journal of Political Science*. 45:563-79.

Apollonio, D.E. and Raymond J. La Raja. 2004. "Who Gave Soft Money? The Effect of Interest Group Resources in Political Contributions." *Journal of Politics*. 66:1134-1154.

Also recommended:

Hogan, Robert E. 2005. "State Campaign Finance Laws and Interest Group Electioneering Activities." *Journal of Politics*. 67:887-906.

Chin, Michelle L. 2005. "Constituents Versus Fat Cats: Testing Assumptions About Congressional Access Decisions." *American Politics Research*. 33:751-786.

Drope, Jeffrey M. and Wendy L. Hansen. 2004. "Purchasing Protection? The Effect of Political Spending on U.S. Trade Policy." *Political Research Quarterly*. 57:27-37.

Fellowes, Matthew C. and Patrick J. Wolf. 2004. "Funding Mechanisms and Policy Instruments: How Business Campaign Contributions Influence Congressional Votes." *Political Research Quarterly*. 57: 315-324.

Ansolabehere, Stephen, John M. de Figueiredo, and James M. Snyder, Jr. 2003. "Why is There so Little Money in U.S. Politics?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 17: 105-30.

Magleby, David B., editor. 2002. *The Other Campaign: Soft Money and Issue Advocacy in the 2000 Congressional Elections*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Stratmann, Thomas. 2002. "Can Special Interests Buy Congressional Votes? Evidence From Financial Services Legislation." *Journal of Law and Economics*. 45:345-73.

Wright, John R. 2000. "Interest Groups, Congressional Reform, and Party Government in the United States." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 25:217-35.

West, Darrell M. and Burdett A. Loomis. 1999. *The Sound of Money: How Political Interests Get What They Want*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Herrnson, Paul S. 1998. *Congressional Elections: Campaigning at Home and in Washington*, 2nd ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

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- Wright, John R. 1989. "PAC Contributions, Lobbying, and Representation." *Journal of Politics*. 51:713-29.
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- Sorauf, Frank J. 1988. *Money in American Elections*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman/Little, Brown College Division.
- Wilhite, Allen and John Theilmann. 1987. "Labor PAC Contributions and Labor Legislation: A Simultaneous Logic Approach." *Public Choice*. 53:267-76.
- Langbein, Laura I. 1986. "Money and Access: Some Empirical Evidence." *Journal of Politics*. 48: 1052-62.
- Sabato, Larry J. 1985. *PAC Power: Inside the World of Political Action Committees*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Gopoian, David J. 1984. "What Makes PACs Tick? An Analysis of the Allocation Patterns of Economic Interest Groups." *American Journal of Political Science* 28:259-281.
- Chappell, Henry. 1982. "Campaign Contributions and Congressional Voting: A Simultaneous Probit-Tobit Model." *Review of Economics and Statistics*. 62:77-83.

Herndon, James F. 1982. "Access, Record, and Competition as Influences on Interest Groups' Contributions to Congressional Campaigns." *Journal of Politics*. 44:996-1019.

Welch, William P. 1982. "Campaign Contributions and Legislative Voting: Milk Money and Dairy Price Supports." *Western Political Quarterly*. 34:478-95.

Week 11 (29 March): Advocacy Communities and the Process of Policymaking in Washington
What Types of Interaction Exist among Organized Interests? How Does Their Interaction Affect the Choices They Make As Advocates?

Required

Heclo, Hugh. 1978. "Issue Networks and the Executive Establishment." In *The New American Political System*, ed. Anthony King. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute Press.

Browne, William P. 1990. "Organized Interests and Their Issue Niches: A Search for Pluralism in a Policy Domain." *Journal of Politics*. 52:477-509.

Salisbury, Robert H., John P. Heinz, Edward O. Laumann, and Robert L. Nelson. 1987. "Who Works With Whom? Interest Group Alliances and Opposition." *American Political Science Review*. 81:1211-34.

Hula, Kevin. 1995. "Rounding Up the Usual Suspects: Forging Interest Group Coalitions." In *Interest Group Politics*, 4th ed., eds. Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

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Also recommended

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Whitford, Andrew B. 2003. "The Structures of Interest Coalitions: Evidence from Environmental Litigation." *Business and Politics*. 5:45-64.

Hula, Kevin W. 1999. *Lobbying Together: Interest Group Coalitions in Legislative Politics*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Hojnacki, Marie. 1997. "Interest Groups' Decisions to Join Alliances or Work Alone." *American Journal of Political Science*. 41:61-87.

Browne, William P. and Won K. Paik. 1993. "Beyond the Domain: Recasting Network Politics in the Post-Reform Congress." *American Journal of Political Science*. 37:1054-78.

***Heinz, John P., Edward O. Laumann, Robert L. Nelson, and Robert H. Salisbury. 1993. *The Hollow Core: Private Interests in National Policy Making*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Jenkins-Smith, Hank C., Gilbert K. St. Clair and Brian Woods. 1991. "Explaining Change in Policy Subsystems: Analysis of Coalition Stability and Defection Over Time." *American Journal of Political Science*. 35:851-80.

Salisbury, Robert H. 1990. "The Paradox of Interest Groups in Washington – More Groups, Less Clout." In *The New American Political System*, 2nd ed., ed. Anthony King. Washington, DC: AEI Press.

McCool, Daniel. 1990. "Subgovernments as Determinants of Political Viability." *Political Science Quarterly*. 105:269-293.

Berry, Jeffrey M. 1989. "Subgovernments, Issue Networks, and Political Conflict." In *Remaking American Politics*, eds. Richard Harris and Sidney Milkis. Boulder: Westview Press.

Laumann, Edward O. and David Knoke. 1987. *The Organizational State: Social Choice in National Policy Domains*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Browne, William P. 1986. "Policy and Interests: Instability and Change in a Classic Issue Subsystem." In *Interest Group Politics*, 2nd ed., eds. Allan Cigler and Burdett Loomis. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Loomis, Burdett A. 1986. "Coalitions of Interests: Building Bridges in a Balkanized State." In *Interest Group Politics*, 2nd ed., eds. Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Gais, Thomas L., Mark A. Peterson and Jack L. Walker. 1984. "Interest Groups, Iron Triangles and Representative Institutions in American National Government." *British Journal of Political Science*. 14:161-85.

Costain, W. Douglas and Anne N. Costain. 1981. "Interest Groups as Policy Aggregators in the Legislative Process." *Polity*. 14:249-72.

Ornstein, Norman J. and Shirley Elder. 1978. *Interest Groups, Lobbying, and Policymaking*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Hall, Donald. 1969. *Cooperative Lobbying: The Power of Pressure*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Week 12 (5 April): Interest Groups and Representation

Whose Interests and What Types of Interests Are Represented Before Government?

Required

Denzau, Arthur T. and Michael C. Munger. 1986. "Legislators and Interest Groups: How Unorganized Interests Get Represented." *American Political Science Review*. 80:89-106.

Salisbury, Robert H. 1984. "Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions." *American Political Science Review*. 78:64-76.

Salisbury, Robert H. and Paul E. Johnson. 1989. "Who You Know Versus What You Know: The Use of Government Experience for Washington Lobbyists." *American Journal of Political Science*. 33:175-95.

Balla, Steven and John R. Wright. 2001. "Interest Groups, Advisory Committees, and Congressional Control of the Bureaucracy." *American Journal of Political Science*. 45:799-812.

Heinz, John P., Edward O. Laumann, Robert H. Salisbury, and Robert L. Nelson. 1990. "Inner Circles or Hollow Cores? Elite Networks in National Policy Systems." *Journal of Politics*. 52:356-90.

Mansbridge, Jane. 2003. "Rethinking Representation." *American Political Science Review*. 97:515-528.

Also recommended

Barakso, Maryann. 2004. *Governing NOW: Grassroots Activism in the National Organization for Women*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Berry, Jeffrey M. with David F. Arons. 2003. *A Voice for Nonprofits*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Berkman, Michael B. 2000. "Legislative Professionalism and the Demand for Groups: The Institutional Context of Interest Population Density." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 26:661-79.

Gray, Virginia and David Lowery. 1996. "Environmental Limits on the Diversity of State Interest Organization Systems: A Population Ecology Interpretation." *Political Research Quarterly*. 49:103-18.

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Nelson, Robert L. and John P. Heinz, with Edward O. Laumann and Robert H. Salisbury. 1988. "Lawyers and the Structure of Influence in Washington." *Law and Society Review*. 22:235-300.

Lindblom, Charles E. 1977. *Politics and Markets*. New York: Basic Books.

Schattschneider, E.E. 1975 [1960]. *The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.

Lowi, Theodore J. 1969. *The End of Liberalism*. New York: Norton.

McConnell, Grant. 1966. *Private Power and American Democracy*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf

Dahl, Robert A. 1961. *Who Governs?* New Haven: Yale University Press.

McConnell, Grant. 1958. "The Spirit of Private Government." *American Political Science Review*. 52:754-70.

Dahl, Robert A. 1956. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mills, C. Wright. 1956. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Key, V. O., Jr. 1942. *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*. New York: Crowell.

Week 13 (12 April): Research on Organized Interests

Where is the Subfield Headed? What Are the Strengths of the Existing Scholarship? What Are Its Weaknesses?

Required

Lowery, David, and Virginia Gray. 2004. "A Neopluralist Perspective on Research on Organized Interests." *Political Research Quarterly*. 57:163-175.

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

Week 14 (19 April): No Session

This session is cancelled because the Midwest Political Science Association meeting runs from Thursday, April 20 through Sunday, April 23. I will be available to meet with you earlier in the week if you would like to discuss your research design/paper.

Week 15 (26 April): Interest Group Research 2006, Seminar Participant Presentations

Presentation schedule and format to be announced. Final papers are due at 5:00 p.m. on Friday, April 28. Late submissions will be penalized.