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POLS 4540: Lobbying and Lobby Influence Spring 2020

Professor Scott Ainsworth

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Office Hours: by appointment

**Course Purpose**: This course introduces students to a broad scope of literature on lobbying in the United States. The course has two main goals. Our first goal is to become familiar with, discuss, and criticize theories about lobbying and lobbying influence. Our second goal is to understand the changing role of lobbying in the American political system.

**Grading**: There will be a midterm (@25%), paper (@35%), and final (@30%) as well as participation, homework and presentations (@10%). To pass this course, all assignments must be completed and any other requirements must be met. All assignments will be individually assessed and graded. Late assignments are docked one grade a day. Weekends=2 days. Final course grades will be assigned as follows: 100-93 = A, 90-92 = A-, 87-89 = B+, 83-86 = B, 80-82 = B-, 77-79 = C+, 73-76 = C, 70-72 = C-, 60-69 = D, and 60-0. You may discuss the course or your work with me at any time. Formal grade appeals must be made in writing.

*Papers*: Paper topics will be discussed during the third or fourth week. I must approve all paper topics. I expect students to use and analyze data related to a particular puzzle connected to interest groups.

*Exam Format*: The exams rely on a broad array of questions, such as multiple choice, short answer, fill in the blank and essay. I might ask you to analyze and critique a newspaper column, addressing how it relates to material that we have read for class. All required reading assignments and discussions are fair game for tests and quizzes.

*Homework and Presentations:* Depending on the size of the class, each student will make one or two presentations during the semester. For one presentation, you will be required to present some of the assigned material to the seminar. For the other presentation, you will be required to present some of your own research related to your paper.

**Notices**:

1) This course presumes that you are comfortable with basic introductory material related to political science and American politics. For a refresher, I recommend Kernell and Jacobson’s *The Logic of American Politics*. Now is the time to employ the methods and technologies that you have learned in ECON, POLS 2000, POLS 4150, POLS 4070-1-2-3, STATS, and other related classes.

2) Learning is cooperative and interactive in nature. Dig deeply into the assigned materials and strive to participate in class.

3) *All students are responsible for maintaining the highest standards of honesty and integrity in every phase of their academic careers. The penalties for academic dishonesty are severe and ignorance is not an acceptable defense. All academic work for this course must meet the standards contained in “A Culture of Honesty.” Students are responsible for informing themselves about those standards before performing any academic work*. *The penalties for academic dishonesty can be severe, and ignorance is not an acceptable defense.*

4) All cell phones should be turned off. I reserve the right to have all laptops closed and stowed. I may move laptop users to areas of the classroom where they will not create distractions for others.

**Primary Books:** There is no comprehensive text for this course, but we will read these two books in their entirety.

*Lobbying and Policymaking* by Godwin, Ainsworth, and Godwin (CQ Press ISBN-10:1604264691). Used copies are widely available.

*The Business of America is Lobbying: How Corporations Became Politicized and Politics Became More Corporate* by Drutman (Oxford 2015; ISBN=978-0-19-021551-4). Used copies are rare.

**Secondary Books:** There are several secondary texts that might prove helpful. PDFs of some chapters from a wide range of books will be distributed from time to time. These two books are inexpensive and readily found used.

*Analyzing Interest Groups* by Ainsworth (W.W. Norton 2002; ISBN=0-393-97708-0). Used copies are widely available.

*Thank You for Smoking* by Christopher Buckley’s (Random House ISBN-10:0812976525). Used copies are widely available.

\*\* Some of the most important reading assignments are available from the library – either on the shelves or through the electronic journal systems (e.g., EBSCO and JSTOR). \*\*

\*\* Please remember that a course syllabus is a general plan for the course, so deviations announced to the class might be necessary. \*\*

**Week of January 13th**

**I. Factions, interest groups, pressure groups, organized interests, political interest groups (What are groups? Where do they come from and what do they do? What are interests? Where do they come from and what do they do?**)

Ainsworth. 2002. *Analyzing Interest Groups*, chapters 1-2. A pdf will be distributed.

Latham, Earl. 1952. The Group Basis of Politics: Notes for a Theory. *American Political Science Review* 46:376-79.

Truman, David B. *The Governmental Process*, ch 16. Most of this material is available in the Ainsworth reading. Numerous copies of Truman are available in the library.

Madison’s Federalist #10

DISCUSSION: Latham and Truman: Are we in groups or are groups in us? What is the basis for that question? What structures our interactions with groups?

**Week of January 20th**

**II. Historical Origins and Development**

Hansen, John Mark. 1987. Choosing Sides. *Studies in American Pol Development* 2:183-229.

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* 94:527-546.

Crowley, Jocelyn Elise Crowley, and Theda Skocpol. 2001. The Rush to Organize: Explaining Associational Formation in the United States, 1860s-1920s. *American* *Journal of Political Science* 45:813-829.

DISCUSSION: What obstacles limit group formation and survival? What prompts the emergence of groups? How do political institutions gain legitimacy? How do groups gain legitimacy? Keep Latham and Truman in mind.

**Week of January 27th**

**III. The Lobbying Scene in Washington**

1) Some of the Types of Interests in Washington

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

Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2006. Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender *Journal of Politics* 68:xxx.

Schlozman, Jones, You, Burch, Verba, and Brady. 2015. Organizations and the Democratic Representation of Interests: What Does It Mean When Those Organizations Have No Members? *Perspectives on Politics* 13:1017–1029.

DISCUSSION: Which disparate interests are organized and how are interests communicated to government officials? That is, who’s represented in DC?

**Week of February 3rd**

2) Business Structures and Representation

Hertel-Fernande. 2018. *Politics at Work*, pp 1-42 and 203-228. pdf

Drutman. chapters 1-4

DISCUSSION: How do businesses mobilize interests?

**Week of February 10th**

3) Business Structures and Business Strategies

Baron. 2006. *Business and Its Environment*, pp 175-170 and 203-217.

DISCUSSION: Who’s represented? Who’s over or under represented? What are nonmarket strategies? In what ways are they unique to businesses?

**February 18th Midterm**

**Week of February 24th**

4) Congressional Lobbying

Ainsworth. 2002. *Analyzing Interest Groups*, chapter 6. A pdf will be distributed.

Anthony J. Nownes, 1999. Solicited Advice and Lobbyist Power, *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 24:113-124.

Ainsworth. 1997. The Role of Legislators in the Determination of Interest Group Influence. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22: 517-533.

Drutman, chapters 5-7

Ainsworth and Monogan. 2020. Hedging Bets: Lobbying as Insurance for Business in *Interest Group Politics*, 10th ed. Ed.s Loomis and Nownes. Rowman Littlefield. Lanham MD. A pdf will be distributed.

DISCUSSION: What are the roles for information? Can information be released in a strategic fashion?

**Week of March 2nd**

5) Direct Lobbying before the Executive Branch

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

Yackee. and Yackee. 2006. “A Bias toward Business? Assessing Interest Group Influence on the Bureaucracy.” *Journal of Politics* 68:128-139.

McKay and Yackee. 2007. “Interest Group Competition on Federal Agency Rules.” *American Politics Research* 35:336-357.

Golden. 1998. “Interest Groups in the Rule-Making Process: Who Participates? Whose Voices Get Heard?” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 2:245-270.

DISCUSSION: Who’s represented? How are they represented? At what stage in the policy process are interests least visible?

**Week of March 16th**

6) Lobbying, the Law, and the Judicial Branch

Zemans. 1983. Legal Mobilization: The Neglected Role of Law in the Political System. *American Political Science Review* 77:690-703.

Rich. 2016. The Lawyer Who Became DuPont’s Worst Nightmare. *New York Times Magazine*, January 6th.

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.

Collins. 2007.Lobbyists before the U.S. Supreme Court:Investigating the Influence of Amicus Curiae Briefs. *Political Research Quarterly* 60:55–70.

DISCUSSION: Who is represented? Where? How? How do ideologies affect interpretations of issues and representation?

**Week of March 23rd**

**IV. Time for a Break**

*Thank You for Smoking*

*Dark Waters*

**Week of March 30th**

**V. Lobbying and the Policy Process**

Godwin, Ainsworth, Godwin. *Lobbying and Policymaking*. All

Drucker and Tankersley. 2019. How Big Corporations Won New Tax Breaks from the Trump Administration. *New York Times*, December 30.

DISCUSSION: How does lobbying and policymaking dovetail? At what stage in the policy process are interests least visible?

**Weeks of April 6th andApril 13th**

**VI. Lobbying Impact**

1. On Parties

Baylor, *First to the Party*, pp. 1-23 and 216-231.

1. In Congress

Zelizer. 2018. How Responsive are Legislators to Policy Information. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 43:595-618.

McKay. 2018. Fundraising for Favors. *Political Research Quarterly* 71:869-880.

DISCUSSION: How do information and money interact? How does money affect representation?

1. Who are the Lobbyists?

LaPira and Thomas. 2014. Revolving Door Lobbyists and Interest Representation. *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 3:4-29. <https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Timothy_Lapira/publication/263222815_Revolving_door_lobbyists_and_interest_representation/links/545252c30cf2cf5164797e33/Revolving-door-lobbyists-and-interest-representation.pdf>

McCrain. 2018. Revolving Door Lobbyists and the Value of Congressional Staff Connections. *Journal of Politics* xx:xx-xx.

Ban, Palmer, and Schneer. 2019. From the Halls of Congress to K Street. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 44:713-752.

Ainsworth, Gallagher, and Moss. 2019. Women at Work: Bias in Lobbying Firms and Issue Area. A pdf will be distributed.

DISCUSSION: How does influence “travel”? What do lobbyists do to enhance their influence?

**Week of April 20th**

**VII. Systemic Impact: Interest Groups and Public Policy Formulation**

Ainsworth, chapter 10

Madison, Federalist #10

Drutman, chapters 8-10

DISCUSSION: Do groups promote democracy or hinder it? Do groups promote economic efficiency or hinder it? Does lobbying promote democracy or hinder it? Does lobbying promote economic efficiency or hinder it? What should we expect in the future for new regulations and new group tactics?

How does it all add up? What do we need to know? What can we bet money on?