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**Revised 08/20/20**

POLS 4540: Lobbying and Lobby Influence Fall 2020

Tuesday & Thursdays 9:35-10:50

North PJ Auditorium Room 106

Professor Scott Ainsworth

Office Hours:

Zoom Tuesdays 3:00-4:00 [https://us02web.zoom.us/j/87836637138?pwd=bU13YnJZVEh6cXNaWkRNelo3b2F1UT09](https://www.google.com/url?q=https://us02web.zoom.us/j/87836637138?pwd%3DbU13YnJZVEh6cXNaWkRNelo3b2F1UT09&sa=D&source=calendar&usd=2&usg=AOvVaw1V4Mh1WDh8wKjkY79rh-P4) Meeting ID: 878 3663 7138 Passcode: 174979

Zoom Wednesdays 9:30 to 10:30

[https://us02web.zoom.us/j/83678002781?pwd=YWJFWmFVNEFITEdIYzNkOTNmbktsUT09](https://www.google.com/url?q=https://us02web.zoom.us/j/83678002781?pwd%3DYWJFWmFVNEFITEdIYzNkOTNmbktsUT09&sa=D&source=calendar&usd=2&usg=AOvVaw2EgBUOA9L-3r1mnA9bRRyA) Meeting ID: 836 7800 2781 Passcode: 734458

sainswor@uga.edu

**Course Purpose**: This course introduces 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. This course is hybridized with f2f and online components, requiring flexibility (and patience) for all involved. This course is also project oriented, which means that there will be considerable writing and some data collection and analysis. By the end of the semester, you should have a clear understanding of lobbying and the policymaking process in the federal government. Every student will also have produced a research paper exploring an aspect of the Washington, D.C. lobbying environment.

**Course Logistics**: Learning during a world-wide pandemic creates an array of challenges. An immediate impact for us here is that the pandemic complicates all of our logistics. For everyone’s success and wellbeing, it is essential that you master these logistics. Given the complexities of our course logistics, many details are covered here as well as on our eLC page.

1. I anticipate that this course will be hybridized with online and face to face (f2f) components. Additionally, some of you will “attend” on Zoom, while others are in the classroom f2f (though six feet apart and with our Georgia G face coverings). Our assigned room can hold the entire class safely. If you plan on attending the *entire* class via Zoom, please let me know.

2. You will be assigned to 1 of 4 cohorts. An advantage of these cohorts is that you can get to know a smaller number of people reasonably well. Research projects will be oriented around these cohorts.

3. On your first f2f class day, you will note which seats are designated as available and which seats are marked as unavailable. The university placed numerous stickers in and around classrooms to remind us of the importance of social distancing. Once everyone is settled into their seats, I will create a seating chart, noting your seat for the semester. This seating chart will allow me to remember your names more quickly, which is especially important because I will likely see you less often than I would during a normal semester. The seating chart is also an important safety feature if the university or health department needs to perform contact tracing.

4. Given our heavy reliance on Zoom and eLC throughout the semester, please share your Zoom tips with one another (and with me ☺). Think of it as akin to helping a first year find the right bus at Tate.

5. I will record and upload lectures, but not every class session will be lecture oriented. To assist everyone with their projects, some class sessions will be flipped. That is, we’ll be working on your “homework” and projects in class. As such, I will upload short lectures related to important concepts for you to review throughout the semester.

6. From time to time, I will develop breakout rooms on Zoom. Your breakout room assignments will be based on your cohort.

7. Some class sessions will be fully online for every student because fully online sessions can facilitate the broadest discussions. Watch your eLC pages for updates. More importantly, every class session after Thanksgiving break will be fully online.

8. All writing assignments and examinations will be fully online.

**Logistics for Health and Safety**: Everyone has a critical role to play as we work together to protect the health and safety of every member of the Bulldog Nation.

*Face coverings*: In every building on campus, including Baldwin Hall, face coverings are **mandatory**. Wearing a face covering is in addition to and not a substitute for also maintaining 6 feet of social distancing. Anyone not using a face covering when required will be asked to wear one. Otherwise, they must leave the area.

*Keeping a safe distance*: In all public spaces in Baldwin Hall (including stairwells, halls, offices, bathrooms, classrooms, and labs), please maintain 6 feet between you and others. The seating capacity in your classroom has been modified to allow for social distancing. Please sit in designated, marked seats. In all public spaces, including classrooms, do not remove signage or re-arrange furniture, even if it appears that furniture is not being used. To help maintain distance, please keep right, where possible. If you enter/exit through the front doors of Baldwin, please follow the signs (and traffic) directing you through specific doors.

*Don’t congregate*: Zip in; zip out. If you want to spend some time chatting with someone, please take it outside or online. The university requests that you enter and exit Baldwin without delay, staying outside of the building as long as practicable before your class begins and leaving once your class is finished.

*Keep it clean*: Cleaning and disinfecting shared spaces is important to reduce the risk of exposure to COVID-19. Classrooms are only being cleaned once-per-day. There are sanitation wipes at bucket stands in proximity to your classroom. *Prior to heading in to class*, take a wipe from the station and wipe down all high-touch surfaces associated with your seat. These wipes are Clorox based, so they are not appropriate for cleaning your hands. Consider keeping some hand wipes with you in our purse or backpack. Also, help further to slow the spread of the virus by frequently washing your hands. Bathrooms will be cleaned frequently during the day. If bathrooms are closed for cleaning, you may need to use those on other floors or in other buildings. Please be conscious of the density of traffic in bathrooms and practice social distancing.

*Staying in touch*. Attending office hours and academic advising is encouraged, but meetings should be arranged by appointment. To ensure safe distancing, faculty and staff are more likely to meet with you online, by phone, or outside.

*Your health*: Your health is important to everyone at the university. You have been provided with a digital thermometer and are required to self-monitor and report through DawgCheck signs or symptoms of COVID-19. By coming to campus, you are acknowledging that you have checked your symptoms and that you do not have COVID-19 symptoms. UGA is using a notification application to remind you daily to check for symptoms prior to coming to campus and to self-report in the event you display COVID-19 symptoms. If you report symptoms, the University follows a confidential process for securely notifying health officials who can begin contact tracing and provide appropriate support services for you and others who might have been around you. If you have an underlying medical condition or, for any reason, believe that you are at a high risk of developing a serious case of COVID-19, you may request an accommodation through the Disability Resource Center (DRC) at drc@uga.edu or 706-542-8719. More information can be found at - <https://drc.uga.edu/content_page/student-accommodation-guidelines>

*Mental health matters*: Your overall health includes your mental health. It is alright to be well, and it is appropriate to take steps to ensure that you stay well. Most importantly, know that the university has professionals who can help you recover and maintain your wellbeing.

 Mental Health and Wellness Resources:

* If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit [https://sco.uga.edu](https://sco.uga.edu/). They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.
* UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) or crisis support (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>).
* If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.
* Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.

Check your email regularly so you don’t miss important information, and also check the University [COVID-19 website](https://www.uga.edu/coronavirus/info.php) for updates and resources. This web site includes links from student affairs with helpful, up-to-date messages for students and parents.

Remember, universities around the world are moving online due to the pandemic. We all need to do our part so that we can preserve a small slice of normal here at the University of Georgia. If we are vigilant, the probability that we can stay on campus f2f is maximized. If we are lax, we will maximize the probability that you will move back with our parents.

**Back to the Traditional Stuff**

**Grading**: This course is writing intensive. Assignments include short reaction pieces that tease apart theoretical arguments, assess empirical claims, or connect a newspaper article to material that we have read in class. Prompts for reaction pieces are placed throughout the syllabus. Additional prompts will be shared. For instance, I might ask you to analyze and critique a newspaper column, addressing how it relates to material that we have read for class. Reaction pieces are to be 1-2 pages long. Two are due in September, two in October, and two in November. Around the midpoint of the course, a longer, analytical essay is due. In that essay, you should explore 2-4 assigned papers (or chapters) in depth, noting how the authors structure their arguments, collect and organize their data, and present their findings. The structure of the authors’ arguments as opposed to their findings per se are key. The analytical essay should be 5-6 pages long. Your term paper is your final assignment, which allows you to explore an issue in more depth. You will be expected to collect and analyze data for your papers. More info will be posted on eLC. Participation is accomplished online and f2f. Consider sharing prompts, newspaper articles, and ideas and comments. Participate in your breakout rooms. The final will be self-proctored. It will be open book. It will have a release date and a due date, allowing more than the usual 3 hours. It will be largely essay based and highly reflective, letting you express what you have learned and allowing you to comment on the structure of the class.

Reaction Pieces: 5% each for 25% total because I’ll drop the lowest score

Analytical Essay: 20%

Term Paper: 40%

Final: 10%

Participation: 5%

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 half grade a day. You may discuss the course or your work with me at any time. Formal grade appeals must be made in writing.

**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.*

**Primary Books**: 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.

\*\* 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). \*\*

\*\* Some readings will be distributed on eLC as pdfs. \*\*

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

**Week of August 17th**

**0. Introductions and Preliminaries**

**Week of August 24th**

**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?**)

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

T. Madison’s Federalist #10. Why is Madison relevant for a class on lobbying? What assumption does Madison use to build his argument? What are Madison’s concerns about self-interest? What are his prescriptions?

R. Latham, Earl. 1952. The Group Basis of Politics: Notes for a Theory. *American Political Science Review* 46:376-79. What is Latham’s group basis? What are its implications?

GENERAL DISCUSSION: Truman is discussed at length in the Ainsworth chapters. Latham and Truman: Are we in groups or are groups in us? What is the basis for that question? According to Truman, what structures our interactions with groups?

**Week of August 31st**

**II. Collective Action Problems**

T&R. Ainsworth. 2002. *Analyzing Interest Groups*, chapter 2.

GENERAL DISCUSSION: Why do collective action problems exist? What are their implications for the types of groups that do form?

**Week of September 7th**

**III. Entrepreneurs and Their Interactions with Government Officials**

T. Ainsworth. 2002. *Analyzing Interest Groups*, chapter 3.

R. Hansen, John Mark. 1987. Choosing Sides. *Studies in American Pol Development* 2:183-229. With whom do groups compete? What advantages do groups have over their competitors?

**Week of September 14th**

**IV. Historical Origins and Development of Groups and Lobbying**

T. 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. How does Skocpol structure her work? What is meant by top down or bottom up arguments? Where else do they occur in political science debates? Where in Skocpol?

R. 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. What prompted the explosion in associational formations? How does the occurrence of grand, sweeping events affect the roles of collective action problems and entrepreneurs?

GENERAL 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 September 21st**

**V. The Lobbying Scene in Washington**

1) Types of Interests in Washington

T. Godwin, Ainsworth, and Godwin. Chapters 1 and 2

T. Salisbury. 1984. Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions. *American Political Science Review* 78:64-76. What is an institution? What is a group without members, per se? Why do institutions dominate and how do they dominate?

R. Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2006. Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender *Journal of Politics* 68:xxx. What are the implications of Strolovitch’s central findings?

R. 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.

GENERAL DISCUSSION: Which disparate interests are organized and how are interests communicated to government officials? That is, who’s represented in DC? Explore the Center for Responsive Politics website and their Influence and Lobbying data in particular.

**Week of September 28th**

2) Business Structures and Representation

T. Hertel-Fernandez. 2018. *Politics at Work*, pp 1-42 and 203-228. A pdf will be distributed. How does Hertel-Fernandez relate to Salisbury’s work on institutions? Latham’s work on the group basis of politics?

R. Drutman. chapters 1-4. Make sure you can understand the graphs throughout Drutman. Drutman relies on both data and interviews. Which do you find more reliable? Why?

GENERAL DISCUSSION: How do businesses mobilize interests? What trends in mobilization have we seen? Consider the OpenSecrets Influence and Lobbying data. What data structures would you need to create a credible argument about lobbying and lobby influence?

**Week of October 5th**

3) Business Structures and Business Strategies

T&R. Baron. 2006. *Business and Its Environment*, pp 175-170 and 203-217. Who’s represented? Who’s over or under represented? What are nonmarket strategies? In what ways are they unique to businesses?

GENERAL DISCUSSION: How do theoretical arguments help us to explore data and empirical claims?

**Week of October 12th**

**VI. Lobbying and Congress**

1) The Interplay of Structures and Strategies

T. Schlozman and Tierney. 1983. More of the Same: Washington Pressure Group Activity in a Decade of Change *Journal of Politics* 45:xx-xx. Is there simply more and more lobbying every decade? Why might older lobbyists envision an explosion? What do the data at OpenSecrets say about growth patterns? What congressional reforms were tied to the lobbying explosion? Congress scholars, do they remain relevant today?

R. Ainsworth. 1997. The Role of Legislators in the Determination of Interest Group Influence. Legislative Studies *Quarterly* 22: 517-533. What are transaction costs? Why would legislators or lobbyists worry about them? How are transaction costs minimized?

R. Hall and Deardorff. 2006. Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy. *American Political Science Review* 100:69-84. If you lobby allies, what sort of slippage could occur regarding your subsidy? With which legislators is the least slippage smallest? Could the lobbying of allies be due to an equilibrium effect? Are lobbying signals cheaper with allies? More credible with allies? Explain.

**Week of October 19th**

2) The Interplay between Information and Signaling

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

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

R. Drutman, chapters 5-7

R. 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.

GENERAL DISCUSSION: What are the roles for information in the D.C. lobbying environment? Recall Hansen’s work. Can information be released in a strategic fashion?

**Week of October 26th**

3) Lobbying and Revolving Doors

T. 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>

T. Lazarus, McKay, and Herbel. 2016 Who Walks through the Revolving Dorr? *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 5:82-100.

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

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

R. Ainsworth, Gallagher, and Moss. 2019. Women at Work: Bias in Lobbying Firms and Issue Area. A pdf will be distributed. How are firm ideologies measured? Why do the authors distinguish between firm biases and issue area biases?

GENERAL DISCUSSION: How does influence “travel?” Which revolvers are best suited for lobbying? What do lobbyists do to enhance their influence?

**Week of November 2nd**

**VII. Lobbying and the Policy Process**

T. Godwin, Ainsworth, Godwin. *Lobbying and Policymaking*. Chapters 3-6

R. Godwin, Ainsworth, Godwin. *Lobbying and Policymaking*. Chapters 7-10

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

DISCUSSION: How do lobbying and policymaking dovetail? At what stage in the policy process are interests least visible? What else is going on in the nation these days?

**Week of November 9th**

**VIII. Direct Lobbying before the Executive Branch**

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

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

T&R. 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: In the words of Marvin Gaye, what’s going on? What just happened? Regarding the readings, who’s represented? How are they represented? At what stage in the policy process are interests least visible? How varied are rules? What is a significant rule? Should all rules be combined for analysis? Why or why not? How can we reconcile Yackee’s works and Golden’s?

**Week of November 16th**

**IX. 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. What does it mean to leverage the law? Can’t everyone do that?

Rich. 2016. The Lawyer Who Became DuPont’s Worst Nightmare. *New York Times Magazine*, January 6th. Suppose lobbyists worked on a contingency basis. How might they behave in Washington?

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? What happened in November, 2000?

**Week of November 23rd**

T. This is the last day before Thanksgiving Break. We will catch up as necessary and discuss your research papers.

All classes are online after Thanksgiving break.

**X. Lobbying Impact**

Ainsworth. 1996.The Logic and Rationale of Lobbying Regulations. *Congress and the Presidency* 23:1-13.

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.

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

**Week of December 7th**

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

Ainsworth, chapter 10. A pdf will be distributed.

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 a crisis affect the lobbying and interest group communities?