



POLS 4540: Lobbying and Lobby Influence

Fall 2021

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A great time to catch me is during class. We're always there. We can also chat immediately after class.

**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 half 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 throughout the semester. 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.

*Participation, Homework and Presentations:* Participation requires more than attendance. Just as being a spectator at a game is different than being an athlete on the field, simply attending class is not in and of itself an indication of participation. Sometimes I have used very short homework assignments to assess where everyone is. If all goes as planned, each student will make a presentation during the semester. You may either present some

of the assigned material or present some of your own research related to your paper. Of all of the assigned work, a short presentation can hone oral communication skills, which are crucial in the workplace.

### **Understandings:**

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, CS, and other related classes.

2) Learning is cooperative and interactive in nature. Dig deeply into the assigned materials and strive to participate in class. Actively listen with an ear toward understanding views and reasoning.

3) You may criticize ideas, but you should also consider the soundness of an alternatives.

4) Commit to learning, not debating. As you know, opinion requires no accountability, no empirical grounding, and no connection to theory. In short, opinion can be indicative of laziness, an attribute not highly valued in most social settings.

5) *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.*

6) All cell phones should be turned off. I reserve the right to have all laptops closed and stowed. In the absence of written authorization, the university does not allow students to record lectures.

7) Covid is *still* a thing.

- The University of Georgia encourages the use of masks in all indoor spaces.
- The University Health Center offers [Free Vaccines](#).
- If you have COVID-19 symptoms, you should self-isolate and schedule an appointment with the University Health Center by calling 706-542-1162 (Monday-Friday, 8 a.m.-5p.m.). Please do not walk-in. For emergencies and after-hours care, see <https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>.
- If you test positive for any Covid variant, you are required to use [DawgCheck](#) and notify the Student Care and Outreach team ([sco@uga.edu](mailto:sco@uga.edu)).

- Note that the guidance referenced in this syllabus is subject to change based on recommendations from the Georgia Department of Public Health, the University System of Georgia, or the Governor's Office. For the latest on UGA policy, you can visit <https://coronavirus.uga.edu/>.
- Recognize that many schools are closing due to outbreaks. Recognize that many schools are taking aggressive preventive measures to insure that they stay open.

### **Reading Material:**

The most important reading assignments are journal articles available from the library – either on the shelves or through the electronic journal systems (e.g., EBSCO and JSTOR). You are responsible for securing those articles.

There is no comprehensive text for this course, but you might find *Analyzing Interest Groups* by Ainsworth (W.W. Norton 2002; ISBN=0-393-97708-0) helpful. Used copies are widely available. Pdfs of some chapters will be distributed.

Other fun books include *Lobbying and Policymaking* by Godwin, Ainsworth, and Godwin (CQ Press ISBN-10:1604264691), *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), and *Thank You for Smoking* by Christopher Buckley's (Random House ISBN-10:0812976525).

\*\* 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 24 and 26**

### **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*, chapter 16. A pdf will be distributed.

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 August 31 and September 2

### II. Historical Origins and Development

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

Chamberlain, Yanus, and Pyeatt. 2020. "Exploring the Legend of a "Nation of Joiners." *Social Science Journal* 57(3): 26-33.

Chamberlain, Yanus, and Pyeatt. 2020. The Southern Question: American Voluntary Association Development, 1876-1920. *Political Research Quarterly* 135:103-129.

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.

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 7 and 9

### III. The Lobbying Scene in Washington

1) Some of the Types of Interests in Washington

McConnell. 1966. *Private Power and American Democracy*, chapter 5. A pdf will be distributed.

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 and Jones. 2014. "How Membership Associations Change the Balance of Representation in Washington (and How They Don't)" in *New Directions in Interest Group Politics*. A pdf will be distributed.

Schlozman, Brady, and Verba. 2018. *Unequal and Unrepresented*, chapter 8. A pdf will be distributed.

DISCUSSION: Which disparate interests are organized and how are interests communicated to government officials? That is, who's represented in DC? Who's represented? Who's over or under represented?

### **Week of September 14 and 16**

#### 2) Business Structures and Representation

Hertel-Fernandez. 2018. *Politics at Work*, pp 1-42 and 203-228. A pdf will be distributed.

Drutman. chapters 1-4. A pdf will be distributed.

DISCUSSION: How do businesses mobilize interests? How does the McConnell work connect to Hertel-Fernandez?

### **Week of September 21 and 23**

#### 3) Business Structures and Business Strategies

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

Colli and Adriaensen. 2020. "Lobbying the state or the market?" *Regulation & Governance* 14:501-513.

DISCUSSION: What are nonmarket strategies? In what ways are they unique to businesses?

### **Midpoint of the term: October 11**

### **Week of September 28 and 30**

#### **In-Class Midterm Exam September 28<sup>th</sup>**

The rubric for your papers and a look at data for your papers

### **Week of October 5 and 7**

#### 4) Congressional Lobbying

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

### **Week of October 12 and 14**

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. A pdf will be distributed.

Ainsworth and Monogan. 2020. "Hedging Bets: Lobbying as Insurance for Business" in *Interest Group Politics*, 10<sup>th</sup> 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 October 19 and 21**

5) Direct Lobbying before the Executive Branch

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 October 26 and 28**

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 6<sup>th</sup>.

Collins. 2014. "Interest Groups in the Judicial Arena" in *New Directions in Interest*

*Group Politics*. A pdf will be distributed

DISCUSSION: Who is represented? Where? How? How do class action suits operate? How are they similar to interest groups?

### **Week of November 2 and 4**

#### **IV. Who are 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](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.

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 November 9 and 11**

#### **V. Some Possibilities for Lobbying Impact**

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

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

Victor and Koger. 2016. “Financing Friends.” *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 5: 224-262.  
<https://www.proquest.com/docview/1874037731?accountid=14537>

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

Payson. 2020. “Cities in the Statehouse.” *Journal of Politics*  
<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0Bw6L09XqYY4zNzJqMW5rUVVMRDg/view?resourcekey=0-q48o4da0fmD2pmUhhHL3bg>

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

## **Week of November 16 and 18**

### **VI. A Discussion of Circumstances and Possibilities**

Apollonio and Bero. 2007. "Industry Front Groups: A Tobacco Case Study." *Journal of Consumer Protection and Food Safety*

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/226672551\\_Industry\\_Front\\_Groups\\_A\\_Tobacco\\_Case\\_Study](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/226672551_Industry_Front_Groups_A_Tobacco_Case_Study)

Drutman. 2014 "Evaluating Reforms of Lobbying and Money in Politics" in in *New Directions in Interest Group Politics*. A pdf will be distributed

## **Week of November 23**

Paper related discussions

**Happy Thanksgiving!!!**

**Last Week!!!**

**Week of November 30 and December 2**

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

Ainsworth, chapter 10

Madison, Federalist #10

Review for Final

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?