

THE POLITICS OF ORGANIZED INTERESTS

Spring 2012

POSC 311-01

Meetings: Fellows 206 – MW 11:30-1:20pm

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Office & Hours: Knapp Hall 305-B, MW 9:30-11:30, 1:30-2:20 (and by appointment)

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course deals with the politics of organized interests in the United States. Organized interests, interest groups, pressure groups, factions, whatever their name, are a natural outgrowth of a free society yet are often treated as unwelcome houseguests, a necessary evil, or sometimes just an evil. Interest groups have been central players in some theories of politics and ignored completely by others. They were at the core of the discipline and a popular research topic after the behavioral revolution, faded to the margins for a time, and have since revived in some ways. We know much about who they are and what they do but little about when and why they form and what effects they have. We will take up a variety of questions in this class, focusing on three basic questions and their inter-relationships: How are interest groups organized? What interests are organized? And what do interest groups do, why, and to what effect? Through inquiries about interest groups at multiple levels of analysis, we hope to come to some conclusion about how interest groups do and perhaps should involve themselves in American politics and society – are interest groups effective linkages between citizens and government? Is democracy workable in terms of interest group politics?

READINGS

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

Chicago: University of Chicago Press. ISBN: 9780226764641.

Other readings will be available through online databases or will be made available as necessary.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Attendance and Participation	15%
Literature Reviews	20%
Main Assignments	60%
Brief Presentations	5%
Total=	<u>100%</u>

DESCRIPTION OF REQUIREMENTS

Attendance and Participation (15%) This is not a fudge factor. I expect you to come to class prepared to engage the material, your colleagues, and me. I value the classroom conversation, I mean for it to be a two-way conversation and not a lecture, and this is my way of placing value on it. Instead of coming to class for a set of notes, I expect you will come to class *with* a set of notes that will enable a discussion to take place. Democracy takes work. If you miss more than 3 unexcused classes, you will forfeit your attendance points. Those who faithfully come to class and say nothing can expect to receive about 66% of their attendance points (that's still a D).

Literature Reviews (20%) One of the most valuable skills to learn is how to represent key elements of a literature, so you will get some practice here with 7 short review pieces (described fully on p 5). They will also encourage you to read since you cannot complete these without having a good understanding of these pieces and how they relate to each other. Do not low ball your estimate of the time these will take you.

Main Assignments (60%) You're going to complete three longer assignments described on p 6.

Presentations (5%) After each assignment, you'll do a brief presentation of what you found. By having the presentations on the day the paper is due, it should encourage you to get the paper done in advance as well as think through what you wrote and make sure that it's coherent and presentable. They also allow us to take a breath and listen to one another. More on these in class.

IMPORTANT COURSE POLICIES

Due Dates and Excuses The due dates are prescribed to fit into a larger schedule. The semester is fairly evenly spaced so that the work of the course (and there's a lot) is paced and not crammed into one week. If you see a conflict coming (a campus event, 10 papers due the same day, etc.), **PLAN FOR IT IN ADVANCE!** Extensions are granted on a case by case basis, and not for, "I'm really busy." If you are ill, I expect a short call alerting me of your absence (emergencies obviously excepted, but get someone to call and make arrangements with me soon). I will not reschedule the course for you. Your late, unexcused work will not be able to earn top grades – see **Late Assignment Policy** below. It is not acceptable anymore to claim a disk error for late work since the network is reliable and accessible to everyone. Therefore, use your network account (U:).

Late Assignment Policy Each day (including weekends) your work is late and unexcused, you lose 5 percent from your final grade for that assignment. So: the top possible grade for an assignment 3 days late is an 85 (or B). You must alert me to your valid excuse before the assignment is due, not when you are handing it in late. Failure to complete all assignments results in a failing grade for the class.

Electronic Submission It is acceptable to submit your assignments by email, preferably as a Word document. Please also include all figures and tables within the same document. Thus, I want one document for each assignment. It is not acceptable to paste the text of your paper into an email. If submitting your paper electronically, the paper will be subject to the above "late assignment policy" if you forget to attach it to the email.

Attendance Policy My basic rule is that you forfeit your attendance points if you miss more than 3 unexcused classes. However, mere attendance is not enough; if you attend religiously and speak nary a word you will earn about two-thirds of your attendance points. Make an effort to be an active participant in class and you will benefit, not just by earning your attendance points, but in all your coursework.

Accommodations Any student wishing an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact me privately as soon as possible to discuss your specific needs. I rely on the Office of Academic Support to verify the need for accommodation based on their office files.

Academic Honesty The Denison academic dishonesty policy can be found in the Student Handbook. Any incidence of academic dishonesty in this course will result in your failure of this course and referral to the Denison judicial process. There is never a problem if you keep your eyes to yourself and properly cite and reference sources of information and ideas. We will discuss this further during the course.

Grading Policy Final grades are based roughly on a 90 (lowest A), 80 (lowest B), 70 (lowest C), etc., scale. I prefer not to specify exactly what the grading scale will be so I have the flexibility to curve the scale a bit to fit the class distribution.

Grading Expectations

☺ A: An 'A' paper presents a clear question and justifies it, articulates clear, appropriate, and creative hypotheses (or arguments), presents a clear design and offers reasons for gathering appropriate evidence to test the hypotheses (or arguments), analyzes the evidence in a clear, organized, and systematic fashion, and thinks broadly about the implications of the findings. If appropriate, it uses relevant and sufficient sources, appropriately cited and referenced.

- ☺ B: A ‘B’ paper misses at least one of A paper categories or presents a muddled version of A paper characteristics. It might be a solid piece except for doing some of the following: presents a hypothesis but may not be completely logical or organized in analyzing evidence regarding that hypothesis; has writing problems; is sloppy in presentation; has the bare minimum of sources; or fails to properly cite information. Or it may merely have a less clear question, weaker justification, etc.
- ☹ C: A ‘C’ paper misses several of the A paper categories. It might have no clear question, unclear hypotheses, may not investigate a question in much depth, might have logical or organizational flaws, might have significant writing problems, might have the bare minimum of sources, or no consistent citation of sources.
- ☹ D: A ‘D’ paper combines serious logical flaws, superficiality, and writing problems.
- ☹ F: An ‘F’ paper fails to display much of any thought or effort on your part.

NOTE: Almost all articles on the Weekly Schedule are available in an online database, such as J-Stor. If they are not, I suggest where they might be found or I will distribute them to you in a timely fashion (tbd=to be distributed).

Weekly Schedule

<i>Week and Topic</i>	<i>Readings</i>	<i>Due Dates</i>
1.16 What is the role of groups in a democracy?	M None, Introductions W Madison, James. 1787. “Federalist 10: The Utility of the Union as a Safeguard Against Domestic Faction and Insurrection (continued).” < http://www.constitution.org/fed/federa10.htm >. Tocqueville, Alexis de. 1840. <i>Democracy in America</i> , Book 2. “Chapter 5: Of the Use Which the Americans Make of Public Associations in Civil Life.” Pp. 129-134. “Chapter 7: Relation of Civil to Political Associations.” Pp. 140-146. < http://tinyurl.com/readAdT > Schattschneider, E.E. 1960. <i>The Semi-Sovereign People</i> . New York: Wadsworth. Pp. 1-19. [tbd]	F-LR1 Due
T h e I n t e r e s t S y s t e m		
1.23 No Class	M No Class – MLK, Jr. Day, Denison-Style W No class – I’m in Greenville, SC for a conference presenting: Djupe, Paul A. 2012. “The Tolerant Clergy: The Effect of Urging Tolerance on Political Persuasion.”	
1.30 How does a pluralist interest group system behave? Are those assumptions and predictions accurate?	M Truman, David B. 1951. <i>The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion</i> . New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Chapter 2. [tbd] Olson, Mancur. 1965. <i>The Logic of Collective Action</i> . Cambridge: Harvard University Press. [chapters tbd] Lowi, Theodore. 1964. “American business, public policy, case studies, and political theory.” <i>World Politics</i> 16(4): 677-715. W No Class – I’m in St. Louis giving a talk: “The Political Economy of Religious Effects.”	F-LR2 Due
2.6 On what basis do individuals join groups? What difference does internal group maintenance make?	M Salisbury, Robert H. 1969. “An exchange theory of interest groups.” <i>Midwest Journal of Political Science</i> 13(1): 1-32. Moe, Terry M. 1981. “Toward a broader view of interest groups.” <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 43(2): 531-43. Rothenberg, Lawrence. 1988. “Organizational Maintenance and the Retention Decision in Groups.” <i>American Political Science Review</i> 82(4): 1129-52. Koch, Jeffrey W. 1993. “Assessment of Group Influence, Subjective Political Competence, and Interest Group Membership.” <i>Political</i>	

	<p><i>Behavior</i> 15(4): 309-325.</p> <p>W Djupe, Paul A. 2011. "Political Pluralism and the Information Search: Determinants of Group Opinionation." <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> 64(1): 68-81.</p> <p>Djupe, Paul A. and Andrew R. Lewis. 2011. "Solidarity and Discord: How the Social Context Affects Interest Group Involvement." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the APSA.[tbd]</p>	F-LR3 Due
2.13 What forces govern the composition of the interest representation system? Are interest groups like baboons? Does the system reflect the predictions of economic theories?	<p>M Schattschneider, E.E. 1960. <i>The Semi-Sovereign People</i>. New York: Wadsworth. Chapter 2. [tbd]</p> <p>Schlozman, Kay Lehman. 1984. "What Accent the Heavenly Chorus? Political Equality and the American Pressure System." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 46(4): 1006-32.</p> <p>Salisbury, Robert H. 1984. "Interest representation: The dominance of institutions." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 78(1): 64-76.</p> <p>W Lowery, David and Virginia Gray. 1998. "The Dominance of Institutions in Interest Representation: A Test of Seven Explanations." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 42(1): 231-255.</p> <p>Lowery, David and Virginia Gray. 1995. "The Population Ecology of Gucci Gulch, or the Natural Regulation of Interest Group Numbers in the American States." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 39(1): 1-29.</p>	
2.20 Presentations for Paper 1 & wrap up inquiries about the system's composition.	<p>M Presentations of Paper 1 results.</p> <p>W Gais, Thomas L., Mark A. Peterson, and Jack L. Walker. 1984. "Interest Groups, Iron Triangles and Representative Institutions in American National Government." <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 14(2): 161-185.</p> <p>Gray, Virginia, and David Lowery. 2001. "The Institutionalization of State Communities of Organized Interests." <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> 54(2): 265-84.</p>	M-A1 Due F-LR4 Due
2.27 Is the interest group system pluralist? Would a representative composition of the pressure system matter?	<p>M 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." <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 52(2): 356-90.</p> <p>W Gray, Virginia and David Lowery. 1996. "A Niche Theory of Interest Representation." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 58(1): 91-111.</p> <p>Baumgartner, Frank R. and Beth L. Leech 2001. "Interest Niches and Policy Bandwagons: Patterns of Interest Group Involvement in National Politics." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 63(4): 1191-1213.</p>	F-LR5 Due
3.5 Who do interest groups work with? Why would they work with others?	<p>M Salisbury, Robert H., John P. Heinz, Edward O. Laumann, and Robert L. Nelson. 1987. "Who Works with Whom? Interest Group Alliances and Opposition." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 81:1217-1235.</p> <p>Gray, Virginia, and David Lowery. 1998. "To Lobby Alone or In a Flock: Foraging Behavior Among Organized Interests." <i>American Politics Quarterly</i> 26: 5-34.</p> <p>Hojnacki, Marie. 2008. "Organized Interests' Advocacy Behavior in Alliances." <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> 51(2): 437-59.</p> <p>W Grossmann, Matt and Casey B. K. Dominguez. 2009. "Party Coalitions and Interest Group Networks." <i>American Politics Research</i> 37(5): 767-800.</p> <p>Koger, Gregory, Seth Masket, and Hans Noel. 2010. "Cooperative Party Factions in American Politics." <i>American Politics Research</i> 38(1): 33-53.</p>	F-LR6 Due
3.12 Spring Break	S P R I N G B R E A K	

individual citizens?		
4.23 Our own analysis	M Computer Lab; Course evaluations, 1:00-1:20 in Fellows 201 W Computer Lab	M-A3 due
4.30 No Final	M Last Day of Class! Presentation of Paper 3 results We don't have a final.	A4 Due Friday May 4, midnight

Literature Reviews

(Each is worth 2.86% – 20% total)

#	Question	Dates Covered	Due by midnight
LR1*	What is the role of groups in a democracy?	1/16 – 1/18	Friday, 1/20
LR2*	How does a pluralist interest group system behave?	1/30	Friday, 2/3
LR3	On what basis do individuals join groups? What difference does internal group maintenance make?	2/6 – 2/8	Friday, 2/10
LR4	What forces govern the composition of the interest representation <i>system</i> ?	2/13– 2/22	Friday, 2/24
LR5	Is the interest group system pluralist?	2/27 – 2/29	Friday, 3/2
LR6	Who do interest groups work with?	3/5 – 3/7	Friday, 3/9
LR7	When they lobby, how do they ascertain their targets?	3/21 – 3/28	Friday, 3/30
LR8	Business Power?	4/16 – 4/18	Friday, 4/20

* You must write these two literature reviews, but then may choose 5 of the next 7 to complete.

Review Details

- Start with the core question and offer a brief justification – why is this important? Smart introductory paragraphs will also map out the review by highlighting the themes or tensions to be discussed.
- The goal of the literature review is to map the major questions, theories, and findings of the literature, highlighting its significance – what big theories does it confirm, what aspects of democracy does the literature help us understand, etc. Essentially, what has lead to disparate findings and what do we know? Comment on any significant gaps left in the literature, as far as you can tell, or methodological problems you can discern.
- Especially good reviews will close by (briefly!) posing directions for the literature to travel next – the next set of questions, methods to employ, etc.
- Each review is to be 1 single-spaced page in length with 1 inch margins and either Times New Roman or Garamond font. As in any paper, include appropriate citations using the approved in-text citation style (see the *Political Science Paper Style Guide*).
- In each review, you will not be able to use names in the text (outside of parenthetical citations, which are obviously a must), no references to article or book titles, no quotations, and no use of “some/one/another/this/that/(etc.) authors/articles/research.” You therefore must write about the conversation of ideas between the authors. You will also incorporate all readings from within the scope of the review as listed in the covered dates.

M a i n A s s i g n m e n t s

#	Topic	Worth	Due Date
A1	<p>Joining Groups at Home</p> <p><i>Description</i> Why do people express interest in/join/remain in associations? Design and execute a study using Denison students as examples given the vibrant organizational bazaar in which you are situated. Write a paper under 10 pages using your interview data to comment on the relevant interest group literature. Be sure also to comment on the integrity of your study – what are the limitations of your study? How might the results of your study be qualified? And think about the broader ramifications for the interest system (regarding representativeness and representation) of what you find at the individual level.</p> <p>We'll talk about the content of this paper more in class, but the basic structure will resemble a full research paper: it will start with a research question, review the literature and develop a theory (of course you can draw on your short LR's!), discuss how the theory will be tested (how are data gathered, what questions are to be asked?), present results, and draw conclusions. The study should be firmly grounded in the debates we and the literature are having.</p>	20%	Due Monday, February 20
A2	<p>Obama and the Pressure System</p> <p><i>Description</i> President Obama was elected with all expectations that he would pursue comprehensive health care reform and change the culture in Washington with regard to partisanship and the pressure system (with health care reform much higher on the priority list). The Obama administration was also staring down history – 16 years ago, comprehensive health care reform was attempted and abandoned, broken by a variety of forces including a powerful, entrenched interest community that stood opposed to reform. What changed from the Clinton approach to the Obama approach? Read (at least) the articles listed below to get a sense for the politics of 2009 and a bit about 1993. You are free to find more accounts and you probably should. Your question is: How did the Obama strategy affect the power of the pressure system to stop passage of health care reform? The importance of this exercise is not to demonstrate mastery of the details of the 2009 and 1993 reform efforts, though you will certainly have to learn a good bit about these attempts, but instead to demonstrate mastery of applying the literature we've read to this particular case.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Starting Points</i></p> <p>Harwood, John. 2009. "The Lobbying Web." <i>New York Times</i> August 1: WK1. Pear, Robert. 2009. "In House, Many Spoke with One Voice: Lobbyists" <i>New York Times</i> November 15: A1.</p>	20%	Due week of March 8
A3	<p>Lobbying Journal Report</p> <p>As we lobby POSC 307, you need to record several things. First, keep a log of who you contact and the topic of the meeting – I'll give you the format. Record your strategy. Compile a list of outside research done on your issue. Retain copies of any briefing materials you supply. For the journal report, you should assemble this information and begin with about 3 double-spaced pages of commentary about how your experience draws from and comments on the relevant literature. Make sure to comment on our case study.</p>	5%	Due Monday, April 23

A4	King Abramoff of K Street	15%	Due Friday, May 4, midnight
Option 1	<p><i>Description</i> By the time this paper rolls around, we'll have read a lot about lobbyists and lobbying. After reading the extraordinary communication between Abramoff and associates (available on Blackboard and in our S: directory), you might be sickened, but you might also be empowered to comment on the large literature we've read. Indeed, this is the question, “What lessons can we draw from the Abramoff lobbying career for the literature on lobbying and interest groups?” Feel free to get some additional journalistic assistance putting the memos in context. But, make sure to focus on the correspondence of the Abramoff case and the scholarly literature. As always, make sure to cite your memos and any articles you dig up. Also make sure to comment at least briefly on the potential limitations of using the Abramoff memos as a data source. Six to eight pages should suffice.</p>		
	A4	The Individual Influence of Interest Group Behavior on Public Opinion	15% Due Friday, May 4, midnight
Option 2	<p>Using our data explorations in the lab, write a 6-8 page paper (not counting tables and graphs) around a question described on the handout.</p>		