

# Interest Groups & Campaign Finance

*POS 6933-IGLP*

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Wednesdays, 3-6 pm, Anderson 134; Office Hours: M/F 1:00-3:00 pm, Anderson 205

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## Course Description and Goals

Forming groups and influencing decision-making: these are the themes undergirding the academic literature on organized interests and practical application of those ideas.

Collective action is central to the social contract, whether in the formation of the state or encouraging voter turnout. You'll find it in the centralization of power, social movements, policymaking, and implementation. Our focus will be on of collective action theory to interest groups and lobbying in the United States.

How powerful are groups? It depends. Scholars have struggled to measure power and influence even as conventional wisdom suggests undue and even corrupt influence on the part of lobbyists and groups. Still, understanding how interest groups affect policy and elections helps is integral to the study of policymaking.

Baumgartner and Leech (1998, p. 17)<sup>1</sup> note that the interest group literature is one that “grows, but does not accumulate.” This semester, we will assess the state of the academic literature in addressing these important questions and organized interests. We will discuss problems of theory, research design, conceptualization, and measurement, particularly with respect to behavior and influence and identify opportunities for future research.

But wait! We won't stop there. Measuring power and influence in government is elusive, and individuals and groups still make claims about government. Why, how and to what effect? Thus, we will also spend time on the applied aspects of groups formation, influence, and elections with guest speaker lobbyists, including former UF alums.

## Learning Objectives

- Synthesize a broad and deep knowledge of the extant literature
- Communicate effectively using evidence in both written and oral formats
- Develop executive management skills via teamwork
- Network with others to develop applied skills on a team project
- Build a working knowledge of federal campaign finance law

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<sup>1</sup> Baumgartner, Frank R., and Beth L. Leech. *Basic Interests: The Importance of Groups in Politics and in Political Science*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

## Course Requirements

Throughout the semester, seminar participants will engage in three basic activities. First, each week we will work through a set of required readings on a scheduled topic. I expect you to read and analyze these selections with care. 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 assess your ability to assimilate and synthesize the academic literature, each of you will lead discussion and write a discussion leader paper. Do not simply summarize the reading but provide some critical analysis of the readings. Stimulating discussion is also an important aspect of this assignment (more on Canvas).

Third, you will be assigned to a lobbying team the first week of the semester. Lobbyists have a reputation for wining-and-dining and backslapping at fundraisers. But the most successful lobbying efforts entail sophisticated planning and execution. In this project, your team will develop a detailed lobbying strategy comprised of industry-standard components used by actual government relations professionals in the effort of influencing public policy outcomes. Note this is a team project and the final grade will reflect the efforts of the entire team. You will also turn in components of the project as individual assignments. We will use Canvas tools so that I can observe the input from the entire team.

The detailed requirements for all these assignments are posted on Canvas.

### *Texts/Reading*

All readings are available electronically via Canvas. The reading will come from texts (chapters), academic research and essays, and contemporary investigative journalism. I will also recommend additional articles and texts if you would like to explore a topic further.

### *Assessment*

Your final grade rests on the extent and quality of your participation in class and feedback to your colleagues' lobbying plans, the quality and coherence of your discussion leader paper and performance, and your lobbying plan, which has both individual (brief memos, final paper) and team components (presentation and op-ed). I expect you to be prepared for every session, and to submit all assignments on time. Again, full details for all assignments are available on Canvas.

- Class Participation (weekly, presentation feedback) 10%
- Discussion Leader Presentation 10%
- Discussion Leader Response Paper and Questions 15%
- Lobbying plans:
  - Individual Memos 20%
  - Team Op-Ed 10%
  - Team Presentation 15%
  - Individual Paper 20%

## The Fine Print (Course, Dept., College, University Policies)

- Office hours: To protect your federally protected privacy rights, I cannot discuss your grade(s) over the phone, via email, or in front of class. Please make an appointment.
- Attendance: Attendance is required. Students failing to attend class during the first week may be dropped from the course; excessive absences could result in a failing grade. Requirements for class attendance, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies <https://catalog.ufl.edu/graduate/regulations/#text>. Please contact Dr. Robbins if you will miss class for documented absences (e.g., illness, quarantine, academic/athletic competitions).
- Make up Work: Don't be late. Canvas will assess a 5% per day penalty automatically to late work.
- Course Evaluations: Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. Guidance on how to give feedback is available at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/students/>. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens and can complete evaluations through the email they receive from GatorEvals, in their Canvas course menu under GatorEvals, or <https://viaufl.bluera.com/ufl/>. Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/public-results/>.
- Disability Services: Students with disabilities who experience learning barriers and would like to request academic accommodations should connect with the disability Resource Center by visiting <https://disability.ufl.edu/students/get-started/>. Please share your accommodation letter (and discuss your needs) with Dr. Robbins as early as possible.
- Plagiarism/Cheating: NOT tolerated. Cheating/plagiarism will result in zero for the assignment and will be reported to the SCCR. Students are bound by the UF Honor Pledge: <https://sccr.dso.ufl.edu/process/student-conduct-code/>. Use of AI (e.g., ChatGPT) is prohibited.
- Current UF Grading Policies/Grade Points: Information on current UF grading policies for assigning grade points is here: <https://catalog.ufl.edu/graduate/regulations/#text>.
- Recording lectures/discussion: Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor. **MORE DETAILS ON CANVAS.**
- Finally, the university has a well of resources available to you from health and wellness to career services. I've provided links to these on our Canvas Course Policies page.

# Course Outline

All the readings are available on Canvas (or linked from there).

## ***Part I: Group Formation***

### **August 23, 2023: Introductions, Expectations & Preconceptions**

- The Syllabus
- An Exodus from Congress (Berman)
- The Pentagon Saw a Warship Boondoggle (Lipton)
- The Fight over Gas Stoves (Tabuchi)
- The Secret History of Gun Rights (McIntire)
- Stunning Findings (Morgan)
- I was a Lobbyist (Williams)
- Here's the Real Reason we Don't have Gun Reform (Drutman)
- Legals Fees/Trump (Goldmacher/Haberman)
- **Assignment: Teams Created**

### **August 30, 2023: Pluralism & the Role of Groups**

- de Tocqueville, A. *Democracy in America*. Translated by Henry Reeve. Reprint ed. 2 vols. Vol. 1. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, (1945). Reprint, 1988, Vintage Books. (Chapter 12)
- Latham, E. "The Group Basis of Politics: Notes for a Theory." *The American Political Science Review* 46, no. 2 (1952): 376-97.
- Madison, J. "Federalist 10." In *The Federalist Papers*, edited by Roy P. Fairfield. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, (1981).
- Putnam, R. D. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6(1): 65-78 (1995).
- Truman, D. B. *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*. 2d ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, (1971). (Chapters 1, 3)

### **September 6, 2023: Critiques of Pluralism/Elitist Theories**

- Schattschneider, E. E. *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, (1975). Reprint, 1988. (skim Chapter 1, read chapter 2)
- Gilens, M., and B. Page. Testing Theories of American Politics. Elites, Interest Groups and Average Citizens. *Perspectives on Politics*, 12(3): 564-581, (2014).
- Strolovitch, D. Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? *Journal of Politics* 68(4): 894-910, (2006).
- Schlozman et al. Organizations and Democratic Representation of Interests: What Does it Mean When Those Organizations have no Members? *Perspectives on Politics* 13(4): 1017-1029, (2015).
- **Assignment: Policy Issue Chosen**

## September 13, 2023: Collective Action Problems

- Olson, M. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, (1965). (Chapters 1-6).
- Moe, T. "A Calculus of Group Membership." *American Journal of Political Science* 24(2): 594-632, (1980).
- Walsh, E. J., and R. H. Warland. Social Movement Involvement in the Wake of a Nuclear Accident: Activists and Free Riders in the TMI Area. *American Sociological Review* 48:764-80, (1983).
- Lubell, M., and A. Vedlitz. Collective Action, Environmental Action, and Air Quality Policy. *Political Research Quarterly* 59(1): 149-160, (2006).

## September 20, 2023: Neo Pluralism

- Dahl, R. A. *Who Governs?* New Haven: Yale University Press, (1961). (Chapter 1)
- Grossman, M. "Group Mobilization from the Economy, Society, and Government." In *New Directions in Interest Group Politics*. Ed., Matt Grossman. New York, Routledge, (2014).
- Walker, J.L. "The Three Modes of Political Mobilization." (Chapter 10) in *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 185-196, (1991).
- Drutman, L. 2009. Trade Associations: A Collective Action Dilemma or a Problem of Cohesion. Preprint for the 8th Edition of *Interest Group Politics* (Cigler/Loomis/Nownes).
- Baumgartner, F., Gray, V., and D. Lowery. "Federal Policy Activity and the Mobilization of State Lobbying Organizations." *Political Research Quarterly*. 62(3): 552-567 (2009).
- **Assignment: Policy Memo due**
- **Lobbying Discussion Reading (not part of discussion leader)**
  - deKieffer, D.E. 2007. *The Citizen's Guide to Lobbying Congress*, Revised and Updated, Chicago Review Press, Chapters 1-3 (these are short chapters)

## September 27, 2023: Social Movements

- Strolovitch, D., and D. Forrest. "Interest Groups and Social Movements", in *CQ Guide to Interest Groups and Lobbying*, Eds. Burdett Loomis and Peter Francia. Washington, DC: CQ Press (2011).
- Lipsky, M. "Protest as a Political Resource." *American Political Science Review* 62(4): 1144-1158. Piven, Frances Fox and Richard Cloward. 1977. *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (1968).Vintage, Chapter 1.
- McAdam, D. "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer." *American Journal of Sociology* 92(1): 64-90, (1986).
- Costain, A. "Representing Women: The Transition from Social Movement to Interest Group." *Western Political Quarterly* 34(1): 100-113 (1981).
- **Lobbying Discussion Reading (not part of discussion leader)**
  - Levine, B. *The Art of Lobbying*, CQ Press Chapter 2, The Lobbyists Professional World (2009).
  - Drutman, L. "The Complexities of Lobbying: Toward a Deeper Understanding of the Profession." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 43(4)L 834-837, (2010).

## ***Part II: Groups in Action***

### **October 4, 2023: Influencing the Legislative Branch**

- Leech, Beth. 2010. Lobbying and Influence, in ed. Maisel, L.S., J. M. Berry., and G.C. Edwards III, *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups*. Oxford University Press.
- Hojnacki, Marie, and David Kimball. 1998. "Organized Interests and the Decision of Who to Lobby in Congress." *American Political Science Review* 92(4): 775-790.
- Baumgartner, Frank, Jeffrey Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David Kimball, and Beth Leech. 2014. "Money, Priorities, and Stalemate: How Lobbying Affects Public Policy." *Election Law Journal* 13(1): 194-209.
- Hall, Richard and Alan Deardorff. 2006. "Lobbying as a Legislative Subsidy." *American Political Science Review* 100(1): 69-84.
- Hall, Richard, and Frank Wayman. 1990. "Buying Time Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees." *American Political Science Review*.
- **Assignment: Stakeholder ID Memo due**
- **Lobbying Discussion Reading (not part of discussion leader)**
  - Levine, Bertram. 2008. *The Art of Lobbying*. Sage University Press, chapter 7 (Designing and Executing a Lobbying Campaign).

### **October 11, 2023: Influencing the Executive Branch & Rulemaking**

- Hecl, Hugh. 1978. "Issue Networks and the Executive Establishment." in *The New American Political System*, edited by Anthony King. American Enterprise Institute
- Furlong, Scott and Cornelius Kerwin. 2005. "Interest Group Participation in Rulemaking: A Decade of Change." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 15: 353-370.
- Golden, Marissa Martino. 1998. "Interest Groups in the Rulemaking Process: Who Participates? Whose Voices Get Heard?" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 8(2): 245-270.
- Yackee, Jason Webb and Susan Yackee. 2006. "A Bias Towards Business: Assessing Interest Group Influence on the U.S. Bureaucracy." *Journal of Politics* 68(1): 128-139.
- English, Ashley. 2019. "She Who Shall Not be Named: The Women that Women's Organizations Do (and Do Not) Represent in the Rulemaking Process." *Politics & Gender* 15(3): 573-598. DC.
- **Lobbying Discussion Reading (not part of discussion leader)**
  - Levine, Bertram. 2008. *The Art of Lobbying*. Sage University Press, The Lobbyist's Ask

## October 18, 2023: Influencing the Judicial Branch

- Collins, Paul. 2014. "Interest Groups in the Judicial Arena" In *New Directions in Interest Group Politics* ed. Matt Grossman. New York, NY: Routledge, pgs. 221-238.
- Caldeira, Gregory A., and John R. Wright. 1988. "Organized Interests and Agenda Setting in the U.S. Supreme Court." *American Political Science Review* 82(4): 1109-1127.
- Collins, Paul M., Jr. 2007. "Lobbyists before the U.S. Supreme Court: Investigating the Influence of Amicus Curiae Briefs." *Political Research Quarterly* 60(1): 55-70.
- Caldeira, Gregory A., Marie Hojnacki, and John R. Wright. 2000. "The Lobbying Activities of Organized Interests in Federal Judicial Nominations." *Journal of Politics* 62(1): 51- 69.
- 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(2): 499-523.
- **Assignment: Social Media Memo due**

## October 25, 2023: Lobbying and Policy Change

- Baumgartner et al. 2009. *Lobbying and Policy Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Chapter 10).
- LaPira, T.M., Drutman, L. and K.R. Kosar. 2020. Overwhelmed. An Introduction to Congress's Capacity Problem.
- Salisbury, R.H., Johnson, P., Heinz, J.P., Laumann, E.O., and R.L. Nelson. 1989. Who You Know versus What You Know: The Uses of Government Experience for Washington Lobbyists. *American Journal of Political Science*. 33(1): 175-195.
- LaPira. T. M. and H. F. Thomas III. 2014. Revolving door lobbyists and interest representation. *Interest Groups and Advocacy*. 3(1): 4-29.

## November 1, 2023: Going Public

- Vining, R. L. 2011. Grassroots Mobilization in the Digital Age: Interest Group Response to Supreme Court Nominees. *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(4), 790–802.
- Merry, Melissa K. 2016. Constructing Policy Narratives in 140 Characters or Less: The Case of Gun Policy Organizations.
- Bergen, Daniel E., and Richard T. Cole. 2015. Call Your Legislator: A Field Experimental Study of the Impact of a Constituency Mobilization Campaign on Legislative Voting. *Political Behavior* 37: 27-42.
- Reynolds, Molly E., and Richard L. Hall. 2018. Issue Advertising and Legislative Voting on the Affordable Care Act. *Political Research Quarterly* 71(1): 102-114.
- **Assignment: Talking Points Memo Due**
- **Lobbying Discussion Reading (not part of discussion leader)**
  - Hebert, Theresa. 20 Feb 2018. Three Examples of Effective Government Relations Strategy.
  - Vaida, Bara. 5 March 2012. How to Make Friends and Influence Policy. *Architect Magazine*.
  - Visualization of the American Institute of Architecture opposing a provision in unemployment legislation.

## Part III: Brief Introduction to Federal Campaign Finance

### November 8, 2023: Limits, Contributions, Disclosure

- Hasen, R.L. 2010. The Nine Lives of *Buckley v. Valeo*, Loyola-LA Legal Studies Paper No. 2010-205
- Smith, Brad. 2010. The Myth of Campaign Finance Reform. *National Affairs*.
- Mutch, Robert. 2016. *Campaign Finance: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press. (Chapters 1-5).

### November 15, 2023: 21<sup>st</sup> Century Campaign Finance: Outside Money

- Gerkin, H. 2015 The Real Problem with Citizen’s United. *97 Marquette Law Review* 903.
- Norton, M., & R. Pildes. 2020. How Outside Money Makes Governing More Difficult. *Election Law Review*, 19(3): 486-502.
- Briffault, R. 2010. Campaign Finance Disclosure 2.0. *Election Law Journal*. 9(4): 273-303.
- Rocca, M.S., and J.W. Clay. 2021. Allocating Unlimited Money. *The Forum* 19(2): 229-252.
- Mutch, Robert. 2016. *Campaign Finance: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press. (Chapters 6-10).
- **Assignment: Team Op-Ed due (SEE CANVAS FOR THIS WEEK AND NEXT)**

### November 29, 2023: Electoral Influence

- Wood, Abby K., and Christian R. Grose. “Campaign Finance Transparency Affects Legislators’ Election Outcomes and Behavior.” *American journal of political science* 66.2 (2022): 516–534.
- Flavin, Patrick. “Campaign Finance Laws, Policy Outcomes, and Political Equality in the American States.” *Political Research Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (2015): 77–88.
- Kalla, Joshua L., and David E. Broockman. “Campaign Contributions Facilitate Access to Congressional Officials: A Randomized Field Experiment.” *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 3 (2016): 545–58.
- La Raja, Raymond J. “Political Participation and Civic Courage: The Negative Effect of Transparency on Making Small Campaign Contributions.” *Political Behavior* 36, no. 4 (2014): 753–76.
- Hansen, Wendy L., and Michael S. Rocca. “The Impact of ‘Citizens United’ on Large Corporations and Their Employees.” *Political Research Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (2019): 403–19.
- McKay, Amy Melissa. “Fundraising for Favors? Linking Lobbyist-Hosted Fundraisers to Legislative Benefits.” *Political Research Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (2018): 869–80.

### December 6, 2023: Presentations

### December 11, 2023: Final Lobbying Plans Due Noon