

UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER

Pol. Sci. 513
Professor Rothenberg

Fall 2012

INTEREST GROUP POLITICS

Purpose: This course principally introduces students to the political science and political economy literatures on interest groups. This will include developing an understanding of the makeup of the group system, the contribution decision, the internal politics of organizations, and the role that groups play with respect to political institutions. As the study of organized groups cuts across many subdisciplines in political science and political economy (one of the reasons that groups are often viewed as understudied is because there are very few scholars interested in groups in and of themselves), this course might have a wide appeal.

Requirements: Course requirements include research presentations and a longer final paper—either original research, a detailed literature review, or a research proposal (roughly 15 pages will suffice).

Office Hours. I am located in Room 108 at Harkness (Department of Political Science/Wallis Institute of Political Economy). You can come by any time and I will see you barring extenuating circumstances. My phone number is x3-4903 and my e-mail is lrot@mail.rochester.edu.

Availability of Readings. Articles will be made available electronically. There are several standard books that I would be happy to reference if students would like.

Grading. Grading will reflect your class participation and your final paper (weighted approximately 1/2, 1/2).

Weekly Assignments

Week I: Introduction. (Sept. 7th)

Week II: Macro-Perspectives (Sept. 14th).

Lee Drutman. "The Business of America is Lobbying: Explaining the Growth of Political Activity in the United States." Working paper.

Gregory M. Randolph and Michael T. Tasto. "Special Interest Group Formation in the United States: Do Special Interest Groups Mirror the Success of their Spatial Neighbors," *Economics & Politics* 24 (2): 119-134.

David Lowery, Virginia Gray, and James Monogan.. 2008. "The Construction of Interest Communities: Distinguishing Bottom-Up and Top-Down Models," *Journal of Politics* 70 (4): 1160-1176.

Frederick J. Boehmke, and Daniel C. Bowen. 2010. "Direct Democracy and Individual Interest Group Membership," *Journal of Politics* 72 (3): 659-671.

Beth L. Leech, Frank R. Baumgartner, Timothy M. LaPira, and Nicholas A. Semanko. 2005. "Drawing Lobbyists to Washington: Government Activity and the Demand for Advocacy," *Political Research Quarterly* 58 (1): 19-30.

Week III. Micro-Foundations (Sept. 21st).

Jack Walker. 1991. *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America*. Chapter 5.

Robert C. Lowry. 1997. "The Private Production of Public Goods: Organizational Maintenance, Managers' Objectives, and Collective Goals," *American Political Science Review* 91: 308-323.

Robert C. Lowry. 1999. "Foundation Patronage toward Citizen Groups and Think Tanks: Who Gets Grants?" *Journal of Politics* 61:758-776.

Joan Esteban and Debraj Ray. 2001. "Collective Action and the Group Size Paradox," *American Political Science Review* 95: 663-672.

Paul Pecorino and Akram Temimi. 2008. "The Group Size Paradox Revisited," *Journal of Public Economic Theory* 10 (5): 785-799.

Asproudis, Elias. 2011. "Revisiting Environmental Groups and Members' Behaviour: Budget, Size and (Im)pure Altruism," *Environmental Economics and Policy Studies* 13 (2): 139-156.

Note: Please be familiar with the basic logic of collective action at least to the level of Olson (1965); if not, review Mancur Olson. *The Logic of Collective Action*, Chs. 1, 2, 6. There are also a variety of other works in this tradition as well to which I would be happy to provide citations.

Week IV. Lobbying: Who Lobbies—Part I (Sept. 28th).

Matilde Bombardini. 2008. "Firm Heterogeneity and Lobbying Participation," working paper.

Wendy Hansen, Neil J. Mitchell, and Jeffrey M. Drope. 2005. "The Logic of Private and Collective Action," *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 150-167.

Wendy Hansen, and Jeffrey M. Drope. 2007. "New Evidence for the Theory of Groups: Trade Association Lobbying in Washington, D.C.," *Political Research Quarterly* 62 (2): 303-316.

Anne McKay. 2010. "The Effects of Interest Groups' Ideology on their PAC and Lobbying Expenditures," *Business and Politics* 12 (2): Article 4.

Adam Bonica. 2012. "Ideology and Interests in the Political Marketplace," working paper.

Week V. Lobbying: Purpose and Strategies (Oct. 5th)

David Austen-Smith and John R. Wright. 1994. "Counteractive Lobbying." *American Journal of Political Science* 38:25-44; Frank Baumgartner and Brian Leech, "The Multiple Ambiguities of Counteractive Lobbying." *American Journal of Political Science* 40: 521-542; and Austen-Smith and Wright, "Theory and Evidence for Counteractive Lobbying." *American Journal of Political Science* 40: 543-564.

Richard L. Hall, and Alan V. Deardorff. 2006. "Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy," *American Political Science Review* 100 (1): 69-84.

Richard L. Hall, and Molly E. Reynolds. 2012. "Targeted Issue Advertising and Legislative Strategy: The Inside Ends of Outside Lobbying," *Journal of Politics* 74 (3): 888-902.

Week VI: Lobbying--Coalitions and Venue Selections (Oct. 12th)

Thomas Holyoke. 2009. "Interest Group Competition and Coalition Formation," *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (2): 360-375.

Matilde Bombardini and Francesco Trebbi. 2011. "Competition and Political Organization: Together or Alone in Lobbying for Trade Policy?" working paper.

Frederick J. Boehmke, Sean Gailmard, and John Wiggs Patty. 2005. "Whose Ear to Bend? Information Sources and Venue Choice in Policy-Making," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 1: 139-169.

Frederick J. Boehmke, Sean Gailmard, and John Wiggs Patty. 2011. "Business as Usual: Interest Group Access and Representation Across Policy-Making Venues," working paper.

Marjorie Hojnacki, and David C. Kimball. 1998. "Organized Interests and the Decision of Whom to Lobby in Congress," *American Political Science Review* 92: 775-790.

Daniel P. Carpenter, Kevin M. Esterling, and David M. J. Lazer. 2004. "Friends, Brokers, and Transitivity: Who Informs Whom in Washington Politics?" *Journal of Politics* 66: 224-246.

[Possibly working paper by Stuart Jordan]

Week VII: Impacts of Lobbying (Oct. 19th)

Brian Kelleher Richter, Krislert Samphantharak, and Jeffrey F. Timmons. 2009. "Lobbying and Taxes," *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (4): 893-909.

Jordi Blanes i Vidal, Mirko Dracaz, and Christian Fons-Rosen. 2010. "Revolving Door Lobbyists."

Karam Kang. 2011. "The Price of Power: Estimating the Returns to Lobbying in the Energy Sector," working paper.

McKay, Amy. 2012. "Negative Lobbying and Policy Outcomes," *American Politics Research* 40 (1): 116-146.

Alberto Chong and Mark Gradstein. 2010. "Firm-Level Determinants of Political Influence," *Economics & Politics* 22 (3): 233-256. [NOTE—CROSS-NATIONAL]

Daniel E. Bergan. 2009. "Does Grassroots Lobbying Work?: A Field Experiment Measuring the Effects of an e-Mail Lobbying Campaign on Legislative Behavior," *American Politics Research* 37 (2): 327-352.

Week VIII. *Political Contributions—Motivations for Giving* (Oct. 26th)

Nolan McCarty and Lawrence S. Rothenberg. 2000. *Political Analysis*. "The Time to Give: PAC Motivations and Electoral Timing," 8:230-259.

Sanford Gordon, Catherine Hafer, and Dimitri Landa. 2007. "On the Motivations for Political Giving," *Journal of Politics* 69 (4): 1057-1072.

Matilde Bombardini and Francesco Trebbi. 2010. "Votes or Money? Theory and Evidence from the US Congress." Working paper.

David P. Baron. 1989. "Service-induced Campaign Contributions and the Electoral Equilibrium." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 104:45-72.

Gene Grossman and Elhanan Helpman. 1994. "Protection for Sale," *American Economic Review* 84: 833-50.

Week IX. *Political Contributions—Impacts (Nov. 2nd)*

Randall L. Kroszner and Thomas Stratmann. 1998. “Interest-Group Competition and the Organization of Congress: Theory and Evidence from Financial Services’ Political Action Committees.” *American Economic Review* 88: 1163-1187.

Justin Fox and Lawrence Rothenberg. 2011. “Influence without Bribes: A Non-Contracting Model of Campaign Giving and Policymaking,” *Political Analysis* 19, 325-341, 2011. [Note is an available supplemental appendix]

Alexei V. Ovtchinnikov, and Eva Pantaleoni. 2011. “Individual Political Contributions and Firm Performance,” working paper.

Rajesh K. Aggarwal, Felix Meschke, and Tracy Yue Wang. 2012. “Corporate Political Donations: Investment or Agency?” *Business and Politics* 14 (1): Article 3.

[Will probably add one paper]

Week X-XI. Lobbying the Bureaucracy. (Nov. 9th and Nov. 16th).

Ernest del Bo and Rafael Di Tella. 2003. "Capture by Threat," *Journal of Political Economy* 111: 1123-1154.

Daniel P. Carpenter. 2004. "Protection without Capture: Product Approval by a Politically Responsive, Learning Regulator," *American Political Science Review* 98: 613-631.

Sanford Gordon and Catherine Hafer. 2005. "Flexing Muscle: Corporate Political Expenditures as Signals to the Bureaucracy," *American Political Science Review* 99: 245-261.

Sanford C. Gordon, and Catherine Hafer. 2007. "Corporate Influence and the Regulatory Mandate," *Journal of Politics* 69 (2): 300-319.

Morten Bunnedsen and Sven E. Feldmann. 2006. "Lobbying Bureaucrats," *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 108 (4): 643-668.

Amy McKay and Susan Webb Yackee. 2007. "Interest Group Competition on Federal Agency Rules," *American Politics Research* 35 (3): 336-357.

Keith Naughton, Celeste Schmid, Susan Webb Yackee, and Xueyong Zhan. 2009. "Understanding Commenter Influence During Agency Rule Development." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 28: 258-277.

Richard L. Hall and Kristina C. Miler. 2008. "What Happens After the Alarm? Interest Group Subsidies to Legislative Overseers," *Journal of Politics* 70 (4): 990-1005.

Sean Gailmard and John W. Patty. 2012. "Information & Contestation: A Formal Model of Notice and Comment," working paper.

Week XII. Interest Groups and the EU (Nov. 30th). Papers Tbd.

Week XIII. Private Politics (Dec. 7th)

David Baron. 2003. "Private Politics," *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy* 12: 31-66.

David Baron and Daniel Diermeier. 2007. "Strategic Activism and Nonmarket Strategy." *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy* 16 (3): 599-634.

David P. Baron. 2012. "The Industrial Organization of Private Politics," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7: 135-174.

Thomas Lyon and John Maxwell. 2004. "Astroturf: Interest Group Lobbying and Corporate Strategy," *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy* 13: 561-597.

Timothy Fedderson and Thomas Gilligan. 2001. "Saints and Markets: Activists and the Supply of Credence Goods," *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy* 10: 149-171.

Timothy Werner. 2012. "Do Private Policies Create a New Politics? Corporate Policymaking, Information, & Access," working paper.

Gregory Egorov, and Bård Harstad. 2012. "Private Politics and Public Regulation," Working paper, Kellogg.

Michael J. Lenox, and Charles E. Eesley. 2009. "Private Environmental Activism and the Selection and Response of Firm Targets," *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy* 18 (1): 45-73.

Brian Kelleher Richter. 2011. "'Good' and 'Evil': The Relationship between Corporate Social Responsibility and Corporate Political Activity," unpublished manuscript.

Craig Volden and Alan E. Wiseman. 2009. "A Theory of Government Regulation and Self-Regulation with the Specter of Nonmarket Threats," working paper.

Week XV. Student Presentations (TBD).

Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, and Beth L. Leech. 2012. "Studying Organizational Advocacy and Influence: Reexamining Interest Group Research," *Annual Review of Political Science*, forthcoming.