

PUBP-735: Lobbying and Interest Representation
Spring, 2007

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Class meetings: Tuesdays, 7:20-10:00 p.m., Arlington Original Building 245

Objectives

This course has both intellectual and practical purposes. It will ground students in scholarship on interest representation and the national and international institutional contexts within which advocates for organized interests (including civil society organizations, businesses, labor unions, trade associations, and even governments) operate. The course will also provide a pragmatic introduction to the art of lobbying, broadly construed. As defined here, “lobbying” involves much more than one-on-one meetings, encompassing strategies of advocacy that may involve coalition partners, the media, experts, the “grassroots,” and other “tools” of communication and persuasion.

Participants

This course is open to all students in SPP, regardless of degree program or level of experience. It will take advantage of our Washington setting and the instructor’s expertise in American politics, but engage the challenges of lobbying at the international level as well. The course will benefit significantly from diversity in terms of student backgrounds, substantive areas of interest, political opinions, and professional ambitions.

Course Texts and Materials

The following books are required and will be available for purchase at the GMU bookstore in Arlington:

- Barry R. Rubin, *A Citizen’s Guide to Politics in America: How the System Works and How to Work the System*, expanded edition (M.E. Sharpe, 2000).
- Woodstock Theological Seminary, *The Ethics of Lobbying: Organized Interests, Political Power, and the Common Good* (Georgetown University Press, 2002).

Other required readings will be made available through GMU library’s e-reserves system or through web links on the course’s webCT page.

Format

Each class meeting will be divided into two segments. One segment will adopt the format of a traditional academic seminar, with presentations by the instructor and discussion among the participants. Other segments will vary, including meetings with practitioners, presentations of student projects, and role-playing exercises.

Assignments and Due Dates

Students will prepare three assignments. Detailed instructions will be distributed well in advance of each.

1. Memo (20% of course grade): Organizational Positioning (due February 27)
2. Memo, presentation, and advocacy materials (40%): Issue Advocacy Strategy (due April 24, with class presentations between March 20 and April 17).
3. Reflection Paper (20%): Ethics and Reform (due May 8).

Assignments must be submitted in hard copy. In addition, an electronic copy must be submitted within 48 hours of hard copy submission to the School's computerized plagiarism detection service, turnitin.com. *The School's policy on plagiarism and my addendum to it are attached. You should become familiar with them.*

Late papers will be penalized one grade level (for instance, from A+ to A) for each calendar day or part thereof, up to a full grade (A+ to B+) each week.

New Voices in Public Policy: I will consider nominating the very best papers in this course for publication in *New Voices in Public Policy*. *New Voices* is a student- and faculty-reviewed journal that shares SPP's finest student work with the rest of the world.

Participation

Class participation will determine the remaining 20% of the grade. In addition to our readings, we will also discuss current events and developments affecting interest representation at the domestic and international levels. Students are expected to keep up with the news in an issue area of their choice and to be prepared to contribute to these discussions.

Students need to attend regularly to participate effectively. A student who misses more than three classes will be penalized one full grade on the participation component for each additional class missed.

Alternative Research Paper Track for Doctoral Students

Doctoral students may elect to write a research paper instead of the assignments listed above. A program of additional reading and research will be developed through individualized consultation for any student electing this track.

Students with Special Needs

If you are a student with a disability and you need academic accommodation, please see the instructor and contact the Disability Resource Center (DRC) at 993-2474. All academic accommodations must be arranged through the DRC.

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Outline

1. Introduction: What Are Interests, and Are They “Special”?
January 23

- James Madison, “Federalist No. 10,” November 22, 1787. Available on-line in multiple locations by searching the title.

Part I: Positioning

2. The Strategic Environment: Organized Interests, Political Institutions, and Time
January 30

- Rubin, chapters 1, 2, and 4.
- Burdett A. Loomis and Allan J. Cigler, “The Changing Nature of Interest Group Politics,” in Cigler and Loomis, *Interest Group Politics*, 7th Edition (CQ Press, 2006), 1-33.
- Jessica T. Mathews, “Power Shift,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 76, no. 1, January/February 1997, 50-66.
- Rubin, chapter 13.

3. Internal Positioning: Constituents, Competitors, and Accountability
February 6

- Rubin, chapter 3.
- Virginia Gray and David Lowery, “A Niche Theory of Interest Representation,” *Journal of Politics* 58(1): 91-111 (February 1996).
- Christopher J. Bosso, “Rethinking the Concept of Membership in Nature Advocacy Organizations,” *Policy Studies Journal* 31(3):397-411 (August, 2003).
- Baumgartner, Frank, and Beth L. Leech, “Interest Niches and Policy Bandwagons: Patterns of Interest Group Involvement in National Politics,” *Journal of Politics* 63(4):1191-1213 (2001).
- Stephen Hopgood, “Amnesty International: The Politics of Morality,” [opendemocracy.net](http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-think_tank/amnesty_morality_3625.jsp), June 8, 2006, http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-think_tank/amnesty_morality_3625.jsp

4. External Positioning: Reputations, Knowledge, and Relationships
February 13

- Paul A. Sabatier and Hank C. Jenkins-Smith, “The Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Assessment,” in Sabatier, ed., *Theories of the Policy Process* (Westview, 1999), 117-166.
- Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, “Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics,” *International Social Science Journal* 51(1):89-102 (1999).
- Susan K. Sell and Assem Prakash, “Using Ideas Strategically: The Contest Between Business and NGO Networks in Intellectual Property Rights,” *International Studies Quarterly* 48(1):143-175 (2004).

5. Strategic Capacity: Leadership and Decision-Making
February 20

- Marshall Ganz, “Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959-1966,” *American Journal of Sociology* 105(4):1003-1062 (January, 2000), pp. 1003-1019 only.
- Michael Specter, “The Extremist,” *New Yorker*, April 14, 2003.
- “Against All Odds: The Campaign in Congress for Japanese American Redress,” Kennedy School of Government case 1006.0.

Part II: Tools of the Trade

6. Traditional Lobbying
February 27

- Rubin, chapter 9.
- Marie Hojnacki and David C. Kimball, “Organized Interests and the Decision of Whom to Lobby in Congress,” *American Political Science Review* 92:775-790 (1998).
- Julie Kosterlitz, “Would-Be Wise Men,” *National Journal*, April 15, 2006.

Assignment 1 due.

7. Coalition-Building

March 6

- Rubin, chapter 8.
- Marie Hojnacki, "Interest Groups' Decisions to Join Alliances or Work Alone," *American Journal of Political Science* 41(1):61-87 (1997).
- Michael T. Heaney, "Brokering Health Policy: Coalitions, Parties, and Interest Group Influence," paper presented at the 2005 APSA annual meeting, 4-8 and 26-37.
- Elizabeth A. Donnelly, "Proclaiming the Jubilee: The Debt and Structural Adjustment Network," UN Vision Project Case Study, 2000, 17-31.

----- March 13: Spring Break – No Class -----

8. Earning Media Coverage

March 20

- Rubin, chapters 5-7 (except pp. 94-102).
- Robert M. Emtman, "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communications* 43:51-58 (1993).
- Christopher R Martin, "The 1997 United Parcel Service strike: Framing the story for popular consumption," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 27(2):190-210 (April 2003)

9. Mobilizing the Grassroots

March 27

- Rubin, chapter 10-11.
- W. Lance Bennett, "New Media Power: The Internet and Global Activism," University of Washington, working paper, 2003, <http://depts.washington.edu/ccce/research/WorkingPapers.htm>
- Jay Rosen, "Bloggers vs. Journalists Is Over," *PressThink*, January 15, 2005.

10. Partisanship and Electoral Campaigns

April 3

- Karl-Heinz Nassmacher, "Introduction: Political Parties, Funding, and Democracy," in *Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns* (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2003), 1-19.
- Robert Biersack and Marianne H. Viray, "Interest Groups and Federal Campaign Finance: The Beginning of a New Era," in Paul S. Herrnson, Ronald G. Shaiko, and Clyde Wilcox, eds., *The Interest Group Connection: Electioneering, Lobbying, and Policymaking in Washington*, 2nd ed. (Washington: CQ Press, 2005), 49-74.
- Mark J. Rozell, Clyde Wilcox, and David Madland, *Interest Groups in American Campaigns: The New Face of Electioneering* (CQ Press, 2006), 30-47

11. Think Tanks and Other Outside Experts

April 10

- Rubin, pp. 94-102.
- R. Kent Weaver, "The Changing World of Think Tanks," *PS* 22(3):563-578 (September 1989).
- Edwin Feulner, "The Heritage Foundation," in R. Kent Weaver and James G. McGann, eds., *Think Tanks and Civil Societies: Catalysts for Ideas and Action* (Transaction, 2000), 67-86.
- One reading TBA.

12. Further Outside: Protest, Strikes, Civil Disobedience, and Insurrection

April 17

- Alinsky, Saul, *Rules for Radicals*, excerpt online at thinkingpeace.com.
- Michael Lipsky, "Protest as a Political Resource," *American Political Science Review* 62(4):1144-1158 (December 1968).
- McCarthy, John D., Clark McPhail, and Jackie Smith, "Images of Protest: Dimensions of Selection Bias in Media Coverage of Washington Demonstrations, 1982 and 1991," *American Sociological Review* 61(3):478-499 (June 1996).
- Samuel Passow, "Sunk Costs: The Plan to Dump the Brent Spar," Kennedy School of Government case 1369.0

III. Lobbying for the Common Good

13. Norms and Regulation

April 24

- Woodstock Theological Seminary, *Ethics of Lobbying*, entire.

Assignment 2 due.

14. Legitimacy

May 1

- Jonathan Rauch, "Government's End," *National Journal*, January 7, 2000.
- Hugh Heclo, "Hyper-democracy," *Wilson Quarterly*, Winter, 1999, 62-72.
- Darrell M. West and Burdett A. Loomis, *The Sound of Money* (New York: Norton, 1998), 225-247.
- Sebastian Mallaby, "NGOs: Fighting Poverty, Hurting the Poor," *Foreign Policy*, September/October 2004, 50-58.

Assignment 3 due on May 8.

SPP Policy on Plagiarism

The profession of scholarship and the intellectual life of a university as well as the field of public policy inquiry depend fundamentally on a foundation of trust. Thus any act of plagiarism strikes at the heart of the meaning of the university and the purpose of the School of Public Policy. It constitutes a serious breach of professional ethics and it is unacceptable.

Plagiarism is the use of another's words or ideas presented as one's own. It includes, among other things, the use of specific words, ideas, or frameworks that are the product of another's work. Honesty and thoroughness in citing sources is essential to professional accountability and personal responsibility. Appropriate citation is necessary so that arguments, evidence, and claims can be critically examined.

Plagiarism is wrong because of the injustice it does to the person whose ideas are stolen. But it is also wrong because it constitutes lying to one's professional colleagues. From a prudential perspective, it is shortsighted and self-defeating, and it can ruin a professional career.

The faculty of the School of Public Policy takes plagiarism seriously and has adopted a zero tolerance policy. Any plagiarized assignment will receive an automatic grade of "F." This may lead to failure for the course, resulting in dismissal from the University. This dismissal will be noted on the student's transcript. For foreign students who are on a university-sponsored visa (eg. F-1, J-1 or J-2), dismissal also results in the revocation of their visa.

To help enforce the SPP policy on plagiarism, all written work submitted in partial fulfillment of course or degree requirements must be available in electronic form so that it can be compared with electronic databases, as well as submitted to commercial services to which the School subscribes. Faculty may at any time submit student's work without prior permission from the student. Individual instructors may require that written work be submitted in electronic as well as printed form. The SPP policy on plagiarism is supplementary to the George Mason University Honor Code; it is not intended to replace it or substitute for it. (<http://www.gmu.edu/facstaff/handbook/aD.html>)

Professor Hart's Addendum

I believe deeply that intellectual integrity is a fundamental element of learning. I firmly support the School's zero tolerance policy on plagiarism and will enforce it stringently. Ignorance is not an excuse. To avoid plagiarism, a simple rule of thumb may be of help: when in doubt, include a citation. Citations, including those to web sources, should include sufficient information to allow a reader to verify the source. Further details on when and how to cite sources will be discussed in class. However, providing a citation to a block of text taken with minimal change from a source is not sufficient to avoid plagiarism. You must put the block in quotation marks, thereby acknowledging the source's contribution of specific words as well as ideas in the block.