

POLS 537: Political Parties and Interest Groups (31506)

Class Meets: Thursday 1:25-4:25

Semester: Spring 2018

Room: HBC 205

Instructor: Anthony Nownes

- **Office hours:** 1-4 Wednesday, or by appointment
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Course Description and Purpose

The purpose of this course is to provide a rigorous survey of theoretical and empirical work dealing with political organizations in American politics. Specifically, we will focus upon political parties and interest groups. You will be required to do extensive reading, the aim of which is to prepare you to conduct research in the field.

University/College/Departmental Curricular Requirements Met

This is a graduate seminar in the MA and PhD field of American Government and Politics in the Department of Political Science. The three credit hours earned in this course count toward the MA degree, the PhD degree, and the MPPA degree within the Department of Political Science.

Program-Level Learning Objectives that the Course Supports

MA: This course will support the following program-level learning objectives: (1) Students will demonstrate an ability to conduct independent research; (2) Students will demonstrate an in-depth knowledge of concepts, literature and research traditions in two fields of Political Science.

PhD: This course will support the following program-level learning objectives: (1) Students will demonstrate both an in-depth knowledge of concepts, literature and research traditions in one field of Political Science and an ability to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of that material; (2) Students will demonstrate a commitment to, and ability to conduct, continuous research.

Course-Specific Learning Objectives

After this class, a student should be able to (1). Write a coherent, evidence-based essay on some topic related to interest groups and/or political parties in American politics; (2) Define the terms “interest groups,” “lobbying,” and “political parties” and understand the role of these things in American politics; (3) Understand the barriers facing unorganized constituencies that wish to organize; (4) Understand why the interest group universe in the United States looks the way it does rather than some other way we might imagine; (5) Understand the extent to which political parties structure our politics and government; (6) Understand the extent to which partisanship affects individual political behavior; (7) Understand the extent to which interest groups affect policy outcomes in the United States; (8) Understand what lobbyists want and how they try to get what they want.

Required Textbook(s) and/or Course Packets

The following texts are required:

- John H. Aldrich. 2011. *Why Parties? A Second Look*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech. 2009. *Lobbying and Policy Change*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Marty Cohen, David Karol, Hans Heinrich-Noel, and John R. Zaller. 2008. *The Party Decides*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lee Drutman. *The Business of America is Lobbying*. 2015. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Donald Green, and Bradley Palmquist. 2004. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Thomas E. Mann, and Norman J. Ornstein. 2012. *It's Even Worse than It Looks*. New York: Basic Books.
- Mancur Olson, Jr. 1971 [1965]. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Required Instructional Technology

None.

Student Assessment and Evaluation Methods

Grading

Each student will be expected to attend class meetings and be familiar with assigned readings. Here is how you will earn points.

- Ten (10) percent of your grade, or 100 points, will be based on ***participation***. If you show up (which you should), you should participate.
- Twenty (20) percent of your grade, or 200 points, will be based on ***six (6) assignments***. These assignments will be graded PASS/FAIL, and you will receive full credit for each assignment that receives a grade of PASS, and no credit for each assignment that receives a grade of FAIL. Each assignment is worth 33.33 points. Assignments and presentations are due as indicated on the calendar below.
- As for the other 70 percent, or 700 points, you have two options:

Option 1: The “prepare for comps” option.

This option will help you prepare for comprehensive MA or PhD examinations. You will submit ***two (2) 15-25 page analytical review essays***. Each essay will be worth 350 points or 35 percent of your grade. Each essay will answer a simulated comprehensive examination question dealing with parties and/or interest groups. Every two weeks or so, I will hand out a set of questions to people who choose this option. You will choose the two you wish to answer. A fairly large amount of bibliographic work will be required for each paper, but the emphasis will be on developing the writing and analytical skills necessary to succeed in this profession.

Option 2: The “book review and research paper” option.

For this option, you will:

- 1: Submit ***a detailed and critical 8-12 page review of a book*** (worth 140 points) on political organizations. (You will choose the book, but I must approve); **AND**
2. Submit ***a 20-25 page original research paper*** (worth 560 points). The paper will report the results of original research.

For each of these two options, all papers are due the last day of class, April 27, 2018.

I will calculate your grade as follows:

- A = 929 – 1000 points
- A- = 900-929 points
- B+ = 870 - 899 points
- B = 830 – 869 points
- B- = 800-829 points
- C+ = 770 – 799 points
- C = 730 – 769 points
- C- = 700-729 points
- D+ = 670 – 699 points
- D = 630 – 669 points
- D- = 600-629 points
- F = 599 points or less

Attendance and Participation

Participation is worth 10 percent (100 points) of your grade, as I mention above. Please plan to participate each time we meet. This means come prepared to discuss the readings each time we meet.

Examinations

There are no examinations in this course.

Paper(s) and Assignments

Most of your grade will be based on your paper(s) and assignments. I will grade each paper and assignment on both substance and understandability. This is a graduate class, so students are expected to write coherent sentences and paragraphs. Students who submit poorly written papers and assignments will be docked points accordingly. Substantively, I will grade papers and assignments based on the writer's ability to make a coherent and important argument, and to support his/her argument. In addition, students must show that they understand the extant research on the topic on which they write.

Academic Integrity

All rules concerning academic honesty as set out in the current edition of *Hilltopics* will be enforced. Particular attention should be paid to the section on plagiarism. Students are reminded of their obligation to abide by the UTK Honor Code: "An essential feature of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville is a commitment to maintaining an atmosphere of intellectual integrity and academic honesty. As a student of the university, I pledge that I will neither knowingly give nor receive any inappropriate assistance in academic work, thus affirming my own personal commitment to honor and integrity."

Disabilities that Constrain Learning

Any student who feels he or she may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS) at 865-974-6087 in 2227 Dunford Hall to document their eligibility for services. ODS will work with students and faculty to coordinate reasonable accommodations for students with documented disabilities.

The Student's Role in Improving Teaching and Learning through Course Assessment

At UT, it is our collective responsibility to improve the state of teaching and learning. During the semester, you may be requested to assess aspects of this course either during class or at the completion of the class. You are encouraged to respond to these various forms of assessment as a means of continuing to improve the quality of the UT learning experience.

University Civility Statement

Civility is genuine respect and regard for others: politeness, consideration, tact, good manners, graciousness, cordiality, affability, amiability and courteousness. Civility enhances academic freedom and integrity, and is a prerequisite to the free exchange of ideas and knowledge in the learning community. Our community consists of students, faculty, staff, alumni, and campus visitors. Community members affect each other's well-being and have a shared interest in creating and sustaining an environment where all community members and their points of view are valued and respected. Affirming the value of each member of the university community, the campus asks that all its members adhere to the principles of civility and community adopted by the campus: <http://civility.utk.edu/>.

Talking In Class

This class will involve a great deal of discussion. However, you are to speak *only when recognized by me*. Furthermore, you may NOT talk when someone else (including me) is speaking. Rudeness is not allowed.

Communication of Announcements

Announcements will be sent via e-mail to students' official UTK e-mail addresses and/or posted on Blackboard. Students are responsible for monitoring their UTK e-mail account and the course Blackboard site.

Alteration of this Syllabus

The instructor reserves the right to revise, alter and/or amend this syllabus, as necessary. Students will be notified by email and/or Blackboard of any such revisions, alterations and/or amendments.

WEEKLY CLASS SCHEDULE

NOTE: THE CODE IWP MEANS "I WILL PROVIDE"

WEEK 1: Introduction: What is an interest group? What is a political party?
(Lecture by Dr. Nownes). Read:

1. Anthony J. Nownes. 2013. *Interest Groups in American Politics: Pressure and Power*. New York: Routledge. Chapter 1. IWP

ASSIGNMENT 1: Prepare a list of twenty-five (25) unusual interest groups. Be sure that the groups on the list are indeed interest groups. Also, please be sure you are able to tell us a little bit about each group. Finally, make sure that you include a nice variety of types of groups. DUE NEXT WEEK!

WEEK 2: Early Group Theory & the Questions We Ask

Read:

1. Allan J. Cigler. 1991. "Interest Groups: A Subfield in Search of an Identity," in William Crotty, ed. *Political Science: Looking to the Future, Volume 4, American Institutions*, pp. 99-135. IWP.
2. James Madison. 1787. *Federalist #10*. You can find this many places, including here: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/fed10.asp.
3. Dean Mathiowetz. 2008. "Interest' is a Verb: Arthur Bentley and the Language of Interest," *Political Research Quarterly* 61: 622-35. IWP
4. David Truman. 1951. *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*. New York: Wiley, Excerpt, pp. 3-13. IWP.

Optional and for future use:

Alexis de Tocqueville. 1973 (1863). *Democracy in America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, pp. 191-98.

Robert Golembiewski. 1960. "The Group Basis of Politics: Notes on Analysis and Development," *American Political Science Review* 54: 962-71.

Virginia Gray, and David Lowery. 2002. "State Interest Group Research and the Mixed Legacy of Belle Zeller," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 2: 388-410.

E.E. Schattschneider. 1960. *The Semi-Sovereign People*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

James Yoho. 1995. "Madison on the Beneficial Effects of Interest Groups," *Polity* 27: 587-606.

PRESENTATION 1: "Interesting Interest Groups."

WEEK 3: Pluralism and Its Earliest Critics

Read:

1. Peter Bachrach, and Morton S. Baratz. 1962. "Two Faces of Power," *American Political Science Review* 56: 947-52. IWP
2. C. Wright Mills. 1956. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press, ch. 1. IWP.
3. David Truman. 1951. *The Governmental Process*, chs. 2, 3, and 16. IWP.

Optional and for future use:

Arthur Bentley. 1935. (1908). *The Process of Government*. Bloomington, IN: Principia.

Richard Boyd. 2001. "Thomas Hobbes and the Perils of Pluralism," *Journal of Politics* 63: 392-413.

Douglas Cater. 1964. *Power in Washington*. New York: Vintage.

Robert Dahl. 1961. *Who Governs?* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Robert Dahl. 1982. *Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

John Gaventa. 1980. *Power and Powerlessness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Floyd Hunter. 1953. *Community Power Structure*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

V.O. Key, Jr. 1964. *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*, 5th ed. New York: Crowell.

WEEK 4: Group Development I: Collective Action--Mancur Olson

Read:

1. Mancur Olson, Jr. *The Logic of Collective Action*.

Optional and for future use:

Joan Esteban, and Debraj Ray. 2001. "Collective Action and the Group Size Paradox," *American Political Science Review* 95: 663-72.

Norman Frohlich, and Joe Oppenheimer. 1970. "I Get By With a Little Help From My Friends," *World Politics* 23: 104-20.

Albert O. Hirschman. 1970. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*.

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Terry Moe. 1980. "A Calculus of Group Membership," *American Journal of Political Science* 24: 593-632.

Will Moore. 1995. "Rational Rebels: Overcoming the 'Free-rider' Problem," *Political Research Quarterly* 48: 417-54.

ASSIGNMENT 2: Choose three (3) citizen groups. For each group, find the most recent budgetary information you can. Answer these questions: 1). Where does each group get its money? 2). How important are members as sources of income for each group? 3). What patrons (if any) support each group? 4). What proportion of money do patrons provide to each group? DUE NEXT WEEK.

WEEK 5: Group Development II: Collective Action--Refinements and Empirical Tests

Read:

1. Frank R. Baumgartner, Virginia Gray, and David Lowery. 2009. "Federal Policy Activity and the Mobilization of State Lobbying Organizations," *Political Research Quarterly* 62: 552-67. IWP

2. John Mark Hansen. 1985. "The Political Economy of Group Membership," *American Political Science Review* 79: 79-96. IWP

3. Virginia Gray, John Cluverius, Jeffrey J. Harden, Boris Shor, and David Lowery. 2015. "Party Competition, Party Polarization, and the Changing Demand for Lobbying in the American States." *American Politics Research* 43: 175-204. IWP

4. David Lowery, and Virginia Gray. 1995. "The Population Ecology of Gucci Gulch, or the Natural Regulation of Interest Group Numbers in the American States," *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 1-29. IWP

5. Robert Salisbury. 1969. "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups," *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 13: 1-32. IWP

6. Walker, Jack L., Jr. 1983. "The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups in America," *American Political Science Review* 77: 390-406. IWP

Optional and for future use:

Scott Ainsworth, and Itai Sened. 1993. "The Role of Lobbyists: Entrepreneurs with Two Audiences," *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 834-66.

- Robert Axelrod. 1984. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Toby Bolsen, Thomas J. Leeper, and Matthew A. Shapiro. 2014. "Doing What Others Do: Norms, Science, and Collective Action on Global Warming," *American Politics Research* 42: 65-89.
- Shaun Bevan. 2012. "Continuing the Collective Action Dilemma: The Survival of Voluntary Associations in the United States," *Political Research Quarterly* 66: 545-58.
- Frederick J. Boehmke, and Daniel C. Bowen. 2010. "Direct Democracy and Individual Interest Group Membership," *Journal of Politics* 72: 659-71.
- Christopher J. Bosso. 2005. *Environment, Inc.: From Grassroots to Beltway*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- Dennis Chong. 1991. *Collective Action and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Anne M. Costain. 1992. "Social Movements as Interest Groups: The Case of the Women's Movement," in Mark Petracca, ed., *The Politics of Interests*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 285-307.
- Jocelyn Elise Crowley, and Theda Skocpol. 2001. "The Rush to Organize: Explaining Organizational Formation in the United States, 1860s-1920s," *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 813-29.
- Georgia Duerst-Lahti. 1989. "The Government's Role in Building the Women's Movement," *Political Science Quarterly* 104: 249-68.
- Paul A. Djupe, and Andrew R. Lewis. 2015. "Solidarity and Discord of Pluralism: How the Social Context Affects Interest Group Learning and Belonging." *American Politics Research* 43: 394-424.
- Jeffrey M. Drope, and Wendy L. Hansen. 2009. "New Evidence for the Theory of Groups: Trade Association Lobbying in Washington, DC," *Political Research Quarterly* 62: 303-16.
- Kenneth Godwin, and Robert Cameron Mitchell. 1982. "Rational Models, Collective Goods and Non-electoral Political Behavior," *Western Political Quarterly* 35: 160-81.
- Kristin A. Goss. 2007. "Foundations of Feminism: How Philanthropic Patrons Shaped Gender Politics," *Social Science Quarterly* 88: 1174-91.
- Margaret Gray, and Shareen Hertel. 2009. "Immigrant Farmworker Advocacy: The Dynamics of Organizing," *Polity* 41: 409-35.
- Virginia Gray, David Lowery, Jennifer Anderson, and Adam J. Newmark. 2004. "Collective Action and the Mobilization of Institutions," *Journal of Politics* 66: 684-705.
- Virginia Gray, and David Lowery. 2001. "The Expression of Density Dependence in State Communities of Organized Interests," *American Politics Research* 29: 374-91.
- Virginia Gray, and David Lowery. 1995. "The Demography of Interest Group Communities," *American Politics Quarterly* 23: 300-32.
- Mary Kay Gugerty, and Michael Kremer. 2008. "Outside Funding and the Dynamics of Participation in Community Associations," *American Journal of Political Science* 52: 585-602.
- Michael T. Hannan, and John Freeman. 1988. "The Ecology of Organizational Mortality: American Labor Unions, 1836-1985," *American Journal of Sociology* 94: 25-52.
- Michael T. Hannan, and John Freeman. 1987. "The Ecology of Organizational Foundings: American Labor Unions, 1836-1985," *American Journal of Sociology* 92: 910-43.
- Russell Hardin. 1982. *Collective Action*. Baltimore, MD: Resources for the Future.
- Douglas Imig. 1995. *Poverty and Power*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

- Paul E. Johnson. 1996. "Unraveling in a Variety of Institutional Settings," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 8: 299-331.
- Grant Jordan, and William A. Maloney. 1996. "How Bumble-Bees Fly: Accounting for Public Interest Participation," *Political Studies* 44: 668-85.
- Richard R. Lau, and David P. Redlawsk. 2001. "Advantages and Disadvantages of Cognitive Heuristics in Political Decision Making," *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 951-71.
- Jan Leighley. 1995. "Attitudes, Opportunities and Incentives: A Field Essay on Political Participation," *Political Research Quarterly* 48: 181-209.
- Robert C. Lowry. 2005. "Explaining the Variation in Organized Civil Society Across State and Time," *Journal of Politics* 67: 574-94.
- Robert C. Lowry. 1997. "The Private Production of Public Goods: Organizational Maintenance, Managers' Objectives, and Collective Goods," *American Political Science Review* 91: 308-23.
- Mark Lubell, Sammy Zahran, and Arnold Vedlitz. 2007. "Collective Action and Citizen Responses to Global Warming," *Political Behavior* 29: 391-413.
- Mark Lubell. 2007. "Familiarity Breeds Trust: Collective Action in a Policy Domain," *Journal of Politics* 69: 237-50.
- Andrew S. McFarland. 1984. *Common Cause*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.
- Gerald Marwell, and Ruth E. Ames. 1979. "Experiments on the Provision of Public Goods, I: Resources, Interest Group Size, and the Free Rider Problem," *American Journal of Sociology* 84: 1335-60.
- Peter J. May, Joshua Sapotichne, and Samuel Workman. 2009. "Widespread Policy Disruption and Interest Mobilization," *Policy Studies Journal* 37: 793-815.
- Melissa K. Merry. 2010. "Emotional Appeals in Environmental Group Communications," *American Politics Research* September 38: 862-89.
- Anthony J. Nownes. 2004. "The Population Ecology of Interest Group Formation: Mobilizing for Gay and Lesbian Rights in the United States, 1950-98," *British Journal of Political Science* 34: 49-67.
- Anthony Nownes, and Grant Neeley. 1996. "Public Interest Group Entrepreneurship and Theories of Group Mobilization," *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 119-46.
- Lawrence S. Rothenberg. 1988. "Organizational Maintenance and the Retention Decision in Groups," *American Political Science Review* 82: 1129-52.
- Kay Lehman Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. "Participation's Not a Paradox: The View from American Activists," *British Journal of Political Science* 25: 1-36.
- Theda Skocpol, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson. 2000. "A Nation of Organizers," *American Political Science Review* 94: 527-46.
- Jack Walker. 1991. *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions, and Social Movements*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- James Q. Wilson. 1995. *Political Organizations, New edition*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

PRESENTATION 2: "Where Do Citizen Groups Get Their Money?"

WEEK 6: Groups in the Policy Process--The Group Universe

Read:

1. Robert Salisbury. 1984. "Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions," *American Political Science Review* 78: 64-76. IWP
 2. Lee Drutman. *The Business of America is Lobbying*.
- Optional and for future use:**
- Glenn Abney. 1988. "Lobbying by the Insiders: Parallels of State Agencies and Interest Groups," *Public Administration Review* 48: 911-17.
- Anthony Bertelli, and Jeffrey B. Wenger. 2008. "Demanding Information: Think Tanks and the US Congress," *British Journal of Political Science* 39: 225-42.
- Frederick J. Boehmke, and Richard Witmer. 2012. "Indian Nations as Interest Groups: Tribal Motivations for Contributions to U.S. Senators," *Political Research Quarterly* 65: 179-91.
- Loree G. Bykerk. 1988. "Gender in Insurance: Organized Interests and the Displacement of Conflicts," *Policy Studies Journal* 17: 261-76.
- Christine L. Day. 1999. "Grassroots Involvement in Interest Group Decision Making," *American Politics Quarterly* 27: 216-35.
- William De Soto. 1995. "Cities in State Politics: Views of Mayors and Managers," *State and Local Government Review* 27: 188-94.
- Paul A. Djupe, and Kimberly H. Conger. 2012. "The Population Ecology of Grassroots Democracy: Christian Right Interest Populations and Citizen Participation in the American States," *Political Research Quarterly* 65: 924-37.
- Paul A. Djupe, and Christopher P. Gilbert. 2002. "The Political Voice of Clergy," *Journal of Politics* 64: 596-609.
- Peter L. Francia. 2010. "Assessing the Labor-Democratic Party Alliance: A One-Sided Relationship?" *Polity* 42: 293-303.
- Goldstein, R. and You, H. Y. 2017. "Cities as Lobbyists." *American Journal of Political Science* 61: 864-876.
- Wendy L. Hansen, and Neil J. Mitchell. 2000. "Disaggregating and Explaining Political Activity: Domestic and Foreign Corporations in National Politics," *American Political Science Review* 94: 891-903.
- Richard Harris. 1989. "Politicized Management: The Changing Face of Business in American Politics," in Sidney Milkus, ed. *Remaking American Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 261-88.
- David M. Hart. 2004. "Business' is Not An Interest Group: On the Study of Companies in American National Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 7: 47-69.
- Michael T. Hayes. 1986. "The New Group Universe," in Cigler and Loomis, *Interest Group Politics*, 2nd edition, ch. 2.
- Thomas T. Holyoke, Jeffrey R. Henig, Heath Brown, and Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. 2007. "Institution Advocacy and the Political Behavior of Charter Schools," *Political Research Quarterly* 60: 202-14.
- Ronald J. Hrebenar, and Clive S. Thomas, eds. 1993. *Interest Group Politics in the Midwestern States*. Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.
- Ronald J. Hrebenar, and Clive S. Thomas, eds. 1993. *Interest Group Politics in the Northeastern States*. College Park, PA: Penn State University Press.
- Ronald J. Hrebenar, and Clive S. Thomas, eds. 1987. *Interest Group Politics in the American West*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

- Beth L. Leech, Frank R. Baumgartner, Timothy M. La Pira, and Nicholas A. Semanko. 2005. "Drawing Lobbyists to Washington: Government Activity and the Demand for Advocacy," *Political Research Quarterly* 58: 19-30.
- David Lowery, and Virginia Gray. 2004. "Bias in the Heavenly Chorus: Interests in Society and Before Government," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 16: 5-30.
- James G. McGann. 1992. "Academics to Ideologues: A Brief History of the Public Policy Research Industry," *PS* 4: 733-40.
- Cathie Jo Martin. 1994. "Business and the New Economic Activism: The Growth of Corporate Lobbies in the Sixties," *Polity* 27: 49-76.
- Mark P. Petracca, ed. 1992. *The Politics of Interests: Interest Groups Transformed*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Clyde Wilcox. 1996. *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Graham K. Wilson. 1981. *Interest Groups in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McGhee Young. 2008. "The Political Roots of Small Business Identity," *Polity* 40: 436-63.
- ASSIGNMENT 3: Find three (3) examples of congressional testimony. Bring them to class. Answer these questions: 1). What kind of information is offered in each example of testimony? 2). How are the examples different? 3). How are they similar? DUE NEXT WEEK.**

WEEK 7: Lobbying I: Direct Lobbying

Read:

1. Paul M. Collins, Jr., and Wendy L. Martinek. 2015. "Judges and Friends: The Influence of Amici Curiae on U.S. Court of Appeals Judges." *American Politics Research* 43: 255-282. IWP
2. Lee Drutman, and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2013. "The Inside View: Using the Enron E-mail Archive to Understand Corporate Political Attention," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38: 5-30. IWP
3. Simon F. Haeder, and Susan Webb Yackee. 2015. "Influence and the Administrative Process: Lobbying the US President's Office of Management and Budget." *American Political Science Review* 109: 507-522. IWP
4. Richard L. Hall, Alan Deardorf. 2006. "Lobbying as Legislative Subsidy," *American Political Science Review* 100: 69-84. IWP
5. Amy McKay. 2012. "Negative Lobbying and Policy Outcomes." *American Politics Research* 40: 116-146. IWP.
6. Christine Mahoney and Frank R. Baumgartner. 2015. "Partners in Advocacy: Lobbyists and Government Officials in Washington." *Journal of Politics* 55: 202-215. IWP
7. Robert H. Salisbury, John P. Heinz, Edward O. Laumann, and Robert L. Nelson, 1989. "Who You Know Versus What You Know: The Uses of Governmental Experience for Washington Lobbyists," *American Journal of Political Science* 33: 175-195. IWP

Optional and for future use:

- David Austen-Smith. 1993. "Information and Influence: Lobbying for Agendas and Votes," *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 799-833.
- David Austen-Smith, and John R. Wright. 1994. "Counteractive Lobbying," *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 25-44.

- Frank R. Baumgartner, Heather A. Larsen-Price, Beth L. Leech, and Paul Rutledge. 2011. "Congressional and Presidential Effects on the Demand for Lobbying," *Political Research Quarterly* 64: 3-16.
- Jennifer Benz, Justin H. Kirkland, Virginia Gray, David Lowery, Jennifer Sykes, and Mary Deason. 2011. "Mediated Density: The Indirect Relationship between U.S. State Public Policy and PACs," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 11: 440-59.
- Patrick Bernhagen, and Thomas Brauninger. 2005. "Structural Power and Public Policy: A Signaling Model of Business Lobbying in Democratic Capitalism," *Political Studies* 53: 43-64.
- Jessica E. Boscarino. 2009. "Surfing for Problems: Advocacy Group Strategy in U.S. Forestry Policy," *Policy Studies Journal* 37: 415-34.
- Mark B. Brown. 2008. "Fairly Balanced: The Politics of Representation on Government Advisory Committees," *Political Research Quarterly* 61: 547-60.
- Gregory A. Caldeira, and John R. Wright. 1988. "Interest Groups and Agenda-Setting in the Supreme Court of the United States," *American Political Science Review* 82: 1109-27.
- 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: 224-46.
- John M. de Figueiredo, and James J. Kim. 2004. "When Do Firms Hire Lobbyists? The Organization of Lobbying at the Federal Communications Commission," *Industrial and Corporate Change* 13: 883-900.
- John M. de Figueiredo, and Emerson H. Tiller. 2001. "The Structure and Conduct of Corporate Lobbying: How Firms Lobby the Federal Communications Commission," *Journal of Economics and Management Strategy* 10: 91-122.
- Jeffrey M. Drope, and Wendy L. Hansen. 2006. "Does Firm Size Matter? Analyzing Business Lobbying in the United States," *Business and Politics* 8: Article 4.
- Patrick Flavin. 2015. "Lobbying Regulations and Political Equality in the American States." *American Politics Research* 43: 304-326.
- Scott R. Furlong, and Cornelius M. Kerwin. 2005. "Interest Group Participation in Rule Making: A Decade of Change," *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 15: 353-70.
- Thomas L. Gais, and Jack L. Walker. 1991. "Pathways to Influence in American Politics," in Jack L. Walker, ed., *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions, and Social Movements*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, pp. 103-21.
- Marissa Martino Golden. 1998. "Interest Groups in the Rule-Making Process: Who Participates? Whose Voices Get Heard?" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 2: 245-70.
- Wendy L. Hansen, Neil J. Mitchell, and Jeffrey M. Drope. 2005. "The Logic of Private and Collective Action," *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 150-167.
- Thomas Hansford. 2011. "The Dynamics of Interest Representation at the U.S. Supreme Court," *Political Research Quarterly* 64: 749-64.
- Thomas G. Hansford. 2004. "Lobbying Strategies, Venue Selection, and Organized Interest Involvement at the U.S. Supreme Court," *American Politics Research* 32: 170-97.
- John A. Hird. 2005. "Policy Analysis for What? The Effectiveness of Nonpartisan Policy Research Organizations," *Policy Studies Journal* 33: 83-105.

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- Joshua Ozymy. 2013. "Keepin' on the Sunny Side: Scandals, Organized Interests, and the Passage of Legislative Lobbying Laws in the American States," *American Politics Research* 41: 3-23.
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Richard G. Vanden Bergh, and Guy L.F. Holburn. 2007. "Targeting Corporate Political Strategy: Theory and Evidence from the U.S. Accounting Industry," *Business and Politics* 9: Article 1.

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ASSIGNMENT 4: Answer this question: What is the most powerful interest group in the United States? You must be able to defend your answer to the class. Be sure to pay attention to questions such as these: 1). What is power? 2). What is influence? 3). On what grounds did you choose the group you did? DUE NEXT WEEK.

PRESENTATION 3: "Congressional Testimony."

WEEK 8: Lobbying II: Indirect Lobbying and Electoral Lobbying

Read:

1. Stephen Ansolabehere, John M. de Figueiredo, and James M. Snyder, Jr., 2003. "Why is There so Little Money in U.S. Politics?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17: 105-30. IWP
2. Kevin Arceneaux, and Robin Kolodny. 2009. "Educating the Least Informed: Group Endorsements in a Grassroots Campaign," *American Journal of Political Science* 53: 755-70. IWP
3. Margaret Currinder, Joanne Connor Green, and M. Margaret Conway. 2007. "Interest Group Money in Elections," In Allan J. Cigler, and Burdett A. Loomis, eds., *Interest Group Politics*, 7th ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press, pp. 135-154. IWP
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6. Richard M. Skinner, Seth E. Masket, and David A. Dulio. 2012. "527 Committees and the Political Party Network," *American Politics Research* 40: 60-84. IWP

Optional and for future use:

John H. Aldrich, Andrew O. Ballard, Joshua Y. Lerner, and David W. Rohde. 2017. "Does the Gift Keep on Giving? House Leadership PAC Donations before and after Majority Status," *Journal of Politics* 79: 1449-1453.

D.E. Apollonio, and Raymond J. La Raja. 2004. "Who Gave Soft Money? The Effect of Interest Group Resources on Political Contributions," *Journal of Politics* 66: 1134-54.

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- Michelle L. Chin, Jon R. Bond, and Nehemia Geva. 2000. "A Foot in the Door: An Experimental Study of PAC and Constituency Effects on Access," *Journal of Politics* 62: 534-49.
- Jeffrey E. Cohen, and John A. Hamman. 2003. "Interest Group PAC Contributions and the 1992 Regulation of Cable Television," *Social Science Journal* 40: 357-69.
- Conor M. Dowling, and Amber Wichowsky. 2013. "Behind the Curtain? Anonymity in Political Advertising and the Effects of Campaign Finance Disclosure," *American Politics Research* 41: 965-96.
- F. L. Davis. 1992. "Sophistication in Corporate PAC Contributions: Demobilizing the Opposition," *American Politics Quarterly* 20: 381-410.
- Lee Drutman. 2016. "The Rise of Dark Money." In Allan J. Cigler, Burdett A. Loomis, and Anthony J. Nownes eds., *Interest Group Politics*, 9th ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press, pp. 135-154. IWP
- Diana Dwyre. 2007. "527s: The New Bad Guys of Campaign Finance," In Allan J. Cigler, and Burdett A. Loomis, eds., *Interest Group Politics*, 7th ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press, pp. 212-32.
- Arnold Fleischmann, and Lana Stein. 1998. "Campaign Contributions in Local Elections," *Political Research Quarterly* 51: 673-89.
- James G. Gimpel, Frances E. Lee, and Michael Parrott. 2014. "Business Interests and the Party Coalitions: Industry Sector Contributions to U.S. Congressional Campaigns." *American Politics Research* 42: 1034-1076.
- R. Kenneth Godwin. 1988. *One Billion Dollars of Influence: The Direct Marketing of Politics*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.
- Richard L. Hall, and Molly E. Reynolds. 2012. "Targeted Issue Advertising and Legislative Strategy: The Inside Ends of Outside Lobbying." *Journal of Politics* 74: 888-902.
- Wendy L. Hansen, Michael S. Rocca, and Brittany Leigh Ortiz. 2015. "The Effects of Citizens United on Corporate Spending in the 2012 Presidential Election." *Journal of Politics*. Forthcoming.
- Alexander Hertel-Fernandez. 2017. "American Employers as Political Machines," *Journal of Politics* 79: 105-117.
- Robert E. Hogan. 2005. "State Campaign Finance Laws and Interest Group Electioneering Activities," *Journal of Politics* 67: 887-906.
- Paul D. Jorgensen. 2010. "Campaigning on Fruit, Nuts, and Wine," *Political Research Quarterly* 63: 16-28.
- Ken Kollman. 1998. *Outside Lobbying: Public Opinion and Interest Group Strategies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Robert C. Lowry. 2013. "Mobilizing Money: Political Action Committees and Political Participation," *American Politics Research* 41: 839-62.
- Jeffrey Milyo, David Primo, and Timothy Groseclose. 2000. "Corporate PAC Campaign Contributions in Perspective," *Business and Politics* 2: 75-88.
- Mark J. Rozell, and Clyde Wilcox. 1999. *Interest Groups in American Campaigns: The New Face of Electioneering*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Frank Sorauf. 1992. *Inside Campaign Finance: Myths and Realities*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Steidley, T. and Colen, C. G. 2017. "Framing the Gun Control Debate: Press Releases and Framing Strategies of the National Rifle Association and the Brady Campaign," *Social Science Quarterly* 98: 608-627.

Richard L. Vining, Jr. 2011. "Grassroots Mobilization in the Digital Age: Interest Group Response to Supreme Court Nominees," *Political Research Quarterly* 64: 790-802.

Darrell M. West, and Burdett A. Loomis. 1999. *The Sound of Money: How Political Interests Get What They Want*. New York: Norton.

WEEK 9: Interest Group Influence

Read:

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Optional and for future use:

Glen Abney, and Thomas P. Lauth. 1985. "Interest Group Influence in City Policy-Making," *Western Political Quarterly* 38: 148-61.

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Sarah F. Anzia and Terry M. Moe. 2015. "Public Sector Unions and the Costs of Government." *Journal of Politics*. Forthcoming.

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Jeffrey Birnbaum, and Alan S. Murray. 1987. *Showdown at Gucci Gulch: Lawmakers, Lobbyists, and the Unlikely Triumph of Tax Reform*. New York: Vintage Books.

Christopher Bosso. 1986. *Pesticides and Politics: The Life Cycle of a Public Issue*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Josh Brodbeck, Matthew T Harrigan and Daniel A Smith. "Citizen and lobbyist access to Members of Congress: Who Gets and Who Gives?" *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 2: 323-342.

Douglas A. Brook. 2005. "Meta-Strategic Lobbying; The 1998 Steel Imports Case," *Business and Politics* 7: Article 4.

William P. Browne. 1998. *Groups, Interests, and US Public Policy*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

William Browne. 1986. "Policy and Interests: Stability and Change in a Classic Issue Subsystem," in Cigler and Loomis, eds. *Interest Group Politics*, 2nd edition, pp. 183-202.

William P. Browne. 1992. "Organized Interests and Their Issue Niches," *Journal of Politics* 54: 477-509.

William Browne, and Won K. Paik. 1993. "Beyond the Domain: Recasting Network Politics in the

Postreform Congress," *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 1054-78.

Daniel Carpenter. 2004. "Protection without Capture: Product Approval by a Politically Responsive, Learning Regulator," *American Political Science Review* 98: 613-31.

Paul M. Collins, Jr. 2007. "Lobbyists before the U.S. Supreme Court: Investigating the Influence of Amicus Curiae Briefs," *Political Research Quarterly* 60: 55-70.

Art Denzau, and Michael Munger. 1986. "Legislators and Interest Groups: How Unorganized Interests Get Represented," *American Political Science Review* 80: 89-106.

Jeffrey M. Drope, and Wendy L. Hansen. 2008. "Futility and Free-Riding: Corporate Political Participation and Taxation Rates in the United States," *Business and Politics* 10: Article 2.

Kevin M. Esterling. 2007. "Buying Expertise: Campaign Contributions and Attention to Policy Analysis in Congressional Committees," *American Political Science Review* 101: 93-109.

Diana M. Evans. 1986. "PAC Contributions and Roll-Call Voting," in Cigler and Loomis eds., *Interest Group Politics*, 2nd edition, pp. 114-32.

Peter L. Francia. 2001. "The Effects of the North American Free Trade Agreement on Corporate and Labor PAC Contributions," *American Politics Research* 29: 98-109.

A. Lee Fritschler. 1969. *Smoking and Politics*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Thomas Gais. 1996. *Improper Influence: Campaign Finance Law, Political Interest Groups, and the Problem of Equality*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Elisabeth R. Gerber, and Justin H. Phillips. 2003. "Development Ballot Measures, Interest Group Endorsements, and the Political Geography of Growth Preferences," *American Journal of Political Science* 47: 625-39.

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Richard Hall, and Frank Wayman. 1990. "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees," *American Political Science Review* 84: 797-820.

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John P. Heinz, Edward O. Laumann, Robert H. Salisbury, and Robert L. Nelson. 1993. *The Hollow Core: Private Interests in National Policy Making*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

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Carla Inclan, Dennis P. Quinn, and Robert Y. Shapiro. 2001. "Origins and Consequences of Changes in U.S. Corporate Taxation," *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 179-201.

Susan Lohmann. 2003. "Representative Government and Special Interest Politics: (We Have Met the Enemy and He is Us)," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 15: 299-319.

Theodore J. Lowi. 1995. *The End of the Republican Era*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Theodore Lowi. 1969. *The End of Liberalism*. New York: Norton.

Andrew McFarland. 1992. "Interest Groups and the Policy-Making Process: Sources of Countervailing Power in America," in Mark Petracca, ed., *The Politics of Interests*. Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, pp. 58-79.

Daniel J Mallinson. 2014. "Upstream Influence: The Positive Impact of PAC Contributions on Marcellus Shale Roll Call Votes in Pennsylvania." *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 3: 293-314;

Gary Moncrief, and Joel A. Thompson. 2001. "On the Outside Looking In: Lobbyists' Perspectives on the Effects of State Legislative Term Limits," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 1: 394-411.

Gary Mucciaroni. 1995. *Reversals of Fortune: Public Policy and Private Interests*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Jill Nicholson-Crotty, and Sean Nicholson-Crotty. 2011. "Industry Strength and Immigrant Policy in the American States," *Political Research Quarterly* 64: 612-24.

Randall W. Partin. 2002. "Assessing the Impact of Campaign Spending in Governors' Races," *Political Research Quarterly* 55: 213-33.

Eleanor Neff Powell, and Justin Grimmer. 2016. "Money in Exile: Campaign Contributions and Committee Access," *Journal of Politics* 78: 974-988.

Reich, G. and Barth, J. 2017. "Planting in Fertile Soil: The National Rifle Association and State Firearms Legislation" *Social Science Quarterly* 98: 485-499.

Brian Kelleher Richter, Krislet Samphantrarak, and Jeffrey F. Timmons. 2009. "Lobbying and Taxes," *American Journal of Political Science* 53: 893-909.

Michael S. Rocca, and Stacy Gordon. 2013. "Earmarks as a Means and an End: The Link between Earmarks and Campaign Contributions in the U.S. House of Representatives," *Journal of Politics* 75: 241-53.

Trevor Rubenzer. 2011. "Campaign Contributions and U.S. Foreign Policy Outcomes: An Analysis of Cuban American Interests," *American Journal of Political Science* 55: 105-16.

Robert Salisbury. 1989. "The Paradox of Interest Groups: More Groups, Less Clout," in Anthony King ed. *The New American Political System*, 2nd edition, pp. 203-29.

Robert Salisbury, John Heinz, Robert Nelson, and Edward Laumann. 1992. "Triangles, Networks, and Hollow Cores," in Mark Petracca, ed. *The Politics of Interests*, pp. 130-49.

Richard A. Smith. 1995. "Interest Group Influence in the U.S. Congress," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 20: 89-140.

George J. Stigler. 1971. "The Theory of Economic Regulation," *Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science* 2: 3-21.

Gregory Wawro. 2001. "A Panel Probit Analysis of Campaign Contributions and Roll-Call Votes," *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 563-79.

Alan E. Wiseman, and Jerry Ellig. "The Politics of Wine: Trade Barriers, Interest Groups, and the Commerce Clause," *Journal of Politics* 69: 859-75.

John Wright. 2004. "Campaign Contributions and Congressional Voting on Tobacco Policy, 1980-2000," *Business and Politics* 6: Article 1.

John R. Wright. 1985. "PACs, Contributions, and Roll Calls: An Organizational Perspective," *American Political Science Review* 79: 400-14.

Jason Webb Yackee, and Susan Webb Yackee. 2006. "A Bias Towards Business? Assessing Interest Group Influence on the U.S. Bureaucracy," *Journal of Politics* 68: 128-39.

ASSIGNMENT 5: Go to the FEC's web site and peruse it. Learn which PACs were the biggest contributors to federal candidates during the 2015-2016 election cycle. Write three poems about what you learn. One poem will be titled: "What is a political action committee?" Another will be titled, "These are a few of my favorite PACs." The third will be titled, "These PACs are entities I do not respect." DUE NEXT WEEK.

PRESENTATION 4: "The Most Powerful Interest Group in America."

WEEK 10: No Class...I AM AWAY AT A CONVENTION

Read:

1. John H. Aldrich. *Why Parties?*

WEEK 11: Party Theory, Party Systems, and Nominations

Read:

1. Marty Cohen, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller. *The Party Decides*.

Optional and for future use:

John H. Aldrich. 1995. *Why Parties? The Origins and Transformations of Party Politics in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Christopher L. Anderson. 2013. "Which Party Elites Choose to Lead the Nomination Process?" *Political Research Quarterly* 66: 61-76.

Shaun Bowler, David J. Lanoue, and Paul Savoie. 1994. "Electoral Systems, Party Competition, and the Strength of Partisan Attachment: Evidence from Three Countries," *Journal of Politics* 56: 991-1007.

William Nisbet Chambers. 1970. "Party Development and the American Mainstream," in Walter Dean

William Crotty, ed. 1989. "Political Parties: Issues and Trends," in William Crotty, ed. *Political Science Looking to the Future*, Volume 4, pp. 137-202.

Anthony Downs. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row, pp. 114-142.

Evron M. Kirkpatrick. 1971. "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System: Political Science, Policy Science, or Pseudo-Science?" *American Political Science Review* 65: 965-90.

Avery Leiserson. 1965. "The Place of Parties in the Study of Politics," in Frank Munger and Douglas Price, eds. *Readings in Political Parties and Interest Groups*. New York: Thomas Crowell, pp. 11-23.

Peter Ordeshook, and Olga Shvetsova. 1994. "Ethnic Heterogeneity, District Magnitude, and the Number of Parties," *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 100-23.

Elizabeth Rigby, and Gerald C. Wright. 2013. "Political Parties and Representation of the Poor in the American States," *American Journal of Political Science* 57: 552-65.

Daniel A. Smith, and Dustin Fridkin. 2008. "Delegating Direct Democracy: Interparty Legislative Competition and the Adoption of the Initiative in the American States," *American Political Science Review* 102: 333-50.

Rein Taagepera, and Matthew Soberg. 1993. "Predicting the Number of Parties," *American Political Science Review* 87: 455-64.

Daniel Tichenor, and Daniel Fuerstman. 2008. "Insurgency Campaigns and the Quest for Popular Democracy: Theodore Roosevelt, Eugene McCarthy, and Party Monopolies," *Polity* 40: 49-69.

PRESENTATION 5: "Poems About PACs."

WEEK 12: The American Party System, Party ID, and Realignment

Read:

1. Donald Green, and Bradley Palmquist. *Partisan Hearts and Minds*.
2. Joseph Bafumi, and Robert Y. Shapiro. 2009. "A New Partisan Voter," *Journal of Politics* 71: 1-24. IWP

Optional and for future use:

Christopher H. Achen. 2002. "Parental Socialization and Rational Party Identification," *Political Behavior* 24: 151-70.

Larry M. Bartels. 2000. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996," *American Journal of Political Science* 44: 35-50.

Richard Born. 2008. "Party Polarization and the Rise of Partisan Voting in U.S. House Elections," *American Politics Research* 36: 62-84.

Walter Dean Burnham. 1970. *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*. New York: Norton.

Barry Burden, and Casey Klofstad. 2005. "Affect and Cognition in Party Identification," *Political Psychology* 26: 869-86.

Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Thomas M. Carsey, and Geoffrey C. Layman. 2006. "Changing Sides or Changing Minds? Party Identification and Policy Preferences," *American Journal of Political Science* 50: 464-77.

Ryan L. Claassen. 2011. "Political Awareness and Partisan Realignment: Are the Unaware Unevolved," *Political Research Quarterly* 64: 818-30.

Peter K. Enns, and Gregory E. McAvoy. 2012. "The Role of Partisanship in Aggregate Opinion," *Political Behavior* 34: 627-51.

Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 2002. *The Macro Polity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Morris P. Fiorina. 2002. "Parties and Partisanship: A 40-Year Retrospective," *Political Behavior* 24: 93-115.

Alan S. Gerber, Gregory A. Hubder and Ebonya Washington. 2010. "Party Affiliation, Partisanship, and Political Beliefs: A Field Experiment," *American Political Science Review* 104: 720-44.

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- Alan S. Gerber, and Gregory A. Huber. 2009. "Partisanship and Economic Behavior: Do Partisan Differences in Economic Forecasts Predict Real Economic Behavior?" *American Political Science Review* 103: 407-26.
- Joseph Gershtenson. 2002. "Partisanship and Participation in Political Campaign Activities," *Political Research Quarterly* 55: 687-714.
- Paul Goren. 2005. "Party Identification and Core Values," *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 881-96.
- Eric Groenendyk. 2012. "Justifying Party Identification: A Case of Identifying with the 'Lesser of Two Evils,'" *Political Behavior* 34: 453-75.
- Peter K. Hatemi, John R. Alford, John R. Hibbing, Nicholas G. Martin, and Lindon J. Eaves. 2009. "Is There a 'Party' in Your Genes," *Political Research Quarterly* 62: 584-600.
- Danny Hayes, and Seth C. McKee. 2008. "Toward a One-Party South?" *American Politics Research* 36: 3-32.
- Paul Herrnsen. 2004. *Playing Hardball: Campaigning for the U.S. Congress*. New York: Prentice Hall.
- Marc J. Hetherington. 2001. "Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization," *American Political Science Review* 95: 619-32.
- Hibbing, M. V., Hayes, M. and Deol, R. 2017. "Nostalgia Isn't What it Used to Be: Partisan Polarization in Views on the Past," *Social Science Quarterly* 98: 230-243.
- D. Sunshine Hillygus. 2007. "The Dynamics of Voter Decision Making Among Minor-Party Supporters: The 2000 Presidential Election in the United States," *British Journal of Political Science* 37: 225-44.
- Shigeo Hirano, and James M. Snyder, Jr., "The Decline of Third-Party Voting in the United States," *Journal of Politics* 69: 1-16.
- David A. Hopkins. 2009. "The 2008 Election and the Political Geography of the New Democratic Majority," *Polity* 41: 367-87.
- Gary C. Jacobson. 1989. "Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of House Elections, 1946-1986," *American Political Science Review* 83: 773-93.
- Malcolm E. Jewell, and David M. Olson. 1988. *Political Parties and Elections in American States*. Chicago: Dorsey Press.
- David R. Jones, and Monika L. McDermott. 2004. "The Responsible Party Government Model in House and Senate Elections," *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 1-12.
- Christopher Kenny, Michael McBurnett, and David Bordua. 2004. "The Impact of Political Interests in the 1994 and 1996 Congressional Elections: The Role of the National Rifle Association," *British Journal of Political Science* 34: 331-344.
- V.O. Key, Jr. 1955. "A Theory of Critical Elections," *Journal of Politics* 17: 3-18.
- Martin Kroh, and Peter Selb. 2009. "Inheritance and the Dynamics of Party Identification," *Political Behavior* 31: 559-74.
- Samara Klar, 2014. "Partisanship in a Social Setting." *American Journal of Political Science* 58: 1540-590.
- Michael Laver, 2005. "Policy and the Dynamics of Political Competition," *American Political Science Review* 99: 263-81.
- Dean Lacy, and Quin Monson. 2002. "The Origins and Impact of Votes for Third-Party Candidates: A Case Study of the 1988 Minnesota Gubernatorial Election," *Political Research Quarterly* 55: 409-37.

- Brad Lockerbie. 2002. "Party Identification: Constancy and Change," *American Politics Research* 30: 384-405.
- James A. McCann, and Katsuo A. Nishikawa Chávez. 2016. "Partisanship by Invitation: Immigrants Respond to Political Campaigns," *Journal of Politics* 78: 1196-1210.
- Michael E. Meffert, Helmut Norpoth, and Anirudh V. S. Ruhil. 2001. "Realignment and Macropartisanship," *American Political Science Review* 95: 953-62.
- Jason A. MacDonald, and William W. Franko, Jr. 2008. "What Moves Partisanship?: Migration, State Partisan Environment Change, and Party Identification," *American Politics Research* 36: 880-902.
- Samuel Merrill, III, Bernard Grofman, and Thomas L. Brunell. 2008. "Cycles in American National Politics, 1854-2006: Statistical Evidence and an Explanatory Model," *American Political Science Review* 102: 1-17.
- Gary Miller, and Norman Schofield. 2003. "Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 97: 245-60.
- Jonathan Mummolo and Clayton Nall. 2017. "Why Partisans Do Not Sort: The Constraints on Political Segregation," *Journal of Politics* 79: 45-59.
- Jacob R. Neiheisel, and Sarah Niebler. 2013. "The Use of Party Brand Labels in Congressional Election Campaigns," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38: 377-403.
- Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrochik. 1979. *The Changing American Voter*, enlarged edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hans Noel. 2012. "The Coalition Merchants: The Ideological Roots of the Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of Politics* 74: 156-73.
- Pearson-Merkowitz, S. and Dyck, J. J. 2017. "Crime and Partisanship: How Party ID Muddles Reality, Perception, and Policy Attitudes on Crime and Guns," *Social Science Quarterly* 98: 443-454.
- Brian F. Schaffner, Matthew J. Streb, and Gerald C. Wright. 2007. "A New Look at the Republican Advantage in Nonpartisan Elections," *Political Research Quarterly* 60: 240-49.
- Mildred Schwartz. 2005. *Party Movements in the United States and Canada: Strategies of Persistence*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Gregory Shufeldt. 2017. "Party-Group Ambivalence and Voter Loyalty: Results from Three Experiments," *American Politics Research* 46: 132-168.
- Mark Wahlgreen Summers. 2004. *Party Games: Getting, Keeping, and Using Power in Gilded Age Politics*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Michael Tesler. 2013. "The Return of Old-Fashioned Racism to White Americans' Partisan Preferences in the Early Obama Era," *Journal of Politics* 75: 110-23.
- Alexander G. Theodoridis. 2017. "Me, Myself, and (I), (D), or (R)? Partisanship and Political Cognition through the Lens of Implicit Identity," *Journal of Politics* 79: 1253-1267.
- Judd R. Thornton. 2013. "The Impact of Elite Polarization on Partisan Ambivalence and Indifference," *Political Behavior* 35: 409-28.
- Gregory R. Thorson, and Stephen J. Stambough. 1995. "Anti-Incumbency and the 1992 Elections: The Changing Face of Presidential Coattails," *Journal of Politics* 57: 210-20.
- Charles Wiggins, Keith Hamm, and Charles Bell. 1992. "Interest Group and Party Influence Agents in the Legislative Process," *Journal of Politics* 54: 82-100.

ASSIGNMENT 6: For this assignment you will study the 2012 Colorado Senatorial campaign. Prepare a summary report on the spending of both candidates. Answer these questions: 1). How much did each candidate spend? 2). Where did the

candidates get their money? 3). How much money did each candidate get from his party?

WEEK 13: Party Organization and Campaign Finance

Read:

1. R. Michael Alvarez, Asa Hopkins and Betsy Sinclair. 2010. "Mobilizing Pasadena Democrats: Measuring the Effects of Partisan Campaign Contacts," *Journal of Politics* 72: 31-44. IWP
2. Olle Folke, Shigeo Hirano, and James M. Snyder, Jr. 2011. "Patronage and Elections in U.S. States," *American Political Science Review* 105: 567-85. IWP
3. Paul Herrnsen. 2009. "The Roles of Party Organizations, Party-Centered Committees, and Party Allies in Elections," *Journal of Politics* 71: 1207-24. IWP
4. Joseph Schlesinger. 1985. "The New American Political Party," *American Political Science Review* 79: 1152-69. IWP

Optional and for future use:

Barber, M. J., Canes-Wrone, B. and Thrower, S. 2017. "Ideologically Sophisticated Donors: Which Candidates Do Individual Contributors Finance?" *American Journal of Political Science* 61: 271–288.

John A. Clark, and Charles K. Prysby. 2004. *Southern Political Party Activists: Patterns of Conflict and Change, 1991-2001*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press.

Gary Cox, and Matthew McCubbins. 2005. *Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Diana Dwyre. 1996. "Spinning Straw into Gold: Soft Money and U.S. House Elections," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 21: 409-24.

Stephen Erie. 1988. *Rainbow's End*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Rick Farmer, and Rich Fender. 2005. "E-Parties: Democratic and Republican State Parties in 2000," *Party Politics* 11: 47-58.

Richard Forgette. 2004. "Party Caucuses and Coordination: Assessing Caucus Activity and Party Effects," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 2: 407-30.

Anne Freedman. 1994. *Patronage*. New York: Nelson-Hall.

James L. Gibson, and Susan E. Scarrow. 1992. "State and Local Party Organizations in American Politics," in Eric M. Uslaner, ed. *American Political Parties*, pp. 232-62.

Howard Gillman. 2002. "How Political Parties Can use the Courts to Advance Their Agendas: Federal Courts in the United States, 1875-1891," *American Political Science Review* 96: 511-24.

William J. Grimshaw. 1992. *Bitter Fruit: Black Politics and the Chicago Machine 1931-1991*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Donald A. Gross, Robert K. Goidel, and Todd G. Shields. 2002. "State Campaign Finance Regulations and Electoral Competition," *American Politics Research* 30: 143-65.

Jonathan Hopkin. 2004. "The Problem with Party Finance: Theoretical Perspectives on the Funding of Political Parties," *Party Politics* 10: 627-51.

Robert Huckfeldt, and John Sprague, 1992. "Political Parties and Electoral Mobilization," *American Political Science Review* 86: 70-86.

Gary C. Jacobson, Samuel Kernell, and Jeffrey Lazarus. 2004. "Assessing the President's Role as Party Agent in Congressional Elections: The Case of Bill Clinton in 2000," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29: 159-84.

- Geoffrey C. Layman, Thomas M. Carsey, John C. Green, Richard Herrera, and Rosalyn Cooperman. 2010. "Activists and Conflict Extension in American Party Politics," *American Political Science Review* 104: 324-46.
- Drew A. Linzer, and David Menefee-Libery. 2003. "Opening the Floodgates: Campaigning without Scarcity in the 2000 California Twenty-Seventh Congressional District Race," in *The Other Campaign: Soft Money and Issue Advocacy in the 2000 Congressional Elections*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., pp. 149-65.
- Cherie D. Maestras, L. Sandy Maisel, and Walter J. Stone. 2005. "National Party Efforts to Recruit State Legislators to Run for the U.S. House," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 30: 277-300.
- David B. Magleby, and Eric A. Smith. 2003. "Party Soft Money in the 2000 Congressional Elections," in *The Other Campaign: Soft Money and Issue Advocacy in the 2000 Congressional Elections*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., pp. 27-50.
- Thomas Mann, ed. 2005. *Party Lines: Competition, Partisanship, and Redistricting*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Karen Orren, and Steven Skowronek. 2004. *The Search for American Political Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- John Pippin, Shaun Bowler, and Todd Donovan. 2002. "Election Reform and Direct Democracy: Campaign Finance Regulations in the American States," *American Politics Research* 30: 559-82.
- Graham P. Ramsden. 2002. "State Legislative Campaign Finance Research: A Review Essay," *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 2: 176-98.

PRESENTATION 6: "Money and the 2012 Colorado Senate Race."

WEEK 14: The Party in Government

Read:

1. Bateman, D. A., Clinton, J. D. and Lapinski, J. S. 2017. "A House Divided? Roll Calls, Polarization, and Policy Differences in the U.S. House, 1877–2011." *American Journal of Political Science* 61: 698–714. IWP
2. Devin Caughey, Christopher Warshaw, and Yiqing Xu. 2017. "Incremental Democracy: The Policy Effects of Partisan Control of State Government," *Journal of Politics* 79: 1342-1358. IWP
3. Jennifer Hayes Clark. 2012. "Examining Parties as Procedural Cartels: Evidence from the U.S. States," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 37: 491-507. IWP
4. Gary W. Cox, and Keith T. Poole. 2002. "On Measuring Partisanship in Roll-Call Voting: The U.S. House of Representatives," *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 477-89. IWP
5. Justin de Benedictis-Kessner, and Christopher Warshaw. 2016. "Mayoral Partisanship and Municipal Fiscal Policy," *Journal of Politics* 78: 1124-1138.
6. Andrew B. Hall, and Kenneth A. Shepsle. 2014. "The Changing Value of Seniority in the U.S. House; Conditional Party Government Revisited." *Journal of Politics* 76: 98-113. IWP
7. Matthew J. Lebo, Adam J. McGlynn, and Gregory Koger. 2007. "Strategic Party Government: Party Influence in Congress, 1789-2000," *American Journal of Political Science* 51: 464-81. IWP

8. David W. Rohde. 2013. "Reflections on the Practice of Theorizing: Conditional Party Government in the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Politics* 75: 849-64.IWP
9. Eric Schickler, Kathryn Pearson, and Brian D. Feinstein. 2010. "Congressional Parties and Civil Rights Politics from 1933 to 1972," *Journal of Politics* 72: 672-89. IWP

Optional and for future use:

- John H. Aldrich, and James S. Coleman Battista. 2002. "Conditional Party Government in the States," *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 164-72.
- Steven J. Balla, Eric D. Lawrence, Forrest Maltzman, and Lee Sigelman. 2002. "Partisanship, Blame Avoidance, and the Distribution of Legislative Pork," *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 515-25.
- James Coleman Battistam and Jesse T. Richman. 2011. "Party Pressure in the U.S. State Legislature," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36: 397-422.
- Sarah A. Binder. 2006. "Parties and Institutional Choice Revisited," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31: 513-532.
- Sarah A. Binder. 1999. "The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947-96," *American Political Science Review* 93: 519-33.
- David W. Brady, Joseph Cooper, and Patricia A. Hurley. 1979. "The Decline of Party in the United States House of Representatives, 1887-1968," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 381-407.
- Barry C. Burden, and Tammy M. Frisby. 2004. "Preferences, Partisanship, and Whip Activity in the U.S. House of Representatives," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29: 569-90.
- Jamie L. Carson, Gregory Koger, Matthew J. Lebo, and Everett Youn, 2010. "The Electoral Costs of Party Loyalty in Congress," *American Journal of Political Science* 54: 598–616.
- Gary W. Cox, and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gary W. Cox, and Eric Magar. 1999. "How Much is Majority Status in the U.S. Congress Worth?" *American Political Science Review* 93: 299-310.
- Gary W. Cox, and Jonathan N. Katz. 2007. "Gerrymandering Roll Calls in Congress, 1879-2000," *American Journal of Political Science* 51: 108-19.
- Lawrence C. Dodd. 2015. "Congress in a Downsian World: Polarization Cycles and Regime Change." *Journal of Politics* 3: 311-23.
- Keith L. Dougherty, Michael S. Lynch, and Anthony J. Madonna. 2014. "Partisan Agenda Control and the Dimensionality of Congress." *American Politics Research* 42: 600-627.
- Charles J. Finocchiaro, and David W. Rohde. 2008. "War for the Floor: Partisan Theory and Agenda Control in the U.S. House of Representatives," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 33: 35-61.
- Richard Forgette. 2004. "Party Caucuses and Coordination: Assessing Caucus Activity and Party Effects," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29: 407-30.
- Paul Freedman, Michael Franz, and Kenneth Goldstein. 2004. "Campaign Advertising and Democratic Citizenship," *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 723-41.
- Lewis A. Froman, Jr., and Randall B. Ripley. 1965. "Conditions for Party Leadership: The Case of the House Democrats," *American Political Science Review* 59: 52-63.
- Sean Gailmard, and Jeffrey A. Jenkins. 2007. "Negative Agenda Control in the Senate and House: Fingerprints of Majority Party Power," *Journal of Politics* 69: 689-700.

Chris Den Hartog, and Nathan W. Monroe. "The Value of Majority Status: The Effect of Jeffords's Switch on Asset Prices of Republican and Democratic Firms," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 33: 63-84.

Eric Heberlig, Marc Hetherington, and Bruce Larson. 2006. "The Price of Leadership: Campaign Money and the Polarization of Congressional Parties," *Journal of Politics* 88: 992-1005.

Molly C. Jackman. 2014. "Parties, Median Legislators, and Agenda Setting: How Legislative Institutions Matter." *Journal of Politics* 76:259–72.

Keith Krehbiel. 1993. "Where's the Party?" *British Journal of Political Science* 23: 235-66.

Shannon Jenkins. 2006. "The Impact of Party and Ideology on Roll-Call Voting," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31: 235-257.

Stephen A Jesse, and Sean M Theriault. 2014. "The Two Faces of Congressional Roll-Call Voting." *Party Politics* 20: 836-848.

D. Roderick Kiewiet, and Matthew McCubbins. 1991. *The Logic of Delegation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Eric D. Lawrence, Forrest Maltzman, and Steven S. Smith. 2006. "Who Wins? Party Effects in Legislative Voting," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31: 33-69.

Jeffrey Lazarus, and Nathan W. Monroe. 2007. "The Speaker's Discretion: Conference Committee Appointments in the 97th through 106th Congresses," *Political Research Quarterly* 60: 593-606.

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Seth C McKee and Antoine Yoshinaka. 2015. "Late to the Parade: Party Switchers in Contemporary US Southern Legislatures," *Party Politics* 21: 957-969.

Erin Asher Meagher, and Ryan J. Vander Wielen. 2012. "The Effects of Party and Agenda Control: Assessing the Ideological Orientation of Legislation Directing Bureaucratic Behavior," *Political Research Quarterly* 65: 669-84.

William Minozzi, and Craig Volden. 2013. "Who Heeds the Call of the Party in Congress?" *Journal of Politics* 75: 787-802. IWP

Jesse Richman. 2015. "The Electoral Costs of Party Agenda Setting: Why the Hastert Rule Leads to Defeat." *Journal of Politics* 4: 1129-141.

Brian F. Schaffner. 2007. "Political Parties and the Representativeness of Legislative Committees," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32: 475-97.

Eric Schickler, and Kathryn Pearson. 2009. "Agenda Control, Majority Party Power, and the House Committee on Rules, 1937-52," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 334: 455-91.

Barbara Sinclair. 2006. *Party Wars: Polarization and the Politics of National Policy Making*. Norman, OK; University of Oklahoma Press.

Steven S. Smith. 2000. "Positive Theories of Congressional Parties," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25: 193-215.

James M. Snyder Jr., and Tim Groseclose. 2001. "Estimating Party Influence on Roll Call Voting: Regression Coefficients versus Classification Success," *American Political Science Review* 95: 689-98.

Andrew J. Taylor. 2005. *Elephant's Edge: The Republicans as a Ruling Party*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Gerald C. Wright, and Brian F. Schaffner. 2002. "The Influence of Party: Evidence from the State Legislatures," *American Political Science Review* 96: 367-79.

Week 15: Party Reform, Representation, and Resurgence

Read:

1. Thomas E. Mann, and Norman J. Ornstein. *It's Even Worse than It Looks*.

Optional and for future use:

Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich, Philip Paolino, and David W. Rohde. 2000. "Challenges to the American Two-Party System: Evidence from the 1968, 1980, 1992, and 1999 Presidential Elections," *Political Research Quarterly* 53: 495-522.

John Aldrich. 1999. "Political Parties in a Critical Era," *American Politics Quarterly* 27: 9-32.

James W. Ceaser, and Robert P. Saldin. 2005. "A New Measure of Party Strength," *Political Research Quarterly* 58: 245-256.

James Ceaser. 1989. "Political Parties: Declining, Stabilizing, or Resurging?" in Anthony King, ed. *The New American Political System*, ch. 4.

Allan J. Cigler. 1993. "Political Parties and Interest Groups: Competitors, Collaborators, and Uneasy Allies," in Eric M. Uslaner, ed. *American Political Parties*. Itasca, Illinois: Peacock.

Adam M. Dynes, and Gregory A. Huber. 2015. "Partisanship and the Allocation of Federal Spending: Do Same Party Legislators or Voters Benefit from Shared Party Affiliation with the President and House Majority?" *American Political Science Review* 109: 172-86.

Shanto Iyengar, and Sean J. Westwood. 2014. "Fear and Loathing across Party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization." *American Journal of Political Science* 59: 1540-5907.

Eric McGhee. 2009. "Party Registration and the Geography of Party Polarization," *Polity* 41: 345-67.

Gary Miller, and Norman Schofield. 2003. "Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 97: 245-60.

Stephen A. Salmore, and Barbara Salmore. 1989. "Candidate-Centered Parties: Politics Without Intermediaries," in Sidney Milkus, ed. *Remaking American Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 215-238.

Norman Schofield, Gary Miller, and Andrew Martin. 2003. "Critical Elections and Political Realignments in the USA," *Political Studies* 51: 217-240.

Daniel Shea. 1999. "The Passing of Realignment and the Advent of the 'Base-less' Party System," *American Politics Quarterly* 27: 33-57.

Christopher Witko. 2009. "The Ecology of Party-Organized Interest Relationships," *Polity* 4: 210-234.