

## Syllabus: EU track, Core Course 2

### Important Challenges in European Governance: Lobbying and Interest Groups (7,5 ECTS)

<b>Contact</b>	Wiebke Marie Junk & Anne Rasmussen, <a href="mailto:wiebke.junk@ifs.ku.dk">wiebke.junk@ifs.ku.dk</a> & <a href="mailto:ar@ifs.ku.dk">ar@ifs.ku.dk</a>
<b>Course description</b>	<p>The goals and values of the European Union and, more broadly, those common to countries on the European continent, are constantly put under stress by many external and internal developments. Charges of a ‘democratic deficit’ are frequently raised, both regarding decision-making at the European Union level, but also regarding national political processes. Despite the legislative procedures in place to formalize political competences, the location of power in decision-making is frequently debated. Which levels of decision-making and which actors are and should be involved in tackling the prime questions and challenges facing Europe?</p> <p>This course will engage with such (legitimacy) challenges, and the actors involved in them. It will place special attention on the relationships between state and non-state actors and assess these from different perspectives, including efficiency and feasibility considerations, as well as normative implications. In the course, we will examine theories and empirical research on how organized interests organize in the first place, are governed internally, enter and interact with each other in populations or interest communities, and seek to influence policy.</p>
<b>Exam</b>	Oral/synopsis exam.
<b>Course overview</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Part 1: Introduction and Conceptualisation</b></p> <p>I. Perspectives on the Role and Politics of Interest Organizations in Europe: An Overview</p> <p>II: Defining and classifying interest groups and interest systems in a comparative perspective</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Part 2: The interest production process</b></p> <p>III. Communities of Organized Interests</p> <p>IV. A practitioner’s perspective on lobbying</p> <p>V. Issue Mobilization and Argumentation</p> <p>VI. Inside lobbying Strategies: Targeting Political Institutions and decision-makers</p>

	<p>VII. Outside Strategies: Lobbying the public &amp; the media</p> <p>VIII. Influencing Policy Outputs: Access, Success and Power</p> <p>IX. Lobbying in Coalitions</p> <p>X. Policy responsiveness and interest groups</p> <p>XI. Public opinion and Interest groups</p> <p>XII: Strategy game on a lobbying issue</p> <p><b>Part 3: Researching Interest groups &amp; conclusions</b></p> <p>XIII: Research design: Selection of cases, samples and variables of interest</p> <p>XIV: Conclusions and Normative Implications</p>
<p><b>Teaching structure</b></p>	<p>The course will be conducted largely through discussion with the strong assumption that students will prepare readings in advance. Several required readings are assigned each week. Class participation involves a) presenting and discussing several research articles during classes and b) participating in class discussions and small group exercises. A selection of research articles will be presented first by a student. Such a presentation should last 5-10 minutes and address the key issues raised in the article, i.e. summarise, synthesize, and point to debates/contentions. Afterwards, all students are expected to participate actively in the class discussions of the article. After the first class, the instructor will assign articles to the students.</p>
<p><b>Learning goals</b></p>	<p>At the end of the course students will have learned to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identify and describe challenges regarding interest representation at in Europe and at EU-level</li> <li>• Give an account of the role of non-state actors in modern policy making from a comparative perspective, considering different interest systems such as neo-corporatist and pluralist systems</li> <li>• Understand the main perspectives on the interest production process in terms of mobilisation, strategy choice, access to political gatekeepers and, potentially, influence on policy outcomes</li> </ul> <p>Students will have trained the following skills:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ability to apply theoretical perspectives on the relationships between policy-makers and organised interests</li> <li>• The ability to select and design suitable methods to assess the role and success of organised interests, such as qualitative or quantitative (text) analysis, interviews, surveys methods etc.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ability to develop and support an argument on whether and how organised interests undermine or facilitate democratic politics in Europe</li> </ul>
	<p>Students should have fostered the following competences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Independent reflection on representation in Europe based on the academic literature</li> <li>• Critical analysis of the scope, nature and/or effect of the involvement of organised interests in decision-making, including the formulation of theoretical expectations and observable implications.</li> <li>• Evaluation of the benefits, challenges and implications of the activities of organised interests on modern decision-making</li> </ul>

## Class Schedule and Literature

### Textbooks & Articles

Three textbooks are assigned for the course and are listed below. However, much of our reading will be the professional journal literature on organized interests. Several articles per week will be assigned.

#### ***Textbooks***

- Mahoney, C. (2008) *Brussels Versus the Beltway*, Washington DC, Georgetown University Press.
- Klüver, H. (2013). *Lobbying in the European Union: interest groups, lobbying coalitions, and policy change*. Oxford University Press.

#### ***Useful background reading***

- Baumgartner, F. R., Berry, J. M., Hojnacki, M., Leech, B. L., & Kimball, D. C. (2009). *Lobbying and policy change: Who wins, who loses, and why*. University of Chicago Press.
- Lowery, D. & Brasher, H. (2004) *Organized Interests and American Government*, New York, McGraw Hill.

## Detailed Syllabus

Note: Unless specified otherwise, classes take place on Thursdays at CSS 22.0.19.

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### Part 1: Introduction and Conceptualisation

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#### I. Perspectives on the Role and Politics of Interest Organizations in Europe: An Overview – Wiebke Junk

**Week 36: Thursday 3 September, 15:00-17:00**

Klüver (2013): Introduction, pp. 1-23 (22 pages)

Mahoney (2008): Introduction, Chapter 2, pp.1-10 & pp. 31-44 (23 pages)

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### Part 2: The interest production process

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#### II. Defining and classifying interest groups and the Mobilisation and Maintenance of Interest Organizations – Anne Rasmussen

**Week 37, Thursday 10 September, 13:00-15:00, room CSS 2.2.36**

Baroni, L., Carroll, B. J., Chalmers, A. W., Marquez, L. M. M., & Rasmussen, A. (2014). Defining and classifying interest groups. *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, 3(2), 141-159. (18 pages)

Lowery, D., Baumgartner, F. R., Berkhout, J., Berry, J. M., Halpin, D., Hojnacki, M., ... & Schlozman, K. L. (2015). Images of an unbiased interest system. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22(8), 1212-1231. (19 pages)

Hojnacki, M., Kimball, D. C., Baumgartner, F. R., Berry, J. M. & Leech, B. L. (2012) Studying Organizational Advocacy and Influence: Reexamining Interest Group Research. *Annual review of political science* 15:379–99 (20 pages).

Salisbury, R. H. (1969) An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups. *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 13, 1-32. (31 pages)

Moe, T. M. (1981) Toward a Broader View of Interest Groups. *The Journal of Politics*, 43, 531-543. (12 pages)

**III. Communities of Organized Interests – Anne Rasmussen**  
**Week 38, Thursday 17 September, 15:00-17:00**

Messer, A., Berkhout, J. & Lowery, D. (2011) The Density of the EU Interest System: A Test of the ESA Model. *British Journal of Political Science*, 41, 161-190. (31 pages)

Berkhout, Joost, Brendan J. Carroll, Caelesta Braun, Adam W. Chalmers, Tine Destrooper, David Lowery, Simon Otjes & Anne Rasmussen (2015). 'Interest organizations across economic sectors: explaining interest group density in the European Union.' *Journal of European Public Policy* 22(4): 462-480. (22 pages)

Broscheid, Andreas, Coen & David (2007) Lobbying Activity and Fora Creation in the EU: Empirically Exploring the Nature of the Policy Good. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14, 346-65. (21 pages)

Rasmussen, A., & Carroll, B. (2014). Determinants of Upper-Class Dominance in the Heavenly Chorus: Lessons from European Union Online Consultations. *British Journal of Political Science*, 44(2), 445-459. (14 pages)

**IV. Views on Lobbying by Policy Practitioners (integrated in subsequent classes)**

**V. Issue mobilization and Argumentation – Wiebke Junk**  
**Week 39, Thursday 24 September 15:00-17:00**

Mahoney, C. (2008) *Brussels Versus the Beltway*, Washington DC, Georgetown University Press, Chapter 5. pp 81-110, (29 pages).

Baumgartner, Frank R., and Mahoney, Christine. (2008). Forum Section: The Two Faces of Framing: Individual-Level Framing and Collective Issue Definition in the European Union. *European Union Politics* 9 (3):435-449. (15 pages)

Druckman, J. N. (2001) On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame? *Journal of Politics*, 63, 1041-1066. (15 pages)

Daviter, F. (2011) *Policy Framing in the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, Chapter 6: The Framing of EU Biotechnology.

Junk, W. M. and Rasmussen, A. (2019). Framing by the Flock: Collective Issue Definition and Advocacy Success. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(4), 483–513. (31 pages)

## **VI. Inside lobbying Strategies: Targeting Political Institutions and decision-makers – Wiebke Junk**

**Week 40, Thursday, 1 October, 15:00-17:00**

Berkhout, J. (2013). Why interest organizations do what they do: Assessing the explanatory potential of 'exchange' approaches. *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, 2(2), 227-250. (23 pages)

Mahoney, C. (2008) *Brussels Versus the Beltway*, Washington DC, Georgetown University Press, Chapter 7 p.127-146 (19 pages)

Eising, R. (2007) Institutional Context, Organizational Resources and Strategic Choices. *European Union Politics*, 8, 329-362. (33 pages)

Binderkrantz, A. S., Christiansen, P. M., & Pedersen, H. H. (2015). Interest group access to the bureaucracy, parliament, and the media. *Governance*, 28(1), 95-112. (17 pages)

Binderkrantz, A. (2005) Interest Group Strategies: Navigating Between Privileged Access and Strategies of Pressure. *Political Studies*, 53, 694-715. (21 pages)

## **VII. Outside Strategies: Lobbying the public & the media – Wiebke Junk**

**Week 41, Thursday, 8 October, 15:00-17:00**

Mahoney, C. (2008) *Brussels Versus the Beltway*, Washington DC, Georgetown University Press, Chapter 8, pp. 147-167 (20 pages).

Binderkrantz, A.S., Bonafont, L.C., and Halpin, D.R. (2017) 'Diversity in the News? A Study of Interest Groups in the Media in the UK, Spain and Denmark'. *British Journal of Political Science* 47(2):313-28. (15 pages)

Danielian, L. H. & Page, B. I. (1994) The Heavenly Chorus: Interest Group Voices on TV News. *American Journal of Political Science*, 38, 1056-1078. (22 pages)

Dür, A. and G. Mateo (2013). 'Gaining access or going public? Interest group strategies in five European countries.' *European Journal of Political Research* 52: 660-686. (26 pages)

## **VIII. Influencing Policy Outputs: Access, Success and Power - Wiebke Junk**

**Week 43, Thursday 29 October, 13:00-15:00 CSS 25.01.53**

Klüver (2013) Chapter 3, pp. 60-92 (32 pages)

Mahoney, C. (2008). *Brussels Versus the Beltway*, Washington DC, Georgetown University Press, Chapter 10, pp. 183-206 (33 pages)

Klüver, H. (2011) The contextual nature of lobbying: Explaining lobbying success in the European Union. *European Union Politics*, 12, 483-506. (23 pages)

Dür, A. (2008) Measuring Interest Group Influence in the EU. *European Union Politics*, 9, 559-576. (17 pages)

Dür, A., and De Bièvre, D. (2007) Inclusion without Influence? NGOs in European Trade Policy. *Journal of Public Policy*, 27(1), 79-101. (22 pages)

### **IX. Lobbying in Coalitions – Wiebke Junk**

**Week 44, Thursday, 29 October, 15:00-17:00 CSS 25-01-53**

Hojnacki, M. (1997). 'Interest Groups' Decisions to Join Alliances or Work Alone.' *American Journal of Political Science* 41(1): 61-87. (26 pages)

Sabatier, P. A. (1988) 'An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein', *Policy Sciences* 2-3(21): 129-168. (39 pages)

Klüver, H. (2013) Lobbying as a collective enterprise: winners and losers of policy formulation in the European Union, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20:1, 59-76. (17 pages)

Mahoney (2008): Chapter 8, pp. 167-183 (26 pages)

Junk, W. M. (2019), When Diversity Works: The Effects of Coalition Composition on the Success of Lobbying Coalitions. *American Journal of Political Science*. Online First: doi:10.1111/ajps.12437 (15 pages)

### **X: Policy responsiveness and Interest Groups – Anne Rasmussen**

**Week 45, Thursday, 5 November 15:00-17:00**

Gilens, Martin, and Benjamin I. Page (2014). 'Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens' *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (3):564 - 581. (17 pages)

Lax, Jeffrey R., and Justin H. Phillips (2012). 'The Democratic Deficit in the States', *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (1):148-166 (28 pages).

Burstein, Paul (2014). *American Public Opinion, Advocacy and Policy in Congress*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (pp. 130-180) (51 pages).

Rasmussen, Anne, Reher, Stefanie and Dimiter Toshkov (2018). 'The Opinion-Policy Nexus in Europe and the role of political institutions', *OnlineFirst*, download at: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/1475-6765.12286> (23 pages)

### **XI. Public opinion and Interest groups – Anne Rasmussen**

**Week 46, Thursday, 12 November 14:00-17:00 CSS 7.0.34**

**Including a practitioner's perspective on lobbying I**  
**Lecture by Anders Kopp Jensen from Ulobby**

Rasmussen, A., Mäder, L. and Reher, S. (2018) 'With a Little Help From The People? The Role of Public Opinion in Advocacy Success', *Comparative Political Studies*, 51(2). pp. 139–164 (25 pages)

Flöthe, L. and Rasmussen, A. (forthcoming) 'Public Voices in the Heavenly Chorus? Group Type Bias and Opinion Representation', *Journal of European Public Policy*. (28 pages)

Andreas Dür (2018) 'How interest groups influence public opinion: Arguments matter more than the sources', *European Journal of Political Research* (22 pages)  
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/1475-6765.12298>

**XII. Strategy game on a lobbying issue – Wiebke Junk**  
**Week 47, Thursday, 19 November, 15:00-1700**

Material on Shale gas, available on Absalon (13 pages)

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**Part 3: Researching Interest groups & conclusions**

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**XIII. Research design: Selection of cases, methods and variables of interest – Wiebke Junk**

**Week 48, Thursday, 26 November, 15.00-17.00 in CSS 7.0.34**

Mahoney (2008), Chapter 3, pp. 45-63 (18 pages)

Beyers, Jan, Andreas Dür, David Marshall and Arndt Wonka (2014). 'Policy-centred sampling in interest group research: Lessons from the INTEREURO project', *Interest groups & Advocacy*, 3:2, 160-173. (13 pages)

**Interviews:**

Beyers, J., Braun, C., Marshall, D. et al. 2014. Let's talk! On the practice and method of interviewing policy experts. *Interest groups & Advocacy*. 3: 174. 174-187 (13 pages)

Leech, Beth L. 2002. Asking Questions: Techniques for Semi-structured Interviews, *Political Science and Politics* 35 (4): 665-68. (3 pages)

**Surveys:**

Marchetti, Kathleen (2015). 'The Use of Surveys in Interest Group Research.' *Interest Group & Advocacy*, Vol. 4 272-282. (10 pages)



**Text Analysis:**

Klüver, Heike (2009). 'Measuring interest group influence using quantitative text analysis.' *European Union Politics* 10(4): 535-549. (14 pages)

**Network Analysis:**

Varone, F., Ingold, K. M., and Jourdain, C. (2016) 'Studying policy advocacy through social network analysis', *European Political Science Review*. pp 322–336 (14 pages).

**XIV: Conclusions and Normative Implications + 2<sup>nd</sup> view on lobbying from a policy practitioner – Anne Rasmussen**

**Week 49, Thursday 3 December, 14:00-17:00 in room 2-2-36**

**Including a practitioner's perspective on lobbying II  
Lecture by Lars Abel from European Advisors**

Please re-read

- Gilens, Martin, and Benjamin I. Page (2014). 'Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens' *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (3):564 - 581. (17 pages)
- Andreas Dür (forthcoming) ' How interest groups influence public opinion: Arguments matter more than the sources', *European Journal of Political Research* (22 pages)