

## Topic

The course is about organizations and their role in elections and representative government. The term “interest group” is anachronistic. (Someday, we will change the name of the course.) We prefer to call them “interest organizations” because that includes a broader set of agents.

## Grading

1. (40%) Tests
2. (35%) Final Exam.
3. (10%) “Hand-in Exercises that lead up to the Term Paper”.
4. (10%) Term Paper on one political organization (approx 10 pages double-spaced, prepared in the style of the *American Political Science Review*).
5. (5%) Participation: A student must not miss more than 3 classes if full credit is to be earned.

## The Approach

During this semester, we will try something new and different. I’ll be 50 years old and we’ll consider this an early birthday present from all of you.

Instead of teaching you the same material that I taught in POLS 110, but more slowly, I will instead ask you to re-learn the material from POLS110 and pass a test about it. You must pay this “ante” in order to participate in the course.

Everybody who succeeds in proving that they have mastered the material from POLS110 is then invited to participate in a mature, academic investigation of some of the leading topics in the field of interest organizations.

## Readings:

**At The Bookstore:** Many required readings are drawn from these three fine volumes.

**RA:** Robert M. Alexander, *The Classics of Interest Group Behavior*, (Belmont, CA: Thompson Wadsworth, 2006)

**LB:** David Lowery and Holly Brasher, *Organized Interests and American Government* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2004)

**RWM:** Mark J. Rozell, Clyde Wilcox, and David Madland, *Interest Groups in American Campaigns: The New Face of Electioneering* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2006).

**Other Readings:** I’m preparing 2 reading packets. Material from the first package will be needed before class on Feb. 3.

1. The “**Mandatory Package**”. Photocopies of readings that are not available online. Call that

This includes some book excerpts and chapters that are required reading and for which I have no high quality electronic version and no web URL.

2. The “**Convenience Package**.” Photocopies of readings that are available online, but are photocopied for your convenience with the hope you will actually read them.

In my web page, there is a directory called Readings and I’m uploading the copies that I do have. To assure that only my students can access those files, I’m creating a username and password that will be announced in class. For other readings, the syllabus includes full URL so that students can download & print copies themselves.

**Students with Disabilities:** The KU Office of Disability Resources (DR) coordinates accommodations and services for all eligible students with disabilities. If you have a disability and wish to request accommodations and have not contacted DR, please do so as soon as possible. Their office is located in 22 Strong Hall; their phone number is 785-864-2620 (V/TTY). Information about their services can be found at <http://www.disability.ku.edu/>. Please also contact me privately in regard to your needs in this course.

## Daily Schedule

1. (1/15) Introduction: Start thinking about what kinds of organizations you want to study
2. (1/20) What you should already know from POLS110, Part I: organizations  
Read: Fiorina, Morris, and Mark Peterson. “Interest Group Participation in American Democracy,” from *The New American Democracy* (New York: Allyn & Bacon)
  - (a) Type 1: labor union or labor federation
  - (b) Type 2: professional association
  - (c) Type 3: business trade association
  - (d) Type 4: “citizen’s group”
3. (1/22) What you should already know from POLS110, Part II: influence
4. (1/27) **Test.** You can’t go on in this course until you get more than 80% of these questions correct.
5. (1/29) Pluralism and the big picture

**Read:** LB Ch. 1

**Comment:** We are in a phase of “Suffering for historical purposes.” I don’t have the heart to make you read these old essays anymore, but you should realize you could read them if you wanted to and you’d probably be better off as a result.

- (a) James Madison, “The Federalist 10” RA Ch. 2
- (b) Alexis de Tocqueville, “Political Associations...” RA Ch. 3
- (c) Arthur Bentley, “Group Activities” RA Ch. 4

- (d) David Truman, "The Alleged Mischiefs of Factions" RA Ch. 5. A later chapter in the book from which that excerpt is taken is quite famous. Chapter 16, "Group Politics and Representative Democracy," in *The Governmental Process* (New York: Knopf, 1951).
6. (2/3) Olson's Response, Part I: The Collective Action Problem  
Olson, Mancur. (1965) *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapters 1, 2, pp. 1-65. (**Mandatory Package**)
7. (2/5) Collective Action, continued.  
**Hand-in Term Paper Exercise (1 point):** Find an interest organization. Look it up in the Encyclopaedia of Associations. Check other Reference materials. Search online in the "America's Newspapers" about it. You want any information you can get. Where is the organization headquartered? List the address, phone number, website. Once you get the phone number, call them and ask if they have an annual report and by-laws that you can see. (If they say no, it may be difficult to write a paper about them. Or it may be fun to fight with them.) Prepare a 1-2 page single-spaced writeup that provides the fundamental information about the organization, the additional sources that you hope to pursue, and a one paragraph explanation of why you chose that organization.
8. (2/10) Olson's Critique of Political Theory  
**Read:** Olson, Mancur. (1965) *The Logic of Collective Action*, Chapters 5, 6, pp. 111-167. (**Mandatory Package**)
9. (2/12) The Exchange Theory  
**Read:** LB, Ch. 2  
Salisbury, Robert H. "The Exchange Theory of Interest Groups" RA Ch. 11  
**Hand-in Term Paper Exercise (3 points):** Find an example of a "Collective Action Problem" that arises within the "issue area" of the organization you are studying. What is the collective good being sought? Who are the 'potential beneficiaries'? Has action been taken to provide the collective good? How does the organization that your are studying involve itself with the issue?
10. (2/17) The Environmental Metaphor.  
**Review:** LB "Niche Theory," pp. 50-58  
**Read:** LB, Ch. 3
11. (2/19) Environmental Recruiting  
**Read:** Johnson, Paul E. (1998) "Interest Group Recruiting: Finding Members and Keeping Them" Chapter 2 in Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, *Interest Group Politics*, 5th edition, (Washington, DC: CQ Press), pp. 35-62 (**Mandatory Package**)
12. (2/24) Subsidies

**Read:** Walker, Jack “The Origins and Maintenance...” RA Ch. 12

13. (2/26) **Legal Environment of Political Organizations**

**Browse:** I compiled some “highlights” from the US Code, the law of the United States

These are in the **Convenience Package**

Types of nonprofit organizations: 501c organizations (2\_USCS\_501\_Highlights.pdf)

Penalties for excess lobbying by 501c3 organizations (26\_USCS\_4911\_lobby\_penalties.pdf)

**Read:** This summary of those laws: Lunder, Erika. (April 20, 2006) “Tax-exempt Organizations: Political Activity Restrictions and Disclosure Requirements” Congressional Research Service. Online accessed January 12, 2009 <http://ncseonline.org/NLE/CRs/abstract.cfm?NLEid=1622> (**Convenience Package**)

**Hand-in Term Paper Exercise (3 points):** Prepare a 1 single-spaced typed page about the organization you are studying. What benefits does it offer to prospects? Are they material, expressive, or solidary? How does the organization go about contacting prospective members?

14. (3/3) Institutions

**Read:** Salisbury, Robert “Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions” RA Ch. 14

15. (3/5) **TEST 1**

16. (3/10) Schattschneider’s famous “Scope of Conflict” argument

**Read:** Schattschneider, E. E. “The Contagiousness of Conflict,” RA Ch. 7

17. (3/12) Electoral Activity

**Read:** LB, Ch. 4

**SPRING BREAK 3-16-3/20**

18. (3/24) Who Wants What?

**Read:** RWM, Ch. 1

19. (3/26) Political Parties, Groups, PACs, etc

**Read:** RWM, Ch. 2 & 3

20. (3/31) Campaigning.

**Read:** RWM, Ch. 4

21. (4/2) Legal Environment of Campaign Activity

- (a) Here are some relevant sections from the US Code to which you may refer. These are on the course website as well as the **Convenience Package** :

**Browse:** Tax-exempt Political Organizations: 26\_USCS\_527.pdf

Limits on Contributions (2\_USCS\_441a)

Ban on Corporate Campaign activity & Allowance of Separate Segregated Funds (PACs) (2\_USCS\_441b-donation-ban-corp-union.pdf)

Ban on Soft Money (2\_USCS\_441i.pdf)

- (b) Some Summaries of the Laws

**Read:** Sekulow, Jay A., Colby M. May, and James M. Henderson. (February 4, 2004) "Permissible and Impermissible Activities of Non-Profit Organizations and Public Charities Under Federal Campaign Finance and Tax Laws." American Center for Law and Justice [http://www.aclj.org/media/pdf/040317\\_fed\\_campaign\\_finance.pdf](http://www.aclj.org/media/pdf/040317_fed_campaign_finance.pdf) (**Convenience Package**)

Cantor, Joseph E., Erika Lunder, and L. Paige Whitaker. (Feb. 21, 2007) "Section 527 Political Organizations: Background and Issues for Federal Tax and Election Laws." Congressional Research Service. [http://openocrs.com/rpts/RL33888\\_20070221.pdf](http://openocrs.com/rpts/RL33888_20070221.pdf) (**Convenience Package**)

Lunder, Erika. January 11, 2005. Political Organizations Under Section 527 of the Internal Revenue Code." Congressional Research Service

- (c) The *Wisconsin Right To Life* case and its aftermath

**Note:** This section is about the Supreme Court decision in *F.E.C. v. Wisconsin Right to Life* 551 US \_\_\_ (June 25, 2007). The full opinion is available on many websites, including the Court's own website: <http://www.supremecourtus.gov/opinions/06pdf/06-969.pdf> as well as other servers like <http://laws.findlaw.com/us/000/06-969.html>.

I've tried to make everybody read that, but it seemed that nobody would. Perhaps some summaries will be sufficient.

**Read:** Whitaker, L. Paige. July 5, 2007. "The Constitutionality of Regulating Political Advertisements: An Analysis of Federal Election Commission v. Wisconsin Right to Life, Inc." CRS Report for Congress, Order Code RS22687. (**Convenience Package**)

Federal Election Commission. (January 2008) "Final Rules and Explanation for Electioneering Communications," *FEC Record*, Vol. 34(1), pp. 1-4. (**Convenience Package**)

**For Your Reference:**

A "Syllabus" is an official-unofficial summary of a Supreme Court case. The Syllabus for *FEC v. WRTL, inc.* is available in many locations: <http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/06-969.ZS.html>

A summary on the OYEZ website: [http://www.oyez.org/cases/2000-2009/2006/2006\\_06\\_969](http://www.oyez.org/cases/2000-2009/2006/2006_06_969)

22. (4/7) The 527 Phenomenon

**Read:** "Political Groups Rake in Funds: Donations to '527s' Up 24 Percent Over Last Presidential Race," The Washington Independent <http://washingtonindependent.com>. (**Convenience Package**)

Ryan, Paul S. "527s in 2008: The Past, Present, and Future of 527 Organization Political Activity Regulation" *Harvard Journal on Legislation*, 45: 471-506. (**Convenience Package**)

Skinner, Richard M. "Do 527's Add Up to a Party? Thinking About the 'Shadows' of Politics" *The Forum* 3(3): Article 5. Also Available online at The Forum <http://www.bepress.com/forum/vol13/iss3/art5/> or on the class site as Skinner\_527ShadowParties.pdf (**Convenience Package**)

### Many Other Great Articles Exist:

Briffault, Richard. 2005. "The 527 Problem...and the Buckley Problem," *The George Washington Law Review*, 73:1701-1758.

Feuer, Benjamin S. (2006) "Between Political Speech and Cold, Hard Cash: Evaluating the FEC's New Regulations for 527 Groups" *Northwestern University Law Review* 100(2): 925-965.

Hoersting, Stephen M. (April 3, 2006) "Free Speech and the 527 Proposition." CATO Institute Briefing Papers No. 96. Retrieved January 13, 2009, from The Cato Institute Web site: [http://www.cato.org/pub\\_display.php?pub\\_id=6326](http://www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=6326)

#### 23. (4/9) Legislative Affairs

**Read:** LB, Ch. 5

**Hand-in Exercise (3 points):** Create 1 single-spaced page (maximum!) explaining

- (a) what the organization you are studying wants to change in public policy, if anything. If there are none, please explain why.
  - i. what actions are used to pursue those goals, if any. If there are none, please explain why.
  - ii. what kind of organization is this (for tax purposes).

#### 24. (4/14) Public Goods and Private Goods

**Read:** Godwin, R. Kenneth and Barry J. Seldon. (2002) "What Corporations Really Want from Government," Chapter 10 in Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, *Interest Group Politics*, 6th edition, (Washington: CQ Press), pp. 205-224. (**Mandatory Package**)

#### 25. (4/16) PAC Influence Studies

**Read:** Wright, John R. "PACs, Contributions, and Roll Calls: An Organizational Perspective," RA Ch. 20

Hall, Richard and Frank Wayman, "Buying Time: Moneyed Interests and the Mobilization of Bias in Congressional Committees" RA Ch. 22

#### 26. (4/21) In Honor of Bill Browne: Niches and Confidants

Browne, William "Organized Interests and Their Issue Niches," RA Ch. 19

Browne, William “Organized Interests, Grassroots Confidants, and Congress” Chapter 13 in Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, Interest Group Politics, 4th edition, (CQ Press, 1995), pp. 281-297. (**Mandatory Package**)

27. (4/23) Executive Affairs

**Read:** LB, Ch. 6

28. (4/28) Judicial Affairs

**Read:** LB, Ch. 7

29. (4/30) **Test 2.**

30. (5/5) Course Evaluations

31. (5/7) Review for Final Examination

Final Exam Time: May 12, 7:30-10am (Assuming I’m reading the timetable properly. You can read for yourself: <http://www.timetable.ku.edu/~registr/exams/index.shtml>)