

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY POLITICS DEPARTMENT

POL-UA 395 003 – Spring 2020

American Field Seminar: Interest Groups and Social Movements

Section 003: Friday 12:30 – 3:00 PM

7 East 12th, room127

Instructor Clifford Frasier: cliff.frasier@nyu.edu

Office Hours: Friday 3:20 – 4:30 PM and by appointment

Politics Dept, room 304

Course Description

This course examines models and theories of interest groups and social movements, exemplified in the context of American politics with emphasis on recent and current issue areas such as (but not limited to) health care, education, civil rights and identity, labor, business, and the environment. Considers problems of group influence and constituent representation, and explores a variety of perspectives (including institutional, civil society, community interests and grievances, and resource mobilization arguments) on the emergence and decline of collectivities that use political advocacy to pursue private goods, public goods, and/or social change.

Overview

This course provides an introduction to the study of interest groups and social movements in American politics. The primary political environment under consideration is the United States, although we occasionally employ comparison with other national polities. The field of study is expansive and we will not be able to review all of the literature, instead we will consider a number of major processes involved in the politics of groups and advocacy collaborations that petition both government and civil society for policy change.

The course should help students think systematically about organizational and collective advocacy, as well as about contentious politics. We will review relevant theories and use them to illuminate complex political behavior. Students are encouraged to link their own interests to the course, and the course will prepare students for further independent study of the field.

Course Objectives

1. To develop frameworks for evaluating public policy issue areas in terms of group politics.
2. To enrich an area of interest through research and application of relevant theory.
3. To become proficient thinking about various levels and types of complex organization (such as advocacy groups, networks and coalitions/associations of groups, political parties, mass movements and protests, civil society, government itself, and linkages between these entities) that factor into American politics.

4. To build analytic skills that may transfer to professional settings such as think tanks, policy offices, and graduate studies.

Teaching Approach

To build a sophisticated understanding of the topics and arguments we consider, you will need to engage in all components of the course. It is expected that you will complete all required readings in advance of the session for which they are listed, take notes on the material, and be prepared to evaluate it critically. Classes will include discussion, exercises, and lecture components – but feel free to ask pertinent questions at any point. You will help guide the discussion in our class meetings; your classmates are counting on you to bring your own perspective to small-group and whole-class conversations. I encourage the expression of diverse viewpoints in class and in your written work.

Grading and Assessment

50% of your grade: out-of-class writing assignments

Case study:	15%
Outline of final paper:	5%
Final paper	30%

50% of your grade: in-class quizzes and participation

Quiz 1:	10%
Quiz 2:	15%
<u>Participation:</u>	
Reading summary/commentary	5%
Paper topic presentation:	5%
Seminar participation:	15%

Quizzes. Two non-cumulative quizzes will be given in class on the dates listed in the course calendar. They will be constituted of true/false, multiple choice, and questions that require short written answers.

Participation. This is awarded for contributing to a productive learning environment over the course of the term. All students in the course benefit from high levels of class attendance and participation, so you are expected to prepare and attend. Missing classes, being unprepared to discuss readings during sessions, and/or under-contributing to group processes will lower this portion of your grade.

An element of your participation score will be drawn from your contributions to the forum section on our NYU Classes page. There will be nine (9) opportunities to participate in the forum (every week during Part 1 as well as 3 weeks in Part 2 of the course). Please be sure to participate in at least six (6) forums. Days in advance of the session, I will post a question and

would like you to respond briefly to it with one or more thoughts based on the assigned reading. Please do this by 10 a.m. on the day of class so that I can use your comments to frame our discussion.

A reading summary/commentary. A one-page summary of a reading of your choice will be sent to the class by Wednesday evening followed by a short presentation of this summary during class. The presentation will conclude with several discussion questions based on the summary. We will divvy up weeks and readings on February 7.

A case study. A short paper using concepts and theories from the course to analyze the case listed in the course calendar. Guidelines for this assignment will be posted.

A Final Paper. 15 pages minimum (not including title and reference pages) to 20 pages maximum. Guidelines for this assignment will be posted.

- An outline of the final paper, deliverable any time during the semester but no later than April 10.
- During the final meeting of the semester, a short presentation to the class of your paper topic.

NYU Classes and Readings and Assignments

All announcements will be delivered through NYU Classes. Slides, if used, will be posted after class. I may modify assignments, due dates, and other aspects of the course as we go through the term with notice provided as soon as possible through the NYU Classes course page. Materials and assignments will be posted to NYU Classes, with one exception: you will need to purchase the case study. To access, you will need to click on the following link:

<https://hbr.org/store/case-studies>

You may then search for the assigned case by title and purchase it.

- Harvard Business case study: *The "Tipping Point" and Green Dot Public Schools*

Academic Integrity

The students and faculty at NYU are very concerned about academic integrity. Each student should have the assurance that the rules of the game are understood by everyone and enforced equally. Students are encouraged to learn and study together. Individual assignments are just that, but mutual assistance is appropriate. New York University has an academic code that is available here:

<https://www.nyu.edu/about/policies-guidelines-compliance/policies-and-guidelines/academic-integrity-for-students-at-nyu>

Every student is expected to maintain academic integrity and is expected to report violations to me.

Additional Administrative Details

- You are responsible for obtaining any materials distributed in or outside of class.

- Please silence cell phones and stow in bags while in class. The use of on-line technology in class is not allowed, and students will be asked to sign an honor pledge to disable browsers, wi-fi, etc. on laptops and tablets if used to view PDF readings. Students seem to get the best results by taking notes by hand in class and reviewing them later.
- I reserve the right to revise this syllabus as the term progresses. Toward the end of the course, there may be an outside professional who will speak about contentious politics.
- Regarding lateness and absences:
 - Absences will be accepted only for medical reasons impacting the student, and acceptance requires a doctor's note signed by the following day of the absence.
 - Absences will not be accepted for reasons other than medical reasons.
 - For quizzes and class presentations, students are only permitted to take a make-up if they have a prior arrangement with me or supply a note from a doctor or university dean excusing their absence due to serious illness or another family problem. Travel, conflict with another activity or job, and other nonmedical reasons are not acceptable excuses for missing quizzes.
 - Turning in an assignment beyond the deadline leads to an automatic grade reduction of 10% of the assignment for each calendar day (including the day of lateness and each subsequent day).
 - Technical difficulties uploading assignments to NYU Classes will not excuse late assignments. If NYU Classes is frozen and will not upload, then please email a copy directly to me with a timestamp before the deadline.
- Whenever you email me: please avoid beginning the email with "Hey"; you can normally expect a reply within 24 hours.
- Please use my office hours!! Email me ahead of time to request a time so that I can manage the schedule.

Policy Regarding Disability Services and Programs

Students with disabilities are encouraged to register with the Moses Center for Students with Disabilities, 726 Broadway, 2nd Floor, (212-998-4980). Reasonable accommodations can be made for students with qualified disabilities, but only for students who have registered with the Moses Center and provide documentation from that office. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me in the first three weeks of the term.

COURSE CALENDAR

Session 1 (Jan 31): *Review syllabus and course*

- **Objective**: To provide an overview of the course.
- No assigned reading in advance of Session 1.

Part I. Interest Groups: Theories and Concepts

Session 2 (Feb 7): *Interest groups, pluralism, and major themes*

Objective: To develop conceptual tools for studying interest groups: definitions, pluralism theory, debates over influence.

Berry, J. M., & Wilcox, C. 2018. *The interest group society*. Routledge. Chapter 1.

Baumgartner, F. R. 2009. "Interest groups and agendas." In *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups*.

For further reading:

Nownes, Anthony. 2013. *Interest Groups in American Politics*. Chapter 9.

Andrews and Edwards. 2004. ADVOCACY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE U.S. POLITICAL PROCESS. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* Pp. 479-491.

Berry and Wilcox. 2018. *The Interest Group Society*. Chapter 3 "Mobilization and Organization."

Schlozman and Tierney. 1986. *Organized Interests and American Democracy*. Chapter 3 "Interest Organizations in Politics."

Session 3 (Feb 14): *Estimating interest group influence: challenges and methods*

Objective: To gain perspective on challenges of measuring interest group activity and influence, and to examine several approaches used in contemporary research.

Leech, Beth. 2010. *Lobbying and Influence*

Taylor, Haider-Markel, and Rogers. 2019. "Toward a New Measure of State-Level LGBT Interest Group Strength."

Anzia, Sarah F. 2012. "The Election Timing Effect: Evidence from a Policy Intervention in Texas." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7: 209-248.

For further reading:

Lowery and Gray. 2010. "The Comparative Advantage of State Interest Organization Research." In *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups*.

Gray, V., Lowery, D., Fellowes, M., & McAtee, A. (2004). Public opinion, public policy, and organized interests in the American states. *Political Research Quarterly*, 57(3), 411-420.

Session 4 (Feb 21): *Theories of interest groups influence (Part 1)*

Objective: Understand factors relevant to interest group influence: routine politics, information politics, monitoring, and deck stacking.

Godwin, Ainsworth and Godwin. 2013. *Lobbying and Policymaking*. Chapter 2, "Models of Influence."

Berry and Arons. 2003. *A Voice for Nonprofits*, pp. 127-145.

Bertelli, Anthony. 2012. *The Political Economy of Public Sector Governance*. Ch 4: pp. 80-84 (with attention to the delegation model of government, p. 81)

For further reading:

Bertelli, Anthony. 2012. *The Political Economy of Public Sector Governance*. Ch 4, section 4.4.1 (pp. 109-113).

Gilens and Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens." *Perspectives on Politics*.

- Practice quiz (In Class, ungraded)

Session 5 (Feb 28): *Theories of interest groups influence (Part 2)*

Objective: Understand factors considered relevant to interest group influence: raising salience and venue shopping.

Kollman, Ken. 1998. *Outside Lobbying. Public Opinion and Interest Group Strategies*. Chapter 3 (pp. 68-77) and Chapter 4.

Pralle, Sarah. 2010. "Shopping around: environmental organizations and the search for policy venues," in Prakash and Gugerty (Eds) *Advocacy Organizations and Collective action*.

For further reading:

Kollman, Ken. 1998. *Outside Lobbying. Public Opinion and Interest Group Strategies*. Chapter 5.

Prakash, Aseem, and Mary Kay Gugerty, eds. 2010. *Advocacy Organizations and Collective action*. Chapter 1.

- **Quiz (In Class) on sessions 2-4**

Session 6 (March 6): *Interest groups in coalitions*

Objective: To consider conditions under which interest groups are likely to work together in partnerships and coalitions.

Hula, Kevin. 1999. *Lobbying Together*. Chapters 7 & 9.

Berry and Wilcox. 2018. *The Interest Group Society*. Chapter 9 "The Rise of Networks and Coalitions."

For further reading:

Hojnacki, Marie. 1997. Interest Groups' Decisions to Join Alliances or Work Alone. Vol. 41, No. 1 (Jan., 1997), pp. 61-87

Ozer, M., & Lee, S. (2009). When do firms prefer individual action to collective action in the pursuit of corporate political strategy? A new perspective on industry concentration. *Business and Politics*, 11(1), 1-21.

Session 7 (March 13): *Interest groups and political parties*

Objective: To understand the broader relevance of interest groups in terms of American party politics.

Bawn, Cohen, Karol, Masket, Noel, and Zaller . 2012. "A Theory of Political Parties: Groups, Policy Demands and Nominations in American Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* Vol.10, No. 3.

Berry and Wilcox. 2018. *The Interest Group Society*. Chapter 4 "The Party Connection"

Grossman, Matt and Casey Dominguez. 2009. "Party Coalitions and Interest Group Networks" *American Politics Research*, Vol. 37, No. 5.

For further reading:

Heaney, Michael. 2010. "Linking Political Parties and Interest Groups."

Week 8 (March 20): Spring Recess

Part II. Social Movements

Session 9 (March 27): *Civil society, participation, and democracy*

Objective: To consider theory about civil society contributions to social movements and democracy.

Robert Dahl (1965), *A Preface to Democratic Theory*, Chapter 3.

Putnam, Robert. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Chapters 9 and 15

For further reading:

Boris, E. T., & Maronick, M. (2012). Civic participation and advocacy. In L. M. Salamon (Ed.), *The state of nonprofit America* (pp. 394-422). Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Session 10 (April 3): *Social organizational bases of mobilization*

Objective: To understand how voluntary and other types of organizations build capacity for social movements.

McCarthy and Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 82, No. 6

McAdam, Doug. 1986. "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer" *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 92, No. 1

For further reading:

Strolovitch and Forrest. 2010. "Social and Economic Justice Movements and Organizations."

Mancur Olson (1965), *The Logic of Collective Action*, Introduction, Chapters 1 & 2

- **Quiz (In Class) on sessions 5-9**

Session 11 (April 10): *Contentious politics, political opportunities, and information cascades (Part I)*

Objective: To conceptualize links between mass organization and the political context.

Tarrow, Sidney, "Introduction" (pp. 6-12) and Chapter 1 "Contentious Politics and Social Movements" in *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Tarrow, Sidney, chapter 5 (pp. 111-118), and diagram on p. 121 (in chapter 6) in *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Meyer, David. 2004. Protest and Political Opportunities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 30, pp. 125-145.

For further reading:

McAdam, Doug. 1996. "Political Opportunity — conceptual origins and future directions," in McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, 41-61.

Tarrow, Sidney. 1996. "States and Opportunities: The political structuring of social movements," in McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, 41-61.

- **Due in class: Outline of final paper**

Session 12 (April 17): *Contentious politics, political opportunities, and information cascades (Part II)*

Objective: To consider: moderate activists, signaling thresholds, and information cascades.

Tarrow, Sidney. 1995. "Threats, Opportunities and Regimes" (pp. 163-180) in *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Lohmann. 1994. Information Cascades.

For further reading:

Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics*. 44(1): 7-48.

- **Case study assignment due in class**

Session 13 (April 24): *Framing collective action*

Objective: To integrate theory of framing into our broader understanding of social movements.

Tarrow, Sidney, chapter 7 pp. 144-152 in *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Zald, Mayer. 1996. "Culture, ideology, and strategic framing," in McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*.

For further reading:

Gamson and Meyer. "Framing political opportunity," in McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*.

Berinsky and Kinder. 2006. *Making sense of issues through media frames*.

Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2011). Digital media and the personalization of collective action: Social technology and the organization of protests against the global economic crisis. *Information, Communication & Society*, 14(6), 770-799.

Rachel Schurman and William Munro. 2006. "Ideas, thinkers, and social networks: the process of grievance-construction in the anti-genetic engineering movement," *Theory and Society* 35:1 (February 2006): 1-38.

Mustafa Emirbayer and Chad Alan Goldberg. 2005. "Pragmatism, Bourdieu, and Collective Emotions in Contentious Politics," *Theory and Society* 34: 469-518.

Session 14 (May 1): *Movements and outcomes*

Objective: Discuss the outcomes of social movements in terms of both policy change and civil society.

Theda Skocpol et al, "Women's Associations and the Enactment of Mothers' Pensions in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 87:3 (September 1993): 686-701.

McAdam. Doug. 1988. *Freedom Summer*. Oxford University Press: pp. 145-147; pp. 178-185 ("The Women's Liberation Movement"; pp. 208-212 ("Change and Marginality: Making a Career of It").

Review: Meyer, David. 2004. Protest and Political Opportunities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 30, pp. 125-145.

Presentation: Guest speaker

For further reading:

Herbert Kitschelt. 2003. "Landscapes of Political Interest Intermediation: Social Movements, Interest Groups, and Parties in the Early Twenty-First Century," in Pedro Ibarra-Guell, ed., *Social Movements and Democracy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 81-103.

Session 15 (May 8) *Student presentations in class*

- **May 15 at 12:30 pm** Final papers due