
New Directions in Interest Group Politics

Edited by
Matt Grossmann

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	ix
<i>List of Contributors</i>	x
<i>Preface</i>	xii
1 Group Mobilization from the Economy, Society, and Government	1
MATT GROSSMANN	
2 How Membership Associations Change the Balance of Representation in Washington (and How They Don't)	22
KAY LEHMAN SCHLOZMAN AND PHILIP EDWARD JONES	
3 Grassroots Mobilization and Outside Lobbying	44
EDWARD WALKER	
4 The Paradoxes of Inequality and Interest Group Representation	60
DARA Z. STROLOVITCH	
5 Political Parties and Ideology: Interest Groups in Context	86
HANS NOEL	
6 Why Lobbyists for Competing Interest Groups Often Cooperate	105
THOMAS T. HOLYOKE	
7 How Will the Internet Change American Interest Groups?	122
DAVID KARP	
8 Attack of the Super PACs? Interest Groups in the 2012 Elections	144
MICHAEL FRANZ	

9	When Does Money Buy Votes?: Campaign Contributions and Policymaking	165
	CHRISTOPHER WITKO	
10	Understanding the Influence of Lobbying in the U.S. Congress: Preferences, Networks, Money, and Bills	185
	HOLLY BRASHER AND JASON BRITT	
11	Interest Groups, the White House, and the Administration	204
	HEATH BROWN	
12	Interest Groups in the Judicial Arena	221
	PAUL M. COLLINS JR.	
13	Evaluating Reforms of Lobbying and Money in Politics	238
	LEE DRUTMAN	
14	Conclusion	257
	MATT GROSSMANN	
	<i>Index</i>	269

Figures

1.1	Distributions of Interest Groups by Category and Year	5
1.2	Distributions of Indicators of Group Prominence and Involvement	7
1.3	Total Reported Lobbying Expenses by Industry Sector, 2012	8
1.4	Factors Contributing to Business Mobilization in Washington	9
1.5	Correlation Coefficients between Characteristics of Public Constituencies and Their Organized Representation in Hearings	11
1.6	Top Issue Areas for Interest Group Lobbying	14
1.7	Distributions of the Average Number of Interest Groups in American States by Category and Year	17
2.1	Active Membership in a Political Group and Socio-economic Status	25
2.2	Affiliations with and Involvement in Political Organizations by SES Quintile	32
2.3	Involvement in Political Organizations among Members by SES Quintile	33
2.4	Feeling Represented by a Political Organization by SES Quintile	34
3.1	Clients of Grassroots Lobbying Consultants	53
4.1	Policy Typology	63
4.2	Predicted Probability of Activity and Inactivity, by Issue Type and Level of Impact (Membership Organizations Only)	66
4.3	Importance of Each Branch as a Target of Organizations' Activity	70
4.4	Institution Targeted, by Policy Type	70
4.5	Predicted Probability of Targeting Each Branch, by Issue Type	71
4.6	Tactics Used to Pursue Disadvantaged-subgroup Issues	74
4.7	Participation in Coalitions, by Issue Type	75
4.8	Predicted Probability that Respondent Reported an Issue Became More Difficult, by Issue Type	79
5.1	Donor Name Trades among Groups in 2004	99
6.1	Interest Group Competition over Bank Reserve Requirements	106

6.2	Coalition Formation Based on the How Strongly Group Members Collectively Feel about Issues and the Similarity of Member Collective Positions on Issues	109
6.3	Bargaining between the ABA and PIRG	114
6.4	Coalition of Competing Interest Groups Created under Lawmaker Pressure	117
7.1	Total Messages Ordered by Group	133
7.2	Total E-mails by Category	134
7.3	Action Requests by Type and Audience	134
7.4	Fundraising Appeal by Organization Type	135
8.1	PAC Contributions to Congressional Candidates in 2012	146
8.2	Advertising in 2012 House and Senate Media Markets	154
8.3	Rankings of Ads and Videos by Users of SuperPACapp, 2012	156
8.4	Issues Mentioned by Candidates and Groups in Ads, 2012	159
9.1	Labor's Proportion of Labor and Corporate/TMH Contributions to Democratic Congressional Candidates	176
9.2	The Gap between Labor and Corporate/TMH PAC Expenditures and Policy Liberalism	177
10.1	Network of State and Local Governments with Closeness and Betweenness Measures for Lobbying Organizations	193
10.2	Connections between Registrants and Clients for Corporations: Corporations Network	195
10.3	Corporation Subnetwork	196
10.4	FECA Campaign Contributions for New Lobbying Registrants and All Contributors	197
10.5	The Relationship between Sums of Campaign Contributions and Lobbying Expenditures	198
10.6	The Relationship between the Number of Campaign Contributions and Lobbying Activity	199
11.1	Senate Confirmation Hearing Exchange between Senators Hatch and Leahy	209
11.2	Screenshot from Obama Transition Public Website	215
11.3	Post-Transition Appointments	217
12.1	The Percentage of Cases with Amicus Curiae Briefs, 1995–1998	227
12.2	The Percentage of U.S. Supreme Court Majority Opinions from Amicus Curiae Briefs, by Justice (2004 Term)	232

Tables

1.1	Categories of Social Groups with Organized Representation	10
2.1	Participation in Various Forms of Political Activity	24
2.2	Washington Organizations with Different Forms of Membership Status: A Few Examples	26
2.3	Examples of Citizens Groups with Different Forms of Membership Status	27
2.4	Membership Status of Washington Organizations	28
2.5	Interests Represented by Organizations in Washington Politics	30
2.6	Political Capacity of Organized Interests: Average Number of In-house Lobbyists and Outside Firms Hired	36
2.7	Spending on Lobbying	37
2.8	Distribution of Political Activity by Organized Interests	38
4.1	Specific Policy Issues Used in SNESJO Questions, by Organization Type and Issue Category	64
4.2	Mean Level of Activity and Percent of Organizations Active on Each Issue Type, by Type of Organization	67
4.3	Perceived Change in Difficulty in Ability to Achieve Specific Policy Goals Listed by Respondent, by Organization Type, 2000–2006	78
5.1	Groups and Policy Positions	87
5.2	Interest Group Endorsements in Presidential Elections	92
7.1	Fundraising Appeal by Organization Type	136
7.2	Media Agenda Propensity Scores by Organization	138
8.1	Interest Group Contributions and Electioneering, 1980–2012	148
8.2	Partisanship in Interest Group Television Advertising, 2010–2012	152
9.1	The Effect of Campaign Contributions on Voting and Outcomes across Different Contexts	171
10.1	Distribution and Chi Square Test of Action Words by New Registrants and All Lobbying Organizations for 2007–2008	191
11.1	Specific Transition Tactics (from 2008 Survey), n = 72	215