

**INTEREST GROUPS AND LOBBYING
IN THE UNITED STATES
AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES**
Essays in Ethics, Institutional Pluralism,
Regulation, and Management

Edited by
Conor McGrath

With a Foreword by
Kevin Moloney

The Edwin Mellen Press
Lewiston•Queenston•Lampeter

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	i
Abbreviations	iii
Foreword	vii
<i>Dr Kevin Moloney</i>	
Introduction	xi
<i>Conor McGrath</i>	
INTEREST GROUPS AND LOBBYING AROUND THE WORLD	xi
INTEREST GROUPS AND LOBBYING IN THE UNITED STATES AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES	xiv
INTEREST GROUPS AND LOBBYING IN EUROPE	xvii
INTEREST GROUPS AND LOBBYING IN LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND ASIA	xxi

PART ONE: THE UNITED STATES

1 Growing Larger, Going Abroad, Getting Acquired: DC Lobbying as an Industry and a Cash-Flow Source	3
<i>Burdett Loomis and Micheal Struempfler</i>	
ASSESSING LOBBYING AS PRACTICE AND BUSINESS ENTERPRISE	4

	Lobbying and the “Industry of Politics”: A Brief Overview	6
	Washington Lobbying Firms in Context	10
	<i>Lobbying and Public Affairs: Branching Out</i>	11
	<i>The Globalization (?) of Lobbying and Public Affairs</i>	12
	<i>Acquisitions and Conglomerates</i>	14
	THE BUSINESS OF LOBBYING: CHOOSING YOUR PRINCIPALS.....	16
2	Follow the Money: The Network of Political Organizations and Candidates in 2000	21
	<i>Suzanne M. Robbins and Maksim Tsvetovat</i>	
	DATA.....	24
	METHODS	25
	LINKING CANDIDATES AS BENEFICIARIES/TARGETS OF GROUP ELECTORAL SPENDING.....	27
	LINKING ORGANIZED INTERESTS VIA ELECTORAL SPENDING	34
	CONCLUSION	40
3	Lobbyists’ Arguments as Differentiated Informational Subsidies: With Evidence from Recent Medicare Hearings	45
	<i>Kevin M. Esterling</i>	
	THE VARIETY OF MEMBERS’ OBJECTIVES	46
	LOBBYISTS’ ARGUMENTS AS DIFFERENTIATED SUBSIDIES	48
	HYPOTHESES	50

An Approach to Measuring Lobbyist Access	50
An Approach to Measuring Members' Objectives	51
Primary Hypotheses	51
Supplemental Hypotheses	53
<i>Counter Argument Regarding the Attributes of the Speaker</i> ...	53
<i>Counter Argument Regarding Committee Staff Capacity</i>	54
DATA.....	55
Coding for Sentences: Question and Argument Types	55
<i>Analytical Argument</i>	56
<i>Experiential Argument</i>	58
Dependent Variables	58
Independent Variables	60
RESULTS	61
Tests of Counter Arguments	65
DISCUSSION	66
CONCLUSION	70
4 Personal Relationships and Information as Lobbying Strategies:	
Adaptation in the Context of the American States	75
<i>Adam J. Newmark</i>	
LOBBYING BEHAVIOR	77
Personal Relationships	77
Personal Relationships and What Influences Them	79
Information Provision in Relationships.....	81
Information Provision and What Influences It	83
EXAMINING THE INFLUENCES ON PERSONAL	
RELATIONSHIPS AND INFORMATION PROVISION	84

EXPLAINING LOBBYING RELATIONSHIPS	87
DISCUSSION	92
COMPENSATORY STRATEGIES AND ADAPTIVE LOBBYING	96
CONCLUSION	97
5 Governors, Lobbying, and the Legislature: Evidence from a Pilot Study	103
<i>Anthony J. Nownes and Marcus Osborn</i>	
GOVERNOR AS CHIEF LEGISLATOR	104
Institutional Features	104
Other Factors	105
Governors and Lobbying: The Role of Lobbying and Interest Groups	106
DATA AND METHODS	107
RESULTS I: LOBBYING TO WIN	109
The Direct Lobbying of Legislators	109
The Techniques: Personal Contact	110
Three General Tendencies	111
<i>Focus on Leaders</i>	112
<i>Target Friends and Enemies</i>	112
<i>Emphasis on Electoral Information</i>	113
Summary: Lobbying from the Governor's Office	115
RESULTS II: INTEREST GROUPS AND THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE	115
Governors and Interest Groups: Extensive Contact	116
What Kinds of Interest Groups?	118
What Are the Nature of These Interactions?	120

<i>Mobilizing Support</i>	120
<i>Getting Groups on Board</i>	122
<i>The Actual Lobbying</i>	124
<i>Demobilizing Opposition</i>	125
<i>Keeping Them "In the Loop"</i>	126
Going Outside: Sometimes Unnecessary	127
Summary	128
RESULTS III: THE OTHER OUTSIDE INTEREST	128
CONCLUSION	130

6 Lobbying as Advocacy Public Relations and its "Unspoken"

Code of Ethics	135
<i>Kati Tusinski Berg</i>	
LITERATURE REVIEW	136
Defining Lobbying as Communication	136
Lobbying Regulation	138
Definition, Function and Ethical Confusion	139
<i>Rhetoric, Persuasion and Advocacy</i>	141
METHODOLOGY	145
FINDINGS	147
Advocacy, Lobbying and Public Relations	147
Codes of Ethics	149
The Unspoken Code of Ethics	151
CONCLUSION	152

7	Poachers Turned Gamekeepers: A Pilot Study of US Legislators with Previous Professional Lobbying Experience	157
	<i>Conor McGrath</i>	
	LEGISLATORS AND LOBBYISTS	157
	Legislators to Lobbyists	157
	Lobbyists to Legislators	162
	METHODOLOGY	166
	RESULTS I: LOBBYING EXPERIENCE	169
	RESULTS II: ELECTION EXPERIENCE	174
	RESULTS III: LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE	183
	CONCLUSION	189

PART TWO: COMPARATIVE STUDIES

8	The Four Logics of Business, Money and Political Parties	207
	<i>Iain McMenamin</i>	
	THE (NON-EXISTENT) LITERATURE	208
	FOUR LOGICS OF BUSINESS CONTRIBUTIONS	209
	DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BUSINESS ACTORS	212
	THE EVIDENCE	214
	CONCLUSION	219

9	Explaining Societal Activism by Intra-organizational Factors: Professionalized Representation of Human Rights NGOs at UN Level	225
	<i>Kerstin Martens</i>	
	SOCIETAL ACTIVISM AND THE NOTION OF PROFESSIONALIZATION	227
	PROFESSIONALIZATION OF NGO REPRESENTATION AT UN LEVEL	231
	NGO Representation at UN Level – General Observations	232
	Mobilizing Resources for its UN Presence: Amnesty International ...	235
	Using Limited Resources as Multiplier: International Federation of Human Rights	237
	CONCLUSION	239
10	How Much Do Institutions Matter? Institutional Design and Lobbying Influence in the EU and the US.....	245
	<i>Irina Michalowitz</i>	
	WHY INSTITUTIONS SHOULD MATTER	246
	ACCESS OPPORTUNITIES AND INTEREST GROUP CONSIDERATION IN THE US	252
	ACCESS AND INTEREST GROUP CONSIDERATION IN THE EU	255
	CONCLUSION	260

11	Lobbying Reform in the United States and the European Union: Progress on Two Continents	267
	<i>Craig Holman</i>	
	METHODOLOGY	269
	Historical and Legal Analysis	269
	Survey Methodology	270
	EARLY LOBBYING REFORM IN THE UNITED STATES	272
	ENHANCED DISCLOSURE UNDER THE LOBBYING DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1995	274
	THE 2007 HONEST LEADERSHIP AND OPEN GOVERNMENT ACT	276
	LOBBYING REFORM IN THE EUROPEAN UNION	279
	LOBBYISTS' ATTITUDES ON REFORM: SURVEY RESULTS ...	282
	Lobbyist Registration	283
	Disclosure of Paying Clients	284
	Disclosure of Income.....	285
	Disclosure of Expenditures	286
	Disclosure of Issues Lobbied.....	287
	Disclosure of Grassroots Lobbying	288
	Comparative Means	290
	American Lobbyist Perspectives on HLOGA of 2007	290
	European Lobbyist Perspectives on ETI of 2008	291
	CONCLUSION: TOWARD A MORE RESPONSIBLE LOBBYIST REGISTRY	292

12	The Politics of Regulating Lobbyists: Assessing the Attitudes of Actors in the World of Regulated Lobbying	297
	<i>Gary Murphy, Raj Chari and John Hogan</i>	
	LOBBYING REGULATION	298
	CASE SELECTION	300
	United States of America	300
	Canada	301
	Germany	302
	European Union.....	303
	REGULATING LOBBYISTS: WHAT THE ACTORS SAY	304
	Knowledgeable of Legislation Regulating Lobbyists	305
	Regulations Help Ensure Accountability in Political Systems	307
	Specific Rules on Individual Spending Disclosures Help Ensure Transparency	309
	Public Availability of Lobbyist Campaign Contributions and Loopholes in Regulations	311
	The Impact of a Register of Lobbyists upon Citizen-Representative Relations	315
	Public Access to a List of Lobbyists and the Issues of Accountability Audits of Lobbyists by Official Agencies are Effective in Ensuring Accountability	320
	Can Regulation be Improved for Better Transparency, Accountability, and Effectiveness?.....	322
	CORRELATION FINDINGS	323
	CONCLUSION	324

13	The Business of Building Group Membership: Recruitment as Disengagement?	329
	<i>Grant Jordan and William Maloney</i>	
	SUPPLY-SIDE GROUP GROWTH	330
	CONSTRUCTING PREFERENCES	339
	FACE-TO-FACE APPROACHES.....	341
	THE IMPLICATIONS OF RECRUITING PRACTICE	343
	THE POSITIVE VIEW	347
14	Machiavelli, Marketing and Management: The Development of International Public Affairs Management	357
	<i>Phil Harris</i>	
	MACHIAVELLI'S WRITINGS	358
	THE INFLUENCE OF MACHIAVELLIAN THOUGHT ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS	359
	Liberty and the Role of the State	360
	"Virtu" and "Fortuna"	361
	History and Government	362
	Morality	363
	MACHIAVELLI'S INFLUENCE ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS	365
	GROWTH OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS MANAGEMENT	367
	Business Situations in which Lobbying and Public Affairs Plays a Role	368
	<i>Government as Purchaser or Allocator</i>	368
	<i>Government as Legislator and Framers of Regulations</i>	369

<i>Government as Initiator of Action</i>	369
<i>Government Legislation and Regulation</i>	369
<i>Government as Decision-Maker</i>	369
MEANS AND ENDS IN PUBLIC IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS	371
Index	377
Series Contents	399