

## Index

- 3M, 66  
 5-percent ownership, 131, 139, 165
- activism, and private policymaking, 15, 149, *see also* anti-gay activism, environmental organizations, pro-gay activism, public interest groups, shareholder resolutions
- advertising, *see* media strategies, public relations, sector advertising to sales ratio
- advertising-intensive industries, 37
- aerospace industry, 112
- affirmative action, 22, 55–57
- Alcoa, 115
- Alinsky, Saul, 31
- American Electric Power, 60
- American Enterprise Institute, 6
- American Family Association, 99
- American International Group, 137, 155
- American National Election Studies (ANES), 95, 126
- anti-gay activism, 98–99, 101
- apartheid, 9
- Apparel Industry Partnership, *see* Fair Labor Association
- Apple, 105
- arms-length bargaining and executive compensation, 120–122, 130–131, 138
- Ashland, 112
- Baron, David P., 8
- Bartels, Larry M., 126
- Bartley, Tim, 10
- Baumgartner, Frank R., 5, 149
- Bebchuk, Lucian A., 119, 121, 124  
 behavioral theory of the firm, 17, 21–22, 121–122, 145–146
- benefits  
 of CSR, 37–38  
 of political capacity, 57–59  
 of private policymaking, 13  
 of private politics in contentious politics, 83, 151–152
- Bhopal, India, 12
- bisexuals, *see* domestic partner  
 benefits, gay rights policies, nondiscrimination policies
- blockholders, *see* 5-percent ownership
- Bosso, Christopher J., 66, 67
- Boston Tea Party, 9
- Bowers v. Hardwick*, 95
- boycotts, 27, 29, 39, 99
- brand reputation, 46–49
- Briscoe, Forrest, 103, 105, 112
- Bristol-Myers Squibb, 115
- Bryant, Anita, 98
- “bubble laws,” 124
- Buffett, Warren, 35, 141
- Bureau of Labor Statistics, 6
- Bush Administration, 82, 137, 158
- business behavior, 14–15
- business power, 3–8
- California, 97, 115
- California effect, 68
- California State Pension Fund for Public Employees (CalPERS), 122
- campaign finance contributions, 4–5, 19, 40, 43
- capital aggregation, 4
- Cardinal Health, 113
- Carson, Rachel, 61
- cash-based compensation, 116, 122, 123
- Catholic Church, 101, 164
- CBS News/*New York Times* poll, 118
- Census data, 102

- CEOs, *see also* executive  
 compensation, executives  
 CEO is chair, 131, 135, 165  
 power, 121–122, 131  
 tenure, 132, 165
- CERES, *see* Coalition for  
 Environmentally Responsible  
 Economies
- Chamber of Commerce, 6, 7  
 charitable contributions, 4, 39  
 Chatterji, Aaron, 42  
 chemical industry, 12, 61, 66, 112  
 Cheney, Dick, 5  
 Cincinnati, OH, 99  
 Citibank, 2  
 Citigroup, 155  
 civil rights and public activism, 9  
 civil rights legacy, 103, 164  
 Clean Air Act, 160  
 Clean Water Act, 160  
 climate change, 60  
 Clinton Administration, 74, 104, 158  
 Cloward, Richard, 31  
 Coalition for Environmentally  
 Responsible Economies (CERES),  
 66, 153, 160  
 Coase, Ronald, 20–21  
 codes of conduct, corporate, 11, 55–58  
 Coelho, Tony, 7  
 Coen, David, 17  
 coercive isomorphism, 21–22, 85, 132  
 communication, and private  
 policymaking, 57  
 compensation interlocks, 131, 166  
 competitive industries, 74  
 competitors' policies, *see also* mimetic  
 isomorphism  
 measured, 157, 159, 162  
 private policymaking and, 37, 44,  
 45, 50, 148  
 compliance, monitoring of, 13  
 ConAgra, 41  
 confidence in big business, 44, 126,  
 129, 137, 158, 165  
 Congress, 72, 95, 100, *see also*  
 Dodd–Frank Act, Sarbanes–Oxley  
 Act  
 Consecro, 112  
 constitutional amendments, 94  
 consumer forces, 64–65  
 consumer goods industry, 113  
 contentious politics  
 decision-making and, 19  
 decrease in efficacy of, 7  
 defined, 3  
 executive compensation and, 136,  
 142  
 gay rights activism and, 91  
 government regulation and, 153  
 importance of, 52–54  
 nexus of contracts model and, 20  
 private policymaking and, 8, 14, 22,  
 24, 49, 83, 144–155  
 strength of big business and, 155  
 contracting level, *see also* government  
 contractors  
 controversial or divisive issues, 30–31  
 gay rights policies and, 113–115  
 Core, John E., 123, 137  
 corporate boards, and private  
 policymaking, 56  
 corporate environmentalism, 61–64  
 corporate fraud, 140  
 corporate governance, 55–57,  
 119–122, 129, 131  
 corporate social responsibility (CSR)  
 development of, 8–11  
 economic benefits to firms and,  
 37–38  
 environmental policies and, 62  
 private policymaking and, 35–36,  
 156  
 unitary rational actor model and, 19  
 cost–benefit analysis, 19, 35, 63–64  
 costs  
 of environmental policies, 63–64  
 of negative publicity, 1–2  
 nexus of contracts model and, 20–21  
 private policymaking and, 49, 53  
 public opinion and, 29  
 Cox proportional hazards model,  
 69–70, 99  
 Cox, Christopher, 136  
 Cracker Barrel, 102  
 CSR, *see* corporate social responsibility
- Daley, William, 5  
 Davis, Gerald F., 120  
 decision-making

- behavioral theory of the firm and, 21–22
- contentious politics and, 19
- cost–benefit analysis and, 19
- environmental policies and, 75–87
- executive compensation and, 142–143
- firms as political actors and, 145–146
- gay rights policies and, 91, 113–115
- political capacity and, 43–51
- private politics and, 17, 23, 54–57, 148
- regulatory burden and, 54
- reputation and, 43–51
- Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), 95
- defined benefit retirement plans, 116
- defined contribution retirement plans, 116
- Deloitte, 114
- demand-side private policies, 25
- Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), 7
- Democratic Party, *see also* Clinton Administration, Obama Administration
  - executive compensation and, 149
  - gay rights laws and, 93
  - gay rights policies and, 103
  - governors, 161
  - percentage in Congress, 158
  - pro-business repositioning, 7
  - regulatory threat and, 44
  - same-sex marriage and, 109
  - state legislators, 162
- Department of Justice, 72, 73
- deregulation, 7
- derivatives, 7
- direct action, and private politics, 10, *see also* activism, public interest groups
- diversity strengths, *see also* firm culture, gay rights policies, nondiscrimination
- divisiveness of issues, *see* controversial or divisive issues
- DLC, *see* Democratic Leadership Council
- Dobbin, Frank, 113
- Dodd–Frank Act, 116, 124, 136, 140
  - criticism of, 7
  - executive compensation and, 154
  - say-on-pay provisions and, 149
- Dole, 113
- DOMA, *see* Defense of Marriage Act
- domestic partner benefits, 88–91, 103, 108, 112, 165
- Don't Ask, Don't Tell, 95, 100
- Drucker, Peter, 35
- DuPont, 2
- East India Company, 9
- Economist, The*, 10, 35, 39
- Edwards, John, 140
- efficient market hypothesis, 121
- El Paso Corp., 41
- electric utilities, 65
- Elkington, John, 38
- Emergency Planning and Community Right-to-Know Act (1986), 12
- employee count, 74, 132, 157, 159, 162, 166
- employment discrimination, *see* nondiscrimination policies and sexual orientation
- Employment Nondiscrimination Act (ENDA), 114, 153
- EMS, *see* environmental management systems
- Enron, 31, 117
- environmental consumers, 64
- environmental interest groups, 82, 84, 160, 161
- environmental management systems (EMS), 60, 66
- environmental organization membership, 71, 80
- environmental policies, *see also* corporate environmentalism
  - about, 33
  - adoption of, 66
  - costs of, 63–64
  - decision-making and, 55–57, 75–87
  - government contractors and, 74, 84–85
  - political capacity and, 73–74, 147
  - private policymaking and, 60
  - public opinion and, 61, 66–67, 71–72, 75–87, 148, 149

- environmental policies, *see also*  
 corporate environmentalism  
 (*cont.*)  
 regulatory threat and, 61, 65, 68,  
 72–73, 75–87, 148  
 reputation and, 75–87, 147  
 self-regulation and, 61, 63–64  
 shareholder resolutions on, 71, 84  
 social capital and, 152  
 sustainability programs, 11, 13, 86  
 uncertainty and, 81
- Environmental Protection Agency  
 (EPA)  
 case referrals, 72, 73, 82, 159  
 establishment of, 62  
 voluntary programs, 65, 66, 68  
 environmental reporting, 66, 71,  
 75–87, 153
- EPA, *see* Environmental Protection  
 Agency
- equal employment support, 162
- equity-based pay, 124
- event history analysis, 68–71, 105–113
- executive compensation, *see also*  
 Dodd–Frank Act, Sarbanes–Oxley  
 Act (SOX)  
 arms-length bargaining and,  
 120–122, 130–131, 138  
 contentious politics and, 136, 142  
 corporate governance and, 120–122  
 decision-making and, 142–143  
 government regulation and, 154  
 government regulation of, 123–125  
 limitations on tax-deductibility and,  
 116, 122, 123  
 overview of, 116–119  
 panel probit analysis, 132–141  
 political capacity and, 119, 130,  
 132, 137–141  
 politics of, 120, 122–124  
 private policymaking and, 33,  
 142–143  
 public opinion and, 117–118,  
 125–126, 132, 137, 148  
 recent trends, 116  
 regulatory threat and, 119,  
 128–137, 148  
 reputation and, 119, 123, 130, 132,  
 137, 147  
 say-on-pay provisions and, 149  
 self-regulation and, 117–118, 149  
 shareholder resolutions on, 129, 137
- Executive Order 13087 (Clinton), 100,  
 104
- executives  
 on private policymaking, 51–58
- ExxonMobil, 102
- Fair Labor Association (FLA), 12
- Fannie Mae, 155
- federal contractors, *see* government  
 contractors
- feedback effects, *see* policy feedback
- financial conditions, and firm  
 decision-making, 44–45, 74, 104
- Fiorino, Daniel J., 65
- firm culture, 105, 162
- FirstEnergy, 41
- Fisman, Ray, 37
- FLA, *see* Fair Labor Association
- food and beverage industry, 113
- Ford Motor Company, 60
- Ford, William Clay, Jr., 60, 86
- foreign income, 74, 83, 85, 159
- Fortune*, 115
- Fortune* 100, 88
- Fortune* 1000, 99
- Fortune* 500, 51
- fraud, 140
- Freddie Mac, 155
- free-trade agreements, 7
- Freeport Mining, 2
- Fried, Jesse M., 121, 124
- Friedman, Milton, 35
- Fundamentalists, Protestant, 93, 101,  
 164
- G-Score, *see* Governance Score
- Gallup Polls  
 on confidence in big business, 44,  
 126, 129, 158, 165  
 on environmental policies, 67  
 on gay rights policies, 162  
 on homosexuality, 97, 98, 101
- garment industry, 12–13
- Gates, Bill, 35
- gay employee groups, 92, 102,  
 105–109, 112, 114, 163
- gay rights activism, *see* pro-gay  
 activism

- gay rights laws, 95, 164
- gay rights policies, *see also* domestic partner benefits, nondiscrimination policies about, 33 anti-gay activism and, 98–99 decision-making and, 91, 113–115 firm reputation and, 104, 110–113 government contractors and, 104, 165 in the workplace, 88–91, 96–99 lobbying and, 114 pace of policy change and, 154 policy feedback and, 153 political capacity and, 91, 104, 110–113, 147 public opinion and, 88–91, 95–99, 101–103, 105–111, 113–115, 148, 149 regulatory threat and, 93–95, 103, 109, 148 reputation and, 91, 147 self-regulation and, 91 shareholder resolutions on, 110, 114, 163 social capital and, 152 state laws and, 93–95
- General Electric, 12, 62
- General Mills, 115
- General Motors, 115, 155
- General Social Survey (GSS), 67, 97, 98
- Gephardt, Dick, 140
- Global Reporting Initiative, 160
- globalization, 4, 18
- Gompers, Paul A., 131
- Google, 114
- Gourevitch, Peter A., 124, 128
- Governance Score (G-Score), 131, 166
- government affairs divisions of large firms, 52–53
- government contractors
- campaign finance contributions and, 40
  - environmental policies and, 74, 84–85
  - gay rights policies and, 104, 165
  - measured, 159
  - political capacity and, 28, 43, 53
- government regulation, *see also* Dodd–Frank Act, Sarbanes–Oxley Act
- contentious politics and, 153
  - corporate scandals and, 119
  - executive compensation and, 123–125, 154
  - stricter regulation support, 75, 84, 161
- Grant, Wyn P., 17
- grassroots lobbying, 4, 40
- Green, Donald P., 102
- greenwashing, 60
- Gruber, Deborah Lynn, 66, 67
- GSS, *see* General Social Survey
- Guay, Wayne, 123, 137
- Gunningham, Neil, 63, 65
- Haider-Markel, Donald P., 164
- Hart, David M., 15, 18, 19, 22
- Hart, Stuart L., 64, 86
- hate crime laws, 103, 165
- Heal, Geoffrey, 37
- Health Insurance Association of America, 6
- health care debates, 6, 28
- Heinz, John P., 23
- Herman Miller, 60
- Hewlett-Packard, 41
- Hillman, Amy J., 40
- Hilton Hotels, 62
- Hoffman, Andrew J., 61–62
- Home Depot, 2, 60
- home markets, and private policymaking, 14
- homosexuals, *see* domestic partner benefits, gay rights policies, nondiscrimination policies
- HRC, *see* Human Rights Campaign
- human resources policies, 22, 55–57
- human rights and public activism, 9
- Human Rights Campaign (HRC), 90, 100, 115
- Iannuzzo, Catherine, 105
- IBM, 41
- implementation costs, 63
- individual self-interest, 20
- industrial environmentalism, 61
- informational needs, 19–20

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02291-1 - Public Forces and Private Politics in American Big Business

Timothy Werner

Index

[More information](#)

190

Index

- innovativeness, *see also* research and development expenses  
 insider ownership, 131, 141, 166  
 institutional ownership, 131, 139, 157, 166  
 insurance industry, 112  
 Interface Carpets, 11, 12  
 internal regulation, *see* self-regulation  
 Internal Revenue Service (IRS), 116, 122, 123, 142, *see also* taxes  
 International Organization for Standardization, *see* ISO 14001  
 investment banks, 137  
 investor forces, *see also* shareholder resolutions  
 Ippolito, Richard A., 125  
 IRS, *see* Internal Revenue Service  
 Ishii, Joy L., 131  
 ISO 14001, 13, 60, 66, 153  
 isomorphism, 85, 138, *see also* coercive isomorphism, mimetic isomorphism
- Jackson, Jesse, 31  
 Jensen, Michael C., 121  
 Jones, Bryan D., 149  
 Joskow, Paul L., 122
- Kagan, Robert A., 63, 65  
 Keim, Gerald D., 40  
 Kinder Lydenburg Domini social ratings database (KLD STATS), 40–43, 70  
 Kodak, 31  
 Kollman, Kelly, 66
- labor market tightness, 44, 45, 55–56, 74, 88, 104  
 labor practices and public activism, 9  
 Lambda Legal, 114  
 Larcker, David F., 123, 137  
*Lawrence v. Texas*, 95  
 Lax, Jeffrey R., 93  
 lesbians, *see* domestic partner benefits, gay rights policies, nondiscrimination policies  
 Levine, David, 42  
 limitations on tax-deductibility, 116, 122, 123
- Lindblom, Charles, 3, 6  
 lobbying  
   gay rights policies and, 114  
   grassroots, 4, 40  
   at large firms, 52–53  
   nexus of contracts model and, 20  
   political capacity and, 28, 43  
   private policymaking and, 40  
   professional, 4–5  
   uncertainty and, 23  
   unitary rational actor model and, 19  
 location quotient, 71  
 long-term strategies, 35  
*Los Angeles Times*/Bloomberg News, 126  
 Lotus Development Corp., 105  
 Lyon, Thomas P., 64, 83
- management, separation from ownership, 18, 120  
 manufacturing sector, 74, 160  
 market share  
   environmental policies and, 64–65, 74  
   gay rights policies and, 104  
   measured, 157, 159, 163, 166  
   private policymaking and, 45, 49  
 market systems, and politics, 3  
 marriage, *see* Defense of Marriage Act, same-sex marriage  
 Martin, Cathie Jo, 28  
 Martin, Kenneth J., 129  
 maternity leave, 22  
 Maxwell, John W., 64  
 McCaskill, Claire, 140  
 McDonald's, 2, 99  
 McKinsey & Company, 35  
 media coverage, 123  
 media strategies, *see* public relations  
 medical equipment industry, 113  
 Meier, Kenneth J., 164  
 Metrick, Andrew, 131  
 Microsoft, 2, 114  
 mimetic isomorphism  
   about, 21–22  
   decision-making and, 74  
   environmental policies and, 74, 85  
   executive compensation and, 130  
   gay rights policies and, 91–92, 104, 112

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02291-1 - Public Forces and Private Politics in American Big Business

Timothy Werner

Index

[More information](#)

## Index

191

- private policymaking and, 23, 44, 45, 50
- Mitchell, Neil J., 39, 152
- Mobil Corporation, 3
- Monks, Robert, 121
- morality policy, *see also* controversial or divisive issues, public opinion, salience of issues
- Motorola, 115
- multinational corporations, 38
- Mure, Lane T. La, 38
- Murphy, Kevin J., 121, 126, 130
  
- Nair, Vinay B., 37
- National Consumers League, 11
- National Federation of Independent Business (NFIB), 6, 7
- National Gay and Lesbian Chamber of Commerce, 99
- Nationwide Insurance, 115
- New York Stock Exchange, 120
- New York Times*, 61, 89, 117–118
- nexus of contracts model, 20–21, 28, 65, 120–122, 146
- NFIB, *see* National Federation of Independent Business
- Nice, David C., 101
- Nike, 2, 12, 115
- nondiscrimination policies
  - sexual orientation and, 88–91, 96–99, 105–111, 165
  - shareholder resolutions on, 102
  - state laws, 93–95, 103
  
- Obama Administration, 140, 142, 154, 155
- oil industry, 61, 112
- Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act (1993), 123
- Operation Breadbasket, 31
- opinion entrepreneurs, 30
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 64
- organized labor, 6–8
- Orlitzky, Marc, 37
- outsider director percentage, 131, 166
- Owens Corning, 62
- ownership structure, 45
  
- ownership, separation from management, 18, 120
  
- pace of policy change, 154–155
- panel probit analysis, 127, 128, 132–141
- Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG), 99
- Patashnik, Eric, 149
- PepsiCo, 12, 99
- performance-based pay, 124, 138
- petroleum industry, 61, 112
- Pew Research Center Poll, on
  - environmental policies, 67, 71, 161
- PFLAG, *see* Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays
- Phillips, Justin H., 93
- Pinck, Alexandra, 105
- Pinello, Daniel R., 103
- Piven, Francis Fox, 31
- Polanyi, Karl, 3
- policy feedback, 25–26, 86, 114, 149, 152–153
- political action committees, 28, 40, 43, 52–54
- political capacity
  - benefits of, 57–59
  - decision-making and, 43–51
  - environmental policies and, 73–87, 147
  - executive compensation and, 119, 130, 132, 137–141
  - gay rights policies and, 91, 104, 110–113, 147
  - government contractors and, 28, 43, 53
  - lobbying and, 28
  - measured, 157, 159, 163, 166
  - private policymaking and, 27–28, 36, 39–40, 43–51, 57–59, 144, 147, 151–152
  - self-regulation and, 28
- political contributions, *see* campaign finance contributions
- political instruments, 4–5
- political motivations, and private policymaking, 38–40
- political self-interest, 23–24

- politics
- behavioral theory of the firm and, 21–22
  - executive compensation and, 120, 122–123, 140–141
  - firms as political actors, 17–24, 145–146
  - market systems and, 3
  - of executive compensation, 124
  - structural power, 3–4
  - the unitary rational actor model and, 18–19
  - underlying politics, 17, 25, 26, 29, 34, 50
- polls, *see* CBS News/*New York Times*, Gallup Polls, General Social Survey, *Los Angeles Times*/Bloomberg News, Pew Research Center Poll
- Pollution Prevention Pays Program (3M), 66
- pollution prevention programs, 66, 71, 75–87, 153
- Porter, Michael, 63
- Potoski, Matthew, 39, 66
- power-based relationships within the firm, 121–122, 131, 138–139
- Prakash, Aseem, 39, 66
- press coverage, 123
- principal–agent problem, *see* ownership, separation from management
- private policymaking, overview of, 8–13
- pro-gay activism, 101–102, 105–109, 114, 165
- Procter & Gamble, 99, 113
- production costs, 63
- profits, *see also* benefits, 55–56, 63–64, 83, 148
- Proposition 8 (CA), 97, 115
- Protestant Fundamentalists, 93, 101, 164
- public exposure, *see* reputation
- public interest groups, 6–7, *see also* activism, environmental organizations, pro-gay activism
- public opinion, *see also* CBS News/*New York Times*, Gallup Polls, General Social Survey, *Los Angeles Times*/Bloomberg News, Pew Research Center Poll, reputation
- environmental policies and, 75–87
- business power and, 6
- corporate governance and, 129
- costs to firms and, 29
- environmental policies and, 61, 66–67, 148, 149
- environmental regulation and, 71–72
- executive compensation and, 117–118, 125–126, 132, 137, 148
- gay rights policies and, 88–91, 95–99, 101–103, 105–111, 113–115, 148, 149
- measured, 158, 161, 162, 165
- private policymaking and, 24–32, 43–51, 55–56, 97, 148–150
- public policymaking and, 30
- regulatory threat and, 30
- reputation and, 132
- self-regulation and, 26, 30–32, 75
- public policymaking and private policymaking, 24–27, 30, *see also* government regulations, regulatory burdens, regulatory threat
- public relations, 57–58, *see also* media strategies, public opinion, reputation
- public sector unions, 6
- publicity, 1–2, *see also* media strategies, press coverage, public relations, reputation
- pulp and paper mills, 65
- R&D, *see* research and development expenses
- race to the bottom, 68
- race to the top, 68
- Reagan Administration, 62, 125
- reconceptualizing the firm, 22–24
- redistributive policymaking, 90, 113
- regulatory burdens, 27, 54
- regulatory environmentalism, 61, 68
- regulatory threat
- environmental policies and, 61, 65, 68, 72–73, 75–87, 148



- executive compensation and, 119, 128–137, 148
- gay rights policies and, 93–95, 103, 109, 148
- measured, 158, 159, 161, 167
- private policymaking and, 28–32, 43–51, 55–56
- public opinion and, 30
- SEC as threat, 141–143
- self-regulation and, 31–32, 65
- uncertainty and, 54
- rent-seeking behavior, 19, 122
- Republican Party, *see also* Bush Administration, Reagan Administration
  - 2010 elections, 141
  - environmental policies and, 68
  - executive compensation and, 137
  - gay rights policies and, 103
  - large firms and, 53
  - same-sex marriage and, 109
- reputation, *see also* public opinion, risk reduction
  - brand, 46–49
  - decision-making and, 43–51
  - environmental policies and, 75–87, 147
  - executive compensation and, 119, 123, 130, 132, 137, 147
  - gay rights policies and, 91, 104, 110–113, 147
  - measured, 158, 160, 163, 167
  - private policymaking and, 27, 36, 43–51, 58, 146–147
  - public opinion and, 132
  - reputation commons problem, 74
  - self-regulation and, 38–39
- research and development expenses, 45, 50, 74, 83, 157, 160
- resource constraints, 74, 158, 160, 163, 167
- Responsible Care program, 12–13, 66
- retirement plans, *see* defined benefit retirement plans, defined contribution retirement plans
- revolving door, 5
- Ribstein, Larry E., 124
- risk reduction, 23–32, *see also* reputation
- Rockwell Collins, 112
- Roe, Mark J., 119, 124
- Rose, Nancy L., 122
- Rynes, Sara L., 37
- S&P 500, *see* Standard & Poor's 500
- Safford, Sean, 103, 105, 112
- salience of issues, *see also* public opinion
  - environmental policies and, 61, 67, 81
  - executive compensation and, 117–118
  - gay rights policies and, 88–91, 113–115
  - private policymaking and, 29–32, 46, 59, 130, 132, 149–150
- same-sex marriage, 89, 95–97, 100, 109, 115
- San Francisco metropolitan area, 103
- Sarbanes–Oxley Act (SOX), 7, 31, 116, 118, 120, 123, 124, 140
- satisficing behavior, 24, 26, 58, 146
- “Save Our Children” campaign, 98
- say-on-pay provisions, 149, 150
- Schattschneider, E. E., 142, 152
- Schmidt, Frank L., 37
- Scott, H. Lee, Jr., 1
- Sears, 121
- SEC, *see* Securities and Exchange Commission
- sector advertising to sales ratio, 45
  - environmental policies and, 74
  - gay rights policies and, 104
  - measured, 158, 160, 164
  - private policymaking and, 45, 50
- sector indicators, 158, 164, 167
- sector unemployment
  - environmental policies and, 74, 83
  - executive compensation and, 137
  - gay rights policies and, 104
  - measured, 159, 161, 164, 167
- Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)
  - as regulatory threat, 141–143
  - enforcement activities, 118, 124, 128–129, 132–137
  - executive compensation and, 154
  - implementation of Dodd–Frank Act, 141
  - information disclosure and, 124

- Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) (*cont.*)
- lawsuits, 129, 135, 167
  - rule changes and, 119
- selection bias, 69
- self-interest, 20, 23–24, 26
- self-regulation
- gay rights policies and, 91
  - decision-making and, 54–58
  - environmental policies and, 61, 63–64
  - executive compensation and, 117–118, 149
  - political capacity and, 28
  - private policymaking and, 144, 146–150
  - public opinion and, 26, 30–32, 75
  - regulatory threat and, 31–32, 65
  - reputation and, 38–39
  - social auditing and, 11
- senior management, *see* executives
- sexual orientation, *see* domestic partner benefits, gay rights policies, nondiscrimination policies
- sexual orientation harassment or discrimination, 114
- share price one-year return, 50, 130, 138, 157, 166
- shareholder resolutions
- measured, 160, 167
  - on environmental policies, 71, 84
  - on executive compensation, 129, 137
  - on gay rights policies, 110, 114, 163
  - on nondiscrimination policies, 102
- shareholder value, 18
- shareholders, 125
- Shinn, James J., 124, 128
- Silent Spring* (Carson), 61
- Skeel, David, 121
- Smith, Mark A., 15, 125, 129
- social auditing, 11
- social capital, 152
- social costs, 20–21
- social movement theory, 92
- sodomy laws, 95, 103, 163, 165
- Soule, Sarah A., 9
- South Africa, 9
- SOX, *see* Sarbanes–Oxley Act (SOX)
- Spar, Debora L., 38
- stakeholder management
- private politics and, 9–10, 40–43
- Standard & Poor's 500
- one-year return, 167
  - annualized returns, 130, 138, 139
- environmental policies and, 68
- executive compensation and, 118
- membership, 41
- standardization, 12–13, *see also* environmental reporting, ISO 14001
- Starbucks, 43
- state anti-gay presence, 109, 164
- state civil rights legacy, 109, 164
- state environmental citizen suits, 72, 82, 161
- state environmental interest group presence, 71, 80, 161
- state gay rights laws, 93–95, 112, 164
- state green policy rank, 72, 82, 161
- state pro-gay presence, 101, 105, 165
- state-level government affairs activity, 53
- state-level regulatory threat, 15, 68, 72, 93–95
- Stimson, James A., 125
- stricter regulation support, 75, 84, 161
- structural power, 3–4
- supply-side private policies, 25
- sweatshop labor, 12
- Target, 99
- TARP, *see* Troubled Asset Relief Program
- taxes, 7, 118, *see also* Internal Revenue Service
- think tanks, 6
- Thomas, Randall S., 129
- Thornton, Dorothy, 63, 65
- tight labor markets, 44, 45, 55–56, 74, 84, 88, 104
- tort reform, 7
- Toxic Release Inventory, 66
- trade associations, 12–13, 53, 58
- triple bottom line reporting, 11
- Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP), 140

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02291-1 - Public Forces and Private Politics in American Big Business

Timothy Werner

Index

[More information](#)*Index*

195

- uncertainty, *see also* regulatory threat  
 campaign finance contributions and, 40  
 environmental policies and, 81  
 lobbying and, 23  
 private policymaking and, 22, 24–32, 99, 145–146, 148, 152  
 regulatory threat and, 54
- Union Carbide, 12  
 union membership, 6  
 unitary rational actor model, 18–19, 23, 26, 52, 64–65, 146  
 United Airlines, 104  
 United Nations' Global Compact, 152
- Vietnam War, 9  
 Vogel, David J., 10, 19, 37, 42, 125
- wage and benefit caps, 142  
 wage inequalities, 114, 116  
 Wake Up Wal-Mart, 1  
 Wal-Mart, 1–2, 12, 18, 99  
 Wal-Mart Watch, 1  
*Wall Street Journal, The*, 121  
 Walley, Noah, 63  
 Washington (state), 114  
 welfare capitalism, 9  
 Whitehead, Bradley, 63  
 Wilson, Graham K., 17  
 Wolfram, Catherine D., 122  
 Workplace Project (Human Rights Campaign), 100
- Zadek, Simon, 10