

## TOTAL LOBBYING

This book offers a scholarly yet accessible overview of the role of lobbying in American politics. It draws upon extant research as well as original data gathered from interviews with numerous lobbyists across the United States. It describes how lobbyists do their work within all branches of government, at the national, state, and local levels. It thus offers a substantially broader view of lobbying than is available in much of the research literature. Although tailored for students taking courses on interest group politics, *Total Lobbying* offers an indispensable survey of the field for scholars and others concerned with this important facet of American politics.

Anthony J. Nownes is an associate professor of political science at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, where he has taught since 1994. His research on interest groups has appeared in a number of outlets including the *British Journal of Political Science*, the *Journal of Politics*, and *American Politics Research*. His first book, *Pressure and Power: Organized Interests in American Politics*, was published in 2001.



## Total Lobbying

WHAT LOBBYISTS WANT (AND HOW THEY TRY TO GET IT)

Anthony J. Nownes

University of Tennessee, Knoxville





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press 32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521838177

© Anthony J. Nownes 2006

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2006

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Nownes, Anthony J.

Total lobbying: what lobbyists want (and how they try to get it) / Anthony J. Nownes.

p. cm.

 $Includes\ bibliographical\ references\ and\ index.$ 

ISBN 0-521-83817-7 (hardback) – ISBN 0-521-54711-3 (pbk.)

 $1.\ Lobbying-United\ States.\quad 2.\ Lobbyists-United\ States.\quad I.\ Title.$ 

JK1118.N693 2006

328.73'078-dc22

2006002229

ISBN-13 978-0-521-83817-7 hardback

ISBN-10 0-521-83817-7 hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-54711-6 paperback

ISBN-10 0-521-54711-3 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



## Contents

Preface		page vii
1	STUDYING LOBBYISTS AND LOBBYING	1
	Lobbying: A Complex Phenomenon	2
	Some Important Terms	5
	Data and Methods	8
	The Plan of the Book	11
2	LOBBYING AND LOBBYISTS IN THE UNITED STATES:	
	A PRIMER	12
	An Overview of Nine Findings	12
	Conclusion: What We Have Learned about Lobbying	
	and Lobbyists	35
3	PUBLIC POLICY LOBBYING, PART ONE	37
	Public Policymaking in the United States	38
	Public Policy Lobbyists: Background Information	42
	What Public Policy Lobbyists Do Other Than Lobbying	43
	What Public Policy Lobbying Looks Like	56
4	PUBLIC POLICY LOBBYING, PART TWO	57
	Legislative Lobbying	57
	Executive Branch Lobbying	68
	Grassroots Lobbying	74
	Electoral Lobbying	80
	What Does Public Policy Lobbying Look Like?	83
	Conclusion	100

V



vi		Contents
5	LAND USE LOBBYING	103
	Government Regulation of Land Use: Planning and Zoning	g 105
	Land Use Lobbyists: Background Information	111
	What Land Use Lobbyists Do Other Than Lobbying	115
	Lobbying to Affect Land Use Decisions	121
	What Does Land Use Lobbying Look Like?	137
	Conclusion	146
6	PROCUREMENT LOBBYING	148
	Government Buying	149
	Procurement Lobbyists: Background Information	156
	What Procurement Lobbyists Do Other Than Lobbying	159
	Lobbying to Affect Procurement Decisions	164
	What Does Procurement Lobbying Look Like?	181
	Conclusion	194
7	RECAP AND FINAL THOUGHTS	197
	Recap of Substantive Findings	197
	Final Thoughts	205
Ap	pendix A. The Classification System: Public Policy, Land Use,	,
and	d Procurement Lobbying	219
Ap	pendix B. Methodological Notes	225
Notes		233
Index		257



## **Preface**

This book is about lobbying in the United States. What separates it from most books on lobbying is its broad focus. As you will see, the book examines two types of lobbying – land use lobbying and procurement lobbying – that are seldom mentioned, much less studied, by scholars of lobbying and lobbyists. Of course, the book also takes an extensive look at public policy lobbying – the type of lobbying that *is* the focus of most studies of lobbying and lobbyists. This book is also unique in that it uses the words of actual lobbyists to illuminate the process of lobbying.

As much as possible, in the pages that follow I attempt to eschew jargon and make the book accessible to a broad audience of undergraduates and graduate students studying lobbying and/or interest groups in the United States, as well as interested laypeople. My hope is that by the time you are finished reading this book, you will have a thorough understanding of who lobbyists are, where they operate, what they want, what they do, and how influential they are.

Before moving on, I must acknowledge my debts to the many people who have helped make this book a reality. First, I would like to thank Ed Parsons, the magnificent editor who shepherded this book through the writing and production process. Ed's instincts are excellent, and his patience seems to know no bounds. Second, I would like to thank Rogan Kersh, who introduced me to Ed. Professor Kersh is a fine scholar (whose work provided inspiration for much of this book) and a good man, and I appreciate his graciousness and magnanimity. Third, I would like to thank my academic gurus, Allan J. Cigler and Paul E. Johnson. It is not in jest that I refer to Dr. Cigler as my "faculty dad." As for Professor Johnson, both personally and professionally he has proven to be a fine lodestar over the years. Fourth, I would like to thank my wife, Elsa, who listened

vii



viii Preface

far more than should have been required to stories about zoning variances, government procurement practices, and the pitfalls of elite interviewing as a research method.

Intellectually, I owe debts to literally dozens of people, including the following: Robert M. Alexander, Jeffrey Berejikian, Regis F. Boyle, Clint Cantrell, William K. "Bubba" Cheek, Christopher Cooper, David Elkins, R. Kenneth Godwin, David J. Houston, Frankie Sue Howerton, Jeffrey G. Johnson, Debra P. McCauley, Emil Nagengast, Gregory Neddenriep, Lilliard Richardson, Bryan Schmiedeler, and Marc Schwerdt. Finally, for inspiration, I would like to thank Jason Falkner, Roger Joseph Manning, Jr., and Luke Steele.