

Sociology 664
Spring 2010
Wed 6:00-8:50 p.m.
714 PLC

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Office hrs: Mon 12:00-2:00 p.m.

Corporate Power Structure Research

(Last Modified on April 12, 2010)

This course will examine the structure of power in American society with an emphasis on the sociology of corporate and political elites. Topics include: the nature of the American ruling class; ownership and control of large U.S. corporations; director interlock networks; the role of money in the political process; ruling class control of the state and the mass media; the policy formation process; globalization and the formation of a transnational capitalist class.

The course will combine an overview of previous research on corporate power structure with instruction in methods of data collection and analysis that should prepare you to conduct original power structure research on your own topics of interest. Many of the resources we will use in the course can be found at the website *Who Rules? An Internet Guide to Power Structure Research* (<http://uoregon.edu/~vburris/whorules>). Evaluation will be based on class participation and the submission of a term paper in the form of a research proposal.

The following texts are recommended for purchase: Bill Domhoff, *Who Rules America?* (6th ed.); Michael Useem, *The Inner Circle*; Beth Mintz and Michael Schwartz, *The Power Structure of American Business*; Michael Patrick Allen, *The Founding Fortunes*; Thomas Dye, *Top Down Policymaking*; Dan Clawson, Alan Neustadt, and Mark Weller, *Dollars and Votes*. Other readings will be made available online or in xerox form.

This syllabus is preliminary and may be modified over the course of the term. A current copy of the syllabus can always be found at <http://uoregon.edu/~vburris/soc664/664syl.pdf>.

Course Outline:

Introduction to Power Structure Research (March 31)

Required Readings:

- G. William Domhoff, *Who Rules America?*, chapter 1.
- G. William Domhoff, "Power Structure Research and the Hope for Democracy."
http://sociology.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/methods/power_structure_research.html
- G. William Domhoff, "How to Do Power Structure Research."
http://sociology.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/methods/how_to_do_power_structure_research.html

Recommended:

- G. William Domhoff, ed., "New Directions in Power Structure Research," a special issue of *The Insurgent Sociologist*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1975.
- G. William Domhoff, ed., "Power Structure Research II," a special issue of *The Insurgent Sociologist*, Vol. 9, No. 2/3, 1979/80
- Val Burris, ed., "Analyzing Power Structures," a special issue of *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 16, No. 2/3, 1989.
- Philip H. Burch, *Elites in American History*, 3 volumes.
- Thomas R. Dye, *Who's Running America?*

The Corporate Elite (April 7)

Required Readings:

- G. William Domhoff, *Who Rules America?*, chapter 2.
 Michael Useem, *The Inner Circle*, chapters 2-4.
 Gerald F. Davis and Michael Useem, "Top Management, Company Directors, and Corporate Control." In A. Pettigrew, H. Thomas, and R. Whittington, eds., *Handbook of Strategy and Management*. <http://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/papers/821.pdf>
 Mark S. Mizruchi, "Power without Efficacy: The Decline of the Corporate Elite." <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~mizruchi/seminar-paper1.pdf>

Recommended:

- Michael Useem, *Executive Defense: Shareholder Power and Corporate Reorganization*.
 Michael Useem, *Investor Capitalism: How Money Managers are Reshaping the Face of Corporate America*.
 Gerald F. Davis, *Managed by the Markets: How Finance Re-Shaped America*.
 Linda Brewster Stearns and Kenneth D. Allan, "Economic Behavior in Institutional Environments: The Corporate Merger Wave of the 1980s," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 61, 1996.
 Mark S. Mizruchi, "Berle and Means Revisited: The Governance and Power of Large U.S. Corporations." *Theory and Society*, Vol. 33, 2004.
 G. William Domhoff, "Pension Fund Capitalism." http://sociology.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power/pension_fund_capitalism.html
 Davita Silfen Glasberg and Michael Schwartz, "Ownership and Control of Corporations," *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 9, 1983.
 Michael Useem, "Corporations and the Corporate Elite," *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 6, 1980.
 Michael Useem, "The Inner Group of the American Capitalist Class," *Social Problems*, Vol. 25, 1978.
 Edward S. Herman, *Corporate Control, Corporate Power*.
 David M. Kotz, *Bank Control of Large Corporations in the United States*.
 Philip H. Burch, *The Managerial Revolution Reassessed*.
 Michael Schwartz, ed., *The Structure of Power in America*.
 Maurice Zeitlin, *The Large Corporation and Contemporary Classes*.
 Philip H. Burch, "The American Establishment," *Research in Political Economy*, Vol. 6, 1983.
 John Scott, *Corporations, Classes, and Capitalism*.
 Tom Bottomore and Robert Brym, eds., *The Capitalist Class*.

The Upper Social Class (April 14)

Required Readings:

- G. William Domhoff, *Who Rules America?*, chapter 3.
 Michael Patrick Allen, *The Founding Fortunes*, chapters 1-4.
 Val Burris, "The Myth of Old Money Liberalism," *Social Problems*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2000.
<http://uoregon.edu/~vburris/oldmoney.pdf>

G. William Domhoff, "Social Cohesion and the Bohemian Grove."

http://sociology.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power/bohemian_grove.html.

Recommended:

Nelson W. Aldrich, Jr., *Old Money*.

Lewis H. Lapham, *Money and Class in America*.

Lawrence Graham, *Our Kind of People: Inside America's Black Upper Class*.

Susan Ostrander, *Women of the Upper Class*.

Richard L. Zweigenhaft and G. William Domhoff, *Diversity in the Power Elite: How It Happened, Why It Matters*.

E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen*.

E. Digby Baltzell, *The Protestant Establishment*.

G. William Domhoff, *The Higher Circles*.

G. William Domhoff, *The Bohemian Grove and Other Retreats*.

Kevin Wehr, "The Power Elite at the Bohemian Grove," *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1994.

Ronald Brownstein and Nina Easton, *Reagan's Ruling Class*.

Ferdinand Lundberg, *The Rich and the Super-Rich*.

Ferdinand Lundberg, *America's Sixty Families*.

Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*.

Interlocking Directorates (April 21, 28)

Required Readings:

G. William Domhoff, "Interlocking Directorates in the Corporate Community."

http://sociology.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power/corporate_community.html

Beth Mintz and Michael Schwartz, *The Power Structure of American Business*, chapters 6, 7, and 11.

Mark S. Mizruchi, "What Do Interlocks Do? An Analysis, Critique, and Assessment of Research on Interlocking Directorates," *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 22, 1996.

Val Burris, "Interlocking Directorates and Political Cohesion among Corporate Elites," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 111, No. 1, 2005. <http://uoregon.edu/~vburris/interlks.pdf>

Gerald F. Davis, Mina Yoo, and Wayne E. Baker, "The Small World of the American Corporate Elite, 1982-2001," *Strategic Organization* Vol. 1, No. 3, 2003.

<http://soq.sagepub.com.libproxy.uoregon.edu/cgi/reprint/1/3/301>

Recommended:

Mark S. Mizruchi, *The Structure of Corporate Political Action*.

Mark S. Mizruchi, *The American Corporate Network, 1904-1974*.

Gwen Moore, Sarah Sobieraj, J. Allen Whitt, Olga Mayorova, and Daniel Beaulieu, "Elite Interlocks in Three U.S. Sectors: Nonprofit, Corporate, and Government," *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 83, No. 3, 2002.

Roy C. Barnes and Emily R. Ritter, "Networks of Corporate Interlocking: 1962-1995," *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 2001.

- Gerald F. Davis and Mark S. Mizruchi, "The Money Center Cannot Hold: Commercial Banks in the U.S. System of Corporate Governance," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 44, 1999.
- Clifford Kono, Donald Palmer, Roger Friedland, and Matthew Zafonte, "Lost in Space: The Geography of Corporate Interlocking Directorates," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 103, No. 4, 1998.
- John Scott, "Networks of Corporate Power: A Comparative Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 17, 1991.
- Donald Palmer, Roger Friedland, and Jitendra Singh, "The Ties that Bind: Organizational and Class Bases of Stability in a Corporate Interlock Network," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 51, 1986.
- Donald Palmer, "Broken Ties: Interlocking Directorates and Intercorporate Coordination," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 28, 1983.
- Beth Mintz and Michael Schwartz, "The Structure of Intercorporate Unity in American Business," *Social Problems*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 1981.
- Richard Ratcliff, "Banks and Corporate Lending: An Analysis of the Impact of the Internal Structure of the Capitalist Class on the Lending Behavior of Banks," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 45, 1980.
- Meindert Fennema and Huibert Schijf, "Analysing Interlocking Directorates: Theory and Methods," *Social Networks*, Vol. 1, 1978/79.
- Michael Patrick Allen, "Economic Interest Groups and the Corporate Elite Structure," *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 4, 1978.
- John Sonquist and Thomas Koenig, "Interlocking Directorates in the Top U.S. Corporations," *Insurgent Sociologist*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1975.
- John Scott, *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook*.

Foundations and Policy Planning Groups (May 5, 12)

Required Readings:

- G. William Domhoff, *Who Rules America?*, chapters 4-5.
- Thomas Dye, *Top Down Policymaking*, chapters 2-5.
- Val Burris, "Elite Policy-Planning Networks in the United States," *Research in Politics and Society*, Vol. 4, 1992.
- Val Burris, "The Interlock Structure of the Policy-Planning Network and the Right Turn in U.S. State Policy," *Research in Political Sociology*, Vol. 17, 2008.

Recommended:

- Joan Roelofs, *Foundations and Public Policy*.
- Mary Anna Cullerton Colwell, "The Foundation Connection: Links among Foundations and Recipient Organizations." In Robert F. Arnove, *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism*. Teresa Odendahl. *Charity Begins at Home*.
- Jerome Himmelstein, *Looking Good and Doing Good: Corporate Philanthropy and Corporate Power*.
- Joseph G. Peschek, *Policy-Planning Organizations: Elite Agendas and America's Rightward Turn*.
- James A. Smith, *The Idea Brokers: Think Tanks and the Rise of the New Policy Elite*.

- J. Craig Jenkins and Craig M. Eckert, "The Right Turn in Economic Policy: Business Elites and the New Conservative Economics," *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2000.
- Michael C. Dreiling, "The Class Embeddedness of Corporate Political Action: Leadership in Defense of the NAFTA," *Social Problems*, Vol. 47, No. 1, 2000.
- Patrick J. Akard, "Corporate Mobilization and Political Power: The Transformation of U.S. Economic Policy in the 1970s," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 57, 1992.
- Harland Prechel, "Steel and the State: Industry Politics and Business Policy Formation, 1940-1989," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 55, 1990.
- Frederick Clarkson, "Takin' It to the States: The Rise of Conservative State-Level Think Tanks," *Public Eye*, Vol. 13, No. 2/3, 1999. http://www.publiceye.org/magazine/v13n2-3/PE_V13_N2-3.pdf
- J. Craig Jenkins and Teri Shumate, "Cowboy Capitalists and the Rise of the New Right," *Social Problems*, Vol. 33, No. 2, 1985.
- Jerome Himmelstein, *To the Right: The Transformation of American Conservatism*.
- Mark A. Smith, *American Business and Political Power*.
- Leonard Silk and Mark Silk, *The American Establishment*.
- Sidney Blumenthal, *The Rise of the Counter-Establishment*.
- Sar Levitan and Mary Cooper, *Business Lobbies: The Public Good and the Bottom Line*.
- Laurence H. Shoup and William Minter, *Imperial Brain Trust: The Council on Foreign Relations and American Foreign Policy*.
- Russ Bellant, *The Coors Connection: How Coors Family Philanthropy Undermines Democratic Pluralism*.

Money and Politics (May 19, 26)

Required Readings:

- G. William Domhoff, *Who Rules America?*, chapters 6-7.
- Val Burris, "Corporations, Capitalists, and Campaign Finance." In Kevin Leicht and J. Craig Jenkins, eds., *Handbook of Politics: State and Civil Society in Global Perspective*. <http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~vburris/handbook.pdf>
- Dan Clawson, Alan Neustadt, and Mark Weller, *Dollars and Votes*, chapters 1, 2, 3, and 5.
- Val Burris, "The Two Faces of Capital: Corporations and Individual Capitalists as Political Actors," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 66, No. 3, 2001.
- Douglas D. Roscoe and Shannon Jenkins, "A Meta-Analysis of Campaign Contributions' Impact on Roll Call Voting," *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 86, No. 1, 2005.

Recommended:

- Val Burris and James Salt, "The Politics of Capitalist Class Segments: A Test of Corporate Liberalism Theory," *Social Problems*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 1990.
- Mark S. Mizruchi, "Similarity of Political Behavior among Large American Corporations," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 95, No. 2, 1989.
- Dan Clawson and Alan Neustadt, "Interlocks, PACs, and Corporate Conservatism," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94, No. 4, 1989.
- Alan Neustadt and Dan Clawson, "Corporate Political Groupings: Does Ideology Unify Business Political Behavior?" *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 53, 1988.

- Michael Patrick Allen and Philip Broyles, "Class Hegemony and Political Finance: Presidential Campaign Contributions of Wealthy Capitalist Families," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, 1989.
- John L. Boies, "Money, Business, and the State: Material Interests, Fortune 500 Corporations, and the Size of Political Action Committees," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, 1989.
- Val Burris, "The Political Partisanship of American Business," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 52, 1987.
- Dan Clawson and Alan Neustadt, "The Logic of Business Unity: Corporate Contributions to the 1980 Congressional Elections," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 51, 1986.
- Thomas Ferguson, *Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Party Competition and the Logic of Money-Driven Political Systems*.
- Michael Webber, *New Deal Fat Cats*.
- Clifford Brown, Jr., Lynda Powell, and Clyde Wilcox, *Serious Money*.
- Mark A. Smith, *American Business and Political Power*.
- Elizabeth Drew, *Politics and Money: The New Road to Corruption*.
- Thomas Edsall, *Power and Money*.
- Kim McQuaid, *Big Business and Presidential Power*.
- Larry J. Sabato, *PAC Power: Inside the World of Political Action Committees*.
- Frank Sorauf, *Money in American Politics*.
- David Vogel, *Fluctuating Fortunes: The Political Power of Business in America*.

Global Corporations and the Transnational Capitalist Class (June 2)

Required Readings:

- Michael Nollert, "Transnational Corporate Ties: A Synopsis of Theories and Empirical Findings," *Journal of World Systems Research*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2005.
- William K. Carroll and Meindert Fennema, "Is There a Transnational Business Community," *International Sociology*, Vol 17, No. 3, 2002.
- Jeffrey Kentor and Yong Suk Jang, "Yes, There is a)Growing) Transnational Business Community," *International Sociology*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2004.
- Clifford L. Staples, "Board Interlocks and the Study of the Transnational Capitalist Class," *Journal of World Systems Research*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 2006.

Recommended:

- William K. Carroll and Meindert Fennema, "Problems in the Study of the Transnational Business Community," *International Sociology*, Vol 19, No. 3, 2004.
- Jeffrey Kentor and Yong Suk Jang, "Different Questions, Different Answers: A Rejoinder to Carroll and Fennema," *International Sociology*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 2006
- William K. Carroll and Meindert Fennema, "Asking the Right Questions: A Final Word on the Transnational Business Community," *International Sociology*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 2006.
- William K. Carroll and Colin Carson, "The Network of Global Corporations and Elite Policy Groups," *Global Networks*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2003.
- Clifford L. Staples, "Board Globalization in the World's Largest TNC's, 1993-2005," *Corporate Governance*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2007.

- Jeffrey Kentor, "The Growth of Transnational Corporate Networks: 1962-1998," *Journal of World Systems Research*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 2005.
- William K. Carroll, "Forging a New Hegemony? The Role of Transnational Policy Groups in the Network and Discourses of Global Corporate Governance," *Journal of World Systems Research*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 2003.
- William K. Carroll, "Transnationalists and National Networkers in the Global Corporate Elite," *Global Networks*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 2009.
- Hans J. Krysmanski, "Who Will Own the EU — The Superrich or the People of Europe." http://www.rosalux.de/fileadmin/rls_uploads/pdfs/Policy_Paper/pp-Krysmanski3_2007_.pdf
- William I. Robinson and Jerry Harris, "Towards a Global Ruling Class? Globalization and the Transnational Capitalist Class," *Science & Society*, Vol. 64, 2000.
- William I. Robinson, *A Theory of Global Capitalism: Production, Class, and State in a Transnational World*.
- William K. Carroll, *Corporate Power in a Globalizing World*.
- Meindert Fennema, *International Networks of Banks and Industry*.
- Leslie Sklair, *The Transnational Capitalist Class*.
- Kees van der Pijl, *The Making of an Atlantic Ruling Class*.