

## **THOMAS T. HOLYOKE, Ph.D.**

Department of Political Science  
California State University, Fresno  
2225 East San Ramon, M/S MF19  
Fresno, California 93740-8029  
559-278-7580

[tholyoke@csufresno.edu](mailto:tholyoke@csufresno.edu)

[http://www.csufresno.edu/polysci/fac\\_staff/faculty/holyoke.shtml](http://www.csufresno.edu/polysci/fac_staff/faculty/holyoke.shtml)

### ***EDUCATION***

---

**Doctor of Philosophy**, 2004. Political Science, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C.  
Field Exams: American Politics, Political Methodology

**Master of Philosophy**, 2001. Political Science, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

**Master of Arts**, 1996. Political Science, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

**Bachelor of Arts**, 1992. Political Science, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa

### ***FOCUS OF CURRENT TEACHING***

---

**Synopsis:** Currently my teaching focuses primarily on American politics at the national level, especially interest group and legislative political. I also teach courses on social movements, water politics, and the methods of social science research including data analysis. Recent courses include:

- Introduction to American Government
- Legislative Politics
- Interest Group Politics
- Social Movement Politics
- Water Politics (undergraduate and graduate levels)
- Statistical Analysis Methods (undergraduate and graduate levels)

### ***FOCUS OF CURRENT RESEARCH***

---

**Synopsis:** I am currently pursuing two main research programs. One focuses on interest group politics and group formation, primarily in American politics, but with some work on nongovernmental organization advocacy in Europe. The other focuses on the public policy process, especially western water policy and charter school and education policy at the state and local level.

- Interest Group Politics and Collective Action
- Water Politics and Policy
- Education and Charter School Policy
- Banking, Finance, and Community Development Policy

### ***ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS***

---

*Professor of Political Science*, California State University, Fresno, 2015 – Present

*Associate Professor of Political Science*, California State University, Fresno, 2010 – 2015

*Assistant Professor of Political Science, California State University, Fresno, 2005 – 2010*

*Assistant Professor of Political Science, Hastings College, 2003 – 2005*

*Teaching Fellow, Department of Political Science, The George Washington University, 2002 – 2003*

*Banneker Research Fellow, Center for Washington Area Studies, The George Washington University, 1999 - 2003*

*Teaching Assistant, Department of Political Science, The George Washington University, 2001*

### ***BOOKS (Peer-Reviewed)***

---

2015. *The Ethical Lobbyist: Reforming Washington's Influence Industry*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

- Featured on C-Span2 Book Television, February 4, 2017
- Featured in "Would More Lobbying Improve America?" by Kevin Hartnett in *Politico*, August 24, 2015

2014. *Interest Groups and Lobbying: Pursuing Political Interests in America*. Boulder: Westview Press.

- Reviewed by Daniel Lewis in *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, April, 2014

2011. *Competitive Interests: Competition and Compromise in American Interest Group Politics*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

- Reviewed by Matt Grossmann in *Perspectives on Politics*, June, 2013
- Reviewed by Timothy LaPira in *Political Science Quarterly*, Winter, 2012-13

### ***JOURNAL ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS (Peer-Reviewed)***

---

#### **Interest Group Politics and Collective Action**

2017. "Interest Groups and Lobbying Research in a Higher Level Context: Two Tests of Integrating Multiple Levels of Analysis." *American Politics Research* forthcoming.

2017. "A Theoretical Foundation for Assessing Principal-Agent Problems in Lobbying Ethics and an Empirical Test." *Interest Groups & Advocacy* forthcoming.

2015. "Challenges of Integrating Levels of Analysis in Interest Group Research." In *The Organization Ecology of Interest Communities*, eds. David Lowery, Darren Halpin, and Virginia Gray, pp. 79-97. London: Palgrave-Macmillan.

2015. "Learnable Skills, or Unteachable Instinct? What Can and Cannot be Taught in the Lobbying Profession." with Heath Brown and Timothy M. LaPira. *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 4(March): 7-24.

2014. "Why Lobbyists for Competing Interests Often Cooperate." In *New Directions in Interest Group Research*, ed. Matt Grossmann, pp. 105-121. New York: Routledge.

2013. "A Dynamic Model of Member Participation in Interest Groups." *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 2(October): 278-301.

2013. "The Interest Group Effect on Contact with Congress." *Party Politics* 19(November): 925-944.

2012. "Shopping in the Political Arena: Strategic Venue Selection by Organized Interests in a Federal System." with Heath Brown and Jeffrey R. Henig. *State and Local Government Review* 44(April): 9-20.
2009. "Interest Group Competition and Coalition Formation." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(April): 360 – 375.
2008. "Interest Group Competition and Cooperation at Legislative Hearings." *Congress and the Presidency* 35(Autumn): 17 – 38.
2007. "Institutional Advocacy and the Political Behavior of Charter Schools." with Jeffrey R. Henig, Heath Brown, and Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. *Political Research Quarterly* 60(June): 202 – 214.
2004. "By Invitation Only: Interest Group Access to the Oval Office." *American Review of Politics* 25(Fall): 221 – 240.
2003. "Choosing Battlegrounds: Interest Group Lobbying Across Multiple Venues." *Political Research Quarterly* 56(September): 325 – 336.

### **Education and School Choice Policy**

2009. "Policy Dynamics and the Evolution of State Charter School Laws." with Jeffrey R. Henig, Heath Brown, and Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. *Policy Sciences* 42(February): 33 – 55.
2008. "Dimensions of Charter School Choice." *Journal of School Choice* 2(September): 302 – 317.
2007. "Moving Forward and Spinning Wheels: A Comparison of Charter School Policies in Michigan and the District of Columbia." with Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. *Educational Policy* 21(January): 185 – 214.
2006. "Does Mission Matter? Exploring a Typology of Charter School Orientation." with Jeffrey R. Henig, Natalie Lacireno-Paquet, and Heath Brown. In *A Guide to Charter Schools* eds. Myron S. Kayes and Robert Maranto. Latham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
2005. "The Influence of Founder Type on Charter School Structures and Operations." with Jeffrey R. Henig, Heath Brown, and Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. *American Journal of Education* 111(August): 487 – 522.
2004. "Research on Emergent Phenomena: Responses and Speculations." with Jeffrey R. Henig, Heath Brown, and Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. *Social Science Quarterly* 85(December):1072 – 1077. **Response to the critics.**
2004. "Scale of Operations and Locus of Control in Market Versus Mission-Oriented Charter Schools." with Heath Brown, Jeffrey R. Henig and Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. *Social Science Quarterly* 85(December): 1035 – 1051.
2003. "Privatization, Politics, and Urban Services: The Political Advocacy Behavior of Charter Schools." with Jeffrey R. Henig, Natalie Lacireno-Paquet, and Michele Moser. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 25(February): 37 – 54. **Best Article on Urban Affairs Award for 2004 from the Urban Affairs Association.**
2002. "Creaming Versus Cropping: Charter School Enrollment Practices in Response to Market Incentives." with Natalie Lacireno-Paquet, Michele Moser, and Jeffrey R. Henig. *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 24(Summer): 145 – 158.

### **Environmental and Native American Policy**

2017. "Westlands – An Introduction" from *Westlands: A Water Story* by Randi Lynn Beach, Doug Beach, and Yiyun Li. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. *Forthcoming.*

2011. "The Failure of Indian Casino Advocacy in New York." In *The New Politics of Indian Gaming: The Rise of Reservation Interest Groups*, eds. Kenneth N. Hansen and Tracey A. Skopek. Las Vegas, NV: University of Nevada Press.
2010. "Democratic Limits of Political Conflict." In *Stewardship of Public Lands: Politics and the Yellowstone Ecosystem*, ed. N. Scott Cole. Washington, D.C.: American Association of State Colleges and Universities.
2009. "Institutional Constraints on Legislative Lobbying: Lobbying for Indian Casinos in New York State." *Social Science Journal* 46(December):756 – 775.

### **Public Finance, Banking, and Community Development Policy**

2015. "Reflecting on Theodore J. Lowi's *The End of Liberalism*" in the *Oxford Handbook of the Classics of Public Policy and Administration*, eds. Edward Page, Steven Balla, and Martin Lodge. New York: Oxford University Press.
2013. "No Exaggeration: Truthfulness in the Lobbying of Government Agencies by Competing Interest Groups" with Hyoung-Goo Kang. *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 14(December): 499-520.
2004. "Community Mobilization and Credit: The Impact of Nonprofits and Social Capital on Community Reinvestment Act Lending." *Social Science Quarterly* 85(March): 187 – 205.
2002. "Expanding the Limits of Power: The Federal Reserve and the Implementation of Functional Regulation in the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Era." *Review of Policy Research* 19(Winter): 95 – 119.
2001. "The Community Reinvestment Act and Community Organization in Washington, D.C." in *Changing Financial Markets and Community Development*, eds. Jackson L. Blanton, Alicia Williams, and Sherrie L.W. Rhine. Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System: Washington, D.C.
2000. "The Battle is Over, But the War Goes On: Reflections on the Financial Modernization Act of 1999." *Policy Perspectives* 8(Fall): 2 – 12.
1998. "Turning David and Goliath into the Odd Couple: The Community Reinvestment Act and Community Development Financial Institutions." with Nellie Santiago and Ross D. Levi. *Journal of Law and Policy* 6(Fall): 571 – 651.

### **OTHER PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST**

---

2017. "Lobbying" in the *Encyclopedia of Money in Politics*, ed. David A. Schultz. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
2017. "Iron Triangle" in the *Encyclopedia of Money in Politics*, ed. David A. Schultz. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
2016. "Political Speech Should be in the Public Square." *Fresno Bee Valley Voices Series*, May 29, at <http://www.fresnobee.com/opinion/readers-opinion/article78600012.html>.
2015. "Money, Speech, and Oligarchy in U.S. Politics." *Fresno Bee Valley Voices Series*, September 30, at <http://www.fresnobee.com/opinion/readers-opinion/article36972897.html>
2015. "Without Reforms, Ethical Lobbying in Congress May Remain the Exception." American Politics and Policy Blog at the London School of Economics. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2015/05/19/without-reforms-ethical-lobbying-in-congress-may-remain-the-exception/>

2015. "Let's Shine a Light on Dark Money Matters." *Fresno Bee* Valley Voices Series, January 2, at <http://www.fresnobee.com/2014/12/31/4308012/thomas-holyoke-lets-shine-a-light.html?sp=/99/274/>
2013. "Being a Member of an Interest Group Stimulates Political Participation, or At Least Makes it Easier." American Politics and Policy Blog at the London School of Economics <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2013/11/06/interest-group-political-participation/>
2010. Book Review of *Lobbying and Policy Change* by Baumgartner, Berry, Hojnacki, Kimball, and Leech (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009) in *Journal of Politics* 73(December).
2009. "Foundations and Future Directions: An Exploration of Competitive Interest Group Politics." *VOX-POP Newsletter for Political Organizations and Parties* 28(1): 3 – 4.
2008. "Housing Policy." In *Encyclopedia of American Government and Civics*. Eds. Lori Cox Han and Michael Genovese. Facts-On-File.
2008. "Rider." In *Encyclopedia of American Government and Civics*. Eds. Lori Cox Han and Michael Genovese. Facts-On-File.
2008. "Political System." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Ed. William A. Darity. Farmington Hills, MI: Thomas – Gale
2008. "Pressure Groups." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Ed. William A. Darity. Farmington Hills, MI: Thomas – Gale
2005. "Exploring Competition and Bargaining Among Interest Group Lobbyists in Washington." *PS: Political Science and Politics* XXXVIII(October): 811.

### **WORKS IN PROGRESS**

- "Lobbying and Its Effects on Federal Procurement: Specific Targets, Tangible Results" with Aaron Dusso and Henrik Schatzinger.
- "Blowing Up the State: Interest Groups, Public Budgets, and Debt" with Jeff Cummins.
- "Fiscal Accountability in Gubernatorial Elections" with Jeff Cummins. *Under review*.
- "Policy Change After the Punctuation: A Study of Change in Charter School Laws" with Heath Brown.
- "Path Dependence in State Charter School Policy."

### **SELECTED RESEARCH REPORTS AND OCCASIONAL PAPERS (authored or contributed significantly to)**

- Life in Congress: Job Satisfaction and Engagement of House and Senate Staff*. Congressional Management Foundation and Society for Human Resource Management, Washington, D.C. 2013.
- Life in Congress: The Member Perspective*. Congressional Management Foundation and Society for Human Resource Management, Washington, D.C. 2013.
- Life in Congress: Aligning Work and Life in the U.S. House and Senate*. Congressional Management Foundation and Society for Human Resource Management, Washington, D.C. 2012.

“Strategic Venue Selection by Charter Schools” with Heath Brown and Jeffrey R. Henig. Occasional Paper #173, National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 2009.

*Communicating with Congress: How the Internet has Changed Citizen Engagement.* Congressional Management Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2008

*House Staff Employment Survey, 2004.* Congressional Management Foundation, Washington, D.C., 2005.

“The Influence of Founder Type on Charter School Structures and Operations” with Jeffrey R. Henig, Heath Brown, and Natalie Lacireno-Paquet. Occasional Paper #77, National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 2004.

*Growing Pains: An Evaluation of Charter Schools in the District of Columbia; 1999-2000.* Center for Washington Area Studies, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 2001.

*Making a Choice, Making a Difference: An Evaluation of Charter Schools in the District of Columbia.* Center for Washington Area Studies, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 1999.

*Arbitrage and its Impact on Local Governments.* National Association of Counties Masco Scholar Research Paper Series, Washington, D.C., 1999.

*Banking and Community Reinvestment in New York State.* New York State Senate Minority Task Force on Banking and Community Reinvestment, 1996.

*Highway Spending and the Road Use Tax Fund.* Iowa Goods Roads Association, Des Moines, Iowa, 1994.

*Iowa Motor Truck Association: Delivering 50 Years of Progress.* Iowa Motor Truck Association, Des Moines, Iowa, 1992.

#### **YEARS OF CONFERENCE PAPER PRESENTATIONS**

---

American Political Science Association: 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2012, 2014

Midwest Political Science Association: 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2013, 2016

Western Political Science Association: 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2014, 2016

Other: 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2016

#### **FELLOWSHIPS, AWARDS, AND VISITING PROFESSORSHIPS**

---

Visiting Professor, University Studies Abroad Consortium in Chiang Mai, Thailand, Summer of 2017 (invited)

Visiting Professor, University Studies Abroad Consortium at the Southwest University for Nationalities, Chengdu, China, Summer of 2012

Outstanding Reviewer of the Year Award from *Political Research Quarterly* for 2010

Provost’s Research Enhancement Grant Award, California State University, Fresno, 2010 & 2013

Visiting Professor, University Studies Abroad Consortium at the University of the Basque Country, Donostia – San Sebastián, Spain, Fall Semester of 2008

Provost's Most Promising New Faculty Award, California State University, Fresno, 2008

Provost's Research Award, California State University, Fresno, 2006 & 2007 & 2014

Centennial Center Visiting Scholar, American Political Science Association, 2004, 2005, 2006 & 2012

Marguerite Ross Barnett Award, American Political Science Association, 2005

Research Grant, Hal Dittmer Research Fund for Excellence, Hastings College, 2004

Support Grant for Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models Summer Institute (funded by the National Science Foundation), Washington University, St. Louis, 2004

Research Grant, The Lilly Corporation, 2004

Best article in *Journal of Urban Affairs* by the Urban Affairs Association, 2003

University Teaching Fellowship, The George Washington University, 2002 – 2003

Social Science Dissertation Grant, The George Washington University, 2002

Fellow, Center for the Study of the Presidency, Washington, D.C., 2001 – 2002

Benjamin Banneker Research Fellow, Center for Washington Area Studies, George Washington University, 1999 – 2000

Wesley A. Masco Scholar, National Association of Counties, 1999

Legislative Fellow, New York State Senate, 1995 – 1996.

#### ***ADDITIONAL PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE***

---

Research Assistant, Financial Markets Center, 2000

Research Assistant, National Association of Counties, 1999 – 2001

Legislative Director, Office of New York State Senator Nellie Santiago, 1996 – 1998

Legislative Fellow, New York State Senate, 1995 – 1996

Research Assistant, Western Highway Institute, 1995

Intern, Office of U.S. Senator Charles E. Grassley, 1992 & 1993

Government Affairs Assistant, Iowa Motor Truck Association, 1992 – 1994

Intern, Office of Governor Terry E. Branstad, 1991

Intern, Iowa Campaign Finance Disclosure Commission, 1991

***PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICE***

---

Member, Board of Directors of the San Joaquin River Parkway and Conservation Trust, 2013 – Present

Member, Founding Editorial Board of *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, 2011 – Present.

Member, Advisory Committee – Waterways, Henry Madden Library at California State University, Fresno, 2010 – Present

Member of the Executive Council of the Political Organizations and Parties Section of the American Political Science Association, 2010 – 2013

Manuscript and grant proposal reviewer (in the last three years)

*American Politics Research*  
*American Political Science Review*  
*American Journal of Political Science*  
*European Union Politics*  
*Interest Groups & Advocacy*  
*Journal of School Choice*  
*Journal of Politics*  
*Perspectives on Politics*  
*Policy Studies Journal*  
*Political Research Quarterly*  
*Publius: The Journal of Federalism*  
*State and Local Government Review*  
*State Politics and Policy Quarterly*

National Science Foundation

Georgetown University Press  
Houghton Mifflin Publishing  
Oxford University Press  
Routledge  
Wadsworth, Thomas Learning Publishers

***UNIVERSITY SERVICE***

---

Vice Chair of the University Academic Senate, 2014 – Present

Fresno State President' Task Force on Water, 2014 – Present

Search committee for executive director of government relations – 2015

Information and Educational Technology Coordinating Council, 2014 – Present

American Politics Position Search Committee, chair, 2013

Truman scholarship committee, chair, 2012 – 2013

University Academic Senate Executive Committee, 2010 – 2012 & 2013 – Present

University Academic Senate, 2006 – 2012 & 2013 – Present



University honorary doctoral degree committee, 2010, 2014 & 2015

Curriculum committee, College of Social Sciences, 2009 – 2012 (chair in 2011-2012 AY)

Smittcamp Honors College faculty, 2006 – Present

Masters of Public Administration consultative committee, 2005 – Present

Search committee for Director of the Smittcamp Honors College – 2009

Research committee, College of Social Sciences, 2006 – 2009

***PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS***

---

American Political Science Association  
Political Organizations and Parties Section  
Political Methodology Section

Midwest Political Science Association

Western Political Science Association