

POLICY FORMATION AND POLITICS

MPA 612: Economy, Society, and Public Policy

April 15, 2019

*Fill out your reading report
on Learning Suite*

PLAN FOR TODAY

The policy making process

Factions and republics

Small factions and public goods

**Why care about politics
in public administration?**

THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS

Identify a social goal

Diagnose the problem

**Identify the appropriate
institution for action**

**Evaluate the substance and
politics of competing options**

**Implement, enforce, and
monitor the policy change**

**Charles Wheelan,
*Introduction to
Public Policy***

Verify, define, and detail the problem

Establish evaluation criteria

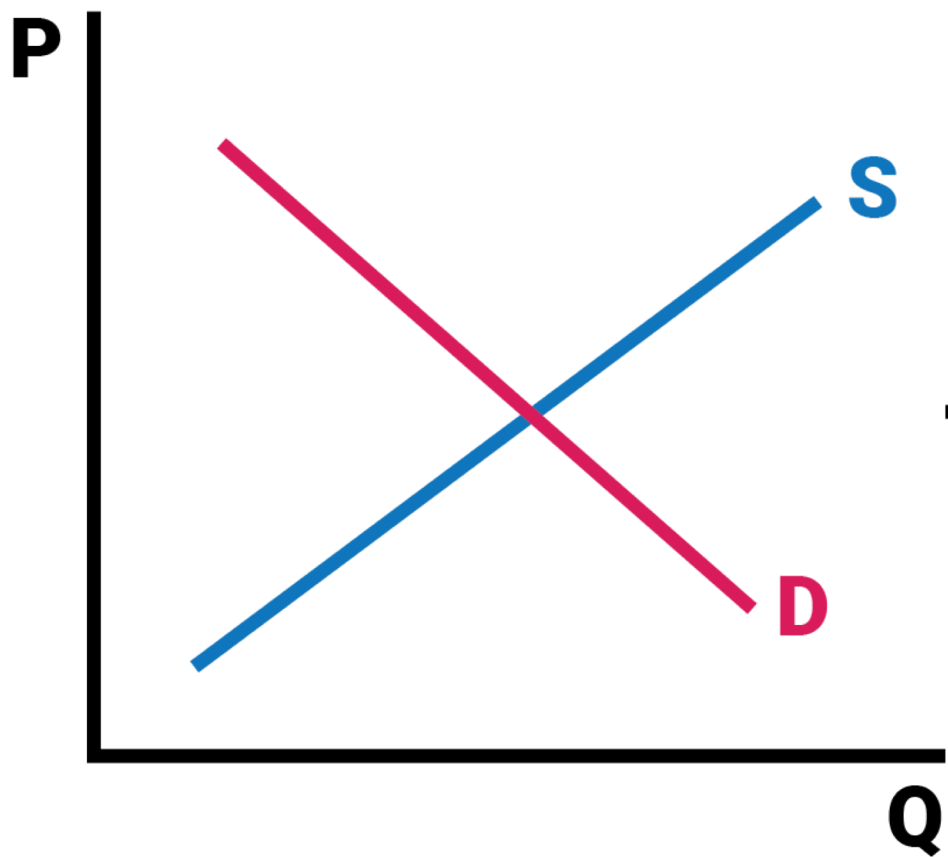
Identify alternative policies

Evaluate alternative policies

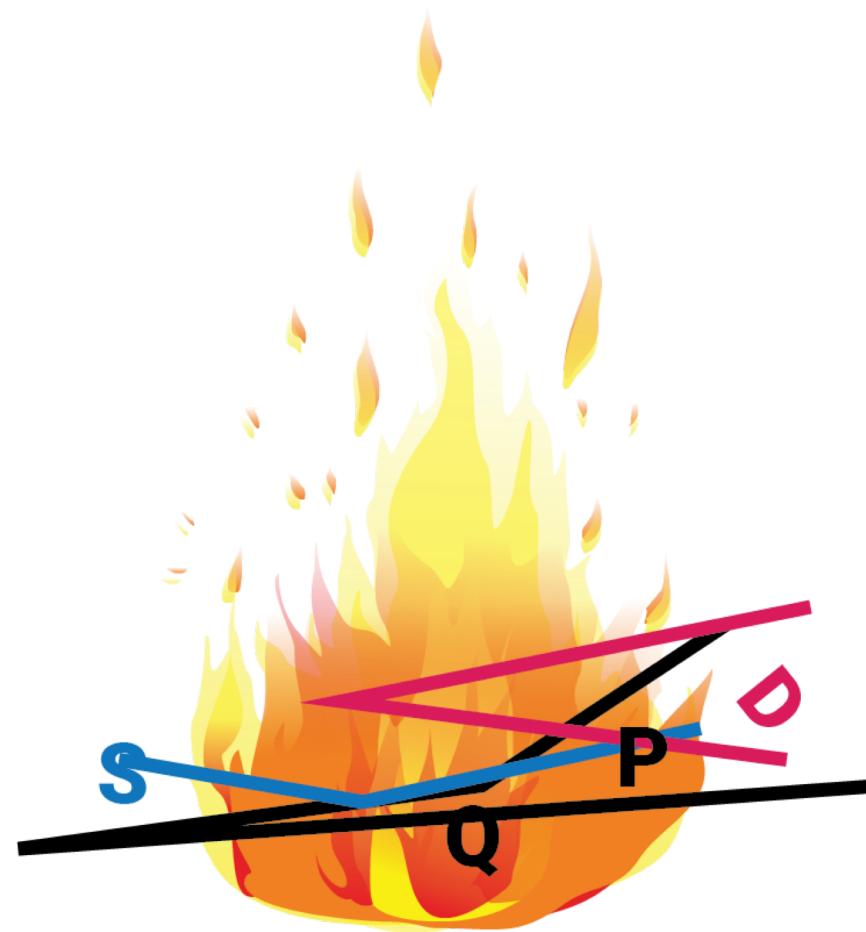
**Display and distinguish
among alternative policies**

**Monitor and evaluate
the implemented policy**

Patton, Sawicki,
and Clark, *Basic
Methods of Policy
Analysis and
Planning*



Politics



FACTIONS AND REPUBLICS

FEDERALIST #10

Factions = bad

Fix factions by removing their causes...

...or minimize their effects

Bigger republic = more competition = better

“Extend the sphere, and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests; **you make it less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens**; or if such a common motive exists, it will be more difficult for all who feel it to discover their own strength, and to act in unison with each other.”

PROBLEMS WITH ARGUMENT

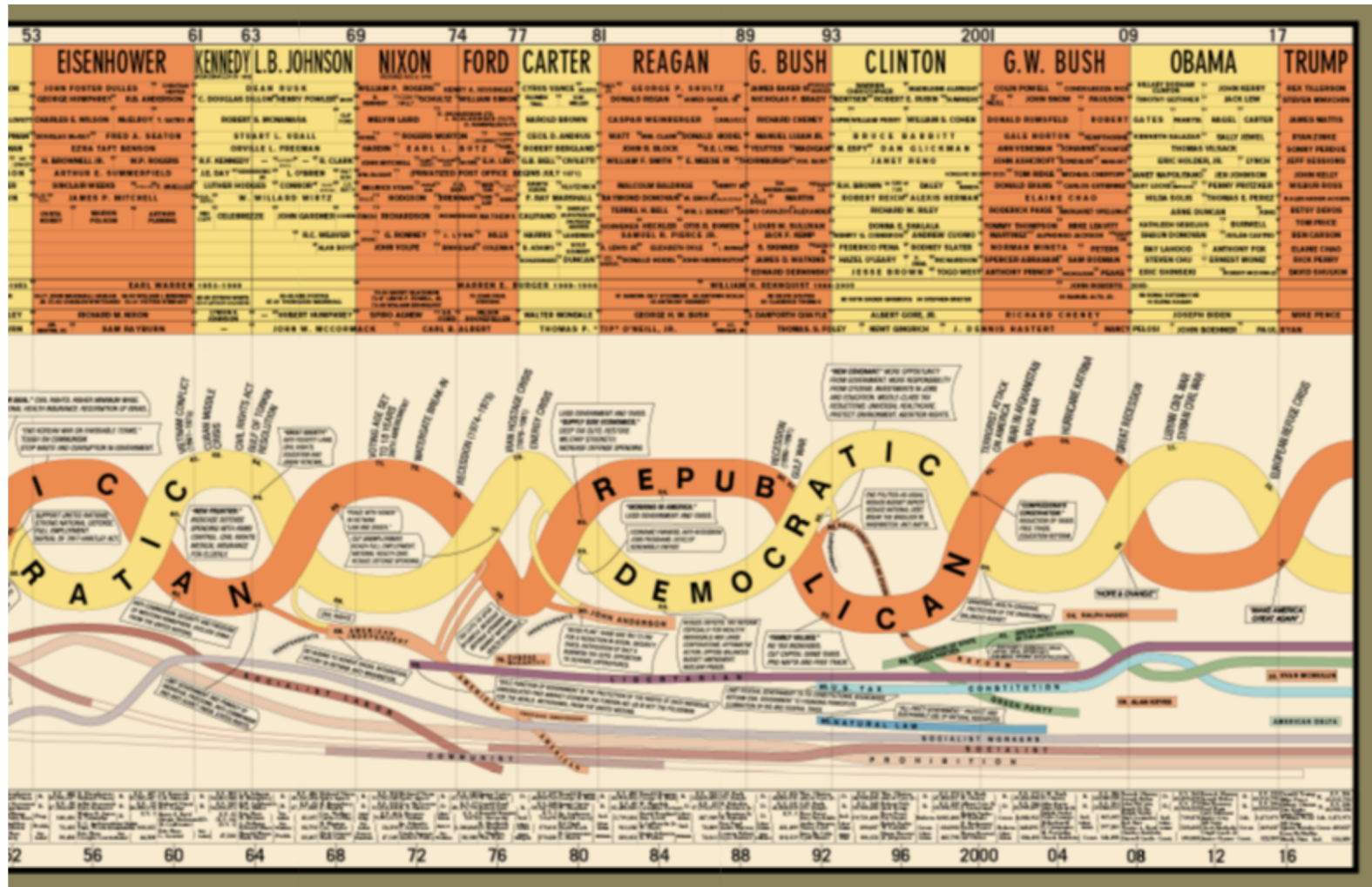
Constitutional system empowers minorities; provides veto points

Pre-Bill of Rights

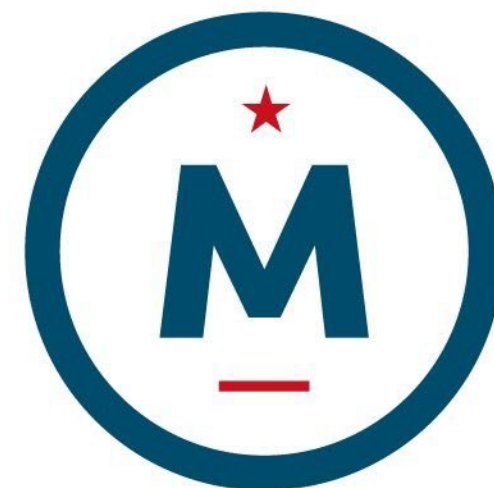
Assumes factions will never get big

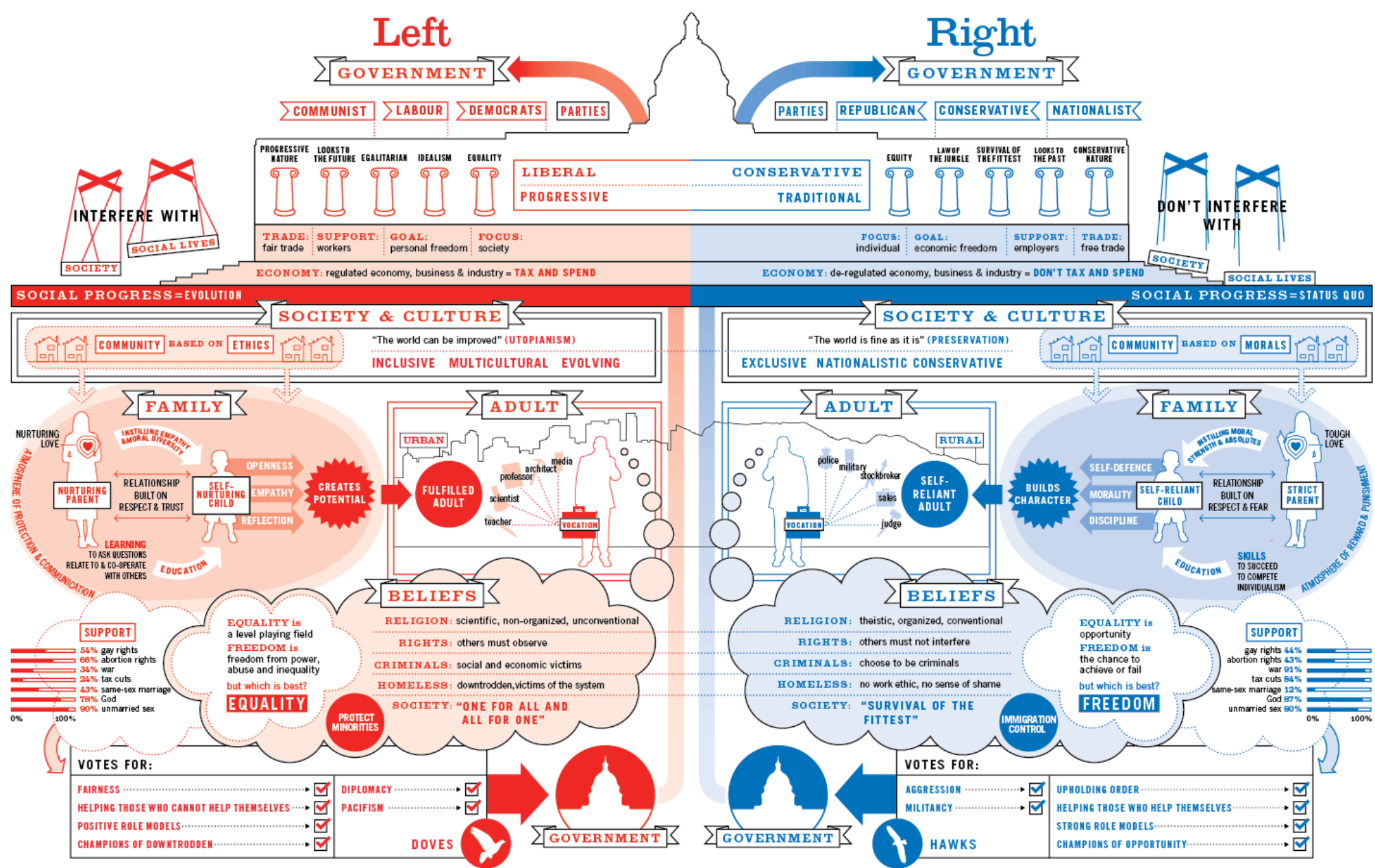
Assumes multiparty system

Duverger's law: plurality-rule elections + single-member districts = two parties



<https://historyshots.com/collections/political-financial>





CREATIVE CREDIT

David McCandless & Stefanie Posavec // v1.0 // Oct 09
InformationIsBeautiful.net / ItsBeenReal.co.uk

INEVITABLE CAPITALIST AGENDA

from the new infographic book of visual explora
The Visual Miscellaneum

**Minorities have inordinate power
in democracies because of the
dynamics of small groups**

CAVEAT: Minorities \neq marginalized groups

*Minorities with access to political
system have inordinate power*

Better term = interest groups

SMALL FACTIONS AND PUBLIC GOODS

WHY DO WE NEED FACTIONS?

“[I]ndividual, unorganized action will either not be able to advance that common interest at all, or will not be able to advance that interest adequately”

Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*, p. 7

“Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed, citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.”

Margaret Mead

**Have you ever contributed to
or volunteered in a national
political campaign?**

Why did you donate or volunteer?

How much did you benefit personally from
that donation or from the outcome?

How much did the group
benefit from your work?

Individual gains in large groups are essentially zero

Why would a rational, self-interested person donate to a national campaign or join a union or support activist causes?

GROUP INTERESTS = PUBLIC GOODS

**Achievement of goals =
nonexcludable and nonrivalrous**

“The achievement of any common goal or the satisfaction of any common interest means that a public or collective good has been provided for that group”

Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*, p. 15

Free riding!

WHO SUPPLIES GLOBAL ORDER?

Pax Britannica

Pax Americana

Pax Sinica?

How does this make hegemonic powers feel?

**Have you ever contributed
to a city-level (or lower!)
political campaign?**

**Have you tackled a single
issue with a city council?**

**You get individual benefits if you
believe your marginal actions
will lead to actual change**

Small groups can harness this

Benefits can be excludable

Little free riding = more power

(Madison was right!)

**How do large groups fix public
goods problems (and stop free riding)?**

Change individual calculus

Coercion

Increase the costs of not acting

Selective incentives

Increase the benefits of acting

<https://benefits.nra.org/>

Federation

Make big group feel small

Coercion

Increase the costs of not acting

Selective incentives

Increase the benefits of acting

Federation

Make big group feel small

Governments?

Political campaigns?

Unions?

Advocacy groups?

Nonprofits?

WHY CARE ABOUT POLITICS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION?

Small groups can be too powerful

Madison's solution = use big groups

**The larger the group, the less it
will further common interests**

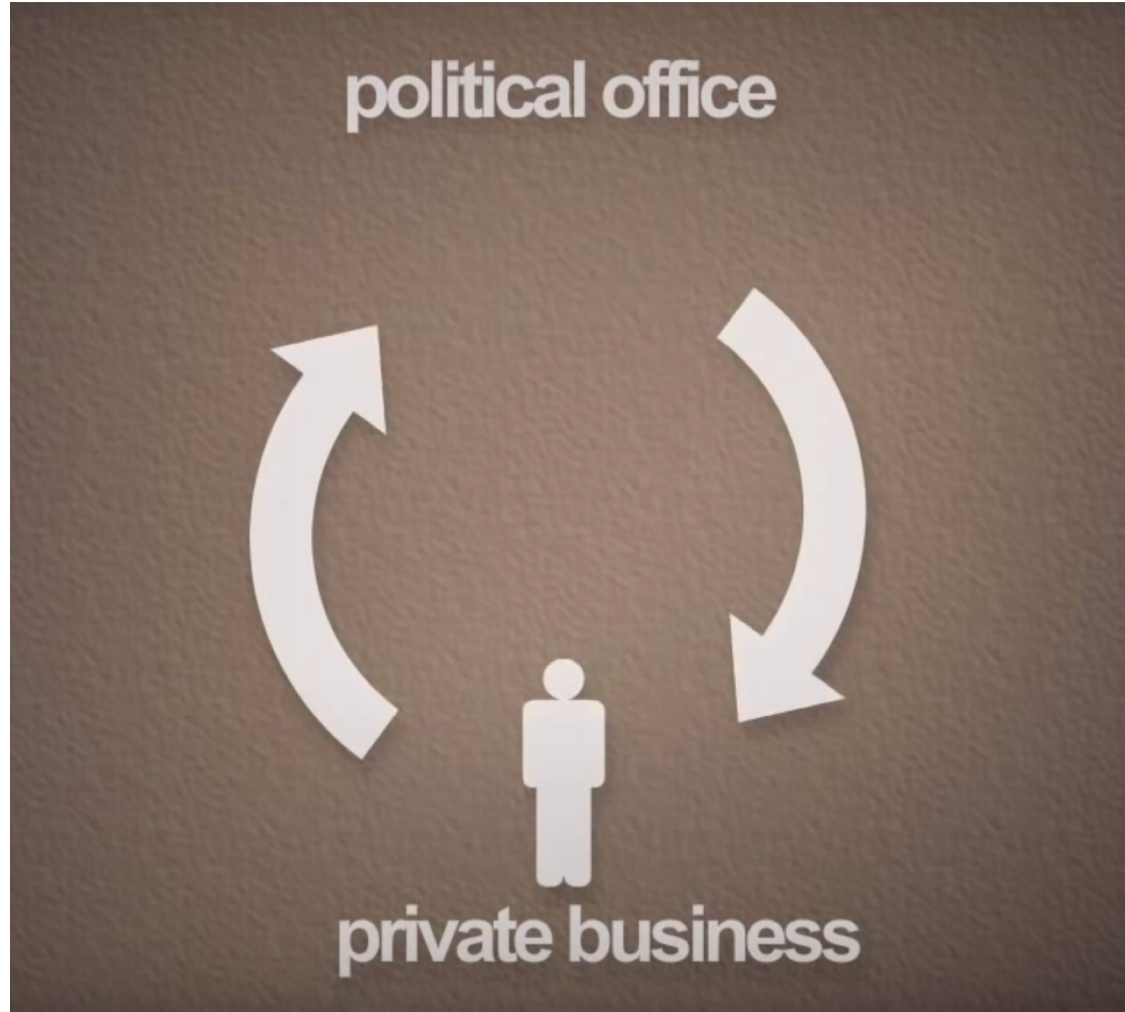
oh no

Concentrated interest groups vs. large latent groups

Narrow special interests and passionate minorities can unduly influence policy

Concerned citizens (even if passionate!)
are stuck with free riders

LOBBYISTS





John Boehner ✓

@SpeakerBoehner

Follow



I'm joining the board of **#AcreageHoldings** because my thinking on cannabis has evolved. I'm convinced de-scheduling the drug is needed so we can do research, help our veterans, and reverse the opioid epidemic ravaging our communities.

@AcreageCannabis



News Release: Board of Advisors Appointment

acreageholdings.com

4:58 AM - 11 Apr 2018



Filing Taxes Could Be Free and Simple. But H&R Block and Intuit Are Still Lobbying Against It.



The makers of TurboTax and other online systems spent millions lobbying last year, much of it directed toward a bill that would permanently bar the government from offering taxpayers prefilled filings.

by **Jessica Huseman**, March 20, 2017, 1:22 p.m. EDT



GUTTING THE IRS

Congress Is About to Ban the Government From Offering Free Online Tax Filing. Thank TurboTax.

A bill supported by Democrats and Republicans would make permanent a program that bars the IRS from ever developing its own online tax filing service.

by Justin Elliott, April 9, 5 a.m. EDT



GUTTING THE IRS

Congress Is About to Gut Government From Online Tax Filing

A bill supported by Democrats and Republicans would create a program that bars the IRS from ever

by Justin Elliott, April 9, 5 a.m. EDT

Those efforts have been fueled by hefty lobbying spending and campaign contributions by the industry. Intuit and H&R Block last year poured a combined \$6.6 million into lobbying related to the IRS filing deal and other issues. Neal, who became Ways and Means chair this year after Democrats took control of the House, received \$16,000 in contributions from Intuit and H&R Block in the last two election cycles.

Who are politicians responsive to?



AMERICAN JOURNAL
of POLITICAL SCIENCE

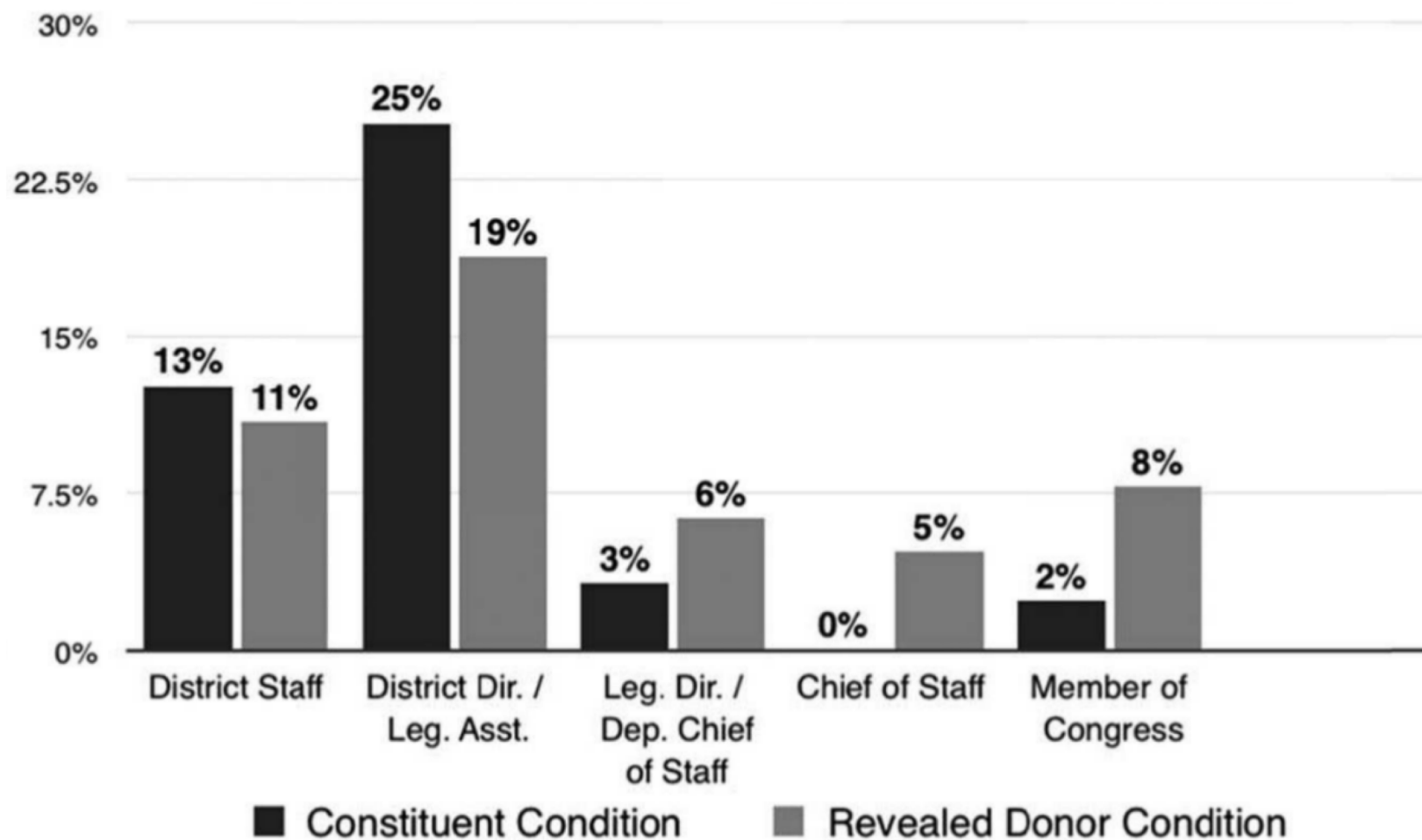
Campaign Contributions Facilitate Access to Congressional Officials: A Randomized Field Experiment

Joshua L. Kalla University of California, Berkeley

David E. Broockman University of California, Berkeley

Concern that donations to political campaigns secure preferential treatment from policy makers has long occupied judges, scholars, and the public. However, the effects of contributions on policy makers' behavior are notoriously difficult to assess. We present the first randomized field experiment on the topic. The experiment focuses on whether contributions facilitate access to influential policy makers. In the experiment, a political organization attempted to schedule meetings between 191 congressional offices and the organization's members in their districts who were campaign donors. However, the organization randomly assigned whether it revealed to congressional offices that prospective attendees had contributed to campaigns. When informed prospective attendees were political donors, senior policy makers made themselves available between three and four times more often. These findings underscore concerns about the Supreme Court's recent decisions deregulating campaign finance.

**FIGURE 1 Access Gained to Congressional Staffers, by
Experimental Condition**





Copy. Paste. Legislate.

 **A USA TODAY investigation**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AgzCXbSLKMI>

Model legislation

Model

Exact copy

Similar language

Attorneys fees and expenses to prepare and file the asbestos trust claim identified in the defendants motion exceed the plaintiffs reasonably anticipated recovery from the trust if the court determines that there is a sufficient basis for the plaintiff to file the asbestos trust claim identified by a defendant the court shall order the plaintiff to file the asbestos trust claim and shall stay the asbestos action until the plaintiff files the asbestos trust claim and provides all parties with all trust claims materials no later than thirty days before trial if the court determinesthat the plaintiffs expenses or attorneys fees and expenses to prepare and file the asbestos trust claim identified in the defendants motion exceed the plaintiffs reasonably anticipated recovery from the asbestos trust the court shall stay the asbestos action until the plaintiff files with the court and provides all parties with a verified statement of the plaintiffs history of exposure usage or other connection to asbestos covered by the asbestos trust not less than thirty days prior to trial in an asbestos action the court shall enter into the record a trust claims document that identifies each claim the plaintiff has made against an asbestos trust section valuation of asbestos trust claims

Model

Exact copy

Similar language

Attorney fees and expenses prepare and file the asbestos trust claim identified the defendants motion exceed the plaintiffs reasonably anticipated recovery from the trust A the court determines that there a sufficient basis for the plaintiff file the asbestos trust claim identified a defendant the court shall order the plaintiff file the asbestos trust claim and shall stay the asbestos action until the plaintiff files the asbestos trust claim and provides all parties with all trust claims materials later than thirty days before trial B the court determines that the plaintiffs expenses attorney fees and expenses prepare and file the asbestos trust claim identified the defendants motion exceed the plaintiffs reasonably anticipated recovery from the asbestos trust the court shall stay the asbestos action until the plaintiff files with the court and provides all parties with a verified statement the plaintiffs history exposure usage other connection asbestos covered the asbestos trust application the provisions this part apply all asbestos actions filed after the effective date this part section act subject to petition effective date this act takes effect at am on the day following the expiration of the ninety day period after final adjournment of the august if adjournment sine die is on may except

Model

Exact copy

Similar language

Attorney fees and expenses prepare and file the asbestos trust claim identified the defendants motion exceed the plaintiffs reasonably anticipated recovery from the trust A the court determines that there a sufficient basis for the plaintiff file the asbestos trust claim identified a defendant the court shall order the plaintiff file the asbestos trust claim and shall stay the asbestos action until the plaintiff files the asbestos trust claim and provides all parties with all trust claims materials later than thirty days before trial B the court determines that the plaintiffs expenses attorney fees and expenses prepare and file the asbestos trust claim identified the defendants motion exceed the plaintiffs reasonably anticipated recovery from the asbestos trust the court shall stay the asbestos action until the plaintiff files with the court and provides all parties with a verified statement the plaintiffs history exposure usage other connection asbestos covered the asbestos trust application the provisions this part apply all asbestos actions filed after the effective date this part section act subject to petition effective date this act takes effect at am on the day following the expiration of the ninety day period after final adjournment of the august if adjournment sine die is on may except

**Is it okay that small groups
wield substantial power?**

What can we do about it?
(or should we do anything about it?)

What does this mean for democracy?

**What does this mean for
public administration?**