



LIBRARY

SEP 20 1984

UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO

Power Clusters: How Public Policy Originates

Neil L. Meyer and William T. Dishman



Cooperative Extension Service

University of Idaho

College of Agriculture

Contents

Introduction.....	3
Purposes of Power Clusters	4
Description of Power Clusters	4
A Power Cluster's Basic Elements	6
Public Administration Agencies	6
Legislative Committees.....	6
Special Interest Groups	6
Professionals	6
Influential Citizens	6
Attentive Public.....	7
Latent Publics	7
Behavior Patterns for Power Clusters	8
Close Ties	8
Communication Focus	8
Within Cluster Decisions	8
Internal Cluster Equilibrium	8
Internal Competing Groups.....	9
Compromises	10
Cross Power Cluster Leadership	10
Implications of the Power Cluster's Concept for Agriculture	11
Organization.....	11
Operational Methodology	11
Your Role in Public Policy Decisions	14
Appendix 1 — Outline for Policy Development.....	16
Appendix 2 — Basic Elements of Idaho Agricultural Power Cluster	17
Appendix 3 — Agriculture Power Subcluster for Grain Elevator Bankruptcy Legislation	18
Literature Cited	20

The Authors — Neil L. Meyer is an Extension agricultural economist who specializes in public policy in the University of Idaho Department of Agricultural Economics, Moscow. William T. Dishman is president of the Bingham County Wheat Growers.



Published and distributed by the
Idaho Agricultural Experiment Station
Lee A. Bulla, Jr., Director

University of Idaho College of Agriculture
Moscow, Idaho 83843

The University of Idaho offers its programs and facilities to all people without regard to race, creed, color, sex, or national origin.

Power Clusters: How Public Policy Originates

Neil L. Meyer and William T. Dishman

From where did PIK come? What was the source of the farm bill of 1981? Did the administration divide various agricultural interests for the 1981 farm legislation? If so, why? Why do some interest groups seem to have a strong influence on policy while others seem to have no influence whatsoever? What is policy anyway? How can individual producers work to get more responsive policy? Can you make a difference?

These are the kinds of questions people interested in policy and policy making ask themselves. This publication answers these and other questions that producers and agribusinessmen face as they develop an interest in getting involved with policy making and policy change. If you are interested in getting involved and having an influence on policy making or having your voice heard in changing policy, studying this publication is an excellent first step.

That study is an important first step but not necessarily an easy one. For you to influence policy, you must first understand the steps by which public policy evolves, the role of various power clusters, the communication channels that exist at various levels and the way in which these communication channels can best be used.

This publication presents a model of how national agricultural policy is made. It starts out by discussing how policy comes about and then defines and discusses the various groups that influence agricultural policy and the ways in which they do so. Finally, this narrative relates how you as an individual producer or agribusinessman can get involved and make your involvement more effective.

The appendices outline the steps normally taken for bringing about a change in policy, identify the agricultural power cluster in Idaho and offer examples of how one group of wheat growers in Idaho has become involved successfully in an area of national policy that is of vital interest to them.

The model presented here is based on the model developed by Daniel M. Ogden, Jr., (1971 and 1983) in his paper "How National Policy is Made." Many sections here are direct quotes or close paraphrases of Ogden's work, with applications to agriculture introduced by the authors.

Purposes of Power Clusters

Public policies are the rules, regulations or standards established by society to deal with problems — particularly that involve interactions between members of society. Policies clarify the rights of individuals, set procedures for making agreements and transactions and offer guidelines when agreements and transactions don't work out according to plan (which, of course, is where problems arise).

Everyone has problems. Some are private and do not affect others. Such problems are your own (or your family's), and others generally don't like to be involved in their solutions. But when the problems do affect others, then others will react. They may (1) suffer in silence, (2) complain about it, (3) take action to help them personally to cope with it or (4) take action to stop the activities infringing upon them.

For example, suppose a hail storm comes through an area. A farmer loses a few acres of crops. If the only effect is to delay his vacation or his buying a new pickup, others may feel sorry but will not react. Suppose your neighbor loses considerably more and cannot pay for the baling that you did. You not only feel sorry, but you react if his failure causes major hardship for you. You may say nothing, you may complain, or you may punch him in the nose. You may trade hay for the baling.

As the neighbor's problem has affected others, it has become a public affair. The public reacts to this type of problem and has developed guidelines to settle or define rights. This is the policy to deal with such problems.

Public policies are the rules, regulations or standards established by society to deal with interactions between societal members. In our example, policies are established that clarify each person's rights. Additional policies exist if a person fails to honor bank or consumer obligations. Another set of policies come into play if the individual is forced into bankruptcy. These policies have been developed as the result of past interactions between interested members or groups within the society. Interested persons took the time and made the effort to make their needs or positions on a public affair known. This active recourse usually takes the form of group control over the situation. Public policy is formed by this process of active recourse. This public policy then becomes a rule of operation for the public and/or private sector.

Under our system, the government must be the people's business. Citizens' responsibilities include observing, evaluating and working for change if they are not satisfied with the present situation. Public affairs education facilitates good citizenship by helping people observe and understand the process by which an issue or policy may be analyzed, evaluated and a course of action determined to bring about a change in policy.

Those actively involved in policy development or implementation are referred to as "power clusters." The power cluster concept is based upon the observations that follow.

Description of Power Clusters

Each cluster deals with one broad, interrelated subject area such as agriculture. In the United States, public policy is made within a system of semiautonomous power clusters. Each cluster operates quite independently of all other clusters identifying policy issues, shaping policy alternatives, proposing new legislation and implementing policy except on issues affecting more than one cluster.

Power clusters exist in each major area of public policy and within many subareas as well. Among the better structured and more effective power structures are clusters for agriculture, environmental and natural resources, defense, education, welfare, health, transportation, utilities, urban affairs, labor and banking.

Political parties participate little in this day to day interaction of the power cluster. Parties do affect power cluster behavior, however, by winning elections. By electing the President, governors and Congressional and the state legislative representatives, the parties decide which leaders within each power cluster will hold key positions within the government's executive and legislative branches. Presidential and legislative leadership establishes priorities among issues, determining which issues receive attention and/or action.

Because political parties are organized to win elections, they do not as a rule focus on the specific policy issues that concern the power clusters. Issues of concern to political parties are usually broad, intercluster matters such as taxes or budget levels that seem likely to affect the outcome of the next election. Congressional roll call votes are identifiably partisan about 40 percent of the time, and for such partisan roll call votes, only about 60 percent loyalty has been demonstrated from party members (Ogden 1971). Parties also affect the timing and chances of success for many specific policy decisions of concern to individual power clusters.

Most power clusters have subclusters which deal with specialized subjects within the broader policy area of the cluster. For example, the agriculture power cluster has identifiable subclusters dealing with export issues, agricultural markets, finance, rural development, etc. (Fig. 1). The subclusters operate with a large degree of autonomy within their parent power cluster. They also interrelate actively with other subclusters on issues of common interest. This is true within their own cluster and on intercluster issues with corresponding subclusters of other interested clusters. For example, the export and trade subcluster would interact with similar groups in defense, commerce and transportation on issues of food or agricultural commodities trade.

Now that you have an idea of what power clusters are and what they do, the next sections describe various parts of the power cluster in greater detail. First, the basic elements of the power cluster are described in greater detail to help understand what each element does and how it is structured. Then the characteristics affecting behavior of the power cluster are described. The implication for agricultural producers in their efforts to influence policy are outlined, and lastly, some recommendations for individuals wanting to affect policy are stated.

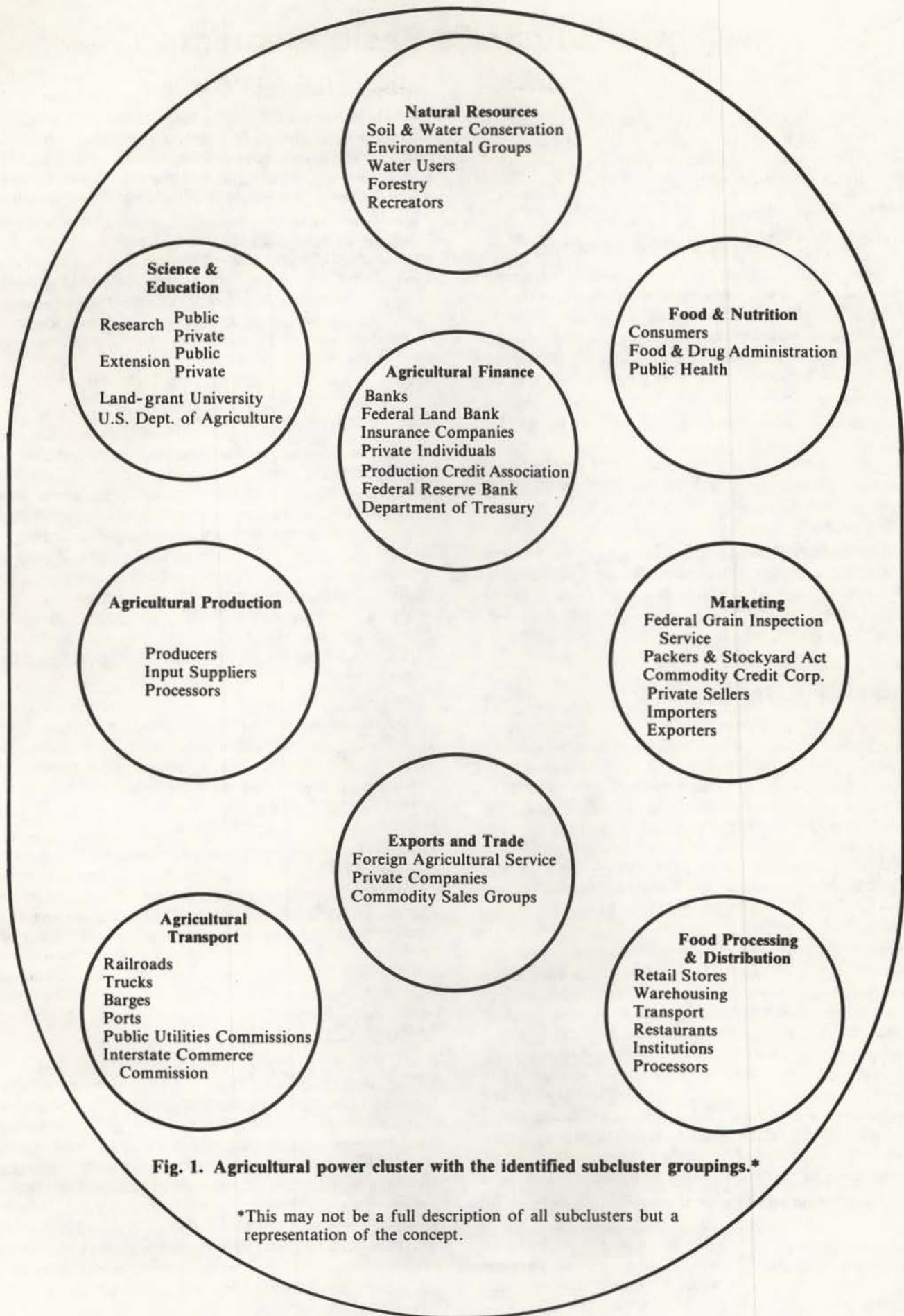


Fig. 1. Agricultural power cluster with the identified subcluster groupings.*

*This may not be a full description of all subclusters but a representation of the concept.

A Power Cluster's Basic Elements

Each power cluster is composed of the same basic elements. They are public administrative agencies, legislative committees, interest groups, professionals, volunteers, an attentive public and a latent public (see Appendix 2 for an outline and diagram of Idaho's agricultural power cluster).

Public Administration Agencies

Public administration agencies include departments, bureaus, services and commissions at the federal, state and local governmental levels that deal in a subject area. For example, in transportation, they include not only the Federal Highway Administration but highway departments in each state, county road departments and city street departments.

In education, they include all sorts of educational agencies from the U.S. Office of Education to state superintendents of education, local school district boards and superintendents. In agriculture, they include USDA agencies, state departments of agriculture and weed, grain and food inspectors.

In these organizations, individuals can be (1) elected such as presidents or governors, (2) appointed such as the Secretary of Agriculture or other high level administrative positions or (3) career type employees who have status and tenure in their jobs.

Legislative Committees

Legislative committees specialize in subject matter areas not only in the U.S. Congress but also in state legislatures. In Congress, members seek assignment to standing committees which deal with the subjects of most interest to them and which are most likely to help them politically back home. Once on the committee of their choice, they become deeply involved members of the power cluster to which that committee belongs. Committee staff, who often have had experience in other segments of the power cluster, also are active participants in cluster policy formation.

State legislators tend to be less highly specialized and less involved in cluster policy making than U.S. Congressmen. Idaho legislative bodies retain large numbers of standing committees and permit members to sit simultaneously on several committees. This pattern, coupled with their part-time status, greatly dilutes the impact state legislatures can have on decision making in any power cluster. Moreover, the Idaho legislature characteristically provides limited personal and committee staff, thereby further limiting legislative involvement in the power clusters. Actually, at the state level, most power tends to rest with those appropriating funds.

County commissioners, on the other hand, because of narrower responsibilities may become so heavily involved in one power cluster, like perhaps the highway or agriculture subcluster of transportation, that they are accused of neglecting the broader responsibilities of county government.

Special Interest Groups

Each power cluster has a large contingent of active special interest groups that deal with all elements of the cluster, not just with the legislative committees. Interest groups include not only service groups like the Grange, Farm Bureau, American Agricultural Movement and Farmers Union in the agriculture power cluster but also private businesses and commodity groups such as the National Association of Wheat Growers that operate in that field. Some are direct participants such as food processors. Others may be suppliers of major implements or chemicals. Other interest groups may include a wide variety of roles such as financiers, creditors, exporters and shippers. Some groups organize primarily to protect their special interests through political action groups.

Professionals

Professionals have special skills or have areas of expertise enabling them to be effective and active participants in the policy making process. Some are lawyers who specialize in trade, communications, transportation or natural resources law. They serve the various legislative bodies, executive agencies or interest groups as counsel or as advocates. Some are consultants dealing with the highly technical subjects such as engineering, rate analysis, tax accounting or biology and provide specialized service or knowledge. They testify at hearings before regulatory agencies and give expert advice to legislative committees.

Another type of professional in each power cluster is the journalist. Many journalists specialize in one subject area such as transportation, outdoor writing or agricultural policy, while others are employed by specialized publications such as *Pro Farmer*, *Farm Journal* or *Successful Farmer*, which cater to a readership within a particular power cluster.

A third type are university professors who may serve as experts to the power clusters or subclusters. For example, at the land-grant universities, professors in the College of Agriculture contribute information and data necessary to formulate agricultural policy. Professors in forestry contribute to natural resources policy decisions. Most of the time, they are not actively involved at the center of the process.

Influential Citizens

Many clusters attract a small but significant group of influential citizens who make their living in other fields but who take a keen personal interest in the subject of that cluster and participate actively in it. Laurance Rockefeller's and Robert Redford's involvement in environmental / resource use issues and Charlton Heston's contribution to export promotion are examples. These influential people may be ex-cabinet officers, former governors, members of Congress or other public figures who have contacts, specialized knowledge or wide public exposure. Distinguished writers, lecturers or commentators whose works have widespread influence also fall into this class.

Attentive Public

An attentive public forms the backdrop for each power cluster. Many citizens pay special attention to one area of public policy. Usually it is the area in which they make a living and hope to advance both economically and socially. Thus, farmers pay attention to agricultural issues.

Each attentive public's members pay attention to and follow issues of interest to them while tending to selectively screen out news about other policy areas when reading a newspaper or magazine, watching television or listening to the radio. Members of this group read, listen, have opinions and talk selectively about policy. They can be aroused over major controversy, and they may get involved in an organized interest group or write to public officials. They influence the policy making process because they are informed about the subject field and have a continuing personal interest in it. An example is the pork producers' concern regarding elimination of nitrite curing of ham and other products. They followed the issue closely and presented a strong reaction timed to keep the existing policy.

Latent Publics

All power clusters also have a latent public to which they rarely give heed. These are people who have interests affected by power cluster decisions but who do not normally pay much attention to the cluster, for they do not perceive that policies will change to affect them adversely. A major switch in policy that affects this latent public, however, may stimulate them to become involved in the cluster's internal decision making to protect their own interest.

An example is the U.S. merchant marine industry's interest in agricultural exports. The merchant marine industry has been successful in requiring 50 percent of the commodities sold under concessional sales to be shipped in U.S. flag vessels. This action increases transportation costs and reduces U.S. agriculture's ability to compete in overseas markets. Merchant marine interests became active when their interests were affected.

Behavior Patterns for Power Clusters

Each power cluster exhibits several important patterns of behavior that shape the policy making process. These are discussed in the following section. The important patterns are (1) close ties, (2) communications focus, (3) within cluster decisions, (4) internal cluster equilibrium, (5) internal competing groups, (6) compromises and (7) close power cluster leadership.

Close Ties

The key people within each power cluster often know each other on a first name basis. They communicate frequently and consult each other before reaching decisions. They know the relative power of each and know the principal actors within their cluster. They sometimes swap jobs.

Individuals usually are active in one power cluster throughout most of their lifetime. Only a few individuals are active in two or more clusters, and only a few individuals voluntarily move from one cluster to another.

Some job changes within each power cluster are limited by partisan political affiliations. For instance when a party wins the Presidency, it draws upon its partisans in each power cluster to occupy key executive agency posts. The party in power not only fills cabinet and subcabinet posts with its supporters but also key executive staff positions such as deputy assistant secretary, Congressional liaison and assistant to most policy making leaders.

Communication Focus

This characteristic is that the communicators change as an issue evolves and moves through the development process. Because of the time and activity level required, few persons are actually involved at the intense level. The most intense communication occurs at the center of Fig. 2 or in the intense communication circle. This intense communication could involve as few as two to three or as many as 10 to 12.

A section of the power cluster from Fig. 2 is shown as Fig. 3. It shows how the number of communicators decreases as the intense communication center is approached. In all cases, information flows continually to and from the communications center. Most interested groups are not involved at the center unless they are the primary promoter of the action.

The communicators will vary depending on what stage the issue is. For example, during the issue establishment stage, the intense activity may be with a few farmers that have recognized they have a problem. If they react strongly enough, the action will move to their farm organization. At that point, the action will move to other local farm organizations or to the national organization. If enough support or sufficient interest is generated, they will contact the public administrative department charged with that responsibility. All are parts of the agricultural power cluster or a subcluster as shown in Fig. 2.

The agency will react to correct the situation or if it fails to take acceptable action. Then the farm groups, either individually or collectively, will react to the step

taken by the administration. Then the communicators will be with congressional members or staff and key members of the farm groups.

At this time, the action will divide. The legislator will control the legislative process that develops an understanding of issue and determines if the concerned parties have reached a consensus. Then proposed action will be evaluated and a bill(s) introduced to move through the process. The intense communicators will be the sponsors, key committee members and key staff personnel.

Farm group's intense communicators will be within supporting groups trying to get action to show that strong support exists. Other groups may develop in opposition to the proposed action. All of these groups will try to develop and supply a flow of information to those supporting their position. The policy developed will reflect the majority view with some considerations for the views and needs of other affected parties. This is why a consensus showing wide support must be demonstrated within the cluster.

If the bill is passed, action will move to the administration for implementation and then to the public for compliance. At all times, the intense communicators at the center of Fig. 3 are few and often changing. As the intensity of communication lessens, the number of people involved greatly increases, first to hundreds then to thousands or hundreds of thousands as shown in Fig. 3. As action moves, former intense communicators may become frequently consulted or even down to regular flow of information (refers to the different levels of communication in Fig. 3). To impact policy effectively, activities must be designed to reach those with authority at the proper time with the data supporting your position.

Within Cluster Decisions

The third characteristic is that policy decisions are normally made within a power cluster without significant input of ideas or influence from outside elements. Unless a policy change generates conflict with another power cluster, the legislative proposals, appropriations requests and agency policy implementation as well as other aspects of policy making are accepted by other Congressmen, executive agencies outside the cluster and the interest groups. Nonparticipants in a power cluster support such change in a spirit of "live and let live," expecting the same sort of treatment when their power cluster seeks approval of changes it can hammer out.

Internal Cluster Equilibrium

The fourth characteristic of each power cluster is that it maintains an equilibrium in which each of its component elements has a defined and continuing role. Tension develops when new elements enter the power cluster and seek to displace an existing element, power relationships change or an existing element grows or declines significantly. Thus, the growth of food and nutrition groups and the advent of consumerism upset the long established equilibrium within the agricultural power cluster.

Internal Competing Groups

The fifth power cluster characteristic is internal competing interests. Within the agriculture cluster, for example, have long been at least three major, distinctive interests — the preservationist, the developers and the regulationists.

Preservationists have championed public actions to save methods of production and earlier life styles. In agriculture, their principal activity has been in the subcluster of self-sufficiency and the family farm. Their impact has hit several other subclusters in the agricultural cluster, especially acreage limitation groups and the public water and land users.

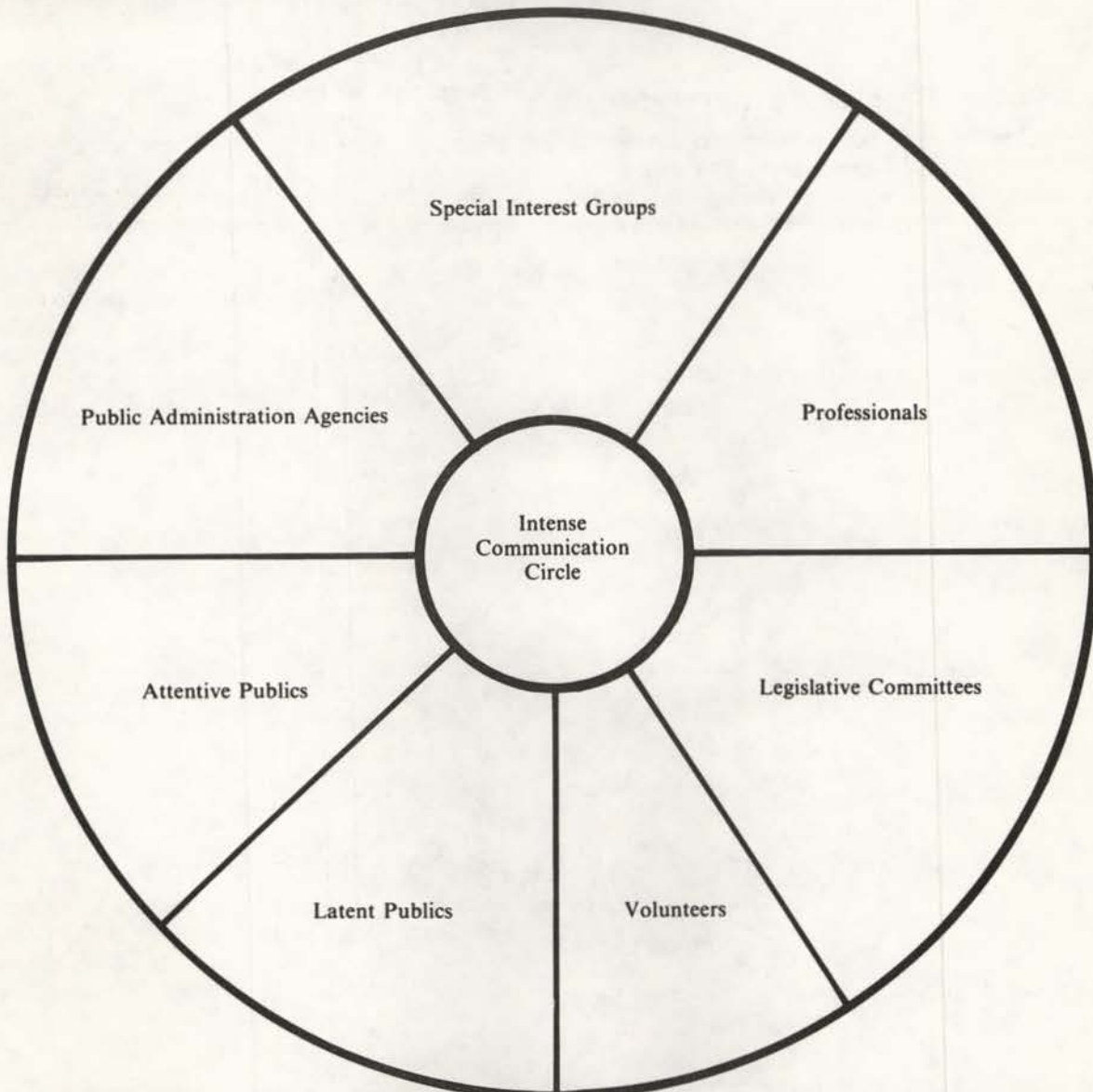
Developers advocate maximum use of natural resources. They embrace scientific production principles, maximum production and efficiency. Their ethical con-

cept is based on efficiency. Whatever is necessary for maximum production or lower production costs is justified.

Regulationists wish to have resource use rules serve as a tool to regulate private enterprise. Regulation takes two forms: (1) directing public enterprise and (2) regulating private industry through licensing, rate setting, defining conditions of service, market orders and resource use rules.

In an earlier era, developers and regulationists jointly supported building dams and developing power and irrigation resources. Now the preservationist coalition of family farmers and "back to landers" have developed common ground with some of the environmental anti-regulationists to stall many projects and to force others to meet higher standards of environmental protection and public subsidy repayment.

Fig. 2. Agricultural clusters and subcluster's communication circle.*



*This is not a full description of the cluster or a subcluster but a representation of the concept. A more detailed description of the agricultural cluster is shown in Appendix 2.

Compromises

Compromises are the sixth characteristic of the power cluster decision processes in the political system. The two types of compromises are: (1) compromises within the power cluster and (2) compromises among power clusters. Congressmen normally **expect** cluster compromises to be hammered out **before** a policy proposal is laid before them. If an open conflict ensues, they tell the combatants to go home, compromise their differences and come back with a proposal which they can all support.

Congressmen refuse to take sides within someone else's power cluster. To make such a demand is to force colleagues to make enemies unnecessarily and to invite intervention within the power cluster's affairs by outsiders with only passing interest in the matter. Members of the agricultural power cluster do not ask urban Congressmen who are members of the labor power cluster to settle their internal disputes. Thus, the power cluster system meets one of the crucial tests of politics; it offers a relatively efficient way to simplify the enormously complex and difficult task of reconciling policy goals and judgments.

Cross Power Cluster Leadership

Policy leadership across power cluster lines consequently falls principally to the President and to state governors. Legislative leaders who might claim such breath of scope, especially the Speaker and the Majority and

Minority leaders, rarely escape the compelling need to participate in the power clusters that are relevant to their constituencies.

A President who chooses to preside over the power clusters as he finds them becomes a "do nothing" and tends to be ignored. A President who chooses to alter public policy drastically and dares to reshape the power clusters and the process must enjoy both an overwhelming majority in Congress and a public willingness to innovate.

Most Presidents reside in the middle ground. To move policy in a new direction, the President must try to modify existing power clusters by introducing effective new leaders into the Executive Branch, by fostering dynamic new pressure groups to support them and by pushing new policies that will attract new and supportive attentive publics (Ogden 1983, page 18).

The extension of his own central staff remains the one weapon which a President can use to deal with the power cluster system. The White House Staff is so dependent upon him that he can count upon their loyalty to transcend power cluster lines.

The power cluster system is no clever invention of special interests to frustrate public control over policy. It is a highly practical system for reaching public policy decisions in the U.S. federal separation of powers and constitutional system. The basic American government structure of compromise and political parties makes the power cluster system both possible and efficient.

Implications of the Power Cluster's Concept for Agriculture

What can we learn from the cluster concept? What does it mean to individual farmers or members of a farm organization trying to influence farm policies? Does it make it easier to understand why policies do not change as much or as quickly when the party that controls the White House or Congress changes hands? Is it apparent why we must carefully analyze each issue to insure we are contacting the right people — all the right people?

A major consideration in any effort is identifying the cluster members and developing the means to monitor the intense communication within that cluster. Fig. 1 shows the major agricultural power cluster participants, and Fig. 3 shows the communication intensity for producers. The most intense communication takes place at the center of the diagram.

The goal of those wanting to influence policy is to develop the data and insure the flow of that information to the intense communicators at the center of the cluster at the proper time. With your information, the policy being developed will better serve you and your group's needs. Let's examine, in light of the cluster concept, some of the factors affecting agriculture's ability to influence public policy.

Organization

Many national groups are organized with a small paid staff, elected officers, appointed or volunteer committees and a dues paying membership. Sometimes the membership is automatic with membership to a state affiliated association, and most individuals' activities are associated with the state group.

This organizational structure has some built in limitations that must be recognized. The paid staff, who may have some farm background, are generally not personally involved with the problems. Because they deal with a wide range of issues most of the time, they may not fully understand all the aspects of a specific issue. Without that knowledge, they will not be involved at the intense communication level on that issue. The organization's leadership will become an intense communicator (center circle of Fig. 3) only on issues of which they are the primary backer. On most other issues, the group may be either frequently consulted or receive a regular flow of information.

The officers are elected to serve for short periods of time and, generally, are "in town" for several short periods each year. This often prevents them from being involved at the intense level on most issues. They will be given access to policy makers for input but generally will not become part of the inner circle of intense communication. Their contacts within the cluster are not as wide as the paid staff, and sometimes confusion occurs over who runs what.

Official involvement in policy development is generally by virtue of position and not because of their specific knowledge. They often are the one presenting official testimony for the organization, even though they may not be the most knowledgeable members.

Generally, the organization's committee chairman has the greatest knowledge on a specific issue concerning his committee or will know who does. If the committee is functioning properly, the committee chairman has lines of communication developed to others within his subcluster. If he does not, then he is not functioning. These lines of communication are important and should be cultivated at both the state and national levels. If the director of research for your state university cannot tell you who is chairman of the research committee for your state organization, then the communication network is not functioning.

The cluster concept suggests that committees of organized groups be structured along interest lines. If such committees are properly informed, given authority, funded and encouraged to develop contacts within the cluster, they can be more effective than having a small group of officers do it all. To affect policy, a committee must have good data and good lines of communication with the grassroots so that broad needs are being considered and not just individual interests. Training and development of leadership at the committee level is extremely important yet often overlooked.

Operational Methodology

Success in influencing policy is generally based upon the following factors: (1) information and data, (2) ability to influence the right people, (3) money, (4) grassroots support or votes, (5) consensus and (6) structuring action. Looking at each factor in greater detail helps explain why each is important. Let's examine them one at a time.

Information and Data — A good informational base is a must. It is needed to establish a concern as an issue. Farmers often go to Washington, D. C., or their state capitals expressing concerns but do not have data to establish the concern as an issue. The result is that many policy makers do not give much weight to farmers' concerns because they don't have supporting data and fail to get it. Policy makers must have a good information base from which to develop policy.

If the information you provide is new, better, adds a new insight and can be evaluated and upheld, then it may be accepted. It must be accurate and have limited or acceptable bias. Data must be understandable and designed for the group to be informed. A Congressman may read one or two pages but does not have time for 20 pages. A staff member will need to know more than his boss; he may need 20 or 30 pages. Much of the information coming out of USDA is looked on as suspect by Congressmen because they feel it is biased, inaccurate, out of date or all three. Agricultural groups often fail to put together adequate data and often use opinions of current leaders or vocal members without much input from the broader based grassroots.

Agricultural organization leaders must know and understand the needs, problems and feelings of those they

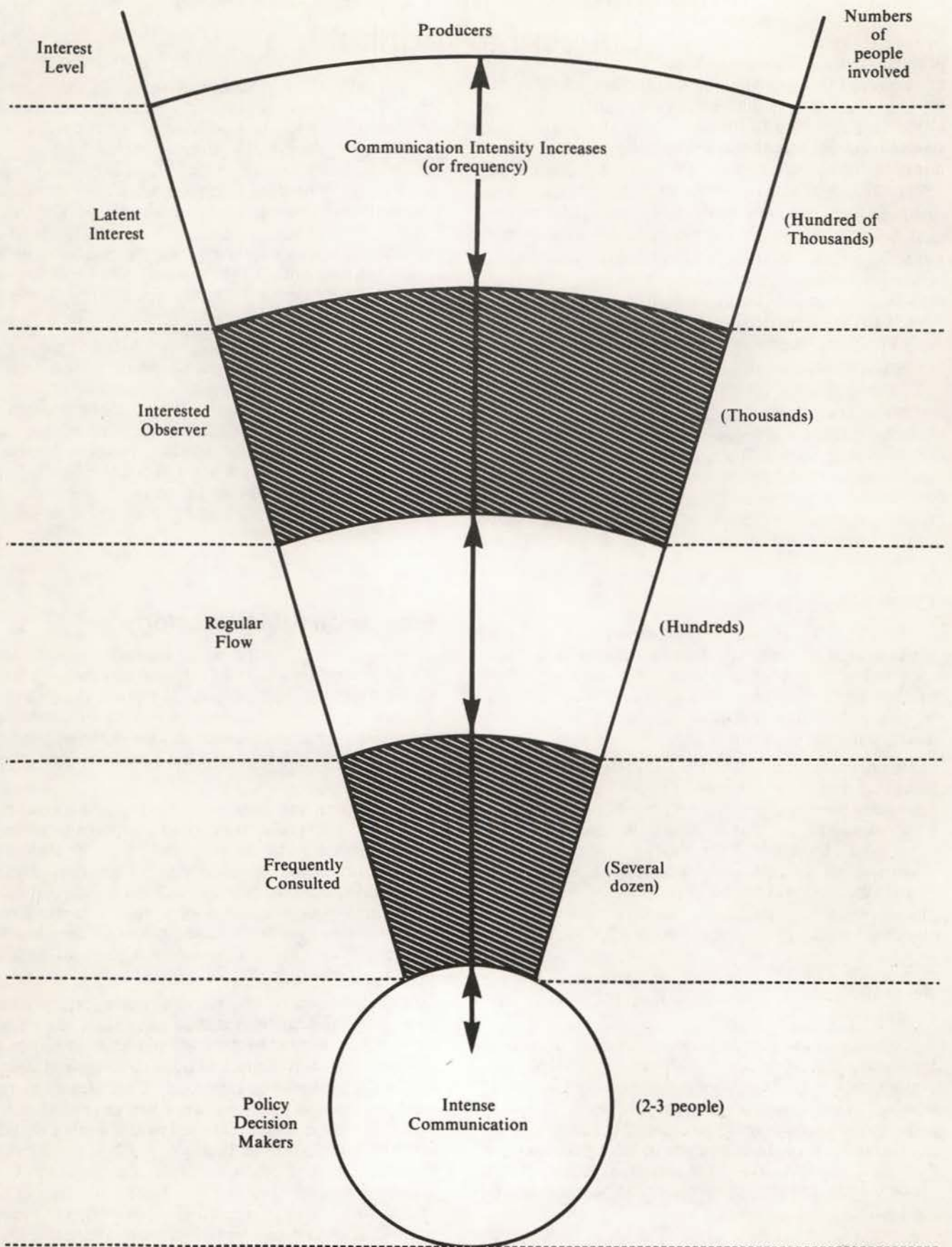


Fig. 3. A section of Fig. 2 showing information flow and communication intensity.

represent. This point can be illustrated using the grain elevator bankruptcy issue. USDA used the figure of 26 elevators filing for bankruptcy in 1980 as documentation of the problem. It appeared to Congress to be a small problem, and Congress was losing interest. USDA failed to clearly inform Congress that these were just federally licensed elevators, that actually up to 20 individual elevators were involved in some specific cases yet were counted as one, and that no effort was made to determine the number of state bankruptcy cases.

New information on the actual number of bankruptcies was put together by cooperative efforts of several farm groups. With this additional information, Congressmen went back to their home districts and asked farmers if elevator bankruptcies were a problem. Since most states had two to 10 cases, the farmers replied "yes." The issue was viable again. Why? Because more accurate up-to-date data were available.

Much effort needs to be made by farm groups, universities and independent groups to insure good information is available on which to base policies. Improved communication lines must also be open to organization members and to other cluster and subclusters members. Poor communication can destroy the credibility of an important issue. For example, if a Congressman goes home and asks an ordinarily knowledgeable farmer if elevator bankruptcies are a problem and the farmer says "no," the Congressman is likely to discount the information he has received from an organized group. Good data are important even if the numbers are subject to various interpretations.

Ability To Get to the Right People — The evolution of policy is a fluid process. In reality, it is akin to a spider web (Fig. 4) with people and activity levels constantly changing as the policy or issue evolves. At some stages, key Congressmen may be the intense communicators. A week later, the activity may have shifted to either his personal staff, the committee staff or a combination of the two. Activity levels may start in the private sector, move to the Administration and to Congress, return to Administration and then go back to the private sector during the course of policy development as an issue is identified, evaluated, legislated, regulated, enforced and complied with. Fig. 2 shows sections in the agricultural power cluster. Fig. 3 shows how communication flows and intensifies as the center is approached.

Action plans must reach the right people at the right time with the right information. Meeting with the Secretary of Agriculture when the action is in the hands of a division or section chief may be a waste of time if action is occurring. The same can hold true in Congress. At certain times, action and information needs to flow to Congressmen; at other times it needs to flow to a committee or subcommittee's staff members. At still other times, it needs to flow to the Congressman's personal staff. Then, as the matter comes out of committee to the floor for action, information must flow to all members and especially to key members who tend to set voting patterns¹ (e.g., Washington Democratic Representative

Tom Foley's vote may set the voting pattern for 10 to 15 other Congressmen on some agricultural issues).

Money — Use of money to affect agricultural policy or political action by farmers or farm groups has been limited not only in amount but in success as well. While one agricultural group may tend to support one set of policies, another group may support other policies. One group's expenditure offsets the money spent by other groups. The most noteworthy exception is the dairy group. An examination of USDA funds spent on dairy programs in comparison to other commodities reveals that these funds have brought the results they apparently desired.

Farm groups must remember that other segments of the agricultural cluster do not necessarily have the same limitations on these types of funds. Groups like American Bankers Association, the agribusiness community, exporters like Cargill, Continental or Bunge, plus the railroads, truckers, shippers, consumer groups, labor, food processors, maritime workers and others use large sums of money to influence public agricultural policies. Farmers and farm groups can improve their effectiveness by analyzing this flow of funds and developing coalitions to pool limited resources.

Grassroots support — Many farm groups could gain strength by using their members more effectively. A tendency is to allow the elected and hired leaders to do most of the policy promotion work. Information flow between members and leadership is often limited or slow; neither is effective for political action. Many producers have the feeling that if an issue is fair, right or true, then change will follow as a natural course. Unfortunately, in our government the squeaky wheel gets the attention. The cluster concept helps producers and interested persons think through interest levels of others within the cluster and the position they are likely to hold.

Our form of government not only allows involvement but actually requires each sector to speak up and make its needs and problems known. If agricultural producers fail to do so, then others' needs will fill the void, and producers' needs will not be considered. The producers must be involved early, actively identifying issues and evaluating alternate courses of action. Many local members having lines of communication or interaction with the cluster or subcluster should be involved in the action.

Agricultural groups tend to deal mostly with legislation or regulatory action, therefore providing little input to the longer range policy developmental process. If agricultural organizations want to be involved in policy development, they could be more effective by providing and encouraging their members to be involved in the subcluster appropriate for their interest.

Consensus — Imagine you are a policy maker and three different groups of wheat growers want three conflicting programs. What would you do? If three major farm organizations take three different positions on a single issue, what action do you take? If you are smart, you do nothing. Why? No matter what you do, two-thirds are angry with you. By the agricultural cluster failing to reach a consensus, it is telling policy makers that: (1) the issue is not important enough for the cluster to think it

¹Because Congressmen do not have time to study every issue, at times they will vote for a person they respect and consider knowledgeable.

through, (2) the proposed solution or action treats only a small portion of the problems or (3) self interest is your only goal. All of these reasons put a policy maker in a no win situation. His best solution is to do nothing.

To be successful, the agricultural cluster must (a) develop means to build consensus, (b) develop and use accurate data, (c) develop better lines of communication with its own grassroots to insure positions are on target, (d) work on major issues, do homework and get involved early and (e) cooperate with other groups to build coalitions.

Structuring the Action — Early evaluation of those involved in the cluster or subcluster and the positions they hold, whether favorable or opposed, is a must. Effective action should include all with potential to influence or be affected by the action. Those with antagonistic positions must be neutralized with supporting data. Their views must be addressed.

Each action is different; some require legislation and others do not. You must, therefore, plan the action accordingly. The cluster concept helps ensure getting the action to the right people to bring about change.

Additional considerations are needed when the issues involve more than one cluster. The grain elevator

bankruptcies issue is one of these (see Appendix 3). It affects not only the agricultural cluster but also the legal cluster, small businesses and the financial cluster as well. Even though the agricultural cluster had a consensus and established a coalition, the desired change did not come because compromises were not worked out to cover the intercluster considerations.

The cluster concept of policy development helps producers understand how policies come about in our form of government. Understanding this concept helps agricultural groups be more effective at developing policies that serve both the country and its agricultural producers. It assists in centering the effort where the action is (where the intense communication is taking place) while providing time to prepare a balanced action program.

Remember, each action is different, intense communication centers change during the course of issue involvement, and time, money and effort can best be used by planning ahead and working together in a spirit of cooperation. Also in most cases, policy makers are hard working, sincere individuals trying to do a good job. By providing the best data and working out a consensus with fellow producers and/or other groups, the policy that is developed will serve both producer and country better.

Your Role in Public Policy Decisions

Once the structure of decision making is understood, the next step is getting your ideas and suggestions into the decision making process. Here are a few reasons why producers have vested interests for getting involved.

During the last 2 years, while producers have harvested record crops for an export market with the encouragement of the government, those who control monetary and fiscal policy have dramatically increased the price of U.S. commodities to many countries by actions affecting exchange rates. The result is less demand, more surpluses, lower prices and a record number of farm foreclosures. Why? Conflicting governmental policy. For agricultural interests to be served, producers must become more effectively involved in the policy making process.

Issues affecting producer interests on which policy will be decided in the near future include water rights, public water policies, mineral property rights, public land use, erosion control, export and trade issues, monetary and fiscal policy, immigration laws, transportation user fees, energy policy, minimum wage laws, Social Security tax changes, funding for schools, property taxes, germplasm and telephone rates for rural people. These are just a few of the issues. Who will represent your and other farmers' views? Who will gather the supporting data? Who will develop the consensus? If you do not do your part, why should anyone else?

What steps can you take to get involved, and what can you do to be effective in your efforts? An important

motivator is an understanding of the system and the problems, concerns and issues facing agriculture today. As you understand them, your desire to find solutions usually increases. Evaluate the type of activities you like. If you like to read or do research, you can be of invaluable service in pulling data together to develop an issue. Some people enjoy being on center stage; others prefer building the sets. Both make important contributions.

Many producers lack self-confidence or experience in public affairs, however, getting involved helps them to gain both. Taking advantage of leadership training, educational seminars, reading and discussing issues with others all help you increase your understanding and confidence.

Think about how others are affected by the issues. Write a short letter to a policy maker. Select an issue that interests you, and discover who else is working on or is interested in the issue. This will often lead you to a group that might support your goal of finding a solution to the problem. This group might welcome your help and interest.

Generally, you will find others with similar interests. They may be in an existing organization or simply an informal group that works together on the issue. For most major issues, you will be more effective working with or through a group. But before joining it, evaluate carefully to insure that your interests are similar. Find out if they are receptive to new ideas, methods and newcomers. Find out if they have programs to develop your abilities. Are they interested in solving problems, or are they more interested in having someone talk the issue through? Will the majority of your efforts be directed at the problem or at trying to get the organization to work on the problem? Will you find support, encouragement and resources available to bring about change, or will leadership or staff control all action and keep you in a box?

Farm groups are generally organized around a commodity such as wheat or cattle, an activity such as irrigation pumping or general interest such as the Farm Bureau, Farmer Union or Grange. These last groups are generally organized along ideological lines. Much of your satisfaction will come from your relationship with the group, so choose it wisely.

Once involved with a group, get involved in the committee assigned to your area of interest. You may not be assigned committee chairman, but make sure you take an active role and that your position is known. If differences of opinion occur, make sure the painful process of developing a consensus is carried out. Survey other growers, and clearly define the issues. Then look at alternative courses of action to come up with policy recommendations. (An outline of this procedure is found in Appendix 1.) Determine the power cluster, and ask cluster members what their positions are on the issue. Then plan the action. First, build consensus with other groups within the cluster. Then you are ready to go to policy makers with your recommendation.

Communication takes place throughout this process, but as you move outside your own group, it becomes

more critical. It can take place through a personal visit over the phone or in written form. To be effective, however, it must be a two-way proposition. Your listening must be as careful as your informing. Note that others' concerns as well as your organization's must be addressed.

Before a personal visit, a letter of inquiry or an expression of concern is helpful in establishing a relationship with the individual or office. Much lead time is important since Congressional offices will take 7 to 30 days to answer mail. Departments such as USDA may take 15 to 60 or more days to reply.

Appointments are helpful with Congressmen and key officials. Be prepared because, generally, you will have 5 to 15 minutes to make your case especially if the Congressman is not your representative. If you do not know the Congressman's background, find it out before the visit. Do not expect a commitment to a position at early meetings. The Congressman is not likely to be in a position to make one. Time will be needed to clarify the issue and learn the power cluster's position.

If the Congressman is being approached to sponsor a bill, more material is required than asking for support of an issue. Be prepared to leave a short summary of the issue for the Congressman and additional materials for staff members. When the business at hand is completed, leave. A brief "thank you" note recapping the meeting will set you apart from other visitors.

In most cases, more time will be spent with the staff member than with the Congressman. This is useful time because most of the time the Congressman will vote based upon the staff's recommendation. Offer and get additional information if it is needed. A flow of information is better than one big pile. Copies of news stories or other media events from the Congressman's district are also helpful.

Remember, key individuals — the intense communicators — will change as the issue develops and is resolved. Your efforts must make the necessary adjustments. The goal is to provide a flow of information to the intense communicators at all times. If the issue is not a legislative matter, slight variations may be necessary, but the action is basically the same.

To enlarge your influence, become active in your support of candidates. If you agree with their positions, help them get elected. If not, support candidates who do hold views you can support, or consider running for office yourself.

You, your industry and your country will be better off for your involvement in public policy development. The issues need your input and the benefit of your experience. If you do not like things the way they are, do not blame government, business, unions or farm organizations, but look to yourself, your neighbors and your fellow producers. For our system to work, your input and involvement is required. Without it, the rest of society has and will continue to make policy (Guither 1980).

Appendix 1

Outline for Policy Development*

- I. Issue Evolvement
 - A. Existing political, economic and social situation
 - B. Identify and evaluate area of concern
 1. Identify by initiator - list concerns
 2. Evaluate by legitimizer
 - a. Determine validity of concerns
 - b. Determine base of support - list - legitimizer
 - C. Define and state issue (concisely and positively)
- II. Identify the Power Cluster (the groups of players)
 - A. Those who affect the policy issue
 1. Governmental officials — national, state and local
 - a. Administrative
 - b. Legislative
 - c. Judiciary
 2. Professional media
 3. Interest group organizations
 4. Influential citizens
 5. The publics - attentive - latent
 - B. Evaluation of power cluster position
 1. Supportive
 2. Neutral
 3. Antagonistic
- III. Coalition Building
 - A. Contact potential supportive group and determine involvement level
 1. Active
 2. Passive
 - B. Develop a consensus of opinion
 1. By debate
 2. By negotiation
 3. By compromise
 - C. Plan the action
 1. Means and structure
 2. Consider alternatives
 3. Rank priorities
 4. Make assignments to coalition members
- IV. Structuring the Action
 - A. Develop the information base
 1. Review of available material
 2. Identify research and data needs (get commitment to do)
- B. Organize two steering committees
 1. Educational and informational group
 2. Delivery and audience recruitment group (supported by informational group)
- C. Prepare material
 1. Educational group
 - a. Teaching outline
 1. Conference/workshop
 2. Self-administrated material
 - b. Fact sheets
 - c. Surveys
 - d. News and media releases
 - e. Charts and graphs
 - f. Radio and TV programs, indepth articles
 - g. Slide sets, video presentations
 2. Delivery group
 - a. Instruction on leader selection
 - b. Instruction on self-administered material
 - c. Instruction on use of fact sheet
 - d. Instruction on survey
 - e. Instruction on media material
 - f. Instruction on audience recruitment
- V. Action Plan Implementation
 - A. Development of funding base
 1. Organizational
 2. Direct mail
 3. Other
 - B. Affecting the environment for change (dispersing the issue)
 1. Legitimizing, create interest, raise questions
 - a. Survey
 - b. Expand coalitions - personal visit
 - c. Coordinated media/educational program
 2. Recruitment and training program outreach
 3. Establish meeting schedule
 4. Organize an interesting or dramatic public presentation
 - C. Coordination of power cluster action
 1. Administrative action
 2. Legislative action
 3. Legal action
 4. Legal action
 - D. Informational program to supporters
 1. Newsletter
 2. Survey
 3. Meeting
- VI. Followup and Evaluation
 - A. Have objectives been fully met?
 - B. Evaluate success of implementation
 - C. Did the action achieve desired results?

*This outline was prepared by Dishman. It refines and combines features of Bohlen, Ogden, Shapes and Iowa's public policy models. It is based upon his experience and personal observations. It has been tested at several levels and evaluated by several professionals (For specific details see House 1983).

Appendix 2

Basic Elements of Idaho Agricultural Power Cluster*

I. Public Administration Agencies

Federal

1. U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA)
2. Bureau of Land Management (BLM), U.S. Department of Interior
3. Bureau of Reclamation, U.S. Department of Interior
4. Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC)
5. Department of State
6. Office of Management and Budget

Idaho

1. Idaho Department of Agriculture
2. Idaho Department of Transportation
3. Public Utilities Commission
4. Department of Water Resources

II. Legislative Committees

Federal

Senate

1. Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry (8 subcommittees)
2. Appropriations subcommittee on Agriculture
3. Budget
4. Defense
5. Foreign Relations

House

1. Agriculture
2. Appropriations subcommittee on Agriculture
3. Interior and Insular Affairs
4. Interstate and Foreign Commerce
5. Public Works and Transportation
6. Ways and Means
7. Budget

Idaho

Senate

1. Agricultural Affairs
2. Finance
3. Transportation
4. Resources and Environment
5. Health, Education and Welfare

House

1. Agricultural Affairs
2. Appropriations
3. Transportation and Defense
4. Education
5. Resources and Conservation

III. Special Interest Groups

National

1. National Association of Wheat Growers (NAWG) and other commodity groups.
2. General Farm Groups (American Farm Bureau, National Grange, National Farmers Union, National Farmers Organization, American Agriculture Movement, etc.)
3. Agricultural Supplier Associations
4. Food Processor Associations
5. Financial Institutions
6. Competing Exporters

Idaho

1. Commodity Groups (Wheat Growers, Cattlemen, Wool Growers, Pea and Lentil Producers, Dry Edible Beans, Growers and Shippers Assn., Fruit and Vegetable Assn., etc.)
2. General Farm Groups (Farm Bureau, Grange, Farmers Union, AAM, NFO, etc.)
3. Association of Commerce and Industry
4. Food Producers
5. Idaho Transportation Council
6. Agricultural Bankers and Financiers

IV. Professionals

National

1. USDA, BLM, Department of Energy
2. Testing, Weights and Measures Agencies
3. Land-grant System — Colleges of Agriculture
4. Water Lawyers
5. Agricultural Lawyers
6. Marketing agencies
7. Certified Public Accountants
8. Communications Media

State

1. State Department of Agriculture
2. Land-grant System
College of Agriculture, University of Idaho
 - a. Research
 - b. Extension — county agents, state specialists
3. State and local government employees
4. Communications Media

V. Volunteers

1. Producers and their families
2. Suppliers of agricultural inputs
3. Producers and distributors of agricultural products

IV. Attentive Public

1. Those concerned about food supplies and prices
2. Those concerned with healthfulness of food supplies

VII. Latent Public

1. Those concerned only when another cluster's policy proposals affect their cluster.

*This is an outline of Idaho's agricultural power cluster within Ogden's (1983) framework. The organizations and groups mentioned are intended as examples but are not definitive of all who should be included.

Appendix 3

Agriculture Power Subcluster for Grain Elevator Bankruptcy Legislation*

My involvement with trying to bring about change on the grain elevator bankruptcy issue started as growers in Bingham County became concerned about the length of time it took to receive payment for delivered grain. With the increase in time, greater sums of money were at risk. Our county requested assistance from the Idaho State Wheat Growers Association. After several months, the Association appointed a task force with me as chairman. Our task was to look at the warehousing and commodity buyer laws of the State of Idaho.

The action was brought up at a Food Producers of Idaho meeting, and several other farm groups interested in working along similar lines were identified. A commitment was made by several organizations to cooperate with state officials to review and update Idaho's laws. This was done. About the same time, a rise in the number of elevator bankruptcies nationwide was occurring. At the national level, the Dole-Emerson Bill was introduced to bring about changes in the federal bankruptcy statute, correcting some of the injustices to the farming community. The bill complemented our state efforts.

In the spring of 1981, contact was established with several members of Congress as well as officials at USDA. I was assured that the bill would pass as the session closed. The bill, however, failed to pass. In spring 1982, earlier efforts were followed up on because I thought that if a coordinated effort was not pulled together at that time, no bill was likely to pass. Idaho State Wheat Growers Association (ISWGA) supported bringing such an effort together. The National Association of Wheat Growers allowed me the use of phone, desk and limited secretarial services. As a result, I spent 6 months in Washington, D.C., working on the bankruptcy issue.

We identified problem areas, improved the data base, developed a program to improve the flow of information to the Congress, USDA and supporting farm groups. Of greatest importance was the development of a program for presenting the issue to members of Congress, the Judiciary Committee and their staffs. We identified the power cluster and extended our efforts to include many more than the historical practice of dealing mostly with the Agricultural Committee.

As a result of conversations with Dan Ogden, our efforts were restructured to fully incorporate the power cluster concept. These proved helpful. Using the concept provided insight to reach out to deal with the intercluster issues. Without resolving these intercluster issues, an effective bill may not be passable, and a watered down appeasement bill will be the likely result.

*This section is based on the personal experience of Bill Dishman, president, Bingham County Wheat Growers, Blackfoot, Idaho.

Additional funding to return to Washington in spring 1983 to work on the intercluster problems and to put together an educational effort for the 10 farm groups and USDA was requested. To date, the funding has not been made available.

These activities have pointed out several weaknesses farm groups have tended to have in dealing with policy issues: (1) The inability to pinpoint action as needed, (2) the hesitancy to work with groups and congressmen outside of the agriculture cluster and (3) the unwillingness to remain involved for the duration.

These observations are not meant as a criticism but as a means of improving agriculture's ability to affect policy. The key for future action is agriculture's more effective use of members who have the knowledge, interest and incentive to find answers. It lies in providing opportunities and resources to these individuals and allowing them to be actively involved in the process. The farm or commodity organization leadership and staff just do not have the time nor the knowledge to deal with all the problems that need to be addressed.

The ISWGA should be commended for its support in this effort, but the cost of the effort needs to be spread over a greater base. Without the support of ISWGA, the bankruptcy issue would likely be dead.

The balance of Appendix 3 identifies major parts of the grain elevator bankruptcy subcluster. When the issue gets resolved, then the subcluster will disband or rejoin the marketing subcluster of which it normally would be a part. As you review the number of people involved, the need to communicate effectively on the issue, and the need to monitor with whom and where the action is, you will understand why a farm organization staff member who can spend perhaps 10 percent of his time on the issue cannot effectively guide action. Also apparent is why a national organization president has difficulty being involved effectively in all issues of the policy development process. The answer lies in developing knowledgeable, motivated, grassroots supporters and providing them the means and opportunities to become involved in an ongoing process within the subcluster of their interest area.

I. Federal Government (Spring 1983)

A. Administrative

1. President of U.S. (Reagan)
2. Executive Committee of Agriculture (Block)
 - a. Executive Assistant to Secretary (Lett)
 - b. Under Secretary for Commodity Program (Lodwick)
 - c. Assistant Secretary for Marketing and Inspection (McMillan)
 - d. Assistant Secretary for Economics (Leshner)
 - e. General Counsel (Barnes)

3. Working group
 - a. Agricultural ASCS/SCS (Hews)
 - b. Agricultural Marketing Service (Springfield)
 - c. Economic Research Service (Wright)
 - d. Office of the General Counsel (Grunderman)
 - e. Office of Inspector General (Sidner)
 - f. Cooperative State Research Service (Yager)
 - g. Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (Matsuoka)
 - h. Office of Budget and Program Analysis (Meyerson)
 - i. ASCS Claim and Collection Division (Bell)
- B. Legislative - House
1. 25 Congressman Judiciary Committee
 2. 25 Congressional staffers
 3. 3 legal counsels (Grimes, Mielke, Kern)
 4. Key Congressmen on Judiciary Committee
 - a. Billy Lee Evans (since been defeated)
 - b. Dan Glickman (on both agriculture and judiciary committees)
 - c. Caldwell Butler (ranking Republican who helped write bankruptcy law - retired 1982)
 - d. Peter Rodino (wrote bankruptcy law)
 - e. Mike Synar (one of few Judiciary Committeemen from farm state)
 5. 42 Congressmen of Agriculture Committee
 - a. 34 Congressional staffers
 - b. 2 or 3 Agricultural Committee staffers
 1. John Hogan (Rep Counsel - lawyer)
 2. Gene Moos (Tom Foley's staff)
 - c. Key Congressmen
 1. Bill Emerson (sponsor)
 2. Tom Foley (former Chairman, Ag Committee)
 3. Pat Roberts (Rep Kansas)
 4. Dan Glickman (both Agriculture and Judiciary)
 5. Don Albosta (new to Ag Committee - wanted to get involved)
 6. Kika de la Graza (Agriculture Committee chairman)
 - d. Leadership
 1. Trent Lott (Mississippi - Minority Whip)
 2. Bob Mitchell (Illinois - Minority Leader)
 3. Tom Foley (D-Washington - Whip)
 4. Tom Wright (D-Texas - Majority Leader)
 5. Tip O'Neill (D-Massachusetts - Speaker)
 - e. General Accounting Office (Report CED-81-112)
 - f. Republican Study Committee (fact sheet)
- C. Legislative - Senate
1. Agriculture Committee
 - a. 17 members (per staffer)
 - b. Bob Dole (R-Kansas, sponsors John Gordly and staff)
 2. Judiciary Committee
 3. 18 Senators
 - a. Bob Dole (R-Kansas, sponsor, counsel Doug Comer)
 - D. Judiciary System
 1. Members of U.S. Supreme Court rule on Bankruptcy Bill change priorities
 2. Bankruptcy Judge
- II. State Agencies
- A. Departments of Agriculture and/or Division of Warehouses — presenting testimony
 1. Illinois
 2. Kansas
 3. Missouri
 4. Ohio
- III. Interest Groups
- A. American Agriculture Movement (Senter)
 - B. National Farmer Union (Sacia)
 - C. American Soybean Association (Foster)
 - D. National Farmers Organization
 - E. National Grange (Anderson)
 - F. National Association of Wheat Growers (Williams, Dishman)
 - G. American Farm Bureau (Proctor)
 - H. American Bar Association
 - I. National Farmer Organization (Frazier)
 - J. National Corn Grower Association
 - K. National Council of Farmer Cooperatives
 - L. Cooperative League of the USA
 - M. Kansas Wheat Growers
 - N. Idaho State Wheat Growers Association (plus many other farmer groups on state level)
 - O. American Banker Association
 - P. Association of Warehouse Administrators (Cox)
 - Q. Illinois Legislative Council (Casey)
 - R. Several labor union supported efforts (AFL-CIO, Teamsters)
- IV. Private Concerns
1. Agricultural
 - A. Cargill
 - B. Bunge
 - C. Continental
 - D. State and National Seed and Grain Dealers
 1. Farm input suppliers
 2. Farm machine and truck dealers
 2. Nonagricultural (The following are all part of a coalition to bring about general change in the Bankruptcy Law of 1978)
 - A. Automobile dealers
 - B. Bankcard companies
 - C. Banks
 - D. Collection agencies
 - E. Consumer credit counseling services
 - F. Consumer finance companies
 - G. Credit bureaus
 - H. Credit unions
 - I. Home furnishings and appliance dealers
 - J. Petroleum credit card companies
 - K. Retailers
 - L. Savings and loan associations
 - M. Small business organizations

Literature Cited

1. House, Verne W. 1981. Shaping public policy — The educator's role, Chapter 2, Westridge Publ., Bozeman, MT.
2. Ogden, Daniel M., Jr. 1971. How national policy is made, Increasing understanding of public problems and policies, Farm Foundation, Chicago, IL, p. 5-10.
3. Ogden, Daniel, M., Jr. 1983. How national policy is made. Office of Power Marketing Coordination, U.S. Dept. of Energy.
4. Guither, H. D. 1980. Making your views known on food agricultural and community issues. NCR 127 Coop. Ext., Univ. of Illinois, Urbana.