

## Slide 1. Two-Level Games

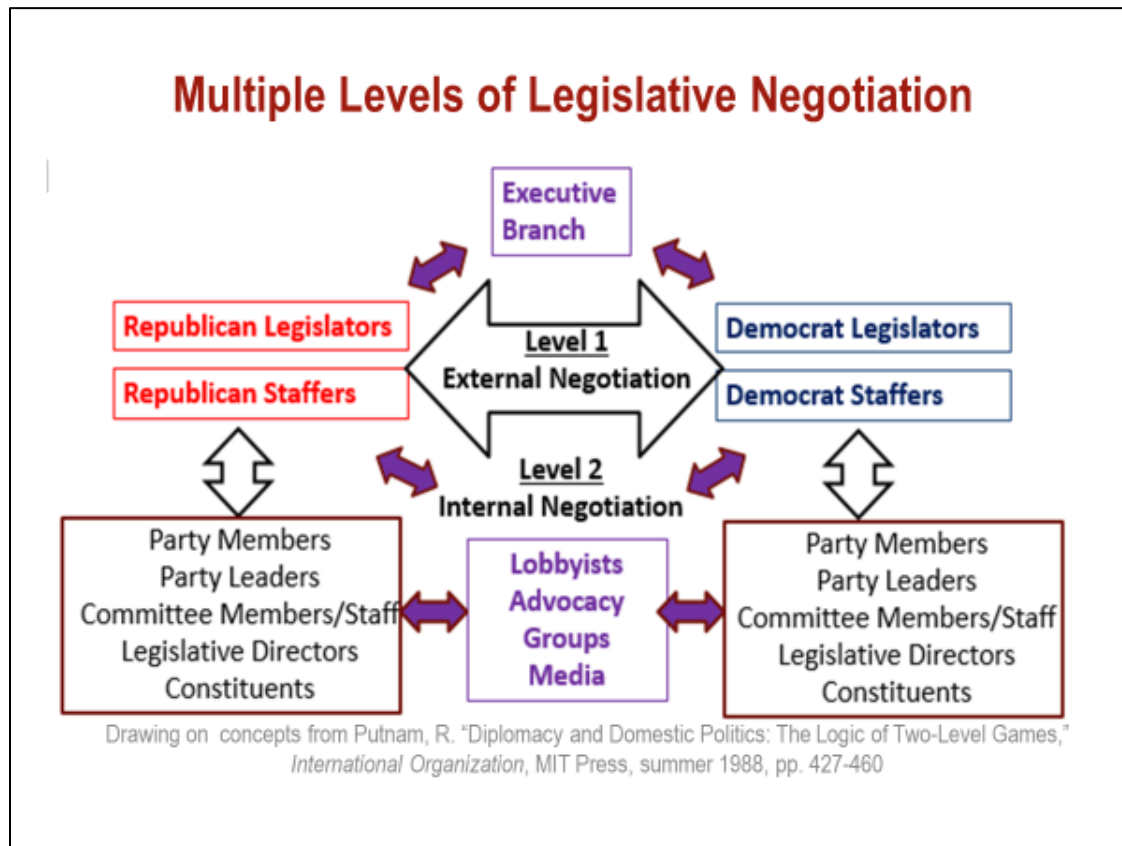
### **“Two-level games”**

(Putnam, R. “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games,”  
*International Organization*, MIT Press, summer 1988, pp. 427-460.)

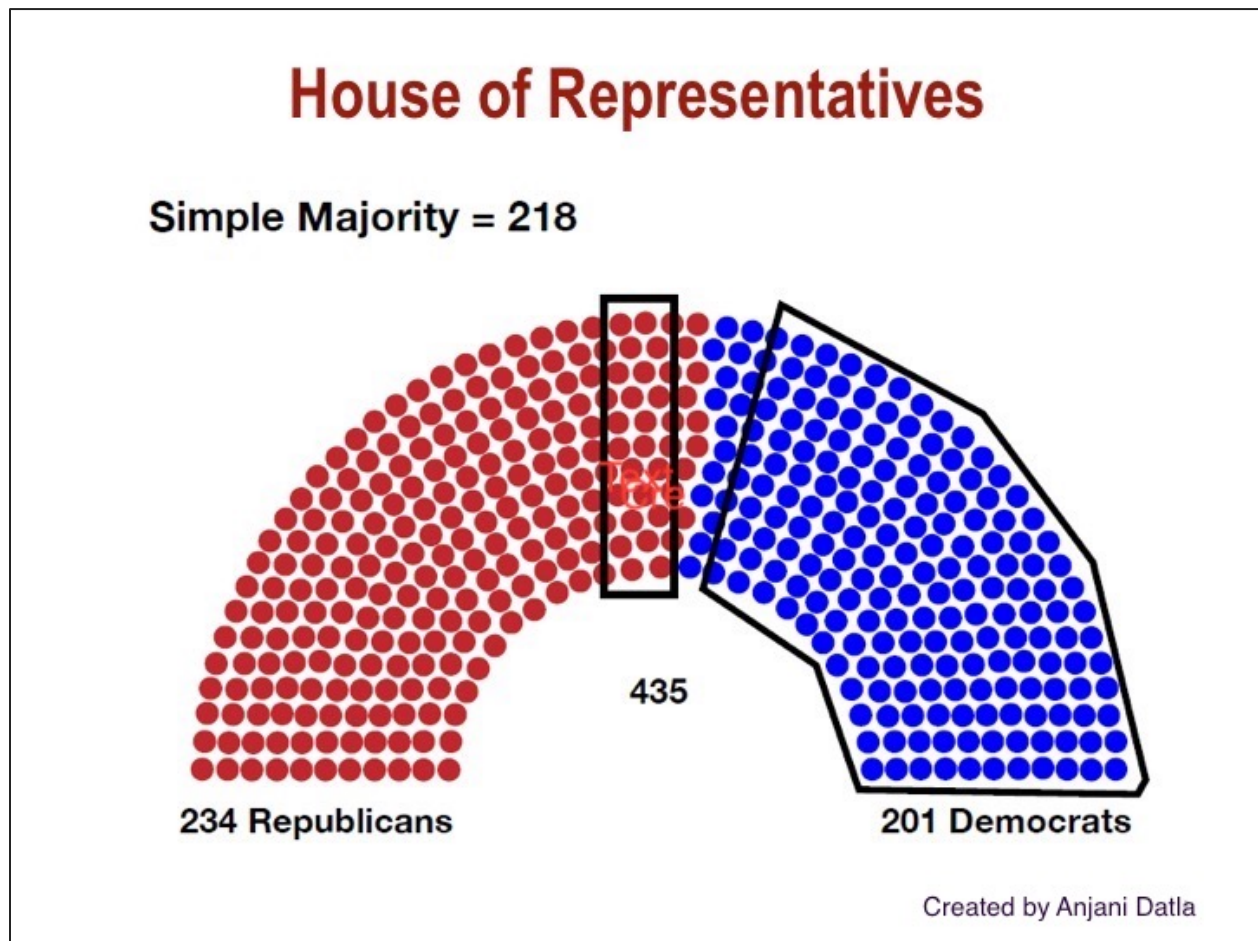
- **Level I**: “bargaining between the negotiators, leading to a tentative agreement” (**external negotiations**)
- **Level II**: “separate discussions within each group of constituents about whether to ratify the agreement” (**internal negotiations**)

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## Slide 2. Multiple Levels of Legislative Negotiation



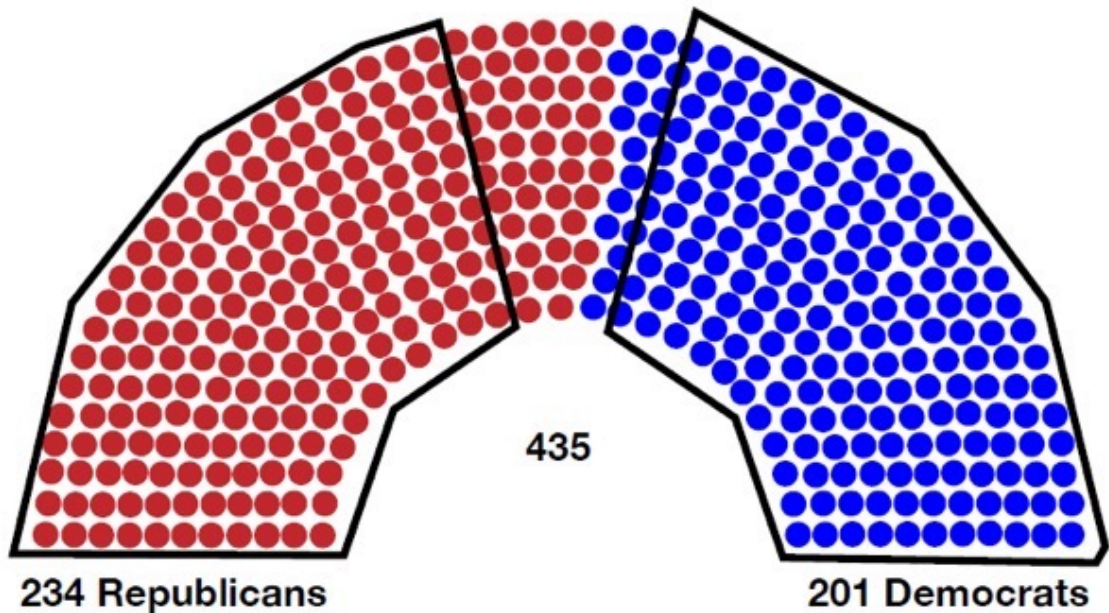
### Slide 3. The Numbers: Simple Majority



Slide 4. The Numbers: The Hastert Rule

## House of Representatives

**Hastert Rule = Majority of the Majority**



Created by Anjani Datla

## Slide 5. Choosing a Republican Ally

### If you were Rep. Earl Blumenauer, whom would you choose as your Republican co-sponsor?



- **Charlie Dent** (co-sponsored earlier Water for the Poor Act, member of Foreign Operations Subcommittee)



- **Adam Kinzinger** (Tea Party, former fighter pilot in Iraq & Afghanistan)



- **Ted Poe** (former judge, tough on law enforcement, member of Foreign Affairs Committee)

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## Slide 6. Pros and Cons of the Three Candidates

**If you were Rep. Earl Blumenauer, whom would you choose as your Republican co-sponsor?**

	Charlie Dent	Adam Kinzinger	Ted Poe
Pros			
Cons			

## Slide 6a. Sample Answers

**If you were Rep. Earl Blumenauer, whom would you choose as your Republican co-sponsor?**

	Charlie Dent	Adam Kinzinger	Ted Poe
Pros	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Knowledgeable, experienced</li> <li>• He's in the Appropriations Committee</li> <li>• Easy for Democrats to work with</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Could carry Tea Party</li> <li>• Military service / Foreign Affairs credentials</li> <li>• No established issue areas</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tough conservative</li> <li>• Long tenure / Connections</li> <li>• Focused on Foreign Affairs</li> </ul>
Cons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too moderate for some Republicans (RINO, Republican in name only)</li> <li>• Can't carry Tea Party</li> <li>• Not on Foreign Affairs Committee</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Freshman / Lacks institutional knowledge</li> <li>• Lacks relationships with other members</li> <li>• May alienate moderate Democrats</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eccentric, unpredictable</li> <li>• May want to change the bill</li> </ul>

## Slide 7. Different Types of Spoilers

### Types of Spoilers

(Robert C. Bordone, "Dealing with a Spoiler? Negotiate Around the Problem,"  
*Negotiation 10(1)*, PON, Cambridge, MA, 2007, pp. 4-6.)

- **Total Spoilers**: "refuse to compromise"
- **Greedy Spoilers**: "alter their goals based on their calculations of risk and opportunity"
- **Limited Spoilers**: "hold out for narrow goals" and care about "a limited set of issues"

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## Slide 8. Template, Strategies for Trust-Building & “Sticking Points”

**What strategies can be used to move past spoilers who threaten to block legislation?**

### Slide 8a. Sample Answers

**What strategies can be used to move past spoilers who threaten to block legislation?**

- Use member-to-member relationship to walk them through the bill and explain it further, answering any concerns they might have
- Try to find out what is the nature of their opposition (ego or substantive issue)
- Give them a forum to voice their concerns (maybe even allowing them to make their case on the floor of the House or Senate)
- Find out if the spoiler's Level II opposition is the reason he or she is blocking the bill and find ways to make it safe for them to support the bill
- Carrot: Get the leadership involved, ask them if they can exert influence
- Stick: Threaten to hold up their priorities (i.e., retaliate)



## Slide 9. Lessons for leading change through Bipartisan Negotiation

### **Lessons for leading change through Bipartisan Negotiation**

- Be careful not to assume the other side is “homogenous”
- Pay attention to the other side’s “Level II” (internal) negotiations—look for both challenges and opportunities
- Be open to unexpected allies
- Be careful not to ignore stakeholders, even if they initially seem less powerful
- Design a process to increase transparency, trust, perceptions of fairness, communication and respect
- Look for neutral framing
- Balance scope to avoid including “toxic” issues but include enough sources of value to bring others on board
- Try to anticipate potential spoilers and understand what motivates them
- Know “the rules of the game”
- Consider long-term relationships and reputation