

# When Big Business Loses (?) : The Political Economy of Regulation in the Context of Noisy Politics

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# Overview of Presentation

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Theoretical Framework and Important Concepts: Noisy Politics
- 3 Side-By-Side: Paper Summaries and Critical Discussion
- 4 Synthesis: What Unites the Two Papers?
- 5 Contextualization: Noisy Politics and the Political Economy of Regulation
- 6 Conclusion and Discussion

# Introduction

- Massoc, Elsa. 2019. "Taxing Stock Transfers in the First Golden Age of Financial Capitalism: Political Salience and the Limits on the Power of Finance." *Socio-Economic Review* 17 (3): 503–22. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwx039>.
- Feldmann, Magnus, and Glenn Morgan. 2021. "Brexit and British Business Elites: Business Power and Noisy Politics." *Politics & Society* 49 (1): 107–31. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329220985692>.

# Research Focus

## Massoc (2019) :

- Why did powerful financial actors fail to prevent the adoption of stock-transfer taxes in France and New York?
- **Focus:** how public discontent + political framing raised salience and undermined “quiet politics.”

## Feldmann and Morgan (2021):

- Under what conditions can business elites be effective in a context of noisy politics, and why did their influence differ between 1975 and 2016?
- **Focus:** how incentives, legitimacy, and cohesion shape business influence in high-politicization referendum campaigns.

# What brings these papers together?

Both papers examine how political visibility and public contestation reshape business/financial influence

- Massoc (2019) shows how politicization of a tax issue enabled politicians to override strong financial lobbying.
- Feldmann and Morgan (2021) analyze how changing political conditions over time affect business effectiveness in high-visibility referendum campaigns.

## Common Question

- *Under what conditions do business actors struggle to assert influence?*

# Culpepper's Framework: Quiet vs. Noisy Politics

**Core hypothesis:** The more the public cares about an issue, the less business can exercise disproportionate influence over regulation. Business power decreases as political salience increases.

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## Quiet Politics

Issues are technically complex and low in public salience. Business dominates through expertise monopoly and structural dependence.

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## Noisy Politics

Issues become publicly salient and politicized. Media attention and public engagement constrain business influence and organizations become cautious and may avoid public positioning.

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Three forms of business power:

- 1 Structural: State depends on business for investment and employment.
- 2 Instrumental: Lobbying, campaign contributions, expertise

# Bibliography I

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