Why do agencies (sometimes) get so much mail?

Devin Judge-Lord

Civic engagement

Writing to government officials, signing petitions, attending hearings, attending protests, or donating to a political campaign (Verba and Nie 1987).

Bureaucratic policymaking

~90% of U.S. law

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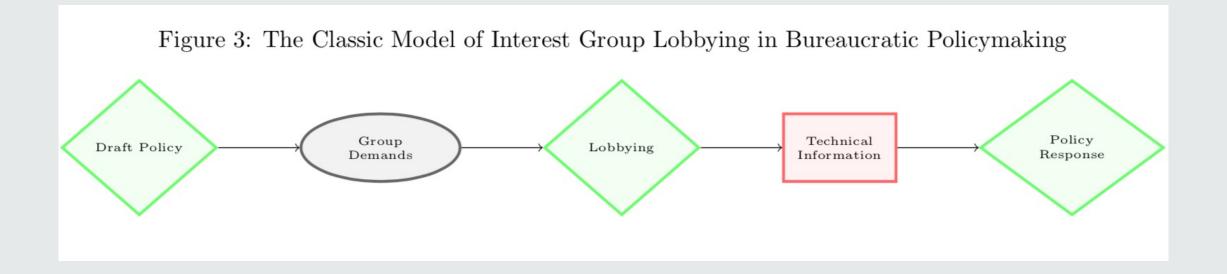
Descretion (Institutional design, information asymetry, multiple principals, coalitions)

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Interest group lobbying



1946 Administrative Procedures Act

"opportunity to participate in the rulemaking through submission of written data, views, or arguments" - U.S.C.§553(c)

"a bill of rights for the hundreds of thousands of Americans whose affairs are controlled or regulated" -Senator Pat McCarran

Mass engagement in bureaucratic policymaking

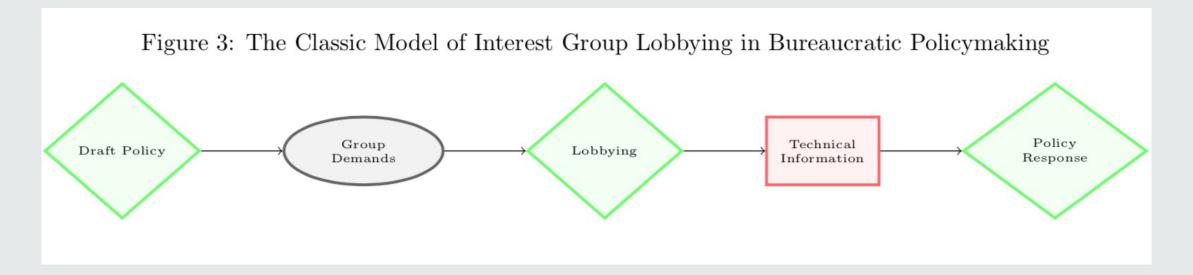
"The 'mass comments' occasionally submitted in great volume in highly salient rulemakings are one of the more vexing challenges facing agencies in recent years." (Sant'Ambrogio and Staszewski 2018)

Administrative Law Scholarship

- Public comment is the "purest example of participatory democracy in actual American governance."
- Potential for "regulatory democracy" (Cu'ellar 2014, Johnson 2013) Agencies often discard non-technical comments, but they shouldn't (Mendelson 2011)
- Pluralist "The goal of e-rulemaking is to more fully capture such credible, specific, and relevant information, not to solicit the views of random, self-nominating members of the public." (Herz 2016)
- Potentially pluralist (Seifter 2016)
- Abolish it

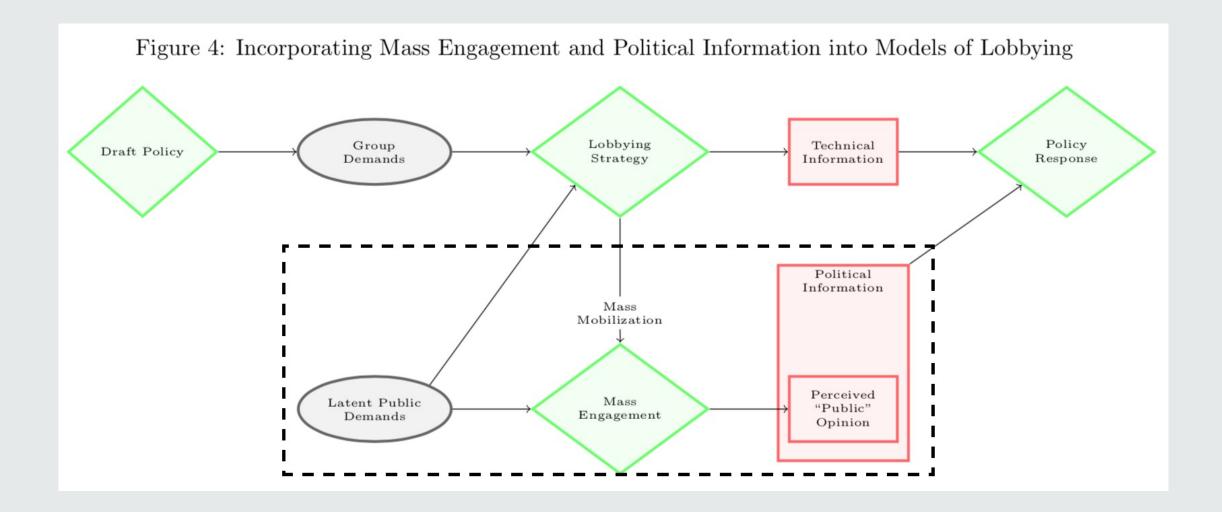
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Political information

(e.g., signals of the scale and intensity of public support)



Public comment periods

Usually an insiders' game, but occasionally not.

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Does it matter?

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Does it matter?

But first:

I. What is it?

2. How do we measure it?

3. Why does it occur? (selection problems)

Selection process

Which rules?

- Significant policy changes at less-expert agencies (Moore n.d.)
- Ones people dislike? (negativity bias)
- Controversial, salient? (both endogenous)

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-> Opportunities for social movement mobilization

Who mobilizes?

- Public interest groups / "advocacy" groups (Shapiro 2008; Potter 2017) / "societal constituencies" (Balla et al. n.d.)
- Sometimes others

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-> Coalitions

Why mobilize people?

Outside lobbying

1. Expand the scope of conflict (Schattschneider 1975)

VS.

2. Leverage resources into an impression of public support

Not lobbying

3. Member expectations / recruitment

Public support

"Along with 80% of the American people, I strongly support ending commercial trade in elephant ivory in the US." World Wildlife Federation model comment

"petition signed by 67,275 self-proclaimed United States residents" and "more than 110 East Coast municipalities, 100 Members of Congress, 750 state and local elected officials, and 1,100 business interests, all of whom oppose offshore drilling."

Tasks

- I. Identify coalitions
- 2. Measure mass engagement
- 3. Which campaigns ought to matter

Identifying Coalitions

Text reuse

- 1. Remove text copied from proposed rule or request for comments
- 2. Exact match = duplicate (cosigned) comments
- 3. 10-word moving "window" = part copy vs. entirely unique

Cluster comments by word frequency and sentiment

Inspect and hand-code clusters (i.e. coalitions)

Political Information

"Coalition lobbying can generate new information and new actors—beyond simply the 'usual suspects'—relevant to policy decision makers. Thus, we theorize consensus, coalition size, and composition matter to policy change." (Nelson and Yackee 2012)

Measuring Political Information*

I. Number/share per coalition

2. Effort per comment

Lower <-----> Higher

Co-sign an org's comment <-> Partially unique <-> Unique

3. Potential contagion (share of unique comments?)

*Agencies may not process comments in ways that deliver this information to decisionmakers

Selection issues

Which campaigns ought to matter?

How to tell them apart?

Selection issues

Which campaigns ought to matter?

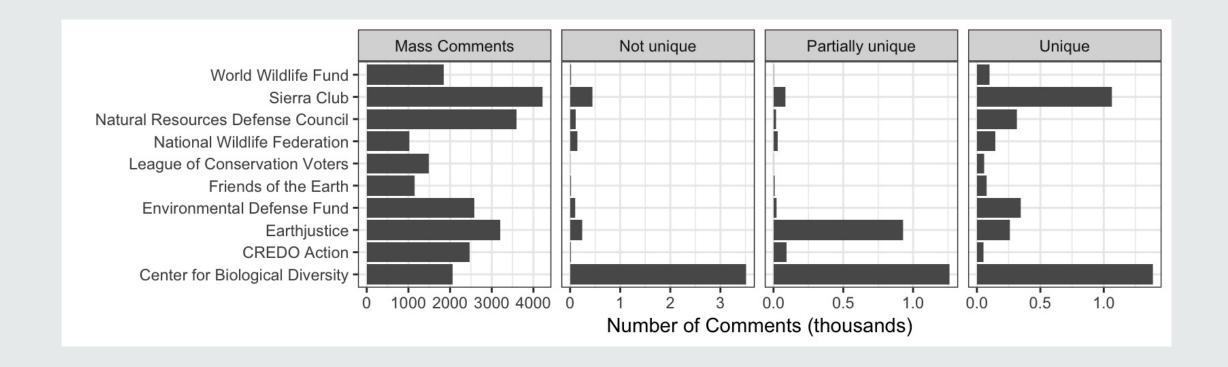
How to tell them apart?

	Inside lobbying	Outside lobbying
"Normal" lobbying	High	None
"Going public"	High	High
"Disrupting consensus"	High	Low
"Going down fighting"	Low	High

First cut

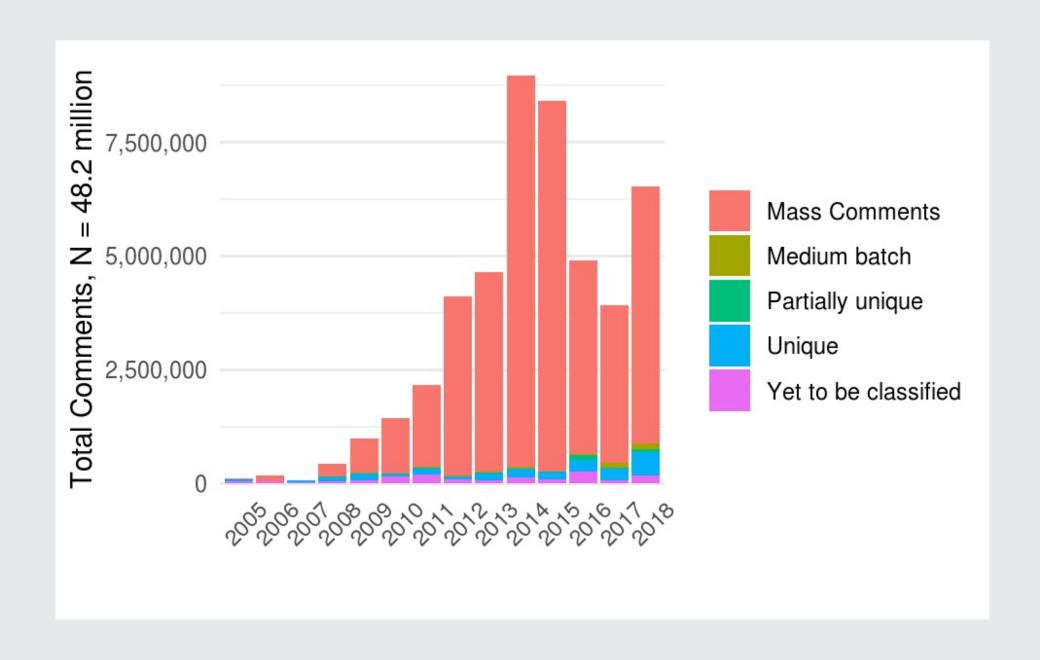
Who mobilizes?

A few public interest groups.



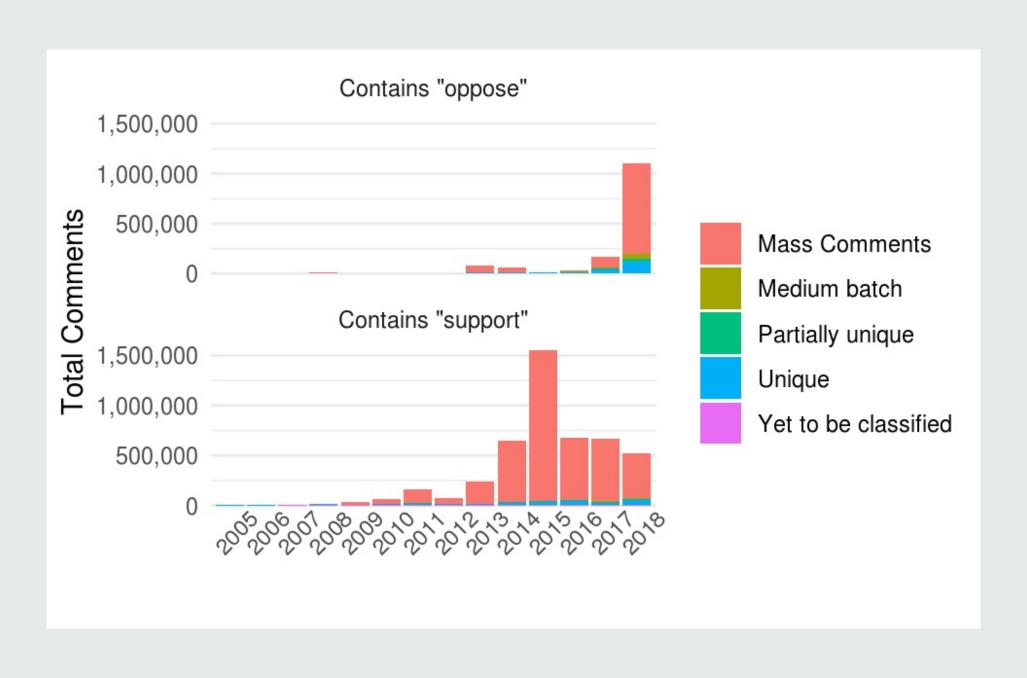
100 organizations mobilized 39m of 48m regulations.gov comments on proposed rules, ~87/100 lobby in public interest coalitions

Most comments are mass comments



When does mass engagement occur?

Asymetric mobilization > negativity bias



Delete forever Not spam More -

Thanks!