



North Hall NEWS

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Federal process for making rules is democratizing

With two small children at home, Susan Webb Yackee goes through a lot of peanut butter.

But although many Americans don't think much about what's in their peanut butter, Yackee is one of few who knows that the childhood favorite must contain at least 90 percent peanuts, as well as how that standard was established.

Yackee, associate professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Department of Political Science and the La Follette School of Public Affairs, is a leading scholar on the regulatory policymaking process at federal agencies.

She's published groundbreaking studies on the rulemaking process, a relatively transparent and potentially democratizing system that affects standards for everything from child car seats to organic food, clean air to derivatives trading.

"Regulatory policymaking can seem overly legalistic and is somewhat removed from the fast-paced world of legislative policymaking, but the stakes are equally high," she says. "All of us, when we walk out of our house every morning, are impacted by existing rules and regulations, and just for that, we should be concerned about them and who influences the rulemaking process."

While anyone who's taken a high school civics course knows the basics of how a bill becomes a law, the process of rulemaking, which can have as much influence—or more—on the daily life of Americans, is lesser known and studied.

Yackee's efforts to produce comprehensive data for the empirical study of rulemaking processes on a large scale are unprecedented, says Carolyn J. Heinrich, former director of the La Follette School of Public Affairs.

"Undertaking research to identify, untangle, and explain the influence of interest groups on government regulations through rulemaking requires substantial original data collection, interviews with government rule writers, surveys of interest groups, and codification of information in government documents," Heinrich says. "Before scholars such as Susan Yackee started investing in research in this area, our understanding of these processes, and who has a role in influencing them and policy outcomes, largely remained a black box."

Yackee says she relishes contributing research that breaks new ground, adding to knowledge about the process of rulemaking while improving government along the way.

It's important for UW-Madison students to have the opportunity to study Yackee's work, because an understanding of rulemaking will be critical to those who pursue careers in public affairs, says John Coleman, professor and chair of the Department of Political Science.

"If you want to be effective in those positions, you'd better understand how rulemaking works, because it's where an awful lot of the action happens," Coleman says. "Passing a law is often only the beginning, and if that's all you focus on, your competitors will be running circles around you and you'll find yourself surprised more often than you should be."

Modern rulemaking dates to 1946, when Congress standardized the process for crafting rules and put in place a system that requires an element of public participation. When a federal agency drafts a potential rule, it then opens the rule for public comment, during which any citizen or group may provide feedback.

Before an agency puts a finalized rule



in place, it is required to carefully consider the public comments received, and if the rule doesn't reflect them, the agency is compelled by law to explain why. The state of Wisconsin has similar public participation opportunities during rulemaking.

"It's a very deliberative process where citizens, if they wanted to, could get involved and see a response to their feedback," Yackee says. "I've found this whole process has the prospect of a very democratizing effect on the U.S. citizenry."

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Helping Government Officials Understand, Prevent Genocide

The unthinkable is Scott Straus' stock-in-trade.

The barbarity and righteous conceit that spawns genocide is his research focus, and Straus, a political science professor at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, is using his expertise to help agencies throughout the U.S. government better understand the causes of genocide and ways to prevent atrocity around the globe.

“It was an honor and challenge for me to translate some of the research findings that I’ve developed into concrete, learnable lessons for officials who have to wrestle, in real time, with how to identify and respond to these terrible events,” says Straus.

President Obama signed a directive in 2012 stating that preventing genocide and mass atrocities is a core moral and national security responsibility, and establishing a board to find new strategies and tools to prevent atrocity.

The directive called for widespread training on the issue, and Straus was enlisted to design and organize a daylong workshop at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C., in late October 2012 that trained 75 officials from the Department of Defense, CIA, FBI, Department of Justice, Department of Homeland Security, State Department, and other agencies about how to identify and stem genocide.

“They sent representatives to learn the field, and they will tailor programs to help their own agencies,” says Straus, who brought together some of the leading academic experts in the field to teach the workshop. “We focused on definitions, causes, patterns of the run-up to genocide, and how you know it when you see it and how to respond.

“Those are hard questions—harder than what you would think,” adds Straus, who welcomes the chance to use research to inform policymakers in practical ways.



assistance with curricula and educational content.

Straus' interest in the causes and effects of genocide took root when he witnessed the bloody fallout from the Rwandan genocide in 1994. As a freelance journalist based in Nairobi, Kenya, the 26-year-old Straus was covering a war in the Democratic Republic of Congo in April 1996 when he and others came upon a mass grave containing the bodies of women and children, many of whom had been slain with machetes.

“I had seen people killed in combat, but I’d never seen a pile of dead bodies of civilians,” says Straus. “Having brushed up against the legacies of mass violence, I was compelled to want to try and understand why it happens. That has led to a career in trying to understand why genocide happens.”

Straus has authored several books on Rwanda, including *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power and War in Rwanda*; *Remaking Rwanda: State Building and Human Rights after Mass Violence*; and *Intimate Enemy*.

He says it is sometimes difficult to know quickly whether genocide is under way, since many atrocities are connected to an ongoing war. But key indicators include whether large numbers of civilians are being targeted, evidence that they are being targeted for groups they belong to, the

In the following months, Straus worked with government agencies that are building their own training programs, providing

repetition of the violence and at multiple locations, and the displacement of large numbers of refugees.

There are also indicators that can predict a run-up to genocide, Straus says. The risk of genocide and mass atrocity, he says, is greater when there is armed conflict, a history of discrimination, a weak national government, and widespread poverty.

“At the workshop, we had to be honest about what we think we know and what we don’t know,” Straus says. “We also had to be honest about the fact that government involvement can be really positive and can also carry negative effects. Prevention can mean the use of force. There are new risks involved with that.”

Gretchen Skidmore, director of civic and defense initiatives at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and one of Straus' colleagues in the effort, says his work gave government officials an important window into the issues.

“I was really impressed with how Scott had an ability to translate complex ideas into concepts that can be applied to critical policy and training decisions that are being made right now across the government,” she says. “He is a uniquely talented scholar in being able to think about how to apply the research to the current and critical work of the leaders in the government.”

Straus says the government effort to identify, prevent, and respond to mass violence is a positive step.

“You need political will to have a better policy response to these terrible events. And this initiative is a translation of that political will,” he says. “It’s saying that genocide and mass atrocity prevention are a priority for the United States and we want to do better on this front.”

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110 North—Notes from the Chair



Greetings from Madison. Spring weather arrived late this year to Madison, but the campus is now in full bloom and lush with green. Recently, the university's commencement sent nearly 300

political science students on their way in the world with BA/BS and PhD degrees.

The experience of being a college student is rapidly changing. Today's students graduate from UW–Madison having benefitted from what is referred to on campus as the Wisconsin Experience. Part of the Wisconsin Experience is of course the fun of this college town—the lakes, the Terrace, State Street, Camp Randall, the Kohl Center, and so much more.

On the academic side, the Wisconsin Experience refers to unique educational opportunities such as internships, service-learning placements, research opportunities, first-year interest groups in which students jointly enroll in three related courses, and study abroad. And this is only the beginning of the list of “high-impact practices” available to students. Almost 90 percent of students in the College of Letters & Science had one or more high-impact experience in the last academic year. The Department of Political Science has been active in offering these opportunities to our students.

Future college students will see yet more change. A class might be taken from a leading scholar at another institution, in the form of a massive, open, online course—the so-called MOOCs. You can see UW–Madison's initial MOOCs at www.coursera.org/wisconsin. These and other MOOCs at Coursera are available to anyone worldwide for free. On campus, classes that were once taught as in-class lectures only might now be taught in a blended format that mixes online instruction with in-class discussion and analysis

with the professor. Rather than a course nearly uniformly being a 15-week stretch of 3 class hours per week, students will see more modular classes offered for 1 or 2 credits, or a class that meets for 4–8 weeks rather than 15. Sophisticated simulations, cases, and other ways to bring the “real world” into the classroom so that students can apply their knowledge will be more common. Focused post-baccalaureate certificates and degree programs, such as the Department of Political Science's new International Politics and Practice Capstone Certificate, will be more common. Degrees based on demonstrated acquisition and mastery of knowledge rather than credit hours, such as Wisconsin's new Flex Degree program (www.flex.wisconsin.edu), will likewise grow in popularity.

Some of these educational innovation efforts are about resources—generating new revenues, using existing revenue more efficiently, and reducing costs for students. Just as important, these efforts are also about pedagogy and how we can best serve current and future students with a variety of instructional techniques and methods of course delivery.

These changes will complement the traditional aspects that make a UW–Madison education so special. Outstanding faculty lecturers will continue to energize and catalyze student learning. Small seminars will allow for focused, in-depth attention on subject matter. Independent study will enable a student to work with a professor on an area of interest to the student.

The obligation of the Department of Political Science to students and to the state of Wisconsin amidst these transformations remains the same as it has always been: to provide students the first-rate education and training worthy of a world-class university. Such an education is simultaneously grounded in helping students acquire the skills provided by the deep and rich tradition of the liberal arts, conveying to them how to apply these skills in their career pursuits, and provid-

ing them the unique learning and training opportunities afforded by attending one of the world's leading research institutions.

Before I close, I want to extend my sincere appreciation for your generosity. The department is grateful for the support it receives from Wisconsin taxpayers, from students and families paying tuition, and from the donations we receive from our wonderful alumni and friends. In 2012, we had our best year ever in our Annual Fund, which followed our previous record best in 2011. This fund is based entirely on the contributions of you, our alumni and friends. The department and our students benefit greatly from your generosity. We thank you for considering us when you are making your charitable gift decisions.

Remember you can stay connected to the Department of Political Science and the latest news about our teaching and research at facebook.com/uwpolisci, twitter.com/uwpolisci, and polisci.wisc.edu.

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Alumni News

Forward Under Forty

Each year, the Wisconsin Alumni Association honors UW alumni under age 40 who are having an impact on the world while remaining connected with UW-Madison. The Department of Political Science is proud to have one of its alumni selected for this year's Forward Under Forty Award. This profile is reprinted courtesy of the Wisconsin Alumni Association.



Serena Pollack (BS '97)
Gulf Cost Guardian

A Badger through and through, Serena Pollack lives her life in true Wisconsin spirit. At 37 years old, she is already a partner at Gonzalez Saggio & Harlan LLP, one of the country's largest minority-owned law firms. But Pollack's go-getter

nature doesn't apply just to her career; it also motivates her to help others.

"I live each day with a focus toward giving back to the community in some way because of the opportunities I have as a result of my University of Wisconsin experience," says Pollack.

And to say that Pollack likes to help those in need is putting it mildly. Following the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, she left her comfortable life in Chicago and moved to New Orleans. Helping to restore the community on both a professional and volunteer level, she worked to rebuild homes with the St. Bernard Project (SBP)—a nonprofit organization that focuses on repairing the homes and lives of those living in disaster-impacted communities.

That was just the beginning. Later that year, she was selected to serve as a member of the Jewish Federations of North America's National Young Leadership Cabinet. Since then, she has held various leadership positions within the organization, as well as serving on the board of directors for the Anti-Defamation League of New Orleans. She and a colleague also helped to rebuild the Bayou Badgers—the Wisconsin alumni chapter of New Orleans.

In 2010, Pollack was working as an attorney in New Orleans, focusing on

matters related to the local restaurant industry, when tragedy struck again. In the aftermath of the BP oil spill, she found another opportunity to put her skills to work. Representing a group of James Beard Award-winning chefs in a class-action lawsuit against BP and others, Pollack became a highly regarded advocate for the Gulf Coast seafood industry. Her success in this role led to an invitation last fall to attend the exclusive James Beard Foundation Food Conference.

"My University of Wisconsin education, which was reinforced by local UW alumni who I am honored and proud to call friends, gave me the confidence and motivation to become an advocate for an industry that was being brushed aside in the wake of the damage," explains Pollack.

She also credits her UW education with giving her the "chutzpah" to ask world-famous chefs and culinary professionals why they do not support the Gulf Coast seafood industry and to explain why they should. Although Pollack moved back to Wisconsin, she continues to spread the word about the importance of the industry through Gonzalez Saggio & Harlan's national restaurant and hospitality practice, which she chairs.

Award Winning Dissertation

Leticia Bode (MA '05, PhD '11),



assistant professor of communication, culture, and technology at Georgetown University, received the best dissertation of 2012 award from the Information Technology and Politics research

section of the American Political Science Association, for *Political Information 2.0: A Study in Political Learning Via Social Media*.

What were you exploring in your dissertation?

My dissertation answers the fundamental questions of how people gain and use political information through their everyday lives, a classic question in political science. I update it by considering a specific context which has emerged in the last several years—the everyday use of social media (think Twitter, Facebook, etc.). Some scholars have suggested that social media

might have a negative impact on modern American politics, by creating an "echo chamber" in which users are only exposed to agreeable information, and/or allowing uninterested users to opt out of political information entirely. My dissertation challenges this speculation, and finds these concerns are mostly unfounded.

What got you interested in this topic?

I have always been interested in how people encountered politics when they weren't looking for it—what some scholars refer to as the "para-political" arena—and was lucky to develop these interests at the

UW with professors like Kathy Cramer Walsh and Dhavan Shah. People who are already looking for political information usually do the normatively good things we might expect them to do—talk to others about political ideas, vote, volunteer and participate in other ways, etc. But people who aren't necessarily interested in politics from the outset can be brought into the process when they encounter politics without looking for it. Social media is a new place in which that "accidental exposure" to politics can occur.

How did you go about doing the research?

I used a mixture of methods to answer my research questions. Much of the project employs survey research—asking large samples of people how they think about and use social media, as well as questions about politics and other aspects of life in general. I also use experimental research to help demonstrate learning from exposure to politics via social media, and aggregate

trend data from Twitter and Facebook to determine how often political information tends to occur in social media settings.

What did you find? Were you surprised by any of your findings?

I found that social media functions as an information environment with partial control—it is not an echo chamber, as political blogs tend to be, but neither does it result in entirely incidental exposure, as political advertising might. The vast majority of average users are exposed to political information in this venue, and networks tend to be relatively politically heterogeneous. Exposure to political information can also increase political knowledge, change political attitudes, and affect political behaviors under the right circumstances. These findings have major implications for our understanding of communication technology, social media, and sources of political information in the modern media environment.

The biggest surprise for me was how

unusual it is for people to unfriend or unfollow others based on political postings—I find that fewer than 5 percent report doing so.

What's next in your research?

Right now I'm working on a few major projects, all of which stem from my interest in the para-political and social media. One project is considering how people behave in extremely contentious political environments such as the Wisconsin gubernatorial recall of 2012, and how media and technology facilitate or inhibit political discussion and participation in those environments. A second project considers how people—especially young people—first form political attitudes and identities. This is a process called political socialization, and my colleagues and I are working to update our understanding of how it works given the modern media environment. A final project considers how people discuss, learn about, and form attitudes about climate change using social media.

Department News

New Graduate Program! International Politics and Practice Capstone Certificate

The IPPCC is a post-baccalaureate online program in international politics, policy, and analysis designed to educate students who desire to lead and serve professionally in the international arena. The purpose of the program is to prepare professionals for careers of practice in this field. Professionals in the areas of the military, journalism, government, business, and non-profits would benefit from the certificate program.

Courses bring master's-level material to students in the areas of American foreign policy, international security, international political economy, and international law and organizations. The courses familiarize students with core concepts,

history, and analytical tools in international politics. In each course, students will take part in discussions with the Department of Political Science's highly-ranked international relations faculty and participate in assignments to hone analytical skills in the field of international politics.

The program is a 5-course, 13-credit-hour program, delivered entirely online. It teaches the core conceptual and practical basis for modern international relations. IPPCC can be completed in 15 months (2 summers and 2 semesters) and does not require residency to receive in-state tuition.

For information, write to ippcc@polisci.wisc.edu. Check www.polisci.wisc.edu for updates.

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- Connect with current political science students wanting to learn more about careers in your field.
- Network with fellow Wisconsin alumni.

Join today by searching for "Wisconsin Alumni" on www.linkedin.com. Contact Dave Nelson (denelson3@wisc.edu), our Career Services Coordinator, with any questions or suggestions about student career advising

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Department News

Attracting the World's Best Minds

Presented with the opportunity to hire six new professors, John Coleman, chair of the Department of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, faced “a little bit of a puzzle.”

The new faculty lines allowed him to fill teaching gaps in one of the country's top political science departments. To put competitive offers on the table, he also needed adequate start-up packages, which provide funding to establish research programs. The start-up funding allows professors “to come here and hit the ground running on their research,” Coleman said.

That's where Robert and Susan Trice and Jeffrey and Susanne Lyons stepped in, making key gifts to recruit and retain faculty. Coleman went six for six, bringing in top scholars on topics from Latin American to judicial politics. He also had private dollars to encourage Scott Straus, a world-recognized scholar on genocide and ethnic conflict in Africa, to remain in Madison.

Public institutions like UW–Madison are essential to educate a “citizenry with all of the skills needed to compete in the 21st century,” said Robert Trice (MA '71, PhD '74, L&S), a retired vice president with Lockheed Martin Corporation Gifts allow public universities to successfully compete with well-endowed private institutions for the best minds in the world. The success of the gift can be found in the university's successful recruitment of world-class talent, he said.

With the retention package, Straus, whose book *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* won a 2006 Award for Excellence from the Association of American Publishers, stayed in Madison without sacrificing “any part of my research agenda or feeling that I was being penalized for my commitment to the institution.” The package also showed



A privately funded start-up package helped convince Lyons Family Faculty Scholar Ryan Owens, center, to move from Harvard University to the UW–Madison Department of Political Science.

him that the university valued his work at a time when other institutions were signaling their interest. Research funds allow Straus to travel to Africa for research, attend conferences, purchase supplies, and support graduate students.

New faculty members pose questions that will help students and the public better understand the world. What is the connection between political rhetoric and behavior? Do lower court judges' rulings change when Supreme Court openings are expected?

The start-up package shows UW–Madison is committed to continued research, said Ryan Owens, a Lyons Family Faculty Scholar. With the start-up plus external grants, he hired undergraduate assistants and lost no research ground in his move from assistant professor of government at Harvard. Owens' latest book, *The Solicitor General and the United States Supreme Court: Executive Branch Influence and Judicial Decisions*, was published in April 2012.

The unrestricted gifts allow Coleman to use the funds for major priorities—faculty support and graduate funding. Top faculty help the department successfully compete for top students against Harvard, Princeton, Yale, and Stanford, he said. “We don't need to match offers dollar for dollar, but we need to be within shouting distance.” An additional unrestricted Trice gift increased teaching assistant and fellowship stipends and provided seed funding for summer research.

Recruiting the best faculty and graduate students to the UW also greatly enriches the undergraduate educational experience, Coleman says. “Students at the UW learn from and work with world-class scholars. Our alumni and friends help us preserve this tradition through their gifts.”

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Farewell

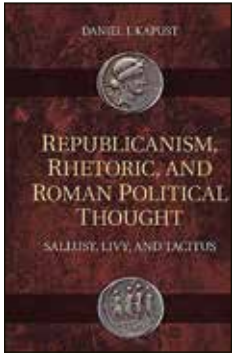
Professor Emeritus Charles Anderson passed away on April 10, 2013, at the age of 79. He died in Pensacola, Florida, where he had lived permanently since 2002. Professor Anderson was a wide-ranging scholar who published in many fields, including comparative political economy, political theory, and education. His research and teaching were both honored with awards, and he held the Glenn B. and Cleone Orr Hawkins endowed chair in political science. “A truly remarkable scholar,” one of his former colleagues noted, “Charlie was in his soul a teacher.” He spent 36 years on the faculty at UW–Madison, beginning in 1960 and retiring in 1996.



Book Notes

Republicanism, Rhetoric, and Roman Political Thought

Daniel Kapust



Rome has long loomed in America's collective consciousness. Our constitutional debates featured men calling themselves Brutus, Cassius, Cato, and, of course, Publius of *The Federalist*.

Roman architecture influenced the design of many public buildings, and is evident in L'Enfant's plan of Washington D.C. Hollywood is no exception, producing blockbusters like *Anthony and Cleopatra* and *Spartacus*, alongside Best Picture Winners like *Ben-Hur* and *Gladiator*, and HBO's *Rome*. So frequently do Americans look to Rome—and compare ourselves to Rome—that a recent book was titled *Are We Rome?*

Our interest in Rome is not just literary, architectural, or historical; America is a republic, and Rome is one of history's greatest republics. Republics, of course, require elections and elections require public figures to engage in rhetoric—two themes that are at the center of a growing body of scholarship in political theory, intellectual history, and the classics, and are the focus of my recently published book, *Republicanism, Rhetoric, and Roman Political Thought: Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus*.

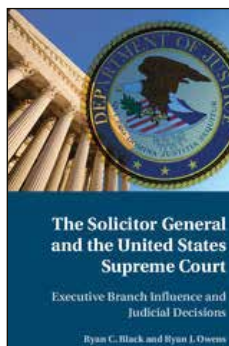
In it, I explore how Rome's three greatest historians—Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus— theorize Roman republicanism, along with the role and place of rhetoric in Roman political life. Exploring their understanding of republicanism and rhetoric is worthwhile not only because of their prominence and their influence on later writers from Augustine to Machiavelli to Hobbes, but because each remembered a Roman republic that had ceased to be. Each wrote after the

rule of Julius Caesar, and two wrote after the battle of Actium, often considered the beginning of the imperial rule of Rome.

Sallust, earliest of the 3 historians, lived through much of the turmoil of the 1st century CE, and tells a story of Rome's decline in which the elimination of Carthage caused the Romans to turn on each other. Highlighting this tension between republicanism and imperialism in Sallust's writings, I argue that the key to maintaining republican institutions, for Sallust, is to have public and regular channels for political antagonism that might otherwise undermine the republic. Livy, writing under the rule of Augustus, theorizes the republic as a moral community, bound together in harmony through goodwill created by the virtuous behavior of elites and recognition by the Roman people. Tacitus, who wrote long after the death of Augustus, recognizes that the republic is gone and won't return, yet tries to cultivate a model of prudence and a historical writing that enable Roman elites to pursue public service in ways that echo their predecessors while avoiding the moral and personal perils of courtly life in imperial Rome.

The Solicitor General and the United States Supreme Court

Ryan Owens



If you asked 100 Americans who the solicitor general is and what he does, you would probably receive 90 blank stares and 10 wrong answers. Nevertheless, the solicitor general (SG) and the attorneys who work in his office are remarkably important to the formation of legal policy.

The SG is the attorney for the United States. He is nominated by the president, confirmed by the Senate, and, within the Department of Justice, serves at the pleasure of the president. He decides which cases the government will appeal to the

Supreme Court and formulates the government's legal strategy once there. Since 1946, the Office of the Solicitor General has won more than 63 percent of its cases.

Yet, simply because the SG succeeds before the Court does not necessarily mean that he influences justices. Can the SG influence justices to behave in ways they otherwise would not? That is the question that motivated me and Ryan Black to write *The Solicitor General and the United States Supreme Court: Executive Influence and Judicial Decisions*.

After examining thousands of cases, we discovered considerable SG influence over the Court. At the agenda stage, justices who disagreed with the SG both in an ideological and legal sense nevertheless voted for his view 33 percent of the time. We found strong evidence of influence at the merits stage as well. We matched attorneys on a host of attributes that are likely to impact party success, and then examined which parties won. Even when we held these factors equal across attorneys, the Court still sided much more often with OSG attorneys. That is, even when the SG was otherwise identical to other litigants, the SG still was much more likely to win. We further discovered that the Court is roughly 30 percent more likely to overturn one of its prior cases when asked to do so by the SG. In short, at every stage of the decision-making process, the SG influences justices to behave in ways they otherwise would not.

Why does the SG influence justices? Here, our data are less clear, but they point in one general direction—professionalism. SGs and their staff attorneys observe a strong degree of professionalism when participating before the Court. Justices recognize this, and learn to trust the information provided to them by the SG. And when SGs become overly partisan, the Court punishes them by withholding support.

The SG is an important actor before the Supreme Court. He can influence the justices as they set policy. And sometimes, as we saw recently in *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius*, the SG can even snatch victory from the jaws of defeat.



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Federal process *Continued from page 1*

The process tends to move faster than many people believe. Yackee and her husband, Jason Webb Yackee, an assistant professor in the UW Law School, this year published a first-of-its-kind evaluation of the length of time it takes for rules to be written and put in place, which they put at an average of 14 months.

Yackee's research has also shown that the process has been responsive to input from the public, particularly when represented by interest groups. A study of 1,693 comments on 40 rules issued by federal agencies, conducted with Amy McKay, an assistant professor at Georgia State University, found strong evidence showing that federal officials listen to interest groups and tend to favor the side that dominates the comments.

But while that finding signals the public does have the ability to influence the rules that will govern them, few individual citizens, as opposed to organized groups, participate in the process.

"While participation has been poor in the past for average citizens, the ease of the Internet and social media means citizens will be able to provide informed opinions to regulators," she says.

Some may be troubled by Yackee's recent findings about how rules are drafted. Interest groups with a stake in a rule tend to be intimately involved in the writing of draft rules, her research shows.

In some ways, they bring a positive influence, she says, because it means the rules are crafted using the best possible data from those who will be most affected. However, she's concerned about the transparency of the "potentially nefarious" side of the behind-the-scenes process.

"People who participate in lobbying outside the standard rules process are better able to obtain the changes they'd like to see within draft rules than those that don't participate," she says. "That's exactly the type of influence you'd expect—the hidden politics of regulation."

Yackee has received more than \$90,000 in grants from UW-Madison's Institute for Clinical and Translational Research's Community-Academic Partnerships and Fall Competition Research Grants programs to apply her research on federal rulemaking to Wisconsin.

Debate over high-profile rules, such as those that will govern the federal health care legislation passed in 2010, can serve as a way to educate more people about how the process works, Yackee says. As Wisconsin begins drafting complicated rules to implement pieces of the federal health care reform legislation, the process of rulemaking at the state level will become more important than ever.

"Even at 2,000 pages, the law provides some guidance but leaves a lot unsaid and unspecified, and it is all those gaps that will be filled by rules," says Coleman. "If you think the law is complex, and it is, wait until you see the dense web of rules that will have to be created to implement it at the state level."