In a democracy, are some citizens more important than others?

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In a Democracy, Are Some Citizens More Important than Others?

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The Individual Citizen
Ally Brown is a thirty-year-old kindergarten teacher who is raising her two children in a middle-class Northeastern suburb. Her six-year-old son, Alex, has been chronically ill for the past five years. As is typical in many chronic illnesses, Alex has good days and bad days. After years of tests, and appointments with different specialists, doctors concluded that Alex's illness is an allergy to a preservative used by food manufacturers to increase the shelf life of a wide range of products. The current Food and Drug Administration (FDA) regulations do not require the food manufacturers to identify the specific preservative on the label. Only the generic category must be displayed. Since generic preservatives are in almost every food product on the market, Ally Brown has few options for preparing her son's meals. If the FDA changed the current regulations, requiring all manufacturers to identify specific preservatives on the packaging, Alex's risk of getting sick from a product containing the preservative would be greatly reduced. During her lunch breaks at work and after her children have gone to bed, Ally Brown writes letters to her representatives in the Congress and the Senate, and she calls and writes to the appropriate people in the FDA. She also convinces some of her friends and neighbors to join in her efforts by taking the time to educate them.

The Corporate Citizen
As Ally Brown is devoting her time to reducing the incidence of illness in her child's life, lobbyists for the food industry are being paid handsomely to work in “Gucci Gulch.” This term describes the Congressional corridors filled with lobbyists in fancy shoes whose job is to persuade elected officials to vote in a manner most beneficial to the corporation or special interest group paying their salaries. These lobbyists meet and socialize with Ally Brown's elected representatives to provide them with “industry research” addressing Brown's concerns. Ironically, the food-manufacturing lobbyists have written legislation that reduces ingredient disclosure requirements. Industry representatives argue that there are no differences in the dozen or so compounds that make up the generic preservative group in question.

In addition to providing the federal representatives with “research” and “completed legislation,” lobbyists often have “golden rolodexes,” or lists of donors who can write a $10,000 check toward the elected official's re-election campaign. In a sense, the money enables corporate representatives to purchase “access” to elected officials who introduce and vote on legislation directly affecting the corporation. The average cost of winning a congressional and senate seat during the 2006 campaign season was $966,000 and $7.8 million, respectively. Thus, the high costs of election and re-election to federal office make it difficult for elected officials to ignore lobbyists' attention.

Money Talks
Ally Brown's phone calls and letters have netted her three form letters from the offices of her congressperson and senators. The form letters do not address her concerns. Instead, the letters thank her for her interest and one senator listed his unrelated legislative accomplishments. Friends and neighbors that Ally has engaged in her efforts had similar experiences. Her son, Alex, continues to have good and bad days. Ally Brown is worried that her son's chronic illness will interfere with his learning when he enters first grade in the fall. In the mean time, food-manufacturing lobbyists continue to meet with Brown's representatives to provide them with “research” and “written legislation” that will solidify the position of the food-manufacturer when their bill is introduced.

The Payoff
This scenario is not unusual. It is naive to think that money elected officials need to fund campaigns is not extracted without high costs. “Representative Barney Frank jokes that ‘politicians are the only human beings in the world who are expected to take thousands of dollars from perfect strangers on important matters and not be affected by it.’” In 2006, industry lobbyists spent...
porate citizenship is conceptualized “as the administra-
tion of a bundle of individual citizenship rights—social, civil, and political—conventionally granted and pro-
tected by governments.” Individual citizens are “the people to whom a democratic government is account-
able ... and are all equal before the law and have the same fundamental rights, duties, and responsibilities.” Federal legislation defines the rights for both individu-
als and corporations. For example, federal legislation mandates that all citizens 18 years and over are eligible to vote regardless of their race or color. Alternately, the minimum miles per gallon standards for automobiles are a federal mandate that manufacturers must meet.

While corporate citizens are quite healthy, as evi-
denced by the unprecedented growth in corporate profit margins and chief executive salaries, individual citizens have not fared as well. More than 12 million children live in households where there is not enough money to provide adequate nutritional needs. In 2004, 42 million people in the United States did not have health insur-
ance. Therefore, they are often unable to afford routine physician visits and prescription drugs to reduce the du-
ration of an infection or alleviate the pain of illnesses. How do the Ally Browns of the world advocate legisla-
tive change through letters and phone calls, when their elected officials receive campaign contributions from industry lobbyists? This is the very same group that Ally Brown is trying to challenge in an effort to improve her son’s life. Where do the responsibilities of the elected officials lie?

Individual Citizens as Donors
Researchers find that individuals can and do purchase legislative favor, but for the American household with a median income of $46,326, the decision to contrib-
ute competes with other daily priorities. Further, one might question if a contribution of $25 matters. The fed-
eral law allows individuals to contribute up to $2,300 to a presidential candidate during the 2008 election cycle. The results of a random survey administered to individual campaign donors—half of whom had contributed a minimum of $5,000 to a federal candidate—were compared with results from a survey administered to non-contributing registered voters. The findings indi-
cate that campaign donors were not average American voters. They were disproportionately white, male, older, and wealthier than the average voter.
The Value of Connections

Recent analysis of federal election committee data indicates that in areas where one political party tends to dominate (e.g., Democrats in the Boston area), almost equal dollars are raised by the opposing party, both at the local and national levels. These fundraising networks enable donors to access more than political influence. In addition to buying “access,” participating in the political process as a “high roller” solidifies friendships in influential areas and provides access to desirable social networks. Social science research finds that these networks include business, education, and social connections and help facilitate social mobility.

What Do We Do?

Recent analysis of contributions to the 2004 presidential election show that donors continue to be disproportionately wealthy, more educated, and older than the average American voter. However, during the 2004 campaign, individual contributions of $200 or less increased as compared to the 2000 elections. These donors contributed not because they would receive something tangible in return, but as a result of the importance that they felt the election held.

If the majority of individual contributions come from Americans in the highest income brackets, and if corporate citizens have greater powers than the majority of individuals, where does that leave the 99% of Americans like Ally Brown? Has citizenship been lost for the vast majority of Americans? Groups of individuals are working to develop ideas to address these inequities. What options do you think are possible?

Endnotes

1 Jeffrey Birnbaum and Allen Murray use the term Gucci Gulch in their 1988 book titled Showdown at Gucci Gulch—Lawmakers, Lobbyists, and the Unlikely Triumph of Tax Reform.

2 Center for Responsive Politics.

3 Ari Berman’s quotes Congressman Barney Frank (MA) in his comments titled “Making Elections Fair” in the April 30, 2007 issue of The Nation.


13 In fact, Lake and Borosage found that seventy-five percent of the donors were male compared to 48% of the average voters in 2000, 20% of the donors were under the age of 44 compared with 40% of the voters. Economically, 80% of the donors explained that that they had benefited from the economic boom leading up to the 2000 election compared to 42% of the average American voters.

