

# Ross - MO 510/Ford - PubPol 511 Business in Democracy: Advocacy, Lobbying & the Public Interest Winter 2020

### **Syllabus**

1.5 credits Professor Andrew Hoffman

Class Meets: Tuesday and Thursday Room R4390, Ross School

8:50-10:10am Email: ajhoff@umich.edu

Ross, R1210 Phone: 734-763-9455

January 14 - February 20

#### **Course Overview**

"We're in a hell of a mess in every direction...Respect for government, respect for the Supreme Court, respect for the president, it's all gone,"

Paul Volcker, former Federal Reserve Chairman, 2018

What is the role of the government in the market? What is the role of business in policy-making? These questions form the core of this class. As the quote above from Paul Volker makes clear, we are living a time when the role and stature of government has been greatly diminished. We are also living in a time when the lines between business and government are becoming increasingly blurred and public opinion increasingly polarized. Many Americans today believe that government has no role to play within the market; that the political and the economic domains are mutually exclusive and; at its most extreme, that government can do nothing right.

The objective of this course is to offer another view; to explore a proper and needed balance by which government and business to work in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is not intended to teach people how to become a lobbyist or advocate, per se. But it is designed to foster discussion and understanding of the kinds of constructive engagement that can and do take place between business, government and non-profits in today's rapidly evolving economy.

One of the most important domains in which business leaders shape the future of capitalism is through government engagement. Lobbying is basic to democratic politics as governments seek guidance on how to set the rules of the market and usher reforms as needed. Indeed, lobbying is often called the 4th branch of government since this multi-billion dollar industry significantly impacts policymaking. Yet, few universities offer courses on collaborative and constructive business-government engagement. Instead, public perceptions of such activities are generally negative, seeing them as either inappropriate influence of business in the policy domain (government capture) or an unwarranted intrusion of government in the market (crony capitalism, picking winner sand losers).

This course will explore business-government engagement as a public service that upholds obligations toward the collective good and not just individual gamesmanship. To that end, this course is intended to teach business students about the constructive role of government in the market, teach public policy students about the constructive role of business in policy making, and teach both about constructive ways that government and business can work together.

#### **Class Format**

The course will meet twelve times during the winter term. There will be a mix of lecture, case studies, general discussion and guest speakers.

#### **Course Expectations**

Because this class depends on interactive dialogue, <u>class participation</u> is essential, both for your and your classmate's learning. I want to stress that this course will involve a lot of discussion and debate. If you have reservations about speaking in class, you may wish to carefully consider your taking this class. When you speak in class, your emphasis should be on quality as opposed to quantity. Your comments should be focused on one point and should be backed up with sound reasoning. Comments should transcend the "I feel" syndrome. This is too easy a topic to drift into easy platitudes and reactionary statements. You should build your comments on models, evidence or analysis of inherent tradeoffs. In other words, the comments should demonstrate some reflective thinking.

In this course you will be expected to do a lot of <u>reading</u>. On such a topical and emergent issue, discussion without solid analysis and evocative case examples would likely digress into a fruitless exchange of unsupported opinions. We will take a slightly different approach to reading in this class than you may be familiar with in other classes. The syllabus is made up of articles, videos and webpages (with <u>hyperlinks</u>). Many are from the *New York Times*, and <u>students can subscribe</u> for \$1 per week if you cannot access them. You are expected to review this material but are strongly encouraged to find additional materials on the topic of each class and bring that material to the class discussion. In this way, we will learn together.

#### **Learning Objectives**

- Examine the respective roles of government and business in both the market and policymaking, discussing where these domains are separate and where they interact.
- Examine the full range of strategies and tactics pursued by organized interests and lobbyists in attempting to gain access, obtain and exchange information, and influence policy makers in government at the local, state and federal levels.
- This may include direct lobbying, fundraising, the uses of different kinds of political money, various types of grassroots programs, coalition-building, advertising and public relations, and litigation strategies.
- Understand campaign finance reform proposals and how they may have an impact on the policymaking process.
- Students will learn to recognize how firms and business issues are influenced by larger systems (e.g., organizational, political, cultural, social, economic and legal).

- Students will learn to ask questions thoughtfully and listen deeply to responses in order to understand the needs, goals and perspectives of others.
- Students will learn to select tools, processes and methods that can be creatively used to solve business and social issues.

#### **Related and Supporting Courses**

Each of these courses cover related and supportive topics to those offered in this class. They could be considered as either recommended prerequisites or constructive additions to each other and this class.

- Non-Market Strategy: Shaping the Rules of the Game (BE 555/PUBPOL 515) is a nice compliment to this course and could serve as a helpful primer or prerequisite. The topics covered in BE 555 are of a broader nature than those in this class, covering the models and theories that help students understand how to shape effective strategies to deal with the economic, political, social, legal, cultural and technological forces that make up the overall business environment, not just those in the market environment, but more importantly those that emerge from the non-market environment (e.g., nongovernmental organizations, social movements, interest groups, and the government).
- Lobbying Governmental Officials (PUBPOL 475) is a more focused course on social science of the legislative process and the specifics of lobbying. PUBPOL 475 is intended as a primer on the art of lobbying, while this course is tended to ask questions about the proper role of business and government.
- Interest Groups in American Politics (PUBPOL 389) explores the extent to which interest groups and social movements influence the public policy process. Like this course PUBPOL 389 explores movements like Black Lives Matter and civil or religious rights and tremendous impact they have had on the legislative process, this course will consider how and when the corporate sector gets drawn into such social movement politics, either as willing participants or unwilling targets of pressure.
- Business in Society (Strategy 680) is designed to prepare students to deal with the inherent tensions within business to address problems around corporate social responsibility while also maximizing shareholder value. Like this course, Strategy 680 explores competing views in depth and helps students work out their own position on them. But this course focuses more specifically on the role that government can play in the market (and business can play in government) to develop the context around which this tension arises.

#### **Assignments**

Readings and case preparation are to be completed before the class meets. Each session's reading assignments will present a variety of viewpoints. While reading these materials you should continually ask yourself: Do I understand the issue being discussed? Can I frame the issue in the perspective of both the environmental critic and the environmental proponent? How might this affect my decision-making as a manager?

**Position Papers (Individual).** Throughout the course, one-page (12 point font, single spaced) position papers are assigned based on the evening's readings. The topics are listed at the bottom

of each week's assignment. Each student will be expected to complete 3 (out of 9) of these papers over the course of the half-semester and be prepared to discuss them in class. Everyone will do position paper #1 and #3 (you will be divided into pro and con positions regarding the Citizens United Case) and then be assigned one more. These papers are meant to challenge you on some fundamental aspects of the topic at hand. Treat them as such. They must simply present a sound argument taking a stand on the issue. Think of it as something that you might submit to the *Wall Street Journal* or *New York Times* op-ed page.

Class Participation (Individual). Class participation is a very important part of the learning process (as well as an important part of your grade). It is critical not only for your personal learning, but also for the learning of your fellow classmates. Much of the value of the class comes from prepared, thoughtful, and informed dialogue between you and your classmates. You are expected to read all the materials and to apply those materials to your class discussion. When engaging in classroom discussion, the following are some of the behaviors we look for as good contributions: Raising relevant, insightful questions; Making comments that build on the ideas of others, moving the discussion and analysis forward; Helping other students contribute their ideas; Offering your own ideas to help analyze the case and to develop a sound course of action; Sharing your own personal experiences in a way that adds to our understanding of the topic being discussed; Talking with appropriate frequency (i.e., neither dominating the conversation nor being too passive). Generally a high participation grade is difficult to achieve if you are absent. Therefore, class attendance is critically important. If you must miss a class, please inform me in advance.

Collaborative Advocacy Case Study (Group). In this assignment you will write a case study of an example of business/government collaboration. This can be a past example or future possibility; it could have failed or succeeded. You may base your case on only secondary data (i.e. literature review) or primary data (i.e. interviews). The key is that the case must teach others about the specific opportunities, challenges and processes of such collaborations. You will be placed in groups of 4-6 members, asked to pick an example and write a case study that you might expect to read in class. In fact, the best papers will be turned into formal case studies that will be used in subsequent year's classes (with proper attribution). You must write a (minimum) 8 page case and (minimum) 4 page teaching note (each single spaced 12 point font). For the former, follow the format of cases you will see in this class and other classes – it has a central question that opens and closes the case; there is a protagonist that must make a decision; and the material inside the case provides the necessary information for answering the question, but it does not answer it. The Teaching Note provides the analysis that you think students will have to go through to answer the question, and the key learnings that you think students should take away from the experience. Be creative in your writing. Remember, your classmates may be reading this in the future; what might you appreciate if your predecessors had written one for you to read? Please use endnotes (at the end of the page) and cite any sources per the citation guide at the back of this syllabus. A few good sources of tips on writing case studies are posted on Canvas and listed here:

- How to write a business case study: <a href="https://wdi-publishing.com/wpcontent/uploads/2016/08/How-to-Write-A-Business-Case\_8-11-2017.pdf">https://wdi-publishing.com/wpcontent/uploads/2016/08/How-to-Write-A-Business-Case\_8-11-2017.pdf</a>
- Hot to write a teaching note: <a href="https://wdi-publishing.com/wpcontent/uploads/2016/08/HowToWriteaTeachingNote">https://wdi-publishing.com/wpcontent/uploads/2016/08/HowToWriteaTeachingNote</a> 8-11-2017.pdf

#### Final grade is composed of:

• Position papers (3) 30% Due **IN CLASS** on the assigned day.

• Class participation 20%

• Advocacy Case Study 50% Due **IN CLASS** on the final day

#### **Course Material**

There is a required book and course packet of cases and, to reduce paper, readings are listed as hyperlinks in this syllabus. This material should be supplemented by steady reading of contemporary issues as published in *The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Business Week* etc. Please look online for a used textbook if you wish to save some money.

#### Required Course packet:

- The course pack is available from the Kresge library. Instructions are on the Canvas site. Required Text:
  - Levine, B. (2009) The Art of Lobbying: Building Trust and Selling Policy (CQ Press).

#### **Academic Honor Code**:

Personal integrity and professionalism are fundamental values of the Ross Business School community. This course will be conducted in strict conformity with the Academic Honor Code. The Code and related procedures can be found <a href="here">here</a>. The site also contains comprehensive information on how to be sure that you have not plagiarized the work of others. Claimed ignorance of the Code and related information appearing on the site will be viewed as irrelevant should a violation take place. Non-Ross Business School students taking the course should also familiarize themselves with the Code as they will be subject to the Code as well while in this course.

#### Policy on Testing Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

The University of Michigan is committed to providing equal opportunity for participation in all programs, services and activities. Students wishing to receive testing accommodations must register with the University of Michigan Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) office as soon as possible. Students must then submit their Verified Individualized Services and Accommodations (VISA) form online as early as possible, but no later than two weeks prior to the first test or quiz for which accommodations are requested. Accommodations arrangements are not guaranteed for students who submit their VISA form with less than two weeks' notice. Requests must be sent using the Ross Accommodations Request Form and must include a scanned or photographed copy of the VISA form. This form only needs to be submitted once during your academic career with Ross unless your accommodations eligibility expires. In rare cases, the need for an accommodation arises after the two week deadline has passed (example: a broken wrist). In these cases, students should still contact SSD and the Ross Accommodations Coordinator. However, due to logistical constraints, we cannot guarantee that an accommodation can be made after the two week deadline has passed. Questions can be directed to the Ross Accommodations Coordinator RossAccommodationsCoordinator@umich.edu.

#### **READINGS:**

- 1. This is a subject that is getting increased academic attention:
  - Schular, D., Rehbein, K. and Green, C. (2017) "Is it time to treat corporations' political activity as an academic field?" Rice Business Wisdom, January 10.
- 2. Public opinion is divided.
  - Bowman, K. (2017) "Where is the public on government regulation?" Forbes, October 23.
- 3. Trust in capitalism appears to be eroding, particularly among the young.
  - Anzilotti, E. (2018) "For young people, socialism is now more popular than capitalism,"
     Fast Company, August 13.
- 4. Trust in government is also eroding, or has eroded.
  - (2019) "Congress and the public," Gallup.
- 5. Is capitalism in trouble?
  - Leonhardt, D. (2019) "A CEO who's scared for America," New York Times, March 31.
  - Stiglitz, J. (2018) "The American economy is rigged," Scientific American, November 1.
- 6. Is there a better way?
  - Peterson, K. and M. Pfitzer (2009) "<u>Lobbying for good</u>," Stanford Social Innovation Review, Winter.

**POSITION PAPER #1:** Why are you taking this class? What do you think is the proper balance between business interests and policy-making? Is it out of balance? By what metric? Is the public interest being served? Do we need more or less regulation within the market? How would you structure these relationships?

Session #2 The Activist CEO Thursday, January 16

#### **CASE STUDY:**

• Blurring the Lines between Business and Government: Salesforce and CEO Activism, Case #2-027-758 (WDI Publishing, 2019).

#### **READINGS:**

- Chatterji, A. and M. Toffel (2018) "The new CEO activists," Harvard Business Review, January-February.
- Davis, J. (2016) "When did Che Guevara become CEO? The roots of the new corporate activism," The Conversation, September 27.
- Stoll, D. (2019) "For CEOs, it's a whole new job," Wall Street Journal, December 16.
- Sorkin, A. (2018) "When business executives become reluctant statesmen," New York Times. October 16.
- Sorkin, A. (2019) "<u>Ex-corporate lawyer's idea: Rein in 'sociopaths' in the boardroom</u>," *New York Times*, July 29.

**CASE QUESTIONS:** Why was this the right issue for Benioff to advocate? Was it his place to do so? Are activist CEOs appropriate leaders for all corporations or more appropriate for some versus others? Are some issues better suited to CEO activism than others? Should businesses have the power to change political decisions? Is this an example of government ceding power to business? If so, how would that affect society?

**POSITION PAPER #2:** In what ways do corporations influence policy? Are some tactics more appropriate than others? Are some topic domains more appropriate than others? Has business become too entrenched in our political process? Do they wield too much power? Are they overstepping their bounds? Are they displacing government? If yes, be specific about which bounds are being over-stepped? If no, are they filling a necessary void and helping us navigate better policy? Should companies get involved in referenda on gay marriage, abortion, and the election process? Or, do they have no choice (as the *Harvard Business Review* article suggests)?

# Session #3 The Personhood of the Corporation Tuesday, January 21

#### **READINGS:**

- Duignan, B. (2019) Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission, Encyclopedia Brittanica
- Linzey, T. (2019) "Filling the democracy gap," Orion, Autumn
- Dunbar, J. (2018) "The 'Citizen's United' decision and why it matters," The Center for Public Integrity, May 10.
- Levy, G. (2015) "How Citizens United has changed politics in 5 years," US News and World Report, January 21.
- Casleton, S. (2018) "It's time for liberals to get over Citizens United," Vox, May 7.
- Open Secrets. Review the page on <u>Influence & Lobbying</u> to gain a sense of the scale and types of lobbying taking place in the US today; pay particular attention to the Lobbying Database.

**POSITION PAPER #3:** You will be placed in one of two positions for class. Position 1 is in support of the Citizens United case; Position 2 is in opposition to the case decision. We will use these opposing sides to explore its merits and its weaknesses. Please develop your position in this position paper. Be sure to read both the majority and dissenting opinions in the Duignan reading.

# Tensions in Business/Government Engagement Today Thursday, January 23

#### **GUEST:**

Session #4

• <u>John Viera</u>, former Global Director, Sustainability & Vehicle Environmental Matters at Ford Motor Company.

#### **CASE STUDY:**

• At a Crossroads: General Motors and the Trump Administration's Fuel Economy Standards #1-453-703 (WDI Publishing, 2019).

#### **READINGS:**

- Davenport, C. and H. Tabuchi (2019) "<u>Automakers, rejecting Trump pollution rule, strike a deal with California,</u>" *New York Times*, July 25.
- Davenport, C. and H. Tabuchi (2019) "White House pressed car makers to join its fight over California emissions rules," New York Times, October 30.
- Tabuchi, H. (2019) "General Motors sides with Trump in emissions fight, splitting the industry," New York Times, October 28.
- Hsu, T. (2019) "Toyota's support of Trump emission rules shocks Californians," New York Times, October 29.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2019) "How car makers got caught between Trump and California," Wall Street Journal, October 31 [podcast].
- Hirs, E. (2019) "The future of electric vehicles: Will US manufacturers lead?" Forbes, September 20.

Routley, N. (2019) "Visualizing EV sales around the world," Visual Capitalist, March 16.
 CASE QUESTIONS: What are the implications of the new Safer Affordable Fuel Efficient (SAFE) regulatory standards for the automotive industry? What should the auto industry take into consideration before issuing any public comments regarding the new SAFE standards? What are GM's strengths as a company and how do they relate to the new SAFE standards? How should GM respond to the SAFE standards? What needs to be considered if GM suggests a NZEV mandate?

What role should GM play in responding to or shaping government policy?

**POSITION PAPER #4:** How do you think this will play out? Will companies on one side or the other be punished? Be rewarded? If you were a CEO of one of these auto companies, how could you see the situation as an opportunity? Could you see as an opportunity if you were in the Trump or Newsom administrations? Does society win with this debate?

Session #5

#### Government and Policy Making

Tuesday, January 28

#### **GUEST:**

- The Honorable <u>Sander "Sandy" Levin</u>, former Congressman for Michigan's 9<sup>th</sup>
   Congressional District from 1983-2019, former Chairman of the House Ways and Means
   Committee from 2010 to 2011, and now professor of practice at the Ford School. **READINGS:** Textbook
  - Levine, B. (2009) The Art of Lobbying: Chapter 2 The Lobbyist's Professional World
  - Levine, B. (2009) The Art of Lobbying: Chapter 4 Political "Capitol" Gains and Losses
- 1. Congressman Levin
  - Levin, S. and H. Shaiken (2019) "How can Americans compete with Mexicans making a tenth of what they do?" New York Times, November 19.
- 2. The Legislative Process
  - (2018) "Introduction to the legislative process in the U.S. Congress,"
     Congressional Research Service.
  - Sullivan, J. (2007) "How our laws are made," US House of Representatives.
- 3. The Lobbyist
  - Byrd, R. (1989) Lobbyists, The United States Senate
  - \_\_\_\_\_(2001) "Congress, lobbyists, and the public interest," The Wilson Center.

**POSITION PAPER #5:** What are the incentives for government officials to interact with lobbyists? Are these incentives serving the public interest? Are there (or should there be) legal or ethical constraints on what a government official can do when interacting with lobbyists? Are there limits on what government can do without the involvement of business?

Session #6

Foundations of Democracy and Capitalism

Thursday, January 30

#### **READINGS:** Textbook

- Levine, B. (2009) *The Art of Lobbying:* Chapter 5 Inside the Door (and Beyond)
- Levine, B. (2009) *The Art of Lobbying:* Chapter 8 Conclusion
- 1. Foundations of Democracy
  - Madison, J. (1787) Federalist No. 10: "The utility of the union as a safeguard against domestic faction and insurrection," Yale Law School: The Avalon Project.
  - Wolfensberger, D. (2001) "<u>Factions and the public interest: Federalist No. 10</u>" The Wilson Center, May 18.

- 2. Foundations of Capitalism
  - Levin, Y. (2010) "Recovering the case for capitalism," National Affairs, Spring.
  - Bowyer, J. (2017) "The real Adam Smith vs. the fake Adam Smith," Forbes, September 15.
     Norman, J. (2018) "How Adam Smith would fix capitalism," Financial Times, June 22.
- 3. What Democracy and the Market are Becoming
  - Mounk, Y. (2018) "America is not a democracy," The Atlantic, March.
  - Leonhardt, D. (2018) "American capitalism isn't working," New York Times, December 2.
  - Taylor, J. (2018) "The alternative to ideology," Niskanen Center, October 29.
  - Gabbatt, A. (2018) "Elizabeth Warren's plan to fix capitalism and give more power to workers," The Guardian, August 18.

**POSITION PAPER #6:** Would the Founding Fathers be pleased or disturbed by today's advocacy environment? What conditions are needed for Madison's view on interests to work correctly? Is Capitalism broken? Is Democracy broken? If yes, is the Libertarian approach or that of several Democratic candidates (such as Elizabeth Warren) a way forward? If not, what is wrong with either approach?

Session #7

The Corporate Lobbyist

Tuesday, February 4

#### **GUEST:**

• <u>Peter Molinaro</u>, former Vice President, North America Government Affairs for The Dow Chemical Company **READINGS**:

#### Textbook

- Levine, B. (2009) *The Art of Lobbying:* Chapter 6 The Lobbyist's Ask
- Levine, B. (2009) The Art of Lobbying: Chapter 7 Designing and Executing a Lobbying Campaign

The Life and Skills of the Lobbyist

- Cronin, G. (2019) Podcast: "<u>The key to maintaining clients</u>," The Lobbying Show, October 14.
- (2018) Careers: Lobbyist, The Princeton Review.

**POSITION PAPER #7:** What do you think of the life, skills and objectives of the corporate lobbyist? Would you like this kind of career? Is there anything that a lobbyist does that you would find exciting or difficult, consistent or opposed to your temperament or personal values? Do you believe is it ethical to influence Congress, state government or local government? If yes, what are the grounds for your position? If no, how do you make sure that lobbyists keep the public interest in mind? Can you conceive of a noble pursuit of lobbying? Does the process work as presently structured?

Session #8

The Nonprofit Lobbyist

Thursday, February 6

#### **GUESTS:**

- Cynthia Wilbanks, Vice President for Government Relations, University of Michigan
- Lisa Wozniak, Executive Director of the MI League of Conservation Voters READINGS:
- League of Conservation Voters Scorecard.
- Bolder Advocacy, a Program of Alliance for Justice

- Huseman, J. (2015) "The frightening power of the home schooling lobby," Slate, August
   27.
- Mehtra, N. (2009) "Nonprofits and lobbying," American Bar Association, March/April.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2013) "The rules of nonprofit lobbying," Common Cause, December 5.
- Drutman, L. (2015) "<u>Here's the real reason we don't have gun reform (It's not campaign</u> contributions)" *Vox*, December 3.

**POSITION PAPER #8:** Would you be more or less inclined to take a job as a nonprofit lobbyist as compared to a corporate lobbyist? Do the same rules of lobbying apply equally to both corporate and nonprofit lobbyist? Are their interests the same, or is one more aligned with the public interest than the other? Are all non-profits the same? Should their tactics be different? If so, in what ways?

Session #9

Concerns over Corporate Influence

Tuesday, February 11

#### **GUEST:**

• <u>Andrew Coulouris</u>, director of Federal Affairs at DTE Energy, former director of Government Affairs at Dow Corning and former Congressman for the 95<sup>th</sup> District in the Michigan House of Representatives. **READINGS:** 

#### Textbook

- Levine, B. (2009) The Art of Lobbying: Chapter 3 Red Flags
- 1. Red Flags over Corporate Influence
  - Thurber, J. (2002) "From campaigning to lobbying," Chapter 9 in C. Nelson, D. Dullo and S. Medvic (eds.) Shades of Gray: Perspectives on Campaign Ethics, Brookings Institution Press.
  - Mahler, J. and Ruttenberg, J. (2019) "How Rupert Murdoch's empire of influence remade the world," New York Times, April 3.
- 2. Corporate Influence through Astroturf, Influence Advertising and Money
  - Goldschein, E. (2011) "10 fake grassroots movements started by corporations to sway your opinion," Business Insider, September 30.
  - Bump, P. (2013) "<u>Does more campaign money actually buy more votes: An investigation</u>," *The Atlantic*, November 11.
  - Influence Map (2018) <u>Corporate Lobbying: How Companies Really Impact Progress on</u>
    Climate
- 4. Distorting influence of social media
  - ☐ Karatzogianni, A. (2016) "Beyond hashtags: How a new wave of digital activists is changing society," The Conversation, April 11.

**POSITION PAPER #9:** Are you concerned with the present state of corporate lobbying? If so, can you pinpoint exactly what makes you uncomfortable? If not, what do you make of common conceptions of lobbying as corrosive? Is the mere presence of corporate money in politics corrosive, or is the simple appearance of money corrosive to people's trust (refer back to Justice John Paul Stevens dissenting opinion on the Citizens United case)? Are there some aspects of corporate influence that make you more uncomfortable than others? Try to be specific, but offer some kind of over-arching norms or values that you think could guide lobbying in service to the public interest? What is the best service that corporate and nonprofit lobbyists can provide to members of government? Do they provide a unique service or could congressional staffs get this information or resource elsewhere?

# Proposed Remedies at the Government Level

Session #10 Campaign Finance Reform Thursday, February 13

#### **READINGS:**

- Summary Comparison of Lobbying Reform Proposals (2006) Public Citizen
- Thurber, J. (2011) "Changing the way Washington works? Assessing President Obama's battle with lobbyists." Presidential Studies Quarterly, March 17.
- Berman, R. (2016) "<u>Donald Trump's last-ditch plan to 'drain the swamp'</u>," The Atlantic, October 18.
- Mann, T. (2007) "<u>Campaign finance reform: Are there smarter ways to fix the system?</u>" Brookings Institution, July 12.
- Drutman, L. (2011) "A better way to fix lobbying," Issues in Governance Studies, Brookings Institution, June.

**POSITION PAPER #10:** If a corporation has the same rights to engage government as an individual does, are they exercising those rights in a way that serves the public interest? Should constraints be placed on organizations when advocating before the government? If no, what do you make of the attempts by Presidents Obama and Trump to amend the relationships between business and government? If yes, what kinds of changes would you advocate, and who would support and oppose them? Whose interests are served by the current system?

# Proposed Remedies at the Corporate Level

Session #11 Corporate Action, Transparency Tuesday, February 18

#### **CASE STUDY:**

- Intel: Undermining the Conflict Mineral Industry, #1-429-411, (WDI Publishing, 2015).
   READINGS:
- Imagine
- Levinthal, D. (2016) "Big business continues trend toward political transparency: But new study indicates many corporate giants still shun sunlight," The Center for Public Integrity, September 29.
- Patriotic Millionaires
- Lyon, T. and M. Delmas (2018) "When corporations take credit for green deeds their lobbying may tell another story," The Conversation, July 17.
- Mendoza, M. (2015) "Nestle admits slavery and coercion used in catching its seafood," CBC News, November 23

CASE QUESTIONS: Why would Intel engage with the government to compel industry-wide change when it can gain a competitive advantage under current SEC regulations with its head start in supply chain transparency and auditing? Could this backfire and cause reprisals from other companies in other domains? Should the company just stick to its business objectives and not get involved in issues on the Congo? Is this a model of constructive lobbying that others should emulate? Why? Why not?

**POSITION PAPER #11:** Paul Polman stepped down as CEO of Unilever as a hero for those who wish to see corporation become more of a positive force in society. He has now devoted his attention to Imagine, and the idea of pre-competitive collaboration — bringing together the CEOs of companies in sectors with tight market concentration and seeking to gain collective voluntary buy-in on issues like ocean plastics, climate change, palm oil and human trafficking. Part of their argument is that government has become too weak to take on such convening. Is that fair? Did

business make government this way? And with the current the situation, do you think Imagine is on the right track? Or, is it further displacing government and its important role in the market? What would you like to see added to the Imagine model to make it effective for the long run?

Session #12 Project Presentations, Summary and Conclusion Thursday, February 20

**DUE:** Final Case Analysis. Hand in paper, present to class.

#### **Style Guide for References**

Please use endnotes for all references in your papers. The form of entries should fit the following format. Book entries follow this form: Authors' or Editors' Last Names, Initials. Year. Title of book. (Italic, lowercase except for the first letter of the first word and the first word after a long dash or colon). City Where Published, with abbreviation for state or province (North America) or full name of country, only if needed to identify a small city: Name of Publisher. Examples:

Granovetter, M.S. 1965. *Getting a job: A study of contracts and careers*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kahn, R. L., & Boulding, E. (Eds.). 1964. Power and conflict in organizations. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

R. Harbridge (Ed.) *Employment contracts: New Zealand experiences*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

National Center for Education Statistics. 1992. *Digest of education statistics*. Washington DC: National Center for Education Statistics.

Periodical entries follow this form: Authors' Last Names, Initials. Year. Title of article or paper (in lowercase letters except for the first letter of the first word and the first word after a long dash or colon). Name of Periodical, volume number (issue number, if needed—see below): page numbers. Examples:

Shrivastava, P. 1995. The role of corporations in achieving ecological sustainability. *Academy of Management Review*, 20: 936-960.

Nonaka, I. 1991. The knowledge-creating company. Harvard Business Review, 69(6): 96-104.

Include an issue number *only* if every issue of the referenced periodical begins with a page numbered 1. (Look at more than one issue to check.)

If an article has no author, the periodical or producing body is referenced:

BusinessWeek. 1998. The best B-schools. October 19: 86-94

Chapters in books (including annuals) follow this form: Authors' Last Names, Initials. Year. Title of chapter (in lowercase letters except for the first letter of the first word and first word after a colon). In Editors' Initials and Last Names (Eds.), *Title of book:* page numbers. City Where Published, State or Country (only if necessary to identify the city): Name of Publisher. Examples:

Dutton, J., Bartunek, J., & Gersick, C. 1996. Growing a personal, professional collaboration. In P. Frost & S. Taylor (Eds.), *Rhythms of academic life*: 239-248. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

For unpublished papers, dissertations, and papers presented at meetings:

Duncan, R. G. 1971. *Multiple decision-making structures in adapting to environmental uncertainty*. Working paper no. 54–71, Northwestern University Graduate School of Management, Evanston, IL. Smith, M. H. 1980. *A multidimensional approach to individual differences in empathy*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas, Austin.

For an *electronic document,* include the author's name, if known; the full title of the document; the full title of the work it is part of; the ftp, http, or other address; and the date the document was posted or accessed.