

A Watchdog of 'Many Minds': Civil Society and New Technologies in Party Funding

New Trends in Political Financing Regulation in Asia and Europe:
The New Role of Monitoring and Enforcement Bodies
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Watchdogs

What?

How?

Who?

Types and Virtues of *Many Minds*

Tradition

Cosmopolitanism

Popular sovereignty

Democratic culture is a culture in which individuals have a fair opportunity to participate in the forms of meaning making that constitute them as individuals

'Scandals', 2006 - 2009



Lord Levy
(former fund-raiser)
Loans for Peerages

No prosecution,
already resigned

*Electoral
Administration Act
2007*

Parliamentary
Committee

David Abrahams
(private donor)
Proxy Donations

No prosecution,
retired to private
life.

*Political Parties and
Elections Act 2009, s.
9*

Daily Mail

Wendy Alexander
(Leader of Scottish
Labour Party)
Foreign Donations

No prosecution but
Parliamentary
sanction. Resigned.

No change

Daily Mail

Peter Hain
(Secretary of State)
Non-Reporting

No prosecution,
resigned. Now back
as SoS. Tainted.

*Political Parties and
Elections Act 2009, s.
14*

The Guardian

Web 2.0 - A Relational Web

Static Websites

Content produced by finite teams

Strict editorial limits

External users cannot contribute

Information only - no communication tools

Web 2.0

Infinite number of contributors

Users post anything/anytime

Sites encourage (require) external contributions

Variety of ways for users to communicate

Web 2.0

Routing around / glomming on

Get and consume culture created elsewhere

Deliberative spin-offs

Innovation and unknowingness - double bind

Cannot anticipate new architecture and tools

US *Election 2008*

MyBO, iPhone App, aggregators, YouTube

Proposition 8: Ballot measure to change CA constitution that marriage should only exist “between a man and a woman”

‘No’ campaign’s mashup of *donation data* + *google maps*

<http://www.eightmaps.com>

PROP 8 MAPS A mash-up of [Google Maps](#) and [Prop 8 Donors](#).
Proposition 8 changed the California state constitution to prohibit same-sex marriage. These are the people who donated in order to pass it.

Location Search

Jump to [San Francisco](#), [Salt Lake City](#), or [Orange County](#).

Map Satellite Hybrid

Mr. Pui-Yan Kwok
Univ California San Francisco
Professor
\$500.00 8/5/2008

San Francisco

Map data ©2009 Tele Atlas - [Terms of Use](#)

<http://www.eightmaps.com>


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Analysis of Complex Genetic Traits

The overall goal of our research is to develop the tools for genetic analysis of whole genomes and to apply these tools to elucidate the genetic factors associated with common human traits. We are actively involved in three areas of research. First, we are developing efficient methods for single DNA molecule analysis with the goals of mapping whole genomes and determining the haplotypes of diploid individuals unambiguously. Second, we are applying state-of-the-art genetic tools to search for genetic factors associated with complex human traits. Third, we are studying genes involved in drug transport and metabolism in different ethnic populations to identify gene variants that affect drug response or lead to adverse reactions. On-going collaborative projects include studies of genetic susceptibility to psoriasis, narcolepsy, systemic lupus erythematosus, hemorrhagic risk in brain arteriovenous malformations, and sudden cardiac arrest; identification of functional variants in genes that affect drug response; search for genetic determinants for longevity; prediction of kidney transplantation outcomes based on the genetic, proteomic, and expression patterns of the recipients and the grafts; and the elucidation of the structure-function relationship of collagen genes, especially in the context of osteogenesis imperfecta.

Most recent publications:

Reiner, AP, Ziv, E, Lind, DL, Nievergelt, CM, Schork NJ, Cummings, SR, Phong, A, Burchard, E, Harris, TB, Psaty, BM, and Kwok, P-Y. Population structure, admixture, and aging-related phenotypes in African-American adults: the Cardiovascular Health Study. *Am. J. Hum. Genet.* 2005; 76:463-477.

The International HapMap Consortium. A haplotype map of the human genome. *Nature* 2005; 437:1299-1320.

Freimuth, RR, Xiao, M, Sharon Marsh, S, Minton, M, Addleman, N, Van Booven, DJ, Howard L, McLeod, HL, and Kwok, PY. Polymorphism discovery in 51 chemotherapy pathway genes. *Hum. Mol. Genet.* 2005; 14:3595-3603.

Xiao, M, Phong, A, Ha, C, Chan, TF, Cai, D, Wan, E, Leung, L, Kistler, A, DeRisi, JL, Selvin, P, Kwok, P-Y. Rapid DNA Mapping by fluorescent single molecule detection. *Nucleic Acids Res.* 2007; 35:e18.

Reich, D, Patterson, N, Ramesh, V, De Jager, PL, McDonald, GJ, Tandon, A, Choy, E, Hu, D, Tamraz, B, Pawlikowska, L, Wassel-Fyr, C, Huntsman, S, Waliszewska, A, Rossin, E, Li, R, Garcia, M, Reiner, A, Ferrell, R, Cummings, S, Kwok, PY, Hamis, T, Zmuda, JM, Ziv, E. Admixture mapping of genetic effects on the risk of coronary artery disease. *Am. J. Hum. Genet.*

Protectmarriage.com v. Bowen (2009)

Complaint that donors/supporters subject to threats, reprisals and harassment (boycotts, 'buycotts', property damage, death threats etc)

Plaintiff sought void statutory reporting requirement

Impinges on freedoms of belief but can a *legitimate governmental interest* be shown?

Protectmarriage.com v. Bowen (2009)

Knowing which interested parties back or oppose a ballot measure is critical, especially when one considers that ballot-measure language is typically confusing....by knowing who supports or opposes a given initiative, voters will have a pretty good idea of who stands to benefit from the legislation.

Getman I, 328 F.3d at 1105-1106.

Protected speech despite risk of threats, harassment, reprisals. NB Court's threshold high - Brown v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Comm 459 US 87 (1982)

Information is communicated in a manner which is collaborative, open, responsive. An architecture of surveillance, created and operated by 'many minds'

Transferability - Legal Obstacles

Thresholds

PPERA 2000 - disclosure thresholds, £5,000 / £1,000

PPEB 2009 - raised threshold for 'administrative convenience' to
£7,500 / £1,500

Trend of huge donations, mainly from wealthy individuals,
disincentivises small/ordinary donations.

Data

PPERA - disclosure regime for political donations

All data uploaded to Electoral Commission's website and made
available in Excel and SPSS (on request)

Only partial information - name and quantity of donation but not
address and postcode (PPERA, s.69(4))

Conclusion

The trends in political activity represent changes in the style of political action, and not just change in the level of participation. The new style of citizenship seeks to place more control over political activity in the hands of the citizenry. These changes in participation make greater demands on the participants. At the same time, these activities can increase public pressure on political elites. Citizen participation is becoming more closely linked to citizen influence. Rather than democracy being at risk, this represents an opportunity to expand and enrich democratic participation.

R Dalton, "Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation", Political Studies (2008)

Conclusion

Maximalist position

Hyper-transparency, but double bind

Potential to investigate sources, splintering, donation limits, co-ordinating expenditure etc

Minimalist position (limited role of state)

(1) require generation of building blocks (data)

(2) make data freely available (inc. manipulable)