

Mediating Interests: Governments and Non-Governmental Actors Interest Groups and International Governance

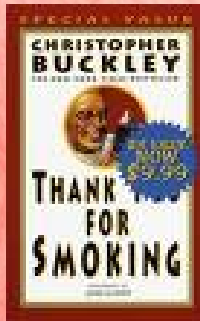


**Lobbying
and
interest
representation**

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To know more...

Image of Lobbying



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Lobbying and interest representation

Total Lobbying Spending in the U.S.

1998	\$1.44	Billion
1999	\$1.45	Billion
2000	\$1.56	Billion
2001	\$1.62	Billion
2002	\$1.82	Billion
2003	\$2.04	Billion
2004	\$2.18	Billion
2005	\$2.41	Billion

'The underlying problems are big government and big money'
(Newt Gingrich)

US lobbying sector expenditures 1998

Sector	Total
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	\$205,570,907
Communications/Electronics	\$185,318,089
Misc Business	\$180,344,500
Health	\$160,973,704
Energy & Natural Resources	\$154,599,785
Agribusiness	\$118,740,690
Transportation	\$117,842,871
Other	\$74,644,198
Ideological/Single-Issue	\$70,039,735
Defense	\$53,139,485
Labor	\$26,097,746
Construction	\$22,385,406
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$18,201,170

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Lobbying and interest representation

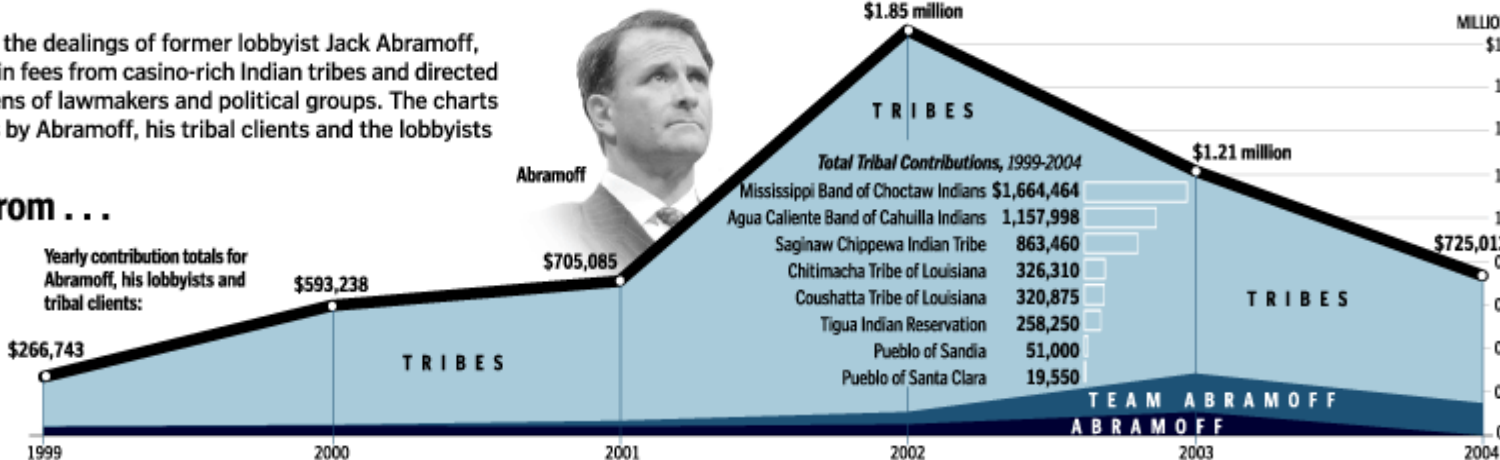
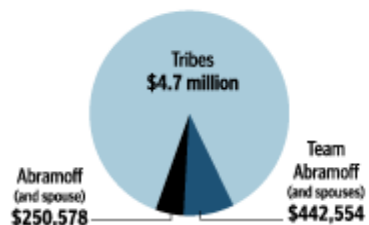
US lobbying sector expenditures 2005

Sector	Total
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	\$367,129,772
Health	\$321,894,353
Misc Business	\$297,707,238
Communications/Electronics	\$277,698,354
Energy & Natural Resources	\$205,482,721
Other	\$198,443,555
Transportation	\$180,154,279
Ideological/Single-Issue	\$138,338,582
Agribusiness	\$100,373,847
Defense	\$89,229,640
Construction	\$37,111,464
Labor	\$34,182,298
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$27,548,838

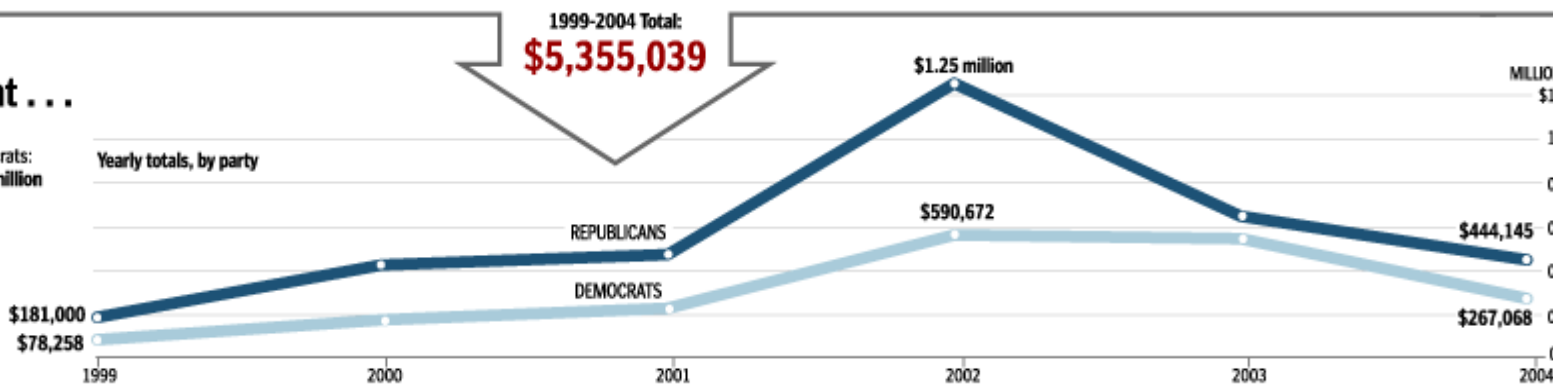
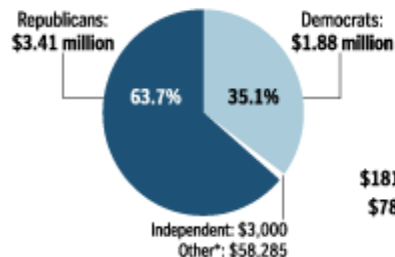


The Justice Department is investigating the dealings of former lobbyist Jack Abramoff, who collected tens of millions of dollars in fees from casino-rich Indian tribes and directed the tribes to make contributions to dozens of lawmakers and political groups. The charts below reflect 1999-2004 contributions by Abramoff, his tribal clients and the lobbyists that make up Team Abramoff:

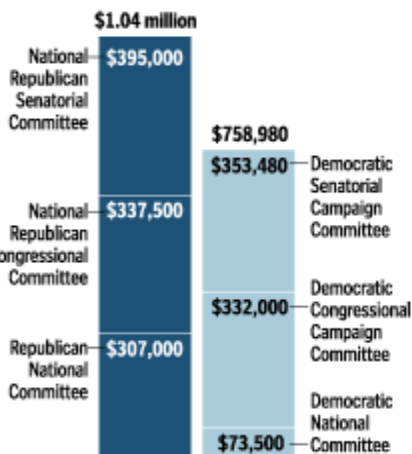
Where the Money Came From . . .



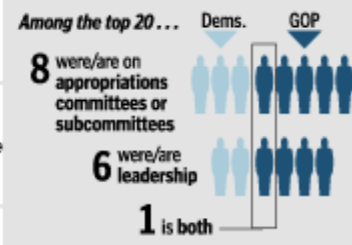
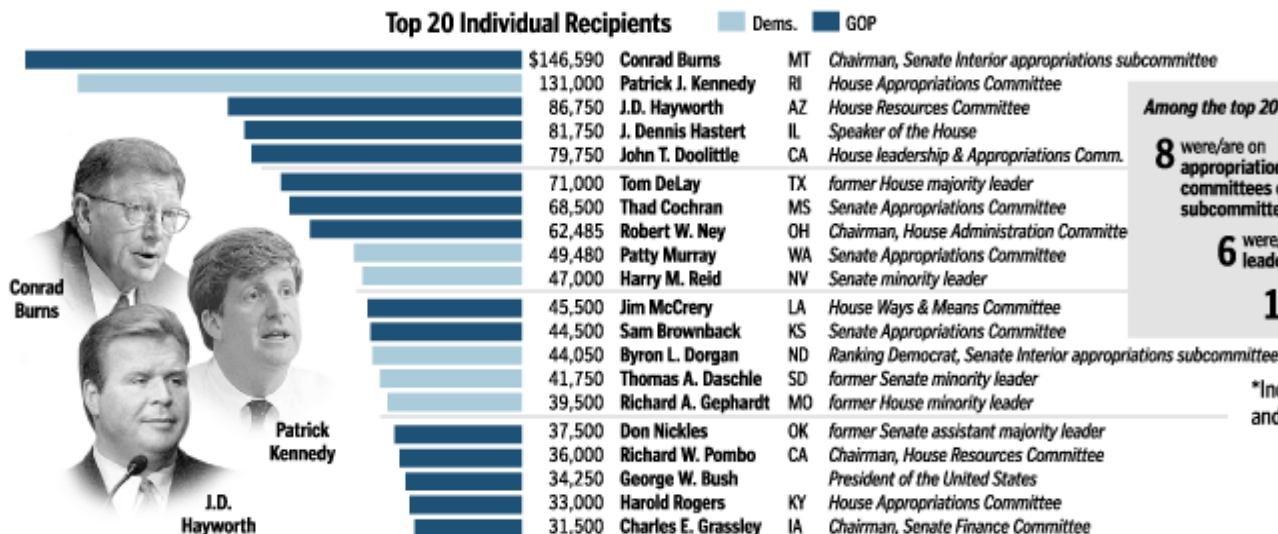
Where the Money Went . . .



National Party Committee Recipients



Top 20 Individual Recipients



*Includes non-partisan PACs and corporate PACs

'Lobbyist' = a shadowy phantom

➤ From Jack Abramoff to Jacek Spira

– *Even before Mr. Abramoff, the public thought the influence-buying game was sleazy. ... When it comes to lobbying in this post-Abramoff world, everyone's a reformer...*

Source: NYT, January 6, 2006, Money Always Finds a Way

– *Since 1998, more than 2,200 former federal employees had registered as federal lobbyists, as had nearly 275 former White House aides and nearly 250 former members of Congress.*

Source: Center for Public Integrity

– *272 former members registered as lobbyists between 1995 to 2004*

Source: Political Money-Line

– *15.000 lobbyists in Brussels...*

Source: EU Commissioner Kallas

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Lobbying and interest representation

What is Lobbying?

- **influencing governmental decisions**
- **private coaxing and cajoling of legislative members**
- **public actions (e.g. mass demonstrations), or**
- **combinations of both public and private actions (e.g. encouraging constituents to contact their legislative representatives='grassroots lobbying')**

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Lobbying and interest representation

Lobbying in the Czech Republic

- An idiot's guide to lobbying in the Czech republic would consist of one word: corruption.
- An intelligent person's guide is more sophisticated:
 - Early warning of the problem,
 - Realistic client objectives,
 - Convincing set of arguments,
 - Good timing,
 - Client's willingness to compromise

Source: James de Candole

- **Corruption** = an illegitimate way of communication of particular interests.
- **Lobbying** = a legitimate communication of interests and opinions to designed to influence public policy.

Lobbying: the art, practice or profession?

- convergence between lobbying and public relations > business-government relations
- the PR firms were the first into lobbying and the law firms followed; and now we have conglomerates
- from the company's point of view –
issue management:
 - corporate philanthropy, community involvement, government relations, public relations, ...

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Studying Lobbying

- **lobbying as communication (Milbrath 1960)**
- **lobbying as a political participation**
 - symptom of negligence in political manners and thus inappropriate (Beyme 1980).
- **combined political and communicational definition (Schendelen 1993):**
 - lobbying `is the informal exchange of information with public authorities (min.) and ... trying informally to influence public authorities (max.)

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Lobbying and interest representation

Types of Expertise

- Communicating knowledge = putting ideas
- Advocating values = changing attitudes
- Lobbying interests = getting into action

basis of research (Weiss)	Role of experts	type of think-tank	similar institutions ("hybrids", "siblings")	dominant source of finance
data (knowledge)	academic scholars	"university without students"	academic research centers	foundations
- " -	contract researchers, experts	consulting firms	government research centers	state (public) budget
ideas (ideology) values	advocates	NGO (non-profit)	party think-tanks	political parties, individuals, corporations
arguments interests	intermediaries, lobbyists	lobbies	associated research centers of interest groups	entrepreneurs, corporations, associations (unions)

Lobbying and interest representation

Lobbying and Decision-Making Process

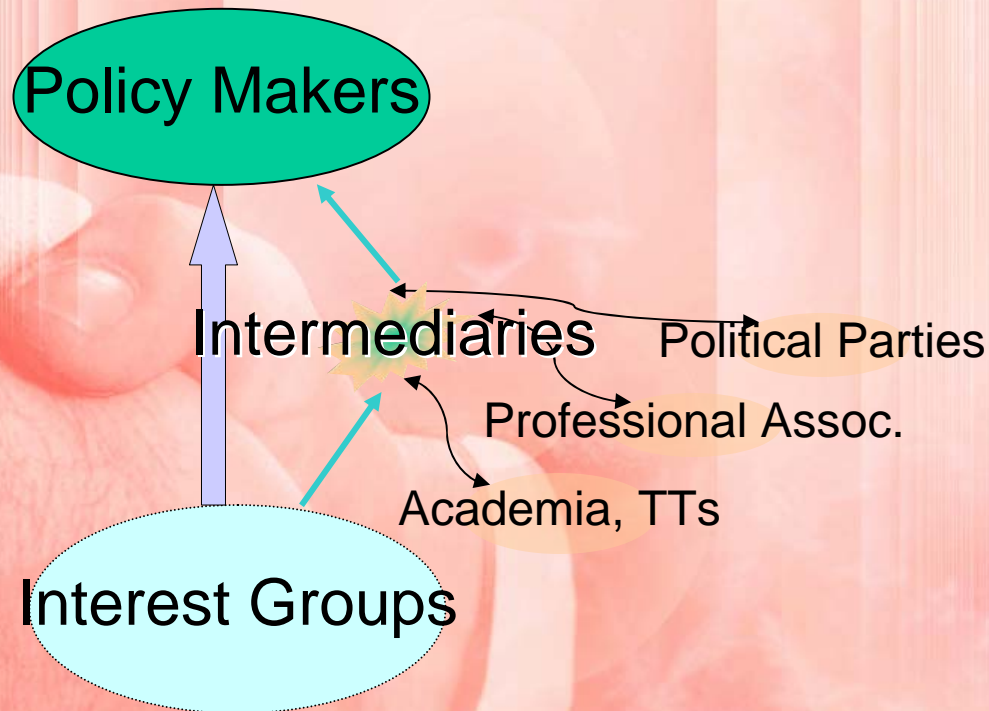
The lobbies' input to decision making:

- **promoting interests and**
- **providing capacities to solve problems (information, research etc).**

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Interest Groups and Policy-Making

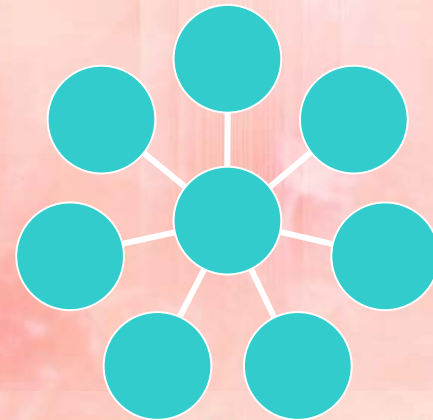
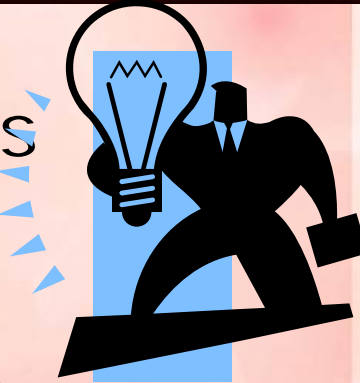


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Lobbying and interest representation

The Role of Intermediaries

- Independent actors and on “market of ideas”
- Tools in promotion of interests in policy process
- Bridges between policy and ideas
- Networks of experts



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Types of Lobbyists

- **Big firms – special departments**
- **Interest Associations**
- **Free-lance consultants / 'Hired-guns'**

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Lobbying and interest representation

Principles of Lobbying Regulation

- **Accountability of:**
 - Targets (objects)
 - Actors (subjects, clients)
- **Regulation:**
 - Registration
 - Reporting:
 - Lobbying contacts
 - Legislative agenda
- **De-regulation:**
 - Transparency
 - Free access to information

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Alternatives in Lobbying Regulation

➤ **Case of Canada**

- Lobbyist Registration Act (1989)
- Lobbyist' Code of Conduct (1997)

➤ **Case of U.K.**

- Nolan Committee (on Standards in Public Life, 1994)
- Association of Professional Political Consultants

➤ **Case of Poland**

- Law on Lobbying Activity (2005)

➤ **Case of Slovakia**

- Draft Legislation (2005)

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Main reasons to lobby in Brussels

- **European law takes precedence over national legislation**
- **EU financial programmes**
- **new areas of regulations and policies emerge at EU level**
- **complexity of the EU's legislation – can be handled only by insiders**
 - Bureaucratic representation
 - Intergovernmental negotiation

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Conclusion

***'lobbyists should not be afraid of the term
...otherwise***

***it would be appropriated for use solely
by journalists and members of the
public***

to reinforce a notion that

***lobbying is illegitimate and unethical'*
(Thomas and Hrebenar)**

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This project
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The end

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