

**Lobbying – things
happen for a reason
(or two)...**

About this course – 4 Parts

1. Think seriously about what lobbying is, what it means & what it could mean for you!
2. Explain the role of lobbying in EU decision-making
3. Take a look at common strategies & tactics used for lobbying (in Brussels & around the world)
4. Test out lobbying skills in practice

What's in it for you...

1. Learn to 'read' key public debates & political decision-making
2. Learn how to shape and influence public debates and policies
3. Develop skills that will help you in whichever career path you pursue

PART 1

Thinking seriously about
what lobbying is, what it
means & what it could
mean for you

How do you develop your business in a crowded, flat and already highly regulated market?

- For instance, through lobbying!

What will decide the company's fate & where does the company mainly spend its money to grow its business?

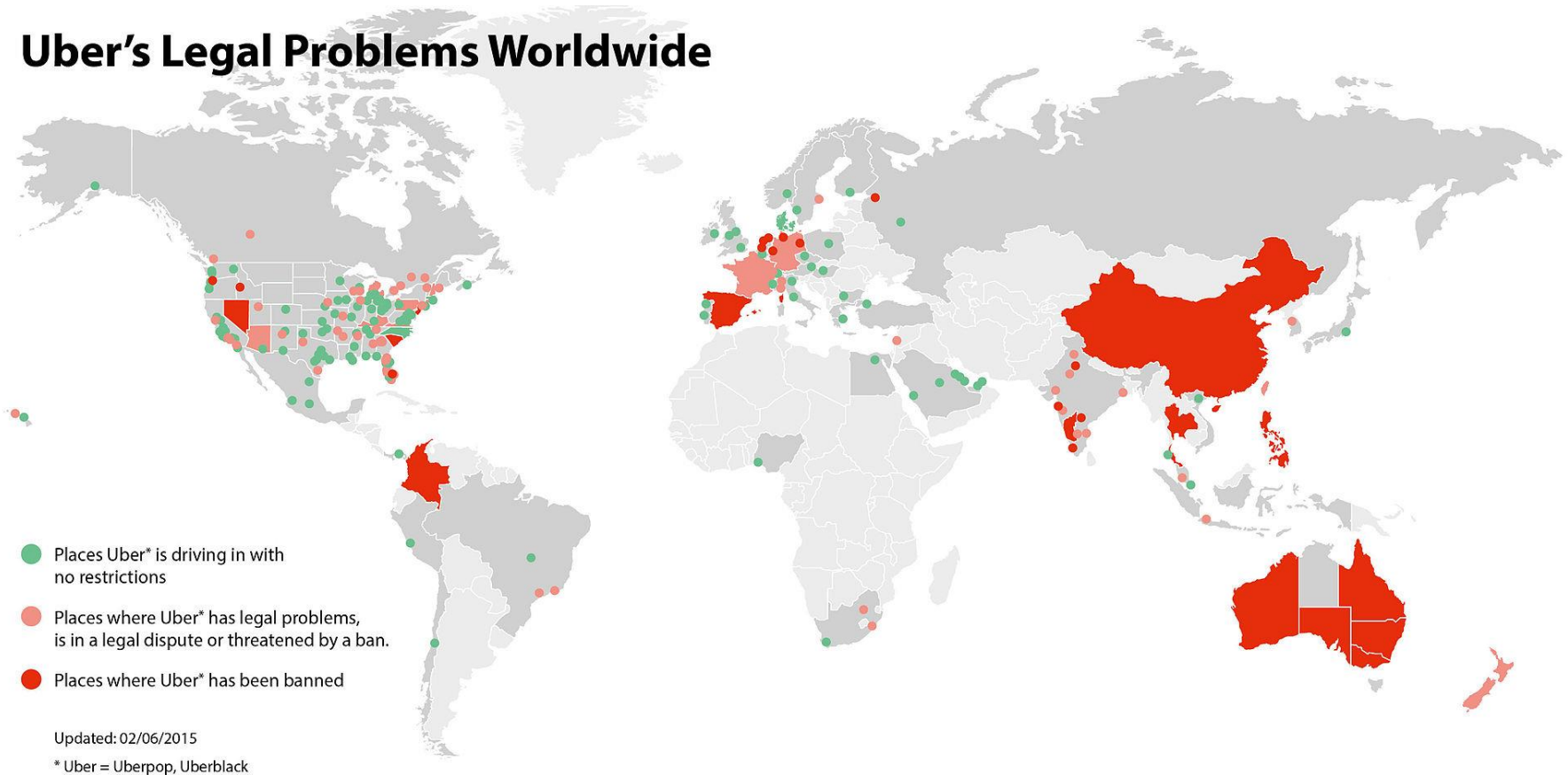


Uber fundamentals

- 2015 revenue expectation: USD 10bn
- Share of net earnings: 20% of each ride, so USD 2bn (not bad for a 5-year old company)
- Expected growth p.a.: 300%
- Major cost centres: Marketing? Software app? Product costs? Staff costs?

Lobbying!

Uber's Legal Problems Worldwide



A powerful lobbying machine...

- Behind the scene: multibillion dollar investment from Google, Goldman Sachs, and Blackrock
- Massive external support:
 - more than 50 leading law firms worldwide
 - Several leading PR and public affairs agencies (Burson Marsteller et al.)
- Former political top dogs in the (constantly evolving) lobbying team:
 - David Plouffe (former senior adviser to President Obama)
 - Rupert Scholz (former German defence minister)

Angel or demon?

- *Uber's mission is clear: Transportation as reliable as running water, everywhere, for everyone. In pursuit of that mission over the past five years, Uber has transformed the fabric of over 300 cities around the world – creating the safest way to get around cities, generating tens of thousands of jobs a month, lowering DUI incidents, accidents and fatalities and improving local economies.*
- *But our mission has become controversial. As we've scaled, our business model has faced and continues to face strong political and regulatory resistance. Resistance to improving urban mobility, creating jobs, and constantly innovating to grow the local economy.*
- *This resistance has been particularly potent in some of our key European markets where incumbents have used decades of political influence and inertia to restrict competition, reduce choice for consumers, and put a stranglehold on economic opportunity for drivers.*
- *We believe that with innovation and entrepreneurship, Uber can make meaningful changes to improve the quality, safety, and affordability of transportation. And we can create what Europe needs most: jobs. Hundreds of thousands of them.*

Challenges

- Safe? Accidents, assault incidents – no training, no/low insurance cover
- No employment, no minimum wage – completely outsourced to the driver (wage dumping?)
- Scale pricing – New York. Sydney hostage
- Plain illegal!?
- And what about taxation in this business?

Exhibit 1

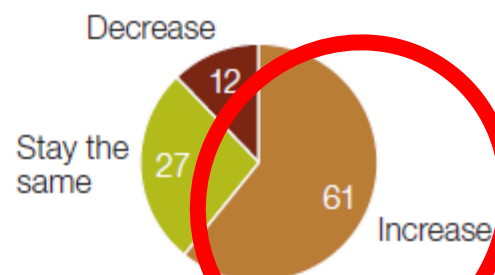
Future of government involvement

Expectations for the next 3–5 years,
% of respondents,¹ n = 1,396

Stakeholders with the greatest effect on company's economic value



Change in the government's involvement in respondent's industry



Change in regulators' involvement in respondent's industry

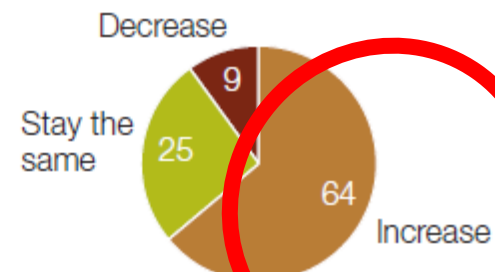


Exhibit 3

Where external-affairs issues matter most

% of respondents

Stakeholders expected to have the greatest effect on company's economic value in next 3–5 years¹

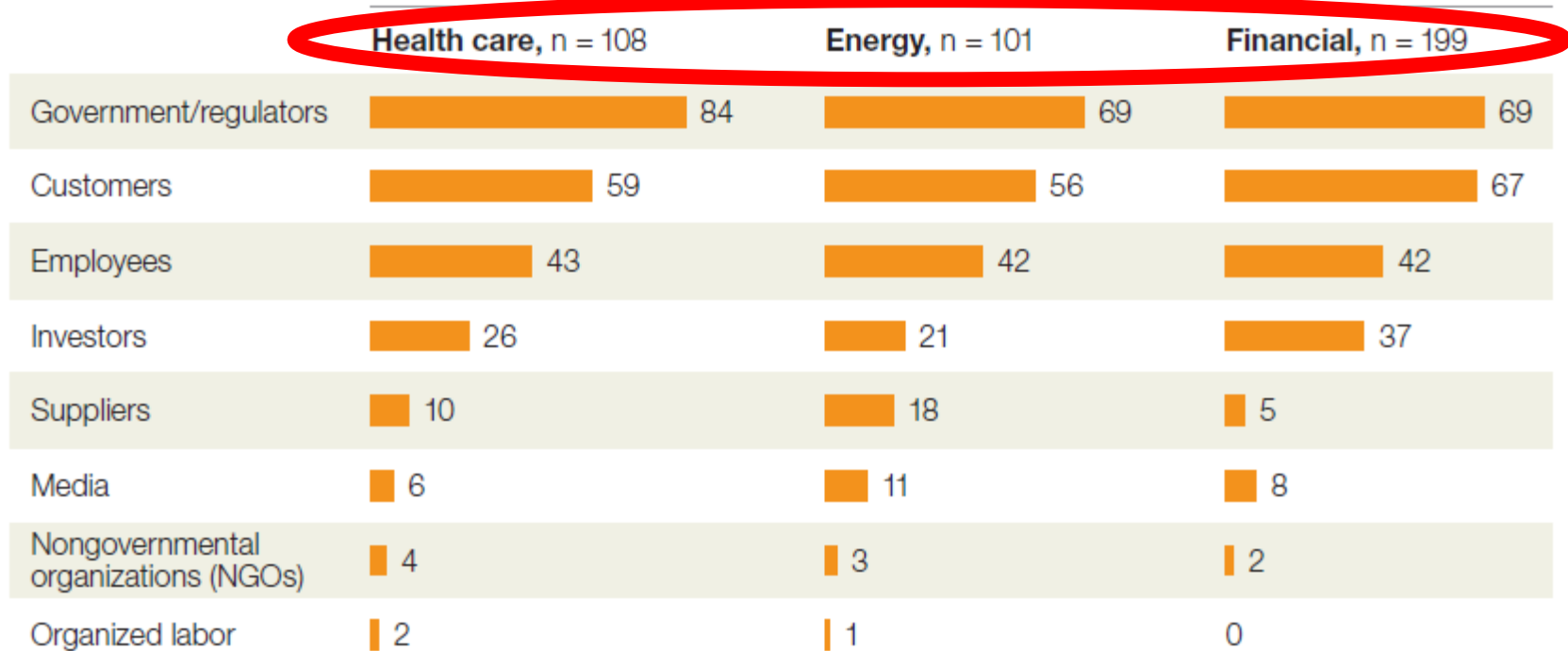


Exhibit 5

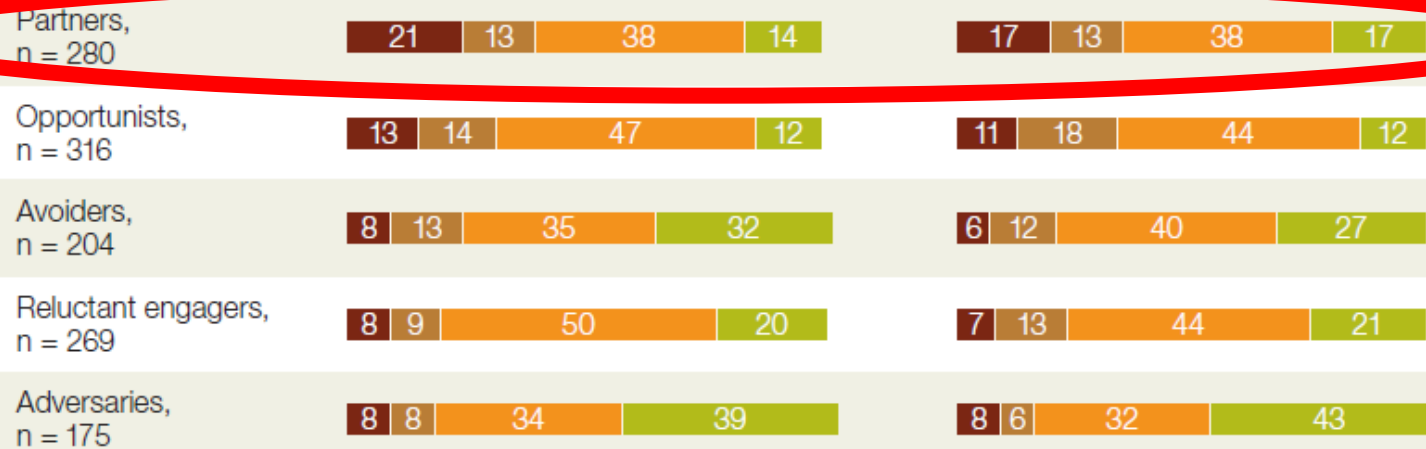
More success for partners, opportunists

Company's success in area of influence, % of respondents¹

- We frequently succeed at influencing policy or decisions, and our opinion is sought out and valued by stakeholders
- We frequently succeed at influencing policy or decisions
- We sometimes succeed at influencing policy or decisions
- We rarely, if ever, succeed at influencing policy or decisions

Influencing government policy to mitigate risk, create value

Influencing regulatory decisions to mitigate risk, create value



¹ Respondents who answered “don’t know/not applicable” are not shown.

= those who engage in politics, (seem to) win at politics!

Why lobby in Brussels?

- Lots of legislation
- Policies affecting our clients (subsidies!)
- Trade issues
- R&D funding

Once upon a time, lobbying was a crime...

- *In the 19th century, lobbying was perceived as an illegitimate and inherently corrupt activity, a betrayal of one's own citizenship. The Georgia draft Constitution in 1877 made lobbying a crime. "Throughout the country, from the early 1830s through the early 1930s, the sale of personal influence was treated as a civic wrong in the eyes of the law. A citizen did not have a personal right to pay someone else to press his or her legislative agenda."* <https://medium.com/@matthewstoller/in-america-lobbying-used-to-be-a-crime-a-review-of-zephyr-teachouts-new-book-cff14d1c0326>

Hands in the air!

● **If pressed for an answer, would you rather say lobbying is...**

– **a force for good???**

OR rather

– **bad/problematic???**

Your view

- **Can you name an example of a successful lobby/lobbying campaign?**
- **What/whom would you like to lobby for?**
- **On behalf of what/whom would you never lobby on?**

ICED OUT

How the Ice-Bucket Challenge is Impacting Water Scarcity

 **5 million**

Gallons of water used since July 29
for the Ice-Bucket Challenge

= 1 day of water for 56,000 people

= 150 years of water for 1 person

= 1 year of water for 150 people

 **\$20,000,000**

Money raised by the ALS since July
29

 **\$1,800,000**

Money raised by The Water Project
in all 2013

MEANWHILE

780 MILLION LACK ACCESS TO CLEAN DRINKING WATER

▲ **8,000,000**

Deaths from water-scarcity-related issues annually

▼ **14,400**

Deaths from ALS annually



"The best thing is to write a check instead of doing the challenge."

Steve Fleischli, Natural Resources Defense Council

The upside (according to Transparency International)...

- *Lobbying is an integral part of a healthy democracy, closely related to universal values such as freedom of speech and the right to petition of government. It allows for various interest groups to present their views on public decisions that may come to affect them. It also has the potential to enhance the quality of decision-making by providing channels for the input of expertise on increasingly technical issues to legislators and decisionmakers. According to a 2013 survey of 600 European parliamentarians and officials, 89 per cent agreed that, “ethical and transparent lobbying helps policy development”.*

...and the downside of lobbying

- *Despite this, multiple scandals throughout Europe demonstrate that without clear and enforceable rules, a select number of voices with better resourcing and contacts can come to dominate political decision-making. At the very least, this can skew individual decisions, and at the worst, it can lead to wide-scale institutional and state capture. At present, unfair and opaque lobbying practices constitute one of the key corruption risks facing Europe, and six out of 10 European citizens consider their government to be seriously influenced or entirely co-opted by a few vested interests.*

Lobbying...good or bad?

- It depends...
- ...on **WHERE** you lobby!

The Top 17...

RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	SURVEYS USED	CI: LOWER	CI: UPPER	2012 SCORE
1	Denmark	91	7	87	95	90
1	New Zealand	91	7	87	95	90
3	Finland	89	7	86	92	90
3	Sweden	89	7	85	93	88
5	Norway	86	7	82	90	85
5	Singapore	86	9	82	90	87
7	Switzerland	85	6	81	89	86
8	Netherlands	83	7	80	86	84
9	Australia	81	8	79	83	85
9	Canada	81	7	77	85	84
11	Luxembourg	80	6	75	85	80
12	Germany	78	8	74	82	79
12	Iceland	78	6	73	83	82
14	United Kingdom	76	8	74	78	74
15	Barbados	75	3	63	87	76
15	Belgium	75	7	71	79	75
15	Hong Kong	75	8	71	79	77

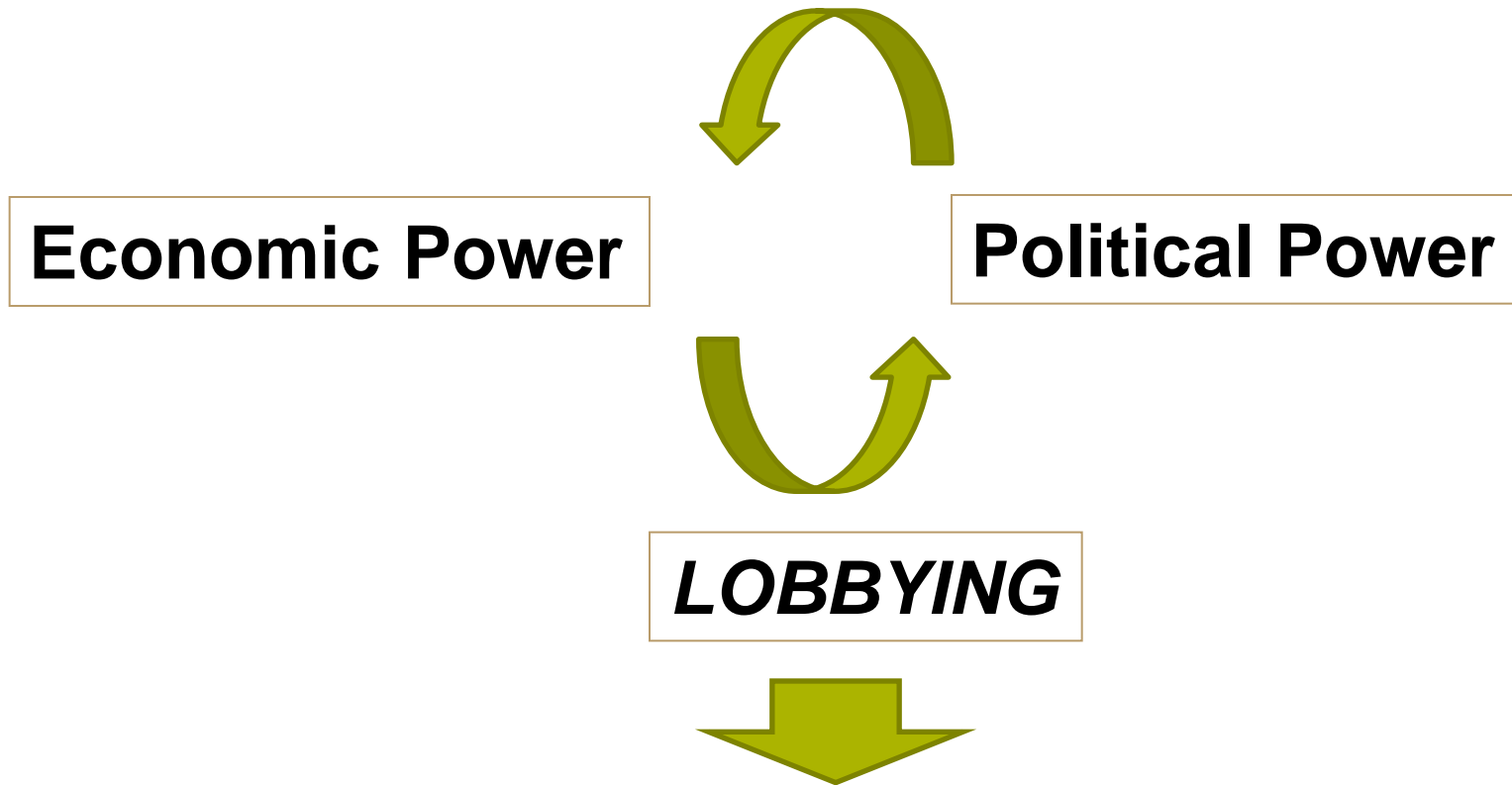
... and the Bottom 17

RANK	COUNTRY	SCORE	SURVEYS USED	CI: LOWER	CI: UPPER	2012 SCORE
160	Eritrea	20	4	2	38	25
160	Venezuela	20	7	16	24	19
163	Chad	19	5	13	25	19
163	Equatorial Guinea	19	3	15	23	20
163	Guinea Bissau	19	4	15	23	25
163	Haiti	19	5	14	24	19
167	Yemen	18	6	14	22	23
168	Syria	17	4	11	23	26
168	Turkmenistan	17	3	12	22	17
168	Uzbekistan	17	6	14	20	17
171	Iraq	16	4	12	20	18
172	Libya	15	6	10	20	21
173	South Sudan	14	3	11	17	0
174	Sudan	11	6	5	17	13
175	Afghanistan	8	3	3	13	8
175	North Korea	8	3	2	14	8
175	Somalia	8	4	5	11	8

Lobbying...good or bad?

- **You are right to be sceptic...**

The threat of extractive & oligarchic societies



- A self-feeding system/vicious circle
- The Iron Law of Oligarchy (Robert Michels)

The Vicious Circle

“The vicious circle is based on extractive political institutions creating extractive economic institutions, which in turn support the extractive political institutions, because economic wealth and power buy political power.”

Daron Acemoglu & James A. Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, p.357.

Wealth distribution?



<http://www.handlungsfahiges-hessen.de/index.php?id=42>

The political threat of monopoly structures

“If monopoly persists, monopoly will always sit at the helm of government. I do not expect to see monopoly restrain itself. If there are men in this country big enough to own the government of the United States, they are going to own it.”

Woodrow Wilson,

The New Freedom (1913)

Do you know this man?



David Koch

- Ranked 6th in FORBES list
- Together with his brother Charles, invested USD 400 million in last US presidential elections to support the Republicans
- Koch Industries: annual revenue of USD 115 bn
- A major petrochemical company with numerous refineries, an array of chemical plants; a coal subsidiary (the C. Reiss Coal Co.) and 4,000 miles of pipelines
- “Oppose government mandates on carbon reduction provisions ... [and] provisions related to climate change, and oppose entire bill,”

Beyond regulation?

The Google logo is centered on the page. It consists of the word "Google" in its signature multi-colored font: blue 'G', red 'o', yellow 'o', blue 'g', green 'l', and red 'e'. A small trademark symbol (TM) is located to the upper right of the final 'e'.

Google™



Recherche Google

J'ai de la chance

Communiqué: la formation restreinte de la Commission nationale de l'informatique et des libertés a condamné la société Google à 150 000 euros d'amende pour manquements à la loi « informatique et libertés ». Décision accessible à l'adresse suivante:
<http://www.cnil.fr/institution/missions/sanctionner/Google/>

Google and privacy law

- Sanction against Google by the Commission Nationale Informatique et Liberté.
- Google was sanctioned for violating French privacy law. The court sanctioned Google to pay the maximum possible fine, that is 150.000 euros. This sanction appears to be very light compared to Google's financial capacities.
- First, Google needs to stop their behaviour if they don't want to be sanctioned a lot more strongly.
- Secondly, Google was sentenced to publish the CNIL decision on its home page. Such a sanction has a very wide effect. An advertising on Google's homepage for a whole day would probably cost a lot more than the 150.000 euros.
behaviour standards.

Google budget for lobbying in DC

- Increased 10fold between 2007 and 2012 to more than USD 18mn
- Google now spends more on lobbying than Facebook, Microsoft and Apple together!
- 2nd most active lobbying company in DC, behind General Electric but ahead of Lockheed Martin, Boeing or Northrup Grunman

Tragedy of the commons?



Why lobby? 2 classical scenarios

- **‘Classical; scenario: industry vs NGOs (industry: reactive, avert threats)**
 - Controversial technologies: GMOs, nuclear energy, nanotechnology etc.
 - Environmental legislation, health, consumer protection etc.
- **Increasingly: industry vs industry (proactive):**
 - In mature markets (Western Europe, US), seen as a viable strategy to build your market via stricter regulation!

What happens when all lobbyists agree...



What really happened...

- *Light bulb regulations are a particular travesty, a ban on simple bright cheap but unprofitable bulbs by the major manufacturers....Susanne Hammarström of Sweden was head of the Brussels based PR agency Diplomat-PR engaged in the lobbying on behalf of the light bulb manufacturers. Translated from the largest Swedish business paper, Dagens Industri: **"The ban would never have happened, without the large and extensive lobby campaign, in all member countries, as well as towards The European Commission and the media"**, Susanne Hammarström says. She believes that a voluntary switchover to energy saving lamps would have been the preferred policy, without the systematic lobbying work.* <http://freedomlightbulb.org/p/how-bans-are-wrongly-justified.html>

Lack of lobbying = bad regulation?

- Via Secura (Switzerland): drive an ambulance, end up in jail?



Table 12: Potential range of lobbying and interest group impact on democracy

+	-
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effectively and efficiently support policy process <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agenda setting and policy formulation – Deliberation facilitation and opinion shaping – Implementation assistance and control • Strengthen self-determination <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Provision of information and transparency – Quantitative enhancement of participation – Qualitative refinement of participation – Functional addition to territorial representation • Further political equality* • Strengthen government legitimacy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Output enhancement – "Schools of democracy" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manipulate policy process effectiveness and cripple efficiency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Resource and power inequality – Discrimination – Lack of interest organization – Lock-down of status quo – Heightened complexity – Explosion of bargaining costs • Threaten self-determination and political equality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Disjunction of citizens and leaders – Unbalanced representation of interests – Lack of information and transparency • Threaten government legitimacy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Appearance of faction domination

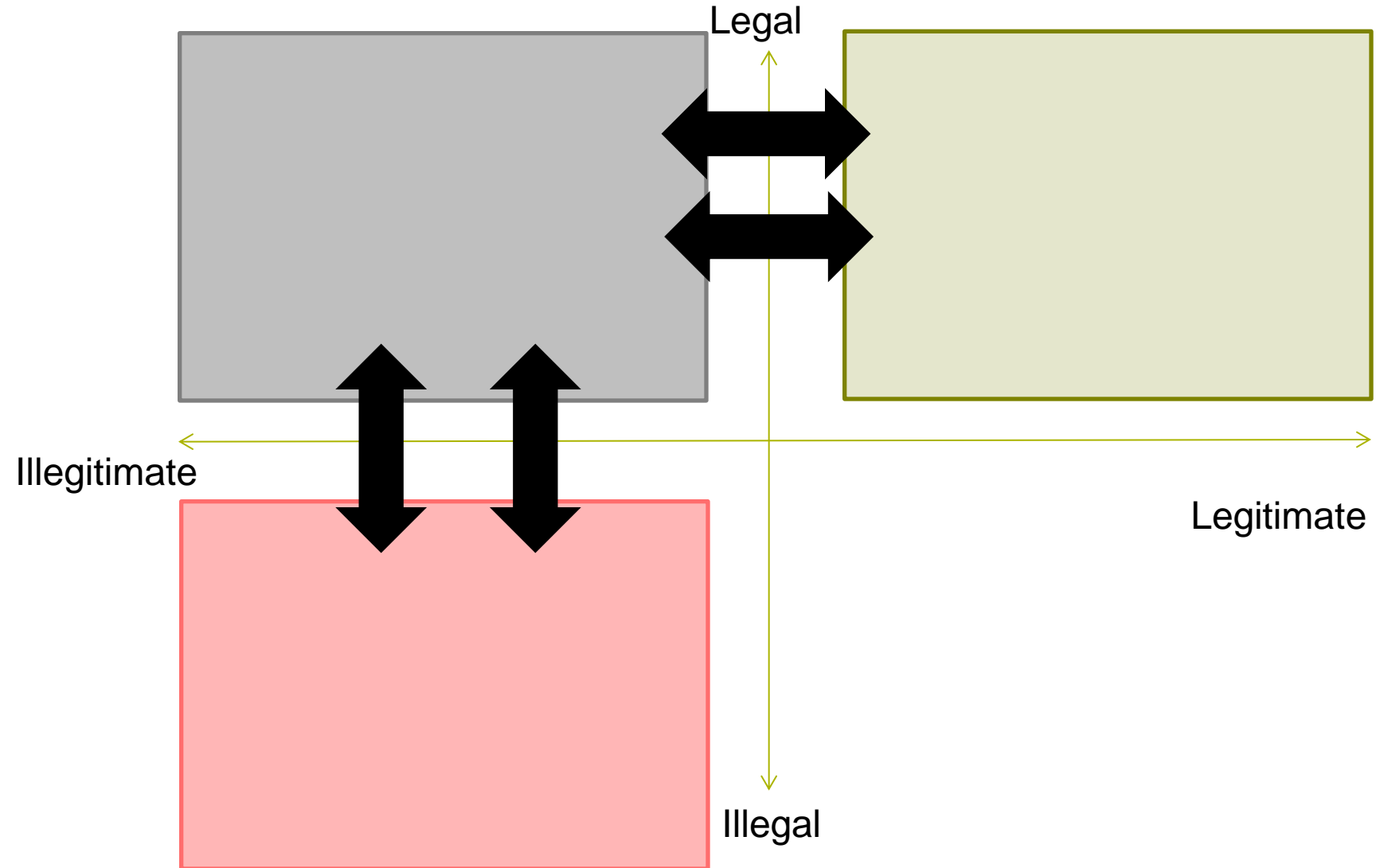
* This point may apply more to a corporatist system and be debatable for a pluralist system.

Source: Compiled from Anderson 1979, Cohen et al. 1992, Dahl 1982, Finer 1960, Grant 1993, Hirst 1992, Immergut 1992, Olson 1982, Schmidt et al. 1997, Schmitter 1994, Van Schendelen 2002, Vieler 1986, Voelzkow 2000

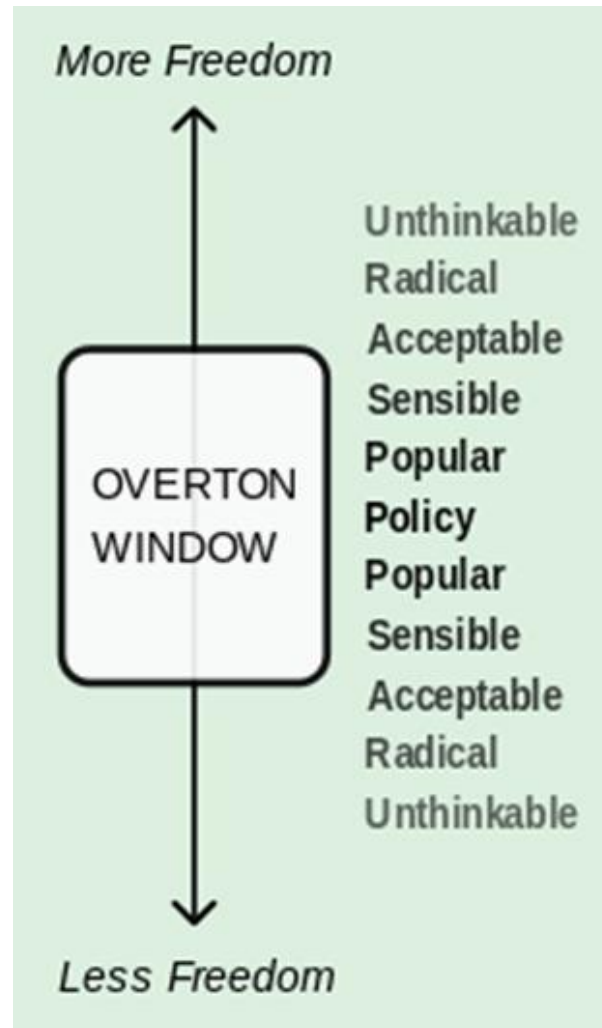
Lobbying...good or bad?

- It depends...
- **...FOR WHAT/ON BEHALF OF WHOM/WHAT CAUSE
you lobby?**

But don't mix up legality and legitimacy!



Lobbying objective No.1: moving the Overton Window



Lobbying...good or bad?

- **It depends...**
- **...on HOW you lobby!**



Lobbyist



What people think I do



What my boss thinks I do



What NGOs think I do



What my mum thinks I do



What I think I do



What's it really like

YouTube - EU Parliamentarian Strasser with a hidden camera out as a lobbyist - Windows Internet Explorer

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3x1aAMkd4YI

File Edit View Favorites Tools Help


Norton - Cartes et identifiants

Favorites Galeria de Web Slice

YouTube - EU Parliamentarian Strasser with a hidden ...

EU Parliamentarian Strasser with a hidden camera out as a lobbyist

ILIOS2009 37 videos Suscribirse



But the fee, so my clients pay me for a year 100,000 Euro, yes.

2:42 / 3:14 360p

Me gusta Añadir Compartir Insertar 13669

Sugerencias

- Der Rauswurf von Godfrey Bloom aus dem EU-Parla... de DieBananenrepublik 4427 reproducciones
- Zweiter Weltkrieg - Was Deutsche nicht wissen ... de ILIOS2009 587 reproducciones
- Strasser-Rücktritt - HC Strache, FPÖ de Osterreichzuerst 1702 reproducciones
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- Ernst Strasser, der Lobbyist de LobbyErnst! 24211 reproducciones
- Ernst Strasser: "Ich bin nicht mehr dazugekomme... de SchwarzBlauForever 874 reproducciones

Done

Internet 100%

Inicio Adobe Reader Angers workshop Ppt0000009 [R... Presentation A... Youtube - Micro... YouTube - EU P... ES 23:40

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w3G0HCb2jxU>

What lobbying is NOT

● What Lobbying Is Not:

- Financial or other inducements in exchange for policy (these are specifically prohibited by the industry code of conduct)
- Campaign contributions



What is lobbying?



- What Lobbying Is: An American / Anglo-Saxon term from Washington - - London -- Brussels
- Also defined as Public Affairs; Governmental Affairs; External Relations; Advocacy; Strategic Communications, etc

What is lobbying?

- **WIKIPEDIA: Lobbying** (also **Lobby**) is a form of advocacy with the intention of influencing decisions made by legislators and officials in the government by individuals, other legislators, constituents, or advocacy groups. A lobbyist is a person who tries to influence legislation on behalf of a special interest or a member of a lobby. Governments often define and regulate organized group lobbying which has become very influential on policy.
- **TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL:** Lobbying is any direct or indirect communication with public officials, political decision-makers or representatives for the purposes of influencing public decision-making, and carried out by or on behalf of any organised group.

Promoting professional standards for lobbying

- Anti-bribery laws (e.g. UK Anti-bribery Act)
- Individual accreditation of lobbyists at government institutions
- Codes of conduct (e.g. EPACA), individually signed
 - (yet doesn't go beyond legal status quo anyhow)
- (Mandatory) register of interest representatives (companies, stakeholders etc.)
 - (yet necessarily relies on THEIR input/data)
 - <http://europa.eu/transparency-register/>

Core principles of professional lobbying

1. Transparency
2. Integrity
3. Equality of access

To sum up: why lobby?

1. DEFENSIVE: Avert threats
 - A Political
 - B Legislative
 - C Technical (risk assessment)
 2. PROACTIVE: Positively shape legislative agenda/environment & trigger legislation
 3. MONEY: Obtain direct government funding/subsidies
 4. STRATEGIC POSITIONING: profile company/category/product favourable (CSR!) 'Court of public opinion'
- **Gain competitive advantages/grow market share!**

To sum up: lobbying, a force for good or bad?

There is an inherent risk that lobbying done badly can help to maintain/create power cartels and advance corruption.

So whether lobbying is a force for good or bad depends on a number of factors, particularly on:

- WHERE you lobby (professional lobbying is only possible in functioning democracies and under the rule of law)
- YET not necessarily on behalf of whom/what cause you lobby (even though this will determine your strategies and tactics): don't confuse perceived (il-)legitimacy and (il-)legal activities!
- HOW you lobby – core principles:
 - Transparency
 - Integrity
 - Equality of access

PART 2

Explaining the role of
lobbying in EU decision-
making

Why lobby in Brussels?

EU Institutions/major centre of political decision-making

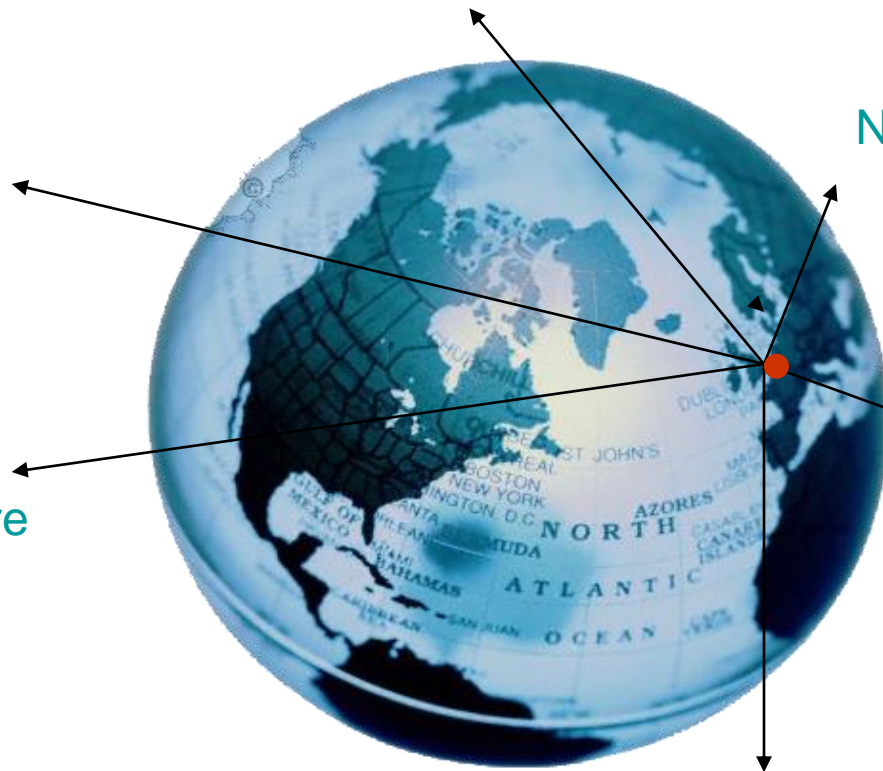
NATO

NGO Community

Diplomatic Heartland

Industry/
Corporate centre

Large Press Corps



Why lobby in Brussels?

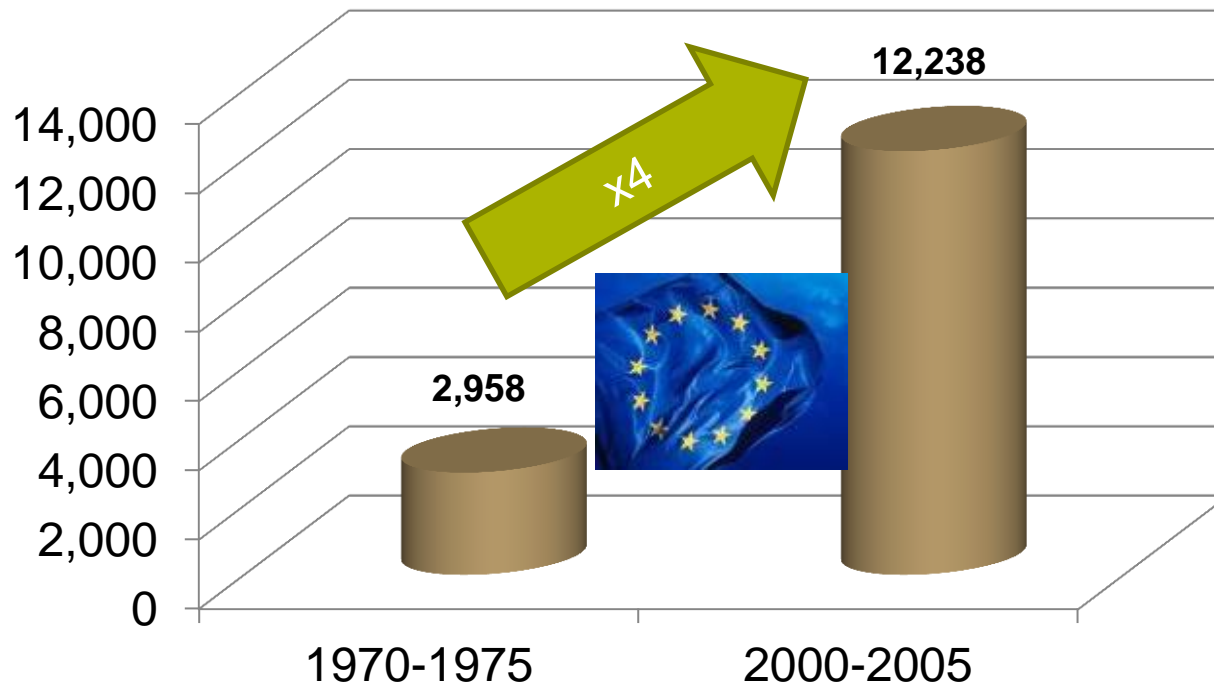


“Since [1957], the EU has adopted more than 100,000 (one hundred thousand) legislative acts.

That's a lot of legislation!”

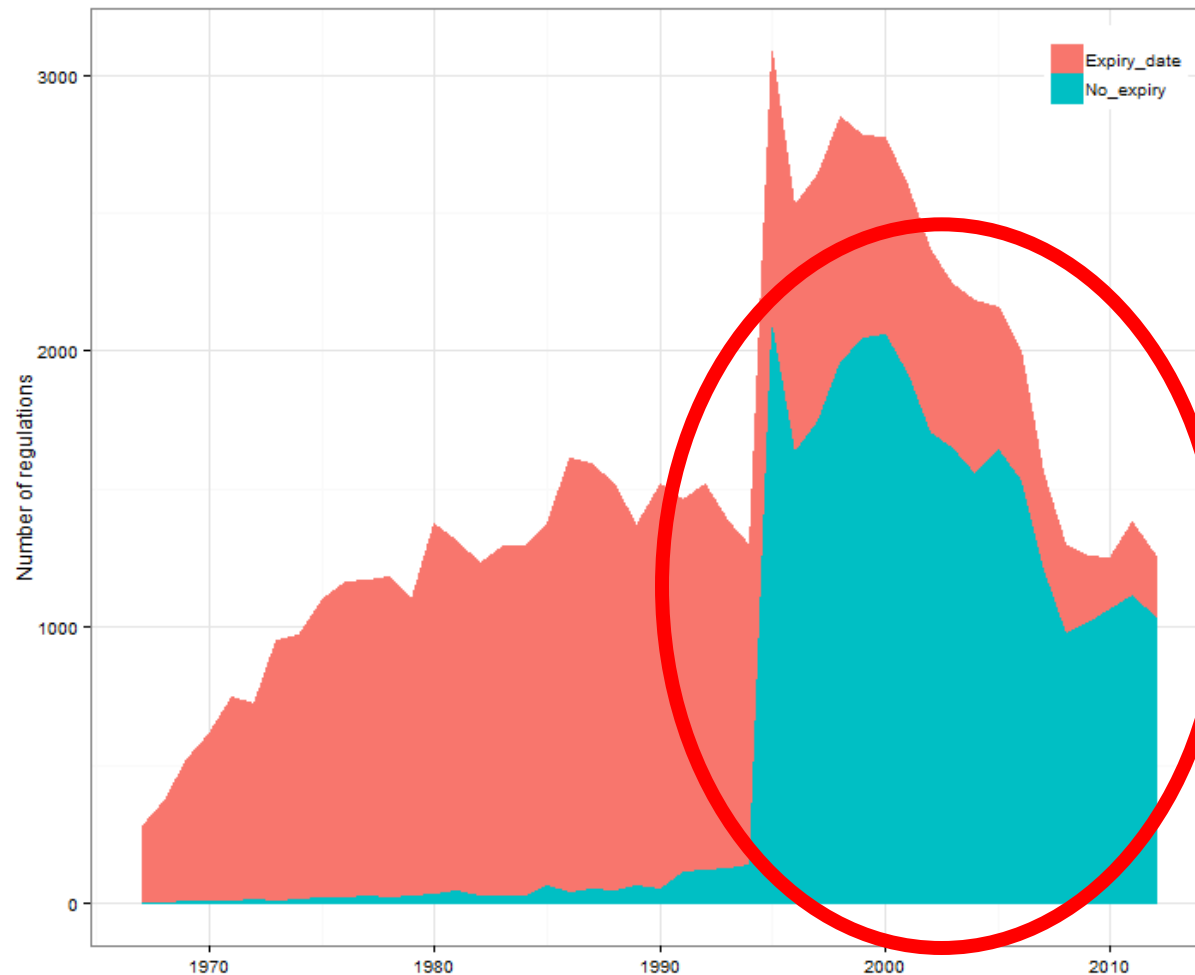
Why lobby in Brussels?

Number of Directives, Regulations, Decisions and other legislative acts adopted by the EU



➤ **TODAY: c.80% of national legislation has its origin in Brussels!**

Number of EU Regulations adopted & their expiry date (or lack of)



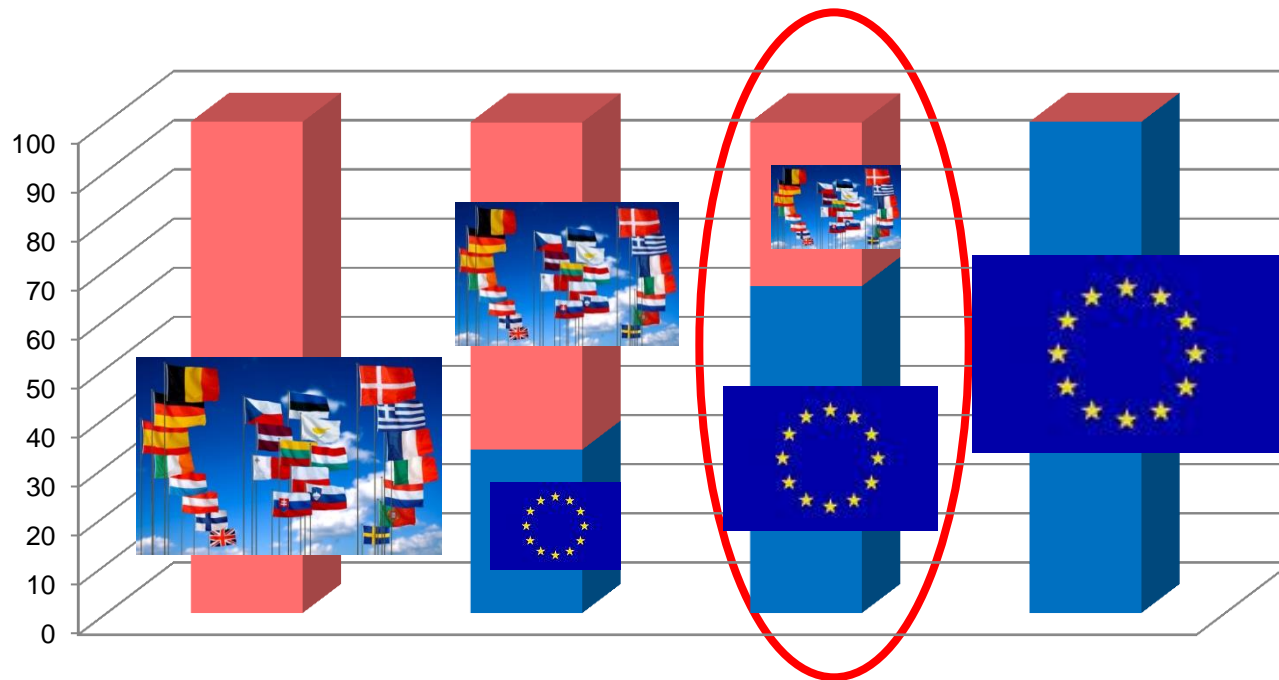
Here to stay!

Source: <http://www.dimiter.eu/Eurlex.html>

An unofficial quote from a Commission official...

“The manner by which decisions are taken is changing: people in Brussels look less at factual, scientific analysis and more at political correctness!”

The perfect regulatory storm: who does what?



Non-EU competences:
Taxation,
pension
schemes,
healthcare
system etc.

Supporting competences:
Common
Defence
Policy, Justice
and Home
Affairs

Shared competences:
Internal market,
environment,
agriculture etc.

Exclusive competences:
Customs,
monetary
affairs, trade.

Cultural differences help to shape the EU



Brussels lobbying

- **Large: 15,000 – 20,000 lobbyists**
- **On average, high degree of professionalism**
- **Limited reach of old boys networks/silver bullets**
- **A Commission in need of stakeholder input**
- **A real Parliament:**
 - **Real power with Lisbon**
 - **Weak party whip structure**
 - **Little political pressure from capitals**
 - **Hardly influenced by pressure 'from the street'**

Relevant stakeholders



Who are the relevant stakeholders?

Non-EU Countries

- EU Missions of Third Countries, e.g. Chinese Mission to the EU, US Mission to the EU
- Ambassador supported by diplomatic and seconded staff
- Roles:
 - Negotiating with Member States and Commission
 - Reporting function
 - Representational role
 - Lobbying MEPs
- Experts on EU processes and policies – rely on industry and capital for political guidance



EMBASSY OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

How Is Industry Represented in Brussels: Companies

- EU Affairs Office of large multi-national corporations, e.g. Total/Elf, Peugeot, ABN Amro, Intel, Microsoft, etc.
- Generally one senior Director and 2-3 EU Affairs Managers
- Roles:
 - Reporting EU developments to HQ and business units
 - Impact assessment with business units
 - Representational function (officials, MEPs, industry)
 - Identifying and exploiting opportunities



Industry Representation in Brussels: Trade Associations

- EU level federations of industry associations & companies, e.g. FEDMA, ACEA, UNICE, AmCham, MEDEF
- Generally a Secretary General with up to 30 staff
- Roles:
 - Negotiating industry positions with members
 - Representing the industry to the EU institutions
 - Negotiating with the institutions
- Greater legitimacy in the eyes of the institutions, but...
- Less effective than companies/consultancies due to need to secure consensus



AECMA European Association of Aerospace Industries



Non-governmental organisations

- The Voice of Civil society in 21st Century
 - Privileged access?
 - Play on emotions
- Covering a variety of issues from Aids to Human Rights/labour law
- Very successful use of media (traditional and new)
- Coming of age.....
 - Element of surprise gone
 - Reduction of resources in economic downturn ?



GREENPEACE



**EUROPEAN TRADE
UNION
CONFEDERATION**



The Brussels Press Corps

- Over 1,000 correspondents – The largest Press Corps in the World
- Potential reach of 450 million EU citizens
- Focus on EU Affairs
- National media
 - FT, Le Monde, El Pais, Reuters, FAZ, RAI etc.
- And others
 - Wall Street Journal Europe, Asahi Shimbun, CNN, Bloomberg etc.
- Regional and Local media
 - Berliner Zeitung, Nord Eclair, La Voz de Galicia etc.
- Pan-European media
 - European Report, European Voice etc.

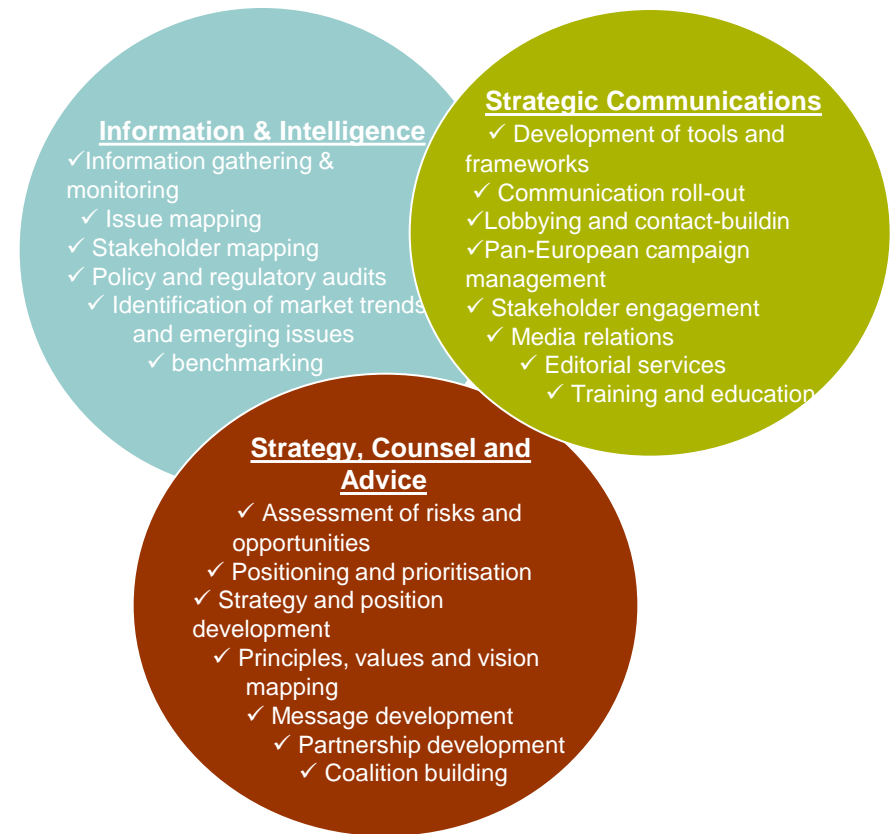


Le Monde



Consultancy/Law firms

- Communications agencies, PA firms, law firms
- Vary from one-man bands to staff of up to 70 for communications agencies, 400 for law firms
- Roles:
 - Reporting and analysis of EU developments;
 - Providing legal, political and media advice;
 - Advising on and logistics of lobbying campaigns;
 - Often work together on major campaigns, e.g. mergers;
 - Work alongside industry representation in Brussels



SUMMING UP: key stakeholders in the Brussels lobbying scene

- National governments (non-EU)
- Industry
- NGOs
- Media/press
- Law firms/PA agencies

EU Institutions & Procedures



The EU: 3 Institutions, 2 Procedures

▶ 3 Institutions:

- ▶ European Commission
- ▶ European Parliament
- ▶ Council

▶ 2 Procedures

1. Primary legislation: ordinary legislative procedure
2. Secondary legislation: 'Comitology' (Delegated and Implementing Acts)

The EU “Institutional Triangle”



European Court of Justice
Interprets EU legislation

EUROPEAN COMMISSION:
*Guardian of the EU Treaties; protects
the Community interest;
sole right of legislative initiative*



European Agencies, e.g.



*Carry out technical, scientific
or managerial tasks*

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
*Co-legislator, representing
EU population*

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS:
*Main decision-making body,
representing Member States*

EU Institutional Triangle – role of national influence

Degree of national influence



The European Commission

- EU Executive branch of government
- Initiates EU policies: enterprise & industry, public health, environment

- President – Jean-Claude Juncker
- Commissioners – one for each country
- Cabinets
- Directorates-General

Lisbon Treaty Amendments

- Extension of right of initiative and executive powers



Commission's main powers:

- Driving force of EU interests
- Initiator of legislation
- Manager of the EU budget
- External representative of the Community
- Watchdog of the treaties
- Awareness-raiser....e.g. various lifestyle platforms

Commission: Comments for lobbying

- In theory, they welcome being approached by 'outsiders'
- In practice, the following rules apply:
 - They are very busy
 - Not interested in 'one off' lobbying efforts: want to see that you are committed to regular, positive contact.
- Important to read between the lines: they are civil servants, ie: diplomatic. They are therefore unlikely to speak in a black and white way. It is often hard to decipher the 'subtext'.
- Under-resourced, appetite for external information





European
Commission

PRESIDENT JEAN-CLAUDE JUNCKER

First Vice-President

Frans Timmermans

*Better Regulation,
Interinstitutional Relations,
Rule of Law & Charter of
Fundamental Rights*

High Representative

Federica Mogherini

*High Representative of the Union
for Foreign Policy & Security
Policy/Vice-President*

Vice-President

Kristalina Georgieva

Budget & Human Resources

Vice-President

Andrus Ansip

Digital Single Market

Vice-President

Maroš Šefčovič

Energy Union

Vice-President

Jyrki Katainen

*Jobs, Growth, Investment
& Competitiveness*

Vice-President

Valdis Dombrovskis

*The Euro
& Social Dialogue*

Commissioner

Věra Jourová

*Justice, Consumers
& Gender Equality*

Commissioner

Günther Oettinger

Digital Economy & Society

Commissioner

Pierre Moscovici

*Economic & Financial Affairs,
Taxation & Customs*

Commissioner

Marianne Thyssen

*Employment, Social Affairs,
Skills & Labour Mobility*

Commissioner

Corina Crețu

Regional Policy

Commissioner

Johannes Hahn

*European Neighbourhood Policy
& Enlargement Negotiations**

Commissioner

Dimitris Avramopoulos

*Migration, Home Affairs
& Citizenship*

Commissioner

Vytis Andriukaitis

Health & Food Safety

Commissioner

Jonathan Hill

*Financial Stability,
Financial Services &
Capital Markets Union*

Commissioner

Elżbieta Bieńkowska

*Internal Market, Industry,
Entrepreneurship & SMEs*

Commissioner

Miguel Arias Cañete

Climate Action & Energy

Commissioner

Neven Mimica

*International Cooperation
& Development*

Commissioner

Margrethe Vestager

Competition

Commissioner

Violeta Bulc

Transport

Commissioner

Cecilia Malmström

Trade

Commissioner

Karmenu Vella

*Environment, Maritime Affairs
& Fisheries*

Commissioner

Tibor Navracsics

*Education, Culture,
Youth & Sport*

Commissioner

Carlos Moedas

*Research, Science
& Innovation*

Commissioner

Phil Hogan

*Agriculture
& Rural Development*

Commissioner

Christos Stylianides

*Humanitarian Aid
& Crisis Management*

**The HRVP may ask this
Commissioner (and other
Commissioners) to deputise
for her in areas related to
Commission competence.*

European Parliament

- Advisory, supervisory and legislative powers
- Based in both Brussels and Strasbourg
- 751 members
- MEPs sit by political group not by Member State
- Committee structure
 - 24 Committees (e.g. Committee on Environment, Public Health and Food Safety)
- President
- “Rapporteurs”
- Plenary sessions: debates/votes

Lisbon Treaty Amendments

- Legislative powers strengthened: co-decision becomes ordinary procedure
- Budgetary powers strengthened



Parliament's main powers

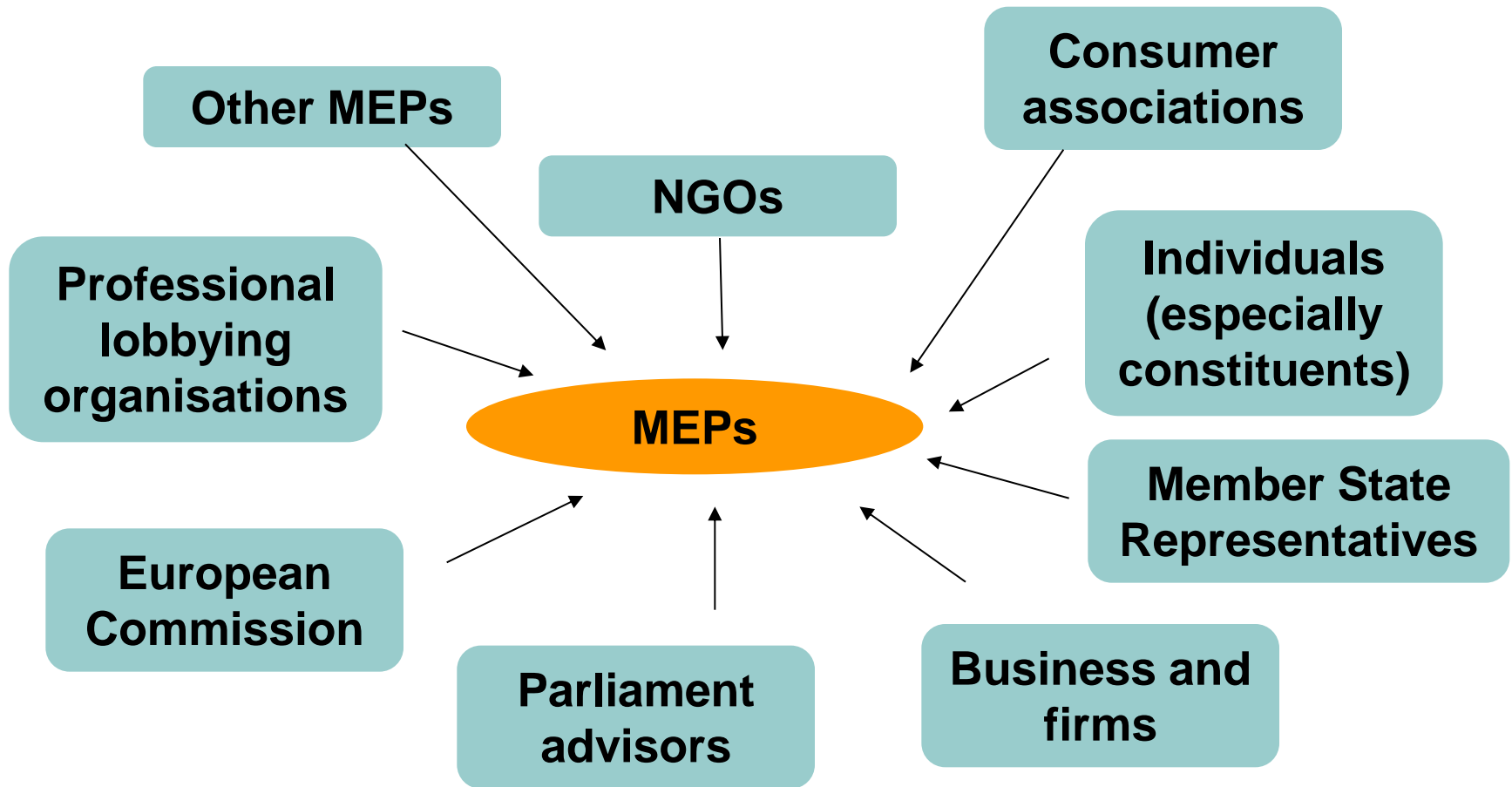
- Co-legislator
- Budgetary powers
- Powers of political persuasion:
 - Resolutions
 - Own-initiative reports
 - Written Declarations
 - Resolutions
 - Lobbies the Commission
 - “MEP champions”



Why do we lobby the Parliament?

- To get legislative initiatives proposed by the Commission
- To incline the Commission and the Council to act on current trends (by encouraging MEPs to build their own initiative reports)
- To improve or change the image of a specific area of concern ahead of legislative proposal (by circulating general information amongst MEPs)
- To introduce changes in certain aspects of legislative proposals issued by the Commission

Who lobbies the Parliament?



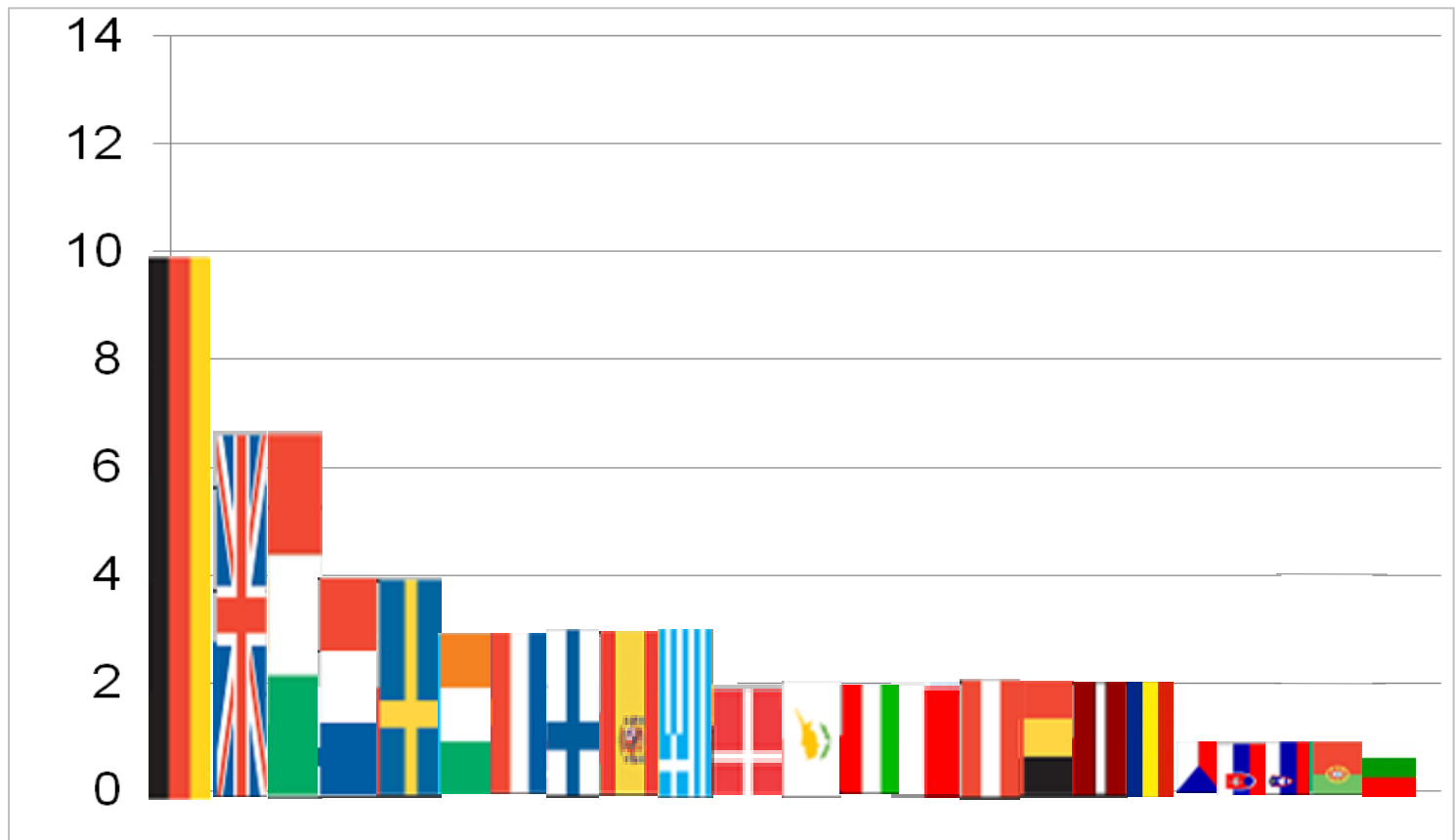
EP: Comments for Lobbying

- Lobbying is a well-established practice – eager to hear foreign entity's points of view
- Political group dynamic Vs national interests
- Certain nationalities are less used to lobbyists (e.g. France, Spain).
- MEPs often have a personal agenda and are driven by their own experience/opinion.
- MEPs are understaffed – no resources available for in-depth research on specific topics.
- This doesn't stop them from using exciting issues as a way of getting exposure.



Environment, Public Health and Food Safety Committee (ENVI)

Breakdown by nationalities:



Council of Ministers

- Represents the 27 EU Member States
- EU's main decision-making body
- Different Council “formations” (e.g.: General Affairs and External Relations, Health, Agriculture, Competitiveness, Environment)
- Council Presidencies
- Permanent Representations
- Distinguishing feature: represent individual Member State – national interests

Lisbon Treaty Amendments

- Permanent President
- Institutionalisation of European Council
- Strengthening of the functions of the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy
- Principles of subsidiarity and proportionality
- Amended QMV calculation



Council's main powers

- Summit/European Council/Council of ministers
- Binding decisions on legislative proposals
- Non-binding acts:
 - Declarations – EU expresses its political line/wants to act
 - Resolutions – EU firmly expresses its political line
 - Joint actions – coordinated action by EU Member States
 - Council Conclusions
- Represents Member States in the decision-making process
- Ultimate 'decision maker' on whether or not a proposal is adopted
- Most powerful EU institution on most issues

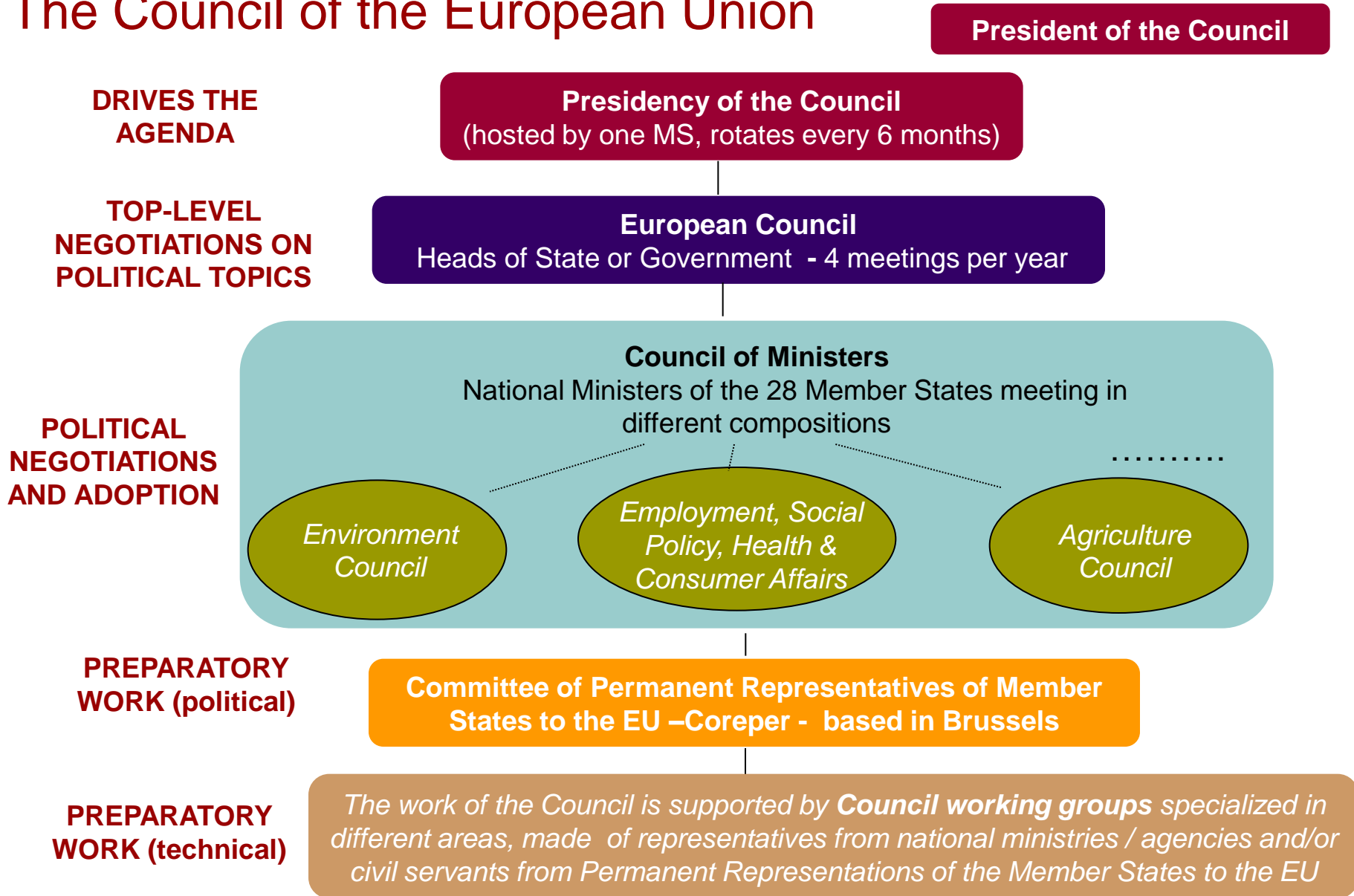


Council: Comments for lobbying

- Rotating presidencies give opportunity to bring national focus to key priorities and raise to EU level
- The most national of all the institutions – need to play the national card!
- Less used to being lobbied than other institutions
- Need for a two-pronged approach – reaching out at Brussels/national level
- Transparency issue: need to influence Member States positions from an early stage in order to succeed in forming the overall position of the Council of Ministers



The Council of the European Union



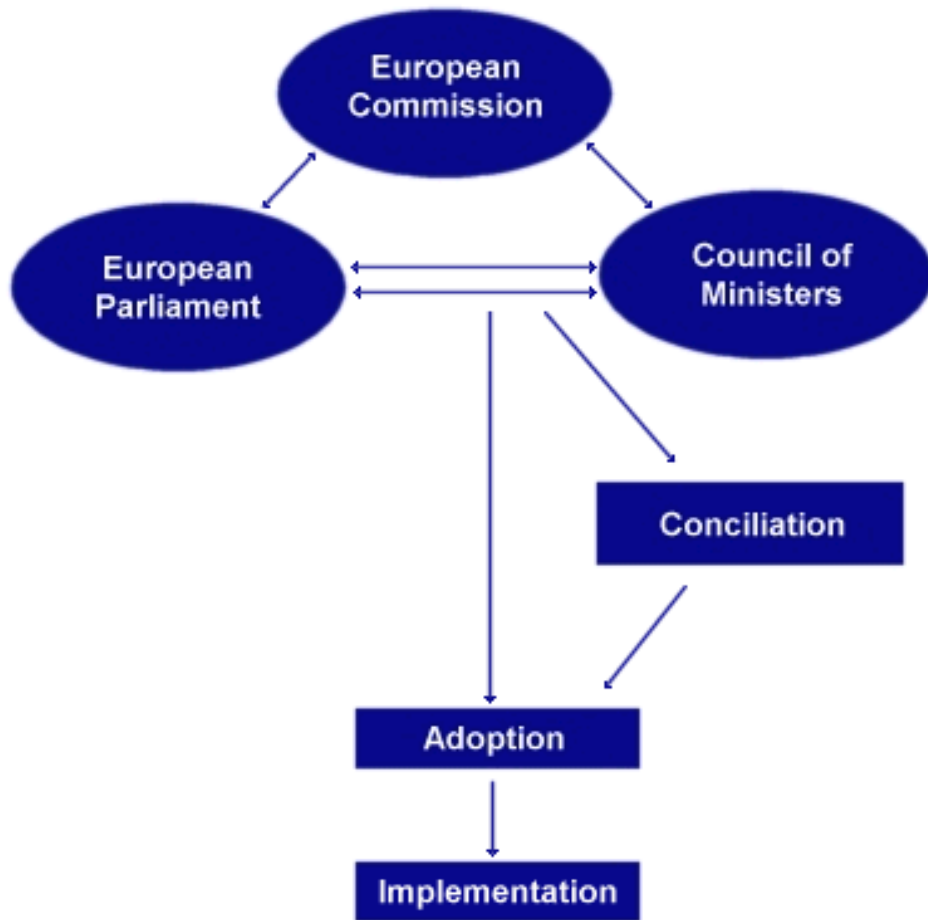
The Decision-Making Process



When is the best time to start lobbying?

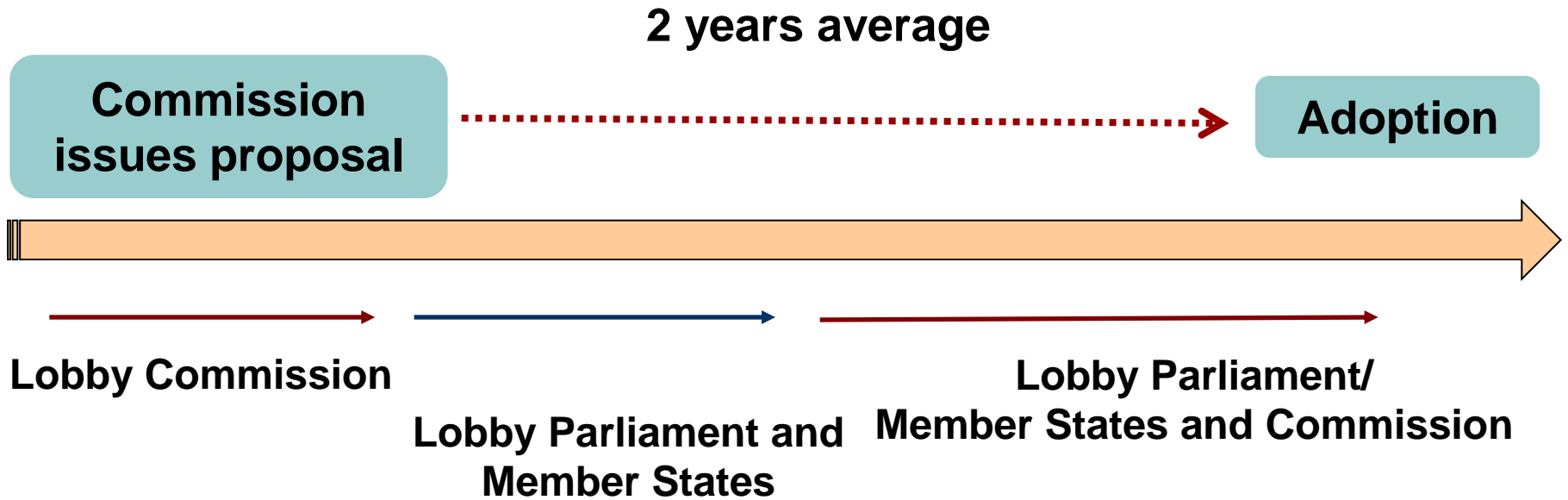
“The sooner the lobbying starts, the more chance there is to influence the final proposal”

Ordinary legislative procedure

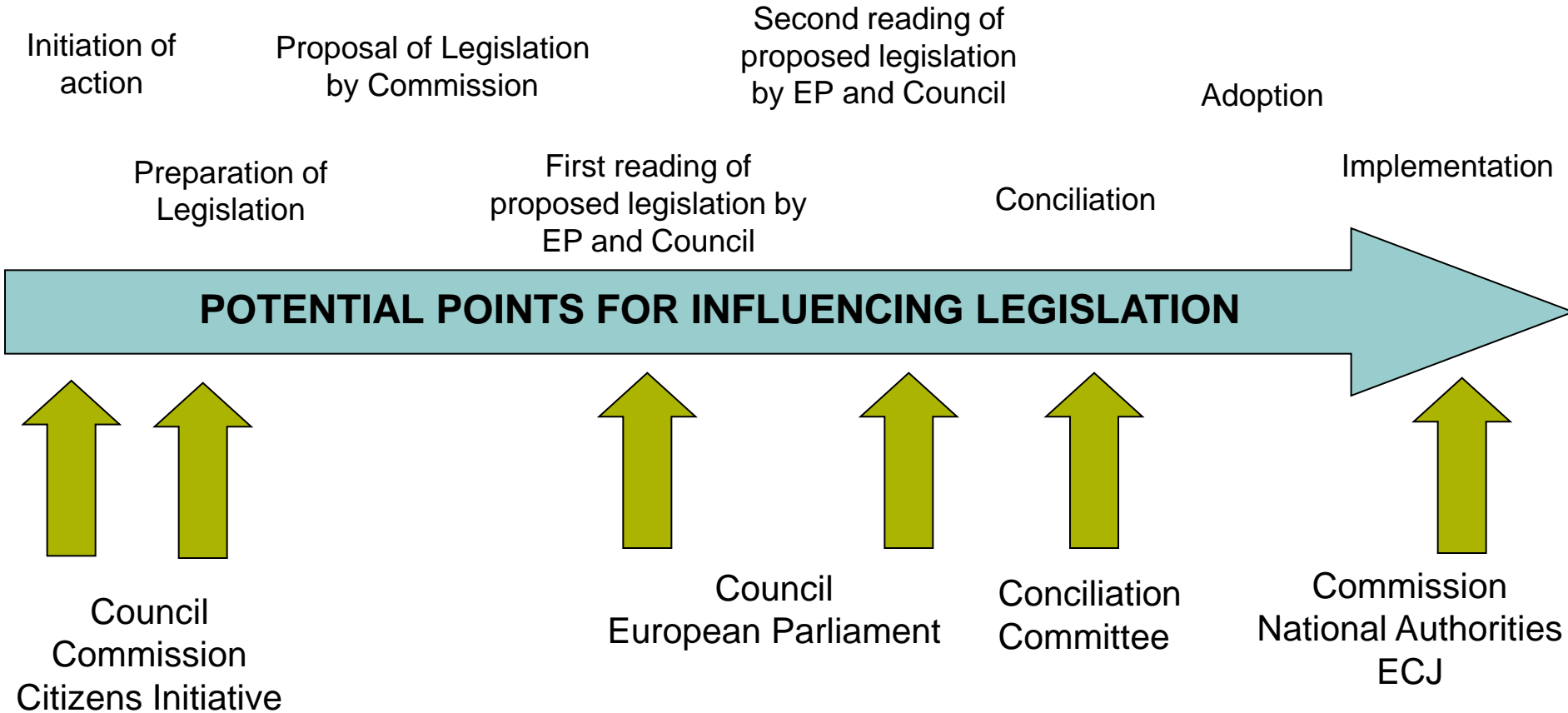


- Commission as initiator
- EP and Council on equal footing as legislators
- Commission assures implementation
- Procedure used for most issues including:
 - Internal market (circulation of goods)
 - Industry
 - Environment

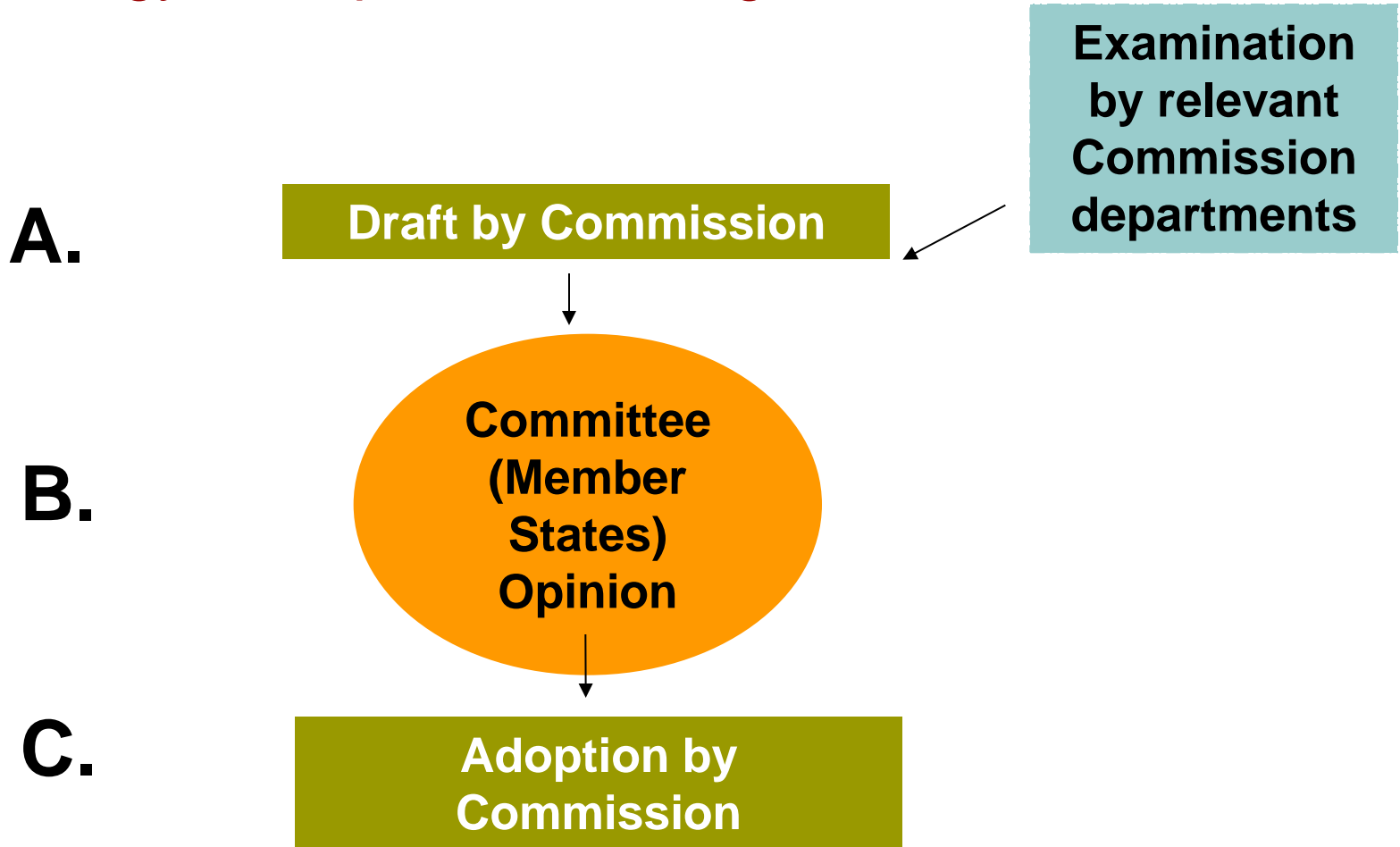
Ordinary legislative procedure



Classic Policy Lobbying Campaign

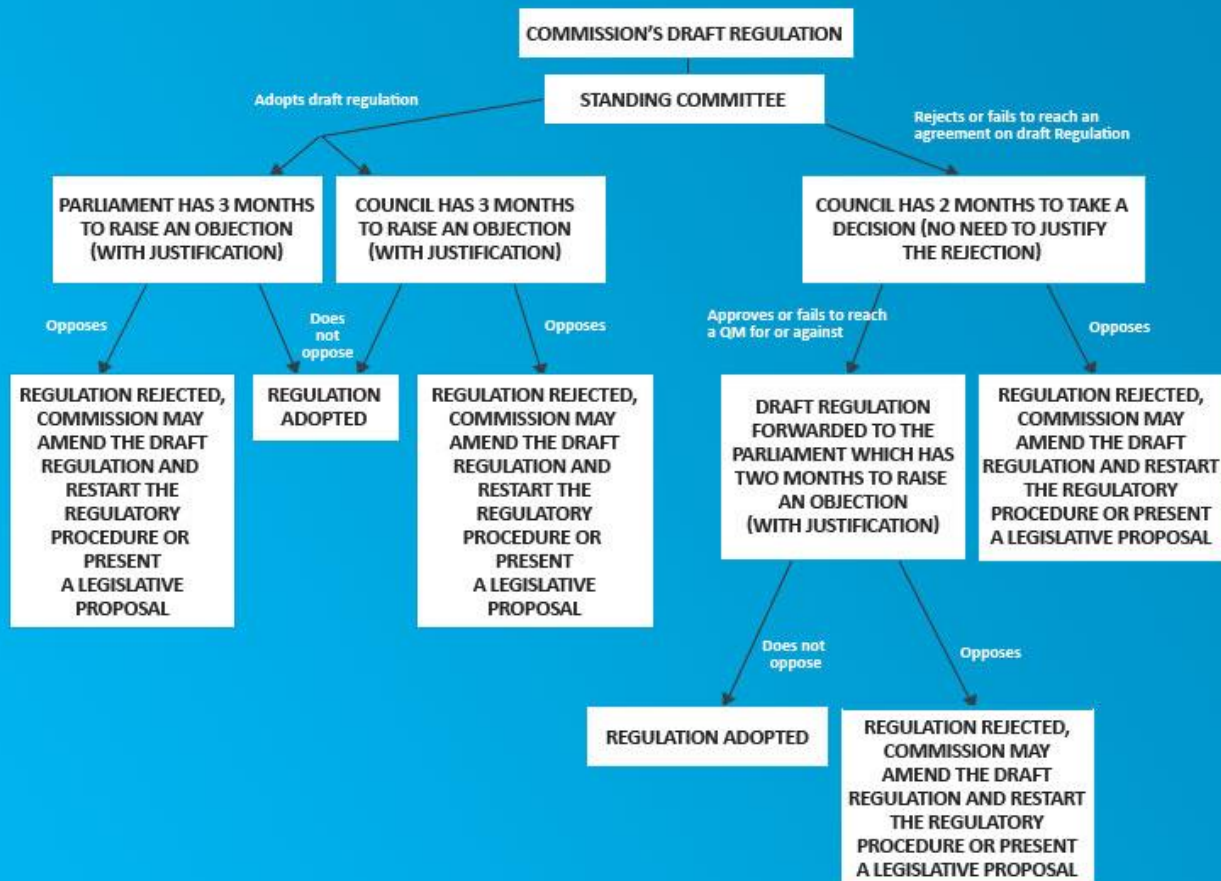


Comitology – Preparation of Legislation

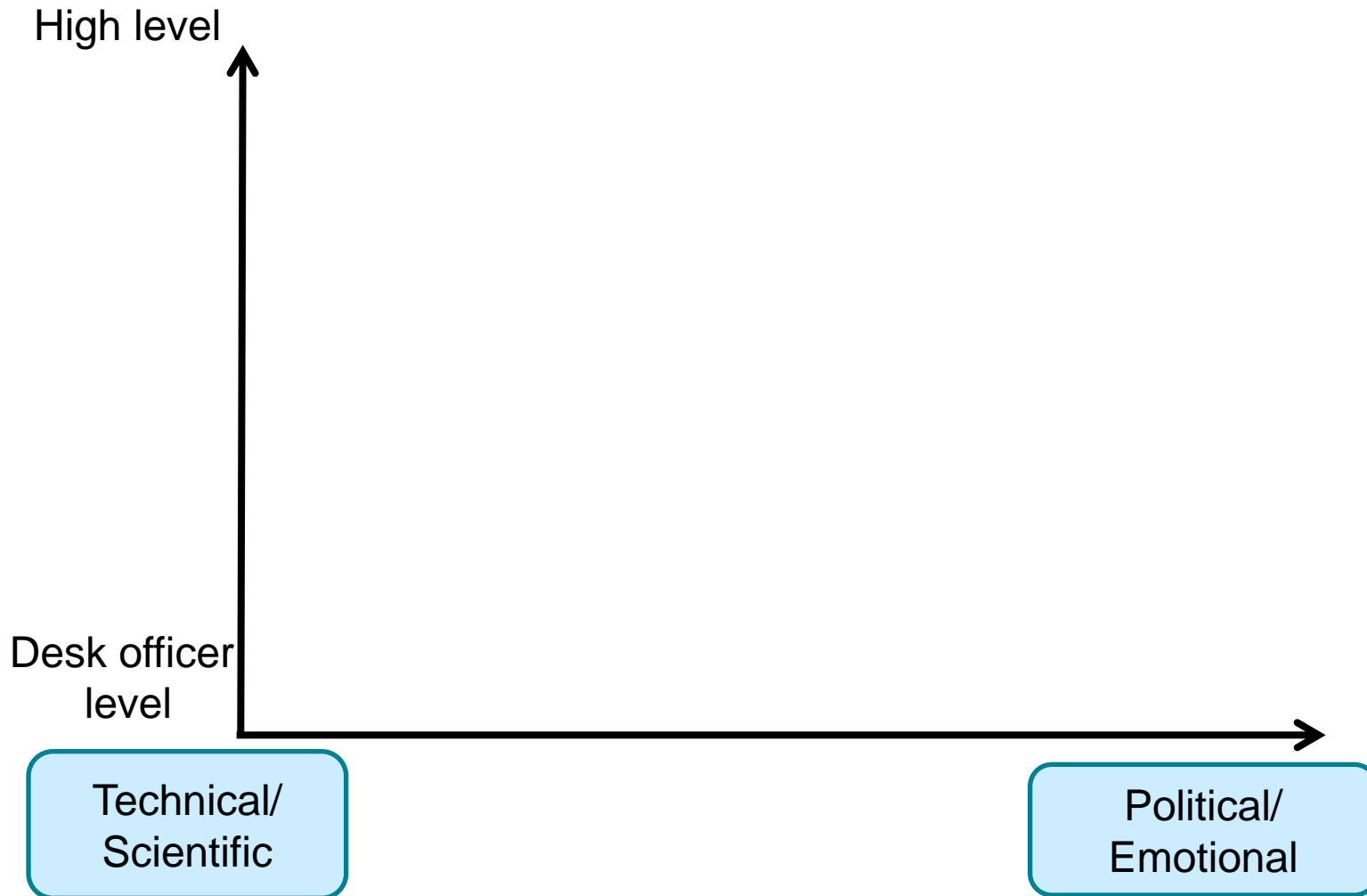


Regulatory procedure with scrutiny implementation/amending measures

REGULATORY PROCEDURE WITH SCRUTINY



Lobbying – fundamental assessment of issue will determine strategy and tactics!



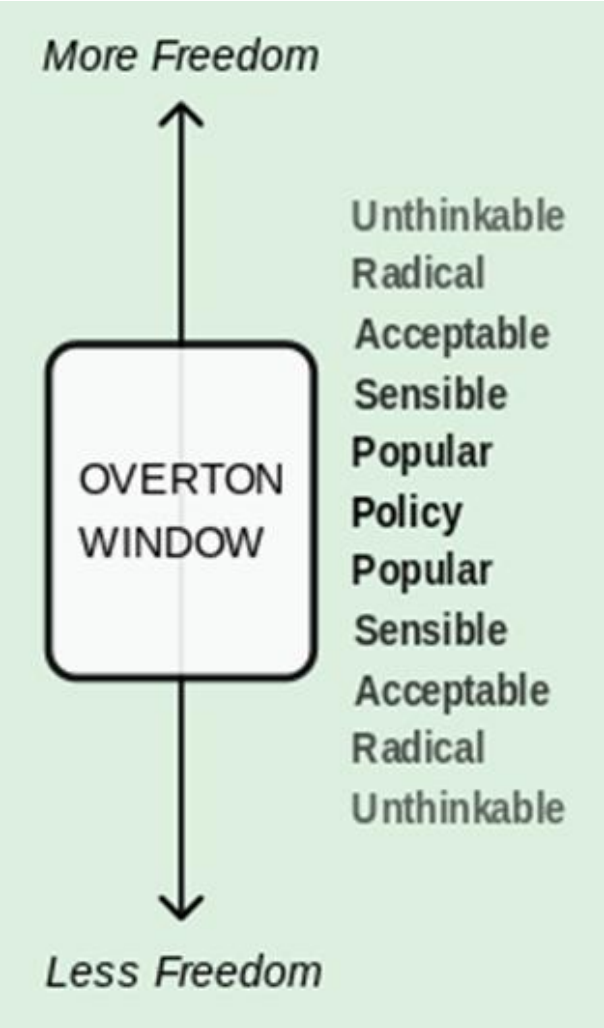
PART 3

Taking a look at the
strategies & tactics used
for lobbying (in Brussels
& elsewhere)

How can you lobby?

Common approaches

- Argue from the big benefit (societal, further than consumer)
- Open attack
- Move Overton Window



Lobbying Campaign - Toolbox

1. Preparation & strategy
2. Messages & materials
3. Partnerships & alliances
4. Outreach & events
5. Media & communications

Limitations:

- Financial resources
- Time
- Internal coordination/alignment (message discipline)

GMOs – yes or no?

- **CONTRA:**

<http://www.stopthecrop.org/watch-full-film>

- **PRO:**

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mymmsReqxnNA>

<http://www.growingvoices.eu/>

Golden Rice? <http://goldenrice.org/>

Pope Francis blessing a sample of Golden Rice brought by Prof. Ingo Potrykus



PART 4
**Testing out lobbying skills
in practice**