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**HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY**  
**PHD DOMAIN: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND EUROPEAN STUDIES**

# **PhD THESIS**

**Title:**

***„THE IMPACT OF LOBBY TOWARDS EU PUBLIC  
POLICY”(SUMMARY)***

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This thesis has its main theme the EU **lobby**. The goal of this thesis is to investigate which are the means that influence the policy making process and the structure of future EU **public policies**. Another focus of this thesis is centered upon identifying the main ingredients of a successful lobby activity in order to answer the following question: Is the EU lobby serving the public interest or is it the front line of private interests? Or better yet where should we place it between public policies and the interests governed by private groups?

The research approach matches with the **utilitarianist paradigm**, the only one capable to show the true measure of: the EU policy making system, of the complex EU institutional framework and most of all of the EU citizen. The thesis underlines the newest theoretical approaches towards the lobby phenomenon, combining **neoinstitutionalist** filters, with **neofunctionalist** theories and **multilevel governance**.

We assume from the start the neopluralist perspective as being the strong vector in order to explain the impact of lobby towards EU public policies. The lobby approach among the vast system of liberal democracy, always in a search for legitimacy and equilibrium, was suggested by the resistance, of the political environments all across Europe, to regulate this phenomenon.

The thesis is structured in 6 chapters, in which we will try to pinpoint to what extent the lobby groups can be legitimized as an integrative part of the EU polity.

In the first chapter I will introduce the force lines of the explanatory approach towards lobby, I have enunciated and analyzed the main concepts and theories connected with the subject under scrutiny.

First of all I will offer some definitions for the concept of lobby and for the person that empowers the concept: the lobbyist. Secondly, the research approach will motivate why the utilitarianist paradigm combined with the neopluralist perspective and neofunctionalist filters represent the best references in order to understand this phenomenon's dynamics.

The last sections of this chapter will introduce the issue of how the lobbyists are perceived by the EU institutions and we will summarize an anthropology of public policies.

The second chapter proposes an instrumental approach towards the EU lobby. At this level we identify the conditions and the facilitating factors that allow building a complementary relationship between EU policy making structures and lobby groups. The access vector becomes a crucial element in understanding the different forms of lobbying, emphasizing the mutual dependence of these two structures.

After briefly analysing the decision making process the research approach aims at explaining how lobbyists cohabit with EU's main institutions (the Commission, the Parliament and the Council). The analysis doesn't forget about other structures, committees and functional bureaucracies belonging to the EU. A wide focus is placed upon the manner in which civil society and public opinion are represented in this relationship of lobbyists with the EU institutions. Assuming this conditionality is vital in understanding the internal dynamics of the EU integration process, just because the vast majority of the literature dedicated to this topic underlines only the bidirectional relation of lobbyists with the EU institutions.

Chapter three opens with a reconfiguration of lobbyist- EU institutions relations within the framework of cooperation. The second section of this chapter introduces the lobbying in the US. The thesis critically emphasizes main moments of US lobby regulation history. Besides analysing the most important steps towards regulating lobby activities, the thesis focuses upon the evolution of lobby in the last years, within the American representational system. The main priorities here were to advance the permissiveness of American lobby system, the financing manner, and last but not least of the lobby impact towards American administration.

The focal point of this chapter is represented by the comparative analysis between European and American lobby.

The fourth chapter enlarges the spectrum of EU lobby, offering an approach also for think tanks. We also analyze the functions that lobbyists have around EU institutions and their interaction with the political parties. This chapter also explores the negative lobby. The last sections of this chapter are driven to achieve a successful lobbyist guide.

This section also presents in a coherent manner the strategies, technics and methods used by lobbyists in order to perform successful activities. The functionality of these recipes will be empirically tested in the case studies concerning the genetic modified organisms (GMO).

The fifth chapter focuses upon the regulation of lobby in the EU and in Romania. The analysis of the EU lobby includes: the regulation laws, the establishment of the lobby registry, the lobbyist code of conduct and the impact of these evolutions towards the EU decision making process. In Romania although we do not have a clear regulation of lobby some steps were taken by the political and academic environments in order to underline the advantages and disadvantages of this regulation process.

The last section of this chapter focuses on the ability of lobby to reduce the democratic deficit and to increase the integration process.

The sixth chapter proposes a microsystemic approach in order to identify the impact of NGOs towards the introduction and use of GMOs. At this level the analysis portrays the manner in which the EU and American NGOs are related to this matter, pinpointing the dynamics of this process upon the issue of GMOs.

The case studies approach some lobby PR campaigns concerning the GMO, and emphasize the strategic elements that supply such activities, offering also a scenario for the development of a lobby campaign which is bound to be successful.

The impact of lobby towards EU public policies becomes a constant of the way in which the deliberative democracy is built into the very nature of EU policy making system. Nowadays the lobbyocracy represents an important representational system functioning as an interface between EU institutions and the citizen.

Very often the political agenda follows the path of the majoritarian currents among the public opinion, the agenda setting being a function of the way in which the preferences are organized and configured within a functionalist matrix.

The EU representational system offers a relatively easy paths of access to the decision making process. This accessibility can be attributed to the sufficient maturation of the social body, to the instrumentalization of civic culture and why now to the technological process generated by the globalisation phenomenon.

At the national level, as well as at the European level the institutions cannot legitimize their activity unless there is public support for their actions. The NGO sector understood first this functioning axiom of the representational system and was successful in achieving its objectives even with modest resources.

Amid globalization the technics and instruments of doing lobby are constantly exported and adapted. In Europe the diminishing power of the national state has undermined the influence of neocorporatism, offering a wide spectrum to neopluralism.

The lobby has firm tendencies of concentrating to walk the EU path, for the vast majority of decisional arenas the power follows the same pattern. While some state attributes are transferred to the supranational level they will remain there. In this process of moving the decisional centers from the national state to the EU supranational level, the lobby actors must be aware of the necessity of moving their strength also towards the EU. The absence of such a strategic decision could become very costly on a medium to long time framework, that is why an early mobilization and the creation of stable outposts is a must. Although we have different lobby cultures in the EU and the US, the lobby phenomenon is an important indicator of each system's manner of projecting its vision of public policies. If in Europe we have an insufficient regulation of lobby, in the US we witness an over regulatory regime.

The strategic instruments used by lobbyists in the EU are more compromise based when in the US there is a clear tendency for all the advantages to consolidate only one side.

The positioning of the lobbyist is also a criterion to determine the volume and the intensity of the lobby activity. Also a stable contact network and the previous experience with policy making structures can provide the means to accomplish the lobbyist objectives. Another essential criterion in starting a low profile or high profile campaign is the dimension of the budget. This dimension can determine the efficiency of the lobby activity especially if the lobbyists have adequate information and high quality technical expertise.

The grassroots lobbying campaigns are orchestrated in order to place a constant pressure on the undecided policy makers or of those unwilling to involve in applying some sort of a policy. This type of campaign reports that solving a certain issue is

impreative. The chances of success of such a campaign are rather modest taking into consideration the plurality of stakeholders involved.

The most favored format of lobby campaign is that of low profile based mainly on technical information transactions and professional expertise. The ways and instruments of action must take into account the access logic, which are the steps that need to be taken in order to benefit from a potential influence, and of course to care about the access goods.

The attractiveness of access good among an institutional framework while determine an increased interest towards our lobby activity. The context/locus of action is also highly important, as is the type of audience which we address. The rules of access must be followed by heart, because it is obvious that the access represents a precondition for each successful lobby activity. The approach should follow the utilitarian lines, that means that we have to take into account also the institution position towards us. Policy makers want assistance and support, this need must be covered by lobbyists. The success of a lobby campaign is determined also by the correct timing. There is no universal recipe but the opportunities need to be speculated in order to be able to be successful.

The lobby activity is important when the legislative drafts are made, when we want to propose new amendments or new procedures. Although there is a clear tendency of lobby to concentrate in Brussels or Strasbourg, this activity is also well represented at a national level, through its activity the government can generate interest. Many times this interest can act like a trigger for lobby groups.

This thesis can function also as a lobbying guide offering advice and guidance for an efficient lobbying activity. In order to defend our interests at national or the EU level we need to gain visibility.

The market economy creates inequity among citizens, while the democratic policies count on the equality of citizens in the public sphere. This conflict must be addressed somehow. If we manage to repair the theory of democratic deficit through a transparent lobby activity, will it re-adjust also the general welfare of the citizens? Are the citizens the real beneficiaries of the lobby activities or these activities serve interests place way above the public good.

The lobby activities still leave unanswered questions. But with all the deficiencies analysed here we can conclude that the lobby produces some viable solutions for the different problems raised by the integration process. In order to understand how the lobby generates functional solutions we need to analyse things from a microsystemic perspective. Only through some in depth analyses we will be able to build a common matrix for the EU lobby, in understanding fully its functioning rules and to determine it to work for the citizen.

The lobby and democracy have the same bases: freedom of expression and social freedom. The discussion about lobby needs to be sterilized in order to generate viable motivations, capable to deepen the integration process in a transparent manner for the European citizen.