INTEREST GROUPS AND LOBBYING IN EUROPE

Essays on Trade, Environment, Legislation, and Economic Development

Edited by Conor McGrath

With a Foreword by Kevin Moloney

The Edwin Mellen Press
Lewiston•Queenston•Lampeter
# CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ........................................................................... i

Abbreviations ................................................................................. v

Foreword ........................................................................................ ix
*Dr Kevin Moloney*

Introduction .................................................................................. xiii
*Conor McGrath*

INTEREST GROUPS AND LOBBYING AROUND THE WORLD xiii
INTEREST GROUPS AND LOBBYING IN THE UNITED STATES AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES xvi
INTEREST GROUPS AND LOBBYING IN EUROPE xix
INTEREST GROUPS AND LOBBYING IN LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND ASIA xxiii

## PART ONE: WESTERN EUROPE

1 Lobbying the EU: Between Strengthening Legitimacy and Increasing Transparency ................................................. 3
*Valeria Marziali*

THE PLAYERS ..................................................................................... 5
Enforcement ......................................................... 100
Responses to the Report ........................................... 102
DEFINING “LOBBYING” AND “LOBBYIST” .................. 104
Defining “Lobbyist” ............................................... 106
Defining “Lobbying” by Activity ................................. 107
Defining “Lobbying” by Expenditure ........................... 109
CONCLUSION: TOWARDS PUBLIC TRUST ..................... 112
A Regulatory Framework for the UK ............................ 113

4 The Europeanization of Professional Interest Intermediation:
National Trade Associations in a French–German Comparison... 125
Christine Quittkat

ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION OF FRENCH AND
GERMAN TRADE ASSOCIATIONS TO THE EU .................. 129
INSTRUMENTS OF EUROPEAN INTEREST INTERMEDIATION 134
EUROPEAN STRATEGIES OF NATIONAL BUSINESS
ASSOCIATIONS .......................................................... 142
National Patterns of European Interest Representation ............ 142
The Importance of Organizational and Material Conditions for
European Interest Representation ................................. 150
CONCLUSION .............................................................. 153

5 Welfare Lobbyism in Europe: The German Case .................. 161
Katrin Toens

THE TASKS AND FUNCTIONS OF WELFARE ASSOCIATIONS
IN THE GERMAN WELFARE STATE ............................... 163
6 We All Need Friends: Elite Alliances and the Activity Choices of Environmental Groups in the United Kingdom, France and ... Germany

Lori Poloni-Staudinger

CLARIFYING ELITE OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES ............... 184
DATA AND METHODS .............................................. 187
RESULTS .......................................................... 191
CONCLUSION ....................................................... 204

7 Corporatism or Lobbyism Behind Dutch Dikes?: Interest

Representation in the Netherlands ........................................ 207

Caelesta Poppelaars

THE CHALLENGES OF STUDYING INTEREST

REPRESENTATION IN A CORPORATIST SYSTEM ............... 209
Interest Representation in the Netherlands: A Bird’s Eye View ...... 211
MOVING BEYOND THE CORPORATIST BIAS: HOW TO

COMPARE INTEREST REPRESENTATION? ....................... 214
What Are Interest Organizations: Defining the Indefinable? .......... 215
How to Sample from an Unknown Population? ..................... 217

THE DUTCH INTEREST POPULATION UNRAVELED ............ 219
8 The Problems of Developing Interest Group Politics in Post-Communist Eastern Europe: Learning from Lithuania .... 235
Ronald J. Hrebenar, Clive S. Thomas, Courtney H. McBeth and Bryson B. Morgan
INTEREST GROUPS AND LOBBYING IN LITHUANIA .......... 239
Under-Developed Interest Group System ......................... 240
Low Perceptions of Political Efficacy ............................ 240
Limited Interest Group Activity and Domination by Business
Interests ........................................................................ 242
Unsophisticated Lobbying Strategies and Tactics ............... 244
Negative Perceptions of Lobbyists and Lobbying ................ 247
A Restrictive and Ineffective Lobbying Law ....................... 249
Endemic Corruption ......................................................... 250
CONCLUSION .................................................................. 252
Placing Lithuanian Interest Groups and Lobbying within Political
Science Theory ................................................................. 252
9 Interest Groups in Russia’s Economic Transformation ....... 261
Lynn D. Nelson and Irina Y. Kuzes
“PERESTROIKA” AND INTERESTS .................................. 262
THREE TRANSITION PHASES UNDER GORBACHEV ............ 264
YELTSIN’S APPROACH ..................................................... 266
10 Business Representation in Eastern Europe: The Failure of Corporatism? ................................................................. 279

Dinissa S. Duvanova

BUSINESS REPRESENTATION IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES ................................................................. 281

COMPULSORY VS VOLUNTARY MODES OF ORGANIZATION 284

MODELING BUSINESS PARTICIPATION ................................. 287

Voluntary Business Organization ........................................ 288

Compulsory Business Organization .................................... 290

FROM CORPORATISM TOWARDS PLURALISM: THE CASE OF CROATIA ................................................................. 293

CONCLUSION ........................................................................ 300

11 The Changing Environment for Interest Representation and Lobbying in Croatia ......................................................... 305

Igor Vidačak

EMERGENCE OF THE ORGANIZED INTEREST SCENE IN CROATIA – POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES ...... 306

CHALLENGES OF THE EU ACCESSION PROCESS ................. 311

IMPACT OF EUROPEANIZATION ......................................... 316

TOWARDS REGULATING LOBBYING IN CROATIA ................. 318
Interests and Patterns of Participation: Secondary Legislation

Drafting in Estonia ......................................................... 323
Annika Uudelepp

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK ........................................... 325
SELECTION OF CASES ...................................................... 329
COMPARING AND CONTRASTING THE PATTERN OF
PARTICIPATION .............................................................. 329
Drafting Process ............................................................. 329
Participation ................................................................. 332
Interaction ................................................................. 334
DISCUSSION OF INTERESTS IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS ... 336
Case 1: Requirements for Landfills .................................... 336
Case 2: Work Safety at Construction Sites .......................... 338
Case 3: Technical Inspection of Electrical Installations .......... 340
Case 4: Handling Permits of Food for Particular Nutritional Uses ... 342
Conclusions ................................................................. 343

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS AND WILSON’S TYPOLOGY .......... 344
Client Politics – The Case of Technical Inspection of Electrical
Installations ................................................................. 344
Interest Politics – The Case of Work Safety at Construction Sites ... 345
Entrepreneurial Politics – The Case of Food-Handling Permits .......... 346
Majoritarian Politics – The Case of Requirements for Landfills ...... 347

CONCLUSION ............................................................. 347
Empirical Conclusions ................................................... 348
Theoretical Conclusions .................................................. 352

Index ................................................................. 361

Series Contents .......................................................... 383