



# **INTERNATIONAL TRENDS IN LOBBYING REGULATION: LESSONS LEARNED FOR IRELAND**

**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE:**

**MONDAY 13 DECEMBER 2010**

**EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT OFFICES**

**43 MOLESWORTH STREET, DUBLIN 2.**

# Introduction

Prof James Wickham

*Chair of The Policy Institute*



Welcome to the *International Trends in Lobbying Regulation: Lessons Learned for Ireland* Conference.

The role of lobby groups is controversial in contemporary politics and the absence of a global overview on lobbying regulations is something that is a significant and somewhat surprising omission from the public policy literature. This one day conference will examine how lobby groups are formally regulated internationally and the lessons that can be learned for Ireland. The programme will include talks from leading lobbying experts from business, academic and administrative backgrounds.

The conference is being organised on behalf of the Policy Institute by Dr Raj Chari (Trinity College Dublin), Dr Gary Murphy (Dublin City University) and Dr John Hogan (DIT) who have recently published a book titled *Regulating Lobbying: A Global Comparison* (see [www.regulatelobbying.com](http://www.regulatelobbying.com)).

The Policy Institute aims to promote active debate and engagement between the academic and policy communities through public conferences such as this and through the publication of policy briefs which provide short, rigorous, but accessible analyses of policy issues.

We would like to welcome our distinguished speakers from Ireland, Europe and North America. We hope all our guests will find the conference stimulating and enjoyable.

**Prof James Wickham**

*Chair of The Policy Institute*

# Conference Programme

TIME	TITLE	SPEAKER	CHAIR
9.00 - 9.30	Registration and coffee		
9.30 - 10.00	Welcome of Delegates	Senator Ivana Bacik	
10.00 - 11.00	Regulating Lobbying: A Global Comparison	<b>Dr. Gary Murphy</b> Associate Professor in Government, Dublin City University  <b>Dr Raj Chari</b> Senior Lecturer in Political Science, Trinity College Dublin	<b>Prof Patrick Paul Walsh</b> Head of School, School of Politics and International Relations, University College Dublin
11.00 - 11.30	Coffee Break		
11.30 – 12.30	Lobbying in Washington DC	<b>Prof Frank Baumgartner</b> Richard J. Richardson Distinguished Professor of Political Science, University of North Carolina, USA	
12.30 - 1.30	Shining Light on the Lobby: An Overview of Ontario’s Lobbyists Registry	<b>Mrs Lynn Morrison</b> Integrity Commissioner of Ontario and Lobbyist Registrar of Ontario, Canada	
1.30 - 2.30	Lunch		
2.30 – 3.30	Lobbying in Ireland: How does it measure up?	<b>Ms Lucy Cronin</b> Partner, Policy Action (Brussels and Dublin)	<b>Dr. Peter Brennan</b> Managing Director, EPS Consulting Ltd
3.30 - 4.30	The EU’s register of interest representatives: why and how a company was ”named and famed”	<b>Dr Stephen Stacey</b> General Manager, European and Government Affairs, Toyota Motor Europe	

# Welcome of Delegates

## Senator Ivana Bacik

*Reid Professor of Criminal Law, Criminology and Penology, Trinity College Dublin*



Ivana Bacik, LLB, LLM (Lond), BL, FTCD, is the Reid Professor of Criminal Law, Criminology and Penology at Trinity College Dublin (previously held by Mary Robinson and President Mary McAleese). She is a Senior Lecturer and also a Fellow of Trinity College (elected in 2005), and a practising barrister. Ivana contested Seanad elections in 1997 and 2002, and narrowly missed taking a seat in 2002. She was elected for the first time in 2007

Ivana has lectured widely in Europe on legal, social and human rights issues. She is co-author of: *Abortion and the Law, Towards a Culture of Human Rights in Ireland* and *Crime and Poverty in Ireland*, a contributor to the leading Irish criminological text, *Criminal Justice in Ireland* (O'Mahony, ed, 2002) and one of the three co-ordinators of a major Government-funded study of gender in the legal professions, published as *Gender Injustice* (TCD Law School, 2003).

Ivana is currently a board member of Friends of the Earth Ireland and Corn Exchange Theatre Company and is Honorary Patron of the Carlow and South Leinster Rape Crisis Centre and a Patron of the Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign.

# Chairpersons

## Prof Patrick Paul Walsh

*Head of School, School of Politics and International Relations, University College Dublin*



Patrick Paul Walsh took up the Chair in International Development Studies in School of Politics and International Relations on 1 July 2007. He received a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1993. He left Trinity College Dublin an Associate Professor, College Fellow and Dean of Social and Human Sciences (1992-2007). He was a Research Scholar, Harvard University, during the academic year 2002-2003 and a Visiting Professor at K.U. Leuven during the academic years 1997-1999. His professional activities include being Editor of the *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland* and a Research Fellow, IZA, Bonn. Amongst other publications he has published in the *Economic Journal*, *Journal of Industrial Economics*, *International Review of Law and Economics*, *Review of Industrial Organization*, *Journal of Comparative Economics*, *Economics of Transition* and *Economic Systems*.

## Dr. Peter Brennan

*Managing Director, EPS Consulting Ltd*



Peter Brennan's career started in 1970 as an Executive Officer in the Common Market Accession Unit of the Department of Industry and Commerce. He spent the majority of his working life, including 22 years in Brussels, dealing with EU affairs. On his return to Dublin in 2001 he set up and currently manages EPS Consulting (formerly A&L Goodbody Consulting), an economics, policy research and public affairs business, which has successfully completed over 350 projects for a wide variety of private and public sector clients, including the Oireachtas and all major Government Departments. In 2009, EPS Consulting formed a joint venture with Bid Management Services, which provides assistance to companies tendering for Government contracts. He is also a mentor to several start-up businesses and is President of Dublin Chamber (2010).

10.00 - 11.00

## Regulating Lobbying: A Global Comparison

Dr Gary Murphy

Associate Professor in Government,  
Dublin City University

Dr Raj Chari

Senior Lecturer in Political Science,  
Trinity College Dublin



### Speaker Biographies

Raj Chari is a Senior Lecturer in Political Science, Trinity College Dublin (TCD), having earned his Ph.D. from Queen's University (Canada). He was also elected Director of TCD's Centre for European Studies between 2005 and 2008. His previous experience includes being a Collaborative Researcher for the *Institut International d'Administration Publique* (IIAP) and serving as a research assistant for Nuffield College (Oxford) under the direction of the late Prof. Vincent Wright. Chari's research has been broadly centred on two main themes. The first is analysis of public policy and the role of different policy making actors at both the domestic and EU levels of governance. The second includes work on political parties and elections, with a particular focus on southern Europe. Articles have appeared in journals such as *Government and Opposition*, *Electoral Studies*, *Political Quarterly*, *West European Politics* and the *Journal of European Public Policy* and he has co-authored *Understanding EU Policy Making* (2006).

Gary Murphy is Associate Professor of Government in the School of Law and Government at Dublin City University where is he also the University's Director of Graduate Research. He has written extensively on post war Irish politics and on contemporary Ireland and has authored and co-authored five books and over 30 articles and book chapters. He is also a former editor of the leading journal in Irish political science, *Irish Political Studies* (2002-5). He is a regular contributor to Irish broadcasting outlets on Irish and American politics and was one of RTE's main analysts for the Irish Lisbon treaty referendum in June 2008 and the US Presidential election in November 2008. In his role as DCU's Director of Graduate Research he oversees policies and procedures in relation to the University's 700 postgraduate research students.

### Overview of Presentation

The absence of a global overview on lobbying regulations is something that is a significant and somewhat surprising omission from the public policy literature. Indeed, some scholars, including ourselves, have at various times focused on lobbying regulation in political systems where it exists: the US, Canada, the EU, Germany, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Taiwan, Australia, France and Israel. Yet, no major work in political science has offered an in-depth analysis of this phenomenon from a global comparative perspective. In order to fulfill this void, and based on our recent book published by Manchester University Press ([www.regulatelobbying.com](http://www.regulatelobbying.com)) as well as our ongoing IRCHSS funded project, this presentation examines how the lobbying industry is currently regulated throughout the world. It then outlines how one can measure the strength of lobbying legislation and, based on this, theoretically characterizes different regulatory environments. We then contemplate which factors may explain why different political systems have adopted such regulatory environments. It closes with examination of our recent survey data on Irish attitudes towards lobbying legislation.



11.30 - 12.30

## Lobbying in Washington DC

Prof Frank R. Baumgartner

*Richard J. Richardson Distinguished Professor of Political Science,  
University of North Carolina, USA*



### Speaker Biography

Frank R. Baumgartner is the Richard J. Richardson Distinguished Professor of Political Science at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He joined the department in 2009 as the first holder of the Richardson professorship. A native Detroit, he attended Detroit's Cass Technical High School and then received all his academic degrees at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (BA 1980; MA 1983, PhD 1986). He held academic positions at The University of Iowa (1986-87); Texas A&M University (1987-98); and Penn State University (1998-2009) where he served as Department Head (1999-2004), Distinguished Professor (2005-07), and then was the first holder of the Bruce R. Miller and Dean D. LaVigne Professorship (2007-09). He has had visiting professor appointments at Caltech (1998-99) and at the universities of Michigan, Washington, Bergen (Norway), Aberdeen (Scotland), the Institute for Public Management (Paris), Sciences Po (Paris), the European University Institute (EUI, Florence, Italy), and the Camargo Foundation (Cassis, France). He has a continuing appointment as a visiting researcher at the Center for European Studies / Sciences Po in Paris, and teaches a graduate class in public policy there each May-June.

His work focuses on public policy, agenda-setting, and interest groups in American and comparative politics and has appeared in such journals as the *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, the *Journal of Politics*, *Comparative Politics*, the *Journal of European Public Policy*, and *Legislative Studies Quarterly*.

### Overview of Presentation

The talk will focus on selected findings from a recent book: *Lobbying and Policy Change: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why* by Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, David C. Kimball, Beth L. Leech (University of Chicago Press, 2009)

During the 2008 election season, politicians from both sides of the aisle promised to rid government of lobbyists' undue influence. For the authors of *Lobbying and Policy Change*, the most extensive study ever done on the topic, these promises ring hollow—not because politicians fail to keep them but because lobbies are far less influential than political rhetoric suggests.

Based on a comprehensive examination of ninety-eight issues, this volume demonstrates that sixty percent of recent lobbying campaigns failed to change policy despite millions of dollars spent trying. Why?

The authors find that resources explain less than five percent of the difference between successful and unsuccessful efforts. Moreover, they show, these attempts must overcome an entrenched Washington system with a tremendous bias in favor of the status quo.

Though elected officials and existing policies carry more weight, lobbies have an impact too, and when advocates for a given issue finally succeed, policy tends to change significantly. The authors argue, however, that the lobbying community so strongly reflects elite interests that it will not fundamentally alter the balance of power unless its makeup shifts dramatically in favor of average Americans' concerns.

12.30 - 1.30

## Shining Light on the Lobby: An Overview of Ontario's Lobbyists Registry

Mrs. Lynn Morrison

*Integrity Commissioner of Ontario and Lobbyist Registrar of Ontario, Canada*



### Speaker Biography

Lynn Morrison was appointed Integrity Commissioner in Ontario on 13 April 2010, having served in an acting capacity since 2007. She has worked with the Office of Integrity Commissioner since its creation in 1988, serving as the province's Delegated Lobbyist Registrar since 1999. With 30 years experience in the public service, Commissioner Morrison's previous positions included Executive Administrative Officer and Director of the Office. She has served as the Administrative Assistant to the Chief Justice of the High Court, now the Superior Court of Justice, and the Executive Assistant to the Chair of the Workers' Compensation Appeals Tribunal, now the Workplace Safety and Insurance Appeals Tribunal.

### Overview of Presentation

Integrity Commissioner and Lobbyist Registrar Lynn Morrison will speak about recent changes in Ontario's lobbyist regime, within the context of Canada's provincial and federal lobbyist rules. Mrs. Morrison believes that clear rules and accessible registration systems can result in a transparent registry that benefits elected officials, the public and the lobbyist community. Highlighting her own office's experiences over the past 11 years, she will speak about the changing political climate regarding lobbyists, concerns about ensuring activity does not go 'underground', and the need for frequent communication with stakeholders.



2.30 - 3.30

## Lobbying in Ireland: how does it measure up?

Ms Lucy C. Cronin

*Partner, Policy Action, Brussels and Dublin*



### Speaker Biography

Lucy Cronin has been active in public affairs for 14 years. A partner of Policy Action, Lucy has a proven track record in implementing successful lobbying campaigns at both EU and national level and manages a wide-range of pan-European trade associations across all Policy Action practice areas. A Trinity College Dublin graduate (BA in Modern European Studies), Lucy holds a Masters in International Politics from Université Libre de Bruxelles.

Prior to engaging in the public affairs industry she worked at the Secretariat of the Council of the EU, in the trade and competition practices of the Coudert Brothers Brussels office and for HOTREC, the European Federation of Hotels, Cafés and Restaurants.

Her areas of expertise include EU and member state policymaking, gambling, IT and entertainment, health, urban planning and financial services.

### Overview of Presentation

By now, most jurisdictions can boast either regulation of the lobbying profession or at the very least a self-regulatory code. Behind the times, there is no regulation of lobbyists in Ireland nor does there appear to be an intention to address this in the foreseeable future. And there is no self-regulatory code per se. Indeed lobbying in Ireland differs considerably from lobbying in other European jurisdictions, not least Brussels and London. This talk will examine how in practice this affects the way in which lobbying is undertaken in Ireland and what the impact, both positive and negative, this can have on outcomes.

3.30 – 4.30

## The EU's register of interest representatives: why and how a company was 'named and famed'

Dr. Stephen Stacey

*General Manager, European and Government Affairs, Toyota Motor Europe*



### Speaker Biography

Stephen Stacey has worked at Toyota's European headquarters since 2001 and is currently dual function General Manager, Regulatory and Technical Affairs and General Manager, European and Government Affairs. Recent lobbying work has included the launch of demonstration projects for Toyota's plug-in hybrid car in eighteen European countries including Ireland. Before joining Toyota, he founded ADS Insight, the Brussels-based transport and environmental policy consulting firm, and was Managing Director of an international trade policy consultancy working mainly with Japanese companies exporting to Europe. For five years from 1987 he was a Board Director of a UK consultancy where his lobbying assignments ranged from the deregulation of the sale of reading glasses to the breaking of the tie between public houses and brewers. He began his professional career as a university researcher and teacher and was for a while an archivist at Oxford's Bodleian Library. He has a postgraduate diploma in EC competition law from King's College, London and a degree and a doctorate in modern history from Oxford. He sits on the Management Board of the European Centre for Public Affairs and is a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the Journal of Communication Management.

### Overview of Presentation

As part of his European Transparency Initiative, Member of the European Commission Siim Kallas launched a voluntary Register of Interest Representatives (the lobbyists' register) with a linked code of conduct in June 2008. At this point organisations involved in direct lobbying of the European institutions had to decide whether they would complete a registration form or not. Before the end of the year Toyota Motor Europe ('TME') made its entry thus becoming amongst the first to be, in the words of a Commission official, "named and famed."

This presentation explores the way in which TME reached its decision to register. What was the mix of external pressure to conform, internal commitment to transparency, and corporate desire to be visibly 'professional' that led the company to take this decision? Two years after registration, what impact has there been on the content and style of TME's lobbying? Has the fact that third parties have access to key details of TME's lobbying budget and activities as well as to those of its competitors had any consequence for the company? Now that TME has registered, has there been any change in attitude to it on the part of those lobbied? Looking further ahead, what changes to lobbying might there be if the European Commission and the European Parliament succeed in establishing a joint register in June 2011, as they hope? These are some of the questions this presentation will address.

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