Lobbying and Public Affairs in the UK: The Relationship to Political Marketing

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Department of Retailing and Marketing
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DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or institute of learning.
ABSTRACT

This is a study into political lobbying and how it has become a feature of modern, strategic business marketing. It includes the first longitudinal study of UK Political Party Conferences over the period 1994-98 as market places for ‘business to business’ marketing as well as other political lobbying activity.

The research focuses on the lobbying of government in the UK for strategic market advantage. Levels of activity, specific features and relationships are explored and theoretical constructs proposed for the development of a general theory of lobbying as part of relationship marketing. In the UK lobbying is a very difficult profession to research because (by its very nature) it is a relatively quiet and discreet profession, unlike in the US where it is regulated and visible.

Previous studies of lobbying in the UK are sparse and have focused on its growth and particularly the rise of commercial lobbyists, who hire their services as consultants to causes and organisations.

This thesis uses Layder’s (1993) ‘Resource Map’ approach to construct a realistic model of political lobbying and its relationship within marketing. It adopts a network approach (Häkansson, 1982) combined with ideographic data collections to explore and evaluate political lobbying and its relationship with marketing. This suggests that the growth of regulated markets, globalisation and transnational government are the critical reasons why lobbying has become of such strategic importance not only to governments, but also to organisations, industries and consequently management.

The study uses interviews with senior public affairs executives, politicians, civil servants, and ‘not for profit’ campaigners and organisers to research issues and emerging practice. A case study on Sunday Trading is developed to outline the features and use of political lobbying and marketing to gain strategic advantage. This is supported by a number of case histories which include The National Lottery, Small Pharmacists, Food Labelling, Local Government Planning, Drug Patents, Energy Tax, Television and Regulated Industries which are explored and the principal features and emerging practice outlined. The link between regulation or position in a market and levels of political lobbying activity is explored and theoretical constructs proposed. Factors and skills that have lead to successful lobbying are then investigated and a suggested model of how this could be considered as part of modern political marketing is proposed. Future areas for research are then discussed.
DEDICATION

To Irene for all her support and patience in giving-up so many weekends. They will be restored soon.

Also to Albert and Miriam Harris, my parents, who taught me to explore, be an individual and to never give up.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is a study of an area where access is privileged, limited and closed to many. To gain entry into party conferences, obtain information and interviews in political lobbying, required the support of a large number of friends, colleagues, and a network of contacts. I therefore owe thanks to a large number of people who supported the research and trusted me enough to allow me access to professional relationships.

The study has evolved as the data has grown and analysis developed. This is reflected in the shape of the thesis and its ethnographic underpinning.

I would like to thank in particular Professor Barry Davies for his academic guidance and support throughout the research and writing of the thesis. Professor Neill Nugent for his helpful comments in making me more aware of the developments and intricacies of the political science literature.

Professor Tony Lowe who at a critical time provided moral support, intellectual sustenance, to complete this study. Rob McLoughlin, chairman of Precise Communications and Granada TV who introduced me to the joys of the Labour and Conservative Party conferences and showed me how a regional stakeholder network was developed and stimulated for the benefit of the North West.

In discussions internally and externally to MMU support has come from a number of individuals, but the following colleagues have been particularly helpful in the development of the research: John and Nicholas O’Shaughnessy, (Judge Institute, Cambridge University), Richard Elliott, (Exeter University), Hanne Gardner (Manchester Metropolitan University), Morris Holbrook, (Columbia Graduate School of Business, New York), Bruce Newman (DePaul University, Chicago) and Jan-Ake Törnroos (Swedish School of Economics, Turku).

In addition I have attended and presented papers on my research, at a number of conferences and seminars over the past five years. I have received some very useful comment from peers through this process, which has helped sustain and develop my ideas and research. I have found the work and contributions from the IMP group of researchers particularly useful.

In addition, the help and support of Leighton Andrews, was most illuminating and welcome throughout the study.

Lastly, but by no means least, I owe a great debt of gratitude to Heather Standeven for all her efforts in producing the final processed text for the thesis. Also, Chris Bagley for helping with the graphics and Irene Harris for her strength of character in getting her husband to complete the task.
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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE THESIS

4P’s The mnemonic derived by McCarthy (1960) from his proposed marketing mix of Product, Promotion, Place and Price. This is one of the most popularly used terms in the marketing subject area.

BAA Previously the publicly owned British Airports Authority since privatisation a plc that uses the old initials as its name.

BACUP British Cancer Patient and Carer Support Group

BBC British Broadcasting Corporation

BNFL British Nuclear Fuels Limited

BP British Petroleum Plc

BSE Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy, popularly referred to as ‘Mad Cow’s Disease’

CAP Common Agricultural Policy (EU)

CBE Commander of the British Empire. HMG Award.

CBI Confederation of British Industry

CEFIC European Chemical Industry Council

CEO Chief Executive Officer

CIA Chemical Industry Association

CP Conservative Party

COREPOR EU Committee of Representatives which deals with fundamental discussion of matters before they are formally adopted by Ministers in Council.

DG4 Directorate General IV, the EU Department responsible for competition policy, mergers, co-ordination, international affairs, relations with other institutions, communications, state aid and all industries.

DHSS Department of Health and Social Security

EC European Commission
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<td>ECJ</td>
<td>European Court of Justice</td>
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<td>ERM</td>
<td>Exchange Rate Mechanism</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>EURO</td>
<td>EU Currency</td>
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<td>FTC</td>
<td>Federal Trade Commission (US)</td>
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<td>G7</td>
<td>Group of seven leading economically powerful countries who meet regularly to co-ordinate world economic policy.</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>GM</td>
<td>Genetically Modified (food)</td>
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<td>Gallup</td>
<td>Major opinion polling organisation</td>
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<td>HMG</td>
<td>Her Majesty’s Government</td>
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<td>HQ</td>
<td>Headquarters</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>Information Technology</td>
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<td>Keep Sunday Special Coalition</td>
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<td>LD</td>
<td>Liberal Democratic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>Labour Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAFF</td>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries</td>
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<tr>
<td>MEP</td>
<td>Member of European Parliament</td>
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<tr>
<td>MI6</td>
<td>Internal Security Department of HMG</td>
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<td>MORI</td>
<td>Major opinion polling organisation</td>
</tr>
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<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
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<td>NSPCC</td>
<td>National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children</td>
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<tr>
<td>PIU</td>
<td>Parliamentary Information Unit</td>
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<td>PR</td>
<td>Public Relations</td>
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RN    Royal Navy
RSAR    Retailers for Shop Act Reform
RSPCA    Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
RSPB    Royal Society for the Protection of Birds
SHCC    Shopping Hours Central Council
SHRC    Shopping Hours Reform Council
SME    Small to Medium Sized Enterprise
SOS    Sort Out Sunday
SSC    Sunday Shopping Campaign
STCM    Sunday Trading Campaign Managers
USDAW    Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers
WB    World Bank
WTO    World Trade Organisation
# PHOTOGRAPHS OF MARKETING AND LOBBYING AT UK PARTY CONFERENCES

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Chapter One

Aim and Scope of the Study

‘Two men look out through the same bars:
One sees the mud, and one the stars’

Frederick Langridge, (1896)

Introduction

This thesis is a study of political lobbying and its application and development as part of modern marketing. The research focuses on the lobbying of Government and political parties in the UK for competitive advantage, whether that be by ‘not for profit’ or private sector interests. The levels of activity, specific features and relationships involved in corporate lobbying are explored and theoretical concepts and constructs proposed for the development of a general theory and further study as part of marketing. The proposed reasons for the growth and expansion of political lobbying are outlined.

Thesis Argument

The modern business literature barely recognises corporate lobbying in the UK, yet its impact over the past ten years has been significant. There is a clear need within British modern marketing, management and business literature to quantify, evaluate and critique political lobbying and explore ways in which a theoretical understanding can be developed for management academics. This would be especially useful for those in the
marketing and strategy areas to build into their teaching and research an understanding of this growing process and so reflect reality. This thesis is a contribution to that development. The research appears to be the first piece of research which proposes that lobbying is part of the management discipline and should be particularly associated with the developing areas of political and relationship marketing. In addition the thesis outlines the first longitudinal study of lobbying and commercial activities at party conferences.

The thesis proposes and argues for a more comprehensive and consistent multi-disciplinary research study of the reasons for the growth and increasing importance of effective lobbying by competitive organisations. In addition it provides a number of core reasons which lead to organisations using lobbying for strategic reasons. It further explores and emphasises the growing importance of the party conference as a market for the selling of ideas by companies and organisations to Government and political parties. A number of case studies are used to explore and establish the principle features of success which have been gathered from extensive interviews with respondents [see Chapter 6 and Appendices 8 and 9].

The factors and skills that lead to successful lobbying are then explored and a proposed model of how lobbying should be considered as part of modern political marketing is outlined. A historical perspective and core theoretical consideration towards developing a general theory for the area is suggested. Future areas for research are then discussed.
Background to Study

This thesis has four prime aims:

1) To establish the current market, features and reasons for the growth of corporate political lobbying within the UK.

2) To review the workings of the British corporate political lobbying system based on the UK Government centres, namely Westminster and Whitehall.

3) To assess and critique corporate political lobbying and associated practice adopted within the U.K.

4) To review and evaluate existing work on lobbying from other academic disciplines. To develop an appropriate theoretical framework, based on empirical evidence that contextualises and evaluates the usefulness of political lobbying for the marketing discipline.

As part of the iterative approach of this study preliminary findings and key issues considered worth further exploration were presented at academic conferences and seminars for critical comment from academic peers throughout the period of the research, (Harris, 1994, Harris and Lock, 1995a, Harris and Lock, 1995b and Harris, Moss and Vetter, 1998). As the research has developed, many of the initial findings on lobbying and related political marketing phenomena have been published or presented at conferences to stimulate further research in the area. This was adopted as deliberate policy throughout the study to help mitigate against the limited scholarly knowledge
and research of political lobbying and associated marketing activity in the UK. A list of core papers presented and publications in this area produced as a result of this research is included in Appendix 1.

To maintain a clear focus for the study the research concentrated on British central Government and directly associated political systems. Thus the study excludes substantial research on the European Union and its operation, the recently formed Scottish and Welsh Assemblies, as well as local authorities and regional government offices. However, where these organisations have a direct impact on the research these are referred to in the study.

As the research developed a number of additional issues and particular features relating to lobbying emerged. The research addresses directly these issues which it takes as prime aims of the thesis by asking:

What are the reasons for the growth of corporate lobbying in the UK?

How do we define the area?

What definitions are appropriate and what terms of reference are appropriate for research in the area?

Why has there been such growth?

Is lobbying now being used more strategically by organisations than ever before?
Why is there little research on modern corporate lobbying in the UK?

What practical implications are there for management?

What theoretical framework is there for understanding lobbying?

How and where does lobbying fit within marketing?

How can this be applied by the modern marketing led organisation?

These questions shaped much of the conceptualisation, direction and thinking behind the thesis. The research showed that there was a substantial gap in the knowledge of the workings and recent development of corporate lobbying and its implications for management. And in particular the way in which this can be applied and used to shape the competitive environment and thus give enhanced strategic advantage to an organisation in a specific market place. The data identified that enhanced leverage via the application of political lobbying could be equally applied in both the ‘not for profit’ and private sectors.

There was evidence of cross fertilisation of personnel and strategic management approaches, which were adopted across the sectors. Des Wilson, the founding director of Shelter, moving from the Freedom of Information Campaign to the communications agency, Burson Marstellar and more recently to become corporate affairs director of BAA, is a good example of this development. This process of convergence between
sectors has stimulated the need for lobbyists to create alliances and to build coalitions to be effective (Jordan, 1991).

The initial phase of this research had highlighted the limitations of existing literature in the area and found that there were some significant gaps in knowledge. Two examples serve to illustrate this. In the first instance the role and scale of political conferences as business to business marketing venues and as a market place for lobbying had not previously been measured. The political conferences provide a short time during which activities and situations were observable allowing a realistic laboratory-like opportunity to explore lobbying and public affairs activities in operation alongside the different political parties. Secondly, the use of corporate lobbying as a focused marketing tool demonstrated how this was employed in order to increase competitive advantage for an organisation and its products. An example of this was the ITV companies lobbying the Broadcasting Bill in 1995 to abolish the statutory requirement for a financial support levy for Channel Four Television. An amendment to the bill brought substantial savings to all Channel 3 franchise operating companies. This alone added an extra £10 million to the profit and loss account of the Granada Group (Chris Hopson, personal communication, 9th February 1998).

Research Issues
The literature in the area of study [Chapter 3] raises a number of concerns, which need to be addressed if we are to understand political lobbying and its effective application. They are:
• The relationship between marketing strategy and political lobbying is not apparent in current research or theory development. There appears to be a substantial shortfall with regard to the applicability, development and utilisation of lobbying in the management literature.

• There is very little theoretical underpinning of how political lobbying is increasingly being used to gain market advantage within management and marketing research.

• There appears to be only limited established links and research across subject boundaries in the UK on lobbying. This has inevitably contributed to the non-development of a coherent assessment of the area, even though individual subject based researchers and groups in the UK are actively involved in assessing modern developments and phenomena associated with political lobbying.

• There is little research linking the increasing political marketing campaign budgets to increased political lobbying activity in the UK. However this is a well established phenomena in the US (O’Shaughnessy, 1990b).

• Although there is regular public concern on the ethics of parliamentarians, public officials and lobbyists in the UK (Nolan, 1995, Neill, 1998) there does not seem to be the move towards making political lobbying a registered activity and thus completely open to all aspects of public scrutiny and accountability.

The thesis adopts a relationship marketing approach to understand the complexities of political marketing and where it fits into modern management. In the 1950’s marketing
interest was primarily focused on consumer goods markets (Borden, 1964). In the 1960’s attention switched to how industrial markets operated (Howard and Sheth, 1969) and in the 1970’s considerable academic effort was placed on how the area of ‘non profit’ or societal marketing worked (Kotler, 1989). In the 1980’s attention started to be directed at the services sector (Baker, 1987), an area of marketing that had received surprisingly little attention in view of its increasing importance in the overall economy. In the 1990’s relationship marketing has emerged as of growing academic importance to explain the complexity of the modern customer relationship. Relationship marketing involves two major considerations. At a macro level, the recognition that marketing impacts on a wide range of areas including customer markets, employee markets, supply markets, internal markets, referral markets and influencer markets such as the governmental and financial markets. Secondly at the micro level, the recognition that the nature of interrelations with customers is changing. The emphasis is moving from a transaction based approach to a relationship focus. These changes are outlined as follows:

**Transaction Marketing**

- Focus on single sale
- Orientation on product features
- Short time-scale
- Limited emphasis on customer service
- Limited customer commitment
- Moderate customer contact
- Quality is primarily a concern of production
Relationship Marketing

- Focus on customer retention/relationship
- Orientation on product benefits
- Long time-scale
- High customer commitment
- Higher customer contact
- Quality is the concern of all

(Adapted from Christopher, Payne and Ballantyne, 1991)

The thesis is also an attempt to address some of the prime issues, which the research had suggested, warranted deeper and further exploration. These include:

- The role and scale of party political conferences as a market place for lobbyists and public affairs managers to gain access to a network with members, sectional interests, officials, policy advisors and policy makers.

- To assess the scale of ‘business to business’ marketing activity at party conferences in support of preferred policy positions being proposed by lobbying activity on behalf of private and ‘not for profit’ organisations.

- The need to evaluate and map out best political lobbying practice for organisations.

- The need to assess the practical realities of lobbying parliament and public servants.
To use a case study to examine in some depth, the political lobbying and associated campaigning activity by a coalition of interested parties to bring about change.

**Problems in Researching Political Lobbying**

Lobbying in the UK is difficult to research, because by its very nature it is a relatively quiet and discrete profession (Souza, 1998), unlike in the US where it is highly visible and has linkages directly to politicians (Mack, 1997 and Bresnahan and VandeHei, 1999). This discreteness of UK lobbying raises particular epistemological issues for the researcher operating in this area. For instance, during much of the period of research parliamentary lobbying activity in the UK was under an intense media spotlight and public scrutiny because of sleaze related allegations. This inevitably produced nervousness in some potential respondents and a reluctance to be candid or make available informed comment which could be used as data for the study. In addition the quality and validity of respondents comments in this area is an issue which needs careful consideration. These considerations are dealt with more thoroughly in Chapter 4 on adopted methodology but the types of questions the research raised and encountered throughout the study are indicated below.

What do we mean by the term corporate political lobbying?

Does it include intelligence gathering on policy developments likely to impact upon an organisation?

Does it include:

- The preparation of strategies to counter and amend such policy initiatives?
• Influencing and shaping policy and political thinking and as a consequence gaining specific contracts, amendments to legislation and the stimulation of regulation of markets for strategic gain.

• Or perhaps all of these?

As many of the definitions in the area are rather opaque and almost deliberately so to allow various applications and use, it is useful to set out the core definitions and these are outlined more fully in Chapter Two ‘Political Lobbying: Definition and Demystification’. As a first definition the researcher adopts Van Schendelen’s (1993) definition of lobbying which can be used to cover a multitude of practices and uses his definition,

The informal exchange of information with public authorities, as a minimal description on the one hand, and as trying informally to influence public authorities on the other hand

Van Schendelen (1993, p. 3).

This allows both for informal and formal contact. As regards commercial/political campaigning as a development and tactic within this process the definition ‘mobilising opinion to exert pressure on public authorities to obtain commercial gain or market advantage’, (Harris and Lock, 1996), is used.

An example of this latter approach is, Camelot PLC (major shareholders, Cadbury Schweppes, De La Rue, Racal Electronics and ICL), who to gain political leverage over potential rivals (particularly Virgin Plc) to retain the highly lucrative national lottery franchise business have formed an alliance with the state controlled Post Office. This lends weight to Camelot’s renewal bid by giving improved access to government and
trade union interests which can exert considerable direct and indirect influence and orchestrated pressure on policy makers and regulators (Wilson, 1993).

To reinforce their position Camelot have hired the consumer rights campaigner, Sue Slipman, as Director of Social Responsibility and are undertaking a major independent social responsibility audit. This and the £10 billion donated to ‘good causes’ over the five year operation of its licence should counter previous bad publicity associated with its former shareholder GTech (Electronic Telegraph, 1st June 1999).

Building on the two earlier definitions a comprehensive definition of the area can be taken as:

The marketing communication of information and pressure on government or public bodies to bring about commercial gain or competitive advantage.

In designing the research it was important to build in a strong degree of cross correlation of data and this was achieved by using an experienced but widely representative group of respondents to cross check and ensure validity (prime respondents comments were throughout the research cross checked for validity with subsidiary respondent views). To further strengthen the substance of the study an ideographic approach was also adopted. An example of this approach is that during the collection of data at party conferences this included collecting photographic evidence, examples of which are used selectively to pictorially strengthen the research outlined in this thesis.
Throughout the research it has become apparent that a working knowledge of the lobbying process, political parties, policy issues, government and a network of contacts is an essential pre-requisite to gaining access and sources of information in order to gather data for the completion of the study. Trust was probably the most crucial factor in obtaining the data for this thesis, for without this being established between the researcher and respondents this study would never have been completed. It is hoped that the research will prove useful in educating politicians and policy makers to have a greater appreciation and understanding of the role of strategic political lobbying as a component of global business practice.

The impact of corporate lobbying as a form of marketing communication is largely unresearched (Andrews, 1996 is one of the few exceptions) and this is rarely mentioned in the marketing literature. The role of political lobbying or what has commonly come to be known as ‘public affairs’ is hardly commented upon. Most research and commentary within the management arena tends to appear in specialist public relations literature [see Chapter 3] and from the political science tradition in the pressure group research area [see Chapter 3]. Only relatively recently has research begun to address the interface between politics and marketing, (Newman and Sheth, 1987, O'Shaughnessy, 1990b, Lock and Harris, 1996 and Wring, 1997) and a realistic body of knowledge is beginning to grow. However, this research does not comment on political lobbying or public affairs, as it concentrates on the marketing of politicians for elections. Nevertheless it does supply a starting point from which to develop a conceptual analysis of where marketing and politics meet. This is outlined graphically in Figure 1.
Figure 1. The Role of Political Lobbying as a Feature of Political Marketing Communication with Government: A Model

(Developed from ideas derived from the work of Jacoby (1971), Häkansson (1982), Steiner and Steiner (1985), Newman (1994), Grant (1995), Halinen and Törnroos (1998) and others listed in full in Chapter 10.)
The diagram outlines the key communication role of lobbying and campaigning within the modern state. The figure is derived from the findings outlined more fully from the latter research and findings chapters of the study. The figure is outlined in the context of transnational government and the globalisation process, a good example of the former is the EU and of the latter the World Trade Organisation. The four boxes in the diagram represent from left to right the core issues such as the wider trade environment (Environmental Catalysts), for instance the impact of employment amongst consumers on likely retail demand. The aspirations of society (Public Changes), for example the secularisation of Sundays. Regulations and allocation of public resources (Government Changes), for instance privatisation and the regulation of utilities. The final box (Organisation Changes) outlines the impact of potential resource allocation between sectors. A good example would be the commercialisation of public sector broadcasting or the allocation of digital network licences which can have a dramatic impact upon a sector whether they be ‘not for profit’ or private (Organisation Change). A future lobby to watch in this area will be the next contract for the National Lottery in the UK [See earlier comments, Chapter 7 and the remarks of David Alton, MP].

The results of government activities, political leadership and business operations are shown by interconnecting arrows linking the core areas being directly influenced. The exertion of pressure directly and indirectly to gain business advantage is shown by the arrows indicating, ‘Business Leadership-Lobbying’ influencing Government and Organisational change and reflects Van Schendelen’s definition of lobbying. The ‘Business Marketing and Advocacy Programmes’ exert wider pressure and influence to amend public opinion and change consequent resource allocations via the impact of organisational changes.
Proposed Reasons for Growth in Political Lobbying

The research has steadily increased and explored the original aims and issues set.

The core reasons that have emerged from the research for the growth and expansion of political marketing in the UK are:

1) Increased globalisation and competition in business markets, and consequent pressure to have influence over the legislature to maintain competitive positioning in the business environment.

2) The importation of a more structured corporate lobbying system from the U.S. and Washington DC, designed in particular to influence legislation affecting business and ‘not for profit’ markets.

3) Increased activities of lobbyists as a result of increased corporate acquisition, merger, joint venture and strategic alliance activities.

4) The radical nature of British Government in the 1980s and 1990s, effectively breaking earlier consensus politics, required that those affected by proposals ensured their interests and views were communicated as competently as possible or faced the inevitability of losing influence.

5) The growth of transnational government, for instance, the European Union, is generating substantial legislation affecting businesses, for example, on the environment (McCormick, 1991). This has brought lobbying at national and European level to ensure that business's voice is heard (Harris and Lock, 1996).
6) As government has reduced its direct ownership and provider role in the economy and society, for instance over broadcasting, telecommunications, transport, utilities and welfare so it has also expanded its regulatory activities. This has resulted in a rapid rise in strategic lobbying to influence regulatory policies for marketing advantage.

7) The increased globalisation of markets in the UK and Europe has led to multinational organisations and alliances developing a much more strategic approach to lobbying government, nationally and internationally. This has stimulated a greater co-ordination of lobbying activities and its strategic use by senior management.

**Structure of Dissertation Study**

The content of the thesis is organised in the following way:

- Chapter One gives an overview of the aim and scope of the study. It outlines the core research issues such as the development of political lobbying in the UK, the boundaries of the study and the relationship between marketing and political lobbying. It highlights the fact that there is no research on the role of party conferences as a business to business marketing and political lobbying venue, or the increasing strategic use of the activity. The chapter proposes that there are limitations in the currently published research on lobbying and public affairs and proposes that this area is an increasingly crucial part of the management discipline. It suggests that the area is best encompassed by the political marketing subject discipline.
• Chapter Two sets out the key definitions and terms used throughout the research to evaluate political lobbying in the UK. The terminology used in the area is explored and definitions from political lobbying and associated campaigning are identified and outlined. The reasons for the wide variety of terms in use in the area are discussed and the actual tasks associated with the profession are itemised. This section defines the term lobbying which is set in the context of appropriate literature and research contexts and debates. The arguments both about the meaning and understanding of the term by specialist disciplines are explored and debates around the various overlapping subject areas are discussed. The development of the subject area is considered and a list of appropriate terms is outlined as the material is categorised and core measurable phenomena of the discipline are outlined. The preferred term ‘Political Lobbying’ is used to define the broad area.

• Chapter Three explores the development of lobbying and how it is perceived in the literature. The prime areas of published research are outlined especially that on interest and pressure groups, public affairs and political marketing. The literature reflects the multi-disciplinary and somewhat disparate nature of written research, which is still evolving. This is particularly the case in the management science area, where there is a paucity of work. The relationship between lobbying and marketing literature is considered. Themes, areas for further enquiries and emerging priorities for the research are outlined.

• Chapter Four sets out a methodology based on Layder’s (1993) ‘Resource Map’ for research which is adopted and applied to theory development. This includes reference to Hammersley (1992), and proposes a conceptual framework for the
analysis based on Häkansson (1982 et al) and the Scandinavian relationship school of researchers and others for the development of a theoretical model. Strandvik and Törnroos’ (1995) Kite model and network theory is proposed as a method of assessing the area.

- Chapter Five outlines the main business to business marketing and political lobbying activities that are observable at party political conferences during the period of the research from 1994-98. Phenomena observed are analysed and it is suggested that party conferences have increasingly become one of the prime modern market places for political lobbying. A model for assessing political lobbying and marketing activity at party conferences is proposed. Research gathered from party political conferences over the period, 1994-98 is analysed and indicates levels of political lobbying and marketing activity. A framework for assessing political lobbying and marketing activity is proposed.

- Chapter Six. Interviews with senior public affairs managers, organisations and lobbyists are outlined and evaluated and emerging themes are explored for the research study. This is underpinned by subsidiary research from additional respondents to check the validity of views expressed by prime informants and by incorporation of evidence gathered during the study. Research and hypotheses are tested and additional examples of lobbying cases and issues are outlined.

- Chapter Seven. Interviews with politicians and civil servants are analysed and assessed for theory development. This chapter focuses on politicians and civil servants and their views on the history, development and relative effectiveness of
business lobbying in the UK. The research was conducted to assess the role and relative importance of political lobbying within the legislature, executive and government administration within the UK. In addition the study was used to draw out the particular lobbying features, issues and phenomena which were emerging within the British government system. In particular the interviews and associated research were used to explore whether a more strategic and systematic use of lobbying was being used by business and ‘not for profit’ interests to gain competitive advantage. A number of case histories and issues are examined with respondents, these have been verified by additional informants and by the research.

- Chapter Eight. The data from party conferences, public affairs practitioners, politicians and government servants is assessed alongside the literature and core themes presented. The linkage between Marketing and Lobbying is explored and concepts such as Ahrne’s ‘Centaur’ (1994) and ‘Embeddedness’ are outlined as particularly useful tools to explore this network orientated area. ‘Issues Management’ (Heath, 1990) is outlined and its use as a strategic management tool is developed for practitioners. In addition theories and management practices which have been previously raised are explored for further consideration by the subsequent theory development chapter.

- Chapter Nine. Having assessed the data and published research and given consideration to the core issues that are arising from this analysis, contributions towards theory development are proposed. These include the historic reasons for the development of public affairs strategically in the UK, the networks that political
marketing operates within and the relationship between regulation and political lobbying and that between market share and political lobbying.

• Chapter Ten. The thesis is concluded with a reiteration of general research findings and the proposed model to enhance theorising. Future research recommendations are made.

Conclusion
The chapter has introduced the basic aims of the thesis and the core themes that have emerged throughout the development of the research. These are that there are major environmental forces driving a growth in lobbying activity by major private and ‘not for profit’ organisations to gain a competitive advantage. The study then proposes a number of key issues which have emerged in the research, for instance why has the area grown so rapidly and where does it fit within modern management - broadly political marketing communications as part of what has come to be called ‘relationship marketing’. The research investigated the area by interview, participant observation at party conferences and detailed appraisal of published research. Consideration was given to exploring in depth activities at party political conferences and the increasing use of political lobbying strategically by large organisations.
Chapter Two

Political Lobbying: Definition and Demystification

‘It is not certain that everything is uncertain’

Blaise Pascal, Pensées, (1670)

Introduction
This chapter sets out the key definitions and terms used throughout the research to evaluate political lobbying in the UK. The terminology used in the area is explored and definitions from political lobbying and associated campaigning are identified and outlined. The reasons for the wide variety of terms in use in the area are discussed and the actual tasks associated with the profession are itemised. This section defines the term lobbying which is set in the context of appropriate literature and research contexts and debates. The arguments both about the meaning and understanding of the term by specialist disciplines are explored and debates around the various overlapping subject areas are discussed. The development of the subject area is considered and a list of appropriate terms is outlined as the material is categorised and core measurable phenomena of the discipline are outlined. The preferred term ‘Political Lobbying’ is used to define the broad area.

Defining and Demystifying Lobbying
The area under investigation appears to have almost as many alternative terms describing it as it has definitions. To unify the area of study the research refers to the area generically as political lobbying. The approach taken is that this focuses on
influencing political decision making whether this is at local, regional, national or transnational level. In addition the term public affairs is frequently used as a generic term for the subject area and stakeholder management programmes. This can cause some confusion and lead to a loss of clarity. To avoid confusion the term political lobbying is adopted as the preferred term used throughout this study. The term ‘public affairs’ is only used when preferred by respondents and/or other researchers, or as part of the definition process. It is therefore useful to differentiate, at this point, as most departments or functionaries within the sector calling themselves public affairs would include community liaison, associated initiatives and corporate stakeholder programmes within their remit and this is not necessarily intended to gain strategic advantage in the market place. However, it is proposed that this is the prime purpose of political lobbying.

Fleisher and Blair (1999) have recently reviewed the literature on public relations and public affairs, (the area is dominated by North American authors) and have summarised the core published definitions of public affairs as follows:

- Managing relationships between organisations and stakeholders/issues in the public policy (i.e. non-market or sociopolitical) environment (Fleischer, 1994).

- A process by which an organisation monitors, anticipates and manages its relations with social and political forces, issues and groups that shape the organisation’s operations and environments (Gollner, 1983).
• An umbrella term referring to how a firm develops and implements its enterprise-level strategy (‘what do we stand for?’), its corporate public policy (a more specific posture on the public, social or stakeholder environment or specific issues within this environment), its public affairs strategy (issues and crisis management most important here), and how all these processes may be embraced within a public affairs function (a department). Carroll (1996).

• It serves as a window: Looking out, the organisation can observe the changing environment. Looking in, the stakeholders in that environment can observe, try to understand, and interact with the organisation. Post and Kelly, (1988).

• The name for the integrated department combining all, or virtually all, external non-commercial activities of the business world. Hoewing, (1996).

If we take these normative definitions as giving direction to the area of study then public affairs can both include political lobbying and a number of other management functions.

Fischer and Blair (1999) have also discovered that practitioners in public affairs and public relations have the following backgrounds see Table 1.
Table 1

General Background of Practitioners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public Affairs</th>
<th>Public Relations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Business/Commerce</td>
<td>• Arts/Humanities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Government</td>
<td>• Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Management</td>
<td>• Journalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Policy Studies</td>
<td>• Mass Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Political Science</td>
<td>• Media Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Public Administration</td>
<td>• Public Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Public Policy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

source, Fleischer and Blair, 1999, 285

In their study, the term lobbying is preferred and in its purest form political lobbying rather than the broader generic description, public affairs. There is a great deal of debate about the precise role of public affairs, but if it is about lobbying and community interests this seems to have wide scale support both in the literature (Cutlip, Center and Broom, 1994, Fleisher and Blair, 1999, Harris, Moss and Vetter, 1999) and amongst practitioners. In addition to the above definitions, there is an increasing number of definitions of the public affairs function and some of these are more fully explored in later chapters of the thesis. The definition, which is used throughout this study and covers the areas explored and is perceived as being robust enough to include both company and consultancy activity, is that proposed by Van Schendelen (1993). He argues that lobbying can cover a multitude of practices:
The informal exchange of information with public authorities, as a minimal description on the one hand, and as trying informally to influence public authorities on the other hand.

(Van Schendelen, 1993, P. 3)

This definition is sufficiently broad to allow both for informal and formal contact between government officials and politicians at whatever level, with appropriate sectors, be it ‘not for profit’, private or public interest groups.

As regards those more visual areas of political lobbying such as commercial and political campaigning, which have recently become more regularly adopted to influence policy, the following definition, which has evolved during the research study, is used:

The mobilisation of opinion to exert pressure on public authorities or bodies for commercial gain or competitive advantage.

These definitions cover the core areas of what this study refers to as political lobbying and its strategic application. A comprehensive definition of the area can be taken as:

The marketing communication of information and pressure on government or public bodies to bring about commercial gain or competitive advantage.

The thesis uses as its prime conceptualisation of the Political/Strategic lobbying roles the following definitions, see Table 2.

The table was developed from extensive longitudinal study of the area gathered by interview and survey data over the period 1994 to 1998.
**Table 2**

**A Conceptualisation of the Political/Strategic Lobbyist Role**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role type</th>
<th>Principal activities performed by practitioners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government/Political Monitor</td>
<td>Responsible for scanning the political and social environment and monitoring groups, themes and trends that may give rise to legislative proposals that could impact upon the organisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Affairs Adviser</td>
<td>Advising management about government and other policy thinking on issues likely to affect the organisation. Assess potential reaction to operational and organisational policies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Relations</td>
<td>Facilitates communication and contact between the organisation and government and politicians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliamentary Liaison</td>
<td>Regular liaison with politicians and officials of all political parties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Government Liaison</td>
<td>Regular liaison with local government and regional politicians and government officials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Affairs Strategist</td>
<td>Responsible for formulating political marketing campaigns, issues management strategies and strategic lobbying campaigns. Development of policy options for organisation to propose to government for strategic advantage.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

source: Harris, Moss, Vetter, 1999, p. 213
The area is somewhat confusing as the various terms used to describe prime activities and functions have only limited common acceptance by practitioners, organisations or researchers. In addition, there are cultural differences in the meaning and interpretation of the terms used in the UK and US. Terms used in the UK can have a very different meaning from those used in the US (Mack, 1997).

The confusion in the area can be seen in the various terms used to describe the prime activities and functions by practitioners, organisations and the literature as outlined below:

Corporate Affairs, Public Affairs, Pressure Campaigning, Corporate Communications, Marketing Communications, Strategic Communications, Cause Lobbying, Corporate Lobbying, Commercial Lobbying, Cause Marketing, External Relations, Government Relations, Regulatory Relations and a number of other variations on these themes.

Much of this reflects the impact of the recent growth of activities and consequent needs to operationalise the subject area. It is also a reflection of practitioners and disciplines adopting a product differentiation strategy to distance themselves from subject areas they perceive as having less moral, political or strategic authority or status, both externally to and internally within their organisation.

There also appears to be a number of different definitions and meanings of these terms between the US and European literatures and research, although internationalisation of the area is beginning to bring about a degree of harmonisation of nomenclature.
In addition various subject disciplines have claimed ownership over the area in question, most notably the legal profession, politics and public relations. Some of these claims are suspect for instance, the term public relations is increasingly considered somewhat discredited and inappropriate by many lobbyists in the area. Interestingly, White (1991), ahead of this study, commented that too little had been published on either theory or practice to build the base for a professional appreciation of the area, which is often referred to as public affairs. Furthermore, there seems to be disagreement between practitioners as to what the function involves. Some practitioners take the view that public affairs is equivalent to government relations and lobbying. Other practitioners take a broader view of the function, including activities such as government relations, issues management or investor relations (Graham, 1995).

White defines public affairs as:

> A specialist area of practice within public relations. It is concerned with those relationships which are involved in the development of public policy, legislation and regulation which may affect organisations, their interests and operations.

(cited in Graham, 1995, p. 31)

According to Graham (1995) only one of these ‘concerns’ is legislation, this links neatly with the definition of lobbying by Kotler:

> Lobbying involves dealing with legislators and government officials to promote or defeat legislation or regulation.

(Kotler, 1989, p. 22)

Kotler’s definition of lobbying posits it clearly as a specialised subset of public affairs but with strong strategic marketing linkage. Relying on this definition, it may be argued that lobbying should not be used as a synonym for public affairs, as it does not constitute the whole function. This research argues that it is a clear component of modern political marketing which permeates the entire management culture of the area. Moloney (1997) has argued that, lobbying is a highly specialised activity within the
broader discipline of public relations, because it is a communications-based activity. However, Grant (1993), who uses the term ‘government relations’, emphasises that it must be distinguished from units or individuals performing a traditional public relations function. According to him

Government relations is understood as a specialist function within a firm which seeks to provide strategic co-ordination of its relations with government and other external actors, and to offer in-house advice on the conduct of such relations.

(Grant, 1993, p. 87)

In contrast, Harris and Lock (1996) argue that marketing is ‘the more appropriate discipline location’ (p. 318). It is often argued that lobbying is part of the broader field of public relations, which is itself often seen as a subset of marketing communication. The question therefore arises as to where the boundaries of marketing and marketing communication are set. They further argue that the ‘advanced practitioner’ would be heavily involved in altering the external environment by lobbying government in order to gain market advantage. Whereas Kotler (1989) and others have highlighted this shortcoming in the US-based literature, this does not appear to be the subject of much discussion in UK academic research until now. Thus, there is a significant gap in the literature in terms of understanding the scope and growing influence of corporate lobbying and political campaigning for competitive advantage. It is the complexity of the issue (Harris and Lock, 1996) which is making it difficult for management to understand the development of political lobbying work which operates as a corporate interpreter of government activity for commercial and organisational interests.

**Defining Lobbying**
In assessing the various definitions of lobbying, they appear like pieces of a jigsaw that have never been put together to form a whole picture. In an early definition Milbrath (1963) defines lobbying as:

The stimulation and transmission of communication, by someone other than a citizen acting on his own behalf, directed towards a government decision-maker in the hope of influencing a decision.

(Milbrath, 1963, p. 7-8)

More than thirty years later, Moloney (1997), has put forward a very similar definition, arguing that:

Lobbying can be defined in the first instance as persuasive activity to change public policy in favour of an organisation by groups of people who are not directly involved in the political process.

(Moloney, 1997, p.169)

Most elements of these definitions are widely recognised. The common element in all these definitions, including the one by Kotler above, is that they focus solely on the communication side of lobbying; and particularly the representational aspects of it. As previously highlighted, some practitioners equate public affairs or government relations with lobbying, whereas others include issues such as management and intelligence gathering. Authors, such as Grant (1991), have argued that the term lobbying can be misleading in that it can often be applied to describe the whole work of the government relations departments and associated functions of organisations. However, this has changed as in many business operations these distinct functions have not only become more holistically integrated into the organisation but have also been applied strategically (research outlined in Chapters Six to Eight confirm this). Grant (1991) goes on to state that ongoing interaction with government is generally more refined than the term lobbying implies:
A company with a sophisticated approach to government will attempt to develop a climate of well informed mutual understanding between it and civil servants and politicians so that, if an issue that affects the company arises, it is not necessary to build relationships from scratch. (Grant, 1991, p.100)

According to Moloney (1997), whose research it should be remembered is focused on commercial lobbyists (those for hire), a lobbyist has multiple tasks. Thus, questions could be raised about the logical consequences of the above definitions. It can be argued that lobbying is not solely an action, as some of the above definitions seem to suggest, but a process. This process, in order to be a success, requires a preliminary stage of issues monitoring and information gathering, very much assessing what is happening and likely to happen to the organisation in the competitive environment and devising appropriate strategies to gain commercial or societal advantage to use in the exchange process. Therefore, should public affairs be considered a necessary prelude to lobbying or rather, is lobbying a consequence of public affairs? Miller, a lobbyist, puts forward a definition that comes closer to the above suggestion, when he defines lobbying as:

The business of advising organisations on understanding, monitoring and dealing with the system of government.


This portrays lobbying as a series of discrete, but linked activities. However, Miller has worked in commercial lobbying (i.e. consultancy) for much of his career and consequently reflects the actuality of the day to day operation of the process and procedures rather than its increasing strategic marketing importance. Wedgewood (1987), another lobbyist, has outlined that he sees a core component of his work as both intelligence gathering (monitoring, interpretation and research) and operational roles
(planning, passive representation and active representation). This has very much the flavour of modern strategic marketing management about it (Baker, 1987, O’Shaughnessy, 1992, Doyle, 1994, and Saunders, 1994).

Building on these practitioner views, Moloney (1997) proposes the following definition of lobbying:

Monitoring public policy-making for a group interest; building a case in favour of that interest; and putting it privately with varying degrees of pressure to public decision-makers for their acceptance and support through favourable political intervention.


This fits neatly within the two previously preferred definitions of Van Schendelen (1993) and the author. Andrews (1996) has argued that many of the definitions in the area, although useful, are discursive and do not reflect the strategic interface between lobbying and business that has emerged:

In an increasingly complex and regulated world, government, politicians and regulators set conditions on the operations of the marketplace which require analysis, measurement and consideration in the development of market strategies


He puts forward the following premise:

Lobbying can sometimes be seen as a specialist form of marketing communications, often engaged with similar concerns, measurements and promotional campaigns, contributing directly to business performance. Knowledge of the political market, understanding the relevance of one’s product or service, determining how to promote the product or service as meeting the needs of government or helping to meet its needs, demonstrating value for money and ability to meet targets for availability (product, promotion, pricing and place) are directly relevant skills.

(Andrews, 1996, p. 79)

This view is confirmed by much of the research in this thesis, particularly so with regard to procurement decisions where government is customer and in the broadcasting,
environment and utility areas where the government regulatory role has significant influence.

The Lobbyist’s Tasks

Having examined a range of suggested definitions on lobbying, it is useful to consider what the tasks of a lobbyist are, as this helps clarify many of the previously outlined names for the function. Political lobbying is generally linked with words such as public affairs, corporate affairs or government relations. Very rarely do those involved call themselves professional lobbyists, for this is often perceived as being a despised and non-honourable profession. The magazine, Marketing, commenting on lobbyists put this very succinctly, ‘on the scale of social acceptability they rank even below insurance salesman and second-hand car dealers’ (16 February 1995, p.16). Declining respect for politicians and ‘sleaze’ associated issues have also damaged the image of lobbyists (Jordan, 1991; Nolan 1995, Harris and Ziegler, 1996 and Moloney, 1997). Furthermore, lobbying is still regarded as a discrete, even secretive activity, which according to Smith (1993) and other writers accurately reflects the ‘secretive character of British political culture’ (p. 97). For those reasons this may be a fruitful area for research in the future. Why then until relatively recently was the function of lobbying not integrated into management structures of organisations, and why was lobbying not written widely about in the literature? This is worthy of further study. Nevertheless, the term lobbying still seems best suited to describe activities in this area.

Moloney (1997) sees the main tasks carried out by lobbyists as, firstly ‘providing access to policy makers’, thus ‘looked at from a communication perspective, lobbying can be viewed as a specialist form of networking in the field of public policy-making and
access can be characterised as points of linkage between separate groups of actors in the field’ (p. 175). Secondly, ‘making representations to decision-makers’. Here, he argues that it is most likely to be the chairman or CEO who presents the case to decision-makers, as they want to be seen as the holders of power. This is confirmed by other researchers as well as by this study. Thirdly, lobbyists act as ‘policy advisers’ and lobbyists are usually experts in their own chosen domains. In addition to their knowledge about the policy processes, they are very familiar with the companies for whom they lobby, as they have often spent many years working for them either internally or externally as a manager, commercial lobbyist or have a background in the industry. Thus, they often occupy a trusted place and have an embedded position (Häkkinen and Törnroos, 1998), within the network of policy and business decision making.

If we take those functions called government affairs and or public affairs within organisations and group them under the common heading of political lobbying, the key activities which are involved, on a regular basis, appear to be as shown in Table 3.

**The Changing Relationship between Business and Government**

The 1980s were very much characterised by the retreat of the state (Cook and Stevenson, 1996) and, in Britain, privatisation and deregulation had significant impact upon business markets. These changes had a major impact on government-business relations. However, this did not mean that government was no longer a significant factor in the decision-making environment of businesses. The interface between government
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<tr>
<td><strong>Political Lobbying - Key Functions</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Dealing with the Civil Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Dealing with Local and Regional Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Dealing with Ministers</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Dealing with Parliaments (Westminster, Brussels, Cardiff and Edinburgh)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Dealing with transnational government and bodies (EU, WTO, WB et cetera)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Dealing with the media</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Dealing with community stakeholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Knowing parliamentary and Civil Service procedure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Briefing the company/organisation on policy options.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Issues involving management monitoring</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Building coalitions with other interest groups</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Staying in touch with the policy network.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Giving strategic advice on the likely impact of government/policy decisions.</td>
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(Developed from various sources, including Jordan, 1991; Moloney, 1995; John, 1998 as well as this research).

and business remained crucial. Beside the deregulation of markets, Jordan (1991), Richardson (1993), Majone (1994) and others have observed a constant increase in legislation and regulation in Western societies over the past decades. This has resulted in legislation having a growing impact upon commercial markets and consequently
businesses. Furthermore, new and radical pressure groups, and substantial media interest, have forced issues such as food safety, genetic modification or the protection of the environment to the centre of political attention (Gabriel and Lang, 1995). The high priority of these new issues on the political agenda has created a new form of politics, which affects the operations of business, whereas old forms of government involvement via direct ownership of parts the economy have declined significantly. A number of authors have commented on this shift in the political agenda and landscape which has a number of implications for business and has increased political involvement in the market place. In addition, correspondents have commented on a discernible shift towards a regulatory mode of governance in business markets. This has stimulated commentators to talk of the emergence of the ‘the regulatory state’, a distinctive style of governance which they see evolving throughout the developed world (Majone, 1994 and 1996; Loughlin and Scott, 1997). The research has found that influencing regulatory decision making is a significant part of strategic lobbying [see Chapter 6].

**The Role of Government**

Grant (1993) identifies five roles occupied by government with relation to business: it can act as an owner, sponsor, regulator, customer, as well as a policy maker. Most importantly, as a policy maker and regulator, government can substantially influence the environment in which a company operates and makes decisions. It can significantly influence the profitability of a company and even its ability to survive.

Thus Andrews (1996) has argued that,

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in an increasingly complex and regulated world, government, politicians and regulators set conditions on the operations of the marketplace which require analysis, measurement and consideration in the development of market strategies (p. 76).
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Many organisations use lobbying to build a relationship with government, rather than just influencing policy or legislation. As it is difficult for business to change policies in the short run, it is crucial to maintain an ongoing management of relationships with the government stakeholder, as once the need to influence policy arises, it becomes essential to have a well prepared and strongly argued case. In such a situation, having good political knowledge and contacts with key figures is vitally important (Harris and Ziegler, 1996). In Jordan’s words (1991), businesses have ‘to ensure that it is best placed to make the right sort of noises in the right place at the right time’ (p. 41).

**Government Relations**

Most small and medium-sized companies do not have their own government relations department, but handle these as part of their corporate communications function or choose to employ external consultants, as their size does not justify an in-house government relations division (Grant, 1993, Souza, 1998). A large multi-national company, however, will have extensive contacts with government every day at a number of levels and in relation to a range of issues. To achieve this end, they usually have a government relations department or lobbyist to co-ordinate the firm’s relations with government. It therefore implies that large organisations and groups are better organised and resourced to apply strategic lobbying to gain competitive advantage. Only federations of small businesses and interests are able to have a similar impact. This was confirmed by levels of activity at party conferences [see Appendix 2] and by respondents. The relative strategic importance given by a company, organisation or industry to regulation, seems to have a direct correlation with the seniority of staff employed in the area.
It is apparent that government relations departments are particularly common in highly politicised environments. According to Grant (1991) the task of a government relations department is to ensure that the company is aware of political developments which may affect its operations and that those in contact with government are fully informed in order to represent the company’s interests effectively. What he outlines here gives the impression of big government relations departments. However, as he indicates himself, Britain is different to the United States in that government relations in Britain are carried out on a much smaller scale. Even in large groups, such as ICI, [see Chapter 6] there is often only one or two executives covering government relations (this research). Consequently, sometimes they are supported by other functions, or co-opt business specialists to deal with specific aspects of the business-government interface and co-ordinate this process. Relating back to the earlier paragraph on definitions of lobbying, the question again arises about whether public affairs practitioners are lobbying from time to time or whether lobbyists are doing public affairs work from time to time? Or, is this just a matter of subjective perception on the same reality?

Grant (1993) argues that a major limitation faced by such divisions and functions is that they are often not integrated into the decision-making process in many firms. He goes on to say ‘before they can contribute effectively to a firm’s decision-making, most government relations divisions have to overcome a credibility problem’ (p. 96), even though senior management may agree that the political environment has a considerable impact on the firm’s profitability, and ultimately its survival. Nevertheless, according to Grant (1993), they often seem suspicious of a function, which cannot point to quantifiable result on the bottom-line. This research suggests that those who can address
this problem have considerable management influence as a result of strategic impact [see Chapter 6]. Moloney (1997) agrees that there is no methodology of evaluation and that outcomes seem difficult to predict. However, there have been lobbying campaigns that clearly were successes (e.g. Moss, 1990; Andrews, 1996). Furthermore, Grant’s (1993) research has also revealed that government lobbying in many companies is an increasingly fundamental part of the corporate planning process.

To Lobby and to be Lobbied

According to Richardson and Jordan (1982) there is a long established tradition in Britain of consulting with affected business interests by government. Thus, Calingaert (1992) has commented ‘the general tone of the relationship is more consensual and less confrontational’ (p. 30). Vogel (1986) suggests that businesses in Britain are considered to be ‘insiders’ in the policy-making process more so than in the United States, although it has been suggested that this corporatist relationship broke down in the UK under the successive privatisation zeal of the Thatcher governments (Jordan, 1991; Hennessy, 1995 and Kavanagh, 1996a). This provided a stimulus in the growth of political lobbying activity which increasingly had to be used to defend ones competitive position. Hancher (1990) states further that especially in highly regulated industries ‘the relation between regulator and regulated is a more subtle, complex one and is based on interdependence’ (p. 8). Regulation is a particularly important form of government intervention directly affecting firms in private enterprise systems, and its importance is likely to grow in the future (Hancher and Moran 1989).

It is important to highlight at this stage that business and interest groups have varying degrees of power and influence, examples are explored in this study. Such activities
helped to create considerable prosperity in Britain. Grant (1995) distinguishes between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ groups. According to Moloney (1997) ‘groups lobby to ensure that government is at least neutral about their purposes and at best, supportive’ (p. 171). He goes on to state that this explanation for lobbying can be recognised as a description applied to the public relations of the political perspective of pluralism. Jones (1991) takes the pluralist view that government is ‘a more or less neutral referee’ between groups (p. 506). According to Moloney (1997) pluralism has considerably influenced public relations. Most authors have adopted the view that lobbying is a guarantor of pluralism (Cutlip et al., 1994; Grunig, 1989; White and Mazur, 1995). Lindblom (1977), adopting a neo-pluralist variant of classical pluralism, argues that, in a liberal market economy, the most influential group in society is business, as governments need prosperity in order to win elections. This is Lindblom’s explanation of why business is a major lobby, considering that in the UK most lobbying is done on behalf of businesses, especially if we count ‘not for profit’ organisations as part of this sector. Researchers such as Grant (1993) and Harris and Ziegler (1996) support this view. The classical pluralists see great competition between societal and business interests, but appear not to recognise the growing concentration of business interests and the effects of globalisation as markets internationalise and national governments find it difficult to regulate effectively.

However, as Grant (1993) suggests ‘it would be misleading to portray the relationship between business and government in terms of a political struggle between lobbiers and lobbied’ (p. 47). There is a certain self-interest involved. There is an exchange relationship from which government obtains three types of gains: information for policy design; consent for policy clearance; and co-operation for policy implementation.
The lobbyist’s need to inform and influence decision-makers avoids the possibility of decisions being based on deficient information (Jordan, 1991; Van Schendelen, 1993). According to Van Schendelen (1993) this may be due to several factors. In an increasingly complex environment, politicians and civil servants may not have the specific knowledge required or resources available to make or take decisions. Or there might be an ideological bias against some interest or the strong influence of opposite interest groups. Miller (1987), Wilson (1993) and others compare decision making in government to that of a court and suggest that without advocacy and information sources they are unable to operate in a vacuum. At almost no cost, decision-makers obtain information on issues about which they have to make decisions. Lobbyists tend to give reliable but subjective information representing their interests. However, by adding all the competing stories together, decision-makers are likely to form an almost complete picture. Lindblom (1959) believes that, in this way, decisions can be made in a more rational and consensual manner. Van Schendelen (1993) argues that:

Lobbying and being lobbied have, in short, much to do with economical behaviour. There may be amateurism and mistakes in any game, but the more professional and well-played the lobbying is for both sides, the higher the chances of reaching some mutually advantageous agreement.

(Van Schendelen, 1993, p.5)
The key functions and issues which government and public affairs management see as essential in fulfilling their role that have emerged during the research are outlined in Table 4.

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<td><strong>Key Functions of Government and Public Affairs</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Understanding own organisations communication and decision making process</td>
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<td>• Knowing the policy formulation and policy making process</td>
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<td>• Network of contacts in area of operation</td>
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<td>• Dealing with the Civil service</td>
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<td>• Dealing with parliament</td>
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<td>• Dealing with politicians</td>
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<td>• Dealing with Ministers</td>
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<td>• Dealing with the media</td>
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<td>• Dealing with Regulators</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Dealing with local and regional government</td>
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<td>• Dealing with trade bodies</td>
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<td>• Dealing with Transnational government and associated bodies</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Contacts with party organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Managing relationship with policy think tanks etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Coalition building with others around mutual policy interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Managing relationship with community stakeholders</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Gaining access to regular sources of policy information</td>
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These functions form the core area of political lobbying and associated marketing activity which is being explored by this thesis.

The question is where does this fit within management theory? Is it part of strategic marketing communications? Or is it primarily a feature of a pluralist theory of society and economics as others have argued (Jordon, 1991; Grant, 1993).

Given the development of network theory within marketing and associated relationship marketing theory, there appears to be a growing case to suggest that it provides the best theoretical basis to understand the subject [see Chapter 8 and Chapter 9].

Theory development as well as an investigation of activities during the research appear to confirm these assumptions. [see Chapter 6]

**Conclusion**

The chapter outlines the important definitions and core terms used throughout the study, which cover the development and role of political lobbying. The use of different definitions, understanding of terms and practitioner roles encountered in the area are also explored and the inter disciplinary nature of the subject considered. Political lobbying, as part of political marketing incorporates this in order to be able to understand and influence policymaking, at all levels in an increasingly complex regulatory environment to gain competitive advantage. The section sees the skills and disciplines used by political lobbyists as political, communication, legal and marketing to achieve ends. General definitions are adopted for the study. It is proposed that network and relationship marketing theory offer a way of evaluating this area. Chapter
Three further explores the relevant literature and research directly associated with the area of study, which lie in a number of subject disciplines, most notably interest and pressure groups, public relations and political marketing. The chosen definitions are further clarified and core research issues for the study outlined.
Chapter Three

More Questions than Answers for Management Research:
Issues Emerging from the Literature

‘American academics write with all the grace
of a deep-sea diver sitting down to a dinner party’

Isaiah Berlin, cited by Michael Ignatieff

Introduction

The chapter explores the development of lobbying and how it is perceived in the literature. The prime areas of published research are outlined especially that on interest and pressure groups, public affairs and political marketing. The literature reflects the multi-disciplinary and somewhat disparate nature of written research, which is still evolving. This is particularly the case in the management science area, where there is a paucity of work. The relationship between lobbying and marketing literature is considered. Themes, areas for further enquiries and emerging priorities for the research are outlined.

Background: An Evolving Literature

The research is an exploration of the increasing use of political lobbying by UK organisations whether they be private or ‘not for profit’ to gain strategic business advantage. The research has evolved into an assessment of how businesses can gain
through lobbying and associated activities being used by both ‘not for profit’ and private sector organisations to gain advantage in the market place. The literature review initially concentrates on lobbying practice in the public relations area; it became apparent from this research that it was important to define the area that is generically termed ‘public affairs’ in the UK. It was felt at an early stage that it was essential to have a good working knowledge of the political and social science literatures relating to government, especially that on interest and pressure groups, because of their substantive history. In addition, the literature relating to the operation of the government administrative, legislative and procedural machine was explored. Government publications and public committee documents were assessed as part of the research, and in particular the Reports of The Committee into Standards in Public Life (Nolan 1995a and 1995b and Neill, 1998a and 1998b) proved an invaluable documentary source. This was augmented by the annual register of parliamentary members interests, the reports of the commissioner into parliamentary standards and a working knowledge of government information and websites, which became excellent sources of both data and informed comment.

As the study evolved and began to focus on the core of the matter under investigation, the so called ‘Sleaze’ literature emerged, although a good amount of this had short term and sensationalist raison d’être overtones, some provided useful insight into the process and scale of operations.

To understand some of the complexities around ‘influence’ in political arenas it became essential to absorb a large amount of research on party politics and its operation. This was useful in providing an insight into the informal policy making process.
A further informative area of study was the literature on political campaigning and election studies, which gave significant insight into the development and linkage between political campaigns and political decision making, whether this is at a local, regional, national or transnational level. More recently there has emerged a specific literature on political marketing, which considers political choice theory (Newman and Sheth, 1986) and has begun to emerge as a coherent body of knowledge to attempt to understand political behaviour and associated exchanges. This has been a particularly fruitful source of ideas for conceptual development in exploring linkages between lobbying and campaigning.

To understand and begin to theorise where political lobbying fitted within the management discipline, it was necessary to have a good appreciation of the literature and research on issues management [see Chapter 8] and particularly marketing. The marketing literature is still evolving but of particular use in crystalizing the relationships between strategic political lobbying and business were the relationship marketing and network marketing concepts [see Chapter 4 and Chapter 8]. This linked theories on power and influence and has been instrumental in the development of this research. Methodologically the work of Layder (1993) has been particularly helpful in ensuring validity and clarity was maintained throughout the study.

**Exploration and Territorial Integrity: Background and Early Methodological Considerations**

To explore the relationship between the emergence of strategic political lobbying for market place advantage and where it fits within modern management practice and theory it is necessary to cross academic disciplinary boundaries. In crossing these
disciplinary boundaries a number of issues are raised. The first one the research addresses is, are the boundaries real or artificial? Certainly the findings from the interviews with practitioners [see Chapter 6] would appear to suggest that there are few rigid functionalist boundaries on a day to day basis held by lobbyists in attempting to influence government. In addition, these boundaries appear to be of limited real practical use in seeking answers within a multi-disciplinary study such as this. Another question which emerges from the literature is why is there a limited ability to observe and research political phenomena and power related situations in the marketing discipline? The answer seems to be that until relatively recently there was only a limited appreciation of the potential of applying the marketing concept to political markets (Wring, 1997). In addition, until quite recently there has been only limited overlap or cross fertilisation between the prime theory areas in political science and marketing research, although there is growing evidence that this is beginning to change (Newman, 1999 and Scammell, 1999).

An area that appears to have good epistemological possibilities for collaborative research is that between voting behaviour and consumer research. No joint work of significance has been done in this area even though the common market place and behaviour issues are very evident. This research it is hoped is a contribution to fostering and furthering development across these subject areas.

However, in the practical reality of the non-academic world there are a few barriers. Invariably politicians have dedicated marketing teams to manage policy presentation, electoral and issue campaigns and political scientists regularly write about the management and increasing application of marketing to all aspects of the political
product (Scammell, 1995). The academic discipline structures are coming under the increasing pressure of the rapidly globalising market place and these artificial subject barriers are beginning to come down and recent research developments are a good portend of what is likely to happen in the future (Wring, 1997, Scammell, 1999).

Other factors to consider in this area are distortion, truth and vanity. Politicians, public servants, lobbyists and managers, can frequently overstate their relative importance and if biographies are to be believed then many have the most amazing photographic minds for detail relating to minute subtleties and transactions carried out several decades ago. In addition, much of the written research on lobbying campaigns and political marketing very rarely gives good data and insight into failure (Andrews, 1996 and Scammell 1995). The 1997 Conservative electoral catastrophe and impotence of the ill fated ‘New Labour: New Danger Campaign’, which is known to have backfired (Gordon Heald, 10th May 1998), is yet to appear in any detail. Yet advertising executives commented on the flair, originality and obviously winning message of the composition (BBC Radio Up North, 7th April 1996). Interviews with lobbyists clearly tell of countless successes but very few failures. In addition, besides the findings of the Neill Committee (1998) there is little serious work as yet in the UK related literature linking political donations to fund campaigns to gain access and influence.

**Open to Interpretation: The State of Current Research in the Area**

The published research on lobbying lies within a range of disciplines and literatures. The most substantial work in the area is focused on interest and pressure groups in the political science literature, which emerges with the evolutionary work of Finer, (1958), who sets out the first major study of activity in the UK. This has grown and been added
to amongst others by the work on the British Constitution of Moodie and Studdert-Kennedy et al (1970). Much of this research is reflective of the key events in its ambit, and therefore reports the phenomena of what has euphemistically been referred to as the ‘consensus period’ of British politics from the late 1940s to its demise in the 70s. This research is perhaps now a little dated and less relevant for 1999 as much of traditional consensus politics has been eroded (Rose, 1984, Marsh and Rhodes, 1992, Rose and Davies, 1995 and Kavanagh, 1996). The area is then strengthened with the work of Alderman (1984) and that on interest groups by Ball and Millard (1986). This is then complemented by the extensive work of Grant, (1981), Grant and Sargent (1987) on the interface between politics and business and that by Richardson (1993) on pressure groups. A pluralist model of interest and pressure groups is at the heart of this research.

The research also includes an outline of lobbying practice in the UK, with practitioner guides and works from experienced politicians and lobbyists such as the former cabinet minister, William Rodgers (1986), the former pressure group organiser, Leighton Andrews (1986), the former MP, Alf Dubs (1989), the former civil servant, Charles Miller (1990) and Philip Connelly (1992). The latter deals specifically with Whitehall and the work of the civil service. Much of this material outlines the practicalities of lobbying parliamentarians and government officials and uses some case material to underpin research. This developing area is further consolidated with the considerable work of Jordan (1991), which outlines the development of the phenomenon of the commercial lobbyist who operates either as an individual consultant or as part of a consultancy on a hire basis by organisations to act on their behalf. This work is explored further by Berry (1991 and 1992) who includes an outline of activity at the UK party
political conferences and Moloney (1996) who explores the features of commercial lobbying against a pluralist model of the process and outlines emerging practice.

There is also a growing literature on European lobbying and its specific features are assessed both within the EU by Pedlar and Van Schendelen (1994) and comparatively across Europe by Mazey and Richardson (1993). The lobbying of the EU has become an increasing area of research interest with work by Van Schendelen (1993) and that on interest groups and the network of non governmental organisations (NGO’s) is the focus of a growing body of interest, of particular note is that by Greenwood (1997). As the research developed it became very apparent that an increasing amount of national state lobbying was being co-ordinated from Brussels based European corporate operations (various informants). As in most areas of lobbying, Gardner (1991) and numerous others have produced a practitioner’s guide on how to be effective within the EU.

There is also a campaign and protest literature, which is very useful in highlighting community campaigning and associated pressure politics processes and tactics; this includes such work as Wilson (1984), Bruce (1994) and Lattimer (1994). A measured research assessment is given of specific protest groups in this area by Jordan and Maloney (1997) and Garner (1998) which focuses on environmental groups and animal causes. In addition there is a small but growing body of professional comment and research in the public affairs literature associated with public relations on the development and use of lobbying Wade (1990) and Linning (1991).

There is also a useful literature from primarily journalists on what euphemistically came to be called ‘sleaze’ and associated purchasing of influence amongst politicians, this
includes such work as Hollingsworth (1991), Cook (1995), Halloran and Hollingsworth (1994) and Leigh and Vulliamy (1997). This has been supported by academic research by Ridley and Doig (1995) on politicians, private interests and public reaction in the UK and comparative studies across Europe in Della Porta and Meny (1997).

In 1994 the Committee on Standards in Public Life, under its first chairman, Lord Nolan, was established to investigate standards of conduct of all holders of public office after wide public concern relating to certain lobbying activities. In its first report following extensive consultation and hearings from interested parties, the committee published both a report and set of proceedings which gives one of the fullest and most open accounts of lobbying activities in the UK (Nolan, 1995). After a series of further hearings of evidence and consequent published reports and proceedings on sectoral standards in local spending bodies and local authorities, the last report under its new chairman, Lord Neill, looked into the issue of the funding of political parties in the UK (Neill, 1998). Interestingly this outlined that total expenditure by the major parties centrally spent in the 1997 general election campaign was £60 million, a very small proportion of which came from membership donations. The increase to this level of expenditure from private sources is a spur to increasing access between commercial and ‘not for profit’ organisations and politicians

Pressure and Interest Group Literature

The pressure group area of research, as has been argued earlier, establishes itself with the seminal work of Finer (1958), who wrote the first major study of pressure and interest group activity in the UK, which built upon earlier North American studies. Subsequent writers have explored the prime issues of pressure group activity and how
this operates within the British constitution (Moodie and Studdert-Kennedy, 1970, and others). Much of this early literature is reflective of the key events in the individual researchers immediate ambit, and therefore is heavily based on the British political scene from the late 1940s to the early 1970s. The subject area then begins to rapidly expand and is supplemented by the works of Richardson and Jordan (1979), Alderman (1984), Richardson, (1993) and Smith (1993 and 1995) and strengthened considerably by that developed on interest groups by for instance, Ball and Millard, et al (1986). They propose a pluralist model to comprehend the broad area. This is then complemented by the extensive work of Grant, (1981 and 1989), Grant and Sargent (1987), Miller (1990), Jordan (1991), Richardson and Mazey (1993) which cover the pressure group area, commercial lobbying and the associated interest groups on campaigning in particular. These researchers look at the key individuals and bodies in the process to influence, especially within Whitehall, Westminster, centres of government, the judiciary and the various public audiences and organisations. They also assess the most effective way to influence these bodies and the growth in commercial lobbying in the UK and EU political processes and cite particular campaigns and outcomes as exemplars of practice, a good example is Greer (1991).

What emerges from this well rounded body of literature is that to influence this system takes time and is an on-going process. To lobby or campaign instantly and/or to react on just one issue is often perceived as a panic reaction and is invariably seen as just trying to protect ones own narrow interests. This can indicate a lapse in not effectively monitoring the policy process by the respective organisation, for the issue should have been picked-up at an earlier stage where it could have been dealt with more discretely. In addition to build a coalition of interest to protect ones political position, it is argued, is more effective than going it alone. To develop a positive environment to influence
policy decision making to achieve success takes time and an awareness of the network to be influenced. It is frequently argued that regular contact with Whitehall and the administration is much more effective than specific lobbying of ministers or MPs to raise an imminent and or immediate issue (Shea, 1988). Certainly there seems to be a growing body of views that to be effective in influencing policy, it is better to start at the drafting, or thinking stage, rather than attempting to amend once a Government Bill has been published. A large part of lobbying is about supplying regularly information over a period of time to the decision maker, therefore quick fixes very rarely work and portray an amateurish approach or are easy to spot as a vested interest, caught off guard, moving at the last moment to protect their position.

Defining Pressure and Interest Groups

Richardson, (1993), refers to Wilson, (1991) and argues that in relation to interest group research the problem of definition is a significant one. He raises two interesting definitional problems: Where is the cut off point and is any commercial group that exerts pressure on government a commercial lobby?

In seeking a definition, Kimber and Richardson, (1974) cite over twenty terms to cover pressure on government or political parties to influence policy. These include, for instance, political group, lobby, political interest group, organised group, voluntary association, pressure group, protective group, defensive group, anionic group, institutional group, associational group, non-associational group, formal-role group, exclusive group and political group. Richardson (1993) subsequently has developed a working definition to define pressure groups and aid clarity in his studies.
A pressure group may be regarded as any group which articulates demands that the political authorities in the political system or sub-system should make an authoritative allocation. 

Richardson (1993 p.1)

This precludes, of course, political parties or other groups that may not wish to take-over government. Richardson (1993) highlights the development and growth of "new institutionalism" and cites Olson, (1971) in referring to modern developments in political life:

Contemporary formal organisations are not easily captured by distinctions between a private and public sphere, between hierarchies and markets, or by distinctions based on the legal status of organisations ... government is often described ... as a conglomerate of semi-federal, loosely allied organisations, each with a substantial life of its own, interacting with one another and interacting separately with civil groups

Olson, (1971, p. 96.)

This rapidly evolving complexity has made it difficult for many in management to comprehend the growth in the development and role of the political lobbyist or campaigner. They are increasingly emerging as corporate interpreters of what is happening in government for business interests.

Olson's comments also lead one to hypothesise that market and hierarchy models (Williamson, 1975) do not work in bringing answers to how commercial lobbying and political campaigning fit into modern marketing and management. This work points towards interaction activity models as being more appropriate, which leads one to look at network models and theory as a possible way of evaluating the process. It is interesting to comment in support of this that many lobbyists and corporate commentators remarking on the interface between business and politics argue that the
most powerful form of lobbying is the regular supply of information of causes and related issues on a continual basis to those within the decision process. Only by not regularly monitoring and keeping the political process informed of commercial interests and views, is government more likely to legislate against declared interests, provided of course you are not opposing declared policy, and/or your competitors unnoticed by you are exerting pressure against your interests to gain strategic advantage.

Grant (1995) has argued that research has tried to develop typologies of primary and secondary pressure groups in the UK over the past thirty years, but due to their rapid growth, ever increasing number and diversity this has been almost impossible to achieve. He cites the examples of locally based groups which run into tens of thousands and the Devlin Commission (1976) on industrial representation which counted 1,800 business associations, which is only one of a number of potential categories.

An important distinction in the pressure and interest group literature is that drawn between sectional and cause groups. Sectional groups represent a section of the community looking after a particular part of that area and have a membership drawn from that particular user group, for instance, the 1994, Worsley Anti-Motorway Widening Campaign, was composed primarily of local residents directly affected by the campaign. Cause groups, on the other hand, represent some form of belief or principle; they seek to operate in that cause and their membership is not restricted at all; a good example would be Greenpeace which has a transnational membership committed to preserving the natural environment.
A useful typology of factors which affect pressure group activity is developed by Grant (1995) who calls upon the work of Presthus (1973 and 1974), Schmitter and Streeck (1981), Whiteley and Winyard (1987) and Jordan (1987). It identifies three main categories of factors in relation to assessing activity in this area:

1. Features of the proximate environment of groups the areas they are seeking to organise.

2. The resources available to groups.

3. Features of the external economic and political environment.

This typology was found of particular use as it parallels the external environmental issues which impact upon lobbying:

(i) public opinion/attitudes;
(ii) the political party in office;
(iii) economic circumstances, especially in relation to public expenditure;
(iv) sponsorship or support by a government department, and/or opposition by other departments;
(v) delegated authority.

Corporate political lobbying, with the exception of major multi-national campaigns which attract media attention, is less well researched. Examples are the brewers' lobbying to amend the Monopolies and Mergers Commission legislation on tied houses or against take-over (Gallagher and Scott, 1994). In industrial markets, lobbying to
obtain defence contracts has always been of significance though often conducted in secret; the highly visual lobbying by British Aerospace of the MOD to put pressure on the German Federal Republic to continue to finance the European Fighter Aircraft (EFA) is a good example, (Harris and McDonald, 1994), and the Westland v Boeing campaign for the RAF’s new helicopter contract has gained good reportage (The Times, 26th October, Bernard Gray in The Financial Times, 27th October in 1994 etc). Connolly (1992), has highlighted the importance of the MOD as ‘British industry’s biggest customer, spending around £8 billion a year on equipment for the armed services, ranging from sophisticated weapons systems to batteries’ (p. 82). In addition, Richardson, (1993), Jordan, (1991), Miller (1990) and Grant (1987 and 1995) have very successfully added knowledge about the strategic business and government interface to the earlier pressure group research by Finer (1958) and others in this significant research area. They have outlined the key concepts and experiences developing in the UK at Westminster and Whitehall from a political standpoint.

The Emergence of the Political Marketing Literature

In the UK only recently has any significant literature begun to address the interface between politics and marketing, with Nicholas O'Shaughnessy's work, ‘The Phenomenon of Political Marketing’ (1990a), though this tends to be grounded primarily in the earlier political communication and political science literature rather than have a strong marketing and management science base. Newman and Sheth (1986), Newman (1994), Butler and Collins (1994 and 1996), Wring (1996) Harris and Lock (1996) and a growing number of others have begun to explore this difficulty and have applied marketing theory to explore consumer behavioural aspects of polling, etc. However, this research is limited, as it tends to concentrate on the marketing issues
associated with electoral politics, image, voter behaviour, promotion and some aspects of party management, especially media management or what has come to be known as ‘Spin Doctoring’. It does not comment on commercial lobbying as it focuses on the marketing of politicians for elections and tends to concentrate on specific observable marketing tools, which are being used within the political arena. In fact until recently most writings in the area called political marketing have concentrated on electoral and political communications and have not looked at the management of pressure on the legislative process as part of marketing. Nevertheless, it does supply a useful starting point from which to develop a conceptual analysis of where marketing and politics meet and there is growing evidence beginning to be published Andrews (1996), Harris and Lock (1996) and Harrison (2000, forthcoming) that campaigning techniques are being directly adopted from the political electoral arena and being used to influence the business environment for strategic corporate advantage. Political scientists have a long tradition of writing in the psephological area, especially that relating to elections, party strategy, imaging of politicians and polling techniques. The Nuffield series of election studies carried out by David Butler and others are well known and have been extensively added to by others, the most recent of which have begun to show a particular marketing emphasis are Jones (1995), McNair (1995), Kavanagh (1995), Scammell (1995) and Maarek (1995). The first text is rather journalistic, not surprisingly given the author is the political correspondent of the BBC, but does give some invaluable insights into modern party management and manipulation of the media, based upon first hand experiences during the 1980s and 1990s. McNair (1995) gives a sound modern commentary on the use of all political campaigning techniques in both elections and pressure group campaigning in the UK. This is rather useful as it is one of the few works that attempts to do this. Kavanagh (1995) in his work calls upon his
knowledge of elections from the various Nuffield Election Studies, however, the text focuses very heavily on particular campaign techniques and is very communications orientated. Scammell (1995) in her argument can be criticised for similar reasons as the work focuses on image building in British electoral campaigning throughout the 1980s and 1990s, particularly Margaret Thatcher, although it does give a good historic commentary on the U.S. origins of what has come to be called Political Marketing. The last two authors are well known political scientists, but it must be argued that their understanding of the philosophical debates, theoretical underpinnings and breadth of marketing techniques and their use is still developing. Thus, although the texts by their respective titles and chapter headings would appear to embrace a managed marketing approach, they in fact only highlight one or two electoral techniques and, as in so much of the research, concentrate on the market communication aspects of politics. Scammell (1999) has attempted to address this shortfall in her most recent work and shows a considerable appreciation of how marketing theory has been broadening into service and ‘not for profit’ sectors. The development of appropriate political marketing models is one of the prime areas of current research. She suggests that the marketing concept appears to be the key to understanding political marketing. She further argues that one of the most fruitful paradigms is that of ‘relationship marketing’ which developed from research of service sectors in Scandinavia (Gronroos, 1994). Most recently a growing research interest in the area has begun to emerge reflecting renewed interest and this has led to increased conference activity and collaborative research which is beginning to appear as publications (Newman, 1999). Maarek (1995), in his text has set out in a practical way the fundamentals of what he terms political marketing, outlining the complete range of techniques available for marketing politicians and communicating political messages for the use of practitioners and researchers. He even attempts to give
practical advice in what is the nearest publication in the area to a text on how political marketing and communication can be managed. The text is very much a manual on how to run effective campaigns using a number of marketing techniques, however, like the other works in this area it concentrates on communications. A similar high quality manual has been produced for political campaign (election) managers by Shea (1996) aimed at the US political consultant market.

Outside the previously cited literature there is a modicum of case study material in the Public Relations literature, with case studies appearing in Hart (1987), Moss (1990) amongst others in the UK and in the specialist press, most notably, PR Week. Texts in the public relations literature invariably have sections on what is called Government Relations or variations on this organisational theme which might include specialist subject areas like corporate affairs, political affairs and as a generic title for the area public affairs. Much of the writing in this area refers to how campaigns are planned, variety of tactics used, processes and individuals that need to be influenced.

**Lobbying and the Marketing Literature**

Influencing government and its apparatus to gain markets for ‘products’ can be seen in the growth and development of corporate lobbying. A good example, for instance, has been the concerted campaign by British Aerospace to gain approval from the UK Government and the MOD to build and develop the next generation of military transport aircraft entitled Future Large Aircraft (FLA). This is instead of purchasing Lockheed’s immediately available and upgraded Hercules C-130J design (Financial Times, 2nd September 1994). This example reflects dialogue that has been going on at various levels across the MOD and Government, on specifications for the changing role of the
armed forces which has been built into all future contracts and consequent procurement policy. British Aerospace, have seen it as crucial that they win this contract or it would have a major impact upon the viability of their aero construction business, as the bulk of civil aviation research and development resources are offset by its military contracts (Harris and Sherwood, 1994). Lobbying to obtain this business was intense and supported by regular advertising in the press and promotional campaigning, including the Farnborough Air Show, which was counter-balanced by Lockheed’s own activities. Arguments by both companies about job creation were used extensively and countered by each side as they promoted the advantages of their own case for the maximum retention of employment and maintenance of industrial technology and skills in the UK. Discretely at every level of Government, pressure was exerted by both organisations to gain the contract which will be important for their long term viability and competitive advantage. British Aerospace, is currently the only potential supplier of major military transport aircraft in Western Europe. If it did not win this business then it could potentially have a knock-on effect within the Airbus consortium where it supplies the wings. Alternatively, an ‘off the shelf’ plane purchased from Lockheed could have suited the RAF and Treasury, but increase commercial dominance of the UK market by US plane makers, which could be opportune as their home based American military expenditure market contracts. The lobbies were both observed at the 1994 UK Party Conferences and the researcher was not surprised when the MOD announced that it was splitting the contract, thus giving some commercial support for British Aerospace’s collaborative Airbus venture, whilst purchasing immediately a reasonable quantity of the RAF’s preferred, tried and tested option, Lockheed C-130J. The lobbies for attack helicopters and surface to air missiles were very much in evidence at the 1995 to 1998
party conferences for similar reasons and can be seen clearly itemised in the list of exhibitors [see Appendix 2].

In recent years the intensity of lobbying by defence businesses for major contracts has been very powerful and highly visual, with significant lobbying campaigns being associated with naval refitting, major battle tank and aircraft procurement contracts (Harris, 1994 and Andrews, 1996).

Corporate lobbying in the UK has dramatically increased over the last ten years according to the literature (Attack, 1990 and Harris and Lock, 1996). The core reasons that emerge from published research and associated material appear to be:

1) Increased internationalisation and competition in business markets has intensified the importance of governments creating a highly competitive home business environment.

2) Importation of a more structured corporate lobbying system from the U.S. and Washington DC, designed in particular to influence legislation affecting business markets and interests.

3) Increased corporate acquisition, merger and joint-venture activity.

4) The active and radical policies of the British Government in the 1980s and 90s broke down some earlier consensual politics. Those affected by proposals had to
seek to ensure that their views were communicated as competently as possible or lose influence.

5) The growth of transnational government is generating substantial legislation affecting businesses, for example, on the environment (McCormick, 1991). This has brought lobbying at national and European level to ensure business views are heard.

The bulk of research and commentary within the management arena relating to lobbying tends to appear in the specialist public relations literature (Wade, 1990) and from the political science tradition is in the pressure group research area.

In the past five years in the UK there has been a significant growth in public relations research and commensurate literature, as the profession has developed in response to the complexities of modern business life. Nevertheless much of its direction and thought is heavily influenced by the concept of communication as a corporate management tool. Miller, (1991) is highly critical of this and argues that the business of adjusting the tone with which an organisation communicates with the outside world has unfortunately drawn organisations away from a disciplined preparation of their case and towards the manner of its presentation. Miller criticises many commercial organisations for lumping public relations functions with government relations operations into one common process. He makes the significant point that the former is campaigning based upon targeting interest groups, whilst the latter is focused upon a much more long term and detailed process which requires a deeper knowledge of how the process of influence works across a multi-complex executive and legislative system. Much of commercial
lobbying is therefore missed, or it is seen purely as an auxiliary or minor option that can be complementary to the primacy of the communication process, rather than being a strategic part of the marketing process.

This criticism seems valid in that there is not a realistic approach within the marketing and public relations literature and research to explain the growth and strategic significance of commercial lobbying and political campaigning as features of modern marketing management. This study is an attempt to raise these issues and to put forward some possible solutions to these gaps in knowledge in the marketing and management literature.

In addition there is some reference to research in other areas, most notably in the corporate competitiveness and strategy literature which includes strong references to influencing Government via lobbying (Johnson & Scholes, 1989 and others), and is invariably seen as being played at senior executive level. Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (1993) recognise the role of lobbying and its relevance and cite Mancur Olson's work (1971 and 1982) on ‘common interest organisations’ as a core starting point.

Within the UK marketing literature area there is little reference to commercial lobbying or political campaigning to influence markets, as becomes clear if one looks at the major general and strategic marketing texts used from Kotler (1967) through to more recently Doyle (1994). An early notable exception is that previously cited of O'Shaughnessy, but this tends to have its basic theme of the mass packaging of politicians derived from the North American experience and grounded in the United
States’ political environment. This can be seen in his article, (1990b), which calls upon interviews primarily with US lobbyists and in his book, ‘The Phenomena of Political Marketing’ (1990). This is more of a commentary on what is emerging in terms of the political campaigning process in the US which increasingly is being adopted and modified in the UK. He nevertheless does, though, highlight the growth in commercial lobbying within the UK and its importance in achieving business success. Very recently there are signs that lobbying is beginning to be recognised as a major industry in the marketing literature with Mühlbacher, Dahringer and Leihs (1999) outlining the prime activities, scale and value of the industry. They calculate within the EU that the industry spends approximately $2.5 billion a year on lobbying interests (p. 136). This is based upon calculations of corporate affairs activity in each nation state within the EU and that activity concentrated on the executive to alter policy in Brussels and Strasbourg. This shows the increasing scale of lobbying as a business activity. Although the current research and respondents would suggest that this could well be an underestimate.

It should also be noted that a number of practical guides to operating the political system on behalf of business also exist, most notably Connelly, (1992) and Rodgers (1986) amongst others. But they are very much handbooks with examples and do not address the conceptual framework questions, measure growth or look at the area in the context of modern management. Thus management research and publications seem to have a significant gap in understanding the scale and growing influence of corporate lobbying and campaigning for competitive advantage. It can be argued that this may be because it is a recent phenomenon, although there is little tangible evidence to suggest that lobbying is new and what seems to emerge is that the organisational methods, scale of activity and publicity attracted by it is new. It can certainly be argued that the
process is increasingly being influenced by North America, where organised political interest lobbying for empathetic legislation and obtaining US Federal contracts in Washington is well known. Lobbying in the US has resulted in much of Federal policy being a result of trade offs between well marshalled interest groups and lobbies and has coined such rich additions to the English language as ‘Pork Barrelling’. Lobbyists in the US represent a large scale organised industry, are highly paid and educated with invariably a background in law or a similar discipline allowing them to be able to interpret the legislative process and make critical assessments on behalf of corporate clients (Wolpe and Levine, 1996 and Mack, 1997). There is much research into this process, which gives a useful insight into what is happening in the UK. A useful example is Steiner and Steiner (1994), ‘Business, Government and Society - A Managerial Perspective’, which outlines an overview of the scale and organisation of the process. However, one needs to be careful in relying on this literature to make a direct comparison with the UK lobbying scene for it must be remembered that the US Constitution is a written one and that the role of the lobbyist within that structure is regulated and relatively open. In the UK with its unitary, unwritten constitution, much lobbying and commercial campaigning is covert rather than overt. In fact until quite recently knowledge of commercial lobbying was denied by many, although aspects of that relating to Parliament have become more widely known as a result of some individuals activities and the work of the Committee on Standards in Public Life (Nolan, 1995a and 1995b and Neill, 1998a and 1998b). There is growing evidence that this covert nature of political lobbying in the UK is under pressure and that with the increasing co-ordinating role of the EU and devolution of power to Scotland and Wales this process will become more overt and thus open to greater scrutiny.
The European Dimension Literature

If we look at the EU, it is as a transnational state of sixteen European states and its legislature and administration, then we see that in most of its statements it asks to be lobbied by all interests to make more balanced judgements (Gardner, 1991). Sometimes though these can be used for competitive advantage, like Volkswagen/Audi successfully lobbying on environmental grounds for the use of their preferred catalytic converter technology for vehicle emission limitation. Accepted by the EU as the uniform method to alleviate sulphur dioxide emissions and to be incorporated on all future vehicles sold after a certain date, it gave immediate competitive advantage to those manufacturers who were adopting this method of emission control. Unfortunately, for Ford and Rover, who had spent hundreds of millions on developing lean burn technology, at a legislative stroke, their technological alternatives were negated and it is debatable whether their corporate investment has ever been recouped. Regardless of how clean their engines were, they still had to fit catalytic converters, (Van Schendelen, 1993) (and also cited in Mazey and Richardson, 1993). The amount of research has steadily grown as the EU has expanded its role within the member states and there is a growing body of literature on interest groups, most notably the work of Greenwood (1995), Greenwood and Cram (1996) and Greenwood (1998). There is also an increasing literature on lobbying within and from the community (Pedlar and Van Schendelen, 1994).

In addition to the growing literature which concentrates on the EU and its development there is an increasing amount of research which looks at ways of influencing its decision making process. At an operational level to support this, a significant number of commercial lobbyists and business organisations have established offices in Brussels.
and Strasbourg, to augment their operations and to lobby on behalf of clients or their own interests. With the EU's supranational role in passing legislation, which effects all states especially in areas such as environment, harmonisation and competition policy, many who wish to develop sympathetic legislation for their commercial needs see it as a more important level to operate at rather than the national level. This research to allow a focus on the development of specific processes has concentrated on the UK based government executive, legislative process and administrative system. However, this does not preclude the growing importance of the EU and its executive, legislature and regulation which directly impact upon UK operating organisations. A good example of the increased importance of the European level was reported in 1990, for the European Commission had been on the verge of issuing a directive banning direct mail throughout the then European Community (Gavin Grant, 20th September 1990, in interview). The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) had noticed this as part of its regular monitoring process of policy development across Europe and had consequently organised many charities and voluntary agencies that rely upon direct mail appeals, to counter the proposals successfully. It is interesting to note that the British Direct Mail Association was unaware of this potential threat.

In the USA, pressure groups take account of (and use to their advantage) the multiplicity of access points which is so characteristic of the American system of Government - the Presidency, the administration, Senate, Congress, Congressional committees, the judiciary, state and local government and increasingly the media. Gun user groups used this very successfully to substantially amend President Clinton’s Law and Order Bill. The multiplicity of access points within the EU in the Commission, the
Council, COREPOR (including national ministers) the President, Parliament and, more recently, the Council of Regions, parallels the US political system and it can be argued is one of the significant reasons for the growth in European lobbying.

Jordan (1991) and Richardson (1993) amongst others have pointed to a constant increase in legislation globally, and a steady increase in the number of participants taking part in the process. They also observe a general increase in regulation, throughout the last thirty years within western democracies, which has resulted in increased legislation having an impact upon commercial markets and consequently businesses. The lobbying literature increasingly refers to this activity at EU level and a growing case history literature is beginning to emerge and be cited. The most notable research work in this area is by Van Schendelen (1993) and Richardson (1993) and more recently the judicial rulings of DG III and IV have increasingly become sources of data on the subject.

This increase in government involvement through increased interference, and such issues as deregulation of markets, has led to an increase in legislation and state involvement in the UK. This in turn has resulted in a growing need for political interpretation, advisers, campaigners and organisers to be employed to oppose or counter, competing commercial interests threatening to influence government against particular positions.

The European level has increasingly been used as a way of developing these issues (example of banning direct mail) across the community and is sometimes used as a way of negating a nationally inspired action or policy.
Working Definitions Emerging from the Literature

As has been outlined earlier [See Chapter 2] the research uses Van Schendelen's (1993) argument that lobbying can cover a multitude of practices and use his rigorous definition:

The informal exchange of information with public authorities, as a minimal description on the one hand, and as trying informally to influence public authorities on the other hand.

Van Schendelen (1993, p. 3)

This allows both for informal and formal contact.

As regards commercial and political campaigning the working definition, which has been developed by the author is used ‘the mobilisation of opinion to exert pressure on public authorities or bodies for commercial gain or competitive advantage’.

It is important to remember that the majority of attempts at influencing and lobbying to obtain strategic gain is covert and aimed at the policy making process and administration of government. As one pundit has commented, ‘good lobbying is like growing asparagus, you wish you had started three years ago’ (Michael Shea, 1995 cited in Harris and Lock, 1996).

As regards defining the important concept of regulation this research adopts that proposed by Loughlin and Scott (1997).

By regulation we mean the attempt to modify the socially-valued behaviour of others by the promulgation and enforcement of systems of rules, typically by establishing an institutionally distinct regulator.

The increasing use of regulation as a formal instrument of government may arise because of the need to steer the behaviour of a variety of actors - both public and private who operate unattached to the state. There has been a separation of government as provider and producer or policy maker from operational tasks. Obvious examples in the UK are in the commercial sphere, where operational tasks associated with the production of utility services have been progressively privatised. The responsibility for policy over the provision of these services has been assigned to new regulatory agencies, such as the Office of Telecommunications (OFTEL) and to sponsoring Departments such as the DTI. The regulatory agencies, commonly referred to as ‘regulators’ are an increasing focus for lobbying activity.

**Research Agenda that Emerges from the Literature**

Clear themes, as well as research areas for empirical enquiry and propositions that emerge from the literature that will be used throughout the study are:

i) To lobby on one point or issue in legislation is often a corporate crisis reaction and is very often seen as such by participants in the process. In marketing this would be perceived as a tactical manoeuvre and not a strategically planned activity.

ii) The scale and sophistication of lobbying activity is growing, but there is little in the literature on its role in marketing strategy. The study aims to address this.

iii) A number of pressure group campaigners with a background of issue campaigning in the ‘not for profit’ sector who have very high levels of expertise
[see Appendix 9, Leighton Andrews] have moved to more lucrative posts in the commercial sector, where their skills, learnt elsewhere, have become increasingly sought after. Very little research has been done on why that is the case. This is explored by interview and research in the study.

iv) To understand the type and effectiveness of lobbying and commercial political campaigning it is necessary to use developed theoretical tools to make sense of activity. To do this a number of concepts, constructs, categorisation and theoretical models are used. The key ones, which have emerged from reviewing the area and marketing theory, are Häkansson’s interaction model (1982) which allows one to analyse interactions in the exchange process and associated complex phenomena as well as their influence on buying behaviour and decision making. In addition the work of the International Marketing and Purchasing (IMP) group of researchers associated with this school of thought and evolving relationship marketing theory is used to evaluate the study and develop appropriate constructs. Grants (1995) typology of pressure is used to augment this conceptualisation process.

v) Lobbying and campaigning by business and organisational interests increase in direct proportion to government involvement in a sector. This can be seen particularly clearly in issues associated with regulation in the literature. The proposition that one can therefore deduce levels of campaigning activity and lobbying in certain business sectors and their consequent strategic importance as a result is tested.
vi) The bulk of the non-marketing literature reviewed perceives marketing primarily as a communication process and does not comment on and in some cases is not aware of the marketing management concept and its consequent implications. The research will explore this gap and develop appropriate theory.

vii) Lobbying and campaigning needs planning and takes time to be effective. This clearly has implications for its strategic application and for those who use it. This is further explored in the research. A large number of techniques and professional management approaches have been imported from the U.S. on lobbying and campaigning but little has been written on the impact which this has had on business markets and associated activities. The research aims to show how markets can be changed or amended substantially by applying these techniques, processes and strategies to influence government, especially when it has a regulatory role.

viii) The development of government at the European level has given another access point for lobbyists and campaigners into government but with greater influence on core transnational issues like environment, standards etc. This has implications for marketing policy both for the corporation and region in trying to exert influence on regulatory policy. This is explored and warrants further study.

ix) Techniques which have been developed in the political campaigning arena are being increasingly used in commercial and ‘not for profit’ markets for strategic advantage. The literature vaguely alludes to this phenomena but does
not grasp its managerial implications. The research explores how the techniques which have grown in the political marketing area associated with party, candidate and electoral activity have been adapted and applied by a marketing management approach to commercial and not for profit markets.

x) There is no longitudinal study of business to business marketing and/or associated political marketing activity at UK party conferences. The research aims to explore and evaluate increasing commercial activities at party conferences for the benefit of the overall study.

Conclusion

The prime sources of literature and secondary material of published information on lobbying have been assessed in the chapter. In addition, key themes and propositions that have emerged from the review and research are stated. There is very little coherent theory in the management science field to explain the growth of strategic political lobbying or best practice. In addition there is hardly any literature and no research on the role of the party conference as a place for business to business marketing activity or political lobbying.

The next chapter outlines the proposed methods to be used by the study. Layder’s (1993) ‘Research Map’ is proposed in conjunction with interactionalist marketing theory to make coherent sense of the area of study and theory developed.
Chapter Four

Method, Questions and Reflection

‘A proof tells us where to concentrate our doubts’

W.H. Auden, A Certain World

Introduction

A number of methodological problems are faced by the researcher in studying political lobbying. The problems are the complexities of the multi-disciplinary nature of research in the area as the cause for the lack of a consistent development of a cohesive managerial understanding of the strategic importance of lobbying. Secondly there is the methodological difficulty encountered among many professional services, and which political lobbying sees as an important credo that is restricted access and a high level of confidentiality (Pettigrew, 1979). In addition strategic lobbying can frequently go under a number of functional designations and guises within business life, it is comprised invariably of a number of networks and relationships and consequently is difficult to factually measure and evaluate.

Research Strategy

This stage of study is explorative. It aims to build a model of the development of political lobbying and generating ideas and propositions for later empirical tests. In theorising as well as developing a model an inductive rather than a deductive approach is used. The theory building principles of Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Layder (1993) are used alongside a range of appropriate extant models, for instance the ‘Kite’ model
as proposed by Strandvik and Törnroos (1995). The research can be characterised as longitudinal, since it investigates the development of business relationships over time and involves data collection from several periods of activity and sources. In addition a network approach is used throughout the study to explore and understand the political lobbying process. Data collection from interviews, ideographic and quantitative analysis of phenomena at major political gatherings, combined with the literature and materials made available to the research have all contributed to a multi-strategy approach research process which has triangulation (Denzin, 1970) built into it. In order to facilitate the emergence of concepts and theoretical ideas relating to macro-micro linkages, it was deemed essential to cover the empirical areas in question as intensively as possible to stimulate theory development.

Methodological Considerations

The study was embarked upon to understand meanings and to assess and measure strategic lobbying activity and associated phenomena in the UK. It considers where the process fits within the management domain and argues that it appears to be most appropriately seen as part of what has come to be called ‘relationship marketing’ and the political marketing aspects of that area.

The research was stimulated out of an ethnographic conundrum which was observed at a number of party conferences from the mid 1980s, until today: that of the sustained rise in strategic lobbying and public affairs employment being gained by former politically active colleagues and public servants. As the research unfolded it became apparent that lobbying in the UK which historically had been craft orientated (Grunig, 1992) and practised on a piecemeal and limited scale (Souza, 1998) had grown into a significant
business area with a turnover in excess of £1 billion per annum (Mühlbacher, Dahringer and Leih, 1999). This reflected a systematic growth of the function and a rise in its perceived strategic importance within the private and ‘not for profit’ sectors of economic activity.

To evaluate the area it was important to develop a methodology, which considered, what data and associated fieldwork, would assist in mapping out the area of study. At the start of the research there was no accurate list of lobbyists, associated personnel or delineation of the area in the UK. In fact there was only a relatively limited non managerial literature that was directly relevant, this produced some definitions of worth for the research area, but presented the researcher with what Silverman (1985; 9.) would term a typology with many ‘empty boxes’. Jordan et al (1991) and Moloney (1994 and 1996) have begun to fill some of these boxes in this largely empty landscape; firstly with a general profile of the area and the latter particularly with research on the ‘for hire’ aspects of what has come to be called commercial lobbying. This research built on and consolidated much of the earlier work carried out by Berry (1991) and Moore (1991), which had laid many of the foundations of the area particularly associated with commercial lobbying. Moore (1991) in a limited study (one company) makes the useful phenomenological point that a great deal of information and research can be obtained from the prolonged study of lobbying professionals. Although one can be critical and suspicious of the empirical limitations of the study, it does with the work of Jordan (1991), Moloney (1994 and 1996) and others strongly suggest a preferred research method of interviewing those engaged within the lobbying process. Moore also argues that any study of this area must take into consideration the confidentiality aspects of research access, which can have a restrictive impact because of the sensitivities of
operating in the commercial market. This recognition of the potential restraints of access and availability of information were built into the study at an early stage and into the underlying assumptions of the research methodology. Berry (1991) in a separate chapter within his research highlights the growing importance of political conferences as a milieu for lobbying and marketing communication activity. However, his findings have limitations on them, as they are based on qualitative evidence gained through observing the prime UK party political conferences over only one year and consequently there is little measurement or reflection over time in his analysis. In addition these findings and reflections are grounded against only a limited assessment of the literature. After an initial pilot study of these political arenas and review of the associated literature it became evident that there was a need for a more substantial study of these events over time to give a temporal dimension to the research (Halinen and Törnroos, 1995). In adopting this approach it considered that this would allow the research to assess the scale, associated actors, activities, resources (Häkansson, 1982), relationships and linkages with political lobbying and political marketing. This approach is applied in assessing activity at party conferences in Chapter Five. The previous research in the area by UK authors, which is closest to this study raises some useful methodological questions which need to be considered. The limitations of previous work on the topic means that there is no clear pointer to an established and successful research design that explains how to go about research enquiry into political lobbying. Berry (1991) has pointed to definitional questions of accurately isolating the research target. Moore (1991) has used a mixed qualitative/quantitative approach using interviews, documents and business activity data in his profile of one lobbying company, GJW. These earlier researchers along with Moloney (1994) have tended to take the view that there is little that can be quantitatively researched in the area. Rush
(1990) used these methods to survey organisations outside government and examined the activities of pressure groups which has touched upon lobbying activities. More recently John (1998) has surveyed the total subscription list of the Public Affairs Newsletter which has produced some useful data. However, there are reservations about this survey work as the coherence and consistency of the subscription list is not available for scrutiny and is slanted towards commercial consultants and the ‘not for profit’ sector who make-up the bulk of subscribers (John, 1999). Nevertheless even with these reservations it lists the main perceived lobbying functions and roles and gives a snapshot view of who are considered the most professional in the industry and the relevance of various tactics and networks to the profession.

There is only limited research in the area and there is no consistent research method design that emerges for this study. The research to gain validity has therefore adopted a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, grounded against Layder’s model where appropriate to give coherence to the study.

**Research Approach**

Many sociologists including Homans (1950 and 1961) recommend an inductive strategy for building sociological and or social psychology research and theory such as:

1. Observe how people behave in different groups.
2. Develop concepts and generalisations to describe such behaviour.
3. Move on to other groups to confirm, modify, test and augment earlier concepts and generalisations.
This approach was adopted throughout the research although it was recognised that it can if done too prescriptively ignore the fact ‘that all observation is selective, and that more fruitful observations are likely to be made by those already knowledgeable of the area’ (O’Shaughnessy, 1992, p. 272). Consequently observations and research were carried out over time and in a variety of locations and situations throughout the study. This included party political conferences, election rallies, parliamentary and government briefings, conferences and specialist seminars by businesses and ‘not for profit’ organisations.

Goffman (1961a and 1961b) has argued that he sees the inculcated context of the researcher as an essential factor in assessing complex relationships and interaction and the associated situational process. It emerged very early in the research that having a broad background understanding and connections within the political lobbying and marketing area of study is both essential to gain access and to effectively understand and interpret the context of the research and data collected.

It therefore follows that much of this research will be inductive and interpretative and adopt a broad ethnographic approach because of the complex interactive nature of the subject. In making this choice of approach a further consideration is that the complex human networks and relationships explored would not be considered by many social scientists as appropriate for a hypothetico-deductive research model (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe, 1991, Haack, 1993, Silverman 1993 and 1997, Breakwell, Hammond, and Fife-Schaw, 1995 and Flick, 1998).
In developing the research method for the study it was important to look at what approaches could be considered. Arbnor and Bjerke’s (1994) work on conducting empirical research in economics proved particularly fruitful. This is outlined in Figure 2, which outlines how the three research approaches relate to the six philosophical orientations in social sciences on a general level.

Starting from the mid-1980’s the concept of relationship marketing originally applied by Berry (1983) to services marketing and Jackson (1985) to industrial marketing emerged in the marketing literature. The traditional view of marketing as a specialist function was increasingly questioned as a proper basis for strategic and operational marketing planning. As an example, Gummesson (1987), argues for what he calls ‘new marketing’, an approach emphasising business relationships and interaction out of new theories of services marketing, industrial marketing and also out of practical experience and observation. The old marketing concept based on the marketing mix is perceived as too transactional, functionalist and prescriptive as business moves from a structured manufacturing paradigm to a more service orientated and holistic approach. Gummesson (1994) perceives the future shift in the marketing paradigm as in future being more orientated to that shown in Figure 3. He argues that ‘the 4ps and their extensions will always be needed, but the paradigm shift develops their role from that of being founding parameters of marketing to one of being contributing parameters to relationships, networks and interaction’ (p. 9).
Figure 2. The Analytical Approach, the Systems Approach, and the Actor Approach in Relation with Research Perspectives in Social Sciences.

Source: Arbnor and Bierke 1994, 60-62
Figure 3. The Current Marketing Mix (4Ps) Paradigm of Marketing and the Future RM Paradigm.

Source: Gummesson, 1994, 9
The observable weakness of existing business theories in predicting or discovering vital aspects of changing business reality can be pointed to as the major reason for a shift in approach to the study of business disciplines. The significance of the interaction approach (Häkansson, 1982) and network theories (Thompson, Frances, Levacic and Mitchell, 1991 and Kickert, Klijn and Koppenjan, 1997) in providing a new way to understand business disciplines can also be seen to apply to political lobbying which can also be viewed in terms of the new theoretical and empirical assumptions approach.

Borg (1991) argues that the interactional approach to market relationships is one of several shifts in approach to markets which accommodate an understanding of business relationships, especially in industrial markets. The search for alternative business theory which interaction and network related theories represent, can be regarded as a series of problem shifts rather than a change in fundamental aspects of market related theory building. The growing use of network theories in ‘business to business marketing’ provides a relevant example of problem shifts in business research without at the same time abandoning a pluralist view of science. The observable weaknesses of existing business theories in predicting or discovering vital aspects of changing business reality can be identified as the major reason for a shift in approach to the study of business disciplines. Table 5 suggests examples of theoretical and empirical assumptions applying to business-related problem shifts.

It is for these reasons that relationship marketing is suggested as the area where lobbying and political marketing belong within the management discipline.
### Table 5

#### Problem Shifts and Business Theory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Theoretical assumptions</strong></th>
<th><strong>Empirical assumptions</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neoclassical theory of the firm</strong></td>
<td>Profit maximization under perfect or imperfect competition. Performance of 'economic man'.</td>
<td>Firms perceived as cost function, markets perceived as points of exchange subject to maximising behaviour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Behavioural theory of the firm</strong></td>
<td>Theories of behaviour, management control, coalitions, objectives, power and conflicts. Performance of 'administrative man'.</td>
<td>Firms assumed to be organizations; management's satisfying behaviour understood in terms of bounded rationality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transaction cost theory</strong></td>
<td>Transaction-related theory of alternative forms of organizing market-firm relations.</td>
<td>Appraisal of costs re-related to alternative ways of organizing transactions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interaction/network theory</strong></td>
<td>Theory of interaction, and business performance within networks. Satisfying management performance.</td>
<td>Studies of companies' links and positions, competition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition what strengthens this positing is that marketing is perceived increasingly as playing a role in not just traditional consumer and industrial sectors, but also in the ‘not for profit’, public and societal markets.

The research approach relies throughout the study on Layder’s (1993) revised resource map. This is a refinement of Merton’s (1968) ‘middle-range’ and Glaser and Strauss’s (1967) ‘grounded theory’ approaches. Layder is adopted and preferred as he draws on both quantitative and qualitative traditions, theory building and theory testing research, macro and micro-levels of analysis, and so on, by tracing a wider view of the relationship between theory and research. In addition he builds into this three key components which he argues are frequently ignored by much research. These are power, history and general social theory, all of which are of particular relevance in exploring political lobbying. Layder’s model is further used to underpin the development and use of Strandvik and Törnroos’s (1995) KITE model to provide a framework for analysis of relationships and linkage to relationship marketing theory via the use of the embeddness concept and network models.

**Research Strategy for understanding relationships**

What research methods have been used to study relationships before? In industrial marketing research it is carried out through mainly case based analysis of relationships between buyers and sellers in industrial markets. Empirical studies have concentrated on relationships between buyers and sellers, channel relationships and international marketing in dyads and networks. This has been primarily based on a grounded approach in an inductive way (Häkansson, 1982, Ford, 1990 and Axelsson and Easton, 1992). A potential difficulty of using an induction approach is that it is not possible to
verify whether a proposition is universally true (Easton, 1995a), since it is impossible to exhaust the tests to which the proposition may be put. Wittgenstein’s (1953) ‘verification of meaning theory’ is used as one means to assess empirical data and theorising, but its limitations are recognised in that it proposes that explanation and prediction are seen as basic objectives without reference to hidden variables or invisible mechanisms. The exclusion of unobservable factors provides one of the prime contrasts between logical positivism and realism. The study to understand relationships takes as its prime approach that of ‘action orientated research,’ which allows for a deeper understanding of human behaviour of people in real life organisations. When conducting research on an action orientated basis the adopted explanatory model is teleological; it is assumed that the actors are not acting on a stimulus-response model basis. The intentions of the actors have a crucial role in explaining behaviour. The approach is best characterised as an Aristotelian action science or human science ethos. The use of an action orientated approach is supported by Shrivastava and Mitroff (1984) who argue that it is the method that has the most resonance with the management discipline as it is characterised by a preference for subjective, experience based data, and intuitive images of the focal problem. Tikkanen (1996) supports this argument and suggests that management value informal, personal and non standard procedures and pragmatism as opposed to abstract theory. This contrasts strongly with the reference frames of nomothetic researchers who prefer objective, measurable and verifiable data, impersonal, analytic models and well structured scientific theories. This argument is closely related to the concept of access which was potentially one of the research studies largest obstacles to surmount. Gummesson (1991) has suggested that the real importance of access is about proximity to the object of study and being able to effectively appreciate and evaluate what is happening. He argues that by using action
orientated research methods access is substantially increased as opposed to using more
traditional quantitative methods which are limiting. This approach has been applied and
evolved through services marketing research to become that most preferred in research
and theory development in relationship marketing (Gronroos, 1994). This inductive
approach provides the general research philosophy adopted by this study.

This consequently requires a multi-strategy research approach to make sense of the area
and Layder’s (1993) ‘Research Map’ approach which is outlined in Table 6 was found
an appropriate way of meeting this need. This became more apparent as the
investigation unfolded as it gave an early clarity to the research process and consequent
theory development.

The model has four distinct layers, context, setting, situated activity, and self, grounded
in a historic context which represents a shift from the micro to the macro level. All
these layers have a history, each with different time-scales and units of analysis.

Self refers to self-identity and an individual’s social experience, influenced by the other
layers and history. The importance of self-identity is very evident in the interviews in
Chapters 6 and 7 with Public Affairs practitioners, politicians and public servants).

Situated activity is the face-to-face activity, involving symbolic communication by
skilled, intentional participants in the setting. The focus is on the emergent meanings,
## Layder’s Research Map

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Element</th>
<th>Research Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONTEXT</td>
<td><em>Macro social organization</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Values, traditions, forms of social and economic organization and power relations. For example, legally sanctioned forms of ownership, control and distribution; interlocking directorships, state intervention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[See The Sunday Trading Case, Chapter 9, for an example]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SETTING</td>
<td><em>Intermediate social organization</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Work: Industrial, military and state bureaucracies; labour markets; hospitals; social work agencies, domestic labour; penal and mental institutions. Non-work: Social organization of leisure activities, sports and social clubs; religious and spiritual organizations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Seyd, P. &amp; Whiteley, P. (1992), Whiteley, P., Seyd, P. and Richardson, J. (1994) and Ware, A. (1996) are good sources and respectively outline Labour, Conservative and Comparative party organisations and consequent settings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SITUATED ACTIVITY</td>
<td><em>Social activity</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Face-to-face activity involving symbolic communication by skilled, intentional participants implicated in the above contexts and settings. Focus on emergent meanings, understandings and definitions of the situation as these affect and are affected by contexts and settings (above) and subjective dispositions of individuals (below).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[See Chapter Five on Party Conferences]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELF</td>
<td><em>Self-identity and individual’s social experience</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As these are influenced by the above sectors and as they interact with the unique psychobiology of the individual. Focus on life career.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[See Appendix 14 an interview with Paul Tyler MP for a good example]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Layder, 1993, p.72
understandings and definitions of the situation as they affect and are affected by contexts and settings and the self. Layder, argues that in practice selves cannot easily be separated from the social situations in which they are embedded (this is very apparent at party conferences and can be seen in Chapter 5).

Social setting and context represents the wider, macrostructure in which situated activity takes place. Layder emphasises that in traditional grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) the focus has been on situated activity; the social setting and context have been treated as residual issues. He argues that these macro aspects should be thought of as different but complementary aspects of social life, which should be given equal importance. These macro dimensions are characterised by having an ongoing life that is identifiable apart from specific instances of situated activity. Layder also argues that in sociological terms, settings and contexts are in large part made up of reproduced social relations (again very apparent at party conferences, see Chapter Five). For instance the concept of ‘self’ in the multi strategy approach stimulated the regular review of the current role and historic career paths of lobbyists, this proved invaluable in understanding networks and interconnectivity of issues and individuals. This can be seen clearly in Appendix 9, which outlines the backgrounds and career paths of prime cited informants.

The use of Layder’s Research Map approach allowed sense to be made of the disparate literature, to recognise gaps in it and to develop research strategies and techniques to assess the area and phenomena observed. This suggested that the research should more fully assess activities over time at party conferences (1994-98) to understand more
effectively the networks and processes in operation there. It also indicated that one of
the best ways of strengthening the study was to interweave qualitative interviews,
ethnographic exploration and quantitative research into a woven cloth of substantive
evidence. An example of this is that having embarked on interviewing politicians and
officials about the lobbying process, it became apparent that not only public affairs
practitioners (lobbyists) but senior figures in business and not for profit organisations
would have to be included to give a realistic insight into activity. It also indicated that
there was a need, to investigate and write-up a complex case, which had occurred as an
exemplar of situated activity, the time dimension and practice. The case study had to be
mature enough to allow the research to study different activities, situations, and practice
over time. The Sunday Trading case [See Chapter 9] was chosen to meet these research
needs. The case shows clearly the application and strategic importance of political
lobbying and how it was used to market ideas for the competitive advantage of the
large multiples within the retail industry. The concepts and structured approach of
Layder provided a useful and regular method of checking the evidence and core
questions and gaps throughout the study. The adoption of this approach confirmed that a
way of understanding the area was to use a network based research orientation and that
the ‘relationship marketing’ concept seemed to best encapsulate the phenomena,
practice and constructs apparent in the area of study.

Liljander and Strandvik’s (1995) proposed model of seven different types of
relationships, when the buyer is a household/consumer, provided a useful starting point.
Their model perceives three broad categories of relationship:
Valued relation

Indifferent relation

Forced relation

This was found useful in conceptualising the area. It was augmented by the views of Häkansson and Snehota (1995), who define relationship as mutually orientated interaction over time between two parties, involving commitment and interdependence. This provided a useful reference point in helping define the industrial marketing situations in which lobbying plays a role alongside government decision making. This led to the following taxonomy of situations being proposed:

Government as Purchaser or Allocator

Government as Legislator and Framer of Regulations

Government as Initiator of Action

Government and European Legislation and Regulation

Government as Decision Maker

(Harris and Lock, 1995a, pp. 1475-78).

In service encounter research the use of relationships, as a base for empirical studies has been limited. An exception is the work of Miettila and Törnroos (1992) who have explored the temporal dimension and the meaning of time in studies of buyer-seller relationships. Strandvik and Törnroos (1995) have extended this research and devised a tentative model to conduct processual research as well as the context in which the relationships are embedded, the key conceptualisation is outlined in Figure 4 below:
In Figure 4, ‘T’ represents time and ‘R’, relationship.

They list three assumptions that are implicitly or explicitly present in the interaction approach:

1. Interaction is mediated through human actors, which means that their perceptions, beliefs and attitudes and behaviour are central.

2. Business interaction means mutual dependability, problem solving and adaptation.

3. Relationships evolve over time, having the present situation, future goals and their own histories.
They see the first statement as probably valid also for consumer services, the second might not be as important as in industrial relations and the third very important.

Using this approach and grounding it in Layder’s checklist of questions for fieldwork concerning the social setting (pp. 88-89, and 98-99.) they propose the KITE Model:

**Figure 5. The KITE Model – a framework for analysis of relationships.**

(source Strandvik and Törnroos, 1995).

In Figure 5, ‘R’ represents relationships.

The model has three main features:
1. The observed activity (situated activity) has a time-dimension and a context-dimension which both explain and influence what is taking place. If only situated activity is studied as such, much of the insight in what is going on can be lost.

2. The time dimension concerns not only the activity itself, but also with different time scales, the self, and the social setting.

3. The context dimension points to the fact that there is variation in circumstances around the activity, even if this is hidden. For example if we apply this to lobbying a ‘not for profit’ sector experience of presenting an issue at a party conference could be considerably different from that being presented by a private or public sector interest or organisation.

This model was used alongside Layder’s Research Map (1993) to further refine fieldwork and analysis. In addition to aid clarity it was found useful to contrast and compare the central theoretical features of the network approach and the broad body of knowledge referred to as the managerial approach (Burrell and Morgan, 1979) within the context of the marketing discipline. The core features of this are outlined below in Table 7.
## Table 7

### The Managerial Approach and the Network Approach Compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Managerial Approach</th>
<th>Network Approach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objectives</strong></td>
<td>Explanation and prescription of efficient governance structures for the marketing management.</td>
<td>Understanding and description of systems of business relationship from positional and network perspectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perception of Human Nature</strong></td>
<td>Deterministic</td>
<td>Voluntaristic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Epistemological Assumptions</strong></td>
<td>Scientific realism. Logical Positivism. Logical empiricism.</td>
<td>Relativism/realism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>View of Markets</td>
<td>Stimulus-response type, Atomistic markets, Short-term buyer-seller Relationships</td>
<td>Long-term networks of relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level and Unit</td>
<td>Firm, market transaction, Industry, industry subsection, Group of firms, supplier-Buyer business relationship.</td>
<td>Network of relationships Focal net.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus on Structure Vs Process</td>
<td>Static, focus on structure and process.</td>
<td>Dynamic, focus on process and structure.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Tikkanen (1996, pp. 61-62).

**Research Principles**

To research lobbying and business influence on government legislation is clearly contentious and in the past most attempts have resulted in many partial studies, including a large proportion of anecdotal evidence and some very biased comments from the less balanced elements of the press. Thus in attempting this study, one has had to establish trust with a number of potential informants and consequently gain access to sources of information not normally made available. A non intrusive approach was used to build-up access to key participants in the lobbying, corporate, political and government arenas or evidence would have been denied or even worse the validity of comment questioned because it was gained from those of limited experience who would agree to interviews most easily. Methodologically for data collection interpretation and techniques the researcher adopts Hammersley’s (1990 and 1992) revised ethnographic approach.
Researching Political Lobbying: Data Collection

Having discussed the methods and theoretical considerations behind the development of an effective epistemology for the study (Haack, 1993) it is important to look at the prime methods of data collection. It became apparent that given methodological considerations and the apparent gaps in knowledge in the published research [see Chapter 3] that it was essential to collect two forms of primary data. Firstly, that gathered at party conferences, from the counting of quantifiable and visible political lobbying and business marketing activity (i.e. adverts, fringe meetings and exhibitors) which was published in official publications and, which could be analysed statistically (Hooley and Hussey, 1994). In addition associated ideographic qualitative data was collected through attendance at all the annual conferences of the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat parties over the period 1994-98. These are listed in Table 8.

Table 8

UK Party Conferences, attended 1994-98 as part of research

1994
Liberal Democrat Conference, 18-22nd September, Brighton.
Labour Party Conference, 2nd -8th October, Blackpool.
Conservative Party Conference, 11th-14th October, Bournemouth.

1996
Liberal Democrat Party Conference, 22nd-26th September, Brighton.
Labour Party Conference, 29th September - 4th October, Blackpool.
Conservative Party Conference, 8th -11th October, Bournemouth.

1997
Liberal Democrat Conference, 21st -26th September, Eastbourne.
Conservative Party Conference, 7 -10th October, Blackpool.

1998
Liberal Democrat Conference, 20th-25th September, Brighton.
Labour Party Conference, 27th -September – 2nd October, Blackpool.
Conservative Party Conference, 5 -9th October, Bournemouth.
This data gave a rich source of information on both scale, types and varieties of political lobbying activity at the largest regular political gatherings in the UK. The second key source of primary data collection was interviews, which were gained with a range of informants who reflected business and ‘not for profit’ sectors, lobbyists, politicians and public servants. The core findings from these interviews are outlined in Chapter 6 (Lobbyists and Public Affairs) and Chapter 7 (Politicians and Public servants). The interviews were used to explore questions raised by earlier research and to assist in the development of a general theory of political lobbying. Examples of the questioning approach adopted with respondents is outlined in detail in Appendices 9 and 13 and examples of fully transcribed interviews with Paul Tyler MP and Anthony Weale are attached in Appendices 16 and 12. All prime interviews are listed in Appendices 10 and 14 these are available for inspection and further research upon request. Full lists of informants and occasional respondents and suppliers of information are attached in Appendices 8 and 11. It was felt necessary to collect different forms of data from a number of sources during the study (Strauss, 1987) although most of the data in Chapters 6 and 7 is of a verbal variety. Analysis of this data primarily involves the interpretations of words and statements given by informants. Interpretation occurs at two levels (Strauss, 1987 and Pettigrew, 1990). It aims to provide a description of the empirical issues being explored, i.e., giving meaning to things, events and activities in their proper empirical setting. It also aims at building theory from this empirical description, i.e. delineating the phenomenon at a more abstract and conceptual level.

To Hell and Back: Data Collection at Party Conferences 1994-98

To collect data at every party conference over a four year period takes both considerable stamina, an appreciation of conference management an understanding of the political
Throughout the whole of the research period Granada TV gave access to all the party conferences as an accredited member of its regional media broadcasting operation to the researcher. This allowed exceptionally good access to all parts of the conference. The press and official party areas of conference are normally restricted and off limits to many delegates and most attendees of conference. In these areas of the conferences one both gets a flavour of the totality of conference life but can also see access being gained by both the press, guests, lobbyists, officials and politicians.

Although a large amount of ideographic material was gained throughout the conferences for the study, which has assisted in the conceptualisation process, the reason for the attendance at so many conferences over such a period of time was the collection of hard data and temporal impressions and trends (Halinen, 1997). This consisted of listing all adverts published and purchased in the prime official conference documents (obtained from Agenda, Official Party Conference Programme and Fringe/Press Guides); the listing of all fringe events and exhibitors by sector and organisation. This data was verified by visiting daily event lists and through participant observation. A random photographic record of exhibition stands and fringe meetings was kept. In totality this gave a good idea of the scale of activity alongside the prime national political parties in the UK. In addition, attendance at the party conferences gave considerable enhanced access to potential informants and to follow-up previous interviews and interesting issues to be checked out with other respondents. This allowed the research process to be iterative, proceeding from data collection to data analysis and again to data collection and so forth. Working propositions are drawn from concrete empirical instances and tried in the subsequent cycles of investigation (Miles and Huberman 1994) at interview
or in the conferences. In essence the party conferences provided a high quality laboratory where much conceptual thinking and research could be done whilst gathering data.

**Data Collection: Interviews**

Interviews were all face to face and of a focused, semi-structured nature. They all began with an introduction to the basic area being researched and followed with general open-ended questions, the answers to which gave indications of subsequent follow-up questions. Case studies and connectivity between respondents and organisations was developed where appropriate. In addition views on lobbying and marketing and the former's development were normally considered.

It is useful to reiterate that the prime thinking in constructing the interviews and associated questioning was based on Kvale’s (1983) work of using the interview to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee and to describe the meaning of the particular phenomena under examination, in this instance business lobbying. The process of observation adopted by the research was strengthened by reference to Fetterman (1989) and particularly through the application of ‘empowerment evaluation’, which utilises demystification and desensitisation to strengthen investigative validity. The temporality of the research was explored through a narrowing of focus to specific topics which it was important for the research to explore and understand, for instance, history, best practice, case studies, personal observations, position of lobbying within management structure, effectiveness of activity, ethical codes and perceived future developments.
The research relied particularly on the approaches and procedures recommended for qualitative research interviews by King (1994) and Breakwell (1995) which was applied throughout the study. Certain topics were always covered in the interviews. This was not only by question and answer but invariably by encouraging the informants to provide information and/or opinion on the issues surrounding their business or political position. Information-specific interview plans were necessary, since people occupying different posts and with different experience were able to provide information about different activities or situations and also because the questions had to be diverted to those periods during which the informant had participated in interactions. In addition this approach was further strengthened by the use of the political observation approach (Dargie, 1998) at party conferences, Westminster, Whitehall and other centres of political activity and events.

Access to respondents was frequently difficult to obtain for the research, because of the intensity of their work schedules, protocol, status and the political priorities of politicians and civil servants (Dubs, 1989). However as a result of research knowledge and membership of various academic, business, political and regional networks access was gained to a range of respondents that reflected a good mix of active politicians and civil servants. An example of difficulties encountered in gaining interviews can be seen in the attempt made to interview a Labour Party MP and front bench opposition spokesman (who will remain anonymous). The planned interview was cancelled three times over a year, both in London and Manchester with very little notice, each time it was suggested that it be re-arranged, by the office of the MP but was never achievable because of his ever changing schedule and shifting priorities. This could have been misfortune or coincidence. However, it is more likely to be because of either fear of
talking at the time of the operation of the Nolan Committee, or more likely is the impact of the proximity to a general election and the request by the MP’s central party election organisation at Millbank Tower, to minimise all unnecessary interviews for political warfare safety reasons. Interestingly the Labour Party was accused during the period by Conservative MP David Mellor of being so steadfast to avoid divisions, that ‘They clamp their jaws together with Araldite’ (p. 127 Jones, 1997). Formal recorded interviews with Labour Party MP’s were very difficult to arrange from the middle of 1995 onwards. It is probably realistic to conclude that this had more to do with controlling media messages ahead of the 1997 General election campaign, (Jones, 1997 and Butler and Kavanagh 1997), than fears of the Committee of Standards in Public Life (Nolan, 1995a, 1995b, 1996a, 1996b, 1997a and 1997b).

The selection of politician and public official respondents was made predominantly on the basis of their background knowledge of government and ability to understand the complexity of the business world and provide informed opinions. During the research a number of issues impacted upon the availability of politicians for interview and may have restricted access and comment. Most notable of these was the impact of the ‘Cash for Questions Affair’ (Sunday Times, 9th July), which resulted in many MPs and some members of the Lords adopting particularly low profiles or just not allowing ordinary access or interview to journalists or researchers. As a result of the ‘Cash for Questions Affair’ the Committee on Standards in Public Life commonly referred to after the chairman, as the Nolan Committee was established by the then Prime Minister, Rt. Hon John Major to review probity in public life. The Nolan Committee’s first role after establishing its credentials and membership was to look at the workings of the Houses of Parliament, elected representatives, government officials and their standards. As the
Committee carried out its remit so it also assessed the workings of the civil service and other public bodies to evaluate whether policy making and associated management was being unduly influenced by outside pressures. Consequently during the period of researching the operation of effective lobbying and public affairs a number of potential respondents became increasingly illusive and particularly unenthusiastic to candidly reflect on the area.

However, as a result of increased access through attendance at party conferences and the consequent credibility this leant the research, which was deemed by most respondents as a long-term project and thus not a threat, this potential difficulty was surmounted. Interestingly, a number of politicians also became more prepared to talk to the media about their particular views on lobbying and were happy to reiterate these views to the researcher. Some of these comments were very party political and others naive. An anonymous respondent even went so far as to suggest ‘that when Labour is elected all lobbying will be banned.’

Thus, availability of quality interviews and access could have been a potential pitfall for this research. However, as a result of the researchers impartiality, persistency and the use of all political and business connections to arrange the interviews eight politicians were interviewed in depth and a further ten interviewed on an informal basis at political conferences and events over the period 1995 to 1998.
In the fieldwork, no correspondent vetoed any area of questioning or refused to consider any question. But some did occasionally appear uncomfortable, change the subject or answer with over-enthusiasm.

The interview strategy adopted was iterative in the following ways. At individual interviews theoretically interesting topics and comments were the focus of several questions. In addition within the same frame of respondents some topics emerged frequently. Amongst the elected politicians Standards in Public Life emerged as a common theme of interest amongst MPs over the period 1995-97. It became clear from the layering of iteration that patterns and linkages in the data were discernible and could sustain useful analysis. Subjects dealt with in this way included; the relative influence and importance of MPs and civil servants on government decisions in business markets; access to government ministers; the influence of regulation, evaluation of campaigns and the growth of strategic lobbying.

Chapter 6 is based on the findings from a set of interviews and discussions with leading Public Affairs practitioners carried out over the period 1995 to 1998. All those quoted gave permission for the publication of these interviews as part of this research. A complete set of transcripts is available for inspection and upon written request can be sought for future research. Because of the commercially sensitive nature of some of the interviews and the candour of correspondents it is requested that none of the interviews are reproduced or cited without written permission from the author.

Access to these correspondents is normally very difficult to obtain because of their seniority within their own organizations. Many, for instance Chris Hopson of Granada,
are board members or report direct to their chief executive officer (CEO) as in the case of Anthony Weale of ICI Plc. Their time is at a premium, work schedules are frequently very demanding and the range of business and international commitments restricts access and availability to them. Appointments frequently have to be made specifically to fit their schedules and are often six months in advance or more. In many instances because of the competitive and confidential nature of the work involved in public affairs for their respective organizations these individuals are highly guarded at giving interviews. Trust and respect in the researcher has to be built up over time for an effective relationship to be established before managers of this seniority are prepared to make available time and share relatively confidential information with researchers. A close relationship had been built up with all informants through business, policy and research networks over time to obtain this level of access and information. The majority of the informants were interviewed on more than one occasion, which allowed further depth to be gained in questioning around core features and themes that had emerged in previous meetings and questioning over the period of the research. In addition a number of the respondents were met on a regular basis at party conferences, public events or professionally throughout the period and regularly contributed to further informing and refining the research.

To add to the researchers level of understanding of the issues and procedures raised by respondents background research was maintained throughout the study by collecting and sifting a broad range of UK published newspaper, magazine and specialist parliamentary press articles and items on public affairs. In addition, material was collected from UK businesses, public sector and ‘not for profit’ organisations on public
affairs campaigns. This was supported by material obtained from UK and EU government offices throughout the study.

The selection of respondents was made predominantly on the basis of their knowledge of public affairs and seniority within their respective organization. All prime respondents were at a very senior level of responsibility within their company and were able to give a strategic view of the organizations business and outline how their function contributed towards competitive advantage. The complete list of informants represent a broad spectrum of UK based businesses, encompassing, catering, chemical and oil, construction, hotels and leisure, media, professional services, retailing, telecoms and utility industries. In addition informants from the public and ‘not for profit’ sectors were interviewed throughout the research to cross check the validity of informants comments and to ensure the research reflected the breadth of what was emerging in the political lobbying industry. The respondents were selected on their ability to contribute to both a longitudinal research approach to gathering data (Pettigrew, 1985) and their openness to discussing such key socially constructed factors as human beliefs, behaviours, perceptions and values which Hirschman (1986) has argued contributes to the quality of good marketing research. In addition the work of Holbrook (1995) was used to guide the process of observation and research throughout the period of the research.

Confidentiality

All respondents agreed to be recorded on audio tape for the accuracy of the research and a full transcription was made and sent to the informant for correction and comment. Interestingly of the forty taped interviews throughout the period only two came back with corrections, although a number did suggest they would like to amend the
transcription, but never got round to it. All respondents were told that any information given would be treated in the strictest confidence if desired. However no correspondent has asked for the material not to enter the public domain so all material used in this research is attributable.

Gaining Access to Respondents

To gain access to this discreet area, trust is an essential factor. This has been cultivated over a number of years by the author via personal contacts previously earned through past activities at executive and vice chairmanship nationally of one of the major political parties and associated groupings. Political contacts from student politics days, candidacy in the 1992 General Election and 1995 European Elections, research writing collaborators and members of the media have also assisted in gaining access for the researcher.

Throughout the period of research many respondents in addition to the usual confidentiality of the area were reluctant to talk to researchers because of the activities of the Committee on Standards in Public Life (Nolan) and media fascination with lobbying activity and the morality of elected politicians and public servants. As a result of the embeddedness of the researcher in the political process this did not cause any research difficulties.

Secondary Data Collection

Documents

Throughout the research relevant documents were researched and access gained. Of particular use was the various reports and transcripts of the Nolan and Neill Committee
Reports (1995-98) which gave substantial insight into government, business and lobbying activity in the UK. In addition politicians, businesses and public servants, which gave a substantive insight into the networks and relationships within the area of research, provided documents.

**Coding and Categorising data**

The collection of information from party conferences produced large quantities of raw data for the research, which was catalogued and evaluated to provide ‘context’ and ‘setting’ to the investigation and this became a major resource for the study. In addition to collecting hard data on advertisers, exhibitors and fringe meetings large amounts of material and information was collected on most organisations in attendance. This was dated and categorised as background material for the study and allowed case studies on particular issues to be developed. In addition the materials supplied much of the ‘setting’ for the interviews and issues discussed. The forty taped interviews lasted between 5 and 45 minutes and generated between 4 and 20 pages of typescript. Other interviews were of a shorter length and normally more explicit as they dealt with more focused questioning on specific points of interest. In total approximately 150,000 words of transcribed interviews from business managers, lobbyists, politicians and public servants were obtained during the research which formed the core primary data set used in Chapters 6 and 7. As part of the ideographic research approach adopted throughout the fieldwork the richness and validity of the data obtained from informants at interview was used to develop substantive illustrative exemplars of the core features and themes which emerged.

Finally, connections between the concepts or between empirical phenomena were used
to show temporal, logical and explanatory relationships between different concepts and events in the data. The coding proceeded along the open coding principles suggested by Strauss (1987) and Layder (1993). This means certain analytical questions were posed when coding the transcripts. The transcripts were analysed in detail and the coding was regularly interrupted in order to write theoretical notes on the emerging concepts and the relationship between those concepts. Given the richness of the data provided by informants in the prime interviews it was felt more appropriate to use a more ethnographic approach to the material and to use sections of each interview to outline context, setting, situated activity and self (Layder, 1993). Consequently long quotes and sections of argument are taken from the transcriptions and used as rich text to augment the emerging analysis and features outlined in Chapters 6 and 7.

The people interviewed are experts in the field of study; their experience, conceptions and self-reflection form an important base of empirical data for the study. In validating data and information collected Silverman’s (1993) approach of counting phenomena observed and qualitative research is used to ensure realistic triangulation of data.

**Conclusion**

There is a need for empirical research that aims at describing and explaining the development of political lobbying and outlines its emerging role within our more complex and global society. The focus of this study is political lobbying and its increasing market and strategically orientated role as part of the marketing process. A research methodology for a exploratory, longitudinal and network orientated study is proposed based on the approaches of Glaser and Strauss (1967), Håkansson (1982),
Hammersley (1990), Layder (1993), Strandvik and Törnroos (1995) and Tikkanen (1996). This is used to underpin theory development, which is outlined in Chapter 9. The study aims to build a model of the development of political lobbying and to generate theory which can be tested empirically. The research draws upon Layder’s (1993) ‘Research Map’ approach to underpin validity. This model has four distinct layers, self, situated activity, setting and context, grounded in an historic context.

The research methodology outlined in Chapter 4 is now used to explore the empirical data in Chapters 5 on party conferences and activities of business to business marketing and lobbying observed at these events. This plays a complementary role in support of organised political lobbying activity. A comprehensive survey of phenomena observed at these events is listed and analysed.
Chapter Five

The New Market Place

Business to Business Marketing and Lobbying at Party Political Conferences: An Assessment of Activity

‘Laws are like sausages. It is better not to see them being made’


Tony Blair addresses Barbara Castle’s 85th Birthday Party at the Labour Party Conference, Blackpool, 1996, sponsored by Granada TV
Introduction

UK Political Party Conferences are one of the most visible areas where businesses, organisations and political parties can be seen interacting with each other. UK Party Conferences as a result provide a good research laboratory in which to investigate strategic lobbying and how it functions using not only observation and interviews, but also data collection and subsequent analysis. The Party Conference environment acts as both a communications conduit for the sharing and swapping of information as well as policy positioning and opinion exchanges. Of particular relevance to this research is the way in which conferences act as a market place where politicians, organisations and interest groups can gain easy access to each other and exchange views and ideas with one another. Consequently, it is perhaps the ultimate network opportunity for those interested in government, political processes and the formation of policy. The annual Party Conference is a forum where businesses, ‘not for profit’ organisations and other organised interest groups can communicate their views to politicians and supporters and directly feed them into the party decision and policy making process. This chapter is an investigation into that process.

Background Literature and Research on Business or Lobbying Activities at UK Political Party Conferences

Surprisingly there is very little academic research on business or ‘not for profit’ organisational activity and exhibitions at Party Conferences and even less on the effectiveness or use of lobbying at these major political events. The work which has been published is relatively recent and limited to a descriptive overview of marketing features at Party Conferences by Harris and Lock (1995) or conferences as an avenue

The great bulk of written material about Party Conferences and rallies in the UK has, not surprisingly, been written by political journalists, and has concentrated on the popular reportage of the politics. Anthony Bevin (1996) of The Independent provides a good example of this, in his article ‘Shirt sleeved Major rallies the Tories to his cause’, reporting on the casual style of John Major at a Conservative Party Conference Rally.

In addition, the press report the occasional feature article on topical issues. During the period of the research examples were Andrew Adonis and Patrick Wintour (1996) of The Observer, on ‘Paddy Ashdown and his plans’; Michael Jones (1994) of the Sunday Times on the ‘Political battlefield for the middle class vote’; Peter Riddell and Philip Webster (1996) of the Times on Norman Tebbit’s ‘Advice to John Major on how to beat
Labour’. On a day to day basis the journalists concentrate on output to be broadcast or printed in the short term, for instance, Andrew Rawnsley, (1994) of The Guardian ‘On ditching electoral liabilities’; Ewen MacAskill (1994) then of The Scotsman on the ‘Labour Party Conference appeal of Tony Blair’; and Michael White (1996) of The Guardian on ‘Over media conscious politicians’. This output of journalistic writing, inevitably focuses on political events, issues and politicians of interest to their audience and in the case of the specialist press their focused readers. In addition, there are thumbnail sketches of the conference, which often include reportage on characters and interesting moments interpreted and observed during the event. Examples of this style of journalism can be seen in, Matthew Parris (1996) of The Times on Chancellor Kenneth Clarke’s speech or Simon Hoggart (1996) of The Guardian on artificially stimulated applause for cabinet minister performances and presentations. The sketch writers have also occasionally, teamed-up with cartoonists to produce a book full of insights into the presentation of political personalities at Party Conferences, Bell and Hoggart’s ‘Live Briefs’(1996) is a good example of this style.

In addition many journalists have written well reviewed books on aspects of the Thatcher, Major and Blair election campaigns and can provide useful sources of secondary data. These works have the occasional section on, and often specifically refer to events at Party Conferences (Fairlie, 1968; Watkins, 1991), but are increasingly being dominated by the reporting of the use of conferences as presentational platforms for the marketing of leaders and their policies (Thatcher 1983; Tyler 1987; Pearce 1992; Jones, N. 1995; Cathcart; 1997 and Jones, N. 1997). A number of leading journalists and political commentators have been attending conferences for many years and see the three weeks of Party Conferences, (normally from the third week in
September to the second week in October) as an annual campaign. These commentators use it as an opportunity to see how the parties and their respective supporters are responding to the pressures of power or lack of it. Professor Anthony King of Essex University, writes during the conference season for the Daily Telegraph. He commented that he had been attending Party Conferences for more than thirty years and could remember the start of commercial activity at Party Conferences (Anthony King, 9th October 1996, in conversation, Conservative Party Conference). John Cole, the former chief political correspondent of the BBC also expressed his personal view that the conference season was very tiring for journalists, who in many instances, also cover the pre-Party Conference TUC and post party season CBI conferences. Cole said that he had been ‘doing the Party Conference round for over twenty years and it took its toll, physically and mentally on you’ (John Cole, 3rd October 1994, in conversation, Labour Party Conference). He confirmed that some journalists got bored and or irritated if there was nothing interesting to report while they were on this campaign schedule – ‘therefore some of them might try and make the news or force individuals to reveal or say things they might regret’. Cole also supported the view that all conferences ‘were becoming increasingly presentational’ and ‘increasing amounts of corporate activity and lobbying was a trend’ at Party Conferences, but that serious journalists would usually only be interested in reporting key political events, insights into decision making or personalities rather than public affairs work.

Many leading commentators have substantial reflective experiences to build into any analysis of lobbying and marketing activity at Party Conferences. Unfortunately much of that observation and knowledge has not been recorded or is only available orally to researchers. Reportage of political conferences is increasingly focused on the
presentational aspects and personalities at the event. This is facilitated by spin
doctoring, and the production deadlines of the more structured media, with not only the
desire to serve readers or viewers but also an element of laziness on the part of
journalists (Holmes, 1997 and Bourdieu, 1998). This has meant reportage of
commercial activities at conferences has been seen as peripheral unless such activities
add to the main story like sleaze. However, conversations with journalists and business
figures do indicate that the growth of commercial activity at Party Conferences area
began in the UK in the 1980s, first at Conservative Party Conferences and then at the
new Social Democratic Party (SDP) events. This commercial activity from 1990
onwards emerged as a feature at Liberal Democrat and Labour Party Conferences.
Interestingly the Labour Party was slow to develop this area for a number of reasons,
one of which was that various interest groups did not want to sell exhibition space to
what they saw as groups opposed to their members views or the party’s policy. For
example, the unions associated with Royal Mail, (Communications Union and its
forerunners) did not want private competitors attending the Labour Party Conference, so
they ensured that carriers such as DHL and UPS were not allowed to exhibit. In addition
News International and its associated organisations like TNT were effectively persona
non grata for a number of years at Labour Party Conferences. This tactic of ‘blocking’
various exhibitors clearly caused some confusion and image problems for Labour when
it came to sell exhibition space. This situation has largely been resolved with the so
called ‘modernisation’ of the Labour Party resulting in the 1997 conference commercial
exhibition area being the largest ever seen at this type of event in the UK.

A significant source of useful information on Party Conference activity is in politicians’
biographies. There has been a large number of these in recent years, the most well
received being those by Healey (1990), Jenkins (1991), Lawson (1992), Baker (1993),
Thatcher (1993) and of course Clark (1993). However, most of the material published by these authors is focused, primarily, on political events or incidents and gives little insight into commercial activities at conference. The exceptions are one or two who do refer to sponsored receptions they attended, who they saw, and how they felt the intensity and pressures of the Conference and the Headquarters Hotel (Baker, 1993 p. 292-299). The Right Honourable Alan Clark MP is perhaps the most illuminating about what ministers get out of conferences. He wrote on Tuesday, 4th October 1983, that he had a new boyish looking haircut that made him look younger and ‘am looking forward to Conference next week at Blackpool. My first as a minister, to swagger and ponce’ (Clark, 1993, p. 44.). Alan Clark’s piece is typically idiosyncratic and sardonically amusing. However, most autobiographical and biographic works in this area give little insight into commercial activity or lobbying at Party Conferences. A number have been criticised for being poorly written, if not ghosted, and they are often egotistical with some evidence of selective memory retention evident (Rosenbaum, 1997).

The bulk of academic research on Party Conferences has come from political scientists and focuses primarily on political issues, although, Kelly (1989 and 1994) has researched the organisational structure of Conservative Party Conferences and associated policy making. Jones and Kavanagh (1998) have assiduously commented that they see the role of the conference as an annual rallying of the faithful and a public relations exercise in which the leader receives a standing ovation, ‘a regulation ten minutes for Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s and an impression of euphoric unity is assiduously cultivated for public consumption’ (pp.188-189).
Kavanagh (1996a) has more recently noted the continued unrepresentative nature of delegates at Party Conferences, which he believes, has led increasingly to isolated political leaders misjudging public opinion.

From being the best seaside blood sport in the early 1980s, Labour Conferences now resemble the Conservative Conference which Labour once ridiculed. The object of the gathering is less to debate policy or political strategy than to project an image of party unity and strong leadership - above all on television.


There is little in the political science area which sheds light on commercial activities at Party Conferences. The bulk of secondary source material on these events focuses on political communication issues and just occasionally organisational management. Political scientists tend to concentrate and focus on political phenomena and the rituals of conferences rather than the events and features which are emerging outside the main conference hall.

However, Kline (1997) reflects on the use of the conference for political marketing and the use of seasoned communications professionals to shape the campaign into a consistent and coherent communications process. He argues that there is a long-standing flow of agency and public relations experts and gives examples of Tony Schwartz and the Saatchis’ involvement. Kline argues that these professionals and personalities ‘transferred their experience and ideas from the promotional sector into the back rooms’ of political campaigning. Kline advocates that they are a primary indication of a bridge between the previously discrete spheres of consumer and political marketing - forging a more synthetic political marketing paradigm (pp.139).
An early indication of this overlap with the advertising and communications world can be seen in Scammell (1995), who has written about the use of media management and professionalism at Party Conferences to market clear political messages. She reports the introduction at the 1982 Conservative conference of the Head Up Display Unit, known as the sincerity machine, which had been pioneered by Ronald Reagan. It allows the speaker to read his/her text from unobtrusive, transparent perspex screens, thus creating the illusion that the orator is speaking without notes. Scammell in her book ‘Designer Politics’ highlights the increased professionalism being applied to the projection of coherent political messages at Party Conferences, and argues that increasingly the marketing concept is being vigorously applied to these events and all political campaigning.

More recently, Stanyer and Scammell (1996) have carried out research on political fringe meetings at Party Conferences and their consequent impact on the media and policy development. Although the prime focus of the work is on the evaluation and promotion of new policy ideas and issues through the use of the fringe to the Conservative and Labour Parties, and their consequent reportage by the media, they also highlight the growth of commercial interests at Party Conferences. Their research assesses the number of fringe meeting events held by sub category at the 1986 and 1995 conferences. What emerges from the preliminary analysis is that there has been a large scale increase in corporate pressure group activity and associated lobbying at Party Conferences indicated by the number of fringe meetings sponsored at each event. Stanyer and Scammell (1996) compare data from 1986 and 1995 and show that there has been a 73 per cent rise at Conservative Party Conferences and a 75 per cent increase
at Labour Party Conferences in fringe meeting activity over the period. They argue that 70 per cent of this growth of new fringe meetings at the Labour Party Conference was organised by corporate interests, pressure groups, charities, trade unions, trade associations, the media and research centres or think tanks. The study is driven by the need to look at how policy is being formulated, and, only as a by-product, notes the growth of corporate activity at conferences. Regardless of this limitation it is the only piece of published research work in this area.

If we look at journalistic output in the area, writers very rarely comment on the business and organisational activities at Party Conferences. They may include a passing reference to some of the exhibition stands as a background pastiche to an article on the Conference but there is little more depth than that. Occasionally there has been a piece on the formal lobbying of Conference in the press, and recent articles have included, Animal Rights Protests (The Times, 3rd October 1997), Anti Landmine Campaigning (The Guardian, 3rd October 1997), and Pensioners (The Times, 2nd October 1997).

Lobbying of conferences by angry farmers (organised by the NFU) campaigning for government support for the beef industry (Conservative Party Conference 1996) and workers protesting at the closure of their pits (South Wales Miners) or steel mill (Gartcosh) have all been observed during the research.

However, the less overt activity of discreet organisational lobbying at Party Conferences has rarely been reported or researched. There has been one recent notable exception and that is the work carried out by the respected BBC Political Correspondent, Michael Cockerell and his television documentary report for the BBC
'A Word in the Right Ear' (1996). In it he looks at the campaign to stop Post Office privatisation as a case study in political campaigning and lobbying. The campaign was discreetly managed by Lowe Bell Ltd on behalf of the Communications Workers Union from 1994 to 1997. The documentary has a section which looks at the growth of commercial activities at Party Conferences and how such activities are increasingly important for the political parties as income generators and as suppliers of information to the decision and policy making process. Cockerell argues that the counter Post Office Privatisation Campaign made decisive use of the Party Conferences and activists to stop the then President of the Board of Trade, Michael Heseltine MP, from privatising Royal Mail.

Cockerell reports that Sir Tim Bell (recently made a life peer), took personal charge of the campaign. He was a strong supporter of Margaret Thatcher and known to dislike Michael Heseltine who he had perceived as having brought about her downfall. Neil Lawson was the campaign manager within Lowe Bell for Royal Mail. Lawson is a former aide to the current Chancellor, Gordon Brown MP and has close links to the new Labour Government team via the HM Treasury. Lawson now runs his own public affairs company which reflects very much the embeddedness concept in operation. Cockerell argues that there were more lobbyists at the 1996 Conservative Party Conference than delegates, which although difficult to validate, this research would deem highly probable.

The annual Party Conferences in the UK are the largest yearly political gatherings or rallies in Europe, with over 21,000 people being reported as having attended the post election victory Labour Party Conference in Brighton in late September 1997 (The Guardian, 1st October and Economist, 4th October 1997). Much of the research
published on Party Conferences (Minkin, 1978; Kelly, 1989 and 1994, Morris, 1991; Kavanagh, 1996b, Stanyer and Scammell 1996 et al) and extensive press coverage concentrates on the communication of political messages to delegates and members, the media and electorate.

The literature and research in the area on commercial activities at Party Conferences as has been argued earlier is very limited. There has been no systematic attempt to observe or measure what is happening in terms of lobbying or business activity at Party Conferences. However, there is a distinct area of research which has emerged in recent years on the use of marketing techniques and their incorporation into the promotion of not only politicians but also policy and the effective use of the managed rally or Conference for political marketing purposes.

An assessment of business and organisational lobbying and associated activities at the UK Party Conferences has so far not been carried out. The following attempts to bridge that gap in knowledge.
Research at the 1994-1998 Conferences - Context and Setting

UK annual Party Conferences originally developed as policy making fora and meeting place for activists, members, party interests and politicians alike. Increasingly the role of the conference has changed (Kavanagh, 1996a). The Conservative Conference has long been a platform for the presentation of party policy and politicians. It is stage managed for maximum media impact and has very little member debate. The recent exception to this purely presentational trend is the post election defeat debate at the Conservative Party Conference, Blackpool in 1997. A similar trend highlighting the lack of debate has increasingly become the norm in the Labour Party post their 1992 election defeat and is increasingly the case within the third party the Liberal Democrats, as it gets closer to power.

Political Rally or Annual Business Lobbying Convention?

Party Conferences are formal annual events with their own set of rituals and rules and part of that process is being seen and making contacts at key meeting points in the event, especially receptions or private parties. Such venues also provide an ideal opportunity for people to meet from the business and political world and keep up to date their network of contacts and information sources. Annual UK Party Conferences now see substantial attendance from key figures in industry, charities and the public sector. At the 1996 Labour Party Conference ahead of the May 1997 General Election, major figures from industry were observed as part of the research and reported in many instances by the press. These included the Chief Executives of British Airways, BAA, Granada Group, Sainsbury’s, United Utilities et al, Richard Branson of Virgin, Rupert Murdoch of News International and senior members of Liffe, Europe’s largest Futures
and Options Exchange were all reported at the post election Labour Party Conference in September 1997 (The Guardian, 29th September, p. 9).

This is not surprising as Party Conferences are annual events that can be planned ahead in diaries and schedules for decision makers and influencers to attend. In addition, certain points on an agenda are obvious attractors to various interest groups. For instance, the Prime Minister’s and the Chancellor of the Exchequer’s key speeches, as well as their opposite numbers in the other parties, are scheduled on days which have particular appeal to foreign dignitaries and businesses not only because of the perceived status they receive, but also because of the insight into the workings of Government and the development of policy. Such policies could impact upon their organisation [see Table 10] and interests in attending at particular policy sessions. At the 1997 post election victory Conference held by the Labour Party, the session, which included the new Prime Minister, Tony Blair’s speech, was an all ticket event in the Conference Hall, with the less well connected or known watchers and apparatchiks being given access to one of three nearby overflow cinemas in a multiplex where they were able to hear and view the address. Ambassadors, senior visiting dignitaries, leading correspondents, (especially those deemed influential or sympathetic to Labour), and leading business figures were given seats in the main conference hall, or in the case of Labour supporters were sold seats in return for a party donation.

**Research Access to Party Conferences – Observing Situated Activity**

The research was undertaken at all the major annual UK Party Conferences between September 1994 to October 1998 and was supported by Granada TV. Granada’s support was crucial in gaining entry to the conferences as an accredited member of the media,
which allowed privileged access to the press office, political press briefings, full copies of politicians’ speeches and easy entry to receptions and fringe events. This enabled quality research to be conducted by participant observation and the collection of substantial primary and secondary data throughout the events.

A good example of the research advantages of such access can be assessed by the accuracy and quality of the data obtained. Accurate information could be gained directly from the press office; and if they could not answer queries they would find somebody who could. This level of access and detailed communication response is designed to specifically service media needs and is not available to the normal party delegate or those with observer status (this latter category covers the majority of exhibitors, researchers and occasional attendees at Party Conferences). During the research it was found through participant observation that journalists, lobbyists and politicians gave their time more readily to accredited media representatives than they would do to those with observer or delegate status. This was partly the result of privileged access to events or parts of the conference at which these individuals and groups congregated. Moreover the media is seen as being of particular interest to people attending the conference because of their prime communications role and consequent privileged position (Packard, 1957, McLuhan, 1964, Curran and Seaton, 1997). In addition, not being a party delegate or observer, but a bona fide representative of a major television group, meant that research access and information was readily made available by other members of the media, lobbyists, ‘not for profit’ campaigners, business interests, party members, diplomats and foreign visiting dignitaries. These people invariably liked talking or being associated with the media, consequently, substantial amounts of background information and data for the research were obtained,
which allowed a more rigorous conceptualisation of the theoretical constructs necessary to assess lobbying and business to business marketing activity at Party Conferences.

A good example of quality access and information in the ‘not for profit’ area is that at one point the research was able to assess rapidly, how and why the ‘Movement of Live Animals Campaign’ had developed. To explore this issue, information was obtained from the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) exhibition stand which was supported by a full briefing from their chief parliamentary officer (Rhona Mcdonald), who outlined the various stages in the campaign and made available the latest briefing paper on the subject. The research issue was further explored by visiting the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) stand and interviewing Richard Ryder of the International Fund for Animal Welfare who was relaxing there. He gave a very full global pressure group perspective on the topic. The research was then strengthened by interviewing an official of the NFU to obtain the farmers perspective on the issue and subsequent attendance at the European Commission Reception and fringe meeting. A comprehensive briefing session was attended and observed on the European perspective on the transportation of animals. Additional research was gained at fringe meetings and receptions throughout that week which covered the subject or interest area of animal welfare or campaigning. This access allowed a realistic and rounded picture of the policy issues and decision making procedure on the transportation of animals to be obtained in a few hours from informed opinion which would have been very difficult to obtain in such depth. In addition, the people one discussed these issues with were often regarded as the leading experts in their respective fields.
Attendance at the Party Conferences also allowed complex strategic business issues to be explored, a greater depth of enquiry to be obtained and interesting issues and avenues more fully researched. An example of this was at London Weekend Television’s (LWT) select lunch time reception for senior Conservative politicians and officials (LWT is owned by Granada Group) at the 1995 Conservative Conference in Bournemouth. An interview with a junior minister and, separately, one of his officials about how lobbying worked in information technology industries, was obtained. The interviews confirmed earlier research observations and findings. The research was further strengthened by attendance at a fringe meeting on Information Technology where a presentation by, Ian Taylor MP, Under Secretary for Trade and Technology at the DTI was observed which confirmed that certain corporate industries (telecoms predominantly) and interests had directly influenced the development of a particular policy. These interests were represented in the back of the room watching the minister outline how he saw policy unfolding.

**The Increasing Scale of Party Conferences**

The statistics are startling. On top of the 1317 accredited delegates, 14,500 visitors and 2000 journalists, party staff and police bring the total to 23,000 - the largest political conference in Britain

Michael White (29/9/97 The Guardian p. 9).
Labour’s Conference in 1997 was quite exceptional. It was packed full of political watchers and professional voyeurs and was very much the national victory celebration after the party had been out of power for eighteen years. It had a new, young leader and followed one of the largest ever electoral landslides in UK political history. Conservative and Labour Party Conferences during the period of the research had attendances in excess of 10,000 people attending with those ahead of the 1997 General Election being significantly larger than usual.

The Conservative Conference held in Bournemouth in 1996, gives some interesting insights into the scale of Party Conferences in the UK. Conservative Central Office issued the following background statistics during the event, this data correlates with the information that the BBC’s Michael Cockerell collected for the documentary discussed earlier.

Relevant statistics on the 1995 Conservative Conference

* Over 11,000 people were accredited to attend the conference.
* 2,000 press and media passes were issued.
* Nearly 300 events, meetings and receptions took place during conference week.
* Only 4 towns or cities are large enough to accommodate the Conservative Conference - Bournemouth, Birmingham, Blackpool and Brighton
* The CPC book shop transports 5,500 items from London to its Conference stand.
* In 1994, 16,000 guests attended 80 receptions during conference week in the Highcliff Hotel.

The Liberal Democrat Party Conferences are scaled down versions of the larger two parties events but still attract interest on a wide scale. An indication of the size of Liberal Democrat conferences can be seen in Table 9 below.

**Table 9**

**Attendance of Representatives at Liberal Democrat Conferences 1992-7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Harrogate</td>
<td>1475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Torquay</td>
<td>1596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td>1747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>1369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td>1753</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


One can assume that with day visitors, observers, exhibitors, guests, media et cetera this is likely to rise by a factor of at least three. This would mean the total attendance at the Brighton 1997 Conference would be in the order of 7-8,000 people. (Confirmed to author by Liberal Democrat Party sources).

Watchers and lobbyists are attracted by certain key informative sessions to Party Conferences. Conference days with special statements or presentations by Ministers on their Policy Portfolios i.e. Health, Environment, Disability, Trade and Industry, Science, Arts, Aid, Education et cetera attract the interests and lobbies associated with the respective policy area, although normally policy is well defined ahead of most speeches. However, there is a view that to be present when ministers make public statements and
be near them and their associated advisors and government servants, when statements are made, gives insight into policy thinking, future interpretation and can aid influence (this view was confirmed at interview with business and ‘not for profit’ lobbyist informants). Interested organisations will invariably have a reception ahead of a particular ministerial policy address to gather support and gauge opinion amongst activists or sometimes afterwards as part of an ongoing commitment to reviewing issues that impact upon their organisation. The research noted PowerGen, Safeways, BAA and Sallingbury Casey (lobbyist group) in operation at the 1996 Conservative Party Conference ahead of sessions in the Conference that might be of interest to them.

If the organisation has an exhibition stall it may well use this as a base from which to promote the organisations views or to provide information. A good example of how this works can be seen in the following case.

**North East of England Supermarket Case**

At the 1996 Labour Conference, the research observed a public affairs manager of a large supermarket, being approached by a North East councillor who said that a rival supermarket had been blocked from gaining planning permission to build in her town. The council, it was argued, would prefer the public affairs manager’s company to develop the site and would the retailer like to put in an application. The public affairs manager thanked the councillor and got on her mobile phone to the company’s group site planning department to feed the information back. Indeed, they were very interested and two years later that company’s supermarket is on that site and trading.

The conference fringe can be used to host a meeting on the cause or policies you favour or support with other organisations. In addition, adverts may be taken in the parties
publications supporting a particular view or championing a cause. In 1996 the anti gun
lobby was very active using these tactics to support initiatives, post the Dunblane
school massacre, to urge the abolition of hand guns.

An overview of the shape of Party Conferences can be seen in Table 10, which outlines
the 1996 Labour Party Conference agenda by policy issue and known key groups
represented at the conference who had a strong interest in a particular section of the
conference agenda. The table highlights the potential corporate and ‘not for profit’
groups with an interest in particular parts of the conference proceedings. It is worth
noting that many of the utility companies held meetings ahead of, or after, not only the
main Trade and Industry Debate, but also post the session on the environment. The
utility companies were watching for statements on increasing competition in their
sector, enhanced powers for regulators, future extent and direction of windfall profit
taxes as well as pollution and environmental protection initiatives. One major utilities
company board and selected senior managers had a private dinner at the Imperial Hotel
with Labour politicians and policy advisers on the evening of Wednesday 2nd October
after the Environment debate (based on research observation and non attributable
discussion with utilities employees).
### Table 10

**Policy Sessions and Interests in Attendance at the Labour Party Conference,**

Blackpool, Monday 30th September to Thursday 3rd October 1996

#### Monday 30th September

The Official Conference opening

- Health and Community Care (Chris Smith MP)
  - BMA, RCN, RCM, Unison etc.
- Stakeholder Economy (Gordon Brown MP)
  - CWS, BNFL, Sainsburys, utility companies, Federation of Small Businesses, IOD, Lloyds etc.
- Economic Policy (Margaret Beckett MP)
- Rights at Work

#### Tuesday 1st October

- Representation of Women
  - MSF, Body Shop, Fawcett Soc;
- Europe (Robin Cook MP)
  - Channel Tunnel, Eurostar, BA & Scottish Fishermen’s Assoc;
- Speaker from European socialist group
- Parliamentary Report and Leaders Speech
- Party Business
  - Very little external interest

#### Wednesday 2nd October

- Transport (Andrew Smith MP)
  - BAA, London Rail Development, Sea Containers, Virgin, Manchester Airport, London Luton Airport etc.
- Education (David Blunkett MP)
  - ATL, NAHT, NUT, NCVQ, Open University, CVCP
- Housing
  - Chartered Institute of Housing & National Housing Federations, National House Building Confed; All Party Group Homelessness & Housing
- General Election Campaign
- Operation Victory (John Prescott MP)
- One Nation Society
- Deputy Prime Minister of Italy -
- Environment (Frank Dobson MP)
  - British Aggregate Construction Materials Inds; Anglia Water, Boots, United Utilities and other utilities.

#### Food & Agriculture

- NFU, Country Landowners
- Compassion in World Farming
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10 (continued)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fair Taxes/Benefits (Harriet Harman MP)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thursday 3rd October</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Defence (David Clark MP)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Leadership in the World (Third World) including Middle east &amp; Burma</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overseas Development (Clare Short MP)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arms Trade/Human Rights/Iran</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reforming Democracy</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Home Affairs including abuse (Jack Straw MP)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Equity</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Crime</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local Democracy &amp; Accountability</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Northern Ireland</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Scottish Affairs</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Welsh Affairs</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Civil Rights</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nigeria</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Animal Welfare</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kashmir &amp; Jammu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Friday 4th October</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Building a Dynamic Party Party Campaigns</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deputy Leader finale/speech (John Prescott MP)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Assessing Lobbying and Marketing Activity at Party Conferences: Methodological Issues and Results

In addition to interviews and secondary sources, the research deliberately concentrated on observable and measurable phenomena at the conferences to ascertain whether corporate lobbying was in evidence. This falls into three observable categorisations of data, which have, to date, not been researched before. These are the number of adverts, fringe meetings and exhibitions purchased or held at the conferences to promote a cause or organisation and its interests. The rest of this section focuses on these observable features of conferences.

The quantifiable data is drawn from a comprehensive review of registered interests gathered by research through attendance at the 1994-1998. The data was collated systematically over four years attendance at Party Conferences and reflects the range, scale and intensity of lobbying and ‘business to business’ marketing interests represented at these events. The data set outlines recorded information for the period 1994-1997, this was checked for accuracy and emerging trends by further attendance in 1998. This is the first and only systematic database of the lobbying and ‘business to business’ activity at Party Conferences.

In addition, Party Conferences had been regularly attended from 1975 to 1993 as a member of the Liberal Party, Liberal Democrat Party and of the Alliance groupage of parties, which included joint rallies and attendance at SDP events. Historic background research and phenomenological grounding in the processes to be evaluated had been obtained prior to the study through membership of the national executive and conference organising committee of one of the political parties. This provided valuable
insight into the operation of modern political conferences and added to research credibility and levels of mutual understanding at these events.

To assess lobbying activity at Party Conferences, research data needs to be gathered to quantify the scale of operations of lobbyists at conferences. For, as has been stated earlier Conferences are meeting places where politicians and business and ‘not for profit’ groups can meet and talk. Many of these meetings are difficult to observe or quantify using traditional research methods as the interest or organisation will not want them observed or recorded. Falling into this category are private receptions, especially those not advertised. These meetings and events can be observed discretely or by luck, perseverance or personal invitation, but it is normally impossible to measure how many of these there are or what they are about. At one point an attempt was made to gather data by listing in note form these types of private events which are usually discreetly advertised on hotel event boards, to give directions for the benefit of attendees. However, it became apparent in the research that this would not elicit meaningful results and the conclusion was reached that to obtain a realistic sample would be practically impossible. For example, in Blackpool at Conference time there would be at least eleven main conference hotels holding receptions and fringe meetings (see Appendix 6 which outlines a list of Blackpool hotels officially used by the 1995 Conservative Party Conference). These would have to be visited in a very short period of time, four times a day (simultaneously at breakfast, lunch, early evening and late evening times to observe fringe meetings, meals and receptions) for the four or five days of the conference over a distance of three miles. Even with a large field research team this would have been practically impossible to achieve.
Notice board at major Labour fringe meeting and reception hotel, Blackpool, 1998

The use of a camera to take photographic evidence of hotel event boards to record data was attempted, but this began to draw unnecessary attention and suspicion towards the research and this was deemed not appropriate. Similar experiences were gained when a hand held tape recorder was used. It was felt that even if recording of information this was possible the data collected in all probability would be flawed as a number of the hotels did not fully list all private events due to client instructions. It was therefore felt wise after attempts at alternative data gathering to focus on visible commercial and ‘not for profit’ activity at the conferences.
Therefore the research focused on primary data collection that could be obtained legitimately and verified independently. Thus the research concentrated on looking at the features of commercial activity at Party Conferences that could be measured (advertisements, exhibitions and fringe meetings). The first of these consisted of advertisements, purchased in official Party Publications by outside organisations.

These range from full or half page colour advertisements such as that placed by Sainsbury’s in all Party Conference agenda documents in 1996 and 1997 entitled ‘J. Sainsbury, grocer. Part of the local community’, showing a cross section of society which included lollipop ladies, disabled people, judges, mothers and children, which was designed to show the community commitment and spirit of the retailer, to a small black and white advertisement placed for Slater Menswear of Glasgow at the 1995 Liberal Democrat Conference extolling the virtue of the good prices on men’s clothes which could be obtained from the store by those present at the event. Advertisements were recorded from all official documents of the party, which are listed in full in Appendix 2. The core listing of advertisements by category are listed in Table 11.

The typology of organisations by interest is based upon earlier work by Presthus (1973 and 1974): Schmitter and Streeck (1981), Whiteley and Winyard (1987), Jordan (1994) and that of Stanyer and Scammell (1996) previously referred to and the authors personal
Table 11


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year/Party</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>NFP</th>
<th>UPA</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>55</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>102</td>
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<td>1997</td>
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<td>Labour</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>68</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>591</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

categorisation of the three types of advertiser, exhibitor and fringe event sponsor. These categories are amalgamations of a disparate group of interests and, of course, some could fit into a number of sectors. For instance, private company sponsorship of a Conservative Fringe meeting or the GMB stand sponsored by Vauxhall motors at the 1995 Labour Conference, in each case the example could fit into two subcategories. To aid the clarity of the data the author has taken the most visible sponsor, exhibitor or advertiser and listed them as the main organisation behind the particular event or feature. In the case where there is no one clear promoter of the advert, event or
exhibition all organisations are listed. The five broad categorisations used to sub divide data collected at conferences are as follows:-

Public Sector
Government controlled, owned or sponsored agencies or organisations (e.g., Arts Council, BBC, Campaign for Racial Equality, Government of Gibraltar, Post Office etc;) and interests controlled or owned by local authorities (e.g., Local Government Association or Bilston College).

‘Not for Profit’
Charitable trusts, recognised pressure groups and think tanks. For instance, Age Concern, Child Poverty Action Group, Greenpeace, Leonard Cheshire Foundation, RSPB, and in the latter category DEMOS, Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) and Social Market Foundation (SMF).

Unions and Professional Associations
Traditional trade unions such as TGWU, Unison, etc; through to professional associations and federations, for instance, British Medical Association (BMA), Police Federation of England and Wales and the Advertising Association.

Private Sector
Public limited companies, industry groups and associated interests. For instance, Boots the Chemist, Cable TV Association, Guinness, Manchester Airport and Rail Freight Group.
Party Associated Organisations

Groups and organisations in this sector cover predominantly official political party organisations such as interest groups or campaigning parts of the organisation. This category includes ALDC (Association of Liberal Democrat Councillors), Conservative Anti-hunt Council, Conservative Medical Society, European Parliamentary Labour Party through to the Welsh Night (traditional entertainment organised by the Welsh Liberal Democrats).

If the data are analysed in Table 11 a number of features become apparent. As one would expect there is a surge of activity in purchased adverts in election year allowing organisations to raise their awareness and issues ahead of an election. This is particularly marked in the ‘not for profit’ sector where advertising in Labour publications increased 450 per cent from 5 to 27 over the period 1995 to 1996, which suggests that the sector was very much wanting to push forward issues and policy options into the future Labour government.

Figure 6.
The Trade Unions and Professional Associations also increased their expenditure on advertisements at the 1996 Conferences ahead of the 1997 general election. As can be seen in Figure 6 the most dramatic rise in advertising support was by this sector at the Labour Conference of 1996, indicating that they wanted to be associated with that party and its policies particularly. The data also suggest that the parties are more focused on raising money from earnings from sold advertising space in the run-up to the election than they are outside the campaign period. In addition, there is a tendency by advertisers to want to be associated with the victorious party of an election, also it must be added that a significant number of advertisers in this period back the leading two parties and in some cases all three.

The results also show clearly that the Labour Party benefited ahead of the 1997 general election in 1996 from a surge in adverts from the private sector placed in its conference publications. There was also a small increase for the Conservatives. The Liberal Democrats, on what is a limited sample, appear static in a period when they should be trying to attract this type of revenue to finance the expansion of their organisation and levels of activity. Figure 7, over, outlines graphically this situation.

All sectors show that there is a surge of interest just ahead of an election by advertisement purchases and that this tapers off once the electoral process is complete.

Total advertising expenditure by category for the period of research can be seen over in Figure 8.
The private sector is the largest purchaser of adverts at Party Conferences and much of this activity is focused ahead of a general election. The next largest sectors are ‘not for
profit’, trade unions and professional associations, which are equal in size over the 4 year cycle of conferences. However, when one looks in detail at Table 11, one can see that the latter group has been in steady decline whilst the ‘not for profit’ group of interests has become much more evident ahead of the general election.

The results from the data gathered at Party Conferences on adverts is difficult to assess, because of the scale of activity and the clear influence of the general election leading to a surge of interest in 1996. There is one dramatic feature of interest that emerges though and that is that by the 1996 Conference season Labour was the clear favourite of advertisers in that it had seen a 175 per cent increase in sales of ads over 1995, whilst the Conservative Party had remained static and the Liberal Democrats had shown a marginal increase. This suggests that purchases of advertisements were very much wanted to gain favour with the most likely winner of the 1997 election – the future government.

**Exhibitors**

Commercial exhibitions at Party Conference have grown in significance as both an income generator for the political organisation and as a provider of information for party activists and apparatchiks. A further indication of the size of this business activity at Party Conferences can be found by analysing the financial accounts and reports of the respective political organisations presented at the annual conferences. For instance, the commercial operations of the Labour Party (conference exhibition income is by far the largest component according to the author’s sources), made a net contribution to party funds of £513,000 in 1996 (Labour Party National Executive Report, 1997. p.19). In the same document it was reported that all exhibition space for the 1997 conference was
sold out within 3 hours of going on sale. This was the largest ever commercial exhibition held at a Party Conference in the UK and was observed and monitored by the researcher. Such was the scramble for exhibition space that like over subscribed trade shows, late applicants and bookings found themselves on poor sites tucked away in an alcove in a secondary hotel, where their ability to meet attendees and do business was limited.

Even the third major party in the UK the Liberal Democrat Party reported an income of £263,756 from commercial sources at its 1996 conference, which was 17% up on 1995 (Liberal Democrat Party Publication, 1997, ‘The Role and Operation of the Party Conference’. p.19). At the 1997 Conservative Party Conference (post their election defeat, demand was down) it was estimated that they had made a surplus from this activity of £160,000 in the previous year. This suggests that organisations are much more interested in buying exhibition space the year before a General Election.

Senior ministers of the leading parties normally have responsibility for visiting exhibition stands during the Party Conference.
Rt. Hon. Ian Lang, then President of the Board of Trade, thanks Cable Channel for attending Conservative, 1995 Blackpool Conference

Glenda Jackson, MP, thanks information technology group for exhibiting at the Labour Party Conference, October, 1995, Brighton
In addition, exhibitions are one of the most visible signs of the promotion of a corporate or organisational interest at the Party Conferences. Over the four conference seasons of the research a steady improvement in the quality, size and professionalism of the exhibitions at the conferences was observed. This growth in overall quality paralleled similar developments in trade show activity being seen at commercial exhibitions in Europe (Cope, 1989; Shipley, Egan and Wong, 1993 and Dekimpe et al 1997). Exhibition stands that attracted the most attention and interest had pro-active staff, were well manned and underpinned by regular promotion ahead of and during the conference.
At Party Conferences national and international organisations clearly could exert the power of brand over lesser known organisations which concurs with the findings of the trade show research of Gopalakrishna, Lilien, Williams and Sequeira (1995).

British Aerospace, exhibiting at the 1997 Labour Party Conference, Brighton

The size of stand can vary significantly, the small party organisation or charity may have one standard stall and even share it with other organisations to reduce costs, whilst SKY, British Airways or Cable Communications Association will have a large multimedia driven stand which is bolstered by a large number of staff and regular promotional events to enhance perception and knowledge amongst delegates. To ensure validity of data the author took photographic evidence of the stands throughout the research.
Exhibitions are also one of the most visual features of commercial lobbying and interest group behaviour at Party Conferences. Table Twelve summarises exhibitors at Party Conferences over the period 1994-97.

Table 12
Exhibitors at Party Conferences, 1994-97

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year/Party</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>NFP</th>
<th>UPA</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>15</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>127</td>
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</table>

| Total      | 140    | 252 | 121 | 370     | 220   | 1103  |

A number of key features emerge from this large sample of interests exhibiting at Party Conferences. Firstly exhibitors are conservative with a small ‘c’ and like to attend the usual national venues and anything outside of the three main conference sites tends not to be supported. In 1995 the Liberal Democrats followed their federalist instincts and political convictions and decided to hold their conference in Glasgow. As a result they suffered a dramatic decline in exhibitors who were not prepared to travel to somewhere perhaps a little more interesting than the usual out of season conference resort.
Interestingly one can see this phenomena repeated again in 1997 when the Liberal Democrats went to Eastbourne rather than one of the three B’s, (Bournemouth, Blackpool or Brighton), even though it is close to London it is perhaps perceived as being out of the way and not taken seriously by exhibitors. The post general election situation just exacerbates this tendency for the Liberal Democrats who lose a revenue earning opportunity again. The Liberal Party suffered a similar lack of support when it went to Dundee in the 1980’s (non attributable source).

Another clear feature that emerges is that over the period 1994 to 1997, there is a drift away from the Conservative Party of conference exhibitors in the run-up to the May 1997 General Election and an even more marked decline thereafter. The net beneficiaries are the Labour Party, where one can see a noticeable trend of growing support as private sector exhibitors steadily increase from 1995 through to 1997. This has resulted in Labour dominating the exhibition scene much like the Conservatives had done previously in 1994 and before. Conservative Party Conference exhibitors have declined 30 per cent over that period whilst Labour has increased by 51 per cent from a lower base level.

The data clearly shows that levels of exhibition activity increase ahead of a general election and decline immediately after with the exception to the case being the governing party. If data were gathered over a longer period of time it would be possible to observe whether this is equally the case for new governments, as in Labour’s case post the 1997 general election. As shown in advertisements, the Public sector and Trade Union/Professional Association sectors appear in relative decline.
It is also worth noting that those parties with the least financial resources have the greatest number of voluntary activist groups at Party Conferences and this is particularly apparent at Liberal Democrat conferences. However, it also highlights the fact that much stall space at the third party’s conferences is filled by party supporters rather than interested private sector, public sector, unions and associations or ‘not for profit’ organisations. Income is thus accordingly limited for the third party from this activity.

**Figure 9.**

![Pie Chart: Exhibitors by Sector At Party Conference](chart)

- Private: 33%
- Not For Profit: 23%
- Union & Prof Assoc: 11%
- Public Sector: 13%
- Party Orgs: 20%

Figure 9 is a total picture in percentages of all exhibitors at Party Conferences over the period and indicates that the bulk of activity is quite clearly in the private and ‘not for profit’ sectors. We know from earlier analysis in this chapter that the category ‘party organisations’ is a group that can be just a reflection of the status, professionalism, voluntarism of the party organisation. This group could be a reflection of large numbers
of volunteers or enthusiasts within the party and may not even pay much of a fee for their stall. In addition, we know from the previous analysis of adverts and the data in Table 12 on exhibitions that the public sector and unions and professional associations are in relative decline at conferences. Consequently, what we are observing is that increasingly activity by outside groups at conferences is coming from the Private Sector and ‘not for profit’ categories. All of these groups are normally at the conference to exert influence or communicate messages to government and politicians through the use of one medium or another. The rise of the private sector and ‘not for profit’ sector organisations can be seen in comparing Figures 10 and 11. There has been a steady growth in activities by these organisations over the four year period of the study and a slow but steady decline amongst public sector, unions and professional association interests. This indicates the increasing competitiveness and awareness of effective political lobbying by the private sector (this normally is reflective of large scale organisations rather than Small to Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs)) and ‘not for profit’ organisations (which has invariably been dominated by a number of prime issues – example, animal welfare).

Figure 10.
An analysis of the data in Table 12, starkly shows the decline in attractiveness of the Conservative Party Conference against a commensurate rise in interest in Labour. Reflecting the growing strength and attractiveness of Labour to the commercial and pressure group interests at conferences. It is surprising to find a steady decline in commercial/’not for profit’ activity at the Liberal Democrat Conferences at a time when relatively they have had more influence and power than before.

A particular feature that emerges is a steady decline in public sector interests being represented at Conservative Party Conferences. At the end of the period of research these had more than halved from 17 to 8 over the period of the data collection. The Conservatives have also seen a steady decline in ‘not for profit’ exhibitors over the same period from 23 to 13. Another feature is that 65 per cent of all Union and Professional Association stall at the Labour Party Conferences showing the long historic link between the Labour Party and trade unions.
The number of exhibitors in total at conferences is relatively static, although there is some evidence that Labour’s increased commercialisation of its conference is beginning to reverse any potential decline. However it should be noted that many of the stalls and exhibitions are becoming more sophisticated and considerably more is being spent on renting exhibition space. It is known that there is significant cost differentiation on stands and the actual site within exhibition areas and that space is at a premium at Labour Conferences (National Executive Report, 1997, P.19). Interestingly, this research observed less pressure on exhibition space at the defeated Conservative Conference and certainly this was the case at the Liberal Democrats who have clearly a significant way to go to market these space as the data indicates.

**Fringe Meetings**

Fringe meetings are those meetings and events outside the main conference hall which are held at breakfast, lunch time and early and late evening times by parties for the benefit of giving a platform to organisations, interests and speakers to discuss ideas and areas of common interest with those attending conferences. They can include alternative policy issues, be a platform for well known politicians or provide a forum for individuals and organisations to consider particular policy issues or concerns. Recently many of the events have become platforms for coalitions of interests to consider a particular issue for example, Europe, Animal Welfare or Health Care. Table 13 outlines the number of these events by category held at the various conferences between 1994 and 1997.
This is a difficult area to assess as the Conservative fringe until recent times was very limited, but this type of event had become established by the 1994 Conference and has grown remarkably since then. It should be noted that the overall figures are distorted by the large number of party organisation meetings at the Labour and Liberal Democrat Conferences, these meetings are invariably used as election and candidate training meetings whilst the Conservatives have tended to use private professionally run events. An interesting phenomenon which emerges from the research, is the steady increase in private sector events and the sponsorship of fringe meetings. Labour’s growth in privately sponsored fringe meetings is in marked contrast to the Conservatives relative decline, which parallels the findings of the previous data set cited. The ‘not for profit’ sector as one would expect is the largest provider of fringe meetings and these become

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Liberal Democrat</th>
<th>Labour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>35</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total | 138 | 434 | 232 | 278 | 607 | 1689 |

Table 13

Fringe Events at Party Conferences, 1994-97

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>NPA</th>
<th>UPA</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1994</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>1689</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
more pronounced just ahead of the General Election as can be seen in the figures for the 1996 conference season.

The total figure for fringe meetings by category is indicated in Figure 12 below.

Figure 12.

![Fringe events by Sector at Party Conferences, 1994-97](image)

The broad trends that emerge from the data for fringe meeting activity at conferences parallel that reported previously on the other observed features of Party Conferences (advertisements and exhibitions). That is that public sector activity has been in steady decline at Conservative Conferences and that there is a surge of interest in the Labour Party ahead of the 1997 General Election shown by the increased activity levels at the 1996 Party Conference and at the post election Conference in 1997. There is a significant move of private sector supported fringe meetings from the Conservative Party to the Labour Party over the period of research. Party member organisations
representing campaigning and associated activity is much more significant at Labour and Liberal Democrat Party Conferences, reflecting the more voluntary nature of these parties.

**Relationship Marketing at Party Conferences**

The data gathered from the Party Conferences on business activities show a substantial interest in the promotion of messages, interests, policies and themes to the political process. Appendix 2 shows the complete range of sponsors and advertisements, fringe meetings, exhibitions taking place at the conferences. This now shows only a limited portion of overt lobbying at Party Conferences and as has been argued previously much lobbying at these events is difficult to monitor, quantify or tabulate. The three featured measured data sets of adverts, exhibitions and fringe meetings show both the diversity and vibrancy of selling messages by the sponsors to politicians and public decision makers.

The core features of lobbying and marketing activity are indicated in Figure 13, which outlines the use of the relationship marketing approach and network theory at Party Conferences.

This outlines the key events, fora and media that can be used to gain access to politicians and decision makers at Party Conferences. Clearly, a well structured marketing communication plan to use these opportunities as part of an overall strategy can be very effective. The well prepared campaign will use a combination of fringe meetings, receptions, adverts and an exhibition stand supported by informal briefings,
Figure 13. Relationship Marketing at Party Conferences - The New Policy Network

Annual Political Party Conferences
1994-1998

Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers, MPs,
lobbying and dinner to get over the required message. This is all part of a well geared public affairs or political lobbying campaign to provide information and/or exert influence on government decision making.

**Conclusion**

The scale of business and marketing activities at UK Party Conferences has grown considerably in the last decade. Media and political attention remains focused on the activities of politicians at Party Conferences, but there is only limited research on the vast amount of lobbying and business marketing activity at these events. Levels of activity have been measured and observed over the period 1994-98 and point to the increasing role of the Party Conference as an interface between business and politics. In fact, it emerges as an annual market place where political lobbying can be seen at first hand.

This chapter confirms the growing level and importance of business lobbying and associated relationship marketing at Party Conferences. A comprehensive list of actors, activities and situations that are measurable at Party Conferences is listed in Appendix 2. This research is used to look at the trends in promoting causes interests and issues as Party Conferences by the private, public and ‘not for profit’ making sectors. The ways in which Party Conferences can by used by political lobbyists and marketing to promote particular interests is explored. It is suggested that Party Conferences are increasingly becoming the annual market and/or meeting place for lobbyists and lobbying. A model entitled Relationship Marketing at Party Conferences – the New Policy Network outlining this process is suggested.
To investigate the growth in lobbying the issues are explored in Chapters 6 and 7, with leading businesses and lobbyists to explain the reasons for the dramatic increase in the activity and associated industry. It is interesting to note that all those interviewed attend the annual Party Conferences.
Chapter Six

The Rise of Strategic Political Lobbying and Public Affairs in the UK

You ask me what it is I do.
Well actually, you know,
I’m partly a liaison man and partly P.R.O.

John Betjeman, The Executive.

Context

A four year study of the use of party conferences as a market place and networking centre for private and ‘not for profit’ organisations to influence the political decision making process via business to business marketing activity and political lobbying has been detailed and discussed in Chapter 5. The research indicates that these organised interests use party conferences as a major political lobbying and marketing event to promote their causes to political decision-makers through a range of advertising, exhibitions, meetings, sponsorships and networking events.

As part of the research design the growth and management approaches used by business interests to exert pressure on government, politicians and public servants was explored at interview with senior managers and leading practitioners of political lobbying and public affairs. In this chapter the increasingly strategic role of public affairs adopted by organisations is outlined, reasons for its growth are considered and key factors that lead to success are assessed. A range of case histories are suggested by informants to highlight different features of the emerging discipline. The position of where does
public affairs and more particularly political lobbying fit within the management discipline is also considered.

**Introduction**

This chapter focuses on interviews and research with public affairs specialists from major UK based businesses and their views on the history, development and relative effectiveness of business lobbying in the UK. Throughout the section the term public affairs is used as the generic title for the broad area of functions which includes corporate communication focused on the public policy area, government affairs/relations, lobbying and business interest group activities. The research concentrates on interviews with leading practitioners who have been responsible for public affairs activity on behalf of major corporate organisations in the UK and relates their experiences in the industry. The research focuses predominantly on Financial Times Share Exchange top 100 companies (FTSE 100) and their ‘in-house’ staff views on public affairs activities and its use. Some research has already been carried out in the area but has focused primarily on commercial lobbyists and their associated public affairs work (Berry, 1991, Jordan, 1991 and Moloney, 1994). Most recently, John (1998) has surveyed a range of government and public affairs practitioners to assess effectiveness. This recent work supports the view made in the interviews that standards, trust and a long term approach to lobbying are essential to be effective.

> It is most important for those dealing with decision makers, to be trusted by them. High ethical standards, provision of authoritative information and possessing a long-term track record are also important

John, (1998, p.3)
There are some validity difficulties with John’s work as it is based on a higher than average response rate of trade unionists, charities, pressure groups and commercial lobbyists which skews the information reported towards those sectors. In addition, the prime address list used for John’s survey was supplied by the Newsletter of Public Affairs. This subscription newsletter has a strong commercial imperative to generate income from agencies and consultancies and is very dependent on sales to commercial lobbyists. John was contacted as part of this research and has indicated that the data may well be skewed towards these practitioners and groups (John, 6th November 1998).

The focus of chapter six is on public affairs work carried out for competitive advantage by large commercial UK businesses. The research highlights how these organisations primarily rely upon in-company departments and resources to obtain their goals. To maintain the central focus of the study the research, as the chapter, focuses on UK government and it’s associated machinery. However throughout the interviews the increasing influence of the European Union and of globalization was raised by respondents and is reported where it is of direct relevance to the issue under discussion. This supports a number of recent researchers’ comments that the role of the EU is increasing in relative importance as a regulator of certain strategic environments and markets (Van Schendelen, 1993, Mazey and Richardson, 1993, Greenwood, 1997 and Coen, 1998). The impact of the European Union and the growth of Brussels as an international co-ordination centre for transnational lobbying (which has been termed ‘Brusslington’, Harris and Moss, 1998) will be explored in more detail in the next section of this study. Another factor that should be born in mind in reading the prime interviews, is that a number of the respondents left their original organisation and/or were involved in merging or de-merging operations of their organisation and/or had a
change of responsibilities and territories during the period of research. Thus there was a need in most cases for a number of meetings and discussions to gain a view of what was happening in the respondents public affairs world.

**Background**

Throughout the rest of this chapter are detailed the core issues which arose at interview with the respondents, as the development of public affairs was explored. The sample text taken from each interview and cited here is indicative of the style and approach of the individual. In addition the text taken from the completed annotated interviews, normally relates to a core theme that is emerging or under analysis. Ahead of each interview respondents were sent a background briefing paper prepared by the author on issues emerging in lobbying and public affairs based on published research. The planned sequence of questioning broadly applied at interviews with political lobbyists and public affairs executives was as follows:

- Background to research project.
- Experience of interviewee.
- Definitions of political lobbying, public affairs, marketing etc.
- Historic development and role of public affairs for organization.
- Relationship to CEO and board of organization.
- Case studies on political lobbying/public affairs associated with organization.
- Issues most prevalent in the area.
- Views on the effectiveness and evaluation of political lobbying.
- Emerging best practice.
• Views on ethics, morality and standards in lobbying.
• Role of EU.
• Testing earlier comments from previous interviews and research.
• Requesting contacts and ideas to strengthen current research.
• Future direction of industry.

It is also worth taking into consideration that the individuals interviewed have strong characters and are very senior figures in the communication industry, consequently the content and style of the interviews reflect this. It was felt very important during the research to be aware that interviewing such relatively powerful individuals and subsequently analysing their comments was done with great circumspection to ensure the validity of the study. Being employed as professional communicators the respondents are capable of outlining their views of the world exceptionally well and invariably showing their organisation in a very favourable light. There is a tendency for respondents to emphasise the importance of public affairs and their respective role in shaping key decisions, however, the study has attempted to ameliorate this by the use of a strong methodology and substantive empirical research, reflecting a range of informants. To achieve this it was found particularly useful to be able to interview and talk with a range of additional respondents over the period of the research, which allowed consistent themes to emerge, points to be checked, false boasts, information and juxtapositions to be questioned and cross verification of informants answers and case study material investigated. Thus throughout Chapters 6 and 7 key interviews with prime informants (see Appendices 9 and 12) and their views are outlined, these opinions were checked and verified through subsequent interview with additional respondents to both aid clarity and validity (See Appendices 8 and 10 for list of additional informants).
Prime interviews reported in this research reflect in-depth discussion with leading participants in politics or lobbying, whilst subsidiary interviews are invariably less substantive in nature but confirm the overall thrust of the more substantive interviews. Selected extracts from the prime interviews are used to show key features emerging from the research.

**The Emergence of Public Affairs**

A key issue to consider at interview was the emergence of public affairs and why it had become of such growing importance to many organisations. Harris and Lock (1996) have listed a number of major themes for the growth of public affairs work, notably, globalization, growth of regulatory activity by legislative bodies nationally and transnationally, privatisation policy, importation of lobbying techniques from the US and the decline of corporatism in the UK. Andrew Gifford, of the Association of Professional Political Consultants (APPC), in oral evidence to the Committee on Standards in Public Life (Nolan, 1995a and 1995b), confirmed the importance of these themes and added the increasing complexity and involvement of government in business activity as the prime reason for the growth of the consultancy industry. The research work notably of Jordan, 1991, Mazey and Richardson, 1993, Grant, 1995, Moloney 1996 and John 1998 further confirms these views. However, little research work has been carried out specifically with ‘in-house’ public affairs operations within major companies to establish what changes in their industry and profession they have seen and why. In response to this gap in research respondents were asked to comment on the emergence of public affairs work and what did the term meant to their organisation.
Anthony Weale who is Government Affairs Manager of ICI Plc was the first respondent to be asked to comment.

AW There is very little on a regulatory front that doesn't effect ICI. It doesn't matter whether it is taxation, investment rules, competition rules, it doesn't matter what it is, it all effects us, environmental matters just the same. Yet companies are not actually all that good, even one as big as ICI, is not all that good at the operating level, at really keeping up with what is going on. They don't have the contacts and they don't have the flow of information coming. That is my role and that is what I do at ICI.

Asked how he designed and planned ICI’s response to government initiatives and policy development that could impact upon the company’s business interests, he responded.

AW Yes. We then have to decide what we are going to do about it. That is the other part of my role which is to design, the issue management of any given problem that we have ................. we start asking simple questions and they are very simple questions. I would love to have a more sophisticated method but I don't. We basically start off with any gleam in father's eye, whatever it might be, whether its carbon tax or whether it is a change in the organization of pension funds, whatever it might be...

The use of issues management techniques to make strategic sense of public affairs and political lobbying work was reinforced by a number of respondents and is supported in the literature by Heath (1990 and 1997) and Mack (1997). They both strongly advocate the adoption of issues management techniques as vital for the forward planning and strategic management of lobbying work. It was therefore deemed essential to build an appreciation of issues management techniques into the sections of the study on analysis and theorising.
Sandy Walkington, is Head of Corporate Affairs at BT. He outlined BT’s thinking on why it carried out strategic public affairs work, which again, like other respondents, focused on issues management.

SW I mean, the fact is that events happen, and no one can foresee all events. So, of course you firefight and in some ways one can say that my business is about the ‘3Ms’, and they are: Issues Management, Constituency Management and Crisis Management. Obviously, you try to avoid Crisis Management, but they happen. But, in the meantime, you are managing your constituencies... and with those constituencies, you are managing issues. Those are the various key issues that have been identified by the board or by colleagues as being the ones that they are the most concerned about. But at the end of the day inevitably come crises and you have to react to these.

Chris Hopson, Director of Public Affairs of Granada Group at interview and in subsequent discussion emphasised the financial contribution effective public affairs made to his business and thus the reason why he had been given board member status.

CH I am told by my colleagues that I am capable of making a contribution. It is an industry where my function is, as I said, very important. The decisions where my company gets involved have a major impact. Let me give an example: I have just spent the last two months writing a paper on behalf of all of ITV, not just Granada Media Group but all of ITV in response to a consultation paper issued by our regulator. We are about to go through the process. We all operate licenses, we have television licenses. Those licenses are about to be renewed. As part of this renewal process, the regulator gets to determine the level of license payments that we make. Now, effectively, we are basically asking the regulator to cut our annual bill for all of ITV by £200 million a year. It is a ten year licence. So, £200 million a year times ten years is worth £2 billion pounds to ITV. As I said, I have written the paper for all of ITV, arguing why we should get this £200 million reduction. As I said, £200 million pounds is worth a huge amount of money. In terms of my company, the impact on our bottom line is probably about 25-30 % of our annual profits. When you are dealing with that kind of issue which has that kind of impact on the bottom line, then it is justified, having a seat at the boardroom table.
This raises the important area of the impact of effective strategic public affairs work and the contribution it can make to the organisations competitiveness and profitability. It also suggests the importance of being able to clearly evaluate and easily see the impact of effective lobbying for it to be considered important by an organisation. This will be considered in subsequent theorising.

Leighton Andrews, at the time of the first interview was Head of Public Affairs for the BBC. At interview, Andrews, outlined why public affairs had become such an important global business function over the past fifteen years. He argued where he saw the bulk of public affairs operations being focused and why it was important for particular industries. He confirmed the growing importance of Brussels for this type of work and outlined reasons for this growth.

LA  It has become a global phenomenon with US companies lobbying in Europe to protect their interests. The Japanese companies do not operate in quite that way but they do a bit of it. But it is not just European Forums its things like the G7, increasingly the World Trade Organization all are very important bodies in this process. If you took the telecommunications industry there is a huge amount of lobbying by BT and other organizations to protect their interests as do Deutsche Telecom and so on. It is in the telecoms field that I think it is the most relevant, possibly IT as well, those industries where there is a significant amount of cross border flow. The Airline Industry for example, the CAP and associated lobbies on funding. Where communications are less clear and significant amounts of money are at stake are the important areas. Clearly utilities and their relationship to government. Also environmental issues which we have already discussed chemicals and some of the food companies, the Unilever decision to pull out of European fishing about two months ago. These industries really now lobby at a supranational level.

This reinforced the earlier research [see Chapter 3] and the growing role of the EU and transnational organisations and governments had in generating growth in political lobbying activity.
Defining Public Affairs

In defining public affairs the research concurs with MacMillan’s (1991) definition, which describes public affairs as enabling business and government to meet their objectives to the mutual benefit of their stakeholders and hence in the long term optimising a corporation’s relations with the process of government. This is based on his earlier research when he found that the area was dominated by political affairs and government relations work. Cutlip et al (1994) captures the broad understanding of the function and suggests that it is concerned primarily with organisational relationships with government and public policy related bodies:

Public affairs is the specialised part of public relations that builds and maintains mutually beneficial government and local community relations

Cutlip et al (1994, p.13)

A good basis for a definition of current commercial public affairs work began to emerge in the interviews.

John Last, Director of Public Affairs at United Utilities, at interview as a contribution towards defining public affairs made a very important point when he outlined the discreet nature of his work, gave a very clear definition of the difference between his work and that of the then UU corporate communications director who dealt with consumer affairs.

JL I characterise the difference between myself and my colleague who deals with consumer affairs as that most of my work goes on behind closed doors, whereas most of his work is up-front in the public domain - dealing with customers, television advertising, ... So, that is one of the
characteristics of public affairs. By and large, your negotiations have not
got the spotlight on them.

Leighton Andrews saw public affairs as being the discipline that tracked the potential
impact of government actions on business activities and developed alternative strategies
to deal with such actions.

LA  I think the main emphasis in any operation has to be ensuring that the
organization has a proper understanding of the ways in which government
and regulatory activity, legislation can impinge on the business
imperatives of an organization whether it is in terms of acquisitions, in
terms of its relationships with customers, with suppliers and so on.
Inevitably part of that work therefore is mapping all potential existing
legislative initiatives and tracking how they will affect the business for
which you are working and then devising strategies which fit with the
overall strategy of the business to influence any particular proposals that
may be under way.

Sandy Walkington, added to the definition which was beginning to emerge.

SW  I think lobbying is part of public affairs. I do lobby, but I also
communicate and I also listen. So, I think lobbying is when you have a
specific objective, which you need to achieve, and a clear target where you
know when you have got it or when you have not got it. But, nevertheless,
you are much better lobbying when you have spent time communicating
previously to the same people. So they know you, they are at ease with
you, they know you have given them useful help and information in the
past. You have helped them with their agendas and therefore they
understand when you actually come to them and say ‘Now I need help
with my agenda?’
Chris Hopson, emphasised the importance of commercial lobbying being at the heart of public affairs. He commented.

CH It would not surprise you from what I said before, that I would view it very much as a central commercial function. Certainly in my business it is as important as the production department or finance department. The way I see government lobbying or corporate lobbying, is working out strategically how corporate lobbying can help the company improve the bottom line and then basically going out and trying to influence people to ensure that those objectives that you’ve identified as influencing the bottom line are actually met.

Hopson, gave a clear example of the impact and power of effective commercial lobbying, which shows clearly how political lobbying is being as part of marketing strategy.

CH Four years ago, when I joined this company, we were not allowed to take over another ITV company. It was absolutely crystal clear to everybody that we could not grow unless we were able to take-over other ITV companies. I therefore embarked on effectively a three year campaign to have the rules changed twice, to allow us to take over first of all this company, LWT and, secondly, Yorkshire Tyne Tees, which we just took over three or four months ago. And, basically, the reason we did that is because we are identifying very very clearly - and it is part of our commercial strategy, the only way we were going to grow profits as quickly as we wanted to grow it was basically to take over other ITV companies. Now, there are a lot of other things that go with that but at its heart and at its most brutal, that is what I think corporate lobbying is about.

This is a very good example of political lobbying being used strategically for marketing advantage and confirms its increasing strategic role.

History and Development of Public Affairs

There is growing evidence that suggests the role and approach of lobbying has changed in recent years (Jordan, 1989, Berry, 1992 and Souza, 1998), but very little about the
increasingly strategic way it is being used by some organisations. To explore this more fully it was appropriate to ask how respondents saw the historic development of public affairs in the UK. One interesting feature emerged from the interviews and associated conversation was that there is clearly a generational factor in approach to lobbying, which is more style than substance. Clearly, Anthony Weale and John Last, who were in the mid fifty year old age band at interview had a very different approach to Andrews and Hopson, who were in their late and early thirties respectively. The latter group focused very clearly on the bottom line contribution of public affairs in all conversations. This may have been a reflection of the latter’s consultancy backgrounds as well as recent business school training. The beginnings of in house public affairs work in the UK was explored with, Anthony Weale, to get an impression of how work in this area had developed.

INT In the limited literature on the subject, it is argued that ICI was one of the first that set-up a government relations function. How big was it in its early days?

AW It has always been small. When it first started, there was a man who dealt with MPs, basically. He did very little with the civil service. And Britain had not joined the Common Market, so really he was a one-man band. He had a secretary and that was it. It then began to grow a little, but it has never been big. What we have is an office here, which is me and, responding to me, an international trade manager. We have an office in Washington, we have an office in Brussels. In Washington, there is the manager and a lobbyist. In Brussels, we have one man, who has a secretary. Until we split from Zeneca, I had an assistant. My man in Brussels had an assistant. We decided to get rid of him. There are basically five people doing London, Brussels, Strasbourg and Washington.

It still seems to me that for government relations to succeed in a company, it is crucial that the most senior people in the company are committed to it. The business of lobbying is the business of information, it is not the business of influencing, it is the business of delivering facts. But you can’t do that without relationships. You need to be a certain type of person to do it. I think you have to have a very analytical brain and you’ve got to be able to take problems apart and see what matters. And I think you need to be
fairly outgoing to do it, you’ve got to be fairly bold, you’ve got to be able to talk to quite powerful individuals, and be convincing and be credible. So, you need a certain type of person, I don’t know whether I am.

Sandy Walkington, at interview outlined how he perceived public affairs had evolved in recent years.

SW When I was a young man and not doing it, I think it was largely just having lunches and schmoozing around politicians. It is far deeper now. It is about building partnerships, it is about helping to set agendas, it is about managing the public policy debate... I think it is a much more considered and much more intellectual and a much more powerful job than it was before.

INT What about the appreciation of the importance of public affairs within the organization? Has this changed?

SW Undoubtedly, again for the reasons that people see now, that politics is inescapable, it is part of the context in which they work and, certainly, in our business, because of the size of the issue on the information revolution, the information superhighway and the impact of government and public policy. They can see that the sort of things they wish to achieve commercially will only be achieved if ............. but they need the help of the public affairs function.

Chris Hopson, confirmed much of what other respondents had outlined, but emphasised how the discipline had evolved from a contact programme approach to one of being able to shape government policy, both for societal advantage and corporate gain.

CH I think it has changed. If you go back ten years ago, it was very much ......the job was basically about setting up what I would describe as a contact programme with government ministers - probably more government ministers than, to a certain extent, civil servants. And, basically, if your company faces a decision that might be affecting them, you could then call up your minister and say ‘I have a problem here Bill, would you mind sorting it out?’. It was pretty much crisis driven. The quality of the public affairs person was judged by the avidity of the contact programme, where you could get three cabinet ministers as opposed to just one cabinet minister, no matter how senior they were, to come to your party conference dinner.

I think, number one, as I said, I am convinced that it is much more commercially driven, it is not crisis driven. It is very much about the best public affairs departments are those who can say ‘If we did this and this, we would help the business improve profitability and therefore we should be doing these things. This can help improve the company’s commercial
performance’. In that sense, that has become the primary aim, not the quality of the network of people that we managed to build up. It is actually about how commercial you are and how you can use the function to follow the organization’s commercial objectives. Secondly, it is no longer, as far as I’m concerned, about contacts, in terms of who you know and, who you don’t know. These days, it is far more about intellectual arguments that persuade people that they should change legislation or change decisions to help you, not because of who you know but because of the quality of argument you are advancing. It is far more these days about convincing civil servants and convincing junior ministers that there is a real public interest case. OK, they know it is in your commercial interest but it is also because there are good reasons as to why it should become preferred policy. It is no longer about a dinner with a minister. It is about setting up a good relationship with civil servants and explaining to them what your problems are and very much winning the intellectual arguments with people.

Other respondents confirmed these views, including Anthony Weale.

INT Would you say that the importance of government affairs lobbying has changed over the past years?

AW No, I don’t think so, I think it has always been very important. Maybe it has got more important, first of all because so many people are doing it, that you’ve got to do it well. When I started, most companies were a long way behind ICI, I think they have caught up. ICI was the first company in Great Britain to set up a government relations office. It was in 1969. Then, we could do more or less what we liked, now you’ve got to do it really well. I suppose, it’s the nature that has changed but not the importance of it.

Weale, outlined the major changes he had seen emerge over the last twenty years of being involved in government affairs for one of the major UK based multi-national companies.

AW Professional politicians. Twenty years ago, we were only dealing with one government, this one. Now, we are dealing with the European Commission, its whole function is to generate regulation of all kinds, even as ridiculous as the square tomato or the curved banana. Everything is interfered with by government, everything. There is no bit of our lives that we are allowed to live without them interfering.
John Last reflected on the growing importance of public affairs and how one of the major changes in the area was that organisations had to manage the community of interests around them to maintain government support and sympathetic policy. This had come as a shock to some organisations as corporatism had broken down in the 1980’s and 1990’s (Hutton, 1995, Marr, 1995, Tyrell, 1996).

JL It has certainly changed over the years, it has become much more important, much more significant. Large companies realise that they must have a relationship to government, to the outside world and they can’t just take it for granted. I was 24 years at Littlewoods and I can remember a time - Littlewoods was the largest private company in the UK, it was by far the largest employer in Liverpool and Merseyside- when there were executive members on the main board who thought that they could just go on doing what they were doing and making their profits by selling things, running the football pools, running a mail order business and they really did not think that they had to have any sort of relationship with the outside world at all. They knew that they had to have a relationship with their customers, they knew they had to persuade the customers to buy things but they did not really think that they needed any sort of relationship with government, local government or the community as a whole. And of course they had a very rude shock when they realised that yes of course they do. They did not think it was necessary, but that has all changed.

You could talk to any senior business man today and they would fully accept that they have to have a relationship with the community. I talked about the stakeholders, the modern concept of tomorrow’s company, it is not only the shareholders, it is the employees, it is the suppliers, but it is also the community. You have to develop a relationship, probably to some. I mean it varies. In some cases, it is pretty centre stage all the time. It depends on the priority, I think it depends on the role of the business really, I suppose. The BBC developed a relationship with all four stakeholders to survive. And that is now acceptable.
Leighton Andrews gave an interesting overview of how public affairs had evolved in the UK, this was confirmed by background research and key comments from other respondents.

LA I think over the past 10 to 15 years it has become more professional, I think it has become more systematic, more structured. I think in the past it was seen as just a sort of a bit of PR that people did and it was very much based on who you knew rather than what you know and I think that has changed significantly over the last decade.

In response to what brought about this change in public affairs levels of activity and organisation, Andrews, confirmed the findings of recent research (Harris and Lock, 1996) that are becoming commonly held views in the industry.

LA I think there are a number of factors in the UK. One of them I think would have been liberalization of government, where there might have been clear rules before, things became more challengeable, more open. Privatisation changed it dramatically. The liberalization of the City changed it dramatically. We had a wide range of take-over bids in the late 80s, that fuelled the growth of government relations, made people more aware of global competition, the likelihood of predators, the realisation in fighting those kind of take-over battles every weapon was necessary. So I think the emergence of the single market in Europe also contributed to the growth of political activity, because suddenly there was the question of trying to harmonise several different markets. On whose current terms are they going to be harmonised? Are there going to be the German environmental standards or the UK environmental standards? Or are there going to be the French social policies or the UK social policies? British businesses realised that they had to be involved in the processes of that kind of decisions. So, it is really a combination of factors:

- liberalization of the City,
- liberalization of government,
- liberalization of European markets
- and therefore the importance of the political institutions of Europe itself.

All of those factors were driving the expansion of political activity. I think finally also there is the issue of the break-down of what was a very corporate kind of approach to political life in the UK, such as interest groups meeting .... The more market driven structures are more decentralised, more informal. And people, I think, got to understand that,
that required a different way of relating with legislators. During the 1980s as well, in particular during the middle 1980s, when there was a very large Conservative majority in Parliament it became evident that Parliament was not the focus of action anymore, but to some extent it was really Whitehall. There were special interest groups, there were think tanks that were the source of ideas, but also the policy units, special advisers, all of those areas became new areas of influence. With a high majority in Parliament, what government was doing became more important than what you could do in Parliament. I think that forced people to think more systematically about how they influenced the developments.

Interestingly, Andrews reflections on the impact of the large majorities that Conservative governments had throughout the period 1979 to 1992 is a strong portent of similar trends that are emerging under the current Labour Government with a 178 seat majority (Manifesto, May 1998).

**Strategic Public Affairs**

Another factor that was explored with respondents was the strategic importance of public affairs and lobbying. All were in broad agreement that proactive and quality work in this area led to improved competitive edge for the organisation. The importance that public affairs work, especially lobbying, has in government regulated markets became very apparent as the research unfolded. The level of involvement of the CEO in public affairs seems to be in direct proportion to its strategic importance to the business. There are a number of examples of CEO’s becoming very active in public affairs work, when it becomes of strategic importance to the company. For instance, Lord King and his robust defence of British Airways commercially lucrative landing slots at Heathrow Airport (Hollingsworth, 1991). More recently a good example is Richard Branson’s letter to The Times (8th October 1998), defending Virgin Trains’ position as franchisee of the North West main line against an attack from the Deputy Prime Minister, Rt. Hon.
John Prescott MP, which had been triggered by poor punctuality and service experienced by those attending the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool.

Chris Hopson outlined why the CEO became involved.

CH If you put an issue where 30% of your profits could be lost next year, and you could increase them by 30% on the basis of one regulated decision, it is quite understandable that the chief executive or the chairman are saying ‘What is happening with this issue? What is going on about it? I want to take a really close interest in this because it just has such a big impact.

INT Is it generally you, the corporate lobbyists, who puts the cases forward to government or who facilitate access for the chairman or CEO?

CH A bit of both, I would say. I mean, normally I’m trying to take my chief executive simply because I think people like to meet your chief executive or your chairman intimately. If they are effective at lobbying it makes all this work easier. Equally, at certain levels, it is something that I am doing myself. On a day to day basis with a civil servant for example, which are, I have to say, a very underrated part of the process, I tend to do all that work myself. It is not the chairman or the chief executive that do it. Equally, if it is a very senior government minister my chief executive or the chairman would go themselves. I go with them, but they would do the talking.

Anthony Weale further confirmed the growing importance of the area but also showed how a large organisation had a significant number of direct links into government, where information and ideas could be shared.

AW Even in ICI, which I think is a sophisticated company when it comes to government affairs, even ICI is not always good at including the effect of government in its strategic thinking. It is very good in obvious areas, like when we are doing a project, say we put up a new plant, we are very good at extracting from government as much money as we can in terms of grants. That is part of government relations to get that money. Similarly, any kind of big deal we are doing, say we are buying a business or disposing of a business, then again government comes into it right from the start. We start
thinking about dealing with government right from the start because we are almost certain that there are competition problems with it. It almost certainly has to go before the MMC (Monopolies and Mergers Committee) or DG4 (Directorate General IV of the European Commission, responsible for Competition policy) or the FTC (Federal Trade Commission) in the States, in order for the deal to go ahead. So we have to think very carefully about how we approach government about these matters. But on other matters, I am not sure that we really include government strategically in the broad thinking of the company. ....Do we still want to be considered a chemical company? Do we still want to be considered a willing workhorse for the government? In the past, ICI for instance has always been very happy to give its help to government in terms of sitting on committees, producing secondees and so on, do we really want to do that anymore? Does it fit in with the idea of a global company as opposed to a very much UK company? Government and government thinking is an integral part of that.

John Last emphasised how large organisations had a rapid awakening from the mid 1980’s of the impact government could have on the competitive environment for the company. Businesses had previously assumed that the political environment was static or at worst in constant balance, thus when government in the UK moved from its previous traditional position of direct ownership of large parts of the economy and an interventionist stance it stimulated substantial growth in public affairs work to influence government to gain competitive advantage.

JL  They realised that governments were capable of passing legislation that could actually cripple their businesses. And the first they got to know about it was when the details of the bill were published. By then it is far too late. And they realised that they had to put in place a system, a facility whereby they could have access to government, to local government, before these things are set in concrete and before decisions are finally being made. There is absolutely no point, once a bill is being published, you stand very little chance.
Respondents emphasised the importance that the public affairs function brought to organisations in terms of competitive advantage. Leighton Andrews is a good example.

LA I think it is now very important to maintain competitive advantage. I think government relations functions have to be used to enforce the brand overall, they have to relate where the brand lives in the way they operate. They cannot operate in a way that seems to undermine the policy of your brand for example.

But there are many ways of undermining competitive advantage and legislation can be one of them if you look at legislation on the European Union for example. You take the recent row there has been about definitions of chocolate. Very clearly if your definition of chocolate, is allowed to be called chocolate, excludes British chocolate producers (particularly Cadbury), as one proposal did, other producers are gaining competitive advantage by the way that legislation is written. In a market where you are trying to create an internal market, where you are trying to remove barriers, where a lot rests on the definition of particular kinds, of acceptable activities, of acceptable definitions of products and so on, there is immense scope for improving your own competitive position and undermining the position of others. Higher safety standards for example that might exist in one market. If they become the norm across the European Union could threaten the viability of other producers in that market. The manipulation of substitutes is a good example as well. If you take the coal industry for example, the abuse of German substitutes is currently a major issue, threatens the viability of coal producers in the UK. Now again these are all political matters and at the end of the day they require political resolution. So government relations in those areas is very fundamental to the maintenance or restoration of competitive advantage.

Features of Effective Lobbying

At interview and in discussion a number of features relating to the effectiveness of strategic lobbying was explored. As a result of the topicality of the Cash for Questions issue (Greer, 1997) and the large amount of research on Commercial Lobbyists (Jordan, 1991, Berry, 1992 and Moloney, 1994) it was felt useful to explore this issue at interview. Interestingly, most respondents felt that there were only a very limited number of quality commercial lobbyists and that it was better to conduct public affairs campaigns from a designated ‘in house’ operation if you were a FTSE 200 company.
The prime reasons that emerged for using commercial lobbyists would be to buy in specialist expertise you did not have when needed and to deal with an unforeseen crisis.

ICI did not use commercial lobbyists as Anthony Weale outlined.

**AW** If you reach a point where you can’t cope, I can always get someone else to help. We don’t use outsiders, we don’t use consultants. Not at all. We always do it ourselves on the basis that parliamentarians particularly but civil servants as well, would find it very odd for a company like ICI to have to use outsiders to do its work for it. I mean, there are areas where consultants are very handy, but not in this function.

A feature that was confirmed in the interviews was the importance of lobbying early and regularly to be effective. Short term lobbying was often seen as panic driven, very rarely worked and was often perceived as a sign that the businesses involved had responded as a result of having no clear policy or experience of dealing regularly with government or political interfaces.

**AW** We try always to go back as far as we can. We go right back to the Council in Europe and so on, where things are being talked about for eleven years for instance before they ever see the light of day. We try to go back as far as we can. Simply because you have got a better chance of influencing things at the earliest possible stage. Having decided that an issue is a runner, that probably is the point at which at least in the UK, we start asking ourselves very simple questions like ‘can we actually influence those people?’, ‘What is it going to cost us?’, ‘If such a piece of legislation goes through, what is the likely effect on ICI for costs?’ Now if you take, carbon tax, if that goes through, our rough estimates of the cost to ICI would be about $300 million a year. If the tax were fixed at the rate of $10 per barrel of oil. Now that is bloody serious. If on the other hand, there may be bits of legislation going through, the value of it would only be say £1 million, so I ask the question, is it worth trying to do anything about it, even if we could influence it, with limited resources do we actually need to bother. On the basis that governments are not actually out by and large to penalise ICI, they are out to organise society in a way that will keep them in power and where large companies like ICI are actually kept on some sort of reasonable basis. That is where I come from.
A phenomenon that needed addressing by respondents was how can public affairs be co-ordinated between the Head of the Public Affairs function and the CEO. Clearly this was a potentially explosive area as there needed to be clear signals from staff within the organisation to government for it to be effective. Chris Hopson, addressed this question directly.

CH  Clearly, you need a level of co-ordination about this. But, equally, there’s no doubt that... I’m not the only person in the company who has had a meeting with a minister. My chief executive meets quite a few of them, other people inside the company meet. But, effectively it has to be co-ordinated with the other persons, otherwise it becomes very confused, very uncoordinated.

Anthony Weale outlined how he had responsibility for co-ordinating ICI’s public affairs operation across a number of industry organisations. He outlined how in a common business interest area another company with a larger involvement in that sector might lead on public affairs policy to government. The strategic interests of BP, ICI. and Shell are good examples and well known (Martinelli, 1991).

AW  Because I am based in the UK the main link man with the CIA (Chemical Industries Association), and a Council member on the CBI (Confederation of British Industry), and belong to one or two other little odds and ends...

There are other little groups around that I belong to, but linked in to the chemical industry, like Institute of Plastics and Rubber and that's of course another judgement that we make in terms of influencing what is going on in governments. There are lots of things where ICI finds it much easier to tackle its own problem. Equally, there are lots of areas where ICI find it much easier to hide behind a Trade Association or behind another member of the chemical industry. There are a number of areas where it is much easier, in pure petrochemicals, it is easier for us to hide behind BP or Shell, than to run it ourselves. I mean, I suppose we do all the ordinary things that members of a common interest group would do, but we are quite happy to leave others to lead and...ICI like any other chemical major is highly regulated. In the sense of what I said right at the beginning, very little happens in government that doesn't have an effect on us in some way or another. Very little.
Another factor which was explored was the personal qualities of those who carried out public affairs work. Not unexpectedly all respondents emphasised the high intellectual and personal qualities needed by those engaged in this area. John Last made his point particularly well.

JL It is very important, because first of all you have got to be able to mix at the very highest level, because the people you are dealing with tend to be at the very highest level. We are dealing with ministers of the crown and the like. And so you need to have a strong personality and you have got to have a personality that is remembered and understood. It is important. If you are just a technocrat or a backroom person, it is unlikely that you will have the personal qualifications that will enable you to undertake successful lobbying. Having said that you must not have a personality that is offensive. If you have got a very strong personality, that is rather brusque, you will probably put off the people you want to talk to and influence. So you have got to have a personality that is able to successfully lobby, a personality that is easy in that sense. But you have got to have a strong personality. And also I said to you I was too senior to be made answerable except to the Chairman, that is part of it, because I am a very senior person and very well qualified. That helps, because undoubtedly personalities are required for this sort of job.

Leighton Andrews added to these remarks on the personality of good public affairs staff.

LA They have to have stature, they have to have access to senior management, they have to be trusted, they have to be seen as serious players who understand both the business imperatives and the political imperatives and are able to investigate tensions between those. So in order for the function to operate properly, they have to have weight and seniority in the organization.
Anthony Weale, commented on what he saw as the key abilities the Head of Government Affairs in his organisation needed.

AW The man who heads government affairs and relations has to be reasonably senior. He doesn’t have to be on the board and shouldn’t be. He is a function really, he is a factotum. But I do think he has to have enough position to be able to influence people in the company, and that means people at senior level. It might mean being a head of a business or it might mean a director.

There are three ways that happens. One is, you have a rank in a company. Secondly, you want everybody to know that you have a direct line to the chairman and the chief executive, so that when you ask them to do something, they know that, at the end of the day, you can go back to the chairman and say: ‘I’m having trouble, there!’ The third one is perhaps the most important of all. That is: experience. It is just that everybody around the company knows that you do the job and can do the job and that you can get them out of trouble. So, you have credibility. So, credibility is the most important.

Leighton Andrews expanded upon his earlier views at interview.

LA I think some of the issues can be more personal, can be their relationship with Chief Executives and Chairmen .................. The personnel of that relationship, the bond of trust is very critical. But I think the starting point of these things is, what are people’s backgrounds, have they come through a political route or a governmental route, do they know how the system operates. Those are probably the most important. By and large I think you have two kinds of groups, two groups of people. Some of them are people who have come through the company itself, they have a reasonable understanding of the way the company does business. And they may or they may not make a good public affairs person. It depends how good they are in understanding the external environment. Others may come to that position, from having had a role in the external environment, in the public affairs environment, by being in government or part of government or possibly by working in a consultancy or some other business.

Tim Clement Jones, who at the time worked for Political Context and was former director of Kingfisher PLC, commenting on the importance of long term lobbying said.
TC-J I think that it is a big mistake just simply to ratchet up your lobbying just when you have a huge issue. The best companies it seems to me have an agenda, most of the time they are building relationships even if at that particular moment there is nothing on their agenda, because if you just pop up and down .... suddenly....people don’t think that you are a major player. Our successful Sunday Trading Campaign came from the fact that people knew who we were, they knew we weren't something popping up, we weren’t just suddenly being nice to everybody, basically we were talking to them about all kinds of other things..

The role of gathering intelligence on government, political environments and decision making was explored. Anthony Weale answered this very clearly and showed how some organisations try to forecast the likely political environment and policy future.

INT What about intelligence gathering, is this your job as well?

AW Yes, and I produce an annual note, which says ‘I think this is going to happen... We need to watch this...’... as soon as possible.

**Lobbying Evaluation**

Another feature that was explored in some depth with respondents was how did they evaluate their impact on the targets and competitiveness of the organisation. Chris Hopson and Anthony Weale had already addressed some aspects of this area in their answers to why public affairs was strategically important. However, most respondents attempted to add to what is invariably a difficult area to clearly answer. Leighton Andrews, addressed this first.

INT How in your opinion can public affairs/lobbying evaluate its contribution to the overall goal of the organization or isolate it from the contribution of other functions?

LA This is a good question and it is one we worked very hard to try to understand at the BBC. There are very concrete measures you can point to, for example legislation stopped, amendments to legislation achieved, legislation initiated, adoption of policy positions within government
recommendations, consultation documents, issues like that. And in the BBC we could point to very specific things like that. So, at that level you can point out very specifically. You can also measure in a less concrete fashion, through measurement of opinion of legislators for example, members of Parliament or members of the European Parliament, opinion former research as well, validation of how the public affairs function has contributed to the overall goals of the business and more particularly the overall goals of the corporate affairs or corporate communications department. The opinion kind of measurement and indicators are not particularly scientific and useful, but they are another tool. The most effective way is to demonstrate real legislative progress.

John Last answered this question more broadly, but used the context of a closely fought take-over decision which North West Water had won to explain why.

JL I can give you an example. We took over, two years ago now, the electricity utility in this country, in this part of the world. In other words, North West Water fought in the market place by making a bid for the electricity company. It was my efforts and efforts of my team that probably determined that the then government would not object to it, would allow it to happen. And I also spent a considerable amount of time explaining to the then opposition who might have objected for political reasons to keep quiet or keep fairly quiet and that is why the amalgamation went through. And if it had not been for my activities and the activities from my team and the people who were helping me, then it might not have happened. That would have been a major setback for this company. At times, you can certainly measure the success or otherwise, of the function. I mean where one is able to modify government policy where one is able to influence government policy that emerges. So there are ways in which you can measure the effect of your work. And you can then transfer it into financial terms.
Marketing

A major theme of the research was to evaluate whether public affairs (lobbying) was part of modern marketing management and if so where did it fit within the discipline. Consequently as part of the interviews this question was explored. It raised a range of comments from respondents who felt that strategic lobbying was at the commercial heart of the company and essential for corporate success. Some respondents did not have a full appreciation of what marketing was and considered it just the promotion and sales functions rather than having an awareness of more sophisticated relationship marketing and customer orientated approaches. Respondents almost uniformly had a low regard for being associated with public relations, unless they had worked in a communications agency or consultancy environment.

The majority of correspondents perceived public affairs work as intelligence gathering, communication and the selling of ideas to a very sophisticated market, which confirmed one of the fundamental hypotheses of the thesis.

Anthony Weale, with his long background and career within a major industry and FTSE 100 company explored the issue in some depth.

AW Your word marketing is quite an important one. I get the impression that in Britain it is only the big companies that really have or can afford a public affairs function be it ever so small, although on the other hand I think most small and medium sized enterprises are increasingly using their chief executive or their chairman as their group public affairs man.............

I think that public affairs itself is part of the marketing function.

INT Why?
AW Well, the only reason we talk to people, the only reason we communicate about the company or about the company’s problems, is in order to make more money. That is the only reason we do it, isn’t it? I cannot imagine a single reason why we go to talk to any politician or any newspaper if it wasn’t for the purpose, ultimately, of improving ICI’s profitability. Yes, all is related to that, even if we are talking to the Department of the Environment about industrial waste or if we are talking to Greenpeace, trying to argue our case. We are doing it because, ultimately, we want to make more money for the shareholder.

We have competition experts here. We are always getting in trouble with competition problems. But I work very closely with them, we don’t separate the role at all. Because once we have decided what the bill means and have worked out what the implications for ICI are, then we decide what we are going to do about it. And that again is a question of me, say the legal function, perhaps anyone of our businesses, we all get together and we work out how we are going to do the lobbying. By the time a bill is published, it is far too late, except in the most minor ways. No, sometimes, I will give you an example where you can actually have a win even when a bill is at a very mature stage. But normally, we are trying to do things long before that, when there is still a gleam in father’s eye. We all try to work together, not in any formal way. I just involve anybody who, I think, is going to help. And they are always willingly do it.

It is certainly marketing the organization to Government. Part of my job is to maintain ICI’s reputation and credibility with the government. I am happy that it should be like that. So it is part of marketing the company.

It is certainly marketing the company as far as the corporate reputation stands. Even the product in terms of briefing, we are briefing MPs or we are just communicating with MPs, we have got a good reputation.

John Last, gave a very clear view on the question of whether public affairs was part of marketing. He pointed to the need to socially market the company or organisation for it to gain government goodwill and support.

JL I can understand why some people think it is part of the marketing function where you market a product and you could equally say that what we are doing is marketing a company. What we are doing is identifying what are our ambitions, what are our objectives and we are conveying those to the outside world and we are conveying those to society. And what we ideally want to do is to so successfully market the company, its ideas and ambitions, that they become acceptable. There is a phrase used and it has been used quite a lot recently, you know this concept of the stakeholders. Of
a company having four distinct stakeholders, one of which is the community. It is not just our customer base, it is our ability to be accepted to operate and to function, because you could reach the point where society withdraws your licence to operate. In other words our management of the water system or our management of the power system becomes so unpopular that government, people decide to take it away from us.

Emerging Best Practice and Core Reasons for Success

During the research respondents were asked to highlight examples of good public affairs practice and how it assisted their organisational goals. Tim Clement-Jones in referring to the impact of the Sunday Trading Campaign [see case study in Chapter 8 for an overview of the campaign], raised the interesting issue of how federations of interest such as the Retail Consortium operate and made the following points.

TC-J That was an extremely important cross company initiative.............I did an interview with Retail Week a couple of weeks ago. They basically asked me about lobbying in the retail industry and the key thing is you concentrate constantly as a major player on three or four issues of very great importance to yourself but by and large most of lobbying should be on an industry wide basis. Say for instance, if you are a banker, you should be doing a lot with the British Bankers Association, you should be making sure you have identified the key issues of common concern across the banking industry and you should add your weight to the industry body.

He went on to explain why retailers individually come to party conferences [See Appendix 2 for details of retailers attendance] rather than operate under a collective industry grouping.

TC-J If you are a retailer you work with the British Retail Consortium on their agenda. There are three or four key areas obviously where you may want to place particular emphasis where you put the resource, lobbying and so on. For instance why do companies come to conferences as individuals why don’t they continue to cross industry lobby, they may have a particular agenda item where their interest diverges from those of their industrial colleagues for instance. Just take an example, why do Safeway, Tesco and Sainsbury’s have receptions at conferences? Because they want to build strong relationships with local opinion formers, that is one of the key
agenda items for them. Now they can’t do that jointly with other retailers but it makes sense for them to do that. They may have particular concerns for a planning area for instance.

Interestingly in 1998, the retail groups were less visible in the exhibition area of the party conferences with the exception of Somerfield, who made their first appearance at the Labour Party Conference by sponsoring delegates’ badges for £25,000’s (Inglefield, The Times, 29th September 1998), which stimulated much comment about the virtues of commercial sponsorship and increased the supermarket groups visibility immeasurably. Tescos have moved into sponsoring the stalls of ‘not for profit’ organisations and Sainsburys emphasise its community work via selective adverts in the proceedings. The large multiple retailers now tend to sponsor party events (eg. Tesco’s sponsor the Liberal Democrats Parliamentary Candidates Association annual reception and meeting with its leader) or general receptions for delegates, interestingly Archie Norman’s Asda were evident at the 1998 Labour Party Conference (authors own research).

Clement-Jones, also made the interesting point that much lobbying and therefore public affairs activity was focused on the key management area of change management.

TC-J ......... actually when you are talking about change and management an awful lot of lobbying is all about adjusting to change, influencing change, managing change, making sure that change happens to your advantage, you have got to have a very clear idea of what is to your commercial advantage and how you can get that competitive edge over your rival companies. I think that that is very important actually.

A factor that was explored at interview was whether a change of government led to a change of attitude towards lobbying. Interestingly there were divided views on this as those representing large ‘in house’ public affairs interests seemed to think there was
little change between governments openness to public affairs, except for the competence of ministers concerned. Whilst those with a stronger involvement in agency and therefore commercial lobbying work, felt that the Labour Government was less open to being lobbied partly because of the poor name associated with the profession, although more recently the opposite assertion is being made. John Last, commented clearly from the viewpoint of a utility that had been pilloried by the Labour Party when in opposition, but was now accepted in the cold reality of electoral success and government.

JL The ‘fat cats’, the people who were making money out of water and electricity, when they should not have done. And not running the thing very properly. But it was all part of the Labour Party’s build up to try and make them more popular than the Conservatives who brought in the privatisation. We were in the middle of all of that, trying our best to make people think good of us. Not very easy, as you could well imagine. It is interesting that since the general election there has been a whole new set of ministers who have come in and said ‘Oh forget about that, you just carry on with your work as you did before’. They are very happy to let the status quo continue.

Interestingly, Chris Hopson, reiterated much written research that the civil service is still very important in shaping policy and that the political will to take decisions or to do something is much more important in a political party or politician than ideology. He also saw no major difference in attitude to quality public affairs work between the Labour and Conservative Governments of 1997.
INT How important is the political context?

CH I do not think it makes so much difference in the end, to be honest. Whichever party is in government, you have to work with which ever party is there. They are both equally easy to work with. I do not detect any difference in the ease I do my job now compared to a year ago with a different government. It also goes back to the point that in a lot of cases, it is not the ministers that you need to convince. It is the civil servants. The civil servants stay there irrespective of what the government is. I am convinced that we were allowed the second take-over primarily as a result of having convinced one civil servant who was very, very influential in the process and I knew he was very influential and I knew, particularly with a relatively weak Secretary of State, who did not take a huge intellectual interest in these issues, I knew that, if this civil servant went along ......and said ‘Secretary of State, please do it this way’, the chances were that we’d get the right result. In the white paper, it said ‘No change’, everybody gave up hope after that, I always said, if the Secretary of State changed as they did that we would have a real chance of changing their minds. We very specifically targeted this civil servant, who we knew would be very influential, we had a general intellectual debate with the guy and we wrote a very detailed paper explaining and we generally convinced him. It actually made relatively little difference, whether that person’s boss is Tory Secretary of State or Labour Secretary of State. I am a great believer in the influence of the civil servants. I do not think ministers necessarily set the tone. It is actually the civil servants who set it.

This targeting of individuals and going in at the right level within the Civil Service is not always evident in the literature (Connelly, 1992, Souza, 1998) although the point emerges very strongly from the research [see also comments from Ben Chapman Chapter 7]. Hopson, went on to emphasise the importance of commercial management skills to bring out the best for the organisation from public affairs work.

CH All of that stuff is important: understanding how Westminster works, understanding how MPs, civil servants work... But none of that is rocket science. None of that is that difficult to wrap your head round, it’s not some kind of mystical science that cannot be learned by anybody and that only anybody who has ever been round there, who has ever worked in Westminster or whatever, can understand it. That is nonsense. A lot of consultants try to pretend that is the case, it is nonsense. There is a way of
doing things that you can fairly easily learn just as you can learn to be an accountant. What I am saying is that once you’ve learned these skills, the real issue is having a sufficiently broad business knowledge and a commercial thrust to be able to apply those skills in the pursuit of the company’s commercial objectives. It will be much more commercially driven and much more focused on that kind of approach.

**Reasons for Success**

Informants also commented on what they saw as the key reasons for success in public affairs. These confirmed what has been suggested by the limited literature in the area (Miller, 1990, Jordan, 1991, Andrews, 1996, Mack, 1997). The importance of effective issues management work, the involvement and support of the CEO and a regular opinion former/contact programme were all deemed as prerequisites for successful political lobbying work. A selection of specific comments is outlined as follows.

**JL.** My job is a question of identifying issues which are going to affect the company of identifying opinion formers, of identifying decision makers, of identifying policy makers and making sure that our position, our case and our advice is given to those people. That more or less summarises it.

**CH.** The crucial thing is, you will never ever succeed if people think all you are about is just your own commercial interest. And, inevitably, what you have to do is you have to be a good corporate citizen as a company, you also have to, particularly in our industry where there is a great emphasis on public service... So, the other things we do are, being very cynical about it, we cloak our naked commercial self-interest in a pretty heavy cloak of respectability. And, therefore, what we do is, we put a lot of emphasis on running community involvement. We also, as part of the process of trying to influence the government, we obviously have a day to day contact programme, where we make friends with people from the government, we make friends with people from the House of Commons, we are trying to influence people and trying to build up contacts so that when you do want to influence for something specific, you don’t want to go to them and say ‘We need your help on this’. There is a sense of good will.
The activities outlined in Chapter 5 on party conferences are part of this process and all major Broadcasting and Media groups can be observed sponsoring delegate receptions at party conferences [see Appendix 2, Private Sector Interests for a list of companies hosting events]. Invariably the regional Channel 3 television broadcasters (Central, Granada, Southern et cetera) host events for the party delegates from their area at the party conferences and consequently they get to know the key officers, representatives and politicians and the issues that are of greatest concern to them. This is all part of an increasingly sophisticated contact programme designed to build-up relationships and establish networks for the communication of ideas and interests between the parties concerned.

Anthony Weale commented and outlined two general rules for good public affairs practice.

AW. One is, at least in a company like this you have to have a total commitment of your executive board to the business in dealing with government from the Chairman down, and that we have, they get deeply involved and are always prepared to go out at the right time as the 'big gun'.

ICI has always been deemed by British industry as the Civil Service in the chemical industry with shareholders and that of course has totally changed now because of the extent of globalization apart from the nature of business but that is one thing which is vital.

The second thing which is vital is that whenever possible with lobbying I believe it is necessary to bring in the man from the coal face just as I wouldn't dream of getting a consultant to go and lobby for ICI, I would never personally lobby if I felt that there was somebody in the business who could do it better than I could who had more credibility, because he happened to run ICI's own landfill site there or because he had to run ICI's freight distribution point at Wilton. If he is the man, I want him, I will take him and I will be with him, but he is the man who has the greatest credibility.

The only other rule I have is making sure the maximum number of people, effective people at all our sites are well acquainted with local MPs, local Governments, local Officers, and are known in the area, because I believe a good relationship with that lot are based in the constituency.
A number of examples of good practice in Lobbying and public affairs were also given by the respondents. These were:-

**Anthony Weale of ICI commented on drug patents as follows:**

**Drug Patents**

But just to come back to that one point, there are times when, with a lot of work, you can actually swing a bill. The biggest success we had, seven or eight years ago, and it was on the copyright designers and patents’ bill, there was a thing called ‘licences of right’, which said that at the end of fifteen years, a patent would automatically be open to anybody to use on payment of a royalty. And the royalty would be determined by an independent arbitrator. We didn’t like that, because we wanted exemptions for pharmaceuticals and agrochemicals. The reason for that was, that it took us between the lodging of the patent and the putting of the product on the market as much as ten or twelve years, which only left us with five or three years to reward the patent, to pay back the investment that we put into it in the first place... And we persuaded them that we should get extensions, it was coming up to third reading, we managed to get the DTI to change that clause or include another clause which said that pharmaceuticals and agrochemicals were exempt and that they could have another two years on that fifteen years, so in our case it would be seventeen years. So you can sometimes do it very late but it is not very usual. But it was a good one it saved us a lot of money.

Sandy Walkington of BT outlined how his organisation had benefited from not having to pay as much Windfall tax as the city had anticipated:
Windfall Tax

So lobbying makes a difference, but also if we get a tax changed, the most recent big example is the windfall, mainly on privatised companies. We don’t think that we ought to have paid any money at all. We still won’t be happy if we are included. But the fact is, that the ultimate outcome of that debate was that we pay £100 million, when the City speculations had been that we would pay £1 billion. Our share price rose to its highest point ever and since has come down for other reasons, but the direct view of the City was that clearly we have done well on that issue. And, indeed, ... compared to other organizations what they paid... So, yes, clearly we got our lobbying better than they managed their lobbying on that particular issue. So, it is very easy to see ... lobbying does make a major contribution and why else would you do it. I mean, you only do something because it helps your company to succeed and that is what all the functions here in this building somewhere are tasked to do.

Chris Hopson of Granada suggested the following case history:

Television

The thing about television companies, they are different from a lot of other companies, in that they are highly regulated industries. The best comparisons to make are with electricity, gas, water utilities, simply because we have a very high degree of regulation on us. And that regulation very tightly restricts what we can do as a business. So, for example, five years ago we were prohibited from taking over other companies in our sector because that was the law: you could not do it. Equally, for example, probably one of the major impacts on profitability is the level of payment we make to the government to operate our broadcasting licence. So, in those kind of areas, there is a need to have quite a strong interaction with the government and with the regulator in order to ensure that the business is profitable. When you are also looking at the way the business can grow into new areas, a number of those are also regulated. So, the best example, one of the big ways this company is seeking to grow, we have just gained with Carlton the licence to operate digital terrestrial television. And that is a government awarded licence, in which the government and the regulator have a very significant influence. So, basically, what has happened in this company, which would not have with many others, is that I have tended to take a more strategic kind of role, where there is a group of about three or four of us who manage as a group all those kind of issues. And the reason I am involved in that process is basically because, as I said, you have to influence the regulator and you have to influence the government to be able to kind of get the results that you want.
Leighton Andrews outlined how the BBC had to counter political lobbying which was often used to exert pressure to curtail its commercial activities and competitiveness:

**Restricting BBC Operations for Competitive Advantage**

Yes there was a lobby about our commercial activities for example by ITV. It was strategic and the ITC lobbied very hard to stop us controlling our commercial activities. On the other hand the independent radio companies didn’t want Radio One privatised as they would have been dwarfed overnight and in a general sense the ITV companies did not want to see commercial advertising on the BBC. So there were some mutual interests there. But on the other hand Virgin wanted our frequencies.

Clearly the current arguments around the proposed increase in viewers license fees to develop digital television have a similar resonance.

At interview with Sandy Walkington the importance of political lobbying for regulated industries was explored.

**INT** You said that BT was a very special case with regard to the role of lobbying or public affairs. Would you say that this is not valid for the other organisations?

**SW** I think all the regulated companies have a particular relationship with lobbying and public policy. Obviously, there are other companies in sensitive areas, to do with health or pollution or environment, where they perhaps have to lobby more.

Anthony Weale, outlined the impact a tax on hydrocarbons could have on ICI and corporate users if not avoided or successfully lobbied against:
Energy Tax

I suppose, in a way, because there is very little that the government does, that doesn’t have some effect on a company as big as ICI. It doesn’t matter if they’re generating legislation on the environment, on taxation or employment or trade unions or whatever. It all has an effect on us and it nearly always has an effect on the bottom line. An extreme case might be, the European ambition to establish an energy tax. An energy tax at, let’s say, five dollars a barrel of oil equivalent, would cost ICI in the UK alone something like a hundred million pounds a year. Another case might be, last year, the old government in this country introduced the landfill tax. ICI’s waste was classified in such a way that it would have been paying seven pounds per ton of waste produced. By good lobbying, we managed to get ICI’s waste products reclassified, reduced to £2’s a ton. And that, in the first years, saved us somewhere between five and six million. And as the tax rate goes up, which it will, it will save us proportionally more as the years go by.

Tim Clement-Jones, elaborated on how the Sunday Trading Campaign operated.

Sunday Trading

Yes it was a consortium, we took the leading role but we set up a separate Sunday Trading Campaign which Des Wilson (now Director of Public Affairs, BAA Plc) was the director of, but it was a coalition of most of the major out of town players. The real triumph was when people like Marks & Spencer’s and Boots became involved because that gave us a broad spread that we needed, but it was a long campaign, when we lost in 1986 I think that was the year, when the first Sunday Trading Bill failed to get through the Commons, Nigel Whittaker and I was involved in that, we had set up the campaign in 1987/88 with Basil Feldman....

The ability to bridge interests can be seen in Basil Feldman, who was a former Conservative Leader of the GLC, a past Conservative Party Conference chairman, with a long association with Tesco Plc.
The Impact of the EU on Public Affairs work in the UK

An issue that emerged frequently in the interviews and throughout the research was the growing importance of the European Union in public affairs and consequently corporate matters. The literature is beginning to make this apparent (Mazey and Richardson, 1993, Van Schendelen, 1993 and more recently Greenwood, 1997) but there is still evidence that at the smaller company level awareness is limited. The lateness of the attempt by those effected to overturn legislation introduced in 1991 in the EU ending duty free goods highlights the fact that many organisations do not take into account the impact of EU legislation and regulation (Bates and Harper, 1998, Manchester Airport 1998, October).

Anthony Weale of ICI, made it very clearly known in the research how much impact the EU had in his area of activity.

AW. Sixty per cent or so of the law or the regulation that goes through this place comes from Brussels. So, Brussels is becoming increasingly important, at the expense of national government. Sad, but true.

Theory and Issues Associated with Public Affairs

Theory Development

As regards the application of definable models or scientific theories to public affairs work, it emerged from the interviews with all respondents that there appeared to be little that worked. One respondent (Anthony Weale) argued that the most effective way of assessing the impact of government on corporate competitiveness was the development of an anxiety graph by issue concerned, some of these ideas are developed more fully in Chapters Eight and Nine.
Paucity of Political Lobbying by SME’s

A number of further features emerged in the interviews of particular interest is that it was uniformly reported that most public affairs work is only carried out by FTSE 200 UK companies and international corporations. SME’s and medium size companies use trade associations, chambers of commerce and agencies for their representation.

Leighton Andrews summed this point up very clearly at interview.

LA I think for most serious businesses these days it is not so much a question of being on stage, but it is a question of being prepared to be involved as necessary That is about having done the ground work and continuing to maintain the relationships as necessary, continuing to serve the policy process, to maintain the briefing cycle. All of those activities are necessary.

I think it is more reality now for the bigger businesses, whether they express it in those terms I am not sure, but I would say for the top 200 FTSE companies, yes they are. They are not always in play, they are not always on the stage, but they are prepared to be on the stage.

Inadequacy of Public Relations Training

Another feature that emerged was that staff with a traditional public relations background did not now have the management abilities to become part of the senior management team or what Grunig (1992) has called the dominant coalition. Sandy Walkington, made this point very clearly.

SW Because there’s no good having them on the board if they aren’t able to care for the role that is important. It obviously does require a certain business expertise, which some of the more narrow functions of communications would not be equipped with. So traditionally, for example, a lot of people in corporate relations come out of the media, are ex-journalists and so on, and it isn’t necessarily the best background to be a board member of a major company.
Selling to Your Friends- The Golden Rule of Political Lobbying.

How public affairs work is evolving and the role it plays for large organisations in maintaining strategic advantage is summarised well by Anthony Weale:

INT Somebody has argued that, today, lobbying is much less about contacts but more about putting the case forward?

AW I always thought that was the case. I have never believed in contacts for contacts’ sake. I would think, there is an old rule which I learned when I was a salesman and that is, you only sell to your friends which, when you think about it... your enemies won’t buy from you. So, you can only sell to your friends. Given that lobbying is in a sense providing information, it is another kind of commercial negotiation going on, you can only do it with your friends. If a man doesn’t want to talk to you, there is nothing you can do to persuade him to do. That is why contacts are important. But what you talk to them about is hard nosed business things. It is not a question of taking them out for lunches and so on, it is giving them information that allows them to influence on your behalf, I think.

Conclusion

The research interviewed a wide range of senior public affairs practitioners who gave insight into the development and history of the discipline in UK business and government life. Interviews were supported by primary material collection and observer participation of various aspects of modern corporate lobbying in operation at party conferences and various events. In addition a range of informants from a broad sample of business interests were used as secondary interview and information sources to check out the validity of research received. Key points which emerged from this part of the research which will be considered when developing theory are:
- There has been substantial growth in the public affairs area due to the impact of globalization and in response to a less direct interventionalist (corporatist) approach by government in the UK.

- Major business organisations are increasingly taking a long-term view alongside government in influencing policy for competitive advantage.

- Small and medium sized companies are less aware of the importance of influencing government policy, until it directly impacts upon them. The influence of SME’s on the development of policy appears limited. The Duty Free Campaign and the prime forces behind it represent large organisations, as can be seen in the evidence collected relating to the Sunday Trading Campaign which has been commented on and is outlined in the Case Study in Chapter 8.

- Major businesses and not for profit organisations tend to use in house staff for their public affairs work.

- Commercial and specialist lobbyists are normally employed on a specific need basis by large businesses.

- Staff operating in public affairs are normally senior figures within the organisation or they do not have the respect of colleagues.

- A change of government does not necessarily lead to a change of attitude towards lobbying.
• The size of the majority of the government in parliament is likely to have more
direct impact on levels of lobbying activity.

• Civil servants have substantially more influence on government decision making
than politicians admit and the lower the level of decision making the easier it is to
lobby to bring about change.

• Evaluation of public affairs/lobbying is now increasingly seen in regulated markets
as the contribution it directly makes to the balance sheet.

• The EU has growing and substantial influence on regulatory policy in the UK.

• Staff operating in the public affairs arena at the highest levels are highly disciplined
and well educated.

• It is usual for public affairs managers and directors to have a historic background in
politics or the civil service.

• Public affairs (or political lobbying) is the marketing of the organisation and
associated interests to government.
The respondents in the chapter have outlined the history and role of public affairs adopted by large scale business organisations in the UK. A number of core features have emerged which are outlined. The importance of the personal experience base and skills of actors involved in public affairs work is very evident from this part of the research, clearly seniority and respect gained within the organisation are very important factors.

The potential financial losses and rewards of the impact of individual lobbying cases bear a direct relation to the level of activity involved. There is an increasing internationalization of lobbying and public affairs work, the prime co-ordinating centre of activity in Europe is becoming Brussels where transnational interests can be effectively staffed and managed.

The issues raised in this section reinforce the research findings from Chapter 5 that party conferences are increasingly a market place for public affairs work. What emerges is that lobbying and public affairs has become a major management function to achieve competitive and corporate advantage. In particular it highlights that the political lobbyist who effectively applies the marketing concept can gain strategic advantage and competitive edge for their organization.

Chapter 7 outlines a number of interviews with leading politicians and civil servants. The chapter looks at the effectiveness of lobbying, decision making and reviews some of the key ethical issues around influencing parliamentarians and government servants. The prime interviews are used selectively to highlight particular issues, the emergence of strategic public affairs management, the need for good quality information by
government and how standards for public life emerge. The chapter highlights the
growth and strategic nature of influencing government and regulation. Clearly, the
more effective individual politician or civil servant can exert considerable power and
influence if they know how to use their network.
Chapter 7

Light and the Dark: Evidence and Enquiry gleaned from UK Politicians and Civil Servants on Political Lobbying

In politics, for example, one man wishes to see certain measures enacted, and is thus led to take part in public affairs while another man, wishing only for personal success, adopts whatever programme seems most likely to lead to this result.

*Bertrand Russell, Power.*

Introduction: Reflection by Politicians and Public Servants on Political Lobbying

The study’s strategy of building up a comprehensive chart of empirical data, evidence and analysis on political lobbying (public affairs) is further explored in this chapter and developed as part of Layder's (1993) research map approach. This is grounded upon an appreciation of the literature and current research issues associated with political lobbying. Public affairs work or more explicitly what the study prefers to term political lobbying is seen be an integral part of the emerging body of research called political marketing.

To explore the linkage between lobbying and marketing activities, business and ‘not for profit’ sector activities were assessed, observed and evaluated at all the major party political conferences over a four year period from 1994 to 1998. This research explores and suggests that party political conferences are emerging as a market place for the exchange and selling of ideas between political lobbyists and politicians. The context and setting for the growth and practice of political lobbying has been explored with
practitioners in Chapter 6. This has highlighted a number of aspects of best practice and factors affecting the growth of political lobbying activity e.g. increases in government regulation, the increasing role and influence of the EU, impact of globalisation and supplied case material for the development of the research. To maintain the rigour of the study Chapter 7 explores the history, development and impact of political lobbying as perceived by politicians and civil servants, this is supported by case material obtained from informants to underpin the research and foster future theory development.

Background

This chapter focuses on politicians, civil servants and their views on the history, development and relative effectiveness of business lobbying in the UK. The research was conducted to assess the role and relative importance of political lobbying within the legislature, executive and government administration within the UK. In addition the study was used to draw out the particular lobbying features, issues and phenomena which were emerging within the British government system. In particular the interviews and associated research were used to explore whether a more strategic and systematic use of lobbying was being used by business and ‘not for profit’ interests to gain competitive advantage.

During the period of the field research, heightened concerns about the ethics, probity, standards and values perceived by the public adopted in public life by government public servants and elected officials was dominating media interest. The Committee of Standards in Public Life (Nolan) had been established as a consequence to review and advise on standards across parliamentary and government life and produced its first report in November 1995 [See Appendix 13 for a synopsis and recommendations on
values that should be adopted public office holders]. This naturally made obtaining
interviews and sources of information in the area at times more complex and difficult to
achieve [see Chapter 4 for an example of the complexities encountered]. This chapter
concentrates on Westminster based politicians and the civil service to maintain the
centrality of the study on UK government and its associated machinery. However the
influence of the EU and globalisation cannot be precluded from the research and is
referred to when it evidently has direct influence and has been raised as an issue by the
respondents. A number of cases of effective lobbying campaigns outlined by informants
are reported.

Ahead of each interview respondents were sent a background briefing paper prepared
by the author on issues emerging in lobbying and public affairs based on published
research.

The planned research questions broadly adopted in these interviews with politicians and
civil servants were as follows:

• Background to research project.
• Biography and experience of respondent.
• What would be considered good working definitions for political lobbying, public
  affairs and marketing?
• Historic knowledge of political lobbying and public affairs work.
• Case studies on political lobbying and public affairs.
• Effectiveness of political lobbying.
• Best practice.
• Where does political lobbying and public affairs fit into management theory and
• Access to ministerial decision making.
• Role of EU and supranational organisations (e.g. WTO).
• Influence of officials and parliamentarians.
• Observations on role of political lobbying in maintaining competitive advantage.
• Emerging issues, practice and trends.
• Views on ethics and political lobbying.
• Testing earlier comments from previous interviews and hypotheses emerging from research.

The politicians interviewed in depth represent all three major parties and aspects of mainstream political opinion in the UK. The civil service views are representative of both formal and informal interviews held over the period. [See Appendix 12 for a comprehensive list of informants, dates interviewed and biographies]. A summary of the results of the research and comment from informants is outlined in the rest of this chapter.

The Historiographic Context of Public Affairs

Souza (1998) argues that public affairs as we recognise it today as a profession at Westminster can be traced back to the career of Lt Commander Christopher Powell RN. and his work in the 1930’s. In 1929 with his partner Charles Watney (former lobby correspondent of the Daily Mail) he set-up a Parliamentary consultancy and offered assistance to and a select secretarial service to a small group of MPs. The bulk of his work was writing standard letters of replies to constituents and requesting information from officials and ministries. He gradually developed his skills to become quite adroit at drafting questions for parliamentarians and charged a small fee just before the eve of the
Second World War. Post 1945 he launched his first real business as a professional lobbyist which covered such areas as protecting the Port Wine producers against unfair duties as well as supporting particular clients initiatives to obtain Ministry of Defence contracts. The style of public affairs work was very limited to small scale operations of one or two individuals working for a limited list of clients until the late 1960’s (Greer, 1997). What then happened is that primarily multi-national groups to maintain contact with UK Government and European legislation established government relations or public affairs departments and associated contact programmes to keep in contact with decision makers. As the 1970’s unfolded there was a rapid growth in campaign and pressure activity and this gave rise to the development of lobbyists associated with cause and ‘not for profit’ sector (Wilson, 1984). From the late 1970’s a new type of public affairs company came into operation, the commercial lobbyists (Jordan, 1991), this saw the birth of such companies as GJW, Dewe Rogerson et cetera who could be hired by clients for their services as lobbyists (Moloney, 1996). A full outline of lobbying practices and techniques is listed in Chapter 3. The growth and development of political lobbying was explored at interview with informants [see Appendices 8 and 10 for a comprehensive list of respondents].

The first question asked was to explore reasons for the growth and history of lobbying or public affairs in the UK. This elicited a range of experience based comment from the politicians, some of whom had both held political office and on separate occasions been in public affairs.

Paul Tyler MP commented on the history and changes in approach he had observed in public affairs.
Fifteen years ago, when public affairs was a junior function in the public relations department and the route into any board thinking was to hire a Marketing Director, and the only occasion when the Chief Executive or Managing Director was ever rolled out at all in this context was for the annual drinks party to meet the local MP or whatever, that was it. It was as if the audiences, the targets were no different to the hacks from the local paper. In fact, very often, the MP would be sent a copy of a press release, and that was the only form of communication. That was never the case in the States.

During the interview he elaborated on lobbying and public affairs work in the US.

My colleagues in the States, and I was there again this year, they always saw the small 'p' political environment as a key concern of senior management and represented a direct link in to the key people in the company and even a visiting politician would get in to see a senior vice president of a company, they always saw this as an extremely important part of the overall context for the management of that company.

He went on to comment that this was becoming the norm in the UK.

David Alton MP’s comments on the growth of lobbying had a strong moralistic tone to them, but expressed a genuine interest in the need for impartiality in the legislative and policy making process. At interview he reflected on the growth of commercial lobbying of parliament in the Conservative Government period from 1979 to 1991, when in the early stages much radical legislation had been introduced (Middlemas, 1994).

I was elected in 1979. ............... I began here at the start of the Thatcher years. Then of course we had a frenzy of legislation, and it was ironic that the Government was elected on less legislation and less regulation. In order to achieve that objective of less regulation they had to pass a lot more legislation. So we never stopped legislating and certainly I think that it is fair to say that inevitably drew business and business interest’s far more into the equation. They became a lot more conscious of what was happening in Parliament. How far that went in terms of buying influence amongst ministers is something that probably only history will finally establish, but the relationships prior to 1979 were very different to the relationships after 1979. That wasn't just to do with the change of Government, but certainly it was also to do with the nature and the style
and the content of legislation that was being passed through the House. The relationships which individual ministers developed with industry is perhaps most graphically illustrated by the ease with which retired ministers had been able to move from politics in to industry and on to boards.

David Alton’s interview reflected much of what was unfolding at that time concerning standards in public life. This would pre-occupy much of the Palace of Westminster and the associated working environment during the period of the research. For instance, “fire-breaks” for former ministers entering closely connected corporate employment was one of the issues examined by the Committee on Standards in Public Life (Nolan, 1995a and 1995b) and David Alton sat on the Privileges Committee of the House of Commons at that time.

In exploring the growth and development of public affairs and more particularly lobbying, the research included questioning of former members of government eg Sir Rhodes Boyson MP. At interview he was very direct, intellectually challenging and provided insight into the speed of ministerial decision making. He clearly had seen a significant increase in lobbying and public affairs activities during his period in parliament. In answer to a direct question asking whether he had seen an increase in lobbying and pressure group activity, he replied.

RHB Oh Yes, immensely. It hardly existed previously. Practically every business has set something up now on influence. I sometimes think they over exaggerate the influence they perhaps have mind you ...... It becomes an industry in its own right which is very difficult to actually assess whether it is actually doing anything. By the very nature it is relatively private, well it is one to one ....

A further interview was held with Lord Geoffrey Tordoff of Knutsford, which gave insight into both the workings of the upper house and associated legislators and officials. He has
four civil servants working directly for him as “chief scrutineer of European legislation” coming before the House of Lords.

He gave insight into the lack of use made by lobbyists of the House of Lords, especially as the upper house is more likely to amend government bills than the lower house because of the strong governing party control of MP’s. He commented on his broad understanding of historic and current lobbying (public affairs) activity.

LT I have been out of the industry for thirteen years so I am a bit out of touch, but I do have contact through the Chemical Industry Association (CIA) who run a very good all party group. It is actually one of the better lobbying organisations in the sense that they know what their job is and how to focus it.

He went on to explain the daily activity of lobbying and the effectiveness of organised groups and organisations.

LT When I was Chief Whip I was on the receiving end of quite a lot of lobbying of one sort or another but largely from NGO’s (non governmental organisations) and Local Government Associations and that sort of thing...........

He outlined how lobbying worked in the House of Lords. How it exerted pressure on politicians and how legislators assessed the information lobbyists provided.

LT Largely, in that case relating to legislation going through the House. That is very important particularly for a minority party in the House of Lords where the amount of research facility is very limited if you bear in mind that we can only claim £30 a day secretarial allowance on the days that we are here. So the information that comes in through professional lobbyists whether they be corporate or other organisations is very important to finding a way through legislation. The problem of course is that you have got to be a bit canny in knowing when you are being led by the nose or when there is a real issue but I think as politicians we know the things that we are interested in. We know the issues that we believe in and we tend to reject the ones that we don't.
The impact of literature, size of the post-bag and the lack of knowledge on how the House of Lords works was then explored.

LT I get a mound of paper even now from all sorts of organisations, I get annual reports they simply go straight in to the basket and I think the level of professionalism in relation to parliament in particular in relation to the House of Lords is woefully ignorant. I used to and occasionally still do a little lecture to the Hansard Society who have people in from various organisations telling them how better to lobby the House of Lords, because it is an area which does get forgotten by lobbyists.

Richard Burden MP, is a Labour Party MP who has been assiduous in his support of his constituents motor industry interests (particularly the funding of BMW and its Rover Longbridge Plant) and has campaigned vigorously on water privatisation. He was very useful in developing some of Labours’ emerging perspectives on business interests and their representation, especially the role chambers of commerce can play in co-ordinating small and medium size companies representation and particularly within the Labour Party.

In relation to Chambers of Commerce he commented.

RB I certainly think that as far as Labour is concerned some of their work has actually been quite useful in terms of building up understanding between the party and industry.

He gave a recent example of the impact lobbying can have via the pressure of constituency interests, on legislators and representatives to ensure they are aware of the strategic importance of local business’s and organisations securing certain contracts.

RB I don't know whether you remember seeing it in the newspapers (1995) there was a big Ministry of Defence Ambulance Contract. Basically Rover and Landrover had always produced military ambulances and there was an Austrian firm who was in the frame as far as the competition process went. Rover did meet all the specifications and from what we could tell was cheaper. What was said was that the Austrian one had passed some of the
tests more thoroughly than ...Rover ... had but was more expensive. It did
look at one stage that the contract was going to Austria and that led to
quite a major public campaign around that and it was not a special
pleading for Rover as Rover, even though in the Midlands that would have
been the case. The Landrover plant is not in our constituency, it is in
Solihull, losing that contract is a major problem........ But the spin off in
terms of British Motor exports, Landrover was looking towards having
quite a major impact on the export market not just military ambulances but
other military equipment they have a good range of equipment in this area
not just military ambulances, there was a lot of jobs riding on it and there
was a lot of feeling around it. ........there was a kind of reservoir of
support anyway, that when the issue blew, people backed Landrover
because instinctively they want to back British companies, the MPs who
were most involved, were also MPs who were kind of plugged in to either
motor industry issues or were maybe plugged in to the local firm in their
area

To give an insight into the administration of government and how policy and decision
making is arrived at and can be influenced it was important that the literature on civil
servants, public policy networks and Whitehall was fully explored. There is a substantial
literature in this area and a massive amount of work on the British Civil Service, which has
been well annotated, reviewed and summarised in Barberis (1996). The current research
was augmented by a selective review of the published literature of relevance to this study,
which included Richardson and Jordan (1979), Hennessy, (1990, 1995 and 1996), and
Smith (1993). This review aided understanding of the workings of government service. A
large number of policy presentations and Whitehall supported training events were attended
which allowed access and questioning of senior civil servants. These included civil servants
such as Sir Michael Butler, who was Permanent British Representative to the European
Community, 1979-85 and subsequently a director of Hambros Bank and Vivian Brown,
who was Head of the Competition Policy Division within the DTI. In addition regular
conversations were obtained with civil servants attending the party conferences and a
number based at the then North West Regional Office in Manchester to check validity of
information and refine research findings. During the research, contact and interviews were
made with a number of senior officials at various directorates within the European Commission for balance, to check out interview comments, associated issues and to assess the relative influence of the European Union.

During the period of the research, civil servants who were interviewed, because of their codes of practice and positions invariably wished to remain anonymous respondents. Consequently only one retired senior civil servant is included in the reported interviews. The interview is reported in full as Ben Chapman, but it should be noted that during the research he emerged from retirement and was elected Labour MP for the Wirral South Parliamentary Constituency [See Appendix 12 for details].

Ben Chapman at interview gave his view of how historically lobbying and public affairs work had developed, this concurred with the work of Souza (1998).

BC In the chemical industry it being an industry of relative wealth and often of large firms, the corporate affairs side of the house is very significant indeed. I mean if you look for example at BP's corporate affairs, ICI's corporate affairs, Shells' corporate affairs these are highly graded people in influential positions and many of them with significant budgets. And if you look at the role of subsidiary organisations in the chemical industry below the main Chemical Industries Association (CIA) for example, certainly Detergent Industries Association (DIA), Fertiliser Manufacturers Association (FMA), Paintmakers Association (PMA). All have powerful lobbying roles because they are subject to regulations which can effect generally detrimentally I think their well being and in some cases put them out of business. I was much involved for example with the asbestos industry who had to lobby in order to preserve itself.

The reasons for growth and the particular importance of lobbying and public affairs work for certain industries (and in this case again the chemical industry) was put forward by a number of respondents (Sir Malcolm Thornton MP, Brian Simpson MEP, Lord Tom McNally and others) and in particular Ben Chapman.
They are particularly vulnerable to environmental pressures and at least in my time, it was only necessary for the environmentalists to assert but it was necessary for the recipients to approve and so that they had to get their retaliation in first in many instances hence the growth of the lobbying business. But they are also much involved with issues because if you look at the chemical industry taking that as an example and the environment, you need to influence the thinking before it starts, if you know what I mean, because the pressures are coming at the chemical industry on the environmental front from the Town Hall, from Westminster, from Brussels and in some cases from the UN.

In addition many respondents emphasised the importance of getting in at the very early stages of thinking and policy development (Sir Rhodes Boyson M.P., Sir Malcolm Thornton M.P., Vivian Brown, Nigel Evans. This had previously been confirmed at interviews with Public Affairs professionals [See Chapter Seven]. Again Ben Chapman made this point well.

It is a fact of life. That in my view at least in policy making he who writes the first paper sets the course of the forces before you. After that you are in the business of trying to amend effectively an established position and that is more difficult. So you have to get in before the paper.
Myths and Mystique of Lobbying

Common Sense and No Time for Expensive Lunches

At interview politicians were also asked to comment on the effectiveness of lobbying and public affairs work. This gave a range of responses which reflected the interests, knowledge, political opinions and views of the respondents which taken individually could give a distorted analysis of the subject, but taken collectively gives a more holistic view of how effective lobbying can be. Paul Tyler MP with his background in Public Affairs made some useful comments in June 1995.

PT The strategic lesson I think I have learnt from both sides. 15 years of consultancy or in one form or another advocacy or public affairs and now back again. Is that there is an awful lot of jargon. There is quite a lot of bullshit, but at the end of the day the application of common sense to a relatively straightforward communications issue. Once a business of any sort, anything from a charity, voluntary movement, environmental movement right through to commercial enterprise has identified that they are operating within a political framework. Then there are obvious points of contact with that political context and you address it like any sensible communications exercise ‘who do we want to say what to’, ‘when will it be relevant to them’, et cetera, et cetera.

On the subject of entertainment, respondents confirmed quality press comment, the work of Jordan (1991) and previous information gained by the research. That is that politicians or officials worth talking to are not just attracted by a free lunch. They will give access if the person wanting to gain a hearing is gauged genuine and either brings information or has an affinity with their policy interests. A typical comment from the respondents is that of Paul Tyler MP.

PT My rule of thumb specifically for Westminster was and would remain if an MP has got time for an expensive lunch he isn't worth wasting the time on because the really busy active parliamentarians will not come to lunch for the lunch.
Emerging Best Practice in Lobbying and Public Affairs

Interviewees were also questioned on what they saw as best practice adopted by politicians, civil servants and lobbyists. This brought up a number of interesting cases where there are cross lobby interests and different interpretations of policy which is sometimes contradictory, see especially Read (1992) for those contradictions in government policy towards the tobacco industry and Andrews (1996) for the coalition of interests behind the Devonport Dockyard Campaign. This can also cause moral contradictions for an aware politician or official. Paul Tyler MP, gave a good example at interview

PT Take just a simple example. The Disablement Discrimination Bill, the Government Bill, there is a section in that bill which looks as if it would result, in a vast increase in the number of black taxi cabs that would have to have facilities for wheel chairs. In principle we must be in favour. But we are now briefed that the number in London that already have that is quite sufficient, in fact it is gross over supply but that is not the problem. It is certainly not necessary to have any more and that the real pressure for this to be written into the new bill does not come from the Disablement Lobby at all, it comes from the company that manufactures those taxis. Now, it is rather like, beware of Greeks with gifts. I think that parliamentarians do have to now look pretty carefully at the credentials of anybody who comes to see them.

The Relative Importance of influencing Ministers and Parliamentarians

Influencing ministers and their decision making is of particular interest to lobbyists as it could mean revisions being agreed to a government bill, the over turning of a planning decision or amendments to licensing fees, such as the Channel Four levy on ITV companies. [See Chris Hopson’s comments in Chapter 6] (The House Magazine, 6th July 1998, No.814, Vol.23).

There was a tendency throughout the research for politicians to argue that MPs and especially ministers had considerable influence on decision making and the point was
particularly strongly made by respondents recently in government, particularly, Sir Malcolm Thornton and Sir Rhodes Boyson. These views were contradicted by civil servant respondents who emphasised the limited power available to MPs and particularly MEPs. Civil servant sources tended to argue that ministers and politicians in particular have less influence on policy than they believe or suggest. Certainly both the literature (Miller, 1991, Connelly 1992 and Grant 1995, et al) and comment from public affairs professionals tends to support the view that politicians, particularly ordinary members have less influence than they think. Being an elected member of a large or small majority government can also directly influence how much real influence one has when the votes are wanted by the executive [See Chapter 6 comments of Leighton Andrews]. The area of buying influence by employment of MPs as advisors or directors of lobbyists to buy access and exert pressure on decision making was investigated in some depth by the Nolan Committee [see particularly pages 25-40, the transcriptions of evidence given on Wednesday 18th January 1995 by Maureen Tomlinson, chairman Decision Makers Ltd and Dame Angela Rumbold MP and that on pages 79-87 given by Rt.Hon. John Mcgregor MP, on Tuesday 24th January 1995, outlined in the oral transcripts in Volume 2 of the first report (Nolan, 1995b)]. The Nolan Report tends to suggest that parliamentarians have less direct influence individually than they think and that the degree of embeddedness of the individual (Strandvik and Törnroos, 1995) within the political system has a direct impact on this. It also suggests that Arnhe’s ‘Centaur Concept’ (1994) of being able to propel forward issues when applied well can also exert considerable influence within the political system. A good example would be an individual MP championing a particular cause [see Chapter 6, the comments of David Alton, as an example].
The influence and impact of parliamentarians on decision making by the executive was interestingly explored by Ben Chapman, who felt that many had over-inflated views of their powers.

**BC** I have been a lobbyist, I have been a recipient of lobbying and I have been bureaucrat and I cannot remember of any incidents where the MPs intervention has had any material effect whatsoever.

I think that there is an effect that can be achieved cumulatively if you get a lot of MPs baying on about the same thing, you can have an effect, be it positive or negative. Whether even the collective baying of MPs are such to influence a debate I don't know. Sorry I mean the decision rather than influence the debate. I cannot think of an MP's letter on a policy paper that I have dealt with because the MP's letter comes down to the civil servant to answer. And I have never known a Minister materially alter a draft that is written of course in the knowledge of what the Minister thinks. So the policy effectively is between the administrator and the Minister. Nor have I known Parliamentary questions really have a material influence on events.

**The Power and Influence of Political Lobbying**

The questions of how much real influence does political lobbying have and what are the causes for its growth are at the heart of this study. The evidence from the literature (Jordan, 1991, Harrison, 2000 et al) and from informants [see chapter 6] is that there is good lobbying and bad political lobbying - the Light and the Dark. This is explored in this section.

Ben Chapman then usefully outlined who he felt had real influence in the decision making process.

**BC** If you are talking about legislation then you are talking about a different kettle of fish but MPs to a lesser degree MEPs are limited and have a limited influence, people who do exercise influence are lobbyists....... Trade Associations if they are well organised, groups of one sort or another and environmental groups, the press, chief executives, people who contribute to the party, people in marginal constituencies, that sort
of thing influences policy. ..... lobbyists are obviously part of the democratic process ...in the sense that they impart information to government and they are a beneficial part of the democratic process. But for all that sometimes pernicious and of course the seats at Covent Garden, places at Glynebourne, Henley and a host of other entertainment opportunities would be much less full were it not for the activity of the lobbyist. And of course it gives them a unique opportunity because over the course of the dinner they have several hours be it with Ministers or whoever the time and the attention and that is uniquely available only on that sort of occasion. That works. I think lobbying is particularly pernicious in cases where the government is both gamekeeper and poacher, ..... in agriculture for example, where the government is both the sponsor and the regulator to the industry, the influence of the NFU is unhealthy. To some extent that is true in the Health Service where the Department of Health is the sponsor of the industry and the sponsor of the Health Business and it is always better if regulation is separated by if only by Chinese Walls from sponsorship by which I mean looking after the well being of the industry and the government (a) can get it wrong and (b) it can be unduly influenced by pressure groups.

This highlights the grey areas of influence and the contradictions in policy making which can be exploited by lobbyists and have been discussed earlier. These issues are more fully explored by showing the contradictions in government between the Departments of Health, Employment and Treasury in the case of Health Care and Tobacco in Harris and Ziegler, (1996). The contradictions and tensions within the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries between supply side economic interests, environmentally sensitive agriculture and consumers is fully explored by Grant (1995) and on the BSE crisis in Harris and O’Shaughnessy (1997) and Ratzan (1998).
The Power of Information

Sir Malcolm Thornton, was the Conservative MP for Crosby until he lost his seat in the 1997 General Election. He explored how influence could be gained by supplying clear, readily digestible, quality information when it was needed by decision makers, this has been confirmed throughout the research and in particular by lobbyists.

MT The object of lobbying by outside interests for business on the legislative process is to try and capture ministers' attention if they are any good. Well obviously the power to extend influence is important and is to provide good advice and information, because we over work our ministers, so ministers do become dependent on parliament for just a couple of things Legislative support and information. ....... and when I see a minister I can say this quite strongly mitigates against UK plc and in this particularly critical area of legislation ....... this has got to be brought to bear ..... a piece of legislation is invariably in need of refinement.

Sir Malcolm Thornton and the majority of respondents made the point about the high value placed on quality information which could be made available to Ministers and members of parliament to allow them to make measured decisions. The value and provenance of being able to regularly supply good information and research is reiterated in the limited literature on the subject (Jordan, 1991, Richardson, 1993, Lattimer 1994, Lamb, 1996, Nolan, 1995a and 1995b) [see in Nolan 1995b, Volume 2, especially the evidence of Rt. Hon. John McGregor MP and Andrew Gifford] and appears to be becoming even more important as the complexities and volume of legislating and regulation increase. In addition, this need for quality advice and intelligence gathering has stimulated a significant increase in the growth of think tanks and policy advisers to alleviate the paucity of information (Economist, 25th May 1991 and 18th July 1998).
The Importance of Selling

Sir Rhodes Boyson MP, at interview emphasised the importance of direct and quality advocacy of an issue to ministers for lobbying to be effective. He interestingly concurred with research that advocating a cause to ministers as part of lobbying was very similar to high quality selling techniques.

RHB. I have always found that some of the most effective lobbying is done in ten minutes. That people are often advantaged for a beginning and that they have moved in and then they have lost it.

INT They have talked themselves out.

RHB. Yes they have talked themselves out of it.

INT So it is a bit like selling?

RHB. Yes, yes. You have only so much time. .......Yes that is it, and you know .. you are thinking about the next job and you are gone, and they slip from your mind forever more.

He went on to argue about the importance of focusing lobbying for it to be effective and to research both the background and interests of the minister concerned. He emphasised the need for quality research and information being tailored to ministers needs and limited attention spans for it to be effective. This reflects very much approaches such as sales preparation, product and offerings suggested in much of the modern selling and sales management literature (Donaldson, 1998) which reflects the opinion of previously cited research [see Chapter 6 and points made by John Last and Anthony Weale]
The importance of preparation, which is strongly advocated in Shea’s (1996) epigram which has been previously cited was strongly underlined by Sir Rhodes Boyson.

RHB It is much more the people you are speaking to who are highly sophisticated so the blunt blunderbuss is no good. It is a question of finding an area which it is obvious to the person you are talking to that it could be advantageous to that government department or to the man in public affairs or whatever it is. And it means that you have to do a lot of background first otherwise the whole thing will be a sheer waste of time.

When to Politically Lobby for Maximum Effect

At interview when exploring lobbying and public affairs effectiveness and whether it was becoming more strategic, Sir Malcolm Thornton provided some useful answers and confirmed a number of issues that had emerged in the research. Importantly, that lobbying has very little chance of success beyond the early stages of legislation formulation or decision making and that it is only a small proportion of decisions and policy that can be influenced by politicians and lobbyists at the legislative stage. This very much supports the views in the literature expressed by, for example, Jordan and Richardson (1982), Smith (1993) and Baggott (1995), but contradicts some of the more recent boasts of professional lobbyists such as the garrulous and, in terms of the media, ubiquitous Derek Draper (White, 8th July 1998, Economist 11th July 1998, Barnett, 19th July 1998).

The political respondents suggested that between 17 to 20 per cent of decisions and issues in parliament are up for debate and further refinement and that this is the area where most lobbying occurs. Sir Malcolm Thornton made the point:

MT What you are looking to do is to try and influence at the early stages because the problem with government playing or pontificating on drafted legislation is that it tends to defend that no matter what, even if it’s wrong.
This point of getting in early to influence legislation was reiterated by the comments of a number of former civil servants, most notably Michael Shea. A career diplomat, former Press Secretary to The Queen and previous Head of Public Affairs at Hanson PLC he made the comment ‘Lobbying is like growing asparagus, you wish you had started three years ago’ (Harris and Lock, 1996). The literature and subsequent research interviews confirm that it is essential in order to achieve major influence to be involved at the ideas or the drafting stage of a proposed bill, rather than responding to a first draft bill, when much of the die is cast. A number of respondents confirmed suggestions made in the literature (Martinelli, 1991) and research through participant observation, that the large multi national companies in the chemicals, energy, pharmaceuticals and telecommunications industries were particularly good at lobbying. They are strategically focused, have good personnel and are organised to have regular access to regional, national and European level government [see Chapter 6, Anthony Weale and Sandy Walkington).

**Rules of Lobbying**

**The Three Basic Rules of Good Lobbying**

Ben Chapman at interview expressed what he saw as the key rules of lobbying government and its officials.

BC There are three rules of lobbying as far I am concerned. The first is never go in too high too early, the second is never go in only after the problem has arisen and the third is never to over do it and that is the key to effective lobbying. And by the first, if I have got them in the right order. By not going in too high too early then I think that if they go to the Minister before they go to the other officials, if the Minister is not well briefed they get the wrong answer and that is the last recourse gone. Whereas if you start by briefing the relevant officials, be they in Brussels or wherever, you have an infinite number of rights of appeal so to speak. If the junior guy doesn't receive the messages then you have got to keep going up the ladder until you get a sense of a perfect gear which will switch the course of the decision.
These basic rules in one form or another were repeated by a number of civil servant, lobbyist and public affairs respondents. Although not spelt out quite as candidly as Ben Chapman’s comments, his three rules for effective lobbying can be seen as clearly in keeping with the suggestions made by the somewhat diffuse literature (Shea, 1988 and Grant, 1993).

Political Lobbying Cases and Issues: Highlighted by Politicians and Civil Servants.

At interview and in discussion with respondents a number of exemplars of political lobbying campaigns and issues emerged. Six notable examples are outlined below and emboldened text used to highlight critical issues illustrated by respondents.

1. Lobbying and Local Government Planning: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly Side of Local Government Planning

Paul Tyler MP, in interview, explained some of the more complex issues relating to local government and associated lobbying practice in that area. The issue of gaining supermarket sites [see also Chapter 5] has become a major area of contention as major multiple retailers vie for competitive edge (Gummer, 1998, and Norman, 1998). This contentious issue was fully explored in the interview. The pressures on local government to provide facilities for its various communities and to meet demands show an interesting real policy situation where interests can conflict. In conversation with local government officials, councillors and lobbyists it was confirmed that one of the few areas left within local government where lobbyists were most active was around the Planning Committees and Policy and Resources Committees where these decisions were arrived at and resolved.

Paul Tyler’s comments were confirmed by other respondents and can be seen in the growth of new political lobbying organisations such as Political Planning Services (PPS) who
specialise in retail supermarket and ‘out of town’ planning applications. ‘Growth has been exceptional in this sector of lobbying in recent years’ (non attributable comment).

PT Switch to the local government scene. I think the whole issue of planning gain, which was perfectly legitimate, very proper, achieved a great deal, in the 80’s now stinks a bit. It looks like how do we bribe this planning committee to give us consent to build the out of town shopping centre or whatever it is. You can understand the representatives, particularly at local authority level, having come through a very tough recession. When it is still difficult to get the facilities you want and on top of all that, the frustrations of daily life in the local authority. When so many of the big decisions are taken out of your hands.

When the resources are very tight, somebody comes along and says 'look you give us planning consent and we can sort that problem of the playing field you want for your school or that access road that otherwise cannot be funded'. Entirely admirable projects suddenly become possible, it is not just that you get your project but you also feel that you are doing something, which for the average local authority is extraordinary frustrating, because so much of your time you are stopping things happening.

That was my fear of that planning game as a specific. We are turning a little bit away from the function, but so often this is where the discussion centres not on the priority, not what is the right decision but what can we get out of it.

2. Lobbying and the National Lottery: The Moral Maze

The National Lottery was just beginning to emerge during the period of interviews as having an adverse impact upon charities and football pool companies incomes and profits.

The impact of the National Lottery on employment was emphasised by David Alton MP at interview and the value of local employment as a priority to an MP or politician can be seen in his earnest answer. Even if you have strong moral scruples about gambling it is not difficult to see that the promise of employment for constituents can be a strong motivator to politicians in their decision making.
I make no secret of the fact that I do not have a great enthusiasm for gambling, but the Football Pools employ substantial numbers of people in my constituency. I saw it as part of my job to defend their interests when state sponsored gambling was being introduced by the Government in the form of the National Lottery. I would not have been a natural enthusiast of the Football Pools but I recognise that I had a duty to that company and to the people who are employed by them. I do not need to be retained by them as a lobbyist in order to make me realise the importance of doing that.

The National Lottery has probably had a major impact.

It has had a colossal impact on Littlewoods and Vernons who have already made people redundant and as I predicted, it has also had a massive impact on charities. The people who are most likely to play the lottery are going to be the least well off and who are tantalised by advertising into thinking that this is a way out of their poverty. In every respect I think that it is bad news.

3. Lobbying and Sunday Trading: The Big Battalions v The Little Battalions

Across politicians, government officials and lobbyists Sunday Trading was suggested as a strong example of lobbying and campaign practice to influence legislation, whether for bad or good [See Chapter 6 comments of Tim Clement Jones and Chapter 8, The Case Study on Sunday Trading for more detail]. David Alton, in interview, outlined some of the scale of the campaign and its tactics most vociferously.

The lobbying that was involved in trying to make the National Lottery happen was only rivalled in the last eighteen months by what I saw involved in the advocacy that went on to secure Sunday Trading. Huge sums of money were involved. MPs were clearly being retained, political parties were being bought as well. I will give you some examples, Champagne Breakfast was provided at the Conservative Party Conferences, and at the Liberal Democrat Conferences big receptions were laid on by the Sunday Trading Lobby. The Sunday Trading issue is for me the classic example of the last eighteen months. Not least because I was heavily involved and was a member of the standing committee and I saw the interests at work and the very clever manipulation of political parties by purchasing and buying up of huge amounts of space in their conference agendas. Perfectly legitimate things but advertisement after advertisement, page after page, why was the Kingfisher Group for instance, so keen to
suddenly advertise in the Liberal Democrat Party Conference agendas and it was doing the same at other conferences as well. These were hidden ways of giving subsidies to political parties.

[See Appendix 17 of exhibits from the Sunday Trading Campaign and its supporters and Chapter 9].

This is confirmed by earlier research carried out as part of this work and discussed in Chapter 6. It is worth noting that David Alton MP, declared in the members interests that he received ‘occasional research assistance’, (p.2 Register of Members Interests, 1996, HMSO) from amongst other Christian groups the Jubilee Campaign. This organisation took a strong stance opposed to the liberalisation of Sunday Trading laws, therefore one must take a balanced view of these comments.

4. Lobbying and Small Pharmacists: Case of Good Collective Action

Richard Burden MP, also confirmed that some small organisations can become good collective lobbyists of their cause, most notably the small pharmacists. The over the counter (OTC) drugs market is a significant area where organisations are attempting to gain access to regulated drugs in the UK (Dixon, 1997). In addition supermarket groups and retailers are increasingly pushing to sell more regulated drugs and use their supply strength to dominate parts of the pharmacy and related healthcare markets. This threatens the smaller independent pharmacists who are dependent upon their regulated income for survival (Alexander, 1998).

RB Talking about Pharmaceuticals, small pharmacists are very good lobbyists if you are looking at small businesses. They are able to create a climate where it is difficult not to go and meet them, there is never any threats but they are very
persistent and they offer you so many dates and so you will find that they get a lot of people. There is an issue there at the moment about pricing of drugs. In the past there has been price controls around so that small pharmacists could survive. What they are really worried about is there has been deregulation so that basically supermarkets can sell a lot of branded drugs and they have got certain safety worries about that. Of things staying just on the supermarket shelf rather than served by a qualified pharmacist. But also the real worry is that by buying in bulk supermarkets will be selling in quantity at low prices to their professional detriment.

5. **Lobbying and Animals: The Power of Effective Pressure**

In the interview with Richard Burden MP, the issue of animal rights and associated conservation and protection measures was reviewed. This area has become a major area of pressure group activity and was confirmed by all political respondents as the greatest regular post bag issue. The level of activity can be seen in the number of Bills on animal protection introduced in the British Parliament from 1950 to 1995 which totalled 173 (Garner, 1998).

RB  **When I was talking just before about giving examples of commercial techniques used by pressure groups. I think I gave three examples, two of which were animal welfare organisations, World Wild Life Fund, the RSPCA and Greenpeace.** They can mobilise a lot of opinions and they can get lots of letters coming to you very quickly and also, during the run up to elections, you will certainly find animal welfare politicians will be aware that you would feel under some obligation to have a view. Even if it was a major manifesto commitment, it wasn’t something you can avoid and that must show some credit to the animal welfare organisations. There have been the specific campaigning animal organisations. They are very effective, 15 years ago if you said what do the RSPCA do and it would be well ‘they look after stray dogs and they find them homes’ rather than they campaign against cruelty and they would be pushing
for government legislation. People see the RSPCA as an organisation who prosecute people who are cruel rather than a political force and they are. You then link together people coming to the RSPCA to a love of animals with people who are animal lovers but in a more political debate. You put those two aspects together - the charity RSPCA and the campaigning RSPCA you have got quite an effective fighting force there to make their views known to politicians.

INT One of the things that comes out - you touched upon it before – RSPB.

RB RSPB - I have a Water Conservation Bill - Private Members Bill - they are brilliant - they put a thing out to their members saying Richard Burden is promoting this Water Conservation Bill in parliament. We are in favour of it because it will protect wet lands and so on. They got 70,000 letters back pledging support for the Bill. I couldn't do that.

In interview Richard Burden MP, reiterated the importance of timing and planning for effective lobbying.

RB .....the way the parliamentary process works you have got to be in before the issue comes up because otherwise you are going to be trying to influence the second reading when the Bill is coming out of Committee. And that is not because things are done very quickly, they are done very very slowly and then they finish. .....a lot of companies, pressure groups, not for profit organisations can be effective and a lot of others can be more effective in looking at things like committee stages of a bill where you have worked through the bill line by line meeting twice a week and it goes bang, bang, bang, bang, bang, knowing what’s coming up when it is coming up and getting the briefing to the MPs not on that day but the day before and certainly not the day after.

6. Lobbying on Food Labelling: Letting in the Light

A major issue that emerged during the research was the lobbying around food labelling for strategic advantage. In more recent months the issue of genetically modified (GM) food and its labelling particularly in supermarkets has become a major issue of concern for consumers and consequently food retailers. The issue of the EU’s attitude and restrictions on GM foods has provoked the threat of a massive $1 billion trade war by the US. The new US Ambassador to the EU, Richard Morningstor has blamed Britain, in particular, for creating a climate where European politicians were again on the verge of breaching World
Trade Organisation (WTO) rules over export restrictions. He commented, ‘Particularly in the UK, the media has learnt to love a good food safety scare, and the public debate all too often is dominated by scare stories and nightmare scenarios without a scientific basis’ (Murray, 1999).

This issue arose in interview with Lord Geoff Tordoff who used the case as an example of how pressure groups can brief politicians to organise the amendment of legislation.

LT We do modify Bills quite significantly in relation to specific issues. I managed to get a change to one of the Food Bills for instance on freedom of information thanks to the activities of Maurice Frankel from the Campaign for Freedom of Information. Again a highly professional group of people focused on the message they are trying to get across and knowing their way round this end of the building, knowing the people here. There are one or two sorts of people who don't know the opposition whips, officers et cetera, we can amend things if we can get a group of peers together both opposition peers and cross bench peers and hopefully Tory backbenchers. Recently the government has been fairly resistant to change, it always is at this time of the year at this stage of a Parliament. It really does not like having its Bills mucked about.

Issues in Lobbying: Emerging Issues and Themes

A number of major themes emerged at interview, which reflected well the literature and the prime argument of the research that lobbying is being used strategically by organised interests to gain competitive advantage. In addition the role of ethics and the critical factors for success were outlined.

The impact an MP can have in Lobbying: Arne’s ‘Centaur’ Concept Applied

Sir Malcolm Thornton at interview also outlined how he could marshal support and make the parliamentary system work for a cause he believed in. The cause was to champion
access by Singapore Airlines to Manchester Airport runway landing slots, which had been deemed not important by government. He outlined the importance of advocacy.

MT There are other ways of doing this and if I am not a minister, finding some way to get into the government machinery. And as a member of parliament I know the way the system works and therefore I have got to use whatever tools I can find to put a case. Using lobbying techniques openly, overtly, above board, on the table - whatever expression that might be useful, that side of things too and I think that well, Thornton would, wouldn't he, become involved in this in the first place. As a North West MP supporting Manchester Airport the case is overwhelmingly in favour of this issue of gaining access to routes. Not just because it was Singapore Airlines but because it was going to benefit Liverpool and the North West. No reason at all to do this, other than I believed in Manchester Airport and the right for it to have long haul air routes. In my view this is one way in which a constituency member can make a difference.

Relevance of Public Affairs Work

The issue of why the area of lobbying and public affairs had grown in relative importance for organisations was explored at interview. Paul Tyler made some measured and informative comments. Commenting on the growth and importance of public affairs work in the UK, he outlined how it had become a much more powerful corporate function valued by core businesses for the financial contribution it could make. He commented,

PT What I think has changed, and I do not think that it is a result of American pressure, or even an American example, I think that it is because of the force of circumstances. I found during my consultancy career that it had become a function in its own right and not just a by-product of public relations. As a result of that much more senior management was engaged in the process. One of the tests of how seriously I would reckon any organisation or company was in tackling this problem and its opportunity was how senior the input level was. I advised the leader of a team for example on the Channel Tunnel bid which I helped with. I had quite a big team dealing with consumer PR, lobbying, specialist press but had I not had instant access to the Chairman and to the Managing Director I would not have taken that job on. I made it clear at the outset. That would not have been the case 10 years ago.
He went on to comment on how public affairs work had become distinct from public relations and in fact did not particularly want or gain from its association with that function. The view that political lobbying or public affairs work had little to do public relations was a view frequently subscribed to by practitioners and politicians.

**PT** The average decision maker, either he or she, elected representative for such and such a level of government would now I think, react very badly indeed at having a phone call from a public relations executive or indeed a public relations consultant. You would think that that was not part of my network, that is not where I come from.

Paul Tyler MP was asked where he saw the function of public affairs fit within the management discipline and was it part of marketing science, he commented,

**PT** I think that this is an area which is much more likely to be elucidated in terms of applied common sense. I have never really been directly involved in marketing as such but when I meet marketers sometimes they blind with science almost quicker than anyone else I can think of.

This probably reflects the interviewee’s public affairs and journalistic background rather than a wider understanding of marketing theory. Interestingly in considering where public affairs fitted into modern management, Sir Malcolm Thornton, when asked directly responded very differently.

**MT** I think it is very much part of a marketing package of promoting a product or its cause. It is how you use or exert influence and words and under which there are a number of different strands. And I would try and access all the sources that they will need to advocate their case or they will find that they have missed the bus of marketing their products or business. Because you know of a decision has been taken that directly effects you and indeed that they (the company) invested in the last five years but have been insulatory, they have just not been looking at public affairs.
Sir Malcolm Thornton had a strong background in the area of active lobbying. He included as his declared interests a remunerated directorship of Keene Public Affairs Consultants Ltd (£10,001-£15,000 pa), whose clients included Singapore Airlines, Stenna Line and Great Lakes (Chemicals) Ltd and remunerated employment as parliamentary adviser for United Utilities (p.135, Register of Members Interests 1996, HMSO).

**Ethics Maketh the Man: Public Probity (Sleaze)**

The issue of sleaze dominated the media attention (especially tabloid press) in the first two weeks of the 1997 General Election Campaign (Scammell and Harrop, 1997 and Harris, Lock & Roberts, 1998) and was seen as one of the key issues which undermined the John Major led Conservative Government attempt at re election. A number of MPs because of the topicality of sleaze (Nolan, 1995a and 1995b) raised the issue. The interview with David Alton, revealed some interesting issues, especially making the point that MP’s direct involvement in lobbying for financial advantage was amoral.

The Nolan Committee had sat and made a number of key recommendations in 1995 on Standards in Public Life. These included establishing a parliamentary ombudsman to advise MPs and Peers on best practice. This included standards and values to be adopted for appointments to public bodies and basic ethical good practice which should be followed by office holders. Nolan found standards amongst parliamentarians and public servants generally high and comparable with the best in other democracies. However the public perception of elected office holders was very low and this needed addressing in a positive and ethical way. The main recommendations of the Nolan Committee and ‘Seven Guiding Principles’ for Public Office are outlined in Appendix 13.
Ethical issues were very important to David Alton MP who raised the following points relating to a number of well known individuals who have recently achieved attention for their personal standards. It is well worth remembering that the most damaging allegation against the Conservative Government in the 1997 General Election was ‘Sleaze’, this destroyed their campaign in the first two weeks of campaigning (Harris, Lock, Roberts, 1999).

INT Well lets just deal with that. Parliamentary questions for cash seems to be, if you like, more last minute and it is only a very small part of the whole process.

DA I think that it is minor, but it may be significant in some cases where political decisions are involved and that is why very substantial sums of money sometimes pass hands. Over the last eighteen months, I have served on the House of Commons Committee of Privileges which has investigated the allegations about cash for questions. We are about to hear from Peter Preston of the Guardian about the allegations they made concerning the involvement of Jonathan Aitken in lobbying on behalf of Arms Dealers. So these are live issues. In the course of that investigation I went to see Mr. Mohammed Al Fayed. He mentioned that a Conservative Member of Parliament had approached him in the knowledge that he was interested in taking on political lobbyists and asked for £50,000 a year to be retained by him, he declined to accept him but of course he did retain others. One of the points put to Graham Riddick M.P. during the course of our investigation into cash for questions was that he listed in the registry of interest an interest in the Brewers Society. It did not say whether that was substantial interest or just a passing academic interest and in the course of questioning we pressed him and he admitted that he received £12,000 a year to look after the Brewers Society. He is not alone in doing that. There are also other MPs who also represent that particular Society. They clearly feel that it is worth their while to retain MPs. And then you have to ask yourself what moral or practical difference there is between someone who receives £12,000 a year in the course of writing letters to Ministers, tables Parliamentary questions, tables amendments maybe in his own name or someone else’s. And someone who is paid £1000 outright to put down a Parliamentary question. What is the difference between those two things?
David Alton MP, raised a very interesting case of how MP’s activities could be neutered by sponsorship or reward. He outlined a case that had impacted upon his own work in the area of Anti-Abortion campaigning.

DA I have a very close friend, a man I admire enormously, in the House. Over very many years he has been persistent in his support of pro-life positions. He has just agreed to be, I see in the register of interest, a lobbyist on behalf of the pharmaceutical company that manufactures abortifacients [the morning after pill which is used to abort conceptions]. Well why did they single him out? Why did they choose him? Was it for his Parliamentary expertise? Was it because of his integrity and his good name? Well it was a combination of all those things but of course it suited them to secure the services of someone who was perceived to have been on the other side of the argument to them. People sell their souls at too cheap a price and it would be better if they were not put in the invidious position of being tempted in that way. So I think that it would be better for us to sever these connections.

David Alton MP, went on to explain how he perceived politicians became involved in representing corporate interests.

DA The lobbyist knows how to exploit them too. To make someone feel self important when they have just lost ministerial office. Lost all the trappings that go with it, or when they have just suffered some bruising defeat in their party and they may be nursing a hurt ego. They become easily exploited at that moment and people move into that situation and they manipulate them. People need to be more on their guard than they are.
The Importance of Lobbying in Europe

The increasing need to be active in lobbying the European Union and its associated elected representative bodies and administration was emphasised by Lord Geoff Tordoff. The growing importance of Europe for lobbying was a feature that many international companies, federations and not for profit organisations recognised as being of growing importance.

LT You have got to do it in Brussels as well and not only have you got to get into the directorates but you have got to get into the European Parliament.

INT That was important once upon a time.

LT Yes it was, but I think the European Parliament Committees which we never hear anything about over here of course the press give so little coverage to parliament anyway and it is diabolical but they do work very hard over there.

INT What about volume of legislation coming from there. Has it increased or decreased?

LT It is decreasing at the moment in terms of primary legislation. The problem that we have as we have here of course is with secondary legislation. There is no proper scrutiny for secondary legislation coming out of Brussels as there is coming out of Whitehall.
Effective Lobbying and the Impact of Devolution

Ben Chapman, in interview highlighted the need for lobbyists and public affairs practitioners to become aware of the increased power of government regional offices and the rise in relative importance in the policy process of government bodies and sponsored organisations outside London. This clearly has now evolved a stage further with the establishment of the Scottish and Welsh Parliaments and revised government systems. These new constitutional and devolutionist features are outside of the scope of this study, but the evolution of decentralised Government offices raised some common features, which lobbyists are becoming increasingly aware of and attempting to influence.

BC One of the things that lobbying has not caught up with is the relative change in power in the regions with the advent of the development of government offices in the regions. They haven't noticed the roles have changed this will alter more markedly with the formation of the new government. The lobbyists so far as I can detect, have not picked that up as they are London orientated, unless they don't want to pick it up, but they haven't seen that regional offices or government departments just were executive arms of government headquarters division. They did what they were told but government offices are entities they are not people in the government but deal with DTI business and are not DTI but of the government office. And they have an alternative point of view relating to the region and some regions are very important centres of power in one way or another. Lobbyists just haven't grasped that government offices take a very different view and influence policy in a different way to central government. That is a whole area which is unexplored.

It is interesting to note that since this interview which was mid 1996, there has been a steady growth in regional lobbying in recognition of this change, which has resulted in a number of companies being set-up (Profile Plc, Political Context and others in the regions).

Lobbying to Defend your Interests: Attack, Attack, Attack

Ben Chapman also raised the inability of certain organisations and or business sectors to be able to defend their position from lobbying against their own interests. His view was
that in lobbying matters attack was often the best form of defence and being inactive
and just responding to pressure inevitably put you in a weak position.

**BC** You caught in your paper the example of catalytic converters and a current
issue which is ongoing as they say, is Eco labelling to have a product
which is ‘environmentally friendly’. This is very much a market
opportunity and if you can say in an approved sense that this is - if you can
persuade Eco labelling to be a constant with your product you have a good
marketing advantage. If you can get the words that you want to use
adopted it makes an enormous difference to your profitability.

It is evident that there are elements of this emerging in the current debate over the labelling
of GM foods.

Ben Chapman reiterated his point that to be proactive in lobbying and public affairs work
was better than being defensive.

**BC** I think that that is right but I think the nuclear industry has a very harder
hill to climb. It is a matter of changing the psyche in a sense, I think what
both of them lack is their ability to attack. The chemical industry has not
got it across, they are constantly under attack in one form or another. I am
a great one for the obvious. We couldn't cloth ourselves, we couldn't eat,
we couldn't wash our hair, we couldn't live without the products of the
chemical industry and they are not getting across in any terms that point of
view. The attack is part of effective lobbying.

**Conclusion**

Over forty politicians and civil servants were interviewed to explore key issues associated
with the role and relevance of lobbying within the UK government and legislative system.
The interviews and research indicated that a large number of organisations established
lobbying operations to exert pressure on decision makers to gain political and thus
competitive advantage. The issue of competing interests was explored, morality of lobbying, probity of public life, effective lobbying practice and a number of cases outlined.

Lobbying has developed substantially in the UK in the last twenty years. The scale has increased dramatically and organised interests can exert considerable influence on the UK executive and legislature to gain strategic advantage. Those interests that represent a major international (e.g. oil company) or national organisation (e.g. telecom) or business sector (e.g. CIA) normally have considerable competitive advantage in the area of strategic public affairs. More recently trade associations and chambers of commerce have emerged as ways a coalition of interests can be formed collectively to influence government. Some of this growth can be attributed to the stimulus given to organised interests by the emergence of EU legislation.

To gain access and persuade key decision makers of a case, requires considerable preparation, the supplying of quality information and a consistent approach. Highly professional individuals can help achieve public affairs targets but normally well briefed organisations can achieve more. Politicians are invariably short of information to make quality judgements and good lobbying and public affairs augments that shortfall, often for strategic advantage. The best operators in this area play the process long. Ethics play a significant role amongst principled politicians and of course are enshrined in principles to be used by government officials. However recent events and increasing concern at levels of public probity have resulted in increasing recommendations on standards to be adopted and the regulation of politicians and public servants. However, some issues are not crystal clear and for some it is very difficult to be principled and separate the Light from the Dark.
In the next Chapter we review the evidence that has emerged from the research on political marketing and outline best practice and some contributions towards theory to understand the area. It is argued that political lobbying is an integral part of political marketing.
Chapter 8

Discourse, Debate and Management Application

‘Good lobbying is like growing asparagus, one should have started three years ago’

Michael Shea, (in Harris and Lock, 1996)

Context of Analysis

The core objective of this study has been to assess and review the development, evolution and increasing use of corporate political lobbying as a major strategic feature of business management practice in the UK. The research proposes a number of theoretical constructs for a fuller appreciation of political lobbying and public affairs work by the management discipline. This stimulated the development of a number of subsidiary and supportive objectives to underpin the enquiry and thrust of the study. This included an assessment of published definitions and terms used to describe political lobbying, political marketing and public affairs. These were distilled from the published and current research and used to define and set the parameters of the study and subsequent theorising. A realistic assessment of what is a very broad, somewhat disparate and eclectic literature covering the research area has been undertaken and reflects a number of academic disciplinary positions (e.g. Pluralism, Reformed Pluralism and Neopluralism (Smith, 1993 and 1995) and traditions (e.g. journalistic enquiry, management science, marketing, political science, public administration, public relations etc) [see chapter 3]. This review has led to a number of issues arising
for further enquiry, for instance, the impact of the emergence of the regulatory state, the organisation and extent of corporate lobbying by FTSE 200 companies, ‘not for profit’ organisations and small to medium sized enterprises (SMEs) and the effect of globalization on existing practice.

A grounded and ideographic methodology was used throughout the study based on Layders (1993) ‘Research Map.’ This adopted the approach of using context (macro social organization), setting (intermediate social organization), situated activity (social activity) and self (self-identity and individual’s social experience) as the basis for the planning and ongoing formulation of field research, which has theory generation as a primary aim. To aid the conceptualisation process and theory development the research proposes that network and interaction models associated with the work of Häkansson (1982) and the IMP group of researchers be adopted as the most fruitful for understanding this relationship rich area. This has been augmented by the use of Strandvik and Törnroos’s (1995) ‘Kite Model’ concept to ensure the research has a clear understanding of the temporal dimensions of the area of study.

A particular gap in empirical research suggested by applying these methods was the lack of knowledge of party political conferences as a significant market place for business to business marketing and corporate political lobbying activity. A longitudinal research study covering the period 1994-98 of these activities at party political conferences has been undertaken and its key findings outlined in Chapter 5. Core issues that emerged from this study were the role of private and ‘not for profit’ interests in championing causes and interests at these events and the way the annual gathering is
being used as a networking opportunity to communicate on and resolve complex issues between business and government.

The growth and development of corporate political lobbying (public affairs) was explored with senior managers and lobbyists during the period of research both at interview and during party political conferences. This suggested that for large organisations (particularly FTSE 200 companies, major charities and pressure groups) an organised strategic approach to political lobbying was being adopted to gain competitive or market advantage. It found that highly qualified individuals were usually employed in this emerging profession which had considerable experience of the political process and understood how associated networks of power and influence worked. Personal integrity, ethics, honesty and truth were seen by informants as essential prerequisites of individuals operating in what is usually seen as a long-term approach to business strategy and positive political policy development. Issues management techniques (Heath, 1990) were seen as important strategic tools to allow senior management to plan, prioritise and target political lobbying. The seniority and influence of the individual lobbyist within the organisation were noted as important for effective political lobbying. Advanced preparation, the supply of quality information and access to networks of decision makers and policy advisers and administrators (particularly civil servants) were deemed essential for effective lobbying. It was broadly agreed that corporate lobbying had grown significantly over the past decade in response to national and trans-national government regulation activity, globalisation and environmental pressures. In addition it was felt that coalition building and collaboration with other interested organisations was often a way of bringing more leverage or pressure on government by a political lobbying campaign.
In Chapter 7 interviews held with politicians and civil servants confirmed the dramatic growth in lobbying activity, much of which, for instance non-targeted mailshots were deemed non-effective and sometimes counter productive [See comments of Lord Tordoff, Chapter 7]. The impact a parliamentarian can have on an issue was reviewed and was found to be dependent on the advocacy and character of the individual concerned [See comments of Sir Malcolm Thornton MP, Chapter 7], majority of the ruling party (government) [See comments of Leighton Andrews, Chapter 6], awareness and appreciation of the temporal nature of networks and the decision making process [See particularly the comments of John Last in Chapter 6 and in Chapter 7 those of Paul Tyler MP and Ben Chapman MP]. In addition the complex moral issues that political decision making and advocating certain causes can make on the individuals integrity was explored [See comments of Sandy Walkington, Chapter 6 and David Alton MP Chapter 7]. This was especially apposite given the sitting of the Nolan Committee on Standards in Public Life.

**Introduction**

In this chapter the research findings from party conferences [see Chapter 5] are evaluated with the interviews from respondents who have outlined detailed comment on the relative scale, size and process of lobbying [See Chapters 6 and 7]. These research findings in turn are assessed against the literature and methods applied throughout the study. Research interviews by participant observation of public affairs work and the continuous collection of primary and secondary source material gathered and observed throughout the period of research [See Chapter 5 and Appendices 2 and 8] is used where appropriate to underpin the analysis and conceptualisation process of the chapter.
Research theories and relevant theoretical concepts of associated social science (Grant, 1989) and marketing theory (Häkansson, 1982) are employed in this section to assess their relevance to the phenomena being researched.

The application of the trade show literature (Bonoma, 1983, Williams, Gopalakrishna and Cox, 1993 and Gopalakrishna, Williams, Lilien and Sequira, 1995) to commercial exhibitions and associated activity at political party conferences is then used to show the commonality and symmetry between marketing and political lobbying.

Additional influences on public affairs work, the legal profession, and increases in regulatory activities and the growth of politically orientated consultancies in the UK are assessed. Is this coincidental or are we seeing the importation of US style political consultancies (Gould, 1998) that as well as managing campaigning directly exert influence on government policy development? The role of market research techniques such as the ‘focus group’ in defining political campaigning and associated political marketing warfare priorities, is widely reported (Newman, 1994, Maarek, 1995 et al). Focus Groups and opinion polling are now being widely used to discover the acceptance rate of lobbyists propositions and government and think tank policy options by politicians, journalists, public servants and the public (Morris, 1999). The market testing of new strategic policy products is just another example of the direct linkage of political lobbying and relationship marketing.

Can the interface between business and politics be managed effectively for competitive advantage?
The chapter proposes some ways in which some practical considerations can be used to reduce risk for the modern organisation operating in environments increasingly influenced by government. In addition issues management approaches (Chase, 1984, Heath 1997) are used in conjunction with interactionalist and network perspectives derived from the IMP group of researchers of marketing to explore and explain the modern role of public affairs work for the organisation.

**Two of a Kind: Political Lobbying and the Relationship to Political Marketing in the UK**

The study has outlined the growth and emerging practice of corporate political lobbying in the UK whether it be for private or ‘not for profit’ organisations [See Chapter 5, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7]. The term used in preference in this study is to describe the area as political lobbying. This emerged from the research both through participant observation and at interview with respondents [See Chapter 5 and Chapter 6] and it is argued is a more accurate descriptor of the main activities carried out by participants and practitioners in the area of study. The somewhat prosaic and widely used term ‘public affairs’ tends to add to the ambiguity of the area [See Chapter 3] and is open to many interpretations. This is evident in the range of job titles and departmental terms used by informants throughout the research. Interestingly public affairs was perceived as a high status almost generic term for the area by respondents and was also seen by a number as rather ambiguous and perhaps deliberately so [Leighton Andrews, 6th June 1996].

The term political lobbying was generally recognised by informants as the core activity and functional title to describe the area. The use of the term public affairs by
practitioners may be deliberate and suit individuals and organisations who seek anonymity for their activities in this area. Alternatively they may wish to avoid being pilloried by the press and or gain the odium of politicians who frequently negatively criticise as a result of public antipathy (Greer, 1997). Lobbying is commonly perceived by the public as being a relatively devious, underhand and low esteem profession, whilst public affairs sounds much more personable and acceptable.

The former Conservative Government Cabinet Minister, Rt.Hon. Michael Portillo sums-up many of these attitudes and sentiments, but also indicates the relative importance of political lobbying to government and parliamentary system: ‘Lobbyists are as essential to the political system, as sewers are to the modern city’ (Marketing, 16 February 1995, p. 16).

This also suggests that the activity is a communication process and that it is about the selling and communication of ideas and interests across relationships a marketing communication process. Reflecting these arguments, views and research the original question inherent in the title of the thesis could be refined further:

Is political lobbying part of modern marketing?

The answer that emerges from this research is that the strategic use of lobbying by corporate and ‘not for profit’ interests is very much a marketing focused activity, which is part of the development of relationship and in particular political marketing. Evidence that emerges from the research is as follows:
• Informants saw political lobbying as a form of selling interests, policy alternatives and solutions and information to a more regulatory orientated government.

• Party conferences have increasingly emerged as a market place to exhibit and sell business and ‘not for profit’ interests to political decision makers and influencers.

• The increasing financial scale of political campaigning, which the Neill Committee Report (1998a and 1998b) indicated exceeded £50 million in the 1997 General Election has resulted in political parties having to raise substantial income above traditional sources of finance [See Appendix 13 outlining Political Donations to Political Parties in 1997-98]. As has been argued by Sabato (1981), O’Shaughnessy (1990b) and others for the US, but is increasingly the case for the UK the need for campaign funds has stimulated improved access for organised interests to sell their needs and positions to government.

• The growth in regulation by government has resulted in business and ‘not for profit’ interests having a need to market their ideas and interests to government and politicians or lose position.

To further substantiate this case a broad definition of marketing is adopted and an a priori argument proposed that the marketing concept is fully applicable, regularly used and easily transferable for use in political markets (Butler and Collins, 1995, Lock and Harris, 1996, O’Cass, 1996). In outlining the adoption of the marketing concept by political markets it is important to recognise the latter’s special features and characteristics. Political markets for instance, generally show a consideration for the
collective good of society rather than for just a few members (Butler and Collins, 1995 and Chapman and Cowdell, 1998) and are invariably extensively regulated (Baines, Lewis and Ingham, 1999). Butler and Collins (1995) have argued that these processes are inter-linked since the policy process usually commences ahead of general elections when parties develop new ideas for party policy. This is most probably due to the fact that there is a need to retain competitive advantage in order to win election campaigns and form a government. This has caused politicians in the past to put forward policies that are popular regardless of their subsequent cost (Self, 1993).

Marketing relationships, as marketing research phenomena are probably as old as trade relationships (Moller and Halinen-Kaila, 1998). As the research suggests lobbying and public affairs activity for strategic ends seems to fit within the broad marketing literature and particularly relationship marketing theory relating to the organisation and its interaction in the wider environment. Moller and Halinen-Kaila (1998) in their review of the research roots and future directions of relationship marketing, argue that most firms (or organisations) have to master several modes of marketing. Most have to master traditional aspects of marketing management such as brand management, segmentation and competitive positioning as well as what they call ‘Interorganizational/Extensive Relationship Marketing’ and the ‘Consumer/Limited Relationship Marketing’. They see relationship marketing dividing into these two main bodies of theory for scholarly enquiry, that of ‘Interorganizational/Extensive Relationship Marketing’ and ‘Consumer/Limited Relationship Marketing’. The research results on party conferences in Chapter 5 indicate the scale and size of the multitude of relationships being established with the political parties to market and influence policy making and show substantial ‘Interorganizational Marketing’ activity. ‘Extensive
Relationship Marketing’ was clearly seen as vital by informants and is very evident in the interviews with political lobbyists such as Anthony Weale of ICI [See Chapter 6], Chris Hopson [See Chapter 6], Politicians such as David Alton [See Chapter 7] and civil servants such as Ben Chapman [See Chapter 7]. These relationships certainly would suggest that lobbying and public affairs work fit within the concept of Interorganizational/Extensive Relationship Marketing theory.

If we accept having previously reviewed the development of the marketing concept and researched the growth of strategic public affairs that political lobbying is integral part of marketing and thus management then where does this phenomena and its transaction network fit into relationship marketing theory?

Do we need to refine our definitions?

To fit these developments a philosophy of marketing exchange theory that can be applied to these specialist exchanges and buyer-seller interactions in these networks is used, ‘Political marketing is the facilitation of exchanges between political entities and
their environment and amongst those entities.’

(Harris and Lock, cited in Harris, 1996, p. 18.).

The definition was developed to strengthen the term political marketing by allowing it to take credence of modern developments such as the emergence of environmental, political cause and pressure group campaigning, political lobbying, the impact of referenda and aspects of cause and social marketing. This definition fits well the phenomena researched in this study and suggests that modern marketing theory and practice encompass much of what we regard as public affairs and especially strategic lobbying. Not just the promotional and marketing communications aspects of the area but the application of the full marketing concept to strategically shape and even develop new and old markets. This is clearly supported by the research and is very evident in the comments of Chris Hopson on amending governmental subvention policy on commercial television [See Chapter 6] and Leighton Andrews comments on the advocacy of what constitutes chocolate [See Chapter 6]. Amongst politicians Sir Malcolm Thornton’s advocacy of more international landing slots at Manchester Airport is a good example [See Chapter 7].

**Strategic Political Lobbying and Relationship Marketing Theory**

In assessing the research findings from Chapter 5 which outlines ‘business to business marketing’ and lobbying activity at political party conferences, Chapter 6, which reports research with senior managers in public affairs and Chapter 7 similarly with politicians
and public servants a number of features emerge. To make sense of these a network approach based on the work of the IMP group of researchers (Häkansson, 1982) and the embeddedness concept (Anderson, Häkansson and Johanson, 1994, and Halinen and Törnroos, 1995) are applied throughout this chapter to evaluate phenomena observed and to develop a realistic theoretical construct.

The Direct Influence of Individual Parliamentarians

The findings from the research confirm the literature (Doig and Wilson, 1995) that elected representatives, particularly MP's but also peers and MEP’s have limited individual direct influence on decision and policy making by government [See Chapter 7 and the comments of Ben Chapman]. The late Rt. Hon. Richard Crossman argued in his diaries (Crossman, 1975) that he saw MPs as powerless ciphers, but they do have privileged access to confidential information, to draft legislation and the wider decision making process. The value of this access has grown to interest groups and lobbyists since 1979. This increasing importance was stimulated by reforming Conservative governments pushing through their own legislative programme rather than accepting what was emerging from a long deliberative Whitehall led consultative process [See the comments of David Alton Chapter 7]. The Blair government appears to be maintaining this momentum through its major policy changes such as devolution and a move towards a US model of government with over 50 Labour political special advisers being appointed to Whitehall Departments (MacAskill, 1997). Collectively MPs can exert increased influence on the executive because of its need for their continued support and consequent votes to back its legislation programme. The power of MPs at times of small or no overall majority governments in the UK can increase dramatically because of the executive’s reliance on their support. Small groups of MPs and even individual ones can
exert significant influence on government, this was seen very clearly in pressure exerted by the activities of the Conservative Eurosceptic MPs on the last Government (Norton, 1997). Individual MPs and Peers have the opportunity to indirectly influence via a network of contacts. These can include access points to decision makers, memberships and positions of responsibility held within the party, parliamentary committees, professional affiliations, trade associations, local government, business groups, trade union linkages and a broad range of connections with other organisations and contacts.

**The Significance of the Embeddedness Concept**

The extent of this web of activity, potential access and influence points of parliamentary representatives can be clearly seen in the Register of Members Interests published each year (TSO, 1997, HMSO, 1996, 1995 and, 1994). And detailed in biographies and pen portraits such as Dod’s Parliamentary Companion (Dod 1993 and 1998).

Elected representatives appear from the research results at their most effective when they are an active advocate and or representative participant within a network or number of networks. The degree of embeddedness of the representative within the network, (Granovetter, 1985, Grabher, 1993 and Halinen and Törnroos, 1995) is important to allow individuals to champion certain causes across and within a number of networks.

Sir Malcolm Thornton’s comments [See Chapter 7] include a good example of the embeddedness concept in action and practice. They also highlight well the importance of Ahrne’s ‘centaur concept’ as a useful metaphorical tool for analysis in the area.
There are other ways of doing this and if I am not a minister, finding some way to get into the government machinery. And as a member of parliament I know the way the system works and therefore I have got to use whatever tools I can find to put a case. Using lobbying techniques openly, overtly, above board, on the table - whatever expression that might be useful, that side of things too and I think that well, Thornton would, wouldn't he, become involved in this in the first place.

As a North West MP supporting Manchester Airport the case is overwhelmingly in favour of this issue of gaining access to routes. Not just because it was Singapore Airlines but because it was going to benefit Liverpool and the North West. No reason at all to do this, other than I believed in Manchester Airport and the right for it to have long haul air routes. In my view this is one way in which a constituency member can make a difference.

Individuals who act like Ahrne’s (1994) so called organizational ‘centaurs’ who champion or act on behalf of interests and organisations within their web of networks can clearly be very effective at exerting influence on decision making. The level of activity and number of networks, which the ‘centaur’ enters, is dependent upon the amount of interaction the individual engages in. These actors can create their own networks which extend far beyond the company by which they are employed and Ahrne argues they have their family and friends, and they make personal contacts through membership of voluntary associations such as political parties, trade unions or sports clubs. This research is used to explain industrial networks but can equally be applied to public affairs work and the actors that operate in those arenas, particularly, parliamentarians, government officials and lobbying practitioners. The able parliamentarian, official or lobbyist can access a number of networks and individuals to influence decision or policymaking (Searing, 1994). If we continue to apply interactionalist marketing theory to this phenomena then Halinen and Törnroos (1998) would underpin this point by emphasising that personal networks are likely to influence business exchange. This can be seen very clearly in Figure 14 The Principal Stages in the Legislative Process for Government Bills. The complexity of decision making in
Figure 14. The Principal Stages in the Legislative Process for Government Bills

this figure lends itself to a network perspective. Clearly the results from the interviews and research and observation at party conferences confirms this point.

**Weak and Strong Linkages and the Operation of Political Lobbying Networks**

Granovetter (1973, 1974) uses the concept of weak linkages as a powerful concept in seeking to understand the dynamics in social networks. In his view the strong ties between individuals or groups, e.g. kin, friends, and close workmates, seem to stabilise relationships in social networks. Weak ties among those not in frequent contact, on the other hand seem to stimulate change by adding new information and new dimensions to social interaction (see Granovetter, 1974; Scott, 1991). This theory of weak and strong linkages can be seen to apply equally to political interactions and lobbying effectiveness in the interviews held as part of the research. [See Chapter 6 and the comments of Tim Clement Jones and Anthony Weale, Chapter 7 and views expressed by David Alton, MP]. Access to and linkage to political networks is one of the reasons why there was a premium price being paid for the recruitment of former Labour party researchers to commercial lobbying organisations prior to the election of a Labour Party Government in May 1997. Many businesses and agencies realised that having a lobbyist supporting their organisation with strong ties to Labour would be useful to their cause, as it would allow improved access to government. In 1996, Mike Craven, former personal assistant to John Prescott MP joined the lobbyists, Market Access. Rex Osbourne, Labour’s polling strategist and Mike Lee, David Blunkett’s former researcher joined the strategic lobbying organisation Westminster Strategy (Clarke, 1996). In-house within organisations the same process has occurred in that stronger linkages to the governing party have been developed, for instance, a utility company moved a member of staff, to public affairs work from a technical management role.
because of the individuals strong Labour party links (non attributable source). Granovetter’s argument of the importance of having insider status in the policy making process is strongly supported by the research results [See Chapter 6 and the comments of John Last, and those Chris Hopson] Anthony Weale’s comments [Chapter 6] show the importance of having acceptable linkages into policy and decision making networks by legislators and public servants;

If you reach a point where you can’t cope, I can always get someone else to help.

We don’t use outsiders. We don’t use consultants. Not at all.

We always do it ourselves on the basis that parliamentarians particularly but civil servants as well, would find it very odd for a company like ICI to have to use outsiders to do its work for it.

I mean, there are areas where consultants are very handy, but not in this function.

If we apply Granovetter’s concept to Parliamentarians, civil servants and public affairs practitioners, we can see that it leads us to argue that regular and consistent contact is the key to successful influence or lobbying. Sudden irregular contact, frequently sends the wrong signals and does not work as it suggests panic (crisis) and that the participants raising the issue have not been monitoring the policy making process effectively and could have short term opportunist ambitions (suggested by research). Alternatively, one can argue that the group or people involved in the issue may not be an inclusive group within the policy making process. For instance, they may not have access or be part of the network which is affecting them, (see influencing government decision making on BSE by Harris and O’Shaughnessy, 1997 or Ratzan, 1998).
Ministers and members of government who are decision makers only have limited time available to be lobbied because of the protection given them by civil servants, their ministry, party, own political staff and the increasing constraints on their available time. [See Chapter 7, and the comments of Sir Rhodes Boyson on ministerial decision making and attention spans]. Access to these decision-makers is normally only gained by introduction via parliamentarians, officials, other intermediaries or by formal channels and routes. However access is usually limited and the consultation process restricted unless concerted pressure is exerted on the government policymaking process. As a result the more able elected representatives apply what marketing researchers would call a network approach (Häkansson, 1982) to be most effective at exerting pressure on the executive. Parliamentarians and those operating within the public affairs to succeed in influencing a decision will bring about a coalition of interests (Mack 1997) and/or networks to exert pressure on the minister or government to bring about change in a policy initiative or a review of a particular area. A good example is the case Sir Malcolm Thornton outlined at interview about exerting pressure to gain government approval for additional runway slots at Manchester Airport. A further example is the analysis of the coalition of interests and networks which were used to achieve competitive advantage by large retail marketing interests in the Sunday Trading Case which is outlined in this chapter [See also Chapter 5, Table 10 for a summary of interests represented alongside each major policy area at the 1996 Labour Party Conference]. The approach adopted in both instances is more a relationship marketing approach than a transactional one and clearly fits Moller and Halinen-Kaila’s, (1998) earlier definition of Interorganizational/Extensive Relationship Marketing.
Pictures at an Exhibition: Party Conferences as Market Places for Political Lobbying

It was found that political party conferences are places where in the combination of exhibition area, fringe meetings, hotels and restaurants, politicians, media and business interests regularly meet and exchange views, which have an impact on policy and decisions taken. It emerged from the research that party political conferences have become one of the key networking events of the year with many of the senior figures who play roles in policy and government decision making being present and those trying to influence those decisions consequently attending. See the pictures of Rt. Hon Mo Mowlan MP, Glenda Jackson MP and Rt. Hon. Ian Lang MP visiting exhibition stands at Party Conferences in Chapter 5 to illustrate this point.

There is very little recognition of this growing role of party conferences as core contact points where strategic lobbying can be carried out. Berry (1991) has carried out some initial work, but this is limited as it is based on only one year’s collection of data, is very qualitatively orientated and primarily looks at why various organisations exhibit or attend rather than the scale and types of activity. In addition at the time of Berry’s research the Labour Party was still broadly averse to commercial activity at its conferences and business participation was relatively restricted. In addition the need to generate substantial income from party conferences was less of an imperative at the time of Berry’s original research (1990-91). More recently Neill (1998) has indicated that the three main UK political parties will need to generate at least £60 million to fund their next general election campaigns. A sizeable proportion of this income comes from party conferences and the author estimates that up to one third of this income comes directly or indirectly from party conferences for the Labour Party. Private estimates in
1998 suggested that the Labour Party generated a £2 million surplus from its 1998, Blackpool Conference, (non-attributable source), this on a pro rata basis supports the authors earlier estimate.

Gaining Context, Activity, Temporality and Self (CATS) at Party Conferences

The research data in this thesis includes four years’ attendance at all major political party conferences over the period 1994-98 as participant observer and researcher with consequent analysis. As a result through active immersion in these conferences and associated events (fringe meetings, receptions etc) the research was able to observe not just the scale of lobbying and marketing activity but also a change of governing party (1997) and its impact and the build-up in policy development making and election campaigning (1995 and 1996) [See Chapter 5 and Appendix 2 for a comprehensive set of tables listing commercial exhibitors, fringe event sponsoring organisations and purchasers of printed adverts in official party conference documents over the period 1994-97]. This data gives a clear indication of the scale, size and type of business to business marketing communication activity at party conferences.

This is the first time that lobbying and business to business marketing activity has been assessed and quantified over a realistic time period to form a longitudinal based data set for this research. In addition all conferences in 1998 were attended to check out the assertions drawn from the data set and to maintain the database which is being added to and maintained for further research.
The Market Place Provided by Party Conferences

As a result of the conferences being of a direct political nature, ministers and government members attend their own party events as active politicians and have less constraints of access put on them by the civil service in these surroundings. In addition organised business and ‘not for profit’ interests use this opportunity to gain discreet and relatively easy access to decision makers to informally talk through the issues that impact upon them. Interestingly the range, scale and variety of events at party conferences produce certain anonymity and great camouflage opportunities to facilitate private meetings and encounters between organisations, politicians and officials. In addition regular contact is maintained with representatives of the political party and decision-makers who have either access to or can influence on local, national or European level political decision making and government. As a result of the gathering of the politicians, media, business, public and voluntary sector interests in one place, much swapping of information and intelligence gathering is completed. For many participants at party conferences it is an opportunity to catch-up with contacts, renew acquaintances, gather information and extend their business and political networks (BBC Radio 4 Today programme, Thursday 1st October 1998). As MacAskill (1998) has argued the ‘conference season produces a dizzying array of options, a fringe programme to rival the Edinburgh Festival and a host of receptions’ (p.3.), this gives some flavour and insight into the opportunities for lobbying and public affairs work. The relevant importance of the political conferences to lobbyists and public affairs practitioners is in direct correlation to the party’s position in relation to government. The evidence for this can be seen in the levels of political lobbying activity outlined in Chapter 5 on party conferences from 1994 to 1997. This can be seen clearly in the increase in exhibitors at Labour Party conferences from 1996 to 1997 as against a
decline in Conservative Party users of stands over the same period as one party enters
government and the other leaves it. This has been confirmed by further observation at
all major 1998 party conferences and with informants (with Rhona McDonald, Mark
Hatcher and others).

Organised interests take a pro-active role at party conferences and the exhibition stand
frequently doubles as an effective operations base for lobbying and selling type
initiatives deemed as priorities by the participating organisation at the conference. This
reflects the published literature and marketing research on perceived practice at
commercial exhibitions/trade shows (Bonoma, 1983, Black, 1989, Williams,
Gopalakrishna and Williams, 1992, Gopalakrishna and Cox, 1993, and Kronvall and
Törnroos, 1998). When the stand is used as a base for both advertising the product or
service, at party conferences this is invariably a cause, policy or organisational interest.

In the marketing literature the stand or event acts as a meeting place between clients and
sales force to foster business and contact interactions to take place to organise further
sales activities and the co-ordination of staff. At party conferences these interactions
take place in exhibition areas and fringe meetings between representatives of the party
and members of the exhibiting organisation. This was observed as a feature of the
better run stands at conferences, the RSPCA (Rhona McDonald), even confirmed to the
author that they operate a shift system to facilitate this process and have stand
operations and planning events ahead of the event. The leading stands invariably have
gifts, special offers, special guests or a competition to attract delegates and attendees
(for instance, a pair of first class airline tickets to a distant but warm destination was the
normal British Airways lure observed during the period of prime research from 1993-
97). The need by political parties to generate substantial income to fund campaigning
and associated operations has led to a fostering and consequent growth of commercial activity at party conferences. This in turn has led to more regular liaison between senior party officials and representatives (including ministers), commercial exhibitors and sponsors of fringe events and other aspects of the conference.

As part of this process of contact the Prime Minister, Rt.Hon. Tony Blair, MP, Mrs Cherie Blair, Rt. Hon. Gordon Brown MP, Rt. Hon Mo Mowlam and various members of cabinet visited individually every exhibition stand during the Labour Party 1998 Conference to thank them for attending and supporting the event. This activity provides excellent photo opportunities for all concerned and consequently makes the organisations’ attendances financially more justifiable internally (non-attributable informant). A similar style of ‘thank you for your support operation’, but on a smaller scale is carried out at the Conservative and Liberal Democrat conferences. Each political conference hosts a special reception for exhibitors and sponsors, which is attended by senior party figures where annual prizes for best stands are normally presented. In addition sponsored party dinners at conferences to raise party funds with senior government figures in attendance have grown dramatically since Labour was elected in 1997. It was reported to the researcher that Labour’s Conference dinner in 1998 had 500 guests attending at £500 per head and that a well known publicly owned transport utility had booked a table for twenty people to attend. The guests of the company were made-up of 10 Labour Party members who included appropriate senior ministers, MP’s, senior councillors and party figures. One minister who was a guest at the dinner visited the stand of the organisation to thank them for their hospitality and was considerably more open and amenable to the organisation after the event (non-attributable source). The example shows how clearly marketing practise and in

**Role of Civil Servants**

Civil servants operate by certain codes and procedures and are members of a complex web of officials employed by government to develop, manage and steer executive policy. At a preliminary and or early stage in policy or decision making, cogent advice and information can be given to civil servants to influence particular decisions and policy imperatives [See Chapter 6 and the comments of Chris Hopson]. Ben Chapman made this point very tellingly at interview [Previously reported in Chapter 6],

> It is a fact of life that in my view at least in policy making he who writes the first paper sets the course of the forces before you. After that you are in the business of trying to amend effectively an established position and that is more difficult. So you have to get in before the paper.

Respondents felt that the importance of influencing civil servants and their thinking was not recognised effectively in the literature on lobbying. Supplying regular and tailored sources of information and proposing potential solutions for complex areas of policy were seen as particularly effective ways of influencing government officials. It also emerged in the research, that it was better to contact officials at a lower level of
authority and work ones way up the system than the other way round and start too high where there was less room for manoeuvre which could consequently be counter productive.

The Growth and Development of Public Affairs

Public Affairs practitioners indicated that there had been a steady and consistent growth of lobbying and associated work over the last two decades (Jordan, 1991, Nolan, 1995a and 1995b, Harris and Lock, 1995a, Moloney, 1996 and Souza, 1998). The research underpins this and argues that much of the growth in public affairs has come from the impact of globalisation [See comments of Leighton Andrews, Chapter 6], Government deregulation (Gabriel and Lang, 1995), privatisation policy [See comments of Sandy Walkington, Chapter 6], development of transnational government (EU etc) and the increasing awareness of businesses need to influence government policy to gain commercial advantage (Moloney, 1996). Public Affairs practitioners of major companies frequently have a career profile, which reflects a historic background in government service (e.g. Anthony Weale, ICI), politics (e.g. Leighton Andrews, BBC and Political Context) and or some knowledge of the legal profession (e.g. Sandy Walkington of BT and Mark Hatcher of Price Waterhouse Coopers are both lawyers). In addition senior figures invariably have a strong background in high level financial and general management (Chris Hopson, Granada Group).

The ability to connect and understand the political process will be explored more fully later in this chapter, but it is worth noting that the skill of being able to understand and link into political networks easily is a common personal background feature amongst senior practitioners (Tim Clement Jones and John Last etc).
The Long Arm of the Law: The Use of a Legal Training for Political Lobbying

Work

Mack (1997) argues that in the US,

The increasing intimacy of many issues raises the question of whether a lobbyist need necessarily be an attorney, a member of a profession focused on detail. In many cases, lawyers make effective lobbyists for many of the same reasons that attorneys predominate as legislators. (p.101).

However, he argues that non legally trained individuals may be equally as good provided they have these traits and access to a lawyer for detailed guidance. Interestingly there is a steady trend in the UK, where legally trained lobbyists are on the increase. A good example of this is the launch in recent years in the UK and Brussels of APCO the US lawyer led public affairs and strategic communications company. Evidence from the large commercial law companies is that they are considering extending their services into corporate lobbying (source: Paul Nichols, Managing Partner of the London Office of Dibb, Lupton, Alsop). In addition public affairs practitioners see their role as contributing directly to the competitiveness and profitability of their company or group of organisations. There has been a steady professionalisation of the public affairs role within many organisations as they have faced increasing regulation or increased corporate competition. The increase in legislation and regulation both from the UK legislature and increasingly the EU is making it more important for the organised competitive organisation to be proactive in terms of its public profile and public affairs work.

Defining Public Affairs and Lobbying
To understand the role of public affairs it is essential to have knowledge of how the function operates and the prime reasons for its existence. There is a great deal of debate about the precise role but if research sees it as being about lobbying and community interests this seems to have wide scale support both in the literature (Harris, Moss and Vetter, 1999) and amongst practitioners. [See especially Chapter 6 comments of Anthony Weale and Chapter 7, comments of Paul Tyler MP]. There is an increasing number of definitions of the public affairs function and these are explained by the research in Chapter 2.

The definition which is preferred in this study and covers the areas we have explored and is robust enough to cover both in company and consultancy activity is that by Van Schendelen (1993) who argues that lobbying can cover a multitude of practices and in particular:

The informal exchange of information with public authorities, as a minimal description on the one hand, and as trying informally to influence public authorities on the other hand (p3).

This allows both for informal and formal contact. In regard to commercial and political campaigning for a particular cause, issue or coalition of interests the following definition was formulated after wide consultation with practitioners and reference to the published research in the area:

mobilising opinion to exert pressure on public authorities or bodies for commercial gain or competitive advantage.

It is important to note that the majority of influencing and lobbying take place to obtain strategic gain is covert and aimed at the policy making process and administration of Government.
The definition taken to describe lobbying by this study is

The specific effort to influence public decision making either by pressing change in policy or seeking to prevent such change.

(Institute of Public Relations 1994)

Grunig and Hunt (1984) see lobbying as being able to provide sufficient data to a legislature so that all of the facts can be known before a vote is cast reinforce this. They see lobbying as running in a continuum from the more pure version, by arranging social opportunities to mix business with pleasure, to the downright corrupt and buying votes with money and or favours. The increasing need for political parties in the UK to raise substantial sums to pay for modern media election campaigning is beginning to show signs of moving in this direction (Challen, 1998, Ramsey, 1998 and Baines, Harris and Newman, 1999) [See Appendix 15]

Public Affairs and Issues Management

At interview a number of senior figures in public affairs suggested that one of the key features of the profession was good issues management (Leighton Andrews, John Last, Sandy Walkington, Anthony Weale etc). One respondent went so far as to suggest
diagramatically the importance of this to his company and industry (Anthony Weale).

Issues management has a number of definitions especially at corporate level (Hainsworth and Meng, 1988) due primarily to senior management perceptions and interpretations of what issues impact upon their organisations operations. In addition the fact that the subject area is still relatively new has led to a wide diversity of constructs of definitions and a consequent number of interpretations which has led to some ambiguity amongst practitioners and the literature (L’Etang, 1996).

This research adopts takes as a starting point the need to assess the application of issues management to public affairs Cutlipp, Center and Broom’s (1994), definition,

‘Issues management is the proactive process of anticipating, identifying, evaluating and responding to public policy issues that affect organisations and their publics’ (p.16)

Issues management was originally introduced and conceptualised by W. Howard Chase (1977) a public relations consultant who saw it as identifying issues, setting priorities, selecting program strategies, implementing programs of action and communication and the evaluation of effectiveness. Chase reconceptualised this in 1984 with what he termed his Chase/Jones Issue Management Process model which outlined five steps to manage public policy issues, these are:

1. Issue Identification,
2. Issue Analysis,
3. Issue Change Strategy Options,
4. Issue Action Programming, and  
5. Evaluation of Results.

Clearly this process has a number of striking similarities with the marketing management concept, this had been developed much earlier by Borden (1964) who in turn grounded it on the arguments of Culliton (1948) and his perception of the marketer as a mixer of ingredients. However, where issues management theory varies is that unlike the marketing concept it is not a dominant producer orientated model (Gronroos 1994, Laycock, 1983) but instead it has the ability to respond to outside environmental change. It is reflective and can permeate the philosophy and awareness of many organisations especially if they operate in regulated markets. Heath (1990) has put together a theoretical basis to underpin the theory. He argues that issues management is underpinned by much of social exchange theory, which ‘involves the transference of resources’ (Roloff, 1981, p.25).

If relationships cost more than they are worth, they are more likely to be abandoned or reformed; if the cost is great and they cannot be terminated, sanctions and constraints are likely to be used to force change, thereby leading to new, ostensibly more favourable, cost-benefit ratios.

Heath (1998 p.xiii)

He argues that because of the stress on resource management, social exchange theory brings to the fore the norms of reciprocity basic to each relationship. He moves issues management into the wider public community field by arguing that:

Managements are well served by issues managers who know the costs that can result from strained relationships, whereby key stakeholders believe that the costs associated with the organisation or industry outweigh the social and material benefits.

The literature appears to argue that issues management’s prime role is to understand policy likely to emerge from government and the public domain. Thus issues management covers a large part of public affairs work. Hainsworth and Meng (1988) have emphasised this even more strongly in suggesting, it:

seeks to identify potential or emerging issues (legislative, regulatory, political or social) that may impact upon the organisation then mobilises and co-ordinates organisational resources to strategically influence the development of those issues

Hainsworth and Meng (1988, p. 28/29).

Thus the ultimate aim of issues management is to shape and respond to public policy for the benefit of the organisation. This theory appears to fit very comfortably with the assessment of policy risk commonly utilised by practitioners and outlined by Anthony Weale of ICI [see Chapter 6]. In addition in discussion with informants a number confirmed that they used these type of techniques to assess the impact of a policy issue on the organisation and its competitiveness (for instance Anthony Weale, Chris Hopson, Leighton Andrews et cetera). This fits comfortably within Moller and Halinen-Kaila’s, (1998) earlier definition of Interorganizational/Extensive Relationship Marketing.

Issues research is important in developing well understood positions and action plans by organisations on emerging public policy, whether the issues being assessed are offensive or defensive, current or emerging. Mack (1997) suggests that in the US the aim in government relations is to use issues management to understand:

What is happening and why, what the impact is internally (on the company or among the organisations members) and also the significance externally - on friends, foes and potential allies.

Mack (1997, p. 27)
This appears to equally apply in the UK especially amongst organisations who take a pro-active public affairs stance (confirmed by respondents). Mack suggests a checklist of questions, which the government relations researcher should be asking to develop sound intelligence on current issues, these can be adapted for the UK. These questions can be developed to build a basic audit for the development of effective public affairs management practice.

Table 14

Checklist for Effective Strategic Public Affairs Management

- What is the issue all about?
- What are the key Bills, Directives or regulatory proposals?
- What are their provisions?
- What is their significance?
- How, will it affect us?
- Who are its governmental sponsors?
- What interest groups are backers and allies, both actual and potential?
- What part and or level of government is stimulating this development (local, regional, national or transnational)?
- What is the underlying rationale behind the proposal and motivations of its supporters?
- What are the issues and who are the opponents, now and in the future?
- What is the relative motivation of opponents over time?
- What relevant background documents and reports are there on this issue?
- What are the prospects for the issue?
- What are the political implications of this issue?
- Is it part of some wider trend or development in policy?
- How does it fit alongside important interest groups, political leaders and candidates, parties, think tanks or European initiatives?
- What is the best estimate of time scales for this policy development-short, medium and long-term?
- What is the lifecycle of the issue based upon a current assessment of risk?
- Will evidence or soundings be taken by the government or promoters of this policy?
- How can this be influenced?
• Is it possible to locate influential government officials in this policy area?
• As the policy overtime develops will it be possible to move amendments or refine certain areas?
• What are the short, medium and long-term implications for our organisation?
• Costs or gains this policy option would generate for our business (internally and externally)?
• How would this affect our overall competitive position?
• Are there initiatives that could be taken either to promote or curtail action on this issue?
• Who are potential coalition partners and opponents on this issue?

(Virtual Reality: Cyberspace and Public Affairs)

Effective issues management requires good access to a range of complex and detailed information sources to provide an understanding and appreciation of public policy development for the organisation. Communication and technology advances have meant that it is now possible to search websites that can provide a high quality range of information on business interests, government and the growing plethora of ‘not for profit’ organisations and interests (a good example in the UK is Government on Line - www.open.gov.uk). This makes it infinitely easier to assess the above questions and calculate likely risk, loss and gain, using Issues management techniques. In addition there is a range of networks of individuals and groups who are capable of answering issue related questions or can provide appropriate information that can be extremely useful in this process. These may include government officials, parliamentary staff, quangos, NGO’s, trade and professional association personnel. In addition researchers with think tanks, policy research organisations such as the Wellcome Trust, (this in fact operates a scientific grant awarding and information network via the World Wide Web
on www.wellcome.ac.uk), academic institutions, journalists and researchers in the media are useful providers of information and intelligence sources. Also staff of non-business organisations such as trade unions, environmental groups, consumer organisations and ‘not for profit’ organisations can be very useful suppliers of quality information for the assessment process.

In addition, background data and research on policy development as part of information technology development can be obtained increasingly on line. [See Appendix 16 for an indicative list of some free and useful websites resources useful for Political Lobbyists].

Sources of government information are increasingly being put on line on the net for a range of complex reasons, which include accessibility, accountability to the electorate and electronic democracy programmes. This process of making easily available electronic access points to government data has also made good public affairs research easier.

**Utilising Issues Management to Gain Competitive Advantage**

A number of respondents reported that they bought in privately the services of one of these organisations to keep abreast of policy developments and issues likely to affect its interests (non-attributable comment). The voting record of parliamentarians in the UK can increasingly be analysed and seen on line by those interested in lobbying. Leighton Andrews also confirmed to the author that voting records by issue and surveys of attendance by politicians at events were kept by one private agency as a potential service to appropriate lobbyists or causes. It is well known that the Anti-abortion and Pro-Life Campaigns (as they have done in Eire and the US), RSPCA, RSPB and many
other pressure groups keep sophisticated and long-term records on parliamentarians' voting records and opinions. During elections and when policy issues affecting the pressure or interest group emerge, information on candidate or parliamentarians' attitudes is passed on to active campaigners to exert pressure on them. Throughout the research parliamentarians indicated that their postbags were dominated by abortion campaigning and animal cause related letters. Respondents also outlined the scale of this process and its effectiveness when used to support campaigns against the movement of live animals (Gavin Grant, Gerry Lloyd and others) and abortion (views expressed by David Alton MP at interview).

Emerging issues identification is used to assess the likelihood of a particular policy being adopted. This usually includes a complex appraisal of all sources of information and trends that are emerging in society and economic life. The steady increase in environmentalism has been relatively easy to perceive over the last twenty years, but its exact individual impact on particular products and businesses has been very difficult to assess. Meng (1992) argues that there are five stages in the life cycles of issues.

Stage 1. Potential Issue

Isolated events develop into a pattern; interest groups adopt the problem as a cause.

Stage 2. Emerging Issue

The issue develops a broader base of supporters. It begins to generate media attention.

Stage 3. Current Issue

The issue has become current; it is brought to the attention of legislators, politicians and regulators.
Stage 4. Crisis Stage

Various policy alternatives compete and one will be adopted

Stage 5. Dormancy.

The issue has metamorphosised into a law and is in the hands of the regulators.

By the time issues reach the fourth stage (legislative or other policy action) they are well advanced in their evolutionary cycle and are more difficult to influence. This supports the earlier argument that it is best to get in as early as possible with government to influence it’s direction, [See Chapter 6 and comments expressed by Chris Hopson, and by Ben Chapman in Chapter 7]. Issues management argues that the advanced organisation will be scanning, tracking, screening and evaluating all data and sources of information available to it, to assess the likely impact of each potential issue on the company’s existing or planned lines of business, markets, products, or services. In trade associations and other membership groups, the impact analysis is somewhat broader, concentrating on examining the industry’s future development or current planned programmes.

The next stage of the issues management process in public affairs is to disseminate the issue analysis to decision-makers as part of the strategic and business planning process. Traverse-Healey (1978) suggested seven questions, which should be asked of emerging issues to decide their relevant importance to the organisation.

The respondents in the research confirmed at interview that broadly the same criteria apply but that these can be adapted and modified as follows:

1. Will the issue/s affect the bottom line?
2. What is the probability and time scale of this issue impacting on us?
3. Can corporate action change the outcome?
4. In the light of this analysis are our present corporate policies and practices correct.
5. Do we have the resources and will to do something on this at present?
6. What will be the cost to influence this?
7. What are the financial or policy benefits to us of doing this.
8. What can we learn from this for the benefit of our organisation?
9. How can we evaluate the effectiveness of our actions?
10. What can we learn from this situation to ensure future competitiveness?

The competitive organisation (whether it is ‘not for profit’ or private) builds this issues management procedure into their planning and policy making process. Senior management see it as a critical strategic business activity to maintain competitiveness.

Conclusion

The chapter argues that political lobbying is part of modern political marketing activity and fits within what has come to be called relationship marketing. The role and relative significance of parliamentarians and civil servants within the government decision making process has been analysed and outlined. It has been found that the individual qualities and power of networks open to parliamentarians play a significant factor in their relative effectiveness. It was generally agreed that the earlier one started planning and understanding a particular policy area, the more effective lobbying would be in that domain. It also emerged from the research that it is invariably more fruitful for effectiveness to deal with the civil service at an early point rather than leaving it late.
and in the hands of parliamentarians when the bulk of the issue has already been decided.

The annual party conferences and exhibitions are emerging as increasing centres for business to business marketing and political lobbying activity. The size and scale of activity reflects the fact that political parties have to fund campaigning and this is forcing a need to generate income from private and ‘not for profit’ sector interest. Public affairs has moved from a small scale and relatively specialist functional area to one which has become much more strategic, planned and thought out to give commercial and organisational advantage to modern interests. Political lobbying was seen as being essential both to maintain competitive advantage for the organisation and to provide accurate and quality information to government for decision making.

The results of the research have been explored and a theoretical basis developed for how an organisation or individual can monitor government policy development and its relevance to the organisation.

Chapter 9 builds upon this analysis and proposes theory to understand the development and effective application of political lobbying as part of marketing.
Chapter Nine

Political Lobbying: Theory Development and Application

‘When the torrent sweeps a man against a boulder, you must expect him to scream, 
and you need not be surprised if the scream is sometimes a theory’

Robert Louis Stevenson, Virginibus P

Context

In Chapter 8 the development and emerging features of political lobbying have been analysed and discussed. It has been suggested that the subject of the study is very much part of political marketing and has a number of common characteristics that are associated with what has come to be called ‘relationship marketing’. The research suggests that many of the theoretical constructs developed and used by those associated with the IMP group of marketing interactionalist and network orientated researchers offer appropriate tools and models to understand this complex area. The empirical data gathered on Party Conferences [See Chapter 5, Appendix 2, 3, 4 and 5] have been analysed and it is argued confirms that, in addition to being a platform for the presentation of policy and politicians to the media and membership, these events have become a major market place for political lobbying and business to business marketing activity between business and political parties. Research gathered from public affairs and political lobbying respondents [See Chapter 6.] suggests that trust, the level of embeddedness in a network, the ability to understand policy formulation and its potential impact are all important features of effective lobbying. The
research confirms the substantial growth of political lobbying and public affairs work, which has been particularly stimulated by globalisation and regulatory activity. Politicians and civil servants [See Chapter 7] have confirmed the increasing importance of this activity and the need to provide quality information, understand the international political system and to have good personal ethical values to maintain integrity and trust and gain regular entry into the decision making process.

It has also been suggested that the use of ‘Issues Management Techniques’, to assess and review government activity and the policy making process, is essential for the large organisation to maintain competitive advantage.

**Introduction**

The chapter outlines the prime reasons for the growth of political lobbying and strategic public affairs work in the UK. It uses a stages model adapted from the conceptualisation, constructs and framework of Rostow’s (1960) work ‘The Stages of Economic Growth’ which allows the research to show the development of the process over time and its growing strategic importance for management. The chapter then outlines a number of constructs to explain the stimulus of government regulatory activity to the growth of political lobbying and how market position and competitiveness foster this activity. The appropriateness of network based models for exploring the area is then developed and a general model, to explain how the area operates, is outlined. A case study outlining the major political lobbying and marketing campaign to amend Sunday Trading Law for the
benefit of the retailing industry is outlined as an exemplar of practice. Suggestions towards a general theory are made.

**Evolution and Causal Reasons for the Growth of Political Lobbying in the UK**

The steady evolution of change within the British business economy and government policy making is outlined below in Table 15. Public affairs activity begins to increase in response to government selling public assets and monopoly licenses to the private sector and the steady rise in government activity. The rise of increasing globalisation and the emergence of trade blocs that adopt a strong harmonisation and regulatory approach in economic and social policies have all been significant factors in the growth in levels of activity and strategic importance to management of political lobbying and public affairs work.

**Table 15**

**Evolution of Modern Strategic Public Affairs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period/Government Policy Making for Business</th>
<th>Main Economic &amp; Societal Trends</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1940s</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Impact of Second World War.</td>
<td>Command Economy</td>
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<td>Full Employment Policy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nationalisation: Bank of England, Coal,</td>
<td>Creation of Welfare State</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cable &amp; Wireless, Civil Aviation,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, Gas, Transport and Iron and</td>
<td>State Control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steel Industries.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creation of National Health Service</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>House Building Act promotes Council Houses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **1950s**                                  |                                |
| Denationalisation of Iron and Steel,        | State Control                  |
| Formation of European Community             | in a                           |
| UK does not join.                           | Mixed Economy                  |
|                                            | End of Empire                   |
600 pages of legislation on average year pass through Parliament per annum (Hansard Society 1992).

1960s
Incomes Policy introduced.
Re-nationalisation of key industrial sectors.
Creation of Dept of Health and Social Security.
Entry to EC rejected in 1963 and 1967.

1970s
Rolls Royce taken into public ownership
Three-Day Week/Miners Strike.
1973 joins EC, confirmed by referendum 1975.
British Leyland formed.
National Enterprise Board
In 1976 Government intervention in economy reaches 49 per cent of GDP.
IMF Loan.
Aircraft and Shipbuilding Act, establishes
British Aerospace and British Shipbuilders
1979, Privatisation of BP and
council house sale policy.

1980s
Privatisation: Aerospace, Cable & Wireless,
Amersham International, National Freight,
Britoil, British Ports, Enterprise Oil, Jaguar,
British Telecom, Gas, British Airways,
Royal Ordinance, Rolls Royce, Airports Authority,
Rover Group, British Steel and Water.
DHSS divided into Health and
Social Security Departments.
Increasing EU intervention
1986 Single European Act

1990s
Privatisation: Electricity and Railtrack.
Maastricht Treaty in EU (formerly EC)
Allows extension of community policy
Involvement into Economic and Monetary
Union, Environment and Defence.
Leave ERM
Do not join first wave of EURO

2000 pages of legislation go through parliament in an average year (Hansard Report, 1992)

(Based on authors research and adaptation of Rostow (1960) historic stages model)
Throughout the period to the late 1970s, the relationships between business and government are orderly in the sense that both parties know what are the likely intentions of the other party. Contact is regularised via trade organisations (CBI etc), trades unions and formalised structures between government and business interests (Winch, 1969, Middlemas, 1986, Kavanagh and Morris, 1989, Castle, 1993, Cook and Stevenson, 1996 and Marlow, 1997). This regularised network breaks down in the late 1970s in the UK and alternative mechanisms become necessary to influence government. (Lawson, 1992, Hutton, 1995, Marr, 1995, Harris and Lock, 1996 and, Andrews 1996). In addition, government has increasingly adopted the role of regulator of a number of key public and private sector business areas which it has been forced for fiscal reasons to withdraw from (Foster and Plowden, 1996).

The increasing regulatory role of government in the economy and society can be seen in comparing the amount of legislation generated in the key time periods (which is indicated in Table 15) which shows a trebling in legislation between the 1960s and 1990s. There is clearly an emerging correlation between the increasing amount of legislation by government to regulate markets and increases in political lobbying activity to amend or stop regulation. This was clearly evident at interview with public affairs practitioners [See for example Appendix 9 and the interview with Anthony Weale of ICI Plc] and by politicians and civil servants which support this emerging view [See for example Appendix 12. and the interview with Paul Tyler MP]. These views were widely held by respondents who argued that the increasing use of political lobbying by major corporations and organisations was to gain or maintain competitive advantage against increased government
regulatory activity. This suggested that the greater the level of regulation the more significant the level of political lobbying by those affected. This can be seen graphically in Figure 15. Each increase in government involvement or policy initiative in an area of business or market whether it be at the formulation, inception, drafting or passing of legislation stage leads to a commensurate increase in political lobbying. This is clearly indicated in Figure 16.

Figure 15.

Graphic Illustration of the Relationship Between Government Regulatory Policy Level and Public Affairs Activity

![Graph showing the relationship between government regulatory policy level and public affairs activity.](image-url)
It suggests that only pro-active organisations will be able to take this strategic approach and use political lobbying for competitive advantage, as these actors will be monitoring potential developments rather than just responding to emerging legislation. This because of scale gives advantage to larger organisations that can maintain many of the tracking and intelligence gathering systems and processes suggested by issues management approaches [See Chapter 8].

Another feature which emerges from analysis of Party Conference activity [See Appendix 2 in particular and Chapter 5], interviews with political lobbyists and business executives [See Chapter 6] which has been confirmed by politicians and civil servants, is that the more
significant the position a actor has in the market place whether that be ‘not for profit’ or private the greater the amount of lobbying activity and or intelligence gathering necessary to maintain and strengthen that position. This is indicated graphically in Figure 17.

Figure 17.

Machiavellian Marketing Graph: Illustrating the Relationship Between Market Share and Levels of Public Affairs Activity Necessary to Ensure Competitive Position

Level and Public Affairs Activity

![Graph showing the relationship between market share and level of public affairs activity.](image-url)
The need to lobby or be proactive in terms of countering competitor or government activity as market share grows can be seen clearly in the Machiavellian Matrix which has been developed from this research in Figure 18.

Figure 18.

The Machiavellian Marketing Matrix.

The Isotropic Relationship Between Market Share and Levels of Political Lobbying:
The Maintenance of a Dominant or Monopolistic Position in a Market Sector Through Political Lobbying.
Application of Network Theory to Political Lobbying

As a starting point, network theory was applied to public affairs work and particularly corporate lobbying activity as exemplified in research obtained during the study. The core features of network theory argue that there are three features of the particular organisation or group and the network in which they are seeking to influence and or respond. These features, with examples taken from the research, are as follows:

(I) The Actor Bonds

The characteristics of an organisation or group are primarily defined by the relationships that bind it to others and through which it acts. A company’s products and organisation are largely determined by its relationships with a particular set of customers and suppliers. The bonds that exist between different actors create a structure - A is bonded to B and C, in turn is bonded to D etc. These bonds reflect the development of inter-connecting relationships between organisations. The individual actors will learn about each other, they will invest in their relationship and the social exchange between them will increase their knowledge of each other and stimulate a building up of mutual trust. Earned trust was seen as an essential prerequisite for effectiveness in political lobbying and public affairs work [confirmed by a number of respondents, [see particularly John Last of United Utilities comments in Chapter 6]. If trust was lost or diminished it became very difficult for the individual or organisation to operate in policy networks or with government as a lobbyist.

This concept can equally be adapted and applied to organisations and or groups operating in political environments. As in industrial markets it is useful to know what are the
characteristics of members. Are they organised or representational? Is there competition between groups for members and influence (Ford, 1998)? One can see in the comments from Chris Hopson of Granada [See Chapter 6] that broadcasting companies operate very much like industrial actors and because of government regulation have to manage a complex network or web of both business and political actors and encounters. Relationships exist between different types of actors, firms, government and research agencies. Individual actors not only supply goods but also make available a wide range of resources, which are often exchanged through these relationships.

If we apply Goffman’s (1961a) interactionalist perspective to this we would see that at an operational level the more extensive the trappings of a role, the greater the opportunity to display role distance. A good example is ministers within the governing party who seem to apply this intuitively at party conferences, although there have been some teething problems when there is a change of government. For instance, new ministers appear at these public events as if they do not know what to do in the first few months of office, whilst, those who have just been removed from power look slightly stunned and lost (author assessment and observation confirmed by non attributable respondents). CEOs and senior directors or managers with responsibility for public affairs also adopt this role by attending or being patron of select lobbying events at Party Conferences. These events depending upon the status of the political party, either have senior government, party figures or officials responsible for the most relevant policy attending. Goffman (1956) would see this as an indication of ‘personal front’ and ‘social setting’ providing precisely the field an individual needs ‘to cut a figure in’.

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(II) Activity Links

Relationships also link the different activities of suppliers and customers to each other. Activity links are where businesses share common interests and relationships to their mutual advantage. It is increasingly common in effective lobbying, for coalitions of interests to be developed to achieve agreed common objectives such as amending a law. This can be clearly seen in the Sunday Trading Case, which is outlined later in this chapter, where large retailers combined with trade unions and others to effectively amend legislation for their own member or an organisation’s strategic advantage.

(III) Resource Ties

A relationship is also a way in which two or more companies or organisations resources can be linked for competitive advantage. It is through a relationship that a company can make use of its own resources and activate those that are controlled by a counterpart for its own benefit. If one looks at the chemical industry it is evident that companies such as Shell, BP and ICI in the UK work in conjunction with one another in common cause on issues of mutual interest, for instance, carbon tax, [See Appendix 10 and interview with Anthony Weale of ICI] and Anglia Water who in 1997 became very active in lobbying to modify the Windfall Tax proposals of the Labour Party on behalf of the other water companies. At party conferences in 1998 Microsoft sponsored the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) including a reception, stand and assorted promotional materials and BT the Kid’s Network umbrella charity. The sponsorship of what are deemed good cause organisations at Party Conferences by large commercial organisations is an
increasing trend and allows the sponsor to be seen to be supporting invariably socially important charity organisations.

The application of network theory to lobbying is applied in the basic structure outlined in Figure 19.

**Figure 19.**

*Basic Structure of the Network Approach Applied to Lobbying (adapted from Häkansson and Johansson, 1992, 29)*

The theory can be also be applied to outline the basic operation of a lobbying network to gain market advantage as in Figure 20.
How are relationships created and managed? How do networks of relationships evolve? How can an actor manage these relationships and create a position in the network? To address these issues the case of Sunday Trading is used to show how a web of interests can be formed to amend policy for strategic advantage.
Goods over God: The Strategic Lobbying Campaign to Change the Sunday Trading Laws

‘To found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers, may at first sight appear a project fit only for a nation of shopkeepers. It is, however, a project altogether unfit for a nation of shopkeepers; but extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by shopkeepers’.

Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations.

This case study reviews the campaign led by the 'Shopping Hours Reform Council' (SHRC) in favour of a liberalisation of Sunday Trading (SHCC, 1988 and 1991). It outlines some of the main characteristics and core features of the campaign, which eventually led to changes in the law, changes, which had far reaching consequences for both customers and retail businesses. The case the author believes illustrates how pressure groups and companies can exert influence on Government to defend and improve their competitive environment and position. The case is a classic example of a combination of lobbying and organised campaigning to bring about a change in legislation for competitive advantage.

Introduction to the Sunday Trading Study

The application of political marketing by commercial and 'not for profit' organisations to influence governments and associated legislation to gain commercial or societal advantage is increasingly the case (Andrews, 1996 and Harris and Lock 1996). Gaining access to information and the evaluation of campaigns is causing researchers severe epistemological difficulties in interpreting the honesty and validity of respondents (Moloney, 1996). There
are only a limited number of published articles on effective lobbying and campaigning to bring about strategic ends. This is a pity as the growth of this area has been significant in recent years; it was suggested in 1992 (Commission 1992, p.4.) that there were 10,000 lobbyists employed in Brussels, which is now reputed to be the largest lobbying centre in the world. It is now openly known that this was an over-estimate of staff employed, but even with revision if one looks at the number of groups, individuals involved and levels of lobbying activity focused on the EC is substantial (Greenwood, 1998). In the UK a similar picture emerges with levels of activity being focused on Westminster (John, 1998) although there is growing regional activity as a result of devolutionary government policies (Caborn, 1998) and the importance given commercially to local government planning (Souza 1998).

The strategic lobbying campaign by the Shopping Hours Reform Council to change the English and Welsh Sunday Trading Laws is an attempt to fill part of that knowledge gap and to show how over ten years a lobby to benefit retailers was organised.

Retail sales in the UK in 1997 were £178 billion, and accounted for 23 per cent of GDP by expenditure, the sector employs one person in ten (Robinson, 1998). Retailers, in particular the multiples, have sought to expand and capitalise on consumer behaviour by expanding and developing out-of-town and edge-of-town centres providing hundreds of thousands of square feet of extra selling space.

According to Nielsen (1996) two per cent of shops account for almost fifty per cent of turnover. Multiple retailers needed their billions of pounds invested in such shopping
centres to give a better return on their capital and they saw Sunday trading as a means of achieving this. An additional six hours every Sunday was worth fighting for. This was notably the case for do-it-yourself (DIY) chains who could gain substantial family weekend trade. B&Q (the DIY chain) in 1992 estimated that 23 per cent of turnover was gained on a Sunday. The chain costs itself over 6 days - 23 per cent of turnover represented all its profits (Harris, Gardner and Vetter, 1998).

In July 1994, the new Sunday Trading Act received Royal Assent and came into force. It replaced the 1950 Shops Act and enabled all shops in England and Wales to trade on Sundays. Although the hours of opening were limited by the size of store, no restrictions were placed on the type of goods that could be sold. Over the previous forty years, there had been numerous attempts to reform Sunday trading laws, all of which had met with vigorous opposition from people and groups wanting to preserve the traditional day of rest.

**Historical Background**

Modern day law on Sunday trading dates back to shortly after the Second World War, when earlier legislation was consolidated in the Shops Act 1950, which governed Sunday trading up until July 1994. The 1950 Shops Act allowed only the sale of a small variety of goods. Historically the aim of the legislation had been to protect the interests of shop workers and small traders, and preserve the traditional character of Sunday. The restrictions on Sunday trading applied to England and Wales only, as in 1950 society’s sentiment against the commercial infringement of Sundays in Scotland was considered to be strong enough to regulate itself.
Since 1950, the Shops Act had become increasingly difficult to operate, given societal changes, which coupled with changes in retailing made Sunday trading more attractive for traders. The duty of enforcing the Act lay with local authorities, but fines imposed on retailers for breaching the Sunday trading legislation had not kept pace with time, and were more than covered by the profits of the day’s trading. As a result, the Act was widely ignored by retailers and only partially enforced by some authorities (Hansard).

Consequently, there was general discontent with the provisions of the Act and between 1956 and 1983 there were no less than nineteen attempts to change the law ranging from proposals to enforce the existing restrictions to proposals significantly liberalising the law, all these attempts failed. According to Kirkup et al. (1994) most attempts were lost because they were Private Members’ Bills and did not have the support of the Government at the time. It is well known that it is extremely difficult to change the law by this means as controversial subjects are rarely suitable for Private Member Bills without Government support (The House Magazine, 25th January 1999).

Past Attempts at Reform

In the early 1980’s, the Conservative Government under Margaret Thatcher with its agenda of deregulation and privatisation attempted to reform the Sunday trading situation. The Auld Committee (See Cmnd. 9876, 1984) was established to consider changes to the Shops Act. It recommended the total abolition of any regulation of Sunday trading, as none of the considered alternatives would "...provide a fair or readily enforceable system" (Cmnd 2300, 1993).
The Government responded to the Auld Committee recommendations by introducing a bill proposing total abolition in 1985. In the meantime its opponents grouped together and the 'Keep Sunday Special Coalition' (KSSC) was born. The KSSC enjoyed support from a broad coalition of interest groups, including church groups and the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (USDAW). KSSC mounted a very effective lobbying campaign, pressuring MPs to vote the Bill down. Against this background, the retailers backing deregulation did not get actively involved in supporting the campaign until too late having been poorly advised by the Government who felt sure of its position. Burton (1993) has argued that it was the partnership between USDAW and the Co-operative movement, which opposed longer trading hours for shops which had most effect, as this concentrated lobbying power had significant impact against a divided opposition of retail interests. The Bill failed in April 1986, at its second reading, by twelve votes. ‘Sunday Trading earned a reputation as a political 'hot potato', an issue that split all political parties and on which there appeared no consensus’ (Kirkup et al., 1994: p.7). In response, in its 1987 Election Manifesto, the Conservative Party committed itself to bringing order to the law on Sunday trading. The Manifesto policy commitment was the beginning of a period of intense political lobbying that was to continue right through to 1993. The government would have preferred total deregulation, as it would have been much clearer legally. But the parliamentary realities of gaining a majority vote from MPs and Peers meant total deregulation would not pass through parliament. Therefore compromise and partial deregulation was the only way forward. Numerous campaign groups, advocating very different solutions for reform, were involved in lobbying over this time, but only four
groups were considered seriously, among which the 'Keep Sunday Special Coalition' (KSSC) and the 'Shopping Hours Reform Council' (SHRC) were the dominant actors.

**Shopping Hours Reform Council**

The 'Shopping Hours Reform Council' (SHRC) was created in 1988 out of the frustration of the defeat of the Shops Bill in 1986 to promote the views of retailers and consumer organisations in favour of deregulation, its core supporters are listed in Table 16.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shopping Hours Reform Council</th>
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<tr>
<td>ASDA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Argyll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dixons</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kingfisher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. Robertson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sainsbury’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tesco</td>
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<td>WH Smith</td>
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SHRC’s sole objective was to liberalise shop hours, but after the 1986 defeat; it seemed unlikely that the Government would reconsider total deregulation. Consultations between SHRC, retail organisations and the Home Office, led to the adoption by SHRC of a compromise package for reform, often referred to as ‘partial deregulation’ (Kirkup et al.,
1994). These proposals would allow small shops to open at any time on Sunday and larger shops for up to six hours selling a full range of merchandise.

**Keep Sunday Special Coalition**

The 'Keep Sunday Special Coalition' (KSSC) was and is still funded by the Cambridge based charity, The Jubilee Centre, a Christian research and campaigning organisations with a wide network of Church groups throughout the country, see Table 17.

<table>
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<th>Table 17</th>
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**Associates and Supporters of Keep Sunday Special Coalition (KSSC) - 1988**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Campaign Associates:</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Association of Independent Retailers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brit. Footwear Manufacturers Federation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brit. Hardware Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative Family Campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-operative Union Ltd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drapers Chambers of Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federation of Sports Goods Distributors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Footwear Retailers Ass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Footwear Suppliers Ass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Shoe Retailers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Chamber of Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Federation of Meat Traders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Federation of Sub Postmasters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Hairdressers Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Pharmaceutical Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Fruit Trade Federation Ltd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio, Elec and TV Retailers Ass.</td>
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<td>USDAW</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Campaign Supporters:</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baptist Union, Council for Churches for Britain and Ireland (membership ranges from Orthodox to Pentecostal -30 denominations in all), CARE Campaigns, Catholic Bishops Conference for England and Wales, Church of England, Board for Social Responsibility, Church of Scotland, Church and Nations Committee, Free Church Federal Council, Methodist Church Division of Social Responsibility, Mothers Union, National Board of Catholic Women, Pro-Sunday Coalition and the Shaftesbury Project, United Reformed Church.</td>
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</tbody>
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After the Conservative Party Manifesto pledge in May 1987, KSSC published the 'REST Proposals' outlining its alternative to the existing law for Parliament to discuss. These proposals advocated prohibiting all Sunday trading except for categories covering Recreation, Emergencies, Social Gatherings and Travel, aiming to protect the special and distinctive character of Sunday (Askham, 1994). Critics argued that KSSC's proposals would leave the existing situation partly unchanged and would continue to spread uncertainty. Furthermore, the burdens on the enforcement authorities would be considerable.

**Retailers for Shop Act Reform**

In October 1992, the 'Retailers for Shop Act Reform' (RSAR) emerged as another campaign group. This group was supported by Marks and Spencer, at the time the most profitable retailer in the UK, and organisations such as the Association of Metropolitan Authorities. RSAR's proposals were similar to KSSC but not quite as restrictive. Under this proposal all shops would be allowed to open on the four Sundays before Christmas but, during other times of the year, only 'convenience outlets' of no more than 3,000 square feet would be allowed to trade (Warnaby, 1994).

During the summer of 1993 talks took place between KSSC and RSAR, as it was felt that two options advocating strict limits for the regulation of Sunday trade would split the vote amongst supporters in Parliament. Before the vote in the House of Commons in December 1993 these proposals were incorporated with those of KSSC.
Total Deregulation

Those arguing for total deregulation ‘Sort Out Sunday’ (SOS) continued to campaign actively in the Sunday trading debate, despite the defeat of their model in 1986. They pledged for freedom of choice, so that opening would be determined by commercial judgement and consumer demand (Gillespie, 1994).

The Legal Battleground: 1988-1992

The period 1988 to 1992 was characterised not only by intensive political lobbying on the Sunday trading reform, but also by confusion among the courts and local authorities over the legality of the 1950 Act itself and of the actions to enforce it. Retailers, who continued to trade illegally on Sundays, came into increasing conflict with those local authorities that chose to uphold the law. Between 1988 and 1992 there was considerable contention on the issue of whether or not the restrictions on Sunday trading conformed with the Treaty of Rome. In this period a great number of courts in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, including the High Court referred the issue to the European Court of Justice (ECJ) (Askham, 1994).

The issue began in 1988 with a test case between B&Q plc and the Torfaen Borough Council. It was for the Court to decide whether the effect of the 1950 Act on trade was 'proportionate', in other words, no more than necessary to achieve the objective of worker protection. The ECJ decided that the 1950 Shops Act fell with in the Treaty of Rome, but that it was for the national court to decide whether the effect of the Act was 'justified' and 'proportionate' (Askham, 1994; Warnaby, 1994).
The ECJ's response created a great ambiguity in the application of the Shops Act and UK courts were unable to hear Sunday trading cases until the ECJ's ruling in 1992. As a result, the country enjoyed a period of effective deregulation and SHRC, as well as KSSC criticised the Government for its immobility and failure to resolve the confusion.

Further litigation followed an ambivalent judgement of the ECJ until the House of Lords, on a case again involving B&Q plc, referred the matter to the ECJ. The Court in that case finally decided that the 1950 Act was both 'justified' and 'proportionate'. Consequently the Shops Act 1950 was judged compatible with European law and therefore enforceable (Askham, 1994 and Kirkup et al, 1994).

The Bill

Early in 1991 the Home Office became involved in extensive deliberations with representatives from each of the campaign groups in a vain attempt to come to a consensus decision which could be put before Parliament. The Government seemed reluctant to declare an alliance with either side of the debate and wanted to act - but needed a broader coalition to ensure the Bill would go through both houses of parliament.

In January 1993, KSSC secured the opportunity to present their proposal of reform to Parliament through a Private Member's Bill. Initially, this caused considerable concern at SHRC, but effective lobbying and a lack of parliamentary time led to its demise after the second reading and committee stages. The number of amendments tabled by SHRC friendly MPs ensured the Bill was talked out at the Report stage in the House of Commons.
Finally, in July 1993, the Government published proposals for a new Sunday Trading Law.

The issue split all the political parties in Parliament. The Government, fearing a repeat of 1986, indicated at an early stage that it would not commit itself to any one model for reform. Instead it offered a draft Bill proposing four options based on the core campaigning groups proposals (previously detailed) on which MPs would be permitted a free vote. In November 1993, the Sunday Trading Bill was published. The procedure used by the Government to take the Bill through Parliament was unusual. The Bill was given a Second Reading on the general principle of the requirement to reform the law, achieving a majority with ease. Parliament was then left to choose from three options - total deregulation, the restrictive KSSC-RSAR proposal and the SHRC proposal. Total deregulation was included to make SHRC look like a concession. The debate on these three options took place on 8th December 1993.

SHRC's proposals were adopted by a majority of 75. Thereafter, the Bill still faced six months at Westminster before making law. Few changes were made and the new Act remained very similar to the original SHRC proposal. Its purpose was to liberalise shop opening on Sundays, to simplify enforcement, and, to give effective employment protection (Askham, 1994).

**Campaign Strategy**

Who to lobby? How to lobby? There are no formal rules to follow, as each case has its own characteristics. SHRC realised from the 1986 defeat that lobbying at Westminster alone would not secure the success of the campaign. It believed that the ‘reform must reflect the
views of the consumers if it was to be workable, enforceable and acceptable’ (Kirkup et al, 1994: p. 23). They opted for a mixture of campaigning and considered that, parallel to an effective campaign at Westminster, it would be vital to exert pressure in key MPs own ‘backyards’, their constituencies, in order to counter the KSSC support network of Churches across the country. Part of SHRC’s strategy was, therefore, the development of or at least to stimulate the perception of a ‘grass roots campaign’.

Grass Roots Campaign

During the early stages of the campaign, when the Bill was a distant prospect, campaigning centred on the constituencies of known opponents and in areas where Councils actively enforced the Shops Act. The main tactic was to persuade MPs of local public support for more freedom to shop on Sunday. There were hundreds of constituencies in England and Wales to target. Furthermore, each constituency required its own mini-campaign, which was tailored to the local physical, social and political conditions and Sunday shopping patterns in the area. Consequently a full-time Regional Organiser was recruited, primarily for good political contacts in a major political party and an understanding of the political process in general. A regional PR company to handle the media in the regions was appointed to support the Regional Organiser. Their job was to publicise the activities of the Regional Organiser and help tailor the national media strategy to the region. Snap surveys, interviews with the local press, radio stations and occasionally TV stations were commonly used techniques. Most journalists seemed to be supportive of liberalisation. The Sunday shopping debate received wide coverage in the news columns and almost continuous discussion in the letters pages, particularly in the local press.
Additionally local supporters were recruited, (which also meant being volunteered by some retailers) to monitor the campaign at constituency level. These supporters were coordinated by campaign bulletins and urged to write letters to their MP at crucial stages of the parliamentary process.

The Sunday Shopping Campaign

According to Kirkup et al (1984), after the supermarkets began widespread Sunday opening at the end of 1991, following the Court of appeal decision, they increased their involvement with SHRC and the Sunday Shopping Campaign (SCC) was born. SCC was essentially a public face for SHRC's campaign. However, it is useful to note that, SCC gained the full support of the Consumers Association by focusing on the benefits of liberalisation to shoppers.

SSC's basic contention was that if shoppers wanted to shop on Sundays and workers were willing to work on that day, they should be allowed to do so legally. SSC gave voice to both these groups, using the network of SHRC's retail supporter's shops around England and Wales. Customers and staff were persuaded to lobby their local MP in support of liberalisation in general, and SHRC's proposals in particular. This gave an enormous boost to SHRC's campaign in terms of visibility and the numbers of constituents declaring support for liberalisation to their MP. SHRC then concentrated on publicising SSC's achievements and lobbying directly with its political message (Kirkup et al, 1994).
The Sunday Trading Campaign Managers

The 'Sunday Trading Campaign Managers' (STCM) group was formed by SHRC to oversee involvement with SCC and SHRC campaign activities at store level. STCMs were primarily experienced executives from each company, often from PR or operations departments, who met on a regular basis. Individual store managers were charged with supervising a local programme including inviting their MP into the store and encouraging customers and staff to write letters in support of liberalisation. The general strategy was to keep the campaign sections separate to increase the MPs' perception that a wide cross-section of their constituency favoured liberalisation. However, the different sections needed to work hand in hand to achieve the desired success. Therefore information and reports were constantly passed on to other areas of the campaign.

The STCM/SHRC network was first put to the test when SHRC ran a four-month bus campaign over the winter of 1992. A double decker bus toured SHRC retail sites five days a week including Sundays, raising the profile of the campaign locally and encouraging shoppers to write to their MP. The success of this exercise paved the way for the highlight of the grass roots campaign, which acted as a springboard for the final push at Westminster. Sunday 19th September 1993 was designated National Sunday Shopping Day. In total 1.7 million shoppers signed themselves in favour of liberalisation and a considerable volume of promotional material was distributed. Good coverage in press, radio and TV for SHRC was achieved. The main impact of the day was to demonstrate to MPs the huge popularity of Sunday shopping.
A similar mass petitioning process was adopted by the 1998/99 campaign, ‘Save Our Duty Free’, where signatures urging politicians to amend the proposed changes are collected proactively at airports and ports in the UK. This is becoming a commonly adopted tactic in community campaigning initiatives.

**Marketing Reform at Westminster**

SHRC's Westminster lobbying machine was formalised and strengthened over the summer of 1993 in preparation for the introduction to Parliament of the Government's Sunday Trading Bill. SHRC's lobby committee comprised SHRC's Executive Vice-Chairman and head of research with a representative from each supporter company. This was either a senior executive, if the company undertook its own lobbying programme, or an experienced professional lobbyist from an agency such as Ian Greer Associates or GJW Government Relations who had been recruited to the job. The committee reviewed target lists of MPs and Peers and assessed new information which had been forwarded by the grass roots campaign and other sources. Each member of the committee was then allocated a number of key MPs to lobby and briefings and face-to-face meetings were organised. When lobbying MPs many lobbyists would argue that the first thing to do is to identify ‘key’ MPs. However, in this case this seemed a rather difficult task. The definition of a ‘key’ MP changed as the campaign advanced, as the MPs changed their position on the issue reacting to developments in their constituency and/or at Westminster. Supportive MPs were also requested to lobby their colleagues.
Considering the division on the issue in the Conservative Party a great deal depended on the opposition MPs. Two key developments influenced substantial numbers of MPs to consider partial deregulation. First shop worker protection became a crucial issue at Westminster during the intensive lobbying that preceded and accompanied the introduction of the Sunday Trading Bill. SHRC stimulated the Government to arrive at a package of employee protection measures, which helped satisfy MPs who had employment reservations about the proposed legislation. In addition, just before the Bill's introduction, USDAW's leadership dramatically reversed its traditional policy of opposition to Sunday Trading after securing assurances from SHRC's retailers that premium payments for Sunday work would be maintained voluntarily. USDAW changed sides and publicly backed the SHRC option and, when the Bill was introduced, were joined by the Shadow Home Office team, led by MPs Tony Blair and Joan Ruddock.

**Reasons for Success**

According to Currie (in Kirkup et al, 1994,) and an interview with the former, Kingfisher Executive, Tim Clement Jones, (1996), and other informants, one of the main reasons for the success of SHRC's campaign was the effective lobbying campaign. Yet what makes a lobbying campaign effective or successful. Clearly to amend government policy especially of this magnitude takes time and careful planning. Pedlar (1994), argues in the European context of effective lobbying ‘Drawing and executing such a plan demands clear objectives, a long view, a good knowledge of how the institutions work, and close monitoring of the process from start to finish’ (p.310). In the opinion and findings of the author this equally applies to effectiveness in the UK. The following elements contributed significantly to the
success of SHRC’s campaign, but they should be seen as a managed marketing campaign rather than as specific features.

**Lobbying**

The founding of SHRC was not free from controversy. According to Currie (in Kirkup et al, 1994) KSSC accused the Government of complicity, given the association of key SHRC figures with the Tory party. Suspicions grew about a rumoured private arrangement - SHRC would press for reform and the Government would concede. However, it can be argued that the 1986 defeat showed that the Government's wishes were not always obeyed by the SHRC's network of significant contacts and supporters who were certainly one of the major elements to the campaign.

It is useful to note that the 1986 defeat was the only piece of legislation lost at the second reading stage in Parliament by Margaret Thatcher’s Government. So it didn’t happen very often, if at all, and this gives some indication of the strength of opposition that needed to be countered.

Contrary to criticism from KSSC, SHRC not only had very close links to the Conservatives, but also to the Labour Party. Baroness Margaret Jay, (now Leader of the Government in the Lords), for example, made a life peer shortly after joining SHRC, was close to the Labour leadership and was a very skilled SHRC chairman, communicator and opposition politician in the House of Lords. Thus the SHRC's contacts were spread across the parties at a very strategic level.
Furthermore active support and substantial 'know how' was given by key people like Des Wilson, an internationally known pressure group campaigner, who is now BAA’s Director of Public Affairs (which includes responsibility specifically for obtaining assent for the controversial development of Terminal 5 at Heathrow). In addition, experienced consultants were used such as Ian Greer, GJW Government Relations and other external advisers. This was a crucial factor to be considered in addition to the existing high profile organisational structure composed by senior representatives of the retail members, such as David Ramsden of Kingfisher, who held the post of Executive Vice-Chairman. Therefore to have the right people in SHRC, at the right time, at the right place was a crucial element. SHRC had its headquarters around the corner from Westminster. In addition, since 1988, the research recorded that SHRC was present at almost all-autumn party political conferences, holding receptions and having a stand in the exhibition area to support reform (non attributable sources).

Resources

The financial power of the retailers allowed SHRC to lead a high profile campaign, while opposing groups had limited resources and consequently low profile activity. The author observed very low key and poorly organised fringe meetings and exhibition stands by KSS during the period at party conferences. This disparity in organisational ability became even more marked in 'grass roots' campaigning. Furthermore, large retail group financial support allowed SHRC to use commissioned research to back its claims of public support for liberalisation, in general, and its proposals in particular. Regular research and opinion surveys on a national and constituency level were carried out by organisations such as
Gallup and MORI. SHRC made good use of such survey responses in its campaign communications with the aim to reinforce the general feeling of popular support for Sunday shopping.

**Developing Grass Roots Campaign Support**

‘Reform must reflect the views of the consumer if it is to be workable, enforceable and acceptable’ (Kirkup et al., 1994: p. 23). This was the fundamental argument in SHRC’s grass roots campaign, which, according to Des Wilson, was crucial to the success of the overall strategy. Public support was vital in lobbying MPs in their constituencies. Wilson argues that it was most important to get consumers to write to their MPs, and get store managers to persuade MPs to come and see for themselves (Kellaway, 1993). The store network of SHRC’s members and supporters gave immense potential to the campaign to exert local pressure on decision-makers. The media was also used to play an important role during the campaign being targeted to amplify local campaigning activity, locally, regionally and nationally.

**Opposing Campaign Groups**

Smith (1990, 1993 and 1995) argues that pressure groups rarely achieve their objectives by virtue of their actions alone. KSSC and RSAR’s campaign seem weak in comparison with SHRC. KSSC’s network rested on Church groups whose individuals, although motivated, did not have the same resources at their disposal. RSAR never invested in a grass roots
campaign, although Marks and Spencer could have easily funded this type of activity and were open to being persuaded of the case.

Epitaph

The campaign of the Shopping Hours Reform Council achieved its desired result. Their proposal passed through the parliamentary process virtually untouched.

The Sunday Trading Campaign, which represents one of the most protracted parliamentary battles, is a good example of the role and power of pressure groups in British business and politics today. After over forty years of confusion (particularly 1991-93) and failed attempts to reform the Sunday trading law, the 1994 Act was passed. This was a direct result of intensive political lobbying and campaigning by various pressure groups and business interests, and shows a very clear example of the power of a particular interest group or coalition of interests to bring about policy change for commercial advantage.

Fundamental problems of equality and weight of access persist and clearly it is much more difficult for non-business groups to succeed on a low-profile basis and budget. The large retail groups, involved in this campaign had the necessary financial resources to throw behind the cause and were able to reinforce their economic power through pressure group activity. Its formidable lobbying power formed one of the most striking aspects of the campaign as is illustrated in the these comments by Des Wilson (Kellaway, 1993):
I have an exceptional range of contacts. The reporters I knew when I started at Shelter in 1966 are now editors. The backbenchers are now ministers. The people I knew in TV are now director generals. I know them all.

Those lobbying in other regulated markets might be more discreet than this and possibly less egotistical in tone, but would support the broad thrust of the argument and support the potential power of this type of activity (Andrews, 1996).

Sunday trading is now firmly established and the next stage of lobbying appears to be whether trading is extended beyond 8 hours or not and whether 24 hour retail trading should be seen as a logical development. (Lords Hansard, 4th November 1998).

The case is a good example of how a well-planned and co-ordinated political lobbying and public affairs campaign can shape the business environment for competitive advantage.

Conclusion
The chapter has outlined the prime reasons for the growth of political lobbying and public affairs in the UK. It proposes that there is direct linkage between regulatory activity and political lobbying. It also suggests that the greater the market share or position held in the market place the more important it is to be active in political lobbying work or lose competitive advantage. It is suggested that network theory offers the best basis for understanding the complexities and dynamics of political lobbying and public affairs work. General theoretical concepts of political lobbying and marketing and its critical strategic management role in refining government policy and maintaining competitive advantage are outlined. A case study of the Sunday Trading Campaign outlines tactics and the impact of
effective political marketing for large retailers. A model is proposed to explain the increasing role of political lobbying as a major marketing communication tool of relationship marketing.
Chapter Ten

Of Ends and Means: Conclusion

‘I think that this would be the way to go to paradise:
To learn the way to hell in order to flee it’

Niccolo Machiavelli, Letter to Francesco Vettori, 17th March, 1521

Context

Chapter 9 has outlined the causal factors within the UK economy and society from the 1940s through to the 1990s that have seen a dramatic increase in strategic political. It has also been argued that the steady but sustained increase in regulatory activity by government (at both UK and EU level) have stimulated a commensurate rise in political lobbying by large organisations to ensure legislation is not disadvantageous to its interests. In addition the importance of market position and its direct impact upon levels of public affairs work has been reported. It has been suggested [See Chapter 8 and Chapter 9] that a network perspective (Häkansson 1980 et al) offers the best theoretical basis to understand the complexity and connectivity of political lobbying as part of political marketing activity.

The case study on Sunday Trading [See Chapter 9] has been used as an example of how political lobbying and associated campaigning can be applied by strategic management to bring about market change and gain competitive advantage. A model ‘The Role of Political Lobbying as a feature of Political Marketing Communication with Government’, see Figure 21, has been proposed to explain the relationship marketing
role of political lobbying. This has been built upon empirical evidence gathered from informants, literature, in depth research interviews and participant observation during the period of study.

**Introduction**

The chapter addresses the questions set out in the initial focus of the thesis. That political lobbying has become more strategic for the modern organisation whether it be private or ‘not for profit’. It outlines general findings and proposes thoughts on the development of a general theory of political lobbying. It suggests areas for future research.

**General Findings**

The scale of business activity to influence politicians, public servants and government policy has increased dramatically. This has been shown in Chapter 5 through the longitudinal study of Party Conferences, which has outlined the considerable scale, professionalism and growing importance of them as market places for large scale and focused organisations to influence government decision making and regulation. The Government role as regulator has increased dramatically in the last decade (Majone 1994 and 1996) and has led to a significant increase in political lobbying activity by marketing orientated organisations to maintain and increase competitive advantage and market share. Effective organisations whether they be private or ‘not for profit’ regularly monitor policy developments and take pro-active actions to influence the business policy, decision making or regulatory activities of government [See Chapter 6 for examples and Chapter 9, the Sunday Trading Case Study]. The effective politician can play a major role in this process, if they adopt Ahrne’s (1994) so called
organizational ‘centaur’ approach and champion or act on behalf of interests and organisations within their web of networks. Able individuals or focused groups of politicians can exert significant influence on decision making. The level of activity and number of networks, which these ‘centaurs’ enter, is dependent upon the amount of interaction the individual engages in. The same concept is equally applicable to political lobbyists. The power of civil servants to influence government policy is still relatively more substantial than that of politicians. To influence this area it is important to be a regular supplier of good quality information, ideas for the development of policy options, have a good working knowledge and access to the political decision making network. The most effective lobbyists have invariably a background in political and public life whether it is as a former politician, pressure group campaigner, government servant and or policy advisor. The importance of an individual or group’s ability to access various decision-makers and networks is essential for success.

Integrity, trust and a clear knowledge of political issues and the government decision making process is essential for success [See Appendix 13 and the Seven Guiding Principles of Public Life]. Quality of information, awareness of ‘Issues Management Techniques’ and a good knowledge of political networks are essential for success. As Sandy Walkington, the Head of Corporate Affairs at BT summed-up his role and strategic priorities when interviewed:

The 3 ‘M’s, and they are:

Large organisations tend to be better organised at political lobbying because, in reality, they can invest the people, resources and time into the process which SMEs by their dynamic nature do not have in abundance. Only active federations of small companies and interests can look after their interests as they do not have the resources individually. Good political lobbying to be effective takes time, patience and a degree of embeddedness in the political network (Granovetter, 1985, Grabher, 1993 and Halinen and Törnroos, 1995); last minute lobbying is invariably seen as crisis management or a lack of broad strategic interest [See Chapter 8].

**Findings and General Theory of Political Lobbying**

The thesis suggests the following:

- Access, knowledge and understanding of the political and policy making process are prerequisites for effective political lobbying.

- Providing high quality information and alternative policy solutions to government and public servants to make decisions are essential for a long term relationship and maintenance of position within the network.

- Governments role as regulator of a predominantly private capital owned economy has increased in response to its withdrawal from direct ownership.
• To maintain position or gain an advantageous competitive position it is essential to actively lobby.

• Good lobbying takes preparation and time and is part of a developed relationship marketing approach by the organisation.

• Growth opportunities are restricted by old legislation, there is the need to lobby to bring about change.

• Many core businesses are now subject to licensing or regulation and consequently political lobbying has become an increasing role of strategic management activity to maintain advantage.

• Rapidly changing regulation, reflecting globalisation require a pro-active management style and regular monitoring or lose advantage.

• Regulation in certain markets has a direct and easily observable impact upon the financial bottom line.

• Lobbying civil servants before ministers is best practice and it is better to start at lower grades and work-up the system.

• One should attempt to win the intellectual argument in each case.

• Adding a public service or stakeholder aspect to a political lobbying initiative improves the likelihood of success.

• Building coalitions of interests and working in partnership with other companies or interests are more likely to lead to political lobbying or marketing success.
• Access the whole policy development process on a regular basis. Monitor government policy initiatives constantly and act quickly.

• Time interventions on an issue. Governments have more flexibility at different times in their cycle in office or depending upon their majority or public opinion. Crisis or over reaction suggests weakness.

• Accept that in a complex and global world, government legislation and regulation will increase and gear your organisation to respond to this situation.

• Campaign techniques can be used to put pressure on decision-makers over time.

• Use media to support political lobbying.

• Network and interactionalist theory as part of relationship marketing suggests a theoretical basis to explore and evaluate the area.

• Political Conferences play a major role as regular market place in which to meet and influence politicians and government.

**Typological Model of Political Lobbying**

A general theory as well as a model were developed from the research which was based on the ideas of the interactionalist sociologist Goffman (1961a and 1961b), the political scientists Presthus (1974) and Schmitter and Streeck (1981), and their work on the organisation of business interests. This was strengthened by the work of Jacoby (1971) and Steiner and Steiner (1985) and particularly their suggestions on how business communicates with government. This was substantially developed by the incorporation of Häkansson (1982) and the work of the IMP group of researchers and especially their research on networks, particularly Häkansson and Johanson (1992), Miettilä and
Törnroos (1992), Häkansson and Snehota (1995), Strandvik and Törnroos (1995) and Tikkanen (1996). The works of Whiteley and Winyard (1987), Jordan (1991 and 1994), O’Shaughnessy (1992), Richardson (1993), Newman (1994), Grant (1995), Harris and Lock (1995a and 1995b), Andrews (1996), Greenwood (1997) and Morris (1998), were used to refine research and the construction of the model and to test out its potential to posit how lobbying fits within modern markets and its position alongside marketing theory. These arguments have been outlined [See earlier in this Chapter and in Chapter 8]. The Case Study on Sunday Trading was used to check validity and effectiveness of theory development. It is proposed that with earlier theoretical suggestions on the relationship between regulatory activity and political lobbying (see Chapter 9) that this forms the key building blocks for general theory development in the area.

This model is outlined over and explained in Chapter 1 and was built on the earlier work outlined in Chapter 3.

The figure outlines the complex linkage between government and organisations for effective policy formulation. Political lobbying plays a marketing communication role in linking business and/or ‘not for profit’ communication into government policy making. It is set against the context of transnational government (EU and WTO, etc.), and its regulatory activities.
Limitations of the Research Study

There is limited research within the management literature on political lobbying and its recent growth and strategic use. Thus the opportunity to draw on comparative studies is much diminished. The number of strategic longitudinal case studies which have been researched and are available, to show how political lobbying is evolving and becoming a feature of strategic management, is relatively limited in the UK. There are only two known to date, the Devonport Dockyard Campaign by Andrews (1996) and the Sunday Trading Case which is outlined in this thesis. There is a clear need to diagramatically show how political lobbying works within the policy making process by the use of network theory.
The study to maintain focus has not looked specifically at EU institutions and political lobbying within them. This could be an area for any future study. A comparative study of political lobbying and associated campaigning would be useful to ascertain what international features are emerging. There is good research being carried out in the EU on political lobbying (Van Schendelen, 1991), but this is not as yet being contrasted with studies in the UK or USA.

The data set on political conferences and ‘business to business’ marketing activity at Party Conferences should be extended to include data from 1998 and 1999. This would then provide a complete five year set of data not only to show the impact of a change of government but also the long term emerging lobbying trends and influences that are emerging in political lobbying and ‘business to business’ marketing.

**Future Research**

Because of the relatively discrete nature of political lobbying, research should be built up over time to develop a number of longitudinal case studies of emerging practice in a range of strategic industries which are heavily effected by regulation, such as most notably broadcasting, utilities, transport, pharmaceuticals and telecoms. The effectiveness of confederations of SME’s at political lobbying should be researched and ways in which this could be improved for strategic advantage. Ethical issues and the relationship between private party political campaign funds and political lobbying should be more thoroughly investigated in the UK, especially the linkage between party donors and policy initiatives. Comparative research between the UK, US and Europe is essential to develop proposed models and theoretical constructs on political lobbying and political marketing and to test their validity in the global wider arena.
In addition the impact of devolution and the establishment of Scottish and Welsh Parliaments and the impact on public affairs operations offers some potentially very fertile new phenomena to explore. The growth of political lobbying and public affairs work in local government and particularly that on local planning applications (especially retail developments) is very under researched and yet is at the cutting edge of strategic marketing development. This is potentially a very interesting area for further study.

There is also a need in the literature for further research and the development of theoretical constructs on the relationship between Integrated Marketing Communication theory, political lobbying and political marketing.

**Future Research Agenda**

It is very difficult to outline a comprehensive research agenda because of the evolving nature of the subject but building on and consolidating this study the following research is and will be undertaken:

- Collection of research data from the 1999 Party Conferences to extend longitudinal study.

- Establishing agreed collaborative research agendas with international researchers and in particular those operating across the EU, North America and Australasia.

- Investigating the linkage between Political Party funding and policy developments in the UK and evaluating ethical regulation of area.

- Evaluating strategic political lobbying practice adopted by multi national companies, SME’s, major pressure group and coalitions of interests.
• Extending the development of theoretical concepts and models to improve management understanding of the area.

**Contribution of the Research Findings**

The major contributions of the study and thesis are:

• The first longitudinal study of Party Conferences as a market place for political lobbying and ‘business to business’ marketing activity.

• The prime reasons for the growth and increasing strategic importance of political lobbying.

• How political lobbying is a part of political and relationship marketing.

• An outline of best practice and a case study for the management discipline of how political lobbying can be used to gain competitive advantage.

• How network and interactionalist theories associated with relationship marketing offer the best theoretical methods to explore the process.

**Conclusion**

The evidence from the results of the research illustrates the large scale and increasingly important business activity, which is strategic, political lobbying for competitive advantage. The levels and extent of activities have grown dramatically in the last decade.
and have evolved as an integral part of marketing communications practice and theory. To date the role of strategic lobbying as part of the marketing process has only recently started to be researched and is in need of much further study if a true view of competitiveness factors are to be obtained.

‘God does not want to do everything’

*Niccolo Machiavelli, The Prince (p, 26 l.103)*
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The Stationary Office (TSO), Register of Members Interests as at 31st March 1997. London


Appendix 1

List of Publications by Author Reflecting Evolution of this Research Study


2000 Harris, P., Lock, A. and O'Shaughnessy, N. Measuring the Effect of Political Advertising and the Case of the 1995 Irish Divorce Referendum, Marketing Information and Planning, 18 (1) September (Scheduled for publication by editor and in production).
Appendix 2

List of Organisations Placing Advertisements, Exhibiting or Sponsoring Fringe Meetings at the UK Party Political Conferences, by Sector 1994-97

Background to Data Collection and Management

The data was obtained from the published party agendas, conference, fringe and media guides produced for registered delegates, observers and accredited attendees at the following events:

1994
Liberal Democrat Conference, 18th-22nd September, Brighton.
Labour Party Conference, 2nd-8th October, Blackpool.
Conservative Party Conference, 11th-14th October, Bournemouth.

1995
Liberal Democrat Party Conference, 17th-21st September, Glasgow.
Labour Party Conference, 1st-6th October, Brighton.
Conservative Party Conference, 10-13th October, Blackpool.

1996
Liberal Democrat Party Conference, 22nd-26th September, Brighton.
Labour Party Conference, 29th September - 4th October, Blackpool.
Conservative Party Conference, 8th -11th October, Bournemouth.

1997
Liberal Democrat Conference, 21st-26th September, Eastbourne.
Conservative Party Conference, 7 -10th October, Blackpool.

Advertisements

Advertisements that appeared in the official publications were counted, itemised and listed by sector. It was considered unnecessary to measure the size of each advertisement or appraise its professional qualities as this would not enhance measurably the quality of the data needed for analysis. Account of content analysis
techniques (Krippendorff, 1980) was used to strengthen the collection and gathering process. Examples of two advertisements are illustrated in Appendix 3.

**Exhibitors**

The exhibitions at party conferences were visited over the same period as that used for gathering advertisement data and a comprehensive list of exhibitors produced for 1994-97.

The basic data was extracted from the exhibition area plan and list of exhibitors this is an integral feature of the official political party conference guide. The list was subsequently checked for accuracy and late additions and withdrawals by visiting the exhibition area. The quality and size of stands and personnel was noted separately to aid the analysis. A selective photographic record of exhibition stands and their featured messages and associated exhibits has been maintained over the period 1994-98. Approximately 200 stands and associated exhibitors have been photographed and are catalogued in this data. Examples of photographic evidence of exhibition stands can be seen in Appendix 4, Chapter 5 and in the prefacing pages to the thesis.

**Fringe Meetings**

The base data for fringe meetings was extracted from the previously mentioned official party publications and in particular the list of published events. This was augmented by analysis of the invariably erratically circulated and occasional daily produced party guide to fringe meetings and events. The data includes sponsored entertainment activities (balls, dances, fashion shows, films, etc.;) and receptions as these would normally be considered by delegates as part of fringe meeting activity. A random selection and range of fringe events, meetings and receptions was attended throughout
the research. Examples from the photographic record taken of fringe meetings and events can be seen in Appendix 5, Chapter 5 and in the prefacing pages to the thesis.

**Data Set and Research Trend Maintenance**

To maintain the database on advertisements, exhibitors and fringe meetings and to assess emerging trends at party conferences the following events were attended in 1998:

Liberal Democrat Conference, 20th-25th September, Brighton.
Labour Party Conference, 27th September – 2nd October, Blackpool.
Conservative Party Conference, 5-9th October, Bournemouth.

It is planned to attend all the 1999 national conferences of the main political parties to maintain the data set. Consideration is being given to extending the research and attending the other party conferences in the future, for instance Greens, Plaid Cymru, Scottish Nationalists and Ulster Unionist Party. At the conceptual stage of the research design the lack of observable ‘business to business marketing’ activity and political lobbying at these conferences (informant Rhona McDonald and non-attributable sources) meant it was best to preclude them at this stage of the research and focus on the major three UK wide parties.

**Categorisation of Data**

A typology of organisations based on the earlier work of Presthus (1973 and 1974), Schmitter and Streeck (1981), Whiteley and Winyard (1987), Jordan (1994), Stanyer and Scammell (1996) and research observation was developed. The five types or sectors are:
Public Sector
‘Not for Profit’
Unions and Professional Associations
Private Sector
Party Associated Organisations

These sectors are categorisations of a diffuse range of interests and of course some could fit into a number of sectors. For instance, private company sponsorship of a Conservative fringe meeting or the GMB stand sponsored by Vauxhall Motors at the 1995 Labour Conference, in each case the example could fit into two sub categories of sector. To aid the clarity of the data the author has taken the most visible sponsor, exhibitor or advertiser and listed them as the main organisation behind the particular event or feature. In the case where there is no single clear promoter of the advert, event or exhibition all organisations are listed. The five broad categorisations used to sub divide data collected at conferences can be described as follows:

**Public Sector**
Government controlled, owned or sponsored agencies or organisations (e.g. Arts Council, BBC, Campaign for Racial Equality (CRE), Government of Gibraltar, Post Office etc.) and interests controlled or owned by local authorities (e.g. Local Government Association or Bilston College).
‘Not for Profit’
Charitable trusts, recognised pressure groups and think tanks. For instance, Age Concern, Child Poverty Action Group, Greenpeace, Leonard Cheshire Foundation, RSPB, and in the latter category DEMOS, Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) and Social Market Foundation (SMF).

Unions and Professional Associations
Traditional trade unions such as Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), Unison, etc. through to professional associations and federations, for instance, British Medical Association (BMA), Police Federation of England and Wales and the Advertising Association.

Private Sector
Public limited companies, industry groups and associated business interests. For instance, Boots the Chemist, Cable TV Association, Guinness, Manchester Airport and Rail Freight Group.

Party Associated Organisations
Groups and organisations in this sector cover predominantly official political party organisations such as interest groups or campaigning parts of the organisation. This category includes ALDC (Association of Liberal Democrat Councillors), Conservative Anti-hunt Council, Conservative Medical Society, European Parliamentary Labour Party through to the Welsh Night (traditional entertainment organised by the Welsh Liberal Democrats).
The tables of collected data listed in this appendix show the year and political party conference at which the information was gathered and recorded. The following initials were used to indicate the political parties:

CP  Conservative Party

LD  Liberal Democratic Party

LP  Labour Party

An archive of material from the conferences listed is available for inspection and further research.

Advertisements

List of Organisations placing Advertisements by Sector, 1994-97

Local Advertisers

The Belfry 95 LD
City Merchant Bistro 95 LD
Di Maggio’s Pizzeria 95 LD
Eye of the Tiger Restaurant 94 CP, 96 CP (supports free enterprise)
Froggies 95 LD
Gandhi restaurant 95 LD
Griffs Hotel and Restaurant 94 CP
Harry Ramsden’s 95, 96 CP
Ho Wong 95 LD
Imperial Restaurant 94 CP
The Jenny 95 LD
Matsuri Restaurant 94 CP
Mrs T’s Supper Room 94 CP
Noble House Restaurant 94 CP
Paperino’s 95 LD
Payathai 95 CP
Peking Court 95 LD
Peking Inn 95 LD
Scotts Restaurant 95 LD
Shenangans 95 LD
Taj Mahal Restaurant 94 CP
Tsing Tao 96 LD
Ubiquitous Chip 95 LD
Westover Road Traders Association 94 CP
Wilai’s Thai Restaurant 95 CP

Public Sector

ACC/ADC/AMA/LMGB 94 CP, LD, LP
Local Government Association 96 LP (3 fringe ads)
Local Government Information Unit 94 LP, 95 LP, 96 LD, LP (2), 97 LP
Anchor Trust 96 LP
Association of London Government 95 LD
Arts Council of England 95, 96 (Conservative Political Centre-Lottery) CP, LP, 97 CP
Audit Commission 95 CP, 96 LP
BBC (World at One -Forum) 96 LD, LP (World Tonight -Debate)
Corporation of London 96 LD, CP (joint with Bow Group), LP (joint with Fabian Society) 97 CP, LD
European Institute for the Media, Amsterdam 96 CP
Equal Opportunities Commission 94 LP
European Commission 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 LD
Design Council (supported by the think tank DEMOS, The Independent newspaper and Virgin plc) 97 CP
European Institute for the Media 96 LP
Greater Manchester Passenger Transport Executive 94 95 96 CP, LP
Health Education Authority 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP (2), LP, LD
Hounslow & Hillingdon (joint London Borough Council advertisement against Terminal 5 at Heathrow) 96 LP
NHS Confederation (at CP supported by Rhone Poulenc Rorer) 97 CP, LD
National Federation of Housing Associations 94 CP, LD, LP
National Housing Federation 96 LD, CP (with Peabody Trust), LP
Nuclear Free Local Authorities 97 LD
Open University 94 CP, LD, LP, 95, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 LD
Post Office 96, 97 CP (see Royal Mail/Direct Marketing Association)
South Gloucestershire Council (research assistant to Liberal Democrat Group) 97 LD
Women’s National Commission 96 LP

Not for Profit Sector

Age Concern (supported by British Gas) 95 CP, (sponsored by Littlewoods Lotteries),
96 CP (2) (sponsored by British Gas) and (Glaxo Wellcome); LD, LP (sponsored by British Gas and 1 Glaxo Wellcome)
All Party Group on Homeless & Housing Need 97 CP, LD
Animal Defenders 97 LP
Arms Conversion Project 95 CP
Breast is Best 95 LP
British Association for Shooting and Conservation 96 CP, LP, 97 LD
British Diabetic Associated (sponsored by J Sainsbury plc) 97 CP
British Dietetic Association 96 CP, LP (sponsored by J Sainsbury plc)
British Field Sports Association 96 CP
British Red Cross 95 CP (with NUT), LP
British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection 96 CP, 97 CP, LD CIWF/LACS/BUAV
94 LP, 96 CP, LD, LP
Cara Irish Housing Association 96 LD
Civic Trust (sponsored by Severn Trent Plc) 97 CP
Continuing Care Conference (Coalition of care groups) 94 CP, 96 LP
Countryside Alliance (i.e., British Field Sports Society, Countryside Business Group, Countryside Movement) 97 LP, LD
Country Sports (i.e., British Field Sports Society, League Against Cruel Sports-shared platform) 96 LD, LP
Country Landowners Association 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP
Consumers Association 96 CP, 97 LD
DEMOS 96 CP, LD, LP 97 LD
Disability Daily (supported by J Sainsbury Plc) 97 CP, LD
Energy Crunch 96 LD
European Movement 96 CP, LP
Forum for Reasonable Regulation 97 LP
European Movement 96 LD
Howard League for Penal Reform 94 CP, LD, LP, 95, 96 LP, 97 (with National Association of Probation Officers) CP
International Fund for Animal Welfare [IFAW] 97 LD & LP (double spread)
International Alert 96 LP
IPPR 96 CP, LP (see also joint events)
Kids Clubs Network 97 CP, LP (BT supported)
Leave Country Sports Alone 96 LP
MS 96 CP, LP
NSPCC 95 (jointly with BT) LD, CP, 96 LP (supported by DHL)
NCH 97 LP
National Anti-Vivisection Society 97 LP
National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux 96 CP (supported by CP), LP (supported by Barclays Bank plc)
National Consumer Association 95, 96 LD, LP
National Consumer Council 96 CP
National Lobby on Kashmir 96 LP
New Policy Institute 96 LP
One World Action 96 LP
Passports for Pets 97 LP
Pre-school Learning Alliance 96 LD
Press for Change (trans-sexualism) 96 LP
The Ramblers 96 LP
Scope 95 CP
Shelter 94 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD
Social Market Foundation (all sponsored by NatWest Group plc) 96 LP, 97 CP
Spastics Society (SCOPE) 94, CP, LP, LD
Terrence Higgins Trust (with National aids Trust) 95 CP, LD
UNICEF (with Mines Advisory Group) 96 LD
Voices of Women 96 LP
Voluntary Euthanasia Society 94 CP, LD, LP, 95, LD, 96, LD, LP, 97, CP
Unions and Professional Associations

Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union (AEEU) 97 LP
Airports Policy Consortium 96 LP
Association of University Teachers (AUT)/National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (NATFHE) 95 LD, 96 LD, LP, 97 LD
Arms Conversion Project 96 LP
Association of Head Teachers 94 CP, LD, LP
Association of Chief Officers of Probation 95 LD
Association of Teachers and Lecturers 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD (2), 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 (with NAHT) CP, LD
British Diabetic Association (supported by J. Sainsbury plc) 97 LD
British Medical Association (BMA) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, 96 CP, LD, 97 CP, LD
CBI 96 LP, 97 CP
Chamber of Shipping 95 CP
Chartered Institute of Environmental Health 97 LP
Community Transport Association 96 LP
Crossrail 95 LP
Direct Marketing Association 95 LD, 96 LD (with Royal Mail) 95 LD
Engineering Employers Federation 95, 96 CP, LP
GMB 94 LP
Institute of Health Services Management 95 LP
Lancashire Enterprises plc 96 LP
Law Society 95 CP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD
Legal Action Group 96 LP
MSF 97 LP
National Association of Head Teachers (NAHT) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, 96 LD, LP
National Association of Health Authorities & Trusts 96 CP, LD
National Association of Pension Funds 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, 96 LP, 97 LD
National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NAWAT) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, 96 CP (2), LD, LP LD, 97 CP, LD
National Consumer Council 95 CP
National Union of Students 96 LP
National Union of Teachers (NUT) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, 96 CP, LD, LP (2) 97 LP
Professional Association of Teachers 96 LD
Police Federation 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD
Prison Officers Association 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP
Royal College of Midwives 95, 96 CP, LP
Royal College of Nursing 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP (2), 96 LD, LP (2), 97 LD, LP
SMMT 96 LP
TGWU 96 LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
UNISON
USDAW 94, 95 LP
Workers Beer Company (Trade Union owned) 96 LP
Private Sector

AEP (Company promoting recycling, composting, waste to energy) 94 LD
BSkyB 96 CP
Boots 96 LD, LP
BNFL 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
BSM 96 CP, LP
British Aerospace 97 LP
British Airports Authority (BAA) 94 CP, LD, LP
British Bankers 94 CP, LD, LP
British Gas 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 (Centrica from 97) CP, LP
British Telecom (BT) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP (with National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children [NSPCC], 1 and half advertisements in Labours case) 96 CP (2), LD, LP (2) 97 CP, LD, LP (Kids Club Network)
British Wind Energy Association 95 LD
Cable 96 CP, 97 CP, LD, LP
CableTel 96 CP, LP
Cable & Wireless 97 CP, LD, LP
Canning (specialist chemicals & services) Ltd; 94, 95, CP
CCO Conferences Ltd 94 CP
Channel 94 CP, LD, LP
Connex South Central (Connex Rail part of CGEA Group) 97 LP
Combined Heat and Power Association 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD 96 LD, LP, 97 (supported by British Gas [BG]) CP, LD
Connect Parliamentary Affairs Limited, (Lobbyists) 94 LP
Co-op sponsored press pack 94, 95, 96, 97 LP
Co-operative Bank 94 LP, 97 LP
Daily Mirror 94 LP, 95 LP (2 including promoting ‘Rolling Rose’ races at Brighton)
Daily Telegraph 97 LP
DHL 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP (with MENCAP, 2), LP, 97 CP, LP
Duty Free Confederation 96 CP, LP, 97 LP
Electricity Association 97 LD
Enterprise plc 97 LP
Eutelsat (EU tele satellite/broadcast operation) 94 CP, 95 CP, LP
Federation of Small Business 96 LP
HW Fisher & Co (chartered Accountants) 96 LP
GO Direct (sign language interpreters) 97 CP
GEC Marconi 94 CP
GMTV 95 LP
The Guardian (fringe debate advertisement) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Ian Greer Associates Limited (lobbyists until demise sponsors of CP fringe guide) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LP (& SCOPE, NUT, MENCAP at LP)
Group 4 96 LP
Charles Heideck (Champagne suppliers to the Conservative Party Refreshment area) 95 CP, 96 CP
House Builders Federation 97 LD
Independent Financial advisers 95 CP
IPPR (sponsored by Dryden Press) 94 LP (see also under ‘not for profit’)
Jackson & Stephen (Chartered Accountants) 96 CP
Kinetica Ltd; (Gas supplier) 94 CP
Kingfisher 94 CP, LD, LP
Krug 95, 96 CP (Champagne suppliers to the Conservative Party Refreshment area)
Lambert Printers 96 LD
Little Brown (publisher of ‘We the Nation’) 95 CP
Lloyd’s 96 CP, LP (2)
Manchester Airport 95 LD (with Greater Manchester Passenger Transport Executive [GMPTE]) 96 LP (joint with GMPTE) (see also GMPTE)
Market Access Group (lobbyist group) 95 LD
Merck Sharp & Dohme 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP (plus sponsorship of IPPR event on ‘A Public Voice in Health Policy’) 97 CP & LP
Mercury Communications 94, 96 (part of Cable & Wireless Group plc) LD
Mitsubishi Electric PC Division 97 LD
Mortons 95, 96, 97 LD
Motor Cycle Industry 96 LD, LP
National Association of Pension Funds
National Group on Home working 96 LP
National Transport Tokens Ltd  (Alternative to local authority travel passes) 94 LD
NCM Credit Insurance Ltd 94 CP, 95 CP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP (now NCM Credit Management Worldwide)
NEA 96 LD (supported by British Gas)
National Lottery 95 LD
Nestle UK Ltd 96 LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Northern Tours Holidays Ltd 95 LP
Nuclear Electric 94 CP, LD, LP
Paper Federations 96 LP
Parliamentary Brief 94 LP, 95 CP
Philip Morris 94 CP & LP
Profile Political Relations 95 CP, LP
Restauranteur’s Association 97 LP
Royal Bank of Scotland 95 LD, 96 CP (2, 1 for affinity card)
Safeway 97 CP, LP
J. Sainsbury plc 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Scottish Nuclear 94, LP
Sea Containers 95 CP, 96 (Seacat) CP
Sears plc (supporting a Labour Industry Forum event) 96 LP
Securicor (Omega Express ad) 96, 97 CP
Slater Menswear 95 LD
Swiss Life (UK) with the Bow Group 96 CP
TNT 96 CP
TU Fund Managers Limited 96, LP
Taylor Acland 95, 96 LD
Taylor Woodrow 94, 95 CP
Tesco plc (joint fringe with ALDC) 95 LD (2)
TravellLeads 96 CP
Turner Corporation (CNN) 95, 96 CP, LP
UPS (provided a printed fringe day planner) 97 LP
Westminster Communications (lobbyists) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP
Westminster Strategy (lobbyists) 94 CP
Yeoman 96 CP, LP
Zeneca (sponsored National Association of Health Authorities and Trusts [NAHAT] event) 96 LP

Party Associated Organisations

Arts for Labour Forum 95 LD
Association of Liberal Democrat Councillors 95 LD (3) 96 (1), 97 (3)
Association of Conservative Clubs 94, 95 CP
Blackpool 94 LP
Central Region MEPs
Chard/Dagger Group 95, 96 LD
CIX 97 LD
Conservative 2000 Foundation 96 CP
Conservative Anti-Hunt Council (with League Against Cruel Sports [LACS]) 95 CP
CLA 95 CP
Conservative Central Office (Computers) 95 CP
Conservative Friends of Israel 94, 95, 96 CP, 97 CP
Conservative Medical Society 94, 95 CP
Conservative Middle East Council 94 CP
Conservative National Property Advisory Service 96, 97 CP
Conservative Political Centre 95 CP
Constituency Computers 96 CP (20 Ears 95 LD)
Emily’s List UK 95 LP
European Foundation 97 CP
European Parliamentary Labour Party 96 LP
Fabian Society 96 LP
Glyn Ford MEP 96 LP
Green Fringe (umbrella fringe add) 96 LP
Green Liberal Democrat 97 LD
Health Campaign 95 LD
Industry Forum 96 LP
Information Technology (Conservative Central Office) 97 CP (2)
LPN (women’s group) 95 LP
Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform 96 LP
Labour Initiative on Co-operation 96 LP
Labour’s Strategy for Tourism (speakers from British Tourist Association [BTA] and English Tourist Board [ETB]) 96 LP
Labours Recruitment Action Pack 95 LP
Labour Women's Network 95 LP
Liberal Democrat Christian Forum 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Business Forum 95 LD
Liberal Democrat Forum for the Countryside 95 LD (2) 96 LD (3) 97 LD
LDYS 95 LD
Liberal International 95, 96 LD
Liberator 97 LD
National Liberal Club 95, 96 LD
New Statesman 97 LP
Operation Victory (Labour General Election Campaign) 96 LP
Parliamentary Space Committee 95 CP
Project 500 (Labour students) 95 LP
Red Pepper & Video News 96 LP
The Reformer 96, 97 LD
Ruskin College, Oxford 94, 95 LP
Scottish Young Liberal Democrats 96 LD
Unjamming the Cities (fringe meeting South Yorkshire Passenger Transport Executive [SYPT]) 95 CP
Winning Women’s Votes (joint Fawcett/Demos fringe event) 96 LP
Women Liberal Democrats 96 LD

Acknowledgements in Documents

Eastbourne Borough Council 97 LD
DLC Computer Services 97 LD
The Motorcycle Industry association 97 LD
J Sainsbury plc 97 LD,
South Western Electricity Board 97 LD

Exhibitors

List of Organisations Exhibiting by Sector, 1994-97

Public Sector

ACC/ADC/AMA/LGMB (Local government organisations) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD
Local authority associations 95 CP, LP
Local Government Association 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Local Government Department 94 CP
Local Government Information Unit 94 LP, 95 LP, 96 LD, LP, 97 LD, LP
Association of Direct Labour Organisations (ADLO) (local government direct services) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Audit Commission 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP
BR London Rail Development 96 LP
Bilston Community College 97 LP
Black Country (promoting region) 94, 95 CP
Brighton and Hove Council 97 LP
British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LP
BBC News, BBC World Service (WS) 97 (News & WS) CP, LP (+Radio 5 Live)
British Rail or local rail organisation (service for conference) 94 CP, LD, LP
British Youth Council 95 LP
Centro and Altram (Midland Metro consortium) 94 CP
Confederation of Passenger Transport 95 CP, 96 CP, LD, LP
Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP
English Heritage 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD (in Scotland), LP 96 CP, LD, LP
Falkland Islands 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP 97 CP, LP
Greater Glasgow Tourist Board & Convention Bureau (1995 Conference venue) 94 LD
Government of Gibraltar 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP & LP
Health Education Authority 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP
International Convention Centre 94 CP
London Luton Airport 96 LP
London Transport 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
National Council for Vocational Qualifications 96 LP
National House Building Council 95 LP, 96 LP
NW Training & Enterprise 95 LP
NHS Network 96 CP
Network South Central (public rail operator) 96 LD
Nuclear Free Local Authorities 96 LD
NCH Action for Children/YMCA 97 LP
Post Office 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Sports Council 94 CP & LP, 97 LP
Women’s National Commission 94, 95 LD, LP, 96 LP, 97 CP

Not for Profit Sector

ACTSA (Successor to Anti-Apartheid Movement) 95 LP, 97 LP
Age Concern England 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP (supported by GlaxoWellcome), LD 97 CP, LD, LP
Amnesty International British Section 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP 97 CP, LP (joint venture)
Baby Milk Action 97 LP
Breakthrough Breast Cancer 97 LP
British Diabetic Association 95 CP, 96 LD
British Shooting Sports Council 96 LD, CP
British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection 96 LD, 97 LP
Campaign for Pension Fund Democracy 95 LP
Cancer Research Campaign 97 LP
Cara Irish Housing Association 96 LD
Charter 88 (Cross party campaign for constitutional reform) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, LP, 96 LD, LP, 97 LD, LP
Childcare Umbrella (7 childcare organisations) 96 LP
CND 94 LP, 96 LP
Coalfield Community Campaign 95, 96 LP
Compassion in World Farming 95 LP, 96 LD, LP
Consumer Association, 94 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD 97 LP
Continuing Care Conference 94 CP
Country Landowners Association 94 CP, LD, LP
Cuba Solidarity Campaign 95 LP
Disability Daily (Interactive media display showing daily disability discrimination) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Electoral Reform Society 96 LD
Environment Agency 97 CP, LD, LP
FA World Cup Bid 2006, 97 LP
Howard League for Penal Reform 94 CP, LD, LP
International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) 97 LD, LP
IPPR (think tank to counter free market thinking, founded 1988) 95, 96, 97 LP
Kids Club Network (childcare umbrella charity group) 96, 97 LP

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Law Centres Federation 94 CP, LD, LP
Low Pay Unit 95, 97 LP
League Against Cruel Sports (LACS) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LP, 96 LD, LP, 97 LD, LP,
Mines Advisory Group 95 CP, LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Museum of Labour History 96 LP
NEA (energy efficiency group) 97 LP
NSPCC 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP
National Association of Citizens Advice Bureau (NACABS) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LP Citizens Advice Bureau Service 97 CP, LP
National Asthma Campaign 94 LP
National Canine Defence League 96 CP
National Federation of Housing Associations 94 CP
National Housing Federation (professional housing body for 1500 ‘not for profit’ organisations) 97 LP
National Justice for Mineworkers Campaign 95 LP
National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) 94 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign 96 LP
Nicaragua/Cuba Solidarity 97 LP
One World Action 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LP, 97 LP
One World Democrats 94, 96 (joint with ALDTU) LD
OXFAM 94 CP & LP, 95 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Parliamentary Renewable Sustainable Energy Group 97 LP
Pre-school Learning Alliance 96 LP
Pre-School Play Groups 94 LP
PHAB (physical difficulties) 96 LP
Refugee Council 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP (joint venture with Amnesty International)
Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, 95 LP, 96 CP, LD, 97 CP, LD, LP,
Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Sex Education Forum (A consortium of 30 organisations operating in this area) 94 CP, LD, LP
Shelter 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 LD, 97 CP, LD, LP
Simon Community 95, 96 LD
Spastics Society (from November 1994 renamed SCOPE) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
Stonewall 95 LP
Stroke Association 94 LP
Talking Newspapers 97 LD, LP
Terence Higgins Trust/National AIDS Trust 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 LP
Tidy Britain Group 96 CP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Total Electoral Reform 95, 96 LD
Victim Support 94 LP, 95 LD
Voices of Women (Confederation of Women’s Groups; Low Pay Unit, Guides Association, National Alliance of Women’s Organisations, YWCA, Fawcett Society, 300 Group, Business & Professional Women UK Ltd Supported by the Body Shop at all Conferences) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD
Voluntary Euthanasia Society 94 CP, 95 LD, 96 LD, LP, 97 LD, LP
Voting Reform Group 95 LD
War On Want (established by Harold Wilson in 1951) 94 LP, 95 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Water Aid (funds drinking water supply improvements in developing countries) 94 LD, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96, CP, LD, LP, 97 LP,
Wildlife Network 97 LD, LP
Women’s National Commission (independent advisory body to Government) 94 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, 97, CP, LD, LP
The Women’s Stand 97 LP
World Wildlife Fund (WWF) 96 CP

Unions and Professional Associations

Advertising Association 95, 97 LP
Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union (AEEU) (Stand sponsored Vauxhall Motors) 94 LP (joint venture), 95 LP, 96, 97 LP
Association of Chief Probation Officers 96, 97 LP
Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP & LP
Brewers & Licensed Retailers association 95 LP
British Bankers Association 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LP
British Medical Association (BMA) 94 CP, LD, LP
CWU 95, 96, 97, LP
Chartered Institute of Environmental Health 97 LP
GCHQ Trade Unions 94 LD 95 LP, 96 LP
General, Municipal and Boilermakers Union (GMB) 95 LP (office)
Institute of Directors (IOD) 95 CP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
Manufacturing Science Finance (MSF) [UK’s fifth largest union] 94, 95 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Merseyside Trade Union Community 96 LP
National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers (NASWUT) 97 LD, CP
National Association of Pension Funds 94 CP & LP
National Union of Students (NUS) 96 LP
National Union of Teachers (NUT) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 LP
Police Federation of England and Wales 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Pools Promoters Association (PPA), [with Foundation for Sport, Football Trust, Vernons, Littlewoods and Zetters] 95 CP
Royal College of Midwives 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP 97, CP, LP
Royal College of Nursing (RCN) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Trade Union congress (TUC) 95 LP
Trade Union Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) 96 LP
Trade Union Congress (TUC) 94 LP, 96 LD, LP, 97 CP, LP
Trade Union Rights - Justice for Mineworkers 96 LP
TGWU 95 LP (office)
Transport and General Workers Union (joint TGWU/GMB) 94 LP, 95 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Union of Communication Workers (UCW) 94 LP
Union of Shop and Distributive Workers (USDAW) 94 LP, 95 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Private Sector

The Advertising Association 96 LP
AEA Technology (Science/Engineering Business) 94 CP, 95 CP
Ayr TeC Limited (joint venture of Hughes UK Ltd/Laing plc to bid for New Scottish Air Traffic Control Centre (NSC) to be built as a privately funded investment (PFI) project at Prestwick Airport, Ayr) 96 CP
BNFL 95 CP, LD, 96 CP, LD, LP
BR London Rail development 95 CP
Bankers Association 94 CP
Bingo Association of Great Britain 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP & LP
Black Country 95 CP, 96 LD
Brewers and Licensed Retailers Association 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, 96 CP, 97 CP & LP (pub with Blair sign)
British Aggregate Construction Materials Industries (BACMI) 95 CP, 96 CP, LD, LP
British Aerospace 97 LP
British Airports Authority plc (BAA) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP (Stansted), LP
British Airways 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, LP, 96 LD, CP, LP, 97 CP, LP,
British Coal Enterprise 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD
British Coal property 94 CP & LP
British Enterprise 95 LP
British Gas plc 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP
British Nuclear Fuels (BNFL) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
British Nuclear Industry Forum 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP & LP
British Shipping 95 LP
British Telecom (BT) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
BSkyB 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 LP
Confederation of Passenger Transport (CPT) 97 CP, LD, LP
Cable Television Association 94 CP, LD, LP
Cable Communications Association 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 LD, CP, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
(large cyber cafe)
Cable and Wireless Communications 97 CP, LP
Camelot Group PLC 96 LD, CP 97 CP, LD, LP
Centrica PLC, (part of old British Gas) 97 CP, LP
Chamber of Shipping (trade association for British ship owners and managers) 94 CP, LP, 95 CP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
Classic FM 95 CP, LD
Community Pharmacy Action Group 96 CP
Connex (South East of England rail franchise operator) 97 LD, LP
Co-operative Bank (Party’s affinity card supplier) 94 LD & LP, 95 LD, LP, 96 LD 97, LD & LP
Co-operative Wholesale Society, 95, 96, 97 LP
Crossrail 95 CP, LP
Daily Mirror (Mirror Group) 94, 95, 96, 97 LP
Demon Internet 96, 97 CP
Devonport Management Ltd (operator of Devonport Royal Dockyard) 94 CP
DHL International (UK) Ltd; (distribution company) 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
Duty Free Confederation 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
English Riviera Conference Bureau (holiday conference centre promoter) 95 LD
English Welsh & Scottish Railway 97 CP, LP
Environmental UK (sustainability consultants and company) 94 LP
European Passenger Services (The UK railway partner in Eurostar) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP (London & Continental Railways Ltd) 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LP
Eurotunnel 94 CP, LD, LP
Eutelsat (EU tele satellite/broadcast operation) 94 CP 95 CP
FIMBRA 94 CP
Foundation for Sports and the Arts 97 LP
GEC-Marconi Avionics Limited (Venom helicopter manufacturer) 94 CP
Go-ahead Group PLC (public transport operators) 97 LP
Guardian (advertisement for fringe event) 94 CP, LD, LP
House Magazine 95 CP, LD, LP
INCPEN (Industrial Council for Packaging and the Environment) 94 CP
Independent & Multiple Newsagents Association 97 LP
Inform (infant milk formula lobby) 97 LP
ITN 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP
Kinetica Limited 94 CP
Lanier 97 LP
LV Group 97 LP
Littlewoods Organisation 96 CP, LP
Littlewoods Pools (jointly with Foundation for Sport) 94 CP, LD, LP
London Luton Airport 95 LP
London Rail Development 95 LD
Lloyds of London 95 CP, 96 & LP CP & LP
Luton Airport (owned by LBC) 97 LP
Manchester Airport plc 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
MARI Group (EU training provider) 94 LP, 95 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Martin Dawes Telecommunications 96 LD
Merck Sharp & Dohme Ltd 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
Mercury Communications 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP
Minet (Insurance) 95 LP Mirror Group Newspapers 95 LP
National Lottery Good Causes 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
National Power plc 94 CP
Network South Central 95 LP
Nestle 96 LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
NIREX UK Ltd 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LP
Novartis (previously Sandoz Pharmaceuticals) 97 CP, LP
Nuclear Electric plc 94 CP, LD, LP
Orange 96 CP 97 CP, LP
Paper Federation 96 CP, LD
Pathway Group Ltd (Post Office counter automation) 95 CP
Polaroid (national identity programme makers) 94 CP 95 CP
Pools Promoters Association 95 LP
Portman Group (drinks industry lobby for sensible drinking/counter alcoholism) 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP & LP
Private Hearing Aid Dispensers 95 (private sector, hearing aid suppliers) CP, 96 CP, 97 CP
QED (conference speech recording services) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Sea Containers 96 CP, LP
Railtrack 95 LP
Railtrack plc (the private custodian of Britain’s rail track and signalling system) 94 CP, 95 CP, LD
Riso (UK) Ltd (low cost printing) 96 LD 97 LD
Royal Bank of Scotland (Banking facilities at all conferences) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, 96 CP, LD 97 CP, LD, LP
Quarry Products Association 97 CP LP
Sainsbury’s 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 C, LD, LP, 96 CP & LP
Scotch Whisky Association 94 LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
Sea Containers Ferries Scotland 94 CP 95 CP
Securicor Group Plc 94 CP
Society of British Aerospace 97 LP
South West Trains (part of Stagecoach plc) 96 CP (local rail network operator)
Spot on Exhibition Services 97 LD
Taylor Acland 95 LD
Tesco plc 94 CP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
TU Fund Managers Ltd (IMRO group for Labour Movement) 96 LP
UK NIREX 96 LD
Union Railways Limited (British Rail agency developing Channel Tunnel Rail link) 94 CP & LP
United Utilities 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
Unity Trust Bank (specialist Labour movement bank) 94 LP, 96, 97 LP
Vacher Dod Publishing Ltd 96 CP
Virgin Travel 97 CP, LP
Water Services Association, 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
Workers Beer Company (TU owned to raise funds for the Labour Movement by supplying Beer tents to large music festivals) 96 LP
Yeoman (Siemens-Plessey Systems & Racal Radio Bowman bid for Ministry of Defence contract) 95 CP, 96 CP, LP

Party Associated Organisations

Advice Services Alliance 94 LP
Agents & Organisers Association 95, 96, 97 LD
Alliance Party of Northern Ireland 95, 96, 97 LD
Anti Racist Alliance 94 LP
Arts for Labour 94, 95, 96, 97 LP
Association of Conservative Clubs 94, 95, 96, 97 CP
Association of Liberal Democrat Councillors (ALDC) 94, 95, 96 97 LD
Association of Liberal Democrat Engineers and Scientists (ALDES) 94, 95, 96, 97 LD
Association of Liberal Democrat Trade Unionists (ALTU) 94 LD, 97 LD
Blackpool District Labour Party 94 LP
Blackpool South CLP, 96 LP
Brighton Local Party (information desk/entertainment from local LD’s) 94, 96 LD
Brighton Labour Party 97 LP
Brighton Pensioners 97 LP
Campaign Against the Arms Trade 94, 96 LP
Campaign for Pension Fund Democracy 94 LP
Campaigning Department 95 CP, 96 CP
Campaigning-Elections Unit: Marginal Seats/Conservatives Abroad/Agents Legal & Training 94 CP, 97 CP
Chard Group (activist group see themselves as ‘Active Democratic Left’ of Liberal Democrats) 94, 95, 96, 97 LD
Chiltern Region Liberal Democrats 96, 97 LD
Coalfields Communities Campaign 94 LP, 97 LP
Co-operative Party 94, LP, 96, 97 LP
Computing for Labour 94, 96 LP
CCO Conferences Ltd 94 CP
CCO Fundraising & Treasurers 95, CP 97 CP
CCO Voluntary Groups 95, 96, 97 CP
Computing for Labour 95 LP
Conservative Animal Welfare Group 96, 97 CP
Conservative Bookshop 94,95,96,97 CP
Conservative Disability Group CP 95, 96, 97
Conservative National Property Advisory Committee (advisors to local party’s) 94, 95 CP, 97 CP
Conservatives in the European Parliament 94, 95, 96 CP
Conservative Group for Europe 97 CP
Constituency Computer Services 95, 96 CP
Constituency Services 94 CP
Conservative Medical Society 97 CP
CPC Bookshop (party purveyor of books and assorted ephemera) 94, 95, 96, 97 CP
Craig Services (supplier of assorted electoral paraphernalia) 94, 95, 96 LD
DAGGER (Liberal Action Group for gaining electoral reform) 94, 96, 95, 97 LD
DELGA (Gay and Lesbian pressure group within Liberal Democrats) 94, 95, 96, 97 LD
EARS 96 LD
Eastbourne Tourist Information (promoting conference venue 97) 96 LD
Eastbourne Liberal Democrats Local Party 97, LD
Election Agents Record System – EARS (electoral software house) 94 LD, 97 LD
Emily’s List/Labour Women’s Network 94, 96 LP
European Parliamentary Labour Party (EPLP) [European wing of party] 94, 97 LP
Events & Exhibitions (conference and platform/set design organisation of Party) 94, 95 LP
Exhibition Organisers Office 95 LP
Exhibitors Lounge 95 LP
GMB Labour Organisers (union for all party organisational staff) 94, 95 LP
Green Democrats (The environmental organisation for LD’s) 94 LD, 95, 96, 97 LD
Headquarters Services (LD central services) 96, 97 LD
Information Technology Computer Services from Central Office 97 CP
Institute of Employment Rights 97 LP
International Study Tours (LD tours to study other nations and societies etc.) 97 LD
Internet Cafe (sponsored by Cable Communications Association) 96 LP
Labour Action for Peace (Ulster) 94, 96, 97 LP
Labour Animal Welfare 95 LP
Labour Party Disabled Members Group 96 LP
Labour Party Fundraising 95 LP
Labour Party Multimedia Strategy 97 LP
Labour Party Property Services 95, 96 (sponsored by Byas Mosley & Co Ltd), 97 LP
Labour Party Resources Office 95 LP
Labour Party Shop 94, 95, 96, 97 LP
Labour Party Services 95 LP
Labour Socialist Societies 97 LP
Labour Women’s Network 95 LP
Lamamead (LD leaflet artwork on computer disk) 94, 95 LD
Liber Books (LD second hand books, pamphlets and political ephemera) 94, 95, 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Animal Protection Group 95, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Christian Forum 94 LD 95, 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Disability Association 94, 95, 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat European Group 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Forum for the Countryside 96, 95, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat News (the only party weekly newspaper still in existence) 94, 95 LD
Liberal Democrat On-Line System (LD IT Network) 94 LD
Liberal Democrat Peace Group 94, 95, 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Publications (LD publications/campaigning materials etc.) 94, 95 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Wales 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Youth and Students 94, 96, 95 97 LD
Liberal International (British Group), [World Liberalism organisation] LD, 95 96, 97
Liberal Revue Team 96 LD
Liberator (radical monthly LD magazine) 94, 95 96, 97 LD
Local Government Department 95 CP
LP Financial Services (LP financial services including visa cards) 94 LP
Membership Services (recruitment planning and party services for members) 94 LD
National Justice for Mineworkers 94 LP
National Museum of Labour History 94 LP, 97 LP
National Against Vivisection Society (NAVS)/Labour Animal Welfare Society 94 LP
New Century Magazine (independent Labour supporting current affairs magazine) 94 LP
One World Democrats/Association of Liberal Democrat Trade Unionists (joint stand) 95 LD
Operation Victory 96 LP
Organiser’s and Agent’s Association 94 LD
Parliamentary Candidates Association 94, 95 96 97 LD
Primrose League (promoting the ideas of Benjamin Disraeli) 96 CP
Reformer 95 LD
Resource Office/LP Services (LP organisation and electronic campaigning etc.) 94LP
Scottish Liberal Democrats 94, 95 96 97 LD
Socialist Societies (various approved party socialist societies) 94, 95, 96 LP
South East England Region 97 LD
Taylor Acland (LD preferred insurance broker) 94, 96 LD, 97 LD
The Reformer (LD quarterly party policy journal) 94, 95, 96, 97 LD
Total Electoral Reform -TER (LD electoral reform campaign group) 94 LD
Tribune/Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom 95, 97 LP
Welsh Liberal Democrats 94, 95 LD
Women Liberal Democrats 94, 95, 96 LD

Fringe Events

List of Organisations Sponsoring a Fringe Event by Sector, 1994-97

Public Sector

ACC/ADC/AMA/LGMB 94 CP, LD, LP
Local Government Association 96 CP, LD 97 CP, LD
Local Government Information Unit 94 LP, 95 LP (5) 96 LD, LP (4) 97 LD, (2) LP (5)
ADLO (local government service delivery option) 96 LP
Airports Policy Consortium 96 LD
Anchor Trust 96 LP
Arts Council 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP (with Conservative Political Centre) 96 CP, LD 97 CP, LD, LP
Association for Colleges 95 LP
Association of London Government 95 LD & LP, 96 LD, LP
Association for Public Health 97 LP
Association of Colleges/Association of College Management
Audit Commission 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
BBC 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD (BBC Radio 4 Debate with The Herald), LP (Radio 4) 95, 96 CP, LD (BBC Radio 5 Live, World at One Debate), LP, (BBC Radio 4 ‘s The World Tonight- ‘Media who sets the agenda?’) 97, (BBC Wales, World Service), CP, LP (World Service)
British Council 97 LP
British Tourist Board 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD 96 (with English Tourist Board) LD 97 LP
British Youth Council 94 CP
Centre for Local Economic Strategies (CLES) 94 LP, 95 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Chartered Institute of Housing 94 CP, LD, LP
Community Service Volunteers 94 CP & LP, 95 LP
Corporation of London (with Bow Group or City Liberal Democrats) 97 CP, LD
Design Council (jointly with DEMOS, INDEPENDENT, Virgin) 97 CP, LP
Equal Opportunities Commission 94 CP, LD, LP
European Commission 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP (2), LD, LP, 96 LD (2) 97 CP (2), LD (2), LP (2)
Greater Manchester Passenger Transport Authority and Executive 95 CP, 96 CP, LD
Health Education Authority 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, LP, 96 LD 97 LD, LP
Inland Waterways Association/Inland shipping Group 96 CP
Local Schools Information 96 LP
London First 96 CP, LP
Major Development Agencies 96 CP
Mines Advisory Group 94 CP, LD, LP  
National Association of Fundholding Practices (NAFP) 96 LP  
National Federation of Housing Associations 94 CP, LD, LP  
National Local Government Advisory Committee 96 CP  
National Housing Federation 95 LP (joint with Downland Housing Group) 96 CP, LD  
National Youth Agency 96 CP  
North Notts Tech & Midlands TUC (Training and Enterprise Centres [TEC’s]) 95 LP  
Nuclear Free Local Authorities 95 LD, LP, 97 LD, LP  
Open University 94 CP, LD, LP, 96 LD, LP, 97 CP, LD  
Passenger Transport Executive 96 LP  
Public Transport Executive Group 97 CP, LD, LP (referred to as Passenger Transport Executive Group)  
Sex Education Forum 95 LD  
Sports Council (English) 95 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP  
Tyne & Wear Passenger Transport Authority 95 LP  
West Midlands Enterprise Board 97 LP  
Women’s National Commission 95 LD, 96 CP, LD, 97 (with Fawcett Society), LD, LP

**Not for Profit Sector Campaign/Pressure Groups**

Action for South Africa (ACTSA) 96, 97 LP  
ACTION AID 94 CP, LD, LP  
Age Concern England 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, (supported by British Gas ) 97 CP (2), LD(2) LP (supported by British Gas) (joint with Continuing Care Conference (2)  
ALA 94 CP, LD, LP  
All Party Group on Homelessness & Housing Need 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD  
Alzheimer’s Disease Society/Carers National Association/Caring Costs 94 CP 95 CP, LP, LD, 96 LP (with MS) 97 LD, LP (with Carers National Association & Contact a Family)  
Anchor Trust 96 CP  
Animal Defenders 97 LP  
Amnesty International 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP (joint with Refugee)  
Antidote 97 LP  
APA (community drug & alcohol initiatives) 96 LP 92)  
Arms Conversion Project 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP  
Arthritis Care (with Disability Alliance ) 96 CP, LP  
Association of Black, Asian and Ethnic Minority Councillors 97 LP  
Association of Direct Labour Organisations 94 CP, LD, LP  
Association of District Labour Organisations 96 LD  
Association for the Study of Obesity (sponsored by Knoll BASF Pharmaceuticals) 97 LP  
BACUP (cancer support group) 97 CP, LD, LP  
BRAKE (road safety body) 97 LP  
Breakthrough Breast Cancer 97 CP  
British Association for Shooting and Conservation 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP  
British Council of Disabled People 94 CP, LD, LP  
British Diabetic Association 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP (sponsored by J Sainsbury plc)
British Field Sports Association 96 CP, LD, 97 LP
British Shooting Sports Council 96 LP
British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV) 94 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD
(joint with Compassion in World Farming) 97 CP, LD, LP
CAFOD (Roman Catholic charity) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 97 LP (‘Doing Good v Doing Business’ with Campaign for State Education) 96 CP
Carers Alliance 96 CP, LP
CND 96 LD
Campaign Against the Arms Trade 95 LD, LP, 96, 97 LD
Campaign for Bedsit Rights 96 LD
Campaign for Freedom of Information 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LP, 96 LP
Carers Alliance 96 LD
Centre for Local Economic Strategies (CLES) 95 LP
Centre for Policy Studies 96 CP, LP
Charter 88 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD (2, 1 with Michael Joseph publishers), LP (1 with Michael Joseph Publishers) plus 2 joint, 96 CP, LD, 97 LD (2), LP (2)
Childcare Umbrella 96 CP
Child Poverty Action Group 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD 97 CP, LD, LP
Christian Aid 94 CP, LD, LP
Church Action on Poverty 95 CP, LD, LP
Civic Trust 97 CP, LP (sponsored by Seven Trent plc)
City 2020 (staffed by KPMG) 97 LP
Coalfield Communities Campaign 95 LP
Consumers Association 96 CP
Community Service Volunteers 95, 96 CP
Community Transport Association 95 CP(2), LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP
Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP (joint Refuge Council)
Compassion in World Farming (CIWF) 94 CP, LD, LP
Consumer’s Association 94 CP, 95 CP, LP, 96, LD 97 LD, LP
Continuing Care Conference 95 CP, LD, LP 96 CP, LD
Corporation of London 96 LD
Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding
Countryside Alliance 97 LD 97
Country Landowners Association 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD 97 CP, LD, LP
Countryside Forum 97 CP
Crime Concern 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, 97 LP
DEMOS 97 CP, LD, LP
Depression Alliance 96 CP
Disability Daily 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP (supported by J Sainsbury) (1 joint with RADAR [radical disability ginger group] (2)
Electoral Reform Society 96 CP (with Conservative Action for Electoral Reform), 97 LD, LP, CP
Employment Policy Institute 96 CP, LD, LP
Energy From Waste Association 96 LD
Energy Saving Trust 97 LP
Environmental Investigation Agency 96 LP
European Dialogue 94 CP, LD, LP
European Movement (sponsor European Newspaper) 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
FBU (Bedsits) 95 LP
Fawcett Society 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD (joint with DEMOS) 97 CP
   (plus joint venture with Women’s National Commission)
Forum for Reasonable Regulation 97 LP
Foyer Federation (YMCA) 97 LP
Friends of the Earth 96 LP (joint with Green Democrats), LD (joint socialist
   environment & resources association) 97 CP, LD, LP 2 (1 joint with SERA)
Friends of the Union (Ulster) 95 CP
Greenpeace 97 CP
Hands off Greenwich NHS 97 LP
Healthcare Opposed to Euthanasia (HOPE) 97 LD, LP
Howard League for Penal Reform 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP 97
   CP, LD, LP (joint with National Association of Probation Officers)
National Union of Students (NUS) 96 LD
Immigration Advisory Service 97 CP, LD
India Club of Great Britain 96 LP
Inquest 95 LP, 96 LP
Institute for Public Policy Research 95 LD, LP, (3) 96 (3) (1 joint with Charter
   88/Liberty/Justice/Constitution Unit) 97 LP (5)
International Alert 96 LP
John Stuart Mill Institute 97 LD
Justice for Mineworkers 96 LP
Justice for Jammu and Kashmir 95 LP
Kids Clubs Network 97 LP (1 sponsored by BT) (2)
Leave Country Sports Alone 96 LP Local schools Information 95 LD 96 CP
Local Action for Textiles & Clothing (LATC) 95 LP, 97 LP
Low Pay Unit 97 LD, LP
League Against Cruel Sports (LACS) 94 CP, LD, LP, 96 LP, 97 LD
League of Arab States 94 CP, LD, LP
Legal Action Group 96, 97 LP
Leonard Cheshire Foundation 97 CP
Liberty 94 LP, 95 LP
Macmillan Cancer Relief 97 CP
MENCAP 97 CP, LD, LP
Multiple Sclerosis Society of Great Britain 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP
Muslim League (UK) 95 CP
NCH 97 LP (House our Youth/Family Forum)
NIACE/Northern College/Ruskin College 97 LP (2)
NSPCC 95 LP, 96 CP 97 LP
National Aids Trust (with Terrence Higgins, MS and Alzheimer’s Disease Society) 97
   LD, LP
National Anti-Vivisection Campaign 97 LD (2), LP
National Association of Citizens Advice Bureau (NACAB) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, LP,
   96 CP, LD, LP, 97 LD, LP (sponsored by Barclays Bank)
National Asthma Campaign 95 LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
National Autistic Society 95 CP, 96 CP
National Black Alliance of Asian, Caribbean and African Organisations 95 LP
National Children’s Bureau 95 LP
National Consumer Council 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP
National Council for One Parent Families 94 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LP
National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO) 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
National Justice for Pit Closures (Arthur Scargill et al) 95 LP
National Lobby on Kashmir 96 CP, LD
National Osteoporosis Society 94, CP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP
National Youth Agency 96 LP
New Economics 95 LD
New Dialogue 97 LP
Nexus 96 LD
One World Action 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LP, 97 LP Oxfam 94 CP & LP
Political Psyche Network 96 LP
Politeia 96 CP
PRASEG 97 LP
Pre-School Learning Alliance 96 LD
Press for Change (Transsexuality - Campaign for Transexual rights) 95 CP, LP, 96 LP 97 LP
Poverty Policy Audit (launch year) 97 LP
Prince’s Trust 94 LD
Royal Society for the Protection of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) 96 CP, 97 LP (joint with National Farmers Union [NFU])
Rambler’s Association 97 LP
Refugee Council 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD (joint with CRE), LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP (joint with Amnesty International)
Republic 95 LD 96 LD, LP, 97 LP
Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, LP, 96, CP, LD, LP, 97 LD, LP
Save Britain’s Fish 95 CP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
Saferworld 94 CP, LD, LP
Sex Education Forum 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP (with Relate et al), 96 CP
Shelter 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Social Market Foundation (SMF) sponsored by NatWest Group plc 95 CP, 96 CP, LP (sponsor Nat West Group plc), 97 CP & LP
Society for Individual Freedom 95 CP
Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child 94 CP 95 CP 97 CP, LD
Spastics Society (SCOPE from 1994) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LP, 97, CP, LD, LP
Stonewall 95 (with Disability Daily, The labour Women’s Network, ‘Absolutely Equal’ - a comedy show for equality - Jo Brand et al) 95 LP, 97 LD, LP (with Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights)
The Tibet Society of the United Kingdom 97 CP, LP
Total Electoral Reform 95 LD, 96 LD,
Townswomen’s Guilds (joint with Voluntary Euthanasia) 97 CP, LP
Terence Higgins Trust 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP (with National Aids Trust)
Trade Unionists for Safe Nuclear Energy 95 LP, 96 LD, LP, 97 LD, CP
Transport 2000 95 (1 joint with SYPTE) CP, LP(2) 96 LP, 97 CP, LP (1 joint with Green fringe) (2)
UK Communities Online and UK Citizens Online Democracy 97 LP
Unions 21 (supported by Thompsons solicitors) 97 LP
Victim Support 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, 97 CP, LD

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Voices of Women 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LP
Voluntary Euthanasia Society 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LP, 97 CP, LP (joint with Townswomen’s Guilds)
Voting Reform Group (Dagger, Charter 88 and the ERS) 95 LD, LP (2)
Wages for Housework Campaign 96 LP
War on Want 95 LP (in conjunction with CAPDRI-IRAQ) plus 1 in conjunction with anti-slavery 95 LP
Wildlife Network 96 LD, LP
Women in Network/The Octavian Society 95 CP
World Development Movement (WDM) 94 CP, LD, LP, 96 (joint with 9 other groups) 97 LD, LP
World Wildlife Fund (WWF) 94 CP, LD, LP, 96 LD 97 CP (joint with Bow Group)
YMCA 96 CP, (joint Foyer Federation), LP (joint with National Inquiry into the Prevention of Youth Homelessness) 97 LP

**Unions and Professional Associations**

Advertising Association 95 LP
Association of Chief Officers of Probation (ACOP) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, LP, 96 LD, LP, 97 LP
Association of Direct Labour Organisations 95, 97 LP
Association for Colleges 95 CP
Association of Personal Injury Lawyers 96 LP, 97 LD, LP
Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD 97 LD
ATL/NAHT 97 CP, LP (joint Technology Colleges Trust, Prometheon, ICL and Research Machines)
Association of University Teachers (AUT) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 (joint NATFHE) LD, LP, 96 LD, LP (joint with NATFHE) 97 CP, LD, LP (joint with NATFHE)
British Dental Association 94 CP, LD, LP
British Field Sports Society 96 LP
British Medical Association (BMA) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
CVCP 97 CP, LD, LP
Chartered Association of Certified Accountants (CACA) 94 CP & LP
Chartered Institute of Housing and National Housing Federation 95 CP, LD, 96 CP, LD (CIH) 97 CP, LD, LP
Chartered Society of Physiotherapy 97 LD
Communication Workers Union 95, 96 LP
Community and Youth Workers Union 95 LP
Confederation of British Industry 97 CP, LD, LP
Council of Civil Service Unions 95, 96 LP
Direct Marketing Association (joint with Royal Mail) 95 LP, 97 CP
Engineering Employers Association 95 CP, LP
Football Association (with Shadow Heritage Team) 95 LP
GCHQ Trade Unions 95 CP
General and Municipal and Boiler Makers Union (GMB) 94 LP, 95 LP (2) 97 (joint with Anti Slavery International & Children International), (joint with TGWU) LP (2)
Inland Revenue Staff Federation 95 CP
Law Society 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP (2) 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP (2) (1 joint with Bar Council/Liberty)
Manufacturing Science, Finance Union (MSF) 94 LP, 95 LP (2) 96 LP (2) (1 Scientists for Labour)
Maternity Alliance 94 CP, LD, LP
NAHAT 95 LD 96 LD
National Association of Fundholding Practices 96 CP, LD
National Association for all Heads and Deputies (NAHD) 94 CP, LD, LP
National Association of Head Teachers (NAHT) 94 LP, 95 CP, LP, 96, CP, LD, LP, 97 LD
National Association of Health Authorities and Trusts 96 LD, CP, LP
National Association of Headmasters 94 CP 97 LD
National Association of Pension Funds 94 CP & LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (NATFHE) 94 CP, LD, LP, 97 LP
National Banner Initiative: Save Our Trade Union Banners 95 LP
National Childbirth Trust 94 CP, LD, LP
National Farmers Union 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LP
National Group on Home Working 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LP
National House Building Council (with UCATT support) 97 LP
National Union of Teachers (NUT) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP (2 1 joint with ATL) 97 LD, LP (2, 1 joint with HAHT, ATL)
Police Federation 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Pre-School Learning Alliance 96 LD
Prison Officers Association 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP
Prison Officers Forum, 94 CP, LD, LP
Professional Association of Teachers 96 LD
Public Relations Consultants Association (PRCA) 94, 95, 96 CP, LP (both joint with European Newspaper)
Public Services Tax & Commerce Union 96 LP
Registered Nursing Home Association 96 LP
Royal College of Midwives 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 LP, 97 CP, LP
Royal College of Nursing (RCN) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, LP, 96 LD, LP, 97 LD, LP
Royal College of Nursing (sponsored by Registered Nursing Home Association) 97 CP
Rural Agricultural and allied Workers TGWU (BSE what next) 96 LP
Scottish National Fishermen’s Federation 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP
Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders 95 CP, 96 LP
Society of Radiographers 94 CP & LP
SMF sponsored by Nat West Fair Deal at Work - The European Social Chapter 95 LP
Trade Union Council (TUC) 94 LP
Transport & General Workers Union 96, (1 joint with GMB - countryside matters) 97 LP (3)
Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT) 97 LP (joint with Labour Housing Group)
Union of Shop and Allied Distributive Workers (USDAW) 94, 95, 96 LP
Unison (Public Services Union) 94 LD & LP, 95 LP (4) 96 (8, 1 joint with Stonewall), 97 (8, 1 joint with GMB)
Private Sector

Advertising Association 96 LP (Lord Horlick) 97 LP (Pearson Plc chairman)
Airports Policy Forum 96 CP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Anglia Water 95 CP, LP, 96 LP, 97 LP (with RSPB CEO)
AT & T Ltd 94 LP, 95 CP (Parliamentary Information Technology)
Bingo Association of Great Britain 94 CP & LP
Boots the Chemists 95 CP (see Conservative Political Centre), 96 (joint with ALDC
Town Centres) LD, (the future of Town Centres) LP, 97 LD (urban regeneration fringe),
LP (2)
Bow Group (sponsored by Swiss Life) 96 CP
Bow Group sponsored by the World Wildlife Fund 96 CP
Bow Group (sponsored by Piggyback Consortium) 95 CP
Bow Group (British Film Industry) 95 CP
British Bankers’ Association 94 CP, LD, LP
British Cement Association 96 LP
British Gas (with Neighbourhood Energy Action) 95 CP
British School of Motoring 96 CP, LP 5
British Shipping 97 LP
British Telecom (BT) 94 CP, LD, LP, 96 CP, LD, LP (all with DEMOS) 97 BT Forum
(Young People: Communication and Employability and Reception) CP, LD, LP (2), (1
joint with Kids Clubs Network)
British Venture Capital Association 97 LP (with CEO of PPL Therapeutics -
originators of Dolly the Sheep)
British Wind Energy Association 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 LP
Cable TV Association 94 CP, LD, LP
Cable Tel (UK) Ltd (Combating crime through closed circuit television [cctv]) 96 CP,
LP
Central Region Labour Party 96 LP
Centro (public Transport) 95 CP, LP
Chamber of Shipping 95 CP, LP
Channel Four TV, 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD, LP (LP with Official Opposition Government
Heritage Department Team) 97 CP, LP
Classic FM 95 LD
Combined Heat and Power Association 94 CP, LD, LP, 95, 96 LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
(supported by BG plc)
Community Pharmacy Action Groups
Co-operative Bank, 94 LD & LP, 96 LD, 97 LP
Co-operative Retail Society (food), 97 LP
Co-operative Wholesale Society (virtues of Co-op post take-over attempt) 97 LP
Graham & Rose Colley Solicitors (Domestic Violence) 95 LD
Community Pharmacy Action Group 96 LD, LP
Conservative Medical Society and MC2 (medical and media communications) 94 CP
Conservative Medical Society (with RCN sponsored by the Registered Nursing Home)
95 CP
Conservative Political Centre in Association with Anderson Consulting 94 CP
Conservative Political Centre in Association with Boots 95 CP, 96 CP
Conservative Political Centre in Association with Brown & Root (Vaclav Klaus) 95 CP, (Brian Mawhinney) 96
Conservative Political Centre In Association with Deloitte & Touche 95 CP
Conservative Political Centre in association with Elf Petroleum UK 96 CP
Conservative Political Centre In Association with Foundation for Sports & the Arts 95 CP
Conservative Political Centre in Association with INCPEN 94 CP
Conservative Political Centre In Association with LIFFE 94 CP
Conservative Political Centre in association with the machine Tool Technologies Association 96 CP
Conservative Political Centre In Association with Motor Cycle Industry Association 95 CP
Conservative Political Centre In Association with Merck Sharpe Dohme 95 CP
Conservative Political Centre In Association with National Federation of Housing Associations and the House Builders Federation 95 CP
Conservative Political Centre In Association with NORTEL Ltd 95 CP
Conservative Political Centre in association with PPP Health Care Group 96 CP
Conservative Political Centre in Association with PITCOM 96 CP
Conservative Political Centre in Association with Railtrack 96 CP
Conservative Political Centre in Association with The William Sutton Trust 94 CP
Conservative Political Centre Lecture sponsored by Brown and Root Ltd 94 CP
Conservative Political Centre supported by Bayer plc – National Health Service (NHS)/Secretary of State for Health Meeting 94 CP
Conservative Transport Group (sponsored by Manchester Airport plc) 95 CP
Daily Mirror 95 LP
Daily Telegraph 97 CP
Deloitte/Touche (with Social Market Foundation) 97 CP, LP
DHL Ltd: 94 CP & LP
Direct Marketing Association (in conjunction with Post Office/Royal Mail - Electoral Direct Mail) 94 CP, LD, LP, 95 LD 96 LD
Electricity Association 97 LD, LP
Energy from Waste Association 95 LD, LP, 96 LP
Federation of Small Businesses 95 CP, LD, 96 LD, LP
Fabian Society 94 LP, 97 LP 7 (sponsored by Corporation of London, Polygram, Swiss Life, Football Trust, Communication Workers Union (CWU) and University of Cambridge Local Examiners Syndicate)
Federation of Small Businesses 94 CP & LD, 95 LD, LP (2) 96 CP 97 CP, LP
FIRST Call (Housing Consultants) Ltd 97 LP
Forum of Private Business 94 LP, 95 CP, LP (sponsored by Lloyds Bank) plus 1, 96 CP, LP
GWR group plc 95 CP
Granada Television (Sponsored North West Regional Party receptions at all conferences) 94,95,96,97 CP, LD & LP
Guardian (annual topical debate organised at all three major party conferences) 94 CP, LD & LP, 95 CP, LD, LP, 96 LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Guinness 97 CP & LP
IFA Promotion 94 CP, 95 LP
IGA (SCOPE Reception) 96 LP
Inform (Cow & Gate, Heinz, Farley’s, Milupa and SMA Nutrition) 97 LP
ITN 95 LD 96 LD 97 CP, LD, LP
Inland Waterways Association/Inland Shipping Group 96 LD, LP
Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) sponsored by Merck Sharp & Dohme 94 CP & LP
Inter Tanko 94 CP
Kinetic 95 LP
Liberal Democrat Business Forum 95 LD 97 LD (sponsored by Mitsubishi Electric PC Division)
Liberal Democrat Campaigns (Mortons the printers demonstration) 97 LD
Liberal Parliamentary Campaigns Association (sponsored by Tesco plc) 97 LD
Local Government Advisory Forum (sponsored by Tesco plc) 94 CP
Local Identity Agency 94 CP
London Channel Tunnel Group 95 CP, LP, 96 LP
London Weekend Television 94 CP & LP, 95 CP & LP, 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD, LP
Lloyds 95 LP, 96 LP
Magellan Medical Communications 96 CP, LD, LP
Manchester Airport plc 94 CP, LD & LP, 95 LD (1 joint with GMPTE and sponsored reformer debate on transport) LP (with GMPTE), 96 LP (2) (1 joint with GMPTE), 97 CP, LD, LP (1 joint with Greater Manchester Passenger Transport Executive) (2)
Merck Sharp & Dohme 94 LP & CP 95 CP (with Conservative Political Centre)
Michael Joseph Publishers (launch of ‘Ruling Britannia’ with Charter 88) 95 LD
Mortons of Horncastle (printers) 95, 96 LD
Motorcycle Industry Association 95 LP, 96 LD, LP, 97 LP
NCM Credit Insurance 95, 96 CP
National Energy Association 96 CP, LD, LP, 97 CP, LD
National Council of Building Producers (BMP) National Council for Educational Technology (in conjunction with BT) 94 CP, LD, LP
National Local Government Committee sponsored by NYNEX 94 CP Onyx (UK) Ltd 95 CP
National Lottery 95 LD
NTL (communications) 97 LP
NYNEX CableComms (major cable communications company owned by AT&T) 94 CP, LD & LP
Piggyback Consortium (Tunnel Link Group) 95 LP
PIRC Ltd 96 LD
Parliament Magazine 97 LD
Post Office (Royal Mail with Direct Mail Association, see previous entry) 94 CP, LD, LP, 96 LP
Sainsbury’s 94 CP, LD, LP
RAC 95 LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
Rail Freight Group 97 CP, LD
Registered Nursing Home Association 97 CP
Restauranteur’s Association of GB 97 CP
Rhone Poulenc Rorer (supporters of NHS Confederation) 97 CP, LD, LP
Safeways plc 97 CP & LP
Sainsbury’s (local govt Reception) 95 LD 95 LP (women’s Reception)
Scottish Fishermen’s Association 94 CP
Sears plc (sponsoring Industry Forum) 96 LP
Small Business Bureau 97 CP
Sunday Telegraph Debate 95 CP
Taylor Acland 96 LD
Tesco plc 95 LD, CP (local Government Reception), 96 LD (joint with ALDC)
Tory Green Initiative (Sponsored by Onyx UK Ltd) 97 CP West Country TV
CP, LD, LP
Tribune Group of MEPs 96 LP
Tunnel Link Group 95 LD, 96 LD (2), LP (RMT, Piggyback Consortium)
United Utilities 97 CP & LP
Wessex Water 96 LP (2) (Water & You with Labour Shadow, Consumers Association,
National Consumers association), 97 LP (with Jonathan Porritt, Forum for the Future
and National Consumer Council)
West Midlands Enterprise 96 LP
Working Men’s Club & Union 97 LP
Yorkshire Electricity/IPPR 96 LP
Yorkshire Tyne Tees Television 94 CP, LD, LP

**Party Associated Organisations**

A Peoples Europe (socialist campaign group) 96 LP
Action for Southern Africa 95 LP
Agents & Organisers’ Association 95, 96, 97 LD
Agreed Ireland Forum 95, 97 LP
Alliance Party of Northern Ireland 97 LD
Alliance for Regional Aid (EU) 97 LP
Alliance to Defend Bosnia-Herzegovina 95 CP
All Party Parliament Group 95 LP
Alternatives to Maastricht (Labour left) 96 LP
Aneurin Bevan Society 94 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Arts for Labour 95, 96, 97 LP
Association of Conservative Clubs 95 CP
Association of Labour Councillors 94 LP, 95 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Association of Liberal Democrat Councillors (ALDC) 95 (38), 96 (39), 97 LD (37),
includes campaigns/EU etc.
Association of Liberal Democrat Engineers and Scientists (ALDES) 95, 96, 97 LD
Association of Liberal Democrat Trade Unionists (ALDTU) 95 (2), 96, 97 LD
Association of London Government, 96 LP Capital City (Labour’s plans to restore an
elected strategic authority for London), Liberal Democrat Group 97 LD
Bevan Society 94 LD
Beveridge Society, 94 LD
Black Socialist Society 95, 96 LP
Blackpool 94 LP
Blackpool Labour Party 96 LP
Bournemouth West Conservative Association (local events) CP
Bow Group 95, (with directors of ASDA, Next, Maid & Proshare) CP, 96 (sponsored by
the Corporation of London) +1, 97 CP (2 + 1 joint with WWF)
Brighton Kemptown CLP, 97 LP
British Government & Torture 95 LP
Bruges Calling (LD Euro election planning) 97 LD
Bruges Group 95 CP, (with Conservative Against Europe) 97 CP
Building A Healthy Party 96 LP (2)
Business Liaison Group 96 LD
CCO 95 CP (3)
CPC 97 CP (7)
CRS London Political Committee 95, 96 LP
CWS South East Region 95, 96 LP (2)
Campaign Against Arms Trade 94 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Campaign Against Pensioner’s Poverty 97 LD
Campaigns and Communications 96 LD (MORI)
Campaign to Defend the Welfare State and Full Employment Forum (FEF) 96,
[FEF president, John Edmunds, GMB] 97 LP
Campaign for a Single Currency 96 LP
Campaign for State Education (CASE) 96 LP
Campaign for an Independent Britain 95 CP
Campaign for Labour Party Democracy 95, 96 LP
Campaign for Labour Representation 97 LP
Campaign for a National Legal Service 95, 96, 97 LP
Campaign for Press & Broadcasting Freedom 95 LP, (with Pluto Press) 97 LP
Campaign for Real Education 94 CP
Campaign to Defend the Welfare State 95 LP
Campaign for a Scottish Parliament 95 LD
Campaign for Women 95, 96 LD
Central America Labour Group 95 LP
Central Region Labour Party 95 LP
Centre for Policy Studies 97 CP
Chard (1992) Group 95 (4), 96 (3), 97 LD (2)
Charter Movement 95, 96 (2), 97 CP
Chiltern Region 95, 96 LD
Christian Forum 95, (4), 96 LD (4)
Christian Socialist movement 94 LP, 95 (5) LP, 96 (7), 97 LP (6)
City 2020 (with KPMG) 95 LP
City Liberal Democrats 95 LD
CIX users (LD internet access user group), 97 LD
Commercial Reception 96 CP
Compulsory Voting 97 LP
Computing for Labour/Information Systems Unit 96 LP
Conference Ball 96 CP
Conference Committee Question & Answer Session 95, 96, 97 LD
Conference Rally 95 LD,
Conservative 2000 96 CP
Conservatives Abroad Reception 95 CP
Conservative Action for Electoral Reform 95, 97 CP
Conservatives Against a Federal Europe 95, 96, 97 CP (2 and 1 joint with Bow Group)
Conservative Agents Benevolent Association, 95, 96, 97 CP
Conservative Agents Superannuation Fund 95, 96 CP
Conservative Anti-Hunt Council 95 (joint with LACS), 96, 97 CP
Conservative Central Office, International Department 97, CP
Conservative Constituency Treasurers Forum 97 CP (2)
Conservative Christian Fellowship 95 (4), 96 (5), 97 CP (4)
Conservative Disability Group 95, 96, 97 CP
Conservative Education Group (with Education Journal) 96 CP (4),
Conservatives in Europe 95, 97 CP (2)
Conservative Fightback (local government) 95 CP
Conservative Graduates 95 CP
Conservative Group for Europe 95, CP (3), 96 CP (3)
Conservative Integration Group (Ulster) 95, 96, 97 CP
Conservative Medical Society 95 CP (2), 96 CP (2, 1 sponsored by Cromwell Hospital)
97 CP (2, 1 joint venture with Registered Nursing Home Association)
Conservative Monday Club 96 CP (2)
Conservative National Education Society 95, 96, 97 CP
Conservative Party Chairman’s Reception 95 CP
Conservative Party in Wales 95 CP
Conservative Political Centre 95 CP (2) 96 (3) CP
Conservative Students 95, 97 CP
Conservative Trade Unionists 95, 97 CP
Conservative Transport Group 95, 96 CP (4)
Conservative Treasurers’ Reception 95 CP
Conservative Way Forward 95 CP (4) 96 CP (4), 97 CP (4)
Conservative Women’s Organisation 97 CP
Conservative Women’s National Committee 95 CP (2)
Constituency Computer Services at CCO, (with Royal Mail & DMA) CP, 96
Constituency Treasurers 95 CP
Constitutional Reforms 95 LP
Co-operative Party 94 LP, 95 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP (3)
Council for Labour Representation 96 LP
Crime Concern 97 CP
Chilterns Region 97 LD
DAGGER 95, 97 LD
DELGA 95 LD 96 LD 97 LD (2)
Development of Labour’s Industrial Policy 95 LP
Democracy Now 95 LP
Democrat Consensus 96 LD
Don’t Stand for Standing Charges 95 LP
EARS 95 LD (2)
Eastern Region 95 LD
ELDR (European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party) 96, 97 LD
European Foundation 96 CP (with Bruges Group)
European Liberal Democrats 96 (1) 97 LD (2)
European Parliamentary Labour Party 97 LP (3)
EUW (Representation of Women in Parliament) 97 CP
Eastern Region 96, 97 LD
East Midlands Region 97 LD
East Sussex Group 95 LD
Energy Regulation 97 LD
Environmental Technology Industry 95 LP
Ethnic Minorities in Parliament 96 LD (2), 97 LD
European Foundation 94 CP 95 CP (2) 97 CP (2)
European Full Employment Forum 97 LP
European Parliamentary Labour Party 95 LP (3), 96 LP (2)
Fabian Society 95 LP, 96 (3, 1 with Seven Trent PLC and National Environmental Research Council) 97 (4)
Fawcett 97 LP
Federal Finance & Administration Committee (question and answers) 95, 96, 97 LD
Financing the Future (Welfare Reform) 95 LP
First Past the Post Group 96 (with MPs Derek Fatchett, Roy Hattersley, Diane Abbott and supported by GMB), 97 LP
First Time Representatives 95, 96, 97 LD
Food Producers for Labour 96 LP
Foreign Affairs Forum 96 CP
Freedom Association 94 CP 95 CP (2) 96 CP (2), 97 CP
Full Employment Forum 95, 96, 97 LP
Full Franchise 95 LP
Fundraisers Forum 95 LP
Glee Club (LD singsong) 94, 95, 96, 97 LD
Glyn Ford MEP (free movement of football supporters) 95 LP, (Football - The European Influence on the British Game, with Institute of Professional Sport) 96 LP
Greater London Labour Party 95, 96 LP
Green Liberal Democrats 95 (2, 1 joint with ALDC) 96 LD 2 (+1 joint with Friends of the Earth [FOE])
Green Rally 97 LD (5)
Hands of Greenwich NHS 95 LP
Hants & White Region 96 LD
How to Recruit Trade Unionists 95 LP
Independent Labour Publications 95, 97 LP
Industry Forum 96, 97 LP
Inter-Faith Forum LD
International Office Reception 95 CP
John Stuart Mill Institute 97 LD
Jubilee 2000 Coalition 97 LD
Justice for Jammu and Kashmir 97 LP
Keep the Party Labour 97 LP
Kelvin Liberal Democrats 95 LD
Labour 2000 96, 97 LP
Labour Action for Peace 94, 95 LP (2), 96
Labour Active 95 LP (3)
Labour Ad-Lib Action to Defeat Liberal Democrats 97 LP
Labour Advisory Committee 95 LP
Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform 94, 95, 96, 97 LP
Labour Campaign for Democracy 97 LP
Labour Campaign for Lesbian & Gay Rights 95 LP, 96 (with Stonewall)
Labour Campaign for Single Currency 95 LP
Labour Campaign for Social Justice 95, 96, 97 LP (2)
Labour Committee on Ireland/Labour Party Irish Society 95, 96 (2), 97 LP (2)
Labour Committee on Democratic Accountability of Secret Services 94, 95, 96 LP
Labour Co-ordinating Committee 95 (3) 96, 97 LP
Labour Disability 95 LP
Labour Education Team 95 LP
Labour’s Early Years (with Unison Support) 96 LP
Labour Economic Policy Group 95 (2), 96, 97 LP
Labour Education Team 95 LP
Labour Euro Safeguards Committee 95, 96, 97 LP
Labour Finance & Industry Group 95, 96, 97 LP
Labour Friends of Israel 95, 96, 97 LP
Labour Friends of Bosnia 95 LP
Labour Heritage 95 (2), 96, 97 LP
Labour Housing Group 95, 96 LP
Labour Initiative on Co-operation 96 LP
Labour International Committee 95, 96, 97 LP
Labour Land Campaign 94, 96 LP
Labour Left Briefing 96 (2), 97 LP (2)
Labour Life Group 96, 97 LP (2)
Labour Middle East Council 95, 96, 97 LP
Labour Movement in Europe 95, 96, 97 LP (4)
Labour’s National Heritage 96 LP
Labour Party /Christian Socialist Movement 94 LP
Labour Party Development & Organisation & Trade Unions for Labour 95 LP (5-
public speaking training) (1 mobilising to win)
Labour Party Environmental Team 95 LP
Labour Party Health Team 96 LP
Labour Party Irish Society 95 (2), 97 LP
Labour Party London Region 97 LP (2)
Labour Party NEC Women’s Committee 96 LP
Labour Party News 95 LP (3)
Labour Party Northern Council 97 LP
Labour Party North West 97 LP (1 with Granada TV and PM) (2)
Labour Party North & Yorkshire Region 97 LP
Labour Party Policy Directorate (Education question and answers) 96 LP
Labour Party Race Action Group 97 LP
Labour Party Rural Revival 95, 96, 97 LP
Labour Party South East 97 LP
Labour Party South West 97 LP
Labour Party West Midlands 97 LP
Labour’s Policy Unit 97 LP (5)
Labour Planning and Environment 95 LP
Labour Reform 96, 97 LP
Labour Reform & Keep the Party Labour 97 LP
Labour’s Review of the Relationship between Government and the Voluntary Sector 96
Labour Rights Campaign 95, 96 LP
Labour’s Strategy for Tourism & Hospitality 96 LP
Labour Students Reception 95, 96 (25th Birthday Party) LP
Labour the Magistrates & Local Justice 95 LP
Labour’s Way Forward 95 LP
Labour’s Winning Women 95 LP
Labour Women Councillors Network 96 (social) 97 LP (training)
Labour Women’s Action Committee 94 LP, 95, 96, 97 LP
Labour Women’s Network 96, 97 LP
Land Value Taxation 95, 96 LD
Lambeth Liberal Democrats 96 LD
Launch of Target 50/50 (gender pressure group) 97 LD
Leave Country Sports Alone 97 LP
Legal Action Group 95 LP
Liberal Democrat Agents & Organisers Association 95, 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrats and Human Rights in Kashmir 96 LD
Liberal Democrat Animal Protection Group 95, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Arts Panel 97 LD (3)
Liberal Democrat Association of Lawyers 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Business Forum 94, 95 LD
Liberal Democrat Campaigns & Communication 95 LD
Liberal Democrat Campaign for Land Value Taxation 95, 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Christian Forum 95 (4) 96 (3) 97 LD (6)
Liberal Democrat Disability Association 95, 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Education Association 94 LD 95, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Europe Group 95 LD
Liberal Democrats for Lesbian and Gay action (DELGA) 95 LD
Liberal Democrat Forum for the Countryside 95, 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Friends of Israel 95, 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Health Forum 94 LD
Liberal Democrat History Group 95, 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Middle East Council 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Multi Faith Forum 95 LD, 96 LD, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Party Organised events 95 (2)
Liberal Democrat Peace Group 95 (landmines), 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Philosophy Group 95 LD 96 LD 97 LD
Liberal Democrats in Public Affairs and Public Relations 95, 96, 97 LD
Liberal Democrat Party job advertisements 95 LD
Liberal Democrat Youth and Students (LDYS) 95 (7), 96 (8) 97 LD (10)
Liberal International 94, 95, 96 97 LD
Liberal Review 96 LD
Liberator 95 (2), 96 (2), 97 LD (2)
Linc 95 LP
Links Europa 96, 97 LP
Local Government Department 96, 97 CP (2)
Local Government Fringe 95 LP (2)
Local Schools Information 95 CP
London First 97 LP
London Labour Women 95 LP
London Region Reception 97 LD
Mel Read discussion on Labour IT policy 97 LP
Membership Rally 95 LD
Monday Club 95 CP (3)
National Agriculture & Countryside Forum 95 CP
National Assembly Against Racism 95 LP
National Association of Conservative Graduates 97 CP
National Justice for Mineworkers Campaign 97 LP
National Society of Conservative and Unionist Agents 95(2), 96 CP (2) 97 CP
National Union Reception for Constituency Chairmen 95 CP
NEC Women’s Committee 97 LP (2)
Network of Labour Councils 95 LP
New Local Government Network 97 LP
New Statesman & Society for Electoral Reform 95 LP (2) plus 1
New Revue (Educating Tony) 95 CP (2) 96 CP (3)
North East Unemployed Action Group 97 LP
Northern Ireland: Common Ground 95 LD
Northern Ireland Team 95, 97 LP
North & Yorkshire Region 97 LP
One World Democrats 95 LD
One Nation Forum 95 CP (2)
Operation Victory 96 LP (23)
Opportunity 2000 96 CP
PLP Group for Local Government 95, 96 LP
PLP Regional Government Group 95, 96 LP
PLP Trade Union Group 96 LP
PLP Tribune Group 96 LP
Parliamentary Information Technology Committee 95 LP, 96 LP, 97 LP
Parliamentary Candidates Association 95 LD (3) 96 LD (2) 97 LD (3)
Parliamentary Labour Party - Transport Team 95 LP
Parliamentary Labour Party - Whips Office Reception 96 LP
Parliamentary Labour Party – Women’s Group 95, 96 LP
Parliamentary Space Committee 95, CP, LP, 96 CP, LP, 97 CP, LP
Party Conference Service & Harvest Festival 95 LP
Party Reform Steering Committee 95, 96 CP
Planning Review 95 LP
Polteia 97 CP
Political Psyche Network 95 LP
Pre Conference Rally 96 LD
Prospective Parliamentary Candidates 95 CP
Public Enterprise Group 95 LP
Public Utilities Reform Group (PURGe) 97 LP
Red Pepper Magazine 94, 95, 1 +1(joint with Big Issue and New Statesman), 96 (2),
(1 joint with video news), 97 LP (2)
The Reformer 95(4, 1 joint with Labour Initiative on Co-operation and 1 sponsored by
Manchester Airport plc), 96 (3) LD 97 LD (2)
Regeneration Group 95 LP
Regulation, Competition & Superhighway 95 LP
Rural Agricultural & Allied Workers 95 LD
Rural Policy Paper 96 LD
Rural Revival 95 LP
Rural Voters Project 95, 96 LP
Ruskin College, Oxford 94, 95 (now with Northern College), 96 LP
Saferworld 95 LD
Scots Night 95 LP
Scottish Conservative & Unionist Association 95, 96 CP
Scottish Labour Party 96 (4, 1 supported by Ayr TEC, 1 by Elf Oil), 97 LP (2)
Scottish Liberal Democrats/Party in England 95(2), 96(2) LD
Scottish Women’s Aid 97 LP
Security in Retirement Now 96 LP
Seeds (Regional Govt in the SE) 95 LP
Selsdon Group 95 CP (3), 96 CP (2)
Socialist Environment and Resources Association (1 with World Wildlife Fund Network (WWFN), 1 with Socialist Health Association) 96 LP 2
Socialist Health Association 96 LP
Shadow Heritage Team 95 LP
Social Justice Group 96 LD
Socialist Briefing 95 LP
Socialist Campaign Group of MPs 95, 96, 97 LP
Socialist Educational Society 95, 96, 97 LP
Socialist Environment & Resources Association 95 LP, (1 joint with WWF), 96 (with Energy Saving Trust) 97 LP (2)
Socialist Health Association 95 LP
Society of Conservative Accountants 95, 96 (2), 97 CP
Society of Conservative Lawyers 95 CP, 96, 97 CP (2)
Society of Labour Lawyers 95, 96 (2), 97 LP
South East Region - MEPs 95, 96, 97 LP
South East Region 96 LD 97 LD
Selsdon Group 97 CP (2)
Shadow Northern Ireland Team 95 LP
Standing Conference for Community Development 97 LP
Sustainable Energy 97 LP (2)
Tory Campaign for Homosexual Equality 95 CP (2)
Tory Reform Group 94 CP 95 (3), 96 CP (3) 97 CP (4)
Tories for Tourism 96, 97 CP
Tory Green Initiative Sponsored by Combined Heat and Power Association 94 CP, 96 (3) CP 97 (Joint With PRASEG, CHPA & EST) 97 CP
Total Electoral Reform 95 LD
Tribune 94 LP, 95 LP (2), 96 97 LP (3)
Tribune Group of MPs 95 LP,
Tribune Group of MEPs 96 LP
Dr Peter Truscott MEP, 96 LP
Unionist Information Office 97 CP
Unions 95 LP
Unshackle the Unions Campaign 95 LP
300 Group and Women Liberal Democrats, 97 LD
Voices of Women 96 LD
Voluntary Sector 95 LD
Wales Labour Party 96, 97 LP (2)
Welsh Liberal democrats 95 LD
Welsh Night 97 LD
West Coast Rail 250 Campaign 96 LP
Western Counties and Devon and Cornwall Reception 97 LD
West Midlands 97 LD
Winning Women’s Votes 95 LP
Women Candidates 95 CP
Women’s National Conference (and Fawcett Society) 97 CP
Women Liberal Democrats 95 (2), 96 (3), 97 LD (2)
Women’s Social (sponsored by Unison) 95 LP
Working Men’s Club & Institute Union; 95 LP
World Federalists and European Federalists 97 LD
Ian Wright MEP, 1996 and all that 95 LP
Young Conservatives 95 (2), 96 97 CP
Young Fabians 96 LP
Young Labour 96 (3), 97 LP
Appendix 3

Advertisements from Official Party Political Conference Publications: Examples

J. Sainsbury – Liberal Democrats Conference, 1996, Brighton

J. Sainsbury, grocer. Part of the local community (from inside back page LibDem Directory, full page advertisement)
Merck Sharp and Dohme – Labour Party Conference, Brighton, 1995

Merck Sharp and Dohme, Your Partner for Healthy Living (inside front cover Conference 95 Guide, page 6, full page advertisement)
Appendix 4

Photographic Record of Party Conference Exhibitors
1994-98 (selected examples)

List of Photographs:

Somerfield PLC – Labour Party Conference, 1998, Blackpool
Merck Sharpe and Dohme, Labour Party Conference 1997, Brighton
J. Sainsbury – Conservative Party Conference, 1995, Blackpool
Pools Promoters Association – Conservative Party Conference, 1995, Blackpool
Virgin Group – Labour Party Conference, 1997, Brighton
Littlewoods – Conservative Party Conference, 1997, Blackpool
RSPCA – Conservative Party Conference, 1995, Blackpool
RSPB – Conservative Party Conference, 1995, Blackpool
Scotch Whiskey Association - Conservative Party Conference, 1998, Bournemouth
The Brewing Industry – Labour Party Conference, 1996, Blackpool
Appendix 5

Photographic Record of Sponsored Fringe Events at Party Conferences
1994-98 (selected examples)

Fabian Society Sponsored Fringe Meeting on Political Marketing, Labour Party Conference, 1998, Blackpool:
Conservative Party North West Delegates with Cecil Parkinson, Sponsored by Granada TV, Conservative Party Conference 1998, Bournemouth:
Appendix 6

Blackpool Hotel Venues Officially Listed
and Used by the 1995 Conservative Party Conference

Brewsters Hotel,
Carlton Hotel,
Claremont Hotel,
Cliffs Hotel,
Clifton Hotel,
Imperial Hotel,
Norbreck Castle Hotel,
Park House Hotel,
Pembroke Hotel,
Revills Hotel,
Ruskin Hotel.

Media accreditation allowed research entry to all aspects of the conferences and particularly entrance to the restricted access of the associated back room operations. The scale and size of the media operation is formidable at these events. During the research it was calculated that there was over 50,000 square feet of office space in operation at the 1996 Labour Party Conference at Brighton for party and media activities. This estimate is based on 4 floors of 12,500 square feet of office space (source Brighton Conference Centre). This area encompassed vast photocopying and printing facilities and associated storage, interview and press briefing rooms, batteries of pay phones, desk space for all national and international reporters, private suits for diplomats and
international visitors. The scale of back room operations behind the major conferences is quite remarkable. Besides the party organisation machine at the conference there will normally be a large hall given over to providing space for the BBC. At different times the BBC will have up to 500 staff at Conferences (source Leighton Andrews) who cover everything from BBC television, radio, cable, digital, through to world service, regional reporters and the production of the popular television programme ‘Question Time’ and other associated programmes from the event. Most leading correspondents, national presenters and reporters on the BBC’s staff will be in attendance for the production of programming or as attendees at various public affairs events and receptions. In addition there will be a large number of technical staff and vast amounts of equipment either on site or in situ in large trucks.

The numbers at conferences are also swollen by a significant contingent of security staff (only Conservative and Labour parties employ these whilst Liberal Democrats use volunteers to keep the costs down). They will be positioned at all entrances to the conference and the HQ complex to search all attendees and check them out for weapons and explosives. These security staff and volunteers will be strongly supported by the local police force and special forces drawn from the armed forces and MI6. The terrible consequences of the Brighton bombing of the Conservative Conference in 1984 still haunt many (McAlpine, 1997) and mean that security for the governing party has become exceptionally vigilant since then. The research regularly observed blacked-out special services staff at Government attended party conferences coming down from their roof top vigils on their way to their more conspicuous canteen for sustenance and replenishment. Smart looking police women would hold Uzi submachine guns alongside a strategic roundabout on the walk down to conference and in the evening the
twinkling lights of a destroyer and a number of dinghies off shore always reassured one that you were safe. High security has become an integral part of the governing party political scene.

Media Room Number Two at Labour Party Conference, 1998
Police horses patrol whilst naval vessels offshore maintain security against terrorist attack. Conservative Party Conference, 1995:
Appendix 8

List of Subsidiary Interviews, Discussions and Specialist Presentations Attended
Involving Business Managers, Public Affairs Practitioners,
Pressure Groups and Associated Respondents

Retained in basic note form

- Charles Allen, MD, Granada TV
- Simon Bryson, Head of Public Affairs, Burson –Marseller.
- Gavin Grant, Campaigns Director, Body Shop PLC. Previously public affairs posts with Campaign for Rural England (CRE), Unit Trust Association and RSPCA. Various dates up to November 1997.
- David Hughes, Head, Corporate Strategy Division, Precise Communications. Past chairman, Sallingbury Casey. Throughout period of research
- Alan Leaman, Account Director, Hill and Knowlton and past Policy Director, Liberal Democrat Party. Previous advisor to Rt. Hon Paddy Ashdown MP. Gave comment throughout research.

• Rob McLoughlin, Chairman Precise Communications Group and past Granada TV Director. Throughout research.

• Paul Nichols, Managing Partner, Dibb Lupton Alsop (Solicitors) on a regular basis from 1994.

• Nicholas O’Shaughnessy, author of ‘The Phenomenon of Political Marketing’, Cambridge University, Judge Institute.


• Tony Salam, Head of Public Affairs, Sainsbury’s, September 1995 & 1996.

• Tony Spalding, Director of Public Affairs, Vauxhall Motors, October 1998.

• Simon Titley, Public Affairs Director, Burson Marseller


• Des Wilson, Head of Corporate Affairs, BAA.

• Ian Wright, Corporate Communications Director, Boots PLC, various dates 1996, 1997 and 1998.

• Public Relations Consultants Association (PRCA) organised fringe meetings on lobbying at all party conferences during period of research.

• Public Relations Consultants Association (PRCA) organised fringe meetings on lobbying at all party conferences during period of research.

• Conversations were also held on research issues with a further twenty public affairs practitioners and issue group members during the period of the study. Organisations represented in this group included, Age Concern, BNFL, British Aerospace, British Banking Association, City of London, Guardian Group, KPMG, Institute of Directors, International Wildlife Fund, NatWest Bank, News International, Pfeizzer, RSPB, Shelter, Standard Chartered Bank, Tesco, Scottish Whisky Association, Shell and Somerfield.
Appendix 9
List of Prime Interviews with Political Lobbyists and Public Affairs Executives by
Date with Biographical Details

(Full Transcriptions Available)

• Leighton Andrews, former Head of Public Affairs, BBC and past Chairman of Political Context PLC, 17th July 1996 and 15th October 1997. In addition a regular supplier of background information and a useful sounding board for hypothetication throughout research

• Tim Clement-Jones, former Company Secretary, Kingfisher Group PLC and previously a Director of Grand Metropolitan PLC 2nd October 1996 and a regular source of background information. Recently appointed A Life peer.

• Chris Hopson, Corporate Affairs Director, Granada Media Group PLC, 29th October 1997 and a regular contributor to the research.

• John Last CBE, Director of Public Affairs, United Utilities PLC, 14th October 1997 and contributed throughout research.

• Sandy Walkington, Head of Corporate Affairs, BT PLC, 20th October 1997 and an occasionally at party conferences.

• Anthony Weale, Government Affairs Manager, ICI Group PLC, 4th June 1996 and 7th November 1997 and contributed throughout research.

Biographies of Prime Informant Lobbyists and Public Affairs Practitioners

Leighton Andrews, BBC

Leighton Andrews at the time of the first interview was Head of Public Affairs for the BBC. A number of conversations were held with him over the period of the research, which related to various sectors of industry and their political lobbying activity. He has a background in national student politics, was a past parliamentary candidate and Vice Chairman of the Liberal Party. He has worked for various ‘not for profit’ organisations (e.g. United Nations Campaign for Sheltered Homelessness and Age Concern) before
joining the public affairs consultancy, Sallingbury Casey, as a consultant, eventually emerging as Chairman of the restructured organisation within the then Saatchi and Saatchi Group. He was then head hunted by the BBC to develop the organisation’s public affairs operation to support its charter renewal and to build-up effective political lobbying operations in Brussels and Westminster to support the corporations aspirations. He left in 1996 to set-up his own Policy and Public Affairs organisation Political Context, of which he is chairman and majority shareholder of.

**Tim Clement-Jones CBE, Political Context**

Tim Clement-Jones was in 1998 appointed a Liberal Democrat life peer and took the title, Lord Clapham. He consequently gave up his direct link with Political Context. He has a legal background and has been Company Secretary of both Grand Metropolitan Plc and Kingfisher Plc. Tim Clement-Jones played a leading role in the Sunday Trading Campaign. He is a past Chairman of the Liberal Party and is currently chair of the Liberal Democrat Party, Finance Committee. He is a trustee of a number of charities most notably BACUP the cancer support group, which his late first wife, Dr. Vicki Clement Jones, founded. He was awarded his CBE for political service and charity work. He was a leading director of the political consultancy, Political Context until recently.

**Chris Hopson, Granada Group**

Chris Hopson, Director of Public Affairs, Granada Group similarly to others interviewed has a background in politics, worked for five or six years for the Social and Democratic Party (SDP) ending up as the last Chief Executive of the then rump Owenite organisation (Crewe and King, 1995). He subsequently moved into a
communications consultancy, before completing a full time MBA at Cranfield. He then
joined the civil service and worked under various ministers and in particular the Rt.
Hon. David Mellor on the 1990 Broadcasting Bill.

He joined a consultancy, Citygate, where he specialised in media business work. He
was head hunted by Granada Plc for his current post.

Leighton Andrews, has authored a number of articles in the public affairs (Andrews, 1986
and Andrews, 1996a) and policy areas (Andrews, 1996b). He is an external examiner on
the new MSc in Public Affairs being developed at the University of Ulster. He joined the
Labour Party in 1996 and was a co-ordinator of the ‘Yes Vote’ in the Welsh Devolution
Campaign in 1997. He has set-up a number of companies each specialising in lobbying
work operating in the ‘not for profit’, public sector and Irish and Welsh economies. He has
just agreed to merge these interests with the major lobbying group Westminster Strategy.

**Professor John Last, CBE, United Utilities**

John Last, Director of Public Affairs at United Utilities graduated from Oxford with a
degree in Politics, Philosophy and Economics and then moved into the bakery business
becoming national sales manager for ‘Mr. Kipling Cakes’. He subsequently became
bakery buyer for Littlewoods Retail Stores and became involved in Conservative
politics becoming Deputy Leader of Merseyside Metropolitan Authority (Council).
Littlewoods as part of their commitment to their community base, gave him time and
support and allowed him to take on these duties for four years. On his return, John Last
was appointed special assistant to the Group Managing Director of Littlewoods and was
involved in representing the company on various national bodies, such as the Retail
Consortium and became the first chairman of the Training and Enterprise Council on behalf of his employer. He subsequently became Head of External Relations at Littlewoods for a number of years. Then, Sir Desmond Pitcher (his long-term colleague and then company chairman) persuaded him to join him at North West Water Plc in charge of external relations. After the take-over of Norweb Plc by North West Water, the new group was given the name United Utilities, and Last became responsible for public affairs and answerable directly to the chairman. He retired from UU in 1998.

He has a long and distinguished background in the arts, having promoted and coordinated the establishment of the Tate Gallery in Liverpool and the refurbishment of the Royal Philharmonic Hall in that city. He lectures on museum management and is a part-time professor at City University, London. He was awarded his CBE for services to the arts and his community.

**Sandy Walkington, BT**

Sandy Walkington is Head of Corporate Affairs at BT and had been with that organisation for five years at the time of core interviews (1997). He is a lawyer by profession and has a political background of twice having been a parliamentary candidate for the Liberal Party, a local government councillor and researcher for that party’s parliamentary group. He subsequently ran the external affairs management function for Texaco in the oil industry and ended up in New York with responsibility for International Public Relations. He was head hunted by BT to manage their public affairs function.
**Anthony Weale, ICI**

The Government Affairs Manager of ICI Plc is based at Millbank House, the Headquarters of the group opposite the Houses of Parliament. This is conveniently around the corner from Smith Square, the home of the Chemical Industry Association (CIA) and Conservative Party. He has a long and distinguished career with ICI (having been a salesman in the explosives, fibres and textiles businesses) and was at one time seconded to the DTI to run the trade mission in Mexico. Upon returning from secondment, he was promptly appointed Government Affairs Manager at ICI’s group headquarters. He now responds directly to the CEO of ICI on all public affairs matters.
Appendix 10

List of Subsidiary Interviews, Discussions Obtained and Specialist Presentations
Attended Involving Politicians, Civil Servants and Associated Respondents

Retained in Basic Note Form

- Nick Harvey MP, Liberal Democrat, North Devon and previously Public Affairs, Burson Marsteller, 24th September 1997
- Lord Richard Holme of Cheltenham. Liberal Democrat. Chairman Pentos Group and previously Public Affairs Director RTZ.
- Lord Alistair McAlpine, Former Conservative member now cross bencher, 18th May 1998.
- Lord Tom McNally of Blackpool, Liberal Democrat, November 1996 and throughout research. Former MP and Press Secretary at 10 Downing Street, now Deputy Chairman, Shandwick International.
- MEP’s including Edward McMillan-Scott, Conservative, Brian Simpson, Labour and Graham Watson, Liberal Democrat MEP for Somerset.
- Councillors from all parties before and during period of research.
- Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat fringe meetings on lobbying and public affairs, 1994-98.
- Conversations were also held on research issues with a number of Parliamentarians and civil servants who requested anonymity, these are retained for inspection in basic notebook form and are non-attributable.
• Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat fringe meetings on lobbying and or public affairs, 1994-98.

• Councillors from all parties before and during period of research

• Vivian Brown, civil servant, Principal Secretary, DTI, 21st May 1990.

• Sir Michael Butler, civil servant, former head of Home Office Civil Service, 21st May 1990.

• Mark Gray, civil servant, Inter Governmental Task Force 1996, Secretariat General of EC. 10th July 1998
Appendix 11

Interview held on 4th June with Anthony Weale, Head of Government Relations ICI plc held at ICI Group Headquarters, Milbank House, London.

Full Transcription of Audio-Taped Interview

PH    What I have got is a series of questions which we can go through. Really what I am trying to do is to gather enough information to look at lobbying influence, government relations and marketing to see whether there is a move towards it having a strategic influence and really just a number of questions around that and if you don't want to say anything that is okay I will get the whole thing transcribed, typed up and send a copy to you.

AW    I would be pleased to proof and/or amend.

PH    I have done this with two Liberal Democrats, David Alton and Paul Tyler. Paul Tyler was definitely the best and he actually corrected it as well, which is quite good. I have just done it with Sir. Malcolm Thornton, Sir Rhodes Boyson, a wonderful combination, Rhodes Boyson is bullish, sharp, very bright and I am seeing one Labour MP this afternoon and then I am seeing another one later this month, Mr. Keith Bradley, then I have got a couple more in the Lords.

PH    What is the main work really of say government affairs within ICI.
Basically, it goes along these lines. There is very little patent on a regulatory front that doesn't effect ICI. It doesn't matter whether it is taxation, investment rules, competition rules, it doesn't matter what it is, it all effects us, environmental matters just the same. Yet companies are not actually all that good, even one as big as ICI, is not all that good at the operating level at really keeping up with what is going on. They don't have the contacts and they don't have the flow of information coming. That is my role and that is what I do at ICI.

PH Information on regulation and legislation

AW Having got the information on what governments intend to do or are trying to do...

PH ... thats national, European ...

AW ... I am group head ...

PH ...international ...

AW Yes. We then have to decide what we are going to do about it. That is the other part of my role which is to design, the issue management of any given problem that we have got and to do that we start asking simple questions and they are very simple questions. I would love to have a more sophisticated method but I don't. We basically start off with any gleam in father's eye, whatever it might be, whether
its carbon tax or whether it is a change in the organisation of pension funds, whatever it might be...

PH ...even back to the think tanks?

AW We try always to go back as far as we can. We go right back to the Council in Europe and so on things are being talked about for eleven years for instance before they ever see the light of day. We try to go back as far as we can. Simply because you have got a better chance of influencing things at the earliest possible stage. Having decided that an issue is a runner, that probably is the point at which at least in the UK, we start asking ourselves very simple questions like ‘can we actually influence those people?’ ‘What is it going to cost us?’, ‘If such a piece of legislation goes through, what is the likely effect on ICI for costs?’ Now if you take carbon tax, if that goes through, our rough estimates of the cost to ICI would be about $300 million a year. If the tax were fixed at the rate of $10 per barrel of oil. Now that is bloody serious. If on the other hand, this leads into the other question ‘can we exactly influence somebody?’ on the other hand there may be bits of legislation going through, the value of it would only be say £1 Million, so I ask the question. Is it worth trying to do anything about it? Even if we could influence it, with limited resources do we actually need to bother. On the basis that governments are not actually out by and large to penalise ICI, they are out to organise society in a way that will keep them in power and where large companies like ICI are actually kept on some sort of reasonable basis. That is where I come from.
PH There is a couple of things, just to follow up. ICI's total group, all its organisations, but then there are organisations like CEFIC and others...

AW ...Trade Associations. Because I am based in the UK I am the main link man with the CIA (Chemical Industries Association), and a Council member on the CBI, and belong to one or two other little odds and ends...

PH ...Institute of Directors...

AW ...I don't think actually ICI belongs to that. There are other little groups around that I belong to, but linked in to the chemical industry, like Institute of Plastics and Rubber and that's of course another judgement that we make in terms of influencing what is going on in governments. There are lots of things where ICI finds it much easier to tackle its own problem. Equally, there are lots of areas where ICI find it much easier to hide behind Trade Association or to hide behind another member of the chemical industry. There are a number of areas where it is much easier, in pure petrochemicals, it is easier for us to hide behind BP or Shell, than to run it ourselves. I mean, I suppose we do all the ordinary things that members of a common interest group would do, but we are quite happy to leave others to lead and...

PH But in dealing with government, I assume then that people when they talk of what the common issues are then they probably decide who's the lead operator
Well, they do but there would be - I'm trying to think of cases - a good case might be for instance if the industry, petrol/car tax would interest us, but we got out of that and sold that business about 10 years ago. But if you take a case like the Italian Government dishing out what we consider are market-distorted and unfair state aids to nationalised Italian companies. And the way that is going to make competition in Europe that much more difficult, there are a limited number of things that we can do. First of all you can try and persuade our own government to put pressure on the Italians. The fact is, though, that the British government, and this is really near the bone, is not very keen on doing that, they'd rather see a company fail. So then it boils down to, who's going to lead? By and large you find that one of the big British companies in a case like this would sit there and automatically emerge as the runner. The others just merely sit tight, sit back, and there has been a case of that quite lately, BP Chemicals who were very happy to sit back, produced all sorts of information for them, etc, etc. But they ran it and have more credibility with the Commission on this matter than we do.

There are other areas, though, I mean once you could run one in the UK. which is packaging waste-recycling. When it comes to manufacturing in the chemical industry we have probably got more clout than anybody else has, because we are involved in every level of vaguely all detail but certainly as far as manufacturing, converting, packing, filling. ICI's involved in all those to an extent that other chemical companies aren't. So we are running with that, I mean in information they should be well in front.
PH That is very useful. I suppose there is one thing that comes out of that which is another and that is one of the issues that keeps coming up when I’m looking at this area is that there’s probably more intense effort or there is a Government Affairs Department or Public Affairs, or

AW They have never been able to get the name right...

PH ...or it's attached to the CEO, or it is very rarely called marketing actually. For what tends to be the case is that the more regulation or intervention in that particular market by government the greater the number of players with a company goal of trying to influence their market. So that say BT is quite large in the telecommunications sector, newly privatised, wants to maintain its monopoly position.

AW We have our own response but I'll explain that later...

PH Granada. Okay. There is a broadcasting bill currently going through. Do you think that's the case that people take it seriously if they are in a regulated market?

AW Yes, I think they do.

PH And that holds up for all regulation

AW And we are, I mean the chemical industry is a highly regulated market.
PH Yes. It is reasonably obvious, but I have to ask that daft question.

AW But particularly at the production end. It is not so regulated at the consumption end, although your customers may be highly regulated.

PH Absolutely so, but by that stage you have actually built that in so it is less of a problem for you.

AW But ...

PH ...it's going to be their emissions and things that can have a knock-on effect.

AW Oh it can have a very serious knock on effect. I mean, say volatile organic compounds or something. What our customers do influences us all these refinish car blokes all round the place for example all of whom have a Dulux label up on their works entrance, matters quite a lot really. So there is linkage all the way through, but the fact is go back to the beginning. ICI like any other chemical major is highly regulated. In the sense of what I said right at the beginning, very little happens in government that doesn't have an effect on us in some way or another. Very little.

PH I think the first public affairs person I came across was probably Geoff Tordoff, Lord Tordoff, CIA.
Terrific man. Let me explain, or give the background to the comment that ICI has a rather small Public Affairs Department. I mean in this whole department there are very few. I will do just that and I will tell you, in Group Public Affairs in government, purely government matters, there's me and I have a man working for me in Brussels, Dirk Hewdin. Who runs our Brussels office and David Wakeford who is our International Trade Affairs Manager, dealing with international agreements, trade regulations, and that sort of thing, and then we have Group Public Relations which is the head of Public Relations plus 3 Senior Press Officers. And that's it. Plus 4 secretaries. That's corporate affairs group at ICI.

And why is that?

Well, partly it's, when I first joined, or just after I'd joined...

...You...

...Well, at it's biggest I think it was about 75. At one time for instance in just International Trade in Head Office, trade matters, we had something like 9 people.

I remember reading something I think it must have been about 12 years ago and I think there were about 20 then.
AW  There was a big shrink which happened in about 1987 when a lot of the authority, the nature of the board changed and much more autonomy was given to each of the businesses at ICI. The board ceased to be made up of directors who were responsible for this or that in businesses and therefore fighting their business corner and became a much more collegiate strategy group for the company and guardian of the company over the long term. Each of the businesses began to bring to the board what they wanted to do and they were all looked at equally there were no battles in the corners.

PH  So on that front, what can I say, was there any passing of the functions down the chain to the Line Managers.

AW  When I started in Government Affairs, which was back in 1987, I was UK Government Relations Manager. There was an EC Government Relations Manager. There was a Group Head of Public Affairs to whom I responded and he responded to the Group General Manager for external relations. I had two assistants, just for UK Government Affairs. When we got into the depression in the very early 90s. Some very brutal decisions were made by the time of the demerge...

PH  ...the early 80s was criticised ...

AW  ...But then coming into the 90s which is the one we are supposedly just about out of, or going back into or whatever is happening. I was summoned by the
Chairman and was told that because Zeneca had just gone they asked how many people I had working for me. At that stage I had nine. He said alright you can have four. That was it. No question of saying, but I need nine people. That uncomfortable period passed and it became more and more necessary to carefully assess what it was that we did here. For instance we did all our own monitoring of what was going on. We had never used a consultant of any kind. I couldn't carry on like that I had to get somebody outside who was going to do my monitoring for me. Which I did. It has been highly efficient and very very effective.

PH  Who do you use for that?

AW  Parliamentary information, but that’s between you and me. They prefer for their clients not to be known. (Noted and will not be made public).

At the same time we had to set up systems so that we didn't miss out anywhere. We had already done it before in about 1982 and later. We set up a system of monitors throughout the businesses, we have about 120 odd of them, each of them is responsible for a given area of issue area or legislative area so we have a man who is the expert in electricity; we have a man who is the expert in gas and so on. We have lots of experts who cover particular areas in the Environment, taxation, they are all nominated and they all as part of their job have a monitoring role and a lobbying role. They don't get on to MPs, they don't get on to Civil Servants, they come through me and say how they are planning to do this, I think we ought to do
that. I have a co-ordinating role. Simply because I have a much larger range of contacts than anybody else as far as ‘The government’ is concerned.

PH So you can avoid people tripping over one another.

AW Yes. I can avoid that and I can make sure that there is consistency, it is curious how often that a company like ICI you can get very serious if you are not careful, to the extent that sometimes it becomes necessary for ICI to withdraw completely from any kind of argument. A good example would be that before we demerge we had the Petrochemicals Group of ICI who were insistent that oil from the ground was the basis of fuels and energy resources and even chemical reaction resources for a company like ICI. At the same time we have a Biotechnology Group who was trying anxiously to develop fuels from other sources like sugar. If you recall there was a whole battle not all that long ago which is still going on between the advantages and disadvantages of the taxation and price levels in Europe on vegetable derived fuels and naturally occurring oils. ICI internally couldn't agree. Therefore we could take no position in public. But that is the kind of thing you have to guard against all the time. The views of paints are frequently quite different from the views of films or other coating methods.

PH In the arena of tracking and monitoring government that it is only the large companies that do it rather than the small.
AW  It is relatively small experience. It is one of the things that if I had more time I
would like to investigate a lot more. Your word marketing is quite an important
one. I get the impression that in Britain it is only the big companies that really have
or can afford a public affairs function be it ever so small. Although on the other
hand I think most small and medium sized enterprises are increasingly using their
chief executive or their Chairman as their Group Public Affairs man.

PH  Is it really the part of the public affairs which is the tracking, monitoring...

AW  ...I don't think that it is that at all, it is when the bomb has burst.

PH  Absolutely, so it is reactive rather than necessarily taking a strategic view.

AW  And they don't win. Or they rely on the CBI or their Trade Association and of
course the CBI is such a mixture of interest that it is bound to arrive almost
inevitably at the lowest common denominator, it is desperately conservative. If ICI
for instance are, I wouldn't say enemies, but bloody nearly enemies of the
Electricity Industry and the Electricity Industry who don't give a stuff for ICI
although they are their biggest customers. So what is the CBI to do?

PH  They cannot really referee and knock heads together can they. They are a loose
cannon.
AW They are in essence the CBI quite good at early work. They know what is going on. Their intelligence work is quite good. They recognise an issue when it is a gleam in father's eye. They do know what is going on. The trouble is they are limited in what they can do about it. Not always but often.

PH Smaller companies, medium sized ones, the way I see it is that probably if anything they are using trade associations, other groups or perhaps they are buying in a lobbyist or a lobbyist company if they are getting into a problem. The area which is probably growing, is European Directives influencing policy etc

AW Yes.

PH Whereas ICI Europe its historic origins it was probably going to pan be a European Company.

AW We have had an office dealing with the commission since about 1965. Long before Britain ever got into the Common Market. It was nevertheless still so important.

PH Because when you are in Wilhelmshaven there was a need to be there.

AW There was Rosenberg, plants around France, Germany, bloody great investments, so we needed to be involved so there was a lot around. Much more than there is now.
PH That also with the rationalisation of various businesses and swaps etc consolidate that position.

AW Going back to the point are businesses our marketing people in businesses at every level in each of the businesses. They are much much more aware of the activities of government, the legislative process the threats and the benefits that exist through legislation - much more, even more than they were when I began 10 years ago. I believe in Britain, I know because I have talked to them all.

PH Is that just this business though or other businesses as well?

AW By this business do you mean Chemicals?

PH Yes.

AW My experience of outside chemicals is not very great. But I am sure that it is true of BP. It is certainly the chemical industry. Pharmaceuticals has always been extremely alert. So close to the process and it negotiates on an annual basis about the money that is going to be paid by the National Health Service which is the guide to the rest of the World about what price they can get away with in the Market.

PH What that business is worth?
Yes and if a government undervalues price terms what Zeneca is doing, then that sends enormous signals out, frightening signals out to the rest of the World. They of course in the pharmaceutical industry have an immensely effective Trade Association geared principally to dealing with government and that is what it does. It canvasses the heavy end and commodity end of the business and is more diffuse than that, anyway back to the point, I dare say there are other companies that are pretty good at it. I think the energy groups, the utilities are pretty good because they came out of government and they have an awareness of government, which is different from being a company, which started with 20 employees and has grown into a company with 2,000 employees. Particularly in the provinces where they muddled along and kept their links with local government and so on, it hasn't really gone much further.

Many staff in utilities had local knowledge and political connections.

Yes. There is a much greater awareness, that needs to be because, I don't know what the measurements are now, but I suppose by about 1949 the amount of shelf space taken up by a years legislation coming out of the Palace of Westminster was probably about two metres. It is probably now about 30 metres of shelf space. The sheer amount that is going through, this wonderful government tells us they want to leave everything to us, they don't want to interfere.

The feeling that I get is that the more they say they are not going to get involved they get involved. (AW agrees). Plus the fact that the world is internationalising
faster than anyone could see five years. Multinational media - they are still trying to influence everything but probably losing more control, so therefore you have got a raft legislation at different levels coming out, that is part of your job, providing information to make sure that that legislation is of a high quality and appropriate. If you can get a biased advantage one way or another you will go for it but by and large you are actually refining the process.

AW We are in the business of selling information or marketing information, ICI is one of the first companies to come out with a major paper of what the effects are going to be and what improvements can be made to it. We are still always prepared to give evidence to a select committee to go along and talk to select committees and go and say our piece.

One of the things I would quite like to see as part of the marketing of ICI’s products parts of its relationships of both suppliers and the customers is a much greater capacity or willingness to help our customers or our suppliers in dealing with legislative problems. I reckon that it would be a useful sales tool.

PH Yes it is a bit like taking up a technical solution.

AW The basis on which we sell, apart from the obvious things like being full on time, getting the right product it is the technical service that we can offer and the flexibility in production we can offer to our customers and if we don't have that in our kind of business we don't get the business. It is the only kind of premium we
can offer - that we can give ourselves now. One of the things of course we have
got a company as an industry we are increasing internationalising. You have got to
get close to your customer in order to be able to offer that kind of flexibility you
stick it on a ship for two months. Forget it.

PH The business refocused with the bulk of the work force outside the UK in prime
areas, South East Asia.

AW The biggest single area is the United States or North America, which is about - here
I am guessing but when I get the text I will correct these figures - we have about
63,000 employees worldwide. When I joined ICI we had 240,000 in the UK alone
and yet we still make in real terms bigger money than we ever made in those days.
Of that 63,000 about 25,000 are in North America, about 16,000 are here, about
17/18,000 are in the Far East and the rest scattered around. There are quite a
number in Australia and South Africa. The geographical spread of ICI is still the
biggest of any company and we actually manufacturer in something like 50
countries but it is all a reflection of this early internationalisation of the business. If
we didn't go there we were not going to get our business that is why we put our
explosive plants around the World. If you worked on the customer's site not being
able to change your product according to requirements you were not going to get
the business. At the moment 19% of our sales come from the UK. I reckon within
three or four years it will only be 15% and it will continue to go down as a share.
So the kind of problems we are going to face in dealing with governments are going
to get more acute.
PH How are you going to deal with it? Are you looking at say, general agreements on trade with the likes of the EU?

AW Well certainly you have to rely on organisations like the World Trade Organisations to get it right. If you internationalise, you establish yourself in China, one of the things you automatically have to do as a Western company is to employ a lot of Chinese you should probably employ almost exclusively Chinese if you are dealing with Governments as a foreign company to what extent can you really be efficient or effective in using only locals, with all their biases can you really do it as well as you can with an ex patriot going in, I don't know, these are the kind of questions that you need to do a lot of asking, exploring. It is going to be difficult. How do you maintain constant standards for instance worldwide on environment issues where all the pressure in any country that we invest in or put a plant in, that plant will perform to at least the standards of the highest standards we have anywhere in the World. It has got to be as good or better than anything we have anywhere else.

PH We use the Bhopal case in our work. We use it primarily to focus public relations.

AW It is good to look at social patterns. How society operates in a Third World country when an investment is made. You put up a factory and watch what happens. It is
very interesting. The way that a whole population moves in on you. Which of course if you get a serious environmental problem it exacerbates the situation.

PH Moving onto a couple of other things I want to address. Types of lobbying I assume that it is the normal processes of supplying information, briefing all different levels depending on what is appropriate.

AW Yes I always believe there are two crucial things. One is, at least in a company like this you have to have a total commitment of your Executive Board to the business in dealing with government from the Chairman down, and that we have, they get deeply involved and are always prepared to get out at the right time as the ‘big gun’. ICI has always been deemed by British industry as the Civil Service in the chemical industry with shareholders and that of course has totally changed now because of to the extent of globalisation apart from the nature of business but that is one thing which is vital. The second thing which is vital is that whenever possible with lobbying I believe it is necessary to bring in the man from the coal face just as I wouldn’t dream of getting a consultant to go and lobby for ICI, I would never personally lobby if I felt that there was somebody in the business who could do it better than I could who had more credibility, because he happened to run ICI’s own landfill site there or because he had to run ICI’s freight distribution point at Wilton. If he is the man, I want him, I will take him and I will be with him, but he is the man who has the greatest credibility. The only other rule I have is making sure the maximum number of people, effective people at all our sites are well acquainted with local MPs, local Governments, local Officers, and are known in the area, because I believe a good relationships with that lot are based in the constituency.
PH So I assume what you have is a list of contacts of people at every level.

AW Yes we have got something like ninety MPs who are constituency and our works management are bloody good at it ...

PH The Works Manager will be one of their prime roles.

AW It is a prime role for him.

PH The Works Manager is a very senior figure.

AW A very powerful figure and is identified as such. He tends to sit on the Teeside Development Corporation. He sits among the great and the good in his area whether it is on the TEC board or whatever. By and large it works fairly well.

PH Government Affairs, where does it fit alongside marketing - the question lots of people want to do is of course when they look at organisations they say well this is about selling services, satisfying needs and selling ideas corporately. Government Affairs is probably the title here but the function is directly into board and it is also having a strategic role as well. Is that part of marketing?
AW It is certainly marketing organisation to Government. Part of my job is to maintain ICI's reputation and credibility with the government. I am happy that it should be like that.

PH Do you see it as PR?

AW No. We divide the whole thing into three basically. One is media relations; No four: - media relations, investor relations, government relations and straight PR. Straight PR is anything from promoting the Roundel, product promotion or to exhibitions, advertising or whatever. Media is self evident ICI has the reputation of having the most effective press office in Britain, which is nice for those three guys who run it. They are bloody good mainly because they tell people rather than trying to hide things. That is the other golden rule and then we have extraordinary good relationships with the Civil Service and I believe with parliament who come out not at the top on favourability in Mori surveys in the House of Commons although we have done in the past. We were beaten by groups who have a much more direct line to the receiver so we were beaten by Marks & Spencer, both in favourability and familiarity. They tend to beat us, but not by much. If you take the graph as if you got the graph running and you have got familiarity there and you have got favourability there and a mean running there, down here you have got a whole wad, including curiously the chemical industry, and up there you might have a pharmaceutical industry but up here right at the top you have Marks & Spencer, almost certainly. ICI would feature about there.
PH So outside the chemical industry, even though we probably could say that in about the last ten fifteen years getting a bad press.

AW It is very interesting. Up there you would also find we beat BP Chemicals, we beat Shell Chemicals but they are all up there. We don't compete against BP. BP does not have a brand I think that it is BP Chemicals. Shell have probably taken a dive a bit and others will be moving up. BNFL are moving up. BNFL have done a very good and they probably will be actually above the mean line in familiarity and they are coming on favourability they are doing better since they opened up, you can get your ticket from the Sunday Times and go and visit them. There I am only talking about MPs, that one sixth of the House that MORI does every year, so we still feature very high. I don't expect us frankly to increase again. I think in terms of favourability we will go downwards, we will go along there because we are shrinking in the UK and our constituency MPs don't like that. We are moving overseas so on and so forth.

TURNED THE TAPE OVER

If you include it in very many cases included in as part of the marketing package.

PH So it is part of marketing the company.
AW  I think so yes. It is certainly marketing the company as far as the corporate reputation stands. Even the product in terms of briefing, we are briefing MPs or we are just communicating with MPs we have got a good reputation.

PH  It cannot really be considered just the total strategy of the company so it isn't necessary strategy.

AW  The strategy of the company is only something that the company has control over largely. You don't have control over what your politicians are going to do to you.

PH  The environment out there is changing, politicians are changing. They are under more pressures, I think dissatisfaction of most politicians has been going down, wherever you are.

AW  Whichever country.

PH  If we look at the Vaclav Klaus in the recent elections most Czechs are quite happy with him, but he only just crept back in, it is an interesting phenomenon.

AW  Oh god yes, there was a report that came out the other day in the States stating that 75% of the population had a very low opinion about politicians, its appalling. There are major problems.
PH It goes up in times of War doesn't it or crisis. You would probably say that Churchill's rating after 1943 would be about 90% whereas in actually in the late 1940s it would probably be about 25%.

AW There are all sorts of reasons for that. They are related to a general reduction in deference. The way even a child behaves to its parents or its teacher nowadays is completely different from what it was in our generation. We have deference, we had natural structured deference. We raised our hats, we gave up our seats, we deferred to others, the modern generation does not ...

PH ... they still do it in the Czech Republic. But some of that is unbundling military machine isn't it.

PH Two last bits really of my equation, one is, is there any models you have ever come across or systems you have seen that actually explain any of this or influencing the environment I have seen lots of drawings myself but I haven't actually seen any theory.

AW I have never seen a good model. I have never found a model that I could slap onto my screen here and run it as a check against other things. I reckon that there is a capacity for finding one, I haven't done the work but I am sure others have.

PH I remember us talking about this one
Along here we have issues and up there we have the most popular people and their anxiety. I daresay that the things government think of doing probably get some sort of aid in a political job like this where we get a set of issues those would be the issues for example that a government would fight an election on crime, education, for the sake of example National Health Service or whatever. If we as a company would find ourselves in favour of the disestablishment of the Church of England, which as an issue fits some, where into that line or it could be our links with works chaplains. Down here you would have something like the clergy and I maintain that there is a body of influence that actually would feature something like that.

It struck me the other day ....

... the advantages because they are single issues that they can bring to bear some influence on that lot there is colossal.

That is a long time ago.

Isn't that a good example. What I mean is there must be a model that can be done of this comparison of probabilities for example, of policies and issues of what are the real issues

I mean environmental ones have a greater impact on yourselves
Yes by their very nature and because the opposition, the government is really a pudding that sits there waiting for opposition and votes and the issue and that lot there represents in a given issue a single issue backing very small number of people can exercise when it comes to governments making decisions ultimately relate to bums on green leather. I reckon there is quite a lot of work that has to be done on that sort of thing. Trying to visualise in simple terms a variety of...

... There is a little bit of work that has been done on policy mapping from the US and then there is the other work which is by James E. Grunig and his 4 models of public relations.

The fact remains that my knowledge of formalised systems or formalised measuring systems in dealing with legislation is very limited. I can pick up an article and say that’s interesting, I don't have time, I have too many other things.

I think there are one or two things out there, I probably have now studied nearly most of it one of the techniques actually what I would call practitioners like yourselves are using are pretty sophisticated is one system that calculates MP’s visits to stands at Party Conferences There are some interesting systems out there. I think some of the materials are getting better as well, I take most of the things from the PIU that is the best source for regular data, some parliamentarian or some set of statistics or where a bill is going through whereas it would cost me a hell of a lot more to get it from another source.
AW That is the good thing about it though. They are not wounded bulls.

PH .... and they are not trying to rip you off. I have tried to make some sense, some argument of where it fits in and that is what I am doing now.

AW Is there anything else you want.

PH No that is fine. One thing, who should we write to at ICI Runcorn on getting them involved in some form of consultation on the centre or survey people about is done here.

AW You could start with a fellow called Edward Brady who is Head of press and public affairs. EDWARD BRADY - 01928 51444
Appendix 12

List of Prime Interviews with Parliamentarians and Civil Servant Respondents by Date with Biographical Details

(Full Transcriptions Available)


- Richard Burden MP, Labour, 4th June 1996. Now Parliamentary Private Secretary (PPS) to Minister of State, Agriculture, Food and Fisheries, Jeff Rooker MP.

- David Alton, MP, Liberal Democrat, 16th June 1996. Stood down from Parliamentary seat in May 1997 and appointed a life peer.


- Ben Chapman, at time of interview (3rd September 1996) was a retired civil servant who had been a regional director of Department of Trade and Industry and commercial counsellor in the British Embassy in Beijing (Austin, 1997).

Biographical Details

Paul Tyler, CBE, MP

Paul Tyler MP, is Chief Whip of the Liberal Democrat Party. He was elected in February 1974 as Liberal MP at the Bodmin by-election, but was subsequently defeated at the September 1974 General election (Dod, 1993). This led to him having to re-establish a career. This he subsequently did through publishing management, pressure group
campaigning and especially working in one of the first Public Affairs companies of the period ‘Good Relations’. Paul Tyler subsequently became chief executive of the company and in addition Chairman of the Liberal Party (1982-85) during the Alliance period in British Politics. He re-entered parliament in June 1992 when he was elected Liberal Democrat MP for North Cornwall taking the seat from the Conservatives.

**Sir Malcolm Thornton MP**

Sir Malcolm Thornton, was the Conservative MP for Crosby until he lost his seat in the June 1997 general election, he has a background in shipping and business. He had been Private Parliamentary Secretary (PPS) to Rt. Hon Patrick Jenkin MP, at the Department of Trade and Industry and Department of Environment. At the time of interview (21st February 1996) he was chairman of the influential Education Select Committee (Vacher, 1996). He was a former leading Merseyside County Councillor and was Parliamentary advisor to United Utilities Plc. He at the time of interview was actively involved in a public affairs consultancy company.

**Rt. Hon. Sir Rhodes Boyson MP**

Sir Rhodes Boyson MP has a background in education (former headmaster) and is a consultant and director to various organisations such as Black Leisure and Arc International. He has held a number of ministerial offices under Margaret Thatcher. These included Minister of State for Social Security 1983-84, Minister of State for Northern Ireland 1984-86 and Minister of State for Local Government 1986-87. He is an active author, broadcaster, publisher and writer. He has a PhD in Economic History and continues to campaign on education and morality.
Richard Burden MP

Richard Burden MP has a background as a full time NALGO organiser before becoming a parliamentarian. Richard Burden MP, is a relatively new Labour Party MP, having been elected to Birmingham Northfield at a by-election in April 1992 by taking this seat from the Conservatives. He has successfully consolidated his hold on the seat and has been assiduous in his support of his constituents motor industry interests (particularly the funding of BMW and its Rover Longbridge Plant) and has campaigned vigorously on water privatisation. He is PPS to his fellow Birmingham MP the Agriculture Minister Jeff Rooker MP.

David Alton MP (now Professor Lord Alton of Mossley Hill)

David Alton MP was first elected to parliament at the Liverpool Edge Hill by-election in March 1979 having been Deputy Leader of Liverpool City Council and in the vanguard of the development of what has come to be called’ Community Politics’. In June 1995 the then Liberal Democrat MP for Liverpool, Mossley Hill was interviewed. He subsequently did not stand at the June 1997 election as the boundaries of his seat had changed dramatically and it was deemed unwinnable by the well known minority party politician. He has subsequently since been elevated to the House of Lords. He has a background in pressure group campaigning on such issues as urban regeneration, anti abortion, the environment and was founder of the Movement for Christian Democracy in 1990 (Dod 1993). He was also a sponsor of the Jubilee Campaign on Sunday Trading. He has published widely and is an active cross bench working peer.

Lord Geoff Tordoff of Knutsford

Lord Geoff Tordoff of Knutsford is principal Deputy Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords and chairs the European Communities Committee and is responsible for
the scrutiny of all European legislation received by the upper house. He currently sits as a
cross bencher being a senior official of the House of Lords. He has a background in the oil
and chemical industries with Shell with his last post being in charge of Public Affairs for
Shell Chemicals which included being President of the Chemical Industry association
(CIA). He is a past President of the Liberal Party and was Chief Whip in the House of
Lords of both the Liberal and Liberal Democrat Party before taking up his official
responsibilities which resulted in him becoming a cross bencher.

**Ben Chapman**

Ben Chapman, had retired as Head of the DTI in the North of England, having previously
held a number of posts, including having been a past Head of Trade Mission in Beijing for
a number of years. At the time of the interview, Ben Chapman, was running his own
company giving regional policy advice and organising business lobbying of Europe. All
this changed in February 1997 when as a new member of the Labour Party he was chosen
as the by-election candidate for Wirral South, which he promptly won from the
Conservatives and held at the 1997 General Election. He is now part of the Labour
Government and Private Parliamentary Secretary (PPS) to Richard Caborn MP Minister
for Environment, Transport and the Regions.
Appendix 13

First Report of the Committee on Standards in Public Life (Nolan): Summary and Seven Guiding Principles

1. At the request of the Prime Minister, this Committee has spent six months inquiring into standards in British public life. We have concentrated on Members of Parliament, Ministers and Civil Servants, executive Quangos and NHS bodies.

2. We cannot say conclusively that standards of behaviour in public life have declined. We can say that conduct in public life is more rigorously scrutinised than it was in the past, that the standards which the public demands remain high, and that the great majority of people in public life meet those high standards. But there are weaknesses in the procedures for maintaining and enforcing those standards. As a result people in public life are not always as clear as they should be about where the boundaries of acceptable conduct lie. This we regard as the principal reason for public disquiet. It calls for urgent remedial action.

3. Our conclusions are summarised below. They are followed by a full list of recommendations, together with an indication of the timescale in which each should be implemented.

General Recommendations

4. Some of our conclusions have general application across the entire public service:
Principles of Public Life

5. The general principles of conduct which underpin public life need to be restated. We have done this. The seven principles of selflessness, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness, honesty and leadership are set out in full on page 14.

Codes of Conduct

6. All public bodies should draw up Codes of Conduct incorporating these principles.

Independent Scrutiny

7. Internal systems for maintaining standards should be supported by independent scrutiny.

Education

8. More needs to be done to promote and reinforce standards of conduct in public bodies, in particular through guidance and training, including induction training.

(Source Nolan, 1995a, p.3)
**Selflessness**
Holders of public office should take decisions solely in terms of the public interest. They should not do so in order to gain financial or other material benefits for themselves, their family, or their friends.

**Integrity**
Holders of public office should not place themselves under any financial or other obligation to outside individuals or organisations that might influence them in the performance of their official duties.

**Objectivity**
In carrying out public business, including making public appointments, awarding contracts, or recommending individuals for rewards and benefits, holders of public office should make choices on merit.

**Accountability**
Holders of public office are accountable for their decisions and actions to the public and must submit themselves to whatever scrutiny is appropriate to their office.

**Openness**
Holders of public office should be as open as possible about all the decisions and actions that they take. They should give reasons for their decisions and restrict information only when the wider public interest clearly demands.
Honesty
Holders of public office have a duty to declare any private interests relating to their public duties and to take steps to resolve any conflicts arising in a way that protects the public interest.

Leadership
Holders of public office should promote and support these principles by leadership and example.

(Source Nolan, 1995a, p.14)
Appendix 14

Interview with Paul Tyler CBE, MP at the House of Commons, London - 13 June 1995

Full Transcription of Audio-Taped Interview

PT The strategic lesson I think I have learnt from both sides. Fifteen years of consultancy or in one form or another advocacy or public affairs and now back again. Is that there is an awful lot of jargon, there is quite a lot of bull shit, but at the end of the day the application of common sense to a relatively straightforward communications issue. Once a business of any sort, anything from a charity, voluntary movement, environmental movement right through to commercial enterprise has identified that they are operating within a political framework. Then there are obvious points of contacts with that political context and you address it like any sensible communications exercise. Who do we want to say what to? When will it be relevant to them? etc, etc. What I found increasingly as in the consultancy world was that the worst examples of bad communications usually took place when somebody had either inflated the process. As if it was some how totally different to all their other communications objectives - good management is a large part in communications isn't it - or sometimes that they were trivialising it. My rule of thumb specifically for Westminster was and would remain if an MP has got time for an extensive lunch he isn't worth wasting the time on because the really busy active parliamentarians will not come to lunch for the lunch.

PH No because you can get work done.
PT Absolutely.

PH What networking can you do?

PT If they want to have your information they will not be interested in the menu they will be interested in the information. Similarly a rule of thumb that I applied throughout the consultancy period which goes along with that is that the intermediary should be as far as possible invisible. Because it is the information that has value and by definition the horses mouth is going to be a lot more interesting to talk to than anyone in between. If I want to talk to you about something you are doing. I do not want someone else sitting there saying 'oh well what Mr. Harris really means to say is.' Either we are intelligent human beings who are speaking the same language or not, we do not need translators or interpreters. What we may need, and of course this is where there is a big difference between the UK and American experiences. We may in Whitehall or Westminster need somebody who will make sure that the linkages are appropriate in terms of time, you know it is silly to go to a parliamentarian and say -well this is what you should be raising.

PH When it is already drafted into the bill because six months ago it happened

PT Or wrong targets. Somebody rang me up this morning and said 'what are you going to say at the select committee tomorrow'? I said 'Well actually, slight problem, I am not a member of the select committee!' So obviously you need advice and guidance on direction from time to time. But in the main the most effective communication I think, takes place between somebody who has the information from first hand experience and somebody who needs to have that for a specific thing that he or she has on his/her agenda. Particularly since so much of our work is jumping from one
issue to another, the butterfly syndrome. Timing is absolutely critical and I would always advise anybody who has got something to communicate to spend quite a lot of thought in preparing the case in terms of when is going to be the moment of optimum impact and with whom.

PH But is that, if you like, within Westminster.

PT No. The pace is different isn't it in local government.

PH Europe is different.

PT Europe is quite different again and there you do need advice and expertise to identify the entry points but the basic principles remain the same, that you have got to go to somebody when he or she needs you, not to suit your timetable but to suit theirs. In the case of the European Parliament for example, clearly there is a much more open minded and more pluralist approach to ideas. You can go to a member of the European Parliament who is of quite different political persuasion and different background to the person or cause that you are representing and they have an appetite for ideas and views and information and that is true also of the commission. I am sure that you have had this experience, you can with minimum formality walk in to the office of the person who is actually doing the drafting of the commission document. Talk through where they have got to, what they are trying to do, what the timetable is etc and make an input in a way that is just impossible in my time. The same again in local government, I think that it is polarising to some extent the best people in local government now are those who in
terms of offices, are those who are seeing their timetables as being their members’
timetables. But that there are responsibilities to ensure that their members have the
widest possible information base on which to take decisions. The opposite extreme
would be insecurity employment now in local government. You have also got
people who clearly will not see themselves as providing that continuity but is just
going along with whatever the party implies. That is the difference.

PH Do you think that it has grown, the whole area of pressure on government to
actually amend legislation/regulation I mean regulation has grown. One you have
got the EU two you have got the house itself, the number of bills over 16/17 years.
One of the things in the states was that a lot of it was, I suppose, lobbying for
causes or issues. In the UK I think that probably to some extent influencing the
legislation more directly seems to have come more to the fore in the last 20 years
by outside forces. A lot of it was indirectly or business interests, like an association
interest, but as the agenda has become more radical, some people have actually
wanted to shape some of that agenda. So therefore there was almost a strategic
management role there now where as once upon a time it might have been me Paul
Tyler, me Phil Harris want to wave flag on behalf of my company.

PT Whether it is more effective I don't know. I recall the sort of representations that
were made, 20 years ago, and I think invariably they were more effective simply
because there were less people doing it. For example I recall sitting on a rent bill
and the briefing from Shelter was absolutely excellent, because it was very clear,
very concise, very much tuned to the timetable of that committee and that bill, but
best of all there wasn't a lot of conflicting information. Whether that meant that we
made the right decision of course only time will tell. Now a similar bill you would probably have a similar quality of representation from a dozen different organisations but it is pulling in different directions. Take just a simple example. The Disablement Discrimination Bill, the Government Bill, there is a section in that bill which looks as if it would result, in a vast increase in the number of black taxi cabs that would have to have facilities for wheel chairs. In principle we must be in favour. But we are now briefed that the number in London that already have that is quite sufficient, in fact it is gross over supply but that is not the problem. It is certainly not necessary to have any more and that the real pressure for this to be written into the new bill does not come from the Disablement Lobby at all, it comes from the company that manufactures those taxis. Now, it is rather like, beware of Greeks with gifts. I think that parliamentarians do have to now look pretty carefully at the credentials of anybody who comes to see them. Just as, switch to the local government scene. I think the whole issue of planning gain which was perfectly legitimate, very proper, achieved a great deal, in the 80’s now stinks a bit. It looks like 'how do we bribe this planning committee to give us consent to bill the out of town shopping centre' or whatever it is.

PH Isn't it very interesting that you get various building companies that seem to have its own monopoly of large projects in certain regions. Or is that me being awfully cynical.

PT No. Where I am particularly intrigued is to see that suddenly some of these big developers have enormous expertise in wild life habitat and nappy changing rooms
and art expeditions, you name it and you begin to wonder whether it is the frills on
the edge.

**PH** The one that we seem to get a lot of in the North West is AMEC. They seem to be
everywhere.

**PT** You can understand the representatives. Particularly at local authority level, having
come through a very tough recession when it is still difficult to get the facilities
you want and on top of all that, the frustrations of daily life in the local authority
when so many of the big decisions are taken out of your hands when the resources
are very tight, somebody comes along and says ‘look you give us planning consent
and we can sort that problem of the playing field you want for your school or that
access road that otherwise cannot be funded’. Entirely admirable projects suddenly
become possible, it is not just that you get your project but you also feel that you
are doing something which for the average local authority is extraordinarily
frustrating, because so much of your time you are stopping things happening. That
was my fear of that planning game as a specific, we are turning a little bit away
from the function but so often this is where the discussion centres not on the
priority, what is the right decision but what can we get out of it.

**PH** What about Whitehall because that is a slower process yet that has probably got
more influence than many others because you may have a group of interests
alongside a bill being drafted.
Bear in mind I have never been a member of the government party and I have never been a civil servant. But even I think those that have been one or other of those, now would share the view, I think, quietly at night over a drink, that Whitehall is in a sense of impending crisis, because they have had 15/16 years of the same political party with the same sort of political objectives in a sense that might not have been so serious had the prevailing mood been one of consensus development - the civil servants of the 50s ...

... built a nice Post Office in the middle of the community

And on the whole you were not that far apart and there was a congregation of political objectors. Now that is not true of the last 15/16 years, there must have been civil servants who have found themselves being pushed down a route by their political masters which they didn't particularly like. Well that is okay. It must be an integral and essential part of any effective public administration to know that your political masters could at any time ask you to do something else. While the civil service is there to provide continuity it is not there to pursue the interest of the short-term advantage of a political party and I think that that is the biggest single problem. If I meet civil servants informally they take a polite interest in the views of the opposition - they are taking rather more interest now than they have for probably 10 years - but it still seems to be entirely academic. I don't think that not many if any, senior ranking civil servants have adjusted their minds to what will happen if and when there is a change of government. That is very serious - you could have a horrible hiatus if a new government comes in without the machine ready to change gear.
PH There is some civil servant training going on at certain levels

PT I have been to some of these top civil servant deputy level mix of good private managers at that sort of level, they do one at? And I have done it twice or three times, where you spend most of the day with them. I get the impression that they are there to switch off. They are there to break out, to enjoy themselves to allow themselves the luxury of pre-thought not to go back to Whitehall thinking 'oh well we must look at that again' or 'we will just think about that' or 'I wonder what is going to happen then'. The very fact that they can compartmentalise the think bit away from normal life of Whitehall is great.

PH I think that that covers a fair amount. Some of the political issues, as well as contamination in civil service, one party government, issues like that. I spoke to someone the other day - in old Russia you had to be a member of the Communist party if you wanted to gain promotion - maybe here after 16 years - some people have to be a member of the Conservative Party to gain promotion.

PT I think that there is another aspect to that which is reflected both in local government and in parliament. That the officers or the civil servants begin to get into a mind set about the actual democratic process, step away from one part of it, I detect that if you scratch the average inhabitant of Whitehall and say what really matters in the House of Commons to you? they will admit that it is not presenting the issues well to the decision makers of parliament, they will admit that it is not ensuring that the accountability of that department that they work in to select
committee?? they will say if they are put against the wall, keep out of trouble, we
don't want to be visible. I mean in the sense that having a lively debate about
policy issues in the House of Commons. In a select committee, on a field committee
or in a chamber is a sign of failure rather than success for a civil servant and I think
that the same is true in local government. I think again, most local government
senior officers, want to sort it with the chairman, the leader, the leading group, they
want to know when the debated public takes place but the result is already a
foregone conclusion, that is what they regard as a success. Now maybe that is
human nature, but it is hardly what our forebears thought of as being the cut and
thrust of democratic decision making.

PH Moving into my area of management. One of the things that comes out is that most
of the management literature, even the more advanced stuff is only really saying
that the Chief Executive of the company may be able to go and lobby. But really
when one looks at it in terms of research literature there is virtually nothing of
subsidence. The more I look I seem to think that that role has actually grown. What
is your view?

PT Exactly that problem, but from a very different angle. I notice a sharp contrast in
the way in which the whole of this function was handled 50 years ago, when public
affairs was a junior function in the Public Relations Department and the route into
any board thinking was to hire a Marketing Director. The only occasion when the
Chief Executive or Managing Director was ever rolled out at all in this context was
for the annual drinks party to meet the local MP or whatever, that was it. It was as if
the audiences, the targets were no different to the hacks from the local paper. In
fact, very often, the MP would be sent a copy of a press release, and that was the
only form of communication. That was never the case in the States. My
colleagues in the States, and I was there again this year, they always saw the small
'p' political environment as a key concern of senior management and represent a
direct link in to the key people in the company. And even a visiting politician
would get in to see a senior vice president of a company, they always saw this as an
extremely important part of the overall context for the management of that
company. During those 50 years whatever, one of the ways that I would as a
consultant...

PH But they are heavily structured aren't they ? That is why one of the things I think
that I have moved from is that originally looking at lobbying influence I said that it
was probably more of an import from the States and pressure from the US. But
actually I think that I have moved because I think that it is the pressure of
legislation change and the British approach is very different than this highly
structured pressure point.

PT I entirely agree with you. But what I think has changed, and I do not think that it is
a result of American pressure, or even an American example, I think that it is
because of the force of circumstances. I found during my consultancy career that it
had become a function in its own right. Not just a by product of public relations - as
a result of that much more senior management was engaged in the process, one of
the tests of how seriously I would reckon any organisation or company was in
tackling this problem and its opportunity was how senior the input level was, advise
the leader of a team for example on the Channel Tunnel bid which I helped with, I
had quite a big team dealing with consumer PR, lobbying, specialist press but had I not had instant access to the Chairman and to the Managing Director I would not have taken that job on. I made it clear at the outset. That would not have been the case 10 years ago.

**PH** Because it would have been the public relations maybe promotion. But one of the things that seems to be happening now is corporate affairs or what we call public affairs ?? It is beginning to become if you like, strategic public relations where we are talking about dealing with various stakeholders throughout society and probably I would lean towards corporate affairs, government affairs. Public relations has a bad name as well.

**PT** The average decision maker either he/she elected representative or for such any level of government would now I think, react very badly indeed at having a phone call from a public relations executive or indeed a public relations consultant. You would think that that was not part of my network. That is not where I come from.

**PH** To some extent they are declarifying the communication.

**PT** Just specifically on the management structures, I have worked with organisations with the most extraordinary variety of different structures. I don't think that that is critical. I think what is critical is a recognition of the two way interplay is built in at the very highest level in any business plan. That you have got to recognise what sort of world you are in - you know if it is pharmaceutical company clearly it is very different to an environmental charity - and that has to be recognised. What is
the specific business environment, what is the specific political environment. How do those two interrelate and if you have not sorted that out in your own mind then it doesn't matter who is trying to handle it, how you set it up whether it is ‘in-house’, whether its consultant, it will go astray sooner or later. Because there is one element which we have not touched on which I think is quite relevant to that, and that is damage limitation crisis management. I do not know of any organisation that should not have quite carefully thought through mechanisms/damage limitation. But equally in my experience there are very few organisations that have actually been through that. If tomorrow a select committee took it in its head to do an in depth investigation of 'X' 95% of the major players in that field would not know what to do.

PH Even though they are under a fair amount of scrutiny.

PT And if you went to something. Perhaps in an organisation in the health field, which they probably feel that they are fairly well up against the target practice, even they would not know how to start and that is actually both a confession of failure on the business side, and on this side that people do not understand the significance of the political process sufficiently well to be prepared for that.

PH One of the things that strikes me about it is that it is almost going back to buying and selling behaviour and the idea is that you understand who you are selling to, who you are buying from. It’s a process of interaction. I see the whole area as being very complex.
PT I think that this is an area which is much more likely to be elucidated in terms of applied common sense. I have never really been directly involved in marketing as such but when I meet marketeers sometimes they blind with science almost quicker than anyone else I can think of.
## Appendix 15

### Company Donations to UK Political Parties 1997/8

The following are the known donations to political parties made by UK companies in the financial year 1995/6:

Figures in brackets are the previous year’s donation

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<th>Company</th>
<th>Financial report date</th>
<th>Donation 1997/98</th>
<th>(Previous year)</th>
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<td>(100,000)</td>
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<td>(100,000)</td>
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<td>Amount (Realised)</td>
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Less than £10,000

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120 donations totalling £2,883,904
Labour Party

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<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Animal Lobby</td>
<td>(06/97)</td>
<td>1,052,000</td>
<td>(127,000)</td>
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<td>Caparo Group</td>
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<td>Caledonian Mines</td>
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<td>(0)</td>
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<td>*Sun Life &amp; Provincial</td>
<td>(12/97)</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>(10,000)</td>
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<td>TU Fund Managers</td>
<td>(03/97)</td>
<td>1,904</td>
<td>(2,596)</td>
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<td>Ranger Oil (UK)</td>
<td>(12/97)</td>
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<td>Somers Handling</td>
<td>( )</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jacobs &amp; Turner</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leopold Joseph</td>
<td>(03/98)</td>
<td>1,000</td>
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12 donations totalling £1,248,942

*This donation was made in December 1996 but appears in the party’s 1997 account

Liberal Democrats

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Political Animal Lobby</td>
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2 donations totalling £137,750

Alliance Party of Northern Ireland

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<td>Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust</td>
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Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition

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Progressive Unionists

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<td>(10,000)</td>
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Social Democratic & Labour Party

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>(12/97)</td>
<td>7,500</td>
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</table>

Ulster Democrats
Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust  (12/97)  10,000  ( 10,000)
Ulster Unionists

Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust  (12/97)  7,500  ( 0)

Other Organisations

Aims of Industry

Slough Estates  (12/97)  3,000  ( 2,500)

Centre for Policy Studies

Slough Estates  (12/97)  2,000  ( 2,000)

2 donations totalling £5,000

Source Labour Research  and website http://www.users.powernet.co.uk/hack/sleaze/

NB. Labour Research is not affiliated to any political party and in particular is not part of the British Labour Party. It is funded by the Trade Union Movement.
## Appendix 16

### Sources of Internet Public Affairs Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Website (prefix with <a href="http://WWW">WWW</a>.)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CBI</td>
<td>chamber.co.uk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chambers of Commerce</td>
<td>Bcc.org.UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Parliament</td>
<td>Europarl.eu.int</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Information</td>
<td>Open.gov.uk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guide to the UK Utility Industry</td>
<td>stoner.com/combined_site/groupinf/ukutils.htm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Commons Library Research Service</td>
<td>parliament.uk/commons/lib/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Lords Register of Interests</td>
<td>parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Magazine Services</td>
<td>parlicom.com</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Government Association</td>
<td>lga.gov.uk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Stationery Office</td>
<td>parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSO (formerly HMSO)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Trade Associations (UK list)</td>
<td>ukbusinesspark.co.uk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Authors research)
Appendix 17

Sunday Trading Campaign Literature: Examples

Attached examples from Shopping Hours Reform Council, and Keep Sunday Special, Winter 1991
SUNDAY TRADING

KEY POINTS TO REMEMBER

♦ Everyone agrees that the present law is outdated and bizarre: it must be reformed;
♦ There are no restrictions on Sunday shopping in Scotland, yet only 25 per cent of shops open and Sunday remains a special day;
♦ Most shops which want to trade on a Sunday are already doing so. We need a law which removes pointless restrictions yet protects the rights of shop workers.

A BIZARRE LAW

Sunday shopping in England and Wales is restricted by the 1950 Shops Act which lists those items which can be bought, excluding all others. The result is hopelessly confusing:

♦ You can buy newspapers but not books or toilet paper.
♦ You can buy donkey fodder but not cat food.
♦ You can buy fresh vegetables but not tinned or frozen vegetables.

The law was made before supermarkets appeared, before videos were invented or DIY became a popular leisure activity. Prime Minister John Major has described it as 'bizarre' (House of Commons, December 1990), and everyone agrees that something must be done to reform it.

Sunday shopping is legal in Scotland.

A LAW IGNORED

Local authorities have had the task of trying to enforce the law. In practice, most have made no attempt to do so. Complaints come only from pressure groups, they say, and the time of environmental health officers is too valuable to be wasted in closing shops which people want to use.

Recently, enforcement of the law throughout the country has in effect been suspended, pending a decision by the European Court of Justice on whether the Shops Act conflicts with the free trade provisions of the Treaty of Rome. This judgment is not expected until late in 1992 at the earliest.

In the meantime, most shops which are likely to trade on Sundays are already doing so.
MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH.....

"We have got to retain the special nature of Sundays — if we lost that we will never be able to replace it. This has to be at the front of the minds of all who seek to reform the Sunday trading laws and this will be at the heart of our discussions with the Government.

I recognise some people's desire for access to shops on Sundays, but I'm not convinced that this is a greater right than the right of others — particularly shop-workers — to spend the day resting or worshipping with their families."

Conference of the United Reformed Church in Turkey, 6 May 1986

"Every day is the day in which I want to express my freedom as a Christian to worship with other Christians.

We seek one day of the week which is a holiday in common, free from normal pressures, providing opportunities for rest, recreation, and alternatives in life, amongst them time for reflection and worship.

"I believe our freedoms need protecting and Sunday is one of our freedoms. Those working need to rest, families require time together and Christians should have the opportunity to worship. I hope this present initiative will be supported by the same commitment to prayer which made such a difference to the 1986 campaign."

"We are thrilled with God's wonderful mercy and faithfulness in answering our prayers in 1986. We must work to sustain the victory and keep Sunday special so that with the greatest possible liberty we can continue to advance the gospel in our country."

AND CROWN

"Sunday is the day when large numbers of people look forward to peace and quiet in their own homes."

(The Sunday Times 22/5/86)

"To me Sunday is a day when people should be able to choose what they want to do. It should be different from other days."

(Raithelw Chronicle 15/5/86)

Calling all Christians!

Please take encouragement from the words above and continue to pray for God's will to be done in our nation. Pray that there will be a major breakthrough in strengthening Sundays over the next twelve months. Please write to or telephone Claire Barford at our office for more specific points for prayer.

NEW NUMBER (0223) 321812