



**A Nuffield Farming Scholarships Trust
Report**

Award sponsored by

NFU Mutual Charitable Trust



**Influencing agricultural policy
through effective lobbying:**

**A perspective on lobbying practice
around the world –
creating a farmer's lobbying toolkit**

Matt Ware

November 2014

NUFFIELD UK



NUFFIELD FARMING SCHOLARSHIPS TRUST (UK)

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A Nuffield (UK) Farming Scholarships Trust Report

Date of report: October 2014



*"Leading positive change in agriculture.
Inspiring passion and potential in people."*

Title	<p>Influencing agricultural policy through effective lobbying</p> <p>A perspective on lobbying practice around the world – creating a farmer's lobbying toolkit.</p>
Scholar	Matt Ware, MA Cantab.
Sponsor	NFU Mutual Charitable trust
Objectives of Study Tour	<p>A comparison of global best practice in lobbying and the opportunity for a discussion on the political context in which these policies lie. My ultimate aim has been to bring together best practice in lobbying in a user-friendly way and disseminate it to farmers in order to best get their views and voice heard.</p>
Countries Visited	<p>Ascension Island, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Cuba, Falkland Islands, Germany, Hong Kong, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Panama, UK and the USA.</p>
Findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lobbying styles vary enormously geographically and by sector.• Many western countries share common lobbying styles.• The core skill of personal relationships is still paramount.• Social media has a role to play to enhance representation, but cultural differences and development levels can affect this.• New emotional campaigns need to be countered by facts.• Lobbying legislation has sometimes had the perverse consequence of being detrimental to good legislation.• Government support can risk lobbyists becoming less sharp.• The old adage of "being there" is still true, albeit being there in person or the virtual world, or better still in both forms.



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DISCLAIMER

The opinions expressed in this report are my own and not necessarily those of the Nuffield Farming Scholarships Trust, or of my sponsor, nor my employer the National Farmers' Union of England and Wales.

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Nuffield Farming Scholars are available to speak to NFU Branches, Agricultural Discussion Groups and similar organisations

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1.0. Introduction



My background is in the farming industry, having worked on farm through my childhood and then full time after university, before becoming a partner in the 312 acre mixed arable and livestock family farm in Herefordshire over a ten year period until I was thirty. I also have hands-on experience in the dairy, hop, cider, soft fruit and agri-tourism sectors. Whilst working on the farm I took the opportunity to get involved in Herefordshire Federation of Young Farmers, first in Dilwyn YFC and then as County

Chairman in 1997-8, along with the National YFC Agricultural and Rural Affairs committee, which led to the role of UK YFC Team leader on the European Young Farmers association and as a member of the EU Commission Standing group for poultry. Back in Herefordshire I was on the council Youth Service committee and a local Parish Councillor.

Following a university project on cider fruit production in 1994, we came to the top of the potential growers' waiting list in 1999, with the offer of a significant Leader + planting grant. With our ware potato enterprise suffering from volatile prices and our beef unit being encircled by bovine TB, it was an obvious decision to rationalise the farm; with continuous wheat planted to supply the 165,000 broiler unit and 80 acres new bush cider fruit orchards replacing the beef and potato ground. We had a farm sale of the potato and livestock equipment. At the same time I was selected to be a National Farmers' Union representative for the Midlands and poultry in their Little Red Tractor 'Team of Champions'. This led me to the NFU.

I have been the NFU Head of Government and Parliamentary affairs since 2013, prior to which I was the Senior Parliamentary adviser, London policy adviser and HQ Non-food uses and renewables adviser. I began my NFU career in 2001 (right in the middle of the Foot and Mouth crisis) as the NFU SE Regional Policy Adviser covering all agricultural commodities. With proximity to London and the Foot and Mouth crisis, I gained lots of valuable media experience at this time.



At university I read geography at Jesus College, Cambridge which has given me a passion for environmental, political, historic and economic issues and studying the world around me. I followed up my degree with a post graduate agri-business management diploma at Seale-Hayne College in Devon.

In my spare time I have been a Special in the Metropolitan Police service since 2007, working up to the role of MSC Inspector for Westminster borough in 2013. I am a keen competitive runner and enjoy gardening, skiing and travel.



2.0. Background to my Nuffield study on lobbying

The greatest asset of the agricultural industry is its passionate and dedicated farmers. What undermines our full potential is the disjointed nature of the industry, mixed messaging and lack of access to new technology or social media.

Recent emotional and non-scientific based campaigning, such as that seen on emotive subjects such as bovine TB and badger culling in England, or pesticide bans across Europe, or live exports in the UK and Australia, has only gone to stiffen my resolve to find ways to counter-act such campaigns and mobilise our members in order that they can truly have their voices heard.

The purpose of this study is therefore twofold: to improve my own knowledge and awareness of lobbying in other sectors and cultures, and secondly to try to translate these findings into a user friendly toolkit to help farmers represent themselves more effectively, rather than gather dust on a shelf or in some rarely visited computer folder.

I am proud to work for the National Farmers' Union (NFU), with an illustrious history and reputation for lobbying and learn from the great work of such recent legends as Barney Holbeche who dedicated 36 years to parliamentary lobbying and Lord Henry Plumb of Coleshill DL; but the centenary of the NFU's first parliamentary lobbyist, Charles Weller Kent, in 2013, presented the opportunity not only to build upon our past experience but also broaden our reach and approaches.

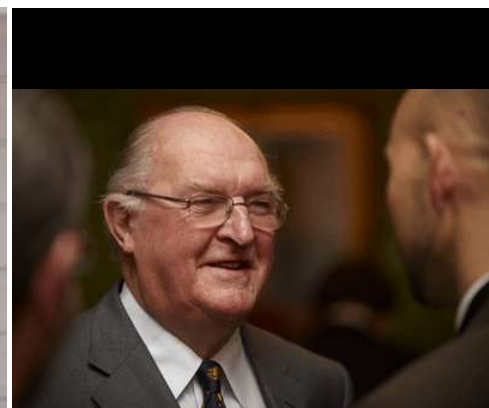
So whilst I dedicate this paper to my parents for giving me the opportunity to spread my wings and be myself, it is also in honour of the lobbying legends of the NFU: Lord Henry Plumb of Coleshill DL, Barney Holbeche and Sir Charles Weller Kent.



Sir Charles Weller Kent



Barney Holbeche



Lord Henry Plumb of Coleshill, DL

"Parliament had been very neglectful of farmers not because politicians were 'indifferent to the interests of agriculture' but rather because 'there were so many other pressing claims, and in the great press of subjects only those received attention that were able to press their cause with irresistible force.'"

Cecil Harmsworth, Liberal MP for Luton, to the Dunstable NFU Branch Annual Dinner, 1914

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3.0. My Nuffield study tour – where I went

(for whom I met see Acknowledgements)

"I felt frustrated – it was like speed dating. I needed to spend more time with people to discover more." Joe Delves, NSch, Nuffield presentation in Cardiff, November 2013.

United Kingdom: 2012 - 2014

Westminster, Houses of Parliament, Whitehall Government Departments, 10 Downing Street, Canary Wharf, New Zealand High Commission, Japanese Embassy, US Embassy, Canadian High Commission, Brazilian Embassy, CBI, Irish Embassy, Political Party conferences, Cardiff Welsh Assembly Government, Edinburgh Scottish Parliament.

UK & Netherlands: February 2012



- Contemporary Scholars conference – farm visits and organisation talks and tours.

Ireland: April 2013 – Dublin, County Clare and County Galway



- Trinity College, Dublin.
- The Dail, Irish Parliament.
- County Galway and County Clare.

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Germany: February 2014 - Berlin



- Visit to the Reichstag (Parliament), German Farmers Union (DBV), environmental groups, Non-governmental organisations (NGO's), farmers markets and meeting with Renate Kuenast (former German Agricultural Minister and Green).

Australia: February – March 2014



- Sydney for part of the Nuffield Contemporary Scholars conference.
- Canberra to visit the Australian Parliament, Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics and Science (ABARES) conference and lobbyist meetings.
- Victoria farm visits.



New Zealand: March 2014



- Christchurch, University of Canterbury.
- Nelson, Department of Conservation and farm visit.
- Wellington Parliament visit including a meeting with Environment Secretary Hon. Amy Adams and numerous organisation and lobbyist meetings.
- Hastings and Napier – farm visits.
- Tongariro and Waikato - Department of Conservation and farm visit.
- Auckland – meeting minority groups NGO.

Hong Kong: March 2014 – weekend stopover



- Food and drink festival with British export drive.

Taiwan: March 2014 - stopover en route to Japan

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Japan: March 2014 - Tokyo



- Talk to British embassy staff on British food and drink export potential.
- Meetings with Japanese farming associations, Public affairs firms and NGO's.
- Visit to National Diet (Japanese Parliament).
- Reception and meeting with NZ Ambassador to Japan.

Belgium: April 2014 - Brussels



- Visit to European Commission and European Parliament. Attended launch of NFU EU election manifesto to MEP's.
- Meetings with public affairs companies, NGO's and environmental groups.

Canada: May 2014 - Ottawa



- Visit to the Canadian Parliament, farmer and sector representative bodies, NGO's, environmental groups, and agri-food departments.



United States of America: May 2014



- New York – Google and environmental groups.
- Washington DC - visit to the Capital (US Parliament), farmer and sector representative bodies, varied industrial bodies, co-operatives, NGOs and environmental groups.

Mexico: May 2014



- Visit to the Mexican Parliament, sector representative bodies and USDA agricultural attaché.

Panama: May 2014 – short stopover en route to Brazil





Cuba: May 2014



- Comparison with a communist state developing into a free market economy.

Chile: May 2014



- Santiago – meeting with Chilean farmers union, sector representative bodies and USDA agricultural attaché.
- Punta Arenas – Tierra de Fuego - southernmost tip of the Americas – in transit to the Falklands.

continued overleaf



Brazil: May 2014



- Brasilia - Visit to the Brazilian Parliament, farmer and sector representative bodies, NGOs, environmental groups, and meeting with indigenous Amerindian tribal chiefs on land issues.
- Rio de Janeiro – meeting with FAO and environmental NGO.

See overleaf for Falkland Islands



The Falkland Islands: May - June 2014



- Stanley – meetings with Falkland Island Government Members of Legislative Assembly, public relations team and agricultural and economics team.
- Circular 4WD drive tour around East Falkland.

Ascension Island: June 2014 – in transit on RAF Air-bridge flight from Falklands to Brize Norton.

Italy: June 2014 - Rome



- Italian Parliament, farmer and sector bodies and promotional public affairs companies.

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Israel: June 2014



- Visit to the Knesset (Israeli Parliament), Jerusalem and Tel Aviv for public affairs meetings and NGO's.
- Cultural tour of Jerusalem, Dead Sea, Masada, a Kibbutz and the West Bank.
- First Nuffield travel questioning including a 2.5 hour interrogation and strip search!

Hungary: September 2014



- Hungarian Parliament.
- Budapest Half-marathon.
- Museum of Hungarian Agriculture.



SECTION I

4.0. Overview of my findings

Many Western Anglo-Saxon countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA share common cultural lobbying styles and have had lobbying legislation imposed in recent years. The general consensus is that these new laws have been detrimental to good legislation as the specialist technical knowledge of the day-to-day protagonists active in sectors has been lost and perversely replaced by professional lobbyists short on detail.

Cultural differences also come into play – with Japanese lobbying prone to deference to those in authority, whilst in Latin America lobbying is overcoming its bad historic image of nepotism and corruption.

Social media is often flagged as a new dawn in lobbying, and whilst it is definitely seen to have a place - such as tackling green groups in Western Europe - it was less relevant in some more traditional societies such as Chile, Israel and Italy.

Government support for a sector (such as agriculture in France, Japan or New Zealand), can risk lobbyists becoming complacent, and less sharp or innovative.

A single united voice representing the industry is advantageous and countries with several disparate bodies appeared to have a less coordinated or united voice. The void is filled by sectorial representation which can lead to a single-issue style and disjointed approach. Political systems also have an impact, so we see in large countries such as Australia, Brazil, Canada and the USA, a disconnection in representation, with some areas stronger at State level and others at Federal level, but rarely the two joined up.

... what was globally observed as essential to lobbying success, was the old adage of “being there”, or as they say in Brussels, “if you are not at the table then you are on the menu”.

Overall, what was globally observed as essential to lobbying success, was the old adage of “being there”, or as they say in Brussels, “if you are not at the table then you are on the menu”. Being there does not have to be the lobbyist in person. Being there can be in the virtual world also, or better still in reality and on social media in a coordinated manner. Some of the best examples seen utilised those closest to the issue, such as practising farmers; or NGOs funding the travel of Amerindian chiefs to travel to Brasilia in person in traditional dress, rather than use professional European lobbyists; or The Falkland Islands Council empowering its students studying in the UK to be advocates for the Islands.

Before I go any further into the findings from my Nuffield Farming visits, I think some background principles to lobbying would be helpful to hang my observations from, so I'll give them in the next chapter.



5.0. Introduction to lobbying

"There is good lobbying and bad lobbying, just like there is good sex and bad sex, but I think most of us would prefer to have bad sex rather than no sex at all." Lionel Zetter (Zetter, Lobbying - The Art of Political Persuasion., 2008) stated at a Parliamentary Select Committee hearing.

2013 was the lobbying centenary of Charles Weller Kent, NFU Parliamentary Lobbyist 1913-1916, acknowledged as the UK's first parliamentary lobbyist by Dr Conor McGrath (McGrath, 10.12.12.).

To lobby is defined as *"to seek to influence"*. Lobbying can take many forms.



5.1. Lobbying – what's in a name

5.1.i. Dictionary definition of lobbying:

- *"A group of people seeking to influence legislators on a particular issue: **members of the farming lobby.***
- *[in singular] an organized attempt by members of the public to influence legislators: a recent lobby of Parliament by pensioners.*
- *[with object] seek to influence (a legislator) on an issue: they insist on their right to lobby Parliament [no object]: the organisation was formed to lobby for student concerns". (Oxford English dictionary)*

5.1.ii. UKPAC definition of Lobbying and Related Matters

The UK Public Affairs Council (UKPAC) aims to promote public confidence in those who, in a professional capacity, undertake lobbying by encouraging and sustaining high ethical standards, transparency and accountability amongst those whom the Council regulates. It offers a system of voluntary regulation to ensure that all those involved in lobbying institutions of government can be governed by a clear set of principles, underpinned by enforceable Codes of Conduct. Further, it aims to assist public confidence by establishing a publicly accessible Register of those involved in lobbying, indicating the organisations on whose behalf they are lobbying. (UKPAC, 2010).

Lobbying means, in a professional capacity, attempting to influence, or advising those who wish to influence, the UK Government, Parliament, the devolved legislatures or administrations, regional or local government or other public bodies on any matter within their competence.

Lobbyists are those who, in a professional capacity, work to influence, or advise those who wish to influence, the institutions of government in the UK, in respect to:



- (i) the formulation, modification or adoption of any legislative measure (including the development of proposals for legislation);
- (ii) the formulation, modification or adoption of a rule, regulation or any other programme, policy or position;
- (iii) the administration or execution of a governmental or other public programme or policy within the UK (including the negotiation, award or administration of a public contract, grant, loan, permit or licence).

Institutions of government means the UK Government, Parliament, the devolved legislatures or administrations, regional or local government or other public bodies.

Public Affairs services means the provision of:

- (i) lobbying or advice on lobbying as defined above;
- (ii) services with intent to assist lobbying, including the provision of monitoring, public affairs and programme support, strategic communications advice, profile raising, decision-making analyses and perception auditing services.

Public Affairs practitioner means any individual who, in a professional capacity, provides, as a substantive and sustained part of their responsibilities, public affairs services as defined above.

5.1.iii. Public Affairs (Nishitani, 2011.):

“A company’s open and impartial engagement of government to pursue rules, such as laws and regulations, and officially authorised processes favourable to the company.”

5.1.iv. Institutional Relations & Government Affairs Relations

“Lobbying is a dirty word related to corruption and illegality in the past [in Brazil] with money involved. It’s changing now as organisations staff travel abroad and get an international perspective that [lobbying] is not bad elsewhere, so standards are rising. Instead of the term lobbying we use ‘Institutional Relations Department’, or some use ‘Government Affairs Relations’. Lobbying is talked about more and more and is more acceptable as more foreign companies come to Brazil”. Camila Sande, CNA, Brasilia, May 2014.

In Israel, another country with a poor view of lobbying the term **‘Government relations’** is commonly used.

5.1.v. Influence peddling

Influence peddling is the illegal practice of using one's influence in government or connections with persons in authority to obtain favors or preferential treatment from another, usually in return for payment. Also called traffic of influence or trading in influence. In fact, influence peddling is not necessarily illegal as OECD has often used the term "undue influence peddling" to refer to illegal acts of lobbying. However, influence peddling bears the stench of corruption that may de-legitimize democratic politics with the general public (Wikipedia, 2014).

“Implementation of the EU anti-bribery law and influence peddling is quite unclear and problematic to define. It does not include the professional lobbying issue of transparency. They established a task force and a list of lobbyists but split professional and trade



associations, but ultimately treated then the same. The register is still there but not running after being abandoned by the following minister". Massimo Micucci, RETI, Rome, June 2014.

5.1.vi. Advocacy

Advocacy groups (also known as pressure groups, lobby groups, campaign groups, interest groups, or special interest groups) use various forms of advocacy to influence public opinion and/or policy; they have played and continue to play an important part in the development of political and social systems. Groups vary considerably in size, influence, and motive; some have wide ranging long term social purposes, others are focused and are a response to an immediate issue or concern. (Wikipedia, 2014)

"Our small population, a little over 4 million people, means our political scene is accessible to many New Zealanders. That means our clients can often talk directly with politicians from both sides of the House about a range of issues rather than engaging in the more traditional lobbying evident in other countries. Of course, lobbying still exists, but advocacy, where we help our clients tell their stories and explain what is important to them, is more commonplace". Sam Halstead, PR firm, Wellington, March 2014.

5.1.vii. Quotes on lobbying from my interviews:

"The key is to be professional. You need to know what you are talking about and not caught with your pants down. Talk with conviction. Personality is everything. You need to be able to talk to different people and character types". Government relations adviser, Tel Aviv. June 2014.

"Most lobbyists work below the radar. They rarely get a knock-out win, and if you do, you should never gloat about a win publicly..... Lobbyists are infinitively adaptable; they absorb all new technology and styles. We are embracing social media like we once did the telegram". Lionel Zetter, London, August 2014.

"Get to know each other's style by working together over the long-term. The problem with some NGO's is they spring upon you before a vote and expect you to respond, without having built a relationship.....If you do not agree on an issue you can see a bad lobbyist by their reaction; they do not accept a different point of view, or the way of getting there". EU Commission Parliamentary adviser, Brussels, April 2014.

"The public trust Susan as she's a mom, rather than PHD students". Advisory staff, Washington DC, May 2014.

"The 24 hours social media news world is swaying politics as they capitulate to mob demands. We need our own mob to counter them. Farmers are well-placed compared to industry as they have sympathy, engagement and identity". Government affairs adviser, Washington D.C., May 2014.



5.2. Who can we lobby?

Potentially we can lobby anyone who might be able assist in the delivery of our aims and objectives. There are a whole host of people that we can lobby and it is worth considering all of the people we can speak to or have access to. These include (based on English legislative structure):

- Elected Individuals
- Ministers
- Members of the European Parliament (MEPs)
- Members of Parliament (MPs) - individually, all-party groups, select committees
- Members of the House of Lords (as above)
- Councillors (County, District, Parish and Unitary)
- Appointed Individuals/Executive
- EU Commissioners
- EU Commission staff
- Special Advisers
- Civil Servants (Whitehall, Local Authorities, Agencies)
- Parliamentary researchers

Others

- Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) e.g. FoE, RSPB, CIWF
- Trade Unions e.g. UNITE
- Consumer organisations e.g. Which?
- Other farming trade associations and representatives e.g. CLA, TFA, COPA
- Commercial organisations e.g. retailers
- The media
- The general public

5.2.i. Categories of lobbying target

It is useful to consider how our targets might differ within their groupings. After all some decision-makers will be more receptive to an approach from a farming organisation than others, and we need to tailor our contact strategy accordingly. It has been suggested that there are five main categories of legislators to think about, each requiring its own special strategy:

Champions - All issues need a group of lawmakers dedicated to being tireless, committed advocates for your cause. What they can do for you is make the case to their colleagues, help develop a strong "inside" strategy, and be visible public spokespeople. What they need is good information, and visible support outside of the decision-making body.



Allies – This group will be on your side but can be pushed to do more e.g. to speak up for your cause in debates.

Fence sitters - Will be uncommitted on the issues, potentially able to vote either way. These are often your key targets and lobbying strategy is about putting together the right mix on "inside" persuasion and "outside" pressure to sway them your way.

Passive opponents - Another group of legislators will be clear votes against you, but who are not inclined to be active on the issue. With this group what's key is to keep them from becoming more active. Approaches to this group if at all need to be finely balanced. Care must be taken not to anger this group and not to turn them into the last group below. Often these are urban based MP's who do not have farming constituents. In these cases it is important to think what other issues may be of relevance to an urban audience such as safe food, climate change, bioenergy, the environment, food processing jobs and public recreation.

Hard Core opponents - Those who are leading your opposition. What is important here is to isolate them, to highlight the extremes of their positions, rhetoric and alliances and to sow the seeds of doubt amongst others who may be thinking about joining with them. Sometimes it is best to avoid contact as it will only feed the flames of their position, but resist the temptation to deliberately antagonise them, however tempting that may be! E.g. Falkland Islanders do not engage or fuel Argentinean nationalistic claims.

Careful consideration should be given to who we choose to lobby. Many politicians have farmers and growers in their constituencies and are happy to help (champions/allies). In deciding who to lobby, we should consider the following:

- Have they got an interest in this issue?
- Have they dealt with farmers before?
- Do they want to help the industry?
- What can they do to help us?
- What can we (appropriately) do to help them?
- What can we suggest that they could do to help us?
- When should we ask them to help us?
- Who else could they enlist to help us?
- Can we get cross party support?
- Can we show a united front in a joint lobby?



- Who should do the representation?

We need to think about who is best placed to lobby on particular issues. We need to achieve the right blend of experience and skills to achieve the best results with the individual or group that we are trying to influence. Partnering up those who have a good working relationship with the target with those who have a good technical knowledge of the subject or first-hand experience of its effects can work well. Thought also needs to be given to individual's status and ability to make decisions on behalf of the industry.

There are no set rules about appropriate level of contact between a selection of Government Ministers and senior civil servants, but it is with matching similar levels of authority such as the president of an organisation with a minister and a specialist staff member with a civil servant policy specialist. Active farmers and industry representatives have a valuable role to play throughout, but should be well briefed and know when to refer to others, not only to avoid any damaging faux pas, but also to get the most results out of meetings.

In addition to whom to lobby, we may need to consider who to lobby alongside. It is imperative that organisations look at alliances and common positions that they can build with other organisations. These alliances can be of two types: the traditional cross-industry alliances where organisations from agriculture come together demonstrating the industry's united stance e.g. the cross industry group on Bovine TB, joint 'Fair deal for English farmers' on CAP; or more formalised groupings such as COPA which represents the views of the farming organisations from the 28 Member States.

In addition to whom to lobby, we may need to consider who to lobby alongside.

Alliances can be built with unlikely organisations.

Alliances can be built with unlikely organisations e.g. NFU and UNITE working on the Gang master Licensing Bill and joint work between the NFU and Traidcraft on the Grocery Code Adjudicator. These alliances rely on a great deal of trust between parties and in cases such as these the parameters of the working relationship need to be carefully considered and clearly defined.

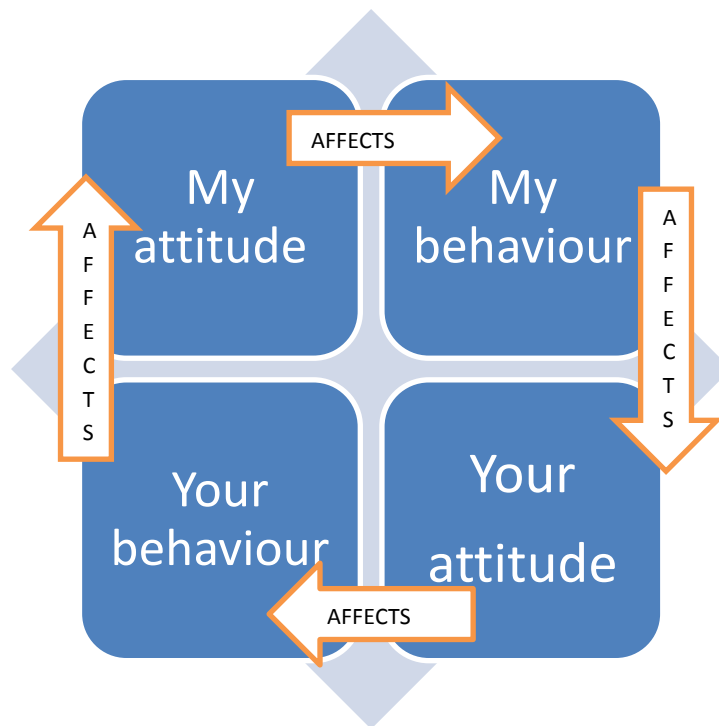


6.0. Practical lobbying

6.1. How to lobby?

6.1.i. Attitude and behaviour

One lesson I have learnt in general social and work life is that your attitude definitely determines the behaviour of both you and those around you. If you wish to climb the slippery pole on the back of others, then good luck to you, but you will have a lonely and friendless life. As Anton Bloeth from the DBV told me in Berlin, there is a German saying that *"You meet everyone twice in a lifetime"*, so your behaviour and attitude will come to haunt you. In lobbying, personality and the way you treat people is paramount. However, it has been in my police voluntary role that my awareness has risen, and where I was introduced to the Betaris Box, which is a simple circular diagram that shows how attitude and behaviour are linked.



Attitude affects behaviour

Our attitude about anything comes out in our external behavioural displays. This may appear in the signals we send to other people, for example in smiles, voice tone and use of particular words. It also appears in how we act, and in particular regarding other people.

Equally, the attitude of others also affects our own behaviour.



Behaviour affects others' attitudes

When I do something or send physical signals to you, then it has an effect on your attitude. If I act in an aggressive way towards you, you will interpret this in a certain way. Your attitude is subsequently affected by this, either because you are persuaded by my arguments or because you react to what you may perceive as unreasonable behaviour by me.

And again, the reverse is true. Your behaviour affects my attitudes as I interpret, rightly or wrongly, what you do or signal.

Thus a circle is created. I act, which affects your attitude, which affects your behaviour, which affects my attitude, which affects my actions.

Recognising behavioural patterns and practical applications

This is one of the circular behavioural patterns whereby we get stuck in subconscious loops. Recognizing it is the first step to addressing it.

To change the behaviour of others, first watch your own attitude and how it affects your behaviour. Then notice how your behaviour affects other people. You can break the unconscious loop by spotting how the behaviour of others makes you feel and refusing to let it affect your attitude without first censoring this process.

6.1.ii. Case study on attitude and behaviour – Leicester Square on a Saturday night



Nowhere is this behavioural pattern more vividly visible than in Leicester Square on a drunken Saturday night. A fight has broken out; the police are called. On arrival the scene is tense but the fighting has ceased as we arrive under blue lights. This can go one of two ways. The police go in hard and we become the joint enemy and target of the former adversaries – escalating the tension into a fighting frenzy. Or the police can calm down the



situation, lower the volume levels and bring the tension down. On many a call my fellow male officers and I felt our male presence and uniform was raising the tempo. It was at times like this that I deployed Kate, one of my team who is a primary school teacher. *“Now what are you doing?”* she would say in a firm, mumsie way, *“why would you want to spoil your fun evening like that? Come on now, the show is over, time to call it a day and go home”*. She was a revelation. They always responded in the same way and calmed down; even on several occasions apologising to her for being so stupid!

Now this may be an extreme and alcohol induced scenario, but the principles run true in day to day life in a more subtle way and are core skills for any lobbying.

6.2. Types of lobbying

Broadly speaking there are two types of lobbying:

Direct Lobbying – where farmers and representatives contact those in a position of influence or their support staff and seek to influence them e.g. NFU President writing to the Secretary of State

Indirect Lobbying (or grassroots lobbying) – where farmers are encouraged to support an idea or campaign, or apply pressure on an issue often using the media e.g. NFU calling for a change of policy in the press.

6.2.i. Timing of lobbying is key:

- Generally, the earlier in the process the better:
- Early = soft lobbying – building credibility; creating positive and sympathetic policy environment.
- Later = hard lobbying – pushing for change, or resisting it.
- Don't forget – implementation of policy (post legislative) is sometimes feasible.
- Identify where in the process an issue sits.

How to play the system:

- Identify the policy environment – why is a policy being pursued or ignored?
- Deal in solutions.
- Speak the policy maker's language.

continued on next page



Lobbying varies over time – it is typically ‘easier’ and ‘softer’ at time of legislation conception and ‘harder’ the closer you get to the law being formalised and made.



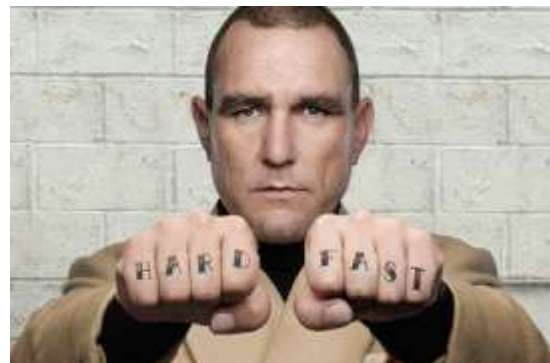
6.3. Soft lobbying

- *Preparing the ground – a favourable policy environment; a credible organisation; personal relationships.*
- *Targets can be spread far and wide – anyone who might have some influence, at some time, on policy making.*
- *But – difficult to quantify success or failure.*
- *Primarily a job for industry representatives.*



6.4. Hard lobbying

- When an imminent and specific policy threat has arisen, or policy opportunity has been identified.
- Where in the policy making process does it sit? What future process will it undergo?
- What are the facts?
- REMEMBER:
 - Provide solutions – not just to your problem, but to the government's.
 - Be realistic – what is a good result?
 - Identify allies – in government and outside (strength in numbers).
 - Identify opponents – how can we counter their lobbying?
- Early stages – play the game (consultation responses); remain engaged; be constructive.



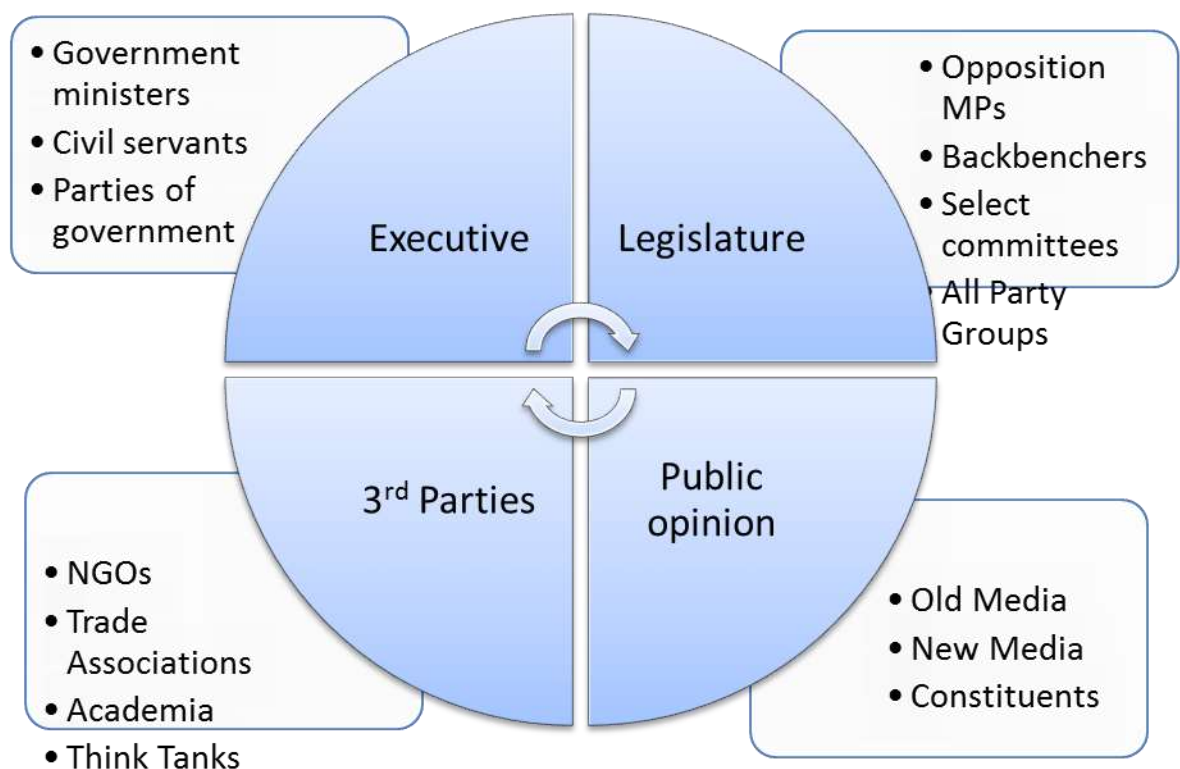


- Later stages – play the system (legislative process);
- Eleventh hour – play hardball.
- At all times – consider use all tools at our disposal: personal relationships, social media, “clicktivism”, stunts and brains.
- Information is king – what we need is high-level critique of the facts of the case from farmers and advisers.
- In the UK political system – the executive still holds most of the cards.
- Most productive time lobbying spent with ministers, officials and anyone else who has influence on them.
- Most productive way of lobbying is to work to their agenda.

- BUT -

- Sometimes only option is to oppose government – much tougher, but potentially more fun!
- More often, need to pull myriad levers to put pressure on government.

Players in the policy making process



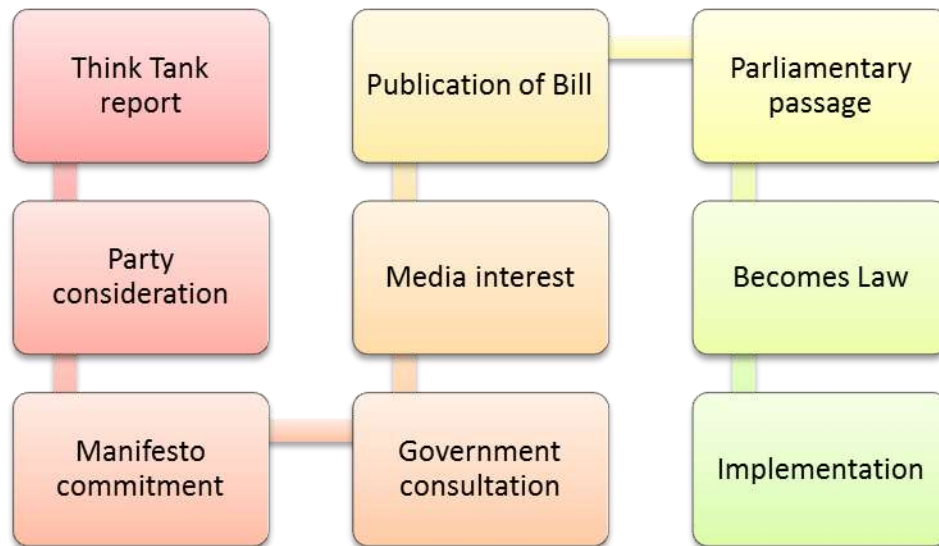
Timing is crucial - Policy to law – the process

“Influencing agricultural policy through effective lobbying: a perspective on lobbying practice around the world – creating a farmer’s lobbying toolkit.” ... by Matt Ware

A Nuffield Farming Scholarships Trust report ... generously sponsored by the NFU Mutual Charitable Trust



Timeliness – Knowing when to lobby in a particular way is also essential. Broadly speaking legislation proceeds along a similar path and we should plan to influence where we have the greatest chance of success in delivering the most beneficial change.



6.5. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

A **non-governmental organisation (NGO)** is the term commonly used for an organisation that is neither a part of a government nor a conventional for-profit business. Usually set up by ordinary citizens, NGOs may be funded by governments, foundations, businesses, or private persons. Some avoid formal funding altogether and are run primarily by volunteers. NGOs are highly diverse groups of organisations engaged in a wide range of activities, and take different forms in different parts of the world. Some may have charitable status, while others may be registered for tax exemption based on recognition of social purposes. Others may be fronts for political, religious or other interest groups. The number of NGOs in the United States is estimated at 1.5 million. Russia has 277,000 NGOs and India is estimated to have had around 2 million NGOs in 2009. (Wikipedia, 2014)

6.5.i. Non Profits

A nonprofit organisation (NPO) is an organisation that uses surplus revenues to achieve its goals rather than distributing them as profit or dividends.

Although nonprofit organisations are permitted to generate surplus revenues, they must be retained by the organisation for its self-preservation, expansion, or plans. NPOs have controlling members or a board of directors. Many have paid staff including management, whereas others employ unpaid volunteers and even executives who work with or without compensation (occasionally nominal).

Designation as a nonprofit does not mean that the organisation does not intend to make a profit, but rather that the organisation has no owners and that the funds realized in the operation of the organisation will not be used to benefit any owners. The extent to which an



NPO can generate surplus revenues may be constrained or use of surplus revenues may be restricted.

Some NPOs may also be a charity or service organisation; they may be organised as a not-for-profit corporation or as a trust, a cooperative, or they exist informally. A very similar type of organisation termed a supporting organisation operates like a foundation, but they are more complicated to administer, hold more favourable tax status and are restricted in the public charities they support. Their goal is not to be successful in terms of wealth, but in terms of giving value to the groups of people they administer to. (Wikipedia, 2014)

6.5.ii. Case study of Non-Profits in the USA

The non-profit sector has been growing steadily, both in size and financial impact, for more than a decade. Between 2001 and 2011, the number of non-profits has increased 25 percent; from 1,259,764 million to 1,574,674 million today. The growth rate of the non-profit sector has surpassed the rate of both the business and government sectors (Institute, 2012).

In 2010, non-profits contributed products and services that added \$779 billion to the nation's gross domestic product; 5.4 percent of GDP. Non-profits are also a major employer, accounting for 9 percent of the economy's wages, and over 10 percent of jobs in 2009.

But, as non-profits face devastating recession-driven revenue shortages and projected budget shortfalls from many state and local governments, this could reverse the trend as donors cut back, contracts are cancelled, and foundation endowments shrink.

6.5.iii. Non-profit government relations

Governments rely heavily on non-profits to deliver a range of critical services, from homeless shelters to job training. Likewise, many non-profits rely heavily on revenues from government contracts and grants to finance their activities and expand their reach. This new initiative provides a comprehensive look at the scope of government contracts and grants with human service non-profits in the US and addresses how non-profits are coping with the recession and responding to government budget woes. (Institute, 2012)

6.6. Emotional lobbying

This relatively new form of lobbying became very apparent in my interviews around the world, but most notably in the more developed, early adopting countries where social media is popular. It is clever in that it is a hybrid of superficially soft lobbying, but often with a hard-ball, often shock-tactic edge. This form of lobbying is often criticised for being very superficial in that it based on a perceived moral high ground and is intransigent, with 'good versus bad' attitude, which often massively oversimplifies complex issues.

"The public trust Susan as she's a mom, rather than PHD students". Advisory staff, Washington DC, May 2014.



"The 24 hours social media news world is swaying politics as they capitulate to mob demands. We need our own mob to counter them. Farmers are well-placed compared to industry as they have sympathy, engagement and identity". Government Affairs adviser, Washington D.C., May 2014.

"We need to learn to get the public onside rather than just lobbying. The pressure is from outside, from public opinion, e.g., neonicotinoids; it plays on fears, health, and welfare problems." Anton Bloeth, DBV, Berlin, February 2014.

"Non-profit companies are tough as they are driven and passionate.... they have a new slant or angle every day to maintain the story. Myths are hard to turn around once set off". Mark Unsworth, Saunders Unsworth, Wellington, March 2104.

"NGO's have been successful in making emotional policies [in the EU]. We are exporting our consciences on livestock welfare and CO2 emissions. Our target is achieved but global targets on CO2 exceeded; Out of sight, out of mind." Dr Andreas Schneider, EU Commission Parliamentary adviser, Brussels, April 2014.

"Internet based lobbyists are very effective, such as the anti-piracy legislation on the internet under the Counterfeit trade agreement. Internet lobbyists mobilised huge opposition amongst the 'free internet' crowd. They also used very personal attacks, sometimes intimidating, disparaging people's character and family. The aim is to discredit all those associated with it." Government Affairs adviser, Washington D.C., May 2014.

"The agricultural lobby has had a long standing issue with self-appointed society champions and NGOs. In the past the NGOS have been very unsuccessful but new media empowers them and enables them to do what they could not do in the past. An Urban Institute report recently identified that the fastest growing employment sector in the US is non-profit (Institute, 2012). Millions of dollars are being poured into personal causes such as anti-tobacco, vegetarian and environmental groups. They are unaccountable and undermine principles of law and society. They see a better return on advocacy investment than traditional methods of influence. Encouraging farmers to change farming methods is very intensive and expensive compared to a cheaper campaign to get government to change the law to force farmers to change farming methods". Government affairs adviser, Washington D.C., May 2014.

This form of lobbying often relies on populist images such as cute young animals (badger cubs, dolphins, kangaroos, orang-utans and lambs), and catchy imagery such as *"Dirty dairying"* in New Zealand. This is in contrast to less emotional attachment to species such as dingo's, urban foxes, sharks, or even farmed cattle in the UK (compared to wild badgers in the TB issue).

(See graphics on next page).

"5% of consumers will not generally listen to science, are ideological and they are shaping opinions and practices across the food system. Winning the middle ground – the majority of consumers – and gaining their trust is essential otherwise we can only expect that food issues will be defined by the views of this vocal and sometimes radical 5%". David McInness, Canadian Agri Food Policy Institute, Ottawa, Canada, May 2014.



The National Council of Farmer Co-operatives in Washington DC highlighted to me that many more marginal groups have adopted this path as they tried to lobby head to head in the traditional manner with governments, but when unsuccessful, aimed at the point of sale instead. Such tactics include picketing, social media campaigns and stunts. As many firms fear losing their sustainability credentials or reputation, this tactic has been very successful. Similar tactics mean that UK ferry companies have brought in voluntary bans on live exports on the Cross-Channel routes to avoid bad publicity and passenger boycotts by anti-live export groups. Similar efforts were unsuccessfully made in the English badger cull by protestors seeking voluntary supermarket bans on milk from dairy farms involved in the badger culls.

In the USA with the Tea Party, and in the UK with the UK Independence Party (UKIP), we are seeing similar tactics with right-wing populist views and policies which are risking votes and seats for the more moderate mainstream political parties; leaving the mainstream parties with the dilemma of moving right to try to match them, yet increasing the risk of losing moderate voters.

Capitol Hill , Washington D.C. Agricultural committee staff interviewed in May 2014 flagged up the important social media phenomenon particularly prevalent in the USA, of middle class, home-maker,



“Mommy blogs”, with mass campaigning potential that can go viral, often based on emotion rather than science, such as *“biotech kills you and gives your kids autism”*, type scares.

There is wide scale industry recognition that the way in which genetically modified food was rolled out to the general public was a public relations disaster. It is a stark example of where if you talk in cold scientific terms against an emotional argument, emotion wins over every time. The public needs to be reassured and buy into the benefits of the concept; so rather than alarmist headlines from scientists saying how clever they are at transferring genes from species to species, the public needs to see the benefits of smaller scale genetic modification in things like drought resistant plants, or medical benefits for diabetes sufferers. It was interesting to observe in the USA, that without any consensus on identifiable health implications from GM food, the debate has now changed tactics to the consumer’s right to know and clearer labelling.

6.7. Emotion versus science

Emotional lobbying is typically based more on emotions rather than scientific facts. Ironically this can lead to unforeseen consequences, such as: campaigning to stop live animal exports in the 21 miles between the ports of Dover in the UK and Calais in France, resulting in animals being transported far greater distances to an a port willing to allow live exports, or even via Ireland to Europe; or campaigning to save badgers, allowing TB to spread to all badgers in the country and infect them, whilst appearing to have little regard for the welfare of the current 32,000 cattle in the UK slaughtered per year with TB; or the EU ban on neonicotinoids that has resulted in increased pesticide usage and less bee-friendly oil seed rape flowering plants.

6.8. Emotional lobbying – The numbers game

With technology and social media has come the mass e-lobby. Where once we had paper petitions and postcard campaigns, we now see social media-based pressure groups such as 38degrees who describe themselves as *“38 Degrees brings you together with other people to take action on the issues that matter to you and bring about real change”*. Such mass movements can be very effective, and had an initial huge impact upon politicians, but they are now becoming wise to the tactics and in many cases now disregard such campaigns in the same way as they do postcards or parrot letter writing. The problem for democratic institutions is clear, (highlighted by staff at Agri-Food Canada in May 2014), where a government consultation on bees receives 16,000 responses, made up of 15,000 urban based mass e-lobby responses and single responses from informed representative industry bodies - where do you put the relative weighting?

6.8.i. Emotional lobbying case study – 38 degrees

“38 Degrees is the angle at which an avalanche happens. 38 Degrees is one of the UK's biggest campaigning communities, with over 2.5 million members. We share a desire for a more progressive, fairer, better society and come together to decide which issues we campaign on and the actions we'll take to help us achieve that. We are a community of people who want positive change. We are a loud and persistent knock on the door of the politicians, influencers and institutions who make the decisions that affect us all. We hold



them to account and make sure they listen and respond to our calls for positive change. Join 38 Degrees and be part of the avalanche for change". (38Degrees, 2014)

6.8.ii. Emotional lobbying case study – Friends of the Earth

The impressive populist campaigns of Friends of the Earth (FOE), such as on biofuels are very successful at gaining large numbers of supporters and media attention. FOE were pro biofuels and campaigning for the 2005 Renewable Transport Fuel Obligation (RTFO) to save the planet from climate change ; then did a complete U-Turn against biofuels in 2006 as one source of biodiesel is palm oil, some of which comes from plantations in Borneo, which threaten Orang-utans forest habitats. This led to a spate of emotional lobbying campaigns and publications including - *"The oil for ape scandal; The future's not bright if you're orange"*, (FOE, The Future is not bright if you are orange, 2008). Other similar emotional lobbying reports and campaigns include *"Palmed –off: The Human impacts of palm oil expansion"*, (FOE, Losing Ground, 2008) *"Agro-fuels: Fuelling or fooling Europe"* (FOE, 2008) and *"Greasy Palms: European buyers of Indonesian palm oil"* (FOE, 2004). FOE's current and highly successful campaign is on bees and called *"The Bee cause"* (FOE, 2014).

6.8.iii. Emotional lobbying case study – Brazilian agriculture and the Amazon

During my study and interviews, nowhere did I experience such stark contrasting viewpoints than in Brasilia. As Camila Sande from the CNA (Confederation of Agriculture and Livestock) explained, *"public opinion on the (Amazonian) forest is based on emotion, not fact. It's exaggerated. Scientists prove that the NGO science is wrong"*. The CNA President, Senator Kátia Abreu has taken the critics head-on with a tour including the EU Parliament, New York, Washington DC, Yale, UCL London, giving a counter point to the NGO views and found *"people were astonished as they believe the NGO rhetoric and misinformation"*. Camila described one of the CNA's greatest lobbying successes having been proactive in facing down their opponents and thereby agreeing *"The Forest Code"*, which is a lot more realistic, practical and reasonable than what was originally suggested, with an obligation to protect the land, but also to produce food.

By complete contrast the next day I met indigenous Amerindian tribal chiefs from right across modern day Brazil. They made for an impressive sight and publicity grabbing lobby as they performed traditional dances in the square beside Brazil's parliament building. I spoke to Rafael Nakamura from The *Centro de Trabalho Indigenista* (CTI), a non-profit association committed to the future of indigenous peoples. CTI lists in its aims:

- direct support for indigenous lands through projects made from local demands
- aiming to contribute so that indigenous people take effective control of their territories
- and explaining to them about the state's role in protecting and ensuring their constitutional rights

Currently, the CTI works in Indigenous Lands inserted in the Amazon biome, Cerrado and Atlantic Forest. Both he and Philip Hanna from Amazonwatch Greenpeace, explained that



they were protesting about legislation effecting indigenous areas and concerns over infrastructure projects on indigenous groups and fishermen.

What was so impressive about this lobby was the use of those directly affected. The indigenous Amerindians represent themselves through their own association “Apib”. Tribal leaders were attending from the whole of modern day Brazil, from the Roraima and Amazonas in the north right down through the Parana and Mato Grosso to the Rio Grande do Sul on the Argentinean borders. However, what impressed me most was that the funding for the travel of the tribal leaders was from NGOs, so that the indigenous people themselves represented their cause, rather than European, North American or urban Brazilian lobbying staff.

Such a policy was observed to work well elsewhere on this study with the Falklands Islanders’ student ambassadors and farming unions using practicing farmer spokespeople.



6.8.iv. Emotional lobbying case study – possum killing in New Zealand

The Hon. Amy Adams, NZ Environment Minister, used the example of the introduced possum that are being culled in New Zealand to stop the spread of bovine TB. Controversially it is being controlled by Sodium fluoroacetate, known in pesticide form as 1080, which is an organofluorine. This is often being airdropped over remote forest areas. As such both the policy and the indiscriminate baiting method were unpopular with the urban population and environmental groups. However the unforeseen benefit to biodiversity has been a rejuvenation of the natural forests; with the removal of introduced possums, ferrets and stoats, there has been an upsurge in native ground nesting birds such as Kias (99% of which were previously killed). The public and environmentalist recognition of these benefits and associated U-turn have resulted in Dr. Jan Wright, New Zealand's Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment even admitting that whilst not ideal, that it is a necessary overall good.



6.8.v. Emotional lobbying case study – “Dirty dairying” in New Zealand

“From memory I only used the term ‘Dirty dairying’ twice in the media and then it went viral. Fish and Game began it twelve years ago and got an award from the New Zealand Public Relations Institute for it. The dairy industry and Fonterra subsequently tried to counter with a voluntary-based ‘Clean streams’ response”. Bryce Johnson, CEO Fish & Game, Wellington, March 2014.

“Fish & Game want the stream quality of pre colonisation levels. Dairy NZ levy funds into research and we only use evidence-backed policy. We now have five water specialists as the water debate was ill-informed. Fish & Game surveys were poorly informed, they were catchment based versus nationwide. There have been some impacts seen in Canterbury as dairy expands in that area but water quality has improved in Waikato [dairy heartland] despite production increases. We want to make dairy farming work for everybody. The public psyche is pro sheep images versus dairy, so are resistant to dairy expansion. They support the underdog.

The debate has been very adversarial with court cases, so the government is mediating with a stronger scientific base to take informed decisions rather than political or populist images like ‘Dirty dairying’ “. Kimberley Crewther, Policy General Manager, Dairy NZ, Wellington, May 2014.

6.8.vi. Emotional lobbying case study – fund-raising stunts and challenges

An interesting and worthy branch of such emotional lobbying and aligned fund-raising is the rise in the popularity of ribbons, stunts and challenges (e.g. ice-bucket challenge) for worthy causes such as breast or testicular cancer. We see the bright, fun, pink moon walks or ‘Movember’ moustache growing. They are fun and readily gain corporate support. However, they do not actually target the highest causes of mortality as Belluz highlights in the infographic **on the next page**.

6.9. Emotional lobbying – how to tackle it

“You should respond to these organisations head-on. Question their credibility; question their transparency; who are they working for? How are they funded, by whom, why and what for? How factual are their briefs and campaigns?” Government affairs adviser, Washington D.C., May 2014.

Emotional lobbying has been criticised as being over simplistic, over-egged or simply annoying to the recipient of mass mailing. There is a realisation that it represents a section of society that has easy access to social media and that NGOs need a high campaigning profile in order to maintain their membership and donations.

People like Greenpeace lobby to change public attitude, it is very visual and oversimplified; they jump on a solution without sussing out the problem. We need to focus on both the problem and the solution. Farmers focus on the problem and not the solution. But politicians are getting tired of it [emotional lobbying] and it is losing credibility. They [NGOs] have a

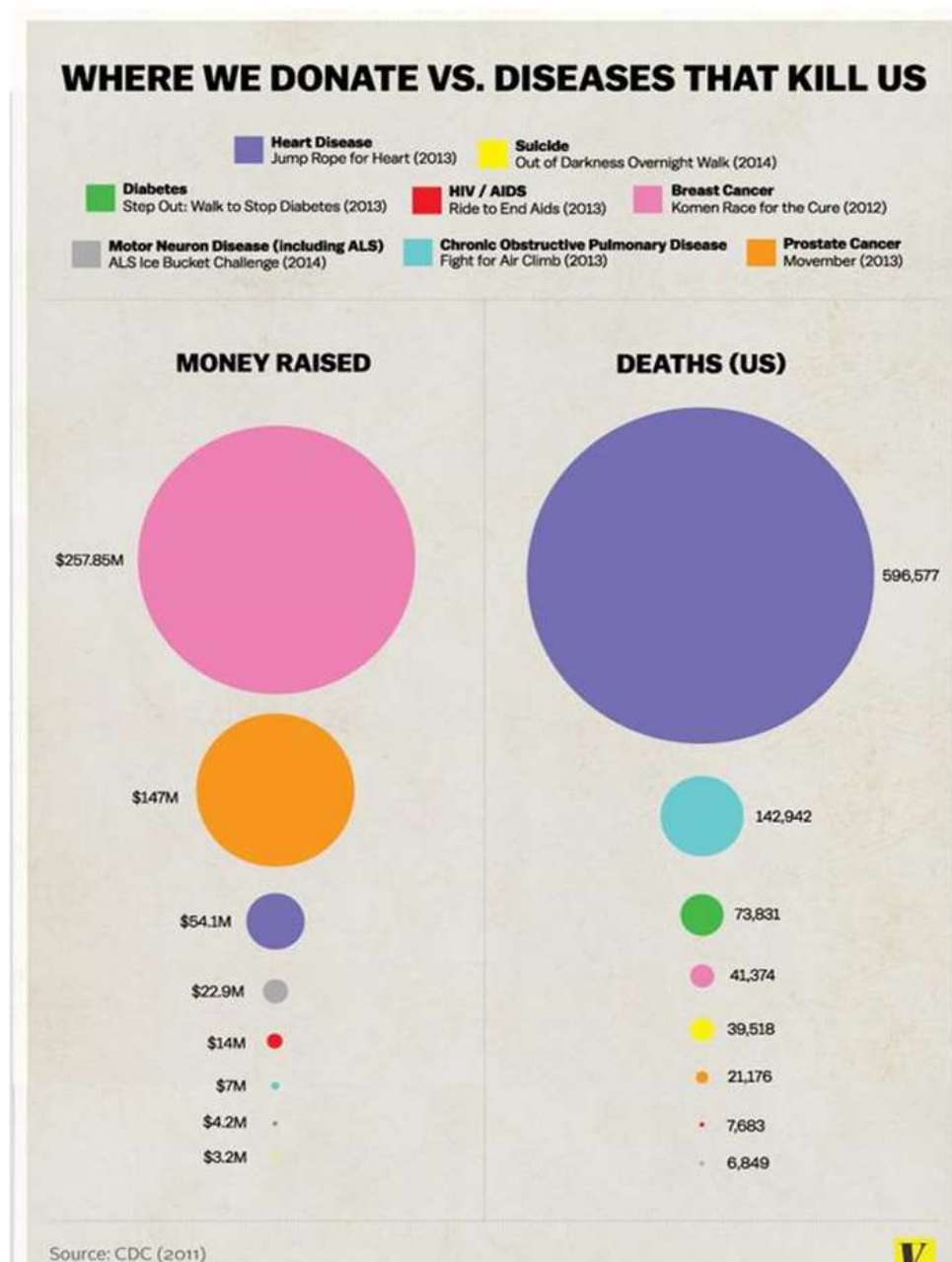


problem if an issue is solved as they don't want things sorted as income drops". Conor English, Federated Farmers, Wellington, March 2014.

"If NGOs don't have a campaign they don't have a job". Bill Wiggin MP, House of Commons, October 2014.

"You need your own space in the debate. You must be robust, loud and proud and pre-empt issues and science. Once the public opinion tide goes out, it is too late". Hon. Amy Adams, NZ Environment Minister, Wellington, March 2014.

"It is easy to over-worry what the minority chattering classes say versus the silent majority". Mark Unsworth, Saunders Unsworth, Wellington, March 2104.



(Belluz, 2014)



7.0. Lobbying observations from my Nuffield travels

“Globally we are all similar; the difference is in the techniques”. Takeo Nishitani,



Farmers ‘lobbying’ MP’s in the UK Parliament Central Lobby in the Palace of Westminster - the origin of the term ‘lobbying’, i.e. the act of attending Central Lobby to meet your MP, was given the term ‘lobbying’ in slang terms.

7.1. Cultural differences

7.1.i. Australia

Despite the vast size of the country, Australia has one of the most urban based populations in the world, which is reflected in environmental views by the urban majority.

“The farm lobby is powerful despite less numbers, but it’s in the Ozzie mythology.... The kangaroo numbers are higher than pre-European days as there is more grazing land which they prefer. The population has boomed but causes mass starvation in droughts, so the government policy is for culls. The urban public are against culls, because they are the national symbol”. Mark O’Neill, Rio Tinto, Canberra, March 2014.



Bringing the farmers to the city – Australian farming float at Sydney Mardi Gras parade

“Influencing agricultural policy through effective lobbying: a perspective on lobbying practice around the world – creating a farmer’s lobbying toolkit.” ... by Matt Ware

A Nuffield Farming Scholarships Trust report ... generously sponsored by the NFU Mutual Charitable Trust



7.1.ii. Belgium, Brussels and the European Union

“It is difficult to convey a message across 28 member states, with 28 cultures, 24 official languages and around 60 spoken languages altogether”. EU Commission PR adviser, Brussels, April 2014.

Through my role in the European Young Farmers and on the EU Commission Standing Group on Poultry, and subsequent NFU work on the EU Seeds committee and by talking to EU lobbyists, it is apparent that there are distinct variations between the 28 EU member states. Whilst this is to an extent obvious with so many languages and cultures, it is important to understand these differences and how people work in order to negotiate best with them. Whilst I would normally try to resist clichéd national labelling it is certainly true that there is a distinct cultural difference in decision making and discussion between northern and southern European nations. Typically southern countries are seen to exhibit verbosity, prevarication, passion and detailed examples on topics of debate, whereas northern countries, typically, tend to be more efficient, precise and seeking an agreed outcome. This often leads to northern countries having their representatives voted in to chair committees. It is also the case that often, smaller, more ‘neutral’ countries (such as Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Ireland or Luxembourg) chair committees to avoid claims of bias or clashing between the larger players such as France, Germany and the UK.

The accession of former Eastern Bloc countries has brought an interesting additional dynamic to the EU; most notably in undermining the dominance of French language and Belgium French culture in the Commission. In the original EEC, French was accepted as the business language as it was spoken in Belgium, France and Luxembourg. But with the arrival of the UK and Ireland and latterly the new accession countries, which all speak English as their second language and have no tradition of French earning, French has given way to English in the corridors of the EU.



Communication issues – view from translator booth, EU Commission



"There are 15,000 lobbyists in Brussels. The environment and animal welfare are strongly funded by the [European] Commission under 'Life' funds to support public participation.... Policy is now agreed by co-decision, going to both the Commission EU Council and the European Parliament at the same time. It works on a simple majority, but the problem is that the UK no longer has any MEP's in the largest, centre-right party grouping [European People's party] as the Conservatives have moved to the European Conservatives and Reformists party. The UK has 73 MEP's out of 754 in the EU.....Eurosceptic parties are growing in France, Holland and the UK". Adam Bedford, BAB, Brussels, April 2014.

"Protectionism has thwarted reflection and innovation until now – rice is just seen as a bulk commodity". Specialist EU adviser, Brussels, April 2014.

"NGOs have been successful in making emotional policies [in the EU]. We are exporting our consciences on livestock welfare and CO2 emissions. Our target is achieved but global targets on CO2 exceeded; 'Out of sight, out of mind'." Dr Andreas Schneider, EU Commission Parliamentary adviser, Brussels, April 2014.

7.1.iii. Brazil

"There was a historic stance of protectionism from the 1960s-1980s, but opened up a bit in the 1990s, but still against a protectionist backdrop. Brazil lost a lot of competitiveness, innovation and quality as we had a huge protected internal market. Trade protectionism also backfired [globally] as we are isolated from world trade by this stance; as Brazil was not open for trade we can't expect the rest of the world to open up to Brazil now". Camila Sande, CNA (Confederation of Agriculture and Livestock), Brasilia, May 2014.

The Brazilian farming union, the CAN, has an "Institutional Relations Department" rather than lobbying team, as lobbying has such a legacy of corrupt connotations in Brazil.

"Lobbying is a dirty word related to corruption and illegality in the past [in Brazil] with money involved. It's changing now as organisations' staff travel abroad and get an international perspective that [lobbying] is not bad elsewhere, so



**Bringing their land concerns to Parliament –
Indian leaders from The Pantanal region**



standards are rising. Instead of the term lobbying we use ‘Institutional Relations Department’, or some use ‘Government Affairs Relations’. Lobbying is talked about more and more and is more acceptable as more foreign companies come to Brazil”. Camila Sande, CNA, Brasilia, May 2014.

The large and increasingly vocal and mobilised native Indian population is playing an increasingly important role in Brazilian politics.

7.1.iv. Canada

Like Australia, despite the vast size of the country, Canada has a very urban based population, which is reflected in environmental views by the urban majority. There is more provincial devolved power in Canada than Australia.

The Canadian government department, Agri-food Canada in Ottawa is very pro-actively supportive of the industry unlike some other countries visited such as Defra in the UK.

“We deal with around 100 Trade Associations from commodity based, to feed and fertiliser, drugs and genetics, exporters or retailers and processors. We have held value-chain round tables since 2003 as a cohesive approach to trade and competitiveness – it is government funded and co-chaired with industry and government. We have very positive long-standing associations working together”. John Ross, Agri-food Canada, Ottawa, May 2014.

“Canada and Australia are very similar with reducing agricultural importance compared to urban population and less appreciated”. Agri-food Canada, Ottawa, May 2014.

“Both the dairy and beef sectors are very effective lobbyists with excellent, professional staff, especially the Canadian Cattle Ranchers. Other sectors lobby together e.g. on regulation. There are separate commodity organisations for commodities like wheat, soya, sorghum, corn, canola, flax, pulses and mustard”. Agri-food Canada, Ottawa, May 2014.

“The least effective lobbyists are the Food Processing sector despite being the largest manufacturing sector in Canada. They are outdated and backward with no perception, cohesion or voice”. Agri-food Canada, Ottawa, May 2014.

“Some 80% of our population is urban and increasingly detached from production agriculture yet over 60 municipalities in Canada have introduced local food strategies. When we think of the role of government and food policy, we need to ensure that municipal governments are part of the dialogue, not just federal and provincial governments.” David McInness, Canadian Agri Food Policy Institute, Ottawa, Canada, May 2014.



The government department, Agri-food Canada, fly the flag for Canada in their office



“Some municipalities [councils] and provinces have brought in a ban on fertiliser on lawns – is this the thin end of the wedge for farmers?” Scott Ross, Canadian Federation of Agriculture, Ottawa, May 2014.

“There has been a change in tactics; the government prefer to work directly with commodity groups versus umbrella organisations; so there are a number of direct discussions with sectors compared to a wider ideological stance; a quick fix compared to strategy”. Agricultural specialist adviser, Ottawa, May 2014.

“Agriculture is not the target of campaigners, but they target more extraction energy like tar sands. I can’t name an environmental NGO on the livestock side, let alone one that is effective”. Agri-food Canada, Ottawa, May 2014.

7.1.v. Chile

“Chile is a very diverse country with the whole range of geography and cultivation and technology from state of the art to horsepower; multimillion dollar business to subsistence. It is a world leader in stone fruit, grapes, blueberries and kiwis. It is very export and private sector driven. It is counter-cyclical with the USA for fruit and seed production; but water is problematic with a 10 year drought in some areas”. Rachel Bickford, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Santiago, Chile, May 2014.

“Chile has a population of 17 million but they are all connected and all know each other; there is more nepotism than lobbying. There is even a special nepotism name ‘Pituco’. It’s huge; it’s a patriarchal country”. Rachel Bickford, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Santiago, Chile, May 2014.



Chile – a blend of Spanish, European and Native American cultures

“We are beginning to see the start of the organic, free-range and welfare debate against conventional agriculture. One of Chile’s fastest growing sectors is organic wine [mostly export]. We only allow GM for seeds for intellectual property, in order to protect our non GM export markets in cereals, meat and wine. Chile has a policy of open trade and is not in MEROSUR [Latin American trade bloc] as it is protectionist and has peculiar rules which mean unfair trade practices with Argentina and Brazil. Chile has bilateral free trade with most of the world, but agriculture is always an issue. There are often issues with our neighbour Argentina due to their protectionism, but it is tricky as the government don’t want to upset Argentina as we import gas from them and there are lots of Chilean business



interest there – like LAN airlines". Francisco Gana, Head of Research, SNA, Santiago, Chile. May 2014.

"NGOs are starting to get traction with the upper class; they maybe organic, yet drive 4x4's with aircon! However there are the seeds of organics and environmentalism, with lots of media attention, yet for the vast majority [of the less well-off] decisions are still based on price". Rachel Bickford, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Santiago, Chile, May 2014.

"Chileans pride themselves on having the least corrupt police in Latin America". Rachel Bickford, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Santiago, Chile, May 2014.

7.1.vi. Cuba

Cuba was a fascinating comparison on my travels -as the only authoritarian regime in the Americas, but with a fledgling new free market economy being carefully allowed to emerge in tangent alongside the Communist Party regime. Despite the obvious poverty and low levels of material wealth it was striking how happy and content many of the people appeared to be. In part due to climate, but also lack of electronic entertainments, but also the Latino culture, it was striking how many people spent the evenings outside communally with neighbours; listening, playing or dancing to the distinctive rhythmic music.



Impromptu dancing in the streets - Havana

Cuba has had a communist political system since 1959. Cuba is constitutionally defined as a Marxist–Leninist "socialist state guided by the principles of José Martí, and the political ideas of Marx, the father of communist states, Engels and Lenin." The present Constitution also ascribes the role of the Communist Party of Cuba to be the "leading force of society and of the state" and as such has the capability of setting national policy.



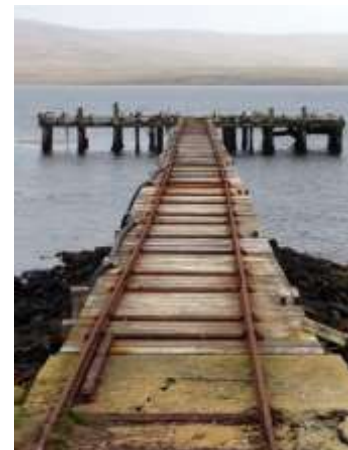
Cuba is the only authoritarian regime in the Americas, according to the 2010 Democracy Index. Cuba's extensive censorship system was close to North Korea on the 2008 Press Freedom Index.

Executive power is exercised by the Cuban Government, which is represented by the Council of State and the Council of Ministers. Legislative power is exercised through the unicameral National Assembly of People's Power, which is constituted as the maximum authority of the state. Currently Raúl Castro—brother of former President Fidel Castro—is President of the Council of State,

Aside from the Communist Party of Cuba, political parties have legally existed within the country since 1992. Nevertheless, the Constitutional reform of 1992 that granted their right to exist simultaneously denied their right to gather or publicize their existence (a restriction the Communist Party also faces). (Wikipedia, Politics of Cuba, 2014)

7.1.vii. The Falkland Islands

I was very impressed by the ingenuity, cooperation and collaboration witnessed by the small Falkland Island community of 2,932 (FalklandIslandGovernment, 2012). The 8 Members of the Legislative Assembly hit way above their limited numbers, attending committee's in the United Nations, Commonwealth summits and regularly visit the UK for events such as political party conferences. (PenguinNews, 2014). Students in higher education in the UK act as ambassadors for the islands, whilst sporting and occupational skill teams (notably badminton, darts, shearing and shooting) are supported to compete on the world stage in events such as the Commonwealth Games or championships, to ensure the islands profile are maintained.



San Carlos water, East Falkland, bridgehead for UK liberation of the islands in 1982

Cultural differences are hard to identify in islands often 'More British than Britain' with bright red telephone and post boxes, local pubs and UK television on a 3 hour delay (so it corresponds with the time difference). However, the revelation to me in the Falkland Islands was the sense of community, team work, can-do attitude and we are all in this together. This is a hard working community with unemployment less than 1%. It reminded me of my own home community in Herefordshire or many other rural British communities where everyone knows, but also cares about others business and is willing to help out. With



Keeping it British – the Post Office



regard to agricultural lobbying, it is important we identify and tap into this good-will that we have in our own communities and common purpose to promote and defend our sector and communities.

7.1.viii. Germany

With the twenty-five year anniversary of the Berlin Wall coming down in November 1989 and the associated collapse of East Germany and the Soviet bloc, there has been an intense period of reunification and alignment in Germany. I was fortunate enough to visit Berlin in 1988 before reunification and several times in the intervening years. My visit in February 2014 was however to a far more confident and seamless country, where it was difficult to work out if you were in the old eastern or western part of Berlin, whereas in times before it was immediately obvious. Nowhere is the confidence and rebirth more dramatically symbolised than with the rebirth of the Reichstag, German Parliament. I was very impressed by the glass dome on top which allows the public to look down upon their elected representatives, but even more pleased to discover that the British architect Norman Foster designed it and it was a gift to the reunified Germany from the UK.



The people check up on their politicians – the glass dome overlooking The Reichstag

The most interesting cultural and political difference that Germany shows is the strength of the Greens and environmental movement. The voting system means that coalition government is most common and as such the Greens are often important coalition partners with associated powers. However, it is important to engage with all, as discussed later on this report.

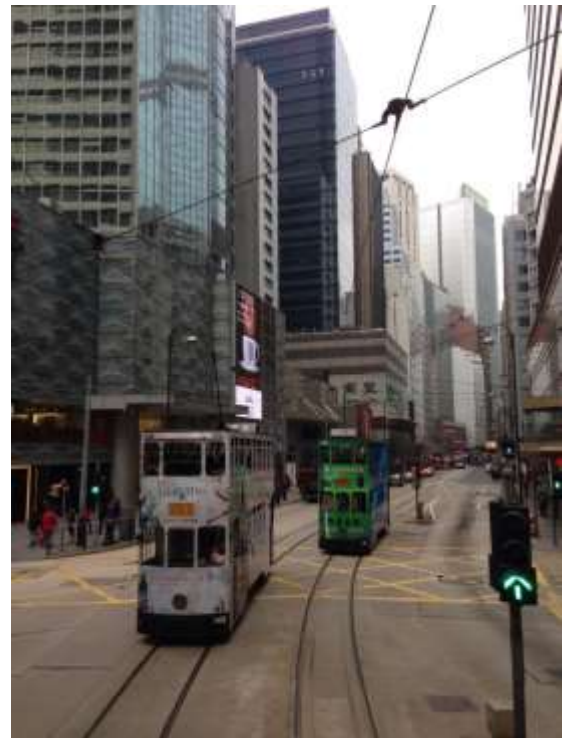
“When I went to their conference they [the farmers] actually booed me, which was not a good start.” Renate Künast, Green Minister for Food, Agriculture and Consumer Protection 2001-5, Berlin, February 2014.

Dealing with non-traditional bedfellows such as Greens can be problematic, but any engagement is better than polarised views and intransigence. In Germany they have now come to terms with the Greens and learnt from their tactics and way of business, resulting in such initiatives as the DBV online social media reactive „Meine-bauern familie“ (*“My farming family”*). (DBV, 2014)



7.1.ix. Hong Kong

Hong Kong was established as a colony of the British Empire after the First Opium War (1839–42). Hong Kong Island was first ceded in perpetuity to Great Britain, followed by Kowloon Peninsula in 1860 and then the New Territories were put under lease in 1898. It was occupied by Japan during The Second World War (1941–45), after which the British resumed control until 1997. The amalgam of British and Chinese culture during the colonial era shaped the current culture of Hong Kong.



The British legacy hangs on in Chinese Hong Kong

As a result of the negotiations and the 1984 agreement between China and Britain, Hong Kong was handed over to the People's Republic of China and became its first Special Administrative Region on 1 July 1997, under the principle of *"one country, two systems"*. Hong Kong has a different political system from mainland China. Hong

Kong's independent judiciary functions under the common law framework. The Hong Kong Basic Law, the constitutional document drafted by the Chinese side before the handover based on the terms enshrined in the Joint Declaration, governs its political system, and stipulates that Hong Kong shall have a high degree of autonomy in all matters except foreign relations and military defence. Although it has a multi-party system, a small-circle electorate controls 30 out of 70 seats of its legislature, which was classified as flawed democracy with the lowest score in political rights among advanced economies. Hong Kong is a world city and is one of the Alpha+ cities. It has the largest income inequality among advanced economies. It also has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world. (Wikipedia)

7.1.x. Hungary

Hungary's current borders were first established after World War I, when the country lost 71% of its territory, 58% of its population, and 32% of ethnic Hungarians. Following the interwar period, Hungary joined the Axis Powers in World War II, suffering significant damage and casualties. Hungary came under the influence of the Soviet Union, which contributed to the establishment of a four decade long communist dictatorship (1947–1989). The country gained widespread international attention regarding the Revolution of 1956 and the seminal opening of its previously-restricted border with Austria in 1989, which accelerated the collapse of the Eastern Bloc.

On 23 October 1989, Hungary again became a democratic parliamentary republic, and is today an upper-middle income country with a very high Human Development Index. Hungary is a popular tourist destination attracting 10.66 million tourists a year (2013). It is



home to the largest thermal water cave system, the largest lake in Central Europe (Lake Balaton), and the largest natural grasslands in Europe. (Wikipedia, 2014)

7.1.xi. India

"In India it is technically illegal to lobby, and the term is therefore not used". Dr Roger Hayes, ACPO Worldwide (Zetter, Lobbying - the art of political persuasion. 3rd edition., 2014).

7.1.xii. Ireland.

Like Canada and New Zealand, the Irish economy has in the past relied upon agricultural exports and the government is proactive in its support for the sector. However agriculture was in part overlooked in the euphoria surrounding the boom of the Irish Celtic Tiger (*An Tíogar Ceilteach*) economy between 1995 – 2000, a period of rapid real economic growth fuelled by foreign direct investment, and a subsequent property price bubble which rendered the real economy uncompetitive. The Irish economy expanded at an average rate of 9.4% between 1995 and 2000 and continued to grow at an average rate of 5.9% during the following decade until 2008, when it fell into severe recession. The economy underwent a dramatic reversal from 2008, with GDP contracting by 14% and unemployment levels rising to 14% by 2011. (Wikipedia, 2014)

With recession and monetary bail outs from the EU came a renewed focus on agriculture, food and exports and in particular adding value. The government charged Enterprise Ireland with the task of boosting Ireland's indigenous industry with the objective of streamlining and marketing the process of starting a business in Ireland. The Irish government has unveiled ambitious plans to intensify sustainable food production for export. The aim is to boost its economy and help remedy food shortages around the world. (FoodManufacture, 2012)



Hungary - at Monument Park - moving on from the Communist era



Bord Bia (Irish Food Board) is an Irish state agency with the aim of promoting sales of Irish food and horticulture both abroad and in Ireland itself.



Since my visit to Ireland in 2013 there has been a strong legislative move to impose lobbying legislation (June 2014) which is opposed by the Irish Farmers Union (IFA). More detail can be found in the 'Legislation differences' chapter.

7.1.xiii. Israel

The roots of Israeli culture developed long before the foundation of the State of Israel in 1948, and reflect Jewish history in the diaspora, Jewish culture, the ideology of the Zionist movement that developed in the late 19th century, as well as the history and traditions of the Arab Israeli population and ethnic minorities that live in Israel, among them Druze, Circassians, Armenians and more.

The isolation of Israel within the region impacts in every aspect of daily life, not just the military security of conscripts and soldiers in the streets and checkpoints, but also with regard to food security and the drive to be as self-sufficient as possible.



Israeli security check point, watch tower and 'peace' wall

Israel is another country with a poor view of lobbying, so the term 'Government relations' is commonly used.

"Historically social media is not big in Israel, but getting bigger. Twitter is not that strong in Israel so used less, but Facebook is huge – there are even committee updates on there and MKs [MPs] posting selfies in committee news on Facebook". Government relations adviser, Tel Aviv, June 2014.



Jewish cultural humour on boxer shorts



7.1.xiv. Italy

Italy was a fascinating visit; such a diverse country with production from rice, olives, vines and citrus in the south, to dairy, cereals and livestock in the north. With these geographic differences are variations in scale of production; from semi-subsistence to agri-business and associated diverging representative bodies and politics. Political and economic upheaval have played their role in recent years but the potential for a wide range of products is tangible, if the current economic, political and corruption issues can be overcome.

“Public opinion is, if there is a problem, we must have a law to counteract it. We solve problems through new laws resulting in too many laws and administration that risks corruption, ‘if the door is shut, must oil it to open it’”. Massimo Micucci, RETI, Rome, June 2014.

“Italy has a ‘no culture’, everything is better not to do – against everything. People are against wind power and against a gas grid and against imported gas. There is now a blog and Facebook page against the ‘No culture’ to expose the issues and redress the balance”. Massimo Micucci, RETI, Rome, June 2014.

“It culturally defines Italy as different by being a rice producer”. Chris Downes, FERM, Brussels, April 2014.

7.1.xv. Japan

Japan is a huge shock to the system and somewhere everyone should experience at some point in their life. It is a peculiar mix of traditional hierarchical values combined with brash, modern, high-tech society.

Historically lobbying is a dirty word in Japan, where the culture is to be deferential and not challenge your ‘superiors’. Despite the high-tech nature of the country, with social media everywhere, it is not used for lobbying purposes.

Japanese protocol

“Silence can be considered a virtue in Japan. If things go quiet in a meeting do not worry. Silence may mean they are considering your point and collecting their thoughts”. Beth Hogben, British Embassy in Tokyo, March 2014.



‘@Home’ Maid café – one of over 200 bizarre Maid cafés in Japan, following the Japanese concept servitude and of ‘moe’.

“My book is to urge Japanese businesses to be more proactive in rule makings rather than trust government negotiators, so their voices are heard and negotiators are more aware. [The culture is] to defer to negotiators rather than challenge them. Society has a strong bureaucratic focus and people abide by what government sets, rather than challenge it.



...More voices need to be heard from business and consumers for the best outcomes and informed decisions". Takeo Nishitani, Director, Weber Shandwick, Tokyo. March 2014.

The Japanese have a unique way of conducting business. Their style can seem formal and complicated to visitors. The key areas highlighted to me by the British Embassy in Japan are summarised below.

- **Punctuality** – essential, or considered the height of bad manners.
- **Bowing** – they are likely to bow to greet a visitor, it is not essential to do in return, but appreciated.
- **Business Cards** - when exchanging, try to accept and offer cards with both hands. Your business card will be studied carefully as your interlocutor seeks to understand your position and role.
- **Seating plans** - most Japanese will defer to senior colleagues, in terms of age or rank. The seating arrangement for meetings or meals is likely to be arranged by seniority.
- **Conducting Meetings** - silence is considered a virtue. If things go quiet in a meeting do not worry. Silence gives the Japanese time to collect their thoughts.
- **Restaurants** - you may be required to take your shoes off in some *Izakaya* (Japanese style restaurants). Wearing slip-on shoes is a good idea and make sure your socks are in good condition! You should not pass food between chopsticks or leave chopsticks upright in the bowl, as these actions are associated with death.
- **Hygiene** - the Japanese are very hygiene conscious; you should be discreet when blowing your nose in public. Japanese people will often wear a surgical mask if they have a cold, or suffer from hayfever.
- **During an earthquake** - first, stay calm. Do not rush out of doors. Get under a table to protect yourself from falling furniture and objects.



Hygienic masks on sale in a Tokyo convenience store



“The Japanese don’t use social media for lobbying, but we do for promotion of agriculture or new techniques. Twitter is used by some, but not politically”. Horofumi Kobayashi, General Manager, JA-ZENCHU, Tokyo. March 2014.

“Japanese agriculture may be considered by some as intensive gardening due to its small scale. They have prohibitive tariffs on 5 sacred products: rice, wheat, dairy, beef and sugar”. Anon. 2014



Japanese nursery school children practice an earthquake drill

“In 2013 the Prime Minister Shinzō Abe announced Japan’s participation in the Trans-Pacific Partnership negotiations with the 11 countries of the Pacific rim including the USA, but mutually recognising the sensitivity of Japanese agriculture and US industries.” Hirofumi Kobayashi, General Manager, JA-ZENCHU, Tokyo. March 2014.

7.1.xvi. Mexico

“Mexican lobbying is relatively new, since [the political system opened significantly due to the election in] 1997 and developing rapidly but would be considered a cottage industry by US standards. Influence here is still largely through personal connections rather than professional hired guns”. Dan Berman, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Mexico City, May 2014.

“There is an inexplicable emotional stance in Mexico about relationships – personal relationships are important to effectively work in Mexico”. Dan Berman, USDA’s Foreign Agricultural Service, Mexico City, May 2014.

“The US has coalitions of [trade] ideology, like the CAIRNS group, but Mexico has no such shared ideology so they have to do deals by reciprocity, like horse trading, often in the form of individual Free Trade Agreements, of which is has a large number”. Dan Berman, USDA’s Foreign Agricultural Service, Mexico City, May 2014.

“Despite being neighbours [Mexico and the USA] are sometimes on different pages in the way they approach issues”. Dan Berman, USDA’s Foreign Agricultural Service, Mexico City, May 2014.

“Mexico is rivalling Brazil for supremacy in Latin America – it’s on the up and Brazil is seen to be somewhat wobbling”. Dan Berman, USDA’s Foreign Agricultural Service, Mexico City, May 2014.

“Mexican agriculture has been described by its own Secretary as bipolar with robotic hydroponics in the north compared to slash and burn indigenous agriculture in the south; from desert to jungle”. Dan Berman, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Mexico City, May 2014.



windows into pig sheds or dairy farms for the public to look into". Luc Groot, LTO Dutch farmers union, Brussels, April 2014.

7.1.xviii. New Zealand

As a geographer and agriculturalist, New Zealand really is one of my favourite places in the world. The sheer variety and range in a country the size of the UK is immense, from glaciers, fjords and skiing to kiwi and wine production; from beaches, to thermal areas and volcanoes and with great agricultural land in-between. The people are incredibly friendly and hospitable and have managed to create their own identity without turning their back on their cultural roots, unlike some other Commonwealth nations. To me, this is a winning formula and I will certainly return to this wonderful place.

"We are lucky to have practical politicians with practical solutions in New Zealand. We don't have the same rural-to-urban divide, just different living experiences. Generally speaking the politicians are well meaning and want to get it right". Conor English, Federated Farmers, Wellington, March 2014.

"New Zealand commodities work together for New Zealand as a country, rather than separately". Barry Large, Grain Producers Australia, June 2014.

"There are 40,000 active farmers out of 3 million voters, so with family and partners it's a higher proportion of the vote than most countries". Conor English, Federated farmers, Wellington, March 2014.

"Our small population, a little over 4 million people, means our political scene is accessible to many New Zealanders. That means our clients can often talk directly with politicians from both sides of the House about a range of issues rather than engaging in the more traditional lobbying evident in other countries. Of course, lobbying still exists, but advocacy, where we help our clients tell their stories and explain what is important to them, is more commonplace." Sam Halstead, PR firm, Wellington, March 2014.

"The public psyche is more pro sheep than dairy, so they are resistant to dairy expansion and support the underdog." Kimberley Crewther, Policy General Manager, Dairy NZ, Wellington, May 2014.

"The agricultural lobby in New Zealand is led by Fonterra at the top, with other commodities such as Beef and Lamb NZ, wool and fruit following and Federated Farmers of New Zealand having lost ground below". Public Affairs expert, Wellington, March 2014.

"Beef and Lamb NZ was previously not an advocacy group as it was left to Federated Farmers and we focussed on export markets. As the dairy industry has become more dominant in NZ



Agriculture at New Zealand's heart – even the key fob's in a city motel are cattle ear tags!



and there has been more focus on Fonterra, we have spent more time lobbying for the beef and lamb sectors". Beef and Lamb NZ, Wellington, March 2014.

7.1.xix. United Kingdom

As a UK resident with a mainly UK audience for the report I will restrain from over-indulging upon British culture. Whilst I will resist any further detail on the peculiarities of British culture, I could not resist including the attached cartoon, that exemplifies the Great British public's view on the environment.



The Mother of Parliaments (section 13.0, page 72, to see parliaments visited)

It would be remiss to not mention that Westminster is termed '*The Mother of Parliaments*' and that became very apparent on my travels. Whilst it was unsurprising that Commonwealth countries such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand had similar parliamentary traditions, down to the green and red colour schemes for the two houses, it was interesting to note the striking similarities with other non-British empire countries' parliaments such as Hungary, Italy, Japan and Mexico - even down to the colour coding and architectural design.

"Influencing agricultural policy through effective lobbying: a perspective on lobbying practice around the world – creating a farmer's lobbying toolkit." ... by Matt Ware

A Nuffield Farming Scholarships Trust report ... generously sponsored by the NFU Mutual Charitable Trust



7.1.xx. United States of America

As with Australia, Brazil and Canada, the sheer enormity of the United States is reflected by its different States and immigrant populations. The culture varies from the Native Americans the huge Latino population from Mexico and the Southern Americas. In such huge nations, equivalent in size to some continents, it is unsurprising that legislation is dealt with at Federal and State level. It is also more understandable that less Americans travel abroad when they have a whole range of environments within the country, from Hawaii to Florida and New Orleans to the Rockies and Alaska. As with Australia and Canada there are distinct urban coastal population centers and less populated rural hinterlands with very different cultures.

“The National Rifle Association rule, they are the most powerful lobby in the USA; it’s in the constitution”. Lobbyist, Washington, May 2014.

“Republican Senator for Oklahoma Jim Inhofe campaigned for his Senate seat using the phrase ‘Guns, gays and God; for, agin and for’”. Lobbyist, Washington, May 2014.

The phenomenon of middle class, home-maker, “Mommy blogs”, has mass campaigning potential that can go viral, often based on emotion rather than science, such as “biotech kills you and gives your kids autism”, type scares.

An Urban Institute report recently identified that the fastest growing employment sector in the US is non-profit (Institute, 2012). Millions of dollars are being poured into personal causes such as anti-tobacco, vegetarian and environmental groups. They are unaccountable and undermine principles of law and society. They see a better return on advocacy investment than traditional methods of influence. Encouraging farmers to change farming methods is very intensive and expensive compared to a cheaper campaign to get government to change the law to force farmers to change farming methods”. Government affairs adviser, Washington D.C., May 2014.



8.0. Social media

Social media is the social interaction among people in which they create, share or exchange information, ideas, and pictures/videos in virtual communities and networks. Andreas Kaplan and Michael Haenlein define social media as *"a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content."* Furthermore, social media depend on mobile and web-based technologies to create highly interactive platforms through which individuals and communities share, co-create, discuss, and modify user-generated content. They introduce substantial and pervasive changes to communication between organisations, communities, and individuals. These changes are the focus of the emerging field of technoself studies.

Social media is different from traditional or industrial media in many ways, including quality, reach, frequency, usability, immediacy, and permanence. There are many effects that stem from internet usage. According to Nielsen, internet users continue to spend more time with social media sites than any other type of site. At the same time, the total time spent on social media in the U.S. across PC and mobile devices increased by 37 percent to 121 billion minutes in July 2012 compared to 66 billion minutes in July 2011. For content contributors, the benefits of participating in social media have gone beyond simply social sharing to building reputation and bringing in career opportunities and monetary income, as discussed in Tang, Gu, and Whinston (2012). (Wikipedia, 2014)

"Lobbyists are infinitely adaptable - we will absorb all forms of new technology and styles. We now embrace social media in the same way as those before us did the telegraph". Lionel Zetter, London, August 2014.

"Social media is taking away the monopoly on information. It gives a fake feeling of being heard, so there is less need to be a member of a union. The question is how to use it for the isolated farm sector". Gaetane Potard, Australian Farm Institute, Sydney. March 2014.

In New Zealand , Tracey Paterson of NZ Beef and Lamb spoke of the benefits of a speaker based topical online debate utilising toll-free numbers and downloadable on their website. A similar weekly forum called Agrichat runs in the UK.

"The 24 hours social media news world is swaying politics as they capitulate to mob demands. We need our own mob to counter them. Farmers are well-placed compared to industry as they have sympathy, engagement and identity". Government affairs adviser, May 2014.

In the USA the American Farm Bureau runs the "Farm Bureau's Agricultural Contact Team (FB ACT)" as a grassroots action network. *"When we reach out to Congress, we impact the decisions they make. FBACT advances agricultural and rural interests by connecting members of Congress to those people who matter most – their constituents".* (AmericanFarmBureau, 2014)

The American Farm Bureau policy is to utilise Twitter for both internal and external PR to members and the public. They proactively engage with the Young Farmer/Ranger programme and undertake media training for members. There is a special women's group to promote female ambassadors.



8.1. Mommy blogs

An important social media phenomenon particularly prevalent in the USA, is middle class, home-maker, “*Mommy blogs*”, has mass campaigning potential that can go viral, often based on emotion rather than science, such as “*biotech kills you and gives your kids autism*”, type scares. “*The public trust Susan as she’s a mom, rather than PHD students*”. Advisory staff, Washington DC, May 2014.

8.1.i. Social media campaigning for itself.

“There was a proposal for a web tax in Italy, but there was an excellent social media and, in particular, Twitter campaign against it, so it was rejected”. Massimo Micucci, RETI, Rome, June 2014.

“Internet based lobbyists are very effective, such as the anti-piracy legislation on the internet under the Counterfeit trade agreement. Internet lobbyists mobilised huge opposition amongst the ‘free internet’ crowd. They also used very personal attacks, sometimes intimidating, disparaging people’s character and family. The aim is to discredit all those associated with it.” Government affairs adviser, Washington D.C., May 2014.

8.1.ii. Cultural and economic differences in the uptake of social media.

“Social media is not used much in lobbying in Japan, or the USA. It is effective for fundraising or voting – such as the Obama campaign, but not for policy making”. Takeo Nishitani, Director, Weber Shandwick, Tokyo. March 2014.

“The Japanese don’t use social media for lobbying, but we do for promotion of agriculture or new techniques. Twitter is used by some, but not politically”. Hirofumi Kobayashi, General Manager, JA-ZENCHU, Tokyo. March 2014.

“Historically social media is not big in Israel, but getting bigger. Twitter is not that strong in Israel so used less, but Facebook is huge – there are even committee updates on there and MK’s [MP’s] posting selfies in committee news on Facebook”. Government relations adviser, Tel Aviv, June 2014.

“Social media is used less for lobbying and more for promotion in New Zealand”. Ben O’Brien, Beef and Lamb NZ, Wellington, March 2014.

“Chile and SNA are not really into new media, Twitter and Facebook, but we need to look at it for the future”. Francisco Gana, Head of Research, SNA, Santiago, Chile. May 2014.

“Social media is not commonly used in Chile”. Rachel Bickford, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Santiago, Chile, May 2014.

During my travels I discovered that Twitter was an effective means by which to set up meetings with fresh contacts and often proved more efficient than using the more traditional email method.



8.1.iii. Case study – The Lord's Resistance Army, Uganda

The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) is a militant movement which has been described as being quasi-Christian or as a new religious movement or a cult which operated in northern Uganda and South Sudan. The LRA has been accused of widespread human rights violations, including murder, abduction, mutilation, child-sex slavery, and forcing children to participate in hostilities. (Wikipedia)

“In 2012 a US NGO, [‘Invisible Children’](#), released a short video on the Lord’s Resistance Army that went viral and raised public awareness from zero to huge. It went to 50 million views in a few days and was 4% of all Tweets at one point. It gained supporters like Oprah and pop stars and even Obama was forced to speak out about it. There was some controversy that it over simplified the issues, but either way it created huge discussion and an environment to find a solution.” Chris Leather, ex FAO, Rio di Janeiro, May 2014. (Invisible children, 2012)



9.0. Best lobbying examples

9.0.i. Australian case studies

“Well there was the time that our lobbying saw the Prime Minister overthrown by his own Party.....

In 2010 Kevin Rudd [Labor Prime Minister] brought in a new government mining tax, the ‘Resource Super Profit Tax’ (RSPT). Rio Tinto was forced to go to war over the new tax; it was our first ever campaign. The tax would have killed investment, certainty, foreign investors and the economy because of the huge current tax revenue. It was with no warning or consultation, just a 40% super profits tax on top of companies’ tax. The government jumped in first and announced what the tax would be spent on before it was even claimed. It was a two month war but we were lucky as the mid-term 2010 elections were ahead. It was a minority government so not strong and so managed to negotiate a compromise tax. Rio Tinto was being portrayed as the fat cats but the public saw through it and realised that mining was so important to the economy. It shows the value of fostering community engagement, such as education and jobs for the indigenous community, as a base for community sympathy.

The Coalition government in 2013 campaigned on three points, to abolish the carbon tax, abolish the mining tax and stop asylum boats. Very fortuitous!” Mark O’Neill, Rio Tinto, Canberra, March 2014.

The Resource Super Profit Tax was initially announced as part of the initial response to the Australia’s Future Tax System review, by the then Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd. The RSPT was to be levied at 40% and applied to all extractive industry including gold, nickel and uranium mining as well as sand and quarrying activities.

The controversy regarding the RSPT was such that an "ad war" between the government and mining interests began in May 2010 and continued until the downfall of Prime Minister Kevin Rudd in June 2010. The Australian Electoral Commission released figures indicating mining interests had spent \$22 m in campaigning and advertisements in the six weeks prior to the end of Rudd as Prime Minister. The tax was replaced by the MRRT following the appointment of Julia Gillard as Prime Minister in late June 2010. Gillard made implementation of the tax her first priority.

The response to the MRRT was mostly divided into supporter and opposition groups consisting of Federal government and opposition parties, lobby groups and the various stakeholders.

Advertisements supporting or attacking the proposed tax ran on commercial television and in major newspapers. Funding for the mining lobby’s advertisements came from the largest resource companies, whilst funding for the Federal government’s advertisements came from the consolidated revenue fund. Julia Gillard ceased the government’s advertising after becoming prime minister and the mining lobby ended their ads shortly thereafter. (Wikipedia, 2014)



Since interviewing Mark O'Neill in March 2014, the mining tax has been repealed completely – the ultimate lobbying goal and success. (BBC, 2014).

“The Labor government wanted to legislate against the gambling industry addictive poker machines, but most of them where in social clubs and financially supporting sporting teams, so they campaigned [the gambling industry with sporting and social clubs], saying that the government would make the local sports and social clubs go broke – so the government had to back down”. Mark O'Neill, Rio Tinto, Canberra, March 2014.

9.0.ii. Belgium, Brussels and the European Union case studies

“The best NGO's in Brussels are Action Aid, Oxfam and the World Wildlife Fund as they ideologically driven and will not budge from their position”. Anon, Brussels, April 2014.

“NGO's have been successful in making emotional policies [in the EU]. We are exporting our consciences on livestock welfare and CO2 emissions. Our target is achieved but global targets on CO2 exceeded; ‘Out of sight, out of mind’.” Dr Andreas Schneider, EU Commission Parliamentary adviser, Brussels, April 2014.

“A significant proportion of the European Environmental lobby relies on emotion, ‘this or that is terrible, we must do something’, it's emotional – they cry wolf with no interest in the economic consequences. There's push and pull policy, but pull is more effective.” Dave Hemingway, Recovering lobbyist, Brussels, April 2014.

“It is critical to have reality in thinking behind a campaign with worked through policies. Seasoned lobbyists state clearly what they want, why and the reasoning behind it.... The Finns, Irish and Brits are the best informed lobbyists [in Brussels]. They actively look out for advisers and give reasoned argument and are realistic about when in the [political] process to do it. The Finns focus on 2 or 3 things and are persistent; they keep on the same issue and network, creating contacts, contacts, contacts..... With sugar reform the industry held weekly informal speaker breakfast meetings, with a drip, drip, drip of same messages”. Dr Andreas Schneider, Brussels, April 2014.

9.0.iii. Brazilian case studies

“The Brazilian farmers union the CNA have run a mass football based campaign called ‘Team Agro Brazil’ (CNA) since 2012, using Brazilian footballing icon Pele. It is a call to the public to play for Brazilian agriculture. Allied to the campaign is a media programme to improve the image of agriculture against environmental criticism with publicity about sustainable techniques, innovation, skills and standards”. Camila Sande, CNA (Confederation of Agriculture and Livestock), Brasilia, May 2014.

“Public opinion on the [Amazonian] forest is based on emotion, not fact. It's exaggerated. Scientists prove that the NGO science is wrong. The CNA President, [Senator Kátia Abreu] has taken the critics head-on with a tour including the EU Parliament, New York, Washington DC, Yale, UCL London, giving a counter point to the NGO views and found people were astonished as they believe the NGO rhetoric and misinformation. One of the CNA's greatest lobbying



successes has been proactive in facing down their opponents and thereby agreeing 'The Forest Code', which is a lot more realistic, practical and reasonable than what was originally suggested, with an obligation to protect the land, but also to produce food". Camila Sande, CNA (Confederation of Agriculture and Livestock), Brasilia, May 2014.

By complete contrast the next day I met indigenous Amerindian tribal chiefs from right across modern day Brazil. They made for an impressive sight and publicity grabbing lobby as they performed traditional dances in the square beside Brazil's parliament building. I spoke to Rafael Nakamura from The *Centro de Trabalho Indigenista*, a nonprofit association committed to the future of indigenous peoples. CTI lists in its aims, direct support for indigenous lands through projects made from local demands, aiming to contribute so that indigenous people take effective control of their territories, explaining to them about the state's role in protecting and ensuring their constitutional rights. Currently, the CTI works in Indigenous Lands inserted in the Amazon biome, Cerrado and Atlantic Forest. Both he and Philip Hanna from Amazonwatch Greenpeace, explained that they were protesting about legislation effecting indigenous areas and concerns over infrastructure projects on indigenous groups and fishermen.

What was so impressive about this lobby was the use of those directly affected. The indigenous Amerindians represent themselves through their own association "Apib". Tribal leaders were attending from the whole of modern day Brazil, from the Roraima and Amazonas in the north right down through the Parana and Mato Grosso to the Rio Grande do Sul on the Argentinean borders. However, what impressed me most was that the funding for the travel of the tribal leaders was from NGOs, so that the indigenous people themselves represented their cause, rather than European, North American or urban Brazilian professional lobbying staff.

9.0.iv. Canadian case studies

"The forestry sector adopted a forward thinking approach to achieve both economic growth and environmental protection in the face of EU buyer concern over clear cutting. It's not always smooth-sailing, but they opted for nurturing a win-win approach to manage forests differently". David McInness, Canadian Agri Food Policy Institute, Ottawa, Canada, May 2014.

"The health lobby has been effective in Canada in seeking changes on trans fats and is very active on labelling issues, sugar and unfolding food-health issues. We're also seeing industry and the health community doing more together to try to work out what changes are needed and how to best engage consumers." David McInness, Canadian Agri Food Policy Institute, Ottawa, Canada, May 2014.

"The anti-smoking lobby has been very successful, meaning we have the lowest levels globally, but it's taken thirty years. Government health advice has been working with NGOs. There are by-laws stopping smoking within 10 meters of doorways to further deter smoking". Glen Hodgson, Conference Board of Canada, Ottawa, May 2014.

"40% of Canadian output is used domestically, but in the 2013 Budget it was announced that there would be a deregulation of food container sizes, undermining investments into the



existing regulatory regime made by Canadian processors. We lobbied with a national processor organisation and the mayors of a number of cities where the processing jobs are, and together helped ensure further consultation and prevent this decision from being implemented.” Scott Ross, Canadian Federation of Agriculture, Ottawa, May 2014.

“Both the dairy and beef sectors are very effective lobbyists with excellent, professional staff, especially the Canadian Cattle Ranchers.” Agri-food Canada, Ottawa, May 2014.

“The recent [2013] lobby for more increased infrastructure funding identified the scope of the infrastructure deficit and got a big increase and commitment win from government. It highlighted the effects of money now being spent from the fuel tax on general costs rather than reinvested in infrastructure and transport. This is important to us as when there is a big harvest you can’t get the product out, like cereals for export, or feed wheat to poultry sectors, as there is a two train company monopoly and lorry delivery is very expensive”. Scott Ross, Canadian Federation of Agriculture, Ottawa, May 2014.

9.0.v. Chilean case studies

“The student protests for educational reform have been very effective in the media. It is the number one issue for government at the moment”. Rachel Bickford, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Santiago, Chile, May 2014.

“The SNA [Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura] and fruit union are very good lobbyists, they are very low key and lobby the US behind the scenes with visits”. Rachel Bickford, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Santiago, Chile, May 2014.

“The SNA held a mass lobby in a rodeo in 1995 when the government agreed a free trade deal with the USA. We managed to get some compensation for agriculture”. Francisco Gana, Head of Research, SNA, Santiago, Chile. May 2014.

9.0.vi. The Netherlands, Dutch case studies

“Our best examples of lobbying are the ‘Sustainable dairy chain which is an integrated voluntary code of conduct on welfare, grazing muck and price, to stop legislation. We also have a ‘Good farming star programme; 3 stars is almost organic and supermarkets asked to commit to at least 1 star; it is a bit like UK Red Tractor.

In the Netherlands animal welfare groups are very influential.... So we have ‘Open farm’ days and visits. There are even ‘Sightseeing barns’ which are open anytime with glass windows into pig sheds or dairy farms for the public to look into”. Luc Groot, LTO Dutch farmers union, Brussels, April 2014.

9.0.vii. The Falkland Islands case studies

I was very impressed by the ingenuity, cooperation and collaboration witnessed by the small Falkland Island community of 2,932 (FalklandIslandGovernment, 2012). The 8 Members of the Legislative Assembly hit way above their limited numbers, attending committees in the United Nations, Commonwealth summits and regularly visit the UK for events such as political party conferences. (PenguinNews, 2014)



"We have had some really good political lobbying after the March 2013 referendum poll where a great 99% voted to remain a British Overseas Territory. It took some thought and discussion to get the correct question and it was important to get international scrutinisers to get the referendum recognised." Hon. Phyll Rendell, MLA, MBE, Stanley, East Falkland, June 2014.

"We are moving from the imagery of war to wildlife, penguins and birds now, through tourism where the slogan 'The Falklands where nature is still in charge' applies." (FalklandIslandTouristBoard, 2014) Hon. Phyll Rendell, MLA, MBE, Stanley, East Falkland, June 2014.

"The Falklands Islands see our relationship with the UK as familial, that is part of the family and want the UK to see us in the same way. We want a positive image rather than just of the war or cold weather. We therefore use Falkland Island students proactively to go to debates and talks in the UK [all over 16 tertiary education is in the UK for islanders]. We are selling a lifestyle now, after 1982 we were rebuilding, then rebutting Argentine propaganda, but now it is a new more positive stage. (FalklandIslandsGovernment, 2012) We are using survey work and polling public opinion. We are embracing social media with our MLA's Tweeting [Members of Legislative Assembly]. We do group visits for journalists and MPs from the UK. We are showcasing wildlife and lifestyle and natural landscape". Krysteen Ormond, PR & Media manager, Falkland Island government, Stanley, June 2014.

9.0.viii. German case studies

"The Greens in Germany are now established. Renewable energy is now done, so they have started looking at agriculture. They don't want large scale livestock production or large farms. The Greens and NGOs have got their foot in the door over CAP reform and will just increase it." Dr Andreas Schneider, EU Commission Parliamentary adviser, Brussels, April 2014.

Anton Bloeth from the German farming union, DBV, used the example of winning round the Social Democratic and Green Party coalition government.

"Chancellor Schröder misused the farmers' conference, he wanted to show that he could fight against a strong lobby group defending his budget project; he was not speaking to the delegates but to the TV cameras; that made the farmers angry and they booed him and took their shirts off at the conference. We had a bad relationship with the Social Democrats and Greens thereafter, so almost no chance. It took 3 – 5 years of hard work behind the scenes to improve relations, with work behind the scenes; with staffers; background work with MPs; little steps. Then the DBV President invited the Social Democrat party group to a meeting to speak to them and gave a party for them and after that the relationship improved". Anton Bloeth, DBV, Berlin, February 2014.

Never underestimate the impact of your actions. Thirteen years after the event, Renate Künast mentioned being booed as soon as I started interviewing her.



“When I went to their conference they [the farmers] actually booed me, which was not a good start.” Renate Künast, Green Minister for Food, Agriculture and Consumer Protection 2001-5, Berlin, February 2014.

However, Anton Boeth went on to explain that despite there being seven German Lander (administrative regions) with Green ministers, and that although on paper they are diametrically opposed to the DBV and conventional farming, the Greens realise that the DBV have a good reputation and they have realised that they need the DBV on-side to achieve anything.

9.0.ix. Israeli case study

“The Ministry of Transport came up with a proposal that only certified car safety officers would be allowed, meaning 650 independent inspectors would lose their business. They went to court and made their case by surveys, statistics and by proving there was no difference in the quality of the work of the government and private inspectors. They made their case and provided facts and won”. Government relations adviser, Tel Aviv, June 2014.

9.0.x. Italian case studies

The Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), Committee on World Food Security (CFS) in Rome funds small scale indigenous food producers to attend its committee meetings in Rome. *“It’s a civil society mechanism to ensure that the poorest farmers’ voices are heard within the committee of 41 regions of the world, including pastoral herders, women, agricultural workers and small scale farmers”.* Chris Leather, ex FAO, May 2014.



Coldiretti instigated farmers market, Rome

“Coldiretti (Italian farmers union) is more professional and linked to society now – we invented the farmers’ markets in Italy, which are more agriculturally focused”. Paola Grossi, Coldiretti, Rome, June 2014.

“There was a proposal for a web tax in Italy, but there was an excellent social media and in particular Twitter campaign against it, so it was rejected”. Massimo Micucci, RETI, Rome, June 2014.

9.0.xi. Japanese case study

“The best Japanese lobbying example I have ever experienced was by Weber getting the successful Olympic Games bid for Tokyo 2020.” Takeo Nishitani, Director, Weber Shandwick, Tokyo. March 2014.





9.0.xii. New Zealand case studies

"The Automobile Association (AA) are very successful and powerful with 1 million members [out of 4.5 m population]. The Fishing organisation is also strong – don't mess with them". Conor English, Federated farmers, Wellington, March 2014.

"There have been some great alliances with different issue groups and Maori communities, but sometimes it can be very difficult to find a consensus across Maori groups". Ben O'Brien, Beef and Lamb NZ, Wellington, March 2014.

"The dairy sector and Fonterra are effective lobbyists although the green groups like Fish & Game are strong too." Ben O'Brien, Beef and Lamb NZ, Wellington, March 2014.

9.0.xiii. United Kingdom case studies

"A great example of coalition is on Aviation tax [in the UK] - HM Treasury said it was not an issue to the industry as they never heard it raised – so the industry formed a coalition of tour operators, holiday firms, travel agents and currency exchange businesses who delivered 200,000 emails from concerned customers and the tax increases were miraculously overruled". Lionel Zetter, 2014, London.

Oxfam

"Oxfam are great lobbyists; for example in Zambia where they put pressure on the Zambian government to support problematic, under resourced areas. They use knowledge of community issues to get wider support, rather than go alone as an Oxfam only project. They have great communications and campaigns specialists in Oxford and promote the projects they do really well to their supporters". Chris Leather, ex FAO, Rio di Janeiro, May 2014.

In order to be successful charity shops have to be run on increasingly on commercial lines. But charity shops are mainly staffed by volunteers. How much can be expected from them? To what extent can charity shops be used to promote Oxfam's mission, or would this conflict with their commercial success? We have similar issues in member-led organisations like farming unions where we often rely on volunteer member engagement and support for campaigning.

Many charities like Oxfam are trying to solve what are sometimes called 'wicked' problems. These are complex problems, like poverty and social injustice, which cannot be addressed by one organisation alone, and may even be impossible to solve.

As the 2013 episode of the BBC World series 'Escape to the Boardroom' shows, this raises another important question for Oxfam. How much of its efforts should be devoted to providing aid itself, and how much effort should be devoted to persuading governments and businesses around the world to address these problems?

Oxfam also faces competition in the field of global aid. So how does Oxfam position itself in this global aid 'market'? In such a large and diverse organisation how does it project a coherent image, when different partners or parts of the organisation may have different priorities? How does it convince its many supporters and stakeholders



that it is doing an effective job? In the management jargon, how does it protect its brand identity? (OpenUniversity/BBC)

9.0.xiv. United States of America case studies

"Internet based lobbyists are very effective, such as the anti-piracy legislation on the internet under the Counterfeit trade agreement. Internet lobbyists mobilised huge opposition amongst the 'free internet' crowd. They also used very personal attacks, sometimes intimidating, disparaging people's character and family. The aim is to discredit all those associated with it." Government affairs adviser, Washington D.C., May 2014.

"In 2012 a US NGO, 'Invisible Children', released a short video on the Lord's Resistance Army [Child soldiers in Uganda] that went viral and raised public awareness from zero to huge. It went to 50 million views in a few days and was 4% of all Tweets at one point. It gained supporters like Oprah and pop stars and even Obama was forced to speak out about it. There was some controversy that it over simplified the issues, but either way it created huge discussion and an environment to find a solution." Chris Leather, ex FAO, Rio di Janeiro, May 2014.

"Environmental NGOs like the 'Environmental Working Group', have amazing data. They use the freedom of information legislation to get stats on how much money everyone receives, by name, by year etc. In Wisconsin they identified every confined feeding operation, location, numbers of animals, closest water course, manure storage and maps". Bob Young, Chief Economist, American Farm Bureau, Washington, May 2014.

"The National Rifle Association rules, they are the most powerful lobby in the USA; they feel protected by the constitution." Greg Kubiak, Washington, May 2014.

An important social media phenomenon particularly prevalent in the USA, of middle class, home-maker, "Mommy blogs", has mass campaigning potential that can go viral, often based on emotion rather than science, such as "biotech kills you and gives your kids autism", type scares. "The public trust Susan as she's a mom, rather than PHD students". Advisory staff, Washington DC, May 2014.

"Coalitions can be effective, such as the US Farmers and Ranchers alliance [USFRA]; set up not with a lobby remit but to improve the vision by the general public of all agriculture – 'Farmland' was a film they sponsored. They cover from field to market, talking about agricultural sustainability and include [all sectors] from seeds to fertiliser, growers, grain handlers, retailers supermarkets such as Monsanto, Unilever, Proctor and Gamble, Walmart, and McDonalds". Bob Young, May 2014, Washington DC.

"The US Pharmaceutical Association did a great lobbying on the position of the value of advanced medicines and how they should be approved quickly and rewarded properly [in the US]. A lot of lobbying was directed at politicians themselves on the contribution to individual health of the products and through alliances with patients groups, medical specialists, academics and health economists". Takeo Nishitani, Director, Weber Shandwick, Tokyo. March 2014.



"We are about unusual coalitions – we are a safe place for oddballs, the Switzerland of lobbying. We can get agreement from people who cannot get on elsewhere. We bring together 70 groups who fight like crazy with each other, but now speak on same lines publicly, after weeks of negotiation. Coalition is essential as agriculture is of lesser importance in government, so we speak the loudest and widest with a unified vote. The successful groups will be those who can work together". National Council of Farmer Co-operatives, Washington DC, May 2014.

"In the [US] Farm Bill speciality fruit and vegetable sectors came together to form the 'Speciality crop Farm Bill alliance.' Members support each other; a North member might support a Southern Member's cotton sector in return for them supporting the Northern members' dairy sector". Advisory staff, Washington DC, May 2014.



10.0. Poor lobbying examples

10.0.i. Australian case studies

"The live export debate was a disaster. The industry had a poor response and the advocacy group was unprepared with a slow and weak industry response. The 'GetUp!' (GetUp!, 2011) anti-export lobby got 100,000 signatures and media attention, so much so that the minister had to react and suspended the trade". Gaetane Potard, Australian Farm Institute, Sydney. March 2014.

"The government was too draconian over tobacco, bringing in plain packaging for cigarettes. The industry fought hard with retailer help and the more vocal and public it got the more the general public support and awareness grew against the [nanny] state". Mark O'Neill, Rio Tinto, Canberra, March 2014.

10.0.ii. Brazilian case study

"There was a historic stance of protectionism from the 1960s-1980s, but opened up a bit in the 1990s, but still against a protectionist backdrop. Brazil lost a lot of competitiveness, innovation and quality as we had a huge protected internal market. Trade protectionism also backfired [globally] as we are isolated from world trade by this stance; as Brazil was not open for trade we can't expect the rest of the world to open up to Brazil now". Camila Sande, CNA (Confederation of Agriculture and Livestock), Brasilia, May 2014.

10.0.iii. Canadian case studies

"The least effective lobbyists are the Food Processing sector despite being the largest manufacturing sector in Canada. They are outdated and backward with no perception, cohesion or voice". Agri-food Canada, Ottawa, May 2014.

"Although smoking is a success story now, initially it was a disaster as the Treasury tried taxation to stop smoking for 10 years. It led to a huge smuggling organised crime outfit that was led by the Inuit First Nation community. The black market led to wider illegal trading. In the end they had to cut the tax". Glen Hodgson, Conference Board of Canada, Ottawa, May 2014.

"Some of the sectoral commodity lobby groups are too insular, just focused on their sector rather than a strategy for the future. It is hard to be ahead of your membership view if it is inherently conservative. There is also a duplication of organisations, with no single message for the consumer. They [the sector groups] need to agree to the principles and core message". Agri-food Canada, Ottawa, May 2014.

10.0.iv. Chilean case study

"The Chamber of Commerce had a database of debtors – they mismanaged the way they dealt with it and got a lot of bad press for not dealing well with a sensitive emotional issue.



In the end they had lots of restrictions put upon them". Francisco Gana, Head of Research, SNA, Santiago, Chile. May 2014.

10.0.v. European Union case study

"Protected sectors are poorly served by lobbying as they have been very protected. As it was so protected in the past there are no lobbying experience or skills – they tend to talk to people they know versus a concerted campaign or programme. They have a lack of self-reflection or aims and a very slow response to the need for a new narrative. Protection has thwarted reflection until now – just a bulk commodity versus innovation". Anon. Brussels, April 2014.

10.0.vi. German case studies

Anton Bloeth from the German farming union, DBV, used the example of winning round the Social Democratic and Green Party coalition government. This is listed in more detail in the Good Lobbying section, by the way the DBV tackled the issue, but the initial actions definitely fall within the poor lobbying label.

"Chancellor Schröder misused the farmers' conference; he wanted to show that he could fight against a strong lobby group defending his budget project; he was not speaking to the delegates but to the TV cameras; that made the farmers angry and they booed him and took their shirts off at the conference. We had a bad relationship with the Social Democrats thereafter, so almost no chance. It took 3-5 years of hard work behind the scenes to improve relations".

Never underestimate the impact of your actions. Thirteen years after the event, Renate Künast mentioned being booed as soon as I started interviewing her.

"When I went to their conference they [the farmers] actually booed me, which was not a good start." Renate Künast, Green Minister for Food, Agriculture and Consumer Protection 2001-5, Berlin, February 2014.

"The day of big demonstrations of farmers is over." Anton Bloeth, DBV, Berlin, February 2014.

"Do not celebrate 'wins' prematurely. The farmers were in the headlines for stopping fuel taxation in Germany, but the minister got revenge two years later with a higher tax than the original 'win'". Anton Bloeth, DBV, Berlin, February 2014.

10.0.vii. Israeli case study

"There was a big show on TV about a lobbyist who bragged about his big influence and connections in the Knesset [parliament]; it caused a backlash against lobbyists in Israel". Anon. Tel Aviv, June 2014.



10.0.viii. Italian case study

The risk of having ‘*all your eggs in one basket*’ is highlighted in this example, but there was a positive outcome in the end after a period of readjustment and lack of engagement.

“Until 1997 we had a pool of 35-40 Coldiretti [Italian farmers union] nominated MPs in parliament in the Christian Democratic Party (centre-right). We were in the agricultural committee and even had the Chair of the committee. But now the party no longer exists; it collapsed with problems of corruption at the same time as the left and communist parties collapsed so we had huge changes. We had lots of new parties and big change.

We had to change and we now have a relationship with all parties – we are now open and engaged with the communist and socialist parties. The government has increased powers to the President, so we are focussing more on them”. Paola Grossi, Coldiretti, Rome, June 2014.

10.0.ix. Japanese case studies

“The worst lobbying is to overstate or misinform, and don’t focus too much on the opposition”. Takeo Nishitani, Director, Weber Shandwick, Tokyo. March 2014.

It always pays to be a-political, as the Japanese farmers union JA-Zenchu found out when the long term political ruling party, the Liberal Democrat Party (LDP), who dominated Japanese politics since 1955 was overturned by the Democratic Party (DPJ) in 2009.

“We had hard times with the DPJ, the Minister of Agriculture rejected meetings with JA Zengchu for one and a half years as we had had a better relationship with the LDP and they were upset about that”. Hirofumi Kobayashi, JA-Zenchu, Tokyo, March 2014.

10.0.x. The Netherlands, Dutch case study

“The pig and poultry industry was desperate for a derogation on Nitrate Vulnerable Zone (NVZ) legislation and agreed to four years of no increased production to keep it ; but that really hurt – they did n’ t see that coming”. Luc Groot, LTO Dutch farmers union, Brussels, April 2014.

10.0.xi. New Zealand case study

“The worst lobbying is not doing anything at all, not turning up or being defeatist.” Ben O’Brien, Beef and Lamb NZ, Wellington, March 2014.

10.0.xii. United Kingdom case studies

The fuel protests in the United Kingdom were a series of campaigns held because of the cost of rising petrol and diesel fuel prices for road vehicle use. There have been three notable campaigns - amongst many other protests - in the 21st century. The first major protest in 2000 was primarily led by independent truck owner operators, farmers and the public. Protests and blockades of oil facilities caused widespread disruption to the supply of petroleum products, with knock-on effects for the public and the authorities, as well as causing a reduction in popularity for the incumbent government. The aim of the protests was to secure a reduction in the fuel duty rate on petrol and diesel, which the government



refused to enact. After the protest ended, the government did announce a freeze on fuel duties, and promised changes would be made to the way that goods vehicles were taxed, which would include the taxing of foreign vehicles operating on British roads. As at 2014, fuel duty has not dropped, although the climate change escalator has been postponed; but foreign trucks entering the UK still travel the roads free of charge (Wikipedia).

The real potential fallout from these protests was narrowly averted by the agricultural industry and primarily the NFU. The Treasury and the then Labour (urban based) government were livid with the militant farmer element of the protestors as they were blockading using agricultural vehicles using subsidised "red diesel", permitted only for registered agricultural or construction vehicles such as tractors, excavators and cranes. Red diesel carries a significantly reduced tax levy compared to un-dyed diesel fuel used in ordinary road vehicles. There was a very genuine risk that the subsidised fuel duty would be reduced or lost totally, costing the agricultural sector over 46p per litre extra (Red diesel is taxed at 11.14p/litre, white diesel at 57.95p/litre, and Ultra Low Sulphur diesel at 57.95p/litre (FarmersWeekly, 2014)).

10.0.xiii. United States of America case studies

"Monsanto and genetically modified crops were badly handled – telling Europe that it needed GM to feed the world when they had food mountains!" Bob Young, Chief Economist, American Farm Bureau, Washington, May 2014.

"The livestock sector in the Farm Bill could not get a consensus; they 'got too deep in the weeds' [into too much detail] and based positions on local issues versus national strategy on labelling. Some wanted mandatory labelling whereas others closer to the Mexican or Canadian border wanted voluntary, and flexibility to slaughter in abattoirs in neighbouring [closer] countries". Advisory staff, Washington DC, May 2014.



11.0. Government support, protectionism and nationalism

During my visits and interviews it became more and more apparent that countries where a sector had the ear of government or general support would tend to have less-sharp lobbyists. There is no criticism in this observation as it is human nature and the lobbyists will be putting their efforts into other work; the problem comes when there is a change. As I heard in Japan and Italy where the farming union overtly backed one political party, things become distinctly awkward when that party loses power. In France a similar thing happened when President Sarkozy first came into power and said “non” to the farmers and followed a more green agenda. The French farming union approached the NFU in a state of shock and asked how to deal with a non-compliant leader, as it was a first for them since 1945.

“Access is so easy in New Zealand that there is no need for true lobbyists, more just advocates. Lobby groups in countries where they are in opposition are sharper operators than those with the ear of government”. Sam Halstead, PR firm, Wellington, March 2014.

Nationalism or protectionism can both lead to a protected domestic market which, whilst welcome to an extent, can lead to lack of investment or innovation as seen in Brazil. Simply saying ‘Buy British’ is not good enough unless backed by reasons why – related to traceability, welfare, carbon footprint and provenance etc.



Red Tractor, patriotic yet with assurance, traceability and welfare

Protected markets, nationalised industry and nationalistic buying can result in mediocrity as seen by the British car industry in the 1970s. On the flip side, a level of strategic nationalism or protectionism is sensible in areas such as technology, research, protecting fledgling sectors or ensuring support at critical times. I am often struck by the example of the horticultural flower, fruit and vegetable glasshouse sector in the UK, which during the 1973-74 OPEC oil crisis was unprotected and went largely bust with spiralling heating fuel costs; whilst the Dutch government supported their sector, which allowed them to dominate European glasshouse production once the fuel crises ended.

“There was a historic stance of protectionism from the 1960s-1980s, but opened up a bit in the 1990s, but still against a protectionist backdrop. Brazil lost a lot of competitiveness, innovation and quality as we had a huge protected internal market. Trade protectionism also backfired [globally] as we are isolated from world trade by this stance; as Brazil was not open for trade we can’t expect the rest of the world to open up to Brazil now”. Camila Sande, CNA (Confederation of Agriculture and Livestock), Brasilia, May 2014.



“Protected sectors are poorly served by lobbying as they have been very protected. As it was so protected in the past there is no lobbying experience or skills – they tend to talk to people they know versus a concerted campaign or programme. They have a lack of self-reflection or aims and a very slow response to the need for a new narrative. Protection has thwarted reflection until now – just a bulk commodity versus innovation”. Anon. Brussels, April 2014.



12.0. Popular culture

12.1. Football and the World cup

The Brazilian farmers union, the CAN, has run a mass football-based campaign called 'Team Agro Brazil' (CNA) since 2012, using Brazilian footballing icon Pele. It is a call to the public to play for Brazilian agriculture. Allied to the campaign is a media programme to improve the image of agriculture against environmental criticism with publicity about sustainable techniques, innovation, skills and standards. The NFU also used the world cup in a recruitment drive in 2014.

In New Zealand similar promotion surrounds rugby and the All Blacks.



CNA "Team Agro Brazil"



NFUnited membership drive 2014



Red Tractor farm assured food at all London 2012 Olympic venues



Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games

12.2. Guns, gays and God

“Republican Senator for Oklahoma Jim Mountain Inhofe campaigned for his Senate seat using the phrase ‘Guns, gays and God; for, agin and for’”. Greg Kubiak, Washington, May 2014.

Guns: *“The National Rifle Association rules, they are the most powerful lobby in the USA; they feel protected by the constitution.” Greg Kubiak, Washington, May 2014.*

Gays: Australian farmers float in the Sydney Mardi Gras parade 2014 – taking the farming message to the city and an affluent, ‘foodie’, influential, media savvy and value added consumer audience.



God: Some Divine intervention and support is always most welcome. Regardless of your faith status it is true that faith leaders can be genuine and powerful allies in campaigns in many areas such as rural poverty, mental health, suicide, young people or any impartial apolitical cause.

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Archbishop John Sentamu of York, with the Bishop of Stockport and Archdeacon Ian Bishop, on a farm visit in Cheshire.

12.3. Fishing

The number of anglers in many countries across the world is at an all-time high. In 2010, research in the UK revealed that angling was more popular than ever before, with 20 per cent of the population having been freshwater fishing over the last 10 years. The Environment Agency commissioned survey of 2,304 people, asked the same questions as similar polls in 1997, 2001 and 2005.

- 6.1m people had been freshwater or sea fishing in the past two years (2008 – 10)
- 4.2m people had been freshwater fishing in the past two years
- 4.9m anglers had been fishing in the last 10 years, but not the past two

The survey also revealed angling is being viewed more positively by the public. (AnglingTimes, 2010)

“The Automobile Association (AA) are very successful and powerful with 1 million members [out of 4.5 m population]. The Fishing organisation is also strong – don’t mess with them”. Conor English, Federated farmers, Wellington, March 2014.

Such rural pursuits offer potential allies for campaigns and revenue streams for products, services or even broader membership offers.



13.0. Legislation differences: The Mother of Parliaments



Palace of Westminster, Houses of Parliament, London



Parliament, Ottawa, Canada



Parliament, Budapest, Hungary



National Capitol Building Havana, Cuba



National Diet, Tokyo, Japan



Parliament, Canberra, Australia



Parliament, Brasilia, Brazil



Parliament, Mexico City, Mexico



Italian Parliament, Rome



The Reichstag, Berlin



The Legislative Council, Hong Kong



European Parliament



Belgium Parliament, Brussels



US Congress, Washington D.C.



The Legislative Assembly, Stanley, Falkland Islands



The Dail, Dublin, Ireland



The Knesset, Jerusalem, Israel



Original Parliament building, Santiago, Chile



Parliament, Wellington, New Zealand

13.1. Australia

"A lobbyist register is in place to state who your clients are. It does not report on meetings as Freedom of information is in place for that. In-house lobbyists (like trade associations) are OK, but Public Affairs forms have to register. It is getting tighter and Ministers are less keen to meet lobby firms now". Mark O'Neill, Rio Tinto, Canberra, March 2014.



Inside the Australian parliament house

*"Influencing agricultural policy through effective lobbying: a perspective on lobbying practice around the world – creating a farmer's lobbying toolkit." ... by Matt Ware
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13.2. Chile



The old parliamentary buildings in Santiago

“The left wing coalitions were taken for granted by the voters, so apathy set in and they were not organised, which allowed the right wing to get in power even though they represent the minority. The left wing is back in power now”. Rachel Bickford, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Santiago, Chile, May 2014.

“Chile has a population of 17 million but they are all connected and all know each other; there is more nepotism than lobbying. There is even a special nepotism name ‘Pituco’. It’s huge; it’s a patriarchal country”. Rachel Bickford, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Santiago, Chile, May 2014.

13.3. Cuba

As the only authoritarian regime in the Americas, Cuba was a fascinating comparison on my travels, but with a fledgling new free market economy being carefully allowed to emerge in tangent alongside the Communist Party regime. As the political system and history are so different and unfamiliar to many, I outline a potted modern history below.

A new constitution was adopted in 1940, which engineered radical progressive ideas, including the right to labour and health care. Batista was elected president in the same year, holding the post until 1944. His government carried out major social reforms. Several members of the Communist Party held office under his administration.

Batista adhered to the 1940 constitution's strictures preventing his re-election. Ramon Grau San



El Capitolio, or National Capitol Building, in Havana was the seat of government in Cuba until after the Communists disbanded it after the revolution in 1959.

Martin was the winner of the next election, in 1944. Grau further corroded the base of the already teetering legitimacy of the Cuban political system, in particular by undermining the deeply flawed, though not entirely ineffectual, Congress and Supreme Court. The two terms of the Auténtico Party saw an influx of investment which fueled a boom and raised living standards for all segments of society and created a prosperous middle class in most urban areas.

After running unsuccessfully for the presidency in 1952, Batista staged a coup. He outlawed the Cuban Communist Party in 1952. Cuba had Latin America's

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highest per capita consumption rates of meat, vegetables, cereals, automobiles, telephones and radios, though about one third of the population was considered poor and enjoyed relatively little of this consumption. Between 1933 and 1958, Cuba extended economic regulations enormously, causing economic problems. Unemployment became a problem as graduates entering the workforce could not find jobs. The middle class became increasingly dissatisfied with unemployment and political persecution. The labour unions supported Batista until the very end. Batista stayed in power until he was forced into exile in December 1958.

Revolution and Communist party rule (1959–present)

In the 1950s, various organizations, including some advocating armed uprising, competed for the public's support in bringing about political change. In 1956, Fidel Castro and about 80 other rebels aboard the Granma yacht launched a failed attempt to start a rebellion against the government. By late 1958, the rebels broke out of the Sierra Maestra and launched a general popular insurrection. After the fighters captured Santa Clara, Batista fled from Havana on 1 January 1959 to exile in Portugal. Fidel Castro's forces entered the capital on 8 January 1959. The liberal Manuel Urrutia Lleó became the provisional president.

The revolution was initially received positively in the United States, where it was seen as part of a movement to bring democracy to Latin America. Castro's legalisation of the Communist party and the public trials and executions of hundreds of Batista's supporters caused a deterioration in the relationship between the two countries. The promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Law, expropriating thousands of acres of farmland, further worsened relations. In February 1960, Castro signed a commercial agreement with Soviet Vice-Premier Anastas Mikoyan. In March 1960, Eisenhower gave his approval to a CIA plan to arm and train a group of Cuban refugees to overthrow the Castro regime.

The invasion (known as the Bay of Pigs Invasion) took place on April 14, 1961. About 1,400 Cuban exiles disembarked at the Bay of Pigs, but failed in their attempt to overthrow Castro. The tense confrontation known as the Cuban Missile Crisis occurred in October 1962. By 1963, Cuba was moving towards a full-fledged Communist system modeled on the USSR.

Castro's rule was severely tested in the aftermath of the Soviet collapse in 1991. The country faced a severe economic downturn following the withdrawal of former Soviet subsidies worth \$4 billion to \$6 billion annually, resulting in effects such as food and fuel shortages. The government did not accept American donations of food, medicines, and cash until 1993. On 5 August 1994, state security dispersed protesters in a spontaneous protest in Havana.

Cuba has found a new source of aid and support in the People's Republic of China. Hugo Chávez, former President of Venezuela, and Evo Morales, President of Bolivia, have become allies and both countries are major oil and gas exporters. In 2003, the government arrested and imprisoned a large number of civil activists, a period known as the "Black Spring".

In February 2008, Fidel Castro announced his resignation as President of Cuba. On 24 February his brother, Raúl Castro, was elected as the new President. In his acceptance speech, Raúl promised that some of the restrictions that limited Cubans' daily lives would be removed.

From January 14, 2013, Cuba simplified the strict travel restrictions and Cubans now only need a passport and a national ID card to leave. Despite the new policy, a passport costs on average five



months' salary. In the first year of the program, over 180,000 left Cuba and returned. (Wikipedia, Cuba, 2014)

13.4. Falkland Islands

The Legislative Assembly is empowered to pass legislation for the peace, order and good government of the Falkland Islands, subject to the approval of Her Majesty the Queen, acting through her Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Legislative Assembly meetings are held in public, usually bi-monthly.

Executive Council normally meets monthly, but more often if required. It is responsible for the formulation of strategy and policy, and for high level management decisions. Under the Falkland Islands Constitution the Governor retains responsibility for various issues, particularly external affairs and defence. The Governor nevertheless consults regularly with MLAs on these issues.

All members are elected as independents, as there are no political parties. There is no formal opposition. Each MLA takes responsibility for a particular portfolio and works closely with the relevant departments, but does not have the role of a Minister; instead, questions of policy are considered by the Executive Council.



The Governor's residence, Stanley, East Falkland

13.5. European Union

"It is difficult to convey a message across 28 member states, with 28 cultures, 24 official languages and around 60 spoken languages altogether". EU Commission PR adviser, Brussels, April 2014.



13.6. Germany

With the twenty-five year anniversary of the Berlin Wall coming down in November 1989 and the associated collapse of East Germany and the Soviet bloc, there has been an intense period of reunification and alignment in Germany. Nowhere is the confidence and rebirth more dramatically symbolised than with the rebirth of the Reichstag, German Parliament.

The most interesting cultural and political difference that Germany shows is the strength of the Greens and environmental movement. The voting system means that coalition government is most common and as such the Greens are often important coalition partners with associated powers. However, it is important to engage with all, as discussed later on this report.

Dealing with non-traditional bedfellows such as Greens can be problematic, but any engagement is better than polarised views and intransigence. In Germany they have now come to terms with the Greens and learnt from their tactics and way of business, resulting in such initiatives as the DBV online social media reactive “*Meine-bauern familie*” (“*My farming family*”). (DBV, 2014)



Underground passage in the Reichstag –
pathway to a bright reunified future



13.7. Hong Kong

As a result of the negotiations and the 1984 agreement between China and Britain, Hong Kong was handed over to the People's Republic of China and became its first Special Administrative Region on 1 July 1997, under the principle of "one country, two systems". Hong Kong has a different political system from mainland China. Hong Kong's independent judiciary functions under the common law framework. The Hong Kong Basic Law, the constitutional document drafted by the Chinese side



The Legislative Council, Hong Kong

before the handover based on the terms enshrined in the Joint Declaration, governs its political system, and stipulates that Hong Kong shall have a high degree of autonomy in all matters except foreign relations and military defence. Although it has a multi-party system, a small-circle electorate controls 30 out of 70 seats of its legislature, which was classified as flawed democracy with the lowest score in political rights among advanced economies. Hong Kong is a world city and is one of the Alpha+ cities. It has the largest income inequality among advanced economies. It also has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world. (Wikipedia)

13.8. Hungary

Lobbying regulation in Hungary provides a sharp reminder that the political culture and the context in which reform is undertaken can have a profound impact on how a law is implemented - and whether it succeeds. The Lobbying Act was passed in 2006 as part of a larger government reform agenda, with very little policy consultation. When the new FIDESZ government came into power in 2011, the lobbying law was repealed because it was widely understood to be ineffective. The law has not been replaced.



The Hungarian parliament reception

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According to Petra Burai, head of Legal Affairs at Transparency International Hungary, the act was essentially *“a policy transfer, and they copied best practices from all around the world; it was basically a copy-and-paste of the best practices but not taking into consideration how reality worked out in Hungary. It was a strange phenomenon in a country that wasn’t ready to accept a regulation on lobbying”*.

13.9. Ireland

Since my visit to Ireland in 2013, new legislation has been announced relating to lobbying.

The Government is to set up a new register of organisations and companies which lobby public representatives. Individuals lobbying in relation to the zoning of land will also have to register. Public Expenditure and Reform Minister Brendan Howlin published the Registration of Lobbying Bill in June 2014 and said it was aimed at finding out *“who is contacting whom about what”*. Mr Howlin said the bill was *“an important step in the process of helping to rebuild public trust in the political system by throwing light on its interaction with those who seek to shape and influence policy across all sections of society”*.

The new website register will be run by the Standards in Public Office Commission and organisations, PR companies and businesses with more than 10 employees will have to record their interactions with TDs, councillors and senior civil servants. Individuals will only have to register if they are lobbying on matters relating to planning and rezoning, but will be exempt from this if it's in relation to their own private residence. There will also be a cooling-off period of one year for former ministers and senior officials during which they have to get approval for any lobbying of the public body where they used to work.

The Irish Farmers' Association (IFA) said the new register would be unworkable and impractical for it as an organisation with 90,000 members. However, Mr Howlin said the requirements were balanced and there would be a review of them after a year. (IrishIndependent, 2014).

13.10. Italy

“Roman law is written law compared to common law like in the UK. There is a big problem of over-legislation, thus a risk of over regulating on lobbying. Implementation of the EU anti-bribery law and influence peddling is quite unclear and problematic to define. It does not include the professional lobbying issue of transparency. They established a task force and a list of lobbyists but split professional and trade associations, but ultimately treated them the same. The register is still there but not running after being abandoned by the following minister”. Massimo Micucci, RETI, Rome, June 2014.

“Public opinion is: if there is a problem, we must have a law to counteract it. We solve problems through new laws resulting in too many laws and administration that risks corruption, ‘if the door is shut, must oil it to open it’”. Massimo Micucci, RETI, Rome, June 2014.



Between 1945 and 1994, Italian politics was dominated by two major parties: the Christian Democracy, the party of government, and the Italian Communist Party, the main opposition party.

During its almost fifty years in government, Christian Democracy chose its coalition partners among four more minor parties. The Christian Democracy played a dominant role in the politics of Italy for 50 years from its inception in 1944 until its final demise in 1994 amid a nationwide judicial investigation of systemic political corruption. (Wikipedia, 2014).

“Until 1997 we had a pool of 35-40 Coldiretti [Italian farmers union] nominated MPs in parliament in the Christian Democratic Party (centre-right). We were in the agricultural committee and even had the Chair of the committee. But now the party no longer exists; it collapsed with problems of corruption at the same time that left and communist parties collapsed, so we had huge changes. We had lots of new parties and big change.

We had to change and we now have a relationship with all parties – we are open and engaged with the communist and socialist parties. The government has increased powers to the President, so we are focussing more on them”. Paola Grossi, Coldiretti, Rome, June 2014.



Vittoriano monument, Rome - celebrate the uniting of Italy as a nation

13.11. Israel



“There are 150 authorised Knesset [Israeli parliament] lobbyists in Israel. It’s very strict; you must apply for recognition which takes around six weeks. You must list your clients. Lobbying legislation is still in progress – it has been in the public eye for 2.5 – 3 years now; lobbyists are seen as the bad guys, but the general public don’t understand what lobbyists are”. Government relations adviser, Tel Aviv. June 2014.

The Knesset (Israeli Parliament), Jerusalem



13.12. Japan



Visiting the National Diet
(Parliament), Tokyo

In the 1860s, the Meiji period began, and the new national leadership systematically ended feudalism and transformed an isolated, underdeveloped island country, into a world power that closely followed Western models. The Diet was first convened as the Imperial Diet in 1889 as a result of adopting the Meiji Constitution. The Diet took its current form in 1947 upon the adoption of the postwar constitution and is considered by the Constitution to be the highest organ of state power. (Wikipedia, 2014). The Meiji constitution was largely based on the form of constitutional monarchy found in nineteenth century Prussia and the new Diet was modeled partly on the German Reichstag and partly on the British Westminster system meaning The National Diet, or parliament is remarkably similar to Westminster, even down to the colour coding.

The politics of Japan are conducted in a framework of a multi-party parliamentary representative democratic Constitutional monarchy where the Emperor acts effectively as the symbolic Head of state, and the Prime Minister acts as the Head of government and the Head of Cabinet which directs the executive branch. Legislative power is vested in the Diet, which consists of the House of Representatives and the House of Councilors. Japan is generally considered a constitutional monarchy in academic studies, with a system of civil law.

13.13. Mexico

“Mexican lobbying is relatively new, since [the political system opened significantly due to the election in] 1997 and developing rapidly but would be considered a cottage industry by US standards. Influence here is still largely through personal connections rather than professional hired guns”. Dan Berman, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Mexico City, May 2014.

“The CNC is a rural based representation arm of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI), representing subsistence smallholders, radicalised land reformers and indigenous Indians and the party relies on rural votes in many states. The other farmers union, CAN, is a-political and represents the more established producers”. Dan Berman, USDA Foreign Agricultural Service, Mexico City, May 2014.



The modern Mexican parliament

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13.14. New Zealand



Inside the New Zealand Parliament

The Government of New Zealand (Māori: Te Kāwanatanga o Aotearoa), is based on the Westminster system of government, although, notably the main legislative body is a unicameral Parliament known as the House of Representatives. Until 1950 there was a second chamber, consisting of an upper house known as the Legislative Council. The upshot of this system is that more emphasis is put upon pre-legislative scrutiny and select committee structures.

"Lobbying is less aggressive in New Zealand than in the USA and UK. The Bill to register lobbying interests ran aground over a rambunctious debate over whether it should include unions." Claire Trevitt, New Zealand Herald Deputy Political Editor, Wellington, March 2014.

13.15. United States of America

There has been some movement from Federal Washington D.C. based lobbying to State lobbying associated with the focus on fundraising in the State, reduced D.C. hours and less lobbying opportunities in Capitol Hill due to lobbying laws and registration. One Senator is purported to have spent \$45 million to get elected, compared to the UK 2015 General Election limit of £30,700 per candidate in a seat, plus 9p per elector.

"Politically there have been a lot of changes so that it is a more partisan era with less middle ground and a tough atmosphere, with a deepening political divide and less consensus. The middle ground is harder to achieve with polarisation of views. There has been unprecedented use of Presidential discretion. Congress shortened its work week in 1995 to be more family friendly, to a 3-day week, Tuesday to Thursday, but few votes are scheduled for Tuesday morning or Thursday afternoon, so actually Members often have just a 2-day week. Politicians cannot raise funds from Federal offices, so they solicit contributions from party offices in Washington during the week, and spend more time at home raising funds. After the Watergate scandal in the 1970s, legislation restricting campaign contributions was enacted, but the Supreme Court struck down any limitation on candidates' use of personal funds in support of their campaigns. The Court's 2010 "Citizens United" decision also struck down bans on corporate and labor union contributions, provided they are not coordinated with individual candidates' campaigns, leading to even greater increases in election spending by these and other independent groups, such as Super Pacs." A veteran Capitol Hill political



Getting around Washington D.C.

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affairs analyst, Washington, May 2014.

“Lobbying changes are necessary as it evolves. Thirty years ago you just went to the bar and bought drinks or dinner at the Monacle bar. Now that is illegal and unthinkable so there has been a style change. Ten years ago you lobbied face to face through earning trust; you established relationships and got to know their character and established camaraderie. Now there is no contact interpersonally – they would get annoyed if you did. We still have relationships with staff of the Agricultural Committee, but not elsewhere. The nature of Congress has changed so much.

Now there is a distance between Congress and the voters. They work at home longer in week and are more seen back in their elected areas. Local meetings have more impact than D.C. based meetings. We are on the [Capitol] hill less, but still there, but more in a strategic planning role for members to follow up. It used to be D.C. centric, but now members are seen more as government affairs partners in the lobby; partly as less opportunity in D.C. and partly as there are larger, more professional CO-OPs.” Lisa Kelley, National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, Washington, May 2014.

“The USA has a different system so a different style of lobbying. Legislation fails all the time in the USA; it’s not an issue. Policy formation is very different to the UK. In the USA we have open debate; it’s constant in run-up and after legislation”. Bob Young, American Farm Bureau, Washington, May 2014.

“Lobbying registration is based on the time spent and number of contacts – there is a threshold requirement, it is set at a low threshold of 20% of the time and more than 1 contact. Some NGOs underestimate their actual number of lobbyists. The first 4 years have been tough and there is a realisation that it has limited the pool of expertise”. Lisa Kelley, National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, Washington, May 2014.

Republican Senator for Oklahoma Jim Inhofe campaigned for his Senate seat using the phrase ‘Guns, gays and God: for, agin and for’”. Greg Kubiak, Washington, May 2014.

“Lobbying is evolving in the US – a new style – representing members and processors, so a broader approach than the American Farm Bureau. There is more potential to tap into, linking producer and processor, adding food chain jobs and value to agriculture gives greater leverage”. Chuck Connor, National Council of Farmer Cooperatives, Washington, May 2014.



SECTION II

14.0. A Lobbying toolkit

Some great lobbying quotes from my travels

"Lobbying is about getting on with government – a charm offensive, to work closely and only rarely publically criticise". Mark O'Neill, Rio Tinto, Canberra, March 2014.

"If you are not at the table then you are on the menu"! Maeve Whyte, Brussels, April 2014.

"There is good lobbying and bad lobbying, just like there is good sex and bad sex, but I think most of us would prefer to have bad sex rather than no sex at all." Lionel Zetter, London, August 2014 - (Zetter, Lobbying - The Art of Political Persuasion., 2008).

"Good lobbying is about communication locally, for better understanding; keep it simple. Get the basics right and create empathy with farmers from politicians". Horofumi Kobayashi, General Manager, JA-ZENCHU, Tokyo. March 2014.

"Be truthful and say what you think, whilst being professional to gain respect. Be an honest broker and refer in terms of what the members would like to raise or talk about". Conor English, Federated Farmers, Wellington, March 2014.

"It's all about relationships; knowing people and processes and when to fit things in. You equally need to know when to shut up, not go on too much and not cry wolf too hard". Adam Bedford, BAB, Brussels, April 2014.

"The key is to be professional. You need to know what you are talking about and not caught with your pants down. Talk with conviction. Personality is everything. You need to be able to talk to different people and character types". Government relations, Tel Aviv. 2014.

"Most lobbyists work below the radar. They rarely get a knock-out win, and if you do, you should never gloat about a win publicly..... Lobbyists are infinitively adaptable; they absorb all new technology and styles. We are embracing social media like we once did the telegram". Lionel Zetter, London, August 2014.

"Get to know each other's style by working together over the long-term. The problem with some NGOs is they spring upon you before a vote and expect you to respond, without having built a relationship.....If you do not agree on an issue you can see a bad lobbyist by their reaction; they do not accept a different point of view, or the way of getting there". EU Commission Parliamentary adviser, Brussels, April 2014.

"The 24 hours social media news world is swaying politics as they capitulate to mob demands. We need our own mob to counter them. Farmers are well-placed compared to industry as they have sympathy, engagement and identity". Government affairs adviser, Washington D.C., May 2014.



“Lobbying behind the scenes works better; a slow burn rather than upfront, but sometimes naked self-interest doesn’t fail”. Ben O’Brien, Beef and Lamb NZ, Wellington, March 2014.

“Look for areas of commonality. Be social. Listen more and hear what they say, rather than what you want to hear”. Melanie Brock, Tokyo, March 2014.

14.1. Essential lobbying tools: The Golden Rules of Lobbying

This section outlines some Golden Rules of lobbying, building upon and exemplifying my Nuffield travels, NFU experience over 14 years and knowledge learnt from my predecessor Barney Holbeche.

14.1.i. Be There

This is by far the single most important advice I have received and witnessed. My personal mantra is *“Be there, or be prepared for nutters to fill the gap – the ‘nutter void’”*. Making the effort to be present at an event where decision-makers may be influenced could prove crucial. Attendance at debates encourages MPs to *‘play to the gallery’* and is good for the industry’s image. As they say in Brussels *“if you are not at the table then you are on the menu”*! Maeve Whyte, Brussels, April 2014.

The benefits of being there, and perils of not, are exemplified in the loss of exports to the UK from the Commonwealth – Lord Plumb told me the response to the loss of UK markets by Australia and New Zealand in 1973 as the UK joined the Common Market (now EU). *“In Australia there was a feeling of resentment and betrayal against the UK whom they had recently helped out in World War 2. However the New Zealanders joined together and you could not move in Brussels for Kiwi lobbyists; whilst there was not an Ozzie to be seen. The upshot was that Harold Wilson [the then UK Prime Minister] negotiated a deal for a New Zealand quota for lamb and butter that remains to this day, and nothing for the Australians”*. Lord Plumb, House of Lords, London, July 2014.

“A vacuum allows for scaremongering”. Hon. Amy Adams, NZ Environment Minister, Wellington, March 2014.

“The worst lobbying is not doing anything at all, not turning up or being defeatist”. Ben O’Brien, Beef and Lamb NZ, Wellington, March 2014.

“Winning the middle ground for those willing to be sensible is vital... They want to trust us... But they are also willing to listen to the radicals if we don’t fill the void.” David McInness, Canadian Agri Food Policy Institute, Ottawa, Canada, May 2014.

14.1.ii. Get in early

There is no substitute for getting involved in the decision-making process at an early stage. This means establishing and maintaining good links with officials - an objective here is to influence the advice that goes to ministers before it actually does so. Quite a bit of lobbying is about deterring policy options that you do not want to be pursued, as well as pressing for those that you do want. If the ones you do not want reach ministers, and if they show interest in those options in public (e.g. in speeches, responses to Parliamentary questions etc.) then



thereafter it is much more difficult to unravel even though no firm commitment to the option has yet been expressed. Keep an eye on the pressure groups who favour what you do not want - they may be able to change the minds of officials subsequently after you have got in to see officials at an early stage.

Lobbying varies over time – it is typically ‘easier’ and ‘softer lobbying’ at time of legislation conception and ‘harder lobbying’ the closer you get to the law being formalised and made.



Preparing the ground

Lobbying is ideally planned and prepared to create favourable policy environment, with a credible organisation and by developing personal relationships. Targets can be diverse as it is hard to predict who might have some influence at some point in the future. Because of this it is hard to quantify success or failure, particularly in the short term. However, there are some spectacular results that really reiterate the importance of getting in early, preparing the ground and developing relationships.

David Cameron MP was first met by his local NFU Witney branch in 2000 when he was a prospective parliamentary candidate and was so impressed he became an NFU Countryside member and insured his vehicles with the NFU Mutual. As Prime Minister he is still an NFU Countryside member and meets the local NFU branch regularly; although he now has government vehicles!

Other examples of membership of the NFU in the UK include:

- The current Chancellor and Secretaries for Defra, Foreign Affairs, Home Office, Defence, Culture, Wales, Transport, CLG and Minister for Government Policy meet local members.
- Shadow Food and Farming Minister Huw Irranca-Davies was lobbied by NFU Cymru when he became an MP, little knowing he would ever become a Defra Minister.
- John Major and Michael Howard were both met as



The Prime Minister is an NFU Countryside member



prospective Parliamentary candidates, which boded well when they became Conservative party leaders.

- The Cheshire County Adviser arranged an on-farm visit with Merseyside MP Maria Eagle – despite her only having a couple of farms in her Garston and Halewood constituency – not knowing that she was soon to be made Shadow Secretary of State for Defra.

Whilst visiting Japan, Melanie Brock told me about building relationships with the Japanese. There was an issue between Australia and Japan over Australian Wagyu beef production. Following the Japanese earthquake, Australian producers raised funds for Japanese producers; they started an exchange for young and elderly and they gave free forage to replace nuclear contaminated feed. With the interaction and breaking down of personal barriers, the trade issue barriers also dissolved. It was *“subtle but supportive. Producer to producer engagement, with no media coverage”*. Melanie Brock, Tokyo, March 2014.

14.1.iii. Integrity, trust & discretion

It goes without saying that integrity, trust and discretion are core attributes of any successful lobbyist or lobbying organisation. It is essential for organisations to train their staff to ensure that individual and organisational reputation is maintained at all times. It is also important to be aware of the increasing trend in, and ease of, leaks (with social media) and many organisations have robust measures to counter them. The benefits of a trusted working relationship are enormous, such as departments or political parties sharing agricultural policy ideas (to iron out any oversights) before they are published.

You need to be credible to defend your interest and need to explain to members that they need to see the wider picture rather than fight only on local issues”. Francisco Gana, Head of Research, SNA, Santiago, Chile. May 2014.

“Never overstate or misinform and don’t focus too much on the opposition”. Takeo Nishitani, Director, Weber Shandwick, Tokyo. March 2014.

14.1.iv. Be accurate, be responsible, be honest

Our reputation depends on the high quality of its briefings. The facts must be the right so far as we can make them. Whilst presenting the farming case in the best light, we must acknowledge the counter points of view and provide answers to criticism where we can. If you don’t know the answer to a question, don’t make one up - promise to check it out and come back to the questioner as soon as possible.

“Rule number 1, be scrupulously honest with your information so you are not discredited. Play the long game. It is easy to be exposed and you will lose face for ever.” Hon. Amy Adams, March 2014, Wellington.

14.1.v. Be modest

“Do not celebrate ‘wins’ prematurely. The farmers were in the headlines for stopping fuel taxation in Germany, but the minister got revenge two years later with a higher tax than the original win”. Anton Bloeth, DBV, Berlin, February 2014.



“Most lobbying is below the radar and rarely results in a knock-out win. It is also unwise to gloat over a government win if you wish to do business in the future”. Interview with Lionel Zetter 2014.

14.1.vi. Be a-political and neutral

This may seem an obvious but it is very easy to slip into a comfortable relationship with a seemingly permanent political party or organisation.

In Japan:

The Japanese farmers union JA-Zenchu found out to their cost when the long term political ruling party, the Liberal Democrat Party (LDP), who had dominated Japanese politics since 1955, was overturned by the Democratic Party (DPJ) in 2009.

“We had hard times with the DPJ, the Minister of Agriculture rejected meetings with JA Zenchu for one and a half years as we had a deep relationship with the LDP and they were upset about that.” Hirofumi Kobayashi , JA-Zenchu, Tokyo, March 2014.

In Italy:

The Italian farmers union was closely linked to the former Christian Democracy party. Between 1945 and 1994, Italian politics was dominated by two major parties: the Christian Democracy, the party of government, and the Italian Communist Party, the main opposition party. During its almost fifty years in government, Christian Democracy chose its coalition partners among four more minor parties. The Christian Democracy played a dominant role in the politics of Italy for 50 years from its inception in 1944 until its final demise in 1994 amid a nationwide judicial investigation of systemic political corruption. (Wikipedia, 2014).

“Until 1997 we had a pool of 35-40 Coldiretti [Italian farmers union] nominated MPs in parliament in the Christian Democratic Party (centre-right). We were in the agricultural committee and even had the Chair of the committee. But now the party no longer exists; it collapsed with problems of corruption at the same time left and communist parties collapsed so we had huge changes. We had lots of new parties and big change.

We had to change and we now have a relationship with all parties – we are open and engaged with the communist and socialist parties. The government has increased powers to the President, so we are focussing more on them”. Paola Grossi, Coldiretti, Rome, June 2014.

In France:

When President Sarkozy first came into power and said <<non>> to the farmers demands and followed a more green agenda. The French farming union approached the NFU in a state of shock and asked how to deal with a non-compliant leader, as it was a first for them since 1945.

In Germany:

“Chancellor Schröder made the farmers angry and they booed him and took their shirts off



at the conference. We had a bad relationship with the Social Democrats and the Greens thereafter, so almost no chance. It took 3–5 years of hard work behind the scenes to improve relations". Anton Bloeth, DBV, Berlin, February 2014.

Never underestimate the impact of your actions. Thirteen years after the event, Renate Künast mentioned being booed as soon as I started interviewing her.

"When I went to their conference they [the farmers] actually booed me, which was not a good start." Renate Künast, Green Minister for Food, Agriculture and Consumer Protection 2001-5, Berlin, February 2014.

In the UK:

The NFU has tried to be scrupulous in being a-political and engaging with the smaller Liberal Democrats and Plaid Cymru political parties over the years. The coalition government formed with the Liberal Democrats in 2010 was largely unforeseen; but this a-political work has boded well with established contacts in the Liberal Democrats and the enhanced opposition role of Plaid Cymru. At the massively expanded 2010 Liberal Democrat conference (as they were now in power) their President, Tim Farron MP, was asked why he was using valuable time to speak at the NFU fringe meeting; he responded saying, unlike these others, they have supported our conference all these years by attending, so I am supporting them.

14.1.vii. Be authentic

Politicians want to meet their voters, not professional lobbyists; farmers rather than NFU staff. Generally younger members are better received than 'old-timers' and breaking stereotypes is also effective – like a female livestock representative. What is essential is that however is doing the representation is well briefed and that professional staff are available in the background if required.

Be flexible in your style to suit the person, organisation, occasion you are meeting; youth with youth; left-wing with left-wing; local constituent with local MP. Use combination at different times by different people e.g. members or staff. Don't get dazzled by trends and social media hype - it has an important place, but old fashioned networking and social engagement are still key to lobbying. If you are not a people person, leave it to those that are.

On my Nuffield study I was impressed in Brazil by the indigenous Amerindians representing themselves (rather than European, North American or urban Brazilian NGO professional lobbying staff), yet backed with travel expenses by the NGO's. Likewise, rather than sit in blissful isolation, the Falklands Islanders train up their post 16 year old students who have to study in the UK , as island ambassadors; whilst the Members of the Legislative Assembly attend the UN, UK Party conferences and maintain a high social media presence. Meanwhile islanders are supported in entering international competitions such as the Commonwealth Games or shearing competitions. *"We are selling a lifestyle now, after 1982 we were*



rebuilding; then rebutting Argentinean propaganda; but now a new , more positive stage".
Krysteen Ormond, Stanley, Falkland Islands, June 2014.

The Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), Committee on World Food Security (CFS) in Rome also funds small scale indigenous food producers to attend its committee meetings in Rome. *"It's a civil society mechanism to ensure that the poorest farmers voices are heard within the committee of 41 regions of the world, including pastoral herders, women, agricultural workers and small scale farmers"*. Chris Leather, May 2014.

14.1.viii. Be courteous and professional

Politicians who have shown political support for farming should be **thanked from time to time** - either personally, or by a 'mention in dispatches' in a press release, bulletin or increasingly in a real time Tweet etc. Elected politicians are always thinking about votes, and their image and reputation. Showing their efforts are appreciated will encourage them to be supportive on other issues in the future. The temptation to inform a stupid or hostile politician what you think of them should always be resisted, go home and kick a football instead! Besides, tomorrow is another day and they may yet be useful to us.

In day to day work I never cease to be amazed at how well received a little thanks goes, whether an email, a Tweet a press release mention of an MP, or better still a letter (as they are so rare these days).

Being courteous does not preclude industry leaders expressing anger with government if they feel that is how farmers feel on an issue and that it is justified.

In some cases it may be appropriate to reach out and make brave gestures to overcome rifts or prejudices. Human nature is such that we find it hard to be rude face to face.

"Chancellor Schröder misused the farmers' conference; he wanted to show that he could fight against a strong lobby group defending his budget project; he was not speaking to the delegates but to the TV cameras; that made the farmers angry and they booed him and took their shirts off at the conference. We had a bad relationship with the Social Democrats thereafter, so almost no chance. It took 3 – 5 years of hard work behind the scenes to improve relations". Anton Bloeth, DBV, Berlin, February 2014.

Never underestimate the impact of your actions. Thirteen years after the event, Renate Künast mentioned being booed as soon as I started interviewing her.

"When I went to their conference they [the farmers] actually booed me, which was not a good start." Renate Künast, Green Minister for Food, Agriculture and Consumer Protection 2001-5, Berlin, February 2014.

14.1.ix. Be strategic

Work with others. Form coalitions. Plan ahead. Prioritise. *"The EU is important [for mining] but there is not mass production on the same scale as elsewhere. It is more important to be here for engagement, for EU support for mining operations globally and to flag up the*



importance of mining and mining products to the EU economy. EU regulation is replicated elsewhere, so we try to shape EU proposals so that they are user friendly elsewhere.” Mihai Florea, April 2014, Brussels.

14.1.x. Be opportunistic - but also patient

We are poachers, not gamekeepers. There are formal opportunities to progress our agenda (e.g. government consultations), though few issues lend themselves to rapid decision-making unless it is an emergency. We therefore have to stick to our guns over what may be long periods – the NFU favoured licensing gang masters for over 20 years before it was secured. The Grocery Code Adjudicator legislation took 14 years.

But almost every day, out and about, opportunities present themselves to lobby. You find yourself next to the minister in the lunch queue - grab the chance to introduce yourself, and raise a topical issue. Polite assertiveness pays, aggression is counter-productive.

14.1.xi. Drive with anticipation

Look to the road ahead. We are unlikely to turn the tide of history - but we can anticipate some of the pot-holes and obstructions and steer round them, and seek to apply the brakes to buy more time for farmers to adjust to regulatory changes or new business conditions that will come to them sooner or later. At an impasse in a 1970's Price Review negotiation, Lord Plumb, the then NFU President was invited along to Downing Street to see the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, who asked Lord Plumb why he had come along, to which he replied, *“if there was no more money you would never have agreed to meet me”*.



Driving with anticipation- minding the pot-holes and minefields in the Falkland Islands!

14.1.xii. Be prepared for your lift moment

A popular concept amongst the Antipodeans – it refers to what you would say to a minister or key person in the short time of sharing a lift. The beauty of this concept is that it makes you bring your complex requests down to a quick, concise and punchy statement or request.



"Farmers only talk to each other and don't appreciate the wider view". Hon. Amy Adams, NZ Environment Minister, Wellington, March 2014.

14.1.xiii. Be polished

"You can have all the technical knowledge in the world, but you need to be able to sell your ideas; without good PR your message is lost and not recognised, both with the public and farmers". Francisco Gana, Head of Research, SNA, Santiago, Chile. May 2014.

14.1.xiv Be prepared and know your audience

Lord Plumb (July 2014) told me the story of how, in the 1970s Price Review demonstration in London, the mounted Metropolitan Police failed to break the farmers' lines as the farmers fed the horses apples and carrots brought along for the purpose. Ironically when I was doing Public Order training with the Metropolitan Police the trainer cited a similar story relating to the 2004 Hunting Act demonstrations outside Parliament, where the hunt protestors (many of whom are riders), were not afraid of the police mounted horses.

A new Secretary of State covering agriculture in the UK was appointed in a reshuffle one morning and the protocol is they take on their predecessor's engagements. That evening was the Meat and Livestock Commission BBQ. Fortunately we did our homework and discovered that the new Secretary of State was a vegetarian. On arrival at the BBQ the new Secretary of State was asked what they wished to eat – they politely said they were not hungry, to which we asked if they would like a vegetarian option. This helped avoid embarrassment and create a good first impression and develop a working relationship.

"Informed decisions are critical – need to be as informed as possible. Push back helps both sides to bolster arguments and ask questions to iron out problems". Conor English, Federated Farmers, Wellington, March 2014.

14.1.xv. Be consistent and be persistent

Drip, drip, drip - little and often to keep warm then can change up a gear when required vs a deluge of info out of the blue which won't go down well or be resented or lack of background understanding.

"It is critical to have reality in thinking behind a campaign with worked through policies. Seasoned lobbyists state clearly what they want, why and the reasoning behind it.... The Finns, Irish and Brits are the best informed lobbyists [in Brussels]. They actively look out for advisers and give reasoned argument and are realistic about when in the [political] process to do it. The Finns focus on 2 or 3 things and are persistent; they keep on the same issue and network, creating contacts, contacts, contacts..... With sugar reform the industry held weekly informal speaker



Keeping the faith – Jewish pilgrimage to Masada hill fort – scene of Jewish resistance to the Romans in 73AD.



breakfast meetings, with a drip, drip, drip of same messages". Dr Andreas Schneider, April 2014, Brussels.

14.1.xvi. Briefs should be – brief!

Churchill apologised to Parliament for making a long speech as he had not had the time to write a short one. Most of the time MPs are being pulled vigorously in different directions for their time and attention. Six technical pages are too much - one or two pages summarising the critical points in a clear manner does the job. Make clear that politicians who want more detail should feel free to request chapter and verse. The use of hyperlinks within the brief can direct readers to more detailed information if required.

This is advice I need to take on board in report writing!

14.1.xvii. Prepare good evidence, statistics, costs and references to support you case

It is understandable that governments are generally resistant to changing policies or laws unless there is firm evidence to support such changes (though of course it is very frustrating if the evidence is compelling, but the government will not budge). Although collecting information can be tedious work, one of the first questions from officials will inevitably be *"so where is your evidence of this problem you say exists?"* It may be that the evidence already exists, it may be that it needs updating and/or collating and presenting in a persuasive format, or it may be that some new work will need to be undertaken (by your interest group, or by a public agency if you can persuade them to do it) to demonstrate the problem as part of the case for change. Evidence of how an alternative approach would work is also clearly advantageous. Give careful consideration to judging the

14.1.xviii. Politics is about perception - not necessarily reality

Although the truth usually emerges sooner or later, much of politics is about ideas, aspiration and perception - and, sometimes, deception. Politicians can often insist on believing what they want to believe or feel about an issue - even in the face of compelling evidence to the contrary. E.g. the polarised views in the UK on TB and wildlife (badger) control. The normal rules of logic do not therefore always apply, especially if there are some emotional drivers associated with the issue which may tempt politicians to take the easy way out by saying what they think people want to hear. Account must be taken of this factor in preparing briefings and campaigns.

"We want to move from an imagery of war to wildlife, with penguins and birds and sealions, which is why we have the slogan 'The Falklands where nature is still in charge' ". MLA Phyl Rendall, Stanley, Falkland Islands. June 2014.

14.1.ixx. Politics is about the art of the possible; judge what it is realistic to achieve

The day is not likely to dawn when what we can deliver for farmers in terms of solid results over a period of time does not fall well short of the expectations of many farmers of what should have been delivered by yesterday. So we have to judge what we think is realistic on



any given issue, and where we will try to dig in our heels. Although it is frustrating if little progress can be made when we have a strong case, it does not follow that the absence of a strong case means that no progress can be made.

“McDonalds in the UK was faced with new legislation on GM food product information. They realised that they could not possibly stop the law or risk bad publicity, so they more subtly got the legislation amended slightly, in a way that saved millions of pounds, by simply getting the wording changed from ‘every fast food restaurant should train staff on GM policy and print information leaflets on their products’, to ‘every fast food restaurant should train staff on GM policy or print information leaflets on their products’. They printed some leaflets at vastly lower cost than training all staff on an on-going basis”. Lionel Zetter, London, August 2014.

14.1.xx. Governments are not as all-knowledgeable as like to believe

It is right for government to require to be convinced of the need for a change of policy or law, or to spend taxpayers’ money, so gathering good evidence is crucial. However they do not know all the answers and - often depending on the character of the ministers and officials concerned - can be open to persistent persuasion, usually over a period of time. Because of the churn of officials, NFU advisers can often have longer experience on their subject area than the current desk officers in the department, a potentially useful tactical advantage.

14.1.xxi. Select target politicians with care

Although the industry’s genuine champions and supporters should be kept well briefed, sometimes their effectiveness may be blunted by them being perceived as too much the farmer’s friend.

“Assessment of the second year of the badger culls”. Westminster Hall debate: 04.11.14.

Bill Wiggin MP: *“Will my honorable friend give way?”*

Mrs Main MP: *“I certainly shall give way to the branch of the NFU that is my honorable friend”.*

Bill Wiggin MP: *“I am most grateful for that tremendous compliment”.*

Look out for others who are not closely associated with farming, but may be helpful on issues that affect others.

“Target your politicians; say on a committee of 45, 5 guys will run it and the others follow – therefore target the key 5 to swing the vote and work on people that like to do deals.” Dr Andreas Schneider, Brussels, April 2014.



14.1.xxii. Identify key officials and staff

Who opens the post and decides whether to bin it or put into the politicians in-tray? Who researches and writes the speeches? Who is the ‘Yes Minister, Sir Humphrey’ character behind the scenes? Seeking out these staff and developing working relationships will pay dividends and often they will be in post longer than their masters.

Target the scout and worker bees not just the queen bee – staff and researchers sift the post and brief their bosses; secretaries hold the diary access and Private Secretaries have the ear of their Minister; whilst Special Advisers advise on policy and write speeches. A similar structure is replicated within the Civil Service, media and most organisations. It is also worth noting that the bright young thing that takes notes or makes the tea may well be on the fast-track on the way up and you never know where they might turn up.

14.1.xxiii. Target the middle ground

“Winning the middle ground for those willing to be sensible is vital... They want to trust us... But they are also willing to listen to the radicals if we don’t fill the void.” David McInness, Canadian Agri Food Policy Institute, Ottawa, Canada, May 2014.

“Win over the public – they want to be part of the ‘team’”. Bill Wiggin MP, House of Commons, October 2014.

“Don’t worry about biased press; accept that you will not win them over. Focus on the middle ground with good quality information, on the front foot.” Hon. Amy Adams, NZ Environment Minister, Wellington, March 2014.

14.1.xxiv. Look for allies, and not necessarily the obvious ones

“The 24 hours social media news world is swaying politics as they capitulate to mob demands. We need our own mob to counter them. Farmers are well-placed compared to industry as they have sympathy, engagement and identity”. Government affairs adviser, National Association of Manufacturers, Washington D.C., May 2014.

It may well be desirable to work with other bodies who share your views to increase the chances of those views being heard. It is worth making some effort to reach agreement with other bodies (whether in a loose alliance, or one where you are co-operating closely together) as otherwise it is a gift to ministers to officials who may say to themselves *“well they don’t agree amongst themselves, we will therefore do nothing – or do something we know they do not want”*. Some of the most powerful alliances are where bodies from different lobbying camps come together where they agree on particular issues, for example farming interests working with environmental or animal welfare bodies. Alliances involving several bodies can be difficult to manage as there may be significant differences of view or objectives on the issue in hand, and different constituencies to be satisfied. It is essential to build close co-operation between staff of the organisations based on mutual trust and confidence, so that intelligence, ideas and tactics can be shared and the alliance proceeds as a genuine partnership (which can bask in success if they achieve it, or jointly take it on the chin if they fail).



“Coalitions can be effective, such as the US Farmers and Ranchers Alliance [USFRA]; set up not with a lobby remit but to improve the vision by the general public of all agriculture – ‘Farmland’ was a film they sponsored. They cover from field to market, talking about agricultural sustainability and [all sectors] from seeds to fertiliser, growers, grain handlers, retailers and supermarkets; with supporters ranging from such as Monsanto, Unilever, Proctor and Gamble, Walmart to McDonalds”. Bob Young, Washington DC., May 2014.

“A great example of coalition is on Aviation tax [in the UK] - HM Treasury said it was not an issue to the industry as they never heard it raised– so the industry formed a coalition of tour operators, holiday firms, travel agents and currency exchange businesses who delivered 200,000 emails from concerned customers and the tax increases were miraculously overruled”. Lionel Zetter, London, August 2014.

Sometimes an honest-broker is required to gain the best results:

“We are about unusual coalitions – we are a safe place for oddballs, the Switzerland of lobbying. We can get agreement from people who cannot get on elsewhere. We bring together 70 groups who fight like crazy with each other, but now speak on same lines publicly, after weeks of negotiation. Coalition is essential as agriculture is of lesser importance in government, so we speak the loudest and widest with a unified vote. The successful groups will be those who can work together”. National Council of Farmer Co-operatives, Washington DC., May 2014.

Allies may not be immediately obvious but be open to reciprocity:

“In the [US] Farm Bill speciality fruit and vegetable sectors came together to form the ‘Speciality crop Farm Bill alliance.’ Members support each other; a North member might support a Southern Member’s cotton sector in return for them supporting the Northern members’ dairy sector”. Advisory staff, Washington DC., May 2014.

“40% of Canadian output is used domestically, but in the 2013 Budget it was announced that there would be a deregulation of food container sizes, undermining investments into the existing regulatory regime made by Canadian processors. We lobbied with a national processor organisation and the mayors of a number of cities where the processing jobs are, and together helped ensure further consultation and prevent this decision from being implemented.” Scott Ross, Canadian Federation of Agriculture, Ottawa, May 2014.

“The Greens and NGOs have got their foot in the door over CAP reform and will just increase it. Everyone just accepted it and planned how to work with it rather than challenging it. We need a coalition of input and allied trades as 30% less production means 30% less inputs and machinery required.” Dr Andreas Schneider, Brussels, April 2014.

However, not all alliances are straightforward or successful. Some ideologically led NGOs may find it difficult to compromise or dilute their stance. I was told of examples where confidential information brought to the table was then leaked, or worse still, used against sectors. Likewise U-turns on support for things like biofuels (a green alliance with agriculture) by green NGOs are well documented.



Takeo Nishitani in Tokyo offered the wise advice that alliances with reputable academics, scientists or Think Tanks offer an effective and credible additional degree of support.

At the end of the day it is a numbers game, and the wider and larger the alliance the stronger and farther the message should disseminate. It is worth enlarging your support base both externally through alliances and internally by widening your reach, such as utilising younger student, and older, retired members and their wider social circles and families.

14.1.xxv. Be broad minded and learn from others

Work together for example:

- In the EU fishing and farming sectors have similar EU policy control structures, so organisations supporting them could potentially work more closely together.
- Learn from parallel organisations such as the Federation of Small Businesses.
- Learn from successful opposition groups, such as the Green NGOs in Germany, who the DBV have taken head on with their own technology.
- Learn from competitors - Bernard Matthews's turkeys could not compete with a French producer on price, so he went to visit the competitor to learn from them and ended up buying them out!

"Many traditional farm organisations in Australia, Canada, France and New Zealand are losing membership. One of my findings was that they should try to source income other than just from subscriptions; work with the food chain; work with others; do consultancy work for income and provide services commercially that are unique to the organisation". Gaetane Potard, Australian Farm Institute, Sydney. March 2014.

"Coldiretti (Italian farmers union) is more professional and linked to society now – we invented the farmers' markets in Italy, which are more agriculturally focused". Paola Grossi, Coldiretti, Rome, June 2014.

The NFU in England and Wales benefits from a unique network of local offices and advisers who are co-funded by the NFU Mutual insurance service; which offers a wide range of personal, business and farming insurance, investment and financial services for businesses. Not only does this provide local Group Secretary staff on the ground, but also financial support for the union. The NFU has also broadened its membership base into agricultural colleges with free student membership and 40,000 people with an interest in the countryside through the 'Countryside' membership and magazine.



14.1.xxvi. Offer solutions

Ministers and officials receive endless streams of people telling them about their problems. It is much better in terms of progress to offer them solutions to our problems that are practical, not too costly, (or better still cost neutral or cost saving) and would be supported by farmers.

“People like Greenpeace lobby to change public attitude, it is very visual and oversimplified; they jump on a solution without sussing out the problem. We need to focus on both the problem and the solution. Farmers focus on the problem and not the solution.”. Conor English, Federated Farmers, Wellington, March 2014.

14.1.xxvii. Be robust when appropriate

Calculate when it is appropriate to be more hard-ball, but once identified do not fear holding back, so long as it is always done in a non-emotional, professional manner.

“You should respond to these organisations head-on. Question their credibility; question their transparency; who are they working for? How are they funded, by whom, why and what for? How factual are their briefs and campaigns?”
Government affairs adviser, Washington D.C., May 2014

Meeting a badger face to face in Berlin



14.1.xxviii. Trade-off deals

These are a form of harder lobbying, often called in at eleventh hour, later stages of lobbying and most likely by more senior officeholders or industry leaders. Such lobbying is obviously riskiest, and should only be undertaken by those confident to do so; but also can offer the most spectacular results. The confidential nature of such deals and negotiations often means those who deliver them cannot gain the credit publically for what they achieved, whilst taking the flak for the trade-off impact.

14.1.xxix. Remember, public and political opinion is generally supportive of farming

Despite hostile media stories that come and go, the British public are in general supportive of farmers (e.g. popularity of BBC1 Countryfile or similar programmes in Australia and New



Zealand). So are many politicians (with a minority of exceptions), though there is always scope for raising levels of knowledge of our complex industry and the issues associated with it, and seeking to expunge lingering myths and prejudices. We should therefore be confident about the positive messages we convey about the industry - but also vigilant about the risks to our image that come from farmers acting in ways that can be perceived - or portrayed in the media - as inconsiderate, irresponsible or unduly self-serving, such as blockades or mass demonstrations disrupting the general public – their consumers.

14.1.xxx. When in a hole - stop digging!

Where things have gone awry, it is usually best to salvage what you can from the wreckage, and quietly wait for another opportunity to make progress. If you have let someone down, or they think they have been misled, an apology may be appropriate - provided it is sincere.

“With regard to GM , the antis are well-funded and organised. Monsanto can’t resist the tide fed on a plate”. Takeo Nishitani, Director, Weber Shandwick, Tokyo. March 2014.



Keeping head above the water –
floating on the Dead Sea.

14.1.xxxi. Know when to be quiet

“Silence is considered a virtue. If things go quiet in a meeting do not worry. Silence gives the Japanese time to collect their thoughts”. Beth Hogben, British Embassy in Tokyo, March 2014.

In 1945 an exasperated Prime Minister Clem Attlee said to a colleague *“A period of silence on your part would be most welcome”*. Although lobbying is often about speaking up assertively on behalf of your interest group, there can be circumstances where keeping schtum for a while is a much better bet than being loud. It is a matter of judgment and can take some explaining to farmers who expect us to be noisy on their behalf.

“Judge if a campaign is a serious threat, then do a strategy; if [it is] not, then leave it alone as it fuels them. It can be very effective if they declare war and no one turns up!” Mark O’Neill, March 2014, Canberra.

If politicians are hard-core opponents, it is worth considering not engaging, or risk reigniting their opposition.

“On GM food we put the facts to the public but they won’t believe us and it’s not worth the effort of fighting the hard core. You need to be credible to defend your interest and need to explain to members that they need to see the wider picture rather than fight only on local issues”. Francisco Gana, Head of Research, SNA, Santiago, Chile. May 2014.

“New Zealand health lobbyists are a hard-bitten, nasty, tribal, non-forgiving, zealot, scary crowd with a disregard for others views. Like the fluoride crowd. You can’t deal with them –



they won't change – they're not interested in facts. It's sometimes best to ignore them"
Public Affairs expert, Wellington, March 2014.

14.1.xxxii. Follow up

After a key meeting, perhaps with ministers and/or officials, it is good practice to send a follow up letter summarising our case and our understanding of what may have been agreed. If feasible attend with a colleague so it is not your word against theirs. This makes it more difficult for government to have a 'different' recollection further down the track.



Shepherd near Bethlehem

14.1.xxxiii. Last, but not least - make friends, do avoid making permanent enemies

Good friends will generally be supportive of the farming case - but will also give you a candid opinion if they think you have got it wrong. We cannot have too many good friends; it is up to all of us to look out for new friends for the industry, not always in obvious places. Good friendship is based on trust and respect and that should be earned and maintained in the quieter times when there is not an immediate crisis - they will be more supportive in the hard times when you really need their support. There's no merit in making permanent enemies on the basis that you think you don't need that person's help today - no-one can predict future events or reshuffles in government and we need to be as well-placed as we can against the unexpected.

The NZ Federated Farmers historically fell out with the NZ Young Farmers and rural women organisations, which now have separate and potentially competing organisations. Similarly where sectors split off from bodies, such as the National Pig Association or British Egg industry Council from the NFU, it can lead to competition, industry disharmony and disjointed messages, which are a gift to government – *"to divide and conquer"*.

It always pays to be a-political, as outlined in the earlier 'Be a-political' section.

"There is a German saying: We meet again – everyone meets twice in a lifetime". Anton Bloeth, DBV, Berlin, February 2014.



14.2. A lobbying toolkit - Planning a campaign



Planning the route ahead – The Falkland Islands

Lobbying is not formulaic and there are many ways of achieving the same outcome. However most successful campaigns are well planned and when planning a campaign, we must consider the following:

Strategy

- Where in the decision making process are we?
- What is the background to the situation?
- Who are our audiences?
- What are the counter-messages? How can we overcome them?
- What constraints might be impacting on government policy?
- Do we have any possible allies and alliances?
- How can we exploit the media and political channels to get our message across to our key audiences?
- What are the objectives of the campaign?
- How will we lobby these people and what methods can be used?
- Do we need to gather evidence to make our case robust?
- Who is best placed to carry out these tasks?
- Timing of various lobbying stages

1. What are the aims and objectives?

Is it clear to everyone what we are trying to achieve? Are we dealing with the art of the possible? For instance, if dairy farmers want to run a parliamentary lobbying campaign on the profitability of milk production, are they expecting the government to put in place statutory milk pricing legislation or are they asking MPs to change competition policy and reduce the regulatory burden on dairy farmers thereby reducing cost and increasing profitability? The first objective is unlikely to be achievable but the other objectives might be successful.

“It is critical to have reality in thinking behind a campaign, with worked-through policies. Seasoned lobbyists state clearly what they want, why and the reasoning behind it.... The Finns, Irish and Brits are the best informed lobbyists [in Brussels]. They actively look out for advisers and give reasoned

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argument and are realistic about when in the [political] process to do it. The Finns focus on 2 or 3 things and are persistent; they keep on the same issue and network, creating contacts, contacts, contacts..... With sugar reform the industry held weekly informal speaker breakfast meetings, with a drip, drip, drip of same messages". Dr Andreas Schneider, April 2014, Brussels.

2. Public or private – what sort of campaign are we planning?

If the agenda that we need to influence is a sensitive one which we would rather not alert the opposition to then we may need to keep this activity private. Alternatively we may want to run a much more public campaign that is more public.

3. Timeliness and timescale

Are there any deadlines by when the lobbying has to be done? Knowing when to lobby in a particular way is also essential. Broadly speaking legislation proceeds along a similar path and we should plan to influence where we have the greatest chance of success in delivering the most beneficial change.

4. Targets

It is critical that we identify the people or groups of people who we want to seek to influence. We may want to influence different people at different times in the life cycle of the campaign.

5. Types of contact

We have a number of different communication channels available to us. These methods all have their advantages and disadvantages and need to be matched to the scenario and the category of decision-maker that we are dealing with.

6. Consultation Response

These provide us with an opportunity to spell out our position in detail. As government becomes more inclusive, the list of consultees continues to grow ever longer and responses even from major representatives can be considered equally with response from much smaller organisations.

7. Letters writing

This old school form of lobbying still has an important role to play and can be very effective. As less people write letters and emails become more the norm, a carefully crafted letter can make an impact. The letter must come from an appropriate person, it must be addressed correctly (spelling, title - if any - and address) and the message and proposed actions should be clearly set out. Letter writing is often partnered by one or more of the other tools in this section. Duplicate chain letter writing or postcard campaigns are counterproductive and often annoy their recipients. Personal letters on certain issues e.g. the personal impacts of bovine TB on a farmer and their family and business, can be very powerful. Consider copying others into appropriate letters to ensure wider attention (e.g. on the issue of tractor speeds write to both the Dept. for Transport and Defra). An MP can also write a letter on behalf of a constituent, e.g. to a minister, which will elicit a personal ministerial response.



8. Emails

In modern practice emails have largely replaced letters and whilst quick, convenient and traceable it is still worth considering letter writing in addition to them. I believe that both posting and emailing a letter gets you two bites of the cherry.

Modern email based campaigns, such as conducted by 38 degrees, can be slick and very effective; but increasingly risk over-egging a cause or worse still, backfiring, as MPs overburdened with emails get annoyed and turn against them.

9. Briefing

This takes many forms and can have many purposes e.g. grass roots members may brief their local MP on the on-going situation on Bovine TB; a parliamentary adviser may brief a range of MPs prior to a debate in parliament; Officeholders might brief the ministerial team on the national picture.

10. Face to face meeting

Face to face contact is incredibly valuable and farming bodies have good access to a wide range of people. Such meetings are particularly valuable in private campaigns where we seek to quietly influence decision-makers. The correct member/staff mix can be key to the success of such meetings and, as with letters, the messages must be clear and well thought through. Equally well, a face to face meeting might happen by chance and we must be prepared to take advantage of the situation.



NFU Group Secretary



Young Farmers Agriculture and Rural Affairs committee

11. Utilise your local resources

Consider all the resources at your disposal, such as the local membership network (Group Secretaries for the NFU in UK), Young Farmer organisations, retired members and organisations that you or family are members of, such as the formidable Women's Institute.

12. On-farm visits

In Parliament you are lucky to get twenty minutes to half an hour of an MP's time; however on a farm constituency visit you are likely to get several hours. It is important to make the most of these visits with a structured agenda and planned outcomes. The NFU 'Feedback form' shown in Appendix

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A acts as a tick box check list and prompt (e.g. have you taken a photograph; asked them to raise issue in parliament etc.)

For a more detailed list of tips and prompts on ways to conduct a local MP meeting see Appendix B.

13. Shows, parades and events

These occasions present an important opportunity to ‘fly the flag’ and promote your organisation or sector. Sometimes it is worth directing resource to alternative areas than preaching to the rural converted, such as attending urban based shows and events.



Importance of local lobbying:



The Royal Show



Australian farming float at Sydney Mardi Gras parade



The Lord Mayor's show – City of London, November 2014

14. Celebratory figurehead

My favourite ever public example of this was the actress Joanna Lumley in her campaign for retired Nepalese Gurkha soldiers to remain in the UK. A rumbling and unresolved issue that had lasted years was getting nowhere until she put her backing behind the campaign and she used all her acting confidence, media connections, celebratory fame and feminine wiliness to cause a spectacular and humiliating U-turn by the then immigration Minister, Phil Woolas MP. (BBC, Lumley in public clash on Gurkhas, 2009) (if you have a spare minute it is well worth watching [HERE](#)).



A formidable Joanna Lumley makes the immigration minister squirm



Queen guitarist Brian May heads up 'Team badger' 2013



Vivienne Westwood promotes the 'Bee wise' cause

15. Stunts

Stunts and media opportunities can be an important way of engaging the mass media and general public in a campaign.



Scarecrow effigy of Defra Secretary of State



Little Red Tractor race around Covent Garden piazza with the Cheeky Girls



Biofuel tractor driving past party conference

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Team badger Flash 'mob' outside Defra, 2013

16. Lunches, dinners and receptions

These events provide a unique opportunity to lobby with a wide range of attendees through formal presentations to the more relaxed atmosphere of breaks and at receptions. At receptions and launches it is important to have interesting displays and photo opportunities, but not go into too much detail or have long speeches. Dinners are becoming less popular as representatives are less willing to commit such a long period to one event and also they become prohibitively expensive.



Former NFU President meets the new MP intake in 2010

Follow-up is vital if the advantage is to be pressed home. The key is to be opportunistic, but polite and know when to not infringe on a person's privacy, such as an MP off duty with family.



17. Use of media

Media activity can back up the direct lobbying above. It is worth considering not only chasing the national media headlines, but also focusing on local and trade media which not only is seen by as many consumers but also are likely to give the subject a longer hearing.

18. Follow up

Be sure to follow up on leads made and suggestions and any promises made.

19. Mass/one-day lobbies

The day of mass protest has to an extent had its day and can be counterproductive if the general public are adversely affected, such as by road blockades or disruption.

"The day of big demonstrations of farmers is over." Anton Bloeth, DBV, Berlin, February 2014

However there are some advantages. They can be visually impressive as large numbers of members get together at the start of a day's activities. There is also a feel-good factor associated with these days as members have to get involved in direct lobbying and feel part of a much bigger team. This also creates a buzz amongst the group you are trying to lobby, typically MPs as well as in the industry itself. However participants must be well organised and well briefed to ensure consistency and it goes without saying that the events need to be carefully stewarded to ensure they do not get out of hand or individuals get carried away, which could risk bringing the cause and sector into disrepute. Organising as many MP meetings as possible prior to the day assists in reducing the administrative burden on the day; whilst co-ordinating feedback and follow-up is also crucial to the success of such an initiative. They can also be resource-hungry in terms of staffing before, and on, the day itself and good planning of such events is crucial.



NFU SOS Dairy summit held in July 2011, with 3,300 participants, arranged in 3 working days

Lord Plumb described how the Metropolitan Police Chief asked to meet him during a 1970s Price Review where the farmers were threatening to demonstrate and blockade the streets of London. The Chief warned disrupting London would result in adverse publicity for the farming cause, and



Lord Plumb was taken aback when the Chief went on to suggest a demonstration of herding skills in Hyde Park instead to win the public over. It transpired the Police Chief was a farmer's son!

20. How will we measure the success of our campaign?

Having established the objectives of the campaign, how will we monitor the progress of the campaign throughout and at the end of its life? Be prepared to change plans or direction as more information is made available to you.

21. Review and learn

In order to improve things next time around it is important to take time to learn from what went well and less well in the campaign.



15.0. Conclusions

1. Lobbying is both an art and a science. We need to professionalise and train both our members and wider specialist adviser staff in the arts of lobbying to maximise our voice and focus messages to reduce the risk of mixed messaging.
2. Despite a huge range in cultural, political and procedural practices across the globe, the one constant is the human element and the core skill of one-to-one personal influence and relationships. Social media should not be allowed to replace this, but utilised to enhance it.
3. My attitude affects my behaviour which affects your attitude and your behaviour.
4. Agricultural lobbying groups have a great tradition to build upon and a positive story to tell that the public are generally receptive to; but we can never be complacent.
5. Passion for an issue goes a long way; so in the same way that environmentalists and animal rights activists live and breathe their issues, we need to tap into farmers' passion for the sector.
6. Timing is key – not necessarily the specific time, but knowing where in the process you are to develop an appropriate strategy.
7. We need to use different lobbying tactics at different stages or at same time by different people.
8. Remember the 'Golden Rules' of lobbying and primarily to 'Be there', or have someone there to represent our sector.
9. Be a-political and work with everyone.
10. No one strategy fits, but a hybrid use of ALL the lobbying tools, both traditional and modern, is required in a holistic way. Be fresh and be innovative, whilst maintaining core skills.
11. We need to ensure our voices are heard in an increasingly high-tech and immediate world.
12. We need to watch and learn from new NGO, environmental, welfare, non-profits and sector focussed lobbying groups and adopt their tactics to counter them, whilst maintaining our core developed skills.
13. We need to counter emotional lobbying head-on, in a robust, science-based, yet empathic way.
14. Numbers count, and as farmer membership drops we need to work with broader interest groups and allies whilst widening our net of supporters from young to old. Quality numbers count even more and we need to assist members in painting a picture of themselves, their values and the impacts of policies upon them.
15. Fragmentation of representation, by region or commodity, is dangerous; *'United we conquer, divided we fall'*; we need to have a concerted effort to unify our voice at local (region or State) and national (Country/Federal) levels. This is obviously harder in larger countries, but many of the smaller nations visited had surprisingly fragmented representation.
16. Agricultural organisations need to branch out to survive both financially and number wise, into wider sectors or broader products, such as consultation, research, advice or financial offers.



17. Success is difficult to quantify (or shout about) and may be quick, or more commonly, a long burn.
18. Lobbying legislation has often been rashly implemented and ill-thought through in many countries, ironically resulting in less informed decision makers, as practitioners cannot feed in their knowledge so easily.
19. Long term government support and protectionism make lobbyists less sharp and innovative.
20. Never give up – there is always an opportunity if you go that extra mile and work around an issue from different angles.



Visitor audio headphone tour along a Roman road, The Forum, Rome:
the old methods last the test of time, but are enhanced by modern interpretation



16.0. Recommendations

- We can create a more united industry voice and should pro-actively merge representative bodies and allied sectors. For example, in the UK we should look at merging the National Farmers' Union (NFU), Country Landowners and Business association (CLA), Tenants Farmers Association (TFA), National Pig Association (NPA), British Egg Industry Council (BEIC), British Poultry Council (BPC), National Sheep Association (NSA) and National Beef Association (NBA) and consider working closer with other sectors controlled by EU policy, such as sea fishing.
- We can implement more seamless and co-ordinated lobbying between regional/State lobbying and national/federal lobbying.
- We can investigate and actively seek out alternative income streams such as through consultancy work, services provided, and added value products like insurance.
- We can globally share our unique lobbying experiences from our 'agricultural organisation bubbles', and remember to speak to non-English speaking or Commonwealth countries.
- We can co-ordinate State and Federal bodies for seamless lobbying. Smaller groups if remaining separate need to at least meet under an umbrella group to add focus on what they can agree upon.
- We can develop an online and mobile application, pre-populated lobbying tool (based on environmental NGO models), for farmers to be able to readily utilise on the move from their mobile devices or farm office.
- We should pro-actively teach lobbying skills to advisers, group secretaries and members.
- We should roll-out media training to NFU officeholders and members.
- We can promote social media use and interaction amongst NFU officeholders and members.
- We should challenge members to all do their bit and engage locally and in their communities with school visits, Open Farms and interact with local media.
- We need to have strategic, well planned and consistent campaigning for the industry, which can evolve and incorporate different sectors and issues, rather than piecemeal, ad hoc campaigns.
- We can engage and utilise Young Farmers and students to assist in more modern techniques, whilst encouraging older members to mentor younger ones in the art of lobbying and negotiation.
- We should encourage visits to centres of political power such as Westminster and Brussels to help members understand the mechanics of legislation and how they can contribute.
- We can converse with and adopt our local MP or local councillor – befriend them and create a genuine relationship of mutual trust.
- We can all become personal evangelists for agriculture.

"The 24 hours social media news world is swaying politics as they capitulate to mob demands. We need our own mob to counter them. Farmers are well-placed compared to industry as they have sympathy, engagement and identity". Government affairs adviser, Washington D.C., May 2014.



17.0. Where am I going now: personal or career first?

"If reaching the summit is only the final step of a long journey, then the people along the way may be as important as the peak; and an expedition to nowhere may become a modest journey to everywhere". Source WONZ newsletter, 1990.

When I applied for my Nuffield Farming Scholarship I was a classic case of just turned forty, in a rut and unsure of which direction to take. As John Stones helpfully described me – I was, like most Nuffielders, in a mini mid-life crisis. This was the first of many revelations to me that Nuffield has provided, despite all the tell-tale signs.

Personal lessons learnt from my Nuffield experience:

- My attitude affects my behaviour which affects your attitude and your behaviour.
- Being trapped in central London meant I had been conditioned to the crowded and inhumane environment.
- Visiting some places and people I last did in my gap year in 1989 helped me rediscover my optimism and open character from those days.
- A genuine smile gets you better service (and hopefully a better seat on the plane).
- Everybody has a story to tell. A chat leads to amazing contacts, stories and opportunities.
- The importance of family and friends and keeping in touch.
- The importance of faith.
- Incredible human spirit and the ability to overcome adversity; such as in earthquake hit Christchurch and Japan; gaining inspiration from visiting the Falkland Islands where my uncle had set out from in the 1950s to help map Antarctica; and being fortunate enough to visit Jerusalem, The Holy Land and the Vatican in close succession.
- Be open and willing and enjoy helping others.



On top of Te Mata Peak ,
Havelock North ,
New Zealand



Tell-tale signs, a second hand convertible car

and beach partying in Ibiza





I am now over my mid-life crisis. The convertible has gone and been replaced by this:



The sensible urban living vehicle



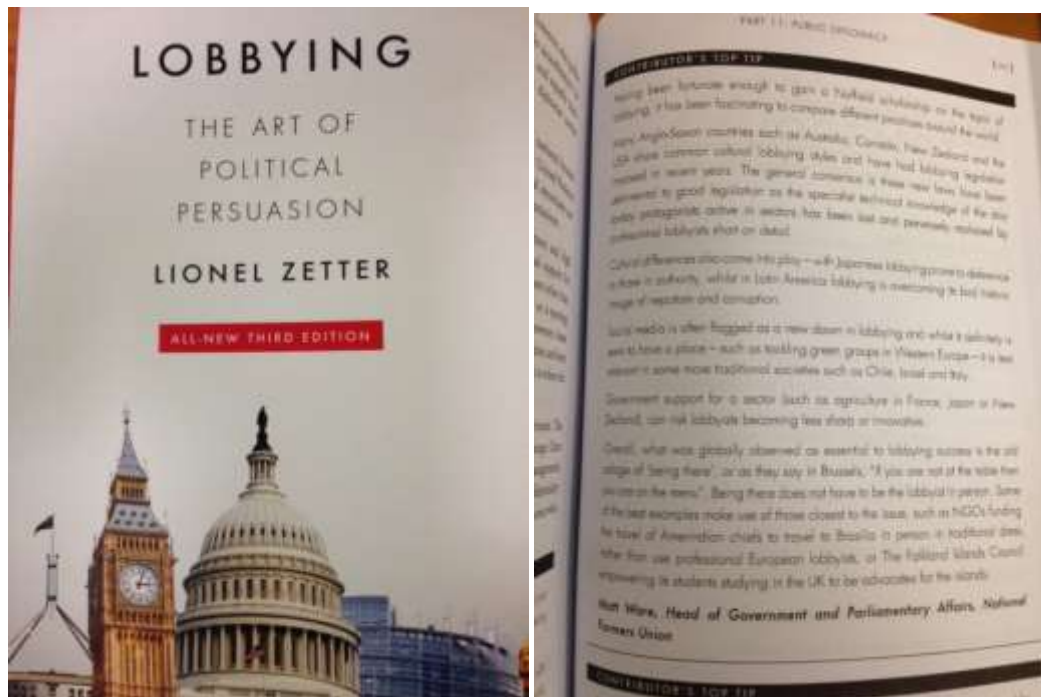
Being grown up and sensible

Career changes assisted by my Nuffield experience:

- In September 2013 I was promoted to NFU Head of Government and Parliamentary Affairs – a dream role which I could never have foreseen when working on the farm.
- I have gained confidence by meeting and comparing notes with people in equivalent roles around the world and appreciated what I do well and learnt how to improve elsewhere.
- I have instigated lobbying training for NFU staff, with three courses completed and two more booked up in the coming months.
- I have seen the benefits of pro-active, on-going engagement with other lobbying staff from a whole range of organisations.
- Project managed and overseen the production of the NFU 2015 General Election manifesto (NFU, 2014) -hence the delay in finishing this report.
- Secured a main stage lobbying session at the NFU conference in February 2015.
- Visiting all the NFU regions to train up staff and group secretaries in lobbying.
- Actively investigating the potential of using the NFU database to develop an online and mobile application, pre-populated lobbying tool, for farmers to be able to readily utilise on the move from their mobile devices or farm office.
- Managed to finally master social media and help promote our office @nfupolitical Twitter account to 3,250 followers.
- Setting up group of like-minded agricultural lobbyist staff around world, who worked in specialist isolation until now.



- In April 2013 I was promoted to Acting Inspector for the Metropolitan Special Constabulary in Westminster with 440 volunteer officers in my team.
- And finally, rather scarily managed to get into print. (Zetter, Lobbying - the art of political persuasion. 3rd edition., 2014)





18.0. Executive summary

Lobbying styles vary geographically, culturally and by sector. In recent years the traditional core skills of personal relationships have often been overshadowed by the buzz around modern technological social media opportunities.

The aim of this study was to compare lobbying best practice globally and across a wider range of sectors than just pure agriculture with the aim of drawing in new styles to help represent the farming industry more successfully. The groups the study aims to help ranges from farming industry lobbyists to active farmers, in order to get their voice heard more successfully and counter the increasingly common emotional mass media campaigns.

It has been fascinating to compare different practices around the world. Many Anglo-Saxon countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA share common cultural lobbying styles and have had lobbying legislation imposed in recent years. The general consensus is these new laws have been detrimental to good legislation as the specialist technical knowledge of the day to day protagonists active in sectors has been lost and perversely replaced by professional lobbyists short on detail.

Cultural differences also come into play – with Japanese lobbying prone to deference to those in authority, whilst in Latin America and Asia lobbying is overcoming its bad historic image of nepotism and corruption.

Social media is often flagged as a new dawn in lobbying, and whilst it definitely is seen to have a place - such as tackling green groups in Western Europe, it was less relevant in some more traditional societies such as Chile, Israel and Italy.

Government support for a sector (such as agriculture in France, Japan or New Zealand), can risk lobbyists becoming less sharp or innovative.

Overall, what was globally observed as essential to lobbying success, is the old adage of *“being there”*, or as they say in Brussels, *“if you are not at the table then you are on the menu”*. Being there does not have to be the lobbyist in person. Some of the best examples seen utilised those closest to the issue, such as Non-Government Organisations funding the travel of Amerindian chiefs to travel to Brasilia in person in traditional dress, rather than use professional European lobbyists or The Falkland Islands Council empowering its students studying in the UK to be ambassadors for the islands.

It has become increasingly apparent that agricultural lobbying can learn from other sectors. At the same time it is useful to identify the areas that we historically have done well, such as personal engagement at the local level. What is essential is that we harness the best aspects and build upon them, whilst adopting new formats for new and increasingly sophisticated audiences, in order to counter opposition groups. By building upon our strengths, learning from others, adopting new opportunities and creating a simple lobbying tool kit, farmers can hopefully begin to redress the imbalance in public debate and make their voices heard.



19.0. Acknowledgments

To the great humanity shown globally, by so many, that restored my faith in human nature after many years living in central London.

"I felt frustrated – it was like speed dating. I needed to spend more time with people to discover more." Joe Delves, NSch., Nuffield presentation in Cardiff, November 2013.

NFU Mutual Charitable Trust , Lord Plumb of Coleshill, Sybil Crowther, Jon Lee, Guy Smith, John Stones, Stephen Watkins, Mike Vacher, Mike & Jo Ware, Steve Ware, NFU Government and Parliamentary Affairs team, NFU staff, Martin Haworth, Andy Robertson, Clare Greener, Nuffield 2012, 2013, 2014 scholars, Barney Holbeche, Lionel Zetter, Lord Gardiner, Michael Salter, Clare Wenner, Christine Hope(Nuffield scholar), Pete Garbutt (NFU), Jonathan Calland (Tilda), Joe Phelan (Weber Shandwick), David Outhwaite (Rio Tinto), James Turner (Edelman Berland) , Craig Beaumont (Federation of Small Businesses), Sarah Lee (Countryside Alliance) and last but by no means least, our stalwart reports editor, Anne Beckett.



Lord Plumb



2012 Year Group of Nuffield Farming Scholars

Netherlands

Luc Groot (LTO).



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Ireland Ben Cowley, Torsten Islei, Dr. Conor McGrath



Germany Anton Bloeth & Petra Brauer (DBV), Renate Kuenast (former German Agricultural Minister and Green Party MP), Marcel Scharner.



Australia Gaetane Potard (Australian Farm Institute), Jim Geltch (Secretary, Nuffield International), Mark O'Neill (Rio Tinto), Australian Parliament staff, Matt Raybould (Canberra), Elizabeth and Edwin Savery (Wangaratta), John Tuckwell (EU Commission), Jean Lonie (Canadian Nuffield Scholar), Catherine Marriott (Nuffield scholar), Colin De Grussa (Nuffield scholar), Barry Large (GPAU).

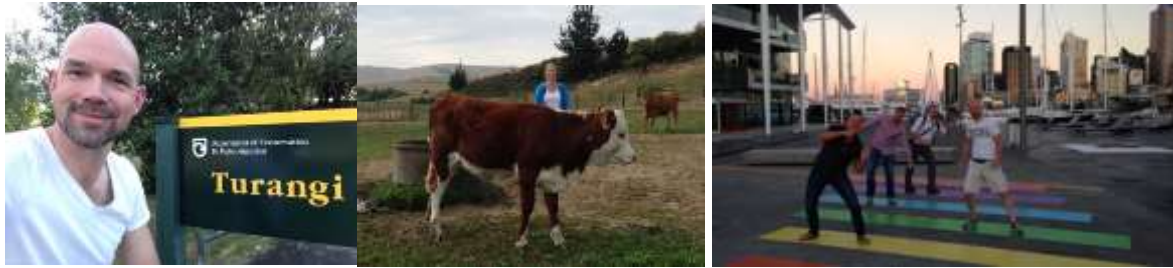


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New Zealand Joshua Neville (University of Canterbury, Christchurch), Diana Parr (Department of Conservation), Ian & Barbara Stuart (Cable Bay, Nelson), Hon. John & Mary Luxton (for the most incredible hospitality and generous time and contacts), Claire Trevett (New Zealand Herald), Conor English (NZ Federated Farmers), Sam Halstead (PR firm 'Ideas shop Ltd'), Ben O' Brien (Beef and lamb NZ), Mark Unsworth (Saunders Unsworth), Bryce Johnson (NZ Fish & Game) , Hon. Amy Adams (NZ Environment Minister), Tracey Paterson (Beef and lamb NZ), Kimberley Crewther (Dairy NZ), Hon. Amy Adams (NZ Environment Minister), NZ Parliament staff, Nick Aveling & family (for hospitality and contacts), DOC Turangi, Sam & Julian Usher (for hospitality), John Powley, David Fern, Lucy Cruickshank (NZ scholar), Stuart Wright Nuffield International director and Sir Lockwood Smith (NZ High Commissioner to UK).





Hong Kong Miles Price, Bill Sneed.



Japan Elizabeth & Tony Hogben (for hospitality and contacts) , Takeo Nishitani (Weber Shandwick), Melanie Brock (Aust. & NZ chamber of commerce), Hirofumi Kobayashi & Masashi Kurita (JA-Zenchu), Yurika Mihara (British embassy), H.E. Mr Mark Sinclair (NZ Ambassador to Japan).



Brussels Barry Magee (Epure biofuel), Chris Downes (FERM, EU rice union), Dr. Andreas Schneider (European Parliament), Mihai Florea (Rio Tinto Europe), David Hemmingway, Daniel Dalton (MEP candidate), Christoph van Isacker, Adam Bedford, Maeve Whyte, Fay Jones, Rebecca Wells, Sian Davies & Michelle Hickey (BAB office), Michal Nycz (PR EU Commission), Catherine Bearder MEP.

See photos overleaf.



Photos from Brussels shown below.



Canada Brenda Schoepp (Nuffield Farming Scholar) for some excellent contacts, David McInnes (Canadian Agri Food Policy Institute), Scott Ross (Canadian Federation of Agriculture), Glenn Hodgson (Conference Board of Canada), John Ross, Doug Forsyth & Patti Negrave (Agri-food Canada).





USA Eugene Philhower, Jennifer Wilson & Steve Knight (USDA London), Sinclair Dunlop (Washington DC), Rodrigo Brandão, Adam Cooper (Google), Robert Young (Chief Economist, American Farm Bureau), Chuck Conner, Justin Darisse & Lisa Kelley (National Council of Farmer Cooperatives), Greg Kubiak (Southeastern Universities), Rob Hall (GE energy), Thomas Neale (Congressional Research Service), Chris Moore (Nat. Assoc. of manufacturers), Skylar Sowder & Mary Nowak (House Committee on Agriculture).



See over the page for Mexico



Mexico Daniel Berman (USDA), Jorge Ortega Gonzalez (SEGOB).



Cuba Robinson Alejandro, Michael Humboldt.

Brazil Philip Hanna (University Groningen), Rafael Nakamura (CTI), Camila Sande (CNA Brasilia), Chris Leather (FAO, Rio de Janeiro), Katy Lee.





Chile Simon Cox (Agropecuario), Francisco Gana (SNA, Santiago), Rachel Bickford (USDA, Chile).



The Falkland Islands Hon. Phyl Rendell MBE & Hon. Ian Hansen (Members of the Legislative Assembly, Falkland Islands Government, FIG), Krysteen Ormond (PR FIG), Scott Betts (FI Radio) Tim & Sally Blake (ex MLA), James Marsh (Travel FIG), Kate Dunn (Agriculture adviser FIG), Jamie Fotheringham (FIG), and the staff at Malvina House.



Italy Paola Grossi & Mariaviola Bombagli (Coldiretti), Massimo Micucci (RETI), Katy Lee and the Italian Parliamentary staff.





Israel Zvika Strahl, Irada Kreimer (Giliad), Julien Sinclair-Simon and Lior Halabi.



Hungary Pal Nemeth, Attila Koch, Martin Ford.





20.0. Appendices

Appendix A: Introduction to Westminster and Parliament

The UK Parliament is based on a two chamber system. The House of Commons and the House of Lords sit separately, and are constituted on different principles. However, the legislative process involves both Houses.

Parliament has three main functions:

- Examine proposals for new laws;
- Scrutinise government policy and administration;
- Debate the major issues of the day.

With the advent of devolved legislatures in the UK, there are systems in place for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland that are different from the London based system discussed here.

Parliament is the most important democratic institution in the United Kingdom and is made up of the Monarch, the House of Commons and the House of Lords.

The House of Commons has 650 Members known as Members of Parliament (MPs) each of whom is elected by local residents to represent an area of the country in Parliament. The House of Lords has 778 eligible members (February 2014) most of whom have been appointed. Many of them have been chosen for their knowledge and experience in a particular field.

Parliament is not the same as the Government (which runs the country) and one of the jobs Parliament does is to check that the Government is running the country properly.

Parliament approves new laws before they come into force as Acts of Parliament. MPs and Members of the House of Lords also debate important issues of the day such as public services, terrorism and relations with other countries.

Parliament and Government

The leader of the political party with the most MPs in the House of Commons is asked by the Queen to become Prime Minister and to form a government that will manage the country. As the Labour Party won the most seats in the 2005 General Election, its leader, Tony Blair, was asked to form the government. With no overall majority in the 2010 general election, a Conservative led government would have been a minority government and prone to the Labour and Liberal Democrat MPs out-voting them on legislation. The Conservative leader therefore took the unusual decision to undertake negotiations with the Liberal Democrats to form a Coalition government and thereby hold an overall majority. During the negotiation period there was the potential of a Labour and Liberal Democrat Coalition government being formed, but as Labour was seen to have 'lost' the election, this was perceived to be a less palatable option for the electorate.

Members of the government are nearly always MPs or Peers; most are ministers who will work in a government department, such as the Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) or



the Treasury, to run and develop public services. Departments are staffed by permanent officials known as civil servants.

On behalf of citizens, Parliament keeps a check on the work of government through investigative select committees and by asking ministers' questions. The House of Commons also has to approve proposals for government taxes and spending.

House of Commons

The House of Commons is the centre of parliamentary power. It is directly responsible to the electorate, and from the 20th century the House of Lords has recognised the supremacy of the elected chamber.

The House of Commons is the elected part of the United Kingdom two-chamber (bi-cameral) Parliament. There are 650 MPs in the House, each representing a part of the country known as a constituency or seat.

The House of Commons is traditionally regarded as the lower house, but it is the main parliamentary arena for political battle. A Government can only remain in office for as long as it has the support of a majority in the House of Commons. As with the House of Lords, the House of Commons debates new primary legislation as part of the process of making an Act of Parliament, but the Commons has primacy over the non-elected House of Lords. 'Money bills', concerned solely with taxation and public expenditure, are always introduced in the Commons and must be passed by the Lords promptly and without amendment. When the two houses disagree on a non-money bill, the Parliament Act can be invoked to ensure that the will of the elected chamber prevails (most notably used in recent years for the Hunting Bill).

The House also scrutinises the work of the Government - it does that by various means, including questioning ministers in the Chamber and through the Select Committee system.

The political party with the most MPs in the House of Commons is the governing party, led by the Prime Minister. They sit on one side of the Chamber facing the Opposition (the second largest party). The Speaker, who controls proceedings, sits on a raised chair between the Government and Opposition.

In order to remain in power, the Prime Minister and his or her Government must be able to get support from the House of Commons for their main policies. This includes getting their proposed new laws (bills) approved, securing agreement for taxation and public expenditure and defeating the opposition in debates on motions criticising the Government. If a government could not win support for its main policies in the House of Commons, it would have to resign and a general election would be called.

The Opposition questions the Government about its actions and policies to check that the country is being properly managed; opposes new laws with which it disagrees and promotes its own policies as an alternative.

House of Lords

The House of Lords is the second chamber of the U.K. Houses of Parliament. Members of the House of Lords (known as 'peers') consist of Lords Spiritual (senior bishops) and Lords Temporal (lay peers).



Law Lords (senior judges) also sit as Lords Temporal. Members of the House of Lords are not elected. Originally, they were drawn from the various groups of senior and influential nobility in Britain, who advised the monarch throughout the country's early Parliamentary history.

The House of Lords consisted of 778 eligible members (or Peers): in February 2014 (221 Conservative, 221 Labour, 99 Liberal Democrat, 19 Non-affiliated, 14 minority parties, 23 Bishops and 181 Crossbench), most of them appointed for life by the Prime Minister (life peers). Until 1999 the House included over 700 hereditary peers who had inherited their titles. The House of Lords Act 1999 left only 92 in membership, of who 88 still survive (February 2014).

Role of the House of Lords

In general, the functions of the House of Lords are similar to those of the House of Commons in legislating, debating and questioning the executive. There are two important exceptions: members of the Lords do not represent constituencies, and are not involved in matters of taxation and finance. The role of the Lords is generally recognised to be complementary to that of the Commons and it acts as a revising chamber for many of the more important and controversial bills.

All bills go through both Houses before becoming Acts, and may start in either House. Normally, the consent of the Lords is required before Acts of Parliament can be passed, and the Lords can amend all legislation, with the exception of bills to raise taxation, long seen as the responsibility of the Commons. Amendments have to be agreed to by both Houses. The House of Lords is as active as the Commons in amending bills, and spends two-thirds of its time revising legislation.

Following the Lords' rejection of the Liberal Government's budget of 1909, the Parliament Act of 1911 ended their power to reject legislation. A power of delay was substituted, which was further curtailed by the Parliament Act of 1949. The House of Commons can present a bill (except one to prolong the life of Parliament) for Royal Assent after one year and in a new session even if the Lords have not given their agreement. There is also a convention (known as the 'Salisbury' convention) that the Government's manifesto commitments, in the form of Government Bills, are not voted down by the House of Lords at second reading.

Unlike the Speaker of the House of Commons, the role of the House of Lords Speaker (The "Lord Chancellor") was almost entirely ceremonial. In June 2003 the Government announced a proposal to abolish the Lord Chancellors role, and in July 2006 the first Lord Speaker, Baroness Hayman was elected. Baroness D'Souza is the current Lord Speaker (elected in July 2011). As well as overseeing proceedings in the Lords chamber, the Lord Speaker acts as an ambassador for the Lords.

Like the House of Commons, most members of the House of Lords belong to political parties. But there are also well over 150 Crossbenchers who belong to no political party. The parties sit on opposite sides of the Chamber, as in the Commons. No party has a majority in the House of Lords and the Government has no control over the time of the House.

Members use their specialist knowledge in examining legislation, questioning Government ministers at question time and in debates and in the work of committees. Members are not paid, receiving only reimbursement of expenses, but even so over half the members are present on an average sitting day.



Ministers

The Government consists of around 100 ministers chosen by the Prime Minister. Ministers will be either a MP or a Member of the House of Lords.

Twenty or so of the most important ministers are members of the Cabinet and are usually in charge of one of the government departments. They include the Chancellor of the Exchequer (from the Treasury), the Home Secretary (from the Home Office) and the Foreign Secretary (from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office). The Cabinet usually meets on a Thursday morning at No10 Downing Street and agrees government policy.

Ministers are responsible to Parliament for their actions and for those of their departments. They will regularly answer parliamentary questions and will announce new policies to Parliament in ministerial statements.

Select committees

Select Committees are set up by both the House of Commons and House of Lords. They are investigative committees that look at particular policy areas and produce reports on specific topics. The membership of a committee will be chosen to reflect the relative strength of the political parties in the House which set it up.

In the House of Commons many of the select committees look at the work of individual government departments. So, for example, there is an Environment, Food and Rural Affairs **(EFRA)** Committee that looks at Environment, Food and Rural Affairs issues and the work of the DEFRA. In the House of Lords the select committees generally cover broader policy areas such as science & technology, the European Union, the constitution and economic affairs.

A committee will choose a topic to investigate and then usually ask people and organisations (such as the NFU) to provide evidence, either in writing or in person. When the committee has gathered enough evidence it will publish a report, which will often contain a number of suggestions about what the government should do. The government must consider these suggestions and respond to the report.

Parliamentary Questions

In both the House of Commons and House of Lords members can ask government ministers to answer questions about the things for which they are responsible. Parliamentary questions are an important way in which Parliament can check on the work of government.

In the House of Commons question time lasts for nearly an hour each day Monday to Thursday. There is a rota which determines which government department answers questions on a particular day and MPs must submit their questions in advance. After ministers have given an answer the questioner and other MPs selected by the Speaker are able to ask a follow-up question or supplementary. One of the highlights of the week is Wednesday at 12 noon when the Prime Minister answers questions for half-an-hour.

In the House of Lords questions are addressed to the government as a whole rather than to individual departments. Usually four or five questions will be answered orally each day Monday to Thursday. As in the Commons, it is possible to ask supplementary questions.



In both Houses members are also able to table questions to be answered in writing and there are many thousands of such questions each year. The answers are published in the daily Parliamentary proceedings official report called **Hansard**.

Other democratic institutions

Although Parliament has a central role in making laws and checking on the role of Government, it is not the only institution involved in the process.

The United Kingdom is a member of the European Union (the EU). In some areas the EU has the right to make laws that apply to all Member States. Proposals for new EU laws are reviewed by the UK Parliament, which looks for possible problems. Parliament is also involved in implementing EU law in the UK. The EU has its own Parliament, the European Parliament, which meets in Brussels and Strasbourg, and elections are held every five years to choose who will be Members of the European Parliament.

Since 1999 some responsibility for making new laws and overseeing some public services has been transferred to the Scottish Parliament, the National Assembly for Wales and the Northern Ireland Assembly in a process known as devolution. Elections for Members to these institutions usually happen every four years. Similarly, when the UK joined the European Union (then the EEC) in 1973, Parliament delegated the power to make some laws to the EU.

Many public services such as education and refuse collection are organised by local councils. Each council will have elected councillors who are responsible to the voters for the delivery of these services.

How to know what's happening in Parliament?

Most weeks Parliament meets from Monday to Thursday and often on a Friday too. There are breaks, called recesses, which roughly coincide with school holidays.

Details of what is due to be discussed are available from the **Parliament website** and are printed in some national newspapers. Both Houses and some committees are webcast; whilst BBC TV's Parliament Channel broadcasts the House of Commons live and also shows recordings of what has happened in the House of Lords and some committees. Everything that is said in parliamentary debates and the results of divisions are published daily in the Official Report, **Hansard**.

Anyone can come to Westminster to watch proceedings of the two Houses or their committees for themselves. Space is limited, however, and there is often a queue for the House of Commons gallery during question time.

NFU Parliamentary work

The proximity of the new NFU office in Smith Square, close to Parliament has helped to foster closer links between the NFU and politicians of all parties, and their staff. For instance, it is now easier attend a relevant committee session or debate than in the past. There really is no substitute for face to face contact, and the frequent meetings, both formal and informal, that take place between NFU members and staff with politicians is an invaluable strength of the organisation.

We continue with our role of monitoring political developments and daily events which affect the industry as well as seeking to create strong relationships with our political clients, ensuring that the



NFU retains its well-deserved reputation as one of the foremost lobbying organisations in Westminster. This hard work is rewarded by excellent access to ministers, opposition parties' spokesmen, backbench MPs and peers when domestic legislation is being developed or new regulations from the European Union are being enacted into UK law.

We facilitate the NFU's response to consultations on forthcoming legislation, and sponsor amendments to the draft laws when they are before Parliament. The NFU also provides evidence to a wide range of Select Committee inquiries and is frequently invited to take part in oral evidence sessions. In addition, in association with our policy colleagues, we supply briefings on subjects of interest to politicians, regular updates on specific policy areas and give MPs suggestions for questions for Ministers.



Appendix B: How to lobby in Westminster

The Parliamentary Year

By law there has to be a General Election to elect a new Parliament every 5 years. The coalition has announced for the first time a fixed election date of **May 7th 2015** (provided circumstances do not change before then). Normally there are Parliamentary sessions lasting just under a year (though can be longer, such as the 2010/11 session from May 2010 until November 2011) usually commenced in November by the State Opening with the Queen's Speech being delivered to set out the government's legislation programme for the coming session. Parliament is usually heavily engaged with legislation - second readings and committees - until Easter. By the summer much of the workload has been completed, with July being a poor time to mount campaigns with much prospect of being taken seriously in the run up to the long summer recess. The political parties traditionally hold their main party conferences in the autumn (second half of September to early October) with Parliament returning in October for the 'back end' part of the session to clear up outstanding legislation before the end of the session (prorogation).

Parliamentary debates

As well as making the laws of the land, mostly though not all initiated by the government of the day, Parliament is also a debating forum. Debates on current issues of the day (perhaps on climate change, or the state of the countryside) take place frequently and provide opportunities for politicians - briefed by the NFU - to air views sympathetic to farming, and to hold ministers to account. Sometimes the debates are initiated by the opposition parties (who have a set number of days allocated to them in the Parliamentary calendar), which often degenerate into party political knockabout. However MPs can raise debates on a constituency basis (e.g. "Dairy farming in south Derbyshire") which can focus on specific issues and the Government always has to put up a minister to reply. Debates can be as short as 30 mins in Westminster Hall or at the end of the day's business in the main chamber, or can last several hours which obviously gives more opportunity for MPs or peers to participate.

Why bother, it might be asked, debates are not a decision-making process. The answer is that through expressions of support for particular views expressed in debates the decision-makers (ministers in the main but can be others too) can be influenced. If we do not do it, we can hardly be surprised if decision-makers are influenced by other pressure groups whose views may be very different to ours. Of course the debates provide opportunities for farming's critics to have a pop at the industry too, which is why our supporters need to be supplied with good ammunition to defend our point of view.

The standard of debate varies considerably. It is part of the NFU's job to raise the level of understanding and expertise on agricultural and rural issues amongst politicians, so that decisions affecting farmers are taken on a well-informed basis of their likely consequences. Of 650 MPs currently in the UK Parliament, perhaps 75 or so take a reasonably close interest in farming issues, whilst many more will take an interest from time to time, often on related issues e.g. role of supermarkets, countryside access, etc. The NFU has especially close links with the frontbench spokesmen of the opposition parties and their advisers: they have to be able to respond to government activity on a day to day basis and without the army of civil servants at ministerial



command. They are often very appreciative for being fed tip offs by us of upcoming announcements, and as a trade off in return will frequently support the NFU line on the issue.

The House of Lords is an important place for debating farming and rural issues. This is because until recently the food and farming minister at DEFRA has always been a Lord, and also because, despite the clear out of all but 92 hereditary peers in 1999, there remains a significant core of peers with long-standing farming and landed interests. Moreover there are now around 30 former MAFF or Defra ministers in the Lords!

Select Committees

The most important select committees for NFU lobbying purposes are the Commons departmental committees. Although the party balance on these committees reflects the state of the parties in the House (i.e. Conservative majority) these are not government poodles, they are Commons watchdogs who hold the executive (ministers and officials) to account. In the case of the Efra Committee the chair is a Conservative MP Anne McIntosh. The Committee undertakes a wide range of inquiries on Defra subjects, often giving attention to agriculturally-related subjects. In general MPs on the committee are supportive of farming, and the committee's reports – to which the Government is bound by convention to respond within 3 months - can act as a useful 'second front' of pressure to further NFU aims. The preparation of evidence for these committees is therefore important in terms of helping our own cause and maintaining the NFU's reputation for being one of the best players on the scene.

The House of Lords has a European Union Committee which has an Environment and Agriculture Sub-Committee which undertakes inquiries into such matters as CAP reform, biofuels etc. Its members include former ministers and Lord Plumb. Again the NFU's evidence to this committee is well-received, and the committee's good quality reports are taken notice of in Brussels. The Lords also has an able science and technology committee which produced an important report on water issues last year.

Consultation and pre-legislative scrutiny

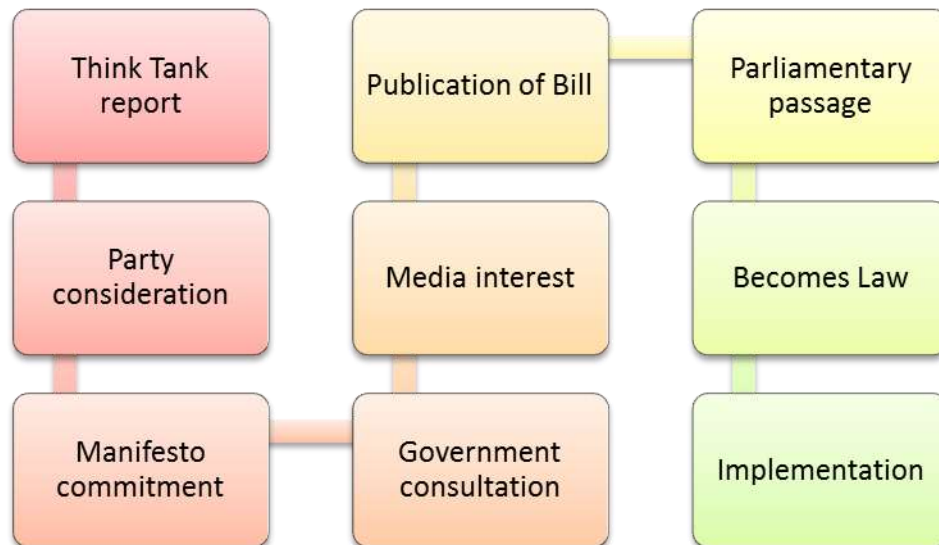
Although there have been cases in the past, and no doubt will be some in the future, of governments going through the motions of consulting when they have already made up their minds, generally consultations are open exercises where pressure groups and others have a real chance to influence the outcome. It cannot be stressed too much that most major policy battles are fought and won at the relatively early consultative stage - although Bills before Parliament can be amended to improve them the securing of amendments is often fraught with difficulties and can produce incomplete or unsatisfactory results. In recent years the House of Commons has accepted that there is a sensible role for pre-legislative scrutiny. This may take various forms but will often be by means of an inquiry by a cross-party departmental select committee.

For example the Animal Welfare Act 2006 started out as a Defra consultation in 2001, to which the NFU submitted views. Defra published a draft Bill in July 2004, and the Commons Efra Committee then conducted an inquiry into it, again with the NFU submitting oral and written evidence. They published a report in December 2004 which was strongly critical of parts of the draft Bill (and reflected a number of NFU concerns). Then the 2005 election intervened which was fortuitous as it gave Defra more time to improve the draft. By the time the 'real' Bill was introduced in October



2005 it was in much better shape - and the NFU was able to fine tune it during the year it spent before Parliament.

Timing is crucial - Policy to law – the process



Primary Legislation

Legislation in Westminster affecting agriculture can often be the national manifestation of EU law, or it can be entirely home-grown - for example the 'right to roam', the Commons Act and the Animal Welfare Act. Most legislation is initiated by government, though private members' bills can become law too if they are not controversial or if they enjoy widespread political support e.g. the Gangmasters (Licensing) Act.

Apart from Money Bills (e.g. the Finance Bill which implements the Budget) all Bills must be debated in both the Commons and the Lords. They can start in either House, but once they have been through the second House they must return to the first house for further consideration if there have been any amendments made in the second House. Both Houses must be in agreement down to the last word before the Bill can become law.

The main opportunities for NFU influence on the legislative process are as follows:

First major debate (in each House) on the principles of the Bill (second reading)

Committee stage. In the Commons usually a Public Bill Committee of c. 20-30 MPs selected just to consider a specific Bill, party balance reflects state of parties in the House (i.e. government majority). In the Lords usually a committee of the whole House (any peer can turn up). Line by line consideration of the Bill, amendments sponsored by NFU can be tabled by MPs/peers.

Report stage. The Bill is reported back to the full House. Amendments on issues debated and decided on (by a division) in Committee in the Commons cannot easily be resurrected.

Much current legislation is 'enabling' in nature i.e. it enables the minister to change the law to some extent by order. They are usually justified on grounds of flexibility and 'future proofing', but there is



often a good case for limiting the discretion as the government machine always likes to have as much power to do what it wants without Parliamentary approval. The House of Lords is vigilant about these 'Henry VIII' powers.

Secondary legislation

The scrutiny of secondary legislation by Westminster is a haphazard and frustrating process. Once laid before Parliament there is no mechanism for amending Statutory Instruments. Of c.3500 SIs passed every year, only about 200 are draft SIs that require specific approval by Parliament. The rest are 'negative' SIs that are mostly 'nodded through'; a few of them are debated briefly in delegated legislation committees which give a chance for MPs to press the minister for assurances on the implementation of the SI, but they are un-amendable and virtually unstoppable. It follows that, as with primary legislation, battles over content are most effectively fought at the early stages.

Early Day Motions (EDMs)

Early Day Motions are the notice board of the Commons. Despite their name they never get debated, but they do provide a vehicle for MPs expressing their views. They can influence government if there are large numbers (100+) of MP signatories of all parties calling on ministers to take some action, and sometimes it may be desirable to urge MPs to table amendments or alternative viewpoint EDMs if the case is pressing e.g. if an EDM seriously misrepresented the views or actions of the NFU or its leaders. However EDMs are a rather debased currency as many of them are frivolous and there are just too many of them (1,312 in 2012 parliamentary session). Where we strongly support an EDM, regions and local branches may be asked to encourage their MPs to sign up - the latest list of **EDMs**. Note that ministers do not sign EDMs and some backbenchers do not on principle.

Parliamentary Questions

Once a month on a Thursday Defra Commons ministers face an ¾ hour or oral questions on the floor of the house. The questions tabled by MPs are published on the Tuesday morning, with some topical questions allowed on the day. Each questioner needs a follow-up question ready when the minister has given his first answer, and then other MPs may catch the Speaker's eye. Providing MPs with suggested supplementary questions is a good way of pressing ministers on NFU issues - it is very hit and miss, but at least half of the time MPs will be pleased to pursue the NFU's suggestions and this can have the effect of maintaining political pressure on ministers where they are resistant to taking decisions e.g. bovine TB. It will be noted that the deadline for this operation is tight - any suggestions later than mid-afternoon on the Wednesday are likely to miss the boat.

Written questions are a good way of eliciting information, especially where the Government is not keen for it to see the light of day. It is usually no problem to persuade MPs to table a series of questions on current issues. They need to be drafted in ways which minimise the risk of evasive answers e.g. rather than lumping several questions into one omnibus one, better to table a series of questions with each one limited to one aspect of an issue. The NFU Government and Parliamentary affairs team can provide this service.

When and where to lobby – in Westminster– action plan

If a Westminster visit is offered by the MP or requested by members (often as part of the branch or regional diary of events), here are a few suggestions to make the event more successful.



- Plan ahead – rooms need to be booked well in advance via an MP or Lord (2- 3 months).
- If possible, book a room in the old Palace of Westminster as the rooms and catering are better.
- Avoid peak times such as October (after recess) and trough times such as pre-Christmas.
- A friendly sponsoring MP will need to book the room, but you will pick up the bill.
- Dinners and lunches are very costly. They are now less popular with MPs who are less willing to commit to such drawn out events. They also minimise circulation opportunities.
- Afternoon teas are increasingly popular as they are far cheaper and allow MPs to come and go at will. We suggest a late afternoon slot to catch MPs in-between afternoon debates and committees and evening engagements, such at 16.00 – 17.30hrs. Cost in 2014 is c£18pp.
- Again a pre-prepared press release and photographer are essential. Consider using Twitter.
- If more than one MP is invited, put someone in charge of recording who attends and noting issues raised for follow up.

How to lobby – at Party Conferences

Try to hold fringe meetings outside the secure areas at all three main party conferences. Regions within which the conference takes place are relied upon to encourage local members to attend and question the politicians in attendance. This is a great opportunity for members as they get to raise their views and concerns with those at the highest levels within the sector.



Appendix C: What can an MP do?

- They can write a letter to a specific ministry.
- They can ask a Parliamentary question (Prime Minister's or department questions).
- They can hold a Westminster Hall debate (30 minutes – 1.5 hours).
- They can table an adjournment debate.
- They can join or form an All Party Parliamentary Group.
- They can apply to introduce a Private Members Bill.
- They can vote to block a piece of legislation.
- If they are a Minister they have the ability to enact or amend a piece of legislation.
- They can raise the issue with the media.
- Promote issue or campaign through social media (Twitter/ Facebook/ Blog/ website/ Badge).
- They can sponsor an Early Day Motion.
- They can speak at a public meeting.

Will the MP respond?

Yes, MPs have an obligation to represent the interests of every member of their constituency. Of course all MPs want to be popular and every person who contacts their local MP represents a voter.

What is the best way to contact an MP?

- The best way to get your message across to a politician is to meet face-to-face. Every MP holds a regular surgery in their constituency or you could arrange to meet at parliament.
- A personal letter can be effective if a face-to-face visit is not possible.
- Phoning the MP or sending an e-mail is the least effective ways of contacting the MP.
- Consider more modern opportunistic methods e.g. Twitter / Facebook.

Tips on meeting a MP face-to-face

- Phone for an appointment at the surgery or if you want to meet at the House of Commons make an appointment in advance.
- Arrive on time and leave on time.
- Always start and finish by thanking the MP for meeting you.
- Careful planning is important. Be well informed on the issues, settle on three or four main points; and on your MP voting record and history, remember to compliment them on past achievements.
- Be polite, positive and firm never threaten or lose your cool with the MP.
- It helps to go in a small group of two or three people as this will show that the matter is not just of interest to one individual. With a group visit decide before you meet the MP what each person's role will be.
- Be smart - it's an official meeting and shows respect .
- Have data prepared – preferably relating to general national data, data specific to your district, and your personal story.
- Decide what you would like to get from the meeting, see above for a list of what an MP can do for you, but be realistic.
- Don't be afraid to say "I don't know". It can be a smart political move. You are not expected to be an expert and it gives you the opportunity to contact your MP again with an answer to



their question. Never make up an answer to a question – giving wrong or inaccurate information can seriously damage your credibility.

- Leave a piece of prepared information. Say that you would appreciate the opportunity of a further meeting should any other important issues arise.
- Right after the meeting, write a note on what took place, the issues discussed, how you felt the MP responded, what the MP committed to do and what follow up information you committed to send.
- If the MP promises to write on your behalf to a minister or someone else, let a respectable period elapse, then write asking if there has been any reply.

Tips on how to write to an MP

- Write to your MP at either their constituency office or their parliamentary office.
- Know your MP's voting records and history; this may help you decide how to approach the subject in your letter.
- Make sure your address and postcode are on the top of the letter – envelopes are often thrown away.
- Address your MP correctly. If you know the MP personally you could address them informally, however it is a safer option to address them by their correct title.
- Depending on the level of MP you are writing too address them by their job title or name either – Dear Prime Minister, Dear Secretary of State or Dear (name) MP.
- MPs are busy and get hundreds of letters so keep the letter short, one A4 side is about right.
- Make sure the letter is neatly presented and that the spelling and grammar are correct.
- You can say something about yourself – maybe something about your background. But be brief.
- Make your request, clearly, calmly, persuasively, never threatening or offensive.
- If you can, target your letter specifically at the MP, such as praising their good track record on other issues.
- Ask the MP to do something – see above for a list of what an MP can do for you.
- Round off with a simple conclusion which shows that you expect a reply. 'I look forward to hearing for you' will be fine.
- Thank the MP for helping you before signing off.
- Sign it with – Yours sincerely and then, underneath your own signature, name and job title.
- Keep the others informed - if you write to your MP or meet them, make a point of copying the correspondence or sending the details to farming representatives to keep them informed.

How to lobby – in the Constituency

- There are numerous advantages to lobbying in the Constituency, rather than in the frenetic atmosphere of Parliament or at conferences.
- **In parliament we may snatch two minutes with an MP in a corridor, on farm you have their undivided attention (especially if no mobile signal) for a few hours.**

How to lobby – in the Constituency – action plan

- Contact any MPs you missed in pre-election hustings and offer to meet them



- Contact all successful MPs and invite them on-farm on a Friday during Parliamentary time or during the recess. Try to avoid local farmers' busy periods to ensure good turnout of members.
- One successful on-farm meeting format is a meeting around the kitchen table along with a farm walk highlighting issues discussed (e.g. planning or environment concerns).
- Take a camera and make sure you pass on the photos to the MPs office.
- Pre-prepare a press release and get the MP to annotate any changes and add quotes. That way it can be released almost immediately along with the photos taken. They love the publicity! Tweeting is a quick way to publicise an event and share a photo in real time and many MPs now have a Twitter account.
- Before ending the farm visit, agree on the date for the next one. An annual visit is good, but two a year is better still.
- Identify a local 'buddy' for the MP to use as a contact. This could be a good group secretary or a local trusted member.
- Offer all MPs to be added to any update circulation lists (Feedback form).
- Pass on details of regional and Westminster staff contacts (Feedback form).
- Follow up any agreed actions with the MP (Feedback form).
- Foster the relationship - we know when it is working as the MPs refer to members as '*my farmers*', when debating in the House. If appropriate the branch can even arrange a visit to the House as part of their calendar of events.
- Agree some action points or outcomes from the meeting such as the MP agreeing to table some Parliamentary questions, write to a Minister or put in for a debate (Feedback form).
- Finally, do not forget the unsuccessful candidates. They will probably pop up again and will be very grateful for your support and contact.

In summary:

CONTACT

ENGAGE

BEFRIEND

FEED BACK

FOLLOW UP

What to lobby on?

Local issues – these will get buy-in from the MP as they apply to their Constituency. The trick is to make some national issues have a local dimension to get them engaged.



Appendix D: Lobby meeting feedback form



MP Meeting Feedback Form

Date Location

MPs Name Constituency

Attendees

MPs Preferred Email Staff Member Email

MPs Tel No. Office Mobile

Private Staff

MPs Contact Address: Room....., Houses of Parliament, Westminster, SW1P 1AA

	National	Regional Update	Specialist (e.g. pigs)
Do they want to receive briefings?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> List:.....

Have you set up another meeting (6 months or annual usual)? Yes No

If yes when/where?

	Photo Taken	Press released	Tweeted
Press/Media:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	County advisor	Region	Westminster	HQ
Who needs to know?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

County Adviser Details

Name Email Mobile

Group Secretary Details

Name Email Mobile



We have asked them to: [Select as Appropriate]

- Ask a question in parliament.
- Write a letter to a specific ministry.
- Table an adjournment or Westminster Hall debate.
- (If they are a Minister) enact or amend a piece of legislation.
- Raise an issue with the media.
- Speak at a public meeting.
- Sponsor an Early Day Motion.

Issues Raised:

-
-
-
-
-

MP's Response:

-
-
-
-
-

Follow up work (for you or them):

-
-
-
-
-
-
- **Email pdf to Matt.Ware@nfu.org.uk or Fax: 020 7808 6610**



Appendix E : DBV Meine-bauern familie / My farming family and NFUtube



(DBV, Meine-bauern familie, 2014)



(NFU, NFU Youtube, 2014)

"Influencing agricultural policy through effective lobbying: a perspective on lobbying practice around the world – creating a farmer's lobbying toolkit." ... by Matt Ware
A Nuffield Farming Scholarships Trust report ... generously sponsored by the NFU Mutual Charitable Trust



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