

**UNIVERSITY OF TWENTE  
&  
UNIVERSITY OF MÜNSTER**

**European Studies**

**Master Thesis**

**“To what extent can lobbying actors profit from marketing insights?”**

**Submitted to**

Dr. Gert-Jan HOSPERS  
Prof. Dr. Norbert KONEGEN

**Submitted by**

Gökhan DOYGUN	s0124494
Matrikelnummer	328398

**ENSCHDE**

**January 2008**

## **Contents**

INTRODUCTION	3
1. Lobbying	8
1.1. Definition of Lobbying	8
1.2. Actors in Lobbying	9
1.2.1. Subnational Levels of Government	11
1.2.2. Private and Public Companies	11
1.2.3. National Interest Groups	11
1.2.3. Eurogroups	12
1.3. The Decision Makers of the EU	12
1.3.1. Council	13
1.3.2. The Commission	13
1.3.3. The European Parliament	14
1.4. Theoretical Approaches	15
1.4.1. Demand and Supply Approach	15
1.5. Strategies and Techniques Used in Lobbying	18
2. Marketing	23
2.1. Definition of Marketing	23
2.2. The Marketing Concept	23
2.2.1. Core Concepts	24
2.3. Strategies and Techniques Used in Marketing	26
2.3.1. Marketing Planning Process	26
2.3.2. Strategic Formulation	27
2.3.3. 4P's	28
2.3.4. Relationship Marketing	29
2.3.5. Marketing Information System	30
2.3.6. Branding	31
2.3.7. Marketing Communications Strategies	31
3. Lobbying and Marketing: Similar Practices?	34
3.1. Comparison of Lobbying and Marketing Concepts	36
3.1.1. Exchange	37
3.1.2. Promoting	37
3.1.3. Communicating	39

4. Case Study: Turkey and the EU	42
4.1. The History	43
4.2. Turkey's approach to the EU	47
4.2.1. Monitoring	47
4.2.2. Lobbying	48
4.3. Marketing strategies and techniques as a lobbying tool	50
CONCLUSION	56
REFERENCES	58

## INTRODUCTION

In seeking to understand the European integration process, we need to take account of the role played by the member states and supranational institutions. Member states are not just represented by national governments. Non-state and transnational actors participate in processes of domestic preference formation in direct representation of interest in Brussels. Since the late 1980s we have witnessed a strong and rapid growth in attempts to influence EU decision making. All the key political actors in Europe, such as companies, interest groups, governments and local authorities, increasingly direct their attention towards the EU. This increased attention is closely linked to the revitalisation of the EU through the successful launching of the internal market and the general expansion of EU legislation and other programmes. One of the most striking aspects of this is the explosive growth of direct interest representation, i.e. lobbying.<sup>1</sup>

Pressure exerted on and influence gained over political process by public and private interests is a long-known phenomenon in political life. It is present at all levels of governance: at the national, the European and the global level. In this paper, interest intermediation in the EU will be studied. In the last decades, interest intermediation in the EU has become a widely discussed theme, due to the deeper and wider European integration. The booming business of lobbying at EU level indicates that many organisations and groups inside the EU see EU political decision-making as highly important. Accordingly they do their best to influence this process in their own favour. To that end they continuously add ideas, information and demands to the body of European politics. Coming from both the private and the public national sectors, they spontaneously provide bottom-up linkages between the member states and the EU, forming a part of the nervous-systems of European political life.<sup>2</sup> Compared with most national policy-making systems in Europe, the EU is characterised by very large numbers of actors, bringing diverse policy frames to the negotiating tables, facing an array of policy making venues at which they can influence EU policy.<sup>3</sup>

The main objective of European affairs consultants, European associations and other lobbying professionals is to maintain a favourable regulatory environment for their organisations,

---

<sup>1</sup> Andersen, Svein S. and Eliassen, Kjell A. (1995), 'EU Lobbying: The new research agenda', in: *European Journal of Political Research*, volume 27, pp. 427-441

<sup>2</sup> Van Schendelen, M., editor, (1993), *National Public and Private EC Lobbying*, Aldershot: Dartmouth, p. 1

<sup>3</sup> Richardson, Jeremy (2000), 'Government, Interest Groups and Policy Change', *Political Studies*, 48, 5.

members or clients. At the beginning of the year 2000, about 2.600 interest groups even had a permanent office downtown Brussels. Their distribution is roughly as follows: European trade federations (32%), commercial consultants (20%), companies (13%), European NGOs (e.g., in environment, health care or human rights) (11%), national business and labour associations (10 %), regional representations (6%), international organisations (5%), and think tanks about (1%). In addition there are permanent representations of the member- state governments and around 150 delegations from foreign governments.<sup>4</sup>

When we look at the statistical information given above, we see that the key players are formal EU business associations and firms that have established government relations offices in Brussels. Therefore, it should not be surprising that the business management is a source for lobbying. In many literatures, lobbying is named as “Public Affairs Management” and lobbyists are named as “Public Affairs Professionals”. In his book ‘Machiavelli in Brussels: The Art of Lobbying the EU’, Van Schendelen mentions the academic source of the term public affairs management, which has two origins: business management and political science.<sup>5</sup> This already gives an indication that there might be a link between marketing management strategies and lobbying strategies since marketing strategies are being used to reach business goals, while lobbying strategies are being used to reach political goals.

The link between marketing strategies and lobbying strategies can also be shown by the fact that in describing lobbying activities, the metaphor of the political market is often used: just as the equilibrium price in goods markets is found by the interplay of supply and demand, the equilibrium level of influence is determined by the supply and demand of information and other goods provided by officials and politicians, on the one hand, and lobbyists, on the other. The immediate parallel of price formation in the commercial market would hence be the formation of consensus in the EU political market.<sup>6</sup>

Also, an ever widening range of academic literature has commented on the growing dependencies of politics on marketing. Although the focus of most academic studies of political marketing remains firmly fixed on the communication of political parties and

---

<sup>4</sup> Landmarks (2000), The European Public Affairs Directory, Brussels: Lendmarks

<sup>5</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 44

<sup>6</sup> EP Working Paper, April 2003, Lobbying in the European Union: current rules and practices, Luxembourg, p. iv

candidates to their electorates, a few draw attention to the links between marketing, political communication and political lobbying.<sup>7</sup> Harris and Lock argue that lobbying is “Machiavellian marketing”. By that, they mean that political lobbyists routinely utilize marketing concepts and techniques in presenting their case.<sup>8</sup>

Also Van Schendelen mentions that lobbying can be studied as a case of marketing as there are many parallels in the influencing of the consumers’ market. Here too, the desired outcomes, as sales and profit, can not any longer, as frequently in the past, just be imposed, tied in, advertised or talked up. They may need a great deal of homework beforehand in the form of research and development.<sup>9</sup> Andrews writes that political lobbying techniques have much in common with marketing, with market research being the most obvious parallel technique.<sup>10</sup> Miller mentions the importance of research by saying: “Time spent in reconnaissance is seldom wasted. In other words, do your market research”; and “every pound spend on intelligence-gathering is worth (or may avoid) ten spent on lobbying”.<sup>11</sup> Wilson goes further: “In my view, the research is so important to the nature of the campaign itself, to its messages and themes, that you should not even consider your objectives, targets or campaign plan – let alone the design of your material or the way you intend to put it across – until the research is complete and you are able to study it and its implications in depth”.<sup>12</sup> Researching the political context, then, is as important to lobbying campaign as researching the market context is to a marketing campaign.

Although it is mentioned in some literatures that marketing concepts and techniques can be used or are being used for political lobbying, there is an important question which remains unanswered: “To what extent can lobbying actors profit from marketing insights?” The aim of this paper is to give an answer to this question. I believe that there are similarities between marketing and lobbying. I see lobbying as marketing of political ideas, points of views and

---

<sup>7</sup> Andrews, L. (1996) ‘The relationship of political marketing to political lobbying’, in: *European Journal of Marketing*, volume 30, 10, pp. 68-91

<sup>8</sup> Harris, P. And Lock, A. (1996), ‘Machiavellian Marketing: the Development of Corporate Lobbying in the UK’, in: *Journal of Marketing Management*, volume 12, pp. 313-328

<sup>9</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 43

<sup>10</sup> Andrews, L. (1996) ‘The relationship of political marketing to political lobbying’, in: *European Journal of Marketing*, volume 30, 10, pp. 68-91

<sup>11</sup> Miller, C. (1996), “Role of professional political consultants – the provider perspective”, paper presented at the Lobbying – The Way Forward Conference, AIC Conference, London, 7 March

<sup>12</sup> Wilson, D. (1987), *Battle for Power, Sphere*, London

policies in politics. By making a research on both lobbying and marketing, I want to find the similarities and connections between lobbying and marketing, which are often mentioned but weakly analysed in the literature. And then I want to see if marketing strategies can be applied on lobbying the EU.

## **Methodology**

The literature assessment focuses on lobbying and marketing. From these separate literature assessments, conclusions will be drawn on the basis of applicability. Since this paper lays a strong emphasis on applicability of marketing strategies on lobbying and since the functional similarities of lobbying and marketing are key arguments of this thesis, the literature review and interpretation has to be completed by empirical research. Lobbying has to be regarded as an activity that can certainly be expected to follow rational considerations, but, especially as regards Brussels, it also consists of experience, knowledge and human skills, which are difficult to capture analytically. That's why a case study is necessary. The empirical research will be done through one selected case study, Turkey. I will see to what extent Turkey (can) use marketing strategies in her lobbying activities.

The reason why I chose Turkey as a case study is that the history of Turkey's membership to the EU starts from 31 July 1959 and even today Turkey's membership is still not clear. Turkey's membership to EU remains one of the main topics for both Turkey and the EU. That's why it is interesting to take a look how Turkey lobbies the EU and how she can improve her strategies.

## **Operationalisation and Structure**

In the first chapter, I will explain about lobbying: What is lobbying? Who are the lobbying actors? Who do they lobby? What are the different theoretical approaches towards EU lobbying? What kind of lobbying strategies and techniques do they use? And what are the principles of successful lobbying? The answers to these questions will help me to see the whole picture at lobbying.

In the second chapter, I will explain about marketing: What is marketing? What are the concepts of marketing? What are the strategies and techniques used for the marketing

purpose? The answers to these questions and to the questions at the first chapter will help me to build structured information at the third chapter in which I will compare lobbying and marketing.

In the third chapter I will compare lobbying and marketing to see if they are similar practices by using the information that I reached at the first and second chapter.

The fourth chapter will be the analysis of a case study: Turkey.

In the fifth chapter, I will give the conclusion, which will be the answer to the research question: “To what extent can lobbying actors profit from marketing insights?”



# 1. Lobbying

## 1.1. Definition of Lobbying

Since the late 1980s we have witnessed a strong and rapid growth in attempts to influence EU decision making. All the key political actors in Europe, such as companies, interest groups, governments and local authorities, increasingly direct their attention towards the EU. This increased attention is closely linked to the revitalisation of the EU through the successful launching of the internal market and the general expansion of EU legislation and other programmes. One of the most striking aspects of this is the explosive growth of direct interest representation, i.e. lobbying.<sup>13</sup>

Originally, lobbying referred to informal efforts to influence parliamentarians. In the late 16<sup>th</sup> or early 17<sup>th</sup> century, in Britain, the word lobbyist described those who stood in the lobby of the Palace of Westminster, London, waiting to catch a quick word with Members of the Parliament on their way to and from the House of Commons debating chamber.<sup>14</sup> The encyclopaedic definition of lobbying is: “practice and profession of influencing governmental decisions, carried out by agents who present the concerns of special interests to legislators and administrators”.<sup>15</sup> The oldest research definition is given by Milbarth, who looked at lobbying primarily as a communication process: “Communication is the only means of influencing or changing a perception; the lobbying process, therefore, is totally a communication process”.<sup>16</sup> In his classical study, *The Washington Lobbyists*, Lester Milbarth defines lobbying as “the stimulation and transmission of communication, by someone other than a citizen acting on his own behalf, directed towards a government decision-maker in the hope of influencing a decision”.<sup>17</sup> Most of the elements of Milbarth’s definition receive wide support. The elements most often stressed in the literatures on the lobbying concept are: influencing politics (authorities, decision-making, policies), contacting directly, acting actively, making use of

---

<sup>13</sup> Andersen, Svein S. and Eliassen, Kjell A. (1995), ‘EU Lobbying: The new research agenda’, in: *European Journal of Political Research*, volume 27, pp. 427-441

<sup>14</sup> Mack, Robert (2005), ‘Lobbying effectively in Brussels and Washington – Getting the right result’, in: *Journal of Communication Management*, volume 9, 4, pp. 339-347

<sup>15</sup> *The Columbia Encyclopaedia*, Sixth Edition (2006), New York: Columbia University Press

<sup>16</sup> Milbrath, L. (1960), ‘Lobbying as a Communication Process’, in: *Public Opinion Quarterly*, volume 24, 1

<sup>17</sup> Milbarth, L. (1963), *The Washington Lobbyists*, Chicago: Northwestern

intermediaries, exchanging information and acting in private (e.g. Gardner 1991; Mazey and Richardson 1993; Greenwood 1997; van Schendelen 1993; 2002).

Van Schendelen defines lobbying as the informal exchange of information with public authorities, as a minimal description on the one hand, and as trying informally to influence public authorities, as a maximal description on the other hand. That leaves, on one side, sufficient scope for additional elements such as physical contacts and public lobbying, while on the other side stressing lobbying's most crucial elements. 'Public authorities', then, are those people with formal power to make binding decisions which affect (segments of) society, e.g. elected politicians, cabinet ministers, civil servants, public agents and political assistants. 'Information' refers to any description of reality, considered to be of use to the receiver and possessing factual validity and subjective values, interpretations or viewpoints. 'Influence' is the creation of an impact on somebody's behaviour and as such is focused on changing or strengthening his intended behaviour.<sup>18</sup>

## **1.2. Actors in Lobbying**

Interest groups can be categorised in a variety of ways. They can be seen in terms of their organisational degree (peak associations vs. membership associations), their structure (traditional associations vs. spontaneous, unconventional initiatives and movements), their legal forms, or their motivational character. Much of the literature builds the categories according to the kind of interests that groups pursue. Generally, public and private interests are distinguished. According to this classification, public interest groups seek benefits serving the society as a whole, for example better consumer protection, improved environmental protection or lower taxes, while private interest groups seek to achieve goals for their immediate members only.<sup>19</sup>

As Brussels has turned into an important centre of decision-making power (80 % of national legislation today is of European inspiration)<sup>20</sup>, lobbies started to proliferate. Today the EU controls important policies such as the Common Agricultural Policy, the negotiations in the

---

<sup>18</sup> Van Schendelen, M., editor, (1993), *National Public and Private EC Lobbying*, Aldershot: Dartmouth, p. 3

<sup>19</sup> EP Working Paper, April 2003, *Lobbying in the European Union: current rules and practices*, Luxembourg, p. 5

<sup>20</sup> Guéguen, D., "Governance and the Role of Associations in Economic Management: A Response from an EU Public Affairs Practitioner", in: Greenwood, J. (ed.). *The Effectiveness of EU Business Associations*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2002, p. 47

World Trade Organisation, telecommunication, food safety, public health and transport. Many Committees and Expert Groups assist the European Commission in the preparation, adoption and enforcement of regulations and directives.

In parallel with the extension of the European Parliament's legislative powers, the volume and intensity of efforts to lobby it have significantly increased in the 1980s and 1990s. The most often quoted – although meanwhile somewhat outdated – source on the number of interest groups at the European level is a Commission report published in 1992. In this report, the Commission estimated that there were about 3000 interest groups (both national and European) active in Brussels and Strasbourg, employing around 10.000 people, among which there were about 500 European and/or international federations. In addition, it is generally agreed that there are more than 300 individual companies having direct representations or public affairs offices in Brussels. About 100 management consultancies and numerous law firms specialise in EU decision making procedures and European law.<sup>21</sup>

Although the Commission has recognised that its 1992 figures were somewhat exaggerated and based on rough and ready assumptions, the general idea the communication has left is that there is a problem of "overcrowding" of the lobbying environment and of information overload of Members of the European Parliament (MEPs). On the other hand, for many MEPs the main problem with lobbyists is not quantity but quality.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, badly prepared and unfocused efforts can be annoying, whereas useful and competent information is often welcome to policy-makers. Particularly useful are comparative research and evidence that will enable decision makers to assess the impact of their proposal on the law and practices in each of the Member States.

The interest groups active at the EU level can be classified in four main groups:<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Commission of the European Communities, *An Open and Structured Dialogue Between the Commission and Special Interest Groups*; SEC (92)2272 fin.

<sup>22</sup> EP Working Paper, April 2003, *Lobbying in the European Union: current rules and practices*, Luxembourg, p. 3

<sup>23</sup> Nugent, N., (2003), *'The Government and Politics of the European Union'*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 280-284

### **1.2.1. Subnational Levels of Government**

Many subnational governmental bodies from the member states seek to influence, or even play a direct role in, EU decision-making processes. The degree of their involvement and activity depends largely on the degree of autonomy and manoeuvrability they enjoy at the national level. Where regional and local governments with real powers exist, then direct lines of communication have usually been opened up with EU institutions, notably the Commission, and offices have been established in Brussels. In total, over 100 subnational authorities maintain representative offices in Brussels. More commonly, however, regional and local authorities work with the EU mainly through their national governments, and where appropriate, through liaison organizations and the locally based European office that many have created.

### **1.2.2. Private and Public Companies**

Many large business firms, especially multinational corporations, are very active in lobbying EU institutions. More than 250 firms have established offices in Brussels. Adopting, usually, multiple strategies, business lobbying is channelled through both national and Euro interest groups, and is also conducted on a direct basis. Direct lobbying has an advantage of not requiring a collective view to be sought with other firms, and also, enables sensitive issues to be pursued when there is no desire to go public, for example when competition and trading matters are involved. The car industry is an example of a sector where direct lobbying by firms, and not just European firms, is common. Most large car firms in Europe have lobbying offices in Brussels.

### **1.2.3. National Interest Groups**

Many circumstances result in national interest groups attempting to involve themselves in EU processes. For example, several national environmental interest groups have pressed for more effective implementation of existing EU legislation on the disposal of sewage into the sea. In some policy areas, especially those concerned with business and trade matters, many national interest groups are from non-EU countries. In seeking to play a part in EU processes, most national interest groups are confined to working from their national offices via a European interest group, but a few of the larger industrial and agricultural groups have, in addition to a

domestic and European group base, their own representatives and agents permanently based in Brussels.

#### **1.2.4. Eurogroups**

There are somewhere around 800 Eurogroups. They are the groups that draw their membership from several countries and operate at, and doing so seek to represent the interests of their sector or cause, at the EU level. Their policy interests naturally reflect the policy priorities and concerns of the EU. Of the 800 or so Eurogroups, over 65 per cent represent business, about 20 per cent are public interest groups, about 10 percent represent the professions, and about 6 per cent represent trade unions, consumers, environmentalists, and other interests.<sup>24</sup>

Eurogroups normally attempt to do two main things. First, they seek to gather and exchange information, both in a two-way process with EU organs and with and between national affiliates. Second, they seek to have their interests and views incorporated into EU policy, by persuading and pressuring those who make and implement policy. Not all Eurogroups, of course, attempt or are able to exercise these functions in equal measure: for example, in those sectors where EU policy is little developed, Eurogroups often choose to give a higher priority to the first function than they do to the second.<sup>25</sup>

### **1.3. The Decision Makers of the EU**

The long, complex and multi-layered nature of EU processes provides many points of access for interests. Interest groups are capable of allocating resources rationally as between possible lobbying targets, whether institutions (see Coen 1997; 1998; Bennet 1997; 1999) or individual legislators (Snyder 1991). Empirical studies of interest groups often reveal marked preferences for the bureaucratic venue as a means of influencing public policy decisions. Similarly, groups know that the rational allocation of lobbying is not just about influencing or changing public policy – it is also about minimising their surprises. Hence, knowing what is going on may be just as important to an adaptive interest organisation, as trying to influence

---

<sup>24</sup> Greenwood, J., Strangward, L. and Stancich, L. (1999), 'The Capacities of Euro Groups in the Integration Process', in: *Political Studies*, XLVII, pp.127-138

<sup>25</sup> Nugent, N., (2003), 'The Government and Politics of the European Union', New York, Palgrave Macmillan, pp 280-284

what is going on.<sup>26</sup> Within the EU, there are many opportunities for them to keep themselves informed about developments and press their cases with those who influence, make, and implement decisions. The main points of access are Council, the Commission, and the European Parliament.

### **1.3.1. Council**

A major problem for interests is that they cannot normally directly approach either the European Council or the Council of the European Union. This is partly because there are practical problems with lobbying what are in effect international negotiations, it is partly because the meetings are held behind closed doors, but is mainly because neither body wishes to make itself available, as a collective entity, for regularised or intensive interest targeting. Only a few direct linkages therefore exist, and these are largely restricted to the most powerful interests. More usually, however, the only way an interest can hope to establish contact with, and perhaps exert pressure on, the European Council or Council of the European Union is indirectly: through the government or governments looking favourably on its cause or feeling obliged to act on its behalf.<sup>27</sup> Much time and effort is therefore spent by interests, especially national interests, in attempting to influence the positions adopted by governments in EU negotiations. The rule is to talk to low-ranking civil servants rather than ministers. National experts appointed by their governments sit in numerous committees and groups. Lobbyists therefore seek to maintain good contacts with them. Having access to reliable sources of information (e.g. a member of the working group) about changes being made to the draft legislation is of major importance given that the groups work behind closed doors. This allows for rapid reaction, if the changes are going in the wrong direction for the particular interest group.<sup>28</sup>

### **1.3.2. The Commission**

From the lobbyist's point of view, the Commission is by far the most important and the primary institution where the lobbying process begins. As was mentioned above, some authors even go so far as to say that "you don't lobby the European Parliament or the Council,

---

<sup>26</sup> Richardson, Jeremy (ed.), Second edition (2001), 'European Union: Power and Policy-Making', London, Routledge

<sup>27</sup> Nugent, N., (2003), 'The Government and Politics of the European Union', New York, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 285-290

<sup>28</sup> EP Working Paper, April 2003, Lobbying in the European Union: current rules and practices, Luxembourg, p. 41-42

but you lobby the Commission through the Parliament or the Council."<sup>29</sup> It is so, primarily, because of its central importance in so many respects: in policy initiation and formulation; in taking many financial decisions; in following proposals through their legislative cycle; in managing the EU's spending programmes; and in policy implementation. An important contributory reason why the commission attracts so much attention is simply that it is known to be approachable. The Commission makes itself available to interests because several advantages can occur by doing so. First, interests often have access to specialised information and to knowledge of how things are at the front which the Commission needs if it is to be able to exercise its own responsibilities efficiently. Second, the Commission's negotiating hand with the Council of ministers is strengthened if it can demonstrate that proposals are supported by influential interests. Third, if the Commission does not consult with and try to satisfy interests, and comes forward with proposals to which influential interests are strongly opposed, the proposals are likely to meet strong resistance in the Council. Fourth, with specific regard to Eurogroups, when groups come forward with broadly united and coherent positions they can greatly assist the commission by allowing it to deal with already aggregated views and enabling it to avoid enlargement in national and ideological differences between sectional interests. That's why, Eurogroups always kept informed about the matters that are of interest to them too.<sup>30</sup>

### **1.3.3. The European Parliament (EP)**

Following the rule that interests turn to where the power is, the Commission and the Council were the principal targets of lobbyists until the Single European Act (SEA) entered into force on 1 July 1987. After the institutional position of the EP had been further upgraded with the introduction of new legislative procedures - the co-operation and the co-decision procedures - pressure groups much intensified their action with the EP as a new channel of influence. Especially the less organised interest groups tried to form alliances with the EP on issues that most concerned the general public. Schaber notes that the main strategy of these groups consisted in lobbying the Commission and the Council as the final targets via the Parliament. This had considerable impact on the institutional balance and its internal dynamics: the Commission and the EP are no longer permanent allies representing the European interest but

---

<sup>29</sup> EP Working Paper, April 2003, Lobbying in the European Union: current rules and practices, Luxembourg, p. 40

<sup>30</sup> Nugent, N., (2003), 'The Government and Politics of the European Union', New York, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 285-290

are increasingly often becoming rivals competing for legitimacy. Relations between the EP and “weaker” civic interest groups have the characteristics of what many EU scholars call ‘advocacy coalitions’.<sup>31</sup>

As the role and influence of the European Parliament in the EU system has grown, it has increasingly attracted the attention of interests. The European Parliament considers most important legislative proposals and is in a position, especially when the co-decision procedure applies, to exercise considerable influence over the content of legislation. It can thus be very fruitful for interests to lobby members of the European Parliament, especially reporters and members of committees dealing with relevant legislation. The power conferred on the European Parliament by the Maastricht Treaty to request the Commission to submit legislative acts created the possibility of interests using members of the European Parliament to get legislative initiatives off the ground.

All of the avenues mentioned above are used by interests, with bigger and better researched ones, which are mainly business interests, for making use of most of them to at least some extent.<sup>32</sup>

#### **1.4. Theoretical Approaches**

Since the focus of my thesis is on lobbying and marketing, I am going to focus on the demand and supply approach to lobbying.

##### **1.4.1. Demand and Supply Approach**

Lobbying in the EU results to be necessary, and in some circumstances even vital, for the policy-making process as well as for the implementation of policies. The lobbying activity is not only a way for lobbyists to bring to the attention of EU policy-makers the priorities of the associations they represent, but it is also a mechanism through which the EU political bodies and administration can gain information. Therefore, what is fundamental is the exchange of information, both under the form of political input and technical suggestions especially

---

<sup>31</sup> Schaber, T., "The Regulation of Lobbying at the European Parliament: The Quest for Transparency", p. 220.

<sup>32</sup> Nugent, N., (2003), 'The Government and Politics of the European Union', New York, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 285-290



towards the Commission, and the feedback and support that the institutions receive from interest groups.<sup>33</sup>

In order to explain how the information exchange works, which actors are involved and what kind of information they provide each other, Pieter Bouwen has presented the theory of demand and supply of access goods. Bouwen's starting hypothesis is that 'the private actors who can provide the highest quantity and quality of the critical access good in the most efficient way will enjoy the highest degree of access to the EU institution'.<sup>34</sup> According to his theory, what is crucial in the whole EU decision-making system is information: the whole lobbying process can be described as being a market where the access good at stake is information. Hence, like every market, also this one implies that someone asks something and someone else provides it in exchange of something else: whereas the EU bodies need information to carry out their activities, interest groups need to have access to these institutions to influence their decisions. Both sides gain since the latter acquire the information and expertise they need to formulate the policies, while the former get in contact with policy-makers.<sup>35</sup>

Competition in the EU is usually extremely strong and hard. EU officials act under many cross-pressures, competitors quietly hold the belief that it is in their common interest to prevent one player gaining all, and other interest groups at home may feel threatened if one achieves a full score at EU level.<sup>36</sup> On every issue some lobby groups are in favour of a common decision and others are against. Each category tends to have, in addition, its internal divisions regarding the best policy outcome. There is, in short, always some room for pushing or blocking a decision or a policy as desired. In the absence of a dominant side, every outcome is a matter of giving and taking or decision making by compromise. For successful negotiations, two factors are most important. Firstly, one's position or demand regarding the issue at stake has to be raised in the EU dealing rooms, because otherwise one cannot be taken into account. Secondly, one has to offer something of interest or advantage to other important stakeholders, because otherwise one will be neglected or opposed. The two factors of demand

---

<sup>33</sup> Marziali, V. (2006), 'Lobbying in Brussels: Interest Representation and Need for Information', Bonn, Center for European Integration Studies

<sup>34</sup> Bouwen, P. (2002). "Corporate lobbying in the European Union: the logic of access." in: *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 9(N. 3): 365-390

<sup>35</sup> Marziali, V. (2006), 'Lobbying in Brussels: Interest Representation and Need for Information', Bonn, Center for European Integration Studies

<sup>36</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 91

and supply, necessary for every desired outcome, are always variables. The former comes from one's own desires and latter encompasses items advantageous to the stakeholders in the arena.<sup>37</sup>

In his book, *Machiavelli in Brussels: The art of Lobbying*, van Schendelen uses the metaphor of political market while describing the EU decision mechanism. On one side there is a rich supply of desired values. To some degree it comes close to being a staple market, a concept of harbour economics, where every desired value can be delivered, either immediately from stock or soon after arrival. On the other side, there is a strong and varied demand. Only if there is a match or a balance between supply and demand can a transaction take place. The parallel of price formation in the commercial market is the formation of consensus in this EU political market. One may, of course, criticise the consensus as being a compromise falling short of rational (effective, efficient) decision-making.<sup>38</sup> According to Adam Smith, under the precondition of open competition, the correspondence between demand and supply results in the most rational (effective, efficient) price. Similarly, the formation of political consensus through compromise can be considered the best possible decision method.

According to van Schendelen the EU machinery allows one to be optimistic that, one way or another, and sooner or later, demands and supplies can balance and result in a compromise decision. The stakeholders only have to know how and when. The extent of knowledge and understanding of the EU machinery frequently makes the big difference between the winners and the losers of the game.<sup>39</sup>

According to van Schendelen every lobby group has to develop both a supply and a demand side. Without the first it cannot make itself interesting to the other stakeholders and without the second it cannot get its interest included in the outcome. The lobby group should be more conscious about its supply side than its demand side. Besides, when entering an arena, it has to obtain and maintain a position, which is better achieved through charming rather than

---

<sup>37</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 101

<sup>38</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 89

<sup>39</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 90

demanding behaviour. For these two reasons the professional lobby group invests consciously at least in its image of charm. It likes to be thought interesting, pleasant and friendly.<sup>40</sup>

The rational lobby group, in short, tries to satisfy its demand side by pushing forward its supply side. A good deal finally links up one's won demand and supply sides with those of the stakeholders, crucial for obtaining a desired outcome. This behavioural style comes close to political marketing (O'Shaughnessy, 1990; Andrews, 1996; Harris and Lock, 1996; Dermody and Wring, 2001). An EU arena is, indeed, usually a political market with open competition between multiple stakeholders and with rounds of wheeling and dealing among them, perhaps eventually resulting in a sufficient consensus. Most techniques of marketing can be used, ranging from branding and direct mailing to merchandising and export licensing. Their parallels in the EU arena are the build-up of a good reputation, the direct approach, the supply of desired values and the appointment of an intermediary.<sup>41</sup>

### **1.5. Strategies and Techniques Used in Lobbying**

A pressure group, wanting to influence its challenging European environment, can choose from a menu of at least four traditional techniques.<sup>42</sup>

The first is the use of pressure. A national ministry can put pressure on its home environment by issuing legislation that is ultimately maintained by police, court and jail systems. It can also do so through the EU Council of Ministers. Private pressure groups have to play a less formal game. NGOs may set up a blockade or a hate campaign, as Greenpeace did against Shell in the 1995 Brent Spar affair. A company can threaten to move production to another country.

A second old technique is encapsulation. Major stakeholders are made more dependent by nominating their leadership and/or by granting them a budget. A different version is the establishment of procedures of decision making, which keep them dependent. Ministries in

---

<sup>40</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 221

<sup>41</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 221

<sup>42</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 40-43

particular keep many a so-called independent agency or private organisation under sufficient control in this way. Many a group of citizens is financially dependent on a government and has to apply for a new budget every year. The EU lies heavily on subsidy allocations to get things done the way it wants. A company or an NGO may use part of its budget to make others dependent on them.

Advocacy is a well-established third technique. In its informal variant, it comes down to propaganda, for example through an advertisement of a mass media campaign. NGOs and trade organisations, smelling an opportunity or fearing a threat, frequently rely on this technique. A semi-formal variant is the lodging of a complaint. Competition authorities at both national and EU level receive most complaints about unfair market practices from companies feeling hurt. The formal variant of advocacy is litigation in court, where self-interest is advocated with reference to the laws. In relatively formal societies like Germany and France, litigation is more often used than elsewhere, a national characteristic which is also visible at EU Court level.<sup>43</sup>

The final traditional technique is argumentation. Here, self-interest hidden behind seemingly intellectual reasoning, based on logically sound inferences and empirically credible references. Its impact is, of course, dependent on its credibility. In the Bent Spar case, neither Shell nor Greenpeace had a credible position, Shell because it neglected the logical alternative of dismantling the platform and Greenpeace because it provided incorrect data about the degree of pollution. Argumentation is frequently used in four situations: when important stakeholders are still wavering (they might be won over); when an issue is in an early phase (many have not yet adopted a position); when an issue gets publicity (the audience wants argumentation); and when it needs an upgrade (to present it as a more general interest). In all these cases the argumentation comes close to salesman's talk.

These traditional techniques of influencing a challenging environment are still used in practice, but they have a limited and frequently even decreasing effectiveness and efficiency. The main reasons are the following: Coercion, if based on established EU law and taking the form litigation, usually has only short-term effectiveness. The risk of receiving a retaliating boomerang from the coerced opponents always remains high. Encapsulation requires both a

---

<sup>43</sup> Stone Sweet, A. and Caporaso, J. (1998), 'From Free Trade to Supranational Polity: the European Court and Integration', in: Sandholz and Stone Sweet (1998), pp. 92-133

strong position of power and an affluent financial footing, which preconditions rarely exist. Advocacy leads to little more than counter-advocacy, as every barrister gets an opponent, and thus easily to stalemate. Litigation, in its Court variant as well, frequently incurs high costs, unpredictable outcomes and probably a vengeful opponent. Argumentation is seldom sufficient, as most pressure groups in Europe can produce a position paper with logical inferences and credible references.

This is especially the case on the EU playing field. Competition here is usually among the fiercest in Europe. They increasingly realise that they can not rely solely on the traditional techniques. At EU level, in short, one has to play a more prudent and politic game. The conflicting issues have to be managed by negotiating a deal and a compromise, by researching the stakeholders and the issues in advance and by doing a lot of homework.<sup>44</sup>

In search for better techniques of influence public affairs management (PAM) has become the new catchword. Public affairs management implies specific internal homework for the external influence process. By doing its homework carefully, the pressure group hopes to sharpen its alertness and to strengthen its autonomy with regard to the environment. Public affairs management contains techniques of influence which are not one-sidedly directed at the environment, but highly interactively intertwined with it. The pressure group opens its windows. It goes window-out, in order to monitor the environment, to do field research and/or to lobby for information. It also brings crucial stakeholders window-in, in order to form a coalition, to negotiate a deal and/or to lobby for support.<sup>45</sup> The professional group considers, first of all, the broad concept of 'the situation'. Nowadays it is taken as a synonym for arena and broken down into at least the four elements of stakeholders, issues, time, and arena boundaries. The second thing to think about is how to collect useful information on these important elements. By making such an arena analysis the professional group can identify its friends and enemies, the issues at stake, the same time aspects and the differences between the insiders and outsiders. All this is a matter of window-out preparatory work at home. Then it may know how to lobby, whom to lobby, where and on what issues most effectively and

---

<sup>44</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 40-43

<sup>45</sup> PARG (1981), *Public Affairs Offices and Their Functions*, Boston: Public Affairs Research Group Boston University

efficiently. Through window-in activities it can subsequently apply the best practices of managing an EU arena and its four constituent parts.<sup>46</sup>

The new insights might even be labelled as a case of public marketing, as they have many parallels in the influencing of the consumer's market (O'Shaughnessy, 1990; Andrews, 1996; Harris and Lock, 1996; Harris and others, 2000). Here too, the desired outcomes, as sales and profit, can not any longer, as frequently in the past, just be imposed, tied-in, advertised or talked up. They may need a great deal of homework beforehand in the form of research and development.<sup>47</sup>

To become successful at lobbying one should know which actors to approach, which factors to use and which vectors to create to achieve a desired outcome. The actors are the people who contribute to the making of decision, the factors are the determinants of their decision behaviour and the vectors are the newly created factors, which may influence the behaviour.<sup>48</sup>

Van Schendelen has developed a model he calls the "game of triple P" to describe some facets of these attempts to obtain political influence in a quasi-monopolistic manner. The game's objective is to make the playing field more unlevelled; its participants try to place the friendliest persons in the best positions in the most beneficial procedures. When others start to argue over the contents of the issue, triple P players have already prearranged the playing field and limited the other players' movements by their early settling of the procedures, positions and people favourable to their cause.<sup>49</sup>

On a more instrumental level, Berry suggested already 25 years ago, in a study of lobbying by public interest groups in America, that the tactics or activities they pursued fell into three broad categories:<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 43

<sup>47</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 43

<sup>48</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 94-105

<sup>49</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 105-109

<sup>50</sup> Cited in McGrath, C., "Comparative Lobbying Practices: Washington, London, Brussels", Draft paper, University of Ulster, 2002

- techniques that are characterised by direct communication between lobbyists and governmental officials; these include private, personal representations before people in government; testifying before congressional committees; and formal legal action, such as litigation and interference with administrative proceedings;
- methods by which groups lobby through their constituents; for this, the professional staff act as intermediaries, stimulating lobbying by citizens toward their government; they may ask all their members to write letters or to participate in protest demonstrations; or they may ask individual, but highly influential, members or constituents to contact a key policy maker;
- groups may try to change governmental policy by influencing elections or altering public opinion; techniques of this sort are contributing money to political campaigns, publishing voting records, releasing research results, and public relations campaigns.

More recently, Guéguen divided lobbying strategies in three categories:<sup>51</sup>

- negative strategies consisting of a face-on opposition to Commission proposals or by proposing untenable counter-proposals; the farming lobbies provide the best illustration of these opposition strategies;
- reactive strategies in which prudence prevails over action and initiatives: monitoring, meetings and a small amount of public relations;
- pro-active strategies consisting of working constructively with the Commission in a spirit of partnership and credibility.

According to Coen, successful lobbying requires firms to have established at least four strategic capacities:<sup>52</sup>

- the ability to identify clear and focused policy goals;
- develop relationships and credibility in the policy process;
- understand the nature of the policy process and institutional access;
- look for natural allies and alliances to develop profile and access.

---

<sup>51</sup> Guéguen, D. (2002) "Governance and the Role of Associations in Economic Management: A Response from an EU Public Affairs Practitioner", in: Greenwood, J. (ed.). *The Effectiveness of EU Business Associations*, Palgrave, Basingstoke

<sup>52</sup> Coen, D., "Business Interests and European Integration", in: Balme, R., Chabanet, D. and Wright, V. (eds): *L'action collective en Europe*, Sciences Po Press, Paris, 2002, p. 261-267.

All those strategies and techniques are being used by the lobbyists to reach their goals. The elements most often stressed on the lobbying concept are; communicating, promoting, convincing and influencing, making use of intermediaries, exchanging, developing and managing the relationships, etc. These elements sound familiar with the elements of marketing. To be able to see the relationship, we need to take a closer look into the marketing concept, its strategies and techniques.

## **2. Marketing**

### **2.1. Definition of Marketing**

The practice of marketing is almost as old as humanity itself. Traditionally, a “market” was a physical place where buyers and sellers gathered to buy goods and sell goods. Economists describe a market as a collection of buyers and sellers who transact over a particular product or product class. Marketing deals with identifying and meeting human and social needs. One of the shortest definitions of marketing is “meeting needs profitably”.<sup>53</sup> The traditional definition of marketing, as suggested by the American Marketing Association, is the process of planning and executing the conception, pricing, promotion, and distribution of ideas, goods, and services to create exchanges that satisfy individual and organisational objectives. Another definition of marketing is: "an organizational function and a set of processes for creating, communicating and delivering value to customers and for managing customer relationships in ways that benefit the organization and its stake holders".<sup>54</sup>

### **2.2. The Marketing Concept**

The marketing concept emerged in the mid-1950's. Instead of a product centered, “make-and-sell” philosophy, business shifted to a customer-centered, “sense-and-respond” philosophy. Instead of “hunting”, marketing is “gardening”. The job is not to find the right customers for your products, but the right products for your customers. The marketing concept holds that the key to achieving organizational goals consists of the company being more effective than

---

<sup>53</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 6

<sup>54</sup> <http://www.marketingpower.com/mg-dictionary.php?SearchFor=marketing&Searched=1>



competitors in creating, delivering, and communicating superior customer value to its chosen markets.<sup>55</sup>

To understand the marketing function, we need to understand certain fundamental concepts and tasks, along with current trends.<sup>56</sup>

### 2.2.1. Core Concepts

**Needs, Wants, and Demands** The marketer must try to understand the target market's needs, wants, and demands. Needs are the basic human requirements. People need food, air, water, clothing, and shelter to survive. People also have strong needs for recreation, education and entertainment. These needs become wants when they are directed to specific objects that might satisfy the need. A Dutchman needs food but may want a kroket, Flemish fries, and a soft drink. A Turk also needs food but may want a kebab, salad and ayran. Wants are shaped by one's society. Demands are wants for specific products backed by an ability to pay. Many people want a Mercedes; only a few are willing and able to buy one.

Marketers do not create needs: Needs pre-exist marketers. Marketers, along with other societal factors, influence wants. Marketers might promote the idea that a Mercedes would satisfy a person's need for social status. They do not, however, create the need for social status.

Understanding customer wants and needs is not always simple. Some customers have needs of which they are not fully conscious, or they cannot articulate these needs, or they use words that require some interpretation. Consider the customer who says he wants an "inexpensive" car. The marketer must probe further. We can distinguish among five types of needs:

1. Stated needs (the customer wants an inexpensive car)
2. Real needs (the customer wants a car whose operating costs, not its price, is low)
3. Unstated needs (the customer expects good service from the dealer)

---

<sup>55</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 16

<sup>56</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 24

4. Delight needs (the customer would like the dealer to include onboard navigation system)
5. Secret needs (the customer wants to be seen by his friends as a savvy customer)

Responding only to the stated need may shortchange the customer. Many consumers do not know what they want in a product. As stated by Carpenter, “Simply giving the customers what they want is not enough anymore – to gain an edge companies must help customers to learn what they want.”<sup>57</sup>

**Target Markets, Positioning, and Segmentation** Marketers start by dividing up the market into segments. They identify and profile distinct groups of buyers who might prefer or require varying product and services mixes by examining demographic, psychographic, and behavioural differences among buyers. The marketers then decide which segments present the greatest opportunity – which are its target markets. For each chosen target market, the firm develops a market offering. The offering is positioned in the minds of target buyers as delivering some central benefit(s). For example, Volvo develops its cars for buyers to whom automobile safety is major concern. Volvo, therefore, positions its car as the safest a customer can buy.<sup>58</sup>

**Offerings and Brands** Companies address needs by putting forth a value proposition, a set of benefits they offer to customers to satisfy their needs. The intangible value proposition is made physical by an offering, which can be a combination of products, service, information, and experiences.<sup>59</sup>

**Value and Satisfaction** The offering will be successful if it delivers value and satisfaction to the target buyer. The buyer chooses between different offerings on the basis of which is perceived to deliver the most value. Value reflects the perceived tangible and intangible benefits and costs to customers. Value can be seen as primarily a combination of quality, service and price, called the “customer value triad”. Value increases with quality and service and decreases with price, although other factors can also play an important role.

---

<sup>57</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p.24

<sup>58</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 24

<sup>59</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 25

Value is a central marketing concept. Marketing can be seen as the identification, creation, communication, delivery, and monitoring of customer value. Satisfaction reflects a person's comparative judgements resulting from a product's perceived performance (or outcome) in relation to his or her expectations. If the performance falls short of expectations, the customer is dissatisfied and disappointed. If the performance matches the expectations, the customer is satisfied. If the performance exceeds expectations, the customer is highly satisfied or delighted.<sup>60</sup>

### **2.3. Strategies and Techniques Used in Marketing**

The set of tasks necessary for successful marketing management includes developing marketing strategies and plans, connecting with customers, building strong brands, shaping the market offerings, delivering and communicating value, capturing market insights and performance, and creating successful long-term growth.<sup>61</sup>

#### **2.3.1. Marketing Planning Process**

The marketing planning process consists of analyzing marketing opportunities; selecting target markets; designing marketing strategies; developing marketing programs; and managing the marketing effort.<sup>62</sup> The marketing plan is the central instrument for directing and coordinating the marketing effort. The marketing plan operates at two levels: strategic and tactical. The strategic marketing plan lays out the target markets and the value proposition that will be offered, based on an analysis of the best market opportunities. The tactical marketing plan specifies the marketing tactics, including product features, promotion, merchandising, pricing, sales channels and service.<sup>63</sup>

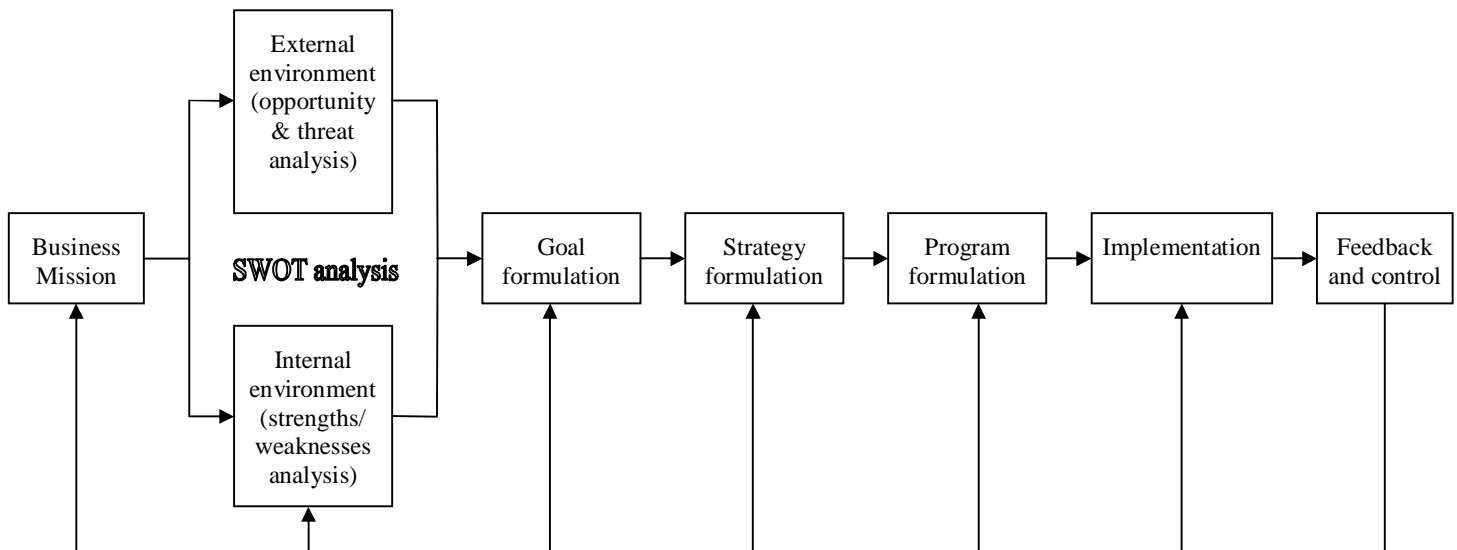
---

<sup>60</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 26

<sup>61</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 29

<sup>62</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 27

<sup>63</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 43



**Strategic Planning Process** Fig. 1.1<sup>64</sup>

For strategic marketing plan, SWOT analysis is necessary. SWOT analysis is the overall evaluation of a company's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats. It involves monitoring the external and internal marketing environment. A business unit has to monitor key macro environmental forces (demographic-economic, natural, technological, political-legal, and social-cultural) and significant micro environmental actors (customers, competitors, suppliers, distributors, dealers) that affect its ability to earn profits. The business unit should set up a marketing intelligence system to track trends and important developments. For each trend or development, management needs to identify the associated opportunities and threats.

<sup>65</sup>It is one thing to find attractive opportunities and another to be able to take advantage of them. Each business needs to evaluate its internal strengths and weaknesses.<sup>66</sup>

### 2.3.2. Strategic Formulation

Goals indicate what a business unit wants to achieve; strategy is a game plan for getting there. According to Michael Porter, firms pursuing the same strategy directed to the same target

<sup>64</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 51

<sup>65</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 52

<sup>66</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 53

market constitute a strategic group. The firm that carries out that strategy best will make the most profits. Firms that do not pursue a clear strategy and try to be good on all strategic dimensions do the worst.<sup>67</sup>

Companies are also discovering that they need strategic partners if they hope to be effective. Even giant companies – AT&T, IBM, Philips, Siemens – often cannot achieve leadership, either nationally or globally, without forming alliances with domestic or multinational companies that complement or leverage their capabilities and resources. Companies need to give creative thought to finding partners that might complement their strengths and offset their weaknesses. Well-managed alliances allow companies to obtain a greater sales impact at less cost. To keep their strategic alliances thriving, corporations have begun to develop organizational structures to support them and have come to view the ability to form and manage partnerships as core skills (called Partner Relationship Management, PRM).<sup>68</sup>

Both pharmaceutical and biotech companies are starting to make partnership a core competency. In the 1980s and 1990s pharmaceutical and biotech firms were vertically integrated, doing all the research, development, and marketing and sales themselves. Now, they are joining forces and leveraging their respective strengths.<sup>69</sup>

### **2.3.3. 4P's**

The marketer's task is to devise marketing activities and assemble fully integrated marketing programs to create, communicate, and deliver value for consumers. The marketing program consists of numerous decisions on value-enhancing marketing activities to use. One traditional depiction of marketing activities is in terms of the marketing mix, which has been defined as the set of marketing tools the firm uses to pursue its marketing objectives.<sup>70</sup> McCarthy classified these tools into four broad groups, which he called the four Ps of marketing: product, price, place, and promotion.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Michael E. Porter, "What Is Strategy?" Harvard Business Review (November-December 1996): 61-78

<sup>68</sup> Harvard Business Review on Strategic Alliances (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School Press, 2002)

<sup>69</sup> Anonymous, "Trends Report: Looking for the Pharmaceutical-Biotechnology Alliance Creates Win-Win", Health and Medicine Week, December 29, 2003, p.726.

<sup>70</sup> Neil H. Borden, "The Concept of the Marketing Mix", Journal of Advertising Research 4 (June): 2-7

<sup>71</sup> E. Jerome McCarthy, Basic Marketing: A Managerial Approach, 12<sup>th</sup> ed. (Homewood, IL: Irwin, 1996)

The four Ps represent the sellers' view of the marketing tools available for influencing buyers. From a buyer's point of view, each marketing tool is designed to deliver a customer benefit. Robert Lauterborn suggested that the sellers' four Ps correspond to the customers' four Cs.<sup>72</sup>

Product → Customer Solution

Price → Customer Cost

Place → Convenience

Promotion → Communication

A product is anything that can be offered to a market that might satisfy a want or need.

The price is the amount a customer pays for a product. It is determined by a number of factors including market share, competition, material costs, product identity and the customer's perceived value of the product.

Place represents the location where a product can be purchased.

Promotion represents all of the communications that a marketer may use in the marketplace.

Winning companies will be those that can meet customer needs economically and conveniently and with effective communication.

#### **2.3.4. Relationship Marketing**

Marketing consists of actions undertaken to elicit desired responses from a target audience. Increasingly, a key goal of marketing is to develop deep, enduring relationships with all people or organizations that could directly or indirectly affect the success of the firm's marketing activities. Relationship marketing has the aim of building mutually satisfying long-term relationships with key parties—customers, suppliers, distributors, and other marketing partners—in order to earn and retain their business.<sup>73</sup> Relationship marketing builds strong economic, technical, and social ties among the parties.

The ultimate outcome of relationship marketing is the building of a unique company asset called a marketing network. A marketing network consists of the company and its supporting

---

<sup>72</sup> Robert Lauterborn, "New Marketing Litany: 4 P's Passé; C-Words Take Over", *Advertising Age*, October 1, 1990, p. 26.

<sup>73</sup> Evert Gummesson, *Total Relationship Marketing* (Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999)

stakeholders (customers, employees, suppliers, distributors, retailers, ad agencies, university scientists, and others) with whom it has built mutually profitable business relationships. Increasingly, competition is not between companies but between marketing networks, with the prize going to the company that has built the better network. The operating principle is simple: Build an effective network of relationships with key stakeholders, and profits will follow.<sup>74</sup>

### **2.3.5. Marketing Information System**

Many managers complain about not knowing where critical information is located in the market; getting too much information that they cannot use and too little than they really need; getting important information too late; and doubting the information's accuracy. Companies with superior information enjoy a competitive advantage. The company can choose its markets better, develop better offerings, and execute better marketing planning.

Every firm must organize and distribute a continuous flow of information to its marketing managers. Companies study their managers' information needs and design marketing information systems (MIS) to meet these needs. A marketing information system (MIS) consists of people, equipment, and procedures to gather, sort, analyze, evaluate, and distribute needed, timely, and accurate information to marketing decision makers.<sup>75</sup>

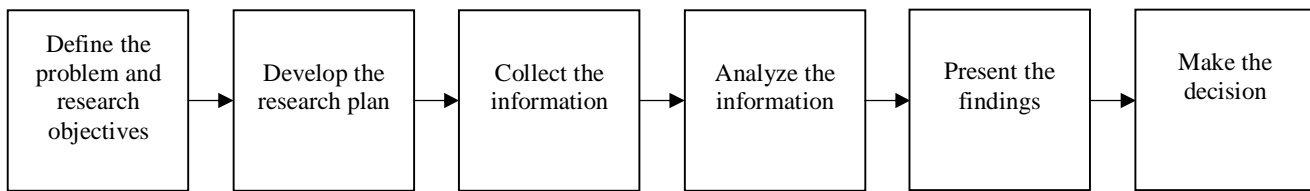
The marketing intelligence system supplies happenings data. A marketing intelligence system is a set of procedures and sources managers use to obtain everyday information about developments in the marketing environment. Marketing managers collect marketing intelligence by reading books, newspapers, and trade publications; talking to customers, suppliers, and distributors; and meeting with other company managers.<sup>76</sup> Through their marketing department, they also make marketing researches to gain information about the market and its improvements.

---

<sup>74</sup> James C. Anderson, Hakan Hakansson, and Jan Johanson, "Dyadic Business Relationships within a Business Network Context", *Journal of Marketing* (October 15, 1994): 1-15

<sup>75</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) *Marketing. Management* 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 72

<sup>76</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) *Marketing. Management* 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 74



**The Marketing Research Process Fig. 4.1<sup>77</sup>**

### **2.3.6. Branding**

The American Marketing Association defines a brand as “a name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or a combination of them, intended to identify the goods or services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competitors.”<sup>78</sup>

Branding is endowing products and services with the power of a brand. Branding is all about creating differences. To brand a product, it is necessary to teach consumers “who” the product is – by giving it a name and using other brand elements to help identify it – as well as “what” the product does and “why” consumers should care. Branding involves creating mental structures and helping customers organize their knowledge about products and services in a way that clarifies their decision making and, in the process, provides value to the firm.

Brand equity is the added value endowed to products and services. This value may be reflected in how consumers think, feel, and act with respect to the brand, as well as the prices, market share, and profitability that the brand commands for the firm. Brand equity is an important intangible asset that has psychological and financial value to the firm.<sup>79</sup>

### **2.3.7. Marketing Communications Strategies**

Marketing Communications are the means by which firms attempt to inform, persuade, and remind consumers—directly or indirectly—about the products and brands that they sell. In a sense, marketing communications represent the “voice” of the brand and are a means by which it can establish a dialogue and build relationships with consumers.

<sup>77</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 103

<sup>78</sup> <http://www.marketingpower.com/mg-dictionary.php?SearchFor=brand&Searched=1>

<sup>79</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 274



Marketing communications perform many functions for consumers. Consumers can be told or shown how and why a product is used, by what kind of person, and where and when; consumers can learn about who makes the product and what the company and brand stand for; and consumers can be given an interactive or reward for trial or usage. Marketing communications allow companies to link their brands to other people, places, events, brands, experiences, feelings, and things. Marketing communications can contribute to brand equity by establishing the brand in memory and crafting brand image.<sup>80</sup>

The marketing communications mix consists of six major models of communication.<sup>81</sup>

1. **Advertising** – Any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods or services by an identified sponsor.
2. **Sales promotion** – A variety of short-term incentives to encourage trial or purchase of a product or service
3. **Events and experiences** – Company-sponsored activities and programs designed to create daily or special brand-related interactions.
4. **Public relations and publicity** – A variety of programs designed to promote or protect a company's image or its individual products.
5. **Direct marketing** - Use of mail, telephone, fax, e-mail, or internet to communicate directly with or solicit response or dialogue from specific customers and prospects.
6. **Personal selling** – Face-to-face interaction with one or more prospective purchases for the purpose of making presentations, answering questions, and procuring orders.

Marketers should understand the fundamental elements of effective communications. Two models are useful: a macromodel and a micromodel.<sup>82</sup>

### **Macromodel of the Communication Process**

The model emphasizes the key factors in effective communication. Senders must know what audiences they want to reach and what responses they want to get. They must encode their messages so that the target audience can decode them. They must transmit the message

---

<sup>80</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 536

<sup>81</sup> Peter D. Bennet, ed., Dictionary of Marketing Terms (Chicago: American Marketing Association, 1995)

<sup>82</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 539

through media that reach the target audience and develop feedback channels to monitor their responses.

Note that selective attention, distortion, and retention processes may be operating during communication, as follows.<sup>83</sup>

**1. Selective attention** - People are bombarded by about 1,500 commercial messages a day, which explains why advertisers sometimes go to great lengths to grab audience attention through fear, music, or sex appeals, or bold headlines promising something, such as “How to Make a Million”. Ad clutter is also a major obstacle to gaining attention – noneditorial or programming content ranges from 25 to 35 percent for TV and radio to over 50 percent for magazines and newspapers.

**2. Selective distortion** – Receivers will hear what fits into their belief systems. As a result, receivers often add things to the message that are not there and do not notice other things that are there. The task is to strive for simplicity, clarity, interest, and repetition to get the main points across.

**3. Selective retention** – People will retain in long-term memory only a small fraction of the messages that reach them. If the receiver’s initial attitude toward the object is positive and he or she rehearses support arguments, the message is likely to be accepted and have high recall. If the initial attitude is negative and the person rehearses counterarguments, the message is likely to be rejected but to stay in long-term memory. Because persuasion requires the receiver’s rehearsal of his or her own thoughts, much of what is called persuasion is actually self-persuasion.

### **Micromodel of Consumer Responses**

This model studies the responses from the consumers to the sender’s message. The model can best be explained by the Hierarchy-of-Effects Model.

---

<sup>83</sup> Brian Sternthal and C. Samuel Craig, *Consumer Behaviour: An Information Processing Perspective* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1982), pp. 97-102

### **Hierarchy-of-Effects Model<sup>84</sup>**

**Awareness** – If most of the target audience is unaware of the object, the communicator’s task is to build awareness.

**Knowledge** – The target audience might have knowledge but not know much more.

**Liking** – If target members know the brand, how do they feel about it?

**Preference** – The target audience might like the product but not prefer to others. In this case, the communicator must try to build consumer preference by comparing quality, value, performance, and other features to likely competitors.

**Conviction** – A target audience might prefer a particular product but not conviction about buying it. The communicator’s job is to build conviction.

**Purchase** – Finally, some members of the target audience might have conviction but may not quite get around to making the purchase. The communicator must lead these consumers to take the final step.

If we summarise the effective communication process, it involves eight steps: (1) Identifying the target audience, (2) determining the communications objectives, (3) designing the communications, (4) selecting the communications channels, (5) establishing the total communications budget, (6) deciding on the communications mix, (7) measuring the communications results, and (8) managing the integrated marketing communications process.<sup>85</sup>

### **3. Lobbying and Marketing: Similar practices?**

When we look at the statistical information given (see Chapter 1), we see that the key players are formal EU business associations and firms that have established government relations offices in Brussels. Therefore, it should not be surprising that the business management is a source for lobbying. In many literatures, lobbying is named as “Public Affairs Management” and lobbyists are named as “Public Affairs Professionals”. In his book ‘Machiavelli in Brussels: The Art of Lobbying the EU’, Van Schendelen mentions the academic source of the term public affairs management, which has two origins: business management and political

---

<sup>84</sup> Robert J. Lavidge and Gary A. Steiner, “A Model for Predictive Measurements of Advertising Effectiveness”, *Journal of Marketing* (October 1961): 61

<sup>85</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) *Marketing. Management* 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 541

science.<sup>86</sup> This already gives an indication that there might be a link between marketing management strategies and lobbying strategies since marketing strategies are being used to reach business goals, while lobbying strategies are being used to reach political goals.

The link between marketing strategies and lobbying strategies can also be shown by the fact that in describing lobbying activities, the metaphor of the political market is often used: just as the equilibrium price in goods markets is found by the interplay of supply and demand, the equilibrium level of influence is determined by the supply and demand of information and other goods provided by officials and politicians, on the one hand, and lobbyists, on the other. The immediate parallel of price formation in the commercial market would hence be the formation of consensus in the EU political market.<sup>87</sup>

Also, an ever widening range of academic literature has commented on the growing dependencies of politics on marketing. Although the focus of most academic studies of political marketing remains firmly fixed on the communication of political parties and candidates to their electorates, a few draw attention to the links between marketing, political communication and political lobbying.<sup>88</sup> Harris and Lock argue that lobbying is “Machiavellian marketing”. By that, they mean that political lobbyists routinely utilize marketing concepts and techniques in presenting their case.<sup>89</sup>

Also Van Schendelen mentions that lobbying can be studied as a case of marketing as there are many parallels in the influencing of the consumers’ market. Here too, the desired outcomes, as sales and profit, can not any longer, as frequently in the past, just be imposed, tied in, advertised or talked up. They may need a great deal of homework beforehand in the form of research and development.<sup>90</sup> Andrews writes that political lobbying techniques have much in common with marketing, with market research being the most obvious parallel

---

<sup>86</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 44

<sup>87</sup> EP Working Paper, April 2003, *Lobbying in the European Union: current rules and practices*, Luxembourg, p. iv

<sup>88</sup> Andrews, L. (1996) ‘The relationship of political marketing to political lobbying’, in: *European Journal of Marketing*, volume 30, 10, pp. 68-91

<sup>89</sup> Harris, P. And Lock, A. (1996), ‘Machiavellian Marketing: the Development of Corporate Lobbying in the UK’, in: *Journal of Marketing Management*, volume 12, pp. 313-328

<sup>90</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 43

technique.<sup>91</sup> Miller mentions the importance of research by saying: “Time spent in reconnaissance is seldom wasted. In other words, do your market research”; and “every pound spend on intelligence-gathering is worth (or may avoid) ten spent on lobbying”.<sup>92</sup> Wilson goes further: “In my view, the research is so important to the nature of the campaign itself, to its messages and themes, that you should not even consider your objectives, targets or campaign plan – let alone the design of your material or the way you intend to put it across – until the research is complete and you are able to study it and its implications in depth”.<sup>93</sup> Researching the political context, then, is as important to lobbying campaign as researching the market context is to a marketing campaign.

Although it is mentioned in some literatures that marketing concepts and techniques can be used or are being used for political lobbying, there is an important question which remains unanswered: “To what extent can lobbying actors profit from marketing insights?” To be able to answer to that question a comparison of lobbying and marketing is necessary.

### **3.1. Comparison of Lobbying and Marketing Concepts**

To be able to see if lobbying and marketing are similar practices, we should take a look at the concepts of both lobbying and marketing which are described in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2. The elements most often stressed in the lobbying concept are; promoting interests, communicating, convincing and influencing politics, making use of intermediaries, exchanging, developing and managing the relationship with authorities. The elements most often stressed in the marketing concept are; promoting products and services, communicating, convincing and influencing customers, making use of marketing channels, exchanging, developing and managing relationship with customers.

When we look at the elements stressed in both studies, we see that they are quite much the same. Therefore, I am going to study the elements of lobbying and marketing together to see if we can apply the marketing strategies on lobbying.

---

<sup>91</sup> Andrews, L. (1996) ‘The relationship of political marketing to political lobbying’, in: *European Journal of Marketing*, volume 30, 10, pp. 68-91

<sup>92</sup> Miller, C. (1996), “Role of professional political consultants – the provider perspective”, paper presented at the Lobbying – The Way Forward Conference, AIC Conference, London, 7 March

<sup>93</sup> Wilson, D. (1987), *Battle for Power*, Sphere, London

### **3.1.1. Exchange**

Exchange, which is the core concept of marketing, is the process of obtaining a desired product from someone by offering something in return. For exchange potential to exist, five conditions must be satisfied:<sup>94</sup>

1. There are at least two parties
2. Each party has something that might be of value to the other party
3. Each party is capable of communication and delivery
4. Each party is free to accept or reject the exchange offer
5. Each party believes it is appropriate or desirable to deal with the other party

In lobbying, there are officials and politicians on one side and lobbyists on the other. Even sometimes officials and politicians lobby each-other. Just as the equilibrium price in goods markets is found by the interplay of supply and demand, the equilibrium level of influence is determined by the supply and demand of information and other goods provided by officials and politicians, on the one hand, and lobbyists, on the other.<sup>95</sup> Like in marketing, here too the parties have something valuable to the other party, which is information and other goods provided by and to each-other. Both sides are capable of communication and delivery. Lobbyists use different communication techniques and different venues to reach the officials and politicians. The exchange offer can be accepted or rejected by any side. When each party believes it is appropriate or desirable to deal with the other party, then the exchange takes place. Exchange is the final part of the deal. There are some other layers in between until the deal takes place. It is the part where strategies and techniques matters to win against one's competitors. That's why I put the elements in an order in which I can explain the implementing the marketing strategies and techniques to lobbying in a better way.

### **3.1.2. Promoting**

Marketing consists of actions undertaken to elicit desired responses from a target audience. Marketing mix, known as the 4P's, is the set of marketing tools the firm uses to peruse its marketing objectives. Those tools are available to influence customers. The first element in

---

<sup>94</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 6.

<sup>95</sup> EP Working Paper, April 2003, Lobbying in the European Union: current rules and practices, Luxembourg, p.

the marketing mix is the product. Products can be either tangible or intangible. Product is the solution to the customer's wants and needs. The second element is the price. Price is the cost of the product paid by consumers. This is the only element in the marketing mix that generates revenue for firms. The third element in the marketing mix is place. Place refers to where and how the products will be distributed to consumers. It defines the convenience of the product. The last variable in the marketing mix is promotion. Promotion is used to introduce the goods and services to the market. By promoting, marketers try to inform the customers about the existence of the product, the characteristics of the product and what needs it will satisfy. Marketers promote the product to convince and influence customers by using communication tools, by making use of marketing channels and by developing and managing relationship with customers.

If we take a look at lobbying while using marketing mix approach, the product is information and other goods, the price is getting a favourable regulatory environment for lobbying organisation, members and clients, the place is the corridors and meeting rooms of the institutions, venues used by lobbyists to reach their target audience, and the promotion is informing the officials and politicians about the information and the other goods the lobbying organisation has, the quality of the information and what needs it will satisfy.

As it is mentioned in the EP Working Paper, there is a problem of overcrowding of the lobbying environment and of information overload.<sup>96</sup> At the beginning of the year 2000, about 2.600 interest groups even had a permanent office downtown Brussels.<sup>97</sup> This shows that there is a hard competition between interests. To be successful in such an arena, one should consider using different strategies and techniques. Since we have been mentioning the similarities between marketing and lobbying, why not use marketing strategies on lobbying?

Before promoting a product, the marketer prepares marketing strategies and plans. The first step in this planning process is SWOT analysis, which is the overall evaluation of company's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats (see Chapter 2). Like in marketing, lobbyists can also use SWOT analysis for their own strategies. As van Schendelen mentions "lobby

---

<sup>96</sup> EP Working Paper, April 2003, Lobbying in the European Union: current rules and practices, Luxembourg, p. 3

<sup>97</sup> Landmarks (2000), The European Public Affairs Directory, Brussels: Landmarks

group should be more conscious about its supply side than its demand side”.<sup>98</sup> In the EU arena where there are many desperate suppliers, one should know his/her strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats and prepare strategies accordingly. Interests should be well prepared against their competitors. Interests should also be aware of the macroenvironmental forces (demographic-economic, political-legal, natural, geographic, social-cultural) and microenvironmental actors (officials, politicians, competitors, information sources). Interests should track trends and important developments to be able to identify the opportunities and threats and to be able to act on time; should know its strengths and weaknesses to be more competitive. The winners are those who had done its research and who were the first to act. Miller mentions the importance of research by saying: “Time spent in reconnaissance is seldom wasted. In other words, do your market research”; and “every pound spend on intelligence-gathering is worth (or may avoid) ten spent on lobbying”.<sup>99</sup> Wilson goes further: “In my view, the research is so important to the nature of the campaign itself, to its messages and themes, that you should not even consider your objectives, targets or campaign plan – let alone the design of your material or the way you intend to put it across – until the research is complete and you are able to study it and its implications in depth”.<sup>100</sup> Researching the political context, then, is as important to lobbying campaign as researching the market context is to a marketing campaign. Therefore, a lobby organisation should create an information system like in marketing to get the necessary information, to get accurate information and to get the information on time.

### **3.1.3. Communicating**

Communication is the exchange of thoughts, messages, or information through speech, signals, writing, or behaviour.<sup>101</sup> Communication is the core of both studies. Marketers use communication to inform and to give the right message about their product to their target group so that they would get the right response. Lobbyists also use communication for the same purpose, which is informing and giving the right message on one hand, and getting the right response from their target audience on the other. Lester Milbarth indicates this in his definition of lobbying by saying that “Communication is the only means of influencing or

<sup>98</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 221

<sup>99</sup> Miller, C. (1996), “Role of professional political consultants – the provider perspective”, paper presented at the Lobbying – The Way Forward Conference, AIC Conference, London, 7 March

<sup>100</sup> Wilson, D. (1987), *Battle for Power*, Sphere, London

<sup>101</sup> <http://www.painaction.com/painaction/Glossary.aspx>



changing a perception; the lobbying process, therefore, is totally a communication process”.<sup>102</sup> Both studies use different communication strategies and techniques to inform, to influence and to convince their target audience about their goods, and to develop and manage relationships with their target audience, even sometimes with their competitors. Since the aim of this paper is checking the applicability of marketing strategies on lobbying, I will only focus on the communication strategies which are being used by marketers.

To develop effective communications, a marketer should identify the target audience, determine the communications objectives, design the communications, select the communications channels, establish total communications budget, decide on the communication mix, measure the communications result and manage the integrated marketing communication process.<sup>103</sup> The same rule counts for lobbyists, too. A lobbyist should first identify his or her target audience to determine what to say, how to say, when to say, where to say, and to whom to say. Then a lobbyist should determine the communications objectives to plan and organise the strategies and techniques to use. A lobbyist should make his or her homework, design the communications and then select which communication channels to use to transfer the message, within its established budget. A research would decrease the cost of lobbying activity and increase the effectiveness. After deciding on the communication mix, he or she should analyse the results and then manage the lobbying process.

One of the main communicative strategies used by marketing is branding, which is endowing products and services with the power of a brand. Branding is all about creating differences. Branding helps to identify the goods or services of one seller or group of sellers and differentiates them from their competitors. By branding we inform the customers about “who” the product is, “what” the product does and “why” consumers should care. Branding helps customers to clarify their decision making and provides value to the company. As I have mentioned in Chapter 1, there is a problem of overcrowding of the lobbying environment. There is a problem of information overload and quality of information is an issue. Branding can also be a strategy to use by lobbyists. To be the winner in the EU arena, a lobbyist should differentiate himself or herself from his or her competitors by creating a positive image of reliableness and good quality. Creating a good image can help lobbyists to build long term relationship with the officials and politicians.

---

<sup>102</sup> Milbrath, L. (1960), ‘Lobbying as a Communication Process’, in: *Public Opinion Quarterly*, volume 24, 1

<sup>102</sup> Milbrath, L. (1963), *The Washington Lobbyists*, Chicago: Northwestern

<sup>103</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) *Marketing. Management* 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 6.

To inform, persuade and remind consumers about the products and brands they sell, marketers use marketing communications mix (see Chapter 2). Lobbyists can also make use of some tools from this mix like advertising, events and experiences, public relations and publicity, direct marketing and personal selling to inform, persuade, influence and convince the officials and politicians. Lobbyists can create public opinion, which the elected council members, commission members and members of European parliament can not refuse to hear. Lobbyists can create public opinion by advertising campaigns through mass media (news papers, TVs, radios, magazines, internet), by organising events like demonstrations, by public relations and publicity of brochures, booklets and magazines defending their points of views. Another way of creating public opinion is word-of-mouth marketing through social channels. Social channels consist of the people on street like neighbours, friends, family members, and associates. The power of word-of-mouth can be seen in a study of 7.000 consumers in seven European countries, which 60 percent said they were influenced to use a new brand by family and friends.<sup>104</sup>

A study by Burson-Marsteller and Roper Starch Worldwide found that one influential person's word of mouth tends to affect the buying attitudes of two other people, on average. That circle of influence, however, jumps to eight online. There is considerable consumer-to-consumer communication on the web on a whole range of subjects. Online visitors increasingly create product information, not just consume it. They join Internet interest groups to share information, so that "word of Web" is joining "word of mouth" as an important buying influence. Words about good companies travel fast, words about bad companies travel even faster. As one marketer noted, "You don't need to reach 2 million people to let them know about a new product – you just need to reach the right 2.000 people in the right way and they will help you reach 2 million."<sup>105</sup>

Kotler defines his strategy on creating personal influence channels as below:<sup>106</sup>

- Identify influential individuals and companies and devote extra effort to them
- Create opinion leaders by supplying certain people with the product on attractive terms

---

<sup>104</sup> Michael Kiely, "Word-of-Mouth Marketing", Marketing (September 1993): 6. See also, Aric Rindfleisch and Christine Moorman, "The Acquisition and Utilization of Information in New Product Alliances: Strength-of-Ties Perspective", Journal of Marketing (April 2001): 1-18

<sup>105</sup> Ian Mount, "Marketing", Business 2.0, August/September 2001, p.84

<sup>106</sup> Kotler, P, Keller, K.L (2006) Marketing. Management 12th edition, Pearson Prentice. Hall, p. 550

- Work through community influentials such as local disk jockeys, class presidents, and president of women's organizations
- Use influential or believable people in testimonial advertising
- Develop advertising that has high "conversation value"
- Develop word-of-mouth referral channels to build business
- Establish an electronic forum
- Use viral marketing

Lobbyists can make use of the strategies mentioned above, by Kottler. Lobbyists can also reach the officials and politicians directly by using direct marketing (through mail, telephone, fax, e-mail or internet) and personal selling (face-to-face). The officials and the politicians at the EU level are working under many cross-pressures from different interests. In such a competitive environment it is not that easy to contact the commission members and council members directly or personally. To influence the commission members, council members and parliamenters, relationship marketing strategies can also be used by lobbyists to develop deep, enduring relationships with all people or organizations that could directly or indirectly affect the success of the lobbying activities, therefore even with their competitors. Well-managed alliances allow lobbyists to obtain a greater interest impact at less cost. Relationship marketing has the aim of building mutually satisfying long-term relationships with key parties in order to earn and retain their business. The core of this strategically way of thinking is "Build an effective network of relationships with key stakeholders, and profits will follow". Therefore, keeping it low key, working together with the other pressure groups on same interests (building up alliances) and building up good reputation is the key to success in lobbying.

#### **4. Case Study: Turkey and the EU**

Until now I explained what lobbying is, what marketing is and what their similarities are. Since the thesis is about the applicability of marketing strategies on lobbying the EU, it is necessary to complete with an empirical research. The empirical research will be done through a case study, Turkey. I will see to what extent Turkey can use marketing strategies in her lobbying activities. The procedure of Turkey's EU membership started on 31 July 1959 and even today Turkey's membership is still not clear. Turkey's membership to the EU

remains one of the main topics for both Turkey and the EU. That's why it is interesting to take a look how Turkey lobbies the EU and how she can improve her strategies.

#### **4.1. The History**

Turkey began westernizing its economic, political and social structures in the 19th century. Following the First World War and the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, Turkey chose Western Europe as the model for her new secular structure.

Turkey has ever since closely aligned herself with the West and has become a founding member of the United Nations, a member of NATO, the Council of Europe, the OECD and an associate member of the Western European Union. During the Cold War Turkey was a part of the Western alliance, defending freedom, democracy and human rights. In this respect, Turkey has played and continues to play a vital role in the defence of the European Continent, in this context; the principle elements of her foreign policy converge with those of her European partners. It was therefore only natural for Turkey to complete her close political cooperation with Western Europe in the economic area. Thus, Turkey chose to begin close cooperation with the EEC.<sup>107</sup>

Shortly after the creation of the European Economic Community in 1958, Turkey made her first application for associate membership in July 1959. The EEC's response to Turkey's application in 1959 was to suggest the establishment of an association until Turkey's circumstances permitted her accession. The ensuing negotiations resulted in the signature of the "Agreement Creating An Association Between The Republic of Turkey and the European Economic Community", also known as the "Ankara Agreement", on 12 September 1963. This agreement, which entered into force on 1 December 1964, was signed to take Turkey to Customs Union and finally to full EEC membership.<sup>108</sup>

On 14 April, 1987, Turkey submitted her application for formal membership into the European Community. The European Commission responded in December 1989 by confirming Ankara's eventual membership but also by deferring the matter to more favourable times, citing Turkey's economic and political situation, as well her poor relations with Greece and the conflict with Cyprus as creating an unfavourable environment with which

---

<sup>107</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/MainIssues/TurkeyAndEU/EUHistory.htm>

<sup>108</sup> <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=111&l=2>

to begin negotiations.<sup>109</sup> As a first step towards membership, talks over the completion of Customs Union began in 1994 and were finalised on 6 March 1995 at the Turkey-EU Association Council. On that day the Association Council adopted its decision 1/95 on the completion of the Customs Union between Turkey and the EU in industrial and processed agricultural goods by 31 December 1995.

On 12-13 December 1997 at Luxembourg European Council accession talks were started with central and eastern European states and Cyprus, but not Turkey. The EU reconfirmed Turkey's eligibility for membership and asked the Commission to prepare recommendations to deepen Turkey-EU relations, while claiming that the development of this relationship depended on a number of factors relating to Greece, Cyprus and human rights.

The Commission, however, excluded Turkey from the enlargement process in its report entitled "Agenda 2000" which it disclosed on 16 July 1997. While the report conceded that the Customs Union was functioning satisfactorily and that it had demonstrated Turkey's ability to adapt to the EU norms in many areas, it repeated the same political and economic arguments against Turkey and made no reference to Turkey's full membership objective. The Commission unveiled on the same day as "Agenda 2000", the "Communication" to enhance relations with Turkey, where it reconfirmed Turkey's eligibility and brought a number of recommendations ranging from liberalisation of trade in services to consumer protection, that aim at taking Turkey-EU relations beyond the Customs Union, but cited a number of political issues as pre-conditions for moving the relations forward.

The fact that the EU confirmed Turkey's eligibility for membership but excluded it from the enlargement process has been seen as a contradiction. The Commission opted to propose measures that would reinforce the relationship within their current framework and complemented these measures with the idea of inviting Turkey to the European Conference. In the light of the EU's claims that all candidates would be judged according to the same objective criteria and that there would be no prejudice in their evaluation, Turkey found the Commission's approach unjust and discriminatory. As a result, even though the Commission argued that the same criteria were applied to Turkey and the other candidates, they produced logically diverging conclusions.<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> [http://www.turkishembassyinlondon.org/canon/aboutturkey\\_eu.htm](http://www.turkishembassyinlondon.org/canon/aboutturkey_eu.htm)

<sup>110</sup> <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=111&l=2>

The disappointment caused by the Luxembourg Summit tried to be fixed at the Helsinki European Council 10-11 December 1999 which confirmed that Turkey is a candidate destined to join the Union on the basis of the same criteria as those applied to the other candidate countries. On 8 March 2000, the European Council adopted the EU-Turkey Accession Partnership, providing a road map for Turkey's EU accession process. On 19 March 2000, the Turkish Government adopted the NPAA, the National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis, reflecting the Accession Partnership.

The next significant step in Turkish-EU relations came with the 12-13 December 2002 Copenhagen European Council. According to it, the EU would open negotiations with Turkey 'without delay' if the European Council in December 2004, on the basis of a report and a recommendation from the Commission, decides that Turkey fulfils the Copenhagen political criteria. Furthermore, during the Summit it was agreed to strengthen the existing accession strategy for Turkey with a view to supporting Turkey in her road to accession, the Commission was invited to intensify the process of screening Turkey's legislation and parallel to that it was indicated that the Customs Union between Turkey and the EU would be expanded and deepened and the pre-accession funds would be increased significantly.<sup>111</sup>

In the 2004 Progress Report the Commission has thoroughly analyzed the steps taken by Turkey on its road to accession. In its Recommendation, the Commission, recognizing that Turkey has sufficiently fulfilled the political criteria, has advised the member states to start accession negotiations with Turkey. Furthermore, the decision taken during the 1999 Helsinki Summit that "Turkey is a candidate country destined to join the EU" was underlined in the Recommendation.<sup>112</sup>

At the European Council on 16-17 December 2004, the decisions taken in the 1999 Helsinki and 2002 Copenhagen Summits were reaffirmed, as the Council took note of the resolute steps taken by Turkey in pursuing a comprehensive reform process and decided to open accession negotiations on 3 October 2005 in the framework of the paragraph 23 of the Presidency Conclusions.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>111</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/MainIssues/TurkeyAndEU/EUHistory.htm>

<sup>112</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/MainIssues/TurkeyAndEU/EUHistory.htm>

<sup>113</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/MFA/ForeignPolicy/MainIssues/TurkeyAndEU/EUHistory.htm>

While the discussions were going on about starting the accession negotiations with Turkey, the German conservative party Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands was offering a “privileged partnership” as a model for future relation between Turkey and the EU. Rather than full membership, this concept would grant Turkey a special status in relation to the EU by improving institutional cooperation between the EU and Turkey by expanding existing structures or establishing new ones; easing the restrictions in numerous policy areas like expanding the already existing customs union between the EU and Turkey by establishing unlimited exchange of goods in a free trade area; removing the restrictions on the free movement of services; not introducing complete freedom of movement for workers but easing the visa regulations for residents of border areas who regularly undertake cross-border travel and extending the existing regulations on visa-free travel. Turkey would also be a member in European foreign, security and defense policy structures on an equal basis.

Although Turkey has rejected this offer politely by stating that privileged partnership is not in her agenda and accession negotiations started on 3 October 2005, the idea of privileged partnership is still supported by former French president and head of the Convention on the Future of Europe Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, current French president Nicolas Sarkozy, and Austrian Chancellor Wolfgang Schäussel, among others. Besides, the issue of Cyprus continues to be a major obstacle to negotiations. European officials have commented on the slowdown in Turkish reforms which, combined with the Cyprus problem, has led the EU's enlargement commissioner Olli Rehn to warn of an impending ‘train crash’ in negotiations with Turkey.<sup>114</sup>

In order to accede to the EU, Turkey must first successfully complete negotiations with the European Commission on each of the 35 chapters of the EU's *acquis* and then the Commission, European Parliament, and member states should approve the final result of the negotiations. After that all member states and applicants ratify the accession agreement in accordance with their constitutional requirements. Public opinion in EU countries generally opposes Turkish membership, though with varying degrees of intensity, although political leaders and politicians of the European Union generally support it. Some countries, notably France and Austria, have discussed putting the decision to a referendum.

---

<sup>114</sup>

[http://www.economist.com/research/articlesBySubject/displaystory.cfm?subjectid=682266&story\\_id=8808134](http://www.economist.com/research/articlesBySubject/displaystory.cfm?subjectid=682266&story_id=8808134)

Turkey's entry into the EU may have profound consequences on the future direction of the EU. The issues mentioned by some of those objecting to Turkey's EU candidacy can be divided among those inherent to Turkey's situation, those that involve internal issues about human rights, democracy, and related matters, and those concerning Turkey's open external disputes with its neighbours such as Syria, Iraq and Iran.<sup>115</sup>

Besides the 35 chapters of homework to complete, Turkey also has quite many issues on its way to EU membership. Before going into applying marketing strategies on lobbying in the Turkish case, let's take a look at how Turkish interest organisations and governmental organisations work in Brussels.

## **4.2. Turkey's approach to EU**

### **4.2.1. Monitoring**

Public agencies, special interest organisations and business companies are all investing vast resources in monitoring developments in the EU. This is true both for the member states and for candidate countries like Turkey. In Turkey's case it is a question of following what is being done in the EU, and of spreading a growing body of knowledge among Turkish decision-makers. In reaching their decisions, they will have to take account of legislation in the EU.

Monitoring developments in the EU does not necessarily involve keeping an office in Brussels. On the contrary, most of the monitoring of EU activities undertaken by Turkish political agencies or by interest organisations takes place in Turkey. Many public and private organisations have an international unit, one of whose main task is to follow developments in Brussels. All the ministries have working groups or committees concerned with EU integration. Interest organisations, ministries, government agencies and public authorities all have their international units whose task is to follow EU developments in their particular area of interest. Courses and conferences and other educational activities concerned with EU issues are arranged. Study trips to Brussels in order to learn about EU institutions, laws and rules are common, and take in visits to the Turkish interest organisations present in Brussels. One of the main tasks of these organisations is to arrange activities for such groups. Often they also

---

<sup>115</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Accession\\_of\\_Turkey\\_to\\_the\\_European\\_Union](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Accession_of_Turkey_to_the_European_Union)



visit the Turkish Delegation to EU and meet people from the Commission. A wave of EU activity is washing over Turkey lately.

Turkey's official representative body at the EU – the Turkish Permanent Delegation to the European Union, which is a part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – plays a key role in government's monitoring. Turkish special interest organisations are also present in Brussels: Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TÜSİAD) and Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (TİSK) are active at UNICE; Turkish Association of Chambers and Commodities Exchanges (TOBB) is active at Eurochambres; Türk-İş, Hak-İş, and Progressive Workers' Union Confederation (DİSK) are active at the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC); Turkish Research and Business Organizations (TuRBo) is active at IGLO which is an informal association of Brussels-based non-profit R&D Liaison Offices; Young Businessmen Association of Turkey (TÜGİAD) is active at The Confederation of European Young Businessmen Associations (YES); Istanbul Textile and Apparel Exporter Associations (İTKİB) is active at the European Textile and Apparel Organizations (EURATEX), The Committee of the Cotton and Allied Textile Industries (EUROCOTON), and the European Association for Textile Polyolefins (EATP); Turkish Clothing Manufacturers' Association & Turkish Clothing Exporters' Association (TGSD) is active at the European Textile and Apparel Organizations (EURATEX).

We can conclude that the main task of the Turkish actors vis-à-vis the EU, regardless of whether they are present in Brussels or not, is to monitor developments in the EC. It is a question of preparing for membership and of providing their principals with relevant information on which they can base their decisions. To a lesser extent it is a question of lobbying.

#### **4.2.2. Lobbying**

Besides their monitoring activities, the Turkish organisations mentioned above are active in lobbying for Turkey. Also through the international associations like AEGEE, JCI, Rotary, Lions, etc. a positive image of Turkey is being brought to Europe. The most obvious targets for Turkish lobbying are the transnational organisations, i.e. umbrella associations of the national organisations. UNICE, ETUC, YES, EURATEX are all examples of such transnational associations which seek to influence the EU agencies. The non-member

countries have no nationals in the Commission and therefore they lack informal contacts and spokesmen on the inside. For most interests, the most important avenue of influence on broad policy issues is to participate in pan-European trade and other associations. In the case of influencing the Council, European associations are either lobbying directly, or are using national organisations lobbying their ministries at home, which can be of much greater importance than lobbying at the EU level. It is important to take into account the role of the national political scene in the member countries as an opening for non-member countries.

I will take TÜSİAD as an example of Turkish lobbying. In a private conversation on lobbying the EU with Mr. Kalegasi, who is the representative of TÜSİAD in Brussels, he mentioned Turkey's not being a member of EU as a weakness for lobbying activities. Turkey cannot exploit the interrelation between different channels of influence. He said: "It is possible to influence the key politicians in Europe to some point by visiting them in their home country with well prepared reports and analysis; organising academic, economic or social activities in their country. These are not direct but effective lobbying activities. Besides, standing in front of these politicians together with a UNICE member representation from their country always makes the impact stronger." For example in 1999, before the start of the Helsinki Summit, where the candidacy process of Turkey was officially initiated, TÜSİAD visited 11 European Countries to lobby for Turkey's candidacy. Another example is the lobbying done prior to the European Council meetings in Copenhagen on December 2002, and in Brussels on December 2004, when TÜSİAD visited almost all EU member countries and met their respective ministers, prime ministers and presidents.<sup>116</sup> For the year 2008 TÜSİAD already planned 10 visits to different member states.

Through UNICE, TÜSİAD builds support from the member states by influencing the governments; and by supplying the EU institutions with trusted information, by being sympathetic and being social TÜSİAD creates a good image at EU level. TÜSİAD also organises events like "Turkey @ Europe Week" which took place on 3-4-5 October 2006 in three capitals of the European Union; Brussels, Paris and Berlin. The event aimed to enhance the EU citizens' knowledge regarding Turkey by attracting the awareness of the EU public opinion on Turkish economy, society and culture. The target groups were politicians, businesspeople and academics. This example indeed shows how the Turkish organisations lobby in Brussels: Influencing the member states' governments and officials through the

---

<sup>116</sup> TÜSİAD's Representation Catalogue, 2006

members of transnational umbrella organisations, creating a trustworthy and sympathetic image at EU level, and organising events to introduce Turkey to the EU.

There is not much room for Turkey to lobby but much to be solved on her way to membership. Turkey should find different and efficient ways to handle the matters on her way. I believe that marketing strategies and techniques can help Turkey to handle these membership issues.

#### **4.3. Marketing strategies and techniques as a lobbying tool**

As Van Schendelen has mentioned in his book “Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU”, to become successful at lobbying one should know which actors to approach, which factors to use and which vectors to create to achieve a desired outcome. The actors are the people who contribute to the making of decision, the factors are the determinants of their decision behaviour and the vectors are the newly created factors, which may influence the behaviour.<sup>117</sup> Because Turkey is not a member of the EU, the factors and vectors to approach the actors are limited compared to the member states which have the comfort of having spokesmen inside and which can exploit the interrelation between different channels of influence.

By using marketing strategies and techniques Turkey can create her own way. The citizens of the member states are the voters of the EU. Having the right to vote also gives them the right to question the improvements in the EU, putting pressure or influencing the parliament, commission and the council's decisions. The European Parliament, European Commission and European Council take their power from the people, and they would definitely listen to their voters' opinions. Therefore, Turkey should work on creating a positive public opinion to get the support from them. But how can Turkey do that?

If we take Turkey as a product to be marketed, then we can say that Turkey's target market is the EU and her target group is the citizens of the EU. Turkey should define her strategies according to the analysis of the public opinion in the EU about herself. According to an opinion poll prepared by Eurobarometer in late 2005 about the prospects of Turkish

---

<sup>117</sup> Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 94-105

membership, 31 per cent of the EU citizens were in favour of accession and 55 per cent were against.<sup>118</sup> But when Eurobarometer asked couple of months later whether people would support membership “once Turkey complies with all the conditions set by the EU”, the results were different. This way of asking left Europeans more equally split, with 39 per cent coming out in favour and 48 per cent against.<sup>119</sup> The FT/Harris poll from 2007 also shows a similar shift in answers once the question is phrased this way.<sup>120</sup> According to these results, one can say that if Turkey continues with its modernisation, many Europeans would reconsider their position towards Turkish membership.

These results are the signs of Turkey’s image problem. Katinka Barysch, chief economist at the Centre for European Reform, quoted from the CER seminar on ‘Europe’s public opinion on Turkish EU accession’ in Brussels on June 19<sup>th</sup> 2007 Paul Taylor, Reuters’ European affairs editor, said “On television, Turkey means minarets, head scarves and the Bosphorus bridge; and in the newspapers, a ‘secular state with a predominantly Muslim population’ gets edited down to ‘a Muslim country’”.<sup>121</sup> Turkey can use branding as a strategy to become a strong brand and stay with a good image in the people’s minds. As I have described in the second chapter, branding helps to teach customers “who” the product is, “what” the product does and “why” customers should care. Since we take Turkey as a product, branding will help to inform the customers, who in that case are the EU citizens, about “who” Turkey is, “what” Turkey is good at or “what” she will add/bring to EU and “why” the EU citizens should care. Promoting, advertising, events and experiences, publicity, direct marketing and personal selling strategies can all be used in the branding strategy. During the communication process with the EU citizens about Turkey, it is important to keep selective distortion and selective retention in mind (see Chapter 2).

The first attempt to promote modern Turkey to Europe was in 1926 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of Turkish Republic and modern Turkey. Three years after the Republic was proclaimed, while the debts of the Ottoman Empire were being restructured and industrial and commercial activities were being improved, great attention was placed on signing international trade agreements. Mustafa Kemal, after a yearlong discussion in Parliament, decided to bundle Turkey's best into a ship and to send it touring Europe on a promotional

---

<sup>118</sup> Standard Eurobarometer 64 (field work October-November 2005)

<sup>119</sup> Special Eurobarometer, ‘Attitudes towards EU enlargement’, July 2006

<sup>120</sup> [http://www.harrisinteractive.com/harris\\_poll/index.asp?PID=775](http://www.harrisinteractive.com/harris_poll/index.asp?PID=775)

<sup>121</sup> [http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/briefing\\_kb\\_turkey\\_24aug07.pdf](http://www.cer.org.uk/pdf/briefing_kb_turkey_24aug07.pdf)

voyage to advertise Turkey's modernity. Its passengers included Parliament members, businessmen, high society ladies, a complete orchestra, a composer and a religious authority. There were sailors, cooks, tailors and stevedores. In total there were 285 people. In the ship there were also samples of Kütahya tiles, carpets, famous Hacı Bekir delights, decorations covered with emeralds and rubies, antiques, mines and minerals, leather and clothing samples etc. The ship Karadeniz set sail from Istanbul on June 12, 1926 and visited 16 harbour cities in 12 countries, in 86 days. It was welcomed by hundreds of thousands of Europeans. The Europeans were expecting the passengers on this ship from the 'East' to have an 'oriental air' about them. But what they saw was something completely different. These 'Eastern' visitors, waving and smiling and peering back at them from the upper and lower decks, were no different from themselves. The men in dark suits, white shirts and neckties, most of them held with elegant tiepins. And the women standing next to them were even more stylish. This first cultural ambassador was so successful in its mission that at a certain point anti-Turkish lobbyists in Europe tried to prevent the trip from continuing. The uniqueness of this project is owed not only to the fact that this humble ship fueled with coal was prepared by great altruism while the young republic was suffering from a lack of funds, but to the unfortunate fact that nothing of its similitude was ever done thereafter.<sup>122</sup> This explains the reason why Turkey is 34<sup>th</sup> in the Anholt Nation Brands Index 2nd Quarter 2007, out of 38 countries.<sup>123</sup> Turkish authorities should realise that the advertising on billboards, in the news papers, in the magazines, etc. alone will not improve Turkey's image. These should be supported by events.

Turkey can not expect the whole EU to come and visit Turkey to see "the real Turkey". But it is possible to show what Turkey is by organising events in the member states. Turkey can use the 'Turkish diaspora' in the member states to promote herself. The term Turkish diaspora refers to the Turkish people who migrated from Turkey. According to a research done by Centre for Studies on Turkey (ZFT) the Turkish population in Europe by 2006 is distributed as follows<sup>124</sup>: in Germany around 2.700.000, in France around 380.000, in Netherlands around 365.000, in Austria around 200.000, in UK around 150.000, in Belgium around 130.000, in Sweden around 63.000, in Denmark around 56.000, and in other EU member states total around 150.000. When we add the population of minority Turks in Bulgaria which is around

---

<sup>122</sup> Documentary "Karadeniz: Seyr-i Türkiye"

<sup>123</sup> [http://www.nationbrandindex.com/documents/NBI\\_Q2\\_2007.pdf](http://www.nationbrandindex.com/documents/NBI_Q2_2007.pdf)

<sup>124</sup> Centre for Studies on Turkey, Essen, Germany

750.000, in Greece around 150.000, and in Romania around 70.000 the Turkish population in Europe sums up to a population around 5.200.000 which is as large as the member states Denmark, Slovakia, Finland and larger than Ireland, Lithuania, Latvia, Slovenia, Estonia, Cyprus, Luxembourg and Malta. The power is not only about the size of the population but also about economy. According to ZTF's calculations for the period 1995-2005, the number of entrepreneurs of Turkish origin within the borders of the EU is 94,000. Calculations based on the empiric research conducted by ZFT indicate that between 1995 and 2005 the annual gross turnover of Turkish businesses increased from 21.6 billion Euros to 40.5 billion Euros. Similar developments can be observed in total investments and employment. Within the last decade, investment in Turkish businesses increased from 5.3 billion Euros to 10.2 billion Euros. The number of people employed by Turkish businesses increased during the same period from 212,000 to 451,000.<sup>125</sup> As mentioned by Stanley Crossick, who is the founding Chairman of the European Policy Centre in Brussels, in his article "Turkey: Bridge or Bridgehead?" the Turkish population in EU has an economic power 16 times that of Malta, 10 times that of Estonia and 8 times that of Lithuania. The economic power of the Turks living in Europe is greater than that of eight of the newest members.<sup>126</sup> There is enough capacity to organise events which can create a positive image of Turkey in the people's minds and which can "make sound" in member states. Through the publicity and mass media, the positive image waves about Turkey would spread all over the EU. To make these efforts more efficient, Turkey should establish a network where different networks will communicate, share information and experiences, and work on common strategies and goals.

The power of the Turkish diaspora can also be used for direct lobbying. Mail, telephone, fax, e-mail, internet can all be used as a tool to put pressure directly on the members of the parliament, commission and the council in case of a conflict between Turkey and the EU on any issue.

Another way of creating public opinion is word-of-mouth marketing through social channels. Social channels consist of the people on the streets like neighbours, friends, family members, and associates. The power of word-of-mouth marketing can be illustrated by a study of 7.000 consumers in seven European countries, in which 60 percent said they were influenced to use

---

<sup>125</sup> Centre for Studies on Turkey, Essen, Germany.

<sup>126</sup> <http://www.turkishpolicy.com/images/stories/2004-03-EUodyssey1/TPQ2004-3-crossick.pdf>

a new brand by family and friends.<sup>127</sup> The same goes for the Turkish case, too. The 5.2 million Turkish diaspora can help Turkey to influence the citizens of the EU with a positive image starting from their neighbours, friends, and colleagues. It is estimated that the average person knows about 250 people and these people would know another 250 people each. So at the end it would be possible to reach everybody in Europe. The spreading speed of information through word-of-mouth can be made ten times faster by using word-of-web. As one marketer noted, “You don’t need to reach 2 million people to let them know about a new product – you just need to reach the right 2.000 people in the right way and they will help you reach 2 million.”<sup>128</sup> So, word-of-web can also be used as a tool by Turkey.

In a personal conversation with Gabriele Visentin, who is Administrator Crisis Management and Conflict Prevention at European Commission External Relations Directorate-General, at Turkey @ Europe Week in Brussels by TÜSİAD, he told that as Commission they support Turkish membership but there is a public opinion to be convinced and that is an important task for Turkey. TÜSİAD and other Turkish organisations that are active in the EU organise events to influence the elite of the EU. The people on the streets should also be reached since they are the majority and may have a say for Turkish membership in a possible referendum in the future. And this is possible with a well prepared marketing strategy. Nothing can stand in the way of the public pressure. The result of the Dutch and French referendum over the EU constitution is a good example to this conclusion.

---

<sup>127</sup> Michael Kiely, “Word-of-Mouth Marketing”, *Marketing* (September 1993): 6. See also, Aric Rindfleisch and Christine Moorman, “The Acquisition and Utilization of Information in New Product Alliances: Strength-of-Ties Perspective”, *Journal of Marketing* (April 2001): 1-18

<sup>128</sup> Ian Mount, “Marketing”, *Business 2.0*, August/September 2001, p.84

## CONCLUSION

The central question of my thesis is “To what extent can lobbying actors profit from marketing insights?” To be able to answer that question I first studied lobbying and marketing separately. Then I compared them to see the similarities and applicability of marketing strategies and techniques on lobbying the EU. The main points in the study of lobbying are that there is a problem of overcrowding of the lobbying environment and a problem of information overload.<sup>129</sup> There is a hard competition between interests, and to be successful in such an arena, one should consider using different strategies and techniques. Because in many literatures while describing lobbying activities the metaphor of political market is often used, it could be possible to use marketing strategies in lobbying activities since we are talking about a market. That’s why studying marketing was necessary. In the study of marketing I explained what marketing is about and its strategies and techniques to be able to make a comparison with lobbying. In this comparison, the conclusion was that the elements most often stressed in both lobbying and marketing concepts were similar: promoting, communicating, convincing and influencing, making use of channels, exchanging, and developing and managing relationships. The study of these elements showed that lobbying and marketing are similar practices and lobbying actors can profit from marketing insights.

The applicability needed to be tested by a case study. The case study “Turkey and the EU” proved the applicability of the marketing strategies and techniques to lobbying. The conclusion was that Turkey can use the marketing strategies such as branding, advertising, word-of-mouth, word-of-web, events and experiences, publicity, direct marketing and personal selling strategies. Although Turkey is not a member of the EU and does not have the same venues of lobbying like member states have, Turkey can create her own venues to lobby the actors of the EU by well prepared marketing strategies.

The purpose of this thesis has been to show that lobbying and marketing are similar practices and lobbying actors can profit from marketing insights. The comparison of lobbying and marketing, and the case study showed that there is almost no difference between the lobbying and marketing way of thinking. One can say that EU is a political market and lobbying is the

---

<sup>129</sup> EP Working Paper, April 2003, Lobbying in the European Union: current rules and practices, Luxembourg, p. 3



marketing of interests. The complete study shows that the lobbying actors can make use of all the strategies used by marketing depending on the case.

## **References**

- Andrews, L. (1996) 'The relationship of political marketing to political lobbying', in: European Journal of Marketing, volume 30, 10, pp. 68-91
- Andersen, Svein S. and Eliassen, Kjell A. (1995), 'EU Lobbying: The new research agenda', in: European Journal of Political Research, volume 27, pp. 427-441
- Bennet, R. (1997), 'The Impact of European Integration on Business Associations: The UK Case', in: West European Politics 53/4, pp. 1044-73
- Bennet, R. (1999), 'Business Routes of Influence in Brussels: Exploring the Choice of Direct Representation', in: Political Studies volume 47, pp. 240-257
- Coen, D. (1997), 'The Evolution of Large Firm as a Political Actor in the European Union', in: Journal of European Public Policy, volume 4, 1, pp. 91-108
- Coen, D. (1998), 'The European Business Interest and the Nation State: Large Firm Lobbying in the European Union and Member States', in: Journal of Public Policy, volume 18, 1, pp. 75-100
- Dermody, J. and Wring, D., editors (2001), 'Political Marketing', in Journal of Public Affairs, volume 1, 3, pp. 198-280 (special issue)
- Gardner, James N. (1991), Effective Lobbying in the EC, Boston: Kluwer
- Greenwood, J. (1997), Representing interests in the European Union, London: Macmillan.
- Harris, P. and Lock, A. (1996), 'Machiavellian Marketing: the Development of Corporate Lobbying in the UK', in: Journal of Marketing Management, volume 12, pp. 313-328
- Harris, P. and others, editors (2000), Machiavelli, Marketing and Management, London: Routledge

Mazey, S. and Richardson, J., (eds.) (1993), *Lobbying in the European Community*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Snyder, J. M., Jr (1991), 'On Buying Legislators', in: *Economics and Politics*, volume 3, 2, pp. 95-109

Van Schendelen, M., editor, (1993), *National Public and Private EC Lobbying*, Aldershot: Dartmouth

Van Schendelen, M. (2002), *Machiavelli in Brussels: Art of Lobbying the EU*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press