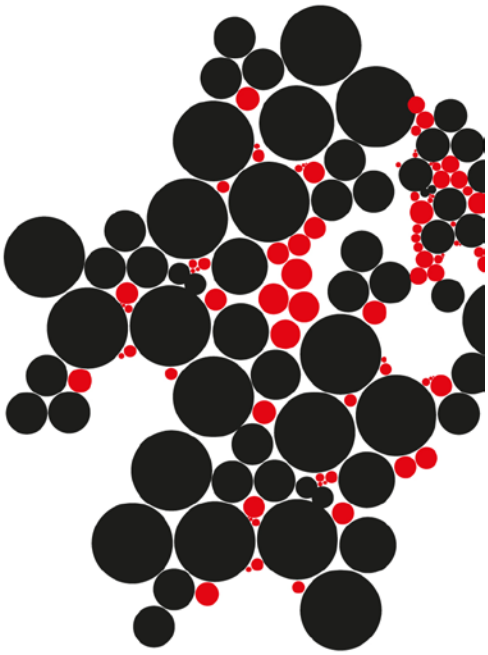

MASTER'S THESIS

"PROBING INTO CEE – INVESTIGATING TRANSPARENCY AND INTEGRITY IN THE DOMAIN OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS: COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN GERMANY, POLAND AND HUNGARY"

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DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this thesis to my parents, Hanna and Hans Walter Kruse. Their enduring support has made my graduate school experience possible.

ABSTRACT

This thesis aimed at investigating the attitudes and opinions of lobbyists in Germany, Poland and Hungary in order to strengthen our understanding of the influence of the external environment with its specific set of formal and informal institutions on transparency and integrity in the domain of Public Affairs. Thereby, a mixed methods approach employing a series of 12 explorative interviews and a survey questionnaire among lobbyists in the three countries was used in this comparative study. Insights from the interviews as well as a comprehensive literature review that was integrated into a PESTL-framework lead to a set of hypotheses that was tested deductively. This thesis provides evidence for the notion that informal practices from the Soviet past have been institutionalised in Poland and, especially, in Hungary. Further, insights into the opinions of lobbyists in CEE reveal, inter alia, a positive attitude towards transparency and a predominant support of a mandatory lobby register. In addition, these insights led to specific recommendations for fostering transparency and integrity in the domain of Public affairs in each country.

Keywords: lobbying, transparency, integrity, Public Affairs, CEE, regulation

BRIEF EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This thesis aimed at investigating the attitudes and opinions of lobbyists in Poland, Hungary and Germany in order to strengthen our understanding of the influence of the external environment with its specific set of formal and informal institutions on transparency and integrity in the domain of Public Affairs. Thereby, a mixed methods approach employing explorative interviews and a survey questionnaire was used. These expert interviews steered the further comparative research study in an inductive way and were one of the inputs of a comprehensive literature review that was integrated into a PESTL-framework. A set of hypotheses was derived from this conceptual framework as well as from the expert interviews and tested deductively by data gathered through a survey questionnaire distributed among lobbyists in Germany, Poland and Hungary.

Lobbyists from all three countries showed a positive attitude towards transparency but dissatisfaction with the current level of the regulation of lobbying. Nevertheless, this thesis showed that lobbyists perceive the domain of Public Affairs in Germany as the most transparent, with most integrity and with the most influential media and civil society, followed by the domain of Public Affairs in Poland and in Hungary, respectively. While Polish lobbyists estimated the absence of rules and standards as a crucial problem in the Polish decision-making process, Hungarian lobbyists described Public Affairs in their country as informal, clientelistic and corrupt.

To date, the main emphasis of research in this field has not only lain almost exclusively on the regulatory framework of a country but also focused mostly on countries of the Western hemisphere. Therefore, this thesis contributed to our knowledge by employing a holistic perspective covering not only the formal institutions of the external environment of a country. Instead, it investigated how the media, the civil society and informal arrangements such as clientelism or corruption influence transparency and integrity in the domain of Public Affairs. Thereby, this thesis provides evidence for the notion that informal practices from the Soviet past have been institutionalised in Poland and, especially, in Hungary. Further, investigating the attitudes of lobbyists has rarely been undertaken up to now. Thus, this thesis provides valuable insights into the opinions of this peculiar branch such as a positive attitude towards transparency and a predominant support of a mandatory lobby register. Finally, this thesis represents the first attempt of a comparison between lobbyists in Germany, Poland and Hungary. As a consequence, specific recommendations for fostering transparency and integrity in the domain of Public Affairs in each country for all involved stakeholders such as the local governments as well as the EU, lobbyists, civil actors and the media were derived. While this thesis showed that Germany, first of all, is ought to strengthen its formal institutions by implementing a mandatory lobby register or clarifying how the revolving-door effect can be avoided, Poland and Hungary are ought to not only empower their media and civil society organisations but also focus on a fundamental culture change abandoning informality such as clientelism that is still prevailing.

Future research should focus on investigating empirically how the aspects of the economical, the technical and the social perspective outlined in this thesis influence lobbyists' perceptions regarding transparency and integrity in the Public Affairs' domain of their countries. Further, innovative approaches of lobbying regulation, the role of investigative journalism in CEE, strategies on how to empower the European civil society as well as the question whether or not transparency can be a source of competitive advantage for a company need further research.

Finally, a number of limitations such as the threat of social desirability and the lack of translation methods as well as the absence of validated questions have been considered in order to present the findings of this thesis in the proper light.

EXTENSIVE EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Recently, a public dispute between the Alliance for Lobbying Transparency and Ethics Regulation (ALTER-EU) and the Society of European Affairs Professionals (SEAP) about the EU's transparency register code of conduct (Banks, 2013; SEAP, 2013) showed yet again the timeliness of lobbying and transparency. According to the OECD, lobbying is "the oral or written communication with a public official to influence legislation, policy or administrative decisions." (OECD, 2010). The relation between lobbyists and public officials follows the pattern of exchange models (e.g. Levine & White, 1961) based on the resource dependence perspective (e.g. Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978). The latter points out the resource dependencies between lobbyists on the supply side and political institutions or their representatives on the demand side (Eising, 2007). Formal institutions not only obtain specific information about the policy process but also have control over the access to it. The lobby groups, on the other hand, possess relevant information about specific topics that is not only hardly obtainable otherwise, but is also relevant as it is required by the institutions to execute their governing tasks (Eising, 2007; Woll, 2007). As the political institutions are in charge of deciding which interest groups get access to the political decision-making, the question of whether an interest group obtains access or not is dependent on their ability to offer certain resources or 'access goods', as "access is not a sufficient condition to achieve influence, [but] it is clearly a necessary one – without it advocates never have a chance to sound their case [...]" (Mahoney, 2004, p. 448).

Although access goods can differ in their form, many authors highlight the central importance of information in obtaining access to the EU (e.g. Chalmers, 2013).

Transparency is defined as "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where" (Drew, Nyerges, & Leschine, 2004, p. 1642). Furthermore, transparency is considered to influence public's trust and confidence (Bentham, 1998), to serve as an expression for civil society (Curtin, 1998; Larsson, 1998), to allow that activities of politicians become visible (Fearon, 1999; Manin, 1997; Shapiro & Hardin, 1993) and to make expertise available (Baume & Papadopulus 2012). Moreover, some scholars consider transparency as an useful instrument for fighting corruption (Cordis & Warren, 2011; Suphachalasai, 2005), while others are more sceptical and claim that transparency as such remains worthless if it is not aligned with sanctions for those who acted corruptly or illegally or at least against social expectations (Naurin, 2006). Further, there is an on-going debate between representatives of the deliberative democratic

theory, who are in favour of transparency and those of negotiation theory, who regard transparency more sceptically (Naurin, 2007). On the one hand, the 'civilizing effect of hypocrisy' is regarded as an outcome of openness of debate due to the fact that officials are more likely to adapt their decisions in accordance with the general interest and not their own self-interest (Elster, 1998; Stasavage, 2007). On the other hand, transparency is considered as hindering effective problem-solving (Groseclose & McCarty, 2001; Schelling, 1960; Stasavage, 2004) as it leads to a decrease not only in the willingness to reveal information but also in the willingness to change a position once it has been stated publicly (Naurin, 2007).

Considering the fact that ethical questions are most prevailing for communication professionals in Eastern Europe compared to their colleagues from other parts of Europe (Zerfass, Verčič, Verhoeven, Moreno, & Tench, 2012) it is striking that literature has rarely focused on investigating attitudes of lobbyists regarding transparency and integrity in the domain of Public affairs in CEE so far. In this context, Public Affairs is defined as the fundamental bridge between the organisation, society and government (McGrath, Moss, & Harris, 2010), while lobbying is considered to be a part of Public Affairs.
This thesis employs a comparative study between Germany, Poland and Hungary and aims to shed light on the underlying attitudes and opinions of lobbyists in CEE concerning transparency and integrity in a holistic way by taking into account their external environment with its formal and informal institutions. Thus, the research question of this thesis is: *What are the attitudes and perceptions of lobbyists from Germany, Poland and Hungary concerning transparency and integrity and how are these attitudes and perceptions linked to the external environment with its political, economical, social, technical and legal (PESTL) determinants as well as its formal and informal institutions?*

METHODOLOGY

In order to answer the research question, a research strategy that contains a diverse set of methods and tools aiming at collecting and analysing relevant data comprehensively and critically is required. First, the research started with a brief theoretical analysis of the definitions and key components of transparency and lobbying, which offered the conceptual context for further analysis. Second, in order to gain a basic understanding of the complex external environment regarding lobbying in CEE as well as to derive hints for literature analysis, a series of expert interviews was conducted with 12 lobbyists and experts from Germany, Poland and Hungary. They allowed a comparison of different explanations, while

the flexibility of this method fostered a greater understanding of the subject in an explorative and inductive way (Babbie, 1998). Also, the complexity of the Public Affairs domain with its contradictory terminology made this explorative step necessary in order to work on the following theory in a more focused way. Third, the research was proceeded with a comprehensive literature review. Findings from the expert interviews were used as one of the inputs of a more specified search with Google Scholar and Scopus that was complemented by a forward and backward citation analysis of scientifically recognized literature leading to a rigorous literature review (Wolfswinkel, Furtmueller, & Wilderom, 2011). To structure all findings, they were grouped following the PESTL-framework, which combines political, economic, social, technical and legal determinants in order to review the external environment. The literature review covered mostly findings for Poland and Hungary, while an overview of how lobbying is operated in Germany was mainly derived from the expert interviews. Fourth, hypotheses were derived from both expert interviews and literature. They were tested with statistical methods applied to data gathered by a web-based survey among lobbyists from Germany, Poland and Hungary. Finally, the main findings are discussed and recommendations are derived for stakeholders of the Public Affairs' domain in each country.

PART I: EXPLORATIVE INTERVIEWS

For the purposes of the first stage of the research, semi-structured interviews with experts in the field of lobbying were employed. They allowed a comparison of different explanations, while the flexibility of this method fostered a greater understanding of the subject in an explorative way (Babbie, 1998). These explorative interviews aimed at exploiting an interviewee's "capacity of being an expert for a certain field of activity" (Flick, 2006, p. 165) by asking open-questions, which the interviewee could answer freely (Bryman, 2004). Thereby, the selection of experts is crucial (Stake, 1995). All 12 selected interviewees from different backgrounds (i.e. contract lobbyists, for-profit lobbyists, NGO employees and an academic) are considered as experts in the field of Public Affairs and were not chosen at random; they were selected based on 'snow-ball' sampling (Chromy, 2008), as these kind of experts can be regarded as a rare population. The interviews revealed first insights and hints for the further research in terms of the connotation of the term lobbying, the influence of lobbying in each country, transparency, the civil society, the media and lobbying regulation.

Connotation of the term lobbying

All 12 experts from Germany, Poland and Hungary pointed out that the term lobbying was connoted rather negatively in their country due to the fact that one immediately thought of a one-sided exertion of influence and interest representation in the political system or it was often associated with corruption and opaque bargaining. While all German experts pointed out that a more preferable or neutral term would be representation of interests ("Interessenvertretung"), the Polish as well as the Hungarian experts did not agree on an alternative term. Instead, they mentioned a lack of knowledge in public on how to define lobbying or claimed that the normal citizen had commonly no idea of the practical application of lobbying.

Influence of lobbying

The German experts pointed out that lobbying was very influential in Germany. Some laws were nearly composed entirely by external law firms or lobbyist associations. However, approaching interest groups, associations and experts before wording a new law was definitively legitimate. All German experts highlighted the availability of expertise as an important aspect of lobbying, as no public representative was expert in all fields. However, the problem was not that politicians consulted lobbyists; the problem was that there was no transparency showing who talked to whom about what. Furthermore, when comparing Germany to other countries, the experts said that the administration was not only open for opinions and arguments of interest representatives but also legally tied to hearing all interests. However, the more resources an interest group possessed, the more professional it could be and the more likely it was to gain influence in the decision making process. There was no parity of weapons when it comes to financial resources. Nevertheless, although money might be helpful in achieving a well reputable status, it was not the key to gain influence. Rather, the ability to present a reasonable interest properly was considered as the most important 'access good' in Germany. Personal relations in this context were still important but not as influential as in the old days of the 'Bonner Republic' when lobbying had mainly been done in back rooms without the public's knowledge. Nowadays, lobbying was not for nothing called public affairs and thus related to much more public attention.

The Polish experts said that it was very difficult to measure how influential lobbying was in Poland because there was a huge lack of transparency regarding these processes. However, lobbying seemed to be very influential as some legal acts were undoubtedly inspired by economic interests. Furthermore, due to the historical background there was no culture of

transparent participation. It was more about pulling strings and using personal relations (clientelism) in order to get some influence on the decision making process. These behaviours and attitudes had remained from the previous system. There was no equality but there were also no big imbalances. Some actors were underrepresented at the national level but could gain public attention trough the media, for example. The main problem of Poland was its bad regulation of entering into the decision making process. There was a need for better public consultation mechanisms, as in the old system interest representation as such had not been implemented and new channels had to be established.

The Hungarian experts said that currently, lobbying was a needless activity as there was only a small group of insiders/friends, who were able to influence the Prime minister. Influencing the decision making process from the outside of this group was impossible, thus there was no classical lobbying possible in Hungary at the moment. The lack of transparency led to the problem that it was not really visible who was really important or influential in Hungary. As a consequence of the old system in Soviet times, lobbying had to be learned and there was still a lot of room to improve. Moreover, equality of interest groups was dependent on the current regime. Only those that were favoured by the government had a chance to get consulted. Personal relations were perceived as very important, if not as the most important aspect of political influence in Hungary and led to imbalances. For the future, the Hungarian experts claimed that there should be more transparency in terms of how decisions had been made as well as a transparent civil dialogue.

Transparency

According to the German lobbyists, transparency, above all, needed to clarify who was behind an interest. A well-informed citizen should be able to follow how political decisions had been achieved. Transparency was definitely useful for fighting corruption but it was an instrument and as such it needed to be used actively (by the citizens and the media). The German lobbyists criticised that transparency was often limited to a high ‘Bringschuld’ (a debt to be discharged at creditor's domicile) for politics as politics is forced to make information easily accessible. However, there was also a ‘Holschuld’ (a debt to be collected at the debtor's address) for the citizens to actively access this information. According to the German lobbyists, the majority of people who demanded transparency should rather give trouble to use the means that are currently already available. Moreover, on the one hand, they claimed that transparency fostered a good reputation, trust and credibility and, thus, had been recommended to companies as a useful strategy. Furthermore, according to them, if

transparency were a common practice in politics it would become more obvious when some actors were not transparent. Thus, everyone who acted unethically lost his reputation in the lobbying scene. Nevertheless, on the other hand, transparency should not disclose the content of meetings, as politics needed familiarity and trust. Also, the bureaucratic effort had to be taken into account when claiming new standards of what to report and how. In general, in Germany, there was a clear sense of law and according to most interviewees, Germany performed quite well compared to others in terms of transparency.

According to the Polish lobbyists there was no ‚too much' when it comes to transparency, as it was a crucial condition for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption and to gain the public's trust. Thus, transparency had to be regulated by law. From the beginning until the end of the decision making process there should be standards of transparency. In their opinion, the current level of transparency in Poland was low but not the worst. There had been lots of progress during the last ten and even five years. There was still no systematic approach, though. In general, the situation was very chaotic, as there were different regulations instead of uniform and comprehensive standards, which then also needed to be applied properly. Thus, at the moment, there was the problem of bypassing the lobbing regulations. Lobbying mostly happened informally, thus, there was still a huge traffic of influence.

The Hungarian lobbyists considered transparency as being useful but not enough for fighting corruption if the society did not feel the need for integrity among members of the parliament. The current level of transparency regarding lobbying in Hungary was in a bad shape.

Civil society

The German experts pointed out that civil society played a very crucial role in the context of lobbying as it was considered as a watchdog. On the one hand, they highlighted that civil society organisations fulfilled this task very good in Germany, at least in some specific areas like anti-AKW-movement. On the other hand, in order to change the current passiveness of recipients of investigations of corrupt behaviour, the civil society had to be strengthened. For some, the problem in Germany was that there was no counterbalance outweighing economic interests. Civil society should fill this gap. Others compared economic interests with those of NGOs. According to them, NGOs like foodwatch or Greenpeace had extreme power especially combined with the media. The public was more likely to believe NGOs due to the perception that they were more neutral than companies.

In Poland, there were several powerful civil society organisations, which could influence the decision making process but the overall level of participation was rather low. Overall, the influence was not strong but there were some active organisations, which acted as a watchdog by monitoring the decision making process. Although there were few successes as being consulted by government when it came to related regulations, progress in general was made very slowly in terms of integrating CSOs in the decision making process.

The Hungarian experts said that the Hungarian civil society tried to be proactive but had not been that much listened to. Usually, there was not much reaction on their activities. Since they were not consulted in advance, they could not participate in the policy making process properly, they could only raise their voice afterwards. By doing that, civil society could drive attention towards a scandalous event or even corruption but there were usually no consequences as a result. In general, according to the experts, the Hungarian civil society had to be considered as weaker than the German one due to the fact that Hungarians still needed time to learn how to use this means of democracy properly.

The media

The German experts mentioned that, in theory, media had a responsibility in terms of transparency in the lobbying scene but in practice, media in Germany was organised in two or three huge corporations following in general the commercial paradigm to focus on print run and, thus, successful stories instead of educational serials. However, there had been several investigative journalists who discovered major scandals and made them public. In general, the media played a very important role as an amplifier and soundboard as well as a reference point for the importance of a topic. It was added that the media had to do more educational work in order to point out the legitimate aspect of lobbying in a pluralistic democracy. Nevertheless, it was believed that the media were more effective than regulations when playing its role as a watchdog.

The Polish experts had the perception that the media was more focused on boulevard topics of the yellow press instead of analysing relevant political issues. Only a few journalists wrote about corruption and related topics, thus investigative journalism was very weak in Poland.

The Hungarian lobbyists said that the media could drive attention towards a scandalous event or even corruption but there were usually no consequences as a result. The media played a very important role as they had the tools to investigate and to ask for data from government or public companies. However, the media in Hungary was mostly interested in topics, which could be linked to one specific party. Thus, party politics was a common frame for media

reports on politics in Hungary. Certain newspapers and channels were independent, while the public media was not.

Lobbying regulation

Regarding lobbying regulation, the German experts had different perceptions. Some said that lobbying was nearly not regulated at all in Germany and that there was no transparency regarding the decision-making process. Although they referred to the lobbying list of the Bundestag as a form of regulation, they claimed that this kind of regulation was not effective. According to them, a mandatory lobbying register for everyone lobbying the Bundestag was recommended, as even bribery was still not liable to prosecution. Furthermore, the lack of a solution for the revolving door effect was considered as a problem. On the other hand, other lobbyists indicated that although there was no detailed registry in Germany, the voluntary list from the Bundestag was useful as, first, it showed who lobbied for what issue and, second, some politicians did not talk to unlisted interest representatives. According to them, it would hardly be possible to regulate lobbying properly. Critical reflection and ethical behaviour of all actors was considered as the best solution. Regarding self-regulation, the opinions also differed among the experts. Some did not consider self-regulation as relevant as a code of conduct had to include sanctions for non-compliance. On the contrary, other lobbyists believed that self-regulation was very effective, as everyone who acted unethically lost his reputation in the lobbying scene. They explained that both sides, lobbyists and politicians, knew that they depend on each other. Thus, some ground rules were usually followed.

The Polish experts mentioned that although there was a mandatory regulation in Poland, lobbying was not regulated in practice. Most activities were still executed informally. They pointed out that self-regulation was a complicated issue in Poland, as in Eastern Europe there was no real culture of transparency or good governance but rather weak standards for governmental behaviour, in general. Regulating lobbying would be preferable, especially the implementation of strong enforcement mechanisms and sanctions. Self-regulation could help as a point of reference.

The Hungarian lobbyists explained that after the regulation was abolished in 2011, everyone was playing according to his or her own rules. In Hungary, there was not really a common code of ethics established among lobbyists. Although self-regulation was considered as being effective and useful for lobbying, there should also be official regulation.

PART II: LITERATURE REVIEW (PESTL-ANALYSIS)

In accordance with the research strategy, the findings derived from the expert interviews steered the direction of the following literature review. Applying a triangulation based approach (Fielding, 2012) for search patterns, a first fuzzy search in the two search engines Scopus and Google Scholar delivered preliminary background information in preparation for the expert interviews. Findings from the expert interviews were then used for a more specified search (with keywords like 'clientelism', 'polarization' etc.), which was complemented by a forward and backward citation analysis of scientifically recognized literature. This rigorous literature review (Wolfswinkel et al., 2011) generated reasonable findings not only on influencing factors for the perception and attitudes of lobbyists in CEE, but also backed up findings from the expert interviews. To structure all findings, they were grouped following the PESTL-framework, which combines political, economic, social, technical and legal determinants in order to review the external environment. Due to the limited scope of this summary, only the political and the legal perspective are covered.

Political perspective

Findings from literature suggest that there is not one ideal institutional mix as it differs from country to country (Williamson 2009). Formally, most Eastern European countries are democratic but, according to Adam Michnik, "both Kaczynski in Poland as well as Orbán in Hungary have an authoritarian idea of government; democracy is merely a façade." (Adam Michnik in SPIEGEL, 2013). In general, the political landscape in CEE countries is portrayed by its strongly competitive and polarized political culture, a lack of transparency in political processes and the personalization and centralization of politics (Gallina, 2007; Korkut, 2005; Szablowski & Derlien, 1993). In countries with a former communist national culture, informality is regarded as a means of corruption (Grødeland & Aasland, 2006). In times of communism, informality was used in order to by-pass unrealistic laws and to secure the fulfilment of economic plans. In addition, citizens needed informal networks for coping with everyday life, such as gaining privileges (Grodeland, Koshechkina, & Miller, 1998).

In general, nowadays, informal clientelistic networks in CEE countries can help receiving favoured treatment in public tenders, using public resources for private matters as well as influencing policy making (McMenamin, 2002, 2004; Meyer, 2006; Örnebring, 2012). Personal relations greatly affected the political system in CEE during the communist era causing nepotism and favouritism (van der Meer, van den Berg, & Dijkstra, 2013). Even

today, many Polish managers perceive the rationale behind a promotion as based on one's personal networks rather than centred on objective measures of their appropriateness for a job (Skuza, Scullion, & McDonnell, 2013; Suutari & Riusala, 2001). In Hungary, the current government outlined a new constitution allowing it to not only staff key public offices with its appointees but also for exceptionally long periods (Vargaa and Freyberg-Inanb, 2012). The current Hungarian president, Victor Orban, focused mainly on emotion-based politics by playing the national card and introducing a political 'show' (Palonen 2009). In fact, the current Hungarian government controls not only the media but also state audit offices and thus "limits the extent to which possible corruption cases or other problems among its ranks can escalate into public scandals." (Vargaa & Freyberg-Inan, 2012, p. 364). Furthermore, the Orbán Government is held responsible for a decline of transparency (Bajomi-Lazar, 2011). In Poland, president Kaczynski also established emotion-politics by trying to establish a Fourth Polish Republic. The Polish elite is characterized as unified and non-communist (Gallina, 2011). A barrier for professional lobbying in Poland can be seen in the disregarding of expert opinions and public consultations in the law-making process (Cianciara, 2013).

Civil society

Civil society takes over essential functions in the development of democracy: it protects privacy from state interference, it monitors and controls the state power, creates space for a democratic as well as participatory socialization, establishes common values, exercises democracy at the local level and moderates social conflicts (Jasiukaityte & Reiter, 2004; Mewaldt, 2010). Comparisons between the participation rates in interest groups, NGOs and civic associations among North America, Western Europe and Eastern Europe revealed much lower numbers in the latter (Terry Cox & Gallai, 2013; Howard, 2003; Wallace, Pichler, & Haerpfer, 2012). In general, the active civil society in Germany with more than 550,000 clubs and over 15,000 foundations is characterized as strong (bpb, 2012). According to the CSO Sustainability Index (CSO, 2011), there were 87,758 CSOs, containing both foundations and associations, registered in Poland at the end of 2011. Growing numbers of full-time employees (increase of over 50% between 2006 and 2011) indicate that the Polish CSO sector is growing, while in Hungary, there were approximately 65,000 CSOs registered in 2010, demonstrating, for the first time, a small decrease (about 1,000) compared to the previous year (CSO, 2011). A look into the literature reveals several factors leading to a weak civil society in CEE. For instance, in former Soviet countries, there is still no traditional convention of participation by citizens as well as no tradition of enforcing legislation by civil

actions (Zaharchenko & Goldenman, 2004). The Western conception of civil society as a crucial component of a sustainable democracy has never been simply transferred to CEE. Over the years, the model slowly has been "domesticated [and] it has at the same time been shaped by local backgrounds, experiences and interests." (Rikmann & Keedus, 2013, p. 159). In the case of Poland and Hungary, the tighter relations between the state and civil associations "may jeopardize the latter's capacity and willingness to act as watchdogs with regard to the state" (Rikmann & Keedus, 2012, p.157). For instance, on average, in Hungary, 45% of the budget of Civil society organizations (CSOs) is funded by the state (TI NIS, 2007 as cited in Fazekas, 2011). As a consequence, there is still substantial distrust towards institutions and politics among citizens. This makes it even more complicated to try and establish institutions that try to obtain political influence (Lagerspetz & Konttinen, 2009). In many cases, policy-makers ignore the opinions of CSOs or their views are only asked for at short notice leaving them little time for providing elaborated answers (Cox & Gallai, 2013). Nevertheless, in Poland, a recent study by Orr (2012) showed that politicians treated NGOs in the environmental sector as serious partners (Orr, 2012). The CSO Sustainability Index (CSO, 2011) supports this finding by stating that the Polish government "increasingly appreciates the role of CSOs in providing professional services." (CSO, 2011, p. 158).

The media

In general, the media play a central role in a democracy by informing and monitoring. Their task is to create awareness and control democratic activities (Spiller & Degen, 2012). In the case of Poland and Hungary, due to many scandals recently corruption has been a frequent topic in the media. However, in Poland, instead of focusing on the outcome, the media's main focus lies on the scandal and the beginning of a trial. This causes the perception among the public that criminals get away with their crime without consequences (van Rossum, Muszynska, & Novakova, 2012). Moreover, Polish media portrays lobbyists only selectively and thereby mainly in the context of political corruptions or bribery scandals (Makowski, 2011). Furthermore, most Polish journalists neglect to criticise the central government or local authorities (CSO, 2011). In Hungary, media coverage is often superficial when dealing with issues of civil society (CSO, 2011). Furthermore, the current regime in Poland and Hungary ensured control over the media landscape as soon as they were elected. In Hungary, the Broadcasting Commission can now not only sanction media for defamation but also decides what defines defamation (Vargaa & Freyberg-Inan, 2012). Further, it has been pointed out that the recent changes of the Media Law in Hungary "failed to address the

concerns of the EU and of the Council of Europe." (Marthoz, 2012). The Hungarian media law "only addresses 11 of 66 recommendations made by the Council of Europe without guaranteeing the independence of the Media Authority or clarifying all ambiguities." (Marthoz, 2012).

Also, in many countries of CEE, the media belongs to local business elites, whose business core is not attached to the media sector (Štětka, 2012). These persons own media primarily in order to shield their own business interests by interfering in politics (Örnebring, 2012). As a consequence, these elites influence the public and push through their political and business interests by using their media (Štětka, 2012). Thus, “in many CEE nations media moguls or oligarchs personify the clientelistic linkages between media and politics” (Örnebring, 2012, p. 505). As a consequence, instead of being a force denouncing clientelism, investigative journalism is evidently fragile (Meyer, 2006; Örnebring, 2012).

Legal perspective

Usually, the regulation of lobbying includes systems proposed to regulate the activities of legislators and/or lobbyists. These systems may contain less formal self-regulatory codes or formal mechanisms of legislation. In general, a problem concerning the regulation of lobbying arises when it is pursued in order to change established practices that have, for a long time, been considered by the involved parties as common and acceptable patterns of exchange (Greenwood & Thomas, 1998). Thus, “cultures cannot be changed by regulatory devices alone.” (Greenwood & Thomas, 1998, p.493). The main rationales for the regulation of lobbyists are the perceived lack of transparency, the growing number of lobbyists and worries about inadequate influence (Rechtman & Larsen-Ledet, 1998; Warhurst, 1998; Yishai, 1998).

Some authors claim that self-regulation is preferable to mandatory lobbying regulation due to its greater flexibility (McLaughlin & Greenwood, 1995). However, as evidence from current examples shows that self-regulation has not been successful anywhere so far, it can be reasonably argued that it will never be entirely trusted by the public (Billet, 2007).

In Germany, a registry for lobbyists is voluntary and, as a result, not to be considered as a lobbyist registry as such. Instead, it is mainly a registration system for restricting or allowing access to the parliamentary buildings (Holman & Luneburg, 2012). Furthermore, the German registry focuses on organisations rather than on individual actors; it is characterised by not containing any financial or background information, such as what interests an organization represents or who lobbies on behalf of a particular entity (Holman & Luneburg, 2012).

Based on the practices of other European countries and the United States, Hungary implemented a voluntary lobbyist registry in 2006 (Gulyas, 2012). According to Noemi Alexa, Head of Transparency International in Hungary, “sanctions were never carried out [and] the law ill-fitted Hungarian customs and processes” (Gulyas, 2012). However, instead of offering ideas of how to improve the current act of law, the recently elected FIDESZ government “quietly repealed” (p.90) Hungary’s lobbying regulation in 2011 (Holman & Luneburg, 2012).

In 2005, Poland implemented a mandatory lobbyist register, which only requires contract lobbyists to register. The registry contains publicly available information, accessible through the ministry of Interior and Administration. Information about who lobbies for which issue is disclosed. One exclusive part of the Polish system is that government representatives are obliged to provide records of lobbying contacts, which are published once a year (Holman & Luneburg 2012). The Polish Act has been criticised for a number of reasons (e.g. Makowski, 2011; Jasiecki, 2006). Recently, Jan Vitásek, an expert on lobbying, working for the NGO EUractive, said that monitoring interest representation in Poland is problematic as regulation discloses "only a fraction of actual lobbying activities" (EurActiv, 2011). As a result, he concluded, that "in the Polish political reality, most activities that in fact constitute lobbying escape public scrutiny" (EurActiv, 2011).

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were derived from the explorative interviews as well as from literature:

H1: Lobbyists from Germany, Poland and Hungary experience the term lobbying as having a negative connotation.

a) Lobbyists from Germany prefer the term ‘Interessenvertretung’ (interest representation) instead.

b) Lobbyists from Poland do not agree on a preferred term instead of lobbying.

c) Lobbyists from Hungary do not agree on a preferred term instead of lobbying.

H2: German lobbyists perceive the current level of transparency in the political decision-making process of their country as more positive than their Polish and Hungarian counterparts.

H2a: Polish lobbyists perceive the current level of transparency in the political decision-making process of their country as more positive than their Hungarian counterparts.

H2b: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive transparency on an organisational level as a source of competitive advantage than Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.
H2c: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the willingness of citizens to access disclosed information as insufficient compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.

H3a: Compared to German lobbyists Hungarian and Polish lobbyists are more likely to perceive personal contacts as important in their daily work routine.
H3b: Compared to German lobbyists Hungarian and Polish lobbyists are more likely to perceive the likelihood of corrupt behaviour in their daily work routine as possible.
H3c: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the actions of their current government as being guided by transparency and integrity compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.

H4: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the civil society in their country as acting as a watchdog in the political decision-making process compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.

H5a: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the media of their country as a watchdog in the political decision-making process compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.
H5b: German lobbyists are more likely to experience the media of their country as independent and investigative compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.

H6a: German lobbyists experience the loss of reputation as a consequence of acting unethically as more severe than Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.
H6b: Polish lobbyists are more likely to consider a mandatory lobby register as effective.
H6c: German lobbyists are more likely to estimate the current level of lobbying regulation as sufficient compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.
H6d: German lobbyists are more likely to encounter the existence of rules and standards in the public affairs' domain compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.

PART III: EMPIRICAL STUDY

In order to gather further primary data, an Internet-based survey was employed in this thesis. As an online-survey allows not only for a quick coverage of huge numbers of widely spread respondents but also provides them convenience in terms of anonymity (Mangione, 1998) it has been considered as the best technique for collecting the opinions of lobbyists from CEE

countries. However, employing a questionnaire prevents the researcher from having control over the conditions under which the questionnaire is filled out (Welman & Kruger 1999).

The snow-ball sampling technique was employed and, altogether, 697 mails (without follow-ups) containing the hyperlink to the online survey questionnaire hosted by a commercial provider resulted in a sample size of 88 respondents. Nevertheless, the response rate of 13.6% has to be seen in the context of the fact that, in general, identifying a sample pool of lobbyists is difficult (Holman & Susman, 2009). Considering the fact that the sample of this thesis contains lobbyists from countries where the level of professionalization of this occupation is lower compared to Western countries (as in the case of other studies), a sample size of 88 has to be considered as good.

As this thesis aims at investigating attitudes and opinions of lobbyists, scales with fixed choice response formats, namely a 5-item Likert format, were employed (Babbie, 1998).

Furthermore, as only 20% of the Hungarian and 33% of the Polish population are able to speak English (Eurobarometer, 2012), native speakers have translated the questionnaire to German, Polish and Hungarian in order to avoid misunderstandings based on language problems. In order to analyse the survey results, the following statistics in SPSS version 21 were used: *ANOVA, F-test, post hoc test of Tukey, Levene's test for homogeneity, Kruskal-Wallis H-test and Mann-Whitney test.* For all tests, a p-value of $p<0.05$ was considered statistically significant.

The overall reliability estimate (Cronbach's alpha) for the survey was $\alpha = .76$[1]. The principle axis factoring (PAF) analysis lead to 21 items representing four factors that explain over 50% of the total variance. Each set of questions that load highly ($\geq .50$) on a factor is interconnected through a certain theme. Thus, based on these themes, the four factors are called: *Culture of morality, The watchdog role of the media & the civil society, Lobby register* and *Transparency at work.*

All hypotheses and whether they have been confirmed or not can be seen in Table 1. Hypothesis 1 dealt with the connotation of the term 'lobbying' and if there exists an alternative term for it. The findings show that lobbying is perceived as negative in all three countries. However, only the German lobbyists agreed on an alternative term. Hypothesis 2 dealt with transparency. The findings show different levels of perceived transparency in the three countries as well as a generally positive attitude towards transparency. Hypothesis 4

[1] There are different opinions on the acceptable values of alpha, ranging from 0.70 to 0.95 (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011).

dealt with the level of perceived integrity of the current governments. The findings show that lobbyists of the three countries perceive their governments differently in terms of integrity. Hypothesis 4 dealt with the role of the civil society. The findings show that lobbyists of the three countries perceive its role and how it is played differently. Hypothesis 5 dealt with the role of the media. The findings show that lobbyists of the three countries perceive its role and how it is played differently. Hypothesis 6 dealt with lobbying regulation. The findings show that lobbyists of the three countries had different opinions concerning the sufficiency and effectiveness of lobbying regulation.

PART IV: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Discussion

The main findings of this thesis can be found at a glance in Table 2[2].

German lobbyists perceive the level of transparency in the decision-making process of their country as high compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists. In this context, German lobbyists showed a positive attitude towards transparency in their everyday work routine and as a source of competitive advantage for a company fostering the perceived level of trust of its customers. Also, the access to all relevant information about this process is considered as sufficient. This is also reflected by higher levels of agreement concerning the question whether or not the German media and the German civil society play their role as a watchdog. In this context, the German media is perceived as independent and investigative. Surprisingly, German lobbyists only agreed moderately that both the media and the civil society play the role of a watchdog in a democracy. One explanation for this can be derived from the expert interviews, in which German lobbyists emphasized their trust in the underlying informal norms and ground rules of the decision-making process that are known and followed by all actors.

The higher level of perceived transparency in Germany is also reflected by higher levels of agreement concerning the questions whether or not the actions of the current government focus on fighting corruption as well as fostering transparency and integrity. Informality in terms of clientelism or inappropriate influence-peddling seems not to be very likely to happen in the everyday work routine of German lobbyists.

[2] The different colours have different meanings: red= negative; yellow=neutral; green=positive; no colour=no assessment of the aspect in question possible.

However, in terms of lobbying regulation, the German lobbyists showed a neutral attitude towards the sufficiency of the current lobbying regulation. Further, although they prefer a lobby register in general, they are sceptical towards a voluntary solution, which is currently in place. Rather, they prefer a mandatory lobby register. Although the sufficiency of the current lobbying regulation in Germany is not perceived as sufficient, acting unethically will lead to a significant loss of reputation. This is aligned with the experience of German experts who referred to the loss of reputation, in particular, and pointed out that certain ground rules are commonly followed in the lobbying environment, in general. This is also reflected by the existence of an alternative term for lobbying showing a clear understanding of its meaning. However, this study showed that the common understanding of what is the right and wrong behaviour is not as clear as expected among German actors of the decision-making process. In this context, German lobbyists mentioned not only the lack of a mandatory lobby register as well as an anti-bribery law but also prevalent 'revolving-door' situations as well as the 'outsourcing' of legislation.

Polish lobbyists perceive the level of transparency in the decision-making process of their country as moderate compared to German and Hungarian lobbyists. Nevertheless, in this context, Polish lobbyists showed a positive attitude towards transparency in their everyday work routine and as a source of competitive advantage for a company fostering the perceived level of trust of its customers.

However, the low level of perceived transparency is reflected by moderate levels of agreement concerning the question whether or not the media and the civil society play their role as a watchdog. However, in general, Polish lobbyists are more likely to consider the media and the civil society to play the role of a watchdog in a democracy compared to their Hungarian and German counterparts. In this context, it is worth mentioning that, although the level of access to information in Poland is perceived as only moderate compared to Germany and Hungary, Polish lobbyists were most likely to estimate the willingness of citizens to access those as insufficient.

The moderate level of perceived transparency in Poland is also reflected by moderate levels of agreement concerning the questions whether or not the actions of the current government focus on fighting corruption as well as fostering transparency and integrity. As literature and experts suggested a more negative perception regarding the current government, it might be the case that Prime Minister Donald Tusk's policy of turning away from emotion-based politics towards relevant contents (Gallina 2010) shows first indications of a positive shift

Hypothesis	Status	Sig.-level PL/HUN
H1: Lobbyists from Germany, Poland and Hungary experience the term lobbying as having a negative connotation.	confirmed	
a) Lobbyists from Germany use the term “Interessenvertretung” instead.	confirmed	
b) Lobbyists from Polanddo not agree on an alternative term instead of lobbying.	confirmed	
c) Lobbyists from Hungary do not agree on an alternative term instead of lobbying.	confirmed	
H2: German lobbyists perceive the current level of transparency in the political decision-making process of their country as more positive than their Polish and Hungarian counterparts.	confirmed	**/**
H2a: Polish lobbyists perceive the current level of transparency in the political decision-making process of their country as more positive than their Hungarian counterparts.	confirmed	**/**
H2c: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive transparency on an organisational level as a source of competitive advantage than Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.	not confirmed[3]	
H2d: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the willingness of citizens to access disclosed information as insufficient compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.	not confirmed[4]	
H3a: Compared to German lobbyists, Hungarian and Polish lobbyists are more likely to perceive personal contacts as important in their daily work routine.	confirmed	*/***
H3b: Compared to German lobbyists, Hungarian and Polish lobbyists are more likely to perceive the likelihood of corrupt behaviour in their daily work routine as possible.	partially confirmed[5]	n.s./***
H3c: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the actions of their current government as being guided by transparency and integrity compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.	partially confirmed	n.s./(*-***)[6]
H4: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the civil society in their country as acting as a watchdog in the political decision-making process compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.	partially confirmed[7]	n.s./**
H5a: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the media in their country as a watchdog in the political decision-making process compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.	partially confirmed[8]	n.s./***
H5b: German lobbyists are more likely to experience the media in their country as independent compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.	partially confirmed	n.s./***
H5c: German lobbyists are more likely to experience the media in their country as investigative compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.	confirmed	*/**
H6a: German lobbyists experience the loss of reputation as a consequence of acting unethically as more severe than Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.	partially confirmed[9]	n.s./***
H6b: Polish lobbyists are more likely to estimate a mandatory lobby register as effective.	partially confirmed	GER: n.s./HUN:*
H6c: German lobbyists are more likely to estimate the current level of lobbying regulation as sufficient compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.	partially confirmed	n.s./***
H6d: German lobbyists are more likely to experience the existence of rules and standards in the public affairs’ domain compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.	confirmed	**/***

Table 1: Hypotheses

[3] The mean differed not significantly.
[4] Polish lobbyists are most likely to perceive the willingness of citizens to access disclosed information as insufficient.
[5] The mean of the Polish and the Hungarian group differed significantly (*).
[6] The significance levels differed between integrity (*), fostering transparency (**) and tolerating corruption (***).
[7] Polish lobbyists are most likely to consider the civil society as a watchdog in a democracy.
[8] Polish lobbyists are most likely to consider the media as a watchdog in a democracy.
[9] Polish lobbyists are most likely to experience the loss of reputation as a consequence of acting unethically.

in Polish politics, which has only been rarely detected by literature or experts so far. Nevertheless, informality in terms of clientelism or inappropriate influence-peddling is still prevalent in the everyday work routine of Polish lobbyists – not as much as in Hungary but to a higher degree than in Germany.

Thus, in terms of lobbying regulations, Polish lobbyists are more supportive of a mandatory lobby register rather than a voluntary one. However, although a mandatory register is already in place, the current level of regulation is not perceived as sufficient. One reason for this dissatisfaction can be seen in the fact that lobbyists from Poland are most likely to experience the absence of rules and standards in the Public Affairs' environment. During the interviews, Polish experts highlighted this lack of rules and standards as the most crucial problem in their country regarding lobbying. This is also reflected by the lack of agreement on an alternative term for 'lobbying', as it shows the lack of a proper definition of lobbying recommended by OECD. Surprisingly, on the other hand, Polish lobbyists indicated the loss of reputation as a consequence of acting unethically as more likely to happen compared to their Hungarian and even German counterparts. One explanation for this can be seen in the on-going development of the Polish Public Affairs community during the last 5 to 10 years not only mentioned by the Polish experts but also reflected, for instance, by the implementation of the independent Institute of Public Affairs in 1995.

Hungarian lobbyists perceive the level of transparency in the decision-making process of their country as low compared to German and Polish lobbyists. Nevertheless, in this context, Hungarian lobbyists showed a positive attitude towards transparency in their everyday work routine and as a source of competitive advantage for a company fostering the perceived level of trust of its customers.

However, the low level of perceived transparency is reflected by low levels of agreement concerning the question whether or not the media and the civil society play their role as a watchdog. The Hungarian media is considered as not independent and not investigative by Hungarian lobbyists. This is probably due to the implementation of the Multimedia Law in 2010, which has been critically discussed by numerous European newspapers, politicians and experts (Bajomi-Lázár, 2011). Also, Hungarian lobbyists are not likely to consider the media and the civil society to play the role of a watchdog in a democracy compared to their Polish and German counterparts. The heavy reliance on public money is considered to influence CSOs' willingness to tackle anti-corruption issues (Fazekas, 2010).

The low level of perceived transparency in Hungary is also reflected by low levels of agreement concerning the questions whether or not the actions of the current government focus on fighting corruption as well as fostering transparency and integrity. Additionally, informality in terms of clientelism or inappropriate influence-peddling seems to be a common aspect in the everyday work routine of Hungarian lobbyists. During the interviews, Hungarian experts pointed out that lobbying activities as such were impossible at the moment due to the fact that there was only a small group of insiders having access to the government of Viktor Orbán. Furthermore, the Orbán Government is held responsible for actively declining the level of transparency in the country due to several actions (Bajomi-Lazar, 2011).

As Hungary lacks a lobbying regulation, it is not surprising that the current level of regulation is not only considered as insufficient but also as the lowest compared to Poland and Germany. However, the Hungarian lobbyists did not show a clear attitude towards a lobby register. In general, such a register is neither considered as effective nor ineffective. Furthermore, while Hungarian lobbyists showed a neutral attitude towards a mandatory register, they were sceptical towards self-regulation or a voluntary register. Not surprisingly, the absence of rules and standards is experienced in the Hungarian Public Affairs' environment. This is also reflected by the lack of agreement on an alternative term for 'lobbying', as it shows the lack of a proper definition of lobbying recommended by OECD. Also, the loss of reputation as a consequence of acting unethically is not considered as a severe problem in Hungary. One reason for these findings can be seen in the overall negative attitude towards the current Hungarian government that seems to be considered as the most severe problem concerning ethical lobbying in Hungary.

	Germany	**Poland**	**Hungary**
Lobbying			
Connotation of the term	negative	negative	negative
Alternative term	'Interessenvertretung'	no	no
Transparency			
Level of transparency	high	moderate	low
Attitude towards transparency	positive	positive	positive
Bringschuld	high	moderate	low
Holschuld	moderate	low	moderate
Integrity			
Clientelism	low	moderate	high
Corruption	moderate	moderate	high
Fostering transparency	moderate	moderate	low
Sound principles	high	moderate	low

Civil Society			
Watchdog in democracy	moderate	high	low
Watchdog in country	high	moderate	low
Media			
Watchdog in democracy	moderate	high	low
Watchdog in country	high	moderate	low
Independent	high	high	low
Investigative	high	moderate	low
Lobbying regulation			
Self-regulation	moderate	moderate	low
Rules & standards	high	low	low
Loss of reputation	high	high	low
Support for register	high	high	low
Voluntary register	low	low	low
Mandatory register	high	high	moderate
Level of regulation	moderate	moderate	low

Table 2: Main findings

Conclusion

This thesis aimed at investigating the perceptions of lobbyists in Poland, Hungary and Germany regarding transparency and integrity in the domain of Public Affairs in order to foster our understanding of the influence of the external environment with its specific set of formal and informal institutions on transparency and integrity. To date, the main focus of research in this field has not only lain almost exclusively on the regulatory framework of a country but also focused mostly on countries of the Western hemisphere. Therefore, this thesis contributed to our knowledge in several ways. First, this thesis is the first study that employed a holistic perspective covering not only the formal institutions of the external environment of a country. Instead, it investigated how the media, the civil society and informal arrangements such as clientelism or corruption influence transparency and integrity in the domain of Public Affairs. Thereby, this thesis provided evidence for the notion that informal practices from the Soviet past have been institutionalised in Poland and, especially, in Hungary. Second, investigating the attitudes of lobbyists has rarely been undertaken up to now. Thus, this thesis provides valuable insights into the opinions of this peculiar branch in CEE such as a positive attitude towards transparency and the predominant support of a mandatory lobby register. Finally, this thesis represents the first attempt of a comparison between lobbyists in Germany, Poland and Hungary. As a consequence, specific recommendations for fostering transparency and integrity in the domain of Public Affairs in each country for all involved stakeholders such as the local governments as well as the EU, lobbyists, civil actors and the media were derived.

Furthermore, the contribution to better lobbying of this thesis has to be seen in the specific focus on lobbyists as it fostered the understanding of all involved actors and raised not only the awareness of the specific problems in the domain of Public Affairs in each country but also provides stakeholders with actionable recommendations for solving them.

Limitations

Finally, a number of limitations have been considered in order to present the findings of this thesis in the proper light. First, the threat of social desirability has to be seen as a limitation of this study. As this study has employed a self-report questionnaire, it is important to mention that empirical studies have pointed out a high level of sensitivity for respondents when answering questions about ethics (e.g. Victor & Cullen, 1988). Therefore, it cannot be guaranteed that participants of this study indicated necessarily their actual beliefs and attitudes. Second, another limitation of this study has to be seen in the fact that all three questionnaires have been translated by native speakers without applying specific translation methods. Finally, the absence of validated questions has to be regarded as a limitation of this study.

Recommendations

The findings of this thesis lead to specific practical recommendations for all stakeholders of the Public Affairs' domain in Germany, Poland and Hungary such as the local government as well as the EU, lobbyists, civil actors and the media. Although these recommendations are mainly enforced by governmental legislation, they have to be accompanied by a culture change created by all these stakeholders together in order to integrate transparency and integrity into the lobbying work routine. As this thesis revealed parallels between the situation in Poland and Hungary, some recommendations are bundled together for these two countries. Furthermore, recommendations for further research were derived and are outlined at the end of this part.

Germany

First, my recommendation for the German government is to implement a mandatory lobby register. In this publicly available database lobbyists have to indicate their employer, their source of finance as well as for what topics they are lobbying (Lobbycontrol, 2011). Moreover, I recommend that this register is controlled by an independent public institution that has to be enabled to execute incentive and sanction mechanisms (Lobbycontrol, 2011).

Second, I recommend the German government to pass a law that forces top-ranking politicians to have a waiting period of three years before they are allowed to work as a lobbyist for any organisation (Lobbycontol, 2011). Finally, the German government is ought to stop outsourcing draft laws to consulting or law firms (Lobbycontrol, 2011). All these recommendations are ought to be developed and implemented in accordance with the expertise of lobbyists in order to ensure that these regulations fit into the actual context of a lobbyist's work routine.

Poland

First, my recommendation for the existing legal and ethical standards in Poland is that they were refined and further developed. These attempts are ought to contain, for instance, concrete answers to questions such as what kind of advantages are allowed or where misuse of public resources begins (GRECO, 2012). This includes a clear definition of the terms 'lobbying' and 'lobbyist' (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2012). Second, I recommend further specific trainings on these rules and standards (GRECO, 2012). Further, the opportunity of consultation on potential conflicts of interest is ought to be offered (GRECO, 2012).

Finally, the Polish media is recommended to become increasingly aware of their role in a democracy. This can result in focusing on investigative journalism instead of boulevard topics. As this is related to the problem of funding, the Polish government is ought to ensure that the independent media is sufficiently funded in order to play its role as a watchdog.

Hungary

First, based on my analysis and discussion I recommend the Hungarian government to develop and implement a new lobbying regulation. This regulation is ought to not only provide a clear description of the types of relationships and circumstances that cause a conflict-of-interest situation in order to identify those but also a set of clear rules and procedures that help to implement them accordingly in order to raise awareness among public servants and create an open discussion culture (OECD, 2005). In addition, monitoring mechanisms are recommended to be developed and disciplinary sanctions in cases of non-compliance to be enforced (OECD, 2005). Also, partnerships with the business as well as the non-profit sector can be build in order to elaborate and implement the outlined policies regarding conflict-of-interest situations. In the case of Hungary, this policy is ought to include a lobbying regulation that guarantees "fair and equitable access to the development and implementation of public policies" for all stakeholders (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2012, p.

4). Further, it is recommended to clearly define the terms ‚lobbying' and ‚lobbyist' (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2012). Moreover, this regulation is ought to include a mandatory lobby register disclosing information on lobbying activities to the public sufficiently (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2012). In addition, I recommend the development and monitoring of clear rules and standards for both public officials and lobbyists on how to engage with each other (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2012). All these recommendations are ought to be developed and implemented in accordance with the expertise of lobbyists in order to ensure that these regulations fit into the actual context of a lobbyist's work routine.

Second, regarding the media and its role as a watchdog, the current Hungarian media law has to be regarded as one reason for the low level of trust revealed in this thesis. Thus, the Hungarian government is recommended to ensure that news reporting is no longer controlled or censored by the government, that publicly-funded media functions independently and that the Media Council is really independent, for instance, concerning the assignment of radio frequencies (Kroes, 2012).

Finally, the execution of the funding of the Hungarian civil society is ought to be reconsidered. The current approach based on personal income tax donations is recommended to be organised by authorities that are independent. The National Civil Fund, which is in charge of the distribution of donations at the moment, is regarded as being non-meritocratic and paternalistic (Fazekas, 2010).

Poland and Hungary

Based on my analysis and discussion my recommendation for both the governments of Poland and Hungary is to ensure that the allocation of licences for journalists follows only professional criteria and that journalists who investigate corrupt behaviour of powerful elites are protected by laws (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2011). Also, both governments are ought to entail laws or procedures forcing media owners to disclose their non-media business or political interests and they are recommended to ensure competition within all media sectors through enforcing antimonopoly laws (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2011). Moreover, the public authorities in Hungary and Poland are ought to "respect and protect the freedom of activists to seek, receive and publish information concerning corruption, within the limits of national law" (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2011a). Moreover, I recommend that Hungarian and Polish CSOs increasingly conduct surveys on corruption in order to raise awareness of the general public and of policy-makers; they are also recommended to formulate and to promote action plans aiming at fighting it (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2011a). Furthermore, CSOs in Hungary and

Poland are ought to increase their lobbying activities for new institutional instruments in order to penalise or prevent corruption (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2011a). Also, CSOs in Hungary and Poland are recommended to increasingly monitor the decisions and actions of the current government in terms of corrupt behaviour (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2011a). As most of these recommendations require resources that are currently not available in the non-profit sector of Hungary and Poland, the role of the EU is briefly discussed below.

European Union

Based on my analysis and discussion the EU is recommended to reconsider its funding strategy regarding political pluralism in CEE (Fuksiewicz & Kaca, 2010). At the moment, instead of supporting politically oriented CSOs, the donors focus more on supporting projects with a focus on human rights (Fuksiewicz & Kaca, 2010). Moreover, so far the observation of elections is regarded as the flagship tool for the fostering of democracy (Fuksiewicz & Kaca, 2010). Therefore, the EU is ought to shift its funding focus towards political pluralism by funding CSOs in CEE directly.

Further research

Based on my analysis and discussion, I recommend future research to focus on investigating empirically how the aspects of the economical, the technical and the social perspective outlined in this thesis influence lobbyists' perceptions regarding transparency and integrity in the Public Affairs' domain of their countries. Further, innovative lobbying regulation approaches such as the implementation of public participation are ought to be examined (PASOS, 2013). Also, the role of investigative journalism in CEE countries (Stetka & Örnebring, 2013) as well as the different sets of incentives that help the EU to enforce its conditions in the region of CEE effectively (Fuksiewicz & Kaca, 2010) are recommended to be investigated. Finally, the question whether or not transparency can be a source of competitive advantage for a company needs further research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

ALTER-EU	Alliance for Lobbying Transparency and Ethics Regulation
ANOVA	Analysis of variance
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICT	Information and communications technology
KMO	Kaiser-Meyer-Okin
MNC	Multinational Corporation
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NMS	New member states (of the EU)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OMS	Old member states (of the EU)
PA	Public Affairs
PR	Public Relations
SEAP	Society of European Affairs Professionals
SME	Small and medium enterprises
UN	United Nations

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Relevance of the thesis

According to one anecdote the term lobbying has its origins in the Willard Hotel in Washington, DC around 1869, where US-President Ulysses S. Grant was a regular guest enjoying a cigar and brandy. Supposedly, Grant described the political petitioners who came to the hotel's lobby in order to try to influence his political decisions by buying him drinks, as 'lobbyists' (Denisov, 2010). However, although this story has already been discredited (NPR, 2006), it steers the attention to the very core of lobbying: influencing the decision making process. According to the OECD, lobbying is "the oral or written communication with a public official to influence legislation, policy or administrative decisions." (OECD, 2010).
Even if its exact history of origin may still be open for discussions, the timeliness of the topic lobbying is given without any doubt. Just recently, the Alliance for Lobbying Transparency and Ethics Regulation (ALTER-EU) made a call for changes to the EU's transparency register code of conduct, especially demanding a mandatory register for lobbyists. With this demand ALTER-EU, a coalition of about 200 civil society groups, public affairs firms, academics and trade unions, scoops a forthcoming evaluation of the register this summer by the commission and parliament (Banks, 2013). According to them, the current voluntary register established in 2011 and with an estimated 3000 registrations so far, cannot be considered as effective (Nielsen, 2013). Representing the public affairs industry, the Society of European Affairs Professionals (SEAP) has challenged these call as, according to Philip Sheppard, vice-president of SEAP, "SEAP does not believe it is the role of the EU to control the behaviour of lobbyists. This is a role for lobbyists themselves. This is self-regulation. This is our job." (SEAP, 2013).

This discussion reveals the prominence and importance of transparency, which is regarded as a current buzzword that could, "[a]s a term of art, [...] well win the prize for most increased usage of any word in English in the past decade." (Curtin & Meijer, 2005, p. 2). It refers to a status, in which political processes are easier to follow since information about them is disclosed to a larger number of observers. Leading to the provision of information about a process that would otherwise be secretive, transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004). In sum, transparency is "information that allows all people who are interested

in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where" (Drew et al., 2004, p. 1642).

Moreover, transparency is considered as one of the most powerful instruments against corruption - "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain" (Transparency International, 2011a). The European Commission claims corruption remains one of the most severe challenges for all European societies. Although differences from one EU state to another have been identified, the EU as a whole is affected by economic costs as a consequence of corruption of approximately EUR 120 billion per year (EC, 2012). The situation is especially crucial in countries of Eastern Europe, which have not shown improvements in the past ten years despite EU membership and various different programmes (Sida, 2012). Following this observation, The Economist recently ran the headline: "From Bolshevism to backhanders - Corruption has replaced communism as the scourge of eastern Europe" (The Economist, 2011).

Despite its apparent importance, it is striking that literature has rarely focused on investigating attitudes of lobbyists regarding transparency and integrity in the domain of Public affairs in CEE so far. Considering the fact that ethical questions are most prevailing for communication professionals in Eastern Europe compared to their colleagues from other parts of Europe (Zerfass et al., 2012) it seems even more severe to close this gap in literature. The attitude of lobbyists has been in the focus of investigation, for instance, by Chari, Murphy, & Hogan (2007), Hogan, Murphy, & Chari (2008) or Holman & Susman (2009). However, these studies focused only on the aspect of lobbying regulations and also did not show results for CEE countries. Also, two non-academic surveys among policy-makers in 15 European countries of the consulting company Burson-Marsteller (2009, 2013) and an academic survey (Zerfass et al, 2012) among communication professionals have been conducted so far. This need for broader and more holistic research is illustrated by a recent Call for Papers for a Special Issue of the Journal of Public Affairs on CEE, which aims to create "a better and bigger picture of the intricacies, similarities and differences of how public affairs is practiced, regulated, developed, organized, researched and taught in this specific environment in transition." (CfP JoPA, 2013). In this context, Public Affairs is defined as the fundamental bridge between the organisation, society and government (McGrath et al., 2010).

1.2 Goal of the thesis

Derived from this gap in literature, this thesis aims to shed light on the underlying attitudes and opinions of lobbyists in CEE concerning transparency and integrity in a holistic way by taking into account their external environment with its formal and informal institutions. In general, the political landscape in CEE countries is portrayed by its strongly competitive and polarized political culture, a lack of transparency in political processes and the personalization and centralization of politics (Gallina, 2007, 2010; Korkut, 2005; Szablowski & Derlien, 1993). Formally, most Eastern European countries are democratic but looking behind this formal façade political elites are revealed, who adapt informal agreements instead of following formal rules (Gallina, 2010).

The decision to compare Germany with the countries Poland and Hungary was made for several reasons. In general, Russia and Eastern Germany are considered "as the extreme poles of a Eastern European spectrum reaching from authoritarian to democratic regimes" (Gallina, 2010, p. 1). Not being part of the EU, Russia is left out. Instead, Hungary as "the most urgent case" due to its current "anti-democratic and nationalist policy-making" (Gallina, 2011, p. 10) is taken into consideration as well as Poland, which, on the one hand, is often regarded as one of the few success stories in the region (e.g. Follath & Puhl, 2013) but, on the other hand, has recently been described by Adam Michnik as having implemented democracy only as a facade (SPIEGEL ONLINE, 2013). Both countries are often bundled together due to their similar socio-political and economic situation (Bohle & Greskovits, 2007). Despite these similarities, both countries deal differently with lobbying. While Poland has implemented a mandatory lobby register in 2005, the Hungarian register was abolished completely in 2011. However, according to Agnieszka Cianciara, an expert on lobbying in Poland, regulation in Poland discloses "only a fraction of actual lobbying activities" (EurActiv, 2011). As a result, "in the Polish political reality, most activities that in fact constitute lobbying escape public scrutiny" (EurActiv, 2011).

By combining qualitative and quantitative research methods in a comparative study, this thesis has been composed in order to provide a holistic overview of the current situation in terms of lobbying, transparency and integrity in the countries of Poland, Hungary and Germany. Thus, the research questions of this thesis are: *What are the attitudes and perceptions of lobbyists from Germany, Poland and Hungary concerning transparency and integrity? How are these attitudes and perceptions linked to the external environment with its*

political, economical, social, technical and legal (PESTL) determinants as well as its formal and informal institutions?

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research strategy

This thesis aims at providing a holistic overview of the current situation in terms of lobbying, transparency and integrity in the region of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Hence, the research question of this thesis is: *What are the attitudes and opinions of lobbyists from Germany, Poland and Hungary towards transparency and integrity and how are these attitudes and opinions linked to the external environment with its political, economical, social, technical and legal (PESTL) determinants as well as its formal and informal institutions?*

In order to answer the research question, a research strategy that contains a diverse set of methods and tools aiming at collecting and analysing relevant data comprehensively and critically is required. Thus, the research started with a brief theoretical analysis of the definitions and key components of transparency and lobbying, which offered the conceptual context for further analysis. This includes next to all relevant definitions a brief overview of the basic principles and how they are embedded in the context of a democratic society. Next, in order to gain a basic understanding of the complex external environment regarding lobbying in CEE as well as to derive hints for literature analysis, a series of expert interviews was conducted with 12 lobbyists and experts from Germany, Poland and Hungary in Part I. They allowed a comparison of different explanations, while the flexibility of this method fostered a greater understanding of the subject in an explorative and inductive way (Babbie, 1998). Also, the complexity of the Public Affairs domain with its contradictory terminology made this explorative step necessary in order to work on the following theory in a more focused way. Further, the research was proceeded with a comprehensive literature review. Findings from the expert interviews were used as one of the inputs of a more specified search with Google Scholar and Scopus that was complemented by a forward and backward citation analysis of scientifically recognized literature leading to a rigorous literature review (Wolfswinkel et al., 2011). This is the subject of Part II. Finally, hypotheses were derived from both expert interviews and literature. The literature review covered mostly findings for Poland and Hungary, while an overview of how lobbying is operated in Germany was mainly derived from the expert interviews. Fourth, hypotheses were derived from both expert

interviews and literature. They were tested with statistical methods applied to data gathered by a web-based survey among lobbyists from Germany, Poland and Hungary and are presented in Part III. Finally, the main findings are discussed and recommendations are derived for stakeholders of the Public Affairs' domain in each country in Part IV.

2.2 Mixed methods approach

In this thesis both primary and secondary data is collected. The primary data is collected by semi-structured qualitative interviews with experts in the field of lobbying as well as by sending out a quantitative online survey questionnaire among lobbyists in Germany, Poland and Hungary. Thus, a mixed methods approach has been applied. Mixed methods in social science research are defined as a technique that "mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 17). The rationale behind this triangulation is a methodological pluralism that causes an increase in both the scope and level of possible analysis (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Secondary data in form of literature, articles and research paper has been mainly retrieved from the scientific databases Google Scholar and Scopus and has been validated carefully.

The nature of the relationship between research and theory is generally described by two different approaches: deductive and inductive approaches. The main distinction is whether data is gathered in order to test theories or in order to build theory (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Inductive approaches aim at deriving theories and hypotheses from empirical observations. Thereby, the researcher's inductive conclusions can never accomplish full certainty (Ghauri, Gronhaug, & Kristianslund, 1995). This thesis used an inductive approach by employing explorative expert interviews. Deductive approaches, on the contrary, aim at working out hypotheses, which afterwards are tested by collected data, either rejecting or accepting the hypotheses (Ghauri et al., 1995). In this thesis, a deductive approach was applied by deriving hypotheses from both, explorative interviews and literature and testing them.

2.3 Cross-national perspective

For all three parts, the findings were analysed with a cross-national focus on differences between Germany, Poland and Hungary. In this context, Kohn (1987) refers to „studies that are explicitly comparative, that is, studies that utilize systematically comparable data from two or more nations." (p. 714) He further distinguishes between different types of cross-national research, namely research, where the nations are object of the study and research

where the nation is a context (Kohn, 1987). Although this thesis is clearly interested in the countries of Poland, Hungary and Germany “it is nevertheless generally useful to distinguish between research whose primary purpose is to tell us more about the particular countries studied and research whose primary purpose is to use these countries as the vehicle for investigating the contexts in which social institutions operate“ (Kohn, 1987 p. 715). As countries of CEE have been part of the communist system, single nations like Poland and Hungary are analysed in this broader context.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Lobbying

3.1.1 Definition

The meaning of the term lobbying is not universally determined, some authors even claim it "is nearly impossible to define" (Verčič & Tkalac Verčič, 2012, p. 15). After a rich literature review, (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998, p. 33) concluded that "[t]he word lobbying has seldom been used the same way twice by those studying the topic". Looked at it from a general perspective, the noun lobby, is according to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary "a group of people who try to influence politicians on a particular issue" (Oxford, 2013). The verb *lobby* is explained as the attempt "to try to persuade a politician to support or oppose changes to the law" (Oxford, 2013). According to the 'OECD Recommendation on Principles for Transparency and Integrity in Lobbying', lobbying is "the oral or written communication with a public official to influence legislation, policy or administrative decisions." (OECD, 2010).

In his influential study, Milbrath (1960) theorized that "Lobbying is the stimulation and transmission of a communication, by someone other than a citizen acting on his behalf, directed to a governmental decision-maker with the hope of influencing his decision." (p.8). For Nownes, "lobbying is an effort designed to affect what the government does" (Nownes, 2006, p. 5). A further look into related literature reveals that lobbying practice appears to be first and foremost the outcome of the political and institutional environment it is embedded in (Woll, 2006). A desired impact on political decisions seems to be a leading paradigm in several definitions of lobbying (Greenwood, 2011; Kleinfeld, Zimmer, & Willems, 2007; Michalowitz, 2004). Revealing its ambivalent nature, Kleinfeld *et al.* (2007) understand lobbying as the legitimate effort to influence policy outcome and merely accept criticism of lobbying in a particular case as justified, while Leif & Speth (2006) even critically refer to it as a 'fifth power' in order to highlight its (in their views illegitmate) impact (Leif & Speth, 2006).

3.1.2 Distinction between lobbying and public affairs

There is also a vast amount of literature trying to reveal a distinction between lobbying, public affairs and government relations. For Wilcox (2010), lobbying is similar in nature to public affairs or government relations, although its activity is more specific in nature

(Wilcox, 2010). This definition is aligned with Broom (2009), who sees lobbying as a more specialized part of public affairs – unfortunately without explaining the difference (Broom, 2009). For Tench & Yeomans (2006), is lobbying "the influence of public policy-making through the private means of meeting MPs, ministers, civil servants, councillors or local government officials." (p. 542). (Verčič & Tkalac Verčič, 2012, p. 17) conclude their comprehensive literature review on the different definitions, approaches and concepts of lobbying as follows: "[…] we note that public relations developed many concepts analysing lobbying processes […] but an agreement on what lobbying is and where it fits into public relations practice is still lacking."

For this thesis, Public Affairs is defined as a bridge between an organisation, society and government (McGrath et al., 2010), while lobbying is considered to be a part of Public Affairs.

3.2 Transparency

3.2.1 Definition

From a political perspective, transparency refers to a status in which political processes are easier to follow since information about them is disclosed to a larger number of observers. Leading to the provision of information about a process, which would otherwise be secretive, transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004). However, in a political setting it is nearly impossible to describe transparency in absolute terms. It is disputable whether a low or a high level of transparency is adequate for enhancing the understanding of a political process (Naurin, 2004). Looking for a proper definition of the term transparency one has to take into account that it is a current buzzword, which could, "[a]s a term of art, [...] well win the prize for most increased usage of any word in English in the past decade." (Curtin & Meijer, 2005, p. 2).

3.2.2 Sender- and receiver-oriented approaches

(Wehmeier & Raaz, 2012) reviewed 105 articles about transparency from the business field in order to show the current state of the debate (Wehmeier & Raaz, 2012). Regarding a definition of the term transparency they not only discovered that transparency is highly positively connoted but also detected two major types of transparency: a sender- and a receiver-oriented (Wehmeier & Raaz, 2012). Aligned with the first is (Bruzelius, Flyvbjerg, & Rothengatter (2002) specification: "The transparency requirement means, inter alia, that all

documents and other information prepared or commissioned by the government and its agencies should be made available to the public" (p. 148). Likewise, Ray & Das (2009) claim that "the degree of openness is defined as corporate transparency" (p.101). The second type of definition is characterized by the notion of understanding. Drew et al. (2004) describe transparency as "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where" (p.1642). Jiang, Raghupathi, & Raghupathi (2009), who examined the design and content of corporate governance websites, define transparency as "an individual's subjective perception of being informed about the relevant actions and properties of the other party in the interaction" (p. 628).

For this thesis, the definition of transparency as "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where" (Drew et al., 2004, p. 1642), combined with the understanding that transparency fosters the visibility and the understanding (when the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004), will be assumed.

3.3 Corruption

3.3.1 Definition

Corruption is defined by Transparency International as "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain" (Transparency International, 2011a) This definition has been applied in literature at numerous events (e.g. Boehm & Olaya, 2006; Kolstad & Wiig, 2009) Corruption can take the form of favouritism, bribes, embezzlement, fraud or extortion (Andvig, Fjeldstad, Amundsen, & Søreide, 2000).

3.3.2 Relationship between transparency and corruption

Transparency is sometimes regarded as a guarantor for integrity by constraining politicians to do their duty as they fear a 'public opinion tribunal' that dishonours or judges them negatively. This fear leads to an adjustment or constrains of behaviour and thus tackles corruption morally (Bentham, 1989). Thus, transparency "allows public opinion to become the guarantor of morality in public affairs" (Baume & Papadopoulos, 2012, p. 12). Supporting this view, Cordis & Warren (2011) suggest in an empirical study that disclosure can discourage corruption (Cordis & Warren, 2011). Implementing transparency hinders corruption in different ways, such as, for instance, facilitating monitoring through social control causing a higher risk of detection and a higher risk of being sanctioned (Boehm & Olaya, 2006) Empirical evidence suggests that transparency is related to lower levels of

corruption. For instance, Brunetti & Weder (2003) revealed a robust relationship between less corruption and greater freedom of the press, and Suphachalasai (2005) discovered that corruption is significantly lowered by a higher level of media competition (Brunetti & Weder, 2003; Suphachalasai, 2005).

However, in order to relativize these high expectations regarding the effect of transparency on moralisation, Naurin (2006) states that transparency cannot be seen as a sufficient condition for it (Naurin, 2006). The public accountability of transparency remains worthless if transparency is not aligned with sanctions for those who acted corruptly or illegally or at least against social expectations (Naurin, 2006). If perpetrators are able to outsmart its constraints, transparency will not change much (Baume & Papadopolus, 2012). This concluding statement is supported by empirical findings from organisational sociology. On the one hand, in settings where the principal-agent model of delegation is applied, agents are able to shirk culpability, as the principal who delegates a task to them is not able to judge his behaviour, although he observes it. This is due to a lack of cognitive skills (Lupia, 2003). On the other hand in reverse settings where the agent feels that he is watchfully monitored by his principal, transparency does not lead to the expected behaviour, which Heald (2006) refers to as the perverse effect of over-exposure: The impression of suffocation from the requirement of accountability can cause behavioural blame-avoidance (Heald, 2006). One example of this can be seen in “the temptation of public servants to commit less to paper, to fail to keep appropriate records, and to participate in efforts to restrict what is made public” (Aucoin, 2012, p. 182), as an expression of their defensive attitude aiming at risk-avoidance in a situation in which they are forced to offer access to administrative information to the public. An additional example can be seen in rule-obsession and excessive proceduralism (Pollitt & Hupe, 2011), which hinders creative thinking. Thus, transparency can come at the expense of innovation and creativity, whose risks one is afraid of. In order to avoid this flipside of transparency, sincere sanctions are essential (Baume & Papadopoulos, 2012).

3.4 Definitions of other relevant concepts

3.4.1 Ethics

Ethics is often “associated with ideals and principles that are far removed from the daily routine.” (Van der Wal, Huberts, Van Den Heuvel, & Kolthoff, 2006, p. 316). It offers a framework for acting (Lawton, 1999) in terms of 'right and wrong' “when a choice to be

made has significant impact on others." (Van der Wal et al., 2006, p. 316). According to Rest (1986), ethics concerns the principles and norms that "provide the basic guidelines for determining how conflicts in human interests are to be settled and for optimizing mutual benefit of people living together in groups" (cf. Van der Wal et al., 2006, p. 316).

3.4.2 Integrity

Integrity is defined as "(acting or being in) accordance with the moral values, norms and rules, valid within the context in which one operates" (Van der Wal et al., 2006, p. 318). Within an organizational context, it is "a process of continuous ethical awareness of the role one is expected to play in an organization and in accordance with specific ethical guidelines within and even according to expectations outside the organization." (Verhezen, 2010, p. 194). Together with increased communication and greater transparency, operating with integrity has been labelled as an attribute of the best corporate governance practices (e.g. Bainbridge, 2008; Bradley, Schipani, Sundaram, & Walsh, 1999; Charan, 2005).

3.4.3 Accountability

Accountability has been defined as "a relationship between an actor and a forum, in which the actor has an obligation to explain and to justify his or her conduct, the forum can pose questions and pass judgement, and the actor may face consequences" (Bovens, 2007, p. 450). Following this definition, a political democracy can be seen as "a regime or system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm […]" (Schmitter, 2000, p. 3). Thus, political accountability "limits the use and sanctions the abuse of political power." (Fox, 2000, p. 2). This means transparency is necessary but not sufficient for accountability (Schedler, 1999).

3.4.4 Publicity

As (Baume & Papadopoulos, 2012, p. 3) say: "Nowadays, transparency and publicity are often used interchangeably, while at the end of the 18th century the notion of publicity (or lack thereof) was used much more frequently to characterise public practice, references to transparency remaining the exception". Although the author is aware of a distinction by Naurin (2006), saying that the achievement of publicity is considered as more demanding and uncertain than the achievement of transparency, in this thesis transparency and publicity will be used interchangeably.

3.4.5 Political legitimacy

Political legitimacy is a main element of both the operation and structure of states. It is generally presumed that its nonexistence has far-reaching consequences for the way that states behave toward citizens and others (Gilley, 2006). Thus, Gilley (2006) defines political legitimacy as follows: “a state is more legitimate the more that it is treated by its citizens as rightfully holding and exercising political power.” (p. 500).

3.5 Interest representation and the democracy dilemma

Interest groups and their influence on decision-making in the EU pose a dilemma for the democracy theory (Michalowitz, 2005). On the one hand, articulation of citizen interests and free exchange of opinions are crucial elements of the political system. By assisting to organise and aggregate, interest groups attach a significance and representativeness to their interests (Knill, 2001). Thus, they have been considered as an important factor in the political system, not only facilitating the generation of democratic legitimacy but even helping to overcome the democratic deficit of the EU (Schmitter, 2000). On the other hand, in a democracy the power of decision-making has to lie with the citizens. Delegating this power requires transparent disclosure of the chain of delegation in order to allow citizens to comprehend the process of decision-making clearly (Pollack, 2003). As interest groups are not elected by the citizens and do not represent a broad and balanced set of interests but rather very specific ones, which can be business or public interests (Warleigh, 2001), they cannot be seen as acceptable elements of this transparent chain of delegation from the perspective of a democracy (Michalowitz 2005).

3.6 Exchange models and resource dependency

If one conceives of the relation between private actors and supranational gatherings as an independent exchange between interdependent organisations (Bouwen, 2003), this pattern follows exchange models developed by socialists in the 1960s focusing on inter-organisational relationships (Levine & White, 1961). Furthermore, these models are similar in nature to the resource dependence perspective introduced by Salancik & Pfeffer (1978) and point out the resource dependencies between lobbyists on the supply side and political institutions or their representatives on the demand side: “Neither institutions nor interest groups can autonomously pursue and achieve their goals” (Eising, 2007, p. 386).

Formal institutions not only obtain specific information about the policy process but also have control over the access to it. The lobby groups, on the other hand, possess relevant

information about specific topics. This information is not only hardly obtainable otherwise, but is also relevant as it is required by the institutions to execute their governing tasks (Eising, 2007; Woll, 2007). This is due to the fact that politicians are under-resourced, understaffed and under timepressure (Van Schendelen, 2005).

3.7 Access theory

In the end, the institutions are in charge of deciding which interest groups get access to the political decision-making and thus are provided with the opportunity to influence decisions. The question of whether an interest group obtains access or not is dependent on their ability to offer certain resources or 'access goods' that usually serve as sufficient proxy indicators in order to reveal indirectly whether or not influence has been exerted (Bouwen, 2002; Woll, 2007), as "access is not a sufficient condition to achieve influence, [but] it is clearly a necessary one – without it advocates never have a chance to sound their case [...]" (Mahoney, 2004, p. 448). Interest group access to the right people in the right place at the right time is essential (Bouwen, 2004).

3.8 Information as the most important access good

Although access goods can differ in their form, many authors highlight the central importance of information in obtaining access to the EU: "The currency of lobbying in the European Union (EU) is information." (Chalmers, 2013, p. 39).

Information in this context can either be technical, in order to allow institutions to optimize their policies, or more general in order to draw a proper picture of the "aggregated needs and interests" (Bouwen, 2003, p. 3) and evaluate potential reactions and likelihoods of attaining a consensus. Access, however, is not only founded upon the ownership of information but also upon further characteristics of interest groups, like representativeness or reputation (Naurin 2004). Thus, it is important to highlight that access goods should be seen as a "multidimensional entity" (Mahoney, 2004, p. 451) in which information is considered to be the central but not the only theme.

3.9 Transparency

3.9.1 Principal-agent theory

Looking at transparency in a political context, the principal-agent perspective is usually taken as a theoretical starting point. In its terminology, transparency is described as a tool obtainable to a 'principal' for ensuring that its 'agent' is not involved in shirking, i.e. actions

that help its individual interests rather than the interests of the principal (Lindstedt & Naurin, 2010). Usually, these principal-agent models consider the information asymmetry regarding an agent's activities, which are based on its individual interests, as too costly to eradicate completely. However, the fewer they become the less chances remain for shirking and the more efficient the delegating (Hölmstrom, 1979; Miller, 2005). Transferring the principal agent theory from its original fields of application (organisations and economic markets) to the domain of politics is not without difficulties. Holmström (1979) mentions that any information about the agent's activity will have a positive value if it is "costlessly obtained" (p.87) and included in the contract. First, transparent information about the politician's (agent) actions do not reach the citizen (principal) automatically. Second, there are no legally enforceable contracts that regulate the relationship between citizens and politicians (Lindstedt & Naurin 2010).

3.9.2 Different facades of transparency

3.9.2.1 Confidence and trust of the public

Ambiguity or the impression of mystery always provokes suspicion, as it is closely related to slander. Therefore, it can never have a positive impact on reputation, and transparency protects the public's confidence, trust and ensures their consent to legislative activities (Bentham, 1999).

In order to contrast this assumption, a recent experiment (Grimmelikhuijsen, 2012) should be taken into account. It shows that having more information about administrative activities provided by governmental organizations does not affect trust in government positively (Grimmelikhuijsen, 2012). Trust is rather a result of people's pre-existent universal perceptions of the government. As news content has developed in a more negative direction towards policymakers (Dalton, 2004), Coleman & Blumler (2009) consider the "increased flow of negative messages" (p.60) - among other things - as a fertile ground for cynicism and thus an increase in public's distrust in government (Coleman & Blumler, 2009). Although this relationship is difficult to prove (Newton, 2006), it can be reasonably assumed that increasingly commercialised media leads to an increase in transparency on the one hand, but might also cause distrust, on the other hand (Baume & Papadopolus 2012).

3.9.2.2 Expression of civil society

Transparency not only reveals details about the activities of politicians to the citizens but also helps representatives to understand the needs and wishes of the people (Bentham, 1999). If

citizens are more transparent, politicians will gain a deeper understanding of their preferences and hence will be more capable of satisfying them (Baume & Papadopolus 2012). Thus, "the reason why information should be open and accessible in any democracy worthy of its name is to enable political participation by citizens" (Curtin, 1998, p. 110). This approach forces officials to guarantee transparency in order "to create channels for the people enabling them to participate in the work of the government" (Larsson, 1998, p. 41). In modern society, with its high complexity and fragmentation, the links between political parties and society have become more fragile. Despite the modern polling technologies, this development makes it more difficult for parties to gain an understanding of social preferences (Mair, 2009).

In addition, transparency is regarded as a facilitator for reasonable expressions of citizens, "protecting citizens from the cognitive limitations of bounded rationality" (Baume & Papadopolus, 2012, p. 28) in order to allow them to formulate their grievances more properly (Baume & Papadopolus 2012).

3.9.2.3 Visibility of activities

Visibility of the politician's activities is regarded as another important benefit of transparency, as it allows electors to dismiss or re-elect their representatives based on knowledge (Bentham 1999). Further, competitive elections can be seen as an instrument for accountability (Fearon, 1999) since the accountability threat strongly incentivizes the representatives to respond properly to the preferences of their townsmen (Manin, 1997). The operation of the government "must not be so complexly constructed that citizens can readily understand how and, because they do not understand their government, cannot readily hold their leaders accountable, particularly at elections" (Shapiro & Hardin, 1993, p. 181). Control is required in democratic systems, essentially regarding "preventing abuses by those we have chosen to govern us" (Verhoeven, 2000, p. 2). However, this "circular relationship, which is the cornerstone of democratic legitimacy" (Baume & Papadopolus 2012, p. 28) is dependent on a citizen's voting choice, which is not only derived from prospective electoral pledges but foremost from an objective analysis of politicians' actual activities. If the aforementioned lack of cognitive skills of laypersons is exacerbated by laziness of the controllers (Brandsma, 2010) this relationship does not function properly.

3.9.2.4 Availability of expertise

Moreover, transparency makes the voice of experts available. "National intelligence" does not effortlessly assemble in representative bodies, rather "useful suggestions" coming from the public need a proper forum in which to be expressed (Bentham, 1999, p.33-34). On the

one hand, politicians need adequate expertise or knowledge in order to govern effectively. Thus, they source expertise from outside. This process fosters the participatory and cooperative elements of governance and is, therefore, regarded as having a positive influence on legitimacy (Baume & Papadopolus, 2012). On the other hand, it cannot be overlooked that a high dependence on external knowledge provides good reason to at least question whether those who own the knowledge might not be tempted to exploit this informational advantage for their own gain (Baume & Papadopolus, 2012).

3.9.2.5 Deliberative democratic theory vs. negotiation theory

The discussion about the pros and cons of transparency is simultaneously a debate between representatives of the deliberative democratic theory, who are in favour of transparency and those of negotiation theory, who regard transparency more sceptically (Naurin, 2007). This conflict can be illustrated when it comes to the question whether - and if so, how - transparency influences deliberation. Jon Elster (1998) has identified the 'civilizing effect of hypocrisy' as an outcome of openness of debate due to the fact that officials are more likely to adapt their decisions in accordance with the general interest and not their own self-interest (Elster, 1998; Stasavage, 2007). However, Elster also sees negative consequences of public deliberation like the risk of utilizing demagoguery (Chambers, 2004) or the avoidance of politicians of taking a strong position on an issue, as they are afraid of afterwards being proven wrong (Stasvage 2007). Attempting to provide a solution for this, Manin (1997) suggests that deliberations of representatives be held in private but be followed by a public discussion. In general, deliberative democracy approaches are aligned with two general norms: in terms of the mode of communication they are focused on arguing and not bargaining, in terms of the type of justification they have, namely public-regarding and not self-regarding (Naurin 2007). Thus, deliberative theorists are considered as opposing economic understandings of democracy, where politics is "understood mainly in terms of conflict of competing interests—and thus more in terms of bargaining than of public reason" (Bohman, 1997, p. 12).

Negotiation theorists, on the other hand, argue that transparency hinders effective problem-solving (Groseclose & McCarty, 2001; Schelling, 1960; Stasavage, 2004) since "integrative bargaining", namely "creatively searching for compromises which all around the negotiating table may be satisfied with" (Naurin, 2005, p. 7) requires the actors to disclose private information like base motives (Walton & McKersie, 1965). Transparency leads to a decrease not only in the willingness to reveal such private information but also in the willingness to

change a position once it has been stated publicly (Naurin, 2007). Too much transparency might “lead to attitudes of legalism and risk aversion” (Verhoeven, 2000, p. 2). Stating a position publicly attaches a higher “degree of finality” to it. (Walton & McKersie 1965, p. 93 cf. Schelling 1960, p. 28.) Although transparency to the public is considered as important, “[…] working in a goldfish bowl can rarely be as efficient as working in private” (Peters, 1995, p. 297).

4. PART I: EXPLORATIVE INTERVIEWS

4.1 Methodology

4.1.1 Data collection

For the purposes of the first stage of the research, semi-structured interviews with experts have been employed. They allowed a comparison of different explanations, while the flexibility of this method fostered a greater understanding of the subject in an explorative way (Babbie, 1998). Expert interviews are a particular form of semi-structured interviews, aiming at exploiting an interviewee's "capacity of being an expert for a certain field of activity" (Flick, 2006, p. 165) by asking open-questions, which the interviewee can answer freely (Bryman, 2004). Stake (1995) states that an interview is "the main road to multiple realities" (Stake, 1995, p. 64). Thereby, the selection of experts is crucial (Stake, 1995).

4.1.2 Sampling

All 12 selected interviewees are considered as experts in the field of Public Affairs and were not chosen at random; they were selected based on 'snow-ball' sampling. Snow-ball sampling is regarded as a non-probability sampling technique, which can be applied when a researcher is investigating a rare population. Thereby, at least one member of the rare population has to be identified. In the following, he or she is asked to name other members of the same population (Chromy, 2008). Experts can be regarded as a rare population, as there are - to the author's knowledge - not many experts in the field of Public affairs in Poland and Hungary available for interviews. Additionally, as the research has shown many of them know each other. Thus, snow-ball sampling is the most appropriate sampling technique to apply in this thesis. Altogether, 105 mails had to be written and 42 phone/Skype calls had to be made in order to find 12 experts, who were willing to give an interview.

4.1.3 Experts

The following experts have been interviewed in Germany: Professor Peter Grottian (Humbold University Berlin and ATTAC), Noor Naqschbandi (UN Global Compact), Heiko Kretschmer (Johanssen+Kretschmer; degepol), Florian Wastl (MSL Germany) as well as the lobbyists from the banking sector, from an association in the field of traffic and from a medium-sized association, who all wanted to remain anonymous. Grzegorz Mankowski (Batory Foundation) and Aleksandra Kobylińska (Institute of Public Affairs) were the interview partners in Poland, while Monika Magyar (NGO for women's rights) and an

anonymous lobbyist from a press/media association as well as an anonymous lobbyist from an automotive company were the experts in Hungary. All lobbyists are distinguished between two groups: Non-profit lobbyists and for-profit lobbyists. While the former contains members of NGOs or foundations as well as other civil organisations, the latter contains lobbyists working for trade associations and companies as well as Public Affairs agencies.
All conversations were organised as a phone/Skype interview, enabling the author to easily record them after asking the interview respondents for their admission.

4.1.4 Validity and reliability

In qualitative research, validity is considered to gain more attention than reliability (Flick, 2006) When applying the method of expert interviews the main threat to validity has to be seen in the probability that experts might be demanding or even insulted when they are interviewed by someone with lower status and power (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2008). In the case of this thesis, being a student might lead to such a situation. As Walford (1994) points out that the interviewee will assume the competence and knowledge of the interviewing person, an interviewer should be well prepared before conducting an interview (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2008). Thus, in order to increase the validity of the expert interviews, the author of this thesis prepared not only carefully for each interview but also adopted knowledge gains from one interview to the next by, for instance, altering the interview guideline accordingly.

4.2 Lobbying

4.2.1 Connotation of the term lobbying in Germany

All six German experts pointed out that the term lobbying was connoted rather negatively in Germany due to the fact that one immediately thought of a one-sided exertion of influence and interest representation in the political system or it was often associated with corruption and opaque bargaining, as well as with unfairness or unethical behaviour and is regarded as responsible for bad politics. (Interview #1; #4; #8) Heiko Kretschmer, CEO of a PA agency, added that it was striking that lobbying was usually associated with business interests, although NGOs or foundations also did lobby (Interview #8).
All experts pointed out that a more preferable or neutral term would be representation of interests (“Interessenvertretung”). Peter Grottian, working both as a professor for political science in Berlin and as an activist of ATTAC, put it in a slightly different way by labelling it influence of pluralistic groups in society, which represent different interests and a lobbyist

working for a traffic association adds public affairs or public policy as alternative terms (Interview #7). Florian Wastl, Associate Director of the PA agency MSL Germany, highlighted that representation of interests was even mentioned in the German constitution (Interview #12).

4.2.2 Connotation of the term lobbying in Poland and Hungary

In Poland, the term lobbying is also connoted negatively and associated with corruption and bribery (Interview #5), lack of transparency and suspicion (Interview #10). Grzegorz Makowski, Program Director Public Integrity at the Batory Foundation, said that usually, there was a lack of knowledge on how to define it. Aleksandra Kobylińska, Project Coordinator and Policy Analyst at Institute of Public Affairs, emphasized that there was nothing wrong about lobbying per se. (Interview #10)

Grzegorz Makowski pointed out that another term was advocacy of interest ("rzecznictwo interesów") but it was more frequently used in science than everyday life. (Interview #5) Aleksandra Kobylińska claimed that a more preferable term for most Polish people would be civic dialogue (Interview #10).

In Hungary, the term lobbying is also connoted negatively. Two experts claimed that there was no other term for it, while Monika Magyar, working for a Hungarian NGO stated that a more preferable term was to achieve your interest as well as advocacy (Interview #11). A lobbyist from the automotive sector added that the normal citizen had commonly no idea of the practical application of lobbying (Interview #6).

4.2.3 Summary & Hypothesis 1

As a result, it is reasonable to expect that the term 'lobbying' is perceived as negative by lobbyists from Germany, Poland and Hungary. Moreover, it seems that German lobbyists are more likely to agree on a preferable term, namely the term 'Interessenvertretung' (interest representation) as an alternative. Considering the fact that the agreement on an alternative term shows a certain degree of exchange or discourse among actors of the decision-making process, for instance, of experiences regarding the question of how to deal with a negative reputation, the existence of such alternative might give a hint on how established the lobbying community of a country is. Further, the OECD recommends to implement a clear definition of the term 'lobbying' as well as the activity of 'lobbying' in order to ensure transparency and integrity in the decision-making process (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2012). Furthermore, lobbyists from Poland and Hungary seem not likely to agree on a preferred term instead of lobbying.

H1: Lobbyists from Germany, Poland and Hungary experience the term lobbying as having a negative connotation.

a) Lobbyists from Germany prefer the term 'Interessenvertretung' (interest representation) instead.

b) Lobbyists from Poland do not agree on a preferred term instead of lobbying.

c) Lobbyists from Hungary do not agree on a preferred term instead of lobbying.

4.2.4 Influence of lobbying on the decision making process

4.2.5 Influence of lobbying in Germany

Peter Grottian working both as a professor for political science in Berlin and as an activist of ATTAC, said that pluralism in Germany could be seen as a huge map of interests. Hereby, economic interests have a higher chance to be successful. There have always been interests, which have not been represented at all (for instance, the unemployed). Those which are not represented are not part of the political or public discourse. The scope of influence is a problem, though. Some laws were nearly composed entirely by external law firms or lobbyist associations. The power of some of these external groups was tremendously high. In former days, ministry officers also consulted the expertise of associations but in the end they at least formulated the wording of the law on their own. This new procedure of exerting influence is thought to lead to a political irresponsibility. Ideally, ministries should present different versions in order to guarantee democracy. However, according to Grottian, one point had to be made clear: approaching interest groups, associations and experts before wording a new law was definitively legitimate. The problem started when lobbyists tried to influence the wording of law due to their personal economic interests (Interview #1).

Noor Naqschbandi working for the UN Global Compact agreed with Grottian. Lobbying was very influential in Germany. Dubious connections between business and politics had been revealed. Lobbyists influenced many political decisions. However, according to him the problem was not that politicians consulted lobbyists; the problem was that there was no transparency showing who talked to whom about what (Interview #3).

A lobbyist in the banking sector highlighted the importance of expertise lobbyists provide. According to her lobbying was quite influential in Germany, especially when it comes to the implementation of very specific regulations and laws. Thereby, the main influence of lobbying was to introduce relevant arguments when a new legislative proposal was put

forward. Thus, lobbyists accompanied a legislative procedure if a new regulation or law affected the sector they were working in (Interview #2). This view is shared by a lobbyist working for an association for medium sized companies. He said lobbying played necessarily a very important role in Germany, which is necessary as public representatives had to decide according to the overall public interest. Thus, they have to gather relevant information and expertise about the background and consequences of a potential decision. Furthermore, he was of the opinion that, in general, when comparing Germany to other countries, it can be said that the administration was not only open for opinions and arguments of interest representatives but also legally tied to hearing all interests. On the one hand, the selection mechanisms might be still subject to improvement. For instance, when deciding about equipment for the Bundeswehr it would be advisable to talk to soldiers rather than companies. On the other hand, it has to be pointed out that all interests are represented under different circumstances and initial positions as the interest groups were equipped differently in terms of resources. The more resources an interest group possessed, the more professional it could be and the more likely it was to gain influence in the decision making process. For instance, the pharmaceutical lobby was comparatively strong while associations of patients had a rather low level of influence due to lower budgets and organisational power (Interview #4).

A lobbyist in the traffic sector also agreed by saying that lobbying played a very important and necessary role in Germany, as no public representative was expert in all fields. Thus, lobbying was considered as an important part in the decision making process.

His credo was: “Lobbying has to be honest following the guiding principle that not everything has to be said but everything said needs to be truthful.” Lobbyists were sources of information for the politician. He believed that in general, every interest group had the opportunity to get a first appointment. The question whether or not this was followed by further meetings or frequent contact with the ministry was dependent on several factors. First, the interest needed to be of high significance. Second, there needed to be current political activity concerning this interest. Third, the interest group needed to be perceived as a good service provider, for instance, by providing relevant information in time. In the latter case, a personal affection could play a crucial role. Although money might be helpful in achieving this status, it was not the key to gain influence. This could be seen in the fact that politicians usually follow invitations to completely different occasions although some might be more rustic-style than glamorous (e.g. the association of fire brigades). On the other hand, as an interest group, you needed a roughly estimated a budget of at least 200.000€ per year not

only for a representative office in Berlin but also for related expenses like business diners in order to be part of the political landscape in Germany (Interview #7).

Heiko Kretschmer, CEO of Johanssen + Kretschmer and Treasurer and Ethical Advisor of degepol, said that different to the USA, in Germany not every law is the result of lobbying. On the contrary, there were many examples which show that decision makers had not consulted experts before putting a legislation forward (e.g. Minijobs 1998/99 or "Bildungsgutscheine"). On the other hand, for instance, in the energy sector, it was usually the case that several business interests were articulated intensively during the decision making process. In his opinion, the articulation of interests was a prerequisite for democracy and lobbying as such is a legitimate consequence. To put it the other way around, a society, which tried to negate interests, had to be considered as a dictatorship. Regarding the question whether or not all interests in Germany were consulted equally he explained that every party in Germany was in general based on ideological principles; for instance, the party "Die Grünen" was based on the principle of sustainability and the SPD was traditionally focused on labour and solidarity. Thus, as a consequence, there was a proactive pre-selection of interests (Interview #8).

Florian Wastl pointed out that in theory, it is stated that every interest had the same right to get heard. In practice, this lead to a "Bringschuld" (a debt to be discharged at creditor's domicile) for interest representatives in terms of a clear and precise articulation of what they actually want. Surprisingly, this was often not the case. Furthermore, there was no parity of weapons when it comes to financial resources. This could be seen, for instance, when comparing big players like Daimler or BMW with the "Verkehrsclub Deutschland" (German Traffic Society) the automotive sector. Personal relations in this context were still important but not as influential as in the old days of the 'Bonner Republic' when lobbying had mainly been done in back rooms without the public's knowledge. Nowadays, lobbying was not for nothing called public affairs and thus related to much more public attention. Still, access to decision-makers was crucial as it provided an opportunity to present your point of view directly to relevant persons in charge (Interview #12).

4.2.6 Influence of lobbying in Poland and Hungary

Aleksandra Kobylińska said that, in general, it was very difficult to measure how influential lobbying was in Poland because there was a huge lack of transparency regarding these processes. However, lobbying seemed to be very influential in certain areas. Basically, there

were some powerful actors, who were able to approach decision makers. This became clear when one looked at the outcomes as some legal acts were undoubtedly inspired by economic interests, although this was nearly impossible to prove. It all comes down to the lack of transparency. Due to the historical background there was no culture of transparent participation. It was more about pulling strings and using personal relations in order to get some influence on the decision making process. Clientelism, was not only a widespread phenomenon in Poland but was also associated with being powerful. These behaviours and attitudes had remained from the previous system. There was no equality but there were also no big imbalances. Some actors were underrepresented at the national level but could gain public attention trough the media, for example. For instance, the Polish coal miners were famous for being able to catch lots of attention when starting a riot while other interest groups like teachers, which had always been underpaid, did not have the power to raise that much attention for their interest. The ideal situation would imply improving the channels of communication by establishing a good framework of consultation processes in order to allow everyone to express his or her interest to decision makers. Moreover, these new communication channels had to be made more transparent in order to improve the quality of law making as well as to establish a greater orientation towards citizens' interests (Interview #10).

Grzegorz Makowski claimed that nobody really knew how influential lobbying was in Poland. There was a corporative way of representing interests in Poland on the national and regional level. NGOs tried to sell the idea of civil dialogue, which was kind of an EU idea and meant that civil society organisations saw themselves as agents acting for the public's broader interests. It was nearly impossible to evaluate the effectiveness of these activities or other professional lobbying activities. As there were many entry points for interest groups, the influence of lobbying on the decision making process was potentially high. From time to time, one observed strange changes of Polish laws in the newspapers although nobody knew the reasons, as there were not enough analysers focusing on such issues. There was of course still a tendency to traditionally organised constellations like the social dialogue. However, times were changing. For instance, labour unions constantly lost members as the Polish economy shifted towards a bigger (private) service sector instead of traditional state owned industries as the railway or the coal sector. Thus, this change caused a more liberal attitude in general and also influenced the attitudes towards lobbying. The main problem of Poland was its bad regulation of entering into the decision making process. There was a need for better public consultation mechanisms, as in the old system interest representation as such had not

been implemented and new channels had to be established. Right now, if you were willing to influence a decision there were no legal restrictions. Observably, there was a better access for union labours, etc. (Interview #5).

A lobbyist of a press and media association in Hungary said that currently, lobbying was a needless activity as there was a small group of insiders, who influenced the Prime minister. Influencing the decision making process from the outside of this group was not possible, thus there was no classical lobbying in Hungary. This small group consisted of friends from university. As a consequence, in the past three years classical lobbying had not been possible. She also referred to the old system in Soviet times. Now, lobbying had to be learned and there was still a lot of room to improve. She gave an example illustrating the current political situation in Hungary (see full summary of interview in the Appendix; Interview #9).

A lobbyist working for an automotive company in Hungary painted a similar pessimistic picture. She mentioned the perception that there were many non public meetings among decision makers, where power and pressure played a crucial role. However, she also pointed out that lobbying played an important role in Hungary due to many organisations that shared their opinions publicly. However, equality of interest groups was dependent on the current regime. Only those which were favoured by the government had a chance to get consulted. For instance, the current regime was more in favour of working with the chamber of commerce, while under the previous regime associations were more powerful. For the future, she claimed that there should be more transparency in terms of how decisions had been made. It had to be made clear what were the goals and plans of the government. These had to be discussed with NGOs, the public and associations (Interview #6).

Monika Magyar also stated that the lack of transparency lead to the problem that it was not really visible who was really important or influential in Hungary. Although there was a law saying that every law had to be discussed in public, the parliament can avoid this discussion by simply introducing a law on its own. Thus, information about who had influenced this law was not necessarily made public. Due to the structure of the old system, some organisations like labour unions remained well equipped with buildings or networks, while new organisations lack these resources. However, both old and new organisations belong to one political side/party only. Thus, how influential an organisation is depends highly on the current government. According to her, personal relations were very important, if not the most important aspect of political influence in Hungary. Thus, of course not all interests were

represented and consulted equally in Hungary. Economic interests, interests of the church or the labour unions were considered as more relevant than those of NGOs (Interview #11).

4.2.7 Summary

In summary, this section reveals interesting insights regarding lobbying in Germany, Poland and Hungary on a general level. First differences or special characteristics became clear. For instance, the political landscape in Hungary seems to be tremendously influenced by the current regime, the polarization of politics and informality as well as clientelism. In Poland, informality and clientelism also appear to be prevailing. In contrast, German lobbyists emphasized the benefits of lobbying to the democratic system revealing a higher level of professionalism of the whole profession compared to Poland and Hungary. Thereby, they referred implicitly to the availability of expertise (see 3.9.2.4) that is considered to be an important benefit of lobbying for a democracy. However, although these perceptions do not allow for hypothesising properly, they support the general understanding of the author and steer his further interpretations as well as his literature search.

4.3 Transparency

4.3.1 Transparency in the decision-making process in Germany

A lobbyist working in the banking sector pointed out that transparency was very important and essential for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption as it made the activities of all stakeholders/participants visible. She said that the current status of transparency was reasonable as it showed who works for whom and who represents whose interests. In her opinion this was the most important aim of transparency. Disclosing confidential information could not be a solution. According to her, transparency went too far, if, for instance, all meetings between politicians and the financial sector were recorded and published. In Germany, there was in general a clear sense of law and Germany performed quite well compared to others in terms of transparency. In her everyday work life a usual procedure was to always hand over the business card at the beginning of a meeting in order to clarify the background of arguments and interest representation (Interview #2).

A lobbyist working for a medium-sized association distinguished between an active transparency (disclosing relevant information on a voluntary basis) and a reactive transparency (disclosing relevant information when asked for). For him, on the one hand, transparency needed to clarify who was behind an interest. On the other hand, the bureaucratic effort had to be taken into account when claiming new standards of what to

report and how. Thus, it was not reasonable that every conversation or every cost calculation has to be documented and published. He also referred to the displacement effect ("Verdrängungseffekt") of transparency. According to him, if transparency were a common practice in politics it would become more obvious when some actors were not transparent. Wastl and the lobbyist working for a traffic association were of the opinion that everyone who acted unethically, lost his reputation in the lobbying scene (Interviews #7 and #12).
Overall, in his opinion, in a brief comparison with other countries, the level of (reactive and active) transparency in the sector of SMEs was quite good in Germany (Interview #4).

A lobbyist working for a traffic association had the opinion that transparency was definitely useful for fighting corruption but it was an instrument and as such it needed to be used actively (by the citizens and the media). He criticised that transparency was often limited to a high "Bringschuld" (debt to be discharged at creditor's domicile) for politics as politics is forced to make information easily accessible. However, there was also a "Holschuld" (debt to be collected at the debtor's address) for the citizens to actively access these information. According to him the majority of people who demanded transparency should rather give trouble to use the means that are currently already available. He further stated that if it lead to trustfulness, transparency was useful. However, when it comes to personal offences as a consequence of representing interests, transparency would be too much (Interview #7).
Heiko Kretschmer agreed by stating that transparency contributed to the fighting against corruption. However, according to him, it was not the one and only silver bullet. He said that while structural transparency was good and reasonable, content wise transparency would be too much as politics needed familiarity and trust. Procedural transparency created not only a lot of bureaucracy but was also prone to error. In the end, it was both of no harm and no use, thus it made actually no difference whether or not it was implemented. Interestingly, in his opinion, on a scale of 0-10, Germany would score a 0 (Interview #8).
Florian Wastl claimed that transparency would be too much if every conversation in the Bundestag had to be documented and published. This would lead to the question whether or not a random talk at an evening reception or an amicable meeting for a coffee would also be subject to documentation. According to him, transparency had to start with disclosure of the decision-making process. A well-informed citizen should be able to follow how political decisions had been achieved. In his opinion, the current level of transparency was very good. If one not dared to look for relevant information one would find a sufficient amount.

Moreover, he claimed that transparency fostered a good reputation, trust and credibility and thus, had been recommended to companies as a useful strategy (Interview #12).

Peter Grottian stated that transparency in terms of making the governmental activities visible would be very useful as a means for fighting corruption. However, according to him the system was so far not interested in that (Interview #1). Noor Naqschbandi said that transparency was very useful in the fight against corruption. He further pointed out that transparency needed to start by disclosing information about who talks to whom and about what. Disclosing of confidential information or trade secrets would be too much. However, if every conversation had to be published every actor would behave accordingly. According to him, there was definitely a need for improvement in terms of the current level of transparency in the decision-making process in Germany (Interview #3).

4.3.2 Transparency in the decision-making process in Poland and Hungary

Grzegorz Makowski said that there was no 'too much' when it comes to transparency. According to him transparency was a crucial condition for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption. Without transparency it was impossible to control corruption. Thus, transparency had to be regulated by law. From the beginning until the end of the decision making process there should be standards of transparency. Although this cost money and resources, this was not a valid excuse for him. In his opinion, the current level of transparency in Poland was not the worst. There had been lots of progress during the last 10 and even five years. There was still no systematic approach, though. Some ministries were more open for disclosing information than others. In general, the situation was very chaotic as there were different regulations instead of uniform and comprehensive standards, which then also needed to be applied properly. He believed that money and resources could not be a valid excuse for not introducing transparency, as nowadays there were technical possibilities to make the publishing of documents easier. He named the example of an online platform, which had been introduced recently. However, according to him there were standards needed in order to clarify how these government information were presented, who made changes and so on (Interview #5).

Aleksandra Kobylińska agreed by saying that transparency was a crucial condition for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption. So far, there was not enough awareness for this topic. Polish people were very suspicious when it came to politics. Thus, the decision making process had to be made as transparent as possible in order to gain the public's trust. She further pointed out that in her opinion public institutions would have to publish basically

every contact or conversation with an interest representative regarding the decision making process. It was difficult to say when transparency is too much. Obviously, there were informal meetings with friends among decision makers. Should they always be reported? According to her, this related again to the missing culture of standards. Every politician should know which meeting or information to disclose. Regarding the current level of transparency concerning lobbying in Poland she noticed a quite low level. According to her there was the problem of bypassing the lobbing regulations. Lobbying mostly happened informally, there was still a huge traffic of influence. Business men knew how to influence politicians on a personal level (Interview #10).

A Hungarian lobbyist working in the automotive sector claimed that transparency was very important in the fight against corruption, especially when it comes to civil topics. However, in her opinion there was certainly a too much when it comes to transparency. Determining for this would be the question who was affected. Everyone concerned should have every information, while all others did not necessarily need to know everything. The current level of transparency regarding lobbying in Hungary was dependent on the sector. While in the automotive sector as a very important part of the national industry, there were clear norms and standards, the civil sector lead much more space for improvements (Interview #6).
A Hungarian lobbyist working for a press association had the opinion that transparency was useful but not enough for fighting corruption if the society did not feel the need for having right decisions and ethical behaviour among members of the parliament. She further claimed that transparency in the decision-making process started with the need that lobbyists had to clarify his or her identity. Moreover, it was important to disclose who had met whom. There might be too much transparency when it was asked for more details than needed. The current level of transparency regarding lobbying in Hungary was in a bad shape in her opinion. Currently, there was no classical lobbying work and the level of corruption was too high (Interview #9).
According to Monika Magyar there was no limit for transparency. She claimed that transparency was most effective for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption but considered the current level of transparency regarding lobbying in Hungary as very low (Interview #11).

4.3.3 Summary & Hypothesis 2

In summary, these interviews revealed differences between the experts when it comes to their perceptions regarding transparency in the decision-making process. While some experts were

very positive towards transparency and did not see how it could be ‘too much’, other experts mentioned constraints of implementing transparency. This discussion can be linked to the discussion between negotiation theorists and supporter of the ideas if deliberative democracy (see 3.9.2.5). Also, experts from all countries referred to the visibility of activities (see 3.9.2.3) as an important aspect of transparency. Moreover, lobbyists in Germany expected citizens to actively look for information rather than only demanding the increase of its disclosure. In general, in comparison to German experts, the interviews with Polish and Hungarian experts revealed the perception of a lower level of transparency in these countries. While the latter were mainly referring to how transparency can or should be implemented, German experts talked rather about consequences such as the “Bringschuld” of citizens or the question if unethical behaviour could lead to a loss of reputation. Also, estimating transparency as a source of competitive advantage for companies in order to gain trust and credibility among its customers seems to be far away for Polish and Hungarian experts.

For Polish experts, a lack of standards seems to be the most crucial problem regarding lobbying. This is striking, as Poland is the only country out of these three, which implemented a mandatory lobby register. However, Polish experts seem to be more positive about the current situation than their Hungarian counterparts, as they all considered the current level of transparency as very low.

Thus, it is reasonable to expect that German lobbyists will perceive the current level of transparency in the political decision-making process as more positive than their Polish and Hungarian counterparts. Thereby, the latter will probably have the most negative perceptions.

Furthermore, the discussion about transparency seems to be more advanced in Germany compared to Poland and Hungary. For instance, German lobbyists show a tendency to be more likely to perceive the willingness of citizens to access disclosed information as insufficient. This might be the consequence of the fact that there is more information publicly available in Germany. Also, it seems that the German experts show a tendency to appreciate transparency as a competitive advantage on the organisational level. This view is aligned with recent opinions of practitioners, who also consider transparency as a means of trust on an organisational level as a competitive advantage (e.g. Del Vecchio, Thompson, & Galindo, 2012; Peppers, 2012). This point of view reflects theoretical thoughts on how transparency can increase public confidence towards the government (see 3.9.2.1) and embeds them into an organisational context. However, as already pointed out in 3.9.2.1 the relationship between transparency and trust has not been clearly investigated yet. Therefore, two examples of this more advanced view of transparency, namely the question of “Holschuld” vs. “Bringschuld”

and the question whether or not transparency is regarded as a source of competitive advantage will be investigated. Derived from the expert interviews, it is reasonable to expect that lobbyists from Germany are more likely to perceive transparency as a competitive advantage compared to their Polish and Hungarian counterparts. Also, it seems likely that German lobbyists are more demanding towards the citizens of their country and their willingness to access information.

H2: German lobbyists perceive the current level of transparency in the political decision-making process of their country as more positive than their Polish and Hungarian counterparts.
H2a: Polish lobbyists perceive the current level of transparency in the political decision-making process of their country as more positive than their Hungarian counterparts.
H2b: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive transparency on an organisational level as a source of competitive advantage than Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.
H2c: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the willingness of citizens to access disclosed information as insufficient compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.

4.4 Civil Society

4.4.1 Civil Society in Germany

Grottian pointed out that the main problem in Germany was that there was no counterbalance outweighing economic interests. Civil society should fill this gap but was only successful in specific areas like anti-AKW-movement. However, some interests like poverty, unemployment or migration were not represented at all. Powerful economic interests were able to be put forward easily and their influence on policy decisions in Germany was considered as brutally while all the others were mostly underrepresented. In order to play an important role as a watchdog and counterbalance civil society needed more resources and money. According to Grottians opinion, on the long run, the whole political system in Germany faced the enormous challenge of public mistrust and political apathy. Surprisingly, this did not lead not to a higher trust in the civil society or an increased engagement. According to him, this could be seen as the basic problem in Germany, even in Europe (Interview #1).

Naqschbandi agreed with him by saying that the civil society, one the one hand, played a very crucial role in the context of lobbying as it was considered as a watchdog. He also

highlighted that civil society organisations fulfilled this task very good in Germany. On the other hand, in order to change the current passiveness of recipients of such investigations of corrupt behaviour, the civil society had to be strengthened (Interview #3).

The lobbyist working for an association of medium sized companies said that when it came to evaluating the public opinion on a certain topic or question, politicians usually asked these organised parts of the civil society about their point of view as well as consulted the media or active citizens who were keen to share their opinion. (Interview #4) The lobbyist of a traffic association highlighted that the problem with civil interests was that citizens had the widespread belief that one voice was not able to change anything. This might also be due to the fact that we live in a fast changing world, in which new topics arise on a daily basis and the articulation of an interest can be seen metaphorically as a marathon task (Interview #7).

Wastl compared economic interests with those of NGOs. According to him NGOs like foodwatch or Greenpeace had extreme power, especially combined with the media. There was no parity of weapons as a big NGO could simply publish a claim, which had not necessarily to be proven. For instance, a NGO could simply claim product X was hazardous to health. Compared to companies, NGOs had nothing to lose, while companies had to ensure that everything they made public is congruent with current legislation in order to avoid complaints. The public was more likely to believe NGOs due to the perception that they were more neutral than companies. Thus, NGOs had a huge responsibility when claiming something related to a company (Interview #12).

4.4.2 Civil society in Poland and Hungary

In Poland, there were several powerful civil society organisations, which could influence the decision making process in Poland but the overall level of participation was rather low. Overall, the influence was not strong but there were some active organisations, which acted as a watchdog by monitoring the decision making process (Interview #10).

Makowski had a two folded view. According to him, on the one hand, one could observe some progress regarding NGO activities in terms of blogging about current events or supporting the implementation of new laws. However, on the other hand, the problem was that the civil society in general was not very active. For example, there were only few NGOs advocating for better and more transparent consultation mechanisms. Although there were few successes as being consulted by government when it came to related regulations, progress in general was made very slowly (Interview #5).

Magyar said that the Hungarian civil society tried to be proactive but had not been that much listened to. Usually, there was not much reaction on their activities. Thus, due to a low degree of influence NGOs could play only the opposing role. Since they were not consulted / listened in advance, they could not participate in the policy making process properly, they could only raise their voice afterwards (Interview #11). The media lobbyist agreed that civil society could drive attention towards a scandalous event or even corruption but there were usually no consequences as a result. She added that Hungarian citizens in general were tired of the democratic deficit (Interview #8). The expert from the automotive industry concluded that the Hungarian civil society had to be considered as weaker than the German one due to the fact that Hungarians still needed time to learn how to use this means of democracy properly. However, some organisations were able to articulate their interests appropriately (Interview #6).

4.4.3 Summary

In summary, this section reveals interesting insights regarding civil society in Germany, Poland and Hungary on a general level. First differences or special characteristics became clear. For instance, it seems that the German civil society is perceived as being more influential than its counterparts in Poland and Hungary. Also, it is striking that for-profit lobbyists estimate the influence of the civil society as higher than non-profit experts, who are apparently part of the civil society. In Poland and Hungary, it seems that the Soviet past still has an impact on the present. Only a few organisations of the civil society are perceived as powerful. In general, it can be concluded that all experts are aware of the watchdog role a civil society is supposed to play in a democracy. This is aligned with the theoretical assumption that transparency is related to the expression of civil society (see 3.9.2.2). However, although these perceptions do not allow for hypothesising properly, they support the general understanding of the author and steer his further interpretations as well as his literature search.

4.5 Media

4.5.1 The media in Germany

Noor Naqschbandi mentioned that, in theory, media had a responsibility in terms of transparency in the lobbying scene but in practice, media in Germany was organised in two or three huge corporations following in general the commercial paradigm to focus on print run and thus successful stories instead of educational serials. However, there had been several

investigative journalists who discovered major scandals and made them public (Interview #3).

Two lobbyists were of the opinion that the media played a very important role as an amplifier and soundboard as well as a reference point for the importance of a topic. One added that the media had to do more educational work in order to point out the legitimate aspect of lobbying in a pluralistic democracy. This way, citizens understanding of interest representation in general and lobbying activities in particular would be fostered. The other criticised that transparency as a tool for fighting corruption had to be used by the media more actively (Interview #4; #7).

Kretschmer pointed out media's focus on scandals by referring to an American agency, which offered their clients only two services: Either 'into the media' or 'out of the media'. On the one hand, this showed that the media played an influential role in the world of politics and business. On the other hand, a biased media coverage focusing predominantly on scandals and deficiencies was revealed, as good and reasonable administrative processes were usually characterized by not appearing in the media.

Wastl's view was aligned with this, as he said that the media played a crucial role as they followed the commercial paradigm and were mostly interested in a story. According to him this offered NGOs a platform for their claims. Nevertheless, he believed that the media playing its role as a watchdog were more effective than regulations.

4.5.2 The media in Poland and Hungary

Grzegorz Makowski had the perception that the media was more focused on boulevard topics of the yellow press instead of analysing relevant political issues. Only a few journalists wrote about corruption and related topics, thus investigative journalism was very weak in Poland (Interview #5). This was aligned with the view of the other Polish expert claiming that apart from informing on the decision making process the media only contributed to transparency if it was interested in a topic. Unfortunately, the general trend caused a greater focus on infotainment and not investigative journalism or complicated issues (Interview #5).

The Hungarian lobbyist working for a media association said that the media could drive attention towards a scandalous event or even corruption but there were usually no consequences as a result. The media plays a very important role as they have the tools to investigate and ask from data from government or public companies (Interview #9). Monika Magyar pointed out that the media played a huge role as it sets the agenda. The media was mostly interested in topics, which could be linked to one specific party. Thus, party politics

was a common frame for media on politics in Hungary. Certain newspapers and channels were independent, while the public media was not. The lobbyist of an automotive company labelled the situation of media in Hungary as complicated. As the public media was dependent of the government, they only had a biased and prejudiced view on political events. Private media were more independent. Overall, the media in Hungary were only independent on paper but were perceived differently in practice (Interview #11).

4.5.3 Summary

In summary, this section reveals interesting insights regarding the media in Germany, Poland and Hungary on a general level. First differences or special characteristics became clear. For instance, it seems that German experts perceive the media in their country as being more independent and investigative than its counterparts in Poland and Hungary. In Poland and Hungary, it seems that the media is more focused on boulevard topics and infotainment than investigative and independent journalism criticising the current regimes. Thus, a first expectation can be derived: Compared to their Polish and Hungarian counterparts, German lobbyists experience the media in their country as more independent and investigative, thus acting as a watchdog. In general, the expert interviews reflected the theoretical discussion about the ambivalence of the role of the media regarding its influence on public trust or rather distrust towards the government (see 3.9.2.1). However, although these perceptions allow for a first expectation, a further look into literature is needed in order to hypothesise properly. Thus, these insights support the general understanding of the author and steer his further interpretations as well as his literature search.

4.6 Lobbying regulation

4.6.1 Lobbying regulation in Germany

Peter Grottian said that lobbying was nearly not regulated at all in Germany. Transparency in the political decision-making process would be completely missing. For instance, it would be of high interest for the public to learn about the law making process and especially about the initiators and authors of a draft (Interview #1). Noor Naqschbandi, referred to the lobbying list of the Bundestag as a form of regulation. However, he claimed that this kind of regulation was not effective. According to him, a mandatory lobbying register for everyone lobbying the Bundestag was recommended as well as some additional rules concerning revolving-door situations (Interview #3). Heiko Kretschmer, said that there were no regulation of lobbying at all. Even bribery was still not liable to prosecution (Interview #8).

On the other hand, a lobbyist working in the banking sector indicated that although there was no detailed registry in Germany, the voluntary list from the Bundestag was useful as it showed who lobbied for what issue (Interview #2). A lobbyist working for a medium-sized association estimated the 'Lobbyliste' of the Bundestag as effective, as it would hardly be possible to regulate lobbying properly. However, critical reflection and ethical behaviour of all actors was considered as the best solution (Interview #4).
A lobbyist of the traffic sector also referred to the transparency list of the Bundestag, which was in his opinion effective and sufficient due to the fact that basic democratic rules like freedom of opinion and contract could not be undermined by disclosing information about every meeting between politicians and lobbyists. However, he pointed out that although listed lobbyists gained easier access to the building in theory, in practice the only benefit was that one was not obliged to wait in line but could enter the building on short notice. Furthermore, some politicians did not talk to unlisted interest representatives (Interview #7). For Florian Wastl, there was hardly an official regulation of lobbying in Germany, despite self-regulating codes of conduct. In Germany, a clear distinction between interest representatives, who tried to influence decisions and independent decision makers, who made decisions based on neutral information from all interested parties, was present and so there was no need for regulation (Interview #12).

Regarding self-regulation the opinions also differed among the experts. Grottian did not consider self-regulation as relevant. According to him, for instance, codes of the banking sector were an old hat ("kalter Kaffee"). They changed less in terms of the previously mentioned power constellation (Interview #1). Naqschbandi pointed out that an evaluation of self-regulation was difficult as a judgement would require lots of information how this code was implemented in everyday life. Generally, a code of conduct should also include sanctions for non-compliance (Interview #3).
On the contrary, Wastl and the lobbyist working for a traffic association believed
self-regulation was very effective, as everyone who acted unethically lost his reputation in the lobbying scene (Interview #7 and #12). The traffic lobbyist explained that both sides, lobbyists and politicians knew that they depend on each other. Thus, some ground rules were usually followed (Interview #7). The banking lobbyist was of the opinion that self-regulation was very important as it allowed evaluating an organisation's behaviour. Furthermore, codes of conduct provided employees with a helpful guideline for how to behave (Interview #2). Kretschmer highlighted the importance of the source of a code. If the initiator of a self-

regulating codex was equipped with the necessary resources like, for example, the Association of Public Affairs, the effectiveness of such code had to be considered as given, while a honourably initiator (e.g. a small NGO) usually lacked the clout to implement it properly. For him, generally speaking, the problem in Germany was not the lack of a common understanding of what ethical PR or PA was but a deficit in how to implement it reasonably (Interview #8).

4.6.2 Regulation of lobbying in Poland and Hungary

Grzegorz Makowski mentioned that although there was a mandatory regulation in Poland, lobbying was not regulated in practice (see also Makowski, 2011). Regarding self-regulation there were only a few organisations, which had an ethical code but this was still such a small community. The vast majority was not self-regulated. In general, self-regulation might be effective as it was well developed in the USA and works well there (Interview #5).

Aleksandra Kobylińska said that the Act of lobbying activity in the law making process, which was supposed to regulate lobbying, was widely criticised, thus completely ineffective. Although there was an obligation forcing lobbyists to register there were only ca. 300 registrations so far and almost no indication of necessary information about professional lobbying activities. Thus, most activities were still executed informally. She pointed out that self-regulation was a complicated issue in Poland, as in Eastern Europe there was no real culture of transparency or good governance but rather weak standards for governmental behaviour, in general. Regulating lobbying would be preferable, especially the implementation of strong enforcement mechanisms and sanctions. Self-regulation could help as a point of reference.

A lobbyist from a Hungarian media association mentioned that the new act, implemented in 2011, was not considered as a proper regulation of lobbying. Although she believed that self-regulation was always effective and could be useful for lobbying, there should also be official regulation. In Hungary, there was not really a common code of ethics established among lobbyists (Interview #9).

Monika Magyar referred to the old lobbying law, which was shut down in 2011. [It was not clear whether or not she was aware of that.] However, she criticised that it only covered economic lobbying. Lobbyists had to register but nearly no one did it, as law firms and other organisations mostly covered the origin of an interest. Thus, the regulation was not effective according to her opinion. Regarding self-regulation she explained that the problem in Hungary was that the main actors in the field of lobbying were unknown. Thus, it would be

necessary to show who drafted a code of conduct. But in general, self-regulation was very effective and among NGOs there were several strict policies, for instance in terms of donors (Interview #11).

A lobbyist from the automotive sector explained that after the regulation was abolished in 2011, everyone was playing according to his or her own rules. In general, she considered self-regulation as important but in the case of Hungary it depended on individual companies as well as topics (Interview #6).

4.6.3 Summary

In summary, this section reveals interesting insights regarding lobbying regulation in Germany, Poland and Hungary on a general level. First differences or special characteristics became clear. Concluding the experts' views on regulation in Germany, it is striking that only three experts hold the opinion that the current regulation of lobbying in Germany was insufficient. Instead, most of the lobbyists referred to the political system and its underlying formal or informal institutions, which were regarded as strong enough for ensuring ethical lobbying. Regarding self-regulation, the attitudes diverted even more. Only experts perceived self-regulation as not effective, while the others referred, for instance, to the risk of losing reputation, which was considered as a strong means in order to ensure that lobbyists act according to a codex. Concluding the experts' perceptions of regulation in Poland and Hungary, it becomes obvious that in both countries there is de facto no regulation in place. This is especially striking in the case of Poland, as there has been at least a regulation introduced in 2005. For Hungary, it seems reasonable to argue that the current regime and its activities are not perceived as fostering transparency in the field of lobbying. Altogether, this leads to the conclusion that the opinion of lobbyists regarding regulation differ remarkably. A brief overview of the theoretical discussion on regulation vs. self-regulation can be found in 5.6.1; 5.6.2 and 5.6.3. Furthermore, at least in Germany, it seems reasonable to expect lobbyists to perceive the loss of reputation as a means for regulating unethical behaviour of lobbyists, as several of the German experts referred to this informal phenomena. It remains open how Polish lobbyists will estimate the current level of regulation. However, although these perceptions allow for first expectations, a further look into literature is needed in order to hypothesise properly. Thus, these insights support the general understanding of the author and steer his further interpretations as well as his literature search.

5. PART II: LITERATURE REVIEW (PESTL-ANALSIS)

5.1 Methodology

In accordance with the research strategy defined earlier, the findings derived from the expert interviews steered the direction of the following literature review. Applying a triangulation based approach (Fielding, 2012) for search patterns, a first fuzzy search with keyword combinations like 'lobbying + CEE' and 'transparency + CEE' in the two search engines Scopus and Google Scholar delivered preliminary background information in preparation for the expert interviews. Findings from the expert interviews were then used for a more specified search (with keywords like 'clientelism', 'polarization' etc.), which was complemented by a forward and backward citation analysis of scientifically recognized literature. This rigorous literature review (Wolfswinkel et al., 2011) generated reasonable findings not only on influencing factors for the perception and attitudes of lobbyists in CEE, but also backed up findings from the expert interviews.

To structure all findings, they were grouped following the PESTL-framework, which combines political, economic, social, technical and legal determinants in order to review the external environment. This approach has been used in the context of public affairs before (e.g. Andoh–Baidoo, Babb, & Agyepong, 2012; Yingfa & Hong, 2010).

5.2 Political perspective

5.2.1 Formal and informal institutions

Institutional settings are the arrangement of formal constructs, informal systems and their enforcement characteristics (North, 2005). Literature has extensively demonstrated that institutions are positively related to economic progress (Boettke, 1994; North, 1990; Rodrik, Subramanian, & Trebbi, 2004). Formal institutions are described as "political constraints on government behavior enforced by legal institutions. Formal rules encompass constitutional constraints, statutory rules, and other political constraints." (Williamson, 2009, p. 372). Informal institutions are defined as "the collection of social norms, conventions and moral values that constrain individuals and organisations in pursuit of their goals." (Raiser, 1997, p. 2). They contain behaviour codes, certain traditions and values, which are not covered by the description of formal democratic regulations (Gallina, 2011). Thus, they are not created or administered by government (Williamson, 2009). The main difference between formal and

informal institutions is that the latter "remain in the private realm, whereas formal constraints are centrally designed and enforced." (Williamson, 2009, p.372). Findings from literature suggest that there is not one ideal institutional mix as it differs from country to country (Williamson, 2009).

Formally, most Eastern European countries are democratic but looking behind this formal façade political elites are revealed who adapt informal agreements instead of following formal rules (Gallina, 2011). Those informal relations are considered as stronger than their formal counterparts (Gallina, 2011). Furthermore, elites' activities are regarded as intransparent and confrontational (Pehe, 2009). Thus, the process of transition in the former Soviet countries has to be seen as a process of institutional change (Raiser, 1997). The informal institutions of Poland and Hungary have been found strong, in particular (Kozenkow, 2011). Considerable levels of informality and corruption as well as questionable elite behaviour characterize both countries (Gallina, 2010). In general, the political landscape in CEE countries is portrayed by its strongly competitive and polarized political culture, a lack of transparency in political processes and the personalization and centralization of politics (Gallina, 2007; Korkut, 2005; Szablowski & Derlien, 1993).

5.2.2 Dissatisfaction regarding politics in CEE

Low voter turnouts and high levels of dissatisfaction with democracy are characteristics of CEE countries. This facilitates the rise of extremist parties, for instance, in Hungary and Poland (Varga & Freyberg-Inan, 2012). The first years of freedom in the CEE countries lead citizens to attach a great deal of hope to elections (voter turnouts of 64% in Poland in 1989, 65% in Hungary in 1990) (Bański, Kowalski, & Mazur, 2012). Yet recently, levels of trust in Poland and Hungary are below 30% (Vargaa and Freyberg-Inan 2012); the measured voter turnouts in Hungary during recent elections (47%) were even the lowest among all OECD countries (OECD, 2013). However, voter turnout dropped not only in Hungary and Poland but also Germany (70,8%) and in the East lower than in the West (Vargaa & Freyberg-Inanb, 2012; bpb, 2009). Dissatisfaction increases the incentive for elites to behave corruptly as, firstly, they do not face the threat of sanctions by voters and, secondly, they do not have to stick to their announced political programme (Vargaa & Freyberg-Inanb, 2012). Isolation between politicians and citizens leads to an incentive for political activists to introduce themselves as outcasts from the doubted political system. They are likely to use negative rhetoric against the rival political elite (Vargaa & Freyberg-Inanb, 2012). The recent 'anti-communism' propaganda in Poland and Hungary can be seen as an example of this (Adam

Michnik, SPIEGEL, 2013). According to the Polish dissident Adam Michnik, “the current situation in Hungary stems from a disappointment in the Social Democrats, who were in power before and drove the country into economic ruin. That's why the population is now disappointed and is calling everything into question, even the things it once dreamed of achieving.” (SPIEGEL, 2013).

5.2.3 Informality in CEE

In countries with a former communist national culture informality is regarded as a means of corruption (Grødeland & Aasland, 2006). In times of communism, informality was used in order to by-pass unrealistic laws and secure the fulfilment of economic plans. In addition, citizens needed informal networks for coping with everyday life, such as gaining privileges like a good position, the right to study at a good university, nice housing, easy military service as well as gaining access to consumer goods hardly available otherwise (Grodeland, Koshechkina, & Miller, 1998). Instead of following rules and regulations, informal networks of family and friends are dominating in Poland. Decision-making is rather secretive than transparent; thus official meetings are usually less important than what happens before or after (Makowski, 2011). In general, nowadays, informal clientelistic networks in CEE countries can help receiving favoured treatment in public tenders, using public resources for private matters as well as influencing policy making (McMenamin, 2002, 2004; Meyer, 2006; Örnebring, 2012).

Putnam (1976) suggests using elite composition as a means for investigating the underlying configurations of social power, as it is easier to observe (Putnam, 1976). Both business and political elites in Poland and Hungary are considered as strong, powerful and not transparent (Gallina, 2010; Örnebring, 2012). The situation in Germany is more ambiguous. Although German elites are perceived, on the one hand, as too strong and oblique, they are, on the other hand, also characterized as lacking self-esteem, sophistication or urban behaviour in an international comparison (Gushurst & Vogelsang, 2006). While elites have lost public’s trust tremendously over the years in Germany, they themselves perceive a lack of recognition for their achievements and accomplishments (Gushurst & Vogelsang 2006).

5.2.4 Clientelism in CEE

Personal relations greatly affected the political system in CEE during the communist era causing nepotism and favouritism (van der Meer et al., 2013). Even today, many Polish managers perceive the rationale behind a promotion as based on one’s personal networks rather than centred on objective measures of their appropriateness for a job (Skuza, Scullion,

& McDonnell, 2013; Suutari & Riusala, 2001). This finding is aligned with observations of the Polish lobbying scene. Although business representatives appreciate and accept lobbying as a form of relations with decision-makers, different levels of interactions can be seen. These interactions differ according to a company's size together with ownership and management structures. Big players are more likely to build personal clientelistic or oligarchic relationships with decision-makers (Jarosz, 2004 as cited in Cianciara, 2013; Jasiecki, 2004 as cited in Cianciara, 2013). Personalised clientelism appears to be dominant in most CEE countries (Fink-Hafner, 2011). For instance, the current government in Hungary outlined a new constitution allowing it to not only staff key public offices with its appointees but also for exceptionally long periods (Vargaa and Freyberg-Inanb, 2012). A limitation of the likelihood of a re-emergence to power of the socialist opposition seems to be the intention behind these practices (Palonen, 2009).

5.2.5 Polarization in CEE

Extreme polarization and confrontation have been considered a distinct characteristics of the political elite in Hungary (Gallina, 2010). Since the late 1990s, a separation of the political spectrum into two opposing camps can be observed. They are labelled 'left' (Socialists and Liberals) and 'right' (civic camp and neo conservatives). However, a recent study showed that the left-right-continuum in East Europe may be understood different than in the West due to different cultural traditions that shape these understandings (Aspelund, Lindeman, & Verkasalo, 2013).

The Hungarian polarization affects citizens in various situations in everyday life, such as family discussions or hobbies, where they are forced to take sides (Palonen, 2009). For instance, in 2002, a cockade ('kokárda') was used as a national symbol around 15 March by the right camp in order to celebrate the revolution of 1848. Everyone not wearing it was perceived as a supporter of the left, as "in polarisation there is no middle ground. One has to choose sides." (Palonen, 2009, p.324). As the polarisation in Hungary is sustained by publicists, political scientists and journalists due to its over-simplified and match-like character, there is no control for the political elite which is therefore reluctant to represent the population (Palonen, 2009). According to Polish dissident Adam Michnik, "Poland and Hungary lack a political culture, a culture of compromise. Although there is a strong desire for freedom in the countries of Eastern Europe, there is no democratic tradition, so that the risk of anarchy and chaos continues to exist" (SPIEGEL, 2013).

The current Hungarian president, Victor Orban, focused mainly on emotion-based politics by playing the national card and introducing a political 'show'. Ability to negotiate informal arrangements is of higher importance than agenda-setting abilities (Palonen, 2009; Gallina, 2010). In fact, the current Hungarian government controls not only the media but also state audit offices and thus "limits the extent to which possible corruption cases or other problems among its ranks can escalate into public scandals." (Vargaa & Freyberg-Inan, 2012, p. 364). Furthermore, the Orbán Government is held responsible for a decline of transparency (Bajomi-Lazar, 2011). For instance, due a special authorization needed in order for meetings with the minister to be sound-recorded, a mandatory registry for journalists who want to attend daily ministry sessions (Bajomi-Lázár, 2011). Further, it has happened frequently that the coalition partner of the current government hands in draft laws to parliament instead of the government itself in order to avoid public discussions, which would be necessary otherwise (Bajomi-Lázár, 2011).

In Poland, president Kaczynski also established emotion-politics in his establishing of a Fourth Polish Republic. The Polish elite is characterized as unified and non-communist (Gallina, 2011). According to Michnik, both Kaczynski in Poland as well as Orbán in Hungary have an authoritarian idea of government; democracy is merely a façade." (SPIEGEL, 2013). Regarding lobbying, Polish decision-makers show incoherent attitudes. On the one hand, lobbying is an accepted form of communication with interest groups (Cianciara, 2013). On the other hand, empirical findings indicate that lobbying is not regarded as a legitimate feature of the decision-making process (Burson-Marsteller, 2009). A barrier for professional lobbying in Poland can be seen in the disregarding of expert opinions and public consultations in the law-making process (Cianciara, 2013).

In the case of Western parliaments Liebert (1995) differentiates between corrupt clientelistic networks and lobbying as a professionalised and transparent activity, while Campos & Giovannoni (2007) show that in countries of transition, lobbying and corruption are in fact substitutes (Liebert, 1995; Campos & Giovanni, 2007). It appears that there is a correlation in place between the overall level of democratisation and the quality of interest group–legislative communication (Fink-Hafner, 2011). Comparing the scores of the Freedom House Index among these countries, reveals that while all three are considered to be 'free', Germany and Poland score better (1,0) in terms of overall Freedom (1,5) and Civil Liberties (2) when they are compared to Hungary (Freedom House, 2013). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the interest group legislative communication in Hungary is more likely to be perceived as being related to corruption and informal arrangements compared to Poland and Germany.

5.2.6 Summary & Hypothesis 3

In summary, findings from literature validate the insights from the expert interviews. Informality seems to be a regular element in the everyday life of lobbyists in Poland and Hungary. Thus, it is reasonable to expect that personal contacts are very important, and clientelism and the exchange of favours are commonly experienced. For Hungary, it seems especially the case that the current regime of Victor Orban has fostered this atmosphere of informal arrangements, clientelism and corruption. This seems also be the case for Poland. Thus, the following hypothesis is derived:

H3a: Compared to German lobbyists Hungarian and Polish lobbyists are more likely to perceive personal contacts as important in their daily work routine.
H3b: Compared to German lobbyists Hungarian and Polish lobbyists are more likely to perceive the likelihood of corrupt behaviour in their daily work routine as possible.
H3c: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the actions of their current government as being guided by transparency and integrity compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.

5.2.7 Civil Society

Civil society takes over essential functions in the development of democracy: it protects privacy from state interference, it monitors and controls the state power, creates space for a democratic as well as participatory socialization, establishes common values, exercises democracy at the local level and moderates social conflicts (Jasiukaityte & Reiter, 2004; Mewaldt, 2010). Robert Putnam (1993) identified civil society as contributing to the stability and effectiveness of democratic government (Putnam, 1993). By providing effective cooperation throughout society and infusing "habits of cooperation, solidarity and public-spiritedness" (Putnam, 1993, pp. 89–90) among their members, a strong civil society is considered as "providing the essential basis for democratic consolidation in the transformations of societies from authoritarian rule to democracy."(Terry Cox & Gallai, 2013, p. 2). In general, locally trusted NGOs can increase the effectiveness of implementing anti-corruption programmes by providing supervision, training and support (e.g. (Björkman & Svensson, 2009; Chavis, 2010). As the Third sector, however, is always dependent on specific national conditions and historical developments, there is no unified definition of the third sector (Mewaldt, 2010).

5.2.7.1 Civil society in CEE

Comparisons between the participation rates in interest groups, NGOs and civic associations among North America, Western Europe and Eastern Europe revealed much lower numbers in the latter (Terry Cox & Gallai, 2013; Howard, 2003; Wallace et al., 2012). This disparity is even present when comparing former West with former East Germany. The latter is characterized by a much lower level of participation in voluntary associations. Every second person in the West (50%) is member of at least one voluntary association, while in former East Germany it is only 26%. Likewise, Howard (2003) discovered a membership rate of 0.78 memberships in organizations per person in East Germany in comparison with 2.00 in West Germany (Howard, 2003; Olivo, 2011). A recent study by Gensicke (2010) supports this evidence. In general, it can be stated that the active civil society in Germany with more than 550,000 clubs and over 15,000 foundations is strong. The main focus lies in free-time related areas (bpb, 2012). According to the CSO Sustainability Index (CSO, 2011) there were 87,758 CSOs, containing both foundations and associations, registered in Poland at the end of 2011. Growing numbers of full-time employees (increase of over 50% between 2006 and 2011) indicate that the Polish CSO sector is growing, while in Hungary, there were approximately 65,000 CSOs registered in 2010, demonstrating, for the first time, a small decrease (about 1,000) compared to the previous year (CSO, 2011).

The comparatively low participation levels of CSOs in CEE lead to what (Mungiu-Pippidi, 2010) calls the paradox of the civil society in CEE. Although the Berlin Wall was teared down by millions going on the streets and protesting against national communism or the Soviet Union even in small CEE countries like Moldova and Albania (Arato, 1990; Beissinger, 2002; Ekiert & Kubik, 2001), the current level of participation is low. Munigu-Pippidi refers, among other things, to the advent of materialistic cultures as a result from capitalism (Inglehart, 1997) as a major factor explaining this decline in participation numbers (Munigu-Pippidi, 2010).

5.2.7.2 Reasons for a weak civil society in CEE

A look into the literature reveals several factors leading to a weak civil society in CEE: Under communism free association and free speech was suppressed (Gellner, 1994). Suspicion of formal institutions is still present leading to a climate of distrust (Wallace et al., 2012). Thus, organisations have been created only slowly after the fall of the Soviet Union. Moreover, as a consequence of the economic collapse, citizens were more focused on struggling for existence rather than supporting civil society (Howard, 2003). In addition, the

collapse of communism was not only accompanied by the pervasive failure to understand the new procedures by the system but also by an absence of perspective in life (Wallace et al., 2012). Both consequences have an impact on lower public participation. Thus, the Western conception of civil society as a crucial component of a sustainable democracy has never been simply transferred to CEE. Over the years, the model slowly has been "domesticated [and] it has at the same time been shaped by local backgrounds, experiences and interests." (Rikmann & Keedus, 2013, p. 159).

Highlighting specific characteristics of the Soviet system and its consequences for today Zaharchenko & Goldenman (2004) point out that in former Soviet countries there is no traditional convention of participation by citizens. The Russian term for government official (Gosydarstvennui slyzhashii) is not 'public servant' but 'state servant' showing that traditionally officials served the government rather than the public (Zaharchenko & Goldenman, 2004). Exaggerated trust in the expertise of scientists and professionals in former Soviet countries (Zaharchenko & Goldenman, 2004) may not only explain this definition but also shed light on the question why the citizen as part of the civil society plays such a weak role. Since in times of communism the state promised to be responsible for everything, individuals renounced any social responsibility and have preserved this attitude to the present day (Tomka, 2011). In general, a strong preference for experts in Poland has been observed (Jankowicz, 1994). Despite this lack of participation, there is also no tradition of enforcing legislation by civil actions (Zaharchenko & Goldenman, 2004). In addition, as civil society was heavily suppressed during communism, suspicion towards government organisations and state institutions as well as a strong attachment to personal networks and strong personalities is still observable as a consequence today (Borragán, 2006; Gorniak & Jerschina, 1995; Nagle & Mahr, 1999).

The level of social dialogue in Poland and Hungary is only distinctly moderate (Fink-Hafner, 2011). Civil society in Poland is signified by its inherent structural weaknesses (Howard, 2003) Altogether, it can be stated that the Third Sector in Poland "has found itself lost in this new system, having difficulties with tackling the issues of its own identity, legitimacy, accountability and expertise." (Gąsior-Niemiec, 2010, p. 105). In particularly, for twofold reasons the social dialogue in Poland leaves room for improvement. Firstly, in comparison with Western Europe the concept of social dialogue has been around for only a relatively short time in Poland. Secondly, the narrative of polarisation and confrontation has been

traditionally dominant in the national public discourse and Poland's industrial relations. This is considered counterproductive to the consensus seeking of the dialogue between social partners (Gardawski, 2007; Zientara, 2011).

Beside these fundamental factors, there are additional practical factors limiting responsiveness of civil society actors in the new members states, such as issues of scarcity of human resources or finances, facilities, information channels or networking skills (Borragan, 2006). For instance, funding of CSOs in Hungary is a problem. Hungarian citizen donate 1% of their personal income tax to CSOs (Fazekas, 2010). The distribution of the money is organised by the National Civil Fund. However, the Fund is regarded as being non-meritocratic and paternalistic (Fazekas, 2010). Also, a lack of determination, initiative, assertiveness and interest can sometimes be observed for CSOs in CEE (McCarthy & Knabe, 2012). Furthermore, Polish civil society actors are still struggling to learn taking full advantage of the structural opportunities in their country (Gąsior-Niemiec, 2010). In general, it can be observed that interest groups in CEE still need to learn how to lobby (Borragán, 2004, 2006). For instance, although the media in Hungary is open to cover civil society activities, CSOs are often not capable of communicating their messages in a comprehensible way (CSO, 2011).

5.2.7.3 Participation of interest groups in CEE

Instead of widely accepted standards and norms, the performance of civil and social dialogue in CEE depends on a certain level of involvement and the good will of individual decision-makers (Cianciara, 2013). In general, other policy actors do not consider civil associations as very influential or credible. In many cases, policy-makers ignore their opinions, or their views are only asked for at short notice, leaving them little time in order to provide elaborated answers. Interest groups that are linked to political parties or government, tend to be most influential (Cox & Gallai, 2013). For instance, in Hungary CSOs face government attitudes that regard them as oppositional troublemakers or as unprofessional. The present Hungarian government cultivates a clientelistic system favouring loyal organisations and disregarding bottom-up initiatives (CSO, 2011). Generally speaking, economic interest groups are regarded as being better connected than NGOs (Terry Cox, 2012; Guasti, 2010). As a result, recently, Domański (2012) researched and discovered that non-profit organizations in CEE countries are significantly more determined to work together in alliances or partnerships (Domannski, 2012). Moreover, the general view that interest groups in CEE are less influential due to internal reasons is confronted with a new perspective

derived from the evidence that social activists face powerful decision-makers who actively try to limit the scope of their influence (Cox & Gallai, 2013). Nevertheless, there are also success stories showing effective cooperation between civil associations and decision-makers in CEE countries. For instance, a recent study by Orr (2012) showed that politicians treated NGOs in the environmental sector in Poland as serious partners (Orr, 2012). The decision-makers were especially curios for expert knowledge from NGO members and open to audits on concrete problems (Orr, 2012).

The CSO Sustainability Index (CSO, 2011) supports this finding by stating that the Polish government "increasingly appreciates the role of CSOs in providing professional services." (CSO, 2011, p. 158).

Compared to the Western concept of civil society, different perceptions of the role and operation of civil associations persist among CEE countries also in reference to their connections to the state (Kuti 1998 as cited in Rikmann & Keedus, 2012). In the case of Poland and Hungary, the tighter relations between the state and civil associations "may jeopardize the latter's capacity and willingness to act as watchdogs with regard to the state" (Rikmann & Keedus, 2012, p.157). For instance, on average, in Hungary 45% of the budget of Civil society organizations (CSOs) is funded by the state (TI NIS, 2007 as cited in Fazekas, 2011). This heavy reliance on public funding is regarded as influencing CSOs' willingness to tackle anti-corruption issues (Fazekas, 2011). As a consequence, there is still substantial distrust towards institutions and politics among citizens. This makes it even more complicated to try and establish institutions that try to obtain political influence (Lagerspetz & Konttinen, 2009). Trust in institutions is also related to the perception of corruption. Citizens who perceive corruption as a major problem in their country are usually more likely to trust voluntary organizations, NGOs and charities (Marinova, 2011). In CEE, variations in confidence in government and trust in others can interrelate with the perception of corruption and eventually impact civil society (Zakaria, 2013).

5.2.7.4 Summary & Hypothesis 4

Findings from literature are aligned with the insights from the expert interviews. The Polish and Hungarian civil societies are regarded as weaker than the German civil society for several reasons outlined above.

H4: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the civil society in their country as acting as a watchdog in the political decision-making process compared to Hungarian and Polish

lobbyists.

5.2.8 Media

The argument that a functioning free press fosters democracy has its origins in the seventeenth century. Thomas Jefferson, for instance, commented: „[...] were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.“ (Keane, 1991 as cited in Foley, Hayes, & O'Neill, 2012, p. 2) In general, the media play a central role in a democracy by informing and monitoring. Their task is to create awareness and control democratic activities (Spiller & Degen, 2012). Stetka & Örnebring (2013) referred to this relationship between investigative journalism and democracy as being also reverse by concluding that "established and properly operating democratic mechanisms are vital for investigative journalism to perform its normative function" (Stetka and Örnebring 2013, p.?). Furthermore, in our today's society, sometimes referred to as 'audience' (Manin, 1997)or 'monitory' (Keane, 2009) democracy, the media play a very important role when it comes to the formation of opinions. Findings from Poland and Hungary show that certain kinds of media use lead to a positive influence on participation, political knowledge and support for democratic values (Schmitt-Beck & Voltmer, 2007; Tworzecki & Semetko, 2010). However, recently, Tworzecki & Semetko (2012) found out that media use has no impact on trust in political institutions.

5.2.8.1 Specific characteristics of media coverage

On the one hand, this 'mediasation' leads to opportunities in terms of political accountability for politicians. On the other hand, the logic of media, combined with its on-going commercialisation and its paradigmatic quest for newsworthiness means that in times like ours when high "competition for readers and viewers with an ever-expanding range of media sources to choose from" (Street, 2011, p. 44) content that aims at unmasking sells best. As already pointed out in 3.9.2.1, it can be reasonably assumed that increasingly commercialised media leads to an increase in transparency on the one hand, but might also cause distrust, on the other hand (Baume & Papadopolus, 2012). In the case of Poland and Hungary, an increase in distrust due to the media seems more prevailing. Due to many scandals recently (i.a. the Rynwin-gate scandal in 2003 in Poland and the ‚lying morning, noon and night' speech by Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsany in 2006; see Tworzecki & Semetko, 2012) corruption has been a frequent topic in the Polish and Hungarian media. However, in Poland, instead of focusing on the outcome the media's main focus lies on the scandal and the

beginning of a trial. This causes the perception among the public that criminals get away with their crime without consequences (van Rossum et al., 2012). Moreover, Polish media portrays lobbying very negatively. Most journalists present them selectively and thereby mainly in the context of political corruptions or bribery scandals (Makowski, 2011). Furthermore, most Polish journalists neglect to criticise the central government or local authorities (CSO, 2011). In Hungary, media coverage is often superficial when dealing with issues of civil society (CSO, 2011). Moreover, a recent study of Stetka & Örnebring (2013) investigated that experts regard diminishing resources due to the financial crisis in 2008 as a source of decline in investigative media in Poland and Hungary (Vaclav Stetka & Örnebring, 2013).

5.2.8.2 External influence on the media in CEE

Despite their central role in a democracy, the media play also an essential role in clientelistic systems of political organization (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Hallin & Papathanassopoulos, 2002; Roudakova, 2008). Economic forces as well as political elites assert pressure on news media in CEE, thus often causing the introduction of a system of paternalistic commercialism in the media (Jakubowicz & Sükösd, 2008). The current regime in Poland and Hungary ensured control over the media landscape as soon as they were elected. In Hungary, the Broadcasting Commission can now not only sanction media for defamation but also decides what defines defamation (Vargaa & Freyberg-Inan, 2012).

The current Hungarian media law has been critically discussed by numerous European newspapers, politicians and experts (Bajomi-Lazar, 2011). Neelie Kroes, EU Commissioner for the Digital Agenda, pointed out that the recent changes of the Law "failed to address the concerns of the EU and of the Council of Europe." (Marthoz, 2012). The Hungarian media law remains "embarrassing," (Marthoz, 2012), Kroes further judged. "It only addresses 11 of 66 recommendations made by the Council of Europe without guaranteeing the independence of the Media Authority or clarifying all ambiguities." (Marthoz, 2012).

Regarding the transfer of media ownership at the beginning of transition, Hungary and Poland chose different approaches. While a governmental commission supervised the transfer of ownership of almost 200 newspapers and periodicals in Poland, the majority of print media in Hungary was assigned to foreign investors due to a missing regulatory framework (Stetka, 2012). In general, foreign capital can enhance the accountability of journalism since usually foreign owners focus mainly on sustaining business revenue instead of following political interests with their investment (Salovaara & Juzefovics, 2012). In the case of CEE countries,

Eastern expectations concerning foreign resources in terms of adopting the professional standard of Western journalism have mostly not been met. (Stetka, 2012)

5.2.8.3 Media ownership

Currently, the media landscape in CEE has been characterized by a shift in the direction of local media ownership instead of foreign capital structures. As a result, in many countries the media belongs to local business elites, whose business core is not attached to the media sector (Štětka, 2012). These persons own media primarily in order to shield their own business interests by interfering in politics (Örnebring, 2012). This is due to the fact that business elite owners do not need to focus on profits since other non-media companies, belonging to their portfolio, cross-finance their media investments. As a consequence, these elites influence the public and push through their political and business interests by using their media (Štětka, 2012). The slogan "freedom of the press is available only to anyone who owns one" (Baker, 2007, p. 8) has, therefore, often been used for describing media ownership in CEE (Salovaara & Juzefovics, 2012). It is common for media in CEE countries to support one particular political party. However, due to a lack of transparency regarding media ownership it is difficult for observers to estimate who is actually responsible for editorial decisions (Salovaara & Juzefovics, 2012). Thus, "in many CEE nations media moguls or oligarchs personify the clientelistic linkages between media and politics" (Örnebring, 2012, p. 505). In terms of the intertwinement of business, media and politics, a comparison of the media systems across Europe leads to the conclusion that CEE countries are most similar to Greece and Italy (Štětka, 2012). As a consequence, instead of being a force denouncing clientelism, investigative journalism is evidently fragile (Meyer, 2006; Örnebring, 2012). This is also due to a merely moderate level of public demand for investigative journalism and analysis. Thus, the target group for investigative journalism is simply too small to be profitable from a business point of view (Salovaara & Juzefovics, 2012).

5.2.8.4 Summary & Hypothesis 5

In summary, the media in Poland and Hungary are not considered as driven by investigative journalism or a high degree of independence. Rather, they are focused on boulevard topics and do not criticise the current government. This is aligned with the findings from the expert interviews.

H5a: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the media of their country as a watchdog in the political decision-making process compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.

H5b: German lobbyists are more likely to experience the media of their country as independent and investigative compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.

5.3 Economic perspective

In his study about the Central and Eastern European model of capitalism, Farkas (2011) investigated differences in the economic situation among the EU member states on six different dimensions: product markets, R&D and innovation, financial system, labour market and industrial relations, social protection and education (Farkas, 2011). These distinctions will be the guidelines for an economic comparison of the three countries in question. They will be contrasted and compared selectively by findings of the OECD Better Life Index.

5.3.1 Product markets / R&D and innovation / Financial system

In Farka's (2011) study, in terms of product markets, Poland, Hungary and Germany belong to different clusters. Germany represents the cluster of OMS characterized by less direct state control, fewer administrative burdens and higher tax rates (Farkas, 2011). Poland's economy is considered as one of moderate openness with lower tax rates than in the OMS but stronger extent of state control and higher administrative burdens (Farkas, 2011). Hungary belongs to the cluster closer to Germany's, although its tax rates are lower. However, its administrative burdens are only slightly higher (Farkas, 2011).

Regarding R&D and innovation Poland and Hungary belong to the same cluster, which is described by a lower level of R&D expenditure, a weaker role of the business sector regarding research investments and an extremely low ratio of patents compared to OMS (i.e. Germany) (Farkas, 2011).

5.3.2 Labour market and employment

Comparing the financial systems, a clear distinction between NMS and OMS becomes obvious, the latter being more developed in terms of both the financial markets and the banking systems. Independent central banks as typically associated with federalism (McMenamin, 2004) and a higher bank concentration in NMS can be observed (Farkas, 2011). Studies point out that the privatisation of the banking system in NMS puts foreign banks in a crucial position (Bartiloro, Allen, & Kowalewski, 2005; Marton & McCarthy, 2008). However, banks alone are not responsible for increasing investment finance but also MNCs, which can access financial resources elsewhere (Farkas, 2011).

Regarding labour markets and industrial relations the most striking characteristic of the NMS is the low level of participation and employment, especially among the low-skilled and young

age groups. This has usually been regarded as an effect of transition (Farkas, 2011). In terms of employment, around 56% of people aged 15 to 64 in Hungary have a paid job, compared to 60% in Poland and 73% in Germany, the OECD employment average being 66% (OECD, 2013). However, recent studies show that the employment rates from 1999 were increasing faster across the OMS compared to more recent statistics (Fialova & Schneider, 2009). Another finding reveals that the rates of business ownership in Hungary and Poland have been congregating quickly to the levels of Western European countries since 1989 (van Stel & Cieslik, 2012). Furthermore, Poland and Hungary have a low rate of part-time employment (McMenamin, 2004).

Moreover, great disparities in unemployment rates within one country can be observed, which seem not to be lowered by mobility of the work force (Schiff, 2006; Winiecki, 2008). As a consequence of the on going privatisation, state-owned companies have vanished and trade unions lost their influence tremendously. Furthermore, collective bargaining is organised in a decentralised way and trade unions abstain from actions (Dimitrova & Petkov, 2005; Sissenich, 2007). This description corresponds with a low level of organisation of trade unions (Farkas, 2011).

According to the OECD Better Life Index, the average household net-adjusted disposable income in Hungary is 13 858 USD a year compared to 15 371 USD in Poland, both
less than the OECD average of 23 047 USD a year (Germany: 28 799 USD). However, there is a significant gap between the poorest and the richest in both countries, as the top 20% of the population receive almost four times as much income as the bottom 20% (OECD, 2013). Disparities of income in Poland have been reported as the highest in CEE (Shields, 2012).

For Germany, employment is somewhat inflexible due to the height of additional costs included in wages. The rate of unemployment lies around the EU average. Although the number of trade unions is considered only moderate, the system of wage bargaining is highly coordinated and extensively executed (Farkas, 2011). An interesting feature of the German labour market, especially when looking at unemployment rates or wages, is the fact that there are still remarkable and persistent inequalities between (former) East and West Germany (Aumann & Scheufele, 2010; Brück & Peters, 2010). For instance, the per capita income in the East (€23,700) is still 30% lower than in the West (€33,400). Moreover, while in the West the unemployment rate is just under 6%, in the East there are nearly 10% out of work (Blum, 2013; Lemaître, 2012).

5.3.3 Social protection / education / satisfaction

Looking at the social protection systems, Germany, Poland and Hungary belong to the same cluster in Farka's (2011) study having high levels of healthcare expenditure and social protection. While the expenditures for elderly people are high, spending for families and child allowance is rather low (Farkas, 2011).

In the case of education, Hungary belongs to a different cluster to Poland and Germany. Hungary is characterized by a high proportion of early school-leavers, low-skilled groups and highly-skilled persons around EU average as well as education expenditures above average (Farkas, 2011). Germany and Poland have the lowest ratio of low-skilled persons and early school-leavers. Although public expenditure on education is the lowest in comparison, private expenditures are the highest compared with GDP.

The fact that Germany is in the same cluster as Poland and Hungary must be seen as a consequence of the reunification of the country (Farkas, 2011).

Nevertheless, having a good education essential for finding a job in all three countries. According to OECD, in Hungary, 81% of adults aged 25-64 have earned the equivalent of a high-school degree, compared to 89% in Poland and 86% in Germany, all three higher than the OECD average of 74% (OECD, 2013).

Farkas (2011) summarizes his findings as follows: "If we examine the elements of the Central and Eastern European model thoroughly, we find that these can be traced back to three main aspects: the lack of capital, weak civil society and the effect of the EU and other international organisations that influenced the NMS." (Farkas, 2011, p.4).

When asked whether or not Hungarians, Poles and Germans are satisfied with their lives in general, 69% of Hungarians said they have more positive experiences in an average day than negative ones. This number is lower than the OECD average of 80%. Compared to that, 81% of Germans were satisfied with their lives while 83% of Poles said likewise (OECD, 2013). According to Rodríguez-Pose & Maslauskaite (2012), the unequal levels of individual happiness in CEE are mainly driven by institutional factors such as decentralization, corruption and government spending.

5.4 Social perspective

5.4.1 Social differences between Western Europe and CEE

In terms of autonomy and hierarchy Schwartz & Bardi (1997) revealed significant disparities between former Soviet and Western European countries (Schwartz & Bardi, 1997). In line

with this, (Bakacsi, Sandor, András, & Viktor, 2002) showed higher power distance in Eastern European countries compared to their Western European pendants. In the context of Public Affairs, secrecy was a central feature of the former Soviet countries, as governmental organisations regarded information they controlled as their own domain (Zaharchenko & Goldenman, 2004). Disclosing information to the public, "was, and often still is, absent from the thinking of many government officials." (Zaharchenko & Goldenman, 2004, p. 234). This reluctance of many government officials to share information may be explained by the dramatic decreases in their salaries and social status, leading to a situation in which the information they possess "may often be their only asset and source of pride as well as of professional recognition." (Zaharchenko & Goldenman 2004, p. 236).

More recently, Kühnen et al. (2012) showed differences in terms of in-class communication behaviours between Eastern European students and Western European students. Their findings revealed not only higher levels of independence as well as critical thinking abilities among Western students, but also showed that "current political systems can overrule long-standing intellectual traditions, since Eastern European cultures also originated from ancient Greece." (Kühnen et al. 2012, p. 73). That mindsets only change slowly can also be seen in the case of Germany. According to a recent survey, 20% of West Germans have never travelled in the East of Germany and 10% of their Eastern counterparts have never been in the Western part of his country (Lemaître, 2012). Three-quarters of the German population perceive differences in mentalities between East and West Germans. Only two-thirds of West Germans (but almost 80% in the East) would take into consideration marrying someone from the other part of the country.

In conclusion, these studies support the statement that cultural differences in social orientation are present across Europe, such as the tendency among Eastern Europeans to be more interdependent than Western Europeans (Kokkoris & Kühnen, 2013). For all these value differences, explanations based on political, economic, historical or religious reasons have been given (Schwartz & Bardi, 1997).

5.4.2 Influence of communism on society in CEE

Societies in CEE countries were influenced by communist rule and its specific characteristics for half a century. For instance, under communism collectivist behaviour and thinking, such as reliance on personal connections as a necessary means for survival and success, were part of everyday life (Varnum, Grossmann, Nisbett, & Kitayama, 2008). As a consequence, Kolman, Noorderhaven, Hofstede, & Dienes (2003) investigated higher scores on

collectivistic values for Eastern Europeans compared to their Western counterparts and Inglehart & Welzel (2005) showed that Eastern Europeans are less likely to endorse self-expression values in comparison with Western Europeans. Along this line, Schwartz (2006) reported a greater emphasis on social embeddedness among Eastern Europeans compared to Western Europeans.

On the individual level research identified a personality type existent across CEE countries called homo sovieticus. The homo sovieticus labels a personality type whose character, attitude and way of thinking have been shaped by the totalitarian system of communism. His main character traits are the lack of dignity and individuality as well as lack of reasoning skills, intellectual enslavement and incapacity (Tobór-Osadnik, Wyganowska, & Kabalski, 2013). Under communism, he did not have to make important decisions by himself and was not held responsibility for his actions (Walter 2011 as cited in Tobor-Osadnik et al 2013) due to the expectation that "the authorities will take care of all matters, show the way" (Tobor-Osadnik et al 2013, p. 23) A further characteristic is his submission to the team (Tobor-Osadnik et al 2013). Although Homo sovieticus is in noticeable retreat, he still exists today, independent from political views, education, age or place of living, as an alter ego (Tobor-Osadnik et al 2013; SPIEGEL, 2013).

5.4.3 Hofstede's cultural dimensions

Hofstede's (1980) groundbreaking study of 50 countries and three regions is the main frame of reference for studies that aim at estimating the effect of disparities in national cultures (Kolman et al., 2003). Culture has been defined as „shared motives, values, beliefs, identities, and interpretations or meanings of significant events that result from common experiences of members of collectives that are transmitted across generation." (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004, p. 15). Hofstede's study offers numerical assessments of the positions of several countries on five dimensions of culture. These dimensions are power distance, individualism-collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity-femininity and long- versus short-term orientation. The fifth dimension long versus short-term orientation is not based on the original study but has been added as a new dimension (Kolman et al, 2003). These five dimensions do not reflect the tremendous number of differences between national cultures extensively, but they have been empirically revealed to be linked to various facets of organization and management (Hofstede, 2001).

5.4.3.1 Power distance

Power Distance has been defined as “the extent to which the less powerful members of organizations and institutions (like the family) accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. This represents inequality (more versus less), but defined from below, not from above. (…) All societies are unequal, but some are more unequal than others.” (Hofstede, 2011, p. 9).

Looking at the three countries in question, the cultures of Germany (35) and Hungary (46) are characterized as decentralised, while Poland’s (68) culture is regarded as hierarchical. In the context of Public Affairs, hierarchical societies are more likely to accept hierarchy and inequality: they expect to be told what to do, are more likely to have autocratic governments, have a tendency to observe corruption frequently and are characterized by an uneven income distribution (Hofstede, 2011).

For Poland, several characteristics are aligned with these findings. There is a huge gap between the richest and the poorest (see Economic perspective), political and business elites are not only strong but also widely accepted, participation of citizens in the decision-making process is low, civil society is regarded as weak and the current government bears a resemblance to autocratic regimes (see Political perspective). Also, several corruption scandals have been taken place during the last years (see Political perspective).

For Germany, the opposite - a decentralised culture - seems an equally reasonable assumption, as the income distribution is less uneven, elites face the problem of not being widely accepted, the civil society is considered to be (comparatively) strong, the current government is not regarded as autocratic and the level of perceived corruption is lower in comparison with Poland and Hungary.

For Hungary, a classification seems more complicated. Although decentralised, the income distribution is as uneven as it is in Poland, the Hungarian elites are strong and influential, civil society is weak, corruption scandals occur frequently and the current government is regarded as highly autocratic (see Political perspective).

5.4.3.2 Uncertainty avoidance

Uncertainty Avoidance deals with a society's tolerance for ambiguity. “It indicates to what extent a culture programs its members to feel either uncomfortable or comfortable in unstructured situations. Unstructured situations are novel, unknown, surprising, and different from usual. Uncertainty avoiding cultures try to minimize the possibility of such situations by strict behavioral codes, laws and rules, disapproval of deviant opinions, and a belief in absolute Truth” (Hofstede, 2011, p.10).

Looking at the three countries in question, their cultures are all characterized as having a high preference for uncertainty avoidance. Poland (93) scores highest before Hungary (82) and Germany (65), respectively. In the context of Public Affairs, societies with a strong preference for uncertainty avoidance are more likely to be intolerant concerning deviant ideas or persons, to have a need for structure and clarity and to expect authorities to have all the answers, while citizens are considered to be incompetent towards authorities. Also, an emotional need for rules, even if not observed, is typical for such cultures (Hofstede, 2011).

As mentioned before, the high dependence on the expertise of authorities instead of citizens can be observed in the Polish and Hungarian society, as the civil society is weak and there is no structure for participation. A strong reference for experts in Poland has been observed (Jankowicz, 1994). This influences the position of civil actors as well as lobbyists. Both face the threat of being not perceived as experts. This can be seen in a recent survey about lobbying, which reveals that 43% of all Polish respondents (highest value among all countries) and 30% of all Hungarians are concerned about the neutrality of information provided by lobbyists (Burson-Marsteller, 2013). The fact that Poland has introduced a mandatory lobby register can be seen as the consequence of a culture that has a strong need for rules, as 87% of Polish respondents believe that such a register is useful (Burson-Marsteller, 2013). Hungarians are also likely to find a mandatory register beneficial. Until 2011 such register was in place (see Legal perspective).

5.4.3.3 Individualism

This dimension addresses “the degree of interdependence that a society maintains among its members.“ (Borker, 2012, p. 1005). “On the individualist side we find cultures in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him/herself and his/her immediate family. On the collectivist side we find cultures in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, often extended families (with uncles, aunts and grandparents) that continue protecting them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty, and oppose other ingroups.” (Hofstede, 2011, p.11).

Looking at the three countries in question, their cultures are all characterized as individualistic. However, Hungary (80) scores highest, followed by Germany (67) and Poland (60), respectively. A high individualistic ranking implies that the society in question emphasises individuality, especially individual rights heavily (Hofstede, 1984). In such countries, people try to gain the greatest benefit out of education, since it is considered as a means to a higher standard of living. Furthermore, as (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2005) underlined, highly individualistic countries are characterised by spending a huge share of

national budget on education. As a consequence, more people have the possibility to participate in higher education (Cheung & Chan, 2008). As mentioned in the economic perspective, all three countries invest considerably in education, either on the basis of private or national investments.

5.4.3.4 Masculinity

Scoring high on this dimension (masculine) implies "that the society is driven by competition, achievement and success, with success being defined by the winner/best in field a value system that starts in school and continues throughout organizational behavior. A low score (feminine) on this dimension means that the dominant values in society are caring for others and quality of life. A feminine society is one in which quality of life is the sign of success." (Borker, 2012, p. 1005).

Looking at the three countries in question, their cultures are all characterized as masculine. Hungary (88) scores highest, followed by Germany (66) and Poland (64), respectively. In the context of Public Affairs, masculine cultures are more likely to admire the strong and have few women in elected political positions (Hofstede, 2011).

In a historic perspective, Hanak (1995) refers to the absolutism of the Hapsburgs as well as the long dominance of the Turks in Hungary causing the fact that democratic values have not been completely rooted (Hanak, 1995). Moreover, the Hungarian political culture is characterized by recurring indications of antidemocratic nationalism. Kapitány & Kapitány (1995) emphasise the admiration of charismatic leaders in Hungary before the socialist ruling (Kapitány & Kapitány, 1995).

5.4.3.5 Long-term orientation

Long-term orientation is described by "the fostering of virtues oriented towards future rewards, in particular, perseverance and thrift. Short-term stands for the fostering of virtues related to the past and present, in particular, respect for tradition, preservation of face and fulfilling social obligations" (Hofstede, 2001, p. 359).

While Hungary (50) is characterized by a (slightly) long-term oriented society, the Polish (32) and German (31) societies are rather short-term oriented. This means, Hungarians are more likely to reject universal guidelines about what is the right and wrong behaviour causing a more pragmatic attitude regarding law and legal practice, adapt traditions according to changed circumstances and learn from other countries (Hofstede, 2011). The last feature is reflected by the fact that the Hungarian legislation regarding lobbying (in place until 2011)

was implemented according to experiences from the USA and West Europe (Holman & Luneburg, 2012).

5.4.4 Tightness vs. looseliness

A study of (Gelfand et al., 2011) investigated tight cultures ("have many strong norms and a low tolerance of deviant behaviour") (p. 1100) versus loose ("have weak social norms and a high tolerance of deviant behaviour") (p. 1100). Their findings revealed that "tight nations are more likely to have autocratic governing systems that suppress dissent, to have media institutions with restricted content and more laws and controls, and to have criminal justice systems with higher monitoring, more severe punishment (e.g., the death penalty), and greater deterrence and control of crime. Tight nations will also be more religious, thereby reinforcing adherence to moral conventions and rules that can facilitate social order and coordination." (Gelfand et al. 2011, p. 1101). Distinguishing between former East and West Germany, Germany (East) scored highest with 7.5, followed by Germany (West) with 6.5 and Poland (6.0), respectively. Hungary scored comparatively low with 2.9.

5.4.5 The relationship between culture and corruption

Several scholars have tried to find a relationship between certain cultural dimensions and the level of corruption in a country. Davis & Ruhe (2003) investigated the relationship between Hofstede's cultural value dimensions and the Perceived Corruption Index (Davis & Ruhe, 2003). They found out that high levels of power distance, masculinity and collectivism could be regarded as antecedents for country corruption. Murdoch (2009) investigated the relationship between culture and corruption in the case of Poland and showed that countries with high levels of power distance also score high on the Perceived Corruption Index of Transparency International (Murdoch, 2009). On the contrary, high scores at individualism tend to have low values of perceived corruption (Murdoch, 2009). Another study revealed that uncertainty avoidance values increase levels of corruption (Seleim & Bontis, 2009).

5.4.6 An outlook: Generation Y

Contrary to the homo sovieticus, young employees of the so called generation Y in contrast to their parents request much more challenging tasks, flexibility and development opportunities (Skuza et al., 2013). This is different to the older generation of people raised within the communist mental framework where lack of initiative and little need for development were common (AmCham & KPMG, 2010). Communication with Generation Y has always to be transparent (McCrindle, 2002). In the context of Public Affairs, a recent study (Weyand,

2013) among political elites in Germany revealed that young elites are more supportive of transparency than older ones.

5.5 Technical perspective

5.5.1 Influence of technical progress on Public Affairs

Findings in literature indicate that technical features can influence several issues of the public affairs' sphere, such as openness, transparency or participation.

Recently, numerous governments have used information and communication technologies (ICTs) in order to enhance openness and transparency in their activities. ICTs are considered as a convenient and cost-effective means to reduce corruption and foster accountability to citizens (Meijer, 2009). In particular, E-government programs have been implemented by a number of nations in many transparency efforts (Bertot, Jaeger, & Grimes, 2010). Providing governmental online services "will likely have a positive effect on levels of citizen trust and confidence in their governments" (Nugent, 2001, p. 230). The greatest part of governmental information is available in digital form nowadays, and many citizens request access to it electronically (Kubicek, 2008; Priebe, Welch, & MacGilvray, 2008). Findings suggest that not only citizens' interest in seeking governmental information electronically increases (Smith, 2010) but also that the Internet increases citizens' interest in accessing governmental information (Cuillier & Piotrowski, 2009). Thus, the Internet can be considered as a means for strengthening democracy, since it "includes such democratic governance issues as government openness, active citizen participation, and digital voting" (Rho, 2007, p. 203). Contributing to this, (Czernich, 2012) investigated a positive relationship between DSL availability and political participation (Czernich, 2012).

Furthermore, social media is regarded as having a new kind of influence on campaigning by emotionally addressing single interests. Citizens sharing the same interests are now able to build a virtual community, which is either contributing to involvement in real politics or at least virtually supporting via comments, for instance (Bartlett, Froio, Littler, & McDonnell, 2013; Hartleb, 2013). As part of social media, weblogs in general and watchblogs in particular, are considered to play at least partly the role of a critical observer of the media, thereby being part of the Fifth power (Hutter, 2009). However, in practice at least in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, watch bloggers are rather considered as weak due to their lack of time and money limiting their ability to criticize media continuously (Spiller & Degen, 2012).

5.5.2 Situation in Poland and Hungary

Comparing political websites in Poland to those of Western countries, Cianciara (2013) discovered persistent deficiencies in terms of granting access to governmental documents (Cianciara, 2013). In Poland, parliamentary and governmental websites are not frequently updated. Information often presented inconsistently and in a disordered way. Furthermore, a lack of an user-friendly online platform collecting all governmental consultations, can be observed (Cianciara, 2013). This is aligned with numbers from Eurostat indicating that concerning E-government online availability German public administration discloses 95% of relevant data compared to 79% in Poland and 66% in Hungary (Union, 2010). Percentage of online availability of 20 basic public services was measured.

Evaluating websites of political parties Schweitzer (2008) came to the conclusion that Polish parties have to be regarded as technological laggards concerning the usage of website and internet opportunities for the purpose of elections (Schweitzer, 2008).

5.5.3 Situation in Germany

Looking at the number of Internet users, it becomes clear that Germany (68 Mio/84%) is ahead of Poland (25 Mio/65%) and Hungary (7Mio; 72%). In 2000, the federal government in Germany introduced a series of policy initiatives, containing E-Government 2.0 and BundOnline 2005 in order to diffuse the introduction of e-government across all levels of government (Wittkemper & Kleindiek, 2003; Wohlers, 2009). Also, in Germany, the relevance of ICT policy issues is increasing. They were covered by many press articles recently and also influenced individual decisions at the last elections (e.g. The German Pirate Party). As a consequence, federal government ministries arranged round table debates with diverse participants from civil society and industry and developed a more comprehensive policy approach (Wendelin & Löblich, 2011).

5.6 Legal perspective

5.6.1 Regulation of lobbying

Regulation is defined as “the control, direction or adjustment of a private or quasi-private activity for the purpose of some public benefit.” (Greenwood & Thomas, 1998, p. 493). Usually, the regulation of lobbying includes systems proposed to regulate the activities of legislators and/or lobbyists. These systems may contain less formal self-regulatory codes or formal mechanisms of legislation. In general, a problem concerning the regulation of lobbying arises when it is pursued in order to change established practices that have, for a long time, been considered by the involved parties as common and acceptable patterns of exchange.

(Greenwood & Thomas, 1998). Thus, "cultures cannot be changed by regulatory devices alone." (Greenwood & Thomas, 1998, p.493)

The reason why the regulation of lobbying exists, in general, is the notion that interest groups should follow certain rules of behaviour when trying to influence the political decision-making process (Kanol, 2012). More specifically, disclosing who is lobbying for which interests and how much money is spend on lobbying activities in combination with sanctioning unprofessional behaviour can enhance accountability and transparency (Kanol, 2012). Thus, the main rationales for the regulation of lobbyists are the perceived lack of transparency, the growing number of lobbyists and worries about inadequate influence (Rechtman & Larsen-Ledet, 1998; Warhurst, 1998; Yishai, 1998). Additionally, some researchers argue that the regulation of lobbying also has a positive impact on political equality. Suggestions from democratic theory show that if the access of interest groups to the decision making process is restricted only to certain groups, the democratic legitimacy of a government will be perceived as dubious due to the risk of a general bias in its policy (David Coen, 1998; Steffek & Nanz, 2008). Moreover, research indicates that the success in influencing the political decision-making process depends on the spent resources (Dür & De Bièvre, 2007). In overall, business interests are considered to be most influential (Coen, 2007; Woll, 2006). The overall rationale behind many of the lobbying laws in Europe may provide an explanation for this discrepancy. As they have been mainly proposed in order to enhance the interaction between lawmakers and business leaders aiming to strengthen the economic development, reducing corruption and fostering transparency has not been the main reason for their implementation (Holman & Luneburg, 2012).

5.6.2 Public cynicism and the consequences of regulations

Nevertheless, recent government scandals and a perceived increase in public cynicism, especially in the more developed European economies, have caused a transformation of the importance of lobbying regulation throughout Europe (Holman & Luneburg, 2012). Public officials hope that the introduction of a transparent system of rules will improve the public's perception of the lobbying profession and will win back public's trust in the political decision-making process (Policy Paper Ireland, 2012). According to Chari et al. (2010) "the basic rationale behind implementing regulations is that the public should have some insight into, as well as oversight of, the mechanisms that draw lobbyists into the policy-making environment, in order to better understand how they influence policy outputs" (p. 2). However, there are also sceptical voices questioning if regulation can really balance the interests of civil society and companies (Cini, 2008).

5.6.3 Self-regulation

Some authors claim that self-regulation is preferable to mandatory lobbying regulation due to its greater flexibility (McLaughlin & Greenwood, 1995). However, most who are in favour of self-regulation do not highlight its benefits but focus on the consequences of mandatory regulation (Dinan, 2006), such as cumbersome bureaucracy (Wesselius, 2005) or its being onerous and costly (Rush, 1998). However, as evidence from current examples shows that self-regulation has not been successful anywhere so far, it can be reasonably argued that it will never be entirely trusted by the public (Billet, 2007). Chari et al. (2007) found out that tighter rules lead to a stronger sense of responsibility among actors to become acquainted with them. Thus, accountability is enhanced in the political system. Another finding revealed that the weaker the regulatory environment, the more likely lobbyists were to perceive that there existed loopholes in the legislation concerned. For instance, more than half of the German lobbyists (58 per cent) believed that there existed loopholes, while the others remained neutral (Chari et al., 2007). However, it is reasonable to state that, even in systems with a high level of regulation, there will always remain a certain risk that somebody might try to undermine the rules. Derived from this perspective, while systems with a higher level of regulation are more likely to limit the extent of loopholes, no ideal type can be traced (Chari et al., 2007).

5.6.4 Regulations in Germany

In Germany, a registry for lobbyists is voluntary and, as a result, not to be considered as a lobbyist registry as such. Instead, it is mainly a registration system for restricting or allowing access to the parliamentary buildings (Holman & Luneburg, 2012). Also, not to be registered means that a lobbyist will not be heard by any parliamentary committee. However, on an ad hoc basis, the Bundestag is allowed to ask organisations to present relevant information, although they are not registered (Chari et al., 2007). In essence, this means that a lobbyist, who is not listed in the registry, faces no barrier when seeking access to members of the Bundestag or parliamentary committees. The Bundestag states clearly that although the elected officials are responsible for enacting bills, consulting with professional associations and interest groups is essential when drafting legislation (Chari et al., 2007). Additionally, there are no rules governing interest groups in the Bundesrat (Lehmann & Bosche, 2003).

Furthermore, the German registry focuses on organisations rather than on individual actors; it is characterised by not containing any financial or background information, such as what interests an organization represents or who lobbies on behalf of a particular entity (Holman & Luneburg, 2012).

Chari et al. (2007) conceptualize three ideal types of regulatory systems relative to each other, namely lowly regulated systems, medium regulated systems and highly regulated systems. The German system is regarded as relatively lowly regulated due to the small number of details which are requested during the individual registration process, a lack of rules concerning the disclosure of individual and employer spending, a weak system of online registration, a limited disclosure of lobbyists' lists, only little enforcement capability and no cooling-off period for politicians after leaving office (revolving door-effect).

5.6.5 Regulations in Hungary

Based on the practices of other European countries and the United States, Hungary implemented a voluntary lobbyist registry in 2006 (Gulyas, 2012). The registry allowed easy access to the government buildings for all registered lobbyists. Also, lobbyists who registered were required to submit reports on a regular basis (quarterly) on their lobbying activities, containing the number of lobbying contacts, as well not as only any gifts handed over to public officials but also their identities, and also the content of their lobbying activities, such as naming the legislation they have lobbied for (Holman & Luneburg, 2012). However, registrants were not obliged to disclose the identity of their clients. These reports were published on the web page of the Central Office of Justice. In March 2010, the register contained 44 lobbying organizations and 248 individual lobbyists (Holman & Luneburg, 2012).

According to Noemi Alexa, Head of Transparency International in Hungary, "sanctions were never carried out [and] the law ill-fitted Hungarian customs and processes" (Gulyas, 2012). Bence Retvari, state secretary of the ministry of justice, even came to the conclusion that it was "hypocritical, just a beauty spot on the system." (Gulyas, 2012). However, instead of offering ideas of how to improve the current act of law, the recently elected FIDESZ government "quietly repealed" (p.90) Hungary's lobbying regulation in 2011 (Holman & Luneburg, 2012). Officially, the voluntary Hungarian Lobby Law was not designed either as a successful means of fostering a partnership between government and business nor as an instrument for strengthening public trust in government (Kanins, 2011). Retvari not only pointed out the failure of the Lobby Act but also indicated that there were no plans to implement a similar regulation (Gulyas, 2012). Instead, the Hungarian government plans to implement a sector-based advocacy system with chambers and interest groups consulting ministries in the near future (Gulyas, 2012).

5.6.6 Regulations in Poland

In 2005, Poland implemented a mandatory lobbyist register, which only requires contract lobbyists to register. The registry contains publicly available information, accessible through the ministry of Interior and Administration. Information about who lobbies for which issue is disclosed. One exclusive part of the Polish system is that government representatives are obliged to provide records of lobbying contacts, which are published once a year (Holman & Luneburg 2012).

The Polish Act has been criticised for a number of reasons. According to Jasiecki (2006) it is "repressive for professional lobbyists (persons, firms, companies) but not repressive for another lobbyists formally for non-professionals, like business associates or NGOs" (Jasiecki, 2006, p. 8), and public hearings on legislative proposals have not been held constantly or frequently. Makowski (2011) not only backs up the latter point but further points out that many people working for NGOs are employed on the basis of civil contracts, and therefore, as a consequence of the Act, treated as professional lobbyists. This means, they have to face severe fines if they refuse to register (Makowski, 2011). This seems not to be the only problem relating to the definition of lobbying provided in the Act. Makowski (2011) also criticises that - taken literally – it means that every person who seeks access to public information about any given draft of legislation is treated as a lobbyist (Makowski, 2011).

Szwykowska (2003) states that the reporting requirements enforced on public authorities were "ridiculously heavy [. . .] meeting these obligations [. . .] would lead to a situation, where officials must put their basic jobs on hold and devote all their time to drawing up reports" (cf. McGrath, 2008, p. 26). A business journal article in 2007 mentioned that, "one year since the law on lobbying came to power, unofficial lobbying is flowering in the Sejm [Polish Parliament], while the list of official lobbyists flounders with only 11 names" (Warsaw Business Journal, 2007 cf. McGrath, 2008, p. 26). Recently, Jan Vitásek, an expert on lobbying working for the NGO EUractive, said that monitoring interest representation in Poland is problematic as regulation discloses "only a fraction of actual lobbying activities" (EurActiv, 2011). As a result, he concluded that "in the Polish political reality, most activities that in fact constitute lobbying escape public scrutiny" (EurActiv, 2011). Offering one possible explanation for this, Makowski (2011) argues that the heritage of the communist period has led to reluctance to regulate lobbying in Poland (Makowski, 2011).

Table 1 (Appendix) shows a brief comparison between the different lobbying regulation systems in Europe. In particular, the main components of the weak systems in France,

Germany, Poland and Hungary are presented in contrast to the strong systems in Austria and Slovenia. The table is taken from Holman & Luneburg (2012).

5.6.7 Summary & Hypothesis 6

Regulations in the three countries in question are different. While Poland introduced a mandatory lobby register in 2005, the Hungarian government shut down the entire regulation for dubious reasons in 2011. Germany has no regulation for lobbying as such but only a voluntary lobby list, which, in the end, has no impact on the everyday working routine of lobbyists. However, the regulation in Poland does not seem to be effective either. Combined with findings from the expert interviews the following hypothesis is derived.

H6a: German lobbyists experience the loss of reputation as a consequence of acting unethically as more severe than Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.
H6b: Polish lobbyists are more likely to consider a mandatory lobby register as effective.
H6c: German lobbyists are more likely to estimate the current level of lobbying regulation as sufficient compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.
H6d: German lobbyists are more likely to encounter the existence of rules and standards in the public affairs' domain compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.

6. PART III: EMPIRICAL STUDY

6.1 Methodology

6.1.1 Data collection

In order to gather further primary data, an Internet-based survey has been employed in this thesis. The advantages of a web-based questionnaire survey are its lower costs and faster response time (Ilieva, Baron, & Healey, 2002). Moreover, an online-survey allows not only for a quick coverage of huge numbers of widely spread respondents but also provides them convenience in terms of anonymity (Mangione, 1998). Both benefits are tremendously relevant for the targeted respondents of this thesis, namely lobbyists from Eastern European countries. Furthermore, online questionnaire allows for standardized form of the answers, which eases significantly the coding process. Also, the majority of respondents work in a white-collar job, which allows them to fill out the questionnaire during office hours (Welman & Kruger, 1999).

However, some disadvantages have to be accepted. Employing a questionnaire prevents the researcher from having control over the conditions under which the questionnaire is filled out (Welman & Kruger 1999). Also, clarifications or explanations of underlying concepts are not possible in a questionnaire, the scope has to be limited and the questions have to be mainly closed (Welman & Kruger 1999). While open-ended questions allow respondents to formulate an opinion without being induced by the researcher (Foddy, 1993), they are, on the other hand, characterized by larger item non-response rates and the need for extensive coding (Reja, Manfreda, Hlebec, & Vehovar, 2003).

6.1.2 Sampling

Similar to the expert interviews, the snow-ball sampling technique was employed for the online survey among lobbyists in CEE. As a starting point, the 12 participants of the expert interviews have been asked during the interviews (as well as after the survey questionnaire had been composed) who the most influential lobbying organisations in their country were. As a result, the focus lied on trade associations, PA agencies, companies (MNCs), NGOs, labour unions and churches. A recent report of (Burson-Marsteller, 2013) supports the notion that these organisations are perceived as the most important ones in the field of lobbying in the three countries in question.

In addition to these experts and their networks, four official registries as well as several lists containing relevant organisations (e.g. a list of all labour unions in Poland) have been found

useful for identifying potential respondents for the survey. For instance, in Germany, the Lobbyliste of the Bundestag (Lobbyliste, 2013), in Poland two online registry for lobbyists (Lobbing, 2013; Senat Poland, 2013) and in Hungary the former register list (LOBBISZERVEZET, 2006) have been used in order to approach lobbyists.

Altogether, 697 mails (without follow-ups) containing the hyperlink to the online survey questionnaire hosted by the commercial provider kwiksurveys resulted in a sample size of 88 respondents. Several reminder and follow-up mails as well as 63 phone/skype calls have been employed advisedly in order to avoid *sample selection bias* by only obtaining responses from a biased sub-sample. Nevertheless, the response rate is 13.6%, which is lower than the usual response rates of 33% for online surveys (Nulty, 2008). This was mainly due to the fact that identifying a sample pool of lobbyists is difficult (Holman & Susman, 2009). The highest response rate for any academic survey research on lobbyists' attitudes has been Holman and Susman (2009) with a response rate of 18.8 percent. For instance, Chari, Murphy, & Hogan (2007) received about 80 responses from lobbyists resulting in a response rate of only 6.5 percent. Considering the fact that the sample of this thesis contains lobbyists in countries where the level of professionalization of this occupation is lower compared to Western European countries or Canada (as in the case of other studies), a sample size of 88 has to be considered as sufficient.

6.1.3 Questionnaire

The 29 questions for the questionnaire used in this thesis were generally closed with two opportunities for free comments (see Appendix 1). The commercial survey provider kwiksurveys, which has been used, allows the adjustment of indicating questions as mandatory except for two voluntary questions. This meant that respondents were not able to submit the form when they have forgotten to answer a question. On the one hand, this could have lead to a situation in which some of them were discouraged to look for the missing item and simply abort the survey. This might have influenced the response rate. On the other hand, this procedure was effective in avoiding *item non-response bias*. However, as the author has only realized this technical feature after the first day, two German respondents were able to submit their questionnaire although they had left out a few questions.

Moreover, in order to avoid *item response bias*, a brief informal pre-test of the survey has been employed. This way, it could be ensured that questions, which entailed the potential of deficiencies or misunderstandings, could be corrected. For instance, as a result of the pre-test, the wording of a few questions has been changed and the survey provider has been changed from a free provider to a commercial one due to better usability and optimized export

functions. In this thesis, instead of employing a formal pre-test, the inputs from experts were gathered informally and used for compiling the final questionnaire.

Also, as only 20% of the Hungarian and 33% of the Polish population are able to speak English (Eurobarometer, 2012), native speakers have translated the questionnaire to German, Polish and Hungarian in order to avoid misunderstandings based on language problems. This step has been recommended by the Polish and Hungarian experts during the interviews.

6.1.3.1 Question type

Questions in a questionnaire should be objective, understandable and clear. (Leedy, 1996) Furthermore, the questionnaire should be as short as possible and directly related to the research problem (Leedy, 1996). As this thesis aims at investigating attitudes and opinions of lobbyists, scales with fixed choice response formats, namely a 5-item Likert format, were employed (Babbie, 1998). These ordinal scales with usually five to seven pre-coded responses, including a neutral point, measure levels of agreement and disagreement towards an outlined statement. The underlying assumptions of Likert-items are that attitudes can be measured as well as that the intensity of experience is linear on a scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Likert-items are regarded as an appropriate and easy to use method (Oppenheim, 1992). In order to avoid misinterpretation, bias and reduce measurement errors, multi-item scales are usually preferred over single-item scales (Bowling, 1997; Burns & Grove, 1997). The question whether or not a neutral point should be part of the scale has been discussed controversially in literature. Without a neutral point the respondent is forced to choose a response that may cause respondent irritation and, as a consequence, increase *non-response bias* (Burns & Grove 1997). In order to use common parametric tests, it is acceptable to regard Likert-item scores as interval data (Ferguson & Cox, 1993; Polgar & Thomas, 1995).

6.1.3.2 Non-validated questions

The questionnaire employed in this thesis contains only non-validated questions. A search with Google, Google Scholar and Scopus did not reveal a validated set of questions, which fit into the context of this thesis. Transparency International has not been found useful in this context, as their questions focus solely on the concept of corruption (Transparency International, 2011b) in order to compose the Corruption Perception Index. As already pointed out briefly in 3.3.2, from a conceptual point of view, transparency cannot be regarded as the exact opposite of corruption.

However, questions have been occasionally aligned with those used in Holman and Susman (2009) or Burson-Marsteller (2013). For instance, q10 is derived from "Generally speaking, do you think that inappropriate influence-peddling by lobbyists, such as seeking official favours with gifts or misrepresenting issues, is a problem?" (Holman & Susman, p. 43) Nevertheless, the survey questions of Holman and Susman (2009) are only focused on the aspect of regulations. Also, the question "Should transparency of lobbying activity be mandatory or voluntary?" (p. 49) together with the nominal scale options mandatory, voluntary and neutral has not been considered as being ideally composed. Instead, q20-q22 have been used in this thesis in order to allow a broader range of responses. Moreover, a blog-post by Katie Delahaye Paine (2011) reviews research by Brad Rawlins of Brigham Young University (Fairbanks, Plowman, & Rawlins, 2007) and provides an overview of how a survey can ask for transparency and trust. For instance, q12 reflects "Sound principles seem to guide the behaviour of this organization." (Paine, 2011). Overall, although some questions have been aligned with those of previous studies or surveys, it was not possible to use a validated set of questions. This was due to the specific context of this thesis and the fact that it has been rarely investigated so far.

6.1.4 Statistical tests

In order to analyse the survey results, the following statistics in SPSS version 21 were used: *ANOVA, F-test, post hoc test of Tukey, Levene's test for homogeneity, Kruskal-Wallis H-test and Mann-Whitney test.*

One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) is used to examine the influence of nominal or ordinal independent variables on an interval scaled dependent variable. It is usually applied in cases where a single interval dependent (i.e. responses to questions) and one independent variable (i.e. country of work) with three or more categories have to be investigated. During an ANOVA the F-test is applied for comparing the means in order to find out whether or not the differences are significant enough not to have been occurred coincidentally. If the group means do not differ significantly, one can conclude that the independent variable did not affected the dependent variable. However, ANOVA is not able to show which groups differ significantly. For this, the post hoc test of Tukey was applied. In order to use an ANOVA, two conditions have to be met: The sample has to show a normal distribution and the variances have to be homogenous. However, for practical purposes, it can be assumed that the central limit theorem implying that the distribution of mean values from samples with $n>30$ is sufficiently aligned with normal distribution, is true (Bortz & Döring, 2006). As the sample used for this study is $n=88$, only the second requirement for ANOVA, namely the test for

variance homogenity is tested with the Levene's test. In case of inhomogenity of variances, nonparametric tests are used for statistical analysis.

Levene's test of homogeneity of variance can be used in order to verify the assumption that the variances of groups are equal. The Levene test of significance for the null hypothesis H0 verifies whether or not the variance of a variable is homogeneous in all groups. The test uses the F value as a statistical mean (Reinboth, 2006). If Levene's F is statistically significant ($p<0.05$), then the variances differ significantly and the assumption of equal variances is violated (Morgan & Griego, 1998).

The Kruskal-Wallis H-test is used for interval scaled data when the conditions of the ANOVA are violated (Rasch, Friese, Hofmann, & Naumann, 2006). Moreover, a Mann-Whitney test for independent samples is a nonparametric test for checking whether the central tendency of two different samples is different. The dependent variable needs not to be normally distributed. The Mann-Whitney test is a rank sum test, therefore, the calculation of the test statistic is based on the comparison of two ranking lists (Bortz, 2005). In this study it is used as a nonparametric post hoc test in order to show which groups differ significantly.

For all tests, a p-value $p<0.05$ was considered statistically significant.

6.2 Exploratory factor analysis

An exploratory factor analysis tests the construct validity of a questionnaire (Rattray & Jones, 2007) and helps to understand the structure of a set of variables (Field, 2005) by detecting the constructs/factors that underlie a dataset based on the correlations between questionnaire items (Field, 2009). The principle axis factoring (PAF) analysis with a varimax rotation and Kaiser normalization is used in this thesis. As can be seen in Table A78, the overall reliability estimate (Cronbach's alpha) for the survey was $\alpha=.76$[10]. Furthermore, the Kaiser-Meyer-Okin measure (KMO) of this questionnaire is .73[11] (see Table A75). In addition, Bartlett's test (see Table A75) is highly significant. Moreover, as a sample size of 50 is considered "to be the minimum to yield a clear, recognizable factor pattern"[12] (Arrindell & Van der Ende, 1985, p. 167) and the sample of this study is 88, in sum, it can be said that a factor analysis is appropriate for these data.

Although, as can be seen in Table A76, 7 components can be made following the Kaiser's criterion (Hooper, 2012), this thesis followed Tabachnick and Fidell's (2007)

[10] There are different opinions on the acceptable values of alpha, ranging from 0.70 to 0.95 (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011).

[11] KMO values between 0.7 and 0.8 are considered as good (Field, 2009).

[12] The Kaiser-Meyer-Okin measure (KMO) also shows whether the sample size is large enough to reliably extract factors (Field, 2009).

recommendation for an explanatory approach by experimenting with the different numbers of factors (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Finally, four factors were considered as the best solution. Table A76 indicates that over 50% of the total variance can be explained by these 4 factors. Using ± .50 as a minimum cut-off for a factor loading (Costello & Osborne, 2011), 6 items were not taken into consideration for this factor analysis due to their low loadings. While two of them were individual items measuring the connotation of the term lobbying (q01) and the aspect of 'Holschuld' (q08), four items (q06; q22; q25; q28) were taken out of the analysis due to their low loading although there was a logical connection to the factor they load on[13] in order to be sure to have only solid factors (Costello & Osborne, 2011). At the conclusion of this process, 21 items were retained representing the aforementioned 4 factors. Table A77 shows which questions relate to which factor. From the 10 items that load highly on factor 1, five are related to integrity (q10;q11;q12;q14;q19) and two are related to transparency (q07;q13). As transparency and integrity - among other things - are considered to be part of good governance practice (see 3.4.2), it is no surprise that these items load all on the same factor. They are interconnected through the theme of moral standards. This explains why q23 and q24 also load highly on factor 1. The first deals with self-regulation of lobbying, which is highly related to moral standards that have to be adopted voluntarily. The second asks for an assessment of the current level of lobbying regulation. The fact that this item loads on factor 1 reflects the notion that "even in relatively highly regulated systems, if there is a `will' there is always a `way' of undermining the regulations." (Chari et. al, 2007, p. 433). As "cultures cannot be changed by regulatory devices alone." (Greenwood & Thomas, 1998, p.493), regulation of lobbying has to be accompanied by a culture of morality characterized by the other items loading on factor 1. As q03 asks for the actual level of transparency that is regarded as low, it correlates negatively with the items reflecting a desired culture of morality. Concluding, factor 1 is called *Culture of morality*. As the questions that load highly on factor 2 relate to the media (q15;q16;q17;q18) and the civil society (q09), this factor is called *The watchdog role of the media & the civil society*. As the questions that load highly on factor 3 relate to a lobby register (q20;q21), this factor is called *Lobby register*. As the questions that load highly on factor 4 relate to transparency in the context of everyday work routine (q04;q05;q26;q27), this factor is called *Transparency at work.*

[13] q22 and q25 dealing with lobbying regulation can be aligned with *Lobby register* and, thus, load on factor 3, while q28 dealing with transparency at work and q06 load on factor 4. The loading of q06 on factor 4 can be explained with the fact that most respondents were civil actors (see 6.3) and, thus, a question about the role of the civil society in a democracy is related to *Transparency at work*.

6.3 Descriptive statistics

A total of 95 people participated finished the survey. Surveys of people (6) who indicated to work in the public service were excluded from further analyses as well as one respondent working in Belgium. Two respondents did not answer two questions. However, their surveys were still part of the analyses.

Statistics

		Age	Gender	Countrywork	Employer	Experience	Income
N	Valid	88	88	88	88	88	53
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	35
Mean		3.205	1.432	1.761	3.557	3.636	1.925
Std. Deviation		1.0950	.4982	.8304	1.6178	1.9129	1.3134
Variance		1.199	.248	.690	2.617	3.659	1.725
Minimum		1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Maximum		5.0	2.0	3.0	7.0	6.0	6.0

Table 3: Descriptive statistics sample

Table 1[14] shows briefly the demographic characteristics of the study sample. The majority of respondents (31; 35.2%) in the sample is between 33-45 years old. In addition, the sample consisted of more men (N=50, 56.8%) than women. More people worked in Germany (43; 48.3%) than Poland (23; 25.8%) and Hungary (22; 24.7%), respectively. Moreover, the majority of respondents worked for a NGO (32; 36.4%), followed by people working for a trade association (16; 18.2%) and an agency (14; 15.9%), respectively. Seven respondents indicated an employer, which differed from those given in the list. Research institutions have been indicated three times, trade union has been mentioned twice and PR agency as well as chamber of commerce has been filled out once.

In addition, most respondents have been working in the field of lobbying/Public Affairs for more than ten years (28.4%), followed by people with an experience of two years or less (19.3%) and between two and four years (15.9%). Finally, 53 (60.2%) respondents voluntarily indicated their income with the majority being below 50,000€ (31.8%).

6.4 Results

This part of the thesis shows the results of the survey questionnaire and how they were analysed statistically. The hypotheses are used as a guideline. Table 9 shows all hypotheses and whether they were confirmed or not at a glance at the end of this part.

[14] For all details see Table A2-A7 in the Appendix

6.4.1 Hypothesis 1

H1: Lobbyists from Germany, Poland and Hungary experience the term lobbying as having a negative connotation.

a) Lobbyists from Germany use the term "Interessenvertretung" (interest representation) instead.

b) Lobbyists from Poland do not agree on an alternative term instead of lobbying.

c) Lobbyists from Hungary do not agree on an alternative term instead of lobbying.

Table 4: ANOVA Hypothesis 1

ANOVA

q01

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.225	2	.612	1.515	.226
Within Groups	34.366	85	.404		
Total	35.591	87			

H1 was tested by q01. German respondents answered q01 with a slightly higher mean score (4.023) than Hungarian (3.96) and Polish (3.74) lobbyists, respectively (see Table A8). Thus, lobbyists from all three countries seem to perceive the connotation of the term lobbying as being negative.

Since the value of significance of the Levene-Test for q01 is $p>0.05$ (see Table A9), the H0 hypotheses claiming that the variances of both variables are not homogenous can therefore be rejected. Thus, all requirements for an ANOVA are fulfilled.

The probability that the F value for q01 ($F=1.52$) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is $p=0.226$ (see Table 2). As this p-value is higher than a significance level of $\alpha <0.05$, the null hypothesis can not be rejected. The difference between the three groups for q01 is therefore not significant. As all three groups perceive the term lobbying as being negatively connoted, H1 has been confirmed.

H1a, H1b and H1c were tested by q02. As respondents had only the possibility to fill out a text field, a statistical analysis is not possible. However, a list of all answers can be seen in Table A10. Having a closer look on the answers from German respondents, reveals that 19 of them indicated that interest representation ("Interessenvertretung") or a related term was an alternative term for lobbying. Four respondents mentioned Public Affairs and three lobbyists indicated "politische Kommunikation" (political communication) as an alternative.

Additionally, the German respondents noted eight more alternative terms. However, as all of them were only mentioned once they are not regarded as relevant for this analysis. Thus, as the majority of German respondents claimed interest representation to be an alternative term for lobbying, H1a has been confirmed.

Having a closer look on the answers from Polish respondents reveals that only six indicated that "rzecznictwo interesów" (advocacy of interest) or a related term was an alternative term for lobbying. Additionally, the Polish respondents noted six more alternative terms (see Table A10). However, as all of them were only mentioned once each, there is not one single alternative term for lobbying, which is agreed on in Poland. Thus, H1b has been confirmed.

Having a closer look on the answers from Hungarian respondents, reveals that eight of them indicated that "érdekérvényesítésor" (validation of interest) or a related term was an alternative term for lobbying. Furthermore, six respondents mentioned that "érdekkijárás" (wrangling or spinning of interests) or a related term was an alternative term for lobbying. Finally, three lobbyists answered that "érdekképviselet" (representation or advocacy of interests) could be seen as an alternative term to lobbying. Five Hungarian respondents noted different terms but as they only appeared once each, they are not taken into account for this analysis. As a result, there is not one single alternative term for lobbying, which is agreed on in Poland. Thus, H1c has been confirmed.

6.4.2 Hypothesis 2

H2: German lobbyists perceive the current level of transparency in the political decision-making process of their country as more positive than their Polish and Hungarian counterparts.

H2a: Polish lobbyists perceive the current level of transparency in the political decision-making process of their country as more positive than their Hungarian counterparts.

H2 and H2a were tested by q03 and q07. Concerning q03, for German respondents a mean score of 5,81 was calculated, while the mean score of Polish and Hungarian respondents was 4.09 and 3.27, respectively (see Table A11). Regarding q07, for German respondents a mean score of 2.67 was calculated, while the mean score of Polish and Hungarian respondents was 3.61 and 3.46, respectively (see Table A11). Thus, German respondents seem to perceive a higher level of transparency in their country compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists, respectively. Furthermore, German lobbyists perceive the 'Bringschuld' (q07) for transparency, namely providing sufficient access to relevant information, as sufficiently given in their country. This seems to be different for Polish and Hungarian lobbyists, who indicated

a lower level of agreement regarding this statement.

As the significance level (p=0.109) of the Levene-Test (2.279) for q03 is p>0.05 (see Table A12), the H0 hypotheses claiming that the variances of both variables are not homogenous can be rejected. As the significance (p=0.831) of the Levene-Test (0.186) for q07 is p>0.05 (see Table A12), the H0 hypotheses claiming that the variances of both variables are not homogenous can be rejected. Thus, all requirements for an ANOVA are fulfilled.

The probability that the F-test value of the mean scores for q03 (F=12.108) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is p<0.000040*** (see Table A13). The probability that the F-test value of the mean score for q07 (F= 6.466) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is p=0.02* (see Table A13). Both values are smaller than a significance level of $\alpha<0.05$, and thus the null hypothesis can be rejected. The differences between the three groups are significant for both questions.

However, the one-way ANOVA tests only simultaneously the difference between all three groups. A significant result allows only the general statement that there is a difference between the studied groups. Testing the more specific statements of differences between individual groups requires a post-hoc analysis, such as the Tukey-test.

The Tukey-test results for q03 (see Table A14) show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group for q03 is 1.73. The standard error of this mean difference is given as 0,542. Thus, the difference between these two groups is significant** (p=0.006, thus p<0.05).

Moreover, the Tukey-test results for q03 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group for q03 is 2.54. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.550. Thus, the difference between these two groups is also significant** (p=0.001, thus p<0.05).

Finally, the Tukey-test results for q03 show that the mean difference between the Polish group and the Hungarian group for q03 is 0.814. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.626. Thus, the difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.399, thus p>0.05).

The Tukey-test results for q07 (see Table A14) show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is -0.93. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.297. Thus, the difference between these two groups is significant** (p=0.005, thus p<0.05). Furthermore, the Tukey-test results for q07 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is -0.78. The standard error of this difference is given

as 0.296. Thus, the difference between these two groups is also significant* (p=0.027, thus p <0.05).

Finally, the Tukey-test results for q07 show that the mean difference between the Polish group and the Hungarian group for q07 is 0.154. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.337. Thus, the difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.891, thus p>0.05).

Concluding, lower mean scores calculated for Polish and Hungarian respondents seem to accept H2 and H2a. However, while the differences between the three groups regarding H2 were verified by high levels of significance, H2a has only been confirmed partially.

H2c: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive transparency on an organisational level as a source of competitive advantage than Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
q04	1.0	43	1.605	.7910	.1206	1.361	1.848	1.0	5.0
	2.0	23	1.435	.6624	.1381	1.148	1.721	1.0	3.0
	3.0	22	1.273	.5505	.1174	1.029	1.517	1.0	3.0
	Total	88	1.477	.7108	.0758	1.327	1.628	1.0	5.0
q05	1.0	41	4.146	.7603	.1187	3.906	4.386	1.0	5.0
	2.0	23	4.435	.9451	.1971	4.026	4.843	1.0	5.0
	3.0	22	4.136	.9409	.2006	3.719	4.554	2.0	5.0
	Total	86	4.221	.8596	.0927	4.037	4.405	1.0	5.0
q26	1.0	43	1.628	.5356	.0817	1.463	1.793	1.0	3.0
	2.0	23	1.783	.9980	.2081	1.351	2.214	1.0	4.0
	3.0	22	1.864	.9409	.2006	1.446	2.281	1.0	5.0
	Total	88	1.727	.7838	.0836	1.561	1.893	1.0	5.0
q27	1.0	43	2.116	.7625	.1163	1.882	2.351	1.0	4.0
	2.0	23	2.174	1.0292	.2146	1.729	2.619	1.0	4.0
	3.0	22	2.227	1.1519	.2456	1.717	2.738	1.0	5.0
	Total	88	2.159	.9332	.0995	1.961	2.357	1.0	5.0
q28	1.0	43	3.860	.9900	.1510	3.556	4.165	2.0	5.0
	2.0	23	3.783	1.2044	.2511	3.262	4.303	1.0	5.0
	3.0	22	3.727	.9847	.2099	3.291	4.164	1.0	5.0
	Total	88	3.807	1.0379	.1106	3.587	4.027	1.0	5.0

Table 5: Descriptive statistics Hypothesis 2c

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
q04	Between Groups	1.660	2	.830	1.668	.195
	Within Groups	42.295	85	.498		
	Total	43.955	87			
q05	Between Groups	1.437	2	.719	.972	.383
	Within Groups	61.365	83	.739		
	Total	62.802	85			
q28	Between Groups	.276	2	.138	.126	.882
	Within Groups	93.439	85	1.099		
	Total	93.716	87			

Table 6: ANOVA Hypothesis 2c

H2b was tested by q26, q27 and q28 and was embedded in the context of q04 and q05 exploring the tonality of the attitude towards transparency in the everyday work routine. Differences in the calculated means of the responses of the three different groups can be seen in Table 3. Compared to Polish and Hungarian respondents, respectively. German respondents seem to be slightly more likely to agree with the statements that transparency fosters trust in an organisation and can also lead to a competitive advantage of a company. Germans are also slightly more likely to disagree with the statement that transparency leads to disadvantages for a company. However, although the levels of agreement seem to be aligned with H2b, the mean differences are rather small.

Regarding the attitude towards transparency in an everyday work context, on the one hand, Hungarians are more likely to have a positive attitude (q04) compared to Polish and German respondents, respectively. On the other hand, Polish respondents are more likely to disagree with the negative statement of q05 compared to German and Hungarian respondents, respectively. However, the mean differences seem rather small.

The Levene-Test reveals homogenous variances for q04 (p=0.195), q05 (p=0.309) and q28 (p=0.293). Thus, an ANOVA can be used for testing mean differences between the three groups regarding these three questions. The probability that the F-test values for q04, q05 and q28 (see Table 4) occur in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is in all three cases higher than a significance level of $\alpha < 0.05$ and thus the differences between the three groups are not significant.

For q26 (p=0.03) and q27 (p=0.024) the null hypotheses of the Levene-Test have been fulfilled, thus the variances are inhomogeneous and an ANOVA cannot be used for testing. Instead, a Kruskal Wallis Test (H-test) is applied. It is used when the conditions of the ANOVA are violated (Rasch et al., 2006). For both questions the mean differences have not

been found statistically significant (see Table 6). Although the means for q26-q28 suggest that German lobbyists are more likely to perceive transparency on an organisational level as a source of competitive advantage compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists, respectively, the differences have not been found statistically significant. Thus, H2c has been rejected.

Ranks

	Countrywork	N	Mean Rank
q26	1.0	43	43.44
	2.0	23	43.46
	3.0	22	47.66
	Total	88	
q27	1.0	43	44.35
	2.0	23	44.50
	3.0	22	44.80
	Total	88	

Table 7: H-Test ranks Hypothesis 2c

Test Statistics[a,b]

	q26	q27
Chi-Square	.549	.005
df	2	2
Asymp. Sig.	.760	.997

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: Countrywork

Table 8: H-Test statistics Hypothesis 2c

H2d: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the willingness of citizens to access disclosed information as insufficient compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: q08

Tukey HSD

(I) Countrywork	(J) Countrywork	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1.0	2.0	-.7523*	.2351	.005	-1.313	-.191
	3.0	.3742	.2386	.265	-.195	.943
2.0	1.0	.7523*	.2351	.005	.191	1.313
	3.0	1.1265*	.2715	.000	.479	1.774
3.0	1.0	-.3742	.2386	.265	-.943	.195
	2.0	-1.1265*	.2715	.000	-1.774	-.479

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 9: Tukey-Test Hypothesis 2d

H2d was tested by q08. For German respondents a mean score of 3.47 was calculated, while the mean score of Polish and Hungarian respondents was 4.22 and 3.09, respectively (see Table 7). Thus, regarding the "Holschuld" for transparency, namely the willingness of citizens to access relevant information, Polish lobbyists seem to be most likely to disagree that this willingness is sufficiently given in their country compared to Germans and Hungarians, respectively. As the significance (p=0.609) of the Levene-Test (0.499) for q08 is p>0.05, the H0 hypotheses claiming that the variances of both variables are not homogenous, can be rejected. Hence, all requirements for an ANOVA are fulfilled.

The probability that the F-test value of the mean scores for q08 (F=9.149) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is p=0.000252*** (Table A18). These values are smaller than a significance level of α <0.05, and thus the null hypothesis can be rejected. The differences between the three groups are significant.

The Turkey test results for q08 (see Table 7) show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is -0.75. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.235. Thus, the difference between these two groups is significant** (p=0.005, thus p<0.05). Furthermore, the Turkey test results for q08 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is -0.374. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.239. Thus, the difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.265, thus p <0.05).

Finally, the Turkey test results for q08 show that the difference between the Polish group and the Hungarian group is 1.13. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.272. The difference between these two groups is significant*** (p= 0.000230, thus p <0.05).

Concluding, regarding the 'Holschuld' for transparency Polish lobbyists have been found to be more likely to disagree with the statement that the willingness of citizens in their country to access information is sufficient compared to German and Hungarian lobbyists, respectively. Therefore, H2d has been rejected.

6.4.3 Hypothesis 3

H3a: Compared to German lobbyists, Hungarian and Polish lobbyists are more likely to perceive personal contacts as important in their daily work routine.

H3b: Compared to German lobbyists, Hungarian and Polish lobbyists are more likely to perceive the likelihood of corrupt behavior in their daily work routine as possible.

H3a and H3b were tested by q10 and q11. For German respondents a mean score of 2.84 for q10 (q11: 2.91) was calculated, while the mean score of Polish and Hungarian respondents

was 2.26 (2.74) and 1.64 (1.68), respectively (see Table A19). Thus, Hungarian and Polish respondents are more likely to estimate personal contacts as important regarding their job compared to German lobbyists. Also, Hungarian and Polish lobbyists are more likely to experience corrupt behaviour in their daily work routine compared to German respondents.

Since the value of significance of the Levene-Test for q10 is $p>0.05$, the H0 hypotheses claiming that the variances of both variables are not homogenous can therefore be rejected. Thus, all requirements for testing q10 with an ANOVA are fulfilled. For q11 ($p=0.010$) the null hypothesis has been fulfilled, thus the variances are inhomogenous and an ANOVA cannot be used for testing q11. Instead, a Kruskal Wallis Test (H-test) is applied. The probability that the F-test value for the means of q10 ($F=13.155$) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is $p=0.000011$*** (see Table A23). This value is smaller than a significance level of $\alpha<0.05$, and thus the null hypothesis can be rejected. The difference between the three groups is significant.

For q11 the H-test calculates $\chi^{□□}=15.456$ with a significance of $p=0.000440$*** (see Table A23). This means that the mean ranks of the three groups differ from each other significantly.

The Tukey-test results for q10 (see Table A22) show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is 0.576. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.233. Thus, the difference between these two groups is significant* ($p=0.041$, thus $p<0.05$). Furthermore, the Turkey test results for q10 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is 1.20. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.237. Hence, the difference between these two groups is also significant*** ($p= 0.000007$, thus $p <0.05$).

The Mann Whitney U test results show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is not significant ($p=0.550$, thus $p>0.05$) (see Table A24), while the difference between the German and the Hungarian group is significant*** ($p=0.000129$, thus $p<0.05$) (see Table A26). Furthermore, the mean difference between the Polish and the Hungarian group is also significant* ($p=0.03$, thus $p<0.05$).

Concluding, Hungarians are more likely to experience corrupt behaviour as well as the importance of personal contacts in their daily work routine compared to German and Polish lobbyists. The mean differences between the German and Hungarian groups have been found significantly different for both aspects, while the mean difference between the German and Polish group has only been significant for the importance of personal contacts. Therefore, H3a has been confirmed, while H3b has only been partially confirmed. Interestingly, the

mean difference between the Polish and Hungarian respondents in terms of how they estimate the likelihood of corrupt behaviour to happen in their daily work routine has been found significant.

H3c: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the actions of their current government as being guided by transparency and integrity compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.

H3c was tested by q12, q13 and q14. For German respondents a mean score of 2.10 for q12 (q13: 3.05; q14: 3.67) was calculated, while the mean score of Polish and Hungarian respondents was 3.44 (3.48; 3.17) and 3.64 (4.00; 2.36), respectively (see Table A31). Hence, Hungarian and Polish respondents are more likely to perceive the current government actions of their countries as not being guided by integrity compared to German respondents. Moreover, Hungarian and Polish respondents are more likely to perceive the current government actions of their countries as not fostering transparency in the decision-making process compared to German respondents. Finally, Hungarian and Polish respondents are more likely to perceive the current government in their countries as tolerating corrupt behaviour compared to the German respondents.

Since the values of significance of the Levene-Test for all three questions are $p>0.05$, the H0 hypotheses claiming that the variances of both variables are not homogenous can be rejected. Thus, all requirements for testing the three questions with an ANOVA are fulfilled. The probability that the F-test value of the means for q12 ($F=3.436$) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is $p=0.037$* (see Table A33). Furthermore, the probability that the F-test value of the means for q13 ($F=5.508$) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is $p=0.006$**. Finally, the probability that the F-test value of the means for q14 ($F=9.065$) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is $p= 0.000272$*** (see Table A33).

These p-values are all smaller than a significance level of $\alpha<0.05$, and thus the null hypothesis can be rejected. The differences between the three groups for all three questions are significant.

The Tukey-test results for q12 (see Table A34) show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is -0.53. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.297. Hence, the difference between these two groups is not significant ($p=0.183$, thus $p>0.05$).

Furthermore, the Tukey-test results for q12 show that the mean difference between the

German group and the Hungarian group is -0.729. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.301. Thus, the difference between these two groups is significant* (p=0.046, thus p <0.05).

The Tukey-test results for q13 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is -0.432. The standard error of the difference is given as 0.285. The difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.290, thus p>0.05). Moreover, the Tukey-test results for q13 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is -0.954. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.289. Therefore, the difference between these two groups is significant** (p=0,004, thus p <0.05).

The Tukey-test results for q14 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is 0.493. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.302. Thus, the mean difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.238, thus p>0.05). Finally, the Tukey-test results for q14 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is 1.303. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.306. Hence, the difference between these two groups is significant*** (p=0.000159, thus p<0.05).

Concluding, German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the actions of their current government as fostering transparency and being guided by integrity compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists. However, as only the mean differences between the German and the Hungarian respondents have been found significant, H3c has been confirmed only partially.

6.4.4 Hypothesis 4

H4: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the civil society in their country as acting as a watchdog in the political decision-making process compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.

H4 was tested by q09 and related to q06. For German respondents a mean score of 2.28 for q06 (q09: 2.72) was calculated, while the mean score of Polish and Hungarian respondents was 1.44 (3.57) and 1.82 (3.32), respectively (see Table A35). Thus, surprisingly, compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists, German lobbyists seem to be less likely to understand the role of the civil society in a democracy as the one of a watchdog. However, in comparison to Polish and Hungarian respondents German lobbyists seem to be more likely to perceive the role of the actual civil society in their country as a watchdog.

Since the values of significance of the Levene-Test for both questions are $p>0.05$, the H0 hypotheses claiming that the variances of both variables are not homogenous can be rejected. Thus, all requirements for testing both questions with an ANOVA are fulfilled. The probability that the F-test value of the means for q06 ($F=5.95$) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is $p=0.004$** (see Table A37). Moreover, the probability that the F-test value of the means for q09 ($F=5.953$) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is also $p= 0.004$** (see Table A37). As these values are smaller than a significance level of $\alpha<0.05$, the null hypothesis can be rejected. Hence, the mean differences between the three groups for both questions are significant.

The Tukey-test results for q06 (see Table 38) show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is 0.844. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.255. Hence, the difference between these two groups is significant** ($p=0.003$, thus $p<0.05$).

Furthermore, the Tukey-test results for q06 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is 0.461. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.254. Therefore, the difference between these two groups is not significant ($p=0.170$, thus $p>0.05$).

The Tukey-test results for q09 (see Table 38) show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is -0.844. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.262. The difference between these two groups is significant** ($p=0.005$, thus $p<0.05$). Finally, the Tukey-test results for q09 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is -0.597. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.265. Thus, the difference between these two groups is not significant ($p=0.069$, thus $p>0.05$).

Concluding, German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the civil society in their country as acting as a watchdog in the political decision-making process compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists. However, as only the difference between the German and the Hungarian respondents have been found significant, H4 has been confirmed only partially. Interestingly, Polish lobbyists are more likely to understand the role of the civil society in general as the one of a watchdog compared to German and Hungarian lobbyists.

6.4.5 Hypothesis 5

H5a: Compared to German lobbyists, Hungarian and Polish lobbyists are more likely to perceive the media of their countries as not acting as a watchdog in the political decision-making process.

H5a was tested by q18 and related to q15. For German respondents a mean score of 2.14 for q15 (q18: 2.48) was calculated, while the mean score of Polish and Hungarian respondents was 1.61 (2.91) and 2.50 (3.59), respectively (see Table A39). Thus, surprisingly, compared to German and Polish lobbyists, Hungarian lobbyists seem to be more likely to understand the role of the media in a democracy as the one of a watchdog. However, in comparison to Polish and Hungarian respondents, German lobbyists seem to be more likely to experience the role of the actual media in their country as a watchdog.

Testing the homogeneity of variances for q15 with the Levene's Test reveals that (p=0.002) the null hypotheses has been fulfilled, thus the variances are inhomogenous and an ANOVA cannot be used for testing. Instead, a Kruskal Wallis Test (H-test) is applied. The h-test results show $\chi^{\square}$ =6.070 with a significance of p=0.048* (see Table 48). This means that the mean ranks of the groups differ from each other.

Moreover, the probability that the F-test value of the means for q18 (F=7.291) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is p= 0.001*** (see Table A41). This value is smaller than a significance level of α <0.05, and thus the null hypothesis can be rejected. The difference between the three groups is significant.

The Mann Whitney U-test results shows that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is significant* (see Table A46) (p=0.02, thus p<0.05), while the difference between the German and the Hungarian group is not significant (p=0.512, thus p>0.05) (see Table A47). Furthermore, the difference between the Polish and the Hungarian group is also significant* (p=0.044, thus p<0.05) (see Table A49).

The Tukey-test results for q18 (see Table A42) show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is -0.437. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.288. Hence, the difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.288, thus p>0.05).

Moreover, the Tukey-test results for q18 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is -1.115. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.292. Therefore, the difference between these two groups is significant*** (p=0.001, thus

p<0.05). Finally, the Tukey-test results for q18 show that the mean difference between the Polish group and the Hungarian group is -0.678. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.331. Thus, the difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.108, thus p>0.05).

Concluding, German lobbyists are more likely to experience the role of the media in their country as the one of a watchdog compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists. However, as only the difference between the German and the Hungarian respondents has been found significant, H4 has been accepted only partially. Interestingly, Polish lobbyists are more likely to understand the role of the media in a democracy in general as the one of a watchdog compared to German and Hungarian lobbyists.

H5b: German lobbyists are more likely to experience the media of their country as independent compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.

H5c: German lobbyists are more likely to experience the media of their country as investigative compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.

H5b was tested by q16 and q17. For German respondents a mean score of 2.63 for q16 (q17: 2.58) was calculated, while the mean score of Polish and Hungarian respondents was 3.13 (3.13) and 3.77 (3.27), respectively (see Table A51). Thus, compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists, German lobbyists seem to be more likely to experience the media in their country as independent and investigative.

Since the values of significance of the Levene-Test for q16 is p>0.05, the H0 hypotheses claiming that the variances of both variables are not homogenous, can be rejected. Thus, all requirements for testing q16 with an ANOVA are fulfilled.

On the contrary, testing the homogeneity of variances for q17 reveals that (p=0.044) the null hypothesis has been fulfilled, thus the variances are inhomogeneous and an ANOVA cannot be used for testing. Instead, a Kruskal Wallis Test (H-test) is applied.

The probability that the F-test value of the means for q16 (F=6.587) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is p=0.002** (see Table A53). As this value is smaller than a significance level of $\alpha<0.05$, the null hypothesis can be rejected. The differences between the three groups are significant. Furthermore, the h-test results in $\chi^{\square}=7.474$ for q17 with a significance of p=0.024* (see Table A56). This means that the mean ranks of the groups differ from each other.

The Tukey-test results for q16 (Table A54) show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is -0.050. The standard error of this difference is given as

0.3127. Hence, the difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.248, thus p>0.05).

Moreover, the Tukey-test results for q16 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is -1.145. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.317. Thus, the difference between these two groups is significant*** (p=0.001, thus p <0.05). Finally, the Tukey-test results for q16 show that the mean difference between the Polish group and the Hungarian group is 0.361. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.331. Therefore, the difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.183, thus p>0.05).

The Mann Whitney U-test results show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is significant* (p=0.048, thus p<0.05) (Table A58) as well as the difference between the German and the Hungarian group is significant** (p=0.013, thus p>0.05) (Table A60). Finally, the mean difference between the Polish and the Hungarian group is not significant (p=0.628, thus p<0.05) (Table A62).

Concluding, German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the media of their country as independent compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists. However, only the difference between German and Hungarian respondents has to be found significant. Furthermore, German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the media of their country as investigative compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists. However, only the difference between German and Hungarian respondents has to be found significant. Thus, overall, H5b has only been confirmed partially.

6.4.6 Hypothesis 6

H6a: German lobbyists experience the loss of reputation as a consequence of acting unethically as more severe than Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.

H6a was tested by q25 and related to q24. For German respondents a mean score of 3.14 for q24 (q25: 2.12) was calculated, while the mean score of Polish and Hungarian respondents was 3.65 (1.87) and 3.91 (3.50), respectively (Table A63). Thus, compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists, German lobbyists seem to be more likely to estimate self-regulation in general as effective. Furthermore, surprisingly, Polish respondents seem to be more likely to experience the loss of reputation as a consequence of acting unethically as more severe than German and Hungarian respondents.

Since the values of significance of the Levene-Test for both questions are p>0.05, the H0 hypotheses claiming that the variances of both variables are not homogenous can be rejected.

Thus, all requirements for an ANOVA are fulfilled.

The probability that the F-test value of the mean for q24 (F=4.11) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is p=0.020*. Furthermore, the probability that the F-test value of the mean for q25 (F=16.79) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is p=0.000001*** (Table A65). As these values are smaller than a significance level of $\alpha<0.05$, the null hypotheses can be rejected. The differences between the three groups for both questions are significant.

The Tukey-test results for q24 (Table A66) show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is -0.513. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.281. Therefore, the difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.167, thus p>0.05).

Furthermore, the Tukey-test results for q24 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is -0.769. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.285. Hence, the difference between these two groups is significant* (p=0.022, thus p<0.05).

The Tukey-test results for q25 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is 0.247. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.270. Thus, the difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.632, thus p>0.05). Moreover, the Tukey-test results for q25 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is -1.384. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.274. Hence, the difference between these two groups is significant*** (p=0.000007, thus p<0.05).

Finally, the Tukey-test results for q25 show that the mean difference between the Polish group and the Hungarian group is -1.630. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.311. Therefore, the difference between these two groups is significant*** (p=0.000003, thus p<0.05).

Concluding, German lobbyists are more likely to estimate self-regulation in general as effective compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists. However, only the difference between the German group and the Hungarian group has to be found significant. Moreover, Polish lobbyists are more likely to experience the loss of reputation as a consequence of acting unethically as more severe than German and Hungarian lobbyists. As the differences between these groups have been found significant, H6a has been confirmed only partially for the difference between Germany and Hungary.

H6b: Polish lobbyists are more likely to estimate a mandatory lobby register as effective.

H6c: German lobbyists are more likely to estimate the current level of lobbying regulation as sufficient compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
q20	1.0	43	1.837	.9742	.1486	1.537	2.137	1.0	5.0
	2.0	23	2.261	1.2869	.2683	1.704	2.817	1.0	5.0
	3.0	22	2.955	1.2141	.2588	2.416	3.493	1.0	5.0
	Total	88	2.227	1.2008	.1280	1.973	2.482	1.0	5.0
q21	1.0	43	2.163	1.1938	.1821	1.795	2.530	1.0	5.0
	2.0	23	2.087	1.1644	.2428	1.583	2.590	1.0	5.0
	3.0	22	3.045	1.1742	.2503	2.525	3.566	1.0	5.0
	Total	88	2.364	1.2335	.1315	2.102	2.625	1.0	5.0
q22	1.0	43	3.674	1.1695	.1783	3.315	4.034	1.0	5.0
	2.0	23	3.696	1.1846	.2470	3.183	4.208	1.0	5.0
	3.0	22	3.500	1.1019	.2349	3.011	3.989	2.0	5.0
	Total	88	3.636	1.1465	.1222	3.393	3.879	1.0	5.0
q23	1.0	42	3.024	1.0930	.1686	2.683	3.364	1.0	5.0
	2.0	23	3.652	1.0706	.2232	3.189	4.115	2.0	5.0
	3.0	22	4.045	.8985	.1916	3.647	4.444	2.0	5.0
	Total	87	3.448	1.1181	.1199	3.210	3.687	1.0	5.0

Table 10: Descriptive statistics Hypothesis 6b & 6c

H6b was tested by q21 and H6c was tested by q23. However, q20 and q22 provide a useful context for interpreting the results. The calculated mean scores for all questions and all groups can be seen in Table 8.

As a result, German lobbyists seem to be more likely to estimate a lobby register in general as effective compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists. Furthermore, Polish lobbyists seem to be more likely to be in favour of a mandatory lobby register compared to Hungarian and German lobbyists. In addition, lobbyists from all three countries are sceptical about having a voluntary lobby register. However, Polish lobbyists seem to be more sceptical than German and Hungarian respondents, respectively. Finally, lobbyists from all three countries do not perceive the current strand of regulation in their country as sufficient. However, German respondents are less negative than their Polish and Hungarian counterparts, respectively.

Since the value of significance of the Levene-Test for all four questions is p>0.05, the H0 hypotheses claiming that the variances of both variables are not homogenous, can be rejected. Thus, all requirements for an ANOVA are fulfilled.

The probability that the F-test value of the means for q20 (F=7.21) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is p=0.001*** (Table A68). Moreover, the probability that the F-test value of the means for q21 (F=4.92) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is p=0,010*. In addition, the probability that the F-test value for q22 (F=0.206) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is p=0.814. The probability that the F-test value of the means for q21 (F=7.54) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is p=0.001**. These p-values for q20, q21 and q23 are smaller than a significance level of $\alpha<0.05$, and thus the null hypothesis can be rejected. The differences between the three groups for these three questions are significant. For q22 there has no significance been found.

The Tukey-test results for q20 (Table A69) show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is -0.4237. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.290. Hence, the difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.315, thus p>0.05).

Moreover, the Tukey-test results for q20 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is -1.117. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.294. Thus, the difference between these two groups is significant*** (p=0.001, thus p<0.05).

The Tukey-test results for q21 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is 0.076. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.305. Therefore, the difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.967, thus p > 0.05). Moreover, the Tukey-test results for q21 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is -0.883. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.310. Thus, the difference between these two groups is significant* (p=0.015, thus p<0.05).

Furthermore, the Tukey-test results for q21 show that the mean difference between the Polish group and the Hungarian group is -0.956. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.352. Hence, the difference between these two groups is significant* (p=0.021, thus p<0.05).

Moreover, the Tukey-test results for q23 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is -0.628. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.270. Therefore, the difference between these two groups is not significant (p=0.058, thus p>0.05).

Finally, the Tukey-test results for q23 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is -1.022. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.274. Thus, the difference between these two groups is significant*** ($p=0.001$, thus $p<0.05$).

Concluding, Polish lobbyists seem to be more likely to be in favour of a mandatory lobby register compared to Hungarian and German lobbyists. However, only the difference between the Polish and the Hungarian group has to be found statistically significant. Therefore, H6b has only been confirmed partially. Furthermore, lobbyists from all three countries do not perceive the current level of lobbying regulation in their country as sufficient. However, German respondents are less negative than their Polish and Hungarian counterparts, respectively. Nevertheless, as only the difference between the German and the Hungarian group has to be found statistically significant[15], H6c has only been confirmed partially.

In addition, German lobbyists are more likely to estimate a lobby register in general as effective. However, only the difference between the German and the Hungarian group has to be found statistically significant. Moreover, lobbyists from all three countries are sceptical about having a voluntary lobby register without significant differences between the groups.

H6d: German lobbyists are more likely to experience the existence of rules and standards in the public affairs sphere compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.

H6d was tested by q19. For German respondents a mean score of 2.84 for q19 was calculated, while the mean score of Polish and Hungarian respondents was 3.74 and 3.91, respectively (Table A71). Thus, German lobbyists seem to be more likely to experience the existence of rules and standards in the public affairs sphere compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.

Since the value of significance of the Levene-Test for q19 is $p>0.05$, the H0 hypothesis claiming that the variances of both variables are not homogenous, can be rejected. Thus, all requirements for testing q19 with an ANOVA are fulfilled.

The probability that the F-test value of the mean for q19 ($F=11.49$) occurs in an ANOVA when the null hypothesis was actually true, is $p=0.000038$*** (Table A73). As this p-value is smaller than a significance level of $\alpha<0.05$, the null hypothesis can be rejected. The mean differences between the three groups for q19 are significant.

[15] As p ($p=0.058$) is only slighlty above the significance level of $\alpha<0.05$ and the Tukey-test is considered to be a rather conservative post hoc test (Rasch et al., 2010), the more liberal Fisher LSD post hoc test has also been applied (see Table A70). The LSD-test results for q23 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is -0.628. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.270. Contradicting the Tukey-test, the difference between these two groups is significant ($p=0.022$, thus $p>0.05$).

The Tukey-test results for q19 show that the mean difference between the German group and the Polish group is -0.902. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.251. Hence, the difference between these two groups is significant** ($p=0.002$, thus $p<0.05$).

Moreover, the Tukey-test results for q19 (Table A74) show that the mean difference between the German group and the Hungarian group is -1.072. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.255. Therefore, the difference between these two groups is significant*** ($p= 0.000184$, thus $p<0.05$).

Finally, the Tukey-test results for q19 show that the mean difference between the Polish group and the Hungarian group is -1.70. The standard error of this difference is given as 0.290. Thus, the difference between these two groups is not significant ($p=0.827$, thus $p>0.05$).

Concluding, German lobbyists are more likely to experience the existence of rules and standards in the public affairs sphere compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists. As the differences between both groups have been found statistically significant, H6d has been confirmed.

Hypothesis	Status	Sig.-level PL/HUN
H1: Lobbyists from Germany, Poland and Hungary experience the term lobbying as having a negative connotation.	confirmed	
a) Lobbyists from Germany use the term “Interessenvertretung” instead.	confirmed	
b) Lobbyists from Poland do not agree on an alternative term instead of lobbying.	confirmed	
c) Lobbyists from Hungary do not agree on an alternative term instead of lobbying.	confirmed	
H2: German lobbyists perceive the current level of transparency in the political decision-making process of their country as more positive than their Polish and Hungarian counterparts.	confirmed	**/**
H2a: Polish lobbyists perceive the current level of transparency in the political decision-making process of their country as more positive than their Hungarian counterparts.	confirmed	**/**
H2c: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive transparency on an organisational level as a source of competitive advantage than Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.	not confirmed[16]	
H2d: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the willingness of citizens to access disclosed information as insufficient compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.	not confirmed[17]	
H3a: Compared to German lobbyists, Hungarian and Polish lobbyists are more likely to perceive personal contacts as important in their daily work routine.	confirmed	*/***
H3b: Compared to German lobbyists, Hungarian and Polish lobbyists are more likely to perceive the likelihood of corrupt behaviour in their daily work routine as possible.	partially confirmed[18]	n.s./***
H3c: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the actions of their current government as being guided by transparency and integrity compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.	partially confirmed	n.s./(*-***)[19]
H4: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the civil society in their country as acting as a watchdog in the political decision-making process compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.	partially confirmed[20]	n.s./**
H5a: German lobbyists are more likely to perceive the media in their country as a watchdog in the political decision-making process compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.	partially confirmed[21]	n.s./***
H5b: German lobbyists are more likely to experience the media in their country as independent compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.	partially confirmed	n.s./***
H5c: German lobbyists are more likely to experience the media in their country as investigative compared to Hungarian and Polish lobbyists.	confirmed	*/**

[16] The mean differed not significantly.
[17] Polish lobbyists are most likely to perceive the willingness of citizens to access disclosed information as insufficient.
[18] The mean of the Polish and the Hungarian group differed significantly (*).
[19] The significance levels differed between integrity (*), fostering transparency (**) and tolerating corruption (***).
[20] Polish lobbyists are most likely to consider the civil society as a watchdog in a democracy.
[21] Polish lobbyists are most likely to consider the media as a watchdog in a democracy.

H6a: German lobbyists experience the loss of reputation as a consequence of acting unethically as more severe than Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.	partially confirmed[22]	n.s./***
H6b: Polish lobbyists are more likely to estimate a mandatory lobby register as effective.	partially confirmed	GER: n.s./HUN:*
H6c: German lobbyists are more likely to estimate the current level of lobbying regulation as sufficient compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.	partially confirmed	n.s./***
H6d: German lobbyists are more likely to experience the existence of rules and standards in the public affairs' domain compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists.	confirmed	**/***

Table 11: The hypotheses at a glance

[22] Polish lobbyists are most likely to experience the loss of reputation as a consequence of acting unethically.

7. PART IV: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Discussion

German lobbyists perceive the level of transparency in the decision-making process of their country as high compared to Polish and Hungarian lobbyists. In this context, German lobbyists showed a positive attitude towards transparency in their everyday work routine and as a source of competitive advantage for a company fostering the perceived level of trust of its customers. Also, the access to all relevant information about this process is considered as sufficient. This is also reflected by higher levels of agreement concerning the question whether or not the German media and the German civil society play their role as a watchdog. In this context, the German media is perceived as independent and investigative. Surprisingly, German lobbyists only agreed moderately that both the media and the civil society play the role of a watchdog in a democracy. One explanation for this can be derived from the expert interviews, in which German lobbyists emphasized their trust in the underlying informal norms and ground rules of the decision-making process that are known and followed by all actors.

The higher level of perceived transparency in Germany is also reflected by higher levels of agreement concerning the questions whether or not the actions of the current government focus on fighting corruption as well as fostering transparency and integrity. Informality in terms of clientelism or inappropriate influence-peddling seems not to be very likely to happen in the everyday work routine of German lobbyists.

However, in terms of lobbying regulation, the German lobbyists showed a neutral attitude towards the sufficiency of the current lobbying regulation. Further, although they prefer a lobby register in general, they are sceptical towards a voluntary solution, which is currently in place. Rather, they prefer a mandatory lobby register. Although the sufficiency of the current lobbying regulation in Germany is not perceived as sufficient, acting unethically will lead to a significant loss of reputation. This is aligned with the experience of German experts who referred to the loss of reputation, in particular, and pointed out that certain ground rules are commonly followed in the lobbying environment, in general. This is also reflected by the existence of an alternative term for lobbying showing a clear understanding of its meaning. However, this study showed that the common understanding of what is the right and wrong behaviour is not as clear as expected among German actors of the decision-making process.

In this context, German lobbyists mentioned not only the lack of a mandatory lobby register as well as an anti-bribery law but also prevalent 'revolving-door' situations as well as the 'outsourcing' of legislation.

Polish lobbyists perceive the level of transparency in the decision-making process of their country as moderate compared to German and Hungarian lobbyists. Nevertheless, in this context, Polish lobbyists showed a positive attitude towards transparency in their everyday work routine and as a source of competitive advantage for a company fostering the perceived level of trust of its customers. This finding is also reflected by a recent survey of Burson-Marsteller (2013) among European policy makers that showed that concerns about the lack of transparency decreased from being the most negative aspect of lobbying for 90% of Polish policy-makers in 2009 to only 20% in 2013 (Burson-Marsteller, 2013).

However, the low level of perceived transparency is reflected by moderate levels of agreement concerning the question whether or not the media and the civil society play their role as a watchdog. However, in general, Polish lobbyists are more likely to consider the media and the civil society to play the role of a watchdog in a democracy compared to their Hungarian and German counterparts. For instance, Polish NGOs are regarded as having contributed to an observable decrease in social tolerance for corruption (Gadowska, 2010). Stetka & Örnebring (2013) concluded after a series of expert interviews that "profit-oriented traditional media are still strongholds of investigative journalism […] in countries with richer and more stable media markets (particularly Poland, Estonia, the Czech Republic)" (Stetka & Örnebring, 2013, p.424). In this context, it is worth mentioning that, although the level of access to information in Poland is perceived as only moderate compared to Germany and Hungary, Polish lobbyists were most likely to estimate the willingness of citizens to access those as insufficient.

The moderate level of perceived transparency in Poland is also reflected by moderate levels of agreement concerning the questions whether or not the actions of the current government focus on fighting corruption as well as fostering transparency and integrity. As literature and experts suggested a more negative perception regarding the current government, it might be the case that Prime Minister Donald Tusk's policy of turning away from emotion-based politics towards relevant contents (Gallina 2010) shows first indications of a positive shift in Polish politics, which has only been rarely detected by literature or experts so far. Nevertheless, informality in terms of clientelism or inappropriate influence-peddling is still

prevalent in the everyday work routine of Polish lobbyists – not as much as in Hungary but to a higher degree than in Germany.

Thus, in terms of lobbying regulations, Polish lobbyists are more supportive of a mandatory lobby register rather than a voluntary one. This is supported by results of the Burson-Marsteller (2013) survey showing that 87% of Polish policy-makers believe that a mandatory register is useful and by the recent PASOS report stating that in the region of CEE countries show a tendency to not regard voluntary registration as credible or effective (PASOS, 2013).

However, although a mandatory register is already in place, the current level of regulation is not perceived as sufficient. This is supported by literature and expert opinions pointing out that the Polish regulation is considered as ineffective (Ciancara 2013; Mankowski 2011). One reason for this dissatisfaction can be seen in the fact that lobbyists from Poland are most likely to experience the absence of rules and standards in the Public Affairs' environment. During the interviews, Polish experts highlighted this lack of rules and standards as the most crucial problem in their country regarding lobbying. This is also reflected by the lack of agreement on an alternative term for 'lobbying', as it shows the lack of a proper definition of lobbying recommended by OECD. Surprisingly, on the other hand, Polish lobbyists indicated the loss of reputation as a consequence of acting unethically as more likely to happen compared to their Hungarian and even German counterparts. One explanation for this can be seen in the on-going development of the Polish Public Affairs community during the last 5 to 10 years not only mentioned by the Polish experts but also reflected, for instance, by the implementation of the independent Institute of Public Affairs in 1995.

Hungarian lobbyists perceive the level of transparency in the decision-making process of their country as low compared to German and Polish lobbyists. Nevertheless, in this context, Hungarian lobbyists showed a positive attitude towards transparency in their everyday work routine and as a source of competitive advantage for a company fostering the perceived level of trust of its customers.

However, the low level of perceived transparency is reflected by low levels of agreement concerning the question whether or not the media and the civil society play their role as a watchdog. The Hungarian media is considered as not independent and not investigative by Hungarian lobbyists. This is probably due to the implementation of the Multimedia Law in 2010, which has been critically discussed by numerous European newspapers, politicians and experts (Bajomi-Lázár, 2011). Also, Hungarian lobbyists are not likely to consider the media and the civil society to play the role of a watchdog in a democracy compared to their Polish

and German counterparts. The heavy reliance on public money is considered to influence CSOs' willingness to tackle anti-corruption issues (Fazekas, 2010).

The low level of perceived transparency in Hungary is also reflected by low levels of agreement concerning the questions whether or not the actions of the current government focus on fighting corruption as well as fostering transparency and integrity. Additionally, informality in terms of clientelism or inappropriate influence-peddling seems to be a common aspect in the everyday work routine of Hungarian lobbyists. During the interviews, Hungarian experts pointed out that lobbying activities as such were impossible at the moment due to the fact that there was only a small group of insiders having access to the government of Viktor Orbán. Furthermore, the Orbán Government is held responsible for actively declining the level of transparency in the country due to several actions (Bajomi-Lazar, 2011). Results of the Burson-Marsteller (2009) survey support this notion of clientelistic structures by revealing that 60% of Hungarian policy-makers turn to their personal network when making a decision (Burson-Marsteller, 2009).

As Hungary lacks a lobbying regulation, it is not surprising that the current level of regulation is not only considered as insufficient but also as the lowest compared to Poland and Germany. However, the Hungarian lobbyists did not show a clear attitude towards a lobby register. In general, such a register is neither considered as effective nor ineffective. Furthermore, while Hungarian lobbyists showed a neutral attitude towards a mandatory register, they were sceptical towards self-regulation or a voluntary register. Not surprisingly, the absence of rules and standards is experienced in the Hungarian Public Affairs' environment. This is also reflected by the lack of agreement on an alternative term for 'lobbying', as it shows the lack of a proper definition of lobbying recommended by OECD. Also, the loss of reputation as a consequence of acting unethically is not considered as a severe problem in Hungary. One reason for these findings can be seen in the overall negative attitude towards the current Hungarian government that seems to be considered as the most severe problem concerning ethical lobbying in Hungary.

This is not only expressed by Gallina (2010), who estimated Hungary as "the most urgent case" (p.10) due to its current "anti-democratic and nationalist policy-making" (p. 10) "the old EU members have so far not become aware of." (Gallina, 2011, p. 10) but also reflected by a recent document of the European Commision (EC, 2013) commenting on the formal institutions in Hungary. It states that the Hungarian anti-corruption programme "does not tackle the issue of insufficient law-enforcement" (EC, 2013) in this area and also points out "increased concerns about the judiciary's independence" (EC, 2013) in the country.

The main findings of this thesis can be found at a glance in Table 10[23].

	Germany	Poland	Hungary
Lobbying			
Connotation of the term	negative	negative	negative
Alternative term	'Interessenvertretung'	no	no
Transparency			
Level of transparency	high	moderate	low
Attitude towards transparency	positive	positive	positive
Bringschuld	high	moderate	low
Holschuld	moderate	low	moderate
Integrity			
Clientelism	low	moderate	high
Corruption	moderate	moderate	high
Fostering transparency	moderate	moderate	low
Sound principles	high	moderate	low
Civil Society			
Watchdog in democracy	moderate	high	low
Watchdog in country	high	moderate	low
Media			
Watchdog in democracy	moderate	high	low
Watchdog in country	high	moderate	low
Independent	high	high	low
Investigative	high	moderate	low
Lobbying regulation			
Self-regulation	moderate	moderate	low
Rules & standards	high	low	low
Loss of reputation	high	high	low
Support for register	high	high	low
Voluntary register	low	low	low
Mandatory register	high	high	moderate
Level of regulation	moderate	moderate	low

Table 12: Main findings

7.2 Conclusion

This thesis aimed at investigating the perceptions of lobbyists in Poland, Hungary and Germany regarding transparency and integrity in the domain of Public Affairs in order to foster our understanding of the influence of the external environment with its specific set of

[23] The different colours have different meanings: red= negative; yellow=neutral; green=positive; no colour=no assessment of the aspect in question possible.

formal and informal institutions on transparency and integrity. To date, the main focus of research in this field has not only lain almost exclusively on the regulatory framework of a country but also focused mostly on countries of the Western hemisphere. Therefore, this thesis contributed to our knowledge in several ways. First, this thesis is the first study that employed a holistic perspective covering not only the formal institutions of the external environment of a country. Instead, it investigated how the media, the civil society and informal arrangements such as clientelism or corruption influence transparency and integrity in the domain of Public Affairs. Thereby, this thesis provided evidence for the notion that informal practices from the Soviet past have been institutionalised in Poland and, especially, in Hungary. Second, investigating the attitudes of lobbyists has rarely been undertaken up to now. Thus, this thesis provides valuable insights into the opinions of this peculiar branch in CEE such as a positive attitude towards transparency or the predominating support of a mandatory lobby register. Finally, this thesis represents the first attempt of a comparison between lobbyists in Germany, Poland and Hungary. As a consequence, specific recommendations in order to foster transparency and integrity for each country instead of one size fits all solutions are derived in the next chapter.

Furthermore, the contribution to better lobbying of this thesis has to be seen in the specific focus on lobbyists as it fostered the understanding of all involved actors and raised not only the awareness of the specific problems in the domain of Public Affairs in each country but also provided stakeholders with actionable recommendations for solving them.

7.3 Limitations

Finally, a number of important limitations need to be considered. First, the threat of social desirability has to be seen as a limitation of this study. Social desirability is defined as "the tendency of individuals to deny socially undesirable traits and behaviors and to admit to socially desirable ones" (Randall and Ferneandes, 1991, p. 805) Researchers in the field of business ethics need to be especially thoughtful to the possible effects of a social desirability response bias. (Randall & Fernandes, 1991) As this study has employed a self-report questionnaire, it is important to mention that empirical studies have pointed out a high level of sensitivity for respondents when answering questions about ethics (e.g. Victor & Cullen, 1988). Usually, the socially desirable answer in statements related to ethics is quite apparent. (Randall and Ferneandes, 1991) Therefore, it cannot be guaranteed that participants of this study indicated necessarily their actual beliefs and attitudes.

Second, another limitation of this study has to be seen in the fact that all three questionnaires have been translated by native speakers without applying specific translation methods. Survey researchers have promoted a collection of practices generate effective translations (e.g. Harkness, Pennell, & Schoua-Glusberg, 2004; McKay et al., 1996). For instance, team approaches produce more translation options and offer better and less idiosyncratic translations (Harkness, Van de Vijver, & Mohler, 2003). Also, the forward-backward-translation method has been recommended (e.g. Mimura & Griffiths, 2007). However, due to a lack of manpower, time and money these methods were not applicable for this thesis. On the one hand, this might have caused a bias in terms of minor differences between the English and the three local versions of the questionnaire. On the other hand, the existence of localized versions of the questionnaire has to be seen as a mean to overcome the language barrier, as only a minority of the Polish and Hungarian population speaks English.

Finally, although the reason for not using validated questions in this study have already been pointed out in (see 6.1.3.2), the absence of validated questions has to be regarded as a limitation of this study, too.

7.4 Recommendations

The findings of this thesis lead to specific practical recommendations for all stakeholders of the Public Affairs' domain in Germany, Poland and Hungary such as the local government as well as the EU, lobbyists, civil actors and the media. Although these recommendations are mainly enforced by governmental legislation, they have to be accompanied by a culture change created by all these stakeholders together in order to integrate transparency and integrity into the lobbying work routine. As this thesis revealed parallels between the situation in Poland and Hungary, some recommendations are bundled together for these two countries. Furthermore, recommendations for further research were derived and are outlined at the end of this chapter.

7.4.1 Germany

First, my recommendation for the German government is to implement a mandatory lobby register. In this publicly available database lobbyists have to indicate their employer, their source of finance as well as for what topics they are lobbying (Lobbycontrol, 2011). Moreover, I recommend that this register is controlled by an independent public institution that has to be enabled to execute incentive and sanction mechanisms (Lobbycontrol, 2011). Second, I recommend the German government to pass a law that forces top-ranking

politicians to have a waiting period of three years before they are allowed to work as a lobbyist for any organisation (Lobbycontol, 2011). Finally, the German government is ought to stop outsourcing draft laws to consulting or law firms (Lobbycontrol, 2011). All these recommendations are ought to be developed and implemented in accordance with the expertise of lobbyists in order to ensure that these regulations fit into the actual context of a lobbyist's work routine.

7.4.2 Poland

First, my recommendation for the existing legal and ethical standards in Poland is that they were refined and further developed. These attempts are ought to contain, for instance, concrete answers to questions such as what kind of advantages are allowed or where misuse of public resources begins (GRECO, 2012). This includes a clear definition of the terms 'lobbying' and 'lobbyist' (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2012). Second, I recommend further specific trainings on these rules and standards (GRECO, 2012). Further, the opportunity of consultation on potential conflicts of interest is ought to be offered (GRECO, 2012).

Finally, the Polish media is recommended to become increasingly aware of their role in a democracy. This can result in focusing on investigative journalism instead of boulevard topics. As this is related to the problem of funding, the Polish government is ought to ensure that the independent media is sufficiently funded in order to play its role as a watchdog.

7.4.3 Hungary

First, based on my analysis and discussion I recommend the Hungarian government to develop and implement a new lobbying regulation. This regulation is ought to not only provide a clear description of the types of relationships and circumstances that cause a conflict-of-interest situation in order to identify those but also a set of clear rules and procedures that help to implement them accordingly in order to raise awareness among public servants and create an open discussion culture (OECD, 2005). In addition, monitoring mechanisms are recommended to be developed and disciplinary sanctions in cases of non-compliance to be enforced (OECD, 2005). Also, partnerships with the business as well as the non-profit sector can be build in order to elaborate and implement the outlined policies regarding conflict-of-interest situations. In the case of Hungary, this policy is ought to include a lobbying regulation that guarantees "fair and equitable access to the development and implementation of public policies" for all stakeholders (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2012, p. 4). Further, it is recommended to clearly define the terms ‚lobbying' and ‚lobbyist' (OECD

CleanGovBiz, 2012). Moreover, this regulation is ought to include a mandatory lobby register disclosing information on lobbying activities to the public sufficiently (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2012). In addition, I recommend the development and monitoring of clear rules and standards for both public officials and lobbyists on how to engage with each other (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2012). All these recommendations are ought to be developed and implemented in accordance with the expertise of lobbyists in order to ensure that these regulations fit into the actual context of a lobbyist's work routine.

Second, regarding the media and its role as a watchdog, the current Hungarian media law has to be regarded as one reason for the low level of trust revealed in this thesis. Thus, the Hungarian government is recommended to ensure that news reporting is no longer controlled or censored by the government, that publicly-funded media functions independently and that the Media Council is really independent, for instance, concerning the assignment of radio frequencies (Kroes, 2012).

Finally, the execution of the funding of the Hungarian civil society is ought to be reconsidered. The current approach based on personal income tax donations is recommended to be organised by authorities that are independent. The National Civil Fund, which is in charge of the distribution of donations at the moment, is regarded as being non-meritocratic and paternalistic (Fazekas, 2010).

7.4.4 Poland and Hungary

Based on my analysis and discussion my recommendation for both the governments of Poland and Hungary is to ensure that the allocation of licences for journalists follows only professional criteria and that journalists who investigate corrupt behaviour of powerful elites are protected by laws (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2011). Also, both governments are ought to entail laws or procedures forcing media owners to disclose their non-media business or political interests and they are recommended to ensure competition within all media sectors through enforcing antimonopoly laws (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2011). Moreover, the public authorities in Hungary and Poland are ought to "respect and protect the freedom of activists to seek, receive and publish information concerning corruption, within the limits of national law" (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2011a). Moreover, I recommend that Hungarian and Polish CSOs increasingly conduct surveys on corruption in order to raise awareness of the general public and of policy-makers; they are also recommended to formulate and to promote action plans aiming at fighting it (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2011a). Furthermore, CSOs in Hungary and Poland are ought to increase their lobbying activities for new institutional instruments in

order to penalise or prevent corruption (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2011a). Also, CSOs in Hungary and Poland are recommended to increasingly monitor the decisions and actions of the current government in terms of corrupt behaviour (OECD CleanGovBiz, 2011a). As most of these recommendations require resources that are currently not available in the non-profit sector of Hungary and Poland, the role of the EU is briefly discussed below.

7.4.5 European Union

It has been observed that several CEE countries diminished their efforts regarding anti-corruption programmes after the incentive of membership conditionality no longer provided (Dimitrova & Steunenberg, 2007; Haughton, 2011; Moroff & Schmidt-Pfister, 2010). For instance, Poland's enthusiasm to enter the EU in order to get access to its structural funds was found to be the most effective incentive to implement anti-corruption policy recommendations – though to a certain degree with a façade-like character (Gadowska, 2010). Therefore, EU funding, which follows the principle of conditionality is fraught with dilemmas. There is no verified and reliable system of offering incentives guaranteeing the effectiveness of meeting the conditions imposed by the donors (Fuksiewicz & Kaca, 2010). Different sets of incentives might demonstrate effectiveness for different countries (Fuksiewicz & Kaca, 2010) and need further investigation.

Based on my analysis and discussion the EU is recommended to reconsider its funding strategy regarding political pluralism in CEE (Fuksiewicz & Kaca, 2010). At the moment, instead of supporting politically oriented CSOs, the donors focus more on supporting projects with a focus on human rights (Fuksiewicz & Kaca, 2010). Moreover, so far the observation of elections is regarded as the flagship tool for the fostering of democracy (Fuksiewicz & Kaca, 2010). Therefore, the EU is ought to shift its funding focus towards political pluralism by funding CSOs in CEE directly.

7.4.6 Further research

Based on my analysis and discussion, I recommend future research to focus on investigating empirically how the aspects of the economical, the technical and the social perspective outlined in this thesis influence lobbyists' perceptions regarding transparency and integrity in the Public Affairs' domain of their countries. Further, innovative lobbying regulation approaches such as the implementation of public participation are ought to be examined (PASOS, 2013). Also, the role of investigative journalism in CEE countries (Stetka & Örnebring, 2013) as well as the different sets of incentives that help the EU to enforce its

conditions in the region of CEE effectively (Fuksiewicz & Kaca, 2010) are recommended to be investigated. Finally, the question if transparency can be a source of competitive advantage for a company needs further research.

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APPENDIX

1. Appendix 1 – List of Tables (Appendix)

2. Appendix 2 - Comparative table of lobbying regulation

Table A 1: Comparative table of lobbying regulation

Type of lobbying regulation	Weak				Strong	
	France	Germany	Poland	Hungary	Austria	Slovenia
Mandatory or voluntary registration	V	V	M	-	M	M
Access pass to lawmakers	X	X	X	-	-	-
Lobbyist registrants:						
a. Non-profit entities	X	X	-	-	X	-
b. For-profit entities	X	X	-	-	X	-
c. Contract lobbyists	X	-	X	-	X	X
Covered officials:						
a. Legislative	X	X	X	-	X	X
b. Executive	-	-	X	-	X	X
Registrants disclose:						
a. Lobbyist name	X	-	X	-	X	X
b. Lobbyist employer	X	X	X	-	X	X
c. Lobbyis tclient	X	-	X	-	X	X
d. General issue lobbied	-	-	-	-	X	-
e. Specific measure lobbied	X	-	X	-	X	X
f. Aggregate lobbying income	-	-	-	-	X	X
g. Lobbying income per client	-	-	-	-	X	X

h. Aggregate lobbying spending	-	-	-	-	X	-
i. Lobbying spending per issue	-	-	-	-	-	-
j. Lobbying contacts	-	-	X	-	X	X
k. Political spending/contributions	-	-	-	-	-	X
Fines/imprisonment for violations	-	-	X	-	X	X
Internet access to lobbying records	X	-	-	-	X	X
Code of conduct required for registered lobbyists	X	-	-	-	X	-

3. Appendix 3 – Expert interviews (summaries)

3.1. Interview #1

Name: Prof. Dr. Peter Grottian
Age: 71
Job description: Professor of Political science (FU Berlin)
Experience: graduated 1973; worked for NGO ATTAC
Nationality: German
Date: 29th June 2013

How is the term lobbying connoted in Germany? Which term do you prefer?
The term lobbying is connoted rather negatively as one immediately thinks of a one-sided exertion of influence and interest representation in the political system. A more neutral term is influence of pluralistic groups in society, which represent different interests. There have always been interests, which have not been represented at all like, for instance, jobless people. Pluralism in Germany can be seen as a huge map of interests. Hereby, economic interests have a higher chance to be successful. Those, which are not represented, are not part of the political or public discourse. Thus, there has always been an imbalance. Believing that economic interests are not represented in an influential way is tremendously naïve. This imbalance can be seen, for instance, when it comes to the topic of banking regulations. Social movements contradict those economic interests only selectively. (e.g. Stuttgart 21, Gorleben, Elbphilarmony in Hamburg) However, these activities are only hardly tangent to the overall spectrum of interest representation in Germany.

How influential is lobbying regarding policy decisions in Germany?
The situation that lobbyists try to influence policy due to their personal or sector's interests is not new and also not a problem. The problem is that there is no counterbalance outweighing them. Civil society should fill this gap but is only successful in specific areas like anti-AKW-movement. When it comes, for instance, to the financial sector, there is no counterbalance at all, despite some few examples as Occupy, Attac or Bloccupy. Stuttgart21 can be seen as an example for successful social movements in Germany. However, some interests like poverty, jobless people or migration are not represented at all. Powerful economic interests are able to be put forward easily and their influence on policy decisions in Germany is considered as brutally while all the others are mostly underrepresented.
The new quality of lobbying leads increasingly to installing followers in ministries and related offices in order to infiltrate the whole policy system. Second, the ministries are dependent on the expertise of associations, which is per se not problematically. The scope of influence is a problem, though. Some laws are nearly composed entirely by external law firms or lobbyist associations. The power of some of these external groups is tremendously high. In former days, ministry officers also consulted the expertise of associations but in the end they at least formulated the wording of the law on their own. This new procedure of exerting influence leads to a political irresponsibility. Ideally, ministries should present different versions in order to guarantee democracy.

One point has to be made clear: Approaching interest groups, associations and experts before wording a new law is definitively legitimate. The problem starts when lobbyists try to influence the wording of law due to their personal economic interests.

What are the most important stakeholders of lobbying in Germany?

- Industry associations
- Trade associations
- Labour unions
- Law chambers
- NGOs

(Consumer Associations are rather weak)

Where would you set the line between ethical/effective lobbying and unethical behaviour?
The main problem is that there is no organised counterbalance. Furthermore, the political administrative system is increasingly vulnerable for professional lobbying. Representing interests - whether or not they are "good" or "bad" – can never cause an allegation as interest representation is part of a democratic system.

How is lobbying regulated in your country?
Lobbying is nearly not regulated in Germany. There is a bit of transparency as some lobbyists have to fill in some details in registers. However, what is completely missing is transparency of the decision making process. So far, it is not comprehensible for the public how the government acts in the different phases of it. Changing this, would allow media, science and the public to judge the policy decision process. At the moment, a citizen still believes political decisions are made in the parliament ("Bundestag") because he or she has learned in school that the Bundestag is the highest decision making body. However, it is clear that a lobbyist would only exercise his influence in the Bundestag when all his efforts in the run-up have failed. All steps before the Bundestag are much more important as they prepare the actual decision. For instance, it would be of high interest how the suggestion for a new law has been initiated and by whom. A good lobbyist does not care about the Bundestag but tries to approach a ministry at the level of subject specialist ("Fachreferent") in order to develop trust and the appreciation of a two-sided relationship.

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of self-regulation?
Self-regulation is not to be considered as relevant. For instance, codes of the banking sector are an old hat ("kalter Kaffee"). They change less in terms of the previously mentioned power constellation.

How do you define transparency?
Transparency means a visible process description for every law, even if it is only a draft from a subject specialist in order to show how this result has been conducted.
This is not done yet but it is advisable to implement experts from science or related fields and their opinions and judgements in order to make the origin of draft laws more visible and understandable for the public and journalists. Moreover, this would cause a pressure for ministry politicians to explain their behaviour. In the end, there needs to be a public pressure for this to happen as one should not forget that bureaucracy means always domination.

[This definition of transparency is aligned with the one in my thesis. Drew et al., (2004: 1642): Transparency is "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where". Transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004).]

How useful is transparency for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption?
Transparency in terms of making the governmental activities visible would be very useful. The system is so far not interested in that.

Can you think of better instruments?
Strengthening of the civil society! The current imbalance as mentioned above leads to the need of strengthening the civil society, for instance, by incentivizing every citizen to pay lower taxes to a certain amount of 200-300 per year in order to use this money for supporting organisations of the civil society. Thereby, the civil society could play an important role as a watchdog and counterbalance. Thus, resources and money is needed. So far, there are for instance in the banking regulation movement only a few proactive experts (20-30) in organised groups in Germany.
On the long run the whole political system in Germany faces the enormous challenge of public mistrust and political apathy. Surprisingly, this leads not to a higher trust in the civil society or an increased engagement. This can be seen as our basic problem in Germany, in Europe. Therefore, the main question is: Can and if so how can the political annoyance be transferred to a higher engagement in civil society in order to balance the current counterbalance. Sometimes there is a small increase in attention for civil society but in general, political system starves it.

3.2. Interview #2

Name: Anonymous
Age: 39
Job description: Lobbyist in the banking sector, Germany
Experience: 1,5 years in lobbying, 15 years for KfW credit institute (state-owned thus with close relations to politics)
Nationality: German
Date: 1st July 2013

How is the term lobbying connoted? Which term do you prefer?
In Germany, the term lobbying is connoted rather negatively. A more preferable term is representation of interest ("Interessenvertretung").

How influential is lobbying regarding policy decisions in Germany?
Lobbying is quite influential in Germany, especially when it comes to the implementation of very specific regulations and laws. Thereby, the main influence of lobbying is to introduce relevant arguments when a new legislative proposal is put forward. Thus, lobbyists accompany a legislative procedure if a new regulation or law affects the sector they are working in.

What are the most important stakeholders of lobbying in Germany?
- industrial sector (especially automotive)
- SMEs ("Mittelstand")
- Labour unions

Where would you set the line between ethical/effective lobbying and unethical behavior?
Every decision, which is not based on arguments but on personal benefits, bribery or corruption, is unethical. Also, it has to be visible whose interests are represented in order to see in which light these arguments have to be regarded.

How is lobbying regulated in your country?
There is no detailed regulation, however a register for lobbyists.

How effective is this regulation?
This regulation is very useful as it shows who represents whom.

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of self-regulation?
Self-regulation is very important as it allows evaluating an organisation's behaviour. Furthermore, codes of conduct provide employees with a helpful guideline of how to behave.

How do you define transparency?
Transparency allows outsiders to comprehend processes clearly.
[I introduced briefly the guiding definition of transparency in my thesis. Drew et al., (2004: 1642): Transparency is "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where".Transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004).]

How useful is transparency for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption?
Transparency is very important and essential for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption as it makes the activities of all stakeholders/participants visible.

Can you think of better instruments?
There are many instruments in order to reach transparency like a register for lobbyists and code of conducts.

Between which different types of transparency would you distinguish?
- Passive (e.g. register)
- Active (scope of register entries or information published generally)

Where needs transparency regarding lobbying to start? In which case would it be too much?
The current status of transparency is reasonable as it shows who works for whom and who represents whose interests. This is the most important aim of transparency. Disclosing confidential information cannot be a solution. Transparency goes too far, if, for instance, all meetings between politicians and the financial sector are recorded and published.

How is the current level of transparency regarding lobbying in Germany?
In order to answer this question properly, experience is missing. However, the gut feeling says we have in general a clear sense of law in Germany and perform quite well compared to others in terms of transparency.

How would the ideal situation look like?
It would be ideal to clarify the background of lobbyists who cannot be assigned clearly to an interest, like for some independent lawyers, for instance.

How has transparency ever affected your lobbying activities (either positvely or negatively)?
A usual procedure is to always hand over the business card at the beginning of a meeting in order to clarify the background of arguments and interest representation.

3.3. Interview #3

Name: Noor Naqschbandi
Age:
Job description: Business Unit Private Sector Cooperation
Company: giz/Global Compact Germany
Experience:
Date: 2nd July 2013

How is the term lobbying connoted? Which term do you prefer?
In Germany, the term lobbying is connoted predominantly in a negative way.
A more preferable term is interest representation ("Interessenvertretung") as lobbying as such is legitimate.

How influential is lobbying regarding policy decisions in Germany?

Lobbying is very influential in Germany, as shown by a report of the NGO lobbycontrol recently. Dubious connections between business and politics have been revealed. Lobbyists influence many political decisions. However, the problem is not that politicians consult lobbyists; the problem is that there is no transparency showing who talks to whom about what. Other countries like UK have made more progress in the past regarding this problem due to several scandals and their following discussions.

What are the most important stakeholders of lobbying in Germany?

- Associations (BDA, BDI)
- NGOs (Greenpeace, BUND, Transparency International)
- Labour unions (IG Metall, ver.di)
- Specific associations (e.g. of family enterprises)

Where would you set the line between legitimate lobbying and unethical behaviour?
From a legal point of view, the line is set as soon as an interest representative tries to convince a politician through money or pressure instead of valid arguments in fair competition with the opposing side. Thus, it is very important to point out who is representing what kind of interest.

How do you evaluate the role of the civil society in this context?
The civil society plays a very crucial role in this context as it is considered as a watchdog. It is to highlight that civil society organisations fulfil this task very good, which can be seen in the recent example of lobbycontrol. In Germany, investigating and denouncing unethical behaviour is not only possible but also done properly. However, the problem has rather to be seen in the lack of consequences. If nothing changes after revealing corrupt behaviour, a decrease in public trust will become dangerous for the constitutional state and democracy as such on the long run.

In order to change the current passiveness of recipients of such investigations of corrupt behaviour, the civil society has to be strengthened. Holding up the pressure on politicians could lead to a change in attitude and behaviour. However, the main problem in this context is that citizens so far do not stand up for transparency or truthfulness as, in the end, it still goes too well for them to become active. This is different in other countries like India, where people go on the streets because they experience the consequences of corruption in their everyday life when there is not enough food for everyone due to corruption, for instance.
In Germany, the consequences of corruption or bad governance are rather abstract and thus there is no constant pressure in/from public. This can be seen, for instance, in the public debate on PRISM, which reveals a lack of knowledge about the consequences of violation of the data protection law in public.

Which role does the media play?
In theory, media has a responsibility in this context but in practice, media in Germany is organised in two or three huge corporations following in general the commercial paradigm to focus on print run and thus successful stories instead of educational serials. However, there have been several investigative journalists who discovered major scandals and made them public.

How is lobbying regulated in your country?
There is only a codex for members of the Bundestag but not a legislation or a mandatory lobby register.

How effective is this regulation?
Thus, this regulation is not effective. A mandatory lobby register showing who is lobbying in the Bundestag is recommended.

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of self-regulation?

This is hard to evaluate as a judgement would require lots of information how this code is implemented in everyday life. Generally, a code of conduct should also include sanctions for non-compliance.

How do you define transparency?
Transparency means traceability of communication, which is open between different actors of the decision making process.

[I briefly introduced the guiding definition of transparency in my thesis. Drew et al., (2004: 1642): Transparency is "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where". Transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004).]

How useful is transparency for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption?
Transparency is very useful. If there is no means of monitoring of what happens behind closed doors every kind of wrongdoing is possible. However, if every conversation has to be published every actor would behave accordingly.

Can you think of better instruments?
- Consistent and stringent educational work from public institutions
- Not more laws but rather a better implementation of existing ones (e.g. more tax investigators, specialised public prosecutors)

Between which different types of transparency would you distinguish?
None.

Where needs transparency regarding lobbying to start? In which case would it be too much?
Transparency needs to start by disclosing information about who talks to whom and about what. Disclosing of confidential information or trade secrets would be too much.

How is the current level of transparency regarding the decision-making process in Germany?
There is definitely a need for improvement in terms of strengthening the civil society and implementing a mandatory lobby register.

How could the current situation be improved?
A mandatory lobby register would be useful.

How would the ideal situation look like?
An ideal situation would imply higher trust of citizens in the decision making process, for instance by prohibiting the "revolving-door"-effect when politicians obtain work in private enterprises without any waiting period between both jobs. This can be seen at the current example of CDU-politician von Klaeden, who will work for Daimler after the elections. Moreover, bribery of representatives has to be liable to prosecution and in general there needs to be a more active public debate on such issues, either accompanied by the media or not.

3.4. Interview #4

Name: Anonymous
Age: 30
Job description: Lobbyist for medium-sized association
Experience: worked in a public affairs agency and different association as well as for a member of German Parliament before (five years of experience in political communications and interest representation)
Nationality: German

Date: 2nd July 2013

How is the term lobbying connoted? Which term do you prefer?
In Germany, the term lobbying is connoted differently. Among lobbyists, lobbying is simply used interchangeably with the term political interest representation. In public, the term lobbying is connoted predominantly negatively as it is often associated with corruption and intransparent bargaining.
A synonymous term is interest representation ("Interessenvertretung"). However, it would be desirable if the public understands lobbying as a necessary aspect of a pluralistic democracy.

How influential is lobbying regarding policy decisions in Germany?
Lobbying plays necessarily a very important role in Germany, as public representatives have to decide according to the overall public interest. Thus, they have to gather relevant information and expertise about the background and consequences of a potential decision.
In general, when comparing Germany to other countries, it can be said that the administration is not only open for opinions and arguments of interest representatives but also legally tied to hearing all interests. On the one hand, the selection mechanisms might be still subject to improvement. For instance, when deciding about equipment for the Bundeswehr it would be advisable to rather talk to soldiers than companies. On the other hand, it has to be pointed out that all interests are represented under different circumstances and initial positions as the interest groups are equipped differently in terms of resources. The more resources an interest group posses, the more professional it can work and the more likely it is to gain influence in the decision making process. For instance, the pharmaceutical lobby is comparatively strong while associations of patients have a rather low level of influence due to lower budgets and organisational power.

What are the most important stakeholders of lobbying in Germany?
This is dependent on the exact field of politics but in general the most important groups are the following:

- Associations
- Companies
- Churches
- Labour unions
- NGOs

Which role do the civil society and the media play?
The media plays a very important role as an amplifier and soundboard as well as a reference point for the importance of a topic.

In general, the civil society is organised in NGOs and related organisations. When it comes to evaluating the public opinion on a certain topic or question, politicians usually ask these organised parts of the civil society about their point of view as well as consult the media or active citizens who are keen to share their opinion.
Compared to the European Economic and Social Committee in Brussels, there is no institutional committee enabling the consideration of civil society interest before putting forward a new legislation in Germany. On the one hand, this is considered as a very democratic instrument. On the other hand, organising civil society representation like this is a very laborious construct from an administrative point of view.
In general, public interest and public sense of justice regarding lobbying and political decisions are very high in Germany. However, when it comes to own engagement or participation most citizens loose their interest due to the expectation that the government and its politicians are solely responsible to find a proper and ethical solution for every situation. This expectation is based on a rather platonic view on politics and does not fit to the actual political system in Germany, in which citizens vote representatives in order to tell them what they have to do according to public interests.

Where would you set the line between legitimate lobbying and unethical behaviour?
It is always necessary to clarify who is behind an argument or interest. Additional information about the interest group has to be provided. This has to be pointed out every time a lobbyist contacts a politician. For instance, a few years ago, there has been a situation, in which an interest group handed out a position paper including its arguments regarding a certain legislative discussion to politicians without adding a head of letter or background information about the sender. Thus, this behaviour has to be regarded as unethical.
If money is handed over as in case of campaign donations, it has to be made visible who spends how much money for what and why. In general, bribery can never be ethical.

How is lobbying regulated in your country?
The legal obligation of politicians to hear representatives of the civil society (as laid down in the rules of procedure of the federal political bodies) in Germany can be seen as a positive regulation of lobbying. Furthermore, the "Lobbyliste" of the German Bundestag aims at clarifying which interest representative lobbies there and points out further information about his or her interest group.
A transparent lobby register, which points out even more information about an interest group like the exact size of its budget for public affairs activities, is frequently demanded. However, these numbers would hardly be comparable and could be faked easily. Thus, this register would not help to improve transparency.
Despite more regulations, a more desirable approach is seen in an increased focus of politics and the media on the selection mechanisms for interests in order to shape them to a more balanced state.

How effective is this regulation?
In general, it is hardly possible to regulate lobbying properly. Thus, the current level of regulation is regarded as sufficient, as regulation as such can only contribute merely to a more ethical behaviour. However, critical reflection and ethical behaviour of all actors is considered as the best solution. Especially members of parliament and the top-level administrative staff should consider more thoroughly that really all relevant parties involved get the chance to argue about political proposals in hearings that are as un-biased as possible.

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of self-regulation?
An interest representative should have a professional honour ("Berufsehre") and be a democrat instead of only aiming for benefit optimization "Nutzenoptimierung". Thus, in general, it may make sense to formulate codes as they can contribute to a prosper discussion on ethics in lobbying but as a code is only as good as its level of implementation they are not considered as a solution as such. It would be more useful if politicians sanctioned lobbyists after receiving biased or wrong information by ignoring them in future.

How do you define transparency?
Transparency fosters mainly visibility and comprehensiveness in terms of who represents what kind of interest in order to achieve which goal.

[I briefly introduced the guiding definition of transparency in my thesis. Drew et al., (2004: 1642): Transparency is "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where". Transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004).]

How useful is transparency for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption?
If transparency were a common practice in politics it would become more obvious when some actors are not transparent. Therefore, transparency can imply a displacement effect ("Verdrängungseffekt").

Can you think of other instruments?
On the one hand, senders of lobbying have to communicate in the most transparent and honest way regarding their background and their actual activities. On the other hand, recipients of lobbying have to exclude actors from the political process who show to be intransparent or act in an undemocratic

way. Additionally, the media has to do more educational work in order to point out the legitimate aspect of lobbying in a pluralistic democracy. This way, citizen's understanding of interest representation in general and lobbying activities in particular would be fostered.

Between which types of transparency do you distinguish?
A distinction between an active transparency, namely disclosing relevant information on a voluntary basis and a reactive transparency, namely only disclosing relevant information when asked, is made.

Where needs transparency regarding lobbying to start? In which case would it be too much?
On the one hand, transparency needs to clarify who is behind an interest. On the other hand, the bureaucratic effort has to be taken into account when claiming new standards of what to report and how. Thus, it is not reasonable that every conversation or every cost calculation has to be documented and published.

How is the current level of transparency regarding the decision-making process in Germany?
In a brief comparison with other countries, the level of (reactive and active) transparency in the sector of SMEs is quite good in Germany.

How would the ideal situation look like?
Following the before mentioned distinction, an ideal situation implies that every actor is actively transparent.

How has transparency ever affected your lobbying activities?
It is common practice to provide briefly some background information about the association and clarify his interest.

3.5. Interview #5

Name: Grzegorz Makowski
Age:
Job description: Program Director Public Integrity
Company: Batory Foundation
Experience:
Nationality: Polish
Date: 3rd July 2013

How is the term lobbying connoted? Which term do you prefer?
A recent poll in Poland explored that lobbying is not perceived positively in general but associated with corruption and bribery. Usually, there is a lack of knowledge on how to define it. However, a research project in 2009 on regional government investigated surprisingly that politicians on the regional level were able to define lobbying quite properly and even associated it with less negative terms. Also, they were open for discussions on regulations in order to improve their decision making process.
Another term is advocacy of interest (translated from Polish) but it is more frequently used in science than everyday life.

How influential is lobbying regarding policy decisions in Poland?
Nobody really knows. There is a corporative way of representing interests in Poland on the national and regional level. NGOs try to sell the idea of civil dialogue, which is kind of an EU idea and means that civil society organisations see themselves as agents acting for the public's broader interests. It is nearly impossible to evaluate the effectiveness of these activities or other professional lobbying activities.
From a personal perspective, there are different groups, which may be very influential. In order to explain this point an example is given of a new law regarding NGOs, which has been put forward in

the last years. In the end, the wording of law has been formulated by the most active NGOs outside of the parliament or the political system as such. As this was a rather unimportant piece of law it can be assumed that external interest groups to an even higher extent influence more important laws.
As there are many entry points for interest groups, the influence of lobbying on the decision making process is potentially high. From time to time, one observes strange changes of Polish laws in the newspapers although nobody knows the reasons for that, as there are not enough analysers focusing on such issues.

What are the most important stakeholders of lobbying in Poland?

- Labour unions
- Entrepreneur Associations
- Specific groups (pharmaceutical companies, big companies)
- NGOs (especially since entering EU)
- Church

How has the history of transition affected the current strand of lobbying in your country?
There is of course still a tendency to traditionally organised constellations like the social dialogue. However, times are changing. For instance, labour unions constantly loose members as the Polish economy shifts towards a bigger (private) service sector instead of traditional state owned industries as the railway or the coal sector. Thus, this change causes a more liberal attitude in general and also influences the attitudes towards lobbying. The main problem of Poland is its bad regulation of entering into the decision making process. There is a need for better public consultation mechanisms, as in the old system interest representation as such was not implemented. New channels have to be established.

Which role does the civil society play?
It depends. One can observe some progress regarding NGO activities in terms of blogging about current events or supporting the implementation of new laws (as mentioned above). However, the problem is that the civil society in general is not very active. For example, there are only few NGOs advocating for better and more transparent consultation mechanisms. Although there are few successes as being consulted by government when it comes to related regulations, progress in general is made very slowly.

Which role does the media play?
Personally, it seems that the media is more focused on boulevard topics of the yellow press instead of analysing relevant political issues. Only a few journalists write about corruption and related topics, thus investigative journalism is very weak in Poland.

How equally are all interests represented and consulted in your country?
As there is no standard for entering the decision making process, there is no equality. If you are willing to influence a decision there are no legal restrictions. Observably, there is a better access for union labours, etc. For instance, when ACTA was implemented there was no debate on the decision to sign it and no expert was consulted beforehand by the government. As a result, people organised protests on the streets and in the end, these were effective, as the act was not signed.

Where would you set the line between ethical lobbying and unethical behaviour?
Answering this question one should refer to law. Lobbying has to follow the legal regulations. Lobbying, even if it is focused on a very specific topic or might be not aligned with your own personal opinion would always be considered as ethical if it was transparent. Thus, transparency is key when it comes to defining the line between ethical and unethical lobbying.

How is lobbying regulated in your country?
Although there is a mandatory regulation in Poland, lobbying is not regulated in practice. *[see paper]*

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of self-regulation?
There are only a few organisations, which have an ethical code but this is still such a small community. The vast majority is not self-regulated. In general, self-regulation might be effective as it is well developed in the USA and works well there.

How do you define transparency?
Transparency means that one knows who participated in the decision making process with what arguments and how the decision makers dealt with these arguments and how they influenced the final decision. This information has to be documented and published.

[This is aligned with the guiding definition of transparency in my thesis. Drew et al., (2004: 1642): Transparency is "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where".Transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004).]

How useful is transparency for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption?
Transparency is a crucial condition for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption. Without transparency it is impossible to control corruption. Thus, transparency has to be regulated by law.

Can you think of different instruments?
Repression and sanctions for illegal lobbying, which is defined as paid activity for the interest of a third party. Currently, the fine for that is very high. There needs to be a balance between different means of transparency, self-regulation and repression.

Between which different types of transparency would you distinguish?
Not really

Where needs transparency regarding lobbying to start? In which case would it be too much?
There is no too much. From the beginning until the end of the decision making process there should be standards of transparency. Although this costs money and resources, this is not a valid excuse, as nowadays there are technical possibilities to make the publishing of documents easier like an online platform, which has been introduced recently. However, there are standards needed in order to clarify how these information are presented, who made changes and so on.

How is the current level of transparency regarding lobbying in Poland?
The current level is not the worst. There has been lots of progress during the last 10 and even five years. Still, there is no systematic approach. Some ministries are more open for disclosing information than others. In general, the situation is very chaotic as there are different regulations instead of uniform and comprehensive standards, which then also need to be applied properly.

How would the ideal situation look like?
Ideally, a legal act of law would regulate systematically not only lobbying but also civil dialogue and all kinds of participation as a basic standard for good practices. Also, organisational culture in many institutions has to be changed as so far it makes participation very ineffective and is intransparent (as mentioned above).

How has transparency ever affected your lobbying activities?
The experienced level of transparency was not satisfying as a lack of law hindered the publication of relevant information.

3.6. Interview #6

Name: Anonymous
Age: 64

Job description: Lobbyist in the automotive sector, Hungary
Experience: 3 years in the automotive sector, before that more than 15 years in lobbying
Nationality: Hungarian
Date: 4th July 2013

Wie ist der Begriff Lobbyismus in Ungarn konnotiert? Welche Bezeichnung wäre besser?
Lobbyismus ist in Ungarn eher negativ belegt. Es gab bis vor kurzem ein gutes Gesetz, in dem auch der Begriff Lobbyismus auftauchte und definiert wurde. Davor war Lobbyismus in Ungarn nicht etabliert, eher aus amerikanischen Filmen bekannt. Was Lobbying praktisch bedeutet, wissen in Ungarn nur Politik- und Wirtschaftsinteressierte, die breite Öffentlichkeit hat eher vage Vorstellungen.
Es gibt kein anderes, besseres oder geläufigeres Wort für Lobbyismus in Ungarn.

Welche Rolle spielt Lobbyismus bei politischen Entscheidungen, die in Ungarn getroffen werden?
Lobbying spielt eine ziemlich große Rolle in Ungarn. Zum einen gibt es viele Gruppierungen und Organisationen, NGOs oder politische Kreise/Parteien, die ihre Meinung und Position öffentlich teilen, Aktionen starten oder Medien-Artikel schreiben lassen. Zum anderen gibt es zahlreiche nicht öffentliche Treffen unter vier Augen, in denen Macht ausgespielt und Druck ausgeübt werden.

Was sind die wichtigsten Interessenvertretergruppen in Ihrem Land?
Das ist abhängig von der jeweiligen Regierung. Generell gibt es ähnlich wie in Deutschland verschiedene Interessengruppen, die entweder in Verbänden oder Kammern organisiert sind. Welche Gruppe/welches Interesse aber Gehör findet, hängt stark von der Regierung ab. Die jetzige Regierung legt z.B. großen Wert auf die Zusammenarbeit mit der IHK, während bei der vorherigen Regierung die Fachverbände mehr Einfluss hatten. Unter anderem ist es daher momentan verpflichtend, Mitglied in einer Kammer zu sein, was vorher freiwillig war. Neben Handels- und Agrarkammer sind die Ärztekammer und die Gewerkschaft der Lehrkräfte momentan die einflussreichsten in Ungarn. Obwohl eine aktuelle Volksabstimmung zu Tage förderte, dass 56% aller Ungarn sich als nicht religiös bezeichnen, hat die Kirche weiterhin einen großen Einfluss, da die aktuelle Regierungspartei christliche-demokratisch geprägt ist und daher die Zusammenarbeit mit der Kirche stärker forciert als vorherige Regierungen.

Inwieweit werden alle Interessen gleichmäßig vertreten und angehört?
Die Interessen werden nicht gleichmäßig vertreten. Es gibt ausgewählte Partnerschaften, die öfter angehört werden. NGOs und ihre Interessen kommen z.B. kaum oder sogar gar nicht zu Wort.

Welche Rolle spielen Zivilgesellschaft und Medien?
Die Situation der Medien in Ungarn ist schwierig. Die öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien sind stark abhängig von der Regierung, daher berichten sie voreingenommen und einseitig über politische Themen. Die privaten Medien sind ausgeglichener. Auf dem Papier sind die Medien unabhängig, aber in der Praxis sieht es anders aus.
Die Zivilgesellschaft ist nicht so stark wie in Deutschland. Ungarn hatte noch nicht genug Zeit, um zu erlernen, wie man dieses demokratische Mittel nutzt. Einige Organisationen können sich allerdings gut artikulieren.

Wie hat die Geschichte Lobbying in Ungarn beeinflusst?
Lobbying gab es immer, hatte aber eine andere Form und andere Namen wie z.B. Vitamin B. Erst Anfang 2000 bekam Lobbying einen konkreten Namen, nach angloamerikanischem Vorbild und beschreibt, wie ein Unternehmen versucht, Einfluss auf die Gesetzgebung zu nehmen.

Wo würden Sie die Grenze zwischen ethischem Lobbyismus und unethischem Verhalten ziehen?
Es muss Transparenz geben. Einzelne Vertreter müssen zu ihrer Meinung öffentlich stehen. Es muss klar sein, warum ein Gesetz geändert werden soll. Man darf sich keine Vorteile zum Schaden anderer

erschleichen. Im Idealfall werden vor allem Interessen vertreten, die nicht nur einen Vorteil für ein einzelnes Unternehmen, sondern eine ganze Branche bringen. Aus ethischer Sicht sollten die stärkeren Unternehmen einer Branche, wie der Automobilbranche, die Interessen aller Unternehmen der Branche im Blick haben und ihre Position als Initiator nutzen, um sich auch für die Interessen der kleineren Unternehmen stark zu machen.
Alles andere ist unethisch und bei einem seriösen Unternehmensvertreter
kommt Bestechung natürlich gar nicht in Frage. Dieser muss andernfalls sanktioniert werden.

Wie ist Lobbyismus in Ihrem Land bisher reguliert?
Bis Januar 2011, ein halbes Jahr nach den Wahlen, gab es in Ungarn ein sehr gutes und effektives Gesetz zu Lobbying. Seit 2011 gibt es de facto keine Regulierung mehr, da die Regierung meinte, diese wäre unnötig gewesen. Nun kann jeder letztendlich machen, was er will.

Wie bewerten Sie die Effektivität von Selbstregulierung?
Generell ist Selbstregulierung wichtig, im Falle Ungarns aber sehr abhängig vom einzelnen Unternehmen und der Thematik. Da es in Ungarn keine Regulierung mehr gibt, muss jeder selber entscheiden, nach welchen moralischen Regeln er spielt.

Wie definieren Sie Transparenz?
Transparenz hängt in Bezug auf Lobbying vor allem davon ab, welche Teile der Bevölkerung an dem Ergebnis einer Diskussion interessiert sind. Es ist wichtig, zwischen den gesamtgesellschaftlichen Interessen, die z.B. von NGOs vertreten werden, und denen von einzelnen Unternehmen oder Brachen zu unterscheiden, da bei letzteren nur eine begrenzte Anzahl an Menschen der Bevölkerung interessiert ist und Transparenz benötigt.
[I introduced briefly the guiding definition of transparency in my thesis. Drew et al., (2004: 1642): Transparency is "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where".Transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004).]

Wie hilfreich ist Transparenz, um unethischen Lobbyismus oder Korruption zu bekämpfen?
Transparenz ist hierbei sehr wichtig. Das bezieht sich vor allem auf NGO-Themen, auf gesamtwirtschaftliche Fragen.

Fallen Ihnen bessere/andere Instrumente dafür ein?
Die Regierung muss alle Ausschreibungen, alle Kriterien, alle Entscheidungen und ihr Zustandekommen transparenter veröffentlichen. Es muss klar sein, was die Pläne und Ziele der Regierung sind und welche Vorteile diese für die gesamte Bevölkerung haben. Diese müssen öffentlich diskutiert und abgestimmt werden mit NGOs und Fachverbänden, der Bevölkerung usw. Letztendlich muss nicht nur das Ergebnis, sondern vor allem auch der Weg dorthin transparent sein. Dadurch würde Korruption automatisch reduziert.

Wo führt Transparenz im Lobbyismus zu weit?
Es wird sicherlich eine Grenze geben. Entscheidend ist hier vor allem wieder die Frage, wer betroffen ist. Alle Betroffenen müssen alle Informationen erhalten. Diejenigen Bevölkerungsteile, die nicht betroffen sind von einer Entscheidung, brauchen allerdings auch nicht alles zu wissen.

Wie schätzen Sie den momentanen Stand von Transparenz bezüglich Lobbyismus in Ihrem Land ein?
Das ist schwer zu sagen; unterschiedlich. In der Automobilbranche läuft alles gut und geregelt, da es ein sehr wichtiger Industriezweig ist und daher ein wichtiger Ansprechpartner der Regierung ist. Das führt zu einem Verhalten zwischen Branche und Regierung nach europäischem Standard, europäischen Normen. Allerdings sieht es gesellschaftlich anders aus. Dort gibt es noch viele Mängel.

Inwieweit beeinflusst Transparenz Sie bei Ihrer Lobbyarbeit?

Transparenz ist sehr wichtig, auch für die ganze Branche. Eine Vertrauensbasis ist allen in der Branche sehr wichtig. Jede Entscheidung wird transparent gemacht.

3.7. Interview #7

Name: Anonymous
Age: 34
Job description: Lobbyist for association (traffic)
Experience: 6 years in Public Relations (mainly political issues) 3 years as a Lobbyist in Berlin (10% - 20% Brussels); Education: Master degree in Sociology and Social Psychology; Qualified Public Relations Consultant
Nationality: German
Date: 4th July 2013

How is the term lobbying connoted? Which term do you prefer?
In Germany, the term lobbying is connoted predominantly in a negative way.
A more preferable term is interest representation ("Interessenvertretung") or public affairs as well as public policy.

How influential is lobbying regarding policy decisions in Germany?
Lobbying plays a very important and necessary role in Germany, as no public representative is expert in all fields. Thus, lobbying is considered as the participation in the decision making process. Lobbying has to be honest following the guiding principle that not everything has to be said but everything said needs to be truthful. Lobbyists are sources of information for the politician.

What are the most important stakeholders of lobbying in Germany?

- Associations
- Companies
- NGOs
- Church
- Labour unions

The more successful a sector is, the more influence it has, e.g. (Pharmaceutical, Automotive, Arms).

How equally are all interests represented and consulted in Germany?
In general, every interest group has the opportunity to get a first appointment. The question whether or not this is followed by further meetings or frequent contact with the ministry is dependent on several factors. First, the interest needs to be of high significance. Second, there needs to be current political activity concerning this interest. Third, the interest group needs to be perceived as a good service provider, for instance, by providing relevant information in time. In the latter case, a personal affection can play a crucial role. Although money might be helpful in achieving this status, it is not the key to gain influence. This can be seen in the fact that politicians usually follow invitations to completely different occasions although some might be more rustic-style than glamorous (e.g. the association of fire brigades). On the other hand, as an interest group, you need roughly estimated a budget of at least 200.000€ per year not only for a representative office in Berlin but also for related expenses like business diners in order to be part of the political landscape in Germany.

Which role do the civil society and the media play?
The media plays a very important role as an amplifier and soundboard as well as a reference point for the importance of a topic.
The civil society is also important, for instance, when it comes to petitions. On the one hand, petitions are an influential democratic instrument as they directly reflect the public's opinion regarding a specific topic, which usually forces politicians to deal with it. On the other hand, organising petitions is so far not very elaborated in Germany as a consequence of political apathy, which is not be mixed up with a disinterest in politics in general. The problem lies more in the widespread belief among

citizens that one voice is not able to change anything. This might also be due to the fact that we live in a fast changing world, in which new topics arise on a daily basis and the articulation of an interest has to be seen metaphorically as a marathon.

Where would you set the line between legitimate lobbying and unethical behaviour?
"Wer ein legitimes Interesse in unserem Land hat, der hat auch jedes Recht, es zu vertreten."
(Everyone in our country, who has a legitimate interest, also has the right to represent it.)
Even more relevant in this context is the question which methods are used for representing such a legitimate interest. First, although arguments are always subjective in this context, there is again the guiding principle that not everything has to be said but everything said needs to be truthful. Second, it is not ethical to work with money in order to put forward an interest. However, it is very hard to define where bribery starts. For instance, inviting a politician for a dinner should be allowed, while party donations have to be considered more critically. In the end, every activity that is performed in the knowledge that a final decision is not based on an argument but on the activity has to be regarded as unethical.

How is lobbying regulated in your country?
There is a transparency list of the Bundestag ("Lobbyliste") in order to show a politician, who lobbies for what kind of interest. Officially, listed lobbyists gain easier access to the building but in practice the only benefit is that one is not obliged to wait in line but can enter the building on short notice. Further more, some politicians do not talk to unlisted interest representatives.

How effective is this regulation?
In order to avoid playing fast and loose this regulation is effective as it makes lobbyists who act unethically better retrievable. Due to basic democratic rules like freedom of opinion and contract this regulation has to be considered as sufficient.

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of self-regulation?
Self-regulation is very effective, as everyone who acts unethically, looses his reputation in the lobbying scene. Both sides, lobbyists and politicians know that they are dependent on each other. Thus, some ground rules are usually followed.

How do you define transparency?
Transparency is mainly related to truthfulness and shows who represents what kind of interest. In this context, it is also valid to disclose background information about an association as long as this is not broken down to the personal level.

[I briefly introduced the guiding definition of transparency in my thesis. Drew et al., (2004: 1642): Transparency is "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where". Transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004).]

According to this definition transparency is limited to a high "Bringschuld" (debt to be discharged at creditor's domicile) for politics as politics is forced to make information easily accessible. However, there is also a "Holschuld" (debt to be collected at the debtor's address)
for the citizens to actively access these information.

How useful is transparency for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption?
Following the mentioned definition, transparency is definitely useful for fighting corruption but it is an instrument and as such it needs to be used actively (by the citizens and the media).

Can you think of better instruments?
Transparency works in a preventive way. Another instrument is regulation, which has to be considered as useless, as everyone who tries to circumvent those regulations will find a way to do so.

Between which types of transparency do you distinguish?
None.

Actually, in contrary to the negative connotation of the term lobbying, transparency as a current buzzword is rather negatively connoted.

Where needs transparency regarding lobbying to start? In which case would it be too much?
If it leads to trustfulness, transparency is useful. However, when it comes to personal offences as a consequence of representing interests, transparency would be too much.

How is the current level of transparency regarding the decision-making process in Germany?
The majority of people who demands transparency should rather give trouble to use the means that are currently already available.

How could the current situation be improved?
On the one hand, the access to information for citizens has to be made easier. On the other hand, citizens need to develop a higher interest in how to participate in the decision making process in order to foster the competition of interests. This follows the slogan "one lobby is dangerous, 1000 are not". Transparency cannot be the means for satisfying voyeuristic needs.

How has transparency ever affected your lobbying activities (either positively or negatively)?
Not at all – but this is due to the fact that the association is very transparent.

3.8. Interview #8

Name: Heiko Kretschmer
Age: 45
Job description: CEO // Treasurer and Ethical Advisor of degepol
Company: Johanssen + Kretschmer (Agency)
Experience: 20 years in relevant fields
Nationality: German
Date: 4th July 2013

How is the term lobbying connoted? Which term do you prefer?
In Germany, the term lobbying is connoted predominantly in a negative way. It is associated with unfairness or unethical behaviour and is regarded as responsible for bad politics. Furthermore, it is striking that lobbying is usually associated with business interests although NGOs or foundations also do lobby.
A more preferable term is interest representation ("Interessenvertretung") as although it is a synonym people have a more positive understanding of it.

How influential is lobbying regarding policy decisions in Germany?
This question cannot be answered in general terms. Different to the USA, in Germany not every law is the result of lobbying. On the contrary, there are many examples, which show that decision makers have not consulted experts before putting a legislation forward (e.g. Minijobs 1998/99 or "Bildungsgutscheine"). On the other hand, for instance, in the energy sector, it is usually the case that several business interests are articulated intensively during the decision making process.
The influence of lobbying per se is not measurable and in the context of lobbying the term as such suggests a biased understanding of the decision making process. Thus, first of all, the answer to this question depends on one's definition of the decision making process. Even in antiquity, there have been arguments about the question what determines good politics. One side argued, there is a group of wise men beyond all doubts, which decides without failure about what has to be done. The other side was in favour of considering the state itself as the sum off all different interests, which have to be bundled and consulted equally in order to make good politics and foster the overall coherence of

society. Following the latter approach, the articulation of interests is a prerequisite for democracy and lobbying as such is a legitimate consequence. To put it the other way around, a society, which tries to negate interests, has to be considered as a dictatorship.

What are the most important stakeholders of lobbying in Germany?
In general:

- Associations (Chemistry, VDA, BDI)
- NGOs (Greenpeace, BUND)
- Think tanks (Mercator, Initiative Neue Soziale Marktwirtschaft)

For specific topics:

- Big companies (VW)
- Entrepreneurs/start-ups

How equally are all interests represented and consulted in Germany?
Not at all, as politics as such is not abstract. Every party in Germany is in general based on ideological principles; for instance, the party "Die Grünen" is based on the principle of sustainability and the SPD is traditionally focused on labour and solidarity. Thus, as a consequence, there is a proactive preselection of interests.

Which role do the civil society and the media play?
The interests of civil society are usually represented by NGOs.
Regarding the media, there is an American agency, which offers their clients only two services: Either "into the media" or "out of the media". On the one hand, this shows that the media play an influential role in the world of politics and business. On the other hand, a biased media coverage focusing predominantly on scandals and deficiencies is revealed, as good and reasonable administrative processes are usually characterized by not appearing in the media.

Where would you set the line between legitimate lobbying and unethical behavior?
There are guidelines for ethical behaviour provided by the Association of Public Affairs outlining where transparency and truthfulness are violated. These can be regarded as a frame of reference.

How is lobbying regulated in your country?
There are no regulations regarding lobbying in Germany, even bribery of representatives is still not liable to prosecution.

How effective is this regulation?
Thus, this regulation is not effective.

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of self-regulation?
If the initiator of a self-regulating codex is equipped with the necessary resources like, for example, the Association of Public Affairs, the effectiveness of such code has to be considered as given, while a honourably initiator (e.g. a small NGO) usually lacks the clout to implement it properly.
Generally, the problem in Germany is not the lack of a common understanding of what ethical PR or PA is but a deficit in how to implement it reasonably.

How do you define transparency?
Transparency has to be regarded on three different dimensions. First, structural transparency points out the structures of an interest group or representative as, for instance, funding models or hierarchical dependencies in order to show who is really behind an interest. Second, procedural transparency shows the different steps of a decision-making process and who talked to whom, the so-called legislative footprint. Last but not least, content wise transparency discloses the content of conversations during meetings or confidential documents.

[This definition is aligned with the guiding definition of transparency in my thesis. Drew et al., (2004: 1642): Transparency is "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where". Transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004).]

How useful is transparency for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption?
Transparency contributes to the fighting against corruption but is not the one and only silver bullet.

Can you think of better instruments?
- Jurisdiction (sanctions)

Where needs transparency regarding lobbying to start? In which case would it be too much?
While structural transparency is good and reasonable, content wise transparency would be too much as politics needs familiarity and trust. Procedural transparency creates not only a lot of bureaucracy but is also prone to error. In the end, it is both of no harm and no use, thus it makes actually no difference whether or not it is implemented.

How is the current level of transparency regarding the decision-making process in Germany?
On a scale of 0-10, Germany would score a 0.

How could the current situation be improved?
A mandatory lobby register would be useful.

How would the ideal situation look like?
Transparency is only one building block for an ideal situation. The main problem is that although most companies in Germany have build up a juridical focused compliance capability during the last ten years, it still does not cover the overall external communication. A change of this alignment would be a breakthrough.

How has transparency ever affected your lobbying activities (either positvely or negatively)?
Not at all – but this is due to the fact that working in an agency is usually rather related to consulting activities.

3.9. Interview #9

Name: Anonymus
Age: 35
Job description: Secretary General
Company: Association (press/media)
Experience: 8 years
Nationality: Hungarian
Date: 5th July 2013

How is the term lobbying connoted? Which term do you prefer?
It has a bad connotation in Hungary. There is no other term.

How influential is lobbying regarding policy decisions in Hungary?
Currently, lobbying is a needless activity as there is a small group of insider, who influences the Prime minister in Hungary. Influencing the decision making process from the outside of this group is not possible, thus there is no classical lobbying in Hungary. This small group contains of friends from university times.

What are the most important stakeholders of lobbying in Hungary?

In the past three years classical lobbying has not been possible.

How has the history of transition affected the current strand of lobbying in your country?
In the old system there was no lobbying, now lobbying has to be learned. So far, there is still a lot of room to improve.

Which role do the civil society and the media play?
Both can drive attention towards a scandalous event or even corruption but there are usually no consequences as a result. Hungarian citizens in general are tired of the democratic deficit.

How equally are all interests represented and consulted in your country?
Interests are not equally represented; some are even not consulted at all. Much legislation has been passed without public consultation.

Where would you set the line between ethical lobbying and unethical behaviour?
Lobbying is not ethical when a company or interest group pays bribery. The exact line is hard to define. It would be ethical to listen to lobbyists and then decide according to the broad public interest instead of deciding according to personal interests.

How is lobbying regulated in your country?
Between 2006 and 2011 lobbying was regulated based on experiences in Europe and USA. The goal of this Act was to highlight interests in the decision making process on different governmental levels but was replaced by a new act called Participation in Legislation. However, this new act is not considered as a lobbying regulation. Even the former legislation did not cover NGO lobbyists but only corporate ones.

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of self-regulation?
Self-regulation is always effective and could be useful for lobbying. On the other hand, there should also be official regulation. In Hungary, there is not really a common code of ethics established among lobbyists.

How do you define transparency?
Transparency starts when you have some minimum standards regarding lobbying. It is always transparent when everybody from the public can control member of the parliament and their activities. Citizens have the right to know the background and the real nature of every interest group. It might be easier to define what is not transparent.

[I introduced briefly the guiding definition of transparency in my thesis. Drew et al., (2004: 1642): Transparency is "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where". Transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004).]

How useful is transparency for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption?
Transparency is useful but not enough if the society does not feel the need for having right decisions and ethical behaviour among members of the parliament.

Can you think of different instruments?
The media plays a very important role as they have the tools to investigate and ask from data from government or public companies. However, as mentioned before, even if the media investigates a scandal there are no consequences as a result. The underlying problem is very complex. It is caused by poverty, the fact that people are tired of politics and do care more about their jobs, being able to pay their rent, their personal situation in general than politics. A certain level of wealth might change that.

Between which different types of transparency would you distinguish?

There is transparency and lack of transparency.

Where needs transparency regarding lobbying to start? In which case would it be too much?
Lobbyists need to clarify his or her identity. Thus, a registry is useful in order to show who pays the lobbyist. Moreover, it is important to disclose who has met whom. There might be too much transparency when it is asked for more details than needed.

How is the current level of transparency regarding lobbying in Hungary?
The current level is in a bad shape. Currently, there is no classical lobbying work and the level of corruption is too high.

How can it be improved concretely?
- More investigations in the media and consequences
- Wealth (in order to raise awareness and interest in what is going on)

How would the ideal situation look like?
In the ideal situation tracking of the entire decision making process would be possible as well as a public access to relevant information.
Recently, at the end of June a new tobacco law was introduced. Before that, you could buy cigarettes basically everywhere in Hungary. The new legislation aiming officially at fighting the problem of smoking allows only certain shops to sell cigarettes. The number of shops is limited to ca. 3000 in the whole country. Officially, there was a competition, in which everyone could apply for this licence. Obviously, this licence allows a prosper business as the prices for cigarettes have also been raised. In the end, the company, which won this licence, was very close to the government. Despite reports highlighting this scandal there were no consequences as always. When NGOs asked for transparency of the evaluation and decision processes, the government send back all withdrawn applications to the applicants. Now, they are not longer able to disclose any relevant data about these processes.

How has transparency ever affected your lobbying activities?
All position papers are published online.

3.10. Interview #10

Name: Aleksandra Kobylińska
Age: 28
Job description: Project Coordinator/ Policy Analyst at Institute of Public Affairs
Experience: 6 years ISP: intern, contractor; before: research companies; general background: lawyer and sociologist; worked on project about lobbying in local government
Nationality: Polish
Date: 8th July 2013

How is the term lobbying connoted? Which term do you prefer?
In Poland, the term lobbying has a negative connotation as it is often understood as being related to corruption, lack of transparency and suspicion although there is nothing wrong about lobbying per se. A more preferable term for most Polish people would be civic dialogue. There is no data on whether or not there are differences in the perception of lobbying in urban or rural areas.

How influential is lobbying regarding policy decisions in Poland?
In general, this is very difficult to measure because there is a huge lack of transparency regarding these processes. However, lobbying seems to be very influential in certain areas. Basically, there are some powerful actors, who are able to approach decision makers. This becomes clear when one looks at the outcomes as some legal acts are undoubtedly inspired by economic interests, although this is nearly impossible to prove. It all comes down to the lack of transparency.

What are the most important stakeholders of lobbying in Poland?

- Trade unions (although the participation is quite low)
- Employers' associations
- Lawyers corporations
- State-owned companies
- Business men

How has the history of transition affected the current strand of lobbying in your country?
Due to the historical background there is no culture of transparent participation. It is more about pulling strings and using personal relations in order to get some influence on the decision making process. Clientelism, namely get your friends what they want, is not only a widespread phenomenon in Poland but is also associated with being powerful. These behaviours and attitudes have remained from the previous system.

Which role does the civil society play?
In general, there are several powerful civil society organisations, which can influence the decision making process in Poland but the overall level of participation is rather low. To sum it up, the influence is not strong but there are some active organisations, which act as a watchdog by monitoring the decision making process.
Polish citizens are rather tired with politics and everything that is related to politics. Most people do not realize the power of their vote. There are several consultation mechanisms on all levels of politics. Local government is considered as the key as it often deals with decisions, which have a direct influence on the citizen's life. There is some development regarding participation in terms of feedback on political decisions on local levels but this needs to be elaborated more extensively.

Which role does the media play?
Apart from informing about the decision making process the media does contribute to transparency if it is interested in a topic. Unfortunately, the general trend causes a greater focus on infotainment and not investigative journalism or complicated issues.

How equally are all interests represented and consulted in your country?
There is no equality but there are also no big imbalances, though. Some actors are underrepresented at the national level as in Poland it all comes down to influencing politicians and gaining public attention through media, for example. For instance, the Polish coal miners are famous for being able to catch lots of attention when starting a riot as other interest groups like teachers, which have always been underpaid, do not have the power to raise that much attention for their interest.

Where would you set the line between ethical lobbying and unethical behaviour?
The crucial condition is that there should be equal standards and equal access for all who want to express their interests in the decision making process. This process should be transparent. Lobbying can be a very useful communication channel but the problem is that there is a lack of feedback. Thus, laws are made in isolation without enough consultation leading to ineffective legislations.
Lobbying becomes unethical when personal relations are used in order to increase influence. There is a need for information about personal relations and conversations regarding the decision processes.

How is lobbying regulated in your country?
There is the Act of lobbying activity in the law making process, which is supposed to regulate lobbying but it is widely criticised, thus completely ineffective. Although there is an obligation forcing lobbyists to register there are only ca. 300 registrations so far and almost no indication of necessary information about professional lobbying activities. Thus, most activities are still executed informally.

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of self-regulation?

This is complicated as in Eastern Europe there is no real culture of transparency or good governance but rather weak standards for governmental behaviour in general. Regulating lobbying would be preferable, especially strong enforcement mechanisms and sanctions. Self-regulation could help as a point of reference.

How do you define transparency?
Transparency is the opportunity to get detailed information of institutions regarding the decision making process.

[I introduced briefly the guiding definition of transparency in my thesis. Drew et al., (2004: 1642): Transparency is "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where".Transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004).]

How useful is transparency for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption?
Transparency is a crucial condition for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption. So far, there is not enough awareness for this topic, which became obvious when the GRECO report was published recently. Polish people are very suspicious when it comes to politics. Thus, the decision making process has to be made as transparent as possible in order to gain the public's trust.

Can you think of different instruments?
- Sanctions
- Awareness raising
- Preparing members of parliament for being public functionaries, establishing guidelines for their behaviour and raise their awareness of "wild lobbying".

Between which different types of transparency would you distinguish?
None.

Where needs transparency regarding lobbying to start? In which case would it be too much?
Public institutions have to publish basically every contact or conversation with an interest representative regarding the decision making process.
It is difficult to say when transparency is too much. Obviously, there are informal meetings with friends among decision makers. Should they always be reported? This relates again to the missing culture of standards. Every politician should know which meeting or information to disclose.

How is the current level of transparency regarding lobbying in Poland?
The current level is quite low. As mentioned, there is the problem of bypassing the lobbing regulations. Lobbying mostly happens informally, there is still a huge traffic of influence. Business men know how to influence politicians on a personal level.

How would the ideal situation look like?
The ideal situation would imply improving the channels of communication by establishing a good framework of consultation processes in order to allow everyone to express his or her interest to decision makers. Moreover, these new communication channels have to be made more transparent in order to improve the quality of law making as well as to establish a greater orientation towards citizens' interests.

3.11. Interview #11

Name: Monika Magyar
Age: 29
Job description: Policy Officer Hungarian Women Lobby
Experience: International Studies, Gender Studies, Volunteer since 2009

Nationality: Hungarian
Date: 8th July 2013

How is the term lobbying connoted? Which term do you prefer?
In Hungary, the term lobbying has a bad connotation. People first of all think of the tobacco lobby, for instance.
A more preferable term is to achieve your interest as well as advocacy.

How influential is lobbying regarding policy decisions in Hungary?
In general, there is not so much public debate on lobbying. In terms of NGO lobbying, there is little influence.

What are the most important stakeholders of lobbying in Hungary?
The lack of transparency leads to the problem that it is not really visible who is really important or influential. Although there is a law saying that every law has to be discussed in public, the parliament can avoid this discussion by simply introducing a law on its own. Thus, information about who has influenced this law is not made public necessarily.

How has the history of transition affected the current strand of lobbying in your country?
Due to the structure of the old system, some organisations like labour unions remain well equipped with buildings or networks, while new organisations lack these resources. However, both old and new organisations belong to one political side/party only. Thus, how influential an organisation is, depends highly on the current government.

How important are personal relations?
They are very important, if not the most important aspect of political influence in Hungary.

Which role does the civil society play?
The Hungarian civil society tries to be proactive but it is not that much listened to. Usually, there is not much reaction on their activities. Thus, due to a low degree of influence NGOs can play only the opposing role. Since they are not consulted / listened in advance, they cannot participate in the policy making process properly, they can only raise their voice afterwards.

Which role does the media play?
The media plays a huge role as it sets the agenda. The media is mostly interested in topics, which can be linked to one specific party. Thus, party politics is a common frame for media on politics in Hungary. Certain newspapers and channels are independent, while the public media is not.

How equally are all interests represented and consulted in your country?
Of course not all interests are represented and consulted equally in Hungary. Economic interests, interests of the church or the labour unions are considered as more relevant than those of NGOs.

Where would you set the line between ethical lobbying and unethical behaviour?
Giving information, writing lobby letters, talking to politicians as well as trying to influence policy is considered as ethical, while offering money or personal goods is unethical.

How is lobbying regulated in your country?
There is a lobbying law, which only covers economic lobbying. Lobbyists have to register but nearly no one does it as the origin of an interest is mostly covered by law firms and other organisations. Thus, the regulation is not effective.

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of self-regulation?
The problem is that main actors who do lobbying are not known. Thus, it would be necessary to show who conducted a code of conduct. But in general, self-regulation is very effective and among NGOs there are several strict policies, for instance in terms of donors.

How do you define transparency?
Transparency shows, who did what and with what kind of motivation. Moreover, there needs to be a list of actions, which can be consulted by everyone.

[I introduced briefly the guiding definition of transparency in my thesis. Drew et al., (2004: 1642): Transparency is "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where". Transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004).]

How useful is transparency for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption?
Transparency is most effective for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption.

Can you think of better instruments?
- Well defined institutional mechanisms
- Higher interest of the media
- Party regulations, e.g. for election campaigns in order to regulate the financing of these

Where needs transparency regarding lobbying to start? In which case would it be too much?
There is no limit for transparency.

How is the current level of transparency regarding lobbying in Hungary?
The current level is very low.

How would the ideal situation look like?
The ideal situation would imply that there would be a new law; more public debates and experts would be consulted. Politicians would be aware of international standards and would introduce a new law, which includes most views of the people.

3.12. Interview #12

Name: Florian Wastl
Age: 33
Job description: Associate Director, MSL Germany
Experience: 8 years (government; agency)
Nationality: German
Date: 9th July 2013

How is the term lobbying connoted in Germany? Which term do you prefer?
In Germany, the term lobbying is connoted predominantly in a negative way. Thus, the related job title is not Head of Lobbying but usually Head of Public Affairs or Governmental Relations.
A more preferable term is (legitimate) political interest representation, which is even mentioned in the German constitution.

How influential is lobbying regarding policy decisions in Germany?
This is again a question of definition. A legitimate political interest representation is naturally part of every political decision. In Germany, a clear distinction between interest representatives, who try to influence decisions and independent decision makers, who make decisions based on neutral information from all interested parties, is present. Decisions are not based on promises or bribery. This distinguishes Germany from other countries, even in Europe.

What are the most important stakeholders of lobbying in Germany?
- Pharmacists (one of the last cartels)
- Industrial associations

- Automotive industry
- ADAC
- Solar industry (previous years)
- Labour unions
- Clerical institutions (e.g. trading hours: In Germany, shops are closed on Sunday while they are open in Poland.)

In general, there is always a counter part for every interest group.

How equally are all interests represented and consulted in Germany?
In theory, it is stated that every interest has the same right to get heard. In practice, this leads to a "Bringschuld" (debt to be discharged at creditor's domicile) for interest representatives in terms of a clear and precise articulation of what they actually want. Surprisingly, this is often not the case. Furthermore, there is no parity of weapons when it comes to financial resources. This can be seen, for instance, when comparing big players like Daimler or BMW with the "Verkehrsclub Deutschland" (German Traffic Society) the automotive sector.

How important are personal relations in this context?
Personal relations in this context are still important but not as influential as in the old days of the "Bonner Republic" when lobbying has mainly been done in back rooms without the public's knowledge. Nowadays, lobbying is not for nothing called public affairs and thus related to much more public attention. Still, access to decision-makers is crucial as it provides an opportunity to present your point of view directly to relevant persons in charge.

Which role do the civil society and the media play?
The civil society, for instance, NGOs like foodwatch or Greenpeace have extreme power, especially combined with the media. There is no parity of weapons as a big NGO can simply publish a claim, which has not necessarily to be proven. For instance, a NGO can simply claim product X is hazardous to health. Compared to companies, NGOs have nothing to lose, while companies have to ensure that everything they make public is congruent with current legislation in order to avoid complaints. The public is more likely to believe NGOs due to the perception that they are more neutral than companies. Thus, NGOs have a huge responsibility when claiming something related to a company. In this context, the media plays a crucial role as they follow the commercial paradigm and are mostly interested in a story. This offers NGOs a platform for their claims.

Where would you set the line between legitimate lobbying and unethical behaviour?
Every gift, whose value exceeds 25€ has generally to be considered as unethical. Bribery in general is not acceptable as well as allocation of contracts due to favouritism or in exchange for promises or pressure.

How is lobbying regulated in Germany?
There is merely an official regulation of lobbying in Germany, despite self-regulating codes of conduct.

How effective is this regulation?
As mentioned before, in Germany a clear distinction between interest representatives, who try to influence decisions and independent decision makers, who make decisions based on neutral information from all interested parties, is present. Thus, there is no need for regulation.

How do you evaluate the effectiveness of self-regulation?
As lobbying becomes more public and more transparent nowadays, self-regulation is very effective, as everyone who acts unethically, looses his reputation in the lobbying scene. In this context, the media plays a very important and good role as watchdog.

How do you define transparency?

Transparency means disclosing general information about what company representatives and politicians do regarding political decisions, for example, who meets whom, where and why.

[I briefly introduced the guiding definition of transparency in my thesis. Drew et al., (2004: 1642): Transparency is "information that allows all people who are interested in a decision to understand what is being decided, why, and where". Transparency fosters the visibility and might also foster the understanding (in case the information is utilized properly) of policy processes (Naurin, 2004).]

How useful is transparency for fighting unethical lobbying or corruption?
Transparency is very useful in this context as the watchdog function of public and media is more effective than regulations. Transparency fosters a good reputation, trust and credibility.

Can you think of other instruments?
The combination of transparency related to the watchdog function of media and public and corruption legislation as well as self-regulation is considered as sufficient. However, whistle-blowers reporting unethical behaviour followed by sanctions are necessary additions.

Where needs transparency regarding lobbying to start? In which case would it be too much?
Transparency would be too much if every conversation in the Bundestag had to be documented and published. This would lead to the question whether or not a random talk at an evening reception or an amicable meeting for a coffee would also be subject to documentation.
Transparency has to start with disclosure of the decision-making process. A well-informed citizen should be able to follow how political decisions are achieved.

How is the current level of transparency regarding the decision-making process in Germany?
The current level of transparency is very good. If one not dares to look for relevant information one will find a sufficient amount.

How could the current situation be improved?
There is room for improvement for companies in terms of fostering their credibility by applying transparency.
Political apathy is not regarded as a result of the bad reputation of lobbying behaviour but, above all, apathy towards politicians and parties rather than towards politics in general. This is due to the fact that politics as such has become more complex and more difficult to communicate.

How has transparency ever affected your lobbying activities?
Transparency is a dictum nowadays and consulting agencies provide companies with the advice to become more transparent in order to foster their credibility and reputation.

4. Appendix 4 – Questions of the questionnaire

q01:What do you feel is the connotation of the term 'lobbying'?

Very positive | *positive* | *neutral* | *negative* | *very negative*

q02: Is there a different term, which is used alternatively to 'lobbying' in your country? If yes, please state in your language:

q03: On a scale from 1-10 (1=very low; 10=very high) how do you think would your country score in terms of transparency in the political decision-making process?

How strongly do you agree with the following statements:

Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither agree or disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree

q04: Transparency is beneficial for my day-to-day work.

q05: Transparency is detrimental to my day-to-day work.

q06: In a democracy, civil society plays the role of a watchdog ensuring transparency and integrity in the political decision-making process.

q07: Citizens have sufficient access to all relevant information about the political decision-making process.

q08: Citizens are sufficiently willing to access all relevant information about the political decision-making process.

q09: In [country], civil society plays the role of a watchdog ensuring transparency and integrity in the political decision-making process.

q10: In [country], in wanting to influence the decision-making process having personal contacts is more important than presenting one's reasonable interests through other channels.

q11: In [country], inappropriate influence-peddling by lobbyists, such as seeking official favours with gifts or misrepresenting issues, is happening at times.

q12: Sound principles seem to guide the behaviour of this government.

q13: The current government in [country] contributes to fostering transparency in the decision-making influencing process.

q14: The current government in [country] tolerates unethical behaviour or corruption.

q15: In a democracy, the media play the role of a watchdog ensuring transparency and integrity in the political decision-making process.

q16: In [country], the media is independent.

q17: In [country], investigative journalism plays an important role in influencing political decision taking.

q18: In [country], the media play the role of a watchdog ensuring transparency and integrity in the political decision-making process.

q19: In [country], there is a common understanding on what is the right and wrong behaviour among the actors of the political decision-making process.

q20: There should be a publicly disclosed register of lobbyists.

q21: A publicly disclosed register of lobbyists should be mandatory.

q22: A publicly disclosed register of lobbyists should be voluntary only.

q23: In [country], lobbying is sufficiently regulated.

q24: Self-regulation concerning lobbying is effective.

q25: In [country], if it becomes known that someone has acted unethically this will lead to a significant loss of reputation.

q26: Being transparent as a company enhances being trusted by its customers.

q27: Being transparent as a company leads to a competitive advantage.

q28: Being transparent as a company leads to disadvantages.

5. Appendix 5 – Descriptive statistics

Table A 2

Age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18-25	5	5,7	5,7	5,7
	26-32	18	20,5	20,5	26,1
	33-45	31	35,2	35,2	61,4
	46-55	22	25,0	25,0	86,4
	56-68	12	13,6	13,6	100,0
	Total	88	100,0	100,0	

Table A 3

Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	50	56,8	56,8	56,8
	Female	38	43,2	43,2	100,0
	Total	88	100,0	100,0	

Countrywork

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	GER	43	48,9	48,9	48,9
	PL	23	26,1	26,1	75,0
	HUN	22	25,0	25,0	100,0
	Total	88	100,0	100,0	

Table A 4

Employer

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agency	14	15,9	15,9	15,9
	Self-employed	7	8,0	8,0	23,9
	Trade association	16	18,2	18,2	42,0
	NGO	32	36,4	36,4	78,4
	Company/MNC	12	13,6	13,6	92,0
	Other	7	8,0	8,0	100,0
	Total	88	100,0	100,0	

Table A 5

Experience

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	≤ 2 years	17	19,3	19,3	19,3
	2-4 years	14	15,9	15,9	35,2
	4-6 years	12	13,6	13,6	48,9
	6-8 years	11	12,5	12,5	61,4
	8-10 years	9	10,2	10,2	71,6
	> 10 years	25	28,4	28,4	100,0
	Total	88	100,0	100,0	

Table A 6

Income

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	< 50,000€	28	31,8	52,8	52,8
	50,000-74,999€	13	14,8	24,5	77,4
	75,000-99,999€	5	5,7	9,4	86,8
	100,000-124,999€	4	4,5	7,5	94,3
	125,000-150,000€	1	1,1	1,9	96,2
	> 150,000€	2	2,3	3,8	100,0
	Total	53	60,2	100,0	
Missing	System	35	39,8		
Total		88	100,0		

Table A 7

6. Appendix 6 - Results

Hypothesis 1

Descriptives

q01

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
1,0	43	4,023	,5972	,0911	3,839	4,207	2,0	5,0
2,0	23	3,739	,7518	,1568	3,414	4,064	2,0	5,0
3,0	22	3,955	,5755	,1227	3,699	4,210	3,0	5,0
Total	88	3,932	,6396	,0682	3,796	4,067	2,0	5,0

Table A 8

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

q01

Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
1,948	2	85	,149

Table A 9

ID	Country (work)	q01	q02
1	1	4	Interessenvertretung
2	1	5	Interessenvertretung
3	1	4	
4	1	5	politische Anwaltschaftsarbeit
5	1	4	Einflussnahme
6	1	4	Advocacy / Anwaltschaft
7	1	4	Politische Kommunikation, Public Affairs
8	1	3	Interessenvertretung
9	1	5	Interessenvertretung
10	1	4	Interessenvertretung
11	4	4	Interessenvertretung
12	1	4	
13	1	4	Public Affairs
14	1	4	politische Interessenwahrnehmung
15	1	4	Politische Kommunikation
16	1	5	
17	1	4	Interessenvertretung
18	1	4	Interessensvertretung
19	1	5	Interessenvertretung
20	1	4	Kontaktpflege
21	1	3	
22	1	3	Interessenvertretung
23	1	4	
24	1	4	Interessenvertretung

25	1	4	
26	1	4	Interessensvertretung (na ja...)
27	1	5	Einflussnahme zum eigenen Vorteil
28	1	2	Beratung
29	1	4	Interessenvertretung
30	1	4	
31	1	4	
32	1	4	Interessenvertretung
33	1	5	Public Affairs, Govermental Affairs, Politische Kommunikation, Government Relations
34	1	3	
35	1	4	Interessenvertreter
36	1	4	interessenspolitische Vertretung
37	2	4	
38	2	4	
39	2	4	Załatwianie
40	2	2	
41	2	4	
42	2	3	nie wiem
43	2	4	rzecznictwo (w sytuacjach lobbingu prowadzonego przez organizacje pozarządowe i/lub na rzecz dobra publicznego)
44	2	4	rzecznictwo, wpływ na stanowienie prawa, działania na rzecz zmiany prawa
45	2	5	
46	2	3	w Polsce lobbing kojarzy się jako łapownictwo (bribery)
47	2	3	rzecznictwo organizacji pozarządowych wywieranie wpływu
48	2	4	rzecznictwo
49	2	4	rzecznictwo interesów, orędownictwo, wywieranie wpływu
50	2	4	
51	2	5	korporacjonizm
52	2	4	rzecznictwo
53	2	3	
54	2	2	Dialog
55	2	4	
56	2	4	doradztwo regulacyjne
57	2	4	
58	3	4	érdekérvényesítés
59	3	4	kijárás
60	3	3	

61	3	3	érdekérvényesítés, kijárás
62	3	5	"kapcsolatépítés" "körmagyar"
63	3	5	
64	3	2	
65	3	3	A lobbizás kifejezést ismerik az emberek. Napjainkban nem használják ezt a kifejezést és ezt a lehetőség módot. Úgy látom, hogy most mindenki érdekérvényesítés szót, kifejezést használ. Pedig a két fogalom, kifejezés és tevékenység között van különbség a magyar nyelvben. Nem nagy különbség, de van.
66	3	4	kampányolás
67	3	4	támogató szolgálat-szolgáltatás
68	3	5	korrupció
69	3	4	érdekképviselet
70	3	4	érdekképviselet
71	3	4	kijárás
72	3	4	érdekérvényesítés
73	3	3	érdekkijárás
74	3	4	
75	3	4	kijárás, elintézés, mutyizás
76	3	4	érdekérvényesítés
77	3	4	kormánykapcsolatok, érdekérvényesítés
78	3	4	érdekérvényesítés, érdekképviselet
79	3	4	érdekkijárás, érdekérvényesítés
80	3	4	érdekérvényesítés
81	1	4	
82	1	4	Interessenvertreter
83	1	4	
84	1	4	Interessenvertretung
85	1	4	
86	1	4	Interessensvertretung
87	2	4	załatwiacz
88	1	4	Politische Manipulation, Schmiergeldaffären
89	1	4	Public Affairs, Interessenvertretung
90	2	4	korupcja

Table A 10: Answers q02

Hypothesis 2 & 2a

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
q03	1,0	43	5,814	2,2388	,3414	5,125	6,503	1,0	10,0
	2,0	23	4,087	2,1724	,4530	3,148	5,026	1,0	7,0
	3,0	22	3,273	1,6954	,3615	2,521	4,024	1,0	8,0
	Total	88	4,727	2,3524	,2508	4,229	5,226	1,0	10,0
q07	1,0	43	2,674	1,1489	,1752	2,321	3,028	1,0	5,0
	2,0	23	3,609	1,0762	,2244	3,143	4,074	2,0	5,0
	3,0	22	3,455	1,1434	,2438	2,948	3,961	1,0	5,0
	Total	88	3,114	1,1980	,1277	2,860	3,367	1,0	5,0

Table A 11

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
q03	2,279	2	85	,109
q07	,186	2	85	,831

Table A 12

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
q03	Between Groups	106,753	2	53,377	12,108	,000
	Within Groups	374,701	85	4,408		
	Total	481,455	87			
q07	Between Groups	16,489	2	8,244	6,466	,002
	Within Groups	108,375	85	1,275		
	Total	124,864	87			

Table A 13

Multiple Comparisons

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) Countrywork	(J) Countrywork	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
q03	1,0	2,0	1,7270*	,5424	,006	,433	3,021
		3,0	2,5412*	,5504	,000	1,228	3,854
	2,0	1,0	-1,7270*	,5424	,006	-3,021	-,433

q07	3,0	3,0	,8142	,6261	,399	-,679	2,308
		1,0	-2,5412*	,5504	,000	-3,854	-1,228
		2,0	-,8142	,6261	,399	-2,308	,679
	1,0	2,0	-,9343*	,2917	,005	-1,630	-,238
		3,0	-,7801*	,2960	,027	-1,486	-,074
	2,0	1,0	,9343*	,2917	,005	,238	1,630
		3,0	,1542	,3367	,891	-,649	,957
	3,0	1,0	,7801*	,2960	,027	,074	1,486
		2,0	-,1542	,3367	,891	-,957	,649

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table A 14

Hypothesis 2c

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
q04	1,667	2	85	,195
q05	1,192	2	83	,309
q26	3,656	2	85	,030
q27	3,885	2	85	,024
q28	1,247	2	85	,293

Table A 15

Hypothesis 2d

Descriptives

q08

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
1,0	43	3,465	,9347	,1425	3,177	3,753	1,0	5,0
2,0	23	4,217	,8505	,1773	3,850	4,585	2,0	5,0
3,0	22	3,091	,9211	,1964	2,683	3,499	1,0	5,0
Total	88	3,568	,9919	,1057	3,358	3,778	1,0	5,0

Table A 16

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

q08

Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
,499	2	85	,609

Table A 17

ANOVA

q08

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	15,162	2	7,581	9,149	,000
Within Groups	70,429	85	,829		
Total	85,591	87			

Table A 18

Hypothesis 3a & 3b

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
q10	1,0	43	2,837	,9742	,1486	2,537	3,137	1,0	4,0
	2,0	23	2,261	,9154	,1909	1,865	2,657	1,0	4,0
	3,0	22	1,636	,7267	,1549	1,314	1,959	1,0	4,0
	Total	88	2,386	1,0220	,1089	2,170	2,603	1,0	4,0
q11	1,0	43	2,907	1,2308	,1877	2,528	3,286	1,0	5,0
	2,0	23	2,739	1,2869	,2683	2,183	3,296	1,0	5,0
	3,0	22	1,682	,7162	,1527	1,364	1,999	1,0	3,0
	Total	88	2,557	1,2397	,1322	2,294	2,819	1,0	5,0

Table A 19

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
q10	2,179	2	85	,119
q11	4,835	2	85	,010

Table A 20

ANOVA

q10

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	21,477	2	10,739	13,155	,000
Within Groups	69,386	85	,816		
Total	90,864	87			

Table A 21

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: q10

Tukey HSD

(I) Countrywork	(J) Countrywork	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1,0	2,0	,5763*	,2334	,041	,020	1,133
	3,0	1,2008*	,2368	,000	,636	1,766
2,0	1,0	-,5763*	,2334	,041	-1,133	-,020
	3,0	,6245	,2694	,059	-,018	1,267
3,0	1,0	-1,2008*	,2368	,000	-1,766	-,636
	2,0	-,6245	,2694	,059	-1,267	,018

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table A 22

Ranks

	Countrywork	N	Mean Rank
q11	1,0	43	51,72
	2,0	23	47,96
	3,0	22	26,77
	Total	88	

Table A 23

Test Statistics[a,b]

	q11
Chi-Square	15,456
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	,000

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: Countrywork

Table A 24

Ranks

	Countrywork	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
q11	1,0	43	34,50	1483,50
	2,0	23	31,63	727,50
	Total	66		

Table A 25

Test Statistics[a]

	q11
Mann-Whitney U	451,500
Wilcoxon W	727,500

Z	-,597
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,550

a. Grouping Variable: Countrywork

Table A 26

Ranks

	Countrywork	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
q11	1,0	43	39,22	1686,50
	3,0	22	20,84	458,50
	Total	65		

Table A 27

Test Statistics[a]

	q11
Mann-Whitney U	205,500
Wilcoxon W	458,500
Z	-3,828
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,000

a. Grouping Variable: Countrywork

Table A 28

Ranks

	Countrywork	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
q11	2,0	23	28,33	651,50
	3,0	22	17,43	383,50
	Total	45		

Table A 29

Test Statistics[a]

	q11
Mann-Whitney U	130,500
Wilcoxon W	383,500
Z	-2,936
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,003

a. Grouping Variable: Countrywork

Table A 30

Hypothesis 3c

Descriptives

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		

q12	1,0	43	2,907	1,1300	,1723	2,559	3,255	1,0	5,0
	2,0	23	3,435	1,0798	,2252	2,968	3,902	1,0	5,0
	3,0	22	3,636	1,2553	,2676	3,080	4,193	1,0	5,0
	Total	88	3,227	1,1815	,1260	2,977	3,478	1,0	5,0
q13	1,0	43	3,047	1,1329	,1728	2,698	3,395	1,0	5,0
	2,0	23	3,478	1,0388	,2166	3,029	3,927	1,0	5,0
	3,0	22	4,000	1,1127	,2372	3,507	4,493	1,0	5,0
	Total	88	3,398	1,1601	,1237	3,152	3,644	1,0	5,0
q14	1,0	42	3,667	1,1189	,1727	3,318	4,015	2,0	5,0
	2,0	23	3,174	1,1541	,2407	2,675	3,673	1,0	5,0
	3,0	22	2,364	1,2553	,2676	1,807	2,920	1,0	5,0
	Total	87	3,207	1,2680	,1359	2,937	3,477	1,0	5,0

Table A 31

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
q12	,584	2	85	,560
q13	,115	2	85	,892
q14	,032	2	84	,969

Table A 32

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
q12	Between Groups	9,084	2	4,542	3,436	,037
	Within Groups	112,371	85	1,322		
	Total	121,455	87			
q13	Between Groups	13,433	2	6,717	5,508	,006
	Within Groups	103,646	85	1,219		
	Total	117,080	87			
q14	Between Groups	24,547	2	12,274	9,065	,000
	Within Groups	113,729	84	1,354		
	Total	138,276	86			

Table A 33

Multiple Comparisons

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) Countrywork	(J) Countrywork	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
q12	1,0	2,0	-,5278	,2970	,183	-1,236	,181

q13	2,0	3,0	-,7294*	,3014	,046	-1,448	-,010
	3,0	1,0	,5278	,2970	,183	-,181	1,236
		2,0	-,2016	,3429	,827	-1,020	,616
	1,0	2,0	,7294*	,3014	,046	,010	1,448
		3,0	,2016	,3429	,827	-,616	1,020
	2,0	3,0	-,4317	,2853	,290	-1,112	,249
	1,0	1,0	-,9535*	,2895	,004	-1,644	-,263
	2,0	2,0	,4317	,2853	,290	-,249	1,112
		3,0	-,5217	,3293	,258	-1,307	,264
	3,0	1,0	,9535*	,2895	,004	,263	1,644
		2,0	,5217	,3293	,258	-,264	1,307
q14	1,0	2,0	,4928	,3018	,238	-,227	1,213
		3,0	1,3030*	,3062	,000	,572	2,034
	2,0	1,0	-,4928	,3018	,238	-1,213	,227
		3,0	,8103	,3470	,056	-,018	1,638
	3,0	1,0	-1,3030*	,3062	,000	-2,034	-,572
		2,0	-,8103	,3470	,056	-1,638	,018

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table A 34

Hypothesis 4

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
q06	1,0	43	2,279	1,0539	,1607	1,955	2,603	1,0	5,0
	2,0	23	1,435	,8958	,1868	1,047	1,822	1,0	4,0
	3,0	22	1,818	,8528	,1818	1,440	2,196	1,0	4,0
	Total	88	1,943	1,0211	,1089	1,727	2,160	1,0	5,0
q09	1,0	43	2,721	,9838	,1500	2,418	3,024	1,0	5,0
	2,0	23	3,565	1,0369	,2162	3,117	4,014	1,0	5,0
	3,0	22	3,318	1,0414	,2220	2,856	3,780	1,0	5,0
	Total	88	3,091	1,0682	,1139	2,865	3,317	1,0	5,0

Table A 35

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
q06	,392	2	85	,677
q09	,052	2	85	,950

Table A 36

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
q06	Between Groups	11,140	2	5,570	5,950	,004
	Within Groups	79,576	85	,936		
	Total	90,716	87			
q09	Between Groups	12,197	2	6,098	5,953	,004
	Within Groups	87,076	85	1,024		
	Total	99,273	87			

Table A 37

Multiple Comparisons

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) Countrywork	(J) Countrywork	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
q06	1,0	2,0	,8443*	,2500	,003	,248	1,441
		3,0	,4609	,2536	,170	-,144	1,066
	2,0	1,0	-,8443*	,2500	,003	-1,441	-,248
		3,0	-,3834	,2885	,383	-1,072	,305
	3,0	1,0	-,4609	,2536	,170	-1,066	,144
		2,0	,3834	,2885	,383	-,305	1,072
q09	1,0	2,0	-,8443*	,2615	,005	-1,468	-,221
		3,0	-,5973	,2653	,069	-1,230	,036
	2,0	1,0	,8443*	,2615	,005	,221	1,468
		3,0	,2470	,3018	,693	-,473	,967
	3,0	1,0	,5973	,2653	,069	-,036	1,230
		2,0	-,2470	,3018	,693	-,967	,473

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table A 38

Hypothesis 5a

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
q15	1,0	43	2,140	1,0137	,1546	1,828	2,452	1,0	5,0
	2,0	23	1,609	,7827	,1632	1,270	1,947	1,0	4,0
	3,0	22	2,500	1,4720	,3138	1,847	3,153	1,0	5,0
	Total	88	2,091	1,1309	,1206	1,851	2,331	1,0	5,0

q18	1,0	42	2,476	1,0415	,1607	2,152	2,801	1,0	5,0
	2,0	23	2,913	1,2028	,2508	2,393	3,433	1,0	5,0
	3,0	22	3,591	1,1406	,2432	3,085	4,097	1,0	5,0
	Total	87	2,874	1,1891	,1275	2,620	3,127	1,0	5,0

Table A 39

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
q15	6,939	2	85	,002
q18	,489	2	84	,615

Table A 40

ANOVA

q18

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	17,989	2	8,994	7,291	,001
Within Groups	103,620	84	1,234		
Total	121,609	86			

Table A 41

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: q18

Tukey HSD

(I) Countrywork	(J) Countrywork	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1,0	2,0	-,4369	,2881	,288	-1,124	,251
	3,0	-1,1147*	,2923	,001	-1,812	-,417
2,0	1,0	,4369	,2881	,288	-,251	1,124
	3,0	-,6779	,3312	,108	-1,468	,112
3,0	1,0	1,1147*	,2923	,001	,417	1,812
	2,0	,6779	,3312	,108	-,112	1,468

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table A 42

Ranks

	Countrywork	N	Mean Rank
q15	1,0	43	47,08
	2,0	23	34,09
	3,0	22	50,34
	Total	88	

Table A 43

Test Statistics[a,b]

	q15
Chi-Square	6,070
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	,048

a. Kruskal Wallis Test
b. Grouping Variable: Countrywork

Table A 44

Ranks

	Countrywork	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
q15	1,0	43	37,13	1596,50
	2,0	23	26,72	614,50
	Total	66		

Table A 45

Test Statistics[a]

	q15
Mann-Whitney U	338,500
Wilcoxon W	614,500
Z	-2,273
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,023

a. Grouping Variable: Countrywork

Table A 46

Ranks

	Countrywork	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
q15	1,0	43	31,95	1374,00
	3,0	22	35,05	771,00
	Total	65		

Table A 47

Test Statistics[a]

	q15
Mann-Whitney U	428,000
Wilcoxon W	1374,000
Z	-,655
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,512

a. Grouping Variable: Countrywork

Table A 48

Ranks

	Countrywork	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks

q15	2,0	23	19,37	445,50
	3,0	22	26,80	589,50
	Total	45		

Table A 49

Test Statistics[a]

	q15
Mann-Whitney U	169,500
Wilcoxon W	445,500
Z	-2,014
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,044

a. Grouping Variable: Countrywork

Table A 50

Hypothesis 5b

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
q16	1,0	43	2,628	1,1552	,1762	2,272	2,983	1,0	5,0
	2,0	23	3,130	1,2175	,2539	2,604	3,657	1,0	5,0
	3,0	22	3,773	1,3068	,2786	3,193	4,352	1,0	5,0
	Total	88	3,045	1,2857	,1371	2,773	3,318	1,0	5,0
q17	1,0	43	2,581	,8517	,1299	2,319	2,844	1,0	5,0
	2,0	23	3,130	1,0998	,2293	2,655	3,606	2,0	5,0
	3,0	22	3,273	1,1622	,2478	2,757	3,788	1,0	5,0
	Total	88	2,898	1,0399	,1109	2,677	3,118	1,0	5,0

Table A 51

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
q16	,178	2	85	,837
q17	3,239	2	85	,044

Table A 52

ANOVA

q16

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	19,299	2	9,650	6,587	,002
Within Groups	124,519	85	1,465		
Total	143,818	87			

Table A 53

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: q16

Tukey HSD

(I) Countrywork	(J) Countrywork	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1,0	2,0	-,5025	,3127	,248	-1,248	,243
	3,0	-1,1448*	,3173	,001	-1,902	-,388
2,0	1,0	,5025	,3127	,248	-,243	1,248
	3,0	-,6423	,3609	,183	-1,503	,219
3,0	1,0	1,1448*	,3173	,001	,388	1,902
	2,0	,6423	,3609	,183	-,219	1,503

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table A 54

Ranks

	Countrywork	N	Mean Rank
q17	1,0	43	37,42
	2,0	23	49,52
	3,0	22	53,09
	Total	88	

Table A 55

Test Statistics[a,b]

	q17
Chi-Square	7,474
df	2
Asymp. Sig.	,024

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: Countrywork

Table A 56

Ranks

	Countrywork	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
q17	1,0	43	30,34	1304,50
	2,0	23	39,41	906,50
	Total	66		

Table A 57

Test Statistics[a]

	q17
Mann-Whitney U	358,500
Wilcoxon W	1304,500

Z	-1,974
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,048

a. Grouping Variable: Countrywork

Table A 58

Ranks

	Countrywork	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
q17	1,0	43	29,08	1250,50
	3,0	22	40,66	894,50
	Total	65		

Table A 59

Test Statistics[a]

	q17
Mann-Whitney U	304,500
Wilcoxon W	1250,500
Z	-2,483
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,013

a. Grouping Variable: Countrywork

Table A 60

Ranks

	Countrywork	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
q17	2,0	23	22,11	508,50
	3,0	22	23,93	526,50
	Total	45		

Table A 61

Test Statistics[a]

	q17
Mann-Whitney U	232,500
Wilcoxon W	508,500
Z	-,485
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,628

a. Grouping Variable: Countrywork

Table A 62

Hypothesis 6a

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
q24	1,0	43	3,140	1,1251	,1716	2,793	3,486	1,0	5,0
	2,0	23	3,652	1,0273	,2142	3,208	4,096	2,0	5,0

	3,0	22	3,909	1,0650	,2271	3,437	4,381	2,0	5,0
	Total	88	3,466	1,1239	,1198	3,228	3,704	1,0	5,0
q25	1,0	43	2,116	,9810	,1496	1,814	2,418	1,0	5,0
	2,0	23	1,870	1,1403	,2378	1,376	2,363	1,0	4,0
	3,0	22	3,500	1,0579	,2255	3,031	3,969	2,0	5,0
	Total	88	2,398	1,2181	,1298	2,140	2,656	1,0	5,0

Table A 63

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
q24	,124	2	85	,884
q25	,949	2	85	,391

Table A 64

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
q24	Between Groups	9,699	2	4,850	4,114	,020
	Within Groups	100,198	85	1,179		
	Total	109,898	87			
q25	Between Groups	36,552	2	18,276	16,789	,000
	Within Groups	92,527	85	1,089		
	Total	129,080	87			

Table A 65

Multiple Comparisons

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) Countrywork	(J) Countrywork	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
q24	1,0	2,0	-,5126	,2805	,167	-1,182	,156
		3,0	-,7696*	,2846	,022	-1,448	-,091
	2,0	1,0	,5126	,2805	,167	-,156	1,182
		3,0	-,2569	,3238	,708	-1,029	,515
	3,0	1,0	,7696*	,2846	,022	,091	1,448
		2,0	,2569	,3238	,708	-,515	1,029
q25	1,0	2,0	,2467	,2695	,632	-,396	,890
		3,0	-1,3837*	,2735	,000	-2,036	-,731
	2,0	1,0	-,2467	,2695	,632	-,890	,396
		3,0	-1,6304*	,3111	,000	-2,373	-,888
	3,0	1,0	1,3837*	,2735	,000	,731	2,036

	2,0	1,6304*	,3111	,000	,888	2,373

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table A 66

Hypothesis 6b & 6c

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
q20	2,518	2	85	,087
q21	,253	2	85	,777
q22	,018	2	85	,982
q23	1,009	2	84	,369

Table A 67

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
q20	Between Groups	18,205	2	9,102	7,214	,001
	Within Groups	107,250	85	1,262		
	Total	125,455	87			
q21	Between Groups	13,723	2	6,861	4,916	,010
	Within Groups	118,641	85	1,396		
	Total	132,364	87			
q22	Between Groups	,552	2	,276	,206	,814
	Within Groups	113,811	85	1,339		
	Total	114,364	87			
q23	Between Groups	16,369	2	8,185	7,543	,001
	Within Groups	91,148	84	1,085		
	Total	107,517	86			

Table A 68

Multiple Comparisons

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) Countrywork	(J) Countrywork	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
q20	1,0	2,0	-,4237	,2902	,315	-1,116	,269
		3,0	-1,1173*	,2944	,001	-1,820	-,415
	2,0	1,0	,4237	,2902	,315	-,269	1,116
		3,0	-,6937	,3350	,102	-1,493	,105
	3,0	1,0	1,1173*	,2944	,001	,415	1,820
		2,0	,6937	,3350	,102	-,105	1,493
q21	1,0	2,0	,0758	,3052	,967	-,652	,804

		3,0	-,8827*	,3097	,015	-1,621	-,144
	2,0	1,0	-,0758	,3052	,967	-,804	,652
		3,0	-,9585*	,3523	,021	-1,799	-,118
	3,0	1,0	,8827*	,3097	,015	,144	1,621
		2,0	,9585*	,3523	,021	,118	1,799
	1,0	2,0	-,0212	,2989	,997	-,734	,692
		3,0	,1744	,3033	,834	-,549	,898
q22	2,0	1,0	,0212	,2989	,997	-,692	,734
		3,0	,1957	,3451	,838	-,628	1,019
	3,0	1,0	-,1744	,3033	,834	-,898	,549
		2,0	-,1957	,3451	,838	-1,019	,628
	1,0	2,0	-,6284	,2702	,058	-1,273	,016
		3,0	-1,0216*	,2741	,001	-1,676	-,368
	2,0	1,0	,6284	,2702	,058	-,016	1,273
q23		3,0	-,3933	,3106	,418	-1,134	,348
	3,0	1,0	1,0216*	,2741	,001	,368	1,676
		2,0	,3933	,3106	,418	-,348	1,134

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table A 69

Hypothesis 6c (q23 with liberal LSD Test)

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: q23

	(I) Countrywork	(J) Countrywork	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
	1,0	2,0	-,6284	,2702	,058	-1,273	,016
		3,0	-1,0216*	,2741	,001	-1,676	-,368
Tukey HSD	2,0	1,0	,6284	,2702	,058	-,016	1,273
		3,0	-,3933	,3106	,418	-1,134	,348
	3,0	1,0	1,0216*	,2741	,001	,368	1,676
		2,0	,3933	,3106	,418	-,348	1,134
	1,0	2,0	-,6284*	,2702	,022	-1,166	-,091
		3,0	-1,0216*	,2741	,000	-1,567	-,476
	2,0	1,0	,6284*	,2702	,022	,091	1,166
LSD		3,0	-,3933	,3106	,209	-1,011	,224
	3,0	1,0	1,0216*	,2741	,000	,476	1,567
		2,0	,3933	,3106	,209	-,224	1,011

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table A 70

Hypothesis 6d

Descriptives

q19

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
1,0	43	2,837	1,0449	,1594	2,516	3,159	1,0	5,0
2,0	23	3,739	,9154	,1909	3,343	4,135	2,0	5,0
3,0	22	3,909	,8679	,1850	3,524	4,294	2,0	5,0
Total	88	3,341	1,0816	,1153	3,112	3,570	1,0	5,0

Table A 71

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

q19

Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
1,828	2	85	,167

Table A 72

ANOVA

q19

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	21,659	2	10,830	11,490	,000
Within Groups	80,113	85	,943		
Total	101,773	87			

Table A 73

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: q19

Tukey HSD

(I) Countrywork	(J) Countrywork	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1,0	2,0	-,9019*	,2508	,002	-1,500	-,304
	3,0	-1,0719*	,2545	,000	-1,679	-,465
2,0	1,0	,9019*	,2508	,002	,304	1,500
	3,0	-,1700	,2895	,827	-,861	,521
3,0	1,0	1,0719*	,2545	,000	,465	1,679
	2,0	,1700	,2895	,827	-,521	,861

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table A 74

7. Appendix 7 - Factor analysis & Reliability

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,730
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1160,721
	df	325
	Sig.	,000

Table A 75

Total Variance Explained

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	6,909	26,575	26,575	6,458	24,838	24,838	5,203	20,010	20,010
2	3,293	12,665	39,240	2,790	10,729	35,568	2,860	10,998	31,009
3	2,234	8,594	47,834	1,868	7,183	42,751	2,431	9,352	40,360
4	1,840	7,078	54,912	1,248	4,799	47,550	1,869	7,190	47,550
5	1,635	6,287	61,199						
6	1,294	4,976	66,175						
7	1,127	4,336	70,511						
8	,952	3,660	74,171						
9	,799	3,073	77,245						
10	,696	2,675	79,920						
11	,637	2,451	82,371						
12	,571	2,198	84,569						
13	,557	2,141	86,710						
14	,508	1,955	88,666						
15	,455	1,751	90,417						
16	,402	1,545	91,961						
17	,344	1,322	93,283						
18	,314	1,207	94,490						
19	,287	1,104	95,595						
20	,256	,985	96,579						
21	,229	,881	97,460						
22	,164	,632	98,092						
23	,154	,591	98,684						
24	,142	,546	99,230						
25	,122	,468	99,698						
26	,079	,302	100,000						

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

Table A 76

Rotated Factor Matrix[a]

	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
q12	,755			
q13	,738			
q23	,734			
q24	,712			
q03	-,711			
q10	,673			
q14	,642			
q07	,599			
q11	,596			
q19	,556			
q01				
q08				
q18		,970		
q16	,375	,683		
q17		,617		
q09	,349	,531		
q15		,493		,338
q21			,850	
q20			,826	
q22			-,413	
q25	,377		,402	
q27				,676
q05				,538
q04				,485
q26			,385	,480
q28			,377	,433
q06				,387

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 7 iterations.

Table A 77

Reliability

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items

,760	,752	27

Table A 78