

# Online Appendix to: Interest Groups in the European Union and Their Hiring of Political Consultancies

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## **A. Consultancy Services**

Nine broad categories of services relevant during policy formulation have been identified for this study. They were inductively created based on the description of services on the websites of 35 public affairs consultancies and 22 lobbying law firms working in the area of European Union lobbying. Survey participants were subsequently asked about their use of these services.

**1 Legislative Monitoring:** Consultancies provide early-warning systems that inform interest groups once their core issues are about to be put on the agenda. This allows interest groups to react early and define their lobbying approach accordingly. Consultancies study issues development, positions, and tendencies among policy-makers and other stakeholders. They analyse periodicals and websites, keep in contact with journalists, attend Commission hearings and conferences, and maintain informal contact with Commission officials to gather intelligence. Once information is collected, consultants assemble and process it according to their clients' requirements. In the context of policy formulation, this entails for instance assessing information with regard to potential consequences of provisions in draft legislation. To keep interest groups updated on their findings, consultants hold regular meetings, or inform via their clients via e-mails, policy status reports, ad-hoc meeting reports, briefings, and newsletters.

**2 Strategy and Communication Advice:** Consultancies analyse the conditions, actors, interests, and opportunities that shape the specific context during policy formulation. In practice, this means that consultancies map key decision-makers such as officials of the competent Directorate Generals, other Commission internal stakeholders as well as crucial interest groups with similar or competing objectives ("stakeholder mapping"). They study the profile of their clients, produce studies and analyses covering specific issues and challenges relevant during policy formulation. Based on interest groups' key objectives, surveying the playing field then permits consultancies to present interest groups with a range of suitable strategies as well as possible alternatives. Strategy recommendations are not only based on the contextual analysis but also on their aptitude for the specific interest group at hand. Whenever interest groups execute the strategies themselves, consultancies can further accompany the implementation of strategies by providing practical advice throughout the process.

- 3 Legal Advice:** In many instances, strategic advice is also dependent on legal knowledge in the issue area. Primarily lobbying law firms can offer legal advice and legality assessment of proposals. Buying legal expertise offers interest groups the opportunity to show potential consequences of specific aspects of the Commission's proposal. Furthermore, consultancies with legal capacities can also help interest groups write alternative draft proposals. Alternative drafts constitute an efficient way to point out to Commission officials how certain paragraphs of the proposal could be changed without officials having to transform extensive interest group input into draft law themselves (Geiger, 2006).
- 4 Contact Establishment with Relevant Actors:** Contacts to decision-makers, other interest groups, and the media constitute a decisive aspect of lobbying. Interest groups need to invest in building and maintaining their network of contacts. Consultancies assume an enabling role in this networking approach. Building on their own network, they introduce their clients to contacts relevant for their lobbying endeavours and help them raise their profile. Some consultancies even offer specialised contact programmes. They organise meetings where interest group representatives can get to know relevant Commission officials. Consultants elaborate contact plans, prepare interest group representatives for meetings, and instruct them on how contact is best maintained afterwards. In addition to their own contact programmes, consultancies direct interest groups to important EU platforms such as Commission conferences and hearings, industry seminars, and social events.
- 5 Supporter and Coalition Mobilisation:** Beyond establishing contacts, consultancies also help interest groups mobilise supporters and establish coalitions. They support them in identifying and recruiting members for alliances, help manage newly-founded coalitions, provide legal support, help define its strategies and coordinate the activities of different interest groups. For formal coalitions with legal status, they may also prepare the terms of reference and by-laws.
- 6 Direct Representation:** Consultancies can lobby on behalf of interest groups and maintain direct contact with the Commission, other stakeholders and the media instead of only providing counsel and strategy support from the background. Direct representation entails that consultants enter in direct contact with decision-makers and participate at various types of events alone or together with representatives from their clients' organisation.
- 7 Commission Related Communication Support:** Consultancies can partially or wholly plan and prepare communication strategies which interest groups then employ to gain access to the Commission. They identify key officials inside the Commission to target, advise interest groups on how to develop their key messages and support them in drafting letters, statements, position papers, and white books targeted at decision-makers.

- 8 Media Communication Support:** Many consultancies are also experienced in media relations. To this end, they plan and implement media campaigns across different traditional and social media channels. They identify the appropriate format and support its implementation. In the realm of traditional media outlets, this entails for instance preparing content for press releases, articles, and letters to editors. Furthermore, consultancies write public speeches and discussions and prepare interest group representatives on how to anticipate and answer questions during interviews.
- 9 Event Hosting:** Consultancies assume a supporting role in hosting events that are aimed at creating awareness for interest groups' concerns among the media and political actors. Beyond press conferences, they organise workshops, conferences, receptions, exhibitions, and high-level dinners where decision-makers and stakeholders meet. They plan the venue and provide logistical support, manage the invitation of guests and speakers, coordinate the event structure, and write reports on the events.

## **B. Interplay of Consultancy Services**

To explore the interplay of different consultancy services, a principal component analysis (PCA) is performed to examine the pattern that emerges from combinations of services used by interest groups. Since the use of consultancy services is measured with dichotomous variables, the PCA is conducted on the basis of tetrachoric correlations that take the binary nature of the data structure into account.

The PCA results establish that there are two predominant patterns when it comes to the use of consultancy services. The use of consultancy services divides interest groups largely along the lines of inside and outside lobbying. As component 1 reveals, the first group of consultancy clients relies on lobbying services that range from preparing, planning to executing of inside lobbying strategies. For these organisations, consultancies carry out all main steps that are crucial for providing direct access to the Commission. Consultancies monitor, provide intelligence and counsel to the interest group, and act as door-openers and intermediary. The fact that back office tasks and direct lobbying strategies are used in conjunction is not too surprising given the importance of both technical and positional information to the Commission (Bouwen, 2004; Bouwen, 2005). While preparatory services are conducive to the creation of information, inside strategies aim at the provision of information to Commission officials.

In contrast, component 2 shows that the second type of interest groups hires consultancies for support with outside lobbying strategies. These interest groups hire consultants to maintain and co-ordinate third party relations, gain press and public support, and

organise events that are for instance part of larger campaigns. The respective services help groups to put indirect pressure on the Commission by garnering public attention.

**Table 1** Principal component analysis (PCA) of proposal specific consultancy services – component loadings

	Component	
	1 <i>Inside Lobbying</i>	2 <i>Outside Lobbying</i>
Legislative Monitoring	.422	–
Strategy and Communication Advice	.349	–
Legal Advice	.345	–
Contact Establishment with Relevant Actors	.378	–
Communication Support (Commission)	.481	–
Direct Representation	.406	–
Supporter and Coalition Mobilisation	–	.428
Communication Support (Press)	–	.769
Event Hosting	–	.425
Variance explained (%)	64.43	22.14
Cumulative variance explained (%)	64.43	86.56

**Note:** Rotation Method: Varimax. Component loadings on variables with values less than .3 omitted

## C. Survey Strategy

The data for the study were collected in the context of four policy proposals for directives and regulations of the European Commission. These proposals were selected with a purposive sampling strategy.

In the first step, 1 October 2015 was chosen as the cut-off day. Only policy proposals that had been adopted by the Commission prior to that date were considered for inclusion in the study. This served to ensure that the contacted IGs would have ceased lobbying for changes in the draft proposal at the time of the survey.

In the second step, four proposals from the pre-October 2015 period were selected. Proposals were only considered for inclusion in the study if the Commission had conducted one or more public consultations during proposal drafting and if the consultation process yielded a minimum of 50 replies. The 50 replies criterion served to ensure a minimum degree of salience of the selected proposals. Proposals that garnered fewer responses or relied uniquely on the opinion of small expert bodies were excluded. Of the proposals that met these criteria, the four proposals closest to 1 October 2015 were selected. This served to ensure survey respondents had the best possible recollection of their collaboration with consultancies. Table 2 presents an overview of the selected proposals.

**Table 2** Selected proposals

Proposal	Directorate-General	Adoption date	Identified stakeholders
COM (2014) 212: Proposal for a DIRECTIVE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL on single-member private limited liability companies	Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs <sup>(1)</sup>	09/04/2014	444
COM (2014) 558: Proposal for a REGULATION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL on veterinary medicinal products <sup>(2)</sup>	Health and Consumer	10/09/2014	118
COM (2015) 337: Proposal for a DIRECTIVE OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL amending Directive 2003/87/EC to enhance cost-effective emission reductions and low-carbon investments	Climate Action	15/07/2015	594
COM (2015) 472: Proposal for a REGULATION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL laying down common rules on securitisation and creating a European framework for simple, transparent and standardised securitisation and amending Directives 2009/65/EC, 2009/138/EC, 2011/61/EU and Regulations (EC) No 1060/2009 and (EU) No 648/2012 <sup>(3)</sup>	Financial Stability, Financial Services and Capital Markets Union	30/09/2015	92

<sup>(1)</sup> At the time, the responsible Directorate-General (DG) was called Internal Market and Services.

<sup>(2)</sup> On the same day, DG Health and Consumer Protection also adopted a second proposal entitled *COM (2014) 557: Proposal for a REGULATION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL amending Regulation (EC) No 726/2004 laying down Community procedures for the authorisation and supervision of medicinal products for human and veterinary use and establishing a European Medicines Agency*. Since this proposal is based on the same public consultation process, it is not included here.

<sup>(3)</sup> On the same day, DG Financial Stability, Financial Services and Capital Markets Union also adopted a second proposal entitled *COM (2015) 473: Proposal for a REGULATION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL amending Regulation (EU) No 575/2013 on prudential requirements for credit institutions and investment firms* on the same day. Since this proposal is based on the same public consultation process, it is not included here.

Multiple sources served to identify the relevant interest groups that were active on a certain policy proposal before its adoption by the Commission. Most of the information was obtained from lists and reports that are publicly available on the responsible Directorate Generals' (DGs) websites. In the case of the proposal on the EU-ETS revision, stakeholder names were also drawn from attendance lists of stakeholder conferences. These were obtained from the Commission on request. In all instances, individual citizens who participated during policy formulation were excluded from the survey population.

These different sources also provided the starting point for obtaining the contact information. If the public consultation documents mentioned a designated contact, the survey was addressed to that proposal-specific expert. The position of these contacts in the

organisational hierarchy of interest groups strongly varied though. Depending on the interest group, these proposal-specific experts can be located at any level of the organisational hierarchy ranging from caseworkers up to high-ranking executives, or in the case of government institutions, chief officials. If interest groups or the Commission did not mention direct contacts in the documents, the EU Joint Transparency Register was consulted. The Transparency Register maintains a section where registered organisations indicate their person in charge of EU affairs. Lastly, if neither the Commission documents nor the EU Transparency Register provided any contact information, the survey was addressed to individuals in interest groups who were *assumed* to have knowledge on their organisations' EU affairs strategy. This type of addressees included primarily high-ranking executives and staff of departments dedicated to public affairs, regulatory affairs, legal affairs, public relations, or communications and press relations.

The survey on the cooperation between interest groups and consultancies was sent out electronically to interest groups on 18 January 2016. The survey platform was kept open for one month. After the initial invitation e-mail, non-respondents received a weekly reminder e-mail for three weeks.

Addressees of the survey were contacted in the context of either the proposal on single-member private limited liability companies, on veterinary medicinal products, on the revision of the EU emissions trading system, or on common rules for securitisation. They were informed in the cover e-mail that they had been contacted due to their (organisation's) interaction with the European Commission prior to the adoption of one of the above-mentioned policy proposals. Corresponding to the proposal they were active on, survey addressees were directed to one of four different versions of the questionnaire. In each version, the questions on consultancy hiring were posed in the context of that specific policy proposal.

## D. Survey Response

The survey was sent to 1248 interest groups. In total, 396 responses (31.7 per cent) were received. More than half of the 396 respondents, namely 207 interest groups, answered the survey in the context of the proposal on the revision of the EU emissions trading system (EU-ETS) (*COM (2015) 337*). 117 interest groups filled out the survey on their involvement in the run-up to the adoption of the proposal on single-member private limited liability companies (*COM (2014) 212*). 38 respondents took the survey in the context of the proposal on veterinary medicinal products (*COM (2014) 558*) and 34 answered the questionnaire on consultancy collaboration for the proposal on common rules for securitisation (*COM (2015) 472*).

While highly dissimilar in absolute numbers, the response rates per policy proposal are not too dissimilar in relative terms. The highest share of respondents per proposal was recorded for the proposal on common rules for securitisation where 37 per cent of all contacted interest groups participated. 34.8 per cent answered in the context of the EU-ETS revision proposal and 32.2 per cent in the context of the veterinary medicinal products. The lowest share of respondents can be reported for the proposal on single-member private limited liability companies where 26.4 per cent of all contacted interest groups chose to open the survey.

Interestingly, the pattern of these response rates follows exactly, in declining order, the adoption dates of the proposals. Independent of the total number of identified interest groups, the more recent proposal adoption was, the higher was the response rate. This provides some tentative support for the usefulness of the recency criterion for case selection. Lobbyists active on more recently adopted proposals seem to be more motivated to take the survey.

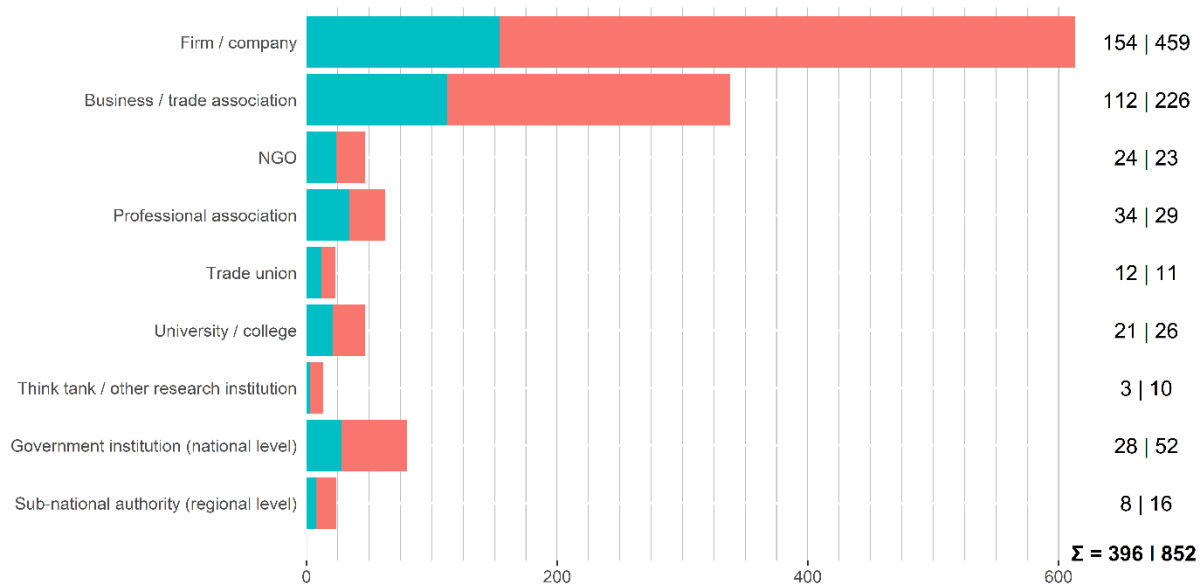
Response rates can also be scrutinised on the level of interest group types. The highest participation rates are observed among different non-business interest groups. Compared to the total number of contacted IGs of a certain type, professional associations have the highest share of respondents with 54 per cent followed by trade unions (52.2 per cent), and NGOs (51.1 per cent). Business interest groups show distinctively lower degrees of survey participation. Of the contacted business and trade associations, 33.1 per cent chose to participate. For firms, the share of participants is at 25.1 per cent. In absolute numbers, the opposite picture emerges though. 154 of the 396 participants are firms, 112 are business associations. Non-business actors only constitute a small share of all participants: 34 surveys were filled out by professional associations, 12 by trade unions, and 24 by NGOs (Figure 1).

This distribution of survey responses across interest group types shows that firms exhibit the lowest response rate across different IG types. It can be speculated that the comparatively high degree of non-responses for firms stems from their distinct profile. In contrast to the other organisations in the survey that primarily operate in the political sphere, firms do not. Given

that most of these companies are also SMEs, positions or even departments with the purpose of political interest representation might be rare. A disproportionate amount of survey recipients at firms might have considered the survey misdirected to them or uninteresting. This might have resulted in the comparatively low response rate for firms.

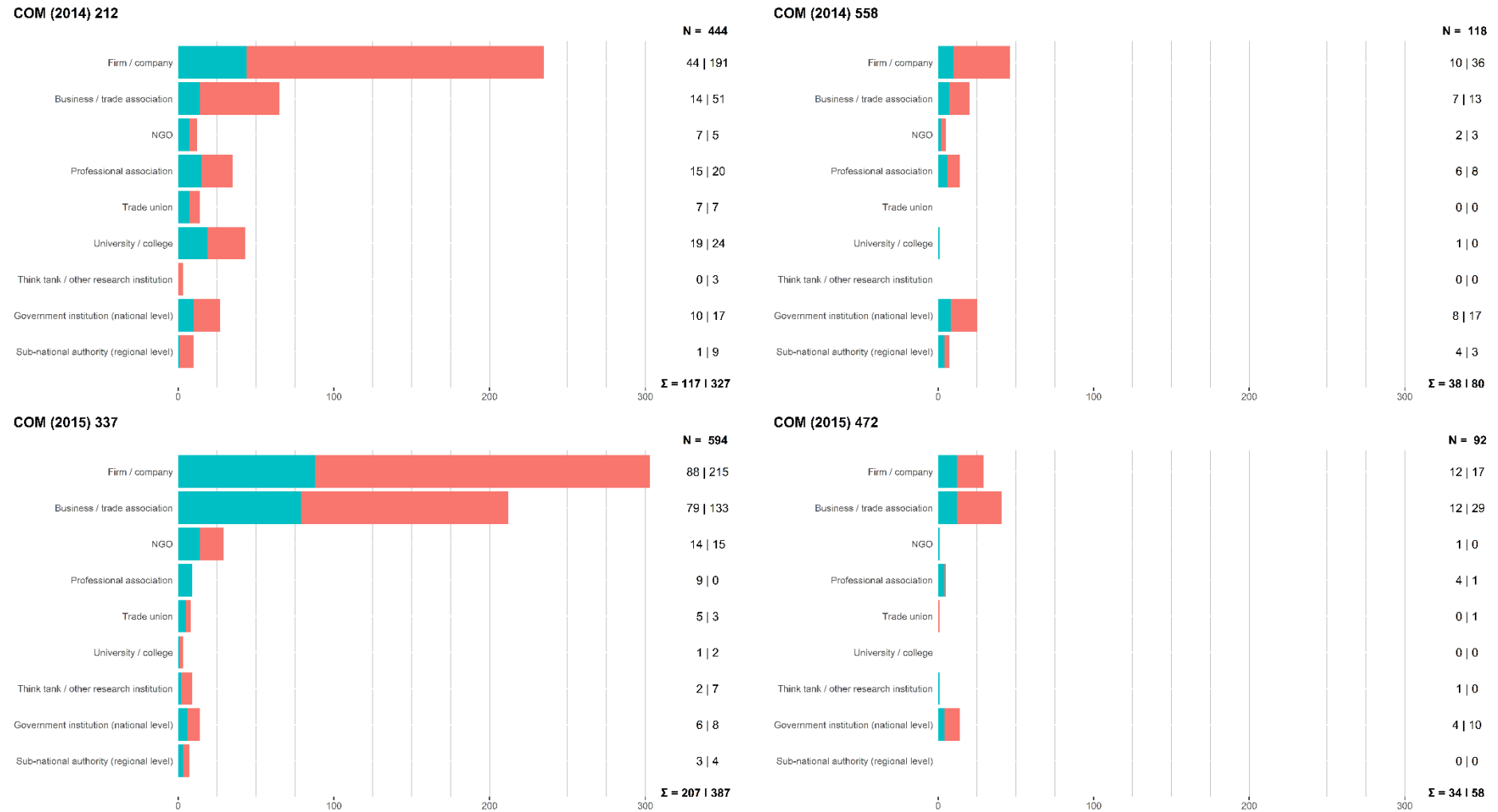
For an overview of participation by interest group type on the level of the different proposals, readers are referred to Figure 2.

**Figure 1** Stacked bar plot of the overall survey participation in absolute numbers



**Note:** N = 1248. Blue bars represent survey respondents, red bars non-respondents. The two numbers separated by the pipe symbol in the right margin indicate the absolute number of respondents and the absolute number of non-respondents per IG type.

**Figure 2** Stacked bar plot of the overall survey participation by policy proposal in absolute numbers



**Note:** Blue bars represent survey respondents, red bars non-respondents. The two numbers separated by the pipe symbol in the right margin of every plot indicate the absolute number of respondents and the absolute number of non-respondents per IG type.

The survey can also be assessed with regard to its representativeness of the European interest group landscape. The EU Transparency Register provides snapshots of its data online for different time points.<sup>1</sup> As the survey's interest group categories are largely based on those of the EU's Transparency Register, the comparison is relatively straightforward. In the following, the survey is compared to the EU Transparency Register's snapshot of January 2016.

Figure 3 compares the representation of different interest group types in the two data sets. To calculate shares of interest groups in the data, interest group types that only occurred in either source are excluded (e.g. national government institutions from the survey) or collapsed into a single category as in the case of trade unions and professional associations.

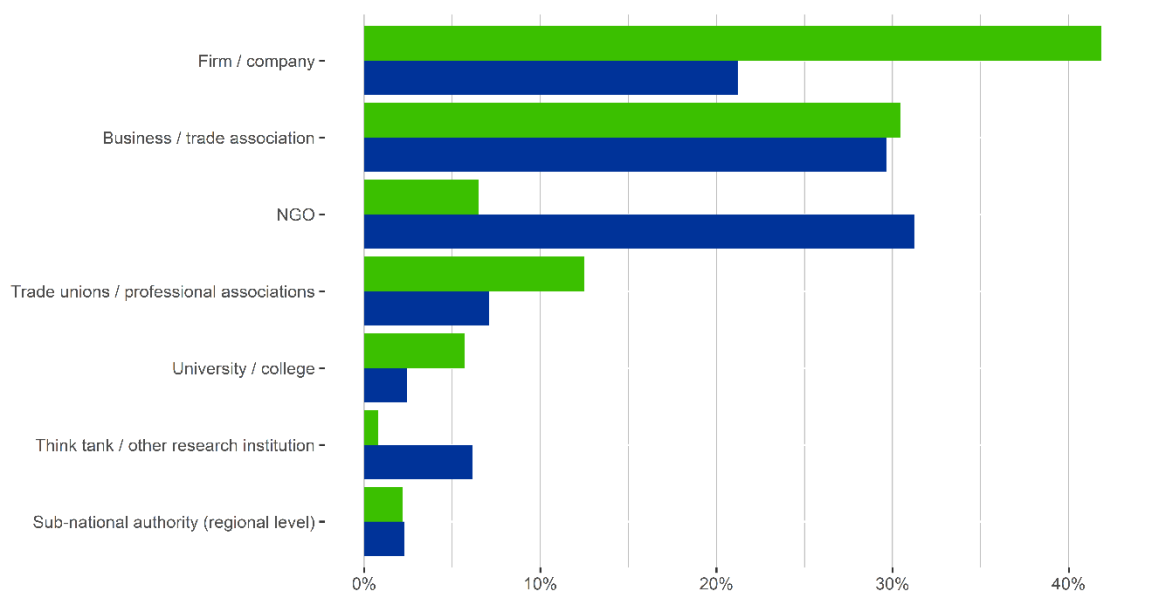
The most striking differences between the two data sources are the share of firms and NGOs. The share of firms in the survey is almost double compared to that in the EU Transparency Register. A possible explanation might lie in the relatively high share of SMEs that sought to influence the proposal drafting processes. Many of these do not feature in the EU Transparency Register. They appear to be strongly overrepresented in the survey compared to the EU Transparency Register. In the case of the proposal on the EU-ETS revision proposal (*COM (2015) 337*) for instance, 303 of the 594 contacted interest groups are companies; most of them SMEs in the ceramics, energy, chemicals, or cement industry. Similarly, 133 of the 444 organisations that were contacted in the context of a European company law reform (*COM (2014) 212*) are notaries and law offices.

The comparatively low share of NGOs in the survey data is likely related to the policy formulation stage. Proposal drafting requires primarily technical knowledge that business actors can provide. Firms for instance are particularly suited to provide technical expertise from their industry, or in the case of law offices and notaries their legal specialisation to the Commission. As NGOs are more geared towards later, more public phases of the policy process, their underrepresentation in the survey compared to the EU Transparency Register is at least partially explicable.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://data.europa.eu/euodp/de/data/dataset/transparency-register> (accessed 29 July 2019)

**Figure 3** Comparison of survey and EU Transparency Register data



**Note:** Bars represent the percentage of different IG types. Green bars represent the survey data, dark blue bars EU Transparency Register data. Survey N = 368. EU Transparency Register N = 7376.

## E. Questionnaire

### Cooperation of EU Policy Stakeholders with Consultancies

#### Introduction

Thank you very much for taking part in our survey. The survey is undertaken by the European Politics Research Group of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich (ETHZ).

As part of a research project on advocacy and lobbying strategies in the EU context, the primary focus of this survey lies on the collaboration between policy stakeholders and external EU and public affairs consultants during policy formulation.

We would like to assure you that all the information we collect will be kept in the strictest confidence, and used for research purposes only. All responses will be anonymised.

The survey takes approximately 6 to 12 minutes to complete.

Many thanks for your time.

### Cooperation of EU Policy Stakeholders with Consultancies

#### 1 General Questions

\* Please indicate your type of organisation.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="radio"/> Firm / company                      | <input type="radio"/> Think tank / other research institution  |
| <input type="radio"/> Non-governmental organisation (NGO) | <input type="radio"/> Government institution (national level)  |
| <input type="radio"/> Business / trade association        | <input type="radio"/> Sub-national authority (regional level)  |
| <input type="radio"/> Professional association            | <input type="radio"/> Commercial ad-hoc coalition (informally organised network of business interests)     |
| <input type="radio"/> Trade union                         | <input type="radio"/> Non-commercial ad-hoc coalition (informally organised network of societal interests) |
| <input type="radio"/> University / college                |  |
| <input type="radio"/> Other (please specify)              |  |

\* How many employees work for your company (and its subsidiaries) within the EU countries?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ up to 10
- ☐ more than 10, up to 100
- ☐ more than 100, up to 1'000
- ☐ more than 1'000, up to 10'000
- ☐ more than 10'000, up to 100'000
- ☐ more than 100'000, up to 500'000
- ☐ more than 500'000, up to 1 million
- ☐ more than 1 million, up to 5 million
- ☐ more than 5 million

Note: EU Member States are *Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.*

\* How many individual members support your NGO (and its member organisations) within the EU countries?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ up to 10
- ☐ more than 10, up to 100
- ☐ more than 100, up to 1'000
- ☐ more than 1'000, up to 10'000
- ☐ more than 10'000, up to 100'000
- ☐ more than 100'000, up to 500'000
- ☐ more than 500'000, up to 1 million
- ☐ more than 1 million, up to 5 million
- ☐ more than 5 million

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\* How many employees within the EU countries work for the firms that your association (and its member associations) represent?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ up to 100
- ☐ more than 100, up to 1'000
- ☐ more than 1'000, up to 10'000
- ☐ more than 10'000, up to 100'000
- ☐ more than 100'000, up to 500'000
- ☐ more than 500'000, up to 1 million
- ☐ more than 1 million, up to 5 million
- ☐ more than 5 million

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\* How many individuals does your association (and its member associations) represent within the EU countries?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ up to 100
- ☐ more than 100, up to 1'000
- ☐ more than 1'000, up to 10'000
- ☐ more than 10'000, up to 100'000
- ☐ more than 100'000, up to 500'000
- ☐ more than 500'000, up to 1 million
- ☐ more than 1 million, up to 5 million
- ☐ more than 5 million

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\* How many individuals does your trade union (and its member unions) represent within the EU countries?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ up to 100
- ☐ more than 100, up to 1'000
- ☐ more than 1'000, up to 10'000
- ☐ more than 10'000, up to 100'000
- ☐ more than 100'000, up to 500'000
- ☐ more than 500'000, up to 1 million
- ☐ more than 1 million, up to 5 million
- ☐ more than 5 million

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\* How many employees work for your university / college within the EU countries?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ up to 10
- ☐ more than 10, up to 100
- ☐ more than 100, up to 1'000
- ☐ more than 1'000, up to 10'000
- ☐ more than 10'000, up to 100'000
- ☐ more than 100'000, up to 500'000
- ☐ more than 500'000

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\* How many employees work for your think tank / research institution within the EU countries?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ up to 10
- ☐ more than 10, up to 100
- ☐ more than 100, up to 1'000
- ☐ more than 1'000, up to 10'000
- ☐ more than 10'000, up to 100'000
- ☐ more than 100'000, up to 500'000
- ☐ more than 500'000

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\* How many employees work for your government institution?

- ☐ up to 10
- ☐ more than 10, up to 100
- ☐ more than 100, up to 1'000
- ☐ more than 1'000, up to 10'000
- ☐ more than 10'000, up to 100'000
- ☐ more than 100'000, up to 500'000
- ☐ more than 500'000

\* How many employees work for your sub-national authority?

- ☐ up to 10
- ☐ more than 10, up to 100
- ☐ more than 100, up to 1'000
- ☐ more than 1'000, up to 10'000
- ☐ more than 10'000, up to 100'000
- ☐ more than 100'000, up to 500'000
- ☐ more than 500'000

\* How many employees do the members of your ad-hoc coalition represent within the EU countries?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ up to 10
- ☐ more than 10, up to 100
- ☐ more than 100, up to 1'000
- ☐ more than 1'000, up to 10'000
- ☐ more than 10'000, up to 100'000
- ☐ more than 100'000, up to 500'000
- ☐ more than 500'000, up to 1 million
- ☐ more than 1 million, up to 5 million
- ☐ more than 5 million

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\* How many individual members does your ad-hoc coalition (including its member organisations) represent within the EU countries?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ up to 10
- ☐ more than 10, up to 100
- ☐ more than 100, up to 1'000
- ☐ more than 1'000, up to 10'000
- ☐ more than 10'000, up to 100'000
- ☐ more than 100'000, up to 500'000
- ☐ more than 500'000, up to 1 million
- ☐ more than 1 million, up to 5 million
- ☐ more than 5 million

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\* How many people does your organisation represent within the EU countries?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ up to 10
- ☐ more than 10, up to 100
- ☐ more than 100, up to 1'000
- ☐ more than 1'000, up to 10'000
- ☐ more than 10'000, up to 100'000
- ☐ more than 100'000, up to 500'000
- ☐ more than 500'000, up to 1 million
- ☐ more than 1 million, up to 5 million
- ☐ more than 5 million

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\* In how many of the 28 EU Member States is your company (and its subsidiaries) active?

Note: EU Member States are *Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.*

\* In how many of the 28 EU Member States is your NGO (and its member organisations) active?

Note: EU Member States are *Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.*

\* In how many of the 28 EU Member States is your association (and its member associations) active?

Note: EU Member States are *Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.*

\* In how many of the 28 EU Member States is your trade union (and its member unions) active?

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\* In how many of the 28 EU Member States is your university / college active?

Note: EU Member States are *Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.*

\* In how many of the 28 EU Member States is your think tank / research institution active?

Note: EU Member States are *Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.*

\* In how many of the 28 EU Member States is your ad-hoc coalition (and its members) active?

Note: EU Member States are *Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.*

\* In how many of the 28 EU Member States is your organisation active?

Note: EU Member States are *Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.*

## Cooperation of EU Policy Stakeholders with Consultancies

### 2 Involvement on the EU Level

\* Which type of legislation affects the work of your organisation the most?

Please rank the following options accordingly (1 = most affecting; 3 = least affecting).

<input type="text"/>	National legislation of EU Member State(s)
<input type="text"/>	Legislation of other countries (outside of the EU)
<input type="text"/>	Legislation of the EU

\* Before the European Commission adopts a policy proposal, it can consult stakeholders for their views and input.

During the last five years, on how many policy proposals did your organisation voice its opinion before they were adopted by the Commission?

- ☐ 1-2
- ☐ 3-5
- ☐ 6-9
- ☐ 10 or more

\* How many members of your organisation's staff work primarily on EU affairs? Please try to give an estimate in full-time equivalents.

\* Some organisations are members of so called European umbrella organisations. These are European associations, federations, and networks that coordinate the European activities of several other organisations, all of which have a similar purpose.

How many European umbrella organisations is your organisation a member of?

\* In how many of these European umbrella organisations does your organisation have an executive board position or play a leading role in internal committees?

## Cooperation of EU Policy Stakeholders with Consultancies

### 3 Collaboration with Consultancies

**Stakeholders that are affected by the Commission's upcoming policy proposals have a wide range of channels and strategies at their disposal.**

**To make their voices better heard, some organisations rely on support from professional consultancies and law firms that are experienced in public and EU affairs ("external consultants").**

\* When your organisation tries to influence EU legislation, has it ever collaborated with external consultants?

☐ Yes

☐ No

\* What are your reasons for working with external consultants? Please select all reasons that apply.

- ☐ Our organisation is **strongly affected by European law**.
- ☐ Our organisation has been **inspired by other organisations** working with consultants.
- ☐ Our organisation **needs external support and expertise** to conduct its advocacy and lobbying activities.
- ☐ Consultants are **affordable**.
- ☐ Consultants are **effective**.
- ☐ Consultants offer an **attractive cost-benefit ratio**.
- ☐ Collaborating with consultants is **time-saving**.
- ☐ Other (please specify)

\* What are your reasons for not working with external consultants? Please select all reasons that apply.

- ☐ Our organisation is **weakly affected by European law**.
- ☐ Our organisation is **unaware** of the services of consultants.
- ☐ Our organisation **does not need external support and expertise** to conduct its advocacy and lobbying activities.
- ☐ Consultants are **expensive**.
- ☐ Consultants are not **effective**.
- ☐ Consultants offer an **unattractive cost-benefit ratio**.
- ☐ Cooperating with consultants is **time-consuming**.
- ☐ Other (please specify)

## Cooperation of EU Policy Stakeholders with Consultancies

### 4 Consultancies and Their Services

**Your organisation participated in the preparation process that led the Commission to present its policy proposal on the revision of the EU emissions trading system on 15 July 2015.**

**During the policy formulation of this proposal,**

\* did external consultants monitor EU legislative developments for your organisation?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ No, not for this proposal. But they have done so for other EU policy issues.

Additional comments on your response

\* did external consultants provide advice on lobbying strategies and communications to your organisation?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ No, not for this proposal. But they have done so for other EU policy issues.

Additional comments on your response

\* did external consultants provide legal advice and/or legality assessments on the policy proposal to your organisation?

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ No, not for this proposal. But they have done so for other EU policy issues.

Additional comments on your response

\* did external consultants help your organization make contact with important actors such as Commission officials and other stakeholders?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ No, not for this proposal. But they have done so for other EU policy issues.

Additional comments on your response

\* did external consultants help your organisation with its communication with the Commission (e.g. by drafting letters, statements, position papers, white books, or alternative proposals)?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ No, not for this proposal. But they have done so for other EU policy issues.

Additional comments on your response

\* did external consultants maintain direct contact with Commission officials on behalf of your organisation?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ No, not for this proposal. But they have done so for other EU policy issues.

Additional comments on your response

\* did external consultants help your organisation mobilise supporters and establish coalitions with other stakeholders?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ No, not for this proposal. But they have done so for other EU policy issues.

Additional comments on your response

\* did external consultants help your organisation with its communication with the press (e.g. by preparing press releases, articles, and letters to editors on your organisation's behalf)?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ No, not for this proposal. But they have done so for other EU policy issues.

Additional comments on your response

\* did external consultants help your organisation host events (e.g. workshops, conferences, receptions, exhibitions, dinners)?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ No, not for this proposal. But they have done so for other EU policy issues.

Additional comments on your response

**Now please think of your collaboration with consultants in general.**

\* Did external consultants train the staff of your organisation to improve their EU affairs knowledge and skills in the past five years?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Additional comments on your response

\* Does your organisation have an office in Brussels that deals with EU affairs?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

\* Is your office in Brussels managed by external consultants?

- ☐ Not managed by consultants
- ☐ Partially managed by consultants
- ☐ Wholly managed by consultants

Additional comments on your response

## Cooperation of EU Policy Stakeholders with Consultancies

### 5 Advocacy and Lobbying Resources

**Your organisation participated in the preparation process that led the Commission to present its policy proposal on the revision of the EU emissions trading system on 15 July 2015.**

How much did your organisation roughly spend on lobbying and advocacy during the policy formulation of the proposal on the revision of the EU emissions trading system?

- ☐ up to 1'000 EUR
- ☐ more than 1'000, up to 10'000 EUR
- ☐ more than 10'000, up to 100'000 EUR
- ☐ more than 100'000, up to 500'000 EUR
- ☐ more than 500'000, up to 1 million EUR
- ☐ more than 1 million EUR

In general, how much of your organisation's annual budget is roughly spent on lobbying and advocacy?

- ☐ up to 10 per cent
- ☐ more than 10, up to 20 per cent
- ☐ more than 20, up to 30 per cent
- ☐ more than 30, up to 40 per cent
- ☐ more than 40, up to 50 per cent
- ☐ more than 50, up to 60 per cent
- ☐ more than 60, up to 70 per cent
- ☐ more than 70, up to 80 per cent
- ☐ more than 80, up to 90 per cent
- ☐ more than 90, up to 100 per cent
- ☐

## Cooperation of EU Policy Stakeholders with Consultancies

6 Comments

***Thank you very much for taking the time to answer these questions. You have now completed the survey.***

For comments, suggestions, or additional information you would like to provide, please use the box below.

For any further information you would like to provide or receive, please contact [oliver.huwyler@eup.gess.ethz.ch](mailto:oliver.huwyler@eup.gess.ethz.ch).

## F. Variable Overview

**Table 3** Variable overview

Dependent variable	N	Categories / Range	Mean / %	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Consultancy hiring	278	0 = No hiring 1 = Hiring	0.27	0.45	0	1
<b>Independent variables</b>						
IG type <sup>1</sup>	336	0 = Non-business 1 = Business association 2 = Firm	20.83% 33.33% 45.83%	-	0	2
Lobbying budget (%)	212	1-10 (1 = 0-10%; 10 = 90-100%)	2.13	2.03	1	10
<b>Controls: IG Characteristics</b>						
Region	336	0 = Western EU member state 1 = Eastern EU member state 2 = Non-EU country	87.50% 8.04% 4.46%	-	0	2
Employees / individuals (lg)	325	Number	7.95	3.56	1.70	15.42
EU law priority	296	0 = Not highest priority 1 = Highest priority	0.51	0.50	0	1
<b>Controls: IG Capacities</b>						
EU affairs staff	295	Number	4.32	9.17	0	100
Brussels office	290	0 = no 1 = yes	0.42	0.49	0	1
Umbrella memberships	264	0-10 (10 = 10 or more)	2.16	2.40	0	10
Proposal budget	212	1 = €0 - €999 2 = €1,000- €9,999 3 = €10,000 - €99,999 4 = €100,000 - €499,999 5 = €500,000 - €999,999 6 = €1,000,000 and more	49.06% 28.30% 18.40% 3.77% 0.47% 0.00%	-	1	5
<b>Controls: Proposal</b>						
Number of stakeholders	396	Number	460.90	179.98	92	594
Proposal length	396	Number	17656.72	10494.71	10400	46550

**Note:** <sup>1</sup> Model 6 in Table 1 of the article uses a dichotomised version of this variable called Business IG where business associations and firms are collapsed into a single category.

## G. Multicollinearity

**Table 4** Multicollinearity testing

	VIF	Tolerance	R <sup>2</sup>
Lobbying budget (%)	1.13	0.8828	0.1172
Employees / individuals (lg)	1.24	0.8084	0.1916
EU law priority	1.26	0.7967	0.2033
EU affairs staff	1.18	0.8467	0.1533
Brussels office	1.25	0.7981	0.2019
Umbrella memberships	1.23	0.8128	0.1872
Proposal budget	2.43	0.4118	0.5882
Number of stakeholders	2.47	0.4044	0.5956
Proposal length	1.21	0.8278	0.1722

**Note:** N = 179. VIF: Variance Inflation Factor

Nominal variables with more than two categories (IG Type and Region) could not be included. Proposal budget is treated as a continuous measure.

**Table 5** Selected  $\chi^2$  tests

	Pearson $\chi^2$	df	p-value	N
IG type and proposal budget	8.6732	6	0.193	211
Region and proposal budget	6.4394	6	0.376	211
Number of lobbied proposals and proposal budget	26.9172	9	0.001	211
IG type and number of lobbied proposals	61.6314	6	0.000	211

## H. Alternative Model Specifications and Estimation Approaches

**Table 6** Logistic regression on consultancy hiring

	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Business association <sup>1</sup>	2.10*** (0.29)	2.56*** (0.53)	8.46** (7.19)
Firm <sup>1</sup>	2.98*** (0.86)	2.89* (1.64)	11.04*** (6.52)
Lobbying budget (%)			1.18 (0.15)
Business association x Lobbying Budget (%)			0.48*** (0.10)
Firm x Lobbying budget (%)			0.58*** (0.11)
Eastern European member state <sup>2</sup>	0.39*** (0.04)		0.44*** (0.11)
Non-EU country <sup>2</sup>	1.04 (0.48)		0.31*** (0.10)
Employees / individuals (lg)	1.03 (0.03)		1.08 (0.06)
EU law priority	0.84 (0.17)		0.25*** (0.10)
EU affairs staff		0.99 (0.03)	0.98 (0.07)
Brussels office		1.29 (0.52)	2.16 (1.17)
Umbrella memberships		1.13*** (0.03)	0.98 (0.05)
Proposal budget: €1,000- €9,999 <sup>3</sup>			5.41** (3.79)
Proposal budget €10,000 - €99,999 <sup>3</sup>			35.39*** (34.33)
Proposal budget €100,000 - €499,999 <sup>3</sup>			20.24*** (16.68)
Number of stakeholders			1.00 (0.00)
Proposal length			1.00 (0.00)
Intercept	0.16*** (0.07)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.01*** (0.01)
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.02	0.04	0.18
Number of observations	272	193	179

**Note:** This table provides alternative model build-ups to Table 2. It reports odds ratios with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses. Policy proposals are used as clusters.

Significance codes: \*  $p < 0.1$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

<sup>1</sup> Base: Non-business; <sup>2</sup> Base: Western European MS; <sup>3</sup> Base: € 0 - € 999

**Table 7** Weighted logistic regression on consultancy hiring

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Business association <sup>1</sup>	2.16*** (0.39)	2.08*** (0.31)	1.85** (0.54)	1.84*** (0.37)	1.63*** (0.19)	
Firm <sup>1</sup>	2.92*** (1.13)	2.71** (1.21)	2.88* (1.72)	2.69** (1.05)	2.77** (1.10)	
Business IG <sup>1</sup>						7.02*** (3.56)
Lobbying budget (%)		1.01 (0.09)				1.21*** (0.08)
Business IG x Lobbying Budget (%)						0.59*** (0.06)
Eastern European member state <sup>2</sup>		0.37*** (0.03)			0.58** (0.12)	0.53*** (0.10)
Non-EU country <sup>2</sup>		0.85 (0.23)			0.71 (0.29)	0.81 (0.42)
Employees / individuals (lg)		1.06 (0.04)			1.05** (0.03)	1.11** (0.05)
EU law priority		0.99 (0.22)				
EU affairs staff			0.98 (0.05)			
Brussels office			1.22 (0.64)			
Umbrella memberships			1.07 (0.11)			
Proposal budget: €1,000- €9,999 <sup>3</sup>			4.49** (2.77)		4.86** (3.29)	4.48** (3.05)
Proposal budget €10,000 - €99,999 <sup>3</sup>			12.52*** (7.36)		13.44*** (7.47)	13.19*** (7.90)
Proposal budget €100,000 - €499,999 <sup>3</sup>			7.13** (5.93)		5.77** (4.11)	7.99** (6.89)
Number of stakeholders				1.00* (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)	1.00 (0.00)
Proposal length				1.00 (0.00)		
Intercept	0.17*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.04)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.02*** (0.03)	0.03*** (0.02)	0.01*** (0.01)
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.03	0.04	0.18	0.05	0.20	0.23
Number of observations	278	207	193	278	206	195

**Note:** Table reports odds ratios with cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses. Policy proposals serve as clusters. Population size weights derived from the EU Joint Transparency Register (state: January 2016) are employed: Non-business = 1.90; firm = 0.51; business association = 0.97.

Significance codes: \* p < 0.1; \*\* p < 0.05; \*\*\* p < 0.01.

<sup>1</sup> Base: Non-business; <sup>2</sup> Base: Western European MS; <sup>3</sup> Base: € 0 - € 999

**Table 8** Negative binomial regression on the number of consultancy services bought

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Business association <sup>1</sup>	0.60 (0.42)	0.79* (0.43)	0.15 (0.31)	0.35 (0.40)	0.02 (0.35)	1.07*** (0.38)
Firm <sup>1</sup>	1.19*** (0.36)	1.12** (0.44)	0.91*** (0.30)	0.97** (0.42)	0.72** (0.29)	1.33*** (0.34)
Lobbying budget (%)		0.05 (0.08)				0.10 (0.07)
Business association x Lobbying Budget (%)						-0.22 (0.14)
Firm x Lobbying budget (%)						-0.41*** (0.05)
Eastern European member state <sup>2</sup>		-0.25** (0.10)			-0.01 (0.27)	-0.14 (0.29)
Non-EU country <sup>2</sup>		-0.16 (0.31)			-0.21 (0.45)	0.11 (0.49)
Employees / individuals (lg)		0.05 (0.05)			-0.04 (0.04)	0.01 (0.05)
EU law priority		-0.68*** (0.24)				
EU affairs staff			-0.03 (0.02)			
Brussels office			0.14 (0.36)			
Umbrella memberships			-0.11*** (0.02)			
Proposal budget: €1,000- €9,999 <sup>3</sup>			1.98*** (0.24)		1.94*** (0.09)	1.87*** (0.09)
Proposal budget €10,000 - €99,999 <sup>3</sup>			2.60*** (0.19)		2.11*** (0.05)	2.01*** (0.02)
Proposal budget €100,000 - €499,999 <sup>3</sup>			1.77*** (0.26)		1.69*** (0.15)	1.85*** (0.13)
Number of stakeholders				0.00** (0.00)	0.00** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Proposal length				0.00 (0.00)		
Intercept	-0.89** (0.41)	-1.07 (1.06)	-1.93*** (0.21)	-2.67* (1.51)	-2.40*** (0.42)	-2.90*** (0.61)
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.01	0.01	0.08	0.02	0.07	0.08
Number of observations	278	207	193	278	206	195

**Note:** The dependent variable is a count of the number of services bought. Values range from 0 to 9. The table reports cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses. Policy proposals serve as clusters. Significance codes: \* p < 0.1; \*\* p < 0.05; \*\*\* p < 0.01.

<sup>1</sup> Base: Non-business; <sup>2</sup> Base: Western European MS; <sup>3</sup> Base: € 0 - € 999

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