4 The Dynamics of Lobbying

4.1 Dimensions of Change

One of the main advantages of contingency modeling is the possibility of describing the dynamics of a communication event. In lobbying, at least four dimensions of change can be found: 1) changes in the negotiation process between a lobbyist and a political decision-maker, 2) changes in the interaction between the participants in the political decision-making, 3) changes related to the stages of the political decision-making process, and 4) changes related to the maturing of an issue life-cycle. These dimensions will be described in this section, and they will be reduced to two relevant levels of dynamics in the next section.

In order to study change, we have to conceptualize the object of study in terms of a process. Change in processes have been studied from two different point of views: the cyclical and phasic approaches. The cyclical approach concentrates on describing the sequences and cycles of strategies, information exchange, and arguments. The phase studies explain the development of interaction from the beginning to the conclusion of the process. (Putnam 1985, 134). In this section, each dimension of change will be characterized with this conceptual pair of cyclical or phasic change.

4.1.1 Phasic and Cyclical Change in a Negotiation Process

Dynamics of communication can be observed in the negotiation process between a lobbyist and a political decision-maker. This dimension of change consists of micro-processes such as episodes of discussion and linguistic features. For example, research from the systems-interactional perspective of communication studies processes such as patterns of verbal and non-verbal messages altering the course of interaction. The perspective includes, e.g., studies on negotiation process, strategies, and tactics. The interpretive-symbolic perspective of communication studies processes such as the creation of shared meanings by the use of language and symbols. The perspective includes, e.g., studies on the role of language and meaning in the use of arguments, framing of issues, the expression of threats and promises, and the use of facework. It includes research traditions such as rhetorical, conversational, discourse, and semiotic studies. (Putnam & Roloff 1992,
Examples of research from the cyclical perspective include studies on conflict spirals, information exchange, and issue development, and from the phasic perspective, studies on different types of phases emerging over time or imposed on a negotiation (Putnam 1985; 135, 139).

Generally, these theories describe the negotiation behavior of parties at the negotiation table in detail or with their own constituencies, but do not account for the interaction external to the table, e.g., indirect influence mechanisms and multi-public communication. Thus, they do not address the higher-level dynamics of interaction in an interorganizational context which is the purpose of this study and the new model of effective lobbying. The study of these kinds of processes require also different kinds of research methodologies and real-time observation that is not possible for the confidential theme of lobbying. These micro-processes are, therefore, beyond the scope of this study.

4.1.2 Cyclical Change in Interaction between Contingency Variables

The second discernible dimension of change in lobbying constitutes of changes in the interaction between the participants to the political decision-making. The new model of effective lobbying focuses on this dimension. This dimension addresses multi-party or multi-public interaction in which a change is generated by behavior of an actor or some actors and appears in the behavior of other actors. There are different states of patterns of interactions and the system looks for a situation in which the internal values and goals are congruent with the external values and goals. The different contingency situations constitute states of congruence between an external situation and a lobbying strategy one of which prevails or is about to become the prevailing one.

A change from a contingency situation to another is a result of the actors’ own action or by that of the other actors. Negative feedback makes the actor return to the course towards the goals set (morphostatic process). If the change was caused by a change in internal or external contingencies (positive feedback), then the lobbyist should look for a new congruence strategy (morphogenic process). If the change was a failure to maintain the chosen direction, then the lobbyist should return to the previous strategy. The congruent communication strategy is selected based on its ability to induce enough organizational adaptation and environmental change so as to make similar the values and goals of the system and its suprasystem. This kind of change is clearly of a cyclical nature. Within the limits of the strategy appropriate for the situation, a phasic change in the interaction processes
between the lobbyist and other actors can be observed but it belongs to the micro-processes dealt with above. The second dimension of change forms the first level of dynamics to be explained in the next section.

4.1.3 Phasic Change in Political Decision-Making Process

Lobbying is affected also by contextual change. A political decision-making process consists of the phases of the preparation of a proposal, the decision-making, and the implementation of the decision. These easily discernible phases have practical consequences for lobbying, because different people act on different kinds of aspects of the problem at each stage of the process. A transfer from one phase to another should change the nature of the lobbying as well. Different targets of lobbying are involved, and different kinds of contents of the issue are discussed. It might not be worth wasting resources on lobbying an official who made the preparation work when the proposal is already under consideration in the parliament and the passing of the bill is just dependent on the legislators’ opinions and willingness to vote. It is clearly important for a lobbyist to take this kind of phasic change into account. This dimension of change is closely related to the issue life-cycle and will be combined with it when the levels of dynamics are discussed.

4.1.4 Issue Life-cycle

Issues are born, they die, and are reborn. A complete issue life-cycle can be described as a process consisting of four phases: 1) the social expectation, 2) the political issue, 3) legislative decision-making, and 4) social control (Marx, T. 1990). This four phase model is useful because it differentiates between the political or governmental decision-making and legislative or parliamentary decision-making. The separation is essential because the relevant publics are different in these phases. These are also different arenas from the point of view of political theory the former representing the corporatist sphere and the latter the pluralist sphere of political decision-making.

Buchholz’s three phasic life-cycle was presented in Chapter 3. It shows how the means of lobbying might change from one phase of an issue life-cycle to another according to which groups become active in the decision-making process. Despite the analytical merits of her model, there are distinct characteristics of an issue and distinct consequences for an organization beginning its activities in each four phases of the issue life cycle which speaks for a 4-phasic approach. Specifically, the author claims that the character of an issue and the key actors and their constituency dependences
Figure 4-1. The four phases of the issue life-cycle (Marx, T. 1990).

are different in the political and legislative phase.

According to Marx (1990), a lobbyist timing its lobbying efforts to the social expectation phase usually bases its actions on strategic planning and at least an interactive mission, and it has the best chances to influence the decisions made on the issue. A reactive lobbyist responds to matured issues that have reached the third or fourth phase of their life-cycle. Even a proactive lobbyist that tries to anticipate the issues and be a leader of change, does not respond until the political phase of the issue life-cycle. (Marx, T. 1990, 13.)

The phases of an issue life-cycle correspond to the phases of the political decision-making process to a great degree, but the concept takes into account the general legislative environment and begins earlier and ends later in time than the actual decision-making. As shown by Marx, the social expectation phase is, however, an essential phase which should be understood by a lobbyist. The end of the life-cycle extends to all kinds of control of implementation including court decisions in addition to administrative decisions. The legislative environment taken into account in the life-cycle models includes external influences on the political decision-making. Despite the merits of the life-cycle models, both processes should be taken into account. However, they can be combined under the heading of political process to form the second level of the dynamics of lobbying.

In addition to the phasic features, the issue life-cycle clearly refers to the possibility of being renewed, a cyclical feature. The disappointed participants in the political decision-making may arouse public discussion and make the
issue life-cycle begin again. Also changes in the environmental conditions may lead to a need for changing the content of the decision.

4.2 Levels of Dynamics

The new model of effective lobbying strategies concentrates on describing the three last dimensions of change described in the previous chapter: changes in the interaction between the participants in the political decision-making, flowing of the phases of the political decision-making process, and maturing of the issue life-cycle. The last two of these can be studied together, because of their close relatedness. This leaves us with two levels of dynamics, changes in the interaction and changes related to the political process, that will be discussed next.

4.2.1 Changes of Situations of Political Participation

The first level of dynamics deals with changes in the interaction between the participants in the political decision-making. It can be described as changes of the situations of the political participation and lobbying strategies. In this section, an explanation for this kind of change is also provided by developing a theory of group activation.

Changes of the Situation and Strategy

In the new model of effective lobbying, the dynamics of interaction can be imitated as a) changes of the situations of political participation and the variation produced by them in strategies or as b) changes of a strategy and the variation generated by it in the situations of political participation. The model answers to questions of how a lobbyist notices a change in its political environment, how it changes its strategy to better fit with the situation, and how the lobbyist uses its strategy to change the situation to be more favorable to its goal-attainment.

A change of a political situation emerges through a change in the opinions and actions of the actors constituting the contingency factors or in the opinions and actions of their background factors. The concessions made to the opponents by the political decision-maker may be a weak signal of the beginning of a change in attitudes. A slackening of the discipline in the parliamentary group and giving legislators freedom of choice in parliament may mean that the decision-maker may vote in a different way to the other
members of his group. The party taking its stand on the issue may result in the
decision-maker returning to the party whip. A coalition built by the compet-
itors may reduce the influence of lobbying, and the activation of the
competitors’ campaigning may be a sign of their increased confidence in their
chances to influence the decision-making and of increased support for their
course. Opinion polls published in the media reportin a turn in the opinions of
the citizens in favor of the opponents, may speak of the sharpness and effec-
tiveness of the opponents’ campaigning and result in little enthusiasm for
change among the decision-makers. The activation of new groups may cause
a change in the strength relationship between competitors. These kinds of
weak signals giving a hint of possible changes in divisions of opinions may
come to the lobbyist’s notice when it is in contact with the targets of
lobbying, other officials, and other lobbyists, or when it monitors the media
and has investigations done.

In the light of the new model of effective lobbying, small changes may
result in greater variations that the lobbyist should consider essential factors
to be taken into account. When there is a change in a contingency factor from
the supporting state to the opposing state (or in reverse order) or in the
decision-maker’s opinion from a neutral to an opposing opinion (or from a
positive to a neutral or vice versa), the situation of political participation has
changed so much that it is advisable to change the lobbying strategy to fit
better to the new kind of situation. New tactics are introduced in order to
change the situation to a more favorable one or to maintain a new one. Some
tactics can be withdrawn when the desired effect is achieved and there is no
need for the tactic anymore. The tactics included in the model can be used
according to which and what kind of a public the lobbyist wants to be in
contact with, that is, according to which contingency factor the lobbyist wants
to influence. The activation of a certain contingency factor or its turning to
the opponents’ side calls for the introduction of a certain kind of tactic.

Theory of Group Activation

The dynamics of lobbying produced by the interaction between the
participants to the political decision-making can be explained in the following
way: Changes of the situations of political participation are generated by a)
activation of the lobbying groups and b) interaction between participants. A
change of a contingency situation occurs when the activation results in a
change in the strength relationship between the competing blocs (An increase
in the number of groups on the other side makes that side look more
representative, with a greater level of support.) or when a change in the
opponent’s strategy makes it look like more effective. This phenomenon can
be explained with a new theory of group activation. Its first component describes activation of individuals and how they become an important public of communication. The second component explains the interaction between active groups that occurs as their efforts to influence and to follow (imitating and taking into account) each other.

The first component of the theory of group activation, can be explained convincingly with J. Grunig’s (1984) situational theory. The theory is based on the assumption that publics can be segmented from the population according to how actively or passively they communicate about the problem and how actively they try to support or restrict a lobbyist’s organizational goal-achievement. According to J. Grunig, the individuals are more likely to be active, if they believe that organizational operations have consequences for them (level of involvement), that the consequences create problems (problem recognition), and that there are no constraints on their action (constraint recognition). (Grunig, J. & Hunt 1984; Grunig, J. & Repper 1992, 124–125, 132–138; Dozier & Ehling 1992, 170–176.) Grunig’s theory is developed for public relations. With regard to lobbying, the problem might not be so much the consequences of what an organization does but rather the consequences the political decision on the issue has on individuals.

Grunig’s three independent variables can be given two dimensions: internal (cognitive) and external (perceptions). Internal problem recognition can be described as curiosity, external as having to deal with a real problem. Internal constraint recognition can be described as a feeling of not being able to do anything about the problem whereas external constraints are real. Internal involvement is a feeling of being close to an issue, connected somehow but not directly affected which characterizes external involvement. (Grunig, J. 1997a, 25–27.)

Publics engage in information-processing (passive) or information-seeking (active) which leads to the formation of publics important for a lobbyist: to communicate with. (Grunig, J. & Repper 1992, 124–125, 132–138; Dozier & Ehling 1992, 170–176.) The activation of individuals and the formation of publics may result in the increase of the support for the lobbyist’s views or for the opponents’ views which, in turn, may bring about a change in whose opinion creates a majority. Activation may also be a result of the lobbyist’s or the opponents’ efforts to influence the potential supporters, e.g., by means of advocacy advertising or grass-roots mobilization.

In order to include the interaction after the activation process in the explanation of lobbying dynamics, the situational theory has to be extended. In 1989, J. Grunig found that the active publics are most likely to become
members of activist groups (Grunig, J. 1989). People join organizations for different reasons: according to Clarke and Wilson (1961) and Wilson (1973), material (money, services), solidarity (membership, identification), and purposive (contribution to the cause) incentives are important (Clarke & Wilson 1961, 134–137; Wilson 1973, 30–51) whereas Olson (1971) presents a classification to collective or public goods available to everyone and selective goods available to members only (Olson 1971; 14–15, 51). J. Grunig (1989) found that purposive or political reasons are much more important for active publics to join activist groups than are material, solidarity, or selective incentives (Grunig, J. 1989; 11, 20–21).

After an activist group has been formed, the dynamics of interaction shift to another level, that of competition or cooperation between groups. The second part of the theory of group activation, then, explains interaction between groups after group formation. The changes in the actions of groups caused by the interaction between them are produced by the changes of opinions and actions of the other participants. Information on these changes is received by scanning, e.g., when exchanging information around a negotiation table, when contacts are made with the targets of lobbying, and when the news of the mass media are followed. An example of change could be new efforts to build coalitions when the opponent has been caught building coalitions of their own (following others), or some opponent group defecting to the lobbyist’s side as a result of continuous negotiation and convincing (direct influence on each other).

4.2.2 Factors Related to the Political Process

The other level of dynamics of lobbying deals with changes related to the political process that is a concept including contextual change produced by the political decision-making process and by the issue life-cycle. In this section, these kinds of changes are related to the change imitable by the new model of effective lobbying.

Changes in the Situation and Tactics

The factors related to the political process may produce changes within situations of political participation described by the model. Consider for a moment, that the situation of political participation stays the same during the whole political process, that is, there is no changes in the contingency factors. The appropriate strategy for the situation can be implemented with a selection of tactics, but the question remains when to use a tactic. Some tactics may be
more effective at certain phases of the political process than at others, and some publics may be more central to the evolving of the issue in certain phases of the political process. With the help of the concept of political process, it is possible to give suggestions on when to do what within the frames laid down by the appropriate strategy. For example, it may be more important to build coalitions closer to the phase of legislative decision-making than in the phase of social expectation. The new model of effective lobbying will be supplemented with suggestions on how to respond to the requirements posed by the different phases of the political process.

4.3. Evolutionary Features of the New Contingency Model

Contingency models can be used to describe developmental features of communication phenomena, too. The new model of effective lobbying includes three contingency variables, but it can be applied to situations where different numbers of contingency variables are active. The situation of political participation may develop from simple conditions of active decision-makers affecting lobbying to more complex conditions where also the competitors are active and even the mass media and citizens affect the success of lobbying. The passiveness and activeness of different publics can be taken into account in the model by either ignoring suggestions concerning them or by taking these suggestions into account.

In addition, the varying states of each contingency variable form a developmental path that the lobbyist tries to direct towards increasing support and achieved objectives. This can be described with the situational chart presented in Figure 4-2. The circles describe the prevailing situation at a certain moment. The numbers not in parenthesis are names given to the circles. The order of the numbers have no meaning. The plus and minus signs describe the states of each contingency factor in that situation. The numbers in parenthesis stand for the corresponding number of the situation of political participation given in the model of effective lobbying. The arrows point to a favorable direction of evolution and describe individual change events (The state of the first factor changed = a, of the second factor = b, of the third factor = c). Lobbyists try to direct the evolution towards the left hand side of the figure by using strategies appropriate for the situation. The path may, however, be complex, possibly non-linear.
The objective towards which organizational action is directed

![Diagram of organizational actions](image)

**Figure 4-2.** The situational chart describing the evolution of the situations of political participation. This chart is a simple version of the lobbying model, because each contingency factor may get only a positive or negative state. This model of change will get more complex when the possible states of the contingency factors are increased. In addition, only the situations where all the three contingency factors are active are taken into account in this chart. *Next page:* Figure 4-2 in a tabular form.

### 4.4 Summary

In the empirical part of this study, changes in communication strategies and changes in the external environment of a lobbying organization were observed. The purpose of this study is to detect, describe, and explain changes of communication strategy due to a change in the prevailing situation in an issue or in order to cause it and due to the phasic and cyclical change of the political process or in order to cause it. The first type of change is related to the contingency factors and the second to the issue life-cycle and the political decision-making process. The explanatory power of the theory of group activation in the first type of change is tested. The explanatory power of the issue life-cycle in the second type of change is also tested. The evolutionary features of the new contingency model of effective lobbying are observed in real-life cases and described in case histories.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circle No.</th>
<th>Situation No.</th>
<th>Contingency states</th>
<th>Possible direction of evolution</th>
<th>Favorable direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>++ +</td>
<td>2, 3, and 4</td>
<td>Stay at 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>− + +</td>
<td>1, 5, and 6</td>
<td>Circle 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+ − +</td>
<td>1, 5, and 7</td>
<td>Circle 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+ + −</td>
<td>1, 6, and 7</td>
<td>Circle 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>− − +</td>
<td>2, 3, and 8</td>
<td>2 and 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>− + −</td>
<td>2, 4, and 8</td>
<td>2 and 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+ − −</td>
<td>3, 4, and 8</td>
<td>3 and 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>− − −</td>
<td>5, 6, and 7</td>
<td>5, 6, and 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5 Research Setting

5.1 Research Strategy

To answer the research questions posed in the Chapter 1 and to develop and test the new model of effective lobbying, an empirical case-study was conducted. A research design for case studies consists of the research questions, the propositions if any, the units of analysis, the logic linking the data to the propositions, and the criteria for interpreting findings (Yin 1989, 28). In this chapter, the last four of these components and the research strategy and methods used will be presented. Sections 5.1.1 and 5.2.1 discuss the research strategy used in building and testing the new model. It consists of abductive reasoning and the logic of replication in multiple case studies. These two can be combined into a strategy that functions successfully in developing new models with a case-study (Jaatinen 1994; 46–47, 108). In addition, propositions covering the whole model are formed in Section 5.1.3 to support the reasoning.

5.1.1 Abduction

The most general forms of scientific reasoning are deductive and inductive reasoning. Abductive reasoning has not yet achieved a significant position in social scientific research, at least for now. It provides, however, an alternative to deduction and induction, that generate problems especially when qualitative methods are used. When deduction is used, it is difficult to create a new theory, because data not related to premises is rejected in it—it is not relevant. “Pure” induction, in turn, is not possible, because without premises and selective processes, it is difficult to gather meaningful data. Abduction takes these problems into account.

Abductive reasoning is about suggesting a hypothesis and using alternately both inductive and deductive reasoning. The advantages of each can be made use of. First, a clue is formed using induction or based on earlier theories, studies, one case study, or intuition. It gives a hint on how to go on and helps in focusing attention to certain things. It may assist in the effort to find a new theory. The clue is verified by observing empirical reality and by analyzing the material gathered. There may be several clues, and they can be rejected and changed. In this way, it is possible also to take into account
Figure 5-1. Research strategy. In abduction, a hypothesis is proposed on perception and accepted for its explanatory power (or sense-making capacity). Then, specific cases are deducted from the proposed hypothesis. Through the analytical generalization from multiple cases a rival hypothesis is induced. This hypothesis is, then, compared with the proposed hypothesis that is changed to conform to the empirical findings.

unexpected findings. The scientific significance of the clue is revealed in the course of the study. (Grönfors 1985, 33–37.)

The idea of abductive reasoning or retroduction originates in Charles Peirce’s writings on how we get new ideas by proposing a hypothesis (Fann 1970, 5–10). Peirce developed abduction into a methodological and evidencing process (Fann 1970, 10), the form of which he described in the following words:

The surprising fact C is observed.

But if A were true C would be a matter of course:

Hence there is reason to suspect that A is true

(Peirce 1931–1935; 5.189).

The formula explains how a hypothesis is adopted for a reason and the reason gives support for it. For Peirce, abduction was just the first stage of scientific inquiry to be followed by deduction and induction. But the distinctions between these three types of inferences were blurred. Abduction was about suggesting and accepting an explanatory hypothesis for empirical testing. (Fann 1970, 31–32.)

Later, Niiniluoto (1983) developed a general pattern of abductive reasoning, followed in this study, from the views of Peirce and Hanson:
A surprising fact e is perceived. It is reasonable to assume that some hypothesis of type H explains e. Thus, it is reasonable to presume that some hypothesis of type H is true.

The first premise of the model presents the reasons to propose hypothesis H and the second premise the basis for accepting the hypothesis H. (Niiniluoto 1983, 154–156.) Reasoning in abduction can also be described in the following way: in abduction, the deductive consequences of the hypothesis constructed from a fact provide inductive support for the hypothesis. In other words, a presumption is made by generalizing or intuition from a fact and then, it is supported by generalizations from individual cases. The original hypothesis is selected because it has explanatory power. (See Figure 5-1.) Niiniluoto's formula leaves more space for a qualitative researcher to invent and test rival hypotheses.

Broom and Dozier (1990) presented a similar type of formula for theory development in their description of a spiral of science. In their model, the phases of theory construction (based in empirical generalization) and observation (after operationalization) alternate in the process to refine a theory. (Broom & Dozier 1990, 94–95.) The former phase is, however, dealt with as if it was pure induction.

In abductive reasoning, facts (actual experience) are always considered to be logical. Only the presenting of an experience (in a research report) can be suspected and its logic can be evaluated. The purpose of scientific research is to find the logic occurring at a practical level. How the problem of presentation is solved, then, can be a result of logical or illogical, even not logical, thinking. In abductive reasoning, logic is about making the processes of thinking systematic under the guidance of scientific norms on what is logical. (Grönlund 1985, 33–37.)

In this study, the new model of effective lobbying is used as a clue of the abductive reasoning. It is constructed based on earlier research on lobbying and developed in the multiple case-study conducted for the author’s Master's thesis. The model describes and explains lobbying by organizations to achieve their political objectives. This model is verified and changed, if necessary, to correspond well to the reality by using the replication logic of case studies (from case to case). Case study research has been accused of not being helpful in making scientific generalizations. However, making generalizations from single experimental studies may also be suspect. Scientific facts are usually based on several repeated experiments in which the same phenomenon is observed in different circumstances. This can be applied also in case study research in which the same phenomenon is observed in many cases. Thus, the results of case studies can be generalized, as the experimental studies, to
theoretical propositions, but not to populations. (Yin 1989, 21.) The method of generalization and theory building in case studies is analytic generalization that is different from statistical generalization. In analytic generalization, a previously developed theory is compared with the results of one or more case studies. Empirical results can also be compared with a rival theory. If the results do not support it, then they are even more potent. (Yin 1989, 38.) According to Yin (1989), forming propositions in advance is important. They help in data gathering and analysis. (Yin 1989, 33–35.) In accordance with the thinking above, it can be thought that a single case, a previous theory, or intuition gives a hint of more general regularities that can be shown to be supported by new cases.

5.1.2 Multiple Cases and the Logic of Replication

The other component of the research strategy, replication logic, is an essential method of theory development in multiple-case studies. According to Marshall and Rossman, a case study strategy is appropriate for exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory purposes. A multiple case design is especially appropriate for exploratory studies in which a researcher tries to identify and explain relationships causing and shaping the phenomenon, e.g., what events and policies are shaping the phenomenon. (Marshall & Rossman 1995, 41.) In this study, issues and communication strategies shaping lobbying are studied. Yin (1989), too, claims that case-study is appropriate when ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions are asked. Yin (1981) defines case study as a research strategy in the following way:

Case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence is used (Yin 1989, 23).

A case study may include one or multiple cases. In this study, a multiple case-study design is used because it allows observing different strategies of the new model. In addition to case selection based on the 12 categories suggested by the model, a theoretical framework is build to identify and contrast essential categories of cases to be studied. Individual cases are then observed in a holistic way, only the general nature of lobbying programs are investigated. Embedded design would include data collection and analysis of many units of analysis in each case. (Yin 1989, 46–50.)

The logic of replication used in multiple-case studies is the logic behind analytic generalization, and it is different from the sampling logic. The logic
Table 5-1. The theoretical framework (levels of decision-making and the states of contingency factors).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level/Factor</th>
<th>FIN</th>
<th>EU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decision-makers +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision-makers 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision-makers -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level/Factor</th>
<th>FIN</th>
<th>EU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Competition +</td>
<td>Media &amp; citizens +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competition -</td>
<td>Media &amp; citizens -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of replication is about drawing conclusions and making comparisons between cases. In this study, replication logic is used to test whether organizations act as the new model would suggest in certain kinds of situations and to reveal new observations on organizational actions. The literary replication occurs between cases that produce similar results (where similar strategies determined by a situation are found) and the theoretical replication between cases that produce different results for predictable reasons (different situation determining the strategy or different strategy determining the result). Otherwise, the empirical results do not confirm the model, and the disconforming evidence must be summarized and the model changed based on this new evidence in order to fulfill the process of abduction.

The theoretical framework for choosing the cases and conducting replication is presented in Table 5-1. The literary replication occurs within each cell of the tables and the theoretical replication between cells in a column and in a row (The national and the European level are compared with each other.). Two or more comparable cases should be included in each category for a full replication to occur (Yin 1989).

5.1.3 Propositions

The reasoning can be supported by forming propositions covering the whole model. The propositions built for this study include rules to link contingency factors to strategies and rules to implement the strategies. Some other propositions stating the general framework aspects of the new model were also used in the author’s Master’s thesis. (Jaatinen 1998, 32.) The occurrence of these propositions can, then, be observed in the whole empirical material
(all cases) or combinations of these rules in single cases. In individual cases, a combination of these propositions represent the strategic choices made by the organization in the prevailing situation and this combination can be used in determining the situation the lobbyist finds itself in. These rules are called the rules of influence and the rules of conflict resolution. The conflict resolution rules have been added to the propositions in connection with this further study (Jaatinen 1998, 32). The strategic choices of a specific situation are determined by 1–3 influence and 1 conflict propositions. The rules of implementation can be used to identify the tactics used by the lobbyist and to determine the strategy used. There are 11 propositions giving advice on lobbying and 6 rules of implementation (from A to F) describing the communication tactics. The new propositions are the following:

Rules for Influence:

1. When the political decision-maker has the same (positive) opinion as the lobbyist in a certain issue, the opinion can be enhanced and maintained by indicating the supportive opinions of his/her background factors (opinions of his/her constituents, parliamentary group/ government position, and the party) and other participants in the political process (at least the public opinion concerning the decision-maker’s image and actions).

2. A neutral political decision-maker can be influenced by creating a majority among his/her constituents on the positive side of an issue, by disengaging the decision-maker from or convincing his/her parliamentary group and the party, and by efforts to influence public opinion concerning the decision-maker’s image and actions.

3. The (negative) opinion of an opposing decision-maker can be changed by creating dispersion among his/her constituents, by disengaging the decision-maker from or convincing his/her parliamentary group and the party, and by influencing public opinion concerning his/her actions (his/her public image).

4. The personal preferences of the political decision-maker has more influence on the decision-maker’s behavior when his hands are not tied by the opinion of his/her constituents, parliamentary group or party. These can be negotiated on.

5. When the state of competition between participants in the political decision-making concerning an issue is favorable for the lobbyist (supports a positive decision), the political decision-maker can be motivated to take the same (positive) stand and influenced by improving the visibility of the organized interests.

6. When the state of competition between participants in the political decision-making concerning an issue is unfavorable to a lobbyist (supports a negative decision), the political decision-maker can be motivated to take a stand held by the lobbyist and influenced by increasing the power of the lobbyist’s side by building coalitions with the like-minded, using competitive advantage, and persuading
opponents to change their mind.

7. In political decision-making, an advantage is gained by those groups who favour the status quo, compared to those trying to bring about a change. If a lobbyist tries to change the prevailing situation, he/she has to try to gain competitive advantage in relation to other interests.

8. a) When a majority of the media support the lobbyist’s views (the positive decision), the lobbyist can try to influence the political decision-maker by informing him/her of this situation or by publicizing its views in the media i.e. influencing the public opinion.

8. b) When the citizen opinion supports the lobbyist’s views (the positive decision), the lobbyist can try to influence the political decision-maker by informing him/her of this situation or by publicizing public opinion polls in the media.

9. a) When it is probable that the media oppose the lobbyist’s views, the lobbyist can try to hide their opinion until public discussion begins. Hiding means that this opinion is not asked for and these actors are not informed on the decision-making process. When the adversaries have woken up in the media, the political decision-maker can be influenced by persuading the representatives of the media to change their opinion (take a positive stand).

9. b) When it is probable that the citizens would oppose the lobbyist’s views, the lobbyist can try to hide their opinion until public discussion begins. Hiding means that this opinion is not asked for and these actors are not informed on the decision-making process. When the adversaries have woken up, the political decision-maker can be influenced by creating support for the lobbyist’s views (positive stand) among the citizens.

10. When the opinions of the media and the citizens are dispersed, these do not have influence on the behavior of the political decision-maker. In this case, the lobbyist can try to mold the opinions of the representatives of the media and the opinions of citizens. (Jaatinen 1998, 32–33.)

Rules for conflict resolution:

11. a) When the opinions and the proposal of a lobbyist meet resistance, the lobbyist can try to integrate the interests of adversaries into the proposal.

11. b) When the opinions and the proposal of a lobbyist meet the resistance and when this can hinder the lobbyist from achieving its goals, it may be useful to change the lobbying strategy in the issue so that it takes into account the interests of the opponents.

(Tha rule for adaptation)

11. c) When the possibilities to have influence on political decision-making are weak because of widespread resistance to a lobbyist’s views, it may be necessary to adapt the organization and its constituents to new circumstances. (Jaatinen 1998, 33.)
Rules of implementation:

A. The constituent opinion as a decision-maker’s background factor can be influenced by improving the visibility of the desired opinion, i.e., by informing the decision-maker of the supportive opinions of his/her constituents (direct contacts), by creating a majority among the constituents on the supportive side of the issue molding their opinion directly (molding the opinion of the constituents) or through the mass media (media relations), by creating an impression of a majority among the constituents mobilizing them to inform their representative on their views (grassroots and constituency mobilization), or creating dispersion among the constituents (molding the opinion of the constituents).

B. The personal view of a decision-maker can be influenced by negotiating about an issue with the decision-maker (direct contacts), by motivating him/her (campaign contributions), and by mobilization of the citizens and the constituents of a lobbyist to tell the decision-maker on their views (G&C-mobilization). The parliamentary group and the party positions as a decision-maker’s background factors can be influenced by informing the decision-maker about their opinions supportive to a lobbyist’s views (direct contacts). If their opinions are against the views of a lobbyist, individual decision-maker can be influenced by disengaging the decision-maker from his/her parliamentary group and the party either by informing and persuasion of the whole group or the representatives of the party (direct contacts to these groups) or by motivating (campaign contributions) the decision-maker to take a different stand from the stand held by these groups.

C. Public opinion (in the mass media) concerning the decision-maker’s image and actions and having an effect on the decision-maker as his/her background factor can be influenced by informing the decision-maker of the support given by public opinion (direct contacts) or by efforts to influence the public opinion on the decision-maker and his/her action (media relations and molding public opinions).

D. In a situation of fierce competition, the visibility of the organized interests can be increased by informing the decision-maker (direct contacts) or by building coalitions with other actors (coalitions). In relation to the competitors, a lobbyist can gain competitive advantage by motivating the decision-maker more (campaign contributions), by increasing its power (coalitions), by timing its actions right, and by creating or using its distinctiveness (tactics of competition). The adversaries’ opinions can be changed by direct influence (direct contacts to these publics).

E. The lobbyist can inform the decision-maker directly about the opinions of the mass media and the citizens (direct contacts) or by publicizing its views and opinion polls made on citizen opinions through the mass media (media relations). The lobbyist can try to create and increase support for its course by influencing the opinions of the representatives of the media (media relations) and molding the citizen opinion (media relations, direct molding of opinions) or by creating an impression of a majority among the citizens on the supportive side of the issue (G&C-mobilization). Adverse opinions can be hidden until they wake up and require molding.
Integration is achieved by including the interests of the adversaries in one's own proposals (negotiation). A change of strategy means changing the objectives concerning an issue so that they take into account the objectives of the adversaries (negotiation, adaptation). The adaptation of an organization means giving up the original objectives and creating new plans (negotiation, adaptation, emergency tactics).

Now, the pattern for reasoning can be presented by a scheme consisting of the strategic choices and the organizational action and a scheme consisting of the organizational action and its results:

1) Scheme of strategic choices and organizational action

   Results confirming the model:
   
   same situation  ⇒  same strategy
   different situation  ⇒  different strategy

   Results disconfirming and renovating the model:
   
   different situation  ⇒  same strategy
   same situation  ⇒  different strategy

2) Scheme of the organizational action and its results

   Results confirming the model:
   
   same strategy  ⇒  same results
   different strategy  ⇒  different results

   Results disconfirming and renovating the model:
   
   different strategy  ⇒  same results
   same strategy  ⇒  different results

In addition to this total approach, an approach based on comparing strategies produced in situations that are different for one strategic choice, can be used. The schemes are similar but the conclusions and comparisons are made only on one strategic choice occurring in the cases. An example of this kind of approach could be one in which cases of favorable competition are summarized on how the lobbyists react to competition and cases of unfavorable competition are summarized in the same manner. Then, these two groups of cases are compared to establish how they differ in their approach to competitors. (See Table 5.1.)

5.2 Research Methods

The empirical material for this study was gathered by qualitative methods.
The qualitative methods embrace methods to describe and interpret social phenomena and meanings behind naturally occurring phenomena (Van Maanen 1985, 9–13).

The main reason for choosing qualitative methodology is that one of the purposes of this study is to explore new independent and dependent variables shaping the phenomenon of lobbying and find out how these variables interact to generate the dynamics of lobbying. There is little explication of dynamics in previous communication theories or related to contingency models. This study tries to explain how the change happens and not just what kinds of relationships can be found between two variables in the sense that one is causing the other. According to Marshall and Rosman, qualitative methods allow the researcher to go in depth into complex interactions and processes of the phenomenon, to study informal and unstructured linkages, and are useful in studying little known phenomena and identifying relevant variables (Marshall & Rosman 1995, 43). In addition, the model is applied in a new context, the level of the EU.

The study also stresses the importance of the setting in which lobbying is conducted. The setting is a constitutive element of the new model. According to Marshall and Rossmann, qualitative methods allow the researcher to account for the influence of the context (Marshall & Rossmann 1995, 39). In addition to the context of lobbying, the context of interviewing is relevant to this notion. The study tries to build a model that describes the phenomenon from the meaning perspective of the interviewees. Qualitative methods make it possible to look at how people define their situations (Marshall & Rossmann 1995, 39). The flexibility of the qualitative methods make it possible to probe new information based on clues appearing in the data because one can adapt the design and instruments to the reality to better serve the purposes of the study. This is particularly useful in the attempt to improve the new model of lobbying and supports the abductive logic.

By using qualitative methods, the distance between theory and data, concepts and their empirical indicators, and context and action can be reduced. The phenomena studied are observed close to their origins. Concepts are formed “in vivo”. The logic of scientific empiricism and statistical generalizations used in quantitative studies do not guide a researcher using qualitative methods, but he or she is helped by the logic of phenomenological analysis. On the other hand, as the interpretive framework is accepted, the qualitative material can be arranged using analytical formulas and a quantitative approach. (Van Maanen 1985, 9–13.) After the quantitative analysis, a researcher still has to deal with interpretive tasks that require a qualitative approach, e.g., finding causal explanations for statistical
relationships, meanings for variables.

The fundamental nature of the processes of classification, reasoning, and interpretation are, however, of the same kind in the qualitative and quantitative approach. The analytic operations of qualitative methods are not as unambiguous as those of quantitative methods in which the empirical material must be defined accurately in order to use arithmetic operations. However, in qualitative methods the processes of data collection and analysis can overlap and the loosely defined population does not restrict the study as much. (Mäkelä 1990, 42–47.) In case studies, both qualitative and quantitative methods can be used. In this study, both methods were used in the analysis of the empirical material. The purpose of quantification and classification of the qualitative material is to help to separate the essential from the unessential.

5.2.1 Data Collection Methods

The main method to gather the empirical material for this study was a loosely-structured interview technique, i.e., a semi-structured focused interview (Merton et al. 1956, 3), a nonschedule-structured personal interview (Nachmias, D. & Nachmias, C. 1981, 237), a joint-constructed discourse guided by contextual norms (Mishler 1986, 137–138), or a theme interview (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 1985), in which discussion concentrates on predetermined topics but flexibility is maintained keeping the questions open ended. Interviews are a central method of data collection in qualitative studies. In theme interviews, discussion is focused on certain topics on which questions are loosely defined in advance. It is used when there are not several interviewees because it generates an abundance of thorough-going information for analysis. It is particularly appropriate when emotionally delicate matters are studied or when the interviewees are partly unaware of the phenomenon, when the interviewees are supposed not to remember everything and this might produce erroneous answers, or when the phenomenon under study is such that the interviewees are not used to discuss the matter. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 1985, 35–38.)

A loosely-structured interview is also an appropriate method to study such a sensitive phenomenon as lobbying in Finland. The Finnish lobbyists are not seen to admit they are lobbyists because the role has a stigma of corruption and undemocratic bargaining. In Finland, building legitimacy and maintaining credibility is an actual problem, especially for the big interest groups operating in the corporatist sphere of interest representation. Organizational strategies are also a subject requiring confidentiality.
Strategies are usually not revealed to external publics. In addition, the
questions deal with abstract rules for action and strategies that the inter-
viewees possibly are not aware of. The interviews are conducted to find out
principles of decision-making concerning lobbying and awareness of the
lobbyists of their political environment. Furthermore, the phenomenon has
not been studied very much in Finland and most of the data will be new
information. Thus, this qualitative data collection method will assure that no
theory will be imposed on Finnish reality, but the new subject of study is
allowed to speak its own language.

The interview method used can also be called elite-interviewing because
the participants were chosen based on their expertise in lobbying and these
kinds of people tend to be in managerial positions. Elite-interviewing was
chosen because elite people can give an overall view of an organization and
its environment and they can give information on organizational policies and
future plans (Marshall & Rossman 1995, 83). The problem of access to these
people was solved by sending them a letter to ask for their participation and
signed by both the author and her advisor. The time for the interview was also
limited to an hour and a half to adapt to the busy schedule of these people. If
the interviewees voluntarily devoted more time to the interview, it was
possible to go into more depth for some topics.

The themes or topics for the interviews were the same for all the inter-
views. This standardization makes it possible to compare single cases with
each other and to draw conclusions on similarities. Despite the
standardization of the topics, the operationalization, i.e., specific questions
posed, varied from one interview to another but the purpose was to cover the
same meanings.

The author’s Master’s Thesis (Jaatinen 1994) was used as a pilot study
in which most of the interview topics and questions were tested. In that study,
topics from 4 to 8 and related questions were used in 8 cases. The old
questions and the new topics and questions were modified after the first, the
second, and the third interview to better fit with the purpose of the questions
and to tackle the frames of reference or language used by the interviewees.

In general, the themes of the interviews were derived from the research
questions. The first themes dealt with matters such as the education and
experience of lobbying the interviewee has and how the organization he or
she represents conduct lobbying in general. Next, the issues to be discussed in
detail were selected based on each interviewee’s views on the centrality of the
issue to the activities of the interest group and how they had succeeded in
lobbying the issue and based on the interviewer’s view on how this case fitted
in this study. The following themes dealt with individual issues that the
interviewee had lobbied. The political objectives, publics of communication, means of lobbying, factors affecting success, and the results of the interest group activities in each phase of the political process of an issue were discussed. At the end of the interview, some general themes on lobbying in different kinds of issues and at different levels of political decision-making were raised. The themes and questions for the interviews are presented in Appendix 1.

Because in qualitative studies, the interviewer is the instrument of research, certain technical and interpersonal issues should be considered. Technical issues address time, resources, and access. (Marshall & Rossman 1995, 59.) In this study, the interviewer was a complete observer and she spent only a short time on the site. The interpersonal considerations include trust, reciprocity, and ethics (Marshall & Rossman 1995, 65). The building of trust began with the letter to ask for participation and proceeded during the interview. In the letter, the potential interviewees were told about the purpose of the study at a general level and what was expected of them if they participate in the study. Thus, the research intent was fully disclosed and the participants were allowed an informed consent and free choice. This is essential, because the participants have the right to protection (Locke et al. 1993, 29).

At the beginning of each interview, the participants were asked whether they would like to stay anonymous and they were told that the sources of the citations are kept confidential. None of the interviewees requested anonymity but the author thought that confidentiality was essential for eliciting significant data on the sensitive subject of lobbying. The participants were given full contact information for all questions, ideas, and possible withdrawal. At the end of the research process, it was considered valuable to ask the interviewees for their permission for the open use of their names and the names of their organizations. At this point, the interviewees were sent a copy of the almost finished research report so that they could see for what they were being asked to give permission for publishing. The interviewees were also given the choice of staying anonymous. However, all the interviewees gave their permission for the open use of their names.

The rule of reciprocity was followed by promising all the interviewees that they would be sent a report on the results of the study. The interviewees were told that they were selected because of their expertise and the significant contribution they could make. This allows them to feel rightfully proud of having participated in the study (Locke et al. 1993, 33). The participants were also reciprocated if they asked the researcher to talk about her points of views. This was done only after the interviewee’s point of interest was first
accounted for. This helped to guarantee the cooperation of intelligent people curious about the subject under study. This was done, however, with care and acknowledging the point of view of the interviewee so that the researcher would not impose her frames of reference on the topic and judge the point of view of the interviewee. The interviewees were encouraged to talk about their experiences and how they saw things by small signs of acceptance of their accounts.

Due to the nature of the subject of study, data had to be collected using more than one method. In addition to interviews, observation was used related to the interviews. The focus of observations was to make notes on the behavior of the interviewee in order to evaluate the material and individual statements gathered. Some literary documents were also collected on the interviewees’ organizations and the issues lobbied. These include general brochures on the activities and organization of the interest group and legal documents on political and legislative decisions made in the ministries and parliamentary committees dealing with the issues and decisions made by the government and parliament of Finland. The documents concerning decisions made by the institutions of the EU were gathered to the degree it was possible. The use of different instruments to gather information from the same object of study increases the reliability of the study (congruence between results) (Pietilä 1976, 234).

5.2.2 Methods of Analysis

According to Marshall and Rossman (1995), a good qualitative study report has abundant evidence from raw data to demonstrate the connection between the results and reality. This evidence is presented with the aid of citations, charts, graphics, models, and figures. (Marshall & Rossman 1995, 147.) The empirical, qualitative material collected in this study was analyzed using classification. The topics of interviews generated information of which the most essential is arranged in tables constructed for this purpose (See Appendix 2.). Representative examples of the interviewees statements confirming the claims made will be presented as they are related to the results. In addition, the analysis of cases follow the schemes presented in Section 5.1.3.

Mikkeli (1990) presented criteria for evaluating qualitative analysis. Successful analysis produces significant data and takes into account the society or culture in which the study in conducted. It generates enough material following the principles of saturation and diversity. The scope of a successful analysis is such that the results are representative. The reasoning is
presented so that it can be followed and the analysis can be evaluated. The analysis should be repeatable, that is, the rules of classification and interpretation should be unambiguous. (Mäkelä 1990, 47–61.) According to Sieber (cited by Miles 1985), a good analysis is characterized by the intertwining of data collection and analysis, classification of the phenomena studied, identification of relationships between concepts and noting the regularities, and testing of the hypothesis in advance in order to eliminate intervening variables and other confounding factors. The rules of thumb for qualitative analysis include 1) considering the validity of an individual generalization, 2) making a prediction based of the generalization and testing it, 3) testing the propositions, and 4) analyzing the extremely biased cases. (Miles 1985, 126–127.)

5.2.3 Criteria of Soundness

The conventional criteria to evaluate quantitative research include the concepts of validity and reliability. One of the generally accepted definitions of validity is that the measuring instrument is valid if it fully and accurately measures the construct it purports to measure (Smith 1988, 48). Reliability means that the measuring instrument is accurate and gives reliable information about the phenomenon studied. The data is free from random errors. (Pietilä, V. 1976, Smith 1988, 46.) However, Lincoln and Guba (1985) maintained these conventional criteria are inappropriate to evaluate naturalistic research (Lincoln & Guba 1985, 294–301) and Marshall and Rossman (1995) extended this notion to concern qualitative inquiry in general (Marshall & Rossman 1995, 143).

Lincoln and Guba also presented new criteria that can be used to evaluate and establish the trustworthiness of qualitative research: credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba 1985, 294–301). The criterion of internal validity is replaced with the criterion of credibility to establish “truth value”. There is a shift from control or randomization to face-value. Credibility is determined based on adequate portrayal of the perceptions of the subjects. (Lincoln & Guba 1985, 294–296.) In this study, credibility is sought for by giving a large number of citations to guarantee this and by presenting both confirming and disconfirming evidence if found. Flexible data collection and triangulation by sources (interviews and documents) and by methods (interviews and observation) should also guarantee that the meaning perspectives of the interviewees are fully counted for. The interviewees also had a chance to make corrections to the interpretations of the researcher when they were sent a copy of the findings to
ask for their permission for the open use of their names in this dissertation (member checking). The interviews with the experts of lobbying concerning the preliminary findings of this study and the interpretations of the researcher can also be regarded as one method of increasing credibility (referential adequacy).

The problem of generalizability used to be solved by guaranteeing external validity achieved by statistical generalization. According to Lincoln and Guba, the criterion of external validity should be replaced with the criterion of transferability that means the ability to apply findings to other contexts for the objects of study (Lincoln & Guba 1985, 296–298). In a naturalist inquiry, transferability of the findings to new populations rests on the shoulders of the researcher conducting a new study. The researcher conducting this study can only be held responsible for the generalizations made about the sample used to the population from which it was drawn. (Marshall & Rossman 1995, 144.) A naturalist researcher is responsible for providing a comprehensive description of the time and context of research in order to ease the task of transferring and judging transferability (Lincoln & Guba 1985, 296–298). In this study, a lot of contextual information is provided in this purpose. However, it is also claimed that generalizability to theory can be achieved in multiple-case studies through analytical generalization. The author claims generalizability to the Finnish context and to the interest groups. There is a high probability that new successful cases of lobbying in this context will be found in which the new model of effective lobbying is applicable. In analytical generalization, standardization of interviews and the replication logic of multiple case studies are of help. Triangulating multiple sources of data helps also to enhance generalizability (Marshall & Rossman 1995, 144). Grönfors (1985) makes a remark on abductive reasoning that the difference between internal and external validity disappears because the empirical material is always valid even if it includes contradictions. The issue, then, is how one uses and presents the material. (Grönfors 1985, 36.) In naturalist terms, this means that the difference between credibility and transferability disappears.

Lincoln and Guba suggested that the criterion of reliability is replaced with the criterion of dependability. When it is not possible to rely on repetition to establish the consistency of the results, it is time to acknowledge that the social world is changing. In a naturalist study, the goal of the researcher is to take into account and to account for the changing conditions in the social phenomenon and the changes in the research design due to greater understanding of the phenomenon under study. Dependability is a standard to evaluate adaptation to the situation in which the research is made,
to the research setting, and changing conditions in the phenomenon studied. (Lincoln & Guba 1985, 298-299.) In this study, flexible data collection, the effort to portray the meaning perspectives of the interviewees, and continuous observation of issues under study and the changes in the political system should also help in adapting to the setting and the changing social world. Constant book-keeping and a detailed description of the procedures should help readers to determine the acceptability of the research process - a criterion establishing dependability if fulfilled (Lincoln & Guba 1985, 317).

Another criterion that can be used to determine reliability is congruence, i.e., correspondence of data collected by one method with data collected with another method, provided that the phenomenon and the subject of study are the same (Pietilä, V. 1976). The use of different instruments to gather information from the same object of study made it possible to compare the results with each other. The reliability was assured also by making the questions unambiguous, sending them to the interviewees in advance, and checking the themes of the interviews with my supervisor. Furthermore, most of the themes and questions were tested in relation to the author’s Master’s thesis.

Finally, Lincoln and Guba replaced the conventional criterion of objectivity as a solution to the problem of neutrality with the new criterion of confirmability. There is a shift from judging an investigator’s characteristics to judging confirmability of the data, whether the findings and inferences are logical and based on the data. The data are confirmable if another researcher can draw the same conclusions based on the data. (Lincoln & Guba 1985, 299–301, 318–327.) In this study, confirmability was ensured by providing a wealth of evidence presented by citations (the data) in the report, description of analysis procedures, and presentation of classified data using tables.

5.3 Objects of Study and Empirical Material

The research setting of this multiple-case study consists of many issues and many levels. The objects of study consist of the interviewed lobbyists and cases constructed based on political issues in which the lobbyists have lobbyed as part of their everyday work. The interviewees were chosen from among the representatives of Finnish interest groups that lobby on different political sectors. The selected organizations were central unions or confederations of the interest groups. Interest groups are an appropriate and fruitful population to study lobbying in Finland, because these groups represent all the different sectors of society and are the main organizations conducting lobbying. The
level of organization in Finland is high, and business also has associations to represent it. There are not many commercial or contract lobbyists but the number is growing because of the need to lobby at the EU-level.

The lobbyists and organizations selected for this study are examples of successful lobbying. The lobbyists had been promoted to managerial positions and represented their organizations at the EU-level. The organizations had achieved a powerful position in the society in the sense they are the central organization in their political sector in Finland and have permanent representation in many organs of the political system. In addition, these organizations are the representatives of the Finnish in the European associations of the political sector.

One representative was interviewed from each association. The interviewees are experts on their political sector and have several years of experience of lobbying at different levels of political decision-making. Each interviewee was asked about political issues for which she or he had successfully lobbied for during 1995–1997. In this way, the issues would represent successful cases and help in constructing a normative model of lobbying. These political issues were chosen so that one of them involved lobbying at the EU level, one at the national level. Local level issues were detected, also. In this way, at least as many main issues or political sectors were included in the study as there were associations or their representatives. From one to three minor issues on each political sector could be observed, and the minor issues of one political sector were lobbied and observed at different levels. This made it possible to study how lobbying on one main issue differs according to the level of political decision-making and if these differences repeat themselves from one main issue to another.

The method of choosing the issues this way made it also possible to include several issues of the same levels in this study: as many European issues as there are associations, as many national issues as there are associations, and as many local issues as there are interviewees and associations operating at the local level and willing to discuss about that. Lobbying for different main issues could be compared with each other at each level so as to answer the question of how lobbying differs according to the content of the issue. In addition, differences at one level could be contrasted with differences at other levels. A model of each level could be built and compared with models of other levels. There were as many minor issues altogether as there were interviewees and issues they had lobbied: $8 \times 1(\sim 3) = 8(\sim 24)$. The cases consist of minor issues that the lobbyists lobbied for at different levels of political decision-making.

Each case involves a main lobbying strategy and 1–3 strategies
depending on the opinion of the decision-makers targeted (same opinion/neutral/different opinion). In addition, in each case where there is a change of situation and strategy, there may be 3 strategies per situation at the beginning and the same number of changed strategies in the new situation.

In the end, as many lobbyists were included in the study as was necessary for the saturation of knowledge. The first lobbyists were selected based on the calendars published by the Association of the Political Journalists in Finland and by the Finnish Economic Correspondents. The rest were selected based on the “snow-ball effect”, i.e., asking the interviewees to point out one lobbyist they think should be interviewed for this study. The organizations were chosen from different political sectors in order to improve the generalizability of the results to the domain of interest groups.

5.3.1 Issues and Levels

There were altogether 15 political issues or cases selected for closer analysis. Eight of them were national level issues and 7 EU-level issues. They will be briefly discussed in this section, and the lobbyists interviewed will be presented in the next section. Case analysis and results will be presented in chapter 6. Facts about the issues and lobbyists are presented in the Appendix 3.

Five of the national issues resulted in a law being established by the Finnish parliament, one in a budget law legislated by the Parliament, one in a decision made by the Finnish government, and one in a Government statute. Thus, all these decisions were made in a political process and by a parliamentary institution. In two of the cases, the EU-level functioned as an intervening variable or tactic used by the lobbyist to change the national political process.

The first of the national issues resulting in a law adopted by the Finnish parliament concerned energy policy. Laws on *energy taxation* and its structure were changed in order to confirm to the directives of the EU and to maintain the competitiveness of Finnish industry. This meant that taxation on energy sources was abandoned and taxation on the product, electricity, was begun. This issue generated heated debate between the industrial interests and the private household and green interests, because the level of taxation in general had to be increased in the same time. The green interest was against some structural changes because these changes made it more profitable than before to produce energy from coal that generated CO₂-emissions. The final decision legislated that taxation will be based on consumed product despite the fact that the competitiveness of coal would increase. In addition, the household taxes were increased, those of industry were not.
The second issue concerned finance policy. A law to found new communal centers for giving guarantees for organizations in financial markets was made. The initiative came from the association for local communities and was prepared by the Finnish authorities. However, the Finnish Bankers’ association claimed the decision was not consistent with EU directives and cannot be made because it violated the principles of free competition and open markets for capital. The system was first intended to be compulsory but was changed to an optional one before the final decision. The Finnish banks were dissatisfied and appealed to the European Commission, because they feared losing some of their privileges in the new legislative environment.

The third law dealt with jobs that involved irregular working hours, e.g., part-time jobs. These kinds of employment relationships have increased during the last years in Finland, and many people change from this kind of job to another and do not get any benefits usually received by people in ordinary kinds of employment relationships. The issue was about the rights of the employees to receive sick benefits and to have their pension contributions paid in cases where they have a job for less than one month. This labor issue was opposed by the employers’ associations, but the parliament legislated a law favorable to employee interests. The issue also involved campaigns to make citizens aware of the problems related to these kinds of employment relationships.

The fourth law was related to business hours. It became a consumer rights and trade issue heavily opposed by the state church and special religious groups, and by some employee groups and small shopkeepers. The consumer interest and the interest of the commercial entrepreneurs lay in the deregulation of the business hours. The religious and labor interest was to keep shops closed on Sundays. The final result was a compromise that made it legal to keep shops open on Sundays during the summer months and in December. The decision was left to shop owners, and at first it seemed convenient to keep the shops closed: in the capital area, only the shops in the city of Helsinki were mainly open in the summer time and the shops in neighboring cities stayed closed.

The fifth issue resulted in legislation on voluntary insurances. In addition to the statutory collective systems for employment pensions (national pension, employment pension), there is a need for individual insurances to get full pension coverage. These kinds of voluntary pensions have been created during the last years to supplement the security provided by the employment pension. However, the issue has risen and time again on the appropriate role of the voluntary insurances and the principles of taxation, deductibility of
the payments, and taxation value. It is in the interests of the insurance companies that these voluntary insurances can be taken and that their taxation is similar to statutory pensions. The employers support this, but the employees’ associations and the social welfare and social security officials have criticized the new system.

The issue on international communications by the forest industry resulted in a budget law to grant subsidies from the state budget. It was meant to make it possible for the Finnish forest associations to inform international potential customers and investors about Finnish forest industry and to build up the image of the industry abroad. This would be to the benefit of Finland’s economy. There was no public debate on the subsidies, but other political sectors were also interested in getting money from the budget. Thus, the forest interests had to remind the political decision-makers and the public officials on the consensus reached in order to get the money.

The decision by the Government concerned preservation of old forests in northern Finland. The issue was first negotiated in committees where the land owner (the state), public officials, political decision-makers, representatives of forest industry, and the environmental groups came to an agreement on the area to be preserved. The environmental groups would have liked a larger area to be protected whereas the other interests saw the economic constraints as more important. Despite the forest activists’ direct action at the local level, the environmentalists had to make some concessions. After the final decision, the environmentalists emphasized the kind of forestry to be practiced in areas that were not protected and began lobbying the administrators of the areas.

The statute by the Government regulated the hunting of wolves in the areas to the south of areas for breeding reindeers. At first, there was general agreement between different interests but later the situation changed. The hunters’ and producers’ associations would have liked to expand the area for their operations, but the environmental groups demanded a follow up on the principle of sustainable growth. The protection of wolves suffered a setback when public opinion in some eastern areas of Finland turned negative, because wolves had eaten some dogs there. Political decision-makers changed their mind and the protection regulations. However, the environmental groups found the new statute inconsistent with EU resolutions and threatened to appeal to the European Court.

One of the EU-level issues concerned mainly the constitutive treaties on the Union, one directives adopted by the Council of Ministers, two a regulation given by the European Commission one of which was accepted by the Council, and one a proposal given by the European Parliament. One issue
concerned social dialogue and was adopted by the Council of Ministers based on an agreement reached between negotiating parties, the European associations for employees and for employers. One issue resulted in a decision by the Commission on whether the national legislation was consistent with the EU’s legislation.

The issue concerning the constitutive treaties dealt with EMU. By the time of this study, the issue was still in the phase of preparation but the Finnish government had already taken a positive stand and was willing to join the EMU with the first countries. The Finnish banks made preparations with the Finnish authorities for the change to a new monetary system at the national level. The Finnish banks had also participated in the preparation at the EU-level. The European Monetary Union has been among the top issues in the EU for a few years, and its fate is continuously debated. The conservatives of France and the Christian-Democrats of Germany have supported the EMU, but the change of governments to socialists ones have produced fears that the plan would be abandoned. The southern European countries are enthusiastic to join the Union, but might be left out of the first phase if they do not fulfill the requirements for the membership. Britain, however, is completely against the Union and would not like to join. The issues of implementation are also complex because the bank systems in different member countries differ significantly from each other in some respects. For example, the Finnish system is largely electronic whereas a majority of payment traffic is conveyed by checks in other European countries such as France and England. To this date, the participation of the interest groups in this issue has mostly concerned the technical aspects of the change. However, it is expected that many groups will become active before the final decision is made at the national level. The adversaries to the EU-membership are continuing with the issue of the EMU. Industrial organizations advocate membership.

The directives adopted by the Council of Ministers dealt with the telecommunications policy and the opening of telecommunications markets in the European Union. The issues of implementation dealt with questions such as how it can be guaranteed that also unprofitable customer groups get the necessary services and what services must be offered to these groups. The dispute arouse between the customer interests and the manufacturers’ interests. The French advocated a monopolist approach, the Finnish and the Swedish advocated liberalization and an approach based on the duties of the concessionnaires, and the third model was based on special taxes. The final result was that liberalization of telecommunications went a long way forward.

The first of issues resulting in a regulation by the Commission dealt with
Table 5-2. Nature of the issues selected for the study and the level of decision-making.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature Level of Issue</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>European Union</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>EMU</td>
<td>Business hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Telecommunications</td>
<td>Energy taxation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irregular work and social security</td>
<td>Preservation of old forests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accident insurances</td>
<td>Irregular work and social security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forest strategy</td>
<td>Voluntary insurances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latent</td>
<td>Delivery systems for vehicles</td>
<td>Support for International communications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TACIS</td>
<td>Center for guarantees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hunting of wolves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

programs for cooperation between the border regions of Russia and the Federation of the Independent States on one hand and on the other, the border regions of the EU countries. The so called Taxis regulation was changed to include possibilities for Internet connections. This was made in relation to general reformation of the regulation and did not lead to much debate. The Finnish political decision-makers had agreed on it beforehand, and the commercial interests wanted to remind them of this possibility and make it sure that the idea will be incorporated in the new regulation. The regulation was finally adopted by the Commission and the Council.

The second issue resulting in regulation by Commission concerned the delivery systems of vehicles, especially private cars of different makes. The issue here lay between consumer rights and the rights of the manufacturers. The consumers would have liked more deregulation and a shorter period of validity for the new regulation that the Commission adopted alone with its right to this as an exception. The manufacturers wanted to maintain their right to sell their products in their own premises and not to have a system in which all makes of cars are sold in the same department store like supermarkets sell different kinds of food. The compromise reached allowed manufacturers to have their system but for a shorter time than what they had wanted.

The proposal made by the European Parliament for a legislative initiative concerned a common forest policy for the member countries. The proposal made suggestions for common forest strategies and dealt with the issue of having regulation for or not regulating the forest industry at the level of European Union. The issue has been one of the top topics in the mass media
and EU-institutions for a few years. The southern parts of Europe and the northern Europe, however, differ greatly when it comes to the importance of forests or the economy, forestry, and the climate. The Finnish were, at first, interested in a common forest policy but turned to support only common strategies. The issue was manifested in relation to the elections of the Finnish MEP’s. The forest interests lobbied the candidates and raised the issue also in the mass media in Finland.

The social dialogue continues at the level of the European Union, and one of the contemporary issues dealt with the rights of the employees working irregular hours. The issue is the same as at the national level, i.e., the social rights of the employees have to be secured in cases where they have to work irregular hours and are employed for only short periods. The employers’ associations would like to negotiate only on part-time jobs, but the employees’ association defines the concept more broadly. The debate also goes along the lines of state borders. The Nordic countries have a similar view on social rights whereas the view of the other European countries, e.g., the Netherlands, is somewhat different. The final decision will be based on an agreement reached between the negotiating parties, the European associations for the employers (CEEP, UNICE) and for the employees (ETUC). It will be adopted by the Council of Ministers. The Finnish organizations actively participated in the negotiation through their European associations, and they also had direct contacts with the institutions of the EU.

The legality of insurance legislation in Finland became an issue when the Finnish insurance associations anticipated the Commission’s action on the privileges of the Finnish companies in insurance markets. Finland had got a permission to protect its markets from EU competition because accident insurances were a part of the Finnish social security. However, these were also some sectors of the markets for damage or non-life insurance system which had already been opened to competition. This gave competitive advantage to Finnish insurance companies who logically anticipated the EU’s reaction and therefore suggested through their associations, the opening of accident insurance markets by national actions. At first, the Finnish employees’ associations and the political decision-makers in social affairs criticized the proposed changes but saw the importance of the changes later. Finnish legislation was enacted to make possible the opening, to protect customers of Finnish insurance companies abroad by a joint liability system, and to require companies operating in Finland to provide their customers with certain services in a prescribed time in Finnish or Swedish. The decision-makers of the EU institutions were informed of the changes made, and the Finns hoped that these changes would be enough for the EU.
5.3.2 Lobbyists

For the 15 political issues or cases required for the multiple-case design, eight lobbyists were interviewed. According to McCracken (1988), eight interviewees are sufficient for a qualitative researcher to capture the complicated nature of the phenomenon under study (McCracken 1988, 17). In addition, two lobbyists were interviewed as experts on lobbying and they commented on the preliminary research results. The first group of interviewees consisted of representatives of the interest groups selected for the case study. The interviewees are experts on their political sectors and have several years of experience on lobbying at different levels of political decision-making. The level of formal education among the interviewees is high: two of them have a Doctora. degree (one of whom has been nominated as a docent), five have Master’s degrees (one of whom is a post-graduate student), and one is a graduate student. The content of the formal education is diversified: three have degrees in social sciences, one has a degree in a technical field (engineering), one has a degree in agriculture and one in forestry, one has a degree in natural sciences (biology), and one studies adult education and pedagogy.

The interviewees have a long period of practical experience in lobbying: two of them have more than 20 years of experience, four have more than 10 years of practical experience, one has worked in the field for about 5 years, and one has been elected to a position of trust for his second term (One term is 2 years.). The interviewees occupy a high position in their organization: four of them are in the highest position possible taking care of the general management of their organization (the managing director, the chairman, the executive director, and the secretary general) and two of these also manage communications. The other 4 occupy the position of the director of their department that is in 2 cases, the department of international affairs, in 1 case, the public affairs department, and in 1 case, a political sector specific department. Two of these positions include responsibility for communication management.

The tasks of the interviewees did not differ based on how high a position they had. In fact, they all described their work to include the development of expertise, monitoring the environment, and informing the political decision-makers. A lot of their time was spent in representing the organization in various events. Five emphasized the role of external communications: three managed communication in general, two were the editor-in-chief of the paper published by their organization, two were issue campaigners or busy with agenda-setting activities and media relations, one stressed the centrality of
providing educational seminars for decision-makers in society, and two considered important the management of information campaigns directed at the citizens. International or European affairs were also an ordinary part of their work: three of the lobbyists occupied a position in the EU institution Economic and Social Committee, ECOSOC. One was a representative of her organization on a committee in this sector of the EU. One occupied a position in the executive board of the European association for cooperation in his field. Six of the organizations were members of the European associations for cooperation in their field, and the work of most of the members of these organizations, therefore, usually had an international dimension.

A general picture of these people would suggest that lobbyists usually are in a management position, in a position of an expert in one field, and many also active in communications. People occupied in public relations but not in expert tasks seldom lobby specific issues on behalf of their organization. These people, however, assist in achieving the political goals of the organization. The descriptions of the organizational activities and the planning systems for lobbying will be presented in Chapter 6 because they provide some of the answers to the research questions.

The second group consisted of two so-called grey eminences of Finland. They had worked for certain specific interests for a long time and their names came up during the interviews for the case study. These people were also known by name to the public-at-large as highly esteemed lobbyists who had done a remarkable job. By the time of this study, one of them was retired but was still interested in issues in the field and willing to make his contribution to the development of science in this field. The other one had just been appointed to the president of the central organization of one interest group, a highly esteemed and very demanding job in which one has to work continuously in the public eye. Before the nomination, he was also the permanent representative of a Finnish interest group in Brussels.

5.4 Delimitations and Limitations of the Study

The findings of this study can be safely generalized only to the context of Finland. The findings concerning lobbying at the European level can be safely generalized only to the Finnish in the European Union. However, since lobbying is highly dependent on the context, the political system, the theoretical findings, at least at the EU level, might have implications for lobbying in other Nordic countries, especially, but also in the European Union, in general. After all, one level of this study was the EU-level and the
theories used were foreign in large part. Through analytical generalization, it is possible to say that it is likely that organizations are found among interest groups in Finland that display same kind of characteristics and lobby issues important to them in the same way as the interest groups participating in this study. It is likely that new issues are found in which the lobbyists interviewed for this study would lobby in the same way as they lobbied in the issues observed in this study. In addition to the generalizability of these empirical findings, the theoretical findings may have interesting implications to other types of organizations and other types of issues. The lobbyists participating in this study and the issues were selected based on their success. Thus, there are also lobbyists and issues which have been less successful. In addition, the theories and the new model serve as normative guidelines of how to lobby. The model describes successful practice but it also gives accounts for failures.

In order to explain the dynamics of lobbying, it would have been ideal to study lobbying in a certain issue at several points of time, e.g., in different phases of the political process. However, observing many issues at several points of time would have been impossible for one researcher. Thus, in order to get information on these kinds of changes, the interview topics were designed so as to follow the political process of an issue. In this way, it was also possible to include several different kinds of issues in this study. In addition, situational dynamics are not necessarily dependent on the phases of the political process. These kinds of situational variations could be tackled by making interviews at several points of time but feasibility imposed limitations on this approach. In this study, the researcher relies heavily on the interviewees memory. However, the rationales given for changes are more important for this study than change in general. These kinds of rationales can be established in single interviews.

Participant observation would have been a method that would have helped the researcher to see better the relationships between concepts of interest in this study and helped the researcher to construct for herself the theoretical framework applied by her research subjects in practice. In this study, the researcher had to rely on the interviewees’ accounts and her ability to learn to see things with their eyes but maintaining ability to criticism. Since the author does not have any experience of lobbying, it might have been helpful to use participant observation. However, lobbying is a phenomenon the researcher is not allowed to observe real-time. It is a part of the nature of lobbying that it sometimes occurs hidden from the public eye. The only way to study lobbying is to ask lobbyists and targets of lobbying to tell their story. Thus, this limitation was not considered a very serious one. In her Master’s thesis, the author studied both parties in the relationship but concentrates on
lobbies in this study.