



## Lobbying

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Lobbyists contact with ministers and Members of Parliament is currently regulated through a number of non-statutory codes of conduct. In addition, certain categories of relevant information are routinely published by Government and the House of Commons.

In June 2007 the Public Administration Select Committee launched an inquiry into the lobbying industry. The Committee published their report in January 2009. Their recommendations included a call for a statutory register of lobbying activity to “bring greater transparency to the dealings between Whitehall decision makers and outside interests”.

The Labour Government’s response to the Public Administration Select Committee’s inquiry was published in October 2009. At the time, the Government did not accept the Committee’s case for a statutory register of lobbying activity, but did accept recommendations on some other matters. The Public Administration Select Committee published a follow-up report in December 2009 reiterating its call for a statutory register.

Following allegations about the lobbying activities of some former ministers in March 2010, the Labour Government announced that they would introduce a statutory mandatory register of lobbying activity but did not do so before the May 2010 General Election. The Coalition Agreement published by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Government in May 2010 said that the Government will introduce a statutory register of lobbyists and ensure greater transparency. Legislation is expected in the second Session of this Parliament.

Meanwhile, the lobbying industry responded to the Select Committee’s January 2009 report by establishing the Public Affairs Council Working Party to come up with proposals for a self-regulatory body. As a result, the UK Public Affairs Council was established in July 2010.

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## 1 A definition of lobbying

Lobbying can be broadly defined as seeking to influence decisions made by public office holders; such decisions can include the scope or content of legislation, the letting of a contract, or the broad direction of public policy. Lobbying can therefore involve a wide variety of activities and motivations. Many organisations lobby on their own behalves, others employ multi-client lobbying firms to seek to influence on their behalf. Such firms may also offer other services under the banner of ‘public relations’ or ‘public affairs’ such as media monitoring or media strategies. Bodies which lobby or employ lobbyists can include companies, charities, public bodies, trade associations and professional membership organisations as well as individuals who may ‘lobby’ their MP.

Difficulties associated with providing a definition of what it is ‘to lobby’ are seen by some as creating difficulties in any proposed regulation of lobbying. In particular, questions are raised about who would be subject to regulation, all those who try to exert an influence, or just those who are paid to lobby or advise on how to influence.

The UK Public Affairs Council (UKPAC) defines lobbying as follows:

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

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

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

Institutions of government means the UK Government, Parliament, the devolved legislatures or administrations, regional or local government or other public bodies.<sup>1</sup>

They then define ‘public affairs services’ as the provision of:

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

Public Affairs practitioner means any individual who, in a professional capacity, provides, as a substantive and sustained part of their responsibilities, public affairs services as defined above.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> UK Public Affairs Council, [Lobbying definition](#)

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*

The use of the term “in a professional capacity” excludes private individuals from the ambit of UKPAC. Also excluded under these terms are those who engage with institutions of government as a purely incidental part of their role, such as heads of not-for-profit organisations.

## 2 Background and recent developments

### 2.1 Public Administration Select Committee report, January 2009

In June 2007 the Public Administration Select Committee (PASC) launched an inquiry into “the transparency of the lobbying industry, the effectiveness of recent attempts at self-regulation, and whether the rules for those in Parliament and Government should be changed”.<sup>3</sup> The Committee’s report into lobbying, *Lobbying: Access and influence in Whitehall*, was published in January 2009.<sup>4</sup> The Committee summarised their conclusions as follows:

We propose that the ethics of the activities of lobbyists should be overseen and regulated by a rigorous and effective single body with robust input from outside the industry.

We propose that there should be register of lobbying activity provided for in statute, independently managed and enforced, to include information which should largely be in their hands already. This information would include:

- a) the names of the individuals carrying out lobbying activity and of any organisation employing or hiring them, whether a consultancy, law firm, corporation or campaigning organisation.
- b) in the case of multi-client consultancies, the names of their clients.
- c) information about any public office previously held by an individual lobbyists – essentially, excerpts from their career history.
- d) a list of the interests of decision makers within the public service (Ministers, senior civil servants and senior public servants) and summaries of their career histories outside the public service, and
- e) information about contacts between lobbyists and decision makers – essentially, diary records and minutes of meetings. The aim would be to cover all meetings and conversations between decision makers and outside interests.

We also call for ACoBA [the Advisory Committee on Business Appointments] to be strengthened and its membership refreshed, bringing in people who are more representative of society at large and better able to commit time to this work, and we call for consistent rules to be strictly applied so that former Ministers and other public servants are prevented for an extended period from using contacts built up in public office to further their own and others’ private interests.<sup>5</sup>

PASC had also conducted a short inquiry during the 2006-07 Session on the operation of the Business Appointment Rules. The former Prime Minister Tony Blair had ordered a review of the rules by former Permanent Secretary Sir Patrick Brown. The aim of the review was to

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<sup>3</sup> Public Administration Select Committee, *Issues and Questions Paper: Lobbyists, access and influence*, 21 June 2007

<sup>4</sup> Public Administration Select Committee, *Lobbying: Access and Influence in Whitehall*, 5 January 2009, HC 36-I 2008-09

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, pp3-4

seek ways to make it easier for civil servants to move into to the private sector and back again. However, when the report was published Mr Blair asked for further consideration of Sir Patrick's recommendations from PASC. The Select Committee published their report on 14 June 2007.<sup>6</sup> The Government response was published in October 2007.<sup>7</sup> PASC took evidence from the Advisory Committee on Business Appointments again as part of its inquiry into lobbying.<sup>8</sup>

## 2.2 Government response and Committee reaction

PASC received the Labour Government's response to its report on 21 October 2009, and published it on 23 October, more than 10 months after the publication of the original report.<sup>9</sup> The Government did not accept the recommendation for a statutory register of lobbying activity. The Government did, however, accept the need to make certain changes to the requirements for civil servants and ministers to declare hospitality and gifts, and to increase the regular publication of such information. In a press notice, the Committee drew attention to the main elements of the Government response as follows:

The Government's response:

- Announces that departments will publish on-line information about ministerial meetings with interest groups and hospitality received in a ministerial capacity on a quarterly basis;
- Extends the list of civil servants who will have to publish the details of hospitality and expenses they have received;
- Agrees with the Committee that the lobbying industry should be given an opportunity to make self-regulation work effectively, that the industry should "look again" at its current arrangements and its progress should be kept under review; and
- Announces that the Advisory Committee on Business Appointments will be put on a more professional basis and will be consulted on the revision of the Business Appointments guidelines.

However, the Government:

- Has not accepted the Committee's case for a statutory register of lobbying activity;
- Did not accept that details of meetings between officials and outside groups should be published; and
- Has not specified a time frame within which it will make an assessment of the industry's progress towards effective self-regulation.

The Chair of the Committee, Dr Tony Wright MP, said:

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<sup>6</sup> Public Administration Select Committee, *The Business Appointment Rules*, 14 June 2007, HC 651 2006-07,

<sup>7</sup> *Government response to the Public Administration Select Committee Report on the Business Appointment Rules*, 24 October 2007, HC 1087 2006-07,

<sup>8</sup> Public Administration Select Committee Press Notice, *PASC to hear from Advisory Committee on Business Appointments*, 19 February 2008

<sup>9</sup> Public Administration Select Committee, *Lobbying: Access and Influence in Whitehall: Government response to the Committee's first report of Session 2008-09*, 22 October 2009, HC 1058 2009-09

"I am glad that the Government has accepted some of our proposals to increase the transparency of lobbying but disappointed that it has not accepted the case for a statutory register, which is where I think we shall eventually end up."<sup>10</sup>

The Committee published a short follow-up report, calling again for a statutory register of lobbying activity, in December 2009.<sup>11</sup> The Committee secured a Westminster Hall debate which took place on lobbying on 8 January 2010. Meanwhile, the lobbying industry has responded to the PASC report by establishing the UK Public Affairs Council (see section 3 below).

### **2.3 Lobbying allegations against former Ministers, March 2010**

On 21 March 2010 the *Sunday Times* reported on certain allegations against former Cabinet Ministers that were to be broadcast in a Channel 4 Dispatches television programme on 22 March.<sup>12</sup> On 22 March, before the Dispatches programme aired, the then Leader of the House of Commons, Harriet Harman, made a statement to the House of Commons in which she announced that the Government would introduce a statutory register of lobbyists. The Leader of the House set out the existing framework for regulation standards of conduct relating to lobbying before stating that:

Following the report of the Public Administration Committee in January last year, the Government have been working with the lobbying industry to establish a register of lobbyists. Building on that work, and in the light of the latest allegations, we think that that should be put on a statutory footing. There should be a legal register of lobbyists, which would require people to register as lobbyists and to register the identity of the clients on whose behalf they were acting. This is necessary to give the public confidence that that is the law and that it will be complied with. I commend the statement to the House.<sup>13</sup>

No legislation was introduced before the May 2010 General Election.

### **2.4 The Coalition Agreement and further developments**

Lobbying featured in all three of the Labour, Liberal Democrat and Conservative Party manifestos. The Labour Party's manifesto for the 2010 General Election stated that:

We will create a Statutory Register of Lobbyists to ensure complete transparency in their activities. We will ban MPs from working for generic lobbying companies and require those who want to take up paid outside appointments to seek approval from an independent body to avoid jobs that conflict with their responsibilities to the public.<sup>14</sup>

The Liberal Democrat manifesto stated that they would:

Curb the improper influence of lobbyists by introducing a statutory register of lobbyists, changing the Ministerial Code so that ministers and officials are forbidden from meeting MPs on issues where the MP is paid to lobby, requiring companies to declare how much they spend on lobbying in their annual reports, and introducing a statutory

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<sup>10</sup> Public Administration Select Committee Press Notice, [Government Response to Lobbying Report Published](#), 23 October 2009

<sup>11</sup> Public Administration Select Committee, [Lobbying: Developments since the Committee's First Report of Session 2008-09](#), HC 108 2009-10

<sup>12</sup> 'Byers faces Commons inquiry over 'cash for influence'', *The Sunday Times*, 22 March 2010; Channel 4 Dispatches, [Politicians for Hire](#), first shown 22 March 2010

<sup>13</sup> HC Deb 22 March 2010 cc25-26

<sup>14</sup> Labour Party, [A Future Fair for All](#), 2010, p9:2

register of interests for parliamentary candidates based on the current Register of Members' Interests.<sup>15</sup>

The Conservative Party's manifesto for the 2010 general election stated that:

The lobbying industry must regulate itself to ensure its practices are transparent – if it does not, then we will legislate to do so.<sup>16</sup>

On 20 May 2010 the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Government published their full coalition agreement, *The Coalition: our programme for government*.<sup>17</sup> Under the heading of 'Government transparency' the Government stated that:

We will regulate lobbying through introducing a statutory register of lobbyists and ensuring greater transparency.<sup>18</sup>

On 18 January 2011 the Cabinet Office Minister, Mark Harper, was asked:

**Rehman Chishti (Gillingham and Rainham) (Con):** What progress he has made on plans to introduce a statutory register for lobbyists.

**The Parliamentary Secretary, Cabinet Office (Mr Mark Harper):** My hon. Friend should know that the Government plan to carry out a wide-ranging consultation later this year and then to bring forward legislation in the second Session of this Parliament.

**Rehman Chishti:** Does the Minister agree that for the statutory register to be effective and fit for purpose, it must be robustly transparent?

**Mr Harper:** I do, and that is a very important point. Lobbying is a perfectly reputable industry for making sure that the voices of charities and businesses are heard, but it should be transparent so that people know who is talking to those in Parliament. That is what the Government intend to do-mainly to clean up the dreadful behaviour that we saw last year...<sup>19</sup>

### 3 Self-regulation

#### 3.1 Background

Before the PASC inquiry into lobbying, some self-regulation was provided by the three main umbrella groups which represented those in the lobbying industry and ran their own codes of conduct. The Association of Professional Political Consultants (APPC) was established in 1994. It grew out of five of the largest professional lobbying firms who proposed setting up an association to regulate professional consultants by a code, based on the Committee on Members' Interests recommendations in the 1991 report.<sup>20</sup> The APPC has stated that its role is to ensure transparency and openness by maintaining a register of political consultants, enforce high standards by requiring members to adhere to a code of conduct, and to promote understanding of the public affairs sector. The APPC now has 54 members. Between them, the APPC states, these companies represent more than four-fifths of the political consultancy

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<sup>15</sup> Liberal Democrats, *Manifesto 2010*, 2010, p89

<sup>16</sup> Conservative Party, *Invitation to Join the Government of Britain*, 2010, p66

<sup>17</sup> HM Government, *The Coalition: Our programme for government*, May 2010

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p21

<sup>19</sup> HC Deb 18 January 2011 c683

<sup>20</sup> For more details see the [APPC Website](#)

sector (measured by turnover). The APPC operates a code of conduct, which amongst other things, requires the regular publication of a list of clients of public affairs companies.<sup>21</sup>

There is also a Public Relations Consultancy Association (PRCA) which also operates a Code of Conduct.<sup>22</sup> The Chartered Institute of Public Relations (CIPR) also has a Code of Conduct for individuals working in public relations.<sup>23</sup>

Other organisations have their own codes of conduct, and professional organisations often have their own rules of operation, as PASC pointed out:

Public affairs companies which are members of neither the APPC or the PRCA often have codes of conduct of their own, such as Luther Pendragon's "Luther Code". Companies conducting public affairs in-house may well also require their staff to abide by ethical codes: there is a Tesco Code of Ethics, for example. A number of international non-governmental organisations have signed a joint accountability charter, which includes commitments to responsible advocacy and to transparency.

Solicitors' firms conducting public affairs work are regulated by the Solicitors Regulation Authority (SRA) and are bound by the Solicitors' Code of Conduct, which conflicts with the APPC and PRCA Codes by putting a (statutory) duty to client confidentiality above any (non-statutory) duty to disclose publicly who those clients are. Other trades and professions are also engaged in lobbying. As has been pointed out elsewhere:

Public relations specialists, journalists, lawyers, managers, accountants and even doctors and engineers can be found in the world of lobbying. Most of these fields are represented by professional bodies that have widely varying capacities to discipline their members and diverse views on what constitutes appropriate conduct.<sup>24</sup>

### **3.2 Calls for an external regulation of the lobbying industry**

The Public Administration Select Committee's January 2009 report proposed the end of a system entirely built on self-regulation. PASC concluded that the APPC, CIPR and PRCA had an in-built conflict of interest. That is, they attempted to act both as trade associations for the lobbyists and as regulators of lobbyists' behaviour. The Committee recommended that there should be external regulation, but that there was also a role for a self-regulating organisation "to promote ethical behaviour by those involved in lobbying". They suggested that the existing situation would be improved by the following actions:

- i. Establish a single umbrella organisation with both corporate and individual membership, in order to be able to cover all those who are involved in lobbying as a substantial part of their work...
- ii. Ensure that people from outside the lobbying world with a track record in regulation and business ethics are involved in running the organisation...
- iii. Establish a clear separation between promoting and representing those involved in lobbying activity, and regulating that activity.

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<sup>21</sup> [APPC Code of Conduct](#)

<sup>22</sup> The PRCA Code of Conduct is available on their [website](#)

<sup>23</sup> CIPR, [Professional Code of Conduct](#)

<sup>24</sup> Public Administration Select Committee, [Lobbying: Access and influence in Whitehall](#), 5 January 2009, HC 36-I, paras 48-49

iv. Subject the standards of the members of the organisation, including external validation... The public affairs industry should institute an externally assessed and validated standard – a kind of kite mark – which its members should be required to meet...<sup>25</sup>

The Committee also recommended that there should be a mandatory register of lobbying activity to include the names of the individuals carrying out lobbying activity and of any organisation employing or hiring them, whether a consultancy, law firm, corporation or campaigning organisation. In the case of multi-client consultancies, the register should include the names of their clients. The register would also, they envisaged include information about:

- any public office held previously by an individual lobbyist;
- a list of relevant interests of decision-makers within the public service and summaries of their career histories outside the public service; and
- information about contacts between lobbyists and decision-makers, such as diary records and conversations between decision makers and outside interests.

In their response to the report, the Government stated that:

The Government believes that effective voluntary self-regulation must be the preferred approach. The Committee has made a number of recommendations directed at the lobbying industry, calling for statutory regulation only if the industry fails to make credible improvements to voluntary self-regulation. The Government agrees that the industry should be allowed the opportunity to develop a system of voluntary self-regulation which commands the confidence of those in and outside the industry. In doing so, the Government will keep the issue under review to ensure that progress is made in developing an effective system of voluntary self-regulation.<sup>26</sup>

The Government was supportive of the Committee's recommendation that there should be a register of lobbyists, but thought that a register of the private interests of civil servants would be "disproportionate".<sup>27</sup>

PASC published a short follow-up report on 16 December 2009.<sup>28</sup> The Committee pointed out that although the Government had accepted that a system of regulation would require a register, it had not addressed the conclusion that such a register would have to be statutory in order to be effective. They called for a statutory mandatory register of lobbying activity.<sup>29</sup>

PAS also reported on the steps taken by the lobbying industry:

12. Following the publication of our report the three largest representative bodies for the lobbying industry, the Association of Professional Political Consultants (APPC), Public Relations Consultants Association (PRCA) and Chartered Institute of Public Relations (CIPR) formed the Public Affairs Council Working Party to come up with proposals for a self-regulatory body. The working party published an issues paper in May 2009 and in November wrote to us to inform us that the three representative

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, para 145

<sup>26</sup> Public Administration Select Committee, *Lobbying: Access and influence in Whitehall: Government Response to the Committee's First Report of Session 2008–09*, HC 1068 2008-09, p5

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, pp8-9

<sup>28</sup> Public Administration Select Committee, *Lobbying: Developments since the Committee's First Report of Session 2008-09*, HC 108 2009-10

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, para 4

bodies were consulting their members on a series of proposals. The working party's letter is appended to this report.

**13. We welcome the recognition by the three main industry representative bodies that a system of regulation is needed as well as their efforts to co-operate to achieve a self-regulatory body, chaired by a "senior independent person of stature" and with a common set of principles of conduct signified by a "kite mark". However, the effectiveness of such arrangements can only be assessed by examining the details of the proposals, how they will work in practice, the standards to be upheld by the new body and how far the industry more widely is prepared to support these proposals. We are therefore disappointed that eleven months work has only got as far as another consultation on a broad set of principles.**

14. The working party's letter says that the proposed Public Affairs Council will seek to promote universality and "will consider the possibility" of lobbying organisations and individuals being able to join the Council directly. In evidence to the Committee in July campaigners for lobbying transparency expressed scepticism about wider support in the industry for these proposals and concern that joining the proposed regulatory body could involve having to also become a member of a representative body. **Any regulatory body must have a universal, or near universal, reach in order to be credible and effective. It must not become a closed shop, only available to the paying members of certain representative bodies.**

15. The letter from the working party also states that the standards of the proposed Public Affairs Council "will be expressed via the signatory's bodies own Codes of Conduct" and that Code functions will be co-ordinated by the new body. **There is a risk that the Public Affairs Council will end up enforcing different standards for different lobbyists, depending on the signatory body to which they belong. This would be unfair, but it would also be inadequate simply to enforce the lowest common denominator of the standards of the existing member groups. Getting these standards right will be an important early test for the Public Affairs Council if self-regulation is to have a chance of working effectively.**<sup>30</sup>

During a Westminster Hall debate on lobbying on 7 January 2010 Angela E. Smith, the then Government Minister, stated that:

The Government believe... that the industry should be given the opportunity in the first place to produce and maintain a register. The industry ought to ensure that the register should, as a minimum, be publicly available and contain the names of individuals and organisations carrying out or advising on lobbying and the details of any third-party interests that they represent...<sup>31</sup>

### **3.3 The UK Public Affairs Council**

The UK Public Affairs Council (UKPAC) was created as a result of the work of the Public Affairs Council Working Group. The first meeting of the UKPAC took place in July 2010, with the three industry bodies being joined by three independent members including the Chairman Elizabeth France CBE and the former Clerk of the House of Commons, Sir Roger Sands.

The Council describes its main roles as follows:

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, paras 12-15

<sup>31</sup> HC Deb 7 January 2010 c164WH

- To maintain a Register of those engaged in lobbying and of the organisations on whose behalf they lobby;
- To hold and review periodically the Guiding Principles covering those who lobby, examining how a common Code of Conduct enshrining the Principles can be established and keeping under review any related Codes of member bodies;
- To oversee the disciplinary arrangements necessary to enforce the Principles and any common Code; to allocate complaints against individuals or organisations within member bodies to the most appropriate body; and to review periodically the process through which complaints are considered by member bodies; and
- To promote with its member bodies high ethical standards in lobbying generally.<sup>32</sup>

The Council's website explains its governance structure and operations in the following way:

### **Governance**

The UK Public Affairs Council will be chaired on a Non-Executive, part-time basis by an independent person of high standing drawn from outside the lobbying industry but with experience relevant to the industry. The Chairman will be joined on the UKPAC Board by two further part-time, independent members, plus three representatives from the lobbying industry, initially comprising a representative each from the APPC, CIPR and PRCA. Each member of the Board will have one vote. Any decisions taken by the Board will require a majority separately amongst the independent members and amongst the members representing the industry. Other member bodies will be eligible to join, subject to satisfying the tests set out below, and will then be entitled to nominate representatives on the Board. Any change to these terms of reference of the Council will need to be agreed by all member organisations.

...

### **Membership of the Council**

UKPAC will be a legal entity with, initially, its members being the member bodies that subscribe to it. UKPAC will consider how direct membership of or affiliation to UKPAC might effectively be developed. Member bodies wishing to join UKPAC will be required to:

- Have in membership or regulate individuals or organisations which practice public affairs, providing or being subject to a regulatory mechanism by which those individuals or organisations can be judged against agreed ethical standards, and action can be taken on the basis of such investigations leading to expulsion, suspension, comment, or no action as regards the UKPAC register;
- Demonstrate agreed standards of ethical conduct in lobbying, based on the guiding principles;
- Enforce such standards effectively;
- Show support for effective self-regulation of lobbying; and
- Enhance the reputation of all those involved in or advising on lobbying through membership of UKPAC.

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<sup>32</sup> UK Public Affairs Council, [About](#)

UKPAC will establish a register of lobbyists. It explains:

UKPAC will publish a register showing all organisations and individuals engaged in offering lobbying services that are members of one of the member bodies participating in the UK PAC. The Register will record the names of the organisations, the individuals working within them and, where relevant, any clients for whom lobbying services are provided. The Register will be completed quarterly and published as soon as possible thereafter. Each member body will require their members to complete the register accurately and failure to do so will be a disciplinary offence within the relevant member body.<sup>33</sup>

## 4 Guidance for civil servants and ministers

This section sets out the existing guidance for civil servants and ministers on matters relating to lobbying.

### 4.1 Civil servants

The Civil Service Code sets out core values for civil servants:

- Integrity – putting the obligations of public service above personal interests
- Honesty – being truthful and open
- Objectivity – basing advice and decisions on rigorous analysis of the evidence
- Impartiality – acting solely according to the merits of the case and serving governments of different political parties equally well.<sup>34</sup>

Part I of the *Constitutional Reform and Governance Act 2010* placed the civil service on a statutory footing.<sup>35</sup>

There is also specific guidance for civil servants on contact with lobbyists. The text of this guidance has been the same since first issued in 1998.<sup>36</sup> The guidance followed the cash for access affair where the *Observer* newspaper exposed the ex-special adviser Derek Draper as promising access to senior Government ministers.<sup>37</sup> At the time, the Association of Professional Political Consultants commissioned an independent enquiry undertaken by the former Cabinet Secretary Lord Armstrong and Nicholas Purnell QC which exonerated the employer of Draper.<sup>38</sup>

The guidance for civil servants on contacts with lobbyists states:

5. The Nolan Committee said in their first Report, "it is the right of everyone to lobby Parliament and Ministers, and it is for public institutions to develop ways of controlling the reaction to approaches from professional lobbyists in such a way as to give due weight to their case while always taking care to consider the public interest".

6. The Government's approach, reflecting the approach of the Nolan Committee, is not to ban contacts between civil servants and lobbyists but to insist that wherever and

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<sup>33</sup> UKPAC, *Terms of Reference*

<sup>34</sup> See <http://www.civilservice.gov.uk/about/values/cscode/index.aspx>

<sup>35</sup> For more information see the Library Research Paper 09/73, *Constitutional Reform and Governance Bill 2008-09*

<sup>36</sup> The guidance was issued as part of a response by the Prime Minister HC Deb 27 July 1998 c4w

<sup>37</sup> "Cash for access: £2000 buys a Minister", 19 July 1988, *Observer*

<sup>38</sup> "Report clears lobbyist's bosses", 30 July 1998, *Financial Times*

whenever they take place they should be conducted in accordance with the Civil Service Code, and the principles of public life set out by the Nolan Committee. This means that civil servants can meet lobbyists, formally and informally, where this is justified by the needs of Government.<sup>39</sup>

The rules include a list of 'dos and don'ts' for civil servants. It ends with the following comments:

Lobbyists are a feature of our democratic system. There is no ban on civil servants having dealings with them where this serves a proper purpose and is conducted in a proper manner. But the need for propriety is crucial. Lobbyists themselves are bound to want to talk up their own influence and contacts. It is the job of all civil servants to make sure that they conduct their dealings with lobbyists in a manner which is proper and is not open to misinterpretation.<sup>40</sup>

## 4.2 Ministers

The Ministerial Code requires ministers to act in a way consistent with the seven principals of public life. These include selflessness and integrity, defined as:

### Selflessness

Holders of public office should take decisions solely in terms of the public interest. They should not do so in order to gain financial or other material benefits for themselves, their family, or their friends.

### Integrity

Holders of public office should not place themselves under any financial or other obligation to outside individuals or organisations that might influence them in the performance of their official duties.

There are also rules contained in the Ministerial Code on ministers' private interests and the acceptance of gifts and hospitality.<sup>41</sup> In particular, the May 2010 version of the Code states:

7.20 It is a well established and recognised rule that no Minister should accept gifts, hospitality or services from anyone which would, or might appear to, place him or her under an obligation. The same principle applies if gifts etc are offered to a member of their family.

7.21 This is primarily a matter which must be left to the good sense of Ministers. But any Minister in doubt or difficulty over this should seek the advice of their Permanent Secretary and the independent adviser on Ministers' interests where appropriate.

7.22 Gifts given to Ministers in their Ministerial capacity become the property of the Government and do not need to be declared in the Register of Members' or Peers' Interests. Gifts of small value, currently this is set at £140, may be retained by the recipient. Gifts of a higher value should be handed over to the department for disposal unless the recipient wishes to purchase the gift abated by £140. There is usually no customs duty or import VAT payable on the importation of official gifts received overseas. HMRC can advise on any cases of doubt. If a Minister wishes to retain a gift he or she will be liable for any tax it may attract. Departments will publish, at least quarterly, details of gifts received and given by Ministers valued at more than £140.

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<sup>39</sup> Cabinet Office, [Guidance for Civil Servants: contact with lobbyists](#)

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, para 15

<sup>41</sup> Cabinet Office, [The Ministerial Code](#), 2010

7.23 Gifts given to Ministers as constituency MPs or members of a political Party fall within the rules relating to the Registers of Members' and Lords' Interests.

7.24 If a Minister accepts hospitality in a Ministerial capacity, the Minister should notify their Permanent Secretary. Departments will publish, at least quarterly, details of hospitality received by Ministers in a Ministerial capacity. Hospitality accepted as an MP or Peer should be declared in the Register of Members' or Lords' Interests respectively. Registration of hospitality would normally be required for hospitality around £650 in value for the Commons and £500 for the Lords.

#### **4.3 Business Appointments Rules for ministers and civil servants**

The Business Appointments Rules regulate the appointment of former Permanent Secretaries (and deputy secretaries) and former ministers to posts in the private sector.<sup>42</sup> The Advisory Committee on Business Appointments (ACoBA) is an independent body which provides advice to the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, or other Ministers if requested, on applications from the most senior Crown servants who wish to take up outside appointments within two years of leaving Crown service.

The Committee also acts as a joint body providing advice directly to former Ministers of the UK Government, the Scottish Government and the National Assembly for Wales, about any appointments they wish to take up after leaving office. The 2007 version of the Ministerial Code stated that:

On leaving office, Ministers must seek advice from the independent Advisory Committee on Business Appointments about any appointments or employment they wish to take up within two years of leaving office, apart from unpaid appointments in non-commercial organisations. Ministers will be expected to abide by the advice of the Committee.<sup>43</sup>

The May 2010 version of the Ministerial Code has strengthened the requirement for ministers:

7.25 On leaving office, Ministers will be prohibited from lobbying Government for two years. They must also seek advice from the independent Advisory Committee on Business Appointments about any appointments or employment they wish to take up within two years of leaving office. Former Ministers must abide by the advice of the Committee.<sup>44</sup>

Details of recent reviews of the Business Appointment Rules, including that conducted by Sir Patrick Brown in 2005 and the Public Administration Select Committee in 2007,<sup>45</sup> and recommendations from PASC in their two reports on lobbying on business appointments are set out in the Library Standard Note SN/PC/3745, [Business Appointment Rules](#).

## **5 Freedom of Information and disclosure of information**

The Public Administration Select Committee noted in their report, *Lobbying: Access and influence in Whitehall*, that the *Freedom of Information Act 2000* had introduced some transparency into meetings between Government representatives and outside groups. Where information about who Ministers had met and on what subject was requested, this

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<sup>42</sup> For more information, see the Library Standard Note SN/PC/3745 [Business Appointment Rules](#).

<sup>43</sup> *Ministerial Code*, 2007, para 7.25

<sup>44</sup> *Ministerial Code*, 2010, para 7.25

<sup>45</sup> Public Administration Select Committee, *The Business Appointment Rules*, 14 June 2007, HC 651 2006-07

was generally released under the Act, although sometimes information was withheld using the policy development exemption. Departments had been less ready to publish detailed meeting minutes, on cost grounds but also under policy development, information provided in confidence and commercial confidentiality exemptions.

PASC set out a judgement made by the Information Tribunal in April 2008 which resulted from a request from Friends of the Earth to the Department of Trade and Industry. The request for information about meetings held between the Department and the Confederation of British Industry, including notes of meetings and of an away day. The Tribunal ordered the release of the documents, arguing that:

The public interest in achieving a better understanding of the way in which lobbyists can seek to influence policy also involves an interest in understanding the nature and extent of the relationship between lobbyists and government departments. Understanding the relationship serves at least two purposes. First, it enables the public to better understand the mechanics of lobbying in that it reveals the many different ways in which lobbying can take place, from bilateral monthly meetings through to away-day (or away-morning) meetings with ministers and senior officials. Second, it subjects the relationship to a certain degree of scrutiny which can assist in ensuring that a particular relationship does not become unduly influential or dependent.<sup>46</sup>

The Tribunal also recognised, however, that “there is a strong public interest in the value of the government being able to test ideas with informed third parties out of the public eye and knowing what the reaction of particular groups of stakeholders might be if particular policy lines/ negotiating positions were to be taken”.<sup>47</sup>

PASC recommended in their January 2009 report that:

**A first step towards greater transparency, and one that could be achieved without legislation, would be to publish routinely the information about ministerial and other high-level official meetings with outside interest groups which is currently produced only in response to specific FoI requests.**<sup>48</sup>

PASC argued that there were reasons why the Government rather than lobbyists should be required to provide information of this kind:

- a) Minutes of meetings are generally taken by Government, but may not always be taken by lobbyists. Where minutes are taken by lobbyists, there is unlikely to be any consistency in the form in which they are taken.
- b) It would prevent the registration requirements from becoming a burden on those who may have little experience of lobbying Government.
- c) It would make decision-makers think carefully about who they communicated with and would give them every incentive to ensure that they heard views from a variety of perspectives.
- d) It would place an onus on the decision-maker to judge whether a communication might reasonably be considered to constitute an attempt to influence their decisions. This would require the registration in cursory form even of informal contacts— although

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<sup>46</sup> EA/2007/0072, paras 133-134

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, para 119

<sup>48</sup> Public Administration Select Committee, *Lobbying: Access and Influence in Whitehall*, 5 January 2009, HC 36-I 2008-09, para 184

we would not necessarily expect full minutes to be available of every lunch or chance meeting.<sup>49</sup>

The Government responded to the recommendations on hospitality and gifts announcing changes to the requirements to register these from Ministers and Civil Servants as follows:

Ministers, as Members of Parliament, are already required to register the hospitality they accept over the Parliamentary threshold in the Register of Members' Interests or the Register of Peers' Interests. The Government accepts that there would be merit in publishing details of hospitality received by Ministers in a ministerial capacity. It already does this in relation to gifts value at more than £140 and will now do so in relation to hospitality received. Information will be published on-line by departments on a quarterly basis with effect from 1 October 2009.

In February 2009, for the first time ever, the Government published a list of hospitality received by Senior Civil Servants at departmental board level. In response to the Committee's recommendation, the Government agrees to extend the list's coverage to include hospitality received by all Senior Civil Servants at Director General level and above. This information will be published by departments on a quarterly basis and on-line. In addition, the list will also include expenses received by senior civil servants at Director General and above.<sup>50</sup>

In addition, the Government announced that the list of Ministers' interests, previously published on an annual basis, would now be updated and published, on-line, every six months.<sup>51</sup>

The Government also responded to the Committee's recommendations about the publication of information about ministerial and other high-level official meetings with outside interest groups:

...The Government agrees that as a further step towards greater transparency, departments will now publish on-line on a quarterly basis information about ministerial meetings with outside interest groups. This will be effective from 1 October 2009.

However, while all meetings are recorded, publishing information in respect of other high-level official meetings would involve collating a huge amount of information and divert significant resources within departments.<sup>52</sup>

In their follow-up report, the Committee welcomed the Government's agreement to routinely publish information about ministerial meetings with outside interest groups and stated that they would expect such information to include, as a minimum, "the date of the meeting, the minister(s) and senior civil servant(s) who attended, the organisations present and the principal subjects discussed".<sup>53</sup> They urged the Government to go further and also publish information about meetings between the most senior government officials and outside interest groups. They also again argued for the relevant private interests of senior civil servants at Director General and above to be published. The Committee stated that they did not believe that this would place a disproportionate burden on departments and agencies,

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, para 185

<sup>50</sup> Public Administration Select committee, *Lobbying: Access and Influence in Whitehall: Government response to the Committee's first report of Session 2008-09*, 22 October 2009, HC 1058 2009-09, p10

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, p11

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, p10

<sup>53</sup> Public Administration Select Committee, *Lobbying: Developments since the Committee's First Report of Session 2008-09*, HC 108 2009-10, para 5

and that they would “be concerned if the reason for the government’s reluctance to take this step was that such interests were not currently recorded”.<sup>54</sup>

## 6 Members of Parliament

Members of Parliament are subject to self-regulation under the Code of Conduct for Members of Parliament and associated resolutions of the House. The House has resolved that:

It is inconsistent with the dignity of the House, with the duty of a Member to his constituents, and with the maintenance of the privilege of freedom of speech, for any Member of this House to enter into any contractual agreement with an outside body, controlling or limiting the Member's complete independence and freedom of action in Parliament or stipulating that he shall act in any way as the representative of such outside body in regard to any matters to be transacted in Parliament; the duty of a Member being to his constituents and to the country as a whole, rather than to any particular section thereof: and that in particular no Members of the House shall, in consideration of any remuneration, fee, payment, or reward or benefit in kind, direct or indirect, which the Member or any member of his or her family has received is receiving or expects to receive —

(i) Advocate or initiate any cause or matter on behalf of any outside body or individual, or

(ii) urge any other Member of either House of Parliament, including Ministers, to do so, by means of any speech, Question, Motion, introduction of a Bill or Amendment to a Motion or a Bill or any approach, whether oral or in writing, to Ministers or servants of the Crown.<sup>55</sup>

The *Guide to the Rules Relating to Members’ Conduct* explains that:

72. This Resolution prohibits paid advocacy. It is wholly incompatible with the rule that any Member should take payment for speaking in the House. Nor may a Member, for payment, vote, ask a Parliamentary Question, table a Motion, introduce a Bill or table or move an Amendment to a Motion or Bill or urge colleagues or Ministers to do so.

73. The Resolution does not prevent a Member from holding a remunerated outside interest as a director, consultant, or adviser, or in any other capacity, whether or not such interests are related to membership of the House. Nor does it prevent a Member from being sponsored by a trade union or any other organisation, or holding any other registrable interest, or from receiving hospitality in the course of his or her parliamentary duties whether in the United Kingdom or abroad.

74. The Resolution extends and reinforces an earlier Resolution of the House in 1947 that a Member may not enter into any contractual arrangement which fetters the Member's complete independence in Parliament by any undertaking to press some particular point of view on behalf of an outside interest. Nor, by virtue of the same Resolution, may an outside body (or person) use any contractual arrangement with a Member of Parliament as an instrument by which it controls, or seeks to control, his or her conduct in Parliament, or to punish that Member for any parliamentary action.

75. In addition to the requirements of the ban on lobbying for reward or consideration, Members should also bear in mind the long established convention that interests which

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, para 7

<sup>55</sup> Resolution of the House of 15 July 1947, amended on 6 November 1995 and on 14 May 2002

are wholly personal and particular to the Member, and which may arise from a profession or occupation outside the House, ought not to be pursued by the Member in proceedings in Parliament.<sup>56</sup>

Since 1 July 2009 Members of Parliament have had to register all outside paid employment.<sup>57</sup>

The Committee on Standards and Privileges considered whether the need for a review of the rules regarding lobbying by MPs and former MPs in their report on the Members who were involved in the March 2010 *Dispatches* story. The Committee stated:

#### **Paid advocacy rule**

71. The paid advocacy rule was introduced in 1995 and amended in 2002. The rule prohibits Members from being paid for participating in Parliamentary proceedings or lobbying Ministers or officials, if by their participation or lobbying they would be seeking to confer benefit exclusively on the body or individual outside Parliament which is or may in the future be paying them.

72. The problem which the Commissioner has identified is that the relaxation of the rule in 2002, which came about in response to a recommendation of the Committee on Standards in Public Life, has provided Members with a defence that the change or action which they are advocating would benefit, not just the person or body which is paying them, but a wider business sector, to which that person or body belongs. The Commissioner suggests that it would be desirable to find a way of avoiding the risk of giving the impression that Members can advocate a policy or lobby a Minister or officials for personal benefit, while still enabling them fully to represent their constituents and to speak freely on public policy issues.

#### **Activities of former Members**

73. The Commissioner observes that:

This inquiry has shown that, once a Member of Parliament has left the House, there is nothing to prevent them using contacts which they have developed as Members of Parliament in lobbying Ministers or civil servants, including paid advocacy in the exclusive support of those who are paying them.

He points out that there is no equivalent for former Members of the mechanism which limits the freedom of former Ministers to take up paid employment. The Commissioner recognises that it is human nature for former Members to wish to maintain contacts they have made while working in Parliament, including with Members, Ministers and officials. He accepts that lobbying is a necessary part of the Parliamentary process. The Commissioner does not advocate imposing such restrictions on former Members, but he is concerned about former Members making direct contact with former colleagues who are still in Parliament, with Ministers or with civil servants on behalf of an employer which is paying them.

#### **Meetings with officials**

74. As noted above, the terms in which the present advocacy rule is expressed have caused us some concern. Part of Mr Caborn's attempt to explain his failure to declare a relevant interest when he met the Chairman of a health authority was that the rule on

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<sup>56</sup> [The Guide to the Rules Relating to the Conduct of Members](#)

<sup>57</sup> HC Deb 30 April 2009 cc1130-1131

declaration applies in terms only to Ministers and Crown servants and that the reference in the Guide to “public officials” needs to be read in that light.

75. Although we have not accepted that his literal interpretation of the rule excuses Mr Caborn’s failure to declare his interest, we do feel that it would be helpful if the rule and associated guidance were clarified and, in due course, amended. The precise terms of an amendment to the rule will require careful consideration. Meanwhile, we suggest that Members would be well advised to interpret the advocacy rule as potentially applying to their transactions or communications with any public official.

## Conclusion

76. **We agree with the Commissioner that there is a strong case for a review of the rules relating to lobbying.** Such a review could consider the three specific points identified above, which have arisen from his inquiry into the conduct of six former Members. We intend that such a review will be carried out as soon as time permits.<sup>58</sup>

## 7 Previous inquiries into lobbying

### 7.1 1991 Select Committee on Members’ Interests Report

The Select Committee on Members’ Interests carried out an inquiry into lobbying in the 1990-91 Session. The Committee considered the question “has the time now come to set up a “Register of Lobbyists””.<sup>59</sup> The Committee first considered the “prospects for self-discipline”. They stated that:

Any system of voluntary registration of “professional lobbying” which Parliament might be willing to accept could only work on the basis of a fully representative professional organisation with an effective code of practice and effective discipline. We have concluded that it is unlikely that any real progress will be made through the IPR (Institute of Public Relations) and the PRCA (Public Relations Consultancy Association) alone despite the good intentions of both bodies and the sensitivity of some members of those organisations to the need to respond positively to the political consequences of a changing industry. We see little hope of obtaining consistently higher professional standards in the industry until an organisation is created which is fully representative of professional lobbying, which commands universal respect and which exercise effective professional discipline. It is possible that such a body might be established comprising of the relevant lobbying firms both inside and outside the PRCA and, perhaps associated with it. There is no sign, as yet, that this is likely to happen.<sup>60</sup>

The Committee reported that on each of the three previous occasions that the registration of lobbyists was considered by select committees, it had been rejected.<sup>61</sup> On the previous occasion, in 1983, the Committee on Members’ Interests had argued against establishing a register “mainly because of the difficulties it saw in definition and enforcement, and more particularly in establishing a register that did not give or imply privileged status”.<sup>62</sup>

The Committee argued that a Register of lobbyists could fulfil three useful purposes:

(A) Transparency and Public Accountability

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<sup>58</sup> Standards and Privileges Committee, *Sir John Butterfill, Mr Stephen Byers, Ms Patricia Hewitt, Mr Geoff Hoon, Mr Richard Caborn and Mr Adam Ingram*, 9 December 2010, HC 654-I 2010-11, paras 71-76

<sup>59</sup> Select Committee on Members’ Interests, Parliamentary Lobbying, 24 July 1991, HC 586 1990-91, para 1

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, para 34

<sup>61</sup> Select Committee on Members’ Interests (Declaration), HC 57 (1969-70); Select Committee on Members’ Interests (Declaration) HC 102 (1974-75); Select Committee on Members’ Interests, HC 408 (1984-85).

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, para 41

A public Register listing those who lobby and those who employ “professional lobbyists” would provide greater transparency and public accountability. The House must ensure that lobbyists do not interfere with the proper conduct of its business. It also has to be on its guard against influences that are improper, or which would bring the House into disrepute, or which would tend to corrupt. The House has nothing to gain and a good deal to lose by allowing the present obscurity to continue.

(B) Information to Members

A requirement on “professional lobbyists” to register information concerning the companies they represent, the staff they employ, and the clients they work for would assist members by providing an authoritative source of information on lobbyists, lobbying companies and their clients. A list of those other persons who are regularly in contact with Members on behalf of the interests who employ them would also be of value.

(C) Working of the House

It is important to ensure that lobbying does not interfere with the proper working of the House and its committees and that those engaged in lobbying do not abuse facilities provided for Members. Although these are matters for regulation rather than registration, a Register could be used in support of any measures taken to regulate the activity of lobbyists within the House.<sup>63</sup>

The Committee concluded that in principle, it was desirable for a Register of Lobbyists to be established. They went on to consider whether such a Register should be voluntary, and regulated by the industry; voluntary, and administered by the House; statutory; or mandatory based on decisions taken by the House in the form of a Resolution. They recommended a mandatory register of professional lobbyists to be enforced by the Resolution of the House:

We recommend to the House that it should take a decision in principle to establish a Register of “Professional Lobbyists”. Should the House take this decision it would then be for this committee or its successor to frame, in consultation with interested parties, the form and content of a Register and code of conduct to place before the House for its approval.<sup>64</sup>

The Committee had concluded that there was no realistic prospect of effective self-regulation in the industry because there was no fully representative organisation which commanded universal respect and could have exercised effective discipline.

The recommendations were eventually debated in the House on a motion for the adjournment so they were not voted upon.<sup>65</sup> The then Leader of the House, Tony Newton, was sceptical about the value of such a register.<sup>66</sup> Instead, he proposed that “a voluntary code would be better”.<sup>67</sup> He concluded that the House might wish to consider:

... whether the right next step would not be for the industry to make a further effort, with encouragement from the Select Committee, rather than for the House to go down

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, para 59

<sup>64</sup> Select Committee on Members’ Interests, *Parliamentary Lobbying*, 24 July 1991, HC 586 1990-91, para 81

<sup>65</sup> HC Deb 28 June 1993 cc781-796

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, cc785-786

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*

the path that raises the difficult questions on which I have touched. I conclude where I began: I am listening, although I felt it right to express those causes of scepticism.<sup>68</sup>

The Select Committee decided to look again at the issue of a Register in 1993-94, and began taking evidence in an effort to establish whether the lobbying industry was now able to regulate itself. Although minutes of evidence were published the Select Committee decided not to issue a Report.<sup>69</sup>

## 7.2 The Committee on Standards in Public Life

In October 1994 John Major set up the Nolan Committee on Standards in Public Life “to examine current concerns about standards of conduct of all holders of public office, including arrangements relating to financial and commercial activities, and make recommendations as to any changes in present arrangements which might be required to ensure the highest standards of public life”.<sup>70</sup> The First Report from the Committee on Standards in Public Life (the Nolan report) in 1995 recommended against a register of lobbyists and the Government accepted this recommendation. Instead, it recommended that the emphasis should be on transparency by those being lobbied. The Committee stated that:

72. Mention has been made in evidence to us of a proposal for a Register of Lobbyists. We are not attracted by this idea. It is the right of everyone to lobby Parliament and Ministers, and it is for public institutions to develop ways of controlling the reaction to approaches from professional lobbyists in such a way as to give due weight to their case while always taking care to consider the public interest and the interests of constituents whom Members of Parliament represent. Our approach to the problem of lobbying is therefore based on better regulation of what happens in Parliament.

73. To establish a public register of lobbyists would create the danger of giving the impression, which would no doubt be fostered by lobbyists themselves, that the only way to approach successfully Members or Ministers was by making use of a registered lobbyist. This would set up an undesirable hurdle, real or imagined, in the way of access.

74. We commend the efforts of lobbyists to develop their own codes of practice, but we reject the concept of giving them formal status through a statutory register.<sup>71</sup>

The Fifth Report from the Committee on Standards in Public Life in January 2000 again recommended against regulation:

7.28 In the opinion of the Committee, the weight of evidence is against regulation by means of a compulsory register and code of conduct. Lobbyist regulation schemes can help make government more open and accountable, providing useful information about influences on decision-making. But we believe that the amount of information that could be made available through a register would not be proportionate to the extra burden on all concerned of establishing and administering the system. There is also still force in this Committee's original objection, that such a system could give the erroneous impression that only `registered lobbyists' offer an effective and proper route to MPs and Ministers.

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>69</sup> HC Paper Session 1993/4 Minutes of Proceedings 21 June 1994

<sup>70</sup> See Library Research Paper, RP 95/60, [Aspects of Nolan – MPs and Lobbying](#)

<sup>71</sup> Committee on Standards in Public Life, *MPs, Ministers and Civil Servants, Executive Quangos*, Cm 2850, 11 May 1995

R26. There should be no statutory or compulsory system for the regulation of lobbyists. The current strengthening of self-regulation by lobbyists is to be welcomed.<sup>72</sup>

The Government accepted this recommendation in its response in June 2000:

In its First Report, the Committee concluded that a statutory or compulsory system for the regulation of lobbyists could create the danger of giving the impression that the only way to approach Members of Parliament or Ministers successfully would be by making use of registered lobbyists. The Government agrees with the Committee that this conclusion still holds true. It, too, commends the efforts of lobbyists in the area of self-regulation, and notes that this has led to greater confidence in the industry.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Committee on Standards in Public Life, *Reinforcing Standards: Review of the first report of the Committee on Standards in Public Life, Sixth Report*, January 2000, Cm 4771

<sup>73</sup> *Government response to the Sixth Report of the Committee on Standards in Public Life*, July 2000, Cm 4817