



[ vysoká škola ]

# MÉDIA, LOBBING A PR

## *2. + 3. SETKÁNÍ*

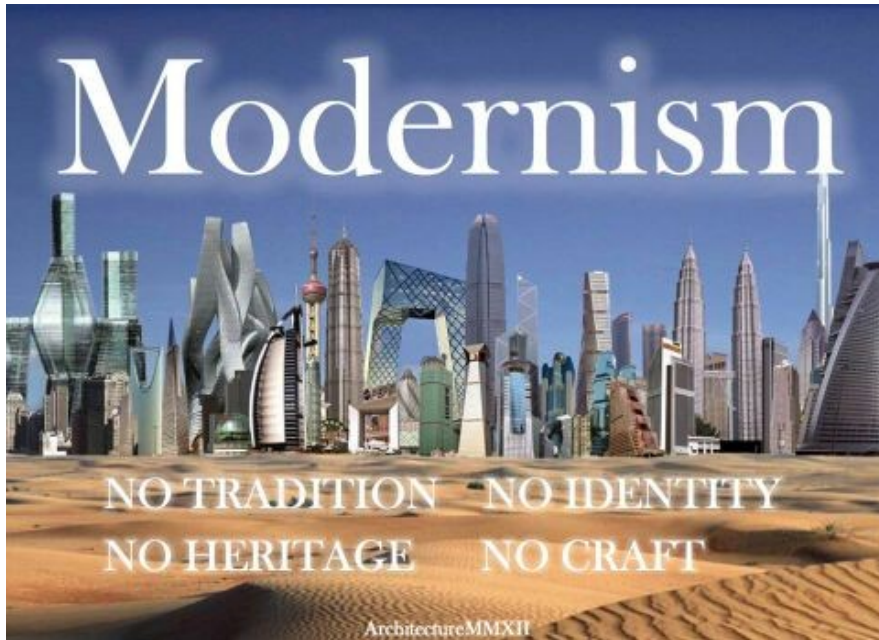
**Karel B. Müller**  
**[www.karelmuller.eu](http://www.karelmuller.eu)**



# Témata

- Lobbing x korupce x klientelistmu
- Prostor korupčních/klientelistických příležitostí
- Prostor pro zneužívání politické moci
- Role zájmových skupin v politickém procesu
- Význam a formy lobbingu
- Veřejnost v době mediokracie ?
- Proměny mediální krajiny a její záludnosti ?

# Moderní versus tradiční



# Občanská společnost Civil/Bürgerlich Society/Gesellschaft

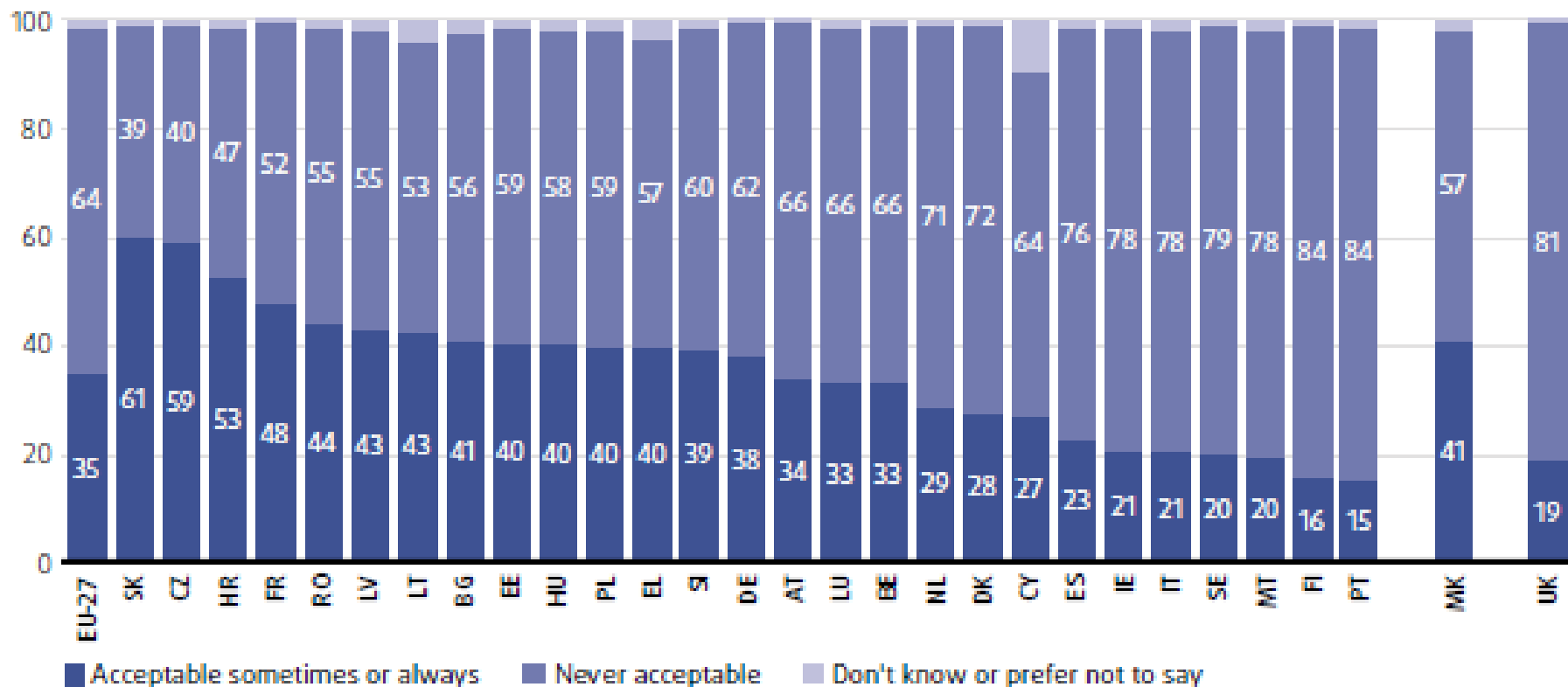


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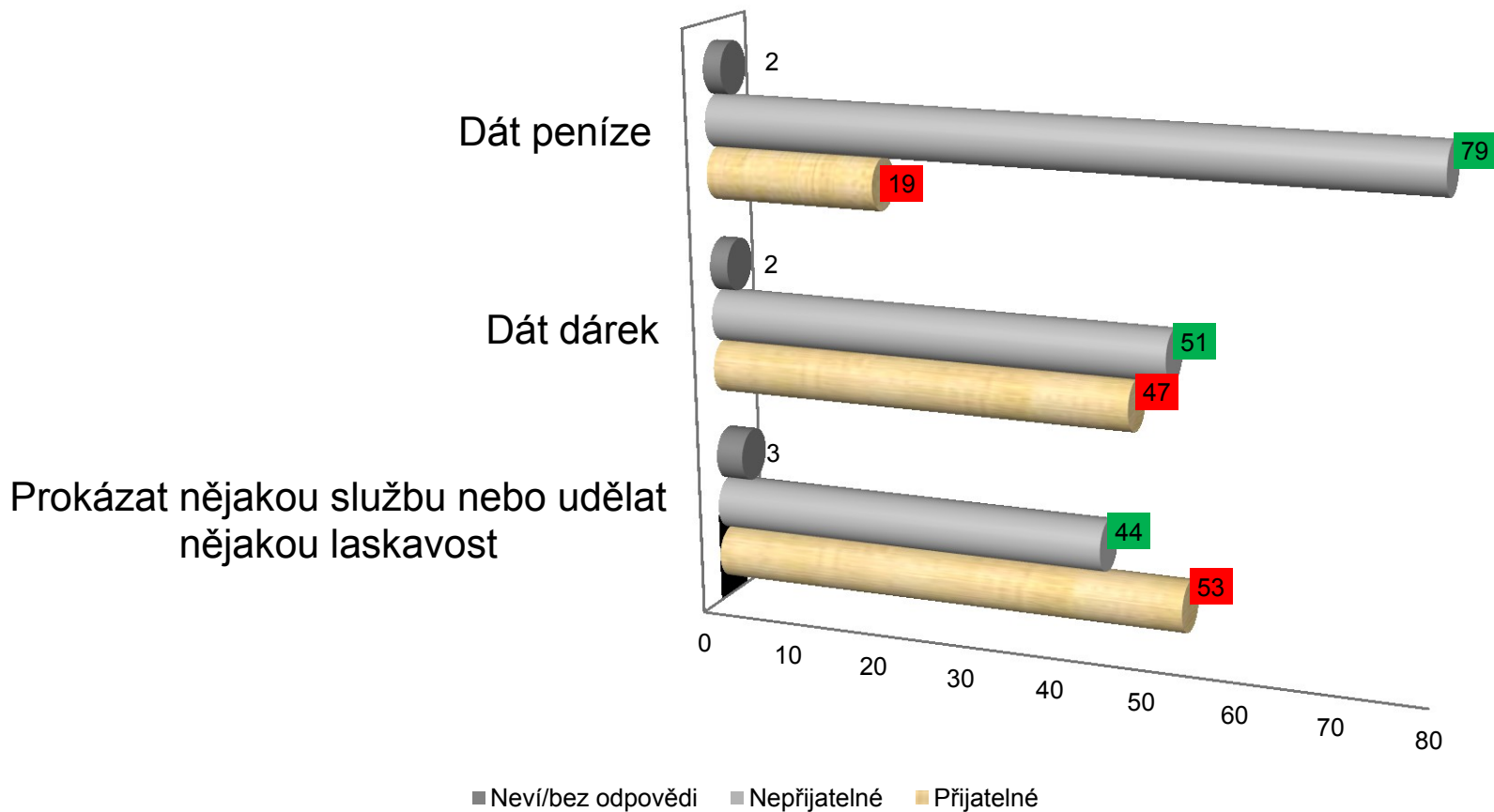
# Klientelismus x formální pravidla

FIGURE 24: VIEWS ON ACCEPTABILITY OF GIVING A GIFT TO OR DOING A FAVOUR FOR A PUBLIC OFFICIAL OR CIVIL SERVANT IF NEED SOMETHING URGENTLY FROM THEM, BY COUNTRY (%)



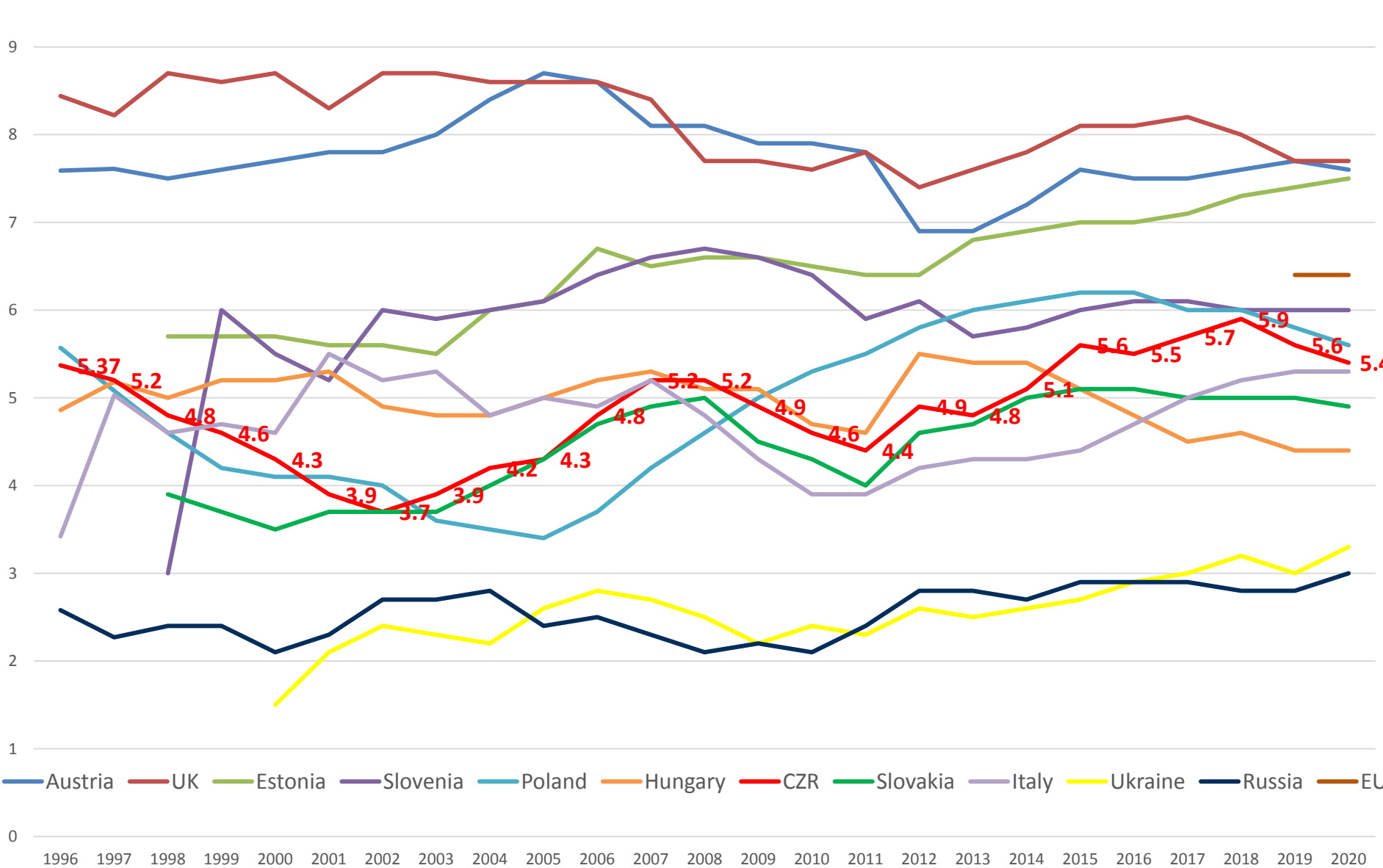
Source: FRA, Fundamental Rights Survey 2019 [Data collection in cooperation with CBS (NL), CTIE (LU) and Statistics Austria (AT)]

***Odpověď na otázku „Kdybyste chtěl něco od veřejné správy nebo veřejné služby,  
do jaké míry je podle vás přijatelné jednat následujícími způsoby?“  
(ČR) zdroj: Evropská komise (2013)***



# Corruption in Europe (1996 – 2020)

(source: TI,CPI: 2020 EU/6,4; CZ 19. place)





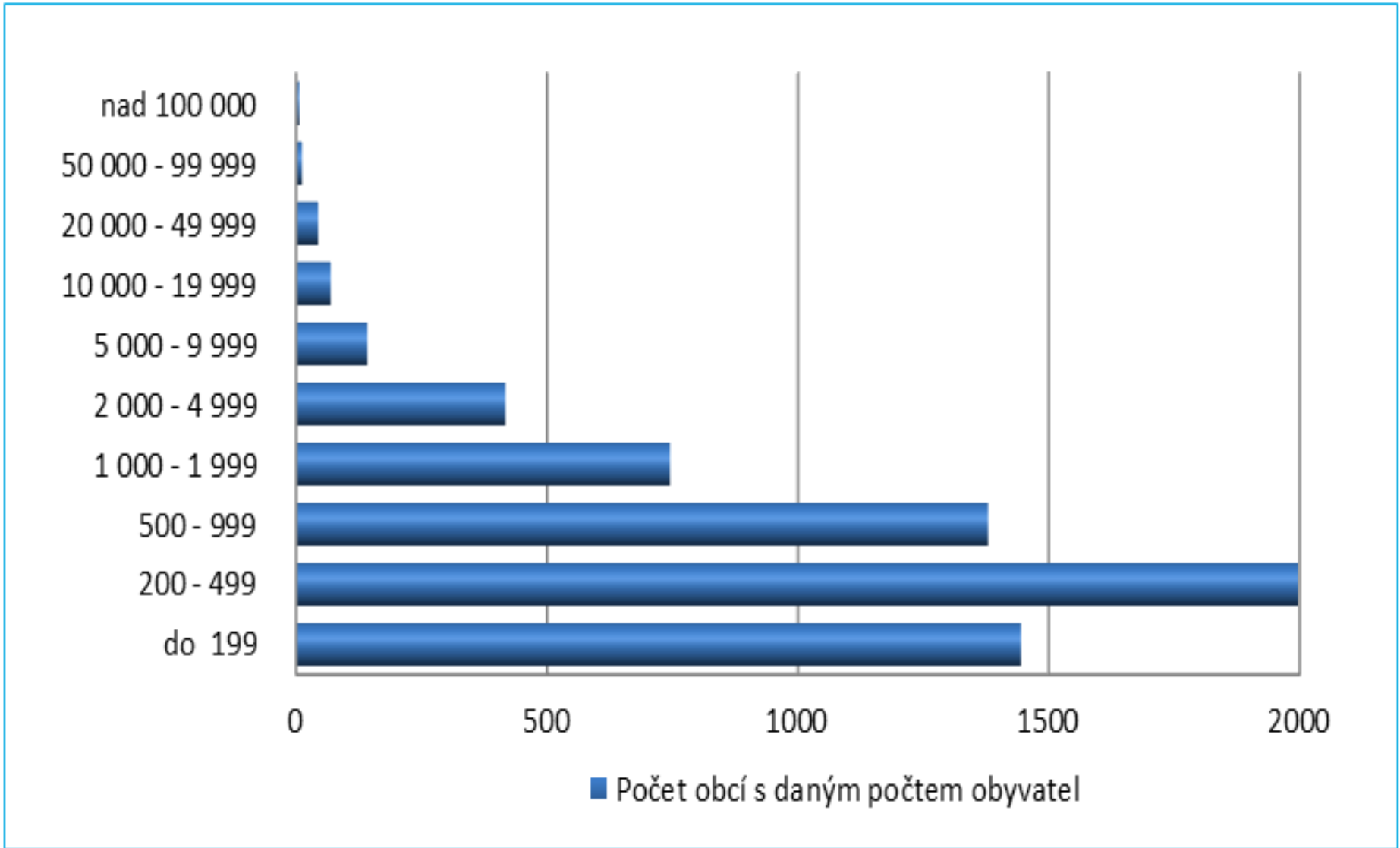
**Zdroj: Josef Lada, *Bubáci a hastrmani*, Albatros, 2010, s. 12 (vyšlo 1952)**

Pan starosta je vážně vyslechl a potom k nim promluvil s úřední vážností. „Nó, vono by to bylo dobré, kdyby se tu usadilo nějaké strašidlo – copak o to! Děcka beztoho už začínají tropit všelijaké nezbednosti... ať hodně **straší** kolem zahrad a polí s lusky, aby nám to děcka všecko neroznesla, a když budu vidět, že **straší hlavně u mých** lusek, nebudu zase hledět na nějaké to slovo a leckams ho k strašení doporučím“.





Graf 3: Velikostní struktura obcí ČR, r. 2015



Zdroj: Malý lexikon obcí, ČSÚ, 2015

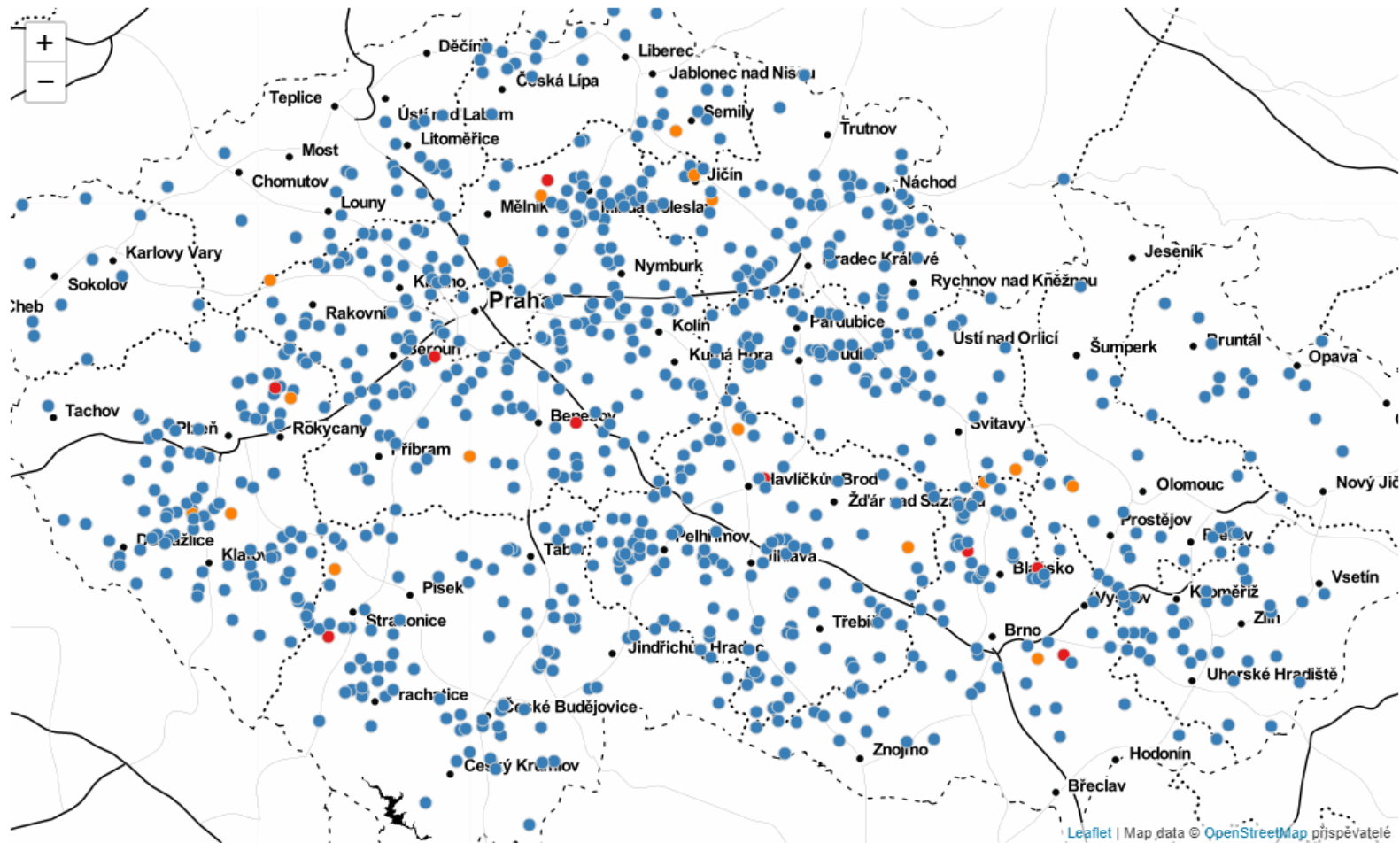
## Přehled počtu obcí podle počtu obyvatel

Obce s počtem obyvatel	Počet obcí	Počet obcí (v kumulaci)	% celkové populace	% celkové populace (v kumulaci)
0-100	557	557	0.4	0.4
101-200	1 086	1 643	1.6	2.0
201-300	890	2 533	2.1	4.1
301-1500	2 850	5 383	18.4	22.5
1 501-5 000	592	5 975	14.8	37.3
5 001-10 000	137	6 112	9.1	46.4
10 001-20 000	68	6 180	9.3	55.8
20 001-30 000	28	6 208	6.8	62.6
30 001-40 000	9	6 217	3.1	65.7
40 001-50 000	5	6 222	2.3	68.0
50 001-100 000	16	6 238	11.3	79.3
100 001-150 000	1	6 239	1.0	80.3
150 000 a více	3	6 242	8.2	88.5
Praha	1	6 243	11.5	100.0

# Šance pro zájmové skupiny, maminky na mateřské, místní podnikatelské skupiny, developery ... (KV volby 2018)

## Kde letos volby nebudou napínavé (nebo nebudou vůbec)

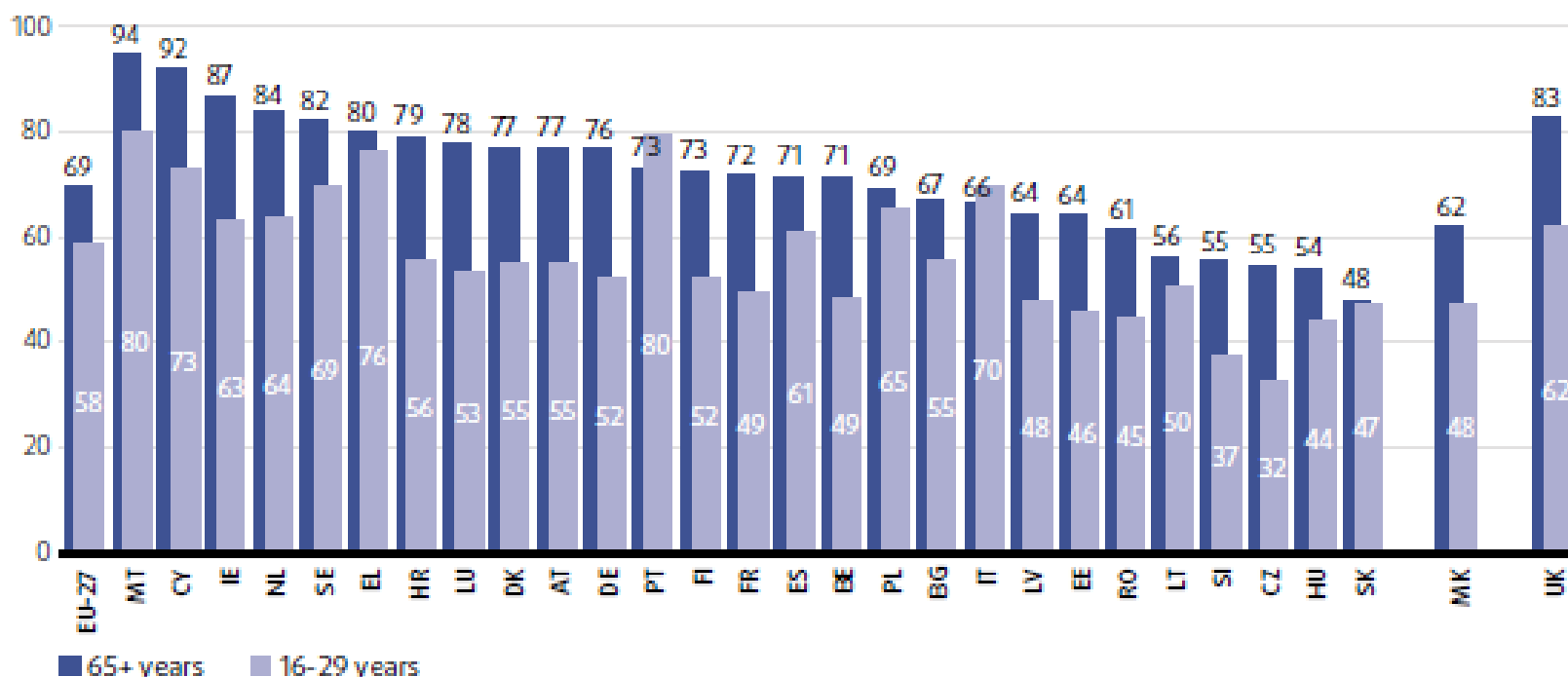
- obce, kde je právě tolik kandidátů jako mandátů
- obce, kde je méně kandidátů než mandátů
- obce, kde nekandiduje nikdo



Vyberte obec v mapě.

# Role opozice

**FIGURE 11: CONSIDERING FREEDOM OF OPPOSITION PARTIES TO CRITICISE THE GOVERNMENT TO BE OF HIGH IMPORTANCE, PEOPLE AGED 16-29 YEARS AND 65 YEARS AND OVER, BY COUNTRY (%) <sup>a,b</sup>**

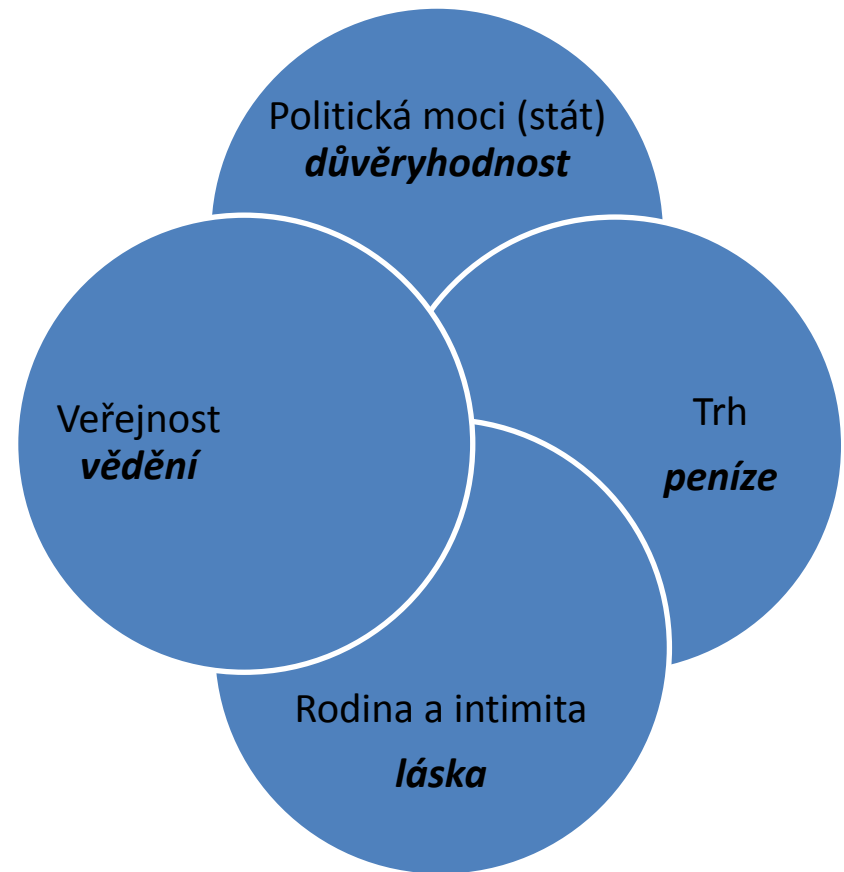
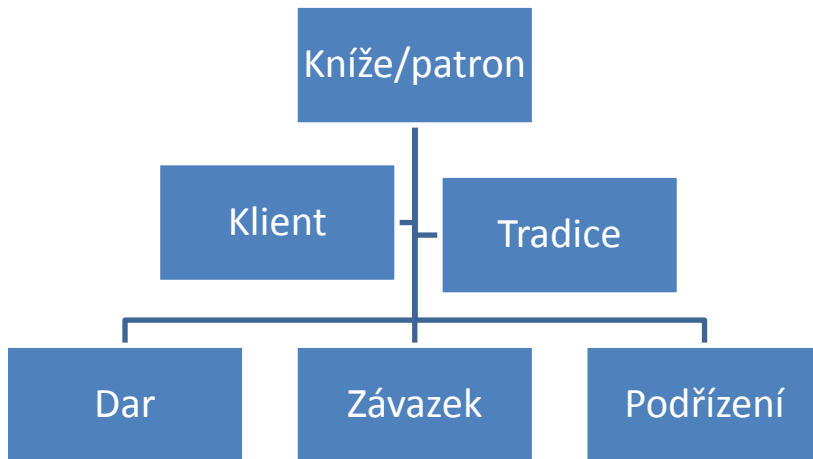


Source: FRA, Fundamental Rights Survey 2019 [Data collection in cooperation with CBS (NL), CTIE (LU) and Statistics Austria (AT)]

# Perspektiva sociální diferenciacce

*Patronáž versus formální instituce*

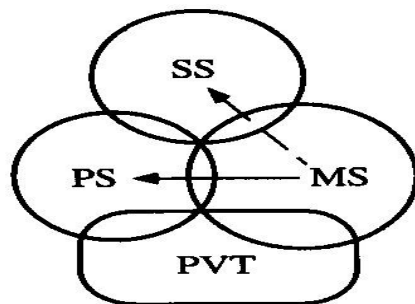
*Univerzalizující média moci (Niklas Luhmann)*



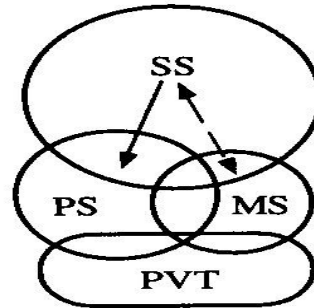


## Clientelism, oligarchization, state capture (2013 - 2021)

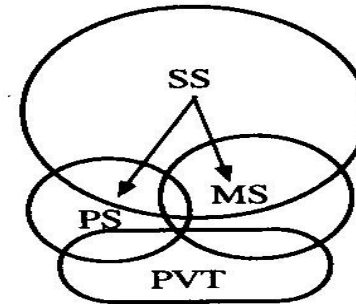




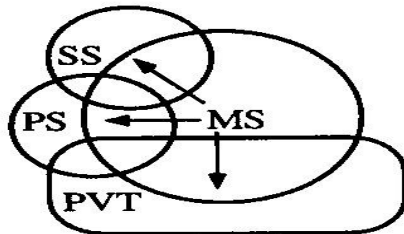
1. United States



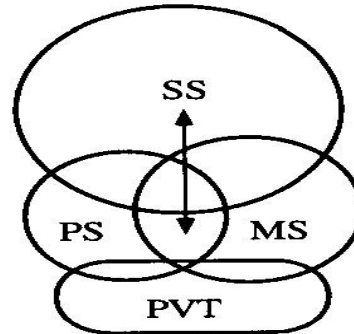
2. United Kingdom



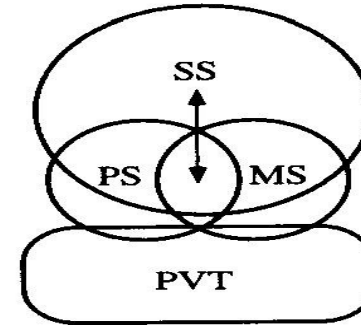
3. France



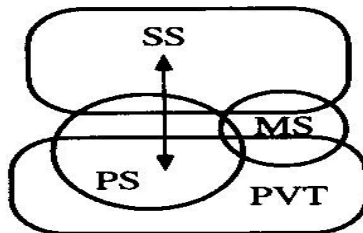
4. Japan



5. Germany



6. Sweden



7. Poland  
(early 1980s)

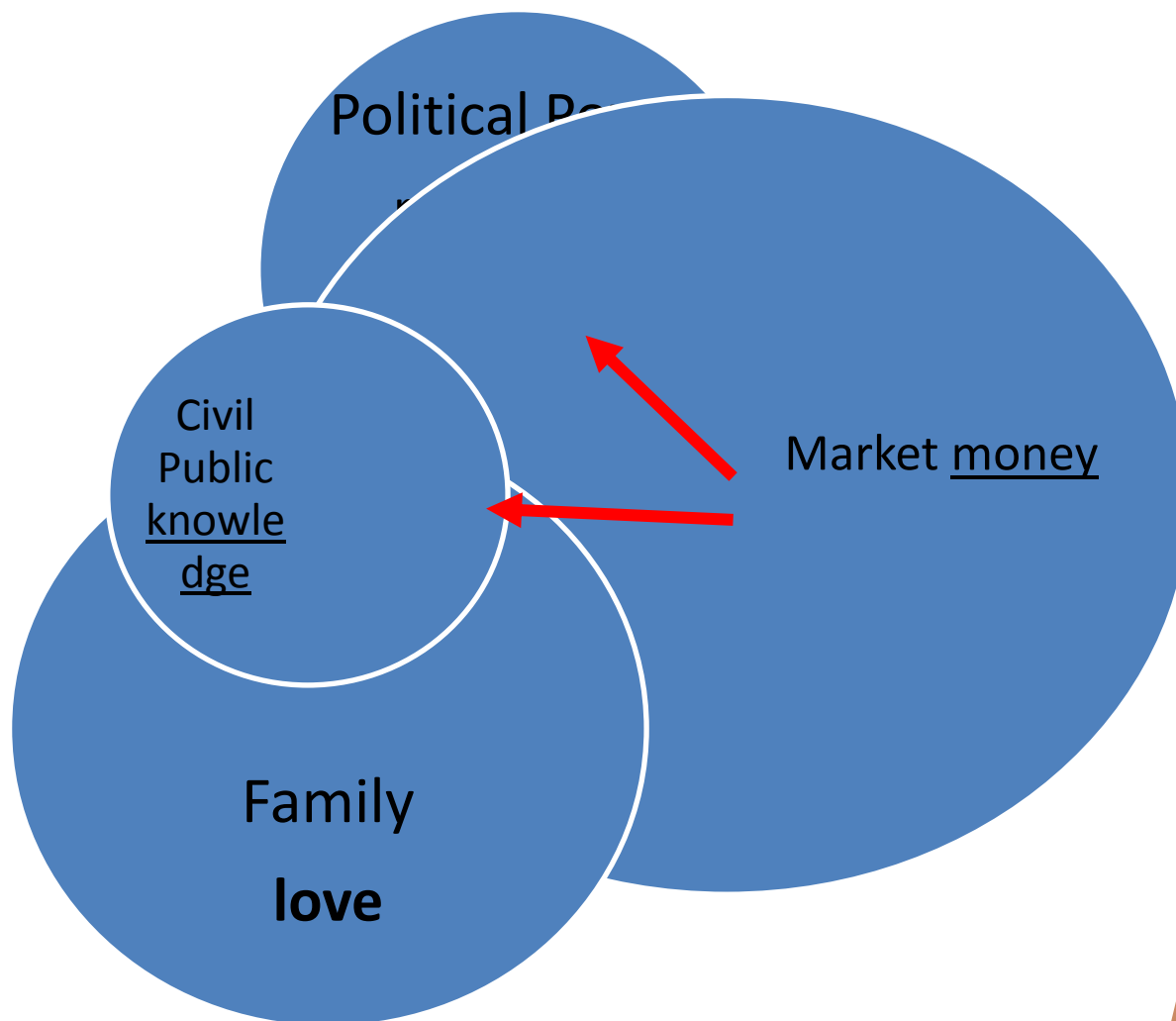
**Abbreviations:**

- SS = State sphere
- PS = Public sphere
- MS = Market sphere
- PVT = Private lifeworld  
or private sphere

Figure 5.2. The public and private sphere in eight countries



# Conflict of Interests aneb Babišův problém (?)



# LOBBYING

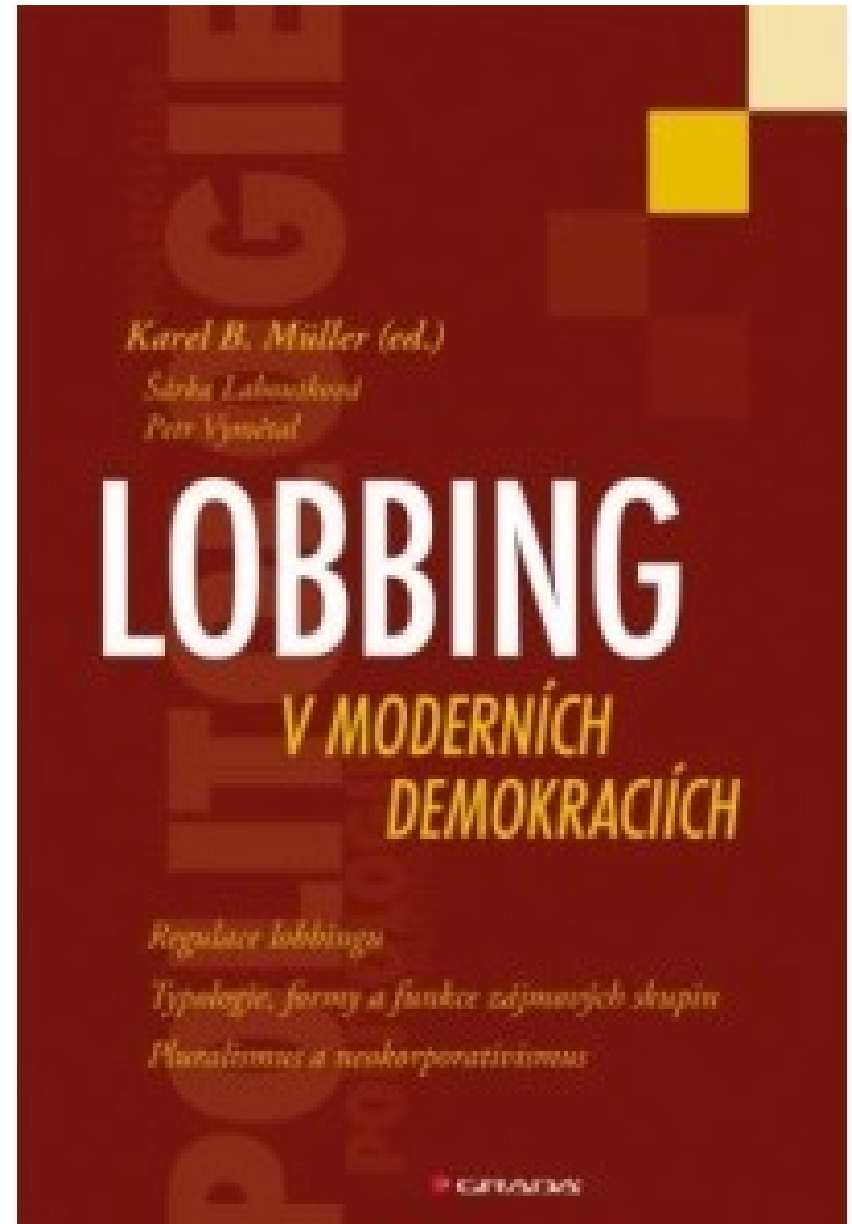
*nabídka versus poptávka*

*aktéři versus příjemci*

## INSTITUCIONALIZACE

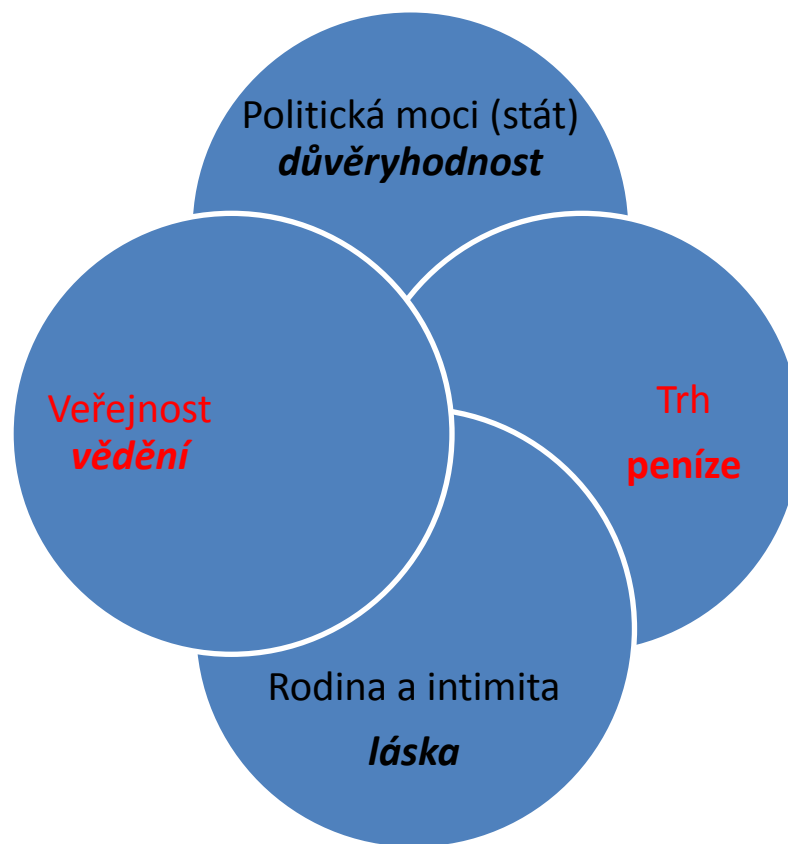
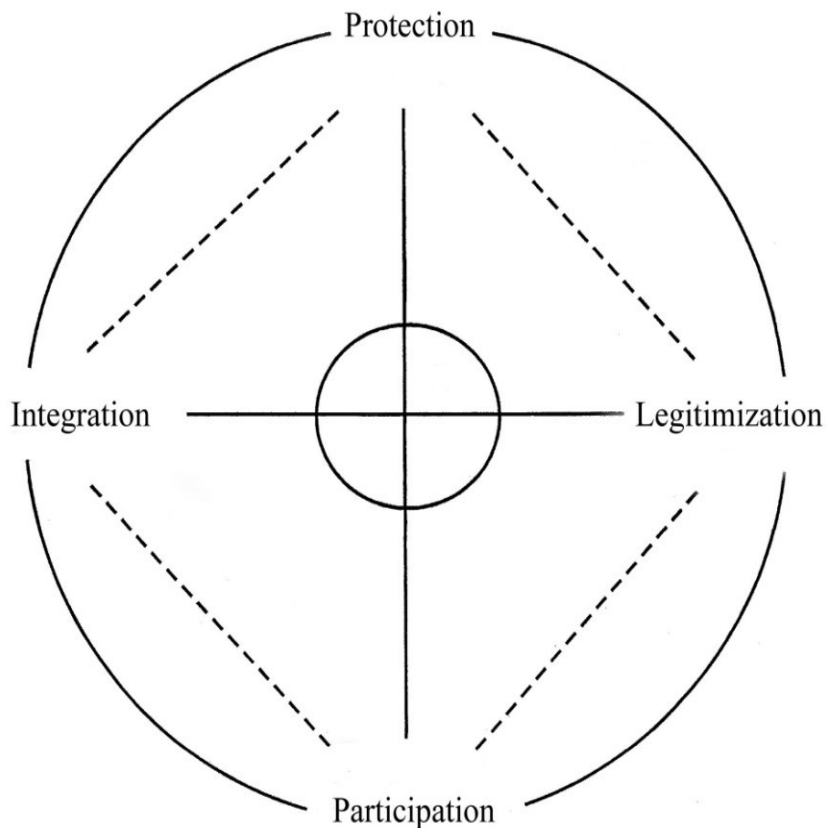
## ROZHRAŇÍ

**POLITIKA X TRH/VEŘEJNOST**



# Perspektiva občanské veřejnosti

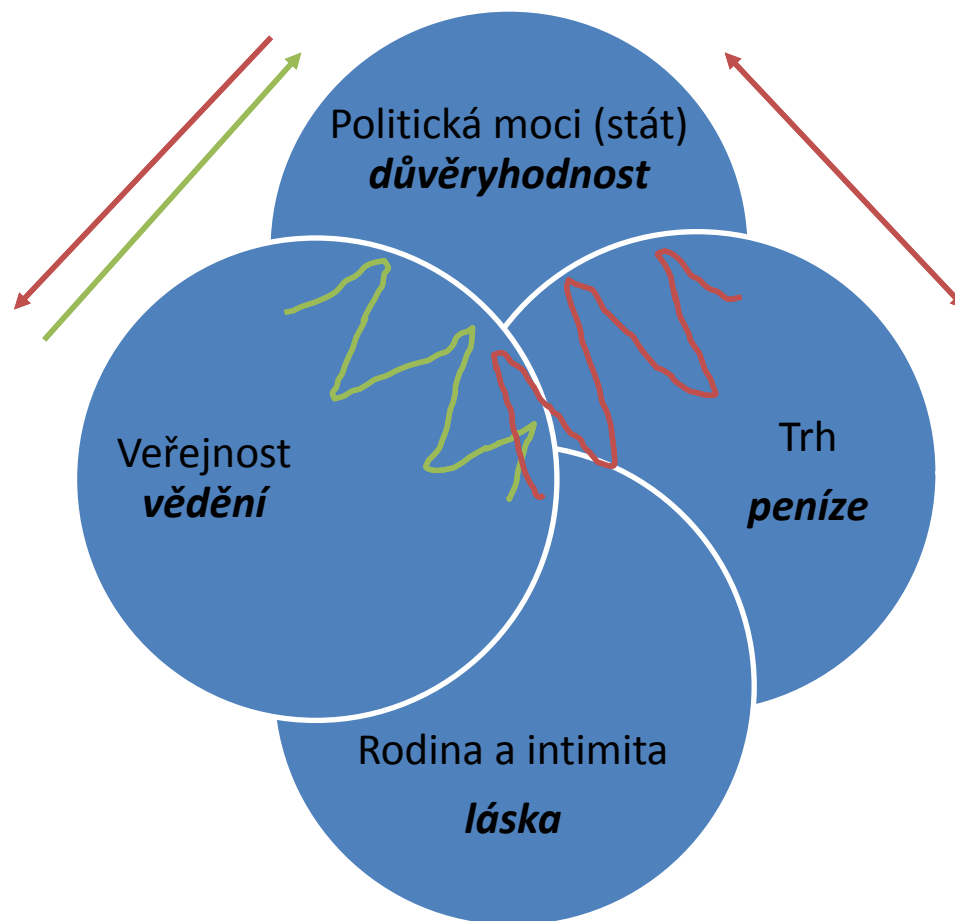
Karel B. Müller (2016). *Češi, občanská společnost a evropské výzvy*. Praha: Triton.







# Borderline Approach





Co není lobbying?  
Kdo není lobbista?











# Co je lobbying?

- Lobbying x klientelismus, korupce (boj proti lobbyngu? – viz James Madison LF č. 10)
- Zástupci zájmových skupin v rozhodovacích procesech, informace, vědění, plusy/mínusy

## Aktéři lobbyngu

- Profesionální lobbisté (in-house, agentury)
- Občanští lobbisté (TI, AI, Rekonstrukce státu)
- Amatérští lobbisté (?)
- Komory (povinné x nepovinné)
- Partikulární v. obecný zájem

# Role zájmových skupin a policy making process



- Charles Lindblom, 1968
- **Artikulace** (iniciace), agenda setting
- **Estimace, selekce** (formulace problému, postup řešení), RIA a priori
- **Legitimizace** (politicky a právně)
- **Implementace**
- **Monitoring a re-evaluace**, RIA a posteriori

# Legislative Drafting Process

Legislative Drafting Process Guide

Hallituksen esitysten laatimisohteet

Lisää

Finlex.fi ›  
Oikeusministerio.fi ›



Information

Frequently asked questions

Suomeksi

På svenska

In English

Text ver

Choose the stage of process



<http://lainvalmistelu.finlex.fi/en/>

# Strategie a nástroje lobbingu

- Kdy, jak, kde a u koho lobbovat? Ve fázi přípravy zákonů!
- Jednorázový x trvalý (opakující se)
- Pozitivní/útočný x obranný (protilobbing)
- Přímý (KONTAKNÍ) x nepřímý (GRASSROOTS)
- Nepřímý lobbing (vzdělávací, informační kampaně, vytváření koalic, média, soudní pře – permanentní monitoring zájmů)
- Budování důvěry/důvěryhodnosti!
- PUBLIC AFFAIRS

# Smysl regulace lobbingu

- Institucionalizace rozhraní sociálních systémů (politické moci x veřejnosti/vědění + trh/peníze)
- Regulace – Co je lobbying? Kdo je lobbista?
- Samoregulace (zdola) x zák. regulace (shora) Obojí
- Naše poslední předloha do Sněmovny (jaro 2020, prošel prvním čtením 12/2020, GRECO, report 2017)
- Kdo bude dohlížet nad registrem?
- APAA, založena květen 2012
- <https://svetneziskovek.cz/management/co-znamenana-vrh-zakona-o-lobbovani-pro-obcanskou-spolecnost>
- <https://ct24.ceskatelevize.cz/domaci/3238740-zive-poslanci-mimoradne-jednaji-o-protikorupcnich-predlohach>

# Nástroje regulace lobbingu

- Žádná (CZ), malá, střední, vysoká regulace (USA).
- Zdola – regulace lobbistů (střešní org. s dobrovolným členství, etické kodexy, směrnice, certifikace, kárná řízení, př. UK)
- Shora – regulace lobbistů (uznaná živnost, rejstříky/EU, revolving doors, cooling-off periods, výkazy výdajů, sankce, př. USA, Kanada)
- Shora – regulace příjemců lobbingu, vysokých úředníků, politiků (rev. doors, střet zájmů, majetková přiznání, otevřené diáře, sankce)



## Členové asociace APAA



Becker & Pollakoff

Becker & Pollakoff  
Martin Klimpl



CEC  
GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

CEC Government  
Relations  
Václav Nekvapil



EUR:OFFICE  
PRAHA-BRUSEL A.S.

Eurooffice Praha-  
Brusel  
Libor Kudláček



Fleishman  
Hillard  
Radek Maršík



GRAYLING

Grayling Czech  
Republic  
Jakub Hudec



merit  
government relations

Merit Government  
Relations  
Martin Hoferek



PAN SOLUTIONS

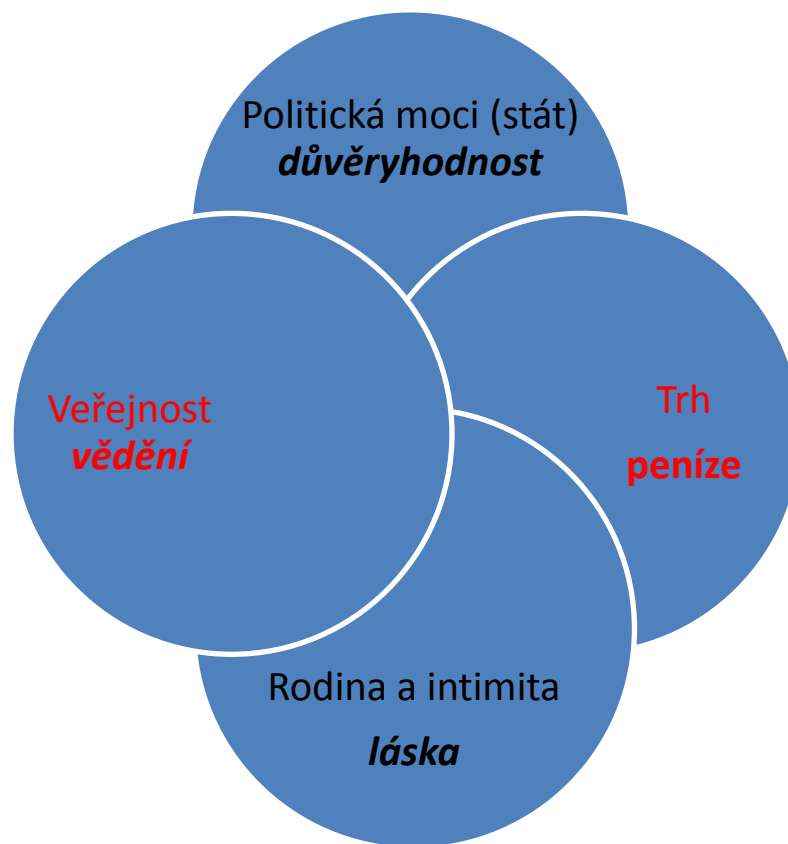
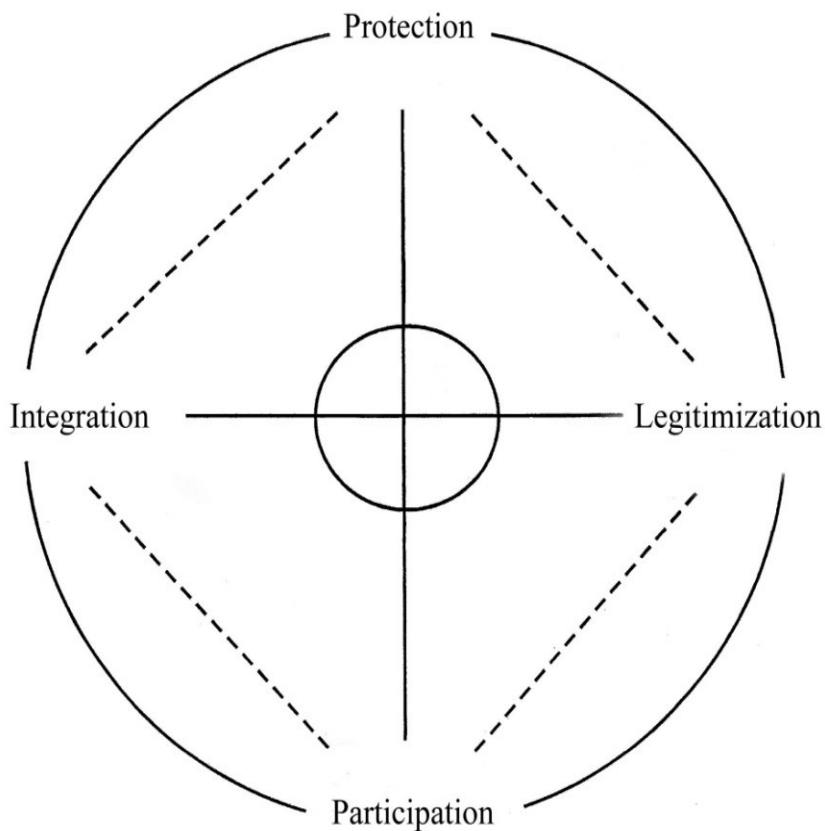
PAN  
Solutions  
Jana Marco



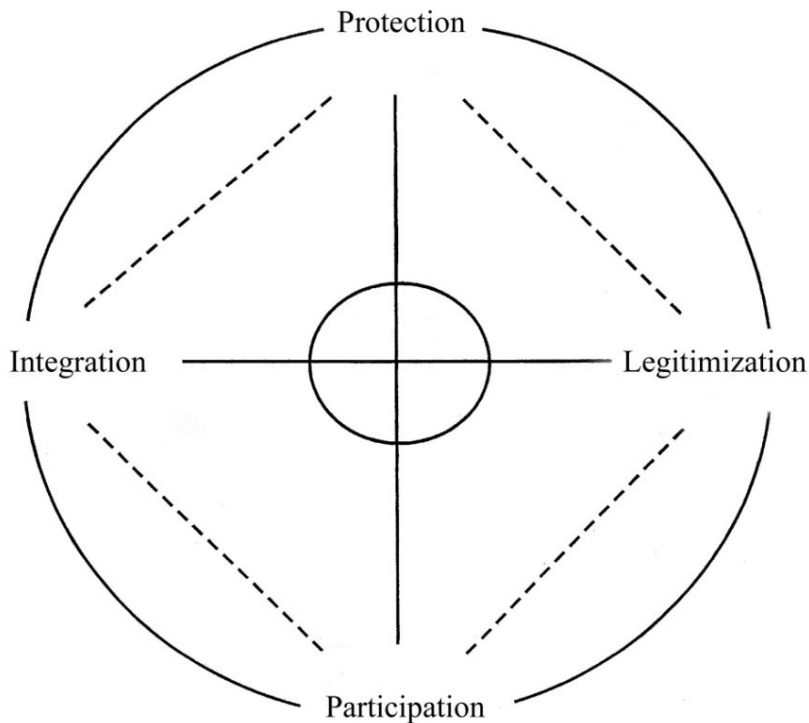


# Perspektiva občanské veřejnosti

Karel B. Müller (2016). *Češi, občanská společnost a evropské výzvy*. Praha: Triton.



# Cíle regulace



- Boj proti korupci, posílení transparentnosti
- Posílit kvalitu a legitimitu zákonodárného procesu – stakeholdři součástí tvorby pravidel
- Férová pravidla pro zájmové skupiny, stakeholdry
- Posílení důvěry v politickou elitu a pol. systém



# Poznámky proměněným mediální krajiny

# **CO DNES ZNAMENÁ VEŘEJNOST?**

Strukturální proměny veřejnosti (J. Habermas, 1962)

Mimopolitická, sekulární, neuzavřená (tématům, lidem)

Kritická x manipulativní, demonstrativní publicita

Re-feudalizace veřejnosti, PR (?), práce s, konstrukce veřejnosti

Politická funkce médií (dnes) – watchdog, agenda setting, informace a osvěta – sociální funkce médií (integrační, večerní z právy)

Komericializace, bulvarizace

Infotainment-politainment-depolitizace veřejnosti

Pseudo-události, Hyperrealita, Simulakra (Deleuze, Baudrillard)

Nezávislost médií a MVS (?)

Mediální gramotnost coby branná povinnost

Evropeizace veřejné sféry – trajektorie evropeizace  
místo, čas, význam (?)

# Zábava?

Tuesday 2 June 2009 **50p** NEWS EXTRA

## London Evening Standard

Private view Howard Hodgkin reveals his new work Pages 30 & 31

standard.co.uk

**Fashion Style & Sex** SUITS IN THE CITY SEX IN THE CITY PAGES 25-23

# LABOUR REVOLT ON CHANCELLOR BALLS

**BROWN PROVOKES FURY OVER PLANS TO PROMOTE KEY ALLY**  
**MANDELSON TIPPED TO TAKE OVER AS FOREIGN SECRETARY**

By Murphy Political Editor

GORDON BROWN was hit by a fierce backlash today over the prospect of promoting Ed Balls to be the new Chancellor. Senior Labour warned that it would be "divisive" and make the Cabinet "unbalanced". Their response threatened to derail the sweeping reshuffle to be held after this week's local and European elections.

With Alistair Darling looking doomed from the expense account scandal, MPs are convinced that the Prime Minister intends to replace him with the Children's Secretary.

Mr Brown has for several weeks been rumoured to want his protégé to take over the Treasury, seeing him as a more strategic and combative Chancellor.

One possibility is that it would be combined with promotion for Lord Mandelson to the Foreign Office, so he presented as a balanced set of promotions.

But both ministers and backbenchers warned him against giving the Treasury to one of his closest and most controversial allies, saying it would be a move from his original promise to have a big test government.

One former minister said: "Gordon obviously rates Ed Balls highly but he must be careful that he does not leave the Cabinet unbalanced. That could be the effect if Ed ran the Treasury in the same way that he behaved when he was finance at London Weekend." That could be the effect if Ed ran the Treasury in the same way that he behaved when he was finance at London Weekend.

Another MP said: "It would be a very unpopular choice in what look like the Brown camp getting narrower and narrower."

Continued on Page 6



Victims: Ed Balls, who was on the doomed jet, performed in Riverside before becoming a doctor

**Air crash site found as victims are named**

By Kiran Bashir and Peter Allen

The spot where a doomed Air France jet crashed with the loss of 228 lives has been pinpointed to "within a few dozen square nautical miles", paving the way for a salvage operation.

A massive search sweep involving planes, ships and French spy satellites helped to locate the spot in a notoriously desolate fishing zone, dubbed the "black caldera", over the north Atlantic where flight AF 447 went down.

Investigators and other state-of-the-art nautical equipment will have to be used to retrieve the black box flight recorder which holds the key to what went wrong on the doomed Airbus A330.

But the area is remote, and it could still be many hours before the first rescue vessel arrives. The identities of some of the dead have emerged. They include a British businessman who could not get on an earlier flight, and three Irish doctors, including Dr 39thone Walls.

FULL STORY: PAGE 5



**LEWIS WINS AT LAST**  
SEE PAGE 10 & SUNSPORT

## WORLD EXCLUSIVE

- Star's ex Blake tells of drugs hell
- He reveals couple's wasted lives



New dad... PC Sigton

Sis has baby for gay PCs

EXCLUSIVE

By JAMIE PYATT

LOVING sister Lorna Bradley acted as surrogate mum as her brother Steven Ponder and his partner Ivan Sigton, both policemen, became Britain's first gay couple to father a baby.

Full story - Page Nine



Chop... Chancellor

Darling: Cuts on the way

By GEORGE PASCOE-WATSON

Political Editor

PUBLIC services will be SLASHED by Labour in the coming three years, Alistair Darling sensationally confessed yesterday.

The Chancellor blew a gaping hole in Gordon

Continued on Page Two

# AMY 'DIED' IN MY ARMS



By TOM WELLS and KAREN GRATTAGE

AMY Winehouse "died" in her husband's arms after a horrific three-day drugs binge, he has revealed.

Blake Fielder-Civil, 27, told of his "utter panic" — as he last night lifted the lid on their harrowing life of heroin and crack abuse following his divorce from the Blah-b singer, 25.

Amy's ex, right, said: "I was terrified."



Full Story - Pages Four & Five







# Trendy?

**THE GUARDIAN**  
London Monday July 21 1969

**US astronauts take an early walk into history at 339 am**

**On the moon after perfect touchdown**

By ANTHONY TUCKER, our Science Correspondent

Men are on the moon. At 3.39 a.m. this morning—nearly four hours ahead of schedule—Armstrong, the lunar module commander, opened the hatch and clambered slowly down to the surface of the moon.

Minutes later Aldrin followed him down the steps of the lunar—already renamed Tranquillity—base. In his minutes, almost instantaneous of 400 years of human exploration, it was the fulfillment of a dream which has haunted since the beginning of recorded history.

... make three hours when the lunar module Eagle, equipped for a 28-day mission, touched down on the moon. The pitch. It was a moment of unshakable tension and stress. The lunar module, carrying man and machine, the lunar module, was the only man-made object to have ever landed on the moon.

... the moon. The moon is the only celestial body in the solar system that is visible to the naked eye. It is the only celestial body in the solar system that is visible to the naked eye.

**Coollest men off earth land beside crater**

From ADAM REAPPEAR, Houston, July 20

**Timing of lunar walk**

... the moon. The moon is the only celestial body in the solar system that is visible to the naked eye. It is the only celestial body in the solar system that is visible to the naked eye.

**Install SERVOWARM NOW**

**MONEY OFF!**

**Send for Discount Voucher**

## Republicans Press Judge About Bias and Activism

### Sotomayor Pledges to Honor Precedent — Retreats From Some Statements

By PETER BAKER and NEIL A. LEWIS

WASHINGTON — Republican senators sparred with Judge Sonia Sotomayor on Tuesday over racial bias, judicial activism and temperament as she presented herself as a reliable follower of precedent rather than a jurist shaped by gender and ethnicity, as some of her past speeches suggested.

In calm, low-key and at times legalistic testimony, Judge Sotomayor rebuffed hours of skeptical questions and stuck resolutely to her message that if confirmed to the Supreme Court, she would not let personal bias influence her rulings. In the first two hours alone, she said she ruled by applying "the law" or some variation at least two dozen times.

"It's a refrain I keep repeating," she told the Senate Judiciary Committee, "because that is my philosophy of judging: applying the law to the facts at hand."

She retreated from or tried to explain away some past statements, most notably her much-criticized comment that she hoped a "wise Latina woman" might reach better conclusions than white males without the same experiences. She noted that "no words I have ever spoken or written have received so much attention," dismissing them as "a rhetorical flourish that fell flat" and that did not mean what critics have interpreted them to mean.

Continued on Page A15

## Marine ran to safety as a homemade bomb exploded Monday in Helmand Province, Afghanistan; the blast killed two others.

AFGHANISTAN — A Marine ran to safety as a homemade bomb exploded Monday in Helmand Province, Afghanistan; the blast killed two others.

... the explosion. The explosion was heard by several other Marines in the area. The explosion was heard by several other Marines in the area.

## Surcharge is Set in a Health Plan

### New Tax of 1% to 5.4% Affecting Top Filers

By ROBERT PEAR and DAVID M. HERSZBERG

WASHINGTON — House Democratic leaders took a big step toward guaranteeing health insurance for most Americans on Tuesday as they unveiled a bill that detailed how they would expand coverage, slow the growth of Medicare, raise taxes on high-income people and penalize employers who do not provide health benefits to their workers.

Even when I.E.D.'s do not wound or kill troops, the threat restrains and complicates the effort.

Continued on Page A8

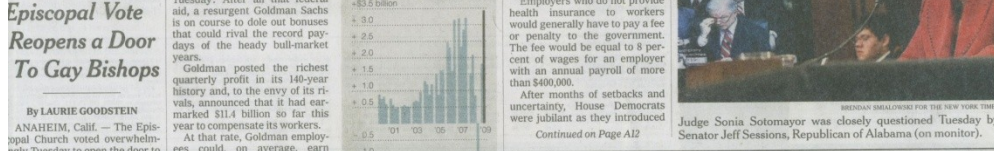
## Episcopal Vote Reopens a Door To Gay Bishops

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

ANAHEIM, Calif. — The Episcopal Church voted overwhelmingly Tuesday to open the door to consecrate more bishops who are openly gay, a move that is likely to send shock waves throughout the Anglican Communion, the global network of churches to which the Episcopal Church belongs.

By voting to affirm that "any ordained ministry" is open to gay men and lesbians, the Episcopal Church effectively ended what many regarded as a moratorium on ordaining gay bishops, which the church passed at its last convention three years ago.

The moratorium was adopted in what proved to be a largely un-



## In Recession, a Bleaker Path for Workers to Slog

job market — and the rate reached 23.5 percent in Oregon this spring, according to a New York Times analysis of state-by-state data. It was 21.5 percent in both Michigan and Rhode Island and 20.3 percent in California, Tennessee, Nevada and several other states that have relied heavily on manufacturing or housing, the rate was just under 20 percent this spring and may have since surpassed it.

It is a startling sign of the pain that the Great Recession is inflicting, and it is largely missed by the official, oft-repeated statistics on unemployment.

Another concern is that the blowout profits might encourage rivals to try to match Goldman in the markets so they, too, can return to paying hefty bonuses. Wall Street's bonus culture is widely seen as having encouraged the excessive risk-taking that set off the work's financial crisis.

"I find this disconcerting," said