

Influencing the EU REACH policy process

A case study

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Influencing the EU REACH policy process; a case study

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by

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List of acronyms

Access goods:	Goods that are provided by interest groups to the European institutions.
BEUC:	European consumer's organization.
Brussel route:	Lobbying through European institutions.
Co-decision procedure:	Policy procedure of the European Union.
Cefic:	European Council for the Chemical Industry.
Colipa:	European Trade Association representing the interests of the cosmetic, toiletry and perfumery industry
Conciliation committee:	Committee that consists of an equal number of representatives from the Council and the Parliament trying to reach an agreement.
Critical goods:	Goods that are demanded by the European institutions from the interest groups.
Downstream users:	Companies and consumers along the manufacturing line.
EEB:	European Environmental Bureau.
Encompassing interest:	Interest that represents a range of interests/ views.
First reading:	Council and Parliament can make amendments to the Commission policy proposal.
MEP:	Member of the European Parliament.
National route:	Lobbying through national governments, federations.
NGO's:	Non-Governmental Organizations.
Rapporteur:	Member of the European Parliament who lead the committee that deals with the policy proposal of the Commission.
REACH:	Registration Evaluation and Authorization of Chemicals.
RIP's:	REACH Implementation Programs.
PRODUCE:	Piloting REACH On Downstream Use and Communication in Europe.
Second reading:	Council and Parliament can make amendments for the second time to the Commission policy proposal.
Shadow Rapporteur:	Each political party in the European Parliament appoints a shadow rapporteur who follows the actions of the rapporteur.
SPORT:	Strategic Partnership On REACH Testing.
UNICE:	Confederation of European Businesses.
VNCI:	Federation for the Dutch chemical industry.
VNO-NCW:	Federation for Dutch Businesses.
White Paper:	Initiation of a new policy process by the European Commission.

Summary

In the last couple of years there was an intensive lobby that was focused on the new European chemical policy called REACH. REACH stands for the Registration, Evaluation and Authorization of chemicals. REACH must replace the old ineffective chemical legislation in Europe. REACH has two important objectives. The first objective is the protection of the environment and human health against dangerous chemicals. The second objective is the protection of the competitiveness of the European chemical industry. The REACH policy process was facilitated under the co-decision policy procedure of the European Union. This means that the Commission sends a proposal to the Council. The Council will ask the opinion of the Parliament in the so-called reading rounds. In these reading rounds the Parliament may come with amendments to the policy proposal. The European Commission initiated the policy process in 2001 by launching a White Paper called "A strategy for future chemicals" and sending the REACH policy proposal REACH in 2003 to the Council. After two reading rounds of the European Parliament, the European Council and the European Parliament reached a final agreement on REACH at the end of 2006.

In the lobby process on REACH, interest groups were trying to influence the policy in their advantage. In case of the REACH policy process, the European institutions and the interests groups were mutual dependent on each other. European institutions wanted to have information from the interest groups to be able to produce a high quality legislation that will work in practice and that will reach the set goals. Interest groups were trying to influence the REACH policy in their advantage. The Access Theory explains conditions where interest organizations have success in influencing the policy. It is of interest to see whether the Access Theory is sufficient to explain the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace in the case of the REACH policy process. Therefore this research will answer the following main question:

Is the Access Theory sufficient to explain the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace in influencing REACH and can the Network Theory and the Lobby Theory provide contributions to explain this process of influence?

In order to answer this question, this research will focus on two interest organizations that have an opposite view on REACH. These are Cefic and Greenpeace. Cefic is the representative of the chemical industry in Europe. Greenpeace is the environmental NGO that is trying to protect the environment and human health. The two organizations have opposite views on REACH. Cefic wants a REACH legislation that is protecting the competitiveness of the European chemical industry. REACH should not only focus on protecting the environment and human health from dangerous chemicals and thereby driving the costs up for industry to an unacceptable level. Greenpeace sees REACH as an opportunity to get rid of dangerous

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chemicals forever and to fully protect the environment and human health against dangerous chemicals.

To be able to answer the research question also three important theories about European public-private relationships are used in this research. The first theory that is used in this research is the Access Theory. The Access Theory says that European institutions and interest organizations are mutual dependent on each other in their need for resources. Interest organizations want to have access to the European institutions in order to influence the policy outcomes. Interest groups can obtain this access by providing so called "access goods" to the European institutions. European institutions are searching for three kinds of "access goods" resources. These are: Expert knowledge, European encompassing interest and Domestic encompassing interest. The need for a type of access good depends on the European institution such as the Commission, the Council and the Parliament and the kind of European policy process the policy is in, for example the co-decision procedure.

The second theory is the Policy Network Theory. This theory has the following characteristics. In a policy network actors are mutual dependent on each other for their need for resources. The EU institutions need knowledge from the field, legitimacy for the policymaking process and implementation support. The interest actors on the other hand are seeking for access to the policy making process and implementation process in order to influence the policy in their advantages and thereby pleasing their members. The pluralist type of policy network has the following adding characteristics. There are a large number of interest organizations involved in the lobby process. The interest organizations also do not have a monopolistic position in representing their interest. Interest organizations are in competition with each other in their effort to influence the policy. Interest organizations will try to prevent other actors in obtaining their interest. Policy networks are open systems. Interest organizations can join the policy network easily by going into competition with the other interest organizations that are involved.

The third theory describes the lobby methods that interest organizations can use. Well known lobby methods on the European level are sending position papers, speak on hearings; conduct own research and personal contact with decision-makers. Important for the effectiveness of the lobby methods is what lobby methods are applied at a specific moment in the policy process and to which European institution the lobby method is addressed. For example position paper are the most effective if they are send just before a decision has to be made and they have to be short and simple because European decision makers have not much time available. Sending high level technical knowledge to the European Parliament does not have a large effect because usually members of the European Parliament are not experts in chemical engineering.

In the REACH policy process, the European institutions were definitely searching for the three kinds of access goods: expert knowledge, encompassing European interests and encompassing domestic interests. There are several reasons for this need that can be mentioned. First of all

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the policy makers at the European union are not experts. This means that they have to get expert information from external sources in order to conduct policy proposals or to make judgments and amendments about the REACH policy proposal. Secondly the European decision-makers want to encompass European interests in order to know what kind of interests are at stake in Europe. Third several European institutions have domestic links, such as the European Parliament and the Council. These decision-makers also want to know what kind of domestic interests are involved.

Both Cefic and Greenpeace succeeded in providing access goods. Cefic and Greenpeace both provided expert knowledge, encompassing European interests and encompassing domestic interests. Expert knowledge was provided by researches and by joining the researches of the Commission. Cefic has provided more expert knowledge compared to Greenpeace. Cefic was a contact for the Commission for providing experts in the field of chemical engineering. Cefic has also done several researches that tested the REACH policy proposal in practice. Greenpeace has also done researches but was not a contact for the Commission in providing experts.

The European departments of both organizations delivered the encompassing European interests. The alliances with other European interest organizations that both interest organizations formed made this delivery of encompassing European interests stronger. In the alliances the interests of several interest organizations were joined together in one encompassing interest. The alliance of Greenpeace was covering the field of environmental interests better compared to the alliance of Cefic that did not cover the industrial side completely. Several sub-industry branches lobbied for their own interest instead of the common interest of the industry. For example the battery industry wanted that batteries were excluded from REACH and that industry did not really care about the other sub -industry interest and the common industry interest.

The national federations of Cefic and the national departments of Greenpeace delivered the domestic encompassing interest to the different European institutions. Both organizations coordinated this lobby with their national federations and departments. The national federations also formed alliances with other national interest groups to stand stronger and to present one general domestic interest.

The total of the delivery of access goods by Cefic and Greenpeace is equal. The Access Theory says that when both interest organizations have an equal delivery of access goods, then they also have equal influence and success with respect to the REACH policy. The Access Theory is not correct in explaining the successes of Cefic and Greenpeace. Looking at the successes of Cefic and Greenpeace that are mentioned by the involved actors and by themselves, Cefic had more successes than Greenpeace. The successes of Cefic were that the registration of chemicals is only applied to chemicals produced ten ton or more average per year, further the introduction of the "one substances one procedure principal" and finally that there is no

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obligation to inform the public about the contents of chemicals in a specific product. The successes of Greenpeace were the introduction of the substitution principal and the prevention of animal testing in REACH.

When we apply the Network Theory on the data we can see another variable that is playing an important role in the influence process of Cefic and Greenpeace on the REACH policy. What came forward from the interviews is that both parties were also aware of the competition between them in influencing the REACH policy. Cefic and Greenpeace provided contra arguments and researches to the European institutions to prove that the opposite actor did not give the correct information. Both Cefic and Greenpeace formed alliances with other involved interest organizations to stand stronger in this competition. Greenpeace also introduced a third actor into the REACH policy process that was having the opposite view on REACH compared to Cefic. By introducing this third actor Greenpeace weakened the arguments of Cefic. After applying the Network Theory on the data we can say that the influence on the REACH policy does not only depend on getting access to the different European institutions by providing the access goods but also on the competition between the interest organizations Cefic and Greenpeace. However if we explain the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace with the network theory Greenpeace should have more success in influencing the REACH policy than Cefic. This outcome is in contrast with the earlier mentioned amount of success for Cefic and Greenpeace. Despite this contrast we can still say from the above that the competition and alliances forming play an important role in the influence that both Cefic and Greenpeace has on the REACH policy.

When we apply the lobby methods theory on the data, we can see a third variable that is playing a role in the influence process of Cefic and Greenpeace on REACH. Both organizations were using the same lobby methods at the same time in the policy process that was addressed to the same European institutions. We can conclude from this that both organizations were using the lobby methods in the most effective way. The first lobby method was the formation of an alliance early in the process. The second method was to conduct research for the Commission policy proposal in the beginning of the policy process. The third method was to send position papers to Rapporteur and other MEP's in advance of the Parliament voting rounds. The fourth method was to mobilize national federations before the adoption of the political agreement by the Council. A fifth method was to maintain personal contacts with decision-makers as much as possible. Some organizational lobby skills also were used to influence REACH. Cefic has conducted a database with the voting characteristics of the members of Parliament. With this database, Cefic can distinguish the MEP's that are voting against Cefic's view on REACH and try to convince them to vote in favor of Cefic in the next voting round. Greenpeace on the other hand has set up a number of campaigns. Greenpeace is very familiar with organizing successful campaigns from their experience in the past. Greenpeace used the blood campaign and the fashion campaign as

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lobby methods. In the blood campaign, Greenpeace tested the blood of the MEP's for dangerous chemicals. In the fashion campaign, Greenpeace showed clothes that were made without dangerous chemicals. From the interview it came forward that these campaigns made decision-makers aware about the negative effects of dangerous chemicals on humans and environment. The lobby theory, as the network theory, gives more insight in the influences process however it is not possible to explain the amount of success of both Cefic and Greenpeace in the influencing the REACH policy. The reason for this is that both organizations recognize the importance of the effective use of a lobby method at a particular moment in the policy process in order to influence a specific European institution. So it is not clear to say how much the effective use of lobby methods contributes to the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace in influencing REACH. We can only say that the effective uses of lobby methods play a role in influencing the REACH policy by both Cefic and Greenpeace.

After applying the access theory, the network theory and the lobby theory on the data it is interesting that not one of the three theories can explain the amount of success of both Cefic and Greenpeace in influencing the REACH policy. This can be explained by two reasons. The first reason is that the amount of success in influencing REACH of both Cefic and Greenpeace is measured wrong in this research. The approach to measure the amount of success in this research can be qualified as rather subjective. The second reason that the theories can not explain the amount of success is that other variables not mentioned in this research determines the amount of success interest organizations have in influencing the EU REACH policy process. However we can say that the Access Theory is not sufficient to explain the influence and successes of Cefic and Greenpeace in the case of the REACH policy. Competition between the interest organizations and the effective use of lobby methods is also playing an important role in the influence process of both interest organizations in the REACH policy process. Of course these three variables are not the only ones that determine the amount of influence but this can be seen as a starting point to explain the influence that interest organizations have on policy.

1 Introduction and research questions

In the last six years there was a major lobby process going on in Brussels. This lobby was initiated to influence the new chemical legislation REACH that was proposed by the European Commission. Interest organizations from the industry side and interest organizations from the environmental side were trying to influence the REACH policy in a strong competition. Two interest organizations that played an important role in this lobby were Greenpeace and Cefic. Greenpeace is a representative of the environmental side and Cefic is the representative of the European chemical industry. Greenpeace called the lobby of the chemical industry a “toxic lobby” and Cefic called the ideas of Greenpeace “unrealistic”. The new REACH policy is a European legislation for chemical products. REACH stands for registration, evaluation and authorization of chemical products. The aim of this program is to improve the protection of human health and the environment through better and earlier identification of the characteristics of chemical substances and at the same time protect the competitiveness of the European chemical industry (<http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals/reach.htm>).

The REACH policy program has already a long history in the policy making process of the European Union. The European Commission proposed the REACH program for the first time in October 2003 with the White Paper “Strategy for future chemicals”. After two years of negotiation between the Commission and the European Parliament a political agreement was reached in December 2005. A definitive decision was taken in the end of 2006

(<http://ec.europa.eu/chemicals/reach.htm>). REACH is known as the largest single piece of legislation in the history of the EU (Alter-EU, 2006:2). REACH involves the whole supply chain of chemical products and will have large effects on the down stream users of chemicals as well. The consequence is that a lot of actors were involved in the lobby process; the chemical industry, consumers’ organizations, trade unions, animal welfare, business interest organizations and the environmental NGO’s like Greenpeace, WWF, European Environmental Bureau and Friends of the Earth. All these actors are trying to influence the policy process in their advantage by lobbying the institutions of the European Union. You can say that there was a massive lobby by the interest groups in the case of REACH. This was the consequence of three facts. Firstly REACH will affect the whole chemical industry including the down stream users, in that way a lot of actors were involved. Secondly the chemical industry and its downstream users had a lot to lose, so big interests were at stake. Thirdly the environmental groups saw the REACH policy as a big opportunity to protect the human health and the environment against dangerous chemicals in Europe and even in the world. Lobbying can be done in different ways, for example conducting research to present the results to the European institutions, sending position papers and personal meetings with European Union decision makers to tell your position in a face-to-face conversation.

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In case of the REACH policy process the European institutions and the interest groups were mutual dependent on each other. European institutions wanted to have information from the interest groups, like expert knowledge, to be able to produce a high quality legislation that will work in practice and will be effective to reach the set goals. The Access Theory explains conditions when interest organizations have success in influencing policy. It is of interest to see whether the Access Theory is sufficient to explain the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace in the case of the REACH policy process. Therefore this research will answer the following main question:

Is the Access Theory sufficient to explain the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace in influencing REACH and can the Network Theory and the Lobby Theory provide contributions to explain this process of influence?

In order to give an answer to that question the focus of this research will be on two important interest organizations and their successes in influencing REACH. The interest organizations, as already mentioned, are Cefic and Greenpeace. Cefic is trying to protect the competitiveness of the chemical industry in Europe. Greenpeace is focusing on the protection of human health, non-animal testing and the environment.

Next in order to give answer to the main question three theories about public private relationships are applied on the research data each giving a different look on the successes of influencing the REACH policy by Cefic and Greenpeace. The theories are the Access Theory, the Network Theory and the Lobby Theory.

The content of this research is as follows. In chapter two the research questions will be given. In chapter three the background of the REACH policy program can be read. In chapter four the theoretical approach about access, network and lobby theories is explained. In chapter five the type of research and the data collection methods are given. Chapter six discusses the collected research data. Finally in chapter seven the conclusion of this research and recommendations as a result of this research are given.

2 Research questions

In this Chapter the problem definition, main question and the sub questions are presented.

2.1 Problem definition

Influencing the European policy process by interest groups such as Cefic and Greenpeace is a complex matter. Cefic and Greenpeace influence the European policy process in many ways, for example lobbying national member state governments, European Commission, The European Councils and the European Parliament. It is of interest to see which variables are playing an important role in this influence process.

2.2 Main question

The research will eventually give answer to this main question. The main research question is formulated as follows:

Is the Access Theory sufficient to explain the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace in influencing REACH and can the Network Theory and the Lobby Theory provide contributions to explain this process of influence?

2.3 Sub questions

The sub questions are set up to eventually answer the main question of the research. In this respect each sub question answers a part of the main question. The sub questions together give a complete answer to the main question of the research.

- What are the characteristics of the European Union REACH policy process?
- In which way are Greenpeace and Cefic involved in the REACH policy process?
- What are the successes of Greenpeace and Cefic in the policy process concerning REACH?
- What is the content of the access, network and lobby theory?
- To what extent do the access, network and lobby theories explain the successes of Cefic and Greenpeace in influencing the REACH policy process?

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2.4 Operationalization

To be able to answer the sub questions an operationalization of the sub questions is needed.

- What are the characteristics of the European Union REACH policy process?
 - Which actors are involved in the REACH policy process?
 - What were important steps in the policy process?
 - Which type of European policy process was applied on REACH?

- In which way are Greenpeace and Cefic involved in the policy process concerning REACH?
 - What are the views of Cefic and Greenpeace on the REACH policy?
 - What were the methods of Cefic's lobby in case of the REACH program?
 - What were the methods of Greenpeace's lobby in case of the REACH program?
 - What kind of information do Cefic and Greenpeace deliver to the European institutions through their lobby?
 - What kind of information does the decision makers in the REACH policy process demand/expect of interest organizations Cefic and Greenpeace?

- What are the successes of Greenpeace and Cefic in the policy process concerning REACH?
 - Are the objectives of the final REACH policy text, compared to the original Commission white paper REACH policy proposal, changed in the interest of Greenpeace or Cefic according to the involved actors?
 - Are the objectives of the final REACH policy text, compared to the original Commission white paper REACH policy proposal, changed in the interest of Greenpeace or Cefic according to the involved actors?

- What is the content of the access, network and lobby theory?
 - What are the characteristics of the access theory?
 - What are the characteristics of the network theory?
 - What are the characteristics of the lobby theory?

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- To what extent do the access, network and lobby theories explain the successes of Cefic and Greenpeace in influencing the REACH policy process?
 - How does the Access Theory explain the successes in influencing the REACH policy by Cefic and Greenpeace?
 - How does the Policy Network Theory explain the successes in influencing the REACH policy by Cefic and Greenpeace?
 - How does the Lobby Theory explain the successes in influencing the REACH policy by Cefic and Greenpeace?

2.5 Research relevance

This research will not be conducted without contributing scientific knowledge. The knowledge that is conducted in this research will generally attribute to two different domains. First of all because this research is a scientific work it will be relevant for the academic science and in particular to the academic science of international public management.

In the second place, this research will be relevant for the social world and in particular to the social world of the chemical industry. In the next part these statements are discussed in more detail.

2.5.1 Research relevance for the academic world

This research will be relevant for the academic world. In this research I will make use of well known theories and apply those in practice on the European REACH policy process. With the use of the theory and the data collected this research then draws conclusions and makes recommendations about influencing the REACH policy process at the European level.

2.5.2 Research relevance for the social world

This research will be relevant for the social world. It gives an inside look in the European chemical policy making process which for many people is a complex matter. This research gives an inside look in the system where interest organizations and the European institutions interact with each other in order to create a new European chemical policy.

3 Background of the REACH program

In this Chapter the background of the REACH program is described. First the reasons why the EU Commission proposed the REACH legislation are given. Second the REACH policy process is described.

3.1 The reasons for introducing REACH

As mentioned before, the REACH program has a long history of decision making. The European Commission proposed the REACH program back in October 2001 in the White Paper “Strategy for future chemicals”. In this proposal the European Commission states that chemical substances are not well registered and that a new chemicals registration system, REACH is a solution to that problem. The European Commission has several reasons to propose a new registration system for chemicals. First of all the human health and the environment must be protected against the negative effects of chemicals. Chemicals can have a big influence on the human health. For example chemicals can cause cancer, allergies and other harmful diseases. The number of diseases in Europe is rising partly because of the use of dangerous and toxic chemicals (EU Commission, 2006:2).

In the second place the EU Commission recognized that the nowadays-modern societies in Europe are dependent on chemicals. All around us are chemicals that are used in a particular product. The chemical industry is the third largest industry in Europe and internationally the leading economy. Therefore it is important that this industry is protected in order to maintain the international top position (EU Commission, 2006:2).

The current system of the registration of chemicals is not sufficient enough to protect the human health and the environment against chemicals. The current system makes a distinction between the chemicals that are introduced before 1981, the so-called existing chemicals, and the chemicals that are introduced after 1981, the so-called new chemicals. For the existing chemicals the public authorities are in charge of the registration, identification and authorization of the chemicals. The current process does not work properly, only for a small group of chemicals the registration, identification and authorization is completed. Evidence shows us that there is no data available for 20% of the chemicals, little data is available for 76% of the chemicals and only 3% of the chemicals are tested. The EU Commission has concluded that the current system is unable to give protection to the human health and to the environment (EU Commission, 2006:3).

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The new proposed REACH program must replace the current registration system and must provide the needed protection for the human health and environment. As already said in the introduction REACH stands for Registration, Evaluation and Authorization of Chemicals. The EU gives the following description on the components of the final REACH policy as set at the end of 2006:

Registration: *“Under REACH, each producer and importer of chemicals in volumes of 10 tons or more per year and per producer/importer — around 30 000 substances — will have to register them with a new EU Chemicals Agency, submitting information on properties, uses and safe ways of handling them. They can use existing data and share data. The producers and importers will also have to pass the safety information on to ‘downstream users’, which are the manufacturers that use these chemicals in their products. In that way the manufacturers do know how to use the substances without creating risks for their workers, the end consumers and the environment. The Agency will make non-confidential information available to the public”.*
(http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals/reach/reach_in_brief04_09_15.pdf).

Evaluation: *“Through evaluation, public authorities will look in more detail at registration dossiers and at substances of concern. They can request more information if necessary. At this stage, they will also scrutinize all proposals for animal testing to limit it to the absolute minimum. REACH makes data sharing on animal test results compulsory and prescribes the use of alternative methods wherever possible”.*
(http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals/reach/reach_in_brief04_09_15.pdf).

Authorization: *“Use-specific authorization will be required for chemicals that cause cancer, mutations or problems with reproduction, or that accumulate in our bodies and the environment. Authorization will be granted only to companies that can show that the risks are adequately controlled or if social and economic benefits outweigh the risks where there are no suitable alternative substances or technologies. This will encourage substitution, the replacement of such dangerous chemicals with safer alternatives”.*
(http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals/reach/reach_in_brief04_09_15.pdf).

As indicated earlier the European Commission has conducted a White Paper proposal on REACH in 2001. In the White Paper the European Commission has formulated several objectives that REACH has to meet. These objectives are conducted from the treaties of the European Union. In 1999 the Cardiff agreement ensures that every new initiative of the Commission must include the “sustainable development idea”. The meaning is that there must be a balance between planet, people and profit. The European Commission is of the opinion that

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this balance is represented by the objectives of REACH as listed hereafter. Those objectives did not change throughout the policy process. The objects of lobbying of the interest groups were the instruments to reach the objectives of REACH. Cefic and Greenpeace had different views on how these objectives should be obtained in REACH as will become clear in this research.

1 Protection of human health and environment against toxic chemicals by:

- Making the industry responsible for the safety of chemicals.

The industry should provide the data about chemicals and should ensure that only the safe chemicals will be placed on the market by assessing the risk of the chemical according to the regulations (Commission, 2001:8).

- Extending responsibility along manufacturing line.

Downstream users, manufacturers and importers of chemicals should be responsible for all aspects of safety of their products and should provide information on use and exposure of chemicals (Commission, 2001:8).

- First authorization before use of chemicals of very high concern

Substances with certain hazardous characteristics will have to be authorized before they can be used. Substances that do not give rise to concern are subject to general exemptions from the authorization procedure (Commission, 2001:8).

- Substitution of hazardous chemicals.

Another important objective is to encourage the substitution of dangerous substances by less dangerous substances when alternatives are available. The increased accountability of downstream users and better public information will create a strong demand for substitute chemicals that are safe (Commission, 2001:8).

2 Stimulating competitiveness of the EU chemical industry by:

- Stimulating innovation.

It is essential to promote the competitiveness of the chemical industry and to encourage innovation in particular the development of safer chemicals. Regulations play a major factor in the innovation behavior of the chemical industry. The commission must establish regulations that will stimulate this innovation (Commission, 2001:9).

3 Prevent fragmentation of internal market by:

- Full harmonization of policy in EU.

Any Commission strategy on chemicals should aim at ensuring a high level of health, safety and environmental protection while at the same time protecting the market in that sector. This is also the case in any other industrial sector within the Union. These objectives require that the new policy should be based on full policy harmonization at EU level (Commission, 2001:9).

4 Increase transparency by:

- Fully informing the public

The public has a right to access to information on the chemicals to which they are exposed. This perspective will enable them to make knowledge-based choices and to avoid products containing harmful chemicals. This will also create pressure on the industry to develop safer substitutes. The commercially sensitive information will be protected (Commission, 2001:9).

- Transparent regulation system.

The creation of a single system to be applied to all chemicals will improve the transparency of the regulation of chemicals in the EU (Commission, 2001:9).

5 International Integration by:

- A contribution to the safe use of chemicals at a global level

A global network of industrialized and developing countries and international organizations has developed over the past decades to promote global safe use of chemicals. The Intergovernmental Forum on Chemical Safety (IFCS) was established to co-ordinate the many national and international activities, to promote chemical safety and to oversee implementation of the program, REACH is adopted by the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) at the Earth Summit in Rio. The recommendations in this White Paper will feed into the international programs and make a major contribution to achieving safe use of chemicals at a global level (Commission, 2001:9).

- Testing in a global market

Testing obligations will not only affect the EU chemicals industry. Importers will also be obliged to assess the safety of their chemicals, to deliver information and to share the costs of testing (Commission, 2001: 9).

6 Promotion of non-animal testing

Maximizing use of non-animal test methods: encouraging development of new non-animal test methods that minimize tests programs. Measures that increase testing thresholds and the application of more flexible test regimes will limit the need for animal testing (Commission, 2001:10).

3.1.1 The benefits of REACH

The European Union and in particular the Commission that initiated the REACH project has several reasons for introducing the REACH policy. These reasons are divided into the following main issues: safety, environment, transparency, information and cost benefits.

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Safety

The REACH program will oblige the chemical producers and importers of chemical substances to collect information and execute tests to collect information about the risks that the chemical substances have on the environment and on human health. In the REACH program the chemical industry itself rather than the government authorities is responsible for the risk assessments ([www. http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals)).

Environment

In the REACH program the chemical industry will conduct risk assessments about the chemical substances as we saw previously. In that way the environment will be better protected for toxic chemicals because companies will be motivated to use less dangerous chemical substances as alternatives for toxic chemicals. In the new REACH system the risk assessments will be far more efficient and effective as in the old chemical policy ([www.http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals)).

Transparency

REACH will contribute to a better-organized chemical policy and system in the whole European Union. The old chemical policy was a not well-organized mess of rules and laws in which none of the actors knew what to do. Also the old system of national and European laws next to each other will be changed into one integrated European chemical policy ([www. http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals)). Besides the European changes, the REACH policy will also be an international guiding policy for other chemical industries in the world.

Information

In relation to a better quality of transparency the information stream for chemicals and especially the information concerning chemicals where risk for the environment or human health is involved, will have to be better organized ([www. http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals)).

Cost benefits

Better information about chemicals that can cause risks to human health and the environment will eventually lead to economic benefits. The REACH policy must eventually lead to the decrease of diseases caused by toxic chemical substances. Also the REACH policy must lead to the decrease in polluting the environment. Improvement of the human health and environment must lead to a decrease of costs for thee society ([www. http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/chemicals)).

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3.2 REACH policy process

The REACH policy process is facilitated under the co-decision procedure of the European Union. This means that the European Parliament has more decision power in the policy process compared to the cooperation, consultation and assent procedure. In the co-decision procedure the European Commission will send new legislative proposals to the European Parliament and the European Council. The Parliament and the Council will discuss the policy proposal independently and will amend it.

In the Parliament a committee is set up lead by the rapporteur. The rapporteur is responsible for including the committee's amendments into the policy proposal. The proposal with the amendments is voted in full plenary by the Parliament. In this voting also other amendments can be introduced.

In the council the policy proposal of the Commission is discussed by a working group who will make a orientation about the policy proposal. The view of the Council at the end of the first reading is usually known as the common position.

The Council and the Parliament must approve each others amendments in order to except the policy proposal and make it law. If the Council and the Parliament have the same amendments in the first reading the proposal is accepted. If not a second reading in each institution is needed. In this phase each institution will consider each other's amendments. In the case that the Parliament and the Council cannot reach a agreement in the second reading a conciliation committee is set up. This conciliation committee consists of an equal number of representatives of the Parliament and the Council. This committee will negotiate about a compromise text, which must be approved by both the Council and the Parliament.

The proposal can fail if one of the institutions rejects a proposal in the second reading or the following conciliation. The commission can also withdraw the proposal at any time in the policy process.

There are four stages to be distinguished in the co-decision procedure. The four stages will be discussed in detail in this paragraph. The type of policy process is important to know because this will process determine the lobby methods of the interest groups as will become clear in this research.

First stage: first reading

In the first stage the Commission submits a policy proposal to the Council and the Parliament. The Parliament and the Council can make amendments to the policy proposal. If the Council and the Parliament do not agree in the first reading a second reading is set up (George, 2001:225-226).

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Second stage: second reading

In the second stage the first stage is repeated. If the Council and the Parliament do not reach an agreement about the policy proposal in the second reading an conciliation committee is set up. (George, 2001:225-226).

Third stage: conciliation committee

A conciliation committee consists of an equal number of representatives of the members of the Council and of the members of the Parliament. Together with the help of the Commission the parties negotiate about the policy proposal in order to get a mutual acceptance policy text. The conciliation committee has six weeks to negotiate about the policy proposal.

After the conciliation committee has agreed on a common position about the policy proposal, the European Parliament and the Council has another six weeks to adapt this position. The Council adapts by a qualified majority and the Parliament by absolute majority (George, 2001:225-226).

The policy process of the REACH program already goes back to 1998. In that year the environmental Council of the EU asked the EU Commission to evaluate the European chemical policy. This resulted in a decision to reform the policy with the REACH program. In 2001 a White Paper was developed called "A strategy for future chemicals". A White Paper is an official policy document from the EU Commission. This White Paper was formulated jointly with the stakeholders from the chemical industry and involved public institutions from the member states were involved. The White Paper has to initiate a discussion among the involved actors about a new chemical policy. After this, the Commission adopted a proposal for the new chemical policy called REACH. After completing the first reading of the Parliament, the Parliament and the Council reached a political agreement in 2005. The Council and the Parliament reached a final agreement about REACH at the end of 2006.

In figure 1 a diagram with a chronological view is given of the most important steps of the REACH policy process. These steps are also very important in the lobby process of interest groups as will become clear in this research.

April	1998	The EU Environment Council asks the Commission to review the set of existing chemicals legislation.
February	2001	The Commission presents its White Paper on "Strategy for a future Chemicals".
May	2003	DG Enterprise and DG Environment of the Commission publish their draft text for internet consultation.
October	2003	The Commission adopts proposal legislation for a new chemical policy REACH.
February	2005	The European Parliament starts the first reading of the REACH proposal.
November	2005	The European Parliament completes the first reading.
December	2005	The Council adopts a political agreement.
December	2006	Final decision by the Parliament and the Council in the second reading.
Spring	2007	REACH Regulation enters into force.

Figure 1: Timetable policymaking process REACH program.

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3.3 Involving the interest groups into the REACH policy process

The different European institutions have involved the important stakeholders into the policy process of REACH. The European Commission has set up a strategic partnership to involve the important stakeholders into the process. Two important projects were started the first one being SPORT. SPORT stands for Strategic Partnership On REACH Testing. The project was launched on October 24, 2004 and involved 29 chemical companies, the authorities from nine Member States, the European Chemicals Bureau and 25 companies using chemicals. SPORT was a project between the European Commission, the member states and the representatives of the industry, like Cefic. Environmental NGO's such as Greenpeace were also invited to take place in the evaluation Commission of SPORT.

The second project that the European Commission initiated to involve the stakeholders was PRODUCE. PRODUCE stands for Piloting REACH On Downstream Use and Communication in Europe. PRODUCE had the same objective as SPORT notably to test the Reach policy however the focus of this project was more on the downstream users. PRODUCE was started in early 2005 and lasted till the end of 2005. To assist the Commission in implementing the REACH White Paper policy proposals also technical working groups were established from October 2001 till February 2002. The experts came from authorities in the Member States, industrial associations, like Cefic and environmental NGO's, like Greenpeace.

Further the Commission organized a stakeholders conference on REACH in April 2001. During this conference the stakeholders had the opportunity to give comments to the REACH White Paper proposals. The Commission also set up an Internet consultation to become familiar with the views of the stakeholders of the proposed REACH policy. This Internet consultation started in May 2005 and ended in July 2005. The Commission received over 6300 responses. With the Internet consultation the stakeholder gave comments on the workability of the proposed policy of REACH as formulated in the White Paper.

The European Parliament and the European Council organized also so-called hearings. These meetings are opportunities for the stakeholders to express their views on the proposed REACH policy. In 2005 the hearings took place with the start of the first reading and in 2006 the same process was repeated with the start of the second reading.

The organized co-operation between the European institutions and the interest groups were important moments for interest groups to present their view on REACH.

3.4 The implementation of REACH

A final decision about REACH was taken in the second reading at the end of 2006. Before this, the Council did already focus on the implementation of the REACH policies into the chemical sector. In order to let this transition work as smooth as possible the Council has formulated an “*Interim strategy*” program. This interim strategy program must prepare the chemical sector for the REACH program.

The interim strategy program consists of five implementation programs called “RIP’s”. RIP stands for REACH Implementation Program. Each RIP program covers a different part of the implementation process. The discussion about the contents of the RIP’s is also an opportunity for interest groups to influence the REACH policy process, however this goes beyond the topic of this research. This research only focuses on the effect of lobby by interest groups in the first stage of the policy process, from the Commission proposal till the final decision by the Council in the end of 2006.

4 Theoretical approach

This research examines the influence of Cefic and Greenpeace on the REACH policy. For this examination three research theories are used. First the Access Theory describes the conditions where interest groups can influence EU policy by delivering particular types of information. Second the Network Theory is described which explains the influence on policy by interest groups in a policy network. Finally a description is given of the methods of lobbying to influence the policy by interest groups at the European level.

4.1 Access Theory

This part describes an approach on how interest organizations can influence the REACH policy process. Interest groups must have access to the different European institutions in order to have an influence on the policy process. To explain the degree of access a theoretical framework of Bouwen is used that is described in his article "Corporate lobbying in the European Union: the logic of access" (2002) published in the journal of European public policy. In this article Bouwen describes a formula that determines the access for an interest group to the different institutions in order to influence a particular policy process. Very important is to know that Bouwen sees the access to a European institution to be the same as the influence on the policy process, in this case on the REACH policy process (Bouwen, 2002:365-390).

First of all we mention the basic conceptions of the access model. The model says that there is a two-way relationship between the interest groups and the institutions of the European Union in providing information to each other. The interest groups need access to the European institutions in order to influence the policy making process and vice-versa the European institutions need information on the environmental side in order to develop a good quality policy that works in practice. Interest groups can deliver information from the field. The interest groups have the expert knowledge about the specific field where the policy proposal is applied. Also the interest groups are directly affected by the proposed policy and therefore they are more motivated to gather information about the expected effects of the proposed policy. Also the European policy makers have to deal with multiple issues at the same time and simply do not have the time and capacity to go into detail about every issue. Further the policy makers at the European level do not have the expertise in a particular working field compared to the interest groups. The consequence is that a mutual dependent relationship is created between the European institutions and the interest groups (Crombez, 2002: 7-32).

The resources that are needed in the mutual dependent relationship between the European institutions and the interest organizations are called "access goods". In return to access to the policy process the European intuitions demand these access goods from the interest

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organizations. Bouwen describes three different kinds of access goods (Bouwen, 2002:365-390). First there is the “expert knowledge”. This is the knowledge the interest groups have about a particular working field. The European institutions require this information in order to develop an effective and efficient policy (Bouwen, 2002:365-390).

Secondly there is the access good “information about the European encompassing interest”. This access good covers the information about the needs and interest of the players in a particular working field in Europe (Bouwen, 2002:365-390).

Third there is the access good the “information about the domestic encompassing interest”. This access good covers the information about the needs and interests that the players have in a particular domestic market in Europe (Bouwen, 2002:365-390).

Bouwen explains the encompassing interest in more detail. “Encompassing interest is interest that is formed by different parties that have the same intension. When the aggregation of the interest is that of a domestic level than we can speak about the domestic encompassing interest, when it is at an European level we speak about the European encompassing interest” (Bouwen, 2002:365-390). The access goods provide access to the European institutions for the interest groups in order to influence the policy making process. So we can say that the highest degree of access is for the interest organization that can provide the access goods that are needed by the European institutions. Those access goods are called the critical access goods; these goods are needed by the European intuitions in order to continue with the policy process (Bouwen, 2002:365-390).

Looking at the European policy process one can see that access goods play an important role. It provides the European Union the democratic legitimacy because encompassing access goods represent integrated interests from different parties. Further the expert knowledge from the field provides the European decision makers the information needed to set up an efficient and effective policy. Encompassing access goods also contribute to the implementation phase of the policy process. If a policy is developed that includes the encompassing interest information from the interest groups it is more likely that the actors do not reject or try to block the policy.

We now can construct a diagram that shows the relationships between the supply and demand of access good and the access to a EU institution (Bouwen, 2002:365-390).

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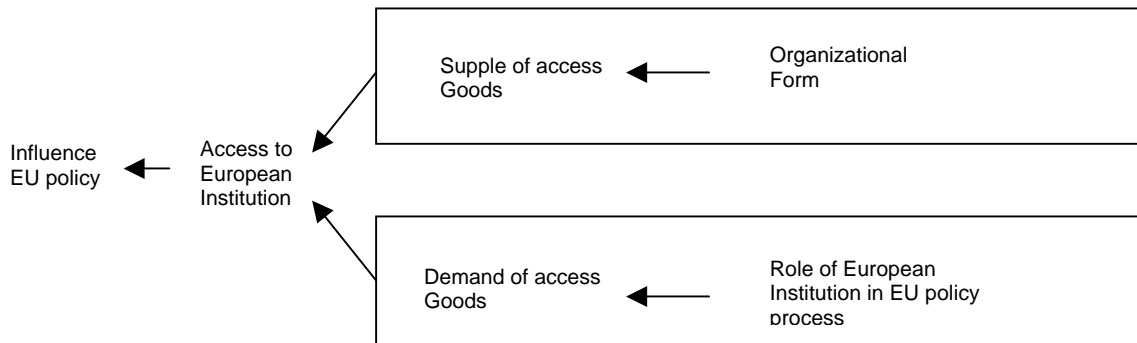


Figure 2: Scheme of the "Access" theory (Bouwen, 2002:365-390)

If we want to analyze the access that private interest groups have to European Union institutions we need to explain the figure. First we will explain the supply part of access goods and thereafter the demand part of the access goods is explained. We will start with the supply of access goods. As we can see figure 2 the supply of the access goods depends on the organizational form. Firms that would like to have their interest in a particular working field represented have three options. First they can create or buy interest representation. This means that a firm can decide whether they want a third party to represent their interest at the European level or that they will do it by themselves. Second they can take collective action. Collective action means in practice that they become a member of an association that represents their interest. The third option is to undertake action on national or European level. This means that firms have to decide to which level of decision making they have to focus. So there are three different ways of organizational forms that a particular firm can choose (Bouwen, 2002:365-390).

- Individual action
- National association
- European association (Bouwen, 2002:365-390)

This research only focuses on the European interest organizations Cefic and Greenpeace; therefore this research will only focus on European associations and in particular the supply of access goods by Cefic and Greenpeace.

Next the demand side is discussed in order to explain the access that a European interest organization has to the European Union institutions. To describe the demand for access goods by the European institutions it is relevant to know that each European institution has its own demand which is determined by the formal powers of the institution and the timing in the policy process. In the REACH co-decision process three European institutions are important. These institutions are the European Commission, European Parliament and the European Council (Bouwen, 2002:365-390).

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The European Commission is in the first place interested in expert knowledge, then in European encompassing interest and lastly in domestic encompassing interest. The European Commission has the role of being the initiator of new policy. In that role the European Commission has to develop the first draft of a new policy. Because the Commission does not have the expertise to create a first draft, the Commission has to get expert knowledge from external sources. Also due to the fact that the Commission is working at different policy issues simultaneously, the Commission does not have the capabilities to go into detail about a particular new policy issue (Bouwen, 2002:365-390), (Greenwood, 2003:44). Also the European Commission demands European encompassing interest. The European Commission wants to know what the interests are in Europe in order to identify the common interest. The European Commission tries to develop a policy that has a large positive basis among the actors that are involved. A positive basis can be very important in the implementation phase of the policy process. As we saw earlier the actors can contribute to the implementation process in order to let it work more efficient. Also the European Commission wants to have a large legitimacy for the policy. In order to achieve legitimacy the Commission must identify the European common interest (Bouwen, 2002:365-390). The European Commission also plays an important role in world trade negotiations between for example the World Trade Organization and other important economic countries such as the United States as we already indicated before in the part about methods of lobbying (Greenwood, 2003:46). The European Commission wants to know what the European encompassing interest is in order to negotiate successfully with these world trade actors. The Commission is divided into so-called department generals. These department generals each cover a particular policy area, for example internal market, industry, etc. These department generals each demand European encompassing interest information from policy area that the department covers. The European Commission is less interested in the domestic encompassing interest as they develop policy for the European union and not on a domestic level.

The European Parliament is highly interested in European encompassing interest. The European Parliaments role is to make amendments and to decide if a proposed policy is sufficient to tackle the problem and also if such policy is in the benefit of Europe. In order to be able to perform this task the Parliament needs information about the encompassing needs of the actors involved in Europe (Bouwen, 2002:365-390). Especially the rapporteur needs information about the encompassing European interest. The rapporteur conducts a report about the new policy proposal for the other members of the Parliament. Each political party will also appoint a shadow rapporteur who will follow the policy process about the new policy proposal on behalf of the political party. This shadow rapporteur also needs information about the European encompassing interest (Greenwood, 2003:60).

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Next the European Parliament is interested in the domestic encompassing interest. The members of the European Parliament are all elected in their home countries, with the United Kingdom as an exception and politicians generally want to be re-elected. In order to increase the chance of being re-elected, they represent the domestic interest as well (Bouwen, 2002:365-390), (Greenwood, 2003:60).

The European Parliament is less interested in expert knowledge. The European Commission already made a technical policy draft. As a consequence, the Parliament does not need the expert knowledge in a large amount. But in some cases, the members of the Parliament want to know if there are any alternatives possible. The European Parliament members then do need expert knowledge in those cases (Bouwen, 2002:365-390).

The third European institution is the European Council. The Council of ministers brings the national interest into the policy process. In order to be fully informed, the first demand of members of the European Council is information about the domestic interest. Thus the members of the European Council are mainly interested in the encompassing domestic interest. Next to the encompassing domestic interest the members of the Council are also interested in the encompassing European interest. The Council is trying to reach an agreement and in order to identify the needs of Europe next to the domestic needs; the Council wants to know what is the encompassing interest of Europe (Bouwen, 2002:365-390).

The Access Theory is saying that if an interest organization can deliver the access goods to the different European institutions it will have success in influencing the policy in the interest of the organization. The theory does not mention other variables that can determine the influence and success that interest organizations have in a particular policy process. The access theory only says that if an interest organization can deliver access goods, then it also has influence on the policy. The more access goods an interest organization can deliver the more influence it has on the policy. Two theories that give more insight in the process of influencing policy by interest organizations are the Policy Network Theory and the Lobby Theory. Both theories are discussed hereafter.

4.2 Policy Network Theory

The Policy Network Theory gives more insight in the influence process of interest groups on policy. There are some general characteristics that almost every author uses to describe policy networks. In a policy network public and private interest representatives are mutual dependent on each other in their need for resources. One can make a separation between the needs of the public and the private interest actors that are involved in policy networks. The European Union institutions need knowledge from the field, need legitimacy for the policymaking process and need implementation support. The need for expert knowledge is caused by the fact that the

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European Union institutions are not able to provide experts in every discipline. The European Union organization will simply become too large if they have to provide experts in every field. Another reason why they need expert knowledge is that the European Union officials are under a lot of time pressure, they are dealing with a large number of policy processes at the same time and do not have the time to go into detail. Therefore the expert information must come from the field. EU institutions can also lift the level of legitimacy for the policy by introducing actors from the field into the policy process. This will make the barrier for implementing the policy by actors in the field smaller (Waarden, 1992: 29-52), (Jordan & Schubert, 1992: 7-27).

The interest actors on the other hand are looking for access to the policymaking process in order to influence the policy in their advantage and thereby pleasing their members. This mutual dependent need for resources of both groups will create a process of transactions and exchanges. A policy network will reduce the cost for collecting resources and gain access to resources for both parties by establishing a permanent relation of trust. (Waarden, 1992: 29-52), (Jordan & Schubert, 1992: 7-27). So far there are no differences between the Access Theory and the Network Theory. Next the additional elements of the Network Theory will be described.

In order to describe the differences between the Access Theory and the Network Theory the pluralist policy network model is used. In the pluralist network model interest organizations are in competition with each other in order to have an influence on the policy making process. There are also a large number of competing interests involved in the process. This interest competition means that the interest organizations will try to prevent other interest organizations to obtain their objectives in the policy process. In a pluralist policy network the EU institutions are passive in selecting the interest organizations that have access to the policy network. The European Union institutions play the role of negotiator between the competing interests or they can collect the different interests to form a more general interest. The pluralist theory says that this open nature of policymaking encourages interests to organize themselves and to enter the political arena of decision making in order to influence the policy making process. Also if the interest is already organized but not entered into the political arena, the competition between the interest groups will lead to entering the political arena as otherwise the opponent will get too much influence on the policy process (Williamson, 1989:50-56), (Waarden, 1992: 29-52), (Jordan & Schubert, 1992: 7-27).

The pluralist Network Theory makes clear that influence of interest groups does not only depends on the delivery of "access goods" but also on the competition between the interest groups. Interest groups are in competition with each other for obtaining influence on the policy and they will try to prevent each other from obtaining their interest objective.

4.3 Lobby Theory

The Lobby Theory gives also more insight in the influence process of interest groups on policy. This part will outline the methods and processes of lobbying at the European level.

In the literature about lobbying at the European level there are a number of methods described. First there is the personal contact as a lobby method. This method is seen as one of the most effective methods of lobbying. The lobbyist has personal contact with important policy decision makers. Important for the lobbyist is to know whom and when you have to contact in order to influence the policy-making procedure (Exman, 1989:44).

Second there is the possibility to speak on hearings. The European Parliament can organize hearings where pressure groups can explain their points of view on the particular policy (Exman, 1989:44).

Third the pressure group itself can present the results of research that support their view on the policy. In this way the lobbyist can provide new information to the policy makers. Policy makers normally welcome external information because they have little time to do investigations to collect information (Exman, 1989:45).

Fourth the lobbyist has to provide clear arguments to the European officials. A well-known method to provide the clear arguments is a position paper. In this paper the lobbyists give their view on a particular policy or proposal. This position paper consists of well-researched and well-argued views on the policy proposal (Exman, 1989:43). Position papers are very important when the European parliament voting rounds take place. For lobbyists this is a moment when they can present their view to the MEP's in order to convince them.

Fifth the lobbyist has to think in the European style. Their view on the policy proposal and their position must be in line with the European policy that has a basis in the treaties between the member states. The lobbyist has to think European otherwise the lobbyist will not succeed in convincing European policy makers (Stern, 1994:109).

The last method of lobbying at EU level is to bring one's view and arguments under the attention of the press. If the lobbyist can influence the public view he is ensured of a strong position when he approaches the European policy makers (Stern, 1994:111).

Two main routes of lobbying can be distinguished (Greenwood, 2003:33). These routes are the national route and the Brussels route. The national route means that the lobbyist tries to influence the European policy process through lobbying national institutions. The Brussels route means that the lobbyist addresses the European institutions directly such as the European Council, the Commission, the Parliament and others. First I will discuss the national route. In his book "Interest representation in the European Union" Greenwood states that a lobbyist should also focus on the national route of lobbying. The national route means lobbying the national

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member state governments and national interest organizations. As we have seen before, the European council and the Parliament have many national links. For a lobbyist it is important to lobby the Council and the Parliament through the national governments and interest organizations.

Opposite to the national route there is the “Brussels route”. This means that institutions and organizations try to influence the European policy process through European Union institutions (Greenwood, 2003:43). Next several European institutions and how to lobby them are discussed in more detail.

4.3.1 The European Commission

The European Commission is very important for lobbyists at the European level for several reasons. The European Commission has an exclusive right to make policy proposals. In this early stage it is important for a lobbyist to be involved in the policy process. The chance to influence the policy process in the early stages is much higher than further on in the policy process when parts of the policy are already negotiated and decided.

In the stage of conducting the policy proposal, the Commission is very open to external information. The Commission is a very busy institution of the European Union therefore it is impossible for its members to go into detail for every policy proposal. For example the Commission has less employees than most of the capital cities in the European Union member states have. More and more legislation is also coming from the European level. For the assessment of a particular policy the Commission depends on external information and arguments. The Commission is not able to collect the necessary technical information about a particular policy proposal (Greenwood, 2003:45).

The European Commission consists of different so called Department Generals. Examples of these Department Generals are Enterprise and Industry and the Environmental DG. Those DG's represent different working fields in the policy process. Lobbyists can contact different DG's to enlarge their chances of success. A particular policy proposal of the Commission is in many cases a negotiation between the different DG's that are involved (Greenwood, 2003:45).

4.3.2 The European Parliament

In the Parliament a policy proposal that is in the early stage is sent to a particular standing committee. This committee appoints a rapporteur, who will prepare a report about the policy proposal. In this respect the rapporteur is important for lobbyists, especially on the moment the rapporteur is preparing the report. Besides the rapporteur who is appointed by the committee, also each political group in the Parliament appoints shadow rapporteurs. The task of those

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shadow rapporteurs is to follow the policy process of a particular policy proposal on behalf of the members of a particular political group. In that way also shadow rapporteurs are targets for lobbying (Greenwood, 2003:60). The members of Parliament are in general open for external information. The reason why members of the Parliament are open to outside information is because they cannot go into technical detail for each particular policy proposal; they do not have the time and skills for it. The European Parliament especially wants the opinions of interest organizations just before the voting rounds. At that moment in the policy process the Member of Parliament have to make decisions about the policy and want to know which interests are involved (Greenwood, 2003:56).

4.3.3 The European Councils

The European council is also important for lobbyists because the council will take the final decision. As already indicated before, the “national route” and the “Brussels route” can be chosen to lobby the council. The council is especially open for external information at the moment the Council makes a decision about the policy proposal. At this moment the political agreement between the Council and the Parliament is adopted and the final decision between the Council and the Parliament on the policy is made.

In figure 3 a flowchart of the “Brussels route” and the “national route” of lobbying is given to visualize the theory.

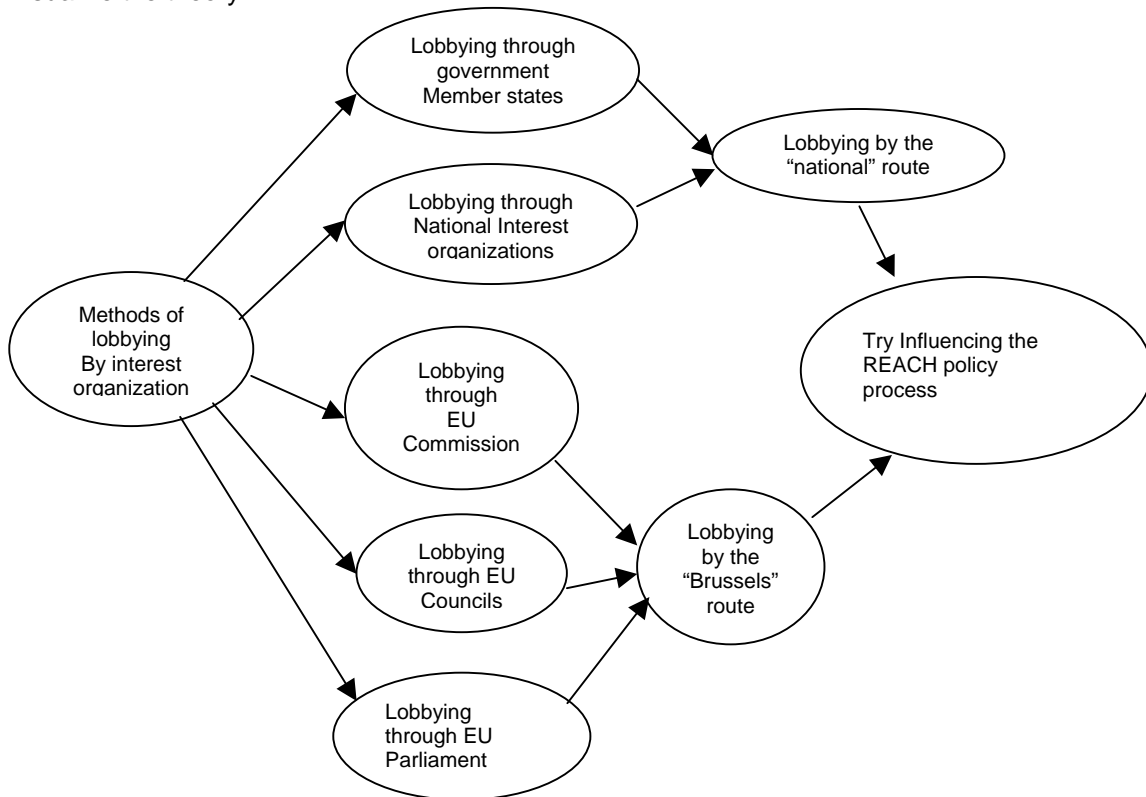


Figure 3: Flowchart of the theory Methods of lobbying.

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The lobbying theory explains that influence of interest groups does not only depends on the delivery of access goods as the Access Theory says and the competition between the interest groups as the Network Theory says, but also on the lobby skills of interest groups. An interest organization must know the lobby entrances in order to influence the policy process. The Lobby Theory is making clear that the effective use of a lobby method depends on which lobby methods the interest organization is using on a particular moment in the policy process and to which European institution this lobby method is addressed.

5 Research design and research methods

In this chapter the methodology that is used for the data inquiry is presented. The methodology indicates the way the research is conducted. The data collection methods are outlined. An analysis of strengths and weaknesses of the data collection methods is given as well.

5.1 Type of research

In the scientific world two different types of research can be distinguished, the quantitative research and the qualitative research. The quantitative research differs in many ways from the qualitative research. Investigators who perform quantitative research focus predominantly on the linear path of research. The sequence in the linear path of research is first to form hypotheses, then test the hypotheses with variables and finally draw conclusion. Neumann describes this as “talking in causal explanations” (Neumann, 2000:122). Qualitative researchers on the other hand focus much more on the nonlinear path of research that includes a discussion on “context and cases” (Neumann, 2000:122). Quite often the researcher during the investigation is changing the order of questions and the questions it selves. This research that is described in this report is a qualitative type of research.

Neumann provides a list of basic steps in the qualitative type of research:

- The researcher draws conclusion when he is immerse in the data
- The concepts will be in the form of generalizations, themes, motifs and so on
- The measurements are related to the research subject in an ad hoc manner
- The data will be in the form of words and images from documents, observations and transcripts
- Theory may be causal but may also be non- causal and may be of a more contextual or other basis.
- The research path is specific and usually replication is very rare.
- The procedure of the analysis is to extract themes or generalizations from evidence and to organize the data such that a coherent and consistent picture is created (Neumann, 2000:123).

5.2 Data collection

In the qualitative type of research as described in this report, different types of data collection methods were used. Those data collection methods consist of interviews and document studies. The advantages and disadvantages will be discussed hereafter.

5.2.1 Interviews

In the scientific world there are quite a number of different ways to distinguish between different types of interviews. The research as described in this report did follow the way Robson distinguishes different categories of interviews in his book *Real World Research*. Robson makes a difference between fully structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews (Robson, 1993:270).

The fully structured interview applies pre-determined open response questions. The wording and order of the questions are fixed. The semi-structured interview applies also preset open response questions. The difference with the fully structured type however is that the order of questions can be changed during the interview. The researcher can judge whether a question is relevant to be asked at a certain moment during the interview. The researcher also may change the wording of the question during the interview when the interviewer considers it necessary. A certain question that seems to be irrelevant during the interview may be omitted and other questions may be submitted instead. This type of interview is used in the research as described herewith. The advantage is that it gives the opportunity to go into more detail about particular issues when it is felt to be important. The third type of interview that is the unstructured interview described by Robson, the researcher has a general view on how the interview is to be conducted, however during the interview the conversation develops and the conversation pretty much determines which questions the researcher will ask. Therefore this method is not used in this research.

Although there are pro's and con's for each of the mentioned types of interviews, face-to-face interviewing as used in this research has its inherent strengths and weaknesses. The first strength of face-to-face interviewing is that it gives the possibility to respond to the line of arguments that the respondent is giving; also underlying arguments can be investigated. The researcher can anticipate to the answers given by the respondent. The second strength of interviewing is that it may provide rich and abundant material for use in the research. Face-to face interviewing has the potential to collect expert information about a particular subject.

A weakness of interviewing is that the information may be unreliable. The respondent may provide his own meaning that may be subjective and biased. In the second place the respondent is often trying to make the answers more colored than justified. When as example an interviewer

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asks the question how much garbage is thrown away in a week, the respondent has the tendency to indicate a lesser amount than actual. The reason behind is that throwing away waste in large quantities is more and more seen as bad behavior. More generally it can be stated that respondents have the tendency to give answers that are socially acceptable or desirable (Baarda, 1997:143).

Another problem is related to the reliability of the data collected by interviews. People have a selective memory on the past. People have the tendency to generalize the past on the basis of one remembered experience.

Interviewing is also very time consuming. Interviews need to be well prepared, have to be scheduled, visits need to be planned, etc. Not only the interview consumes quite some time also the information collected during the interview has to be worked out. Just to mention the time it takes to put a taped interview into writing. Nevertheless, interviewing is one of the best methods to collect the most recent and reliable up to date information and is therefore used in the research described in this report. The topic of the research implies that the respondents must be experts in European policies. The possibility exists that the respondents are influenced by personal questions. However it is expected that the respondents are willing to talk about the research topic because the subject in their daily work confronts them. Another mentioned possible weakness of the interview is that people have selective memory about the past. However this weakness is not likely to be applicable in this research. The research topic implies that the questions are related to the recent past and to the present situation.

5.2.2 Document Studies

Besides interviewing, this research has also uses the method of document studies. When making use of document studies as a method of data collection, it is important to evaluate the quality of the material. Robson describes several important questions in order to be able to conclude about the reliability of the material from a document:

- "Was the ultimate source of the detail able to tell the truth?" (Robson, 1993:350).
- "Was the primary witness willing to tell the truth?" (Robson, 1993:350).
- "Is the primary witness accurately reported with regard to the detail under examination?" (Robson, 1993:350).
- "Is there any external corroboration of the detail under examination?" (Robson, 1993:350).

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Robson described some important elements that had to be taken in to consideration before documents could be used in this research. Those elements indicate to what extent the document could be seen as a reliable source for use in the research.

5.3 Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability of the research data are amongst the most important aspects in a research. In the next paragraph a description of validity and the reliability is given.

5.3.1 *Reliability*

Data is considered to be completely reliable when the data do not depend on coincidence. The reliability of the data can be influenced by many factors. The interviewer can influence the reliability of the data. The respondent may respond differently depending the person who performs the interview.

A practical method exists to measure the coincidence of the data. The method that is used in this research is to measure a certain variable in different ways. For example can serve the variable that is called salary. Salary can be measured in different ways. The researcher can ask the question how much the respondent earns before tax but may also raise the question what is the amount after tax or nett salary. The researcher is now able to determine the reliability of the answer to this particular question by comparing the different data. (Baarda, 1997:164).

5.3.2 *Validity*

Besides the reliability of the collected data, also the validity of the data is important. Data are considered to be valid in the case the data are representing the relevant information for the specific research. The validity is determined by the answer to the question whether the measured parameters do have a relationship with the variable to be determined. As an example may serve the question how much money the respondent is spending in a week whereas the variable to be determined is the salary the respondent is earning. The validity of the collected data, in this case the money spend, is questionable as the respondent may receive money not only from earned salary but also from a partners salary or may receive money from other sources.

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A method to determine the level of validity of the data is to find out whether the variables are related to each other and if so, in which way they are related. When data are found to be not very reliable, the data are not very valid either, however data can be reliable to a high degree, but may not necessarily be valid (Baarda, 1997:166). A solution that is used in this research to ensure a high level of validity is to ask the experts view on the relationship between the variables.

5.4 Research data

As mentioned before, the research as described in this report uses the methods of interviewing and document studies to collect the data that are required for the answer to the research question. It is therefore relevant to investigate about the reliability and validity of the collected data. In this following part of the report an explanation on the relation between the research questions and the interview questions is given.

5.4.1 Relation research questions and interview questions

The relationships between the interview and research questions are given in this paragraph by mentioning the interview questions that are answering the research question.

What are the characteristics of the European Union REACH policy process?

- *Which actors are involved in the REACH policy process?*

This question will be answered by the interviews to find out what the respondents views on the involved actors in the REACH policy process are. The following interview questions are conducted:

- Which interest organizations are involved in the policymaking process concerning REACH?
- Did Cefic/ Greenpeace lobby you as to convince you about their opinion or to form an alliance?

- *What where important steps in the policy process?*

This question will be answered by mentioning the policy process of REACH conducted by document study.

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- *Which type of European policy process was applied on REACH?*

This question will be answered by mentioning the policy process of REACH conducted by document study.

In which way is Greenpeace and Cefic involved in the policy process concerning REACH?

- *What are the views of Cefic and Greenpeace on the REACH policy?*

This question will be answered by the interviews and document studies. The following interview questions are conducted:

- Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Cefic/Greenpeace to your opinion?
- Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Greenpeace to your opinion?

- *What were the methods of Cefic and Greenpeace lobby in case of the REACH program?*

This question will be answered by the interviews by asking the lobby methods of Cefic and Greenpeace not only to themselves but also to the other involved actors like the MEP's and the Commission and other interest groups. The following interview questions are conducted:

- What kind of methods did Cefic/Greenpeace use in the lobby process on REACH?
- What kind of methods did Cefic/ Greenpeace use to lobby you as an MEP/ Commission Civil servant?

- *What kind of information are Cefic and Greenpeace contributing to the REACH policy process; knowledge, interest of the members and so on?*

This question will be answered by the interviews by asking the kind of information of Cefic and Greenpeace not only to themselves but also to the other involved actors like the MEP's and the Commission. The following interview questions are conducted:

- What kind of information did Cefic/ Greenpeace provide to EU decision makers?

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- *What kind of information does the decision makers in the REACH policy process demand/expect of interest organizations like Cefic and Greenpeace?*

This question will be answered by the interviews by asking the European decision makers, MEP's, Commission what kind of information they use from Cefic and Greenpeace to create their view on REACH. The following interview questions are conducted:

- Do you use the information provided by Cefic/ Greenpeace to create your view about REACH?
- Did you changed your view about REACH as a result of the lobby by Cefic/ Greenpeace?

What is the success of Greenpeace and Cefic in the policy process concerning REACH?

- *What is the general success of Greenpeace and Cefic according to the involved actors?*

This question will be answered by the interviews by asking the involved actors what the general success of Cefic and Greenpeace is. The following interview questions are conducted:

- Are the objectives of the final REACH policy text, compared to the original Commission white paper REACH policy proposal, changed in the interest of Greenpeace or Cefic?

- *What is the general success of Greenpeace and Cefic according to themselves?*

This question will be answered by the interviews by asking Cefic and Greenpeace what the general success was. The following interview questions are conducted:

- Are the objectives of the final REACH policy text, compared to the original Commission white paper REACH policy proposal, changed to in the interest of Greenpeace or Cefic?

To what extent do the Access, Network and Lobby Theories explain the successes of Cefic and Greenpeace in influencing the REACH policy process?

- How does the Access Theory explain the successes in influencing the REACH policy of Cefic and Greenpeace?

This question will be answered by the analyzation of the conducted data both by interviews and document study.

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- *How does the Network Theory explain the successes in influencing the REACH policy of Cefic and Greenpeace?*

This question will be answered by the analyzation of the data conducted both by interviews and document study.

- *How does the Lobby Theory explain the successes in influencing the REACH policy of Cefic and Greenpeace?*

This question will be answered by the analyzation of the data conducted both by interviews and document study.

5.4.2 Question lists and data

Three kinds of questions have been used to interview European decision makers, Greenpeace, Cefic and other interest organizations. The question lists are given in appendixes one, two and three of this research report. The interview data are presented in appendixes four till twelve of this report. The following respondents are interviewed for conducting the research data:

- Mister Bisnega, Head of the public relation department, Cefic organization.
- Mister Opzeeland, Campaign leader chemical substances, Greenpeace organization.
- Miss Kordecka, Campaigner, Friends of the Earth organization.
- Miss Maassen, Public relations department, UNICE organization.
- Mister Arnoldus, Commission employee, Department Enterprise and Industry.
- Mister Blokland, Member of Parliament, European Parliament.
- Miss Hassi, Member of Parliament, European Parliament.
- Miss Dorbey, Member of Parliament, European Parliament.
- Miss Berden (assistance Miss Oomen), assistance of Member of Parliament, European Parliament

6 Discussion of the data

This chapter will discuss the data that is collected from the interviews and document study. The data will be analyzed by giving answer to the sub questions in each paragraph. First the characteristics of the REACH policy process will be given. Second the involvement of Cefic and Greenpeace in the REACH policy process is outlined. Thirdly the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace are mentioned. Finally the research theories will be applied on the collected data in order to analyze how they explain the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace.

6.1 The characteristics of the EU REACH policy process

The REACH policy process falls under the co-decision procedure as indicated earlier in this research. First the Commission conducts a proposal on REACH and the Council conducts a common position. The Parliament can reject or accept this common position. In practice this means that the Council must first ask the Parliament for amendments in the so-called reading rounds. After each reading the Council will try to make a political agreement with the Parliament in order to guarantee that the REACH policy will be accepted in the voting procedure of the Parliament. In the REACH policy process two rounds of reading by the Parliament were needed to make a final agreement with the Council on REACH. Important moments in the policy process of REACH were in the first place the introduction of the White Paper “strategy for future chemicals” and the REACH policy proposal on REACH by the Commission. The second important moment was the formation of the common position by the Council. Then in the third place the first and second reading rounds of the Parliament were important moments in the REACH policy process. The final important moment was the political agreement between the Parliament and the Council. In all those steps important decisions with respect to the REACH policy were made.

In the REACH policy process quite a few actors were involved. Next to the EU institutions, which were the decision makers, a number of different interest groups were involved. Some of the respondents indicated that it is possible to identify two interest groups that were lobbying in the REACH policy process. First the interest groups that were lobbying for the industry and second the ones that were lobbying for the protection of human health and environment. Cefic clearly falls within the first group and Greenpeace within the second one. Other interest groups that are mentioned in the interviews and fall within the first group were UNICE (Federation for European Businesses), Colipa (The European Trade Association representing the interests of the cosmetic, toiletries and perfumery industry), Individual industrial branch organizations such as the battery industry representatives, individual chemical companies and the national chemical federations. Other interest groups that were mentioned in the interviews and fall within the

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second group were: WWF (World Wildlife Fund), Friends of the Earth, EEB (European Environmental Bureau), Consumers organizations, Health groups, trade unions and national environmental NGO's (All interviews, 2006).

6.2 The involvement of Cefic and Greenpeace in the REACH policy process

This part describes the views of the interest organizations Cefic and Greenpeace concerning the proposed REACH policy by the European Commission. Next the lobby methods of both Cefic and Greenpeace are outlined.

6.2.1 *The view of Cefic*

The first action Cefic undertook as a response to the White Paper of the European Council about the future chemical policy was to formulize a "through starter". In this document Cefic described their view on the best way the REACH program should be implemented. Cefic described a number of alternative ways for the implementation of the REACH program.

To test the ideas of the "through starter" Cefic has set up a pilot called the "pilot trial". In this pilot eleven chemical companies took part in a three-month trial. Cefic provided the next recommendation as a result of "through starter" and the pilot trial. The view of Cefic was not changed during the policy process of REACH. From the interview it became clear that Cefic was lobbying for this view during the whole process.

Registration

Cefic is of the opinion that the registration should only be applied to the substances that have a market volume of over 10 tons per year and only those substances that are of some concern. The data gathering of the substances is a responsibility for the industry and will be accessible for authorities (Cefic, 2004:4), (interview Cefic, 2006:2). Cefic wants a "one substances one registration procedure". REACH must encourage the formation of joint registration of chemicals. This will tackle the problem of free riders that are not sharing information to other actors in the chemical industry. In that way all companies that want to use a particular substance must pay for the registration cost (Cefic, 2002:2).

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Evaluation

Cefic proposes that evaluation takes place within a reasonable and definitive timeframe. This will safeguard the business processes of the companies (Cefic, 2001:4).

Cefic further proposes that if the available data and information are insufficient for an appropriate risk assessment, the regulators have the ability to request the companies to provide the required information in a reasonable timeframe (Cefic, 2004:6).

Authorization

Authorization should apply only to those substances that match the agreed criteria of substances of a very high concern, and which have passed the registration and evaluation procedure. Substances that already are covered by other legislation should be marked as authorized. (Cefic, 2004: 5).

Cefic's view is that the authorization procedure of substances should not take forever and must be done in an agreed timeframe. Also the industry should be allowed to continue the use the substances during the process of authorization (Cefic, 2001:5).

Substitution should only take place if there is an alternative that is safer and that has the same advantages or even better advantages. When there is no alternative that has the same advantages, substitution should not take place. Cefic's view is that forced substitution by legislation will not work (Cefic, 2001:5), (Interview Cefic, 2006:2).

Also the determination of the risk of specific substances should be based on the exposure of the substances and not on the characteristics. For example a toxic substance may be used in a product when it is not exposed to the users and to the environment. Cefic prefers to talk about the exposure of a chemical instead of the characteristics concerning the risk (interview Cefic, 2006:3).

6.2.2 The view of Greenpeace

Greenpeace is in favor of the new strong REACH policy that protects the human health and environment. Greenpeace states that the chemical industry nowadays is releasing thousands of new and old chemicals without testing and without any form of control over the chemicals. This process will have negative effects on the environment because toxic chemicals eventually are dumped in the environment. Also on humans it will have negative medical effects such as causing lethal diseases (www.greenpeace.org), (interview Greenpeace, 2006:2).

Greenpeace says that the current policy for chemicals is failing. It is time consuming, costly and it is an inefficient process. Greenpeace has set up several criteria that REACH must obtain in order to make it an effective chemical policy for Europe. These criteria are listed hereafter. Greenpeace maintained this view during the entire REACH policy process.

Substitute with safer alternatives

Greenpeace's opinion is that the most important part of the proposed REACH legislation is the idea of substitution. Companies must replace the most hazardous substances whenever possible. If a company wants to manufacture or use a substance that has hazardous properties, such company must first demonstrate that there is no safer alternative and that there is a real need for the substance. In that way the dangerous chemicals would only be allowed for specific uses and only for a limited time until a safer alternative is developed. Greenpeace's opinion is that substitution principal is the corner stone of a REACH policy that protects the environment and human health from dangerous chemicals (www.greenpeace.org), (interview, Greenpeace, 2006:2).

Reverse the burden of proof

Greenpeace says that under current law, governments must prove that a chemical is harmful before it can be removed from the market. The new chemical policy reform offers the possibility to reverse this principal by requiring chemical producers to prove that their products are safe before such products are allowed on the market. In the case that a company can not prove that a substance is safe, that substance should not be allowed on the market (www.greenpeace.org), (interview Greenpeace, 2006:2).

Non animal testing

Greenpeace wants that REACH encourages non animal testing. Animal testing should only be allowed when there is no alternative and the human health is at stake. Also the results of animal testing should be open for every company. In that way the animal testing will be as minimal as possible (interview Greenpeace, 2006:2).

6.2.3 Contrast between the view of Cefic and Greenpeace

Both interest groups generally support REACH as set in the White Paper by the Commission. Both Greenpeace and Cefic did not encouraged the Parliament or the Council to reject the REACH policy proposal. Greenpeace and Cefic wants that REACH become into force but they disagree strongly on how to reach the goals of REACH on several points. This paragraph will describe the controversies in the view on REACH between the two interest organizations.

Registration

Cefic wants that only chemicals that are produced on an average of ten tons or more per year will fall under the registration procedure. These are the chemicals that are widely spread and used and that are the most dangerous for the human health or for the environment. Also when only the chemicals that are produced in quantities of over ten tons per year will fall under the registration process, the costs for the chemical industry will be reduced. (Interview Cefic, 2006:2).

Greenpeace on the contrary wants all the chemicals that are used to fall under the registration process. Only in that way the human health and environment can be fully protected. It does not matter if a chemical is produced over or under ten tons per year, it is the risk of the chemical that matters (interview Greenpeace, 2006:1).

Evaluation

In this stage both interest organizations seem to have the same view. Both interest organizations are saying that the industry must provide information about the chemicals when necessary. Cefic only requires that the evaluation should be done in a particular timeframe. In that way it becomes more clear for the industry if a substance is rejected or not (interview Cefic, 2006:2), (interview Greenpeace, 2006:1).

Authorization

Greenpeace and Cefic are strongly disagreeing with each other on authorization. Greenpeace requires that substances that are proved to be dangerous be replaced by a substitute in the so-called substitution process. When the characteristics are proving that a substance is dangerous for human health or for the environment it should be rejected and the industry must find a safer alternative. The substance should be tested before putting it on the market (reverse burden of proof) Greenpeace is stating that every substance that is harmful will eventually end up in the human body or in the environment. Greenpeace has done blood testing and house dust researches that are proving this argumentation (interview Greenpeace, 2006:2).

Cefic's opinion is that substitution in most cases is not possible. There is simply no safer alternative and one does not know the long-term effects of such alternative. In the long term the alternative can turn out to be more harmful compared to the substances it is replacing. Cefic's opinion is that when a substance is not directly exposed to human's or environment using it, the substances does not have to be replaced.

Non animal testing

Both Greenpeace and Cefic support the goal that REACH must encourage and ensure that the chemical use non animal testing methods. If there is no alternative for animal tests the results of the test should be available for every company, in that way the number of animal test are limited.

6.2.4 Lobby methods of Cefic and Greenpeace

Figure 4 shows the methods that Cefic and Greenpeace used in their lobby strategy concerning the REACH policy. The methods above the time line are the ones used by Cefic and the methods below the time line are the ones used by Greenpeace. Next the methods of lobbying of both organizations are discussed.

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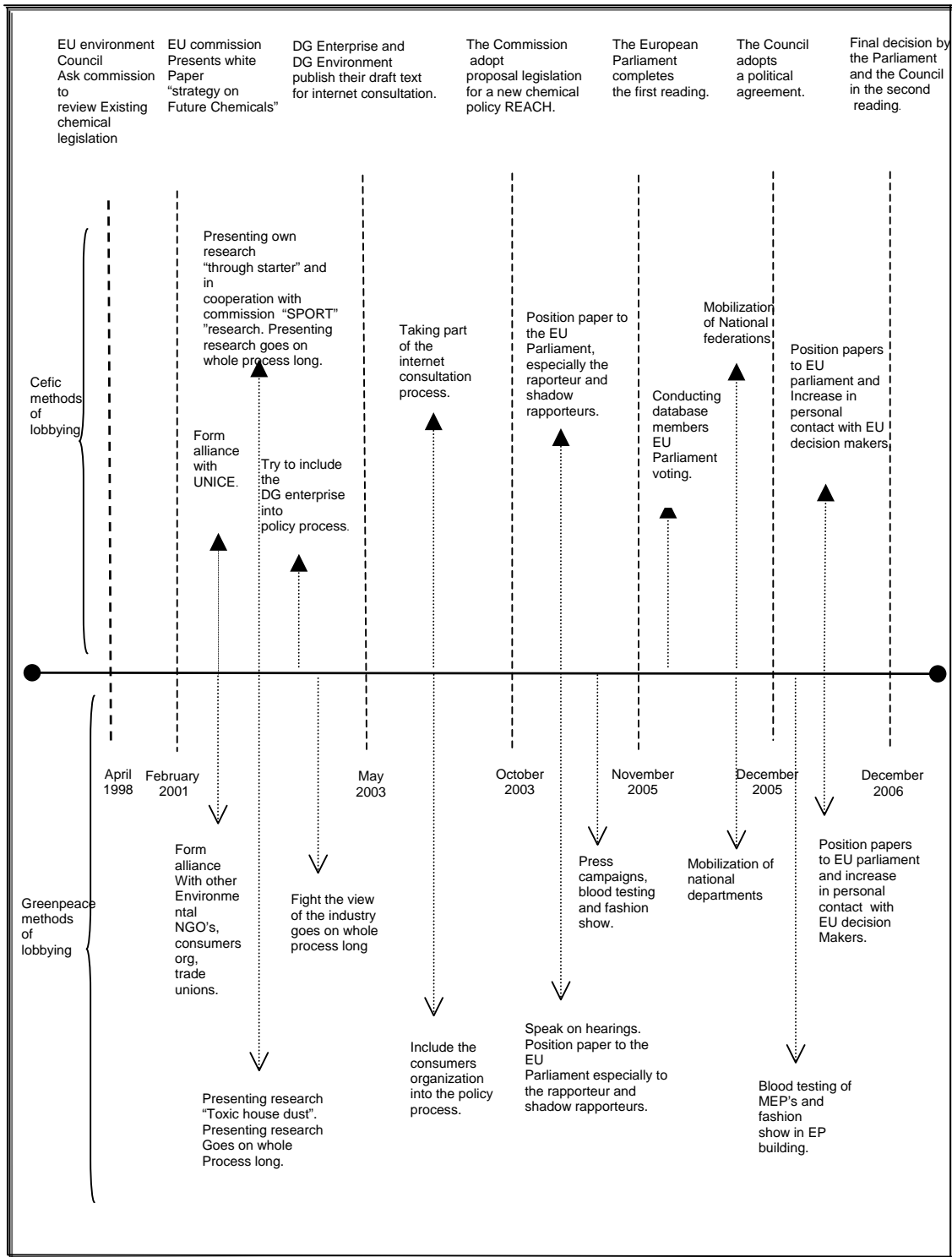


Figure 4: Methods of lobbying by Cefic and Greenpeace

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Forming alliances

Both interest organizations have formed alliances with other interest groups. Cefic has set up an alliance with UNICE. UNICE is the European representative for businesses. One MEP respondent also mentioned cooperation between Cefic and Colipa. In this cooperation Cefic is representing the interest of the big industries and multinationals that are producing chemical companies such as Shell. Colipa is representing the interest of the down stream users of chemicals like the perfume industry (interview Oomen, 2006:2).

Greenpeace has tried to make its own position stronger by forming an alliance with other environmental NGO's and interest organizations. Greenpeace was part of an alliance that consists of the following environmental interest organizations: WWF, Friends of the Earth, European Environmental Bureau (EEB) together with the consumer's organization (BEUC) and trade Unions. These interest organizations had more or less the same goal as REACH; namely to protect the human health and the environment against toxic chemicals. From the interview with the Commission civil servant it became clear that the work was very well organized; "The EEB is the most professional organization that is a serious conversation partner. Greenpeace is always at the exit doors with its campaigns. You can see that there they communicate a lot with each other. The EEB is the negotiating partner and Greenpeace is the campaigner. So the EEB is inside the policy process and Greenpeace is outside the policy process both trying to influence the policy process" (interview DG industry and enterprise, 2006:1).

The advantages of these alliances of both Cefic and Greenpeace were\ more resources like manpower, budget and knowledge and both interest organizations can make use of each other's expertise and networks inside the EU institutions. Another advantage was that their argumentation became more reliable and more legitimate for EU decision makers. The alliances were set up early in the process and lasted till the end.

Presenting research to the European institutions

Cefic has presented several researches to support their view on REACH. Examples of these researches are the "through starter" and the "SPORT" researches (interview Cefic, 2006:1), (interview DG industry and enterprise, 2006:1).

Greenpeace has conducted several researches that were demonstrating the danger of the use of toxic chemicals. Examples of these researches are: the blood testing of MEP's, house dust research and the rainwater research. Research continued during the entire policy process. Whenever the results of a research were known it was used to support the view of Greenpeace (Interview Greenpeace, 2006:2), (interview MEP Hassi, 2006:1).

Try to include the internal market and industry department into the policy process

Cefic wanted to include the enterprise and industry department of the commission next to the environmental department into the REACH policy process as soon as possible. The enterprise and industry department represent the interest of the chemical industry more than the environmental department. Cefic has cooperated strongly with the DG enterprise and industry in the phase of writing the White Paper on REACH. An example of that is the SPORT project where Cefic and other interest groups tested the REACH policy, together with several chemical companies in order to find out what the practical consequences are (interview Cefic, 2006).

Fight the view of the industry

What became clear from the interviews is that Greenpeace not only presents its view on how REACH should look like, but also that Greenpeace in their lobby process attacks the arguments of Cefic's view on REACH. An example of this is the following passage in the interview with mister Opzeeland of Greenpeace; "Cefic has said that REACH will cost the industry a lot of jobs and the chemical industry will disappear in the EU. We then said there is something wrong here. These are the bad stories, which we heard before. The previous environment policies did not lead to the disappearance of the chemical industry in the EU. The reason of the disappearance of the chemical industry was always the level of the salary costs and not the environmental policies" (Greenpeace interview, 2006: 1). Greenpeace clearly looked at the arguments of Cefic and tried to prove the opposite.

Include the consumers' organization into the policy process

Greenpeace formed a strategy that made the position of Cefic in the policy process weaker. Greenpeace noticed that Cefic only represents the chemical industry and REACH will affect the whole industry from producer till consumer. The next passage of the interview makes clear that Greenpeace was trying to make Cefic's position weaker; "REACH does not only apply to the chemical industry. If you look at who will be affected the most by REACH it is not the chemical industry, it is only 10% of the affected branches. The producers of consumer articles will be affected most, so they should have a big voice in the policy process, but they do not have that in the beginning. We have formed a strategy to introduce the representatives of consumer's producers into the policy process. We have shown the consumers producers that they have an important role in REACH. In that way we have found companies, like IKEA that showed that substitution is possible, in contrary to what the chemical industry is saying" (Interview Greenpeace, 2006:1). By introducing the consumers' organizations and companies into the policy process Greenpeace included a supporter of their view into the REACH policy process and as a result Greenpeace's position became stronger.

Position papers

Cefic and Greenpeace also conducted several position papers for EU decision makers. These position papers were conducted whenever a voting on REACH took place, especially in the case of the European Parliament voting rounds. The position papers were in particular sent to the rapporteur and to the shadow rapporteurs (All interviews, 2006).

Speak on hearing of the European Parliament

Greenpeace also used this method of lobbying. Greenpeace not only spoke on hearings that were organized by the European Parliament but they also organized hearings and invited the decision makers to hear their view on REACH. The European parliament organized a hearing session before the first reading (interview Greenpeace, 2006:1).

Press

Greenpeace has set up press campaigns to present their view to the public and to the European decision makers. Two examples of those campaigns are the blood testing of MEP's on the presence of dangerous chemicals and the fashion show with the exposition of cloths that are made from natural products and that are not made from dangerous chemicals. These campaigns made European decision makers aware of the danger of toxic chemicals. The campaigns like blood testing and perfume research were very effective and had the consequence that some MEP's became aware of the danger of chemicals (Interview DG industry and Enterprise, 2006:2), (interview MEP Hassi, Blokland).

The campaigns increased whenever a decision had to be made or a voting took place, especially in the case of the European Parliament voting rounds. The blood testing and the fashion show were focused on influencing the MEP's opinion.

Database of the voting of the Members of Parliament

Cefic has created a database of the decisions made in the European voting rounds by each member of the European Parliament. The decisions made by the members of Parliament were put into this database. Cefic used this database for lobby activities. By consulting this database the members of the legal affairs and advocacy department of Cefic can see if a Member of Parliament is in favor of a particular policy amendment or against it. In most cases of new chemical policy proposals there is a tension between the environment and the development of the chemical industry. To say it simplified: in the European Parliament there is a group that is in favor of the environment and against development of the chemical industry and another group that is vice versa and there is a group that is in between. Of interest for Cefic is this third group of members of Parliament that is in between. With the help of the database Cefic can distinguish this third group from the other groups and can try to influence them to vote in favor of Cefic's

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interest. Cefic tried to convince them on a personal basis with good arguments. The database was created after the first reading round voting of the parliament. (Interview Cefic, 2006:2).

Mobilize national federations and national departments

Cefic and Greenpeace also mobilized its national federations and national departments in order to influence the national decision makers. The EU Council consists of national ministers who have a mandate from the national Parliaments when they come to Brussels in order to make a decision about REACH. The national governments are also an object for lobbying by Cefic. The national federations members of Cefic lobby those national governments. For example in the Dutch case the national federations are the VNCI for the chemical branche, the VNO-NCW for the business branche and the national department of Greenpeace in Amsterdam. Not only this national federations and departments lobby the national decision makers who are going to make a decision about REACH, also the federations lobby the members of the EU Parliament of their own country. One Dutch MEP had very good contact with the VNCI during the REACH policy process. The VNO-NCW spoke to the Dutch Parliament members in order to influence the REACH policy process. Cefic mobilized their national federations especially when the European council was active in the policy process. The reason behind is that domestic federations and departments can influence the council as the council represents the domestic interest. (Interview Cefic, 2006:1), (interview MEP Oomen, 2006:1), (Interview UNICE, 2006:1).

Personal contact with EU decision makers

Although not mentioned in figure 4 but however important in all the lobby methods was the fact that Cefic and Greenpeace maintained personal contacts with the members of the European Parliament and other European institutions during the REACH lobby process. Cefic has a department called "legal affairs and advocacy". This department is specialized in maintaining contacts with European officials from the Parliament and the Commission. This contact with officials is very important for Cefic in order to be kept updated on new policy amendments and also to present their view and arguments about a policy proposal. In the REACH policy process Cefic almost spoke to every MEP, the Commission and the civil servants of the Council. One MEP said that she could talk to the representatives of the industry almost every day; this personal contact was quite an extensive lobby of Cefic (interview MEP Hassi, 2006), (interview Cefic, 2006).

Greenpeace used the method of personal contact with European decision makers to a large extent. Greenpeace maintained contact with the MEP's and with the technical experts who advised the Commission. Greenpeace also maintained contact with the domestic technical experts of the member states. In the Dutch case this was vice minister Van Geel (at that time) of the environmental department. It is also not difficult to speak to the European decision makers.

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“You just call them and make an appointment” is the comment of mister Opzeeland in the interview with Greenpeace (interview Greenpeace, 2006:1).

Greenpeace did not contact every MEP contrary to Cefic. Some of the MEP respondents said that they where not contacted by Greenpeace for a personal meeting (interview Oomen, 2006:1). Personal contact increased whenever a decision had to be made or a voting took place.

6.3 The successes of Greenpeace and Cefic

The success of Greenpeace and Cefic are measured by inquiring about the successes of Cefic and Greenpeace to themselves and to other involved actors. First the inquiring about the successes of Cefic and Greenpeace are discussed. What came forward from the interviews is that Cefic and Greenpeace and the other respondents were mentioning the same successes. Figure 5 indicates the amount of success of both Cefic and Greenpeace. Next the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace will be outlined.

	Cefic	Greenpeace
Successes	+++	++

Figure 5: Successes of Cefic and Greenpeace

A success of Cefic is that the registration for chemicals is only applied to chemicals that are produced over a ten-ton average per year. Cefic's opinion is that the chemicals produced over ten tons per year are widely spread and used and that they can cause the most danger to the human health and the environment. When only ten tons or more volume chemicals fall under the registration process it will reduce also the costs for the chemical industry. Greenpeace wanted all chemicals to fall under the registration procedure. According to Greenpeace it does not matter in which amounts a substance is produced but what kind of effect it has on the human health and environment.

A success for Greenpeace is that in the final REACH policy the principle of substitution is included. Cefic did not want that at all. Cefic stated that forced substitution by legislation would not work in practice. It must be mentioned that in the final text the substitution principle is weakened. The substitution principle is only applied to substances of very high concern and the industry must provide a substitution plan that will eventually lead to the substitution the harmful substances by a less harmful alternative. Nevertheless Greenpeace is very satisfied that the substitution principle is included in the final text of REACH.

Cefic lobbied successfully to keep REACH as simple as possible such that it will work in practice. Too much bureaucratic steps will have a negative effect on the workability of REACH in practice. For example Cefic lobbied successfully for the “one substance one registration”

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procedure. In that way every company will contribute to the costs of the registration of a substance if they want to use it. The substances with the “one substance one registration” procedure will also pass one time through the registration process. The consequence is that the cost for the registration process for the industry will be reduced.

Greenpeace focused on animal testing. In the final text of REACH, alternative methods of testing are encouraged. The animal testing results will also become available for every chemical company. This open availability of the test result will lead to less animal tests.

Greenpeace also was lobbying for full information to the public with respect to what kind of substances are in a specific product. Cefic was against this principle in REACH. Cefic’s argument was that it only scares people and that it will cost the chemical industry a fortune. They also argued that in practice it was not workable. When a chemical company gets products from for example from India it must trace the components in India to find out what kind of substances are present in the product. Greenpeace was in favor of full information to the public. Greenpeace opinion was that the consumers have the right to know what kind of substances there are in a specific product. The consumer can decide if they want to use the product or if they want to buy a more environmental friendlier product. In the final text of REACH the industry does not have to provide the public information on what kind of substances there are in a specific product. To give an insight in the successes mentioned by the respondents figure 6 is conducted that shows which respondent mentioned what kind of success for Cefic and Greenpeace. Dhr Arnoldus of the European Commission was not able to give insights in the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace because mister Arnoldus was called away and the interview ended earlier.

Kind of success	Registration chemicals over ten-ton per year.	Not full information to the public	Keep REACH as simple as possible	Introduction substitution principal	Encouraging non- animal testing
Cefic	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX
Greenpeace	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX		XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX
UNICE	XXXXXXXXXX			XXXXXXXXXX	
Friends of the Earth	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX		XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX
Commission					
MEP Blokland	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX		XXXXXXXXXX
MEP Hassi		XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX		XXXXXXXXXX
MEP Oomen	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX		
MEP Dorbey	XXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX		XXXXXXXXXX	

Figure 6: Successes of Cefic and Greenpeace mentioned by respondents.

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6.4 The successes of Cefic and Greenpeace explained by the research theories

This part describes how the Access Theory explains the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace in influencing REACH and will outline if the Network Theory and the Lobby Theory give more inside in this influence process.

6.4.1 *The Access Theory*

The Access Theory says that interest groups can deliver three kinds of goods: expert knowledge, domestic encompassing interest and European encompassing interest. From the data a table can be conducted that indicates the amount of delivery of the access goods by Cefic and by Greenpeace. The amount will be indicated by one or two plusses. These plusses only indicate that one organization is delivering an “access good” of a better quality than the other organization. Figure 7 shows the amount of access goods per organization. Thereafter the figure will be augmented.

	Cefic	Greenpeace
Expert knowledge	++	+
European interest	+	++
Domestic interest	+	+

Figure 7: Delivering of access goods by Cefic and Greenpeace

One can distinguish three kinds of access goods in the Access Theory notably expert knowledge, encompassing European interest and encompassing domestic interest. First we will discuss the delivery of expert knowledge by both Cefic and Greenpeace. According to the respondents Cefic provided a large amount of expert knowledge. First of all Cefic was involved in conducting the REACH policy proposal by the Commission. Cefic has done several researches in cooperation with the Commission that tested the REACH policy in practices. Cefic also had contact with the chemical experts in the field. The Commission made use of these contacts to conduct their policy proposal. Greenpeace also delivered some expert knowledge in the field of environmental and human health to the EU decision makers. Greenpeace was a member of the evaluation commission of the researches done by the Commission in cooperation with Cefic. The EU decision makers certainly made use of this information provided by Cefic and Greenpeace to get more inside knowledge about REACH. This has two reasons; the first one is that the EU decision makers are by far no experts in the field of chemical engineering. Therefore they need the information to be able to be fully informed in a short time. Secondly the EU decisions makers are very busy and do not have the time to gather knowledge by themselves. In

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that way the information provided by Cefic and Greenpeace by their lobby had a large influence on the views of the EU decision makers. The respondents said that with the help of the expert knowledge they could make better judgments about the contents of the REACH policy. Nevertheless for the respondents it was too difficult to say if the lobby of either Greenpeace or Cefic did change their view on the REACH policy but certainly it had a large influence by making the policy more understandable. For example one MEP did not know what the costs of testing of a substance were without the lobby of Cefic. From the lobby by Greenpeace another MEP realized that chemicals can be really dangerous for human and environment. Both interest groups were providing expert knowledge (All interviews, 2006). Cefic delivered a larger amount of expert knowledge to the Commission compared to Greenpeace Therefore Cefic receives two plusses and Greenpeace one plus.

Secondly we will discuss the delivery of the access good European encompassing interest of both interest groups. In an optimal situation the European encompassing interest is one interest that covers completely the range of interests of a particular working field at the European level. In that respect Greenpeace succeeded better than Cefic. Both interest groups formed an alliance with other interest groups to stand stronger in the policy process and to present one overall interest. The EU decision maker respondents did not notice differences between the views of the environmental groups but in the case of the industry this was not the case. Besides Cefic and UNICE there were a lot of individual chemical branch organizations that were lobbying for their own interests and they were in some cases in contrast with other industry branches or even with the view of Cefic and UNICE. Not only individual industrial sub branches were lobbying in Brussels, also individual companies were lobbying in Brussels. The respondents were giving two reasons for clarification. First the interest of the environmental groups was very uniform but the interest of the industry was clearly not uniform. The industry had a lot of sub interests that were more important for particular sub industries than the overall industry interest. One example is that the battery industry wanted batteries to be excluded from REACH and did not really care about the other chemical branches. Secondly the different groups in the industry group were far more in number than the environmental groups. There are five environmental groups compared to all those interest groups of different industry branches, like battery, paint, perfume and so on. It is much more difficult to integrate all those interests in one general interest. The result was however that several MEP respondents were speaking of an overkill of lobbying from the industry side. In the case of delivery of the European encompassing interest Cefic receives one plus and Greenpeace receive two plusses.

Thirdly we will discuss the delivery of the domestic encompassing interest. In an optimal situation the domestic encompassing interest is one interest that covers completely the range of interests of a particular working field at a domestic level. In the case of providing domestic interest both Greenpeace and Cefic mobilized their domestic members. Cefic has domestic

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chemical branch federations as members and Greenpeace has in almost every member state a domestic department. These domestic members did lobby the domestic policy makers that have influence on the EU REACH policy. In this lobby the domestic members of Cefic and Greenpeace lobby the domestic policy makers with national arguments. For example Greenpeace lobbied the Dutch politicians with the results of a Dutch rainwater research that showed that it contains dangerous chemicals. On the other side the Dutch federation for the chemical branch, the VNCI, showed that the chemical industry is very important for the economy of The Netherlands. The VNCI were saying that if the costs of REACH for the chemical industry becomes too high the industry will move to another countries where it is cheaper to produce chemicals. In order to speak with one voice the domestic members also formed alliances on national level. For example the VNCI cooperated with the Dutch business federation (VNO-NCW). The Dutch Greenpeace department cooperated with other national environmental NGO's, such as Milieu Defensie. In the case of the delivery of the domestic encompassing interest both Cefic and Greenpeace receive one plus.

Making a total of the plusses received by Cefic and Greenpeace for delivering access goods there is an equal number of four plusses for each interest organization. This means that according to the Access Theory both organizations should be even successful in influencing the REACH policy in their advantages. Looking at the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace, Cefic has more successes compared with Greenpeace. This is not according to the prediction by the Access Theory

6.4.2 The Network Theory

When we apply the Policy Network Theory on the data we get more insight in the influence process of interest organizations on policy. The general characteristic of a policy network is that the EU institutions and the interest groups are mutual dependent on each other in their need for resources. The EU institutions need knowledge from the field, legitimacy for the policymaking process and implementation support. The interest groups on the other hand are seeking for access to the policymaking process in order to be able to influence the policy to their advantages and thereby pleasing their members. What became clear earlier is that EU institutions and interest organizations are mutual dependent on each other. EU institutions need expert knowledge, encompassing European and domestic interest in order to produce a sound REACH policy. The pluralist type of policy networks can explain the relationship between interest groups and European institutions in the REACH policy process. First of all there were quite a number of interest organizations that were involved in the policy process. European institutions spoke to a lot of interest organizations in order to obtain knowledge and in order to know the interests of the organizations involved in REACH. Secondly there were many

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organizations with the same kind of interest that were involved in the REACH policy process and especially in the lobby process. For example on the industry side a number of interest organizations were active such as Cefic, the battery industry, Colipa, steel industry and so on. Also on the environmental side there were quite a number of interest organizations involved. To mention: Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, WWF, and the European Environmental Bureau. There was definitely no interest organization that had a monopoly position in presenting interest. Thirdly and most important there was clearly a lot of competition between the interest organizations. Greenpeace and Cefic had opposite views on how REACH should look like. The result of the competition was that attempts of Cefic and Greenpeace to influence the REACH policy were weakened by each other. There are facts that came forward from the interviews that are underlining that perspective. Greenpeace clearly conducted a strategy in their lobby process that attacked the view of the chemical industry and that also had the objective to weaken the position of the chemical industry in the lobby process. Greenpeace attacked the view of the chemical industry by providing contra arguments, for example by saying that environmental regulations will not lead to the disappearance of the chemical industry. They pointed at environmental regulations that were introduced in the past. Greenpeace also weakened the position of Cefic by introducing the producers of consumer articles into the REACH policy process. Greenpeace introduced another actor in the policy process that had a contradictory view on REACH compared to Cefic. European decision makers became more aware of the fact that a strong REACH that protects the environment could work (interview Greenpeace, 2006:2). Cefic was also providing contra arguments to the European decision makers about the view of Greenpeace. Cefic was saying that substitution of dangerous chemicals would not work in practice. Cefic was mentioning the story of the DDT chemical. DDT was used in the past as a malaria protector that kills the malarial mosquito. However DDT is highly toxic. The United Nations has forbidden the use of DDT because of this toxic level. The consequence was that in Africa malaria came back in large numbers killing thousands of people every year. There was simply no alternative for DDT to protect human beings from the malarial mosquito. Cefic was saying that this example also could happen with other substitutions of substances. Cefic was also saying that the authorization process should not look at the characteristics of substances but at the exposure to those substances. For example when there is a dangerous substance present in car paint that prevents the paint from falling off when it rains then as long as it is not released and there is no exposure to humans or the environment, it is safe to use this substance. As a consequence the substance should be authorized (Interview Cefic, 2006:3). Another lobby strategy of Cefic and Greenpeace that included the competition aspect between interest groups was that both organizations have formed alliances in the REACH lobby process with other involved actors. Forming an alliance will decrease number of the possible interest organizations that are in competition, because the actors in the alliances will speak with one

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voice. In the REACH policy process the alliance of Greenpeace together with Friends of the Earth, WWF, consumer organizations and trade unions did cover the environmental and human health spectrum much more than the alliance of Cefic with UNICE that was intended to cover the industry side. The combination between the environmental groups and the trade unions and consumer organizations also made this alliance stand stronger in the lobby process. From the interviews it came forward that the European decision makers noticed a much diffuser group of interests on the industry side compared with the environmental side. In REACH the result was that the threat of an opposite view on REACH for Cefic did not only come from the environmental side but also on their own industrial side. An example is that the producers of consumer articles (i.e. IKEA, Hennis and Maurits) wanted a REACH regulation that protects the environment.

After applying the Network Theory on the data we can say that the influence on the REACH policy does not only depend on getting access to the different European institutions by providing the access goods but also on the competition between the interest organizations Cefic and Greenpeace. However if we explain the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace with the network theory Greenpeace should have more success in influencing the REACH policy than Cefic. This outcome is in contrast with the earlier mentioned amount of success for Cefic and Greenpeace. Despite this contrast we can still say from the above that the competition and alliances forming has a role in the influence that both Cefic and Greenpeace has on the REACH policy.

6.4.3 The Lobby Theory

When we apply the Lobby Theory on the data we get an even better insight in the influence process that interest organizations have on policy. The Lobby Theory says that it is very important for the effectiveness of a lobby method, which lobby method one uses to influence a particular European institution and on which moment in the policy process one applies the lobby method. What become clear when we look at the lobby methods of both Cefic and Greenpeace is that both organizations did use quite a few identical lobby methods at particular moments in the policy process.

First of all both Cefic and Greenpeace formed alliances early in the process. Forming an alliance early in the process will have the effect that interest organizations can speak with one voice during the whole process. It also prevents decision makers to get confused about the different interests that are involved. It is clearer to present one overall interest from the beginning of the policy process onwards. Secondly both Cefic and Greenpeace presented research outcomes to the European institutions, especially the Commission. The Commission is the initiator of the REACH policy and will conduct the policy proposal. It is very important for interest organizations

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to be present in that stage of the policy process. Cefic and Greenpeace both were present and presented research in that stage of the REACH policy process. A third common lobby method Cefic and Greenpeace used was to conduct position papers just before the European Parliament voting rounds. Both organizations conducted short clear position papers to the MEP's, especially to the rapporteur and to the shadow rapporteurs, to convince them about their statements on REACH. Fourthly Cefic and Greenpeace mobilized their national departments to influence the adoption of the political agreement of the Council. The European Council has national links with the member states governments. Fifthly both Cefic and Greenpeace maintained personal contact as much as possible with the decision makers.

The above makes it clear that both organizations recognize the importance of the effective use of a lobby method at a particular moment in the policy process in order to influence a specific European institution. It is also interesting to look at the differences in the lobby methods of Civic and Greenpeace. Greenpeace organized several campaigns in order to bring their view about REACH under the attention of the public and the decision makers. Examples of these campaigns were the blood testing of MEP's and the fashion show of clothes without dangerous chemicals. Campaigning is an expertise of Greenpeace; think about the Grand Spar campaign and the wale campaigns of Greenpeace. Greenpeace knows from experience how to organize a campaign with a lot of media attention. Cefic on the other hand was conducting a database about the voting of the MEP's. This database showed Cefic which MEP's are voting against them and which ones in favor. Cefic created this database from the expertise Cefic has on Parliament voting's. What became clear in the differences in the lobby methods is that both organizations also used their organizational lobby skills to influence the REACH policy.

The lobby theory, as the network theory, gives more insight in the influences process however it is not possible to explain the amount of success of both Cefic and Greenpeace in the influencing the REACH policy. The reason for this is that both organizations recognize the importance of the effective use of a lobby method at a particular moment in the policy process in order to influence a specific European institution. So it is not clear to say how much the effective use of lobby methods contributes to the successes of both Cefic and Greenpeace in influencing REACH. We can only say that the effective use of lobby methods have role in the amount of success of both Cefic and Greenpeace in influencing the REACH policy.

7 Conclusions and recommendation

This chapter will provide an answer to the main question in the conclusion paragraph. Second a recommendation will be given using the outcome of this research.

7.1 Conclusion

After we applied the Network Theory and the Lobby Theory on the data we can say that the Access Theory is not sufficient to explain the influence of the interest groups Cefic and Greenpeace in case of the REACH policy process.

The Access Theory says that the delivery of access goods determine the influence and the success that interest organizations have in a policy process. The amount of access goods delivered by the interest organizations Cefic and Greenpeace is equal. As a consequence the success must be equal as well. With respect to the Reach policy process when one examines the successes of Cefic and Greenpeace, this is not the case. Cefic is more successful than Greenpeace in influencing REACH. What became clear after applying the Policy Network Theory on the data is that there is strong competition between the interest groups Cefic and Greenpeace. Both organizations are preventing the other from influencing the REACH policy. Both organizations tried to prove the opposite view Greenpeace also introduced a new player in the policy process, the producers of consumer articles that had an opposite view on REACH compared to Cefic and that were not involved in REACH before. The introduction of the producers of consumer articles did weaken the position of Cefic in the lobby process. The producers of consumer articles said that they are already were using harmless chemicals in their products and that they wanted a strong REACH that provided a continuation of that process. This statement proved to EU officials that the substitution of dangerous chemicals could work, in contrast to what the industry was saying. Both interest organizations formed alliances with other interest organizations. This appeared to be good strategy taking account the competition between interest groups. Forming alliances decreased the number of I actors involved and did lead to less competition. In this research the network theory was not able to explain the amount of success that both Cefic and Greenpeace had in influencing the REACH policy. Form the analyzation by the network theory Greenpeace should have more success in influencing REACH compared to Cefic. This is in contrast with the amount of success mentioned by both Cefic and Greenpeace and other involved actors. However the network theory have shown that competition between the interest organizations play a role in the influence process of both Cefic and Greenpeace on REACH.

What also became clear after applying the Lobby Theory on the data was that both organizations recognized the effective use of the lobby methods. A lobby method is the most effective if it is used at a particular moment in the policy process addressed to a specific

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European institution. Both organizations were using quite a number of the same lobby methods at the same moment in the policy process and which were addressed to the same European institution. Of interest are also the differences in the lobby methods. Both organizations were using individual skills in their lobby methods to influence the REACH policy. Greenpeace used their experience to conduct press campaigns like blood testing to bring dangerous chemicals under the attention of the public and the decision makers. With their experience Cefic created a database about the voting of the members of the European Parliament. This database helped Cefic to distinguish the members of parliament who are voting in favor and against Cefic's view on REACH. In this research also the lobby theory was not able to explain the amount of success that both Cefic and Greenpeace had in influencing the REACH policy. However the network theory have shown that competition between the interest organizations play a role in the influence process of both Cefic and Greenpeace on REACH. Both organizations recognized the effective use of lobby methods so it was not clear to explain the amount of success by the lobby theory.

After applying the access theory, the network theory and the lobby theory on the data it is interesting that not one of the three theories can explain the amount of success of both Cefic and Greenpeace in influencing the REACH policy. This can be explained by two reasons. The first reason is that the amount of success in influencing REACH of both Cefic and Greenpeace is measured wrong in this research. The approach to measure the amount of success in this research can be qualified as rather subjective. The second reason that the theories could not explain the amount of success is that other variables not mentioned in this research determines the amount of success interest organizations have on influencing EU policy processes.

Despite the three theories could not explain the amount of success of Cefic and Greenpeace we can clearly say that the influence that interest organizations have on the policy not only depends on the delivery of access goods but also on the competition between interest organizations and the use of different methods of lobbying as well as the organizational lobby skills. Now a contribution can be made to the scheme of the Access Theory that was presented before in chapter four by introducing the variables "competition between interest groups" and "the effective use of lobby methods and organizational lobby skills". This contribution is explained in figure 8.

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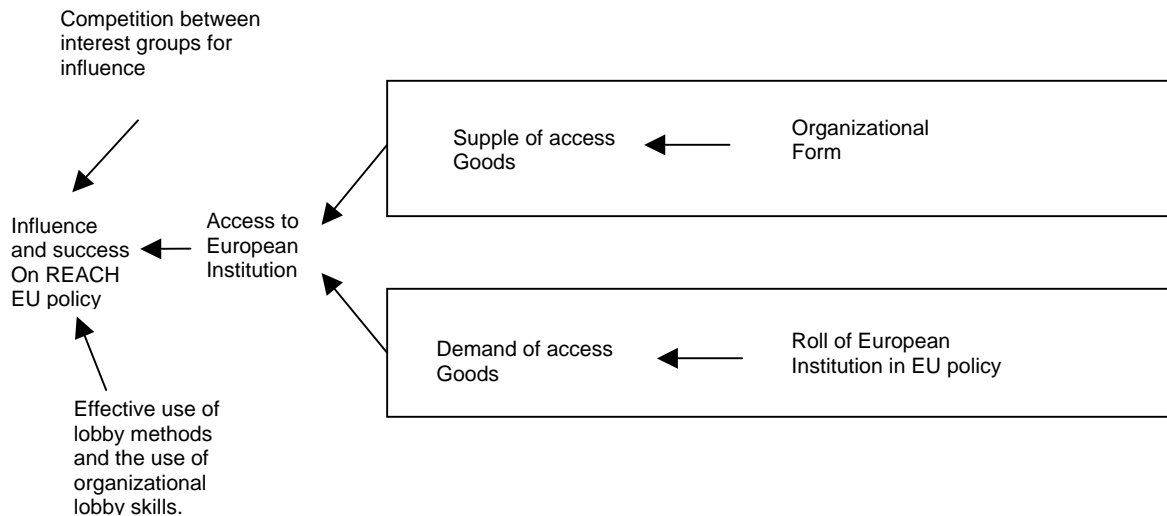


Figure 8: Contribution to the “access scheme”

This contribution has the consequence that interest organizations do not only have to provide the access goods to have influence on the EU REACH policy but also have to take into account the competition between interest organizations and the use of lobby methods. From the interviews it came forward that Greenpeace and Cefic were clearly taking these aspects into account in their influence strategies.

7.2 Recommendation

The practical recommendation that can be given as a result of this research can be formulated as follows. Interests groups must take into account at least three variables that are playing an important role in influencing European Union policy. The first variable is providing the access goods to the different European institutions. These access goods are expert knowledge and the encompassing domestic and European interest. The demand of access goods depends on what kind of EU policy procedure is applied in the particular case. This will determine the role of the European institutions in the policy process and the demand for a particular type of access good. In the co-decision procedure the European parliament plays a big role and the parliament can make amendments. This is not the case in every EU policy procedure. Secondly interests organization must take the competition between the interest groups into account. In the case of the REACH policy process there was clearly a strong competition on influence between the interest organizations. The lobby strategies of the interest groups must be focused on preventing other interest groups to obtain their interest in the policy process. The third variable is that interest groups must make effective use of the different lobby methods by applying them at the

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right moment in the policy process and by addressing them to a specific European institution. Individual lobby skills must also be included in the influence strategies of interest organizations. This research recognizes that there are also other variables that determine the amount of influence an interest organization has. This research only shows that the Access Theory is not sufficient to explain the successes of Greenpeace and Cefic in case of the REACH policy process. The challenge for further research is to distinguish other variables that explain the successes of interest groups in influencing European Union policy processes.

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Appendix 1: Question list Cefic/ Greenpeace

Introduction.

My name is Ernst Barendregt and I am a Master student International Public Administration at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. At this moment I am conducting a research for my Master thesis about the effectiveness of lobbying that is carried out by interest groups (Cefic and Greenpeace) at the European level with respect to the REACH policymaking process. The questions in this interview are related to REACH. Of course all the information will solely be used in my thesis.

- 1 Which important interest groups are involved in the policy process concerning REACH to your opinion?

I would like to talk about the lobby activities of the interest organization Greenpeace/ Cefic, in case of the REACH policy process. Different methods in the academic literature are:

- a. Personal contact*
- b. Speak on hearings*
- c. Conduct own research and present the results to the MEP*
- d. Position paper*
- e. Press*
- f. Others.....*

- 2 What kind of methods did Greenpeace/ Cefic used for the lobby in case of the REACH policymaking process?

- 3 Did Greenpeace/ Cefic use other methods for lobbying EU institutions?

- 4 Did Greenpeace/ Cefic also lobby other interest organizations or did they try to make alliances?

- 5 Did you cooperate with other interest organizations in order to have a stronger position in the policy making process?

- 6 What kind of methods did Greenpeace/ Cefic use for lobbying in case of the REACH policy process?

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- 7 Is there a significant difference between the methods of the lobby by Cefic and the lobby by Greenpeace? If so why?
- 8 Which European institutions did Greenpeace/ Cefic contact during their lobby process concerning REACH? Different institutions that could have been contacted are:
- A The relevant DG of the Commission (Industry, Environment)*
 - B Coreper of the Council*
 - C Rapporteur and Shadow Rapporteur of the Parliament*
 - D Standing committees of the Parliament*
- 9 Are there other European institutions that Greenpeace/ Cefic did contact?
- 10 Did Greenpeace/ Cefic also contact domestic decision-makers in order to influence the REACH policymaking process?
- 11 Does Greenpeace/ Cefic use other methods and information for lobbying with different European institutions (for example lobby the Commission with research arguments and the Parliament with arguments related to political consequences)

I now would like to talk about the main objectives of the lobby by Cefic and Greenpeace/ Cefic. In summary the original goals of the REACH White Paper are:

- A Protection of human health and environment against toxic chemicals by:*
- Making the industry responsible for safety*
 - Extending responsibility along manufacturing line*
 - First authorization of chemicals of very high concern*
 - Substitution of hazardous chemicals*
- B Competitiveness of the EU chemical industry by:*
- Stimulating innovation*
- C Prevent fragmentation of the internal market by:*
- Full harmonization of the REACH policy in the EU*
- D Increase transparency by:*
- Providing full information to the public*
 - Transparent regulation system*
- E Integration with internal aspect by:*
- Contribution to safe use of chemicals at a global level*
- F Promotion of non-animal testing.*

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- 12 Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Greenpeace/ Cefic?
- 13 Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Cefic to your opinion?
- 14 To your opinion what is the success of Greenpeace/ Cefic in the case of the REACH policy making process (amendments that were actually taken up in the policy)
- 15 To your opinion what is the success of Cefic in the case of the REACH policy process (amendments that are actually taken up in the policy)

This is the end of the interview; do you have any remarks about the interview? Thank you for your cooperation.

Appendix 2: Question list UNICE/Friends of the Earth

Introduction.

I am Ernst Barendregt and am a Master Student in International Public Administration at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. At this moment I am conducting a research for my Master thesis about the effectiveness of lobbying that is carried out by interest groups Cefic and Greenpeace at the European level in the case of the REACH policymaking process. The questions in this interview are related to that topic. Of course all the information will be used solely in my thesis.

1 Which interest groups to your opinion are involved in the policy process concerning REACH?

I would like to discuss about the lobby activities of the interest organizations Cefic and Greenpeace and UNICE/ Friends of the Earth in the case of the REACH policy making process.

Different methods in the academic literature are:

- a. Personal contact*
- b. Speak on hearings*
- c. Conduct own research and present the results to the MEP*
- d. Position paper*
- e. Press*
- f. Others.....*

2 What kind of methods did UNICE/ Friends of the Earth use for the lobby in the case of the REACH policymaking process?

3 What kind of methods did Cefic use to lobby with the European decision-makers to your opinion?

4 What kind of methods did Greenpeace used to lobby with the European decision-makers to your opinion?

5 Did Cefic and Greenpeace also lobby with you to convince you on their opinion about REACH or did they try to form an alliance?

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- 6 Did you cooperate with other interest organizations in order to have a stronger position in the policy making process?
- 7 Which European institutions did you contact during your lobby process with respect to REACH? Different institutions that you could have contacted are:
- 1 *The relevant DG of the Commission (Industry, Environment)*
 - 2 *Coreper of the Council*
 - 3 *Rapporteur and Shadow Rapporteur of the Parliament*
 - 4 *Standing committees of the Parliament*
- 8 Are there other European institutions that UNICE/ Friends of the Earth have contacted?
- 9 Did UNICE/ Friends of the Earth also contact domestic decision-makers in order to influence the REACH policymaking process?
- 10 Does UNICE/ Friends of the Earth use other methods and information for lobbying different European institutions (for example lobby the Commission with research and lobby the Parliament with political consequences)

I now would like to talk about the main objectives of the lobby by UNICE/ Friends of the Earth Cefic and Greenpeace. In summary the original goals of the REACH White Paper were:

A Protection of human health and environment against toxic chemicals by:

- *Making the industry responsible for safety*
- *Extending responsibility along manufacturing line*
- *First authorization of chemicals of very high concern*
- *Substitution of hazardous chemicals*

B Competitiveness of the EU chemical industry by:

- *Stimulating innovation*

C Prevent fragmentation of the internal market by:

- *Full harmonization of the REACH policy in the EU*

D Increase transparency by:

- *Providing full information to the public*
- *Transparent regulation system*

E Integration with internal aspect by:

- *Contribution to safe use of chemicals at a global level*

F Promotion of non-animal testing.

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- 11 Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by UNICE/ Friends of the Earth to your opinion?
- 12 Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Greenpeace to your opinion?
- 13 Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Cefic to your opinion?
- 14 To your opinion what is the success of UNICE/ Friends of the Earth in the case of the REACH policy process (amendments that were actually made to the policy)
- 15 To your opinion what is the success of Greenpeace in the case of the REACH policy process (amendments that were actually made to the policy)
- 16 To your opinion what is the success of Cefic in the case of the REACH policy process (amendments that were actually made to the policy)

This is the end of the interview; do you have any remarks about the interview? Thank you for your cooperation

Appendix 3: Question list Members of the European Parliament/ Commission

Introduction

My name is Ernst Barendregt and I am a Master Student in International Public Administration at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. At this moment I am conducting a research for my Master thesis about the lobbying activities that are carried out by interest groups (Cefic and Greenpeace) at the European level with respect to the REACH policymaking process. The questions are related to that topic. Of course all the information will be solely used for my thesis.

1 Which interest groups are involved in the policy process concerning REACH?

I like to talk about the lobby activities of the interest organizations Cefic and Greenpeace that are focusing on you as a MEP/ COMMISSION. Different methods of lobbying in the academic literature are:

- *Personal contacts*
- *Speak on hearings*
- *Conduct own research and present the results to the MEP/ COMMISSION*
- *Position papers*
- *Press*
- *Others.....*

2 What kind of lobby methods did Cefic use to lobby with you as a MEP/ COMMISSION/? Can you give examples?

3 Are there significant differences between the lobby methods of Cefic and Greenpeace?

4 Did Cefic and/or Greenpeace also form alliances with other interest groups? Do the interest groups in alliances stand stronger in the policy making process to your opinion?

5 Which lobby methods of those two interest groups where in your case the most effective to your opinion?

6 What is the main kind of information that Cefic provides to you during lobby as a MEP/ COMMISSION? (For example expert knowledge)

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- 7 What is the main kind of information that Greenpeace provides during their lobby with you as a MEP/ COMMISSION? (For example encompassing interest)
- 8 Did you used the information provided by the interest groups Cefic and Greenpeace to create your own view on how the REACH policy should look like?
- 9 Did you change your view about REACH during the policy making process as a result of the lobby by Cefic? If so, in which aspect did you change your view?
- 10 Did you change your view about the REACH during the policy making process as a result of the lobby by Greenpeace? If so in which aspect did you change your view?
- 11 Which interest groups had the most effective lobby to your opinion? Which lobby had the best results to you opinion? Why?
- 12 Do you think that there is a link between the lobby methods that the interest groups use and the European institutions they are lobbying? (For example those groups are lobbying with you using different methods than used in the lobby with the other European institutions)

I now like to discuss the main objectives of Cefic's and Greenpeace's lobby.

Summarized the original goals of the REACH White Paper are:

A Protection of human health and environment against toxic chemicals by:

- *Making the industry responsible for safety*
- *Extending responsibility along manufacturing lines*
- *First authorization of chemicals of very high concern*
- *Substitution of hazardous chemicals*

B Competitiveness of the EU chemical industry by:

- *Stimulating innovation*

C Prevent fragmentation of the internal market by:

- *Full harmonization of the REACH policy in the EU*

D Increase transparency by:

- *Providing full information to the public*
- *Transparent regulation system*

E Integration with internal aspect by:

- *Contribution to safe use of chemicals at a global level*

F Promotion of non-animal testing.

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- 13 Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobbying by Cefic to your opinion?
- 14 Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobbying by Greenpeace to your opinion?
- 15 Do you think that as a result of the lobby by Cefic amendments were actually made to the REACH policy to your opinion? If so, which amendments?
- 16 Do you think that as a result of the lobby by Greenpeace, amendments were actually made to the REACH policy to your opinion? If so, which amendments?
- 17 Do you believe that as a result of the lobby with Cefic, the REACH policy became more effective? In this context effective means that the goals of the White Paper are better obtained (for example the competitiveness of the EU chemical industry became more protected in the REACH policy)
- 18 Do you believe that as a result of the lobby by Greenpeace, the REACH policy became more effective? Effective in this context means that the goals of the White Paper are better obtained (for example the substitution principle became stronger regulated in the REACH policy)
- 19 Do you think that by the lobby by Cefic and Greenpeace the quality of REACH increased?

This is the end of the interview; do you have any questions about the interview? Thank you for this interview.

Appendix 4: Interview Cefic

Which interest groups are involved in the policy process concerning REACH?

So far at the institutional side you have the Commission, Council and Parliament. Commission and Parliament are the two co-legislators. Then we have the NGO's, Environmental Groups, Health Protection, and Animal Welfare. Since the beginning Industry is trying to explain that REACH is not going to concern the chemical industry but the whole supply chain. It is important to understand what the other sectors have to do in REACH.

In which way is this important?

The consumers have to know how. They use the chemicals and we need feedback from them. REACH is important in the supply chain, which is the innovation in REACH and which will determine the success and failure of REACH. We as industry have tried through UNICE, which is the umbrella organization on European level for businesses that REACH has to be workable. It has to be able to be implemented in practice. And not only the legal text, to understand REACH you need to have technical guidance.

Do you think there is a gap between the legal text and the technical assistance?

No as an example I always take the iceberg. You only see the top of the iceberg and the rest you do not see. The rest are the RIP's (REACH Implementation papers) here the Commission the member states and the stakeholders define what REACH is. Because it will affect the whole supply chain, a lot of actors are involved.

Do you think SME's are well represented in REACH policy process?

It is difficult to represent SME's because of their size. There is of course not the same level of expertise that you have in larger companies. They are represented by us, and through national federations. It is an important issue for many MEP's that SME are not overwhelmed by legislation.

What kind of methods did Cefic used for the lobby in case of the REACH policymaking process?

All of this, because do not forget that REACH started already in 1998. Then in the Commission you had the first discussions till the famous White Paper in 2001 and already before that time we as Cefic tried to get involved through our own contribution on how REACH should look like in our opinion. From the beginning we said that the regulation should be based on risk and not on hazardous. If you take hazard as a basis all chemicals are dangerous but important is the risk and you must understand the exposure of the chemical. No exposure no risk is the idea. The

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Greens want the hazard is the basis of registration and they started their campaigns of blood testing are saying that if you have somewhere a substance it is automatically linked with danger. Since the beginning we have contact with the Commission, especially DG Industry and Enterprise. When it came to the White Paper it also started in the Parliament and the Council so we have to talk to the Parliament and the member states and when the proposal of the Commission was there the more classical forms of lobbying started. This was focused on the Parliament and the Council.

So in the pre-phase of the policy proces you focussed more on the Commission and after that you focussed more on the Parliament and the Council?

Yes, we conducted a research with the Commission, the impact study, which is done in more than fifteen member states to understand the effects of REACH. Cefic also set up trial research "SPORT. We simulated the REACH registration in cooperation with the Commission and the member states. NGO's were also invited to join. Through the simulations you can detect the weak sides of REACH.

Also we had many position papers and media is one of the most important factors. There was constant media attention. The media is really affecting the opinion of the decision makers.

Did Cefic also use other methods?

Yes the database about the MEP voting. This is very effective so you can approach the MEP's and ask why they voted this or that and you can try to influence them with your arguments. In that way we can have better informed discussions with MEP's. You can see who is voting against and in favor.

Are there other methods that you have used?

No, this is very complete.

Did Cefic also use other methods for lobbying EU institutions?

Throughout the process we have maintained the contact with the DG industry of the Commission because in each step the Commission has a role to play.

The COREPER is in the last policy step extremely important but only if you talk to the member states as well. There is a constant dialog between the member states and the COREPER. So it is important that Cefic is active both in Brussels as in member states and that it is engaged with people in the Council working groups. These working groups consist of representatives from a various ministries and people from the COREPER who are analyzing REACH in detail.

We presented our technical views and these recommendations are now taken up to the political level that is the COREPER and now they have to see what is workable or not. That is why our

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national member federations were so important in the whole process. It is not only Cefic here in Brussels, we are with four people here, but there are contacts with the national federations and businesses as well. They have the contacts with the ministries. That is the reason why they are extremely important.

Can you say that there are two ways of lobbying: the European way and the National way?

Yes, because when you influence the Council you have to lobby by the national way. We as Cefic do not have the contacts with the member states, like Berlin, Paris and so on. That is our national federations responsibility.

Did you cooperate with other interest organizations in order to have a stronger position in the policymaking process?

In the beginning the Commission asked advice to the economic and social committee and the committee of regions. These are also objects of lobbying for us. We were cooperating with UNICE here in Brussels. In that way we could make use of each other resources.

What kind of information did Cefic contribute to the policy process?

We are always in good terms with the Commission. In the sense that if the Commission is proposing a new legislation it is very technical to understand the processes and the impact on the industry. The Commission itself is asking for input because they do not have the expertise. They do not understand the process like a chemical engineer. That is why lobbying has a contribution to the process.

So you can say there is a two-way relationship between the Commission and the interest groups?

Absolutely, it is a way of give and take and in the Parliament even more they do not have the technical knowledge the Commission has, because the Commission always works with the national experts. The Parliament does not have that; even in the environment Committee you have no chemist. As a politician you cannot be fully informed and interest groups give that information.

Which European institutions did Cefic contact in the lobby process concerning REACH?

It is for Cefic difficult to influence the press. If you have an article about risk assessment it is not as interesting as the blood test. So yes it is related with the chances of success, you try to make a calculation of that chance of success and conduct a lobby strategy.

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The environment NGO's are very powerful in using this emotional articles to influence the policy process, that is why they hit the press again and again. They tested the blood of all the MEP's but you will always find chemicals, we are created out of certain chemicals.

Which kind of information are you delivering in the lobby process?

We as Cefic of course expert knowledge and European interest. The domestic interest is done by the national federations, which are members of Cefic. Cefic always looks from a European perspective or a worldwide perspective, because the chemical industry is very international orientated. REACH should be a regulation for the chemical industry in the world. The UN and the OECD handle the worldview, we cooperate with them.

In our view only the substances that are intended to be released must be registered. The Greens want that every substance must be registered. This is impossible, for example a computer comes from Taiwan and as an importer you have to track the article where it comes from and find out what kind of substances are in it.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Cefic?

We totally support these goals of REACH and some of them improved during the process.

We are responsible now; we are of the opinion that REACH allows the safe use of substances. The Greens want that REACH is a system to wipe out substances, but for many substances you do not have a better alternative. This is a very idealistic view of how REACH should work.

The authorization process in REACH is very demanding. We said that there are substances of very high concern but as long as we can demonstrate that we can use them safely it is not a big problem we think. For example during the production process of a substance you can have substances of a very high concern but in the end of the process you do not have a substance of very high concern anymore. We do not talk about the substances but the use of the substances concerning the danger of it. The Greens say as soon as we have a substance of any concern we should not use it anymore. This is too simple. Also substitution is not something new, it exists as long as the industry exists. Substitution is in a constant dialog with the market. Two examples; with substitution you can lower the energy input, this is already happening. And the second example is that a car producer wants a specific color and does not want a specific substance in it, the industry will find a way. Substitution does not work in the sense that you are asking for forced substitution. Substitution is a very complex process and everybody is agreeing that if you have a better substitute you will use it. For example DDT is a substance that was used in the 60's against the malaria bug and also as a plant protector. DDT is extremely toxic and through DDT malaria almost disappeared. DDT was abolished because it was toxic. Nowadays we have malaria back in many countries killing many people every day. The WHO decided that DDT can be used against malaria but not as a plant protector. This is a sad example that substitution will

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not work in every case. You cannot precisely say what the outcome is of an alternative in the medium long term.

We say that the REACH policy must be implemented in all the member states; we want that there is one playing field for the industry.

To increase the transparency is a difficult one. The transparency will be increased in the supply chain. The fully informed public is a difficult issue. The Greens say that the public must be fully informed what is in a product, but about what? Paint for example has a very long list of chemicals that are in it. The people will not know the chemicals and it will scare the people more than let them understand it. On the other hand instructions of how people should use the chemical is extremely important.

Non-animal testing is self-speaking. We support that 100%. We are asking that if one test is done it will be recognized throughout the supply chain. All the users then will contribute to the test cost if they want to use the chemical.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Greenpeace to your opinion?

It is more the Green alliances that had input in the policy process with WWF in front. Greenpeace is more the one who is doing the campaigns. For example a couple of weeks ago we had a conference in Warshau and of course Greenpeace was there and interrupted the meeting. WWF is more involved in the policy process but Greenpeace was part of those alliances. The alliances consist of green NGO's, consumer and trade unions.

Together they were extremely strong and together with the trade unions they made one aspect of REACH stronger that is the health of the workers in the chemical industry and also al that is related to information to the public and the authorization. There main focus was substitution; they want that all the dangerous chemicals should be submitted. This is really not possible we think.

To your opinion what is the success of Cefic in the case of the REACH policy process?

We are asking the entire time make the process less complex; take away as must bureaucracy as possible. The whole industry must be able to deal with REACH so it must be as simple as possible, otherwise it will not work. REACH has been improved; the registration part is not as demanding as it was. The rule now is that the higher the danger the more information you have to give, we talk about 55 of all substances that are of some concern so for the most chemicals you not have to provide any data. Also the registration procedure is only applied on chemicals that are over ten- ton produced per year on average.

To your opinion what is the success of Greenpeace in the case of the REACH policy process?

No, what they have trying to do is to idealistic. In theory maybe it will work but in practice it will not work at all. Even the Rapporteur said that we now need a system, which is robust enough to start with and then develop it further. For example companies come to us with questions we never thought about. It is unrealistic what Greenpeace is demanding; it will not work in practice. They really put forward the substitution process, I think it will be partly adapted.

To your opinion what is the success of Greenpeace/ Cefic in the case of the REACH policy process?

If we believe the media the first reading was a success for industry by reducing the chemicals that fall under registration from 1 ton to 10 ton. The second reading was more a success for the Greens and I think the result will be somewhere in the middle. Some of the Greens are saying that it is a success for industry but what the EU is proposing is not in a million years comparable to what we want, also because the EU wants substitution in REACH.

Appendix 5: Interview Greenpeace

Which important interest groups are involved in the policy process concerning REACH to your opinion?

A lot of actors are involved. Environment organizations like Greenpeace, WWF, Friends of the Earth and Animal Welfare. Then you have the chemical industry represented by Cefic but also cosmetics organizations. Also companies themselves were involved in the lobby process. The environment organizations have formed an alliance, but they also lobbied individually. Of course you have the Commission, Parliament and the Council. Not to forget the involvement of states outside the EU like the US and Japan. They tried to make REACH as weak as possible.

What kind of methods did Greenpeace use for the lobby in the case of the REACH policymaking process?

We use them all and even more. I have on a regular basis contact with MEP's, technical experts from the member states. I try to talk to all the important decision-makers, sometimes you do not get a hold of them, but then I speak to the assistants or I write a letter. We also organized hearings ourselves and we invited the MEP's. On every moment in the policy process we conduct our own research. We conduct position papers just before the voting moments in the process. We try to make this advice as short as possible, because we know that the MEP's have not much time. We also did press campaigns and conducted a strategy on the arguments of the chemical industry. Cefic only represented the industry in the beginning. They were saying that it costs the industry a lot of jobs and the chemical industry will disappear in the EU. We then said there is something wrong here. First of all these are the bad stories which we heard before. The previous environment policies did not lead to the disappearance of the chemical industry in the EU. The disappearance of the chemical industry was always the salary costs and not the environmental policies. Secondly REACH does not only apply to the chemical industry. If you look who will be affected the most, it is not the chemical industry, it is only 10% of the affected branches. The producers of consumer' articles will be the most affected, so they should have a voice in the policy process, but they do not have that in the beginning. We have formed a strategy to drive the chemical industry and the producers of consumer's articles from each other. We have shown the consumers producers that they have a different role in REACH. In that way we have found companies, like IKEA, who have shown that substitution is possible, to the contrary what the chemical industry is saying.

Which European institutions did Greenpeace contact in the lobby process concerning REACH?

We have contact with all those institutions, and it will shift depending who is the key player at the moment.

We have contact with consumer's organizations to strengthen our lobby position. We have also contacted the Dutch Parliament to influence the position of the Netherlands and other Greenpeace departments have also done that.

In the Dutch case we have regular contact with Van Geel and Van Gennip (vice-minister VROM)

Does Greenpeace use other methods and information for lobbying different European institutions?

No, We present where we stand at a specific moment in the policy process. If we conduct a research we will present that at the moment the results of the research are known. So if we conduct researches we will take it to the Parliament but also to the Commission, the institution who is making the next step.

What is the most successful lobby method?

Lobby methods that are close to the environment of the people will work better, the methods that will work on the emotional side of the decision-makers.

If you are able to bring items into the media, than you know that it is in the head of the decision-makers and it will probable affect them.

It is difficult to say; I think that the combination of methods is the most successful. If you are lobbying with one or two methods you will probably not reach al the key actors in the decision-making process. Also if you have done only one research it will not have the effect compared to several researches that have the same outcomes.

Which kind of information are you delivering in the lobby process?

Not the national interest, we focus in REACH on the European interest, we see this as an opportunity to wipe out the dangerous chemicals forever. If the EU implements REACH it will affect the chemical and industry branches in the whole world. We deliver expert knowledge; we let them see where the problem is. We have shown where the problem is to protect the human health and environment against chemicals. We have done researches beyond the national borders to let the decision-makers know that the protection against dangerous chemicals is not a national problem but a European and even worldwide problem. Examples of those researches are the chemicals in rainwater, and the house dust research.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Greenpeace?

We focused a lot on the protection of human health and environment and we have used the competitiveness of the chemical industry to let the industry know that this is also an opportunity for them. The one that developed the alternative will have a lot of benefit of it. An example of that is the CFK's in refrigerators. The companies that developed the alternative substances for CFK's made a lot of profit. To focus on the competitiveness of the chemical industry too we try to achieve the protection of human health and environment.

We did not focus on preventing fragmentation of internal market. Also one of the focus points of us was the full information to the public. The public has the right to know what kinds of chemicals are used in the products they are using. The industry is not supporting that, and they are saying that it only will frighten people and it is not possible in practice.

I see REACH as an opportunity to change the World chemical regulation to protect the human health and environment against dangerous chemicals.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Cefic?

What Cefic tried to do is not giving the industry more responsibility for safety. First the entire lobby as lead to the fact that chemicals with a lower volume than 10 ton do not have to be registered. 23.000 chemicals in that way do not have to be tested and we cannot see if they are dangerous or not.

Secondly they have focused on chemicals with a very high concern and said that the rest is not important to test and to register.

Thirdly they fought substitution very hard; they did not saw it as an opportunity for innovation but as a danger. They want to keep their old production of chemicals at the same level as before REACH. They do not want to invest in alternatives because it will cost too much. We do know that it will cost investments but the environmental cost is also very high and have to be paid. In the current situation the chemical industry does not pay the environment, the taxpayer does. If the rule was that the polluter must pay it will be a whole other story. They focused on fragmentation of the internal market, they want one regulation in the EU, and we also want that. As already said they do not want the public knows what kind of chemicals are in a product. Also they said that REACH would lead to more animal testing, which is not true.

To your opinion what is the success of Greenpeace in case of the REACH policy process?

Till now the EU will implement the substitution of chemicals, this will be a revolution in chemical regulation. It is a pity that REACH will only apply to the chemicals with a volume of 10 ton or

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more, but we think that this will change in the future and that it will also be applied on the chemicals of a lower volume. We are pleased that REACH will happen in 25 member countries.

To your opinion what is the success of Cefic in case of the REACH policy process?

It is a success that it will only apply to the 10-ton or more for the registration and substitution of chemicals.

Appendix 6: Interview Friends of the Earth

Which interest groups are involved in the policy process concerning REACH to your opinion?

The chemical industry represented by Cefic. You have also the sub industry, SME, the two umbrella organizations, which are Objection and UNEM. You have also UNICE representing the Business industry, the Trade Union's, Health Groups, Consumers Organizations and the Women Organization and the Green NGO's; Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, WWF, EEB. Together with the Consumer Organizations and the Trade Union the Green NGO's have formed an alliance.

What kind of methods did Friends of the Earth used for lobbying in case of the REACH policy process?

All of these methods. Present our view to the MEP's and going to the press and we have done a couple of campaign actions.

What kind of methods did Cefic use to lobby the European decision-makers to your opinion?

They also did the meeting with the MEP's, representing research but they are much less transparent in what they are doing. To my knowledge they have also organized cocktail parties and diners, even trips to the World-Cup for European officials. Their lobby was much more aggressive; Cefic is using more the emotional side to influence the European decision-makers. From the very beginning they were saying that it cost too much and will cost jobs. They were using a lot of emotional and not necessarily true arguments.

What kind of methods did Greenpeace use to lobby the European decision-makers to your opinion?

We work together in a coalition; we formed this coalition in the very beginning even before the White Paper

Do you stand stronger with a coalition?

The members of the coalition have the same goals so it is easy to cooperate and we of course stand stronger as an alliance. The Greens are the usual suspects, they want that and it is too idealistic in the eyes of the decision-makers. If you have an alliance with Health, Trade and Women's organizations you have more credit towards the decision-makers.

What kind of methods did Cefic use to lobby the European decision-makers to your opinion?

Exactly the same one as us but on a much bigger scale, their lobby was very intense. They have seen every single MEP and they worked closely with DG enterprise and several member states.

What is the cause of this bigger scale lobby?

They have much more budget and human resources. We estimated that a 100 people are lobbying for Cefic and we are with 10 people in the coalition. We have fewer resources compared with Cefic.

It is also a fact that they are using arguments that hit the decision-makers; they put the job factor on the table. For example they say that with the substitution principal DTT will disappear and that there are people dying of malaria. The truth is that DTT is a pesticide and will not fall under REACH. This is making the MEP scared and they do not realize that the information is completely wrong.

I think Cefic is very successful in their lobby with the registration in the first reading and now with substitution in the second reading. They are attacking the amendments with emotional arguments. This is the way the Parliament works, the Commission works differently. I think MEP's have little time; they are not able to check if a view of interest organization is correct. So they rely on lobbyists providing them with information. Cefic's lobby has dropped a lot of amendments.

What kind of methods did Greenpeace used to lobby the European decision-makers to your opinion?

Same as ours.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Cefic to your opinion?

In the second reading they attacked the information to the public and the substitution principal and the industry responsibility for safer chemicals.

In the first reading they slaughter the registration principal for chemicals of a lower volume. It is now only applied to chemicals with a volume of 10 ton or more per year.

To your opinion what is the success of Cefic in case of the REACH policy process?

In the first reading definitely the registration and they got it. The substitution principal in the second reading will not stay I think, here the strong influence by Cefic played a big role also by

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lobbying through the national federations in the member states influencing the national experts as well.

The info to the public is not going to make it. The industry got a lot I think. I believe also that the industry has weakened REACH to such an extent that the goals of REACH are not obtained.

For example if you do not register the majority of the chemicals you cannot protect the human health, the health of workers and the environment against dangerous chemicals.

Also the registration process is only applied on chemicals that are produced over ten-ton per year.

To your opinion what is the success of Greenpeace in case of the REACH policy process?

The substitution principle is the corner stone of REACH and we believe that REACH is a chance to wipe out the dangerous chemicals forever. With the substitution you replace the bad with the good substances. This will contribute very much to the human health and the environment. The idea is to have a framework in the form of REACH that wipes out the dangerous chemicals.

The info to the public will also help to the workers and human health and the environment. In that case people can choose if they want to use the substance or not. We want also that products with chemicals of very high concern be labeled so it warns people.

Cefic wants that the policy is not transparent, they want that the agency has a big mandate and power and not the member states. We prefer the opposite. Cefic does not want an efficient agency in Helsinki because it has too much power and control

Appendix 7: Interview UNICE

Which interest groups are involved in the policy process concerning REACH to your opinion?

The environmental NGO's were very active in their lobby. The industry, especially the chemical industry represented by Cefic and UNICE as the umbrella organization. UNICE and Cefic cooperated in their lobby on REACH. There were small differences in the opinion on REACH between Cefic and UNICE but that was no problem to cooperate with each other. The reasons to cooperate are that you stand stronger in the policy process in your lobby and you have more manpower to follow the dossier on REACH and therefore more information.

What kind of methods did UNICE use for lobbying in the case of the REACH policy process?

All of them. Personal contact. This is the basis of the lobby. As a lobbyist you must have a broad network on a basis of a sustainable relationship. It is not the case that when REACH started you learn the people that are involved. No, you must have already a relationship with them and you will cooperate with them in the future. The personal contacts are diverse. In the first place you have the personal contacts with the decision-makers, like the MEP's, the civil servants of the Commission, the COREPER and the Council. Generally we try to have a personal contact with everybody that is involved in the REACH policy process. The network must be as broad as possible to know what the activities are and to know what the views on REACH between the different parties are. In that way you can estimate what is reachable and what not in your lobby process. You cannot simply demand something that is simply not possible. As a lobbyist you must make that consideration.

Speak on hearing. With this kind of highly technical dossiers you see that the Parliament is organizing hearings to get information about the topic to create a political view about REACH. In the REACH policy process there were a lot of hearings. We tried to speak with one voice at those hearings. REACH will affect the whole industry from producer till consumer. To be able to communicate clearly to the EU decision-makers, we decided to speak with one voice for the whole industry. This is our strategy to keep it clear for the decision-makers and to make it clear that it is not only the opinion of the chemical industry but also that of the whole industry. If you let everybody speak separately, the effect will be that you get an overkill of lobby and that will work in your disadvantage.

Research. Especially Cefic is very active on this point. They have done different studies to the effects of REACH on the chemical industry. The outcomes of this researches are also available for UNICE for use in their lobby. These researches make our opinion on REACH stronger with contents based arguments. For example if we argue that REACH will weaken the competition

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position of the industry in Europe, we can make this argument strong with the results of the studies done by Cefic and visa-versa. This is also an advantage of cooperating; make use of the each other's resources.

Position papers very much and they are adjusted to the phase where the policy process is in at that point. In the beginning of the policy process you are conducting very detailed and large position papers about your point of view. In the end of the process you will keep it as short as possible and only reflect the points of the policy that are relevant in the phase of the policy process. I see that the lobby groups only focus on the main elements of the proposed policy. The position papers are conducted when the point of decisions are approaching. As a lobbyist it is very important to recognize the moments of decision and also give a view that is relevant for that particular decision. You have to do that also in the role as serious conversation partner and not to say no to everything. You must also give the decision-makers space to make his or her own decisions. During the process things will also rapidly change and also as a lobbyist you must be aware of that when conducting your position paper. For example for the last phase where REACH is now in, we conducted a brochure with our view. You see that there are only a few points mentioned in the brochure and it is short. It is very important that you are short, because the people in the EU do not have the time to read thick papers. Important about position papers is that they are understandable for everybody. The trick is to translate the technical aspects of REACH into understandable short messages to the decision-makers.

Media. We lobbied also with the media. Important is to know when you use the media for lobbying. We lobby through the media for two reasons. First to reach a broad public with your message and second to let your members know that you are working on REACH. Media can also work in your disadvantage. If you call in the media and share confidential information, you will have the risk that nobody of the EU will talk to you again.

What kind of methods did Cefic used to lobby the European decision-makers to your opinion?

Cefic and UNICE lobbied together on REACH for the most part. What I have seen is that Cefic has the capacity of a lot of manpower to work on REACH. Therefore they can do more research, gather more information. UNICE uses this information in their lobby and visa-versa. But the lobby methods and messages were the same as Cefic.

What kind of methods did Greenpeace used to lobby the European decision-makers to your opinion?

Greenpeace has a complete different style of lobbying. We only lobby on contents based arguments; their lobby is more lead by ideology. Also Greenpeace is much more aggressive and

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confronting in their lobby. They work more on the emotion of people, for example by their campaigns on the blood testing of MEP's.

Did Greenpeace also lobby you to convince you about their opinion about REACH or did they try to make alliances?

I think there was contact between our specialist and theirs but there was no real cooperation.

Which European institutions did you contact in you lobby process concerning REACH?

All of them; we lobby everywhere in the EU where a decision has to be made. We lobby not only the EU institutions but also the civil servants in Den Haag and the members of the Dutch Parliament. The Dutch minister of Environment comes to the EU Council in Brussels with a certain mandate; the Dutch Parliament is giving this mandate. Therefore the Dutch Parliament is also important to lobby. You see that on every level we try to let the decision-makers know our view on REACH.

Does UNICE use other methods and information for lobbying different European institutions?

This is definitely the case. When we had contacts with the Commission, our view is more technical and detailed compared to the contact with the MEP's. The reason is that the Commission has specialists and the MEP's are not specialist. But also if you try to reach the national decision-makers you will have national based messages to convince them and visa-versa.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by UNICE to your opinion?

We are not against REACH. We only want that there is a good balance between the protection of the environment and the protection of the chemical industry. But the substitution method was very strict in REACH.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Greenpeace to your opinion?

Really the substitution method. They tried to make the people frighten for chemicals. I do not like this method because they did not show any alternative to solve the problem of using dangerous chemicals. Also a focus of Greenpeace was on the non animal testing methods.

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To your opinion what is the success of Cefic in the case of the REACH policy process?

Registration of chemicals should be done every five years again and is only applied on chemicals that are produced over ten- ton per year. This proposed amendment is dropped. This will lead to a cost reduction for the companies.

Appendix 8: Interview DG Industry and Enterprise

Which interest groups are involved in the policy process concerning REACH?

The Commission has organized also input from the interest organizations. It is difficult to see when it involves technical support of the Commission and when it involves influencing the policy process. First the REACH policy went to the technical working groups before the White Paper. Industry was not very active in that process, the policy was much greener than they expected it would be. After that Industry panicked and started to be involved in the policy process.

Cefic, Greenpeace and sub industrial interest groups. UNICE, the SME's, Trade Unions and also National Associations are involved in the process. You have also the NGO's, I think that there is an in- and out-model in the NGO's De EEB is the most professional organization that is a serious conversation partner. Greenpeace is always at the exit with their campaigns. You see that they are communicating a lot with each other. If you talk about effective lobbying, the NGO's are better than the Industry. Why the NGO's and not the Industry? The Industry needs a lot time to organize themselves and the different sub-industries are only involved when their interest was at stake. In the Industry the different sub-interest organizations are putting their own interest in front of the collective common interest of the Industry. The result is that the policy will turn over to the green side. Also you see that the statements of the Chemical Industry are a compromise between the different sub interests. As a result the statements becomes less clear for the EU decision makers. The NGO's do not have that problem. The NGO's are also must smaller in number.

It is said that the Commission chooses their own partners, this is not true. The Industry has longer lines and different sub-interests. The NGO's are more political and goal orientated. The Industry has their technical experts and the NGO's do not have them.

De NGO's do play the emotional card. This is better organized than the Industry. De Industry will not look back with satisfaction to the lobby process; they have chosen wrong priorities and have handled with panic. De Commission has involved the Industry in the process for example by the Internet consultation and the Risk Impact studies.

If the policy proposal is going to be on paper the civil servants will isolate themselves. After that the opinion of the stakeholder is asked. The wrong approach many interest organizations do is that they give answer to what is wrong but they do not give any alternatives. Decision makers do not have the time to find out what a good alternative should look like. They want a clear alternative amendment with good arguments from the interest groups.

There is a difference between the methods of lobbying and which level of decision makers they want to influence, this is the policy context. If someone wants to talk to me it is for another purpose than when they are talking to my supervisor or to the director general of the DG enterprise. Also the methods are linked with the actions of the interest organization in the past.

What kind of lobby methods did Cefic used to lobby you as a COMMISSION member? Can you give examples?

The Chemical Industry has not lobbied that much nationally. This important in the case of the MEP's, they have links with the national parties and so on. Cefic is a contact that can deliver experts for technical support. They have conducted research but not very much.

Which lobby methods of both interest groups where in your case the most effective to your opinion?

Good arguments can give room to make your own decisions. For example the Industry recognized that their own flexibility is the problem and not the new legislation. Also be at the right time in the process. Do not bring up issues that are already discussed in detail.

Did you use the information provided by the interest groups Cefic and Greenpeace to create your own view about how the REACH policy should look like?

Yes you use the information to conduct your view. This is also the consequence of being understaffed as a Commission.

Also I want to say that the Greens used a method of lobbying that was very unprofessional. They argued that a person in the Commission is not objective because she used to work for Cefic. I know that person and it is a very professional person only doing her job. It is not wrong to have an expert in the Commission. This was really not fair of the Greens and they lost a lot of credit with this action.

Do you think that there is a link between the lobby methods the interest groups use and the European institution they lobby? (For example they lobby you with different methods than the European Commission and Council)

Yes, they will talk to me about very technical issues and with the Parliament more about political issues.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Cefic/Greenpeace to your opinion?

Interest organizations do support the goals of REACH but the discussion is really in the instruments to achieve this goals. The Industry is worried that REACH will work and the NGO's do not care about that.

NGO's do think that the public has the right to know which chemicals are inside a product.

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Also the NGO's do not take part of the implementation discussions, the Industry does. In this part the process can also be changed, that is why the Industry is also talking with us in the implementation phase.

Appendix 9: Interview MEP Mister Blokland

Which interest groups are involved in the policy process concerning REACH?

Cefic was an important actor. But also organizations from the member states themselves have played an important role in the process, for example the VNCI from the Netherlands. Also companies themselves and umbrella organizations within the industry have lobbied for their interests. Do not forget REACH is the largest policy process of the EU until now. The environmental NGO's also have played an important role in the process.

What kind of lobby methods did Cefic use to lobby you as an MEP? Can you give examples?

You become crazy from the requests of interest organizations for a personal meeting and they give useless information. Interest organizations make the fault that if you say yes one time they expect that you will talk to them again and again. In that case I say that they have to send me a mail, I cannot talk to hundreds of lobby organizations. I do not have the time for that.

Lobby organizations should focus more on delivering a clear message with fact-based arguments.

What kind of methods did Cefic use?

They tried to make appointments and to send position papers and also a voting list that indicates their view on amendments. If you print those lists you are busy with printing several days. This applies both to Cefic and to Greenpeace. On the other hand it helps MEP's when they get information from interest organizations. Sometimes I do not know what is mentioned with an amendment. When I get the comments from the interest organizations it helps me to understand the amendment. This is also the case if they give comments on a proposed view of other interest organizations. These contra arguments give a complete other view on the case and it helps me as an MEP to understand it.

Do you develop you view from the input of interest organizations?

Yes; the input is very important in the process. We also ask interest organizations to give answers to certain questions that we do not understand completely. There is a two-way relation between the MEP's and the interest organizations. We are dependent from information about REACH on the interest organization's advices. Cefic also spoke on hearings. They did not use the method of intimidation this time. The method of intimidation is that they have the knowledge and they are right and those stupid MEP's do not understand it. Sometimes Cefic acts differently to MEP's than they do in practice. That is very dangerous because this can lead to a situation in which nobody listens to Cefic anymore. Cefic has learned a lot and they changed. They also

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hired somebody that worked with the COREPER in the past and who knows exactly how to approach the European decision makers. Other good methods are to try to think with the decision makers and to give room to the MEP's to make their own decision and not to kick to everything and say that you are absolutely against it.

Methods of Greenpeace?

Greenpeace developed a name with the Grand Spar. They have not been honest in the past with plastics in toys. Reports have shown that the plastics in the toys are not dangerous at all. They were making the danger of the toys bigger than it was in practice. They have to watch out that they stay to be a serious discussion partner. They should not object to everything and should mention in their campaigns that they are willing to think together with the MEP's for a solution. The Greens have to be aware that the MEP's need some space to make their own decisions

What kind of information did Cefic and Greenpeace deliver?

Delivering information that is based on facts and that does not push too much. If MEP's feel that they are pushed with too much pressure then it will often has a bad effect for the interest organizations. If an interest organization lies one time, they do not have to come back any more.

Which lobby methods of both interest groups were in your case the most effective ones to your opinion?

If you have a contact with somebody and you know that he or she is completely informed about the issue and they have done good work in the past. You will pay more attention to what they have to say about REACH. I first read the comments of the people I know and whom I trust and whom have a good reputation based on the work they delivered in the past.

Did you change your view about the REACH during the policy process as a result of the lobby by Cefic? In which aspect did you change your view?

Yes, during the process it has changed because of the information by the interest organizations.

Which interest groups had the most effective lobby to your opinion? Which lobby had the best results to you opinion? Why?

Cefic has mobilized the national federations to lobby by the national representatives in the member states. I think that the lobby of the Chemical Industry was more effective than the one of the Greens. The Chemical Industry has also more resources. The Greens are much smaller and the interest of the Chemical Industry that was at stake was so big that they mobilized every resource they had.

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Greenpeace has done the anti chemical campaigns towards the MEP's, I do not think that they were so effective.

What goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Greenpeace and Cefic to your opinion?

Greenpeace: the promotion of non-animal testing and the promotion of human health by the substitution and registration. Also the transparency, but that was not the most important issue.

Cefic: they are focused on the competitiveness and the integration of the internal market.

Greenpeace: making aware the animal testing consequences for animals. They have been successful in that.

Cefic: bureaucratic steps becoming less. They wanted REACH to become as less complex as possible and their focus was on registration. Registration is now only applied on chemicals that are produced over ten-ton per year on average. Also they focused on the SME's. They should not be the victims of the new legislation. They also tried to say that substitution is not so important and that it is not needed, but they did not succeed in spreading that opinion.

Do you think that by the lobby of Cefic and Greenpeace the REACH policy became of a better quality?

Lobby organization reflect their own interests and those are in most cases opposite to each other. If there is an effective lobby from both sides, the result will be that there is no lobby at all. You must not think that everybody turns over, but if some important persons turn over, then there can be a change of course.

Becomes the policy more effective?

Yes, but interest organizations can also exaggerate the truth and the result can be that MEPs become frightened and do not take certain regulations that in practice are really needed to achieve the goals of the legislation.

Appendix 10: Interview MEP Miss Hassi

Which interest groups are involved in the policy process concerning REACH?

There were many in the REACH policy process. I think that by far the most intensive lobby came from the Chemical Industry. Especially from the German industry and they managed that a lot of other groups were telling the same story as they did. Environmental groups were also present in the lobby process. Some groups were also very passive, like the consumer's organizations and the health groups.

What kind of lobby methods did Cefic use to lobby you as an MEP? Can you give examples?

Cefic was very active with asking personal meetings. They seem to have a lot of lobbyists to meet MEP's personally. Cefic did not only focus on the environmental Commission of the EP but on all the MEP's. I think because of this all, the other MEP's wanted to say something about REACH and had an opinion about it. Those other Commissions within the EP only look at the cost of REACH and they are not used to look at environmental issues. In that way the lobby of Cefic was very effective. They also sent really a lot of e-mails and invitations for lunches, dinners and so on. I think that I could have eaten at least one meal a day every day with a chemical lobby group. I notice also that other groups like the representatives of SME's were saying the same thing as the Chemical Industry or at the conferences of the SME a person of the Chemical Industry was always present. I can imagine that the Chemical Industry was paying the bill of the conferences of the SME. Also the Chemical Industry mobilized other actors to lobby, example of this are the Australian Embassy and the US Trade Department. They used a really big manpower for lobbying. Many different groups with different names were telling the same thing.

What kind of lobby methods did Greenpeace used to lobby you as an MEP? Can you give examples? And are there big differences between the lobby methods of Cefic and Greenpeace?

Greenpeace does have less money so they were very active with e-mails and information and they had some campaigns like blood testing and vacuum cleaner dust to prove that chemicals are harmful. Also a campaign, which I liked very much, is "my toxic valentine". In this campaign they tested different perfumes and only one perfume had no harmful chemicals in it. In that way Greenpeace was very creative in showing why this legislation is needed. Anyway the voice of all environmental NGO's was so small compared to the voice of the Chemical Industry in this lobby process. I met lobbyist of the Chemical Industry several times and I aspect other MEP's did also.

Did Cefic and/or Greenpeace also form alliances with other interest groups? Do the interest groups in alliances stand stronger in the policy process to your opinion?

Cefic tried to influence other groups and to cooperate with them in the lobby process as I told before. Greenpeace also mobilized scientists that showed us the danger of chemicals. Greenpeace also mobilized some companies like IKEA, Hennis en Maurists and so on that told us that they wanted REACH and a strong REACH. The companies are already selling products that are manufactured with harmless chemicals; they do not sell products with dangerous chemicals in it at all. When a product has dangerous chemicals they substitute the chemicals by another less harmful chemical. It showed us that substitution could work very well.

Did you use the information provided by the interest groups Cefic and Greenpeace to create your own view about how the REACH policy should look like?

Yes I tried to use all information I got from the lobby groups. It really helped me to get more knowledge about REACH. It made me realize that strong chemicals legislation is needed in Europe.

Did you change your view about the REACH during the policy process as a result of the lobby by Cefic? In which aspect did you change your view?

What I realized during the process is that I understand better why this legislation is needed. I was surprised how much negative health affects chemicals have on humans and how much the environment is affected by them. Those chemicals are in wide spread use and exposure in Europe. The more research I read the more I became convinced that this legislation is needed.

Which interest groups had the most effective lobby to your opinion? Which lobby had the best results to your opinion? Why?

Trade Unions and NGO's. I must say that the lobby of the industry was successful in their point of view, but I did not like their argumentation because it was misleading. For example the registration must be risk based according to the Chemical Industry. This was very clever. It sounds very good but if you do not know the risk of a chemical, you can not set up a registration process that is risk based. Nevertheless they succeed to weaken the process of registration and the results is that you do not have to test all the chemicals, only the chemicals produced over ten ton per year.

Do you think that there is a link between the lobby methods the interest groups used and the European institution they lobby? (For example they lobby you with different methods than the European Commission and Council)

I do realize that the MEP's do not see the whole spectrum of the lobbyist organizations and their views on REACH. In Finland we have a system that with important proposals we invite the whole spectrum of involved actors and let them give their view. That is not the case in the EU. Without the exception of one big hearing on REACH we do not organize hearings so it is up to the MEP's to collect their information and which lobby organizations they meet. So the lobby groups that have more money can reach more MEP's because of the manpower and so on.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Cefic to your opinion?

To reduce the cost of testing for industry and to protect the liability of the industry because of REACH already wide spread chemicals can be tested to be harmful. The Chemical Industry does not want the people to know that the chemicals that are already in use, are dangerous. Cefic does not want to let the people know what kind of chemicals there are in a product. Cefic focused also on keeping REACH as simple as possible, as less bureaucratic steps as possible.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Greenpeace to your opinion?

REACH must be strong in protecting the human health and environment. Greenpeace focused on non- animal testing with success.

One final point I like to make is that I realize during this process that there must be more transparency in the lobby activities of interest groups. For example I do not know to which organizations the Commission spoke when writing the REACH proposal.

Appendix 11: Interview MEP Miss Oomen

What kind of lobby methods did Cefic used to lobby you as an MEP? Can you give examples?

In the process we really cooperated with Cefic. I received position papers from them and we had personal appointments where they explained their views on REACH. We received also some calls from Cefic, but the most contact we had was through the VNCI, the Dutch branch organization for Chemical Industry. The VNCI is a member of the Cefic organization and through the VNCI we really had a lot of contact with two companies, DSM and DOW-Chemicals. These two companies had a lot of expertise concerning REACH and its technical applications. We had a really strong contact with them during the process. The VNCI and the two companies advised us about the technical aspects of REACH and about the consequences of particular amendments and amendments of other MEP's.

What kind of lobby methods did Greenpeace use to lobby you as an MEP? Can you give examples?

We did not have any contact with Greenpeace or the other green NGO's. We received position papers from them but that's really it. I think the reason for that is that we have a liberal view on REACH and Greenpeace is only environmentally focused. I think that Greenpeace only focused on the MEP's that are in the Green parties. They also did not try to turn our view more to the environmental side.

Are there big differences between the lobby methods of Cefic and Greenpeace?

I cannot give answer to this question because we did not receive any lobby of Greenpeace. I can only say that one time I had a lunch with also the Green NGO's and the discussion was so severe that I really did not like that. It was too aggressive to my opinion.

Did Cefic and/or Greenpeace also form alliances with other interest groups? Do the interest groups in alliances stand stronger in the policy process to your opinion?

Yes both groups. I think that Greenpeace is cooperating with WWF and other Green NGO's. I think in the case of REACH you could split the lobby groups into two camps. One side the Green NGO's like Greenpeace, WWF, Animal Welfare and at the other side the Industry with Cefic, UNICE and Colipa. In the case of the Industry you could see that Cefic was representing the interest of the big chemical companies and that they were also more technical, for example with

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proposals about testing, registration and so on. Colipa, which was representing the interests of the cosmetic, toiletry and perfumery industry was more representing the down-stream users and the effects of REACH on the down-stream users. There was clear cooperation between the interest organizations of the different industries, but sometimes there were also interests that were in conflict. In those cases the individual industries also lobbied for that particular individual interest and not for the common interest of the industry.

Which lobby methods of both interest groups were the most effective to your opinion?

An effective lobby in this case was determined by the following variables. First timing; this has to do with visiting us without an appointment. We are not prepared to listen to you and therefore it will not have a big effect. Secondly say your argument clear and give reasons why something is wrong and what can be done about it. The third variable is the message. The message must not be too much general and also not too much in detail. In both cases we cannot do anything with this message. I understand that for interest organizations it is very difficult to see the overall picture in the case of REACH because it was so big and technical. The last variable is that the message must not be too big. We really do not have the time to read thousand of pages. We want it clear and we want it short.

Did you use the information provided by the interest groups Cefic and Greenpeace to create your own view about how the REACH policy should look like?

I became really crazy about the amount of lobby in the case of REACH. We really received a lot of questions and position papers and so on. Many lobbyists only concentrate on one small detail of REACH. For example the battery industry wanted that the batteries were exempted from REACH. We really could do nothing about that, because if the batteries are exempted from REACH, the perfume industry would want that also and so on. This kind of lobby did not add something to the policy of REACH and the quality of it. There was really an overkill of lobby on two points. The first point was that the lobby was too detailed, like the battery example. On the other hand many lobbies were too much on a general level. For example they said that they did not like REACH and they did not come up with any alternatives.

With the requests of interest groups we always went to see the specialists at DSM and DOW to verify if the facts are true or not and what kind of consequences the proposed changes has. We had really a coincidental relationship with those two companies and the specialists.

Also lobby organizations did propose change that already was treated in the political process or that was not correct with the contents of the policy.

In the case of Greenpeace we did not hear their view until the voting was there and the positions papers came.

Did you change your view about the REACH during the policy process as a result of the lobby by Cefic? In which aspect did you change your view?

Yes my knowledge about this policy is tremendously increased about chemical policy and so on. REACH was such a technical issue that we could not have that knowledge. Because of Cefic my knowledge was increased. That knowledge contributed to make better judgments about REACH.

Did you change your view about the REACH during the policy process as a result of the lobby by Greenpeace? In which aspect did you change your view?

I did not receive any information from Greenpeace. I can only say that I was not happy with their method of discussion. They were really aggressive and did not come up with practical alternatives. My opinion is that Greenpeace's view had no balances between environment and industry and in the case of the industry the balance was much better.

Do you think that there is a link between the lobby methods the interest groups use and the European institution they lobby? (For example they lobby you with different methods than the European Commission and Council)

Cefic cooperated more with DG Industry and Enterprise and Greenpeace more with DG Environment. It also became clear that there was a competition between DG Industry and DG Environment. In all the meetings on REACH they did not speak to each other.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Cefic to your opinion?

Cefic focused on the authorization and registration processes and also on substitution. They also wanted protection of the business information.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Greenpeace to your opinion?

Greenpeace focused on authorization and substitution, animal welfare and also the duty of care, in which a company is responsible for the safe use of chemicals.

How far does the lobby of interest groups have influence on the quality of the REACH policy?

Very much. In the lobby, interest organizations have a clear view on the policy obvious in their advantage. However the lobby is a really big source of information. For example Cefic told us

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that with the registration process you must not look at the produced volume of a specific chemical per year but must take an average production in the previous three years. In that way the chemical is classified as a particular group for registration. This will simplify the registration process. Everybody has taken up this idea of Cefic. Also this was not known in the Commission and the Council. The knowledge contribution of lobby group is tremendous and will contribute to the quality of the REACH policy as this example indicated.

Appendix 12: Interview MEP Miss Dorbey

Which interest groups are involved in the policy process concerning REACH?

I did not speak to Greenpeace a lot. Of course they were present with their campaigns like the cosmetic campaign where they tested all kinds of cosmetic products for dangerous chemicals. I spoke a lot with WWF and I think that the organizations WWF, Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace are coordinating their lobby. Also BEUC was very active in lobbying in case of REACH. Also the EEB and the animal welfare organization did play an important role in the lobby process. On the other hand the industry was also very active. Cefic and a lot of domestic chemical branch organizations from the member state countries were also lobbying.

What kind of lobby methods did Cefic use to lobby you as an MEP/? Can you give examples?

Cefic asked a lot for personal contact meetings. They also were sending position papers and they were always present on hearings of the Parliament. Also they organized a lot of lunches and dinners to discuss an aspect of REACH.

What kind of lobby methods did Greenpeace use to lobby you as an MEP? Can you give examples?

I did speak with Greenpeace but not as often as with Cefic. I also saw some research of Greenpeace showing that chemicals can be dangerous. Also they did a research together with a MEP.

Are there big differences between the lobby methods of Cefic and Greenpeace?

Cefic did work a lot with lunches. WWF was also personal but Greenpeace did a lot of campaigns like the blood testing and so on. REACH was a really difficult dossier for us. It is technical and really big, and both lobby groups did show us what the contents is of REACH and what the most important amendments were. For example what looks like a minor detail in REACH can have major consequences in practice. I do realize that the information you get from lobby groups and interest groups is always colored information. This is the reason to speak to a broad variety of interest groups and after the information gathering to make your own decisions. I think it is really important to know what the consequences are of REACH in practice. I also visited some chemical companies to know what the consequences of REACH are in a specific case.

Did Cefic and/or Greenpeace also form alliances with other interest groups? Do the interest groups in alliances stand stronger in the policy process to your opinion?

Yes, Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, WWF worked together in the lobby process. Cefic and UNICE also worked together, but the chemical down-stream user, such as the cosmetic industry, the computer industry did have different interests compared with Cefic and UNICE. To speak to the down-stream users is also much more difficult compared to Cefic. Cefic was always present but the down-stream users certainly were not. The down-stream users are a much more diffuse group. They have less resources to reach you and they do not have the knowledge about the REACH policy process.

Did you use the information provided by the interest groups Cefic and Greenpeace to create your own view about how the REACH policy should look like?

Yes, I tried to get as much and as broad information as possible from the field. After the gathering of information I tried to make my own decision about an aspect of REACH. For example I am really in favor of the substitution Principle. I ask people from the field, like chemical companies why it is so difficult in practice to substitute a chemical. They explained me that the costs of substitution are really high and a lot of research has to be done before finding a less harmful chemical. They also explained me that the license for every chemical must not be pinned down to five years but that we have to determine the license period for every chemical separately, because finding a substitute for a chemical can take three years but also ten years. I agreed with this argumentation and supported the amendment in the voting rounds.

Did you change your view about the REACH during the policy process as a result of the lobby by Cefic? In which aspect did you change your view?

Yes I think so, because you learn more about the consequences of the REACH policy in practice. This will change your view on REACH. This is the reason to have contact with the lobby organizations in the field and also to, from both side of the spectrum, try to gather information from both sides of the policy. In REACH, the lobby on the one hand the industry and on the other hand the environmental and health groups were of a good balance. You also see sometimes that the lobby from one side is by far larger than that from the other side. This sometimes can be seen in the outcome of a policy.

In REACH you could see that the industry has more manpower and budget to organize the lunches and dinners and to speak to the MEP personal, but also the environmental groups nowadays have a lot of resources so we must not underestimate them.

As a MEP you have the responsibility to speak to both sides of the coin in a policy process and to give them space to present their view to you.

Should this be formally organized?

No you cannot organize this formally. It is the own responsibility of the MEP's. I do think that in the case that an amendment comes directly from the field, it should be marked such that you know that it is coming directly from some company and not from the MEP's themselves.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Cefic to your opinion?

They focused on the competitiveness of the Chemical Industry. They made it clear that if you make it too hard for the Chemical Industry they will leave Europe. Cefic did not want the substitution Principle, and wanted only registration for chemicals produced over ten tons per year.

Which goals of the REACH White Paper were the main objects of the lobby by Greenpeace to your opinion?

Protection of environment and the human health. They wanted a strong substitution obligation for the Chemical Industry and they wanted registration for every chemical. They explained that the danger of many chemicals is still not known and that it does not matter in which amounts a chemical is produced but what kind of effect it has on human health and environment. That is why all chemicals should be registered and tested.

Do you think that by the lobby of Cefic and Greenpeace the REACH policy became a qualitative better policy?

I think it does. For example the substitution Principle was not included in the Commission's first proposal. The environmental groups made it clear that it was important for REACH. Because of the industry some amendments that made REACH less expansive for chemical companies were included. For example the Principle of one substance, one registration. In the case that a company wants to use a chemical that is already registered, it only has to pay a share of the registration costs and not the whole price.