



RESEARCH PAPER

A Conceptual Underpinning of Lobbying and Propaganda as Policy Influencing Tools for Peace and Conflict

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PAPER INFO	ABSTRACT
<p>Received: February 27, 2022</p> <p>Accepted: April 10, 2022</p> <p>Online: April 15, 2022</p> <p>Keywords: Campaigns, Information Lobbying, Policy, Propaganda</p> <p>*Corresponding Author</p> <p>mariahamid@ndu.edu.pk</p>	<p>The research explores the conceptual grounding of lobbying and propaganda, both distinctively and complementarily. Propaganda and lobbying are not novel terms for 'International Relations and Political Sciences' students, researchers and experts. These terms have often been used to validate the influence one actor has on other states by disseminating information: both true and false. The intended end product of these influences is to affect policies and decision-making processes in one's own favor or against the conflicting actor. Over the years, during both World Wars and the Cold War, propaganda has remained a major policy tool employed in winning wars or demoralizing the opponents. To that extent, it is also termed 'soft power'. Despite the use of several tools and techniques in the art of spreading propaganda, mass media has contemporaneously been employed as a vital technique to reach the masses and influence decision makers. Since propaganda campaigns are initiated and organized by authorities or governments to influence the political, social or economic settings of opponents. For that matter, propaganda is also considered as a field or strategy to do successful lobbying.</p>

Introduction

Propaganda is central to International Relations and conflict due to its role in shaping opinions against conflicting party; both state and non-state actors. It is a deliberate, systematic attempt by actors in the international system 'to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response' that furthers their desired intent' (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999; Sproule, 1994). Contemporaneously, propaganda has emerged as a tool of 'soft power', employed to impact social and public opinion via lesser transparent networks and lobbying through powerful political and non-political agencies (Marsili, 2015). Nationally and internationally, it is used to influence social and political spheres by attempting to alter, weaken, or undermine the political, social, and economic systems of conflicting actors. Hence, it is an action or process of inducing others to act in a specific manner, which they will not do in absence of that action or process (Lindley, 1962; Walton, 1997). Since, it is an attempt to impact thinking and behavior (Martin, 1958) of individuals and to incite wars or cold wars, therefore, international propaganda is taken as a negative term to an extent that it was considered as to insult and demeaning someone by calling them propagandists (Powell, 1982; Doob, 1966; Marlin, 1989). Marlin (1989) reinforced by stating that allies during both world wars used to associate their enemies' opinion shaping activities as propaganda. The aforementioned aims and goals are achieved by using several propaganda channels.

International relations and politics are largely based on lobbying efforts which is to influence their policies and legislation to create favorable environment. Israel and USA are considered as two of the most powerful lobbyists and a recent case of United States of America's decision to recognize Occupied Jerusalem as Israel's capital is an example of their strong lobbying mechanisms (Gulf News, 2017). When the voting in the General Assembly for the acceptance or rejection of this decision was to held, US government uttered some serious claims like the end of funding for the countries who will vote against this decision (Jones, 2017). Where it was admitted by the Foreign Minister of Israel that US and Israel were involved in 'immense efforts' (AP, 2017) to stop the rejection of this decision of USA, where it was also accepted by a Foreign Ministry official of Israel that they were making 'very vast' lobbying campaigns (AP, 2017) to minimize the impact if the decision was to be against them (Gulf News, 2017). Their affirmation of lobbying efforts claimed that they even asked big Jewish companies to lobby their governments (host countries) to support Israel as well as allies were asked to vote against in case of non-recognition. Although the decision of general assembly went against the will of US and Israel (Beaumont, 2017), however, it proved that US and Israel have strong lobbying mechanisms and they practice it when and where need arises (Smith, 2017). Saudi Arab is also considered a very successful candidate when it comes to lobbying for itself or against any other country it is not happy with. This research paper will be shedding light on the conceptual understanding of lobbying and propaganda and its role in undermining the state of peace between countries and how it can escalate into a conflict.

Conceptualizing Propaganda

Numerous propaganda channels are employed by national and international actors, in pursuance of their cause against a conflicting party. These include government actions, research, religion, news, education and mass media (Sproule, 1994). Propaganda may be broadly divided into three different types; white, black and grey. While white propaganda is based on true and exact information, black propaganda is founded on incorrect sources and is employed to spread falsehoods and finally, the grey propaganda lies in-between the white and black (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999, pp. 12-15; Szanto, 1978, p. 10). In addition to this, there are eight characteristics of propaganda described; a) it is related to industrialized societies, b) it is a continuous process, c) it is always present and has interrelated set of techniques, d) it exists in societies where individuals are forced into groups, their identities are associated with mass and are impersonal, f) international propaganda is the product of 'propaganda blocs' such as United States, China, Arab States, Israelis and the Third World, g) in technology based societies it is often totalitarian, every element of social interaction is pervaded with propagandists messages such as patriotic songs in schools and church, h) it provides simple answers to intricate societal queries, separates individuals and labels public opinion and i) it is everywhere in a society (Ellul, 1979; Lattier, 2015). Contemporarily, propaganda is prevalent through advanced modes of mass media and communication where leading media are entrenched in the market system.

Persuasion and Propaganda

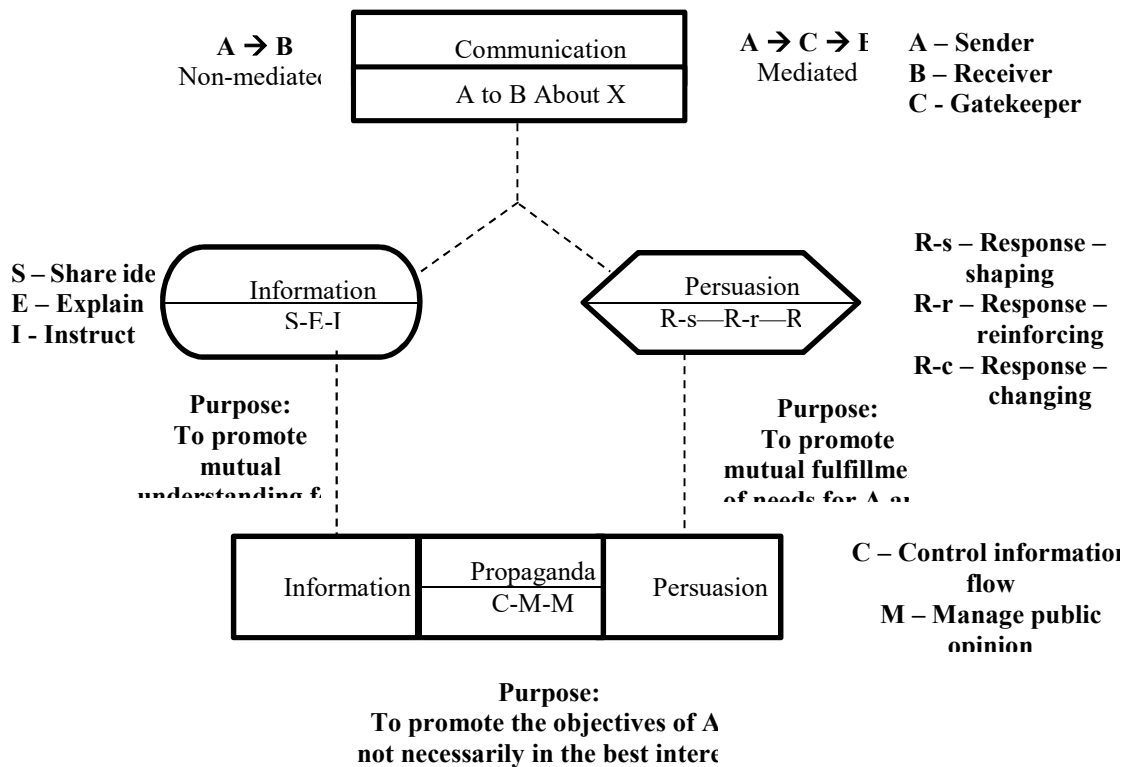
Persuasion and propaganda are both forms of communication system, and both are considered to be associated with each other in one way or the other. While delivering a message, persuasion is not necessarily an aim of the communication, however, components of a message i.e. social influence, altering respondent's minds and intention serves the purpose of persuasion in general (Markova, 2008). The inter-linked nature of propaganda and persuasion can be slightly disconnected since propaganda is a deliberate effort to influence, whereas, persuasion is an open communication, which is when respondents want

their needs to be satisfied by persuader (Jenkins, 2013). For example, as Burke (2009) says that war is also persuasion only if it changes behavior of the enemy, otherwise, it is merely a fight between opponents. Hence, it is believed that propaganda is an art of persuasion, aimed at changing attitudes and ideas of the receiver. Moreover, with globalization and growing literacy, the educated citizen of modern world needs reasons to support a propagandist's view (Cull, et al., 2003), consequently, the usage of social media with facts and figures emerged as a tool of propaganda in modern times (El-Khalili, 2013). Therefore, propaganda and persuasion are inter-related yet, persuasion is not forceful or it does not have a negative connotation attached to it, it is education when taken positively and propaganda when it is negative (Simons, et al., 2001). This communication system and its relationship with persuasion and propaganda are explained in a model of propaganda, where the purpose of both (persuasion and propaganda) is also described.

Persuasion as an individual level psychological process and propaganda being a societal process are the forms of communication, which are used to influence others thoughts and acts in one way or the other. As aforementioned literature suggests that propaganda and persuasion are interrelated and have slight differences, the model of propaganda given by Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) tried to show similarities and differences, as shown in Figure 1. Primarily, communication is a process when A (sender) converses with B (receiver) about someone else, say X, where, A can be an individual, group or a social setting likewise B can be any of the categories mentioned earlier (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999; Westley & MacLean, 1957). Although, communication is a face to face process, however, it can be mediated where A may try to convey something to B through C, wherein, in this scenario, C can be an agent, a gatekeeper or an encoder of the information shared by A (Westley & MacLean, 1957; TRD, 2014). Once the information is disseminated to B, the ideas are shared, explained or instructed, which serves the purpose of promoting mutual understanding for A and B (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). However, in case of propaganda, the effect of mutual understanding is absent and the information shared is not always in the benefit of the receiver (Eysenck, 2000; Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999; Klaehn, 2009). For that matter, it is important to focus on the information along with its context and the response it attracted, which can be in terms of feedback or the effects on the audience.

Secondly, the contextual background of information shared is important to understand whether the shared information was a form of persuasion or it was propaganda. In case of persuasion, change or alteration can only be from three different response forms, a) response shaping, b) response reinforcing and, c) response changing (Dillard & Pfau, 2002; Roloff & Miller, 1980) and the purpose of promoting mutual needs of A and B is achieved (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). Response is shaped in case the persuader offers positive reinforcement to be received when the audience behaves accordingly. Reinforced response is when the audience already demonstrates a positive attitude towards the message and persuader keeps on reminding and motivating them to stay on the same track. Finally, response changing occurs when people are asked to change into positive or negative from a neutral position (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999; Stiff & Mongeau, 2016). In most of the cases, the persuader tries to hide its intent and misguides an audience through wrong information and personal interests, this is where the propaganda comes, hence, serving their purpose which may not be in the favor of the receiver (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). It is at this juncture then, that persuasion transforms into propaganda. Over the years, conflicting actors in the international system have undertaken systematic propaganda campaigns using different types and characteristics to influence each other. A series of case studies will explain how propaganda against a certain group or country can further deteriorate their condition and circumstances.

Figure 1 Model of Propaganda: Jowett & O'Donnell (1999, p. 24)



Conceptualizing Lobbying

Since propaganda campaigns are initiated and organized by authorities or governments to influence the political, social or economic settings of opponents. For that matter, propaganda is also considered as a field or strategy to do successful lobbying (CEO(b), 2016). The term lobbying holds a very subjective meaning and it is usually difficult to define it in an expansive manner. In literature, lobbying is defined as an ‘attempt to influence legislators in the formulation of policy’ (Burrell, 2001). Where, influence refers to the capability of an actor to shape a political decision in line with its preferences (Dur, 2008). Lobbying is also considered as a type of political influence and can be described as a method of guiding government and its institutions by informing the public policy agenda (Zetter, 2008). Raffa (2000) stated three types of lobbying efforts, a) direct lobbying is to influence decision makers to enact or not enact a bill, b) grassroots lobbying persuading the community legislators to influence national legislators, and c) political campaigning is to work against candidates’ election for the office. Political science researchers have identified 12 types of organized interests or organizations are involved in lobbying governments; business firms, trade associations, professional associations, citizen groups, labor unions, governmental entities, think tanks, charities, universities and colleges, coalitions, hospitals and churches (Nownes(a), 2006). Research undertaken on European Union lobbying techniques describes lobbying practices in two ways i.e. reactive and proactive (Christian, 2017; Drutman, 2017). Where reactive lobbying occurs in EU when future directive is anticipated, however, proactive lobbying is when pressure groups pressurized EU to develop a proposal for legislation (Cassidy, 1999). It is important to understand the types of

lobbying to have a complete picture of the concept, among three types of lobbying mentioned before, most common and practiced are direct and grassroots lobbying.

Types of Lobbying

Direct and grassroots lobbying are the two major types prevailing in the world in one way or the other. Direct lobbying is considered as influencing legislation through communication efforts with a representative of government, whereas, grassroots lobbying is to mobilize general public around any issue needing legislative changes (IRS, 2017; Hojnacki & Kimball, 1999). Few examples of direct lobbying includes asking a law maker or similar government official to take action which requires legislation or an attempt of impacting opinion of general public on election or ballot initiatives. Moreover, example of grassroots lobbying includes mobilizing general public to express opinion before their legislators against a particular legislation proposal or identification of legislators who are against legislation effort or who will vote for a piece of legislation (WWCC, 2014). Lobbyists, such as big companies, pressure or interest groups or influential organizations and individuals who are considered as paid coaxers to influence governments. An interest group is an entity or organization of people who have similar interests and tend to influence a local or international government in policy making (Meissner, 2015). The ten key steps identified in lobbying to influence the government include; control of ground, intelligent use of media, engineering of followers, buying credibility, sponsoring a think tank, listen to your critics, neutralization of opposition, controlling web, access to politicians, reward of future employment (Cave & Rowell, 2014). Hence the types of lobbying vary as per scenarios and the influence lobbyists want to have on the government or legislations, however, considering the overlapping nature of lobbying and advocacy, it is important to differentiate between both.

Lobbying and Advocacy

There is confusion between the terms lobbying and advocacy because of their nature and effects. It is important to comprehend that lobbying is a form of advocacy, where lobbying always involves advocacy but advocacy not essentially involves the former (CLPI, 2011). The major difference between lobbying and advocacy is that the former influences the legislation (CTNP, 2003). For example, if a group is boycotting a certain shop or store from selling a specific product it is advocacy, however, if the group is not satisfied and successful and urges the local legislators to amend the law, it is called as lobbying (CLPI, 2011). Consequently, advocacy encompasses identification, embracement and promotion of a cause and can be called as a practical usage of knowledge for inducing social change (COD-CSO, 2013). However advocacy and lobbying goes hand in hand, and is considered a continuous process by researchers in the subject field (CLPI, 2011). The self-explanatory diagram of advocacy and lobbying as a continuous and systematic process (COD-CSO, 2013) is given below, figure 2. Where it can be seen that advocacy starts when the problem or need is identified, and it keeps on working until the solution is attained, the solution can be in the form of awareness raising in case of advocacy, whereas, in case of lobbying its change in legislation. The most successful lobbyists are those who were politicians or held important positions in the government, having been revolving between the two professions successfully.

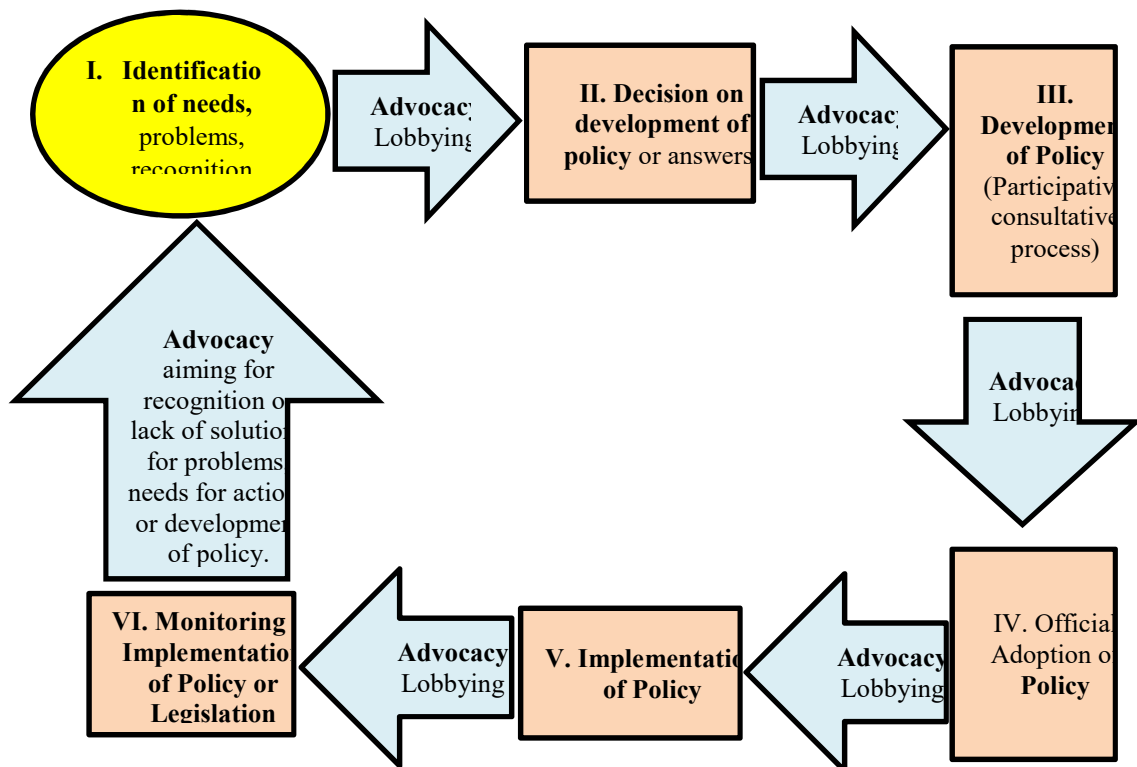


Figure 2: Process of Advocacy and Lobby (COD-CSO, 2013)

While examining the literature, it has been observed through different researchers and practitioners that often politicians turn into lobbyists and vice versa. Politician turning into lobbyists and lobbyists becoming politicians is denoted by the term ‘revolving door’ (Rennie, 2016; LaPira & III, 2017). It is important to mention here that the notion of revolving door is very old, however, the facts and figures and researches related to it are limited (Luechinger & Moser, 2014). One of the most important reasons for this revolving profession change can be the importance of lobbyists’ access to decision-makers or legislators (Nownes(b), 2013). Having worked with governments and knowing the government officials, gives a huge benefit to lobbyists to get informed, know them personally, where they even reach out their family functions too (Rennie, 2016; Vidal, et al., 2012). Lobbying firms also attract sharpest individuals who can become potential candidates for the office as well as for their companies. (Luechinger & Moser, 2014). However, this helps foster the corruption in many instances because it hinders many politician to work fairly (LaPira & Thomas, 2017). This is because, most of the politicians turned lobbyists’ then start lobbying in the areas where they had influential positions as politicians, hence creates conflict of interest (CEO(a), 2011). To solve the issues of corruption, it has been advised that there should be a ban for the ministers to become lobbyists; this will help in creating fair environment and unbiased decision making (CEO(a), 2011). There have been lobbying campaigns of one country in other to influence policies or legislation in their own favor or against the enemy.

Dual Lobbying Strategy

There are countries that play a dual lobbying strategy which aims at designing foreign policy of stronger nations in their favor and also against their foes. US foreign policy has been influenced by several lobbying campaigns over the years such as Israeli-American, Cuban-American, Greek and Taiwanese-American, Polish-American, Mexican-American,

Hindu-American, Chinese-American and Armenian-American lobbies (Brzezinski, 2006). Whereas, Israel is considered among nations having very strong lobbying combination of individuals and organizing influencing US foreign policy in their favor and against Arab world (Mearsheimer & Walt(a), 2007; Mearsheimer & Walt(b), 2006). It is considered that US lobbyists are in favor of Israel and they do not want their elected leaders to utter a single word against it, wherein, both Congress and Republicans fear the lobby's power (Mearsheimer & Walt(a), 2007; Baroud, 2017). The techniques through which Israel propagates US includes supporting its decisions against other countries', training its army personnel, writing letter, opposing anyone who talks against US-Israel support, supporting building wall decision etc. (Baroud(b), 2018; Mearsheimer & Walt(b), 2006). Other ways includes giving an impression to the US policy makers that opting for Israel as an ally is a smart choice, plus they make sure that US public must see better side of Israel by spreading myths about its emergence (Ahmad, 2007). Although it is considered that now Israel is more than a liability to United States then a strong ally, as US give millions of dollars to financially support Israel on many matters (Baroud, 2017). Also, Israel is now a burden when it come to the supporting US over war on terror and its efforts against rogue nations (Mearsheimer & Walt(b), 2006). Ally nations make bloc against their opponents and countries which may hurt or damage them, their lobby efforts influence the world powers to develop policies against the opponent.

Influence of Lobbying and Propaganda on Peace and Conflict

The lobbying activities of interest groups (war economies) have a strong and long lasting influence on conflict and peace. Since WWII, war is considered to be a business yielding activity attracting economic wellbeing and growth (Stiglitz, 2003; Stein, 2010). The American's arms industry is famous for designing or influencing US foreign policy by inciting legislatures about the alleged dangers world holds (Stiglitz, 2003; Stein, 2010), sponsored by military suppliers and lobbyists (Turley, 2014; Boehm, 2014). Suppliers are contacted whenever a war is imposed on any nation to design and create numerous forms of arms (Turley, 2014). Hence, lobbyist make sure that the legislators are convinced regarding production or buying of a specific weapon or scanner by categorizing each as 'tough on terror or soft on terror' (Turley, 2014).

Where propagation is based on the statements given by the heads of the industry on several examples such as 'we must respond to the rise of ISIS terrorism, Russian aggression on NATO's doorstep, provocative moves by Iran and North Korea, and an increasingly powerful China', says Aerospace Industry Association (Kinzer, 2016). Moreover, this industry also sponsors lobbyists and think tanks to aware the world and US about the dangers world holds, which ultimately pushes US public and legislatures to spend billions of dollars on armament (Kinzer, 2016). Other ways of propagating includes the studies, rallies showing perils of cutting the defense budget and trying to convince the government that if the budget on the defense sector will be reduced, a lot of people will be jobless (Reich(b), 2013; Pollin, 2012). All the propaganda activities are practiced through one or another medium of mass communication, for example publications, news channels, twitter, Facebook etc., hence media coverage is an important tool to get the message across.

Conclusion

Lobbyists or interest groups influences the policies of super powers to go against the countries who they think could be a threat to them or their policies. For instance, Israel had strong lobbying tactics and procedures to influence nations against the Iran nuclear deal. There were instances where it was said that allowing Iran to start nuclear weaponry will make it 'more dangerous'. It was presumed that the number one radical groups existing in

the world are from Iran, hence making the world more vulnerable in case of any deal regarding Iranian nuclear weaponry. A multilevel propaganda and lobbying is underway to increase damage to Iran. The sanctions which are imposed on Iran in relation to its nuclear proliferation are also a result of Israel's lobbying and repeating statements such as Iran would have its own nuclear armament by 1997.

Lobbying can be encapsulated into three perspectives. These three perspectives include economic, legal and political influence on the governments impacting policy making through lobbyists. Wherein economic perspective is the strategic economic tool to satisfy economic interests of a company or industry, legal perspective is about influencing legal / administrative acts and procedures and political perspective is about influencing for particularly a group's interests in a society (Krsmanovic, 2013). For lobbying in all three perspectives, different means of propaganda are involved including direct communication with legislators, giving suggestions or presentations to officials on immediate or regular basis, developing draft reports, influencing through informal contacts, mass media etc. to influence policy or foreign policy. Wherein, foreign policy or policies can be regarded as an 'opera' where different actors are involved in designing it such as governments, industries, big companies, individual lobbyists and mass media. Examples given earlier and available through different scholars also describes that the lobbying and propaganda efforts also differ from the institutional situation of a country. Since the US government is considered to be the pioneers of lobbying and being lobbied the most for policy decisions regarding different countries.

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