R4 A Harvest of Change: A Resolution to Reap Fairness in Agricultural Lobbying

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Motion text

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³ Introduction

Based on last year's resolution on agroecological transition (here), we aim to 4 identify key accelerators to foster dearly necessary transitions in the European 5 agricultural sector. It has long been proven that these transitions are 6 necessary. However, most unfortunately, political actors are failing to react 7 appropriately. Due to this, alternative solutions that challenge the status quo 8 9 are still considered niche innovations, while the incumbent regime of socioecologically harmful practices remains the undefeated norm. As established in 10 FYEG Resolution 2022 'Towards an agroecological Europe by 2030', the current 11 12 agricultural system does not only cause tremendous environmental harm, inter 13 alia via soil pollution and erosion, depleted and polluted waters and 14 desertification, but also ultimately the degradation of whole landscapes. This 15 is not only a major issue for the people whose livelihood depends on the 16 fertility of the land, but also the loss of precious resources that future 17 generations will have to rely on. Thus, FYEG calls for fundamental reforms in 18 agricultural policies and the re-prioritisation of policy goals.

A vast body of research suggests one or several socio-technical transitions in the agricultural sector to be imperative in order to achieve desired social and sustainability goals (references <u>here</u>). Socio-technical transitions are a completely normal, constantly ongoing process that simply ensures sectors to renew themself, fitting to changing times; the agricultural transition, however, seems to experience a lock-in effect (references <u>here</u>).

25 Lock-in effect

26 Taking a closer look at an example that demonstrates this lock-in effect. In May 2020, Euro Commissioner Frans Timmermans presented the 'Farm to Fork Strategies' 27 as an important component of the European Green Deal. In the name of aiming for 28 a more healthy, fair, sustainable and environmentally appropriate food system, 29 the European Commission set up goals to ensure the recovery and perseverance of 30 biodiversity, such as a reduction of 50% of pesticides used within Europe by the 31 32 year of 2030 (reference here). Pesticides manufacturers, most of which are 33 multinationals with sales volumes of over 2 billion Euros each (reference here), 34 responded to these proposed measures by stating this goal was not realistically 35 attainable to them, and pleading for more research (reference here). Sabotage, 36 says Nina Holland, a researcher of the agriculture lobby. She explains how 37 agriculture lobby groups try to convince the public of their good will regarding 38 the goals proposed by the Green European Deal, whilst simultaneously doing 39 everything in their power to try and delay the measurements that have to be 40 taken in order to accomplish these goals. Lobby groups sow doubt by stating a 41 lack of scientific proof, as well as sowing fear by claiming that Farm to Fork 42 poses a risk to food security (reference here).

The lock-in effect becomes visible when looking at the ways these lobby 43 strategies have forestalled the social-technological transition, both in the 44 past and now. When in 1962 scientist Rachel Carson warned of the damaging 45 effects of pesticides, the industry responded with threats of a shortage in food 46 47 supply - quite interestingly, similarly to recent examples (reference here). In 2009, the EU implemented a framework directive on Sustainable Use of Pesticides 48 (SUD), however, member states and other institutions have not managed to 49 50 successfully implement the SUD directive (reference here)

To ensure better implementation of SUD, it is being revised and adjusted, so 51 that, in this revised framework directive, the Farm to Fork reduction target is 52 incorporated (reference here). However, mostly on the level of member states, 53 the Farm to Fork reduction target faces a lot of backlash, to say the least. 54 Agricultural lobby promotes a narrative where it is said we 'have to look at 55 56 science first'. A slogan that is reinforced by paid research and skewed media 57 coverage that focuses on the pretended negative economic consequences of the 58 Farm to Fork Strategies (reference here). Conservative and populist parties 59 point to these lobby-funded articles and studies and declare bad timing; in the 60 recent past with regards to Covid-19, today in regards to the war in Ukraine 61 (references used <u>here</u>). In sum; for decades, the same arguments have been 62 preventing the agriculture sector from moving forward.

⁶³ **Policy feedback**

This lock-in effect is amplified by policy feedback. Reinforcing policy
 feedbacks are created when, e.g., policy favours a specific interest group,
 which will then work towards expanding that policy or policy creates

interlinkages between agencies and political leaders (reference <u>here</u>). Hence, so
 called, stable states are created in which incumbent (i.e. dominant, occupant)
 regimes can make use of reinforcing feedbacks by generating more political
 support for their incumbent position; which makes change even more challenging.

This is what we see in agricultural policy making. The agriculture sector makes 71 up for almost 40% of the EU budget; between 2014 and 2020, the EU invested over 72 73 400 billion dollars in the industry (reference used <u>here</u>). It is then not surprising that the sectors' lobby is huge compared to the lobby of other 74 stakeholders. It has been reported that in 2020 and 2021, the prime actors in 75 76 the agriculture business spent over 50 million euros on lobby activities, 77 although these reported numbers usually turn out to be much higher in reality (reference <u>here</u>). Environmental and civil society organisations are unable to 78 79 compete with those kinds of numbers. But this also counts for small-scale 80 farmers, who definitely do not always feel rightfully represented by big lobby 81 organisations. Many independent farmers express a positive attitude towards the 82 price increases that would arise from incorporating the environmental cost of 83 agriculture and focussing on fair trade practices. (reference here). On top of 84 this, it is known that 80% of the EU agricultural funding ends up at only 20% of the biggest farms within the European Union (reference here). A research by 85 86 Lighthouse Reports, Dw, Follow the Money, Mediapart and Domani, paints the 87 following picture:

What emerges is a portrait of wealthy industrial pressure groups – from petrochemical companies and multinational meat-packing giants to pharmaceutical businesses – that have a stubborn hold over EU policy as well as critical differences with the family farmers whose welfare they say they aim to defend." - reference here

Deliberate acceleration of sustainable alternatives by policymakers or powerful actors is required in order to enable diffusion and movement within the system (reference here). In order to increase the likelihood of bringing about change in such a set up, it is found that two developments should intersect. Namely, (1) bottom-up development and mobilisation for alternative solutions that challenge the stable state, needs to be paired up with the (2) weakening of factors that are reinforcing the stable state (reference here and here).

While bottom up action has been building up for decades (reference <u>here</u>), the stable state seems to be so locked-in, that deliberate weakening of the incumbent regime is required in order to enable fair conditions for necessary change to be possible.

104 Conclusion

¹⁰⁵ The EU is setting out ambitious sustainability goals, such as described in the

European Green Deal, in which the 'Farm to fork' strategy is integrated 106 (reference <u>here</u>). One of the goals of this policy is the reduction of the use of 107 pesticides by 50% in 2030 (reference used here). However, due to the lock-in 108 effect, the anticipated changes are slowed down. Agricultural lobbyists sow 109 doubt about the effects of the transition, based on lobby-funded research. 110 Wherever possible, these lobbyists try to stall the reforms. The same arguments 111 112 (for example that the topic hasn't been researched enough) have been used for 113 decades.

Then there is also the policy feedback-system. Reinforcing policy feedback happens when policy makers prefer a particular interest group. Environmental and civil organisations are not able to compete with these kinds of sums. This strengthens the policy feedback of the dominant agricultural stakeholders.

These kinds of imbalanced proportions are unacceptable. But how can we change these systems? While public action and technologies are being mobilised and developed, the first factor needs to be tackled by politics and policies. The aim of our propositions is to deconstruct the imbalanced lobbyism power in the agricultural sector. Therefore, we, the Federation of Young European Greens, call upon the European Union and its Member States to:

End privileged access to the fossil industry. In some formats lobbyists 124 • have repeatedly been granted privileged access to politics, which other 125 actors did not enjoy in the same form. Advisory bodies and 126 institutionalised exchange rounds in the context of the energy transition 127 and the regulation of the agricultural industry must not be one-sided, 128 either in terms of personnel or topics. Interest groups such as 129 environmental and consumer protection associations, must be adequately 130 represented and must not be given a fig leaf function. 131

• Ensure balanced and broad participation by establishing balanced contacts 132 and integration of interests. Stakeholders with concerns in the areas of 133 climate, environmental and consumer protection, social affairs and human 134 rights are often not listened to by political decision-makers on energy 135 136 policy issues to the same extent as the large energy companies and their 137 associations. Relevant actors who do not have the necessary financial resources and privileged access, but who nevertheless contribute important 138 139 social concerns and expertise, must therefore be proactively involved by 140 policymakers. Innovative formats such as citizens' councils or regional 141 transformation councils could be good starting points for broad 142 participation and have already proven their worth in many places.

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Research the establishment of a budgetary limit for the agriculture lobby

- in order to regulate their spending on lobby activities. The financial
 means of the agriculture lobby are wildly out of proportion compared to
 other stakeholders as named above, so that equal representation of
 interests is seriously disturbed. A budgetary limit on lobby activities
 could possibly create a more balanced playing field, so that other
 stakeholders can have an equal say and their interests are taken into
 account.
- Tighten existing rules on lateral moves from politics to business and, in 151 particular, to lobby jobs. Time and again, politicians turn the knowledge 152 they have acquired in a democratic office or mandate into money by 153 switching to lobby jobs. This promotes existing power imbalances, since 154 only a few actors can afford highly paid former top politicians. In 155 addition, there is a danger that politicians will look for lucrative 156 lobbying jobs while they are still in office and base their political 157 decisions on them. That is why clear rules are needed for blocking periods 158 159 and waiting periods. The existing waiting period is too short, and it is 160 still possible to change sides very soon after leaving politics. The 161 waiting period for government members must be significantly extended and 162 changes in lobbying activities must be ruled out. There also needs to be 163 more effective monitoring options. Plans for the European Parliament to 164 prohibit Members of Parliament from taking up paid lobbying activities 165 after leaving Parliament for a limited period of time are positive. In 166 addition, former Members of Parliament should lose their access 167 privileges, which have been valid for life until now, and they should be 168 allowed to work as lobbyists after the expiry of the time limit.