
ARTICLE II

A Guide to the N.C. Legislature

Q • How are the people of North Carolina to learn which members of the General Assembly are their most effective legislators?

A • Ask those in the best positions to know: the legislators themselves, the registered lobbyists, the experienced capital correspondents.

So in March, as part of the production of *Article II: A Guide to the N. C. Legislature*, the Center did just that. Survey forms asking for a rating of each legislator's "effectiveness" were sent to 39 journalists, 288 lobbyists, 48 senators, and 112 representatives. The response was good--52% from the senators, 50% from the representatives, 41% from the correspondents, 24% from the lobbyists--and the results were published as an appendix to *Article II* late in April.

The survey was undertaken to identify, in a general way, those senators and representatives who had made the most significant contributions to the General Assembly during prior sessions. "Effectiveness" was defined as a combination of attributes, including participation in committee work, skill at guiding bills through floor debate, general knowledge and expertise in special fields, respect from peers, enthusiasm for legislative responsibilities, political power, ability to sway opinions, and aptitude for the overall legislative process. Respondents were encouraged to use their personal perceptions, as well as these criteria, in replying to the Center questionnaire.

Legislators were graded on a scale of 1 (low effectiveness) to 10 (high effectiveness). The scores received by each legislator were averaged to arrive at an overall score, which appeared beside his or her name in the list published in *Article II*. Members of the Senate and the House were evaluated separately, and then ranked according to their overall scores. (The rankings are reproduced on page eleven.)

The survey had already rankled some feelings while it was under way. "I consider it inappropriate for me to evaluate my colleagues," one representative had responded. "I . . . feel that I would be put in an embarrassing position to complete it," wrote another, though the survey form was confidential. Even the high rate of response among legislators was bitterly interpreted by one state senator, who had thrown his form away as soon as it arrived. Hearing that more than half of his fellow senators had promptly returned the questionnaire, he was silent for a moment before muttering, "They were probably

afraid *not* to fill the damn things out, since you sent them to lobbyists and newsmen too."

Perhaps predictably, legislator reaction was mixed when the survey scores were published. "I deeply appreciate it," said Kenneth Royall, ranked the most effective senator. "I don't think those ratings tell you anything," said Reid Poovey, rated the least effective representative.

Article II contained much information besides the survey results. Each senator and representative was profiled with personal, professional, and campaign data, committee assignments, a partial list of bills introduced, and a tabulation of votes cast on seven issues of statewide interest during the 1977 session. But it was the "effectiveness" rankings that got most of the attention. "Without some such aid," one newspaper editorialized, "it can take years to acquire some notion of which legislators are likely to bite which bait, which have clout and which don't, who is expert in dealing with which interest and who is merely in those interests' pocket. That's one reason lobbyists are well paid."

Maybe so. An obviously irate lobbyist had called the Center early in March after receiving a survey questionnaire. "Will you tell your board of directors when they meet," he demanded, "that I think it's a lot of bull and a lot of bunk."

He didn't buy a copy of *Article II*, but many other lobbyists did.

- Fred Harwell

Survey Rankings•

Senate

1.	Royall	84
2.	Hardison	78
3.	Harrington	74
	Scott	74
5.	Whichard	73
6.	Garrison	72
	Rauch	72
8.	Britt	70
	Henley	70
	Lawing	70
11.	Smith, M.***	67
12.	Hill	57
	Renfrow	57
14.	Davis***	56
15.	Crawford	54
	Wynne	54
17.	Childers	53
	Smith, W.***	53
	Stallings	53
	Walker	53
21.	Jordan	52
	Totherow**	52
	White	52
24.	Sebo	51
	Soles	51
26.	Daniels	50
27.	Barnes	49
28.	Allsbrook	47
29.	Harris	46
	Vickery	46
31.	Raynor	44
32.	Marion	43
33.	Kincaid	42
	Swain	42
35.	Gray	41
	Lake	41
	Marvin	41
	Sharpe***	41
39.	McDuffie*	40
40.	Alford	38
	Ballenger	38
	Speed	38
43.	Palmer	36
44.	Mathis	35
45.	Combs	32
46.	Alexander	31
47.	Somers***	30
48.	Popkin***	27

House of Representatives

1.	Stewart	89	56.	Gentry	42
2.	Ramsey	82		Holroyd	42
3.	Davenport***	76		Smith, A.	42
	Rountree	76	59.	Ellis	41
5.	Holmes	73		Nye	41
	Miller	73		Rhodes	41
7.	Tison	70		Spoon	41
8.	Helms	67	63.	Bissell	40
9.	Messer	65		Brennan	40
	Short***	65		Lambeth	40
11.	Frye	64		Revelle	40
12.	Hunt	63		Setzer***	40
	Watkins	63		Thomas	40
14.	Campbell	61		Varnar	40
	DeRamus	61		Woodard	40
	Gamble	61	71.	Chapin	39
	Huskins	61		Falls	39
18.	Adams	60		Locklear	39
	Bell	60		Morris	39
20.	Jones*	58		Parnell	39
21.	Quinn	57		Smith, N.***	39
22.	Church	56		Taylor	39
	Morgan	56		Tyson	39
24.	Ezzell	55	79.	Beard	38
	Jernigan	55		Gardner*	38
	Lilley	55		Hux	38
27.	Bumgardner	54		Lachot**	38
	DeBruhl*	54		Nesbitt	38
				Seymour	38
29.	Johnson	52			
30.	Auman	51	85.	Clarke	37
	Cook	51		Enloe	37
	Plyler	51		Pickler	37
	Tally	51		White, E.	37
34.	Creech***	50	89.	Cullipher	36
	Foster	50		Nash	36
	Webb	50		Sawyer***	36
37.	Bundy	49	92.	Collins	35
	Chase***	49		Gregory*	35
	Holt, C.	49		Harris	35
	James	49		Hurst**	35
	Wright	49		Martin	35
42.	McMillan	48		Pugh	35
43.	Edwards***	47		Ward**	35
	Kaplan	47	99.	Brubaker	34
	Schwartz***	47		Fulcher	34
46.	Barker	46	101.	Grady	33
	Ray***	46		Griffin*	33
48.	Hunter**	45		Hightower	33
	Tennille	45	104.	Bright	32
50.	Barbee	44		Lutz	32
	Diamont	44		Wiseman***	32
	Greenwood	44	107.	Economos	31
	Holt, B.	44	108.	Easterling	30
54.	Baker*	43	109.	Hall*	29
	White, W.*	43	110.	Dorsey***	28
				Poovey	28

●Number following name represents overall score.

*Defeated in first primary; **Defeated in second primary; ***Did not seek re-election.