



# FROM THE CENTER OUT

## *Of Legislators and Lobbyists: The Biennial Rankings of Effectiveness and Influence*

**D**o the names Royall, Ramsey, Johnson, and Jordan ring a bell? If they do, it's no wonder. The N.C. Center's biennial rankings of the most effective legislators and most influential lobbyists keep turning up those names at the head of the lists. State Sen. Kenneth Royall (D-Durham), for instance, has been rated most effective member of the Senate since 1977. Speaker of the House Liston Ramsey (D-Madison) has won the most effective designation in the House since 1981, his first term as speaker. And former legislators Sam Johnson and John Jordan, both of Raleigh, keep topping the list of most influential lobbyists.

The 1985-86 rankings—the fifth such survey conducted by the Center since 1978—were compiled from surveys evaluating legislators' effectiveness on specific criteria. The surveys were filled out by the legislators themselves, registered lobbyists, and capital news correspondents after the 1985 session had adjourned, and were released this year. The effectiveness rankings were obtained by averaging the raw scores for these three respondent groups. The response rate to the 1985-86 survey was the highest ever. Eighty-three of the 120 House members responded, as did 34 of the 50 Senators, 127 of the 311 registered lobbyists who were surveyed, and 21 of 39 capital news correspondents. Thus, the overall rate of response was 51 percent, which is far above standards of statistical reliability.

For a rundown of the top 25 Representatives and top 20 Senators in legislative effectiveness, with a listing of their previous effectiveness scores, see Table 1 and Table 2, pp. 54-55.

"We think the survey is a fair measure of a legislator's effectiveness in the General Assembly," says Ran Coble, executive director of the Center. "The people who did the ratings were the people who are best able to judge performance—the legislators themselves, lobbyists, and capital news correspondents. We also hope it provides

information that will be useful to the voting public."

Chairing a major money committee seemed to guarantee a legislator a ranking in the top four or five of his chamber. "That's the golden rule," one legislator explained. "Him who's got the gold, he gets to make the rules, and that's what I'd call effectiveness."

The legislators, lobbyists, and capital correspondents were asked to rate each legislator's effectiveness on the basis of participation in committee work, skill at guiding bills through floor debate, and general knowledge or expertise in special fields. The respondents were also asked to consider the respect the legislators command from their peers, the political power they hold, and their ability to sway the opinions of fellow legislators. "Effectiveness" is a neutral concept," said Coble. "You can be an 'effective conservative' or an 'effective liberal.'"

The Center notes that first-term legislators and Republicans usually have lower effectiveness rankings. First termers usually are less experienced and move up in the rankings over time. For example, House members who had served one full previous term moved up an average of 30 notches in the 1985-86 survey, while second-term Senators moved up an average of 10 slots in the rankings. Republicans are in a minority in both houses and thus receive no appointments to committee chairmanships. However, with increased numbers of Republicans in the legislature in 1985, most Republicans with legislative service prior to the 1985 session moved up in the latest rankings.

Just as legislative experience translates into higher effectiveness rankings, former legislative experience also helps lobbyists in the rankings of most influential lobbyists. The Center's surveys show that you don't have to be a lawyer or an ex-legislator to be an influential lobbyist, but it sure helps. In its biennial ranking of the most influ-

ential lobbyists—conducted as a part of the biennial rankings of legislators, the Center found that the top five lobbyists are lawyers and former legislators. Ten of the top 20 lobbyists are former members of the General Assembly, and 11 of them are lawyers.

"This latest ranking confirms what previous rankings have indicated—that the most accomplished lobbyists are those who have worked with the legislature first as members and who are lawyers and can draft bills themselves," says Coble.

The survey asked respondents to list the top lobbyists in terms of knowledge, expertise, and effectiveness. As usual, the top-ranked lobbyists represent business and industrial clients, as well as health care organizations and trade associations.

"There are several ingredients that go into making a good lobbyist," Coble adds. "First, they don't lie. They may present only the facts that argue for their side, but nothing will kill a lobbyist faster than giving misleading or wrong information. Second, they know the legislative process and when that information can make a difference. And third, they know the players; they learn what each individual legislator cares about."

According to the survey, the most influential lobbyists and their main clients are as follows:

1. **Samuel H. Johnson** of the Raleigh law firm of Johnson, Gamble, Hearn, and Vinegar, representing 21 clients with business/industry interests, including N.C. Associated Industries, N.C. Automobile Dealers Association, N.C. Association of Certified Public Accountants, and the Soap and Detergent Association. He was a key figure in persuading the legislature not to adopt a ban on phosphate detergents.

2. **John R. Jordan Jr.** of the Raleigh law firm of Jordan, Price, Wall, Gray & Jones, representing 19 clients with business/industry and health care interests, including the N.C. Bankers Association, Association of N.C. Life Insurance Companies, N.C. Day Care Association, American Express Company, and the N.C. Association of ABC Boards.

3. **J. Allen Adams** of the Raleigh law firm of Sanford, Adams, McCullough, and Beard, representing 18 clients with business/industry, arts, and health care interests, including Arts Advocates of N.C., Seatbelts for Safety, the N.C. Cemetery Association, N.C. Association of Electric Cooperatives, and Scientific Games Inc.

4. **Zebulon D. Alley** of the Raleigh office of the Waynesville law firm of Alley, Killian, and Kersten, representing 13 clients with business/industry, health care, and utility interests, includ-

ing the Microelectronics Center of N.C., N.C. Vending Association, Kaiser Foundation Health Plan of N.C., and Seatbelts for Safety. Both Adams and Alley played major roles in getting a mandatory seat belt law passed in 1985.

5. **J. Ruffin Bailey** of the Raleigh law firm of Bailey, Dixon, Wooten, McDonald, Fountain, and Walker representing the N.C. Credit Union League, American Insurance Association, and N.C. Beer Wholesalers Association. Bailey was heavily involved in various pieces of insurance legislation considered in the 1986 session.

6. **William E. Holman** of the Sierra Club (N.C. Chapter), Conservation Council of N.C., and American Planning Association (N.C. Chapter). Holman is the chief environmental lobbyist and moved up the most of any lobbyist previously ranked. He was ranked in a tie for tenth last session.

7. **R. D. McMillan Jr.** of the University of North Carolina General Administration, representing the UNC System. McMillan retired on July 31.

8. **William C. Rustin Jr.** of the N.C. Retail Merchants Association.

9. **Alan D. Briggs**, then with the N.C. Academy of Trial Lawyers, and now Deputy Attorney General for Policy and Planning in the N.C. Department of Justice.

10. **John T. Henley** of the N.C. Association of Independent Colleges and Universities.

11. **Lindsay C. Warren Jr.** of the Goldsboro law firm of Warren, Kerr, Walston and Hollowell, representing the Mortgage Bankers Association of the Carolinas, N.C. Bus Association, and N.C. Motor Carriers Association.

12. **John D. Hicks** of Duke Power Company. (tie) 13. **William C. Friday**, then President of the University of North Carolina, representing the UNC System. Friday retired on June 30.

**William Bobbitt "Bob" Jenkins** of the N.C. Farm Bureau Federation.

15. **Robert R. Harris** of Carolina Power and Light Company.

16. **Virgil L. McBride** of RJR Nabisco Inc.

17. **C. Ronald Aycock** of the N.C. Association of County Commissioners.

18. **JoAnn Norris** of the N.C. Association of Educators.

19. **Russell Swindell** of the N.C. Railroad Association.

20. **I. Beverly Lake Jr.**, then with the Governor's Office and representing Gov. James G. Martin and his administration. Lake was appointed a

— continued page 56

**Table 1. Rankings of Effectiveness of the Top 25 Members of the  
1985 N.C. House of Representatives**

Name of Representative	Effectiveness Ranking in 1985	Previous Effectiveness Rankings (Where Applicable)			
		1983	1981	1979	1977
RAMSEY, LISTON B. (D-Madison)	1	1	1	3	2
WATKINS, WILLIAM T. (D-Granville)	2	3	2	20	12 (tie)
ETHERIDGE, BOBBY R. (D-Harnett)	3	16	32 (tie)	64	NA
MILLER, GEORGE W., JR. (D-Durham)	4	4	4	9	5 (tie)
LANCASTER, H. MARTIN (D-Wayne)	5	5	17	36 (tie)	NA
QUINN, DWIGHT W. (D-Cabarrus)	6	6	6	25 (tie)	21
BLUE, DANIEL T., JR. (D-Wake)	7	8	30	NA	NA
WRIGHT, RICHARD (D-Columbus)	8	11	15	23 (tie)	37 (tie)
PULLEY, W. PAUL, JR. (D-Durham)	9	12 (tie)	20 (tie)	51 (tie)	NA
HACKNEY, JOE (D-Orange)	10	15	60	NA	NA
LILLEY, DANIEL T. (D-Lenoir)	11	9	8	12 (tie)	24 (tie)
HUNT, JOHN J. (D-Cleveland)	12	12 (tie)	12	57 (tie)	NA
NESBITT, MARTIN L., JR. (D-Buncombe)	13	21 (tie)	65	NA	NA
PAYNE, HARRY E., JR. (D-New Hanover)	14	28	69 (tie)	NA	NA
WICKER, DENNIS A. (D-Lee)	15	24	48	NA	NA
DIAMONT, DAVID H. (D-Surry)	16 (tie)	18 (tie)	39	23 (tie)	50 (tie)
EVANS, CHARLES D. (D-Dare)	16 (tie)	21 (tie)	29	73 (tie)	NA
MAVRETIC, JOSEPHUS L. (D-Edgecombe)	18	18 (tie)	64	NA	NA
JAMES, VERNON G. (D-Pasquotank)	19	17	23	32 (tie)	37 (tie)
HUNTER, ROBERT C. (D-McDowell)	20	25	56	NA	NA
BUMGARDNER, DAVID W., JR. (D-Gaston)	21	29	20 (tie)	21	27 (tie)
COCHRANE, BETSY L. (R-Davie)	22	103	95	NA	NA
WARREN, EDWARD N. (D-Pitt)	23	52	90 (tie)	NA	NA
MICHAUX, H.M., JR. (D-Durham)	24	NA	NA	NA	NA
CHURCH, JOHN T. (D-Vance)	25	31	25	36 (tie)	22 (tie)

**Table 2. Rankings of Effectiveness of the Top 20 Members of the  
1985 N.C. Senate**

Name of Senator	Effectiveness Ranking in	Previous Effectiveness Rankings (Where Applicable)			
	1985	1983	1981	1979	1977
ROYALL, KENNETH C., JR. (D-Durham)	1	1	1	1	1
RAUCH, MARSHALL A. (D-Gaston)	2	3	4	3	6 (tie)
PLYLER, AARON W. (D-Union)	3 (tie)	25	(18) *	(28 tie)*	(30 tie)*
RAND, ANTHONY E. (D-Cumberland)	3 (tie)	13	NA	NA	NA
HARDISON, HAROLD W. (D-Lenoir)	5	2	2	2	2
BARNES, HENSON P. (D-Wayne)	6	5	7	7 (tie)	27
HARRINGTON, J. J. (D-Bertie)	7	7 (tie)	6	7 (tie)	3 (tie)
HARRIS, OLLIE (D-Cleveland)	8	11	10	16 (tie)	29 (tie)
HIPPS, CHARLES W. (D-Haywood)	9	19	NA	NA	NA
SOLES, R. C., JR. (D-Columbus)	10	17	14	25 (tie)	24 (tie)
WALKER, RUSSELL G. (D-Randolph)	11	9	9	13	17 (tie)
SWAIN, ROBERT S. (D-Buncombe)	12	10	12	16 (tie)	33 (tie)
THOMAS, R. P. (D-Henderson)	13	36	42	NA	NA
WARREN, ROBERT D. (D-Johnston)	14	29	43	NA	NA
REDMAN, WILLIAM W., JR. (R-Iredell)	15	26	39	45 (tie)	NA
WINNER, DENNIS J. (D-Buncombe)	16	30	NA	NA	NA
WARD, MARVIN (D-Forsyth)	17	27	32	39 (tie)	NA
STATON, WILLIAM W. (D-Lee)	18	20 (tie)	NA	NA	NA
BALLENGER, T. CASS (R-Catawba)	19	20 (tie)	28 (tie)	29 (tie)	40 (tie)
THOMAS, JOSEPH E. (D-Craven)	20	34	34	44	NA

\* Parentheses around ranking and accompanying asterisk indicate Effectiveness Ranking while in the N.C. House of Representatives

---

## FROM THE CENTER OUT

---

Special Superior Court Judge by Gov. Martin on December 1, 1985 and was succeeded by Ward Purington, himself a former legislator and Raleigh attorney.

The former legislators in the top 20 lobbyists are Johnson, Jordan, Adams, Alley, Bailey, McMillan, Henley, Warren, Swindell, and Lake. The 11 top lobbyists who are lawyers are Johnson, Jordan, Adams, Alley, Bailey, Briggs, Warren, Hicks, Friday, Aycock, and Lake. All of the top 20 lobbyists are white, and all but Norris are male.

For the second time, the list of top lobbyists includes persons who represent clients other than business or professional interests or governmental agencies. For example, Bill Holman, a lobbyist for environmental interests, and JoAnn Norris, representing public school teachers, were both ranked in the top 20.

And the new rankings show that the top lobbyists remain at the top year after year. In both the 1981 and the 1983 rankings, Jordan, Johnson, Bailey, and Alley were among the elite group, and remained in the top five in 1985. However, some changes may be in store in the future, since at least four of the top 20 have left their positions or retired.

During the 1985 session, there were 412 lobbyists registered with the Secretary of State's office who represented 370 different companies or organizations. There were also 202 legislative liaisons representing 50 different agencies in the executive branch of state government. By the end of the 1986 short session, there were 467 registered lobbyists.

The effectiveness rankings of legislators and lobbyists are published as a supplement to a larger publication called *Article II: A Guide to the N.C. Legislature*, which is released every other year. This book contains biographical and voting information on each legislator. Also included are legislators' business and home addresses; party affiliation, district number, counties represented, and number of terms served; occupation and education; committee assignments; bills introduced; individual votes on important bills in the previous session; and past effectiveness rankings.

Copies of *Article II: A Guide to the N.C. Legislature* and the supplements containing the new effectiveness and lobbyist rankings are available from the Center for \$10 a set, plus \$1 postage and handling if mailed, P.O. Box 430, Raleigh, N.C. 27602. ☐☐

---

# NORTH CAROLINA INSIGHT

---

## Advertising Rates

*North Carolina Insight*, the quarterly journal of the N.C. Center for Public Policy Research, reaches the state's top policymakers, elected officials, corporate leaders, academicians and journalists—and so do *Insight* advertisers' messages. To make sure your message reaches the right audience, advertise in *North Carolina Insight*

### RATES:

1/4 page:	\$75
1/2 page:	\$150
Full page:	\$300
Inside back:	\$500

### AD SIZE:

1/4 page vertical:	17 picas wide by 26 picas high
1/4 page horizontal:	35 picas wide by 12.5 picas high
1/2 page vertical:	17 picas wide by 54 picas high
1/2 page horizontal:	35 picas wide by 26 picas high
Full page:	35 picas wide by 54 picas high

A standard 15 percent discount is allowed to recognized advertising agencies. A 25 percent discount is allowed for four consecutive ads of same size.

Black and white ads only; camera-ready copy required. Maximum 133 line screen for halftones. All copy is subject to publisher's approval. Net payment due 30 days from invoice.