



## *For Some, the Center's Legislative Effectiveness Rankings Rank Right up There Among Spring Rites; For Others, They Rankle*

by Mike McLaughlin and Marianne M. Kersey

*In April 1994, the Center released its effectiveness rankings for members of the 1993 General Assembly. This article discusses reaction to the Center's ninth set of legislative effectiveness rankings and looks at some of the larger trends the rankings suggest about the General Assembly as an institution.*

**F**or watchers of the North Carolina General Assembly, the Center's legislative effectiveness rankings have become a rite of spring. They get splashed across the pages of North Carolina newspapers in articles, editorials, endorsements, and letters to the editor; they make cameo appearances in campaign advertising by incumbents and challengers; and they provide more information to citizens in deciding how to vote on a particular candidate.

The rankings are a spring bouquet to success for legislators on the rise. For those who finish low, they are about as popular as another spring visitor—oak pollen. But like them or not, the rankings do provide a sort of report card on individual members of the General Assembly, and a check on trends affecting the legislature as an institution.

The pundits have even taken to issuing guidelines about how they should be interpreted. Here's what Paul O'Connor, columnist for the Capitol Press Association, has to say about reading the

effectiveness-ranking tea leaves for the 1993 session of the General Assembly:

"Seniority plays a major role in effectiveness. Don't expect first- and second-termers to get high scores. If they do, re-elect them. Republicans score low because they are the minority party, and are by nature of the legislative process, less effective. One year's rank probably doesn't mean much. But, if your guy has been 120th for five terms straight, he's probably worth bringing home."<sup>1</sup>

*The Daily Courier* of Forest City, N.C., opines that "it is important that voters back home know how colleagues in the House and Senate view those we keep sending back to Raleigh.

"The survey should never be used as the sole basis for voters to decide an incumbent candidate's worthiness, but it can be and should be a useful tool in helping to analyze their job performances in Raleigh."<sup>2</sup>

Do legislators themselves find the rankings useful? "In any endeavor there are benchmarks," says Rep. Joe Hackney (D-Orange). "In baseball, you have a batting average. I'm sure people do pay attention."<sup>3</sup> Hackney ranked fourth in the House. Rep. Steve Wood (R-Guilford), who

---

*Mike McLaughlin is editor of North Carolina Insight. Marianne M. Kersey, a former Center policy analyst, administered the 1993 effectiveness rankings survey and compiled the results.*

ranked 94th of 120 representatives, calls the effectiveness rankings survey “a hocus-pocus poll whose scientific validity is on par with the editorial policy of local newspapers.”<sup>4</sup>

Rep. Anne Barnes (D-Orange) placed eighth—the highest ranking ever for a female House member. Barnes says she views the rankings as constructive criticism—not as important as her biennial ranking by the voters at the ballot box, but helpful nonetheless. “I take it very seriously and try to be very careful in my appraisal of my colleagues,” says Barnes. “It makes me think about everybody’s work and about myself, and it gives me an indicator of how I’m doing.”

### High Rankings Nearly Automatic for Some People

**T**he House speaker and the president pro tempore of the Senate always achieve a high ranking. House Speaker Dan Blue (D-Wake) and Senate President Pro Tempore Marc Basnight ranked number one in their respective chambers in 1993, although the top slot in the rankings isn’t automatic for the holder of either office. Sen. Ken

Royall (D-Durham)—a long time appropriations chairman and an authority on the state budget—retained the number one ranking in the Senate from 1977 until he retired in 1990. Royall was never president pro tempore of the Senate.

Indeed, an examination of who has been on top when provides a good illustration of how institutional changes affect legislative rankings.<sup>5</sup> Until 1989, the lieutenant governor—an executive branch officer—exercised a host of legislative powers while presiding over the Senate. But the Senate stripped the lieutenant governor of many of these powers in 1989 and assigned them to the president pro tempore. This, combined with Royall’s retirement, cleared the way for the ascent of the president pro tempore to the top spot in 1991.

In the House, the speaker has been *numero uno* every year except 1989. That year Rep. Joe Mavretic (D-Edgecombe) presided over a House divided by the ouster of four-term Speaker Liston Ramsey (D-Madison).

Capital correspondent Danny Lineberry of *The Herald-Sun* in Durham, N.C., notes that much of the power centered in the offices of speaker and president pro tempore flows from their ability to appoint committee chairs. He correctly observes that a top-10 effectiveness ranking usually goes with being named chair of a high-powered legislative committee such as Appropriations or Finance.<sup>6</sup>

And Lineberry says the leaders of the House and Senate always have a committee or two where they can send legislation they want to control or kill. The chairs of those committees also do well in the rankings. Lineberry says one such committee is Judiciary I in the House, chaired by Rep. Mickey Michaux (D-Durham), who finished seventh in the rankings. Another is the Constitutional Amendments and Referenda Committee, chaired by House Majority Leader Toby Fitch (D-Wilson), who achieved a fifth-place ranking in the House. To this committee, Speaker Blue



“I TAKE IT VERY SERIOUSLY AND TRY TO BE VERY CAREFUL IN MY APPRAISAL OF MY COLLEAGUES. IT MAKES ME THINK ABOUT EVERYBODY’S WORK AND ABOUT MYSELF, AND IT GIVES ME AN INDICATOR OF HOW I’M DOING.”

—REP. ANNE BARNES (D-ORANGE)



shunted two high-profile bills he strongly opposed—gubernatorial veto legislation and legislation authorizing a public referendum on a state lottery.

Lineberry concludes that because of institutional factors, some legislators are assured a lofty spot in the rankings. Others get there by developing expertise on an issue that happens to heat up at an opportune time. Here, he uses Barnes and her expertise on criminal justice matters as an example. Barnes, he notes, wielded considerable clout during the legislature's special session on crime.<sup>7</sup>

The effectiveness rankings also provide a window into trends that go beyond individual lawmakers. The latest rankings, based on performance in the 1993 General Assembly, confirm what legislative observers already suspected—increased clout for women and African-Americans in the General Assembly.

Legislative observers already had pegged 1993 as a watershed year for women in the General Assembly.<sup>8</sup> Record numbers of women were serving (31), and issues important to women—such as the bill ending the exemption for marital rape—were moving onto the legislature's agenda. The rankings bore out this perception of increased

**Senator Howard Lee (D-Orange)  
considers it a sign of progress in  
race relations that he has increased  
his influence in the Senate.**

clout for women: Female lawmakers achieved their highest rankings ever.

Just as impressive were the gains of African-American lawmakers, who began moving up in the rankings in the House in 1991 with the ascent of House Speaker Dan Blue (D-Wake). The 1993 rankings saw even more African-Americans moving up in the House and African-American senators making impressive gains as well.

Center Executive Director Ran Coble says the 1993 rankings mark significant changes in the General Assembly. "The legislature's 'good ol' boys club' has finally opened its doors to women and African-Americans," says Coble. "And as their numbers and longevity have increased, their legislative effectiveness has too."

Sen. Howard Lee (D-Orange), a second-term African-American now seeking a third term, agrees. He says he had the odd experience of having to respond to charges during a primary challenge that *he* was a good old boy in the ruling clique at the statehouse. "I certainly appreciated their recognizing that," says Lee. Lee—who jumped nine places to finish ninth in the 1993 rankings—considers it a sign of progress in race relations that he has enough influence in the Senate to be labeled a good old boy.

The fact that more women and blacks are serving in the General Assembly and serving more effectively means, of course, that more attention is given to issues important to blacks and women. In the 1993 session, women worked to pass bills ending the marital exemption for rape, toughening penalties for blocking abortion clinics, and increasing the state income tax credit for child-care expenses. Black lawmakers helped historically black campuses get their share of state construction money and got a study authorized to examine how much state business goes to minority-owned firms.

Top-ranking women were Sen. Beverly Perdue (D-Craven), who ranked 12th most effective in the Senate, and Barnes. Sen. Perdue is in her second Senate term, having served two previous terms in the House. She is chair of the Education/

Higher Education Committee and one of five vice-chairs of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee. Rep. Barnes, serving her sixth full House term, is chair of the House Education Committee. Until this year, no woman had ever ranked above 16th in the Senate or 10th in the House since the Center began publishing the legislative effectiveness rankings in 1978.

### Keys to Legislative Effectiveness

**A**sked to explain her rise in the rankings, Barnes offers several keys to legislative effective-

ness. Effective legislators, she says, do their homework on the issues, get along with colleagues, know when to compromise and when to stand firm, and bounce back when they suffer setbacks. This she calls resilience.

But Barnes says she is particularly careful to do her homework. "I learn as much as I can about the subjects I've been assigned," says Barnes. "It's important to develop a knowledge base among the members. . . . We need to have some knowledge of our own and not be totally relying on others for that." Barnes first made herself House expert on criminal justice reform as co-chair of

**Table 1. Effectiveness Rankings of the Top 10 Members of the 1993 General Assembly — N. C. Senate**

Name of Senator	Effectiveness Ranking in 1993	Previous Effectiveness Rankings (Where Applicable)						
		1991	1989	1987	1985	1983	1981	1979
Basnight, Marc (D-Dare)	1	2	4	16	34	NA	NA	NA
Daniel, George B. (D-Caswell)	2	3	7	32	NA	NA	NA	NA
Plyler, Aaron W., Sr. (D-Union)	3	6	14	4	3 (tie)	25	(18)*	(28 tie)*
Sands, A. P., III (Sandy) (D-Rockingham)	4	8	20	37	NA	NA	NA	NA
Winner, Dennis J. (D-Buncombe)	5	5	5	12	16	30	NA	NA
Cooper, Roy A., III (D-Nash)	6	23 (tie)	(13)*	(45)*	NA	NA	NA	NA
Conder, J. Richard (D-Richmond)	7	11	17	21	35 (tie)	NA	NA	NA
Hyde, Herbert L. (D-Buncombe)	8	16	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Lee, Howard N. (D-Orange)	9	18	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Odom, T. L. (Fountain) (D-Mecklenburg)	10	21	41	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

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

the legislature's Special Committee on Prisons.

Then, when Blue tapped her as chair of the House Education Committee, she says she devoted herself to mastering education issues. "I was hoping they'd let me out on good behavior, but there's as little consensus on what to do about education and education reform as there is about criminal justice reform." Still, Barnes says, effectiveness in the legislature is about building consensus on tough issues. She sees this as one of her strengths.

Other notable showings by women in this year's rankings are the two highest-ranking first-

term Senators, Leslie J. Winner (D-Mecklenburg) and Elaine F. Marshall (D-Harnett). Senators Winner and Marshall ranked 21st and 22nd, respectively. In the House, four women ranked in the top 20—Rep. Barnes at 8th; Ruth M. Easterling (D-Mecklenburg) at 16th; Speaker Pro Tempore Marie W. Colton (D-Buncombe) at 18th; and Karen E. Gottovi (D-New Hanover), now in her second term, at 20th. Rep. Carolyn Russell (R-Wayne), also in her second term, tied for the biggest gain in effectiveness in the House. She moved up to 45th from a tie for 97th place.

"Republicans don't chair major committees

**Table 2. Effectiveness Rankings of the Top 10 Members of the 1993 General Assembly — N.C. House of Representatives**

Name of Representative	Effectiveness Ranking in 1993	Previous Effectiveness Rankings (Where Applicable)						
		1991	1989	1987	1985	1983	1981	1979
Blue, Daniel T., Jr. (D-Wake)	1	1	6	6	7	8	30	NA
Nesbitt, Martin L., Jr. (D-Buncombe)	2	4	12	5	13	21 (tie)	65	NA
Miller, George W., Jr. (D-Durham)	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	9
Hackney, Joe (D-Orange)	4	5	9	7	10	15	60	NA
Fitch, Milton F., Jr. (Toby) (D-Wilson)	5	8	23	56 (tie)	79	NA	NA	NA
Diamont, David H. (D-Surry)	6	2	1	18	16 (tie)	18 (tie)	39	23 (tie)
Michaux, H. M., Jr. (Mickey) (D-Durham)	7	9	15	15	24	NA	NA	NA
Barnes, Anne C. (D-Orange)	8	13	21	20	28 (tie)	49	NA	NA
Ramsey, Liston B. (D-Madison)	9	12	11	1	1	1	1	3
Hunt, John H. (Jack) (D-Cleveland)	10	19	36	8	12	12 (tie)	12	57 (tie)

"REPUBLICANS DON'T CHAIR MAJOR COMMITTEES AND FREQUENTLY DON'T FARE AS WELL IN THE RANKINGS, SO I WAS SURPRISED AND PLEASED. IF YOU GO UP THERE AND WORK HARD, I THINK THAT'S RECOGNIZED BY PEOPLE."

—REP. CAROLYN RUSSELL (R-WAYNE)

and frequently don't fare as well in the rankings, so I was surprised and pleased," says Russell. "If you go up there and work hard, I think that's recognized by people." Russell says she also tried to put the state's interests ahead of partisan politics, which probably helped her ranking. And Russell offers the Republican slant on resilience. "When your bills get stolen or eaten or whatever happens to them up there, you've just got to keep on trucking," she says.

The 1993 session also marked the highest number of African-Americans (25) serving in the General Assembly, and this increase was accompanied by greater effectiveness. In the House, Speaker Daniel T. Blue Jr. (D-Wake) maintained his first place ranking, and both Milton F. "Toby" Fitch Jr. (D-Wilson) and H. M. "Mickey" Michaux Jr. (D-Durham) moved up *within the top 10*, ranking 5th and 7th, respectively. In the Senate, Lee broke into the top 10 at 9th, up from 18th in 1991. No other black senator has ever ranked that highly. The senator making the largest gain in effectiveness is also African-American, Frank W. Ballance Jr. (D-Warren), who moved up from 37th to 11th.

"Almost every black legislator gained in this year's rankings," notes Coble. "Single-member districts are helping African-Americans build up longevity, and the Speaker of the House is giving blacks important leadership roles. These two trends lead to a third—increased effectiveness, especially in the House."

Rep. Pete Cunningham (D-Mecklenburg) says of Blue, "He has given more opportunities to people who have leadership ability, but who never had the opportunity."<sup>9</sup> Cunningham, vice-chair of the Legislative Black Caucus, moved up from 87th to 52nd in the rankings after Blue named him Insurance Committee chair and Finance Committee vice chair.

The Center's rankings are based on surveys completed by legislators themselves, by registered lobbyists based in North Carolina who regularly work in the General Assembly, and by capital news correspondents who cover the legislature



every day. These three groups 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 specific fields. The respondents also were 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.

### Legislative Shakeup Leads to Power Shift

**M**any high-ranking legislators left after the 1991–92 session, which led to changes in both the House and Senate. In the Senate, three of the 10 most effective members in 1991 did not return, and half of the new top 10 are there for the first time. Among the top 10, Sen. Roy A. Cooper III (D-Nash), who chairs the Judiciary II Committee, moved up the most, from a tie for 23rd in the 1991–92 rankings to 6th in the current session.

The House of Representatives also lost three of its most effective members after the 1991–92 session, making room for three new faces in the top 10. Two of those "new" faces belong to veterans making comebacks—former Speaker Liston Ramsey (D-Madison) and Rules Commit-



**Rep. David Flaherty Jr. (R-Caldwell) became the latest rising Republican star to exit when he decided to enter the local district attorney's race.**

tee Chair John J. "Jack" Hunt (D-Cleveland). Both had been in the top 10 in 1987. The third newcomer in the House top 10 is Rep. Barnes.

*Longevity of service* was a key factor in obtaining a higher ranking in both the Senate and the House. The Center notes that senators who had served one full previous term moved up an average of nine notches this year, while second-term representatives moved up an average of 30 places in the rankings. Returning Democrats who had served more than one previous term in the House moved up an average of 14 places, and returning Republicans moved up an average of 18 places. "It helps to have the time to develop," says Barnes, who debuted at 49th in the 1983 effectiveness rankings and has moved steadily upward ever since.

Members of the *minority party*—in this case Republicans—usually have lower effectiveness rankings. But this year, the two members of the House who gained the most in the rankings (52 places) were both Republicans. Representatives David Balmer (R-Mecklenburg) ranked 33rd after the 1993 session, up from a tie for 85th, and Carolyn Russell (R-Wayne) ranked 45th this time, up from a tie for 97th.

Leakage at the top has been a persistent problem in achieving and maintaining high rankings

among Republicans. Leading GOP lawmakers tend to move on to things other than legislative service. Of the 10 GOP lawmakers who have led their party in the rankings in either the House or the Senate since 1977, eight ultimately left the legislature. Rep. David Flaherty Jr. (R-Caldwell) became the latest rising Republican star to exit when he decided to enter the local district attorney's race for Caldwell, Catawba, and Burke counties.

"I've got a wife and two kids and I live 200 miles from here," says Flaherty, who moved from a tie for 89th in his first term to a tie for 25th in his third. "My wife says she didn't get married and have two kids to be a single parent." Still, Flaherty says he was pleased to have risen to the top of the House GOP ranks in only three terms. He credits his rapid rise to his legal training and the knowledge of people and process he gained through his father, David Flaherty Sr. The elder Flaherty was a former legislator and a cabinet member in the administrations of former Governors James E. Holshouser Jr. and James G. Martin.

Balmer decided to forgo a potential fourth term in the legislature in order to run for the 9th Congressional District Seat vacated by Rep. Alex McMillan. He lost in a primary runoff to former Charlotte Mayor Sue Myrick. So the Republicans are losing their top-ranked Republican in the House, Flaherty, and, in Balmer, one of two Republicans who made the largest gains in the rankings.

Other House members making large gains in the rankings were: Majority Whip James Black (D-Mecklenburg, up 51 places), Robert Hensley (D-Wake, up 46), Margaret Jeffus (D-Guilford, up 44), William Wainwright (D-Craven, up 42), and Lyons Gray (R-Forsyth, up 39). In the Senate, those who made the biggest gains are all Democrats: Frank W. Ballance Jr. (D-Warren, up 26 places), Roy A. Cooper III (D-Nash, up 17), and Clark Plexico (D-Henderson, up 16).

The highest-ranking *first-term* legislators in the House were Philip Baddour (D-Wayne, tied

for 25th); Richard Moore (D-Vance, at 40th), who left to run for Congress; and Brad Miller (D-Wake, at 41st). The highest-ranking first-term Senators were Leslie Winner (D-Mecklenburg) and Elaine F. Marshall (D-Harnett), at 21st and 22nd, respectively. All five top-ranking freshmen are attorneys.

### Facing the First-term Challenge— and Winning

**F**irst-term legislators face three major challenges when they come to Raleigh: learning to play the legislative game; learning to win the legislative game; and containing the battle of the bulge under a constant bombardment of free food and drink. Most never get past lesson one during their first session.

Winner had a slight advantage here, since she already had worked as a paid consultant to the legislature on redistricting. "I guess I have an edge in that I did come in already understanding the process, so I didn't have as much of a learning curve," says Winner. "My lawyer training made me comfortable operating under a set of rules," she says. "I was able to comprehend the rules, able to read the bills and statutes and contribute in little constructive ways."

Winner says she also benefited by confidence placed in her by President Pro Tempore Basnight, who named her chair of the committee that put together the Senate's version of the \$740 million bond package passed by the voters in November.<sup>10</sup> "It gave me the opportunity to be effective," says Winner. "If you don't have those opportunities, you can't be effective."

Another freshman female attorney, Elaine Marshall, finished just behind Winner in the rankings. "I think in some ways that body was hungry for some women lawyers," says Winner. "On those issues perceived to be women's issues, or family issues, I think it was very helpful to be a lawyer."

The 1993-94 ratings mark the ninth time the Center has undertaken such an effort. The first edition in 1978 evaluated the performance of the 1977 General Assembly. The response rate to this most recent survey continued to be very high. Seventy-two percent (86) of 119 House members responded (Rep. Raymond C. "Pete" Thompson died in April 1993, and his replacement was not named until after the 1993 session), as did 44 of the 50 Senators (88 percent), 168 of 350 legislative liaisons and registered lobbyists based in

North Carolina (48 percent), and 17 of 33 capital news correspondents (52 percent). Thus, the overall rate of response was 57 percent.

"Confidence in this survey continues to be high," says Coble. "Traditionally, legislators themselves have the highest response rate, and the same was true this time. A record number of Senators responded, and the overall response rate reflects a strong belief that the survey is a valid measure of legislative effectiveness."

Center director Coble notes that 31 of the 170 members elected to the 1993 General Assembly will not return to the legislature next year, so the legislature's power structure will continue to change. "Some took other state jobs, some ran for higher office, some chose not to run for re-election, and some ran for re-election and lost," says Coble.

By the end of the 1993 session, three House members and one Senator had resigned their seats. Rep. Peggy Stamey (D-Wake) was appointed to the state Paroles Commission, and Rep. Peggy Wilson (R-Rockingham) left the General Assembly when she moved to Alaska. Rep. Judy Hunt (D-Watauga) and Sen. Ralph A. Hunt (D-Durham) were appointed to the N.C. Utilities Commission. In January 1994, Rep. Dan DeVane (D-Hoke) resigned to take a post as lobbyist for the N.C. Dept. of Transportation. Two legislators died during the February-March 1994 special session on crime—Sen. John Codington (R-New Hanover) and Rep. Herman C. Gist (D-Guilford)—and Rep. Pete Thompson died during the 1993 session.

In addition to Balmer, three other members of the General Assembly will not be returning in 1995 because they ran for a Congressional seat: Sen. A.P. "Sandy" Sands (D-Rockingham), Rep. Bobby Ray Hall (D-Lee), and Rep. Richard H. Moore (D-Vance). Sands won the Democratic nomination in the 5th Congressional District, while Moore defeated Hall and Jennifer Laszlo of Durham to capture the party's nomination in the 2nd Congressional District.

The effectiveness rankings are published as a supplement to *Article II: A Guide to the 1993-94 N.C. Legislature*, which was released in 1993. This book contains the following biographical and voting information for each legislator serving in the 1993-94 General Assembly:

- business and home addresses and telephone numbers;
- office room number and phone number at the legislature;



- party affiliation, district number, and counties represented;
- number of terms served;
- committee assignments;
- the number of bills sponsored and enacted into law in the 1991–92 session;
- individual votes on important bills in the 1991–92 session;
- occupation and education; and
- past effectiveness rankings (1981–1991).

Copies of *Article II: A Guide to the 1993–94 N.C. Legislature* and the supplement containing the **new effectiveness rankings** are available from the Center for \$31.20 a set. Write the Center at P.O. Box 430, Raleigh, NC 27602 or call (919) 832-2839. ☐☐

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Paul O'Connor, "Press influences Raleigh rankings," *The Dispatch*, Lexington, N.C., April 19, 1994, p. 9A.

<sup>2</sup> "Rankings not definitive, but worthwhile," unsigned editorial, *The Daily Courier*, Forest City, N.C., April 12, 1994, p. 4A.

<sup>3</sup> As quoted in Blake Dickinson, "Biennial report gives legislators high marks," *The Chapel Hill Herald*, Durham, N.C., p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> As quoted in "Guilford legislators speed up," unsigned editorial, *High Point Enterprise*, High Point, N.C., April 6, 1994, p. 4A. In response, the editorial says, "While we agree that editorial policy isn't very scientific, the survey does correspond to the realities of the General Assembly power structure. Legislators who rank at the top hold important leadership posts and get things done. That's called effectiveness."

<sup>5</sup> For more on institutional changes affecting the president pro tempore of the Senate and the House speaker, see Ran

Coble, "The Lieutenant Governor in North Carolina: An Office in Transition," *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 11, No. 2–3 (April 1989), pp. 157–165, and Paul T. O'Connor, "The Evolution of the Speaker's Office," *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (January 1994), pp. 22–47.

<sup>6</sup> In the legislative effectiveness rankings survey, the Center also asks respondents to name the most powerful legislative committees. The Appropriations and Finance committees consistently have ranked one and two respectively in both chambers. There has been some variation among the next four slots. For 1993, the most powerful Senate committees were: (1) Appropriations; (2) Finance; (3) Judiciary I; (4) Education/Higher Education; (5) Rules and Operation of the Senate; and (6) Judiciary II. The most powerful House committees were: (1) Appropriations; (2) Finance; (3) Education; (4) Constitutional Amendments and Referenda; (5) Judiciary I; and (6) Rules, Calendar, and Operations of the House.

<sup>7</sup> Danny Lineberry, "Hard work, friends aid ambitious lawmakers," *The Herald-Sun*, Durham, N.C., April 10, 1994, p. 18A. Barnes correctly notes that most recent rankings were based on the 1993 session of the General Assembly—before the February-March 1994 special session on crime. Still, criminal justice reform ranked high on the legislative agenda long before the crime session, and Barnes' expertise in this area almost certainly contributed to her eighth-place finish in the 1993 effectiveness rankings.

<sup>8</sup> For more on the evolving role of women in the General Assembly, see Betty Mitchell Gray, "Women in the Legislature: A Force for the Future," *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (January 1994), pp. 2–21. The increasing clout of African-American lawmakers is discussed in Milton C. Jordan, "Black Legislators: From Political Novelty to Political Force," *North Carolina Insight*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (December 1989), pp. 40–58.

<sup>9</sup> As quoted in Foon Rhee, "N.C. Center ranks legislative power brokers," *The Charlotte Observer*, April 5, 1994, p. 5C.

<sup>10</sup> The voters ultimately authorized bonds for: the University of North Carolina system campuses, \$310 million; the community colleges, \$250 million; local water and sewer projects, \$145 million; and the state parks system, \$35 million.

## Publications by the N.C. Center for Public Policy Research



*Rankings of the Most Influential Lobbyists in the  
1993-94 General Assembly (\$5.00 each)*

*Effectiveness Rankings for Members of the  
1993-94 N.C. General Assembly  
(\$8.50 each)*

*The Cost of Running for the N.C. Legislature  
(\$9.86 each)*

*Article II: A Guide to the 1993-94 N.C. Legislature  
(\$22.70 each)*

• Call (919) 832-2839 to order •