

Editor's Note: Published by the N.C. Center just before the legislature's 1984 short session, Article II: A Guide to the N.C. Legislature 1983-1984 profiles the General Assembly and each of its members. This fourth edition of Article II gives a page to each representative and senator, providing information about his or her education, profession, and legislative history. Each profile

examines the lawmaker's record in 1983 regarding introduction of legislation and voting record on 15 selected bills. Article II also reports the legislators' effectiveness rankings, as determined by a survey of lobbyists, capital press corps, and legislators themselves. To order Article II, see the insert card in this issue of North Carolina Insight.

Call it "The Law of Political Relativity"—whenever one person gains political power someone else must lose it.

Take, for example, Rep. LeRoy Spoon (R-Mecklenburg) and Sen. Melvin Daniels (D-Pasquotank). From 1981 to 1983, Spoon and Daniels were the biggest losers of influence in their respective houses, according to a 1984 survey of legislative effectiveness conducted by the N.C. Center for Public Policy Research. Rep. Spoon fell 27 places among the 120 House members. Sen. Daniels dropped 18 in the 50-member Senate.

Or take Rep. Joe Mavretic (D-Edgecombe) and Sen. Gerry Hancock (D-Durham). From 1981 to 1983, Mavretic and Hancock scored the biggest gains in influence in the two houses. Rep. Mavretic jumped 46 places while Sen. Hancock rose 18 spots. (See sidebar on page 16 for more on risers and fallers.)

The rankings, published in *Article II: A Guide to the N.C. Legislature 1983-1984*, reflect subtle and non-so-subtle shifts in power in the General Assembly. The N.C. Center compiled the rankings through a questionnaire to every (1) legislator, (2) registered lobbyist, and (3) capital news reporter. In December 1983, the Center asked all three groups to rate the effectiveness of individual legislators on a scale of one to ten. Of the 472 surveys distributed, 212 were completed and returned. The Center gave each legislator four scores—first, an average of the responses within each of the three responding groups, and then an average of those three scores for an overall score. This *overall score* becomes the basis for the effectiveness rankings. All four scores for each legislator are included in *Article II*.

An analysis of the effectiveness rankings reveals numerous factors contributing to a legislator's standing. Party affiliation, significant committee assignments, and political friendships all bear on a ranking. So, sometimes, does luck. There is no precise formula for acquiring power and using it effectively. But when all the elements combine, the ride up—or down—can be swift. And sometimes a legislator can parlay a favorable set of circumstances into enduring power and influence.

Who's Got the Edge—and Why

Since 1978, when the Center issued its first effectiveness survey, the name of Kenneth C. Royall Jr. has stood atop the Senate roll. Much of Royall's influence results from his committee assignments—especially as chairman of the

powerful Ways and Means Committee (1977 through 1981). He also derives his legislative stature from close personal relationships within the Senate. Over the years, Royall has gathered immense personal influence among his 49 colleagues and gained important allies. In 1983, Lt. Gov. and Senate President James C. Green named Royall the first-ever "coordinator of all Senate Committees," giving the Durham furniture dealer a vote in every committee.

In the House, it seems to be position rather than personality that affords the edge in power. Speaker of the House Liston B. Ramsey (D-Madison) ranks first in effectiveness in that chamber. As speaker, Ramsey appoints members and chairpersons of all House committees and presides over House sessions. He earned the position through years of astute politics, but the position itself—in addition to Ramsey's enviable persuasiveness and connections—gives him the edge in influence. In each year of the Center's effectiveness rankings, the Speaker of the House has topped the list—first Carl Stewart (1977-79), then Liston Ramsey.

Chairing a major money committee also seems 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." Therefore, Reps. J. Allen Adams (D-Wake) and William T. Watkins (D-Granville), House Budget Committee co-chairmen, and Sen. Harold Hardison (D-Lenoir), Senate Appropriations Committee chairman, take the next highest spots in the rankings. Following the budget leaders come the chairs of judiciary and finance committees and budget subcommittees.

In the House, ranking fourth, fifth, and sixth respectively, are George Miller (D-Durham, chairman of Judiciary I), Martin Lancaster (D-Wayne, chairman of Judiciary III), and Dwight Quinn (D-Cabarrus, chairman of Finance). Following Hardison in the Senate are Marshall A. Rauch (D-Gaston, chairman of Ethics and co-chairman of Finance), W. Craig Lawing (D-Mecklenburg, chairman of Rules and Operations, vice-chairman of Banking and of Ways and Means), Henson P. Barnes (D-Wayne, chairman of Judiciary III), and Robert B. Jordan III (D-Montgomery, co-chairman of Base Budget).

After committee chairmanships, the factor appearing most often among the highest ranked legislators is their profession—the law. In the

Paul O'Connor covers state politics for the N.C. Association of Afternoon Dailies, a consortium of 40 newspapers across the state. Photos by Michael Matros.

Senate, 8 of the top 15 are attorneys or attended law school. Of the 16 lawyers, 13 are ranked in the top 24, 15 in the top 30. Only Sen. William Martin (D-Guilford), a freshman, who is black and relatively liberal in the otherwise all-white, conservative Senate, fared poorly, ranking 43rd. In the House, 9 of the top 15 are lawyers. The top 28 positions include all 15 of the veteran Democratic, white, male, lawyers. Of the 26 House attorneys, 24 finished in the top two-thirds.

Acquiring a high effectiveness ranking comes easier with membership in the ruling Democratic Party. With Democrats making the committee assignments, Republicans don't get the prized chairmanships which lead to power. In the House, only 2 of 18 Republicans (Coble of Guilford and Brubaker of Randolph) finished in the top two-thirds. In the Senate, the leading Republican was tied for 20th, another was 26th, with another 39th (Ballenger of Catawba, Redman of Iredell, and Kincaid of Caldwell, respectively). The other three finished among the last five (Harris of Mecklenburg was 45th, Wright of New Hanover 48th, and Allred of Alamance 49th).

Newcomer status usually hurts one's effectiveness, but not always. The highest ranking freshman in the Senate—not counting senators with House experience—was Sen. Charles Hips (D-Haywood), who finished an impressive 19th. On the House side, the highest rated frosh was Rep. Robert Slaughter (D-Stanly), who finished 46th. Most freshmen, however, finished in the bottom half of their respective houses. A few relative newcomers also scored impressive showings, like Sen. Anthony Rand (D-Cumberland), who finished 13th in his first full term (he'd served in the 1982 short session), and sophomore Reps. Dan Blue (D-Wake), 8th, and Joe Hackney (D-Orange), 15th.

Although blacks and women are virtually absent from the legislative leadership, some earn high rankings and therefore offer hope for their colleagues. Rep. Blue finished 8th and Rep. Kenneth Spaulding (D-Durham), 35th. Of the 12 black legislators, only Blue and Spaulding received top-half rankings. Each was heavily involved in a high-visibility issue, Blue in 1981 with redistricting and Spaulding in 1983 with altering the state's runoff primary. But the generally poor showings of black legislators is probably due less to their race than to their experience. All but 3 of the 12 were freshmen.

Women who did well were former Rep. Ruth Cook (D-Wake), 10th, Sen. Wilma Woodard (D-Wake), 16th, and Rep. Jo Graham Foster (D-Mecklenburg), 23rd. (Cook has since resigned to accept an appointment on the Utilities Com-

mission.) The 24 female legislators were fairly well distributed along the spectrum of rankings, except at the top.

Other factors can greatly affect a legislator's ranking. If, for example, fate or the governor puts you in charge of the year's hottest legislation, your score can soar. Blue had such good fortune in 1981 when he, as a black leader voicing moderation on redistricting, finished 30th in the rankings, despite freshman status. Rep. Martin Lancaster (D-Wayne) handled the Safe Roads Act in 1983 and vaulted from 17th in 1981 to 5th in 1983. Mavretic helped raise his ranking a whopping 46 spots by sponsoring a controversial hazardous waste disposal regulation bill and a measure to elect members of the State Board of Education.

THE RISERS AND FALLERS

Years in the halls of the General Assembly usually bring lawmakers increased power and influence. But, according to the N.C. Center's effectiveness rankings, upward mobility from session to session is not necessarily inevitable. The wheel of fortune and the vagaries of power bring some lawmakers to grief even as others rise in influence. These senators and representatives moved the farthest up and down in the effectiveness rankings between the 1981 and 1983 sessions:

Risers

Senators	1981 Ranking	1983 Ranking	Increase
William G. Hancock Jr. (D-Durham)	25 (tie)	7	18
Robert D. Warren (D-Johnston)	43	29	14
William W. Redman Jr. (R-Iredell)	39	26	13
Cecil Ross Jenkins Jr. (D-Cabarrus)	24	14	10
T. Cass Ballenger (R-Catawba)	28 (tie)	20	8

Representatives

Josephus L. Mavretic (D-Edgecombe)	64	18 (tie)	46
Joe Hackney (D-Orange)	60	15	45
Martin L. Nesbitt Jr. (D-Buncombe)	65	21 (tie)	44
Harry E. Payne Jr. (D-New Hanover)	69 (tie)	28	41
Sam L. Beam (D-Gaston)	93	53	40

Fallers

Senators	1981 Ranking	1983 Ranking	Decrease
Melvin R. Daniels Jr. (D-Pasquotank)	17 (tie)	35	18
Vernon E. White (D-Pitt)	20	37 (tie)	17
Dallas L. Alford Jr. (D-Nash)	31	46 (tie)	15
George W. Marion Jr. (D-Surry)	36	46 (tie)	10
Helen Rhyne Marvin (D-Gaston)	21	31	10
Representatives			
LeRoy P. Spoon Jr. (R-Mecklenburg)	79	106	27
John M. Jordan (D-Alamance)	84 (tie)	98	14
David W. Bumgardner Jr. (D-Gaston)	20 (tie)	29	9
J. P. Huskins (D-Iredell)	11	20	9
George M. Holmes (R-Yadkin)	92	101	9

Center intern Mike Davis assisted with this chart.

Friendship with the leadership also helps one's effectiveness ranking. Over the past two sessions, Rep. Bobby R. Etheridge (D-Harnett) has become a close ally of House Speaker Ramsey. Etheridge, who moved from 64th in 1979 to 16th in 1983, is rumored to be the leading candidate for House chairman of the Base Budget Committee. (Former chairman Al Adams did not run for re-election.) Such a position would almost certainly put Etheridge in the top five in 1985, just where Adams has been the last several rankings.

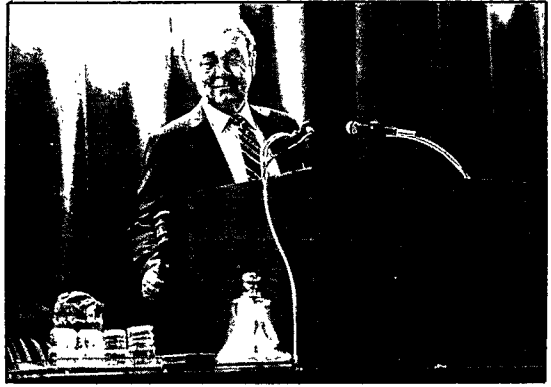
Bucking the leadership can sometimes hurt a legislator's ranking—but not always. Rep. John Jordan (D-Alamance) hasn't always played majority party ball with Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. and the Speaker. Jordan was one of few House Democrats who did not vote for an omnibus bill levying \$219 million in tax increases in 1983. As a result, some observers speculate, his district may have suffered a bit when it came time to determine local "pork barrel" appropriations. In 1983, Jordan ranked only 98th, despite his four terms in the House. Surprisingly, Sen. Marshall Rauch (D-Gaston), who bucked Lt. Gov. Green by supporting Carl Stewart for lieutenant governor in 1980, has remained in the top five. Rep. Parks Helms (D-Mecklenburg), who opposed Ramsey for the speakership, has managed to stay in the top 10. Much of their success is obviously due to the personal abilities of these two men.

Finally, a legislator's future political plans may color his or her ranking, if fellow legislators or capital correspondents become suspicious of his or her motives. The case of Sen. Daniels, the biggest Senate loser from 1981 to 1983, may illustrate this factor. Amidst rumors of his pursuing a U.S. Senate race, Daniels plummeted 18 spots.

Effects of the Effectiveness Rankings

Regardless of how a legislator earns a high or low ranking, that ranking may become a political issue at re-election time. North Carolina newspapers report the findings, usually "localizing" the story to highlight the rankings of local legislators. Such coverage can lead to politically invaluable headlines when the rankings are good. The Durham delegation was rewarded, for example, with a *Durham Sun* editorial headed "Lawmakers Earn Respect." If the marks are low, as they were for bottom-ranked Sen. Wanda Hunt (D-Moore), the headlines can be politically unhealthy. "Hunt 'Least Effective' in Ranking By Peers," a *Sandhill Citizen* headline announced.

A legislator's ranking can also find its way into an editorial endorsement. Such was the case



Speaker of the House Liston Ramsey lowers the gavel.

for former House Speaker Carl Stewart, whose top ranking in 1977 and 1979 was noted when the *Lexington Dispatch* endorsed his bid for lieutenant governor this year. The *Greensboro Daily News*, on the other hand, endorsed Stewart's opponent, state Sen. Robert B. Jordan III, and mentioned Jordan's high ranking (#6) without mentioning Stewart's.

Since 1982, the effectiveness rankings have been receiving more attention from the candidates themselves. An in-house Center study conducted in early 1983 shows the rankings became an issue in the 1982 campaigns of at least 26 legislators. People like Rep. Adams and Sen. Russell Walker (D-Randolph) used their high rankings that year to seek votes. People like former Sen. Sam Noble (D-Robeson) and Sen. Cary Allred (R-Alamance) had their lower ratings used against them by opponents. People who finished in the middle put a positive light on their rankings. Rep. David Diamont (D-Surry), for example, 39th in 1982, ran a 1982 campaign ad reporting that he was "ranked highest of all northwestern N.C. House members." Diamont has since risen to a tie for 18th in the rankings.

It is highly likely that the increased political visibility of the rankings is responsible for a big increase in the response rate from legislators. In 1983, 86 percent of the senators and 63 percent of the representatives responded—presumably making sure they got a good word in for themselves. In three previous surveys, 50 to 58 percent of legislators had responded.

But does the use of a ranking influence the outcome of the election? That's impossible to say. Some legislators with low scores, who had the ranking used against them, have been unseated, notably, former Sens. Noble, George Marion (D-Surry), and Walt Cockerham (R-Guilford). But then their political problems didn't start with the rankings, either. For example, Marion's wife ran against him. Some low-ranked members continue to get re-elected and

some highly ranked members, like Sen. Hancock in 1984, lose at the polls.

According to Ran Coble, director of the N.C. Center, the purpose of the survey is to provide information useful to voters before they make their decisions at the polling place. But whether or not the rankings influence election outcomes, they've raised controversy in political circles. The ranking method concerns some, specifically the decision to base the final effectiveness ranking *on the average of the three separate scores* (from legislators, registered lobbyists, and capital reporters). Two Wayne County legislators, both of whom have done very well in the rankings, are among the most constructive critics.

"The legislative peer ratings should be given greater weight than the press and lobbyist ratings," says Rep. Martin Lancaster. "We have more intimate contact with each other than the press and the lobbyists." Lancaster goes on to say that press and lobbyists tend to concentrate on the visible legislative leaders, ignoring the good work done by behind-the-scenes type legislators.

Lancaster also complains that reporters for the big city papers tend to look after their local delegations in the ratings. His hometown paper (the *Goldsboro News Argus*) doesn't have a staff reporter in Raleigh, so he doesn't have that advantage.

Sen. Henson Barnes, who ranked fifth in 1983, says his concern isn't with his own score: "They've been extraordinarily kind to me." Rather, he says, he's concerned that a freshman legislator can get a low ranking because that legislator is keeping quiet, learning the ropes, like a freshman is supposed to do. "He'll get ripped apart in the rankings when he's done exactly what is necessary to be effective in the future." Barnes also complains that by concentrating on the leadership, the press and lobbyists ignore the contributions of women and minorities.

Rep. Joe Hackney (D-Orange) also criticizes the averaging of the three raw scores, arguing that more weight should be given to peer evaluations by the legislators. The legislators know each other's effectiveness best, he says. And why should the opinions of the 14 responding capital correspondents be weighted equally with those of the 75 representatives who responded to the survey? He points to Rep. Richard Wright (D-Columbus) as a victim of diverging legislator and press evaluations. Wright, who came in 6th in rankings by his fellow representatives, placed only 27th in the evaluations by capital correspondents. His overall ranking came in at 11th, just where the

lobbyists had him pegged in their evaluations. Hackney, on the other hand, was actually a beneficiary of the averaging process he questions, ranking 19th in scoring by his peers but 10th in the press evaluations. With lobbyists rating him 14th, Hackney pulled an overall ranking of 15th.

Finally, Republicans complain that Democratic legislators use the rankings for political purposes, using their preponderance of responses to keep Republican scores low. (In 1983, there were 44 Democrats to 6 Republicans in the Senate, 102 Democrats to 18 Republicans in the House.) Republicans also charge that the capital press is politically liberal and intent on hurting the more conservative party.

An analysis of each of the four scores used by the Center in compiling the survey results revealed that some of these arguments seem to be accurate, others unfounded.

Barnes' concern about the scores women legislators get from the press appears accurate. The press regularly rated female legislators lower—not only in raw scores but in relative rankings, too—than did legislators and lobbyists. In the House, 12 of 19 women got a press ranking below their overall ranking. Five got higher press rankings and two were the same. In the Senate, two got higher and two got lower press rankings than their final scores. The low press score given Sen. Hunt assured her last place finish.

But Barnes is wrong about the press rating of black legislators. Of the 12 black legislators, 8 received higher relative scores from the press



Effectiveness Survey Results: SENATE

Top 20

Overall Effectiveness Ranking	Name of Senator	Legislators' Evaluation	Lobbyists' Evaluation	Capital Correspondents' Evaluation	Overall Effectiveness Raw Score
1.	Royall, Kenneth C., Jr. (D-Durham)	83.1	94.6	93.6	90.4
2.	Hardison, Harold W. (D-Lenoir)	78.4	89.0	94.3	87.2
3.	Rauch, Marshall A. (D-Gaston)	74.7	82.7	82.9	80.1
4.	Lawing, W. Craig (D-Mecklenburg)	72.6	80.0	80.7	77.8
5.	Barnes, Henson P. (D-Wayne)	71.6	72.2	89.3	77.7
6.	Jordan, Robert B., III (D-Montgomery)	64.2	81.3	77.1	74.2
7.	Hancock, William G., Jr. (D-Durham)	61.7	68.5	70.0	66.7 (tie)
	Harrington, J. J. (D-Bertie)	56.9	76.2	67.1	66.7 (tie)
9.	Walker, Russell (D-Randolph)	54.9	72.4	68.5	65.3
10.	Swain, Robert S. (D-Buncombe)	62.1	65.2	67.7	65.0
11.	Harris, Ollie (D-Cleveland)	57.9	65.7	64.6	62.7
12.	Tison, Benjamin T. (D-Mecklenburg)	51.4	67.9	63.6	61.0
13.	Rand, Anthony E. (D-Cumberland)	53.6	55.4	57.1	55.4
14.	Jenkins, Cecil Ross, Jr. (D-Cabarrus)	55.0	59.9	50.8	55.2
15.	Edwards, Elton (D-Guilford)	53.3	61.2	50.8	55.1
16.	Woodard, Wilma C. (D-Wake)	45.7	59.9	57.9	54.5
17.	Soles, R. C., Jr. (D-Columbus)	57.1	54.9	47.9	53.3
18.	Allsbrook, Julian R. (D-Halifax)	43.9	52.6	62.1	52.9
19.	Hipps, Charles W. (D-Haywood)	50.2	49.3	55.4	51.6
20.	Ballenger, T. Cass (R-Catawba)	50.0	52.2	49.3	50.5 (tie)
	Duncan, Conrad R., Jr. (D-Rockingham)	41.6	59.9	50.0	50.5 (tie)
	Staton, William W. (D-Lee)	51.7	55.2	44.6	50.5 (tie)

Effectiveness Survey Results: HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Top 20

Overall Effectiveness Ranking	Name of Representative	Legislators' Evaluation	Lobbyists' Evaluation	Capital Correspondents' Evaluation	Overall Effectiveness Raw Score
1.	Ramsey, Liston B. (D-Madison)	96.0	96.4	94.6	95.7
2.	Adams, J. Allen (D-Wake)	83.1	91.7	95.7	90.2
3.	Watkins, William Thomas (D-Granville)	87.7	87.4	90.0	88.4
4.	Miller, George W., Jr. (D-Durham)	77.5	81.9	80.8	80.1
5.	Lancaster, H. Martin (D-Wayne)	74.0	73.4	84.6	77.3
6.	Quinn, Dwight W. (D-Cabarrus)	73.6	72.3	74.2	73.4
7.	Helms, H. Parks (D-Mecklenburg)	63.1	75.6	78.5	72.4
8.	Blue, Daniel T., Jr. (D-Wake)	64.5	73.4	70.0	69.3
9.	Lilley, Daniel T. (D-Lenoir)	67.3	70.6	64.6	67.5
10.	Cook, Ruth E. (D-Wake)	58.9	71.3	70.8	67.0
11.	Wright, Richard (D-Columbus)	74.9	69.4	53.3	65.9
12.	Hunt, John J. (D-Cleveland)	75.5	64.6	56.7	65.6 (tie)
	Pulley, W. Paul, Jr. (D-Durham)	66.1	69.1	61.7	65.6 (tie)
14.	Barbee, Allen C. (D-Nash)	61.9	68.7	64.6	65.1
15.	Hackney, Joe (D-Orange)	62.5	65.6	66.7	64.9
16.	Etheridge, Bobby R. (D-Harnett)	67.2	64.1	62.5	64.6
17.	James, Vernon G. (D-Pasquotank)	63.8	63.9	59.2	62.3
18.	Diamont, David Hunter (D-Surry)	56.0	62.3	65.8	61.4 (tie)
	Mavretic, Josephus Lyman (D-Edgecombe)	55.6	64.4	64.2	61.4 (tie)
20.	Huskins, J. P. (D-Iredell)	63.3	61.4	58.5	61.1

than from lobbyists and legislators. Several, like Rep. Sidney Locks (D-Robeson) and Rep. Frank Ballance (D-Warren), received significantly higher relative scores. Only three received lower relative scores and one came out even with the press.

Lancaster's concerns about a press bias towards big city legislators also appears unfounded. Of the 9 representatives from the five biggest cities who finished in the top 30, 5 actually were hurt by the press evaluations. The rankings of 4 others were raised only by a point or two or were not affected at all by the press scores. In the Senate, 4 of the top 12 legislators came from the five biggest cities. Two were hurt a bit and 2 were unaffected by their press scores.

Center Director Ran Coble says that Hackney's suggestion of assigning less weight to press scores and more to legislator scores might be an overreaction to a problem affecting a minority of the legislators. He points out that the raw scores of only 26 House members varied by 15 points or more among the three evaluations by lobbyists, the press, and legislators. In the great majority of cases, the raw score evaluations by the three groups vary just a little.

"Giving additional weight to legislators' scores," says Coble, "would also build in an unfair advantage to Democrats, if you assume that legislators tend to value their party colleagues above those of the opposition." With Republicans by far in the minority, Coble says, giving extra weight to the scoring by legislators might double or triple the liability of GOP House members.

If the Republicans have a gripe, it's not with the press. In the House, the press gave higher relative rankings to nine Republicans, lower to five, and an average score to three others. Lobbyists were much tougher on Republicans, giving all six senators and nine representatives rankings below their combined scores.

When the effectiveness surveys were returned to the Center, five of them displayed an unusual pattern in the Senate rankings, with all 6 Republicans receiving the top score of 10 and all 44 Democrats given the low score of 1. To find out if these ballots affected the survey results substantially, the Center conducted statistical tests in consultation with a market research firm and a University of North Carolina statistician.

The result: "no statistically significant differences." Five ballots out of 137 responses (14 press, 80 lobbyists, 43 senators) could account for little variance in the overall results.

Obviously, the rankings come in for a great deal of criticism. Legislators feel slighted. Newspaper editorialists warn that a subjective rating such as this should never form the sole basis for a citizen's decision in the voting booth. *But the rankings obviously serve a public purpose.*

"This is an evaluation of legislators by their peers and by people who see them working every day," says Coble, the Center director. While Coble concedes that the rankings are somewhat subjective, he contends that the number of people responding and the averaging of their scores provides a fair indicator of effectiveness in the end. "If 43 of 50 senators or 75 of 120 House members agree that a certain legislator is less effective, then he or she is probably less effective," Coble says.

One state newspaper, *The Robesonian*, the daily in Lumberton, did a lengthy editorial on the rankings, finding fault in places but concluding that "there is not one grade on the entire survey that is entirely out of sync with the others." The newspaper went on to suggest that its readers use the rankings and other information provided in news stories about the local delegation in deciding if Robeson legislators deserved to be reelected.

Mavretic, the legislator who experienced the biggest gain in the House, says he doubts the rankings help or hurt most legislators with the voters. Those who score in the very top ranks may be helped, he said, and those at the very bottom may be hurt. He considers the rankings valuable for other reasons.

"The rankings stimulate thinking on the part of the three constituencies that respond; each is stimulated by what the other two groups perceive," Mavretic says. "It tests the judgment of each one of those three groups and makes people think about their rankings, whether they're in line with the others and, if not, why not."

In other words, the rankings, says Mavretic, test each player's perception of who is rising and who is falling in the game of political ups and downs. □