



FROM THE CENTER OUT

January - February, 1988

CENTER RESEARCH THE SUBJECT OF PUBLIC TV SPECIAL

In December 1987, the N.C. Center for Public Policy Research reached a milestone in its development. In our first 10 years, we have relied on written products -- Insight magazine, these newsletters, and our book-length research reports -- to carry our research to the public, the media, and state policymakers. But on December 2nd, the Center's research was presented on a special TV program on the state's public television network entitled "The State of Two Parties."

Insight Associate Editor Jack Betts and intern Vanessa Goodman produced a special report which served as the research base for the joint production with the UNC Center for Public Television. Thad Beyle, a UNC-CH professor of political science and Chairman of the Board of Directors for the N.C. Center, led a discussion by a panel of six prominent North Carolinians. The panelists included state Rep. Margaret Keesee-Forrester (R-Guilford); former N.C. Secretary of Natural Resources and Community Development Howard N. Lee of Chapel Hill, a Democrat; former Republican state Sen. Hamilton Horton of Winston-Salem; former Democratic legislator and former N.C. Secretary of Crime Control and Public Safety Herbert Hyde of Asheville; Greensboro News & Record Editorial Page Editor John Alexander; and UNC-CH Political Science Professor Merle Black.

The Center's research showed substantial evidence of a two-party system. The GOP candidate for President has carried the state in every contest but one since 1968, as well as two races for governor and four races for U.S. Senator. In all, the Republican Party has won nine of the 14 major statewide races since 1968 -- a winning percentage of 64 percent.

But the evidence goes deeper than that. Republicans hold three of the state's 11 congressional seats, held both Senate seats from 1980 to 1986, hold about 30 percent of the seats in the General Assembly, and have a majority on nearly 30 percent of the county Boards of Commissioners. How could this come about in a state that long was the province of Democrats? The answer lies in voter registration and demographics.

-- While Democratic registration grew by 37 percent from 1966-86, Republican registration was growing nearly four times as fast -- by 143 percent. When the period began, Democrats had nearly a 4-1 edge in registration; by the last election in 1986, it was about 2.5:1. The number of unaffiliated voters also grew rapidly in this period. About half the new registrants are Democrats, while the other half are Republicans or unaffiliated. Twenty years ago, 80 percent of the new voters were Democrats.

-- The evidence shows that while Republican strength is growing across the board, it is soaring in the state's most populous areas. In Wake County, Democrats grew by 82 percent, but Republicans grew by 707 percent; in Guilford, Democrats grew by nearly 42 percent, Republicans by 149 percent; in Forsyth, Democrats grew by 26 percent, Republicans by 134 percent.

-- On the local level, Republican strength is beginning to grow rapidly, too. In 1974, for instance, only 80 of the state's 477 county commissioners were Republicans. By 1986, the number had grown by 76 percent, to 141. What's more, in 1987, Republicans held a majority on 29 county Boards of Commissioners -- more than double the number they controlled in 1974. And the party is making modest gains in other offices. The GOP now counts among its members 13 of the state's Registers of Deeds, 14 of the Clerks of Court, and 19 of the Sheriffs.

-- And in terms of county voting, what once was a solidly Democratic state has become a Republican state in presidential elections. In the period 1968-1980, only 10 North Carolina counties voted consistently Democratic in presidential elections; 40 counties -- four times as many -- voted consistently Republican; the rest had mixed voting records.

Copies of the 63-page report on "The Growth of the Two-Party System in North Carolina" are available for \$9.45 plus \$1.00 postage from the Center at P.O. Box 430, Raleigh, NC 27602, or call (919) 832-2839.

10TH ANNIVERSARY

More than 160 of you, our members and friends, celebrated the Center's 10th Anniversary with a commemorative dinner in Raleigh and the release of a special 10-year report on the Center's activities since its founding. Philip J. Kirk Jr., Chief of Staff for Republican Governor James G. Martin, and state Rep. Dan Blue, a Democratic legislator and Center Board member, were the keynote speakers at the anniversary dinner on Friday, September 25. Kirk and Blue discussed their visions for North Carolina's future over the next 10 years. Thad L. Beyle, Chairman of the Center's Board of Directors, also reviewed the Center's accomplishments and challenges for the future.

The news coverage of the Center's 10th Anniversary was highly complimentary. Among the comments by editorial writers and policymakers were the following:

"For the past decade, the N.C. Center for Public Policy Research has given this state what it sorely needs: sound, independent analysis of major political and governmental issues," said The News and Observer of Raleigh.

"People will tell you that there is no such thing as objective reporting and no such thing as non-partisan politics. The N.C. Center for Public Policy Research...is living, breathing proof that they are wrong....[Its] exposure of waste and inefficiency has saved taxpayers millions," said the Greensboro News & Record.

"The Charlotte Observer said, "The N. C. Center for Public Policy Research keeps an independent, non-partisan and perceptive eye on state government in North Carolina, and reports what it sees. This is a better state because of it."

Many thanks to those of you who were able to attend the celebration, and thanks to all of you for making the last 10 years possible.

CURING THE PORK

The October issue of North Carolina Insight, which included the 10-year report on the Center, also included an important analysis of the pork barrel process over the last decade. Jack Betts, Associate Editor of Insight, explained that "pork barrel spending has remained relatively stable as a portion of the state budget (less than 1 percent). But the pork barrel process has gone through several major reforms. It is now fairer, more open, and more deliberate within the legislative process." The Insight article, written by Seth Effron of the Greensboro News & Record, attributes the increasing fairness of the process to the following changes: a new bill deadline process which allows the public and the press more time to scrutinize projects, more equity in the distribution of the funds among counties, more equity in the distribution of funds among both Democratic and Republican legislators, and fewer constitutionally questionable projects.

However, Effron warned that some important issues remain unaddressed. For example, he asked why should the state fund a project that benefits citizens in a single county? Should the legislature provide a better record of what happens to pork barrel bills in order to give proper credit -- or blame -- to those who successfully sponsor pork barrel legislation? Has the rise of the pork system contributed to making the N.C. General Assembly more parochial by pitting one locality against another in the quest for pork? Finally, Effron pointed out that the legislative leaders' home districts still get disproportionately high shares.

The article received attention in a total of 58 articles and 10 editorials, all but two favorable. Among the comments was the Wilmington Morning Star's editorial which said, "Those interested in how their money is spent might put those irreverent questions [the Center's four questions in the paragraph above] to candidates for the House and Senate, governor and lieutenant governor the next time they come calling." By contrast, the North Wilkesboro Journal-Patriot said it was "disappointing to read that a reputable and respected institution such as the Center for Public Policy Research gives the system too high a grade...."

THE STATE OF THE ENVIRONMENT

The next issue of Insight, to be released in late February or early March, focuses on environmental policies in North Carolina. It will outline which state agencies make and implement environmental policy. There will be articles discussing the politics of environmental issues and up-to-date, easy-to-absorb overviews of hazardous waste and municipal waste issues. Water policy decisions governing quality and supply will be examined, as well as land use and the Hardison Amendments.

Finally, regular Insight columns will evaluate the success of efforts to reform the legislative process in 1987 and the N.C. Supreme Court's increasing reliance on the state (rather than federal) Constitution in deciding constitutional questions.

YOUR SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY?

Each year, we invite our members to suggest topics and priorities for future studies and reports. This is your chance to say what you think we ought to research...and why! On March 5, a list of topics will be presented to our Board of Directors in the form of a revised multi-year plan. Let us know if you think any new research topics should be added. Also, please take the time to review the areas below, and tell us what priority you would give to the proposed research topics. Suggestions should be submitted no later than February 26 so that they may be incorporated into our decision-making process. Thanks so much to all of you.

	<u>Accomplished in 1987</u>	<u>Proposed for 1988</u>	<u>Proposed for 1989</u>
Major Reports:	<u>Article II: A Guide to the 1987-88 N.C. General Assembly</u> <u>The Two-Party System in North Carolina</u>	For-Profit Hospitals: comparison of costs, range of services, tax contributions, and indigent care between for-profit and not-for-profit hospitals. <u>Article II: effectiveness rankings of 1987-88 legislators</u> Campaign Finance in N.C. Begin higher education study	Higher Education: (1) how public universities identify and reward good teaching (2) tuition grant program of aid to private colleges <u>Article II: A Guide to the 1989-90 N.C. General Assembly (7th Edition)</u>
Short Reports:	Follow-up report on "Special Provisions in Budget Bills"	Rankings of "Most Influential Lobbyists in the 1987-88 General Assembly"	
* <u>North Carolina Insight</u> magazine	1 Theme Issue: state prison policy 2 General Issues - - - - - suggestions for topics welcomed	2 Theme Issues: state environmental policies poverty in N.C. 2 General Issues - - - - - suggestions for topics welcomed	2 Theme Issues: health care in N.C. transportation 2 General Issues - - - - - suggestions for topics welcomed

(continued)

Conference/ Seminar	Center's 10th Anniversary Cele- bration and presen- tations on "The Future of N.C."	Yet to be determined	Yet to be determined
Special Projects:	Joint project with UNC Center for Public Television on "The State of Two Parties"	Joint project with UNC Center for Public TV on for-profit hospitals	Yet to be determined
		<u>N.C. Focus</u> (2nd edition): anthology on state government for schools and colleges	<u>Article IV: evaluation of the judiciary</u> Begin work on 2nd edition of <u>Grantseeking in North Carolina</u>

10TH ANNIVERSARY CONTRIBUTIONS

Twenty-four Center members and other individuals helped the Center celebrate its 10th Anniversary by making special contributions. We would like to recognize and thank each of you:

Mrs. John M. Betts
Rep. John T. Church
Ran Coble
John W. Davis III
Seth Effron
Virginia Foxx
Alison Gray
Wyounda V. Haynes
Betty Ann Knudsen
Thelma Lennon
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Virginia T. Oliver
Edward H. O'Neil
Marvin Overby
Lanty L. Smith
Zachary Smith
Gary Williams
Alicia Wright

A WARM WELCOME AND THANKS TO THESE NEW MEMBERS:

Raynah H. Adams
Alamance Community College
Joe Bartel, Jr.
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Blue Ridge Community College
Margie Brewer
Anne Burnside
Sally Cone
Cindy Culpepper
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Wade Thomas
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Sara Watts
Wayne Community College
Duncan M. Yost

OUR THANKS TO OUR CORPORATE CONTRIBUTORS

The Center wishes to acknowledge and thank these new corporate contributors:

Texfi Industries, Inc.	\$1000
Occidental Chemical Corporation	500
Parkdale Mills, Inc.	500
West Point Pepperell	500
N.C. Mutual Life Insurance Company	200
Carocon Corporation	100
Florida Atlantic University Foundation	100
Village Companies	100
Pines of Carolina Girl Scout Council	100

And the Center's continuing thanks go to these corporations which recently renewed their support for the Center:

AT&T	\$1000
Carolina Power and Light Company	1000
Carolina Telephone and Telegraph Company	1000
Jefferson-Pilot Corporation	1000
Southern Bell	1000
Unifi, Inc.	1000
Universal Leaf Tobacco Company	1000
Bank of Granite	500
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NCNB Corporation	500
Olson Management Group, Inc.	500
Wilmington Star-News	500
Coastal Lumber Company	250
United Guaranty Corporation	200
The Daily Reflector of Greenville	150
E.I. duPont de Nemours & Company	100
First National Bank of Randolph County	100
Sara Lee Corporation	100
Texasgulf, Inc.	100
DeVries & Associates	in-kind contribution of videotaping Center's 10th Anniversary

AND THANKS TO THESE CORPORATE FOUNDATIONS WHICH MADE CONTRIBUTIONS:

Aetna Life & Casualty Foundation	\$1000
Stedman Foundation	1000
Peoples Bank Foundation	500

LEGISLATIVE STUDY COMMISSIONS, CONTINUED

In the last newsletter, we listed the 59 legislative studies which the 1987 General Assembly authorized the Legislative Research Commission to conduct. This newsletter lists the 30 other studies which were authorized. These studies (listed below) are to be conducted by groups other than the Legislative Research Commission but will also report to the 1989 General Assembly.

Adolescent pregnancy	Public hospitals' survival
Adoptions and surrogate parenthood	Randleman Lake project
Aging	Regional Teachers of the Year
Children and youth	Seafood industry
Corporate law	Secondary schools
Early educational program and preschool services	School dropouts
Executive and legislative salaries	Social services and public assistance
Height limitations near public-use airports	State-administered vaccine manufacturing
Highways	State computer
Judicial selection	State parks and recreation areas
Kindergartens in the public schools	State-owned property
Mental health	Tax fairness
Movie industry	Worker training trust fund
Property tax	Workplace drug testing
Property tax appraisal	Youth suicide

INS AND OUTS IN STATE GOVERNMENT

Ins: Delton Atkinson as director of the State Center for Health Statistics in the Dept. of Human Resources....Tom Bennett as chair of the N.C. Marine Fisheries Commission....Larry D. Billings as personnel director at the Dept. of Transportation, replacing Cloyce B. Alford, who was reassigned to be special assistant for special projects for the deputy secretary....F. R. "Don" Bowen as director of the Office of Public Affairs at the Dept. of Human Resources, replacing Meredith Smith who was appointed special assistant to the Secretary of Administration....Edward R. Bristol as special assistant to the Insurance Commissioner for public information....John D. Butts Jr. as the state's chief medical examiner....Robert E. Chandler III as director of the community assistance division in the Dept. of Natural Resources and Community Development (NRCD)....David G. DeVries as administrator for the state health plan for teachers and state employees....Samuel L. Erby as head of the new Dept. of Insurance Regional Office in Asheville....Carlton E. Fellers named to a Special Superior Court judgeship....Jesse Goodman as director of intergovernmental relations for the Dept. of Human Resources, replacing William H. Franklin Jr....Jimmy Green as chairman of the governor's Task Force on the Farm Economy....David W. Guth as public information officer for the Dept. of Correction....Lloyd V. Hackley as chancellor of Fayetteville State University....Joseph L. Hamilton as director of Division of Prisons and Lynn C. Phillips as deputy director....S. Ellis Hankins as general counsel for the N.C. League of Municipalities....Judith D. Hanna as executive director of the N.C. Council on the Status of Women, replacing Betty J. Budd....John J. Higgins III as deputy secretary for government operations in the Dept. of Administration....Ruth Hines as chair of Commission for Mental Health, Mental Retardation, and Substance Abuse Services....John C. Hunter as the governor's legal counsel....J. Phillips L. Johnston as administrator of the state credit union division in the Dept. of Commerce....Tom McNamara as Vice Chairman of the Governor's Crime Commission....Charles W. Moore as head of the new business license information office under the Secretary of State....Lynn R. Muchmore as assistant secretary for administration and intergovernmental relations in NRCD....Leslie L. Parker as head of the new Dept. of Insurance Regional Office in New Bern....Michael S. Pedneau appointed director of Dorothea Dix Hospital....W. Paul Powell as deputy commissioner for the Alcoholic Beverage Control Commission....Mary Joan Pugh as assistant secretary for natural resources in NRCD....Donald L. Smith named to the N.C. Court of Appeals....Chrystal Harris Stowe as special assistant to the director of the division of policy and planning in the Dept. of Administration....James L. Stowe as executive director of the N.C. Human Relations Council....John C. Stuart as assistant secretary of NRCD for parks and recreation resources....Don Taylor as assistant secretary for budget and management in the Dept. of Human Resources....Juliann Tenney as assistant secretary of the Dept. of Commerce....Alfred C. Warlick III as public affairs director for the Dept. of Crime Control and Public Safety....Joyce F. Wasdell as the governor's adviser for elementary and secondary education.

Other: Mary Beth Edelman elected as President of Conservation Council of N.C.William C. Friday as the executive director of the William R. Kenan Jr. Charitable Trust....Lark Hayes as executive director of the Southern Environmental Law Center....Steve Levitas as director of the N.C. Chapter of the Environmental Defense Fund....Jerry Schill as executive director of the N.C. Fisheries Association.... John M. Syria as executive director for the N.C. Association of Long Term Care Facilities....Gene Upchurch III as N.C. lobbyist for Southern Bell.

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