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**Center Identifies New Trends in Rankings of the
50 Most Influential Lobbyists**

The N.C. Center for Public Policy Research today unveiled its latest list of the state's 50 most influential lobbyists, identifying three new trends in the rankings. First, the Center says, the number of new faces with influence is on the rise; second, more lobbyists are forming teams to win their way with legislators; and third, hot public issues like health care are fueling higher rankings for some lobbyists.

Although there was little movement among the top five spots, thirty percent of the lobbyists ranked as most influential never have been ranked before. "When you consider the influx of newcomers and the shifts within the rankings, it's apparent that a new generation of lobbyists has arrived," says Ran Coble, the Center's executive director.

Zeb Alley, who represents 18 clients with business/industry interests, received the top ranking for the fourth year in a row. Rounding out the top five spots are Allen Adams, representing Arts Advocates and the N.C. Headstart Association; Roger Bone, legislative liaison for the Department of Community Colleges and also representing Chem-Nuclear Systems and the Tobacco Institute; Sam Johnson, representing IBM and N.C. Associated Industries; and Bill Holman, representing the Sierra Club and other environmental groups.

A New Generation of Most Influential Lobbyists

Fifteen of the 50 top lobbyists this legislative session have not previously been ranked among the most influential. Jim Phillips Jr. (11th), Governor Hunt's legislative liaison, is the highest-ranked newcomer. Other newcomers to the rankings include John McMillan (18th), representing 14 clients; D.G. Martin Jr. (20th), legislative liaison for the UNC system; Harry Kaplan (21st), representing Kaiser Foundation Health Plan of N.C.; Gene Upchurch (22nd), representing Southern Bell; John Niblock (23rd), representing the N.C. Child Advocacy Institute; Phil Kirk (26th), representing N.C. Citizens for Business and Industry; and Mike Carpenter (29th), representing the N.C. Home Builders Association.

Carpenter attributes the success of fellow newcomers to their "ability to take care of business in committee, winning their battles there instead of on the floor." Center director Coble says, "The committee system is the key part of the lawmaking process. The floor is for show, and the committees are for go. Influential lobbyists learn the committee system and use it to their client's advantage."

The Evolution of Lobbying in Teams

Many of the traditional lobbying powerhouses in the legislature increased their clout by sending

teams of lobbyists to Raleigh this session. Six organizations and corporations -- the American Petroleum Institute, Southern Bell, Carolina Power & Light Company, Citizens for Property Rights, the N.C. Retail Merchants Association, and the N.C. Association of County Commissioners -- each are represented by three lobbyists ranked among the 50 most influential lobbyists. The American Petroleum Institute retains the three who collectively rank the highest, with Zeb Alley (1st), Marvin Musselwhite (8th), and Lawrence Bewley (16th) heading their lobbying team. Ten other organizations and corporations -- the Alliance of American Insurers, American Insurance Association, Amusement Machine Association, Blue Cross and Blue Shield of N.C., N.C. Citizens for Business and Industry, North Carolina Association of Educators, ElectriCities of N.C., N.C. Hospital Association, Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, and Microelectronics Center of N.C. -- each are represented by two lobbyists ranked among the most influential.

Thirty-one of the 50 top lobbyists -- or 62% -- represent a single corporation, client, or interest. Twenty-one of the 37 lobbyists, or 57%, ranked in 1991-92 represented single clients.

Health Care This Year's Hot Lobbying Issue

Researchers at the Center note that in each legislative session, some issue moves to the front burner of public attention, and lobbyists working on that issue tend to move up in the rankings. In 1993, the hot issue was health care. Many lobbyists representing clients with interests in health care ranked among the most influential. They include Zeb Alley and Harry Kaplan, representing Kaiser Foundation Health Plan; Allen Adams, representing Maxicare North Carolina; Roger Bone and Brad Adcock, representing Blue Cross and Blue Shield of N.C.; Marvin Musselwhite, representing the N.C. Obstetrical and Gynecological Society; Bill Pully and John Bode, representing the N.C. Hospital Association; and Janis Ramquist, representing Nurse Anesthetists as well as the N.C. State Optometric Society.

Biggest Gains in the Rankings

Another example of the potency of the health care issue is the fact that the lobbyist who gained the most ground in the latest rankings is Pam Silberman. Silberman moved up from a tie for 35th in 1991-92 to 15th this year. In 1993, Silberman represented the N.C. Legal Services Resource Center. She also represented the N.C. Primary Health Care Association and helped to create the N.C. Health Access Coalition, which is composed of 149 advocacy groups interested in comprehensive health care reform from a consumer perspective. "The interest in health care reform expressed by citizens in the 1992 elections put health care on the legislative agenda," Coble says. "That, plus Silberman's individual skills, helped boost her influence." Silberman is now the deputy director for the N.C. Health Planning Commission.

The other lobbyist who jumped substantially in the rankings was Lawrence Bewley, who moved up from 30th in 1991-92 to 16th in the current rankings. Bewley is a contract lobbyist¹ representing 12 clients with business and industry interests, including American Express, R.J. Reynolds Tobacco, and Citizens for Property Rights.

Who Has the Clout -- The Lobbyist or the Client Behind the Lobbyist?

The Center notes that some lobbyists may benefit from the stature of their clients. For instance, there have been different individuals working as legislative liaisons for the Governor's Office and the

¹Contract lobbyists are those who represent multiple clients on a contract basis.

UNC system in recent legislative sessions, yet each has consistently ranked highly. Coble says this suggests a combination of the talent of the lobbyist and the clout of the client. Jim Phillips Jr., legislative liaison for Governor Jim Hunt, debuts at 11th this year. Ward Purrington, Governor Jim Martin's legislative liaison, ranked 32nd (of the 40 lobbyists ranked that year) in the 1989-90 rankings.

During the 1993 session, the UNC system's legislative liaison, Jay M. Robinson, helped secure a statewide bond issue of \$310 million in capital projects for 16 campuses. Robinson ranked 10th this year. D.G. Martin, Robinson's successor and a lawyer as well as a former Democratic nominee for Congress, debuts at 20th in the 1993-94 rankings. Their predecessor, R.D. McMillan, also consistently ranked among the most influential lobbyists.

Women Maintain the Ground They Gained Last Time

Continuing a recent trend, women captured 11 of the 50 spots, or 22%. Janis Ramquist, who represents clients with health care, education, and business interests, is the highest ranked woman this year at 14th. Ramquist notes that the membership of the legislature is becoming more diversified. "The composition of the lobbying corps is following that trend," she says.

Six of the women ranked among the most influential represent clients with business/industry interests, including Susan Valauri of Nationwide Insurance, Leslie Bevacqua who represents Glaxo and Sandoz Chemical Corporation, Alice Garland of ElectriCities of N.C., Anne Griffith of N.C. Citizens for Business and Industry, and Fran Preston of the N.C. Retail Merchants Association. In the 1991-92 rankings, nine of the 37 (28%) lobbyists ranked were women.

Lawyers Who Are Former Legislators Still Have An Edge

Since the Center began asking legislators and others to name the most influential lobbyists in 1982, lawyers who are former legislators have consistently dominated the rankings. This time, 21 of 50 ranked lobbyists -- or 42% -- are lawyers, but only nine of 50 -- or less than 20% -- are former legislators. Sixteen of the 37 lobbyists (43%) ranked in 1991-92 were lawyers, and ten (27%) were former legislators.

Five public interest lobbyists² appear in this year's rankings: Bill Holman (5th), Pam Silberman (15th), Roslyn Savitt (17th), John Niblock (23rd), and Jo Ann Norris (30th). Niblock, who represents the N.C. Child Advocacy Institute, is the newcomer in this group. Governor Hunt proposed an early childhood development initiative called Smart Start in 1993, and Niblock's nonprofit institute supported Hunt's proposal. In 1993, Niblock also lobbied for the strengthening of child abuse laws and an improvement in child/staff ratios at child care centers.

Five lobbyists ranked this time will not return in 1995, opening up the rankings for even more changes two years from now. Gene Causby of the N.C. School Boards Association and Jay Robinson of the UNC System retired; Bob Berlam resigned as director of the State Employees Association; Jim Phillips has returned to his law practice in Greensboro; and Pam Silberman left the N.C. Legal Services

² A public interest lobbyist is defined as someone who seeks a collective good, the achievement of which will not selectively and materially benefit the membership of the organization. This definition excludes groups which engage in some public interest lobbying but have as their primary purpose the benefit and protection of their membership.

Resource Center to become the deputy director of the N.C. Health Planning Commission.

This is the seventh time the North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research has released its lobbyist rankings. The rankings are based on results from a survey conducted during the fall of 1993 after adjournment of the regular session of the North Carolina General Assembly. All state legislators, as well as 350 legislative liaisons and registered lobbyists based in North Carolina, and 33 capital news correspondents were asked to list the 10 most influential lobbyists and/or legislative liaisons of the 1993 General Assembly session.

Eighty-six of the then-119 House members (72%) responded to the Center's survey (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%), 168 of the 350 lobbyists and legislative liaisons (48%), and 17 of 33 capital news correspondents (52%). The overall rate of response was 57%, which is well above standards of statistical reliability.

During the 1993 session, 493 lobbyists were registered with the Secretary of State, representing 548 different companies or organizations. The Secretary of State says there are 1,141 lobbyists registered, but this figure may count the same lobbyist 10 times if she or he has 10 different clients. The Center's calculations count each lobbyist only once. There were also 205 legislative liaisons representing 25 different state government agencies and licensing boards.

The North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research is an independent, nonpartisan, nonprofit corporation created to study public policy issues facing North Carolina and to evaluate state government programs. The Center is supported in part by grants from the Z. Smith Reynolds and Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundations, both in Winston-Salem. Additional funding comes from seven other private foundations, 150 corporate contributors, and more than 875 individual and organizational members. The Center publishes a magazine called *North Carolina Insight* and issues book-length research reports. The Center has recently conducted studies on how the state's public universities evaluate and reward teaching performance, ways to increase voter participation, and the cost of running for the N.C. legislature.

The lobbyist rankings are available for \$5.00 from the North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, P.O. Box 430, Raleigh, NC 27602. They are a companion piece to *Article II: A Guide to the 1993-94 N.C. Legislature*, which, with the legislative rankings, is available for \$30.50. Both prices include postage and handling. *Article II* is a directory of legislators serving in the 1993-94 session. It includes each legislator's educational background, occupation, list of bills introduced, committee assignments, voting records, and effectiveness rankings.

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