

INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted you will find a target note listing the pages in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

University
Microfilms
International

300 N. ZEEB RD., ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

8126534

NASTAS, GEORGE III

THE MICHIGAN BUSINESS LOBBYIST: CHANGING ENVIRONMENT,
CHANGING NEEDS

Michigan State University

PH.D. 1981

University
Microfilms
International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1981

by

Nastas, George III

All Rights Reserved

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy.
Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark ✓.

1. Glossy photographs or pages _____
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print _____
3. Photographs with dark background _____
4. Illustrations are poor copy _____
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy _____
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page _____
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages ✓
8. Print exceeds margin requirements _____
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine _____
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print _____
11. Page(s) _____ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) _____ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered _____. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages _____
15. Other _____

University
Microfilms
International

THE MICHIGAN BUSINESS LOBBYIST: CHANGING
ENVIRONMENT, CHANGING NEEDS

By

George Nastas III

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Marketing and Transportation
Administration

1981

© Copyright by
GEORGE NASTAS III
1981

ABSTRACT

THE MICHIGAN BUSINESS LOBBYIST: CHANGING ENVIRONMENT, CHANGING NEEDS

By

George Nastas III

Purpose

This study examines lobbyists who represent business organizations to the Michigan State Legislature in order to learn something of their personal characteristics, their preparation for lobbying, how they were recruited, their business life, and what they perceive to be ideal business lobbyist preparation, based upon their experiences as business lobbyists.

Frame of Reference

While a number of empirically based studies have been done on the legislative lobbyist at the federal and state levels of government, none has focused on the state business lobbyist in this way. They have looked instead at the entire category of lobbyists representing a variety of types of interest groups. Nevertheless, these studies have served as a guide in planning this research study.

Collection of Data

In February 1980, a census was taken of 163 business interest lobbyists registered to lobby during the 1979-1980 Michigan Legislative

Session. Seventy-four of these lobbyists returned the mail survey questionnaire, and their responses form the basis of the study's findings.

Major Findings

The Michigan business lobbyist is predominantly male, middle-aged, married with children, born and reared in Michigan in an urban setting, and well educated. The majority of the respondents have at least a college degree in one of the social sciences. Many have had prior government employment experience.

On the average, the study respondents began lobbying in their late thirties. The majority of them have worked for more than one organization. In general, the respondents possess at least six years of lobbying experience.

Results indicate that the survey respondents tend to have spent little time planning to become lobbyists. For the most part, they became lobbyists for their organizations subsequent to working for those organizations in some other capacity. Typically, the lobbyists appear to have obtained their position as a consequence of having had some prior "inside" contact with the lobbying organization or with lobbying activities, rather than having entered the career from a totally unrelated field of work. In general, respondents report having had no formal training for the position of business lobbyist. Instead, they cite prior work experience in business, government, or politics as their preparation for this career.

Factors which the respondents feel are most important in determining whether an individual would be successful as a business lobbyist include an ability to sell ideas, honesty, an interest in the job, job knowledge, and a pleasant personality. Consistent with these factors, respondents would look for specific traits and personal characteristics, as well as related employment and educational experiences, in the background of a prospective business lobbyist when making a hiring decision. Education and experience in communication, politics, government, and business are emphasized, with experience stressed over education. The respondents preferred a candidate with some college or a college degree. However, the lack of a degree would not be a barrier to employment as a lobbyist, because possession of other characteristics could result in the candidate's being hired. A bias against the hiring of a new college graduate as a business lobbyist was found in the study participants' responses.

Research findings indicate that there is a new state legislative environment requiring a business lobbyist with more than the traditional job preparation. He must be familiar with the legislative process and the individuals involved, the business organization and its interests, and all relevant issues. He should possess effective research, analysis, and communication skills in order to be able to make and sell his recommendations to both clients and legislators. And his performance should reflect advance preparation, good organization, good judgment, a sense of timing, and a reputation for being well informed and honest.

To George and Stella Nastas

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Without the assistance of certain Michigan business lobbyists, this dissertation would not have been possible. Let me here express my appreciation to those individuals for their participation in this research effort.

I should also like to thank the members of my dissertation committee who have provided guidance and support from the initial phases on through the completion of this work. Special thanks are due to Dr. Donald A. Taylor who served as chairperson of the dissertation committee at Michigan State University. His role in this capacity, as well as his support throughout my doctoral program is gratefully acknowledged. Drs. M. Bixby Cooper and Stoakley W. Swanson also served on the dissertation committee. Dr. Cooper provided guidance at the start of this project and in its completion. Dr. Swanson provided assistance in the formulation and execution of the project. Their advice was always constructive and is greatly appreciated.

Finally, for their encouragement and support of my doctoral program efforts, I wish to acknowledge my family and especially my parents, without whom this program would have been much more difficult.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vii
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Purpose	1
Background of the Study	3
Scope of the Study	5
Frame of Reference	6
Significance of the Study	7
Limitations of the Study	8
The Organization of this Report	9
II. REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE	10
Introductory Comment	10
Need for a New Business Lobbyist	10
Empirically Based Studies of State Legislative Lobbyists	15
The Michigan Lobbyist	16
The Oklahoma Lobbyist	21
The Illinois Lobbyist	23
Massachusetts, North Carolina, Oregon, and Utah Lobbyists	27
The Nebraska Lobbyist	31
The New England Lobbyist	34
Concluding Comment	38
III. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	39
Introductory Comment	39
Research Design	39
The Population	40
Research Methodology	43
Pretest	45
Survey Prenotification Telephone Message	49
Survey Cover Letter	50
Survey Questionnaire	50
Survey Procedure	53
Nonresponse Error	55

Chapter	Page
Data Editing and Coding	56
Data Analysis	57
Disposition of the Data	58
Concluding Comment	59
IV. RESULTS	60
Introductory Comment	60
"About Yourself"	61
"About Any Previous Government Experience"	65
"About Your Job History"	66
"About Your Business Life"	69
"Ideal Recruitment and Preparation"	88
About the Nonrespondent	107
Nonrespondent Profile	108
Concluding Comment	113
V. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	114
Introductory Comment	114
Review of the Study Objectives	114
Study Audience	115
Summary	115
State Legislative Environment	116
Description of the Business Lobbyist	116
Business Lobbyist's Life	117
Recruitment of the Business Lobbyist	119
Ideal Preparation of the Business Lobbyist	120
Conclusions	122
Importance of the Role and Preparation of the Business Lobbyist	123
Selection Criteria for Business Lobbyists	124
Program of Preparation for the Business Lobbyist	128
Socialization	128
Formal Education	130
Work Experience	134
Summary of the Program of Preparation	135
Role of the Business School	136
Recommendations	138
Concluding Comment	141
Appendix	
A. TELEPHONE PRENOTIFICATION STATEMENT	147
B. REPRINT OF COVER LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE	149
C. DATA RECORD FORMATS	163
LIST OF REFERENCES	186

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
3.1 Comparison of the Identified Respondents with the Population by Location	43
4.1 Age of Respondents	61
4.2 Marital Status of Respondents	62
4.3 Birthplace of Respondents	62
4.4 State Where Respondents Were Reared	63
4.5 Urban/Rural Environment During Respondents' Youth . . .	63
4.6 Highest Level of Formal Education Attained	64
4.7 College Undergraduate Major	65
4.8 Prior Government Experience	66
4.9 Years of Lobbying Experience	67
4.10 Age of Registration as a Lobbyist	67
4.11 Number of Organizations for which the Respondent Has Worked	68
4.12 Types of Jobs Held	69
4.13 Form of Compensation	70
4.14 Client Summary	71
4.15 Job Responsibility Areas	72
4.16 Most Important Job Responsibility Area	73
4.17 Second Most Important Job Responsibility Area	73
4.18 Third Most Important Job Responsibility Area	74
4.19 Job Responsibility Areas, Totals	74

Table	Page
4.20 Years Employed by Current Organization	75
4.21 Years Lobbying for Current Organization	75
4.22 Time Spent Lobbying During Legislative Sessions	76
4.23 Time Spent Lobbying Between Legislative Sessions . . .	76
4.24 Time Spent Planning to Become a Lobbyist	78
4.25 How First Lobbyist Position Was Obtained	79
4.26 Factors Influencing Career Decision	82
4.27 Job Satisfaction Items	83
4.28 Job Dissatisfaction Items	84
4.29 Job Recruitment Methods	89
4.30 Success Factors	90
4.31 Hiring Factors	92
4.32 New College Graduate as a Business Lobbyist	94
4.33 Greatest Educational Weaknesses	97
4.34 Formal Education Requirement	98
4.35 Educational Areas Important to Lobbyist Effectiveness	100
4.36 Recommended College Major	101
4.37 Department Responsible for Training	102
4.38 Program of Study	103
4.39 First Work Experience	105
4.40 Evaluation of Experience Areas	106
4.41 Nonrespondent Educational Background	109
4.42 Nonrespondent College Major	110
4.43 Nonrespondent Time Spent Lobbying During Legislative Sessions	111

Table		Page
4.44	Nonrespondent Time Spent Lobbying Between Legislative Sessions	111
5.1	Educational Areas	131

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The Michigan business lobbyist represents one or more business professional groups, single businesses or corporations, and/or business or trade associations to the Michigan State Legislature. The lobbyist's role varies according to his concept of how to achieve the goal of affecting legislation in order to benefit his client/employer. The lobbyist may be involved primarily as a contact man who conceives of his job as making and maintaining contacts, personal acquaintanceships, and friendships with individual legislators on behalf of his client; as an informant who sees his job as effectively presenting his client's case through prepared information directed to individual legislators, or through presentation before legislative committees; or as a watchdog who conceives of his job as being aware of legislative activity, and of how it may affect his client group, and of signaling the group as developments warrant.¹ Thus, the lobbyist may initiate and maintain contacts with, educate, and influence state legislators, as well as monitor and report legislative activities and trends to the organization(s) the lobbyist represents.

The success of the business organization may be directly related to the success of its lobbyist in carrying out these activities, since

business performance may be influenced by the state political-legal environment in which the organization operates. The more favorable this environment is to the business organization, the more successful the organization may be in achieving its objectives. Conversely, an inhospitable legislative climate may make it more difficult for the state's businesses to achieve their objectives and serve their customers. Thus, those who have business interests should be concerned about the business lobbyist and the preparation of the lobbyist for representing a business organization to the state legislature.

Since the business lobbyist plays an important role as a link between the business organization and the Michigan State Legislature, it is important to have a profile of the lobbyist--what preparation he has received for lobbying, how he was recruited, how his career has developed, and in light of his experience, what he now perceives as ideal educational preparation for his career. It is the purpose of this study to examine the Michigan business lobbyist with a view toward gaining a better understanding of the lobbyist's characteristics and preparation for lobbying activities. In addition, lobbyists' perceptions of ideal educational preparation, as well as any possible role for the business school in that preparation, will be probed. Thus, the goal of the study is first, to provide an understanding of the Michigan business legislative lobbyist, and second, to present a prescription for future business lobbyist preparation.

Background of the Study

As mentioned earlier, the success of the business organization may be facilitated by a favorable political-legal environment, or may be impeded by an unfavorable environment. This environment at the state government level is shaped by the state legislature. Indeed, legislative activity in such areas as taxation, consumerism, and environmental protection has already affected and continues to affect the business organization.

In broad terms, there are a number of reasons why these laws and regulations have increased in the past and may be expected to grow in number, in areas of interest, and in magnitude of influence on business organizations in the future.

First, there is a growing public concern about how business carries out its activities and the goals to which it subscribes. In a report published by The Conference Board, one corporate spokesperson, in speaking to his company's external relations, has said:

The heart of the matter is the future of our corporate existence; the continuation of our economic system. Business' argument is that the classic functions of business, if allowed to operate efficiently, will permit benefits to trickle down. But there is serious and increasing concern on the part of the public that the system is not working, that business has too much power and too little accountability. Many outside groups no longer trust business.²

The report goes on, "From the deterioration of business credibility flow, to a large extent, other key issues of major concern to top executives: government over-regulation of business; indeed, the future viability of the free enterprise system."³ Thus public discontent may

manifest itself in state legislative activity which, in turn, may affect business performance.

For other reasons, to be elaborated upon in the initial portion of Chapter Two, more business attention should be devoted to state legislative activity:

- The increased interest group activity at the state legislative level, both pro and con to business interests.
- The growth of state government in size, areas of involvement, and amount of legislation.
- The changes in the composition of the state legislature to younger, more socially conscious individuals who may not be as pro-business as prior legislators may have been.
- The escalating level of government intervention in business practices.⁴

Many of the resulting interventions by state government may be expected to occur in the marketing domain, as well as in other business functional areas. An example of the serious ramifications for Michigan's businesses of legislative intervention in the marketing domain is the "bottle bill." This law requires consumers to pay a container deposit when purchasing beverages in order to reduce littering. It also requires retailers to make a substantial investment to facilitate beverage container recycling.

Since government laws and regulations can profoundly affect the environment within which the business organization operates, many businesses are actively concerned with this aspect of the environment, and

attempt to influence it. This influence seeks to enhance the business organization's probability of success, and to support or counterbalance the effects of other groups which may be attempting to influence the business organization's operations through government. According to one source, "As a result, a number of companies are either revitalizing their state government relations efforts or establishing whole new programs."⁵

As a consequence, the state business legislative lobbyist has become more important. Thus, it is important not only to know more about the "typical" lobbyist, but to assist in improving the lobbyist's preparation to represent his organization. Attempts to improve the career preparation of the lobbyist by identifying educational requirements and proposing educational solutions may result in a more effective business lobbyist. As the business organization is more effectively represented to the state legislature, a more favorable political-legal environment may develop. This may facilitate the achievement of not only the firm's objectives, but also the social and economic objectives (such as the satisfaction of consumer wants and the efficient use of resources) which business organizations in sum achieve when functioning effectively.

Scope of the Study

This study is confined to those individuals whose names appear on the list of registered legislative agents as filed with the Campaign Finance Reporting Office of the Michigan Department of State for the 1979-1980 Michigan Legislative Session.⁶ Only those individuals who

indicated during registration that they represented business professional groups, single businesses or corporations, and/or business or trade associations were selected for the study.

The State of Michigan represents an important state in which to conduct such a study, in light of its significant impact upon the economic well-being of the nation. In addition, Michigan is among a handful of states which are generally conceded to be leaders in innovative legislation affecting industry.⁷

Initially, in formulating this study, a major concern was whether the cooperation of Michigan business lobbyists could be secured, inasmuch as they might consider themselves to be "politically sensitive," and thus prefer not to be studied. However, discussions with Senator William Sederberg and Representative Lynn Jondahl of the Michigan State Legislature suggested that Michigan business lobbyists would cooperate with the study.⁸ Also, prior studies indicated cooperation by lobbyists. The timing of the survey and the length of the study questionnaire were also of concern, since as the session progressed, business lobbyists would have less free time to participate in the study. With regard to questionnaire length, pretest results led to changes in the questionnaire designed to increase the response rate to the study questionnaire.

Frame of Reference

While a number of empirically based studies have been done on the legislative lobbyist at the federal and state government levels, none has focused on the state business lobbyist. They have instead

examined lobbyists in general representing a variety of interest groups. Prior studies have considered such aspects as the background of lobbyists, their role orientation, lobbying techniques, and lobbying performance. This study, while based on the design, methodology, and findings of these previous surveys, seeks to move beyond them and to probe in greater depth the state business lobbyist group.

Significance of the Study

This study extends the reader's knowledge and understanding of the business lobbyist operating at the Michigan State Legislature in terms of the lobbyist's personal background, career preparation and recruitment, and business life. In addition, a "profile" of what business lobbyists perceive to be ideal educational preparation for lobbying is developed.

For the individual contemplating, planning, or working toward a career as a state legislative lobbyist for a business organization, the study results which follow describe the business lobbyist as well as suggest educational training requirements.

For the individual business lobbyist, as well as the business organization, the results of this study provide a more complete understanding of the Michigan business lobbyist than has been available heretofore. The individual lobbyist may compare his own characteristics, and/or the business organization may compare its lobbyists with the population under study. In addition, comparisons may be made between the individual's preparation and what the lobbyists studied perceived to be ideal educational preparation to identify possible

educational weaknesses. Once identified, weaknesses can be overcome through education and training. These applications should result in a better prepared business lobbyist.

Assuming that a better prepared business lobbyist would do a more effective job of representing the business organization to the state legislature, a more favorable state political-legal environment could evolve for the business organization--an environment in which the business organization's performance may be improved.

Comparisons and contrasts are made, where appropriate, between the results of this study and those of previous studies on the entire population of lobbyists at various state legislatures. Evolutionary changes have been recognized.

Finally, this study may have the effect of encouraging other business schools to examine this and other aspects of the business-government relationship, and to highlight the importance of that relationship. It also demonstrates the role of the business school in educating business lobbyists, and others involved in the interaction of business with government.

Limitations of the Study

The results of this study are restricted to business lobbyists registered with the State of Michigan for the 1979-1980 Michigan Legislative Session, and are not meant to be generalized beyond that population. Thus, the results are qualified by the types of business lobbyists registered, the business organizations represented, and the issues of interest at the Michigan State Legislature during the period of study.

The results are also limited by the representativeness of the respondents (i.e., the study response rate and the characteristics of the respondents). To the extent that the respondents vary from the population of Michigan business lobbyists as a whole, the results represent to a lesser degree the entire population studied. A contrast between the respondents and the whole population studied is presented in Chapter Three.

Finally, the results may be limited by the methodology used. Specifically, there may be some response errors due to the misinterpretation of survey questions by the respondents. This has been minimized, however, by the pretest of the questionnaire. Also, question misinterpretation was not detected during the coding of the data.

The Organization of this Report

This introductory chapter has served to acquaint the reader with the purpose and significance of the study conducted, as well as with its limitations. Chapter Two provides the empirical basis for the study by reviewing the relevant literature on past lobbyist studies. It focuses on each study's objectives, population, research design, methodology, and results, as they pertain to this study.

The research design and the methodology used to carry out the study are presented in Chapter Three of this report. Results of the study are presented and discussed in Chapter Four. Finally, in Chapter Five conclusions are reached concerning the results of the study, and recommendations made with regard to possible courses of future research in the area under investigation.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

Introductory Comment

In this chapter, a review of literature relevant to the study of Michigan business lobbyists is presented. The chapter is divided into two major sections. In the first section, the need for a more effective business lobbyist is developed. Ideas introduced earlier, which were linked to the purpose of this study, are expanded upon. The second section is devoted to a review of a number of empirically based studies of lobbyists--studies which have formed a foundation for this study.

Need for a New Business Lobbyist

As indicated in Chapter One, the state government environment has become more important for the business organization. This section explores how that environment has changed, and how the lobbyist and his preparation for lobbying should change in order for the business organization to successfully influence its state government environment.¹ The vehicle for this exploration is the article, "Larger Stakes in State-House Lobbying," by Martin Haley and James Kiss.²

According to these authors, "business has too often ignored the altered composition of state government and the powerful new forces working at that level."³

These same authors also state:

consumer and conservation groups aim to influence the content of government decisions without organizing to gain office. . . . Lumped under the loose heading of "public interest advocates," and drawing their manpower and money from the middle class, these new interests . . . provide more than effective checks and balances against business and industry.

.

To the consumer, public interest advocacy looks more wholesome and more legitimate than the private interest. With a constituency larger than that of business and industry and with noneconomic or nonmaterial objectives, the public interest advocates are accorded greater attention in the press.⁴

The seeds of public interest advocacy have found fertile ground and prospered in the changing nature of state government. Part of this changing nature is the "pluralization of government--the spreading of power in the decision-making process."⁵ There has been a rapid increase, for instance, in the number of state administrative and regulatory agencies. Public interest groups have shared in the development of this pluralization, and they have geared themselves to operate effectively in this environment.

Most new state agencies and commissions are created to fit today's social conditions and to serve the "public good." When conflicts arise, this charter gives public interest advocates a decided advantage. Often appearing to share the same goals and values, they and governmental units form a natural alliance.⁶

These agencies are also actively pursuing state legislation to achieve their goals.

The enormous increase in state agencies has created a need for enabling legislation. Every agency brings to every legislative session its program, including a file of bills to be introduced.⁷

Thus, powerful new forces are operating at state legislatures--forces which advocate positions on issues and introduce an ever-mounting volume of new ideas and proposals, many of which may be of interest to or require a response from business organizations.

The nature of the state legislature is also changing:

Throughout most of U.S. history, at least up to the 1930s, legislatures conducted their business in a casual and leisurely manner. The atmosphere, when they met for 30 to 90 days every other year, was like that of a comfortable club.⁸

Now, however, with a heavier workload of legislative proposals, legislators are meeting more often and for longer periods. "In many states, when sessions end, interim committees continue to work."⁹ Also, the law-making process has opened up to include more sources and other influences, in ways "that reduce certainty of outcome and dilute both external and internal control."¹⁰ Finally, there is a new breed of legislator attracted by:

the growing importance of law-making bodies, higher salaries, and the opportunities that longer sessions provide for meaningful work. . . .

.

The new legislators tend to be activists, independent thinkers, and strong individuals. They are consumer and ecology minded. While not necessarily anti-business, they are certainly not business oriented. They share neither the perspective nor value judgments that come from knowing how to read a p&l statement and examining a balance sheet. Most have never been called on to weigh the cost and benefits of economic activities in terms of the community's livelihood. . . . They are prone to view with disfavor proposals from old style lobbyists representing business.¹¹

These new legislators have had their influence on older legislators who now:

feel obligated to give greater consideration than they formerly did to the merits of any legislative proposal. Most wish to give at least the appearance of careful judgment and independent appraisal. This attitude helps make old-style lobbying obsolete.¹²

This changed state government environment makes the job of business more difficult and more complex. While the authors call for an enhanced and altered government relations program, they also stress the need for a new kind of business lobbyist and better lobbying preparation:

the older forms of special access and personal relations are not very effective in the new lobbying framework. Lunches, small favors, and so forth are welcome as tokens of civility. But as techniques of influence, they are being overtaken and superseded by specialized knowledge, integrative analysis, and planning.

The size and complexity of state government has reached a scale in which sound research and professional expertise rather than lay enlightenment are the critical ingredients in policy formulation.¹³

The lobbyist can be an extremely important aid to state legislators who want to do a good job, but often lack well-staffed committees or a good research service.

For them the lobbyist can be a critical resource. Under these circumstances, his effectiveness depends increasingly on his degree of specialization and his ability to impart precise information, even on technical matters. These requirements result in extra demands on the lobbyist for his time and on the client for support in research and staffing.

The complexity of issues and the proliferation of structure dealing with them makes the job of assessing the ramifications of a problem very difficult. The legislator wants to know how a particular decision will affect sectors across the policy spectrum. . . . The lobbyist must have, first, a procedure to gather and process information and, second, the ability to make an integrative analysis.¹⁴

Planning also takes on a greater role:

The lobbyist must be able to assist the legislators occasionally in their deliberations on long-range future options, which should be oriented toward the way things will be or should be rather than toward the way things are. . . .

Both lawmaker and lobbyist must try to deal objectively with complicated problems that have no easy or even "right" answer. This task requires good judgment, a sense of timing, advanced preparation, and good organization. What counts most for today's lobbyist is a reputation for being well-informed and honest, being able to gather, analyze, and impart information, and being able to make sound recommendations to both client and to legislators.¹⁵

The article reviewed highlights the changing state legislative environment of the business organization and the need for a "new" lobbyist with different and enhanced preparation which will allow the business organization to interface more effectively with the state legislature. It points to the types of specialized skills which lobbyists may need in the future to achieve their objectives. It de-emphasizes the traditional influence-oriented techniques which once were prevalent, and emphasizes the expertise and research, analysis, and communication skills now required.

Now, in light of this new environment, what about prior lobbyist studies? What kind of preparation for the challenging job of lobbying do prior studies document? The following review of previous empirical studies of state legislative lobbyists provides some answers to these questions.

Empirically Based Studies of State
Legislative Lobbyists

Several prior empirical studies of state legislative lobbyists form a foundation for this study. These studies have been helpful in fashioning the research design and methodology, and in interpreting the results of this study. They have also provided a basis for comparison in some areas with the results of this study. However, this review is not meant to provide an exhaustive coverage of the "state of the art" of organizational lobbying. Furthermore, it should be noted that these studies:

1. Cover legislative lobbyists in general, representing a variety of interest groups at the state level of government. As such, they do not reveal much about the Michigan business lobbyist in particular.
2. Are oriented toward purposes other than examining lobbyist preparation, recruitment, perceived ideal preparation, and the role of the business school in that preparation.
3. Are all over ten years old. As indicated before, much has changed in the environment in which business lobbyists operate.
4. Were conducted by researchers neither oriented, trained, nor interested in business.

Thus, while these studies form a foundation for this study, these limitations must be recognized when comparing them and their results to this study and its results.

Six studies of organization lobbyists are reviewed. Each description consists of the study's purpose, population, research

design and methodology, and findings, where relevant to this study. The studies are reviewed in chronological order and research areas are considered in the same order in every case. The review of the empirically based literature begins with the DeVries' study of the Michigan lobbyist.

The Michigan Lobbyist

This study took place in the same setting as the current study, the State of Michigan. The purpose of the DeVries study was to examine the individual Michigan lobbyist's skills, socioeconomic background, career patterns, use of lobbying techniques, perceptions of role relationships to his organization and to the legislature, and his and others perceptions of his effectiveness as a lobbyist.

In 1958 and early 1959, the author used structured personal interviews of thirty-three lobbyists, sixteen legislative leaders, and eleven news correspondents to gather his data. A panel of experts, selected on the basis of their knowledge of Michigan lobbyists, was used to determine which lobbyists would constitute the focus of the study. This panel was instructed to pick out (from a list of the three hundred sixty-seven individuals who were registered in 1958 as legislative agents) the lobbyists who could be considered as giving the majority of their time to lobbying activity. Of the fifty-five legislative agents selected as potential subjects, thirty-three (60%) actually were interviewed in the course of the study.

The questionnaire consisted mostly of open-ended questions with a few structured questions interspersed throughout. The

confidential interviews generally lasted anywhere from one and one-half to three hours, with two hours the average length. The data gathered from these interviews were both qualitative and quantitative in nature.

Among the findings, a high degree of consensus was found among the study participants concerning which of the fifty-five originally selected lobbyists were most effectively enacting their role (role-enactment being the dependent variable in the study). Next, information was gathered on: (1) role-taking ability or potential, (2) the use of role-associated techniques, and (3) role perceptions of the lobbyists. These three independent variables were hypothesized to be related to the role-enactment of the lobbyists.¹⁶

Evaluation of role-taking ability or potential (composed of certain socioeconomic, political, and demographic variables) revealed that of the thirty-three lobbyists actually interviewed in the study, the majority of the sixteen most effective lobbyists had these socioeconomic characteristics in common:

They were over fifty years of age; born and reared in Michigan; brought up in a metropolitan area; did not complete their college educations; and had fathers with white collar occupations.

The majority of the seventeen less effective lobbyists . . . had these background characteristics in common: they were under fifty years of age; were born and reared in Michigan; were raised in non-metropolitan areas; were college graduates; and had fathers in non-white collar occupations.

The majority of lobbyists claimed Protestant church affiliation; and were married with up to four children.¹⁷

Analysis of the factors that influenced the lobbyists' interest in political and government affairs revealed:

that 64% of the lobbyists perceived that their political awareness did not develop until after their formal schooling was over, and they were well into their pre-lobbying occupational careers. Politically related nongovernmental occupations were cited most frequently by lobbyists as the major source of influence on their interest in political and governmental affairs. In addition, family influence, political and governmental work, and news reporting were the other important factors in the development of political interests.

Pre-lobbying occupational career patterns were heterogeneous, but primarily white collar. Forty-five percent of the lobbyists came from some sort of business administration background, and 39% had governmental occupational backgrounds.¹⁸

The majority of the sixteen most effective lobbyists had certain political and governmental background characteristics in common: they had a previous affiliation with the Republican party; they had more years of political experience than the less effective lobbyists; they were more likely to have previously held high positions in state and local government; and they had more years of governmental experience than the less effective lobbyists. According to DeVries, "All of these political and governmental background variables were statistically related to lobbying effectiveness. . . ." ¹⁹

Regarding recruitment, "most (70%) of the lobbyists perceived their recruitment as the result of being selected and approached by the interest group; 18% said they applied for the position; 9% felt they had 'grown' into the position from within the organization; 12% got their job through friends and contacts; and one was elected to the post." ²⁰

The relationship between the lobbyists' use of time and labor and their effectiveness was that the more effective lobbyists spent more of their time calling on legislators, doing research, in "grass

roots" travel, calling on state agencies, and entertaining than the less effective lobbyists "who spent more time [sic], working in their own offices; calling on others; and on preparing press releases and speeches."²¹

Also, "the years of lobbying experience were highly correlated with lobbying effectiveness. That is, the more years of lobbying experience, the greater the lobbyist's effectiveness."²² In addition, the majority of the most effective lobbyists maintained a year-round Lansing residence.

Study participants agreed on the bases of lobbying effectiveness.

Thirteen bases of effectiveness were perceived and they were in order of their perceived importance, as follows: personality and sociability factors; organizational factors; background and experience; knowledge of, confidence in, and acceptance by legislators; knowledge of the legislative process; entertainment, favors, and assistance; ability to communicate; personal integrity, honesty, and sincerity; "hard work"; political factors; and kind and acceptability of the lobbying "product."²³

The second major independent variable hypothesized to be related to lobbying effectiveness was the use of role-associated, group-approved lobbying techniques.

All of the study participants were agreed on which techniques were the most effective, that is, personal presentation of arguments, presenting research results, testifying at hearings, public relations campaigns, collaboration with other groups, contact by constituents, and persons with special access.²⁴

However, DeVries was unable to relate the use of role-associated lobbying techniques to effective or noneffective role-enactment.²⁵

The third major independent variable hypothesized to be related to lobbying effectiveness was role perceptions. Michigan lobbyists perceived their role functions primarily in defensive and promotional terms, although the data revealed five distinct lobbying roles to DeVries.

The first primary role which became evident was that of promoter-strategist. The lobbyists (24%) who perceived this function as their primary role were those whose organizations expected them to have beneficial legislation introduced to promote the interest group; and the lobbyist would then work out the strategy necessary to secure its passage. Of all five lobbying roles that were ascertained, the role of promoter-strategist was the most difficult to successfully enact. . . . The lobbying role perceived by the majority (52%) of the lobbyists as their primary function was the role of defender-advocate. . . . The hypothesis that lobbyists in the role of defender-advocate tended to be more effective than those required to play the role of promoter-strategist was supported by a high statistical correlation. . . . Fifteen percent of the lobbyists perceived their primary role as a liaison relationship between the Legislators and their interest groups. Six percent of the lobbyists perceived their primary role to be that of "service" to the legislators and they were placed in the role category called "serviceman." One lobbyist . . . perceived his primary function as that of a general public relations man interpreting the business of his clients to the society at large.²⁶

To summarize, considerable attention has been given to this piece of literature, inasmuch as it deals with one subgroup of Michigan lobbyists practicing some twenty years ago. In terms of its areas of interest and its depth of inquiry, this study sheds much light on the Michigan lobbyist. As such, it forms part of the foundation for this study. However, due to the limited number of lobbyists examined, the method used for their selection, and the data analysis employed, DeVries' conclusions, while informative and interesting, must be

considered to be relevant to the specific situation and the individuals involved, rather than very generalizable.

The Oklahoma Lobbyist

In the summer of 1961, Samuel Patterson conducted an exploratory study of the Oklahoma lobbyist. The purpose of his study was to increase the available knowledge of lobbyists in terms of their social and political backgrounds, the types of interests they represented, and the kinds of roles they played.

A mail questionnaire was sent to the sixty-two individuals registered to lobby the Oklahoma House of Representatives at that time. Forty-three (69.4%) of the lobbyists returned the questionnaire.

The profile of the Oklahoma lobbyist that emerges . . . reveals that he is usually a middle-aged, male, well-trained and well-paid, full-time interest group staff member who resides in the capital city, and who is, at least for part of his time, expected by his principals to lobby the legislature.²⁷

Seventy-five percent had some college experience, and almost half had a college degree. The largest occupational group was that of professional association staff (44%)--the executive secretary or legislative director employed by a private association. Lawyers did not dominate the group of lobbyists. (Only four of the respondents indicated their occupation to be that of a lawyer.) While most of the Oklahoma lobbyists (60%) worked half-time or less lobbying during the legislative session, between sessions the vast majority spent less than half of their time lobbying. Thus, lobbyists were ordinarily engaged in activities other than lobbying.²⁸

While a very large proportion (77%) of the state's lobbyists were Democrats, most of the lobbyists had not served in the state legislature, nor held other party or political offices. Partisan political activity by lobbyists was very slight. Lobbying tended to be a self-contained kind of political activity, recruiting few individuals from other modes of political activity. Also, forty-seven percent of the lobbyists were newcomers, having registered for the first time in 1961.²⁹

The greatest proportion of lobbyists (39.6%) represented business groups. Business and professional lobbyists tended to be better educated and better paid than lobbyists for other groups. In contrast, labor and government group lobbyists tended to have more lobbying experience. "At the same time, lobbying by business, professional, and farm groups in Oklahoma is a part-time activity, and in this connection these groups are clearly distinguished from the labor and governmental ones."³⁰

Lobbyists tended to exhibit different role orientations which could be characterized as: (a) Contact Man (i.e., making and maintaining contacts, personal acquaintanceships, and friendships with individual legislators), (b) Informant (i.e., presenting his client's case by means of prepared information directed to legislators or by presentation before legislative committees), or (c) Watchdog (i.e., being aware of legislative activity and how it may affect his client group).³¹ Using this scheme, lobbyists were asked to classify themselves. More than half (53.3%) of those studied were contact men,

the next largest group (25.6%) were watchdogs, and the smallest group (11.6%) were informants. Contact men tended to be younger lobbyists, informants were found to be in the middle range of ages, and watchdogs were oldest in age. A higher proportion of contact men were permanent private association staff members, while the largest single occupational category among informants was the attorney-insurance category. "The Watchdog orientation contains the highest proportion of lobbyists with a college, graduate, or law degree (64%). . . . Informants appear to be paid less for their work, and a higher proportion had served with only one session of the legislature."³² Contact men tended to spend the most time engaged in lobbying activities during the legislative session, watchdogs less time, and informants the least time. Finally, business and labor groups were represented more often by contact men than by watchdogs or informants.

To recapitulate, Patterson's is a census study of lobbyists in a different setting: the State of Oklahoma. It provides background information on the entire body of lobbyists as well as their role orientations, in contrast to the DeVries' study, which describes a select subgroup of lobbyists (those believed to be the most effective according to a panel of experts). In characterizing the lobbyist (and in a limited sense, the business lobbyist), it provides input and some bases of comparison for this study.

The Illinois Lobbyist

The third empirical study herein reviewed was carried out in yet another setting, the State of Illinois, by two researchers, one of whom coauthored the preceding Oklahoma lobbyist study.

The purpose of this descriptive study was to learn about the background, attributes, career perspectives, political activities, and extent of political experiences of those lobbyists who interacted with the Illinois State Legislature.

Questionnaires were mailed to each of the 398 lobbyists who were registered with the Illinois legislature in 1963. The study results were based on the 229 usable returns (57.5%).

According to the study, Illinois lobbyists were: "found to be middle aged, relatively well-educated, from professional occupations, earning fairly modest incomes, largely urban in background, and predominantly native Illinoisan."³³ Specifically, the median age of lobbyists was fifty-one; and regarding education, "only 16 percent had received less than college training; 37 percent had attended college; 20 percent had completed at least some postgraduate training; and 28 percent had earned law degrees."³⁴

Illinois lobbyists came primarily from professional occupations; one-half held full-time positions with their client organizations, either as legislative agents, researchers, public relations men, or executive officers. A substantial portion were association or labor union executives, and only about 10 percent were full-time lobbyists. More than one-fourth of the lobbyists came to their part-time lobbying activities from professional and technical occupations, and most of them were lawyers. "An additional 14 percent were business and managerial personnel, though nearly half were corporation attorneys."³⁵

Concerning their political experiences, fewer than 20% of the lobbyists were recruited from politically active families. Slightly less than 25% held offices in a political party; however, a very large proportion made financial contributions to political campaigns. Forty-six percent of the respondents had experience serving as appointed or elected government officials, mostly at the municipal or county level. Only ten lobbyists had served in the state legislature. Thus, "men with experience in government affairs constituted an important source of lobbyist recruitment, though only a small proportion actually had previous experience as legislators."³⁶

An examination of lobbyist job stability revealed:

Eighty-six percent of the lobbyists had represented the same organization during their tenure and some had acquired a number of years of experience as lobbyists. Only 11 percent had less than two years experience, and 28 percent had been lobbyists for more than ten years. But, lobbying is not a full-time activity for most lobbyists, even during the session of the legislature. Fifty-nine percent . . . said they spent less than half their time in lobbying activities during a typical session.³⁷

Breaking down lobbyist political party affiliation revealed that more than one-half the Illinois lobbyists were Republicans, and approximately one-third were Democrats.

The predominance of Republicans . . . was due largely to the large number of business and trade associations. . . . Business, professional, educational, governmental, and civic associations and groups tended to recruit Republican lobbyists. . . . But business and professional groups did recruit Democrats. . . .³⁸

Eighty-three percent of the lobbyists reported working "always" or "frequently" with both Democratic and Republican legislators. An examination of the lobbyists' political orientations suggested political

interest groups in Illinois recruited lobbyists whose ideological positions were not extreme, though the lobbyist's party identifications were reflected in their ideological orientations.³⁹

On recruitment, 71% of the respondents indicated they became lobbyists primarily because the duties of their jobs led them into the field. The primary reason for entering lobbying activities cited second most frequently was that of wanting to promote certain policies (13%). So, on the whole, "Illinois lobbyists tended to become involved in lobbying as a partial, if not a full-time, occupation largely because it was required of the jobs they held."⁴⁰ Few were attracted to lobbying because of the monetary or financial rewards it held for them.

Once recruited, the Illinois lobbyists reported that the most attractive feature of lobbying was the opportunity to present a case or viewpoint. The second most attractive aspect of the lobbyist's work was that of interacting with people. On the whole, the lobbyists found their work to be more appealing than unappealing. The most disliked aspect of their work was having to be nice to people to curry favor or garner support.⁴¹

To summarize, this is a census study of lobbyists registered in the State of Illinois, a different setting from previous studies. While it makes some distinctions concerning business lobbyists, it is primarily geared to perceptual data and attribute data on Illinois lobbyists as a whole. It also does not address the educational background issue to any great extent.

Massachusetts, North Carolina, Oregon,
and Utah Lobbyists

This fourth lobbyist study is a very extensive comparative study which took place in four different state legislative settings. In February and March 1966, Harmon Zeigler and Michael A. Baer conducted a comparative study of the effects of environmental conditions on lobbying at the state legislative level. The states of Massachusetts, North Carolina, Oregon, and Utah were chosen to provide a maximum dispersion of socioeconomic conditions for the study. Areas examined by the authors included lobbyist background, the job of lobbying, legislator-lobbyist interaction, the personal styles of lobbyists, the effects of lobbying, and lobbying tools. Comparative data in the areas appropriate to this study are presented and discussed next.

Utilizing survey research methods, interviews with legislators and lobbyists were conducted by a market research firm. These interviews lasted about one hour. Efforts were made to interview every legislator and lobbyist in each state. The number (and percentage) of lobbyist interviews completed was: Massachusetts, 185, 100%+; North Carolina, 132, 100%+; Oregon, 193, 94%+; and Utah, 134, percentage unknown. The percentage of lobbyists interviewed was difficult to determine since, "in Utah there was no list of registered lobbyists and in the other states it was found that some lobbyists do not register."⁴²

The profile of lobbyists which emerges from the study is as follows. For the most part, the data reflect the census of all

lobbyists studied. However, some statements are made concerning the business lobbyist group.

Lobbyists were found to be relatively well educated, with a range from 73 percent in North Carolina to 59 percent in Oregon having completed college. "Furthermore, while the overwhelming majority of business lobbyists have completed college, only a minority of labor lobbyists in the states under consideration have achieved this educational level."⁴³

An analysis of the occupational background of the lobbyists revealed that:

Since in most cases the legislative session lasts only a few months. . . , lobbyists must have other sources of income. Some lobbyists, therefore, are association executives who devote a portion of their time to lobbying; others are public relations consultants who spend the "off-season" handling commercial and political accounts; still others are lawyers on retainer who maintain a normal practice when the legislature is not in session; and a few, whose lobbying experience is usually limited to a single session, have occupations essentially unrelated to their lobbying function."⁴⁴

A further finding was that: "More than half of the lobbyists we interviewed hold an office in the association they represent. . . .

In Utah, 78 percent of the lobbyists are association officers, compared to about 59 percent of the lobbyists in other states."⁴⁵

Answers to career mobility questions revealed that:

there is virtually no evidence to suggest that lobbyists begin their careers with expectations of advancing beyond lobbying to a political office or to a more lucrative non-political occupation. On the other hand, the career of the lobbyist is characterized by substantial horizontal mobility . . . fully 85 percent of the lobbyists had nonpolitical occupations before being hired to lobby. Lobbyists appear to be able to move easily from job to job, not necessarily

in a drifting fashion, but certainly with considerably less commitment to a given occupation than is characteristic of legislators. Their occupational pattern suggests more flexibility, perhaps more risk taking, than does the pattern for legislators.⁴⁶

In examining career motivations, many lobbyists were found to have drifted into their job, or at least to have been "prevailed upon by friends and associates to assume the role of lobbyist. While not as indeterminate as those in the 'drift' category, lobbyists who give this response are also indicating a lack of clear intention."⁴⁷

Although they are by far in the minority, some lobbyists are self-starters. Though seldom general ideologues, self-starting lobbyists are likely to have sought their position primarily to help a single cause. They are likely to be more committed to that cause than to the occupation of lobbyist.⁴⁸

In contrasting labor lobbyists to business lobbyists in terms of career motivations, Ziegler and Baer reported that:

lobbyists tend to drift into their jobs without much previous consideration of the career. This is less true of labor lobbyists than of business lobbyists. When asked why they became lobbyists, the majority of labor lobbyists relate their decision to a desire to achieve an ideological goal--the goal of helping organized labor--whereas the majority of business lobbyists speak more in terms of career opportunities with little mention of ideology.⁴⁹

Relatively few lobbyists recalled being interested in politics prior to the age of twenty (i.e., age of politicization). This result conformed to the findings on career motivations. However, those few self-starters found among lobbyists were found to have an early interest in politics.⁵⁰

The percentage of lobbyists who had held previous governmental positions ranged from 61 percent in North Carolina to 32 percent in Massachusetts.

Most lobbyists who have held previous positions . . . have held them at the state or even the national level. . . . For the lobbyist, a previous position is likely to have served as a socialization experience, a period during which he became acquainted with the machinations of interest groups or became aware of their existence for the first time. . . . Most lobbyists with governmental experience are likely to have held appointive positions.⁵¹

Only a small proportion of lobbyists had ever been legislators.

Business lobbyists are also more likely to have held a previous governmental position than are labor lobbyists. . . . There is a substantial difference in the kind of governmental experience of business and labor lobbyists. For example, substantially more business lobbyists have held local or state offices. The governmental experience of labor lobbyists is more likely to have been at the federal level. Further, in no state has a labor lobbyist ever held an elective position, whereas the percentage of business lobbyists who have done so ranges from 8 percent in Oregon to 24 percent in Massachusetts. Thus, not only have more business than labor lobbyists held public office, but more of them held offices similar to the offices held by legislators.⁵²

Ziegler and Baer examined the stability of lobbyists in their occupation. "Lobbyists tend to remain in the occupation for fairly long periods of time, especially when compared to state legislators."⁵³ In all of the states studied, the mean for years of experience was at least eight.

Drawing a distinction between time allocated to interaction (i.e., in the role of contact man) and time allocated to administrative efforts (i.e., in the roles of informant and watchdog), Ziegler and Baer found that generally lobbyists spend more of their time in administrative work than in contact work. However,

Patterson has noted that a greater amount of contact work is typical of full-time lobbyists. Our data support this conclusion. In every state, the more time a lobbyist invests in the job, the lower is the percentage of time

he devotes to administrative details and the greater is the percentage of time he spends in contact with other people. . . . The professional lobbyist is one who conceives of his job as contacting other people.⁵⁴

Finally, Ziegler and Baer report that in the case of the experienced lobbyist, research services were prominent in his relationship with the legislators.

We noted earlier that experienced lobbyists are inclined to define their role as that of informant. Concurrently, legislators indicate a substantial preference for the services of experienced lobbyists, especially if those lobbyists have had previous governmental experience. In all states, these kinds of lobbyists are sought out for services far more often than are the inexperienced lobbyists. The experienced lobbyists frequently engage in explicit attempts to portray themselves as informants.⁵⁵

In summary, then, Ziegler and Baer describe the body of lobbyists in the four states studied, and some of the conditions contributing to successful interaction with legislators, such as longevity and prior governmental experience. These results provide a partial basis for this study, as well as points of comparison with the results of this study.

The Nebraska Lobbyist

In the summer and fall of 1967, Bernard Kolasa conducted a study of lobbying activity in the unicameral, nonpartisan Nebraska Legislature. His intent was to assess the affect of a non-party environment on lobbying activity and influence. He hypothesized that the lower level of competition and cohesion in the Nebraska Legislature would be accompanied by a greater level of interest group (lobby) activity and influence.

Questionnaires were sent to state Senators and lobbyists registered for the 1967 session of the Nebraska Legislature. The questionnaire data were augmented by interviews with selected lobbyists of that session. Results of his study were based on 118 returned questionnaires of 182 distributed (64.2%) and personal interviews (3.8%) with lobbyists agreeing to personal interviews instead of completing questionnaires. Also 39 of 49 Senators returned completed questionnaires.

The profile of the Nebraska lobbyist which emerged included:

In Nebraska's nonpartisan system, lobbyists seem to follow the partisan as opposed to nonpartisan pattern in their political affiliation.

.....

Just under 62 percent of the lobbyists . . . indicated they personally participated in partisan politics beyond merely voting . . . 79.4 percent indicated financial help in campaigns; non-financial campaign assistance was engaged in by 84.9 percent; and 64.4 percent encouraged fellow party members to run for office. Direct party activity was less pronounced though 31.5 percent held, at that time or in the past, party office and 60.2 percent attended party conventions or other party meetings.⁵⁶

Concerning political affiliation, 27 percent of the Nebraska lobbyists identified themselves as strong partisans, 55.1 percent as moderate partisans, and 17.8 percent as weak partisans or nonpartisans. The explanation for this, according to Kolasa was: "Since partisanship is absent in the legislative decision-making process, lobbyists need not appear nonpartisan so as to offend no one."⁵⁷

An examination of lobbyists' occupational background found that:

Of the lobbyists registered for the 1967 Nebraska legislative session, 22 percent were readily identified as following law as their overall career pattern, including many of the most active lobbyists. . . . Thus, Nebraska appears to rely more heavily on lawyers than many other states for lobbying talent. . . .⁵⁸

Also, a sizable number of ex-legislators were found to go into lobbying. "In 1967, thirteen ex-senators served as lobbyists, their number including some of the more active interest group representatives."⁵⁹

The role of the lobbyist from the legislator's point of view revealed that:

In Nebraska . . . most Senators noted during the interviews that a majority of their number use lobbyists as informational and research tools. Not only do lobbyists provide information in their own area of competence, they are also called upon at times to provide information in areas outside their own field.⁶⁰

This view corresponded with that of the lobbyists who "see themselves used as informational or research tools quite heavily, at times extending to serving as a general research assistant, and taking great pains to supply requested information."⁶¹

Personal contact and presentation were found to be the prime vehicles for legislator-lobbyist communication. However, the lobbyists did make use of many possible approaches at one time or another as the situation warranted. The technique of socializing received strong support among lobbyists as a means for building up friendships. "The lobbyists make least use of electorally associated techniques and rarely resort to threats of electoral defeat."⁶²

Lobbyists also were reported to have evaluated themselves as fairly successful goal achievers: "the majority felt they influenced senatorial decisions in a positive manner from their vantage point."⁶³

Finally, according to the author, "the Nebraska experience would tend to substantiate the inverse strength relationship of political parties and interest groups."⁶⁴ Thus, Kolasa concluded that the evidence he gathered supported his original hypothesis.

To summarize, this census study of Nebraska lobbyists demonstrates the role of lobbyists as information providers. It also explores to a lesser degree, the political activity and affiliation and occupational background of lobbyists.

The New England Lobbyist

The sixth and final study reviewed carried the quest for information about lobbyists to still another state legislative setting. In January 1967, John Quinn began a study of New England lobbyists. It focused on describing who lobbyists were, and how they went about their work (i.e., work styles). Specific inquiry was made into background, characteristics of successful lobbying, contact patterns, and the impact of partisanship in lobbying. A second objective was to compare lobbyists in New England's northern and southern states to see if and how lobbyists differed between sections of New England. The northern tier included Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, while the southern tier consisted of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. (These sections were contrasted in terms of socioeconomic and partisan features.)

A questionnaire was mailed to every lobbyist in New England who had registered under his state's lobbying registration law for the year 1965. Of the 620 registered lobbyists in New England during 1965, 394 (or 64%) responded. Besides the mail questionnaire, personal interviews were also conducted with lobbyists from every New England state. These interviews were designed to fill information gaps that appeared as the questionnaire data were analyzed. At least six lobbyists in each state were interviewed after questionnaire data had been compiled. In all, 37 lobbyists were interviewed for supplementary information.

New England lobbyists were found to be predominantly middle-aged. More specifically, "some four-fifths of the lobbyists were over forty years of age."⁶⁵ Most were New England residents. "Few 'outsiders' were found to lobby in New England."⁶⁶ They were also well educated: "nearly three-quarters were college graduates and over half claimed a graduate or professional degree."⁶⁷ And at least three-fourths of the lobbyists were associated with the white collar, business, and professional occupations, and fewer than one-quarter had farm or blue collar backgrounds.⁶⁸

In addition, in terms of personal background, these lobbyists were found to come from politically active families. "Slightly less than half reported that members of their immediate families had been active in party work, while one-quarter noted that members of their immediate family had held public office."⁶⁹

Lobbying was a part-time job for most of the respondents, and was usually a part of some broader vocational relationship with the client. Attorneys comprised the dominant occupational category (57%), a majority of whom lobbied as a part of their service to regular clients.

Association Officers constituted the second most populated occupational category (14%). These persons, typically directors or executive secretaries, performed lobbying work in addition to administrative functions for organizations in which they are regular employees. . . . The Public Relations and Consultants category comprised a distant third largest occupational grouping (5%). These people more closely represented the "gun-for-hire" approach to lobbying than any other occupational groups, lobbying for a variety of clients on a short-term issue-by-issue basis. With the exception of labor union officers and retirees, the other occupations represented by lobbyists were too diverse and expansive to permit classification.⁷⁰

Examining the time each respondent spent lobbying revealed that:

Nearly three-quarters of the respondents spend less than half their time lobbying when the legislature is in session; another twelve percent spend only about half their time. When the legislature is not in session, some ninety-five percent of New England respondents spend less than half their time lobbying and about fifty percent of these spend no time at all.⁷¹

In terms of the number of clients represented, "respondents divided fairly evenly . . . with slightly more than half serving one client, slightly less than half more than one client."⁷² Also, lobbyists displayed an impressive amount of lobbying experience, "a substantial majority (62%) have lobbied for more than five years."⁷³

The lobbyists also had some government and/or political party experience: "nearly two-thirds have held at least one public office, either elective or appointive and nearly one-fifth have occupied public

office at more than one of the local, state, and national levels."⁷⁴ However, "only a small portion of New England lobbyists have served in the state legislature (15%)."⁷⁵ Examining political partisanship revealed that "over ninety percent identified with one of the two major political parties. . . . Over four-fifths were strong party identifiers. . . . Some three-fifths, for example, were active in political party affairs prior to lobbying and over one-third had held party office."⁷⁶

Respondents attributed their lobbying success mainly to their own personal qualities, such as personality and sociability, with vocational factors (e.g., knowledge of lobbying techniques) and client factors (e.g., power) of considerable importance also. Political factors, such as party affiliation, were less emphasized. Furthermore, "the New England lobbyist placed much greater emphasis on the basic tools of hard work, credible information, and a mutual lobbyist-legislator rapport. . . ."⁷⁷

Concerning the comparative aspects of the study, on most measured dimensions, Northern and Southern New England respondents were found to be similar. "Among the several dimensions on which respondents were found to differ, most variations were modest, showing not differences in kind, but differences in degree within a general common pattern."⁷⁸

In summarizing, this final lobbyist study uses a mail questionnaire to take a census of the entire population of lobbyists in the New England states. It provides comprehensive background data on

the population, as well as contrasts lobbyists of the northern and southern states on certain variables.

Concluding Comment

These, then are some of the results of efforts to examine empirically lobbyists and lobbying activity. Again note that all of these studies are more than ten years old and were conducted by nonbusiness oriented researchers. With the exception of one, all of the studies focus on the entire population of legislative lobbyists operating at the state level of government within certain states. None is oriented toward examining the business lobbyist, his educational preparation, his perceived ideal educational preparation, nor the possible role of the business school in that preparation. However, each of these exploratory studies contributes to the available knowledge about and understanding of the lobbyist. Thus, they provide guidance for this study of the business lobbyist, as well as a base for interpreting the results of this research effort.

Chapter Three, Research Design and Methodology, builds on the foregoing literature review by describing the specific research design, the population studied, and how the research was conducted.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Introductory Comment

While the purpose, scope, and limitations of this study have been mentioned in Chapter One, some additional detail concerning the research design, population, and methodology of this study should be reviewed here, before proceeding with a presentation of the results of this research effort. The following clarifications regarding the research design put the results in perspective.

Research Design

The research design used may best be characterized as descriptive research, inasmuch as its purpose was to gain knowledge about, and an understanding of, business lobbyists by collecting data describing them. Specifically, they were asked about their personal background, preparation and recruitment, business life, and career development. Their perception of the ideal educational preparation for this career field was also examined. Specific questions were designed to address each of these areas, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Prior studies of lobbyists provided direction for the research design and methodology of this study.

The results of this study about business lobbyists in Michigan are based on input from the business lobbyists themselves, rather than

from any indirect source. "Questioning of respondents is virtually a necessity if one wants to obtain information about level of knowledge, attitudes, opinions, and motivations, or intended behaviors."¹ A self-administered survey questionnaire mailed to lobbyists was used to gather the information. This approach involved a significant problem of nonresponse error, which will be discussed later.

Considering the relatively small population of Michigan business lobbyists and a potentially low response rate, a census of this population was taken. "Under certain conditions . . . a census may be preferable to a sample. When the population is small, . . . sampling may not be useful."² This approach was consistent with the approach taken by previous researchers who had larger populations of lobbyists with which to work.

The Population

A final population frame was prepared using the June 12, 1979, and February 1, 1980, lists of registered legislative agents, on file with the Campaign Finance Reporting Office of the Michigan Department of State. Only those individuals who indicated that they represented (or primarily represented) business interests were included in the population frame.

As originally proposed, the population frame included only those lobbyists whose business addresses were in the metropolitan Lansing area. This exclusiveness reflected the results of previous studies of lobbyists, which indicated that the most active lobbyists typically reside in state capitols. However, since this would leave

only 98 possible subjects on the population frame, and because there was a concern about the response rate, the population frame was subsequently expanded to include all registered business lobbyists (i.e., from the Lansing area, from out-state Michigan areas, and from out-of-state areas). Thus, the final population frame consisted of 172 business lobbyists.

The 172 business lobbyists on the registration lists included 98 with addresses in the metropolitan Lansing area, 49 in out-state Michigan areas, and 25 located outside of Michigan. Of these, 2 lobbyists represented professional organizations; 60 lobbied on behalf of single businesses or corporations; 86 worked for business or trade associations; and 24 represented some combination of two or more of the preceding categories. The employment status of these lobbyists appeared to be as follows: 125 were employees of their organization; 32 were free lances or employees of public-affairs-type companies; 13 were engaged as attorneys; and 2 were volunteers.

Analysis of the responses to the questionnaire mailing (as well as the pretest mailing) revealed that of the 172 population subjects surveyed:

- 74 returned the questionnaire, of which, 67 respondents could be identified, since their number-coded identification label had not been removed, while 7 respondents had removed the label and were thus anonymous;
- 5 subjects refused to participate in this study for a variety of reasons;

- 6 subjects indicated that they were no longer legislative agents and did not participate;
- 3 were pretest subjects and thus were not included in the study results presented in Chapter Four; and
- 84 subjects did not return the mail questionnaires.

Thus, when the 9 ineligible subjects were subtracted, the final response rate for the study was 74 of a possible 163 or (45.4%).

This was a respectable figure given that according to Green and Tull, "even with added mailings, response to mail questionnaires is generally a small percentage of those sent; the modal response rate is often only 20 to 40%."³

Analysis of the 67 identified responses (of the 74 received) revealed that 46 were from Lansing area business lobbyists; 17, from out-state lobbyists; and 4, from out-of-state lobbyists. Comparing these figures with the population frame indicates that 46 of the 98 Lansing business lobbyists, 17 of the 49 out-state lobbyists, and 4 of the 25 out-of-state lobbyists participated in the study (see Table 3.1).

Also, of the identified respondents, 48 were employees of their organizations, while 19 represented their employer in such capacities as free lance, public affairs counsellor, attorney, or volunteer.

By type of organization represented, one lobbyist represented a professional organization, 17 represented single businesses or corporations, 44 represented business or trade associations, and 5 represented some combination of two or more of the preceding categories.

Table 3.1 Comparison by Location of the Identified Respondents with the Population

Location	Identified Respondents	Population of Lobbyists	Percentage of Lobbyists Who Responded
Lansing area	46	98	46.9
Out-state	17	49	34.6
Out-of-state	4	25	16.0

The 74 subjects who decided to participate in the survey by returning the mailed questionnaire, were utilized in the tabulation of the results discussed in Chapter Four.

To summarize, the results of this study primarily reflect the characteristics and perceptions of lobbyists employed by single businesses or corporations and business or trade associations whose business mailing addresses are in the Lansing metropolitan area. But, at the same time, exceptions to the above generalization were present in the final results suggesting that a certain element of diversity also was to be found within the ranks of those business lobbyist respondents with whom this study is concerned.

Research Methodology

In describing the methodology used to conduct this study, the pretest, the development of the survey telephone prenotification message, the cover letter, the questionnaire, the survey procedure, and the handling of nonresponse error will be discussed.

Many considerations went into the development of this study's final methodology. Originally, it was decided to use a self-administered mail survey questionnaire rather than personal interviews of the business lobbyists. Personal interviews formed the basis of the methodology used in the DeVries study of a small number of Michigan lobbyists. However, most of the other lobbyist studies involving larger numbers of lobbyists used mail questionnaires. Since the population frame for this study consisted of 172 subjects, the mail survey questionnaire was deemed more practical. Also, as business lobbyists tend to be very busy people, attempts to contact all 172 through personal interviews could have proven difficult--both in terms of scheduling and maintaining the undivided attention of the lobbyist for the duration of the interview. For these reasons, a self-administered mail questionnaire was favored.

A tentative written questionnaire was developed reflecting the purpose of the study, as was a tentative cover letter. Originally, it was proposed that the subjects be mailed a prenotification postcard describing the study, as well as informing them that the study questionnaire would be forthcoming. After mailing the questionnaire, a reminder letter soliciting cooperation with the study was to be sent as a follow-up to each nonrespondent. If this reminder letter failed to bring forth a completed questionnaire, then a final letter was to be mailed, asking a few brief questions of the nonrespondent. This planned procedure was altered, however, as will be explained later.

Pretest

The tentative cover letter, questionnaire, and survey procedure were pretested in order to refine and finalize them. The writer wished to improve the survey response rate and to reduce potential response errors by rewording ambiguous or poorly worded questions.

Two phases made up the pretest. In the first phase, associates of the writer reviewed the pretest materials. Changes were made in the wording of the questionnaire based on their comments. In the second phase, a limited number of members of the population were selected to review the pretest materials.

Four pretest subjects were identified, based on the original interviews with members of the Michigan State Legislature described in Chapter One. These pretest subjects were believed by one legislator to be willing, cooperative, and interested subjects who would critically assess the proposed cover letter, questionnaire, and methodology, as well as evaluate the need for a sponsoring letter from a well-known source. The four pretest subjects were all located in the Lansing area: two represented trade associations, one represented a large utility company, and the fourth was employed by a public affairs company which represented client organizations to the Michigan State Legislature.

A telephone prenotification message was developed to explain the study's purpose and to gain the pretest subject's participation in the study pretest.⁴ Then, each pretest subject was prenotified by telephone. Three of the subjects expressed interest in the study and a willingness to participate in the pretest; the fourth was out of town and, thus, unable to participate.

A copy of the tentative cover letter on Michigan State University letterhead and the self-administered questionnaire (along with a stamped, self-addressed return envelope) was hand-delivered to the business address of each of the participating pretest subjects, and within a few days the completed questionnaires were received back from the participants.

A review of the returned questionnaires indicated that they had been completed satisfactorily. None of the respondents had removed the coded identification label which allowed for the anonymity of the respondent. All of the respondents requested a copy of the study results, and each expressed a willingness to be interviewed concerning the study. Finally, a major problem appeared--the length of the questionnaire. A majority of the respondents indicated in writing that the questionnaire was too long.

As a result of this review, it was decided to call each pretest participant for additional information prior to completing the final revision of the cover letter, questionnaire, and survey procedure. Each respondent was called and thanked for his participation in the pretest. Respondents were asked:

1. the length of time required to complete the questionnaire;
2. if they had any comments or suggestions on how to improve the cover letter or questionnaire in terms of form, wording, style, and/or content;
3. when, in their opinion, would be a good time to conduct this study, given their knowledge of the schedule of lobbyists and the varying flow of legislative activity;

4. their opinion concerning the possible impact on the response rate of postcard versus telephone prenotification of survey subjects; and
5. their opinion on the need for a cosponsor letter; and, if they felt that a cosponsor would be necessary to improve the response rate, whom they would suggest.

The pretest respondents called and questioned again indicated that the questionnaire was too long. None of the respondents suggested changes to the cover letter or the questionnaire beyond what they had written on the questionnaires already completed and returned. They all indicated that the actual study should be done as early in the legislative session as possible because, as the legislative session progressed, the accelerating pace of legislative activity would substantially lessen the rate of response to the study. All encouraged the use of telephone prenotification prior to mailing out the questionnaire. One respondent indicated that legislative agents were subjected to many surveys and that a prenotification postcard would be ignored. Finally, the subjects generally felt that a legislative agent should not be used as a cosponsor. One suggested the use of an academic person. Another suggested that the tentative cover letter on Michigan State University letterhead was sufficient (along with the mention that the study was for a doctoral dissertation). All of the subjects were cooperative and expressed interest in the project.

As a result of the pretest, the length of the questionnaire was reduced somewhat by eliminating less important questions,

consolidating other questions, and modifying the chronology section to highlight only prior work experience which the respondent felt was related to his subsequent employment as a legislative agent. Also, since there was some concern that not every respondent might wish to take the time necessary to complete the chronology section (as indeed proved to be the case), it was made the last section of the questionnaire. However, only limited changes could be made due to the descriptive nature of the study.

Based on the comments of the pretest participants, it was decided to conduct the study as early in the legislative session as possible. For reasons such as the questionnaire's length, prior unfavorable lobbyist publicity, the potential lack of cooperation of the lobbyists, and the pretest results, prenotification was needed. Telephone prenotification was selected over the use of a postcard, to notify the subjects prior to mailing out the questionnaire. It introduced a dimension of personal relationship between the subject and the researcher, stressed the importance of the subject's role in the research, elicited a promise of cooperation from the subject, and allowed the researcher an opportunity to emphasize the "brevity" and "ease of completion" of the questionnaire.⁵ Finally, no cosponsor letter was developed to accompany the mail survey. Next, the telephone prenotification message, cover letter, and the questionnaire are discussed.

Survey Prenotification Telephone Message

A standard prenotification telephone message was developed (see Appendix A). This message identified the caller, explained the purpose of the study, and solicited the subject's participation in the study. It pointed out the confidentiality of the respondent's answers, and described the mailing envelope so that the subject could identify it when it arrived. The call stressed the importance of the subject's reply, and asked that the questionnaire be promptly returned. Finally, the caller thanked the subject for his participation in the study.

Time and cost constraints prevented telephone prenotification of 100% of the population; however, 102 of the Lansing and out-state Michigan business lobbyists were contacted by telephone. In addition, a message was left for 13 subjects after two unsuccessful attempts to reach them by telephone. This message briefly indicated that the survey material would be arriving soon, and that the subject's participation was sought. Eleven of the subjects could not be reached by telephone and 46 subjects were not prenotified.

The experience with telephone prenotification was such that of the 102 subjects contacted by telephone, 97 agreed to participate in the study, while 5 declined, either because they were too busy, or because they believed that they were not sufficiently active as legislative agents to justify their participation in the study. A review of the 67 identified questionnaires (of the 74 returned) indicated that 55 of the 97 who had agreed to participate, did participate, while 42 did not. Two of the 13 subjects who were

left a message returned the questionnaire, and two of the 11 subjects who could not be reached by telephone also returned the questionnaire. Of the 46 subjects who were not prenotified, 8 returned the questionnaire.

Survey Cover Letter

A standard survey cover letter on Michigan State University letterhead was developed (see Appendix B). The subject was addressed personally. The cover letter stressed the importance of the business lobbyist's role as part of the relationship between business and the Michigan State Legislature. The term legislative liaison representative, rather than business lobbyist, was used in order to avoid the possible negative connotations of the term "lobbyist," and to enhance the prestige of the subject. (This terminology was also used throughout the survey questionnaire.) The purpose of the study was described, and the subject's participation was sought. The confidentiality of the subject's responses was assured. A requested completion date was entered on the cover letter. Mention was made of the prepaid, self-addressed envelope for returning the completed questionnaire. Finally, the subject was thanked for his participation in the study. The author's signature appeared at the bottom of the cover letter.

Survey Questionnaire

A final self-administered, mail survey questionnaire was finally developed for data collection (see Appendix B). The questionnaire consisted of three basic parts: the instructions, the instrument divided into a number of sections, and some concluding comments.

The instruction sheet titled the survey questionnaire, identified it with Michigan State University's graduate school, and provided instructions for the completion of the various types of questions. The subject was asked to complete each question. Reference was made also to the last page of the questionnaire, which contained the procedure for providing respondent confidentiality.

The instrument consisted of six sections: "About Your Business Life," "About Recruitment and Ideal Preparation," "About Yourself," "About Any Previous Government Experience," "About Your Job History," and "Chronology of Occupational Activity Related to Legislative Liaison Work." One note should be made concerning the "Ideal Preparation" section: it was assumed that the subjects were aware of their job's success standards, as well as their colleagues' and their own job preparation weaknesses. Therefore, a composite profile of their perceptions of the ideal preparation for lobbying was expected to reflect their job experience and their awareness of current and future career preparation needs, rather than merely reflecting the specific historical backgrounds of the study participants.

The questionnaire extended over ten typed pages and was comprehensive in nature. The questions were a mixture of several formats--fill-in, dichotomous, multiple-choice, and open-ended, with five-point scale questions for probing perceptions. Prior studies provided models for constructing these questions. They also allowed the researcher to establish response categories for many of the questions. This answer precoding introduced a uniformity for responses,

and resulted in a reduction in the problems associated with data compiling and coding. The questionnaire was structured to make it as easy as possible for the subject to enter his responses. It also provided space for comments on selected questions.

The final page of the questionnaire stressed the confidentiality of the individual's responses. It also contained a number-coded label which could be removed by the respondent if he wished to maintain anonymity. This coded label corresponded to the original population frame entry for the individual, and was the only identification of the individual on the questionnaire. If it were removed, the researcher would have no way of identifying the respondent, and the privacy of the respondent would be assured. However, the respondent was encouraged to leave the coded label intact so that the researcher could contact him, if necessary, for clarification of answers. Having the label would also help the researcher with the identification of nonrespondents. As an inducement to not remove the coded label (and to participate in the study), a copy of the study results was offered. Finally, the respondent was asked if he would be willing to be interviewed concerning topics relevant to this study.

As mentioned above, 67 of the 74 questionnaires returned contained the coded labels while 7 were returned with the label removed. Fifty-eight of the respondents expressed an interest in receiving a copy of the study results, and 50 were willing to be interviewed.

The package of materials mailed to each subject also included a stamped, self-addressed Michigan State University return envelope.

Next, the survey procedure used to conduct the study will be presented.

Survey Procedure

The actual survey, which was conducted in February of 1980, consisted of a number of procedural steps. First, a final, updated business lobbyist population frame was prepared, and each lobbyist was assigned a unique number. This list excluded the three pretest subjects. The two lists of registered legislative agents mentioned in Chapter One were used for this purpose. They were screened to identify only those lobbyists who represented (or primarily represented) business interests. These lists of registered agents contained for each subject his name, title, business mailing address, and organization(s) represented. In addition, the February 1, 1980 list contained business telephone numbers. A gummed, number-coded label was prepared for each subject, bearing the same number as the subject's number on the population frame. This label would later be placed on the subject's questionnaire for identification purposes.

Sufficient copies of the cover letter, revised questionnaire, mailing envelope, and stamped, self-addressed return envelope were obtained, and the appropriate number-coded label was affixed to the last page of each questionnaire.

By this time the Michigan State Legislature's 1980 session had already begun. Most subjects were contacted by telephone at this point, and were given the standard prenotification message. An attempt was made to secure the subject's participation, and prompt completion

and return of the questionnaire. The subject's mailing address was verified.

Next, the mailing package was prepared. This consisted of the mailing envelope, cover letter, questionnaire, and return envelope. The subject's name, title, and business mailing address were entered on the cover letter and the mailing envelope. The mailing day's date and the desired return date were entered on the cover letter. The desired return date was generally set at twelve days after the mailing date. The cover letter was signed. The cover letter, questionnaire, and return envelope were placed in the mailing envelope, and the materials were mailed out. A notation was made of the prenotification status and the mailing date on the population frame (subject entry). Subjects who were not prenotified, or who could not be reached, were mailed questionnaires as time permitted during the month. On a few occasions, the subject was left a message, and the questionnaire package was then mailed.

As the completed questionnaires were received, a notation was entered on the population frame, as was the date postmarked on the return envelope. Eventually, this list was key-punched and computer processed using a statistical package. Statistics were prepared to compare the respondents with the business lobbyist population frame, so as to keep track of nonrespondents and to judge the effect of telephone prenotification on the response rate.

Nonresponse Error

Many steps were taken to reduce any nonresponse error in the results due to lobbyists not returning the questionnaire.

First, measures aimed at increasing the response rate were taken. As a result of the pretest, telephone prenotification was selected to encourage the subjects' participation in the study. Other steps included the emphasis in the personalized cover letter on the importance of the study and the subject's participation in it, the offer of the study results to those who participated, and the inclusion of the stamped, self-addressed return envelope for convenient reply.

Second, subsequent to the data collection effort, a random sample of the nonrespondents was called in order to compare the nonrespondents with those who had responded to the questionnaire. "Since the people responding tend to do so because they have stronger feelings about the subject than the nonrespondents, biased results are to be expected. To measure this bias, it is necessary to contact a sample of the nonrespondents by other means, usually by telephone interviews."⁶ The nonrespondents were asked to complete the questionnaire or to answer a few brief questions. These questions were:

1. Are you still registered as a legislative agent?
2. For how many years have you been registered?
3. What part of your time do you spend during and between legislative sessions working as a legislative agent?

4. How many clients do you represent; what types of clients do you represent; and what is your relationship to your clients?
5. What is your age?
6. What is your attained educational level?
7. Why did you not complete and return the survey questionnaire?
(Probe for a reason.)

A description of the nonrespondents and a comparison of them to the respondents is presented in Chapter Four.

Data Editing and Coding

The completed questionnaires were reviewed by the researcher. Precoding of many of the questions eased the task of editing and coding. However, since some questions were open-ended, response categories had to be established. Also, some of the question responses had to be edited and coded.

Editing, coding, and transcription of the responses to data coding forms was done soon after receipt of each completed questionnaire. A single coder-editor was used for this process to provide uniformity of interpretation.

Two sets of data were coded and prepared for analysis. The first data set consisted of the population frame and was used for monitoring the response to the survey. The second data set contained the respondent data. Both data sets were created by entering the appropriate codes for the data on the standard Michigan State University data coding form. This data coding form provided for 230 characters of

information. After the data were entered onto these forms, they were transferred onto magnetic tape for later punching into 80 column cards. After punching, these cards were sorted into subject number sequence. Then, these cards were used with the appropriate computer programs for the analysis of the data.

The first data set, called the "Population Data Set," contained each subject's unique identification number, name, type of organization represented, prenotification status, participation status, response status, mailing date, postmarked return date, and location. It also contained a record for each of the three pretest subjects. The computer record layout for this data set, as well as a description of each data field and the various codes used, is presented in the first part of Appendix C.

The second data set, called the "Response Data Set," contained the results of the survey. Each returned questionnaire (i.e., case) consisted of four physical records (i.e., column cards). The format of the records is presented in the second part of Appendix C, along with the data codes and their description for the various fields of data. These fields are cross-referenced with the question numbers of the survey questionnaire.

Data Analysis

This study of business lobbyists was essentially a descriptive one. Most of the data could best be characterized as nominal or ordinal, and no definitive statement could be made concerning the underlying distribution of each of the variables characterizing the population.

Also, the research design utilized a census of a relatively small population rather than a sampling technique. For these reasons, and because of the researcher's preference for a conservative approach to analysis (mindful of the many assumptions underlying many statistical techniques), the analytical techniques used were best restricted to those providing descriptive statistics. Marginal and cross tabulations (as appropriate) were employed for the summarization and analysis of the survey responses. In addition, reference was made to the respondent comments on the questionnaires allowing for further interpretation of the results.

The statistical data analysis took place at the Michigan State University Computer Center using its Control Data Corporation Data Processing System. The computer programming package, "The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences" (SPSS, version 8.0) was used for the analysis of the data.

Disposition of the Data

Subsequent to the acceptance of this project by the Graduate School of Business, the following materials were destroyed (in keeping with the commitment to preserve the anonymity of the study participants):

- The Population Data Set and the materials used for its preparation (e.g, all population frames and coding forms).
- The respondent questionnaires and the coding forms used to prepare the Response Data Set.

The only data set which was kept was the Response Data Set. There was no cross-referencing or indexing technique to identify the respondent records in the Response Data Set.

Concluding Comment

While more could be said concerning the research design and methodology of this study, it is hoped that this review has been sufficient to indicate the basic approach taken, as well as to demonstrate some of the more obvious limitations of the study--limitations which should be kept in mind when reviewing the results of the researcher's efforts which are presented in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Introductory Comment

As stated in Chapter One, the purpose of this study is to increase the reader's knowledge about, and understanding of, the Michigan business lobbyist. The following is a presentation of the results of this research effort.

The first topic to be considered is the lobbyist as an individual, what his background is, and how he became a business interest lobbyist. Then, this study examines the job of lobbying and what each respondent finds satisfying and dissatisfying about it. Finally, the research explores what the business lobbyist has to say about recruitment and ideal educational preparation for the career of business lobbying, given his experience in this field. During the course of this presentation, comparisons will be made as appropriate between what the lobbyist has done to prepare and what he considers to be ideal career preparation. Additional components will be made between the results of this study and the results of previous studies, as summarized in the literature review (Chapter Two).

Here, then, in the aforementioned order is what has been ascertained about the group of seventy-four Michigan business lobbyists who have participated individually in this study (see Chapter Three),

and who comprise the basis for the results and conclusions which follow. Note that the results are keyed to the structure of the survey questionnaire.

"About Yourself"

The profile which emerges of the Michigan business lobbyist is based on the majority of answers to each question on the survey. First, the business lobbyist is predominantly male. Seventy-three of the respondents are male, while only one is female. Because the vast majority of respondents are male, "the Michigan lobbyist" is referred to in masculine terms (he, his, him) throughout this report. The average respondent is 48.3 years of age, with the youngest being 26 and the oldest being 68 years old (see Table 4.1). Thus, the business lobbyist respondent brings some years of experience to the job of lobbying for his organization.

Table 4.1 Age of Respondents

Age	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
26-35	17	23.0
36-45	13	17.6
46-55	15	20.2
56-65	24	32.4
Over 65	5	6.8

Most of the respondents are married and have children. Sixty respondents fall into this category, with the rest being either single,

married with no children, or divorced or separated (see Table 4.2).

Thus, these respondents would appear to be typical of other Americans their age, as far as family life is concerned.

Table 4.2 Marital Status of Respondents

Marital Status	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Single	6	8.1
Married, no children	2	2.7
Married, children	60	81.1
Divorced or separated	6	8.1

The next item concerns the birthplace of the respondents. Forty-six of them are natives of Michigan, with most of the remaining respondents having been born in the states surrounding Michigan (see Table 4.3). As one might expect, most of the Michigan business lobbyists responding also report having grown up in the State of Michigan

Table 4.3 Birthplace of Respondents

State of Birth	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Michigan	46	62.2
Ohio	7	9.5
Indiana	4	5.4
Illinois	4	5.4
Wisconsin	3	4.1
Other U.S. state	9	12.2
Outside U.S.	1	1.4

(see Table 4.4). Thus, most of the respondents report having been born and reared in Michigan. Most, also, report having grown up in an urban area, as opposed to a rural setting (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.4 State Where Respondents Were Reared

State Where Reared	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Michigan	52	70.3
Ohio	5	6.8
Illinois	4	5.4
Wisconsin	3	4.1
Other U.S. state	9	12.2
Outside U.S.	1	1.4

Table 4.5 Urban/Rural Environment During Respondents' Youth

Urban/Rural	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Urban	52	70.3
Rural	20	27.0
No response	2	2.8

The Michigan business lobbyists who responded have had many years of formal education. As indicated in Table 4.6, 62 of the respondents have at least a college degree. These results are consistent with other studies, such as Patterson's study of Oklahoma lobbyists (i.e., 75 percent of the respondents had taken some college courses, and almost half had a college degree).

Table 4.6 Highest Level of Formal Education Attained

Educational Level	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
High school graduate	2	2.7
Some college	9	12.2
College graduate	16	21.6
Some graduate school	18	24.3
Master's degree	4	5.4
Professional degree	19	25.7
Some post-graduate study	4	5.4
Doctoral degree	1	1.4
No response	1	1.4

As one might expect, the undergraduate major most represented in the respondent's educational background is business administration. The next most frequently represented majors are journalism, history, political science, liberal arts, and psychology/sociology. The remaining lobbyists have had diverse undergraduate majors. Table 4.7 indicates this variety of undergraduate backgrounds. Thus, the respondents do not exhibit a homogeneous undergraduate educational background, though there is a strong representation of the social sciences. This college educational background, as well as having been reared in Michigan, has probably contributed to the respondent's ability to secure relevant work experience for their present careers as business lobbyists in the State of Michigan.

Table 4.7 College Undergraduate Major

Major	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Business Administration	18	24.3
Journalism	7	9.5
History	6	8.1
Political Science	6	8.1
Liberal Arts	5	6.8
Psychology/Sociology	5	6.8
Engineering	4	5.4
Education	4	5.4
Communication	2	2.7
Economics	2	2.7
Other majors	10	13.5
No response	5	6.8

"About Any Previous Government Experience"

Since business lobbyists are continually interacting with state legislators, they were asked what type of previous government experience, if any, they have in their employment history. Thirty-one of the 74 respondents reported having held an elective or appointive position in government (see Table 4.8). Regarding legislative experience, five respondents report having served in the Michigan State Legislature, four of them as representatives, and one of them as a senator. Thus, a diverse government service experience is to be found among the respondents. In some cases, a common bond may exist between state legislators and business lobbyists because of their common experience of working in government.

Table 4.8 Prior Government Experience

Office	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
<u>Appointed:</u>		
Executive, federal	2	2.7
Executive, state	6	8.1
Executive, county	3	4.1
Judicial, county	1	1.4
Legislative, state	2	2.7
<u>Elective:</u>		
Judicial, municipal	1	1.4
Legislative, state	3	4.1
Legislative, county	1	1.4
Legislative, municipal	3	4.1
More than one position	9	12.2
No response	1	1.4
No government position	42	56.8

"About Your Job History"

In this section of the report, an inquiry is made into the business lobbyist's work experience prior to becoming a lobbyist and his job longevity. The business lobbyists who responded possess a mean of almost 9 years of registered lobbying experience (with 6.5 median years of lobbying experience). This lobbying experience ranges from a minimum of one year to a maximum of 42 years (see Table 4.9). Thus, the lobbyists' responses presented in this study are based on considerable lobbying experience.

Table 4.9 Years of Lobbying Experience

Years	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
1-5	36	48.6
6-10	16	21.6
11-15	10	13.5
16-20	4	5.4
21-25	2	2.7
26-30	3	4.1
Over 30	3	4.1

As Table 4.10 indicates, the respondents also bring other work experience to the job of lobbying. According to the data, the average respondent became registered for the job of lobbying at the age of 39.5 years (median age of 38.7 years). Before this, they probably worked in other capacities. This nonlobbying experience also has provided a base for the respondent's subsequent performance as a business lobbyist.

Table 4.10 Age of Registration as a Lobbyist

Age	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
23-30	18	24.3
31-40	24	32.4
41-50	19	25.7
Over 50	13	17.6

When asked how many organizations the subject has worked for full-time during his business career (including his present employer), 10 respondents report working for one organization, 19 for two organizations, 13 for three organizations, and 8 for four organizations (see Table 4.11). So 42 of the 74 respondents have worked for three or fewer organizations during their business careers.

Table 4.11 Number of Organizations for which the Respondent Has Worked

Number of Organizations	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
1	10	13.5
2	19	25.7
3	13	17.6
4	8	10.8
5	8	10.8
6	5	6.8
7	2	2.7
8	1	1.4
9	1	1.4
10	1	1.4
No response	6	8.2

When asked about the types of jobs they held during their years of full-time work, 23 respondents report having held a number of different kinds of jobs. Fifteen have held a number of different jobs, but mostly within one career field, while 36 have, for the most part, held a few jobs within one given career field (see Table 4.12).

Thus, the largest number of respondents would appear to have held other positions prior to obtaining the current one. Furthermore,

Table 4.12 Types of Jobs Held

Types of Jobs	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Held a number of different kinds of jobs	23	31.1
Held a number of different jobs, but mostly within one given career field	15	20.3
For the most part, have held a few jobs within one given career field	36	48.6

many of these individuals have had experience related to their current position (e.g., government experience). The majority of the respondents appear to have changed jobs but not career fields prior to assuming their current position, however, having once become lobbyists, they have stayed in this position for some time.

"About Your Business Life"

A myriad of occupational titles are offered by respondents when asked about their present job title. Forty-three have management titles such as president, vice president, director, manager, or partner. Ten have the title of attorney. Eleven indicate that their title is legislative counsel, consultant, analyst, or agent. Additionally, 8 have titles such as government affairs specialist, government relations coordinator, administrative assistant, or small businessman. Thus, the bulk of the respondents appear to be individuals with titles indicating managerial or legal responsibilities.

Fifty-four of the respondents indicate that they are salaried employees, 9 are self-employed, and 8 are attorneys representing their clients on a professional fee basis (see Table 4.13). Of the remaining respondents, one is appointed to the position of lobbyist, while one is a volunteer. Thus, most of the respondents appear to have an ongoing salaried position representing their organization to the Legislature.

Table 4.13 Form of Compensation

Form	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Salaried	54	73.0
Self-employed	9	12.2
Attorney (fee basis)	8	10.8
Miscellaneous	3	4.3

In terms of organizations represented, 2 individuals represent professional organizations, 17 represent single businesses or corporations, and 44 represent business or trade associations. The remaining 11 represent some combination of two or more of the above categories (see Table 4.14). Most respondents, then, represent only one organization; however, there are some multi-organization lobbyists among the respondents.

Next, the respondents were asked about the three areas of lobbyist job responsibility most important to the organizations that they represent to the state legislature. Their responses were analyzed and are summarized in Table 4.15. A review of them in the order of

Table 4.14 Client Summary

Client	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Professional organization	2	2.7
Single business or corporation	17	23.0
Business or trade association	44	59.5
Combination of client types	11	15.0

their importance (i.e., most important job responsibility area, second most important, and third most important) is followed by a summary statement on the respondents' job responsibility areas. But first, one qualification is in order: these results may not represent an exhaustive listing by the respondents of all their responsibilities, but instead, may be the first ones to have entered their thoughts as they completed the survey questionnaire.

An examination of the responses in the category of the lobbyist's most important job responsibility reveals the most frequently mentioned area to be legislative liaison work. Second in number of responses is monitoring legislation, followed by association management, influencing legislation, and lobbying (see Table 4.16).

The job responsibility areas mentioned by the respondents as second most important are legislative liaison work, influencing legislation, monitoring legislation, and communication and information programs (see Table 4.17).

Table 4.15 Job Responsibility Areas

Area of Job Responsibility	Frequency Mentioned			Total	Rank
	Most Important	Second Most Important	Third Most Important		
Membership development	1		1	2	
Legislative liaison work	13	16	5	34	1
Public relations		2	3	5	7
Influencing legislation	7	11	4	22	2
Monitoring legislation	11	6	2	19	3
Reporting legislation		2	6	8	5
Knowledge of issues	2		1	3	
Member relations		2	3	5	8
Legislative analysis and research	2	2	1	5	9
Writing position papers		1		1	
Lobbying	5	2	1	8	6
Educating and informing management	2		1	3	
Association management	8	2	2	12	4
Staff work			3	3	
Communication and information programs		3	1	4	
Keeping client informed	1			1	
Working with grass roots	1		1	2	
Passage of needed legislation			2	2	
Legal opinion and analysis	1	1		2	
Drafting legislation			2	2	
Understanding legislative procedure	1			1	
Education programs			1	1	
Contact with administration		2	2	4	
Compliance with law and regulation	2			2	
Counseling	1			1	
Working with other lobbyists	1			1	
Policy development		1		1	
Working with government	1			1	
Trade and marketing problems			1	1	
Relations with trade association			1	1	
No response	14	21	30		

Table 4.16 Most Important Job Responsibility Area

Area of Responsibility	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Legislative liaison work	13	17.6
Monitoring legislation	11	14.9
Association management	8	10.8
Influencing legislation	7	9.5
Lobbying	5	6.8
Other	16	21.6
No response	14	18.9

Table 4.17 Second Most Important Job Responsibility Area

Area of Responsibility	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Legislative liaison work	16	21.6
Influencing legislation	11	14.9
Monitoring legislation	6	8.1
Communication and information programs	3	4.1
Other	17	23.0
No response	21	28.4

The job responsibility areas mentioned as third most important by the respondents are: reporting on legislation, legislative liaison work, and influencing legislation (see Table 4.18).

Table 4.19 summarizes total figures for the responses regarding the job responsibility areas. An overall result similar to the three just mentioned is revealed. That is, the respondents' most important job responsibilities involve relations with state legislators, including

Table 4.18 Third Most Important Job Responsibility Area

Area of Responsibility	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Reporting on legislation	6	8.1
Legislative liaison work	5	6.8
Influencing legislation	4	5.4
Staff work	3	4.1
Other	26	35.1
No response	30	40.5

Table 4.19 Job Responsibility Areas, Totals

Area of Responsibility	Frequency of Mention
Legislative liaison work	34
Influencing legislation	22
Monitoring legislation	19
Association management	12
Reporting on legislation	8
Lobbying	8
Public relations	5
Member relations	5
Legislative analysis and research	5

legislative liaison, influencing legislation, and monitoring legislation; these are followed by association related tasks, such as association management and public relations.

As indicated earlier, the respondents have spent a number of years engaged in lobbying, in most cases on behalf of their current employer. Tables 4.20 and 4.21 show, respectively, the respondents' years of employment with and lobbying for their current organization. The respondents report having spent an average of 10 years in the employ of their present organization (median of 8.25 years).

Table 4.20 Years Employed by Current Organization

Number of Years	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
1-5	30	40.5
6-10	13	17.6
11-15	11	14.9
16-20	9	12.2
Over 20	8	10.8
No response	3	4.1

Table 4.21 Years Lobbying for Current Organization

Number of Years	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
1-5	37	50.0
6-10	18	24.3
11-15	9	12.2
16-20	4	5.4
Over 20	4	5.4
No response	2	2.7

The respondents report having spent fewer years (median 5.0 years) in lobbying for the current organization than in other unspecified work for that organization. Thus, many business lobbyists appear to have become lobbyists subsequent to working for their organizations in some other capacity.

The respondents were asked to indicate the fraction of time spent on their lobbying activities, both during and between legislative sessions, and those results are presented in Tables 4.22

Table 4.22 Time Spent Lobbying During Legislative Sessions

Time Spent	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Full-time	26	35.1
Three-quarter-time	9	12.2
One-half-time	15	20.3
One-quarter-time	8	10.8
Less than one-quarter-time	16	21.6

Table 4.23 Time Spent Lobbying Between Legislative Sessions

Time Spent	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Full-time	19	25.7
Three-quarter-time	5	6.8
One-half-time	9	12.2
One-quarter-time	14	18.9
Less than one-quarter-time	27	36.5

and 4.23. In both cases there are more part-time than full-time lobbyists among the respondents. Furthermore, between legislative sessions, even less time is spent lobbying. This result is consistent with previously reviewed studies (e.g., Patterson's study in Oklahoma), which demonstrated the part-time nature of many subjects' lobbying efforts. Results indicate that Michigan lobbyists are often involved in work other than lobbying, with association work or the practice of

law being the most frequently cited activities outside the area of lobbying.

Each business lobbyist was asked for the title of his supervisor in the organization represented. Associated with this item was an inquiry into the functional area(s) for which the supervisor is responsible. The purpose of these questions was to determine the general level at which the business lobbyist functions in the organization and to consider this as an indication of the lobbyist's importance to the organization. Forty-three of the respondents report to an individual holding the title of chairman, president, or executive director; with the remaining respondents reporting to individuals with more diverse organizational titles, such as executive committee, vice president, director, or manager. Forty-five of the respondents' supervisors have responsibility for all areas of their organization, while most of the remainder are responsible primarily for the government relations or legislative affairs function. While these results indicate that many of the respondents report to a high level official in their organization, this must be qualified by noting that most of the respondents work for business or trade associations, rather than for single businesses or corporations, and that associations probably spend more of their time on lobbying and related activities, than regular businesses do.

Prior studies have indicated that lobbyists, in general, have drifted into the job of lobbying, or have been prevailed upon by friends or associates to assume the role of lobbyist. Table 4.24 reports the time the respondents to this study spent in planning to become lobbyists.

Table 4.24 Time Spent Planning to Become a Lobbyist

Time Spent	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Less than 2 months	34	45.9
3-6 months	15	20.3
7-12 months	2	2.7
1-2 years	8	10.8
More than 2 years	9	12.2
No response	6	8.2

These results indicate that many of the respondents moved into the role of lobbyist after a relatively short planning period.

The business lobbyists responding to this survey were asked next about how they secured their first position as a lobbyist. The results appear to indicate a relationship between the entry mechanism and the short planning period just mentioned. The means by which the respondents report having first become lobbyists are indicated in Table 4.25. The most frequently reported entry vehicle is the individual's other job responsibilities with his company or association. This entry method is confirmed by other studies which found that many business lobbyists were trade association employees who devoted a portion of their time to lobbying activities. Other vehicles of entry into the business lobbyist role mentioned by the respondents are grapevine referral; through the influence of an employee of the company or association by whom they were hired; as a result of their own job campaign; or as a consequence of an internal transfer or promotion. None of the respondents reports having obtained his

Table 4.25 How First Lobbyist Position Was Obtained

Means	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Other job responsibilities	23	31.1
Grapevine referral	15	20.3
Influence of current employee	10	13.5
Own job campaign	10	13.5
Internal transfer or promotion	9	12.2
Other	6	8.2
No response	1	1.4

position through an employment agency, or as a result of a college interview. Thus, it seems that most of the lobbyists had some "inside" contact with lobbying activity, or prior connection with the business organization which afforded them the opportunity to become a lobbyist, as opposed to entering the position directly from another career field. Furthermore, this experience seems to have reduced the time required by the individual to consider the offer of a lobbying job before taking it.

When asked if they received training for the position of lobbyist, 54 respondents indicate that they did not. Regarding their training for the position of lobbyist, the respondents' additional comments center on their prior experience in such areas as government, industry, and politics:

- "Previous government experience."
- "In a previous job in state government."

- "Industry experience and exposure to federal and state government."
- "Other than legal training, experience in state administration and political party experience."
- "I have been a State Representative."
- "Worked in conjunction with other lobbyists, other association executives, and industry representatives."
- "Always active in political activities."

Representative of more specific comments on training are the following:

- "Our organization has no pre-training program."
- "Training was 'on the job' as part of another position"
- "No formal training, but extensive apprenticeship."
- "Self-taught."
- "First year (prior job) spent learning organization and legislation. Phased into legislative contact under direction of other agents."
- "It was part of the job and I learned it from the ground up."
- "No formal training. Long experience in politics and government as an elected officer. Long time experience as board member and officer of association."

One respondent stresses the importance of personal contact in lobbying work: "There can be no substitute for the actual work. Personal contact is everything and you can't train for that." Thus, the respondents' say their training for the position of lobbyist emphasized prior experience rather than formal training. This follows from the way the respondents entered the position: most had been out of school and working for a number of years prior to becoming business lobbyists,

and they made the transition to lobbying from another position in the organization.

The study respondents were asked to evaluate the influences of various factors on the decision to become a business lobbyist. The factors and their importance on a scale of importance from not important (1) to very important (5) are reported in Table 4.26. The factors which were influential (in descending order) are: enjoyment of this type of work, a general interest in politics and the client, a desire to promote client interests, the duties of the job which led them into the field, enhancement of the business, and financial benefits. Lesser influences on the decision to become a business lobbyist include urging by friends or the interest group, political aspirations, and the enhancement of their law practice. Thus, the respondents appear to have been motivated by a variety of factors.

Respondents' comments on factors which influenced their decision to become lobbyists include:

- "The opportunity represented a significant advancement within the company."
- "I love the challenge of influencing new opportunities for the members of our association. I intend to never lose one bill."
- "My industry had little if anyone [sic] representing their interest."
- "Prior activities established that I did this work well and I liked it and felt it satisfied my desire for achievement. Allowed me to go from a company management role to a more individual enterprise."

Table 4.26 Factors Influencing Career Decision

Factor	Mean Importance	Number of Respondents
A general interest in politics and client	3.930	71
To promote client interests	3.824	68
Power, prestige, and influence	2.333	66
Enhancement of business	3.090	67
Enhancement of law practice	1.585	53
Urged by friends or interest group	2.016	63
To promote an idea	2.567	67
To work for social change	2.046	65
Next step in job	2.492	61
Next step in career	3.000	64
The duties of your job led you into the field	3.750	68
To promote certain policies	2.409	66
Your boss felt that you were especially qualified	2.923	65
Best way to move up	2.563	64
Political aspirations	1.615	65
Meet important people	2.000	65
Financial benefits	3.074	68
Just enjoy this type of work	4.029	70

Next, the survey subjects were asked to identify and rank the three most satisfying aspects of their work as business lobbyists and the three most dissatisfying aspects. Table 4.27 lists the job satisfaction items in terms of the number of times each was mentioned as the most, second most, or third most satisfying. Overall, the most satisfying aspects of the respondents' jobs as business lobbyists appear to be observing and participating in lawmaking, followed by the opportunity to present their side of the case, and the variety of the work. Of the job aspects mentioned, the opportunity to be close to important people proved to be the least important in contributing to the respondents' job satisfaction.

Table 4.27 Job Satisfaction Items

Item	Number of Times Mentioned as Satisfying			Total
	Most Satisfying	Second Most Satisfying	Third Most Satisfying	
Opportunity to present your side of the case	17	13	6	36
Opportunity to be close to important people	--	2	5	7
Variety of the work	13	19	15	47
The freedom of the schedule you enjoy	7	11	15	33
The monetary reward	4	10	8	22
Observing and participating in lawmaking	25	15	11	51

Table 4.28 reports the respondents' evaluation of the job dissatisfaction items as the most, second most, or third most dissatisfying. The item most frequently mentioned as most dissatisfying is the public image of the job of lobbying, followed by the working conditions and long hours and the moral level and activities of legislators. The least dissatisfying aspect of the job is preparing a case to present. Note that, overall, the respondents are more evenly divided among these job dissatisfaction items than they are among the job satisfaction items. So, the respondents tend to agree on what they like more than what they dislike about their lobbying job.

Table 4.28 Job Dissatisfaction Items

Item	Number of Times Mentioned as Dissatisfying			Total
	Most dis- satisfying	Second Most dis- satisfying	Third Most dis- satisfying	
Public image of your job	21	10	8	39
The necessity of being nice to people to get their help	8	12	7	27
The working conditions and long hours	10	7	10	27
Entertaining and giving parties	6	10	7	23
Moral level and activ- ities of legislators	10	5	8	23
Preparing a case to present	2	4	3	9

Earlier it was stated that the subjects were asked to indicate the title of the person to whom they report in order to get some indication of the lobbyist's relative importance in the business organization. That inquiry was followed up with further questions which probe the effect of state legislation on the lobbyist's organization, the priority of lobbying work with the organization, the issues of current interest to the organization, and the lobbyist's influence on the organization's legislative policy and his freedom to determine tactics for resolving legislative problems. The results are summarized in the rest of this section.

Sixty-four of the respondents indicate that the effect of state legislation on the organization(s) they represent has increased compared with ten years ago. Sixty-two of the respondents also indicate that for the same time period, lobbyist work now has a higher priority with their client(s). These results are consistent with the Haley and Kiss article on the growing importance of the business lobbyist, quoted in the literature review.¹

Respondents' comments on the priority of lobbying work with their organization or client include the following:

- "Our department, and budget have grown over the past three years."
- "There are more bills considered each year--hence, more priority must be given."
- "Powers of our members to act are derived from good or bad legislation or regulation."
- "Full-time legislature = more legislation = more legislative work!"
- "Ten years ago, we had no direct legislative program."
- "The business today is inundated with government paperwork and he turns to his association for relief or advice on how to cope."
- "Clients are more aware of and frightened at the impact of legislation and government regulation and control."
- "Government's activity in business has risen, therefore, if you represent business, your legislative activity must also rise."

When asked if their clients are actively interested in the same or considerably different types of issues now as they were 10 years ago,

the respondents are approximately evenly divided. That is, 38 respondents say that their organizations are actively interested in about the same categories of issues now as 10 years ago, while 35 respondents report that their organizations are interested in considerably different categories of issues now. Included among the new categories of issues, according to the comments of those respondents who indicated a difference in areas of concern, are these:

- Consumer-oriented issues
- Discrimination
- Dominant position in the market
- Equal protection issues
- Equal rights
- Energy and fuel usage
- Environmentalism
- Hazardous and solid waste legislation
- Increased legislative dictation of pricing and other business practices
- Marketing controls
- Power to utilize new and developing technology
- Social reform

Estimates as to how important these new issues are to business lobbyist education and training vary.

- "They require increasing sophistication and ability to articulate."
- "Positive and urgent influence to broaden legislative liaison base and become more sophisticated in overall liaison functions."

- "Increased specialized knowledge needed."
- "Will require more technical and scientific training as well as legal and legislative background--communication skills must be better, also."
- "More field training and work experience will be required--less emphasis on academic credentials."
- "Wrong question: Issues like consumerism cannot be learned in the classroom. They are a function of the players as much as an issue unto themselves."
- "Requires broad base of business understanding."

Many of these comments echo those of Haley and Kiss quoted in Chapter Two. They call for a new kind of business lobbyist and lobbying preparation. They emphasize the need for business lobbyists with specialized knowledge, and integrative analysis and planning skills.²

Consistent with the greater importance to the business organization of lobbyists' efforts, 58 of the respondents indicate that their personal recommendations on legislative policy frequently have been adopted by their client, while 15 respondents indicate that this has occasionally been the case. Also, 66 of the respondents indicate that they have had freedom to determine their tactics on most legislative problems.

Thus, according to the respondents, state legislation is having a greater effect on the client, and it is being afforded a higher priority within the business organization. Also, the business lobbyist has an influential role to play in the development of legislative policy to deal with the increasingly important legislative environment, as well as the freedom to determine tactics for dealing with most legislative problems.

Since an important aspect of the business lobbyists' job is public relations, another question asked the business lobbyists if they belong to the Public Relations Society of America. Only three respondents indicate that they are members. However, when asked about the number of years of public relations experience they had prior to becoming a business lobbyist, the 45 respondents to this question report an average of 13 years of experience (median of 11 years). Thus, while some respondents claim some public relations experience, few have chosen to become a member of a professional organization which supports that activity.

"Ideal Recruitment and Preparation"

This phase of the research effort examines the Michigan business lobbyist's experience and probes his perceptions of what constitutes ideal preparation for the role of business lobbyist. It also probes how people are recruited into the field, and what the respondents consider to be success characteristics and educational weaknesses of business lobbyists.

The survey respondents were asked to indicate the frequency with which various means have been used in their organization to fill job openings for the position of business lobbyist. Table 4.29 indicates the results of this inquiry. In general, the most frequently mentioned method of filling job openings for business lobbyists today is through grapevine referrals. Other means by which job openings are filled include: as a consequence of other job responsibilities within the organization, as a result of the individual's own job

Table 4.29 Job Recruitment Methods

Method	Number of Respondents Whose Organizations Use the Method
Grapevine referrals	42
Employers circulate job openings among themselves	17
Through the influence of an employee of the organization doing the hiring	8
Internal transfer or promotion	16
As a consequence of other job responsibilities within the organization	29
As a result of the individual's own job campaign	20
Employment agencies	3
Campus interviews	0
Advertisements in various publications	11
Contact with former student interns	1
Resumes received	6

campaign, through employers circulating job openings among themselves, and by means of internal transfers or promotions. The least used methods are: contact with former student interns, and employment agencies. And, apparently, campus interviews are not used in hiring at all. Thus, to become a business lobbyist, it appears that one must already be a part of the system which utilizes business lobbyists. The recruitment methods used today do not leave much opportunity for the "outsider" to become a business lobbyist. These results are also consistent with the respondents' comments on how they were recruited into business lobbying.

Next, respondents were asked to assess the importance of various personal factors to the success of an individual as a business lobbyist. Table 4.30 indicates the various factors and their relative importance

Table 4.30 Success Factors

Factor	Mean Importance	Number of Respondents
Ability to compromise	4.029	70
Ability to sell his ideas	4.597	72
Aggressiveness	3.676	68
Cooperativeness	4.209	67
Formal education	2.779	68
General intelligence	4.197	71
Pleasant personality	4.260	73
Honesty	4.514	72
Interest in job	4.408	71
Job knowledge	4.384	73
Prior work experience	3.300	70

as evaluated by the lobbyists surveyed on a scale from not important (1) to very important (5). Factors which the respondents consider to be the most important are: the ability to sell ideas, honesty, interest in the job, job knowledge, and a pleasant personality. As noted in previous studies, a lobbyist is involved in the education and persuasion of legislators, so it is not surprising that the primary success factor flows from this important aspect of the job. Prior studies also have stressed the importance of experience and honesty in the lobbyists' successful interaction with state legislators.

The three factors least important in determining whether or not a given individual would be successful as a lobbyist, according to the respondents, are: aggressiveness, prior work experience, and formal education. Thus, it appears that the respondents expect individuals with job-specific skills and characteristics, rather than those with general backgrounds, however strong, to succeed.

Next, the importance of various factors to the hiring of an individual as a business lobbyist today was assessed. The respondents' evaluation of each of these items is reported in Table 4.31. The scale used runs from not important (1) to very important (5). Factors within the five categories of hiring, "Personal," "Experience," "Backing," "Traits," and "Education," have been ranked in terms of the mean importance of each characteristic in each category, and they are reported in that order.

The characteristics in the category called "Traits" received the highest average rating by respondents in terms of their importance in the hiring of a person as a business lobbyist. In fact, except for three personal characteristics, each of the trait characteristics exceeds all of the other characteristics in all of the other categories.³ Specifically, the traits ranked, in decreasing order, are: honesty, positive attitude, professional attitude, cooperativeness, speaking ability, general intelligence, poise, and writing ability. Thus, the respondents place the highest importance on factors, which at least initially, would allow the prospective lobbyist to be perceived positively by the individual doing the hiring, and would probably also help the candidate to be accepted and function successfully later with state legislators.

The second category of characteristics considered to be important in lobbyist hiring decisions is that termed "Personal." The most important characteristics are: pleasant personality, ambition, appearance, and desire to work specifically for the respondent's

Table 4.31 Hiring Factors

Factor	Mean Importance	Number of Respondents
<u>Personal:</u>		
ambition	4.324	71
appearance	4.247	73
desire to work specifically for your firm	3.789	71
native of area	2.141	71
pleasant personality	4.329	73
<u>Experience:</u>		
business	3.718	71
communication	3.847	72
government	3.746	71
journalism	2.710	69
law	2.986	70
politics	3.761	71
public relations	3.343	70
<u>Backing:</u>		
family or friend	2.215	65
grapevine referral	2.908	65
references	3.855	69
<u>Traits</u>		
positive attitude	4.500	72
cooperativeness	4.465	71
general intelligence	4.250	72
honesty	4.753	73
poise	4.219	73
professional attitude	4.486	70
speaking ability	4.370	73
writing ability	4.096	73
<u>Education:</u>		
business	3.466	73
communication	3.417	72
economics	3.114	70
government	3.740	73
journalism	2.662	68
law	3.155	71
politics	3.648	71
public relations	3.197	71

organization. The least important personal characteristic is being a native of the area.

The third category of significance in hiring decisions is experience. The leading experience area is communication, followed (in decreasing order) by political, government, business, public relations, law, and journalism. Thus, these respondents stress the importance of experience, primarily in communication, which relates to the lobbyist's ability to educate and influence the state legislator.

Fourth in importance is the educational background of the business lobbyist candidate. The most important educational area is government, followed by: political, business, and communication. While these areas are in different order than those identified as important areas of experience for the candidate, overall the same fields are considered to be important in both cases.

The least important category of characteristics for the hiring of an individual as a business lobbyist is that termed, "Backing." Within this category, the backing of references is the most important characteristic, while the backing of family or friends is the least important.

Thus, when making a hiring decision on a candidate for the position of business interest lobbyist, the respondents place importance on the individual's traits and personal characteristics, followed by experience, education, and backing. It may be concluded then that the most important characteristics are those which have taken the longest time to develop, but which are somewhat amenable to training efforts.

They are characteristics which provide confidence in the individual as a potentially successful business lobbyist. The experience and education areas reflect the nature of the job which the lobbyist carries out: communication with state legislators and business clients in a political and governmental setting.

The respondents were next asked if they would hire someone as a business lobbyist who recently graduated from college. This question was asked to get some insight into the necessity of prior work experience, as well as the difficulty of moving from college into business lobbying. Two other questions have already revealed that work experience is the third most important category out of five of characteristics important in the hiring of a person as a business lobbyist, and that the least used methods of recruiting include contact with former student interns and campus interviews. The response to the question concerning the possibility of a person "fresh" from college being hired as a business lobbyist is reported in Table 4.32. So, 47 of the respondents indicate that they would not hire a new college graduate as a business lobbyist, while 24 indicate that they would.

Table 4.32 New College Graduate as a Business Lobbyist

Hiring Response	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Would hire	24	32.4
Would not hire	47	63.5
No response	3	4.1

The subjects were also asked to provide comments on their response to this question. Among the comments of those respondents who said they would not hire a new college graduate as a business lobbyist are these:

- "It is necessary to: (1) know the client's business and learn the legislative process, or (2) know the process and learn the client's business."
- "But would hire someone as a trainee."
- "Need some 'real world' experience first."
- "Mere academics will not a successful liaison representative make. Some business world exposure needed."
- "Unless he/she has been active politically within the party system or state government."
- "Normally in our company the lobbyists in the field work alone. I'd consider a recent college grad if he or she could work with an experienced person for two or three years."
- "You can't learn government solely from a textbook."
- "Probably no--too inexperienced generally."
- "The pragmatics of the work are such that actual background 'experience' is essential."
- "Experience with the association is necessary before doing legislative work."
- "I don't feel he would have any first-hand knowledge of how the legislature works and he would not have any contacts."

Among the comments of those who said they would hire a person "fresh" from college are these:

- "A 'fresh' person without experience, but who has the interest and appropriate traits would be a good risk."
- "Only on the condition that the person would work under an experienced legislative agent."

- "That's how I was hired."
- "Many legislators are now 28 years and younger--the new college graduate relates well to the legislators."
- "All things being equal, after an on-the-job training period."
- "But not a young graduate--a lobbyist needs some experience in the real world before moving into this work."

Thus, the respondents favor hiring a recent college graduate only if there is some on-the-job training prior to actual lobbying work and/or the new graduate brings with him maturity and experience.

Before asking the subjects of this survey about what they perceive to be ideal preparation for the job of lobbying, they were asked, based on their observations, what educational weaknesses are most common among their fellow lobbyists. After identifying the three areas of greatest educational weakness, the respondents were asked to comment on their answers. Table 4.33 reports the results to this question. Communication is the most frequently mentioned subject area in the category of greatest educational weakness, followed by business administration and law. However, upon totaling the responses in each of the three columns--first, second, and third greatest weakness--a somewhat different pattern emerges: communication is followed by business administration, politics, and the workings of government. These areas of educational weakness are similar to the areas of education and experience deemed to be important in the hiring of a person as a business lobbyist. Representative of the respondents' comments on their fellow lobbyists' educational weaknesses are these:

Table 4.33 Greatest Educational Weaknesses

Area	Frequency of Mention			Total
	First Educational Weakness	Second Educational Weakness	Third Educational Weakness	
Business administration	8	5	6	19
Communication	15	12	4	31
Economics	5	9	2	16
Government relations	1	5	6	12
Journalism	1	4	2	7
Law	8	3	3	14
Politics	4	7	8	19
Public relations	5	2	7	14
Workings of government	5	5	8	18

- "Ability to communicate (verbally, as well as in writing) and establishing good relations with key people are fundamental."
- "More things are lost because the issue is poorly communicated. Give me someone who can write or recite a clear concise paragraph."
- "The biggest lack is knowledge of the 'real' business world and the 'real' economic system."
- "Too many do not know how to present their ideas and have fuzzy thinking."
- "Those I work with are bright enough to mask their weaknesses and seek help from others if they need it."
- "Have not found them to be educationally deficient."

The subjects' opinion on the level of formal education required by the job of lobbying was probed next. Earlier it was reported that the respondents consider formal education the least important factor

in determining whether or not a given individual would be successful as a business lobbyist. Table 4.34 reports the amount of formal education required to be an effective lobbyist, according to the respondents. Nineteen of the respondents believe at least some college education would provide the business lobbyist with all of the formal education needed for business lobbying work, while 36 believe that a college degree is necessary. Respondents are divided approximately evenly between the need for either more or less formal education than that of some college and a college degree. So, while the respondents would not, in general, hire someone directly from college, they do believe that a person should have at least some college experience in his or her background.

Table 4.34 Formal Education Requirement

Education Level	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
High school degree	7	9.5
Some college	19	25.7
College degree	36	48.6
Some graduate study	2	2.7
Master's degree	3	4.1
Professional degree	4	5.4
Some post graduate study	-	-
No response	3	4.1

When asked if they would hire as a business lobbyist a person who does not have a college degree, however, 45 of the respondents say that they would, while 27 say that they would not. Thus, it appears that while more than half of the respondents would like the new lobbyist candidate to possess some college experience or a college degree, the lack of a college degree is not a barrier to employment. Furthermore, possession of other positive recruitment factors such as traits and personal characteristics and experience would be enough to induce the business organization to employ the degreeless candidate.

Next, the respondents were asked to rank a number of disciplines in terms of their importance in making the business lobbyist more effective on the job. Table 4.35 indicates the frequency of mention of each educational area in the categories of most important, second most important, and third most important in making the lobbyist more effective. The most frequently mentioned educational area in the category of most important to lobbyist effectiveness is that of workings of government, followed by communication, politics, and then business administration. Upon totaling the number of responses in the first, second, and third most important areas, the most important educational area overall appears to be politics, closely followed by the workings of government, communication, and government relations. In both cases, responses are approximately evenly divided among these educational areas. These areas are essentially the same, though in different order, as those identified as their fellow lobbyists' educational weaknesses (i.e., communication, government

Table 4.35 Educational Areas Important to Lobbyist Effectiveness

Area	Frequency of Mention			Total
	Most Important	Second Most Important	Third Most Important	
Business administration	8	4	7	19
Communication	11	13	6	30
Economics	5	5	4	14
Government relations	7	9	8	24
Journalism	--	--	2	2
Law	6	5	4	15
Politics	9	14	12	35
Public relations	4	4	8	16
Workings of government	13	9	9	31

relations and the workings of government, business administration, politics, and law).

As reported earlier, some college experience or a college degree is the preferred formal educational preparation for business lobbying work according to the respondents to this survey. Continuing along this line, the subjects were asked what major field they would recommend studying in college to prepare for a career as a business lobbyist. Table 4.36 reports the number of respondents choosing each of the various majors. Corresponding to the respondents' views (stated above) that education in politics and the workings of government are the most important areas of study to make the business lobbyist more effective, the preferred major most frequently mentioned by respondents is political science. Next in preference as college majors are: communication, law, and business administration. Note that there is much more

Table 4.36 Recommended College Major

Major	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Business administration	8	10.8
Business law	4	5.4
Communication	9	12.2
Economics	1	1.4
History	3	4.1
Journalism	2	2.7
Law	9	12.2
Liberal arts	4	5.4
Political science	16	21.6
Psychology	1	1.4
Public administration	3	4.1
Public relations	5	6.8
No response	9	12.2

diversity reflected in the choice of college major than in other educational questions considered thus far.

The respondents were also asked in which department at an educational facility a program of training for business lobbyists should be centered. Table 4.37 reports on the frequency of mention of the various possibilities by the respondents. Thus, the respondents most prefer a department of political science, followed by a department of business administration, and finally a department of communication as a starting place for the training of future business lobbyists.

Finally, in constructing a program of study for the training of business lobbyists, the participants were asked to evaluate the contribution of a variety of subjects to the preparation of effective business lobbyists. Table 4.38 shows the respondents' evaluation of

Table 4.37 Department Responsible for Training

Department	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Business administration	13	17.6
Communication	11	14.9
Journalism	2	2.7
Political science	25	33.8
Public administration	5	6.8
Public relations	3	4.1
Law	2	2.7
Liberal arts	1	1.4
Psychology	1	1.4
No response	11	14.9

each of the subjects. The scale used to rate the subjects varied from "of little use" (1) to "very useful" (5).

For reporting purposes, each subject was placed in one of four broad areas. Then each area was rated in terms of the evaluation of the subjects within that area. From these four areas of courses, a program of study could be constructed for the business lobbyist which would consist of: "the government area," "the communication area," "the business area," and a "miscellaneous area." The sequence of these subject areas represents the decreasing importance of the various areas for the would-be business lobbyist's program of study. This program of study is here presented with the subjects within each general area listed in order of importance (as evaluated by the respondents). It is a program of study based on courses which the respondents believe would contribute to the training of an effective business lobbyist.

Table 4.38 Program of Study

Academic Subject	Mean Usefulness	Number of Respondents
Accounting and finance	2.705	61
Advertising	2.067	60
Behavioral science	2.984	62
Business law	3.391	64
Business administration	3.344	64
Communication	4.212	66
Creative writing	3.344	64
Economics	3.439	66
Engineering	1.855	62
English	3.703	64
Government	4.258	66
History	2.953	64
Journalism	2.806	62
Law	3.773	66
Management	3.206	63
Marketing	2.710	62
Mass media	3.127	63
Personnel and human relations	3.619	63
Political science	3.873	63
Psychology	3.242	62
Public administration	3.222	63
Public affairs	3.766	64
Public relations	3.646	65
Public speaking	4.119	67
Social sciences and humanities	2.770	61

The first area, "the government area," consists of such subjects as government, political science, public affairs, and public administration. The second area, "the communication area," consists of communication, public speaking, English, public relations, creative writing, and mass media courses. The third area, "the business area," consists of courses in economics, business law, business administration, management, and personnel and human relations. The fourth area, "the miscellaneous area," consists of two disciplines, law and psychology. These areas represent subjects which received a rating of three or higher on a scale of one ("of little use") to five ("very useful") by the respondents who evaluated the subjects above. The ratings of areas and the individual subjects in them agree with the results of other questions in this study, namely, those on educational weaknesses observed in Michigan lobbyists and areas of study which would make the business lobbyist more effective. The results also reflect the understanding of the nature of the lobbyist and his job given in the literature review.

Having outlined some general guidelines for subject areas to be studied by the prospective business interest lobbyist, the subjects were asked where the newly trained, prospective business interest lobbyist should first work after graduating from college to better prepare for a career as a business interest lobbyist. (Note that a majority of the respondents already indicated that they would not hire a person who has just graduated from college, and that their recruitment methods also reflected this view).

Twenty-one of the respondents indicate that they would recommend entering government initially, while 19 respondents would recommend entering a business field first to prepare for their lobbying career (see Table 4.39). The remaining lobbyists are split among other alternatives such as politics, entering lobbying work initially, law, public relations, and journalism. So, it seems that if the respondents were entering the work force as recent college graduates, they would attempt to acquire job knowledge through experience prior to becoming a business lobbyist.

Table 4.39 First Work Experience

Area	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents
Business	19	25.7
Enter lobbying work initially	7	9.5
Government	21	28.4
Journalism	2	2.7
Law	5	6.8
Politics	9	12.2
Public relations	4	5.4
No response	7	9.5

The respondents were also asked to rank the significance of work experience in the various areas to the lobbyist's having a successful and effective career. The results of this inquiry are presented in Table 4.40. Upon totaling for each area, the frequency of its mention as first, second, or third most significant, it appears that the respondents place an equal value on experience in the areas of politics,

Table 4.40 Evaluation of Experience Areas

Area of Experience	Frequency of Mention			Total
	Most Significant	Second Most Significant	Third Most Significant	
Business	18	12	9	39
Formal education	7	5	7	19
Government	19	12	9	40
Journalism	--	4	3	7
Legal	3	8	15	26
Political	18	19	11	48
Public relations	5	7	10	22

government, and business. Thus, these results are consistent with earlier results regarding the education of the business lobbyist.

Finally, the subjects were asked if they would care to make any additional comments concerning preparing for a position as a business interest lobbyist. Representative of the respondents' comments are these:

- "The best of these come up through other routes than specific training for such a job. They are experts in a field through years of experience."
- "Interest, education, experience."
- "Exposure to the business world would be invaluable; also open communication skills. Some public relations work would be helpful."
- "Being active in political and governmental process."
- "Being an effective lobbyist takes a practical understanding of how government and politics relate to each other."
- "Knowing how to deal with people = most important. Knowing your facts and how to present them = next most important."

- "The 'interest group' being served by the lobbyist dictates the type of person, the training, and the qualities required. A lobbyist for a business group would be ineffective for some other type of 'interest group' and vice versa. Some groups are best served by a multi-purpose lobbying firm. So, specific training is very difficult to identify and organize."
- "Preparation not as important as personality."
- "Knowing legislative process, people involved, history of field involved, parliamentary procedure, research methods--where to find data, and means of communicating with your group."
- "Communication is key--must have background from which to communicate."
- "Two main avenues: (1) directly from inside the company, or (2) directly from an elected position or appointed governmental position--both work."
- "People don't prepare to be lobbyists. They enter through circumstance."
- "There is no way to prepare!"

This, then, concludes a review and discussion of the results of this study. Next, some comments are made about those individuals who did not respond to the survey questionnaire.

About the Nonrespondent

As indicated in Chapter Three, a random sample of nonrespondents was telephoned and asked a series of questions. This was done in order to gather some basic data which would allow the comparison of the nonrespondents with those individuals who did respond to the survey questionnaire (and whose responses comprised the results of this study).

The nonrespondents to be surveyed were selected as follows: from the Population Data Set, an alphabetized list of Lansing area

business lobbyists who had not returned the survey questionnaire was compiled. (Note that earlier studies have indicated that lobbyists residing in the capitol city of a state are the most active lobbyists of all those registered in the state.) Every other individual on this list (after eliminating those who had declined to participate in the study, or who were no longer business interest lobbyists), was selected as a nonrespondent subject. Thus, a list of 23 nonrespondents was developed to use in a comparison with the survey respondents.

After repeated telephone calls, 17 of the 23 selected nonrespondent subjects were personally contacted and data were gathered about them. Of the remaining 6, 4 were unavailable, one had retired and moved away, and the sixth said he had returned the survey questionnaire. Upon a review of the data collected from these 17 individuals, the following profile emerges.

Nonrespondent Profile

All 17 nonrespondents contacted indicated that they are still registered lobbyists, and that they have been so registered for an average of 8.74 years. Specifically, 8 have been registered for 1-5 years, 4 for 6-10 years, 2 for 11-20 years, and 3 for more than 20 years. This compares well with the respondents' reported average of almost 9 years of registered lobbying experience.

The nonrespondents report an average age of 47.06 years, with the youngest being 27 years old and the oldest being 75 years of age. Again, this compares favorably with the survey respondents who report an average age of 48.3 years.

Exploring the nonrespondents' highest attained educational level reveals that they are well educated. Table 4.41 reports these results. As Table 4.6 indicates, the study respondents also are well educated.

Table 4.41 Nonrespondent Educational Background

Educational Level	Number of Nonrespondents	Percentage of Nonrespondents
Some college	4	23.5
College degree	6	35.3
Master's degree	3	17.6
Professional degree	4	23.5

Table 4.42 reports the undergraduate majors of the nonrespondents who are college graduates. Coincidentally, the most frequently reported undergraduate major for the respondents is business administration (see Table 4.7).

In terms of clients whom they represent to the state legislature, 4 nonrespondents represent single businesses or corporations, 7 represent business or trade associations, and 6 represent some combination of professional organizations, single businesses or corporations, and business or trade associations. In addition, 9 nonrespondents could be classified as single client lobbyists, while 8 are multi-client lobbyists. Of the 8 multi-client lobbyists, 3 represent 2-5 clients, 2 represent 6-10 clients, and 3 represent more than 10 clients. Thus, a heavier representation of the multi-client lobbyist is to be

Table 4.42 Nonrespondent College Major

Major	Number of Nonrespondents	Percentage of Nonrespondents
Business Administration	6	46.2
Political Science	2	15.4
Biology	1	7.7
Engineering	1	7.7
Forestry	1	7.7
Journalism	1	7.7
Liberal Arts	1	7.7

found among the nonrespondents than was found among the survey respondents.

When asked about their relationship to their client(s), 8 report that they are employees, 5 work "free lance," 2 work for public affairs type companies, and 2 represent their clients on an attorney-client fee basis.

A report of the nonrespondents' time spent lobbying during and between legislative sessions is reported in Tables 4.43 and 4.44, respectively. One nonrespondent indicates that his lobbying activities vary so much during the year that he does not care to attempt to categorize his lobbying activities in terms of time spent. A comparison of the results shown in Tables 4.43 and 4.44 to those reported for the survey respondents indicates that these nonrespondents spend more time both during and between legislative sessions lobbying. There is also less of a difference in the allocation of the nonrespondent's time during legislative sessions and between them than there is for the

Table 4.43 Nonrespondent Time Spent Lobbying During Legislative Sessions

Time Spent	Number of Nonrespondents	Percentage of Nonrespondents
Full-time	7	43.8
Three-quarter-time	2	12.5
One-half-time	4	25.0
One-quarter-time	1	6.3
Less than one-quarter-time	2	12.5

Table 4.44 Nonrespondent Time Spent Lobbying Between Legislative Sessions

Time Spent	Number of Nonrespondents	Percentage of Nonrespondents
Full-time	6	37.5
Three-quarter-time	2	12.5
One-half-time	3	18.8
One-quarter-time	3	18.8
Less than one-quarter-time	2	12.5

respondents. This is probably due to the higher representation among nonrespondents of the multi-client lobbyists.

So far, then, the nonrespondents and the respondents appear, on the bases of comparison mentioned, to be similar, except for the higher representation of the multi-client lobbyist among the nonrespondents just reported.

Two other questions were asked of these nonrespondent subjects. The first was, "What educational preparation do you believe is appropriate for a legislative agent to perform successfully?" In response to this question, replies similar to those of the survey respondents reported earlier result. That is, there is an emphasis on background in the field (i.e., the client's business or industry), communication skills, knowledge of the legislative process (e.g., how the system works) and government background, knowledge of the people involved, and legal knowledge. The emphasis is on practical "on the job" knowledge and experience, as opposed to formal, academic training. Comments on formal training ranged from the value of "the maturity gained from a college education" to the need for training in specific fields, such as business administration, communication, government, law, political science, and public administration. The second question was, "Are you aware of any specific educational weaknesses of legislative agents?" Seven of the nonrespondents reply that they are not aware of any specific educational weaknesses. Among the areas mentioned by those who feel there are weaknesses are communication skills, knowledge of how the political process works, knowledge and understanding of law, the nature of the work, the process of getting the job done, and research and analytical ability. (Note, however, that these responses were made over the telephone, and that these nonrespondent participants did not have much time to reflect before responding to the questions.) Generally, many of these nonrespondents' comments are similar to those described previously for the survey respondents.

To summarize, in comparing and contrasting the survey respondents with a sample of the nonrespondents, they appear to be more alike than dissimilar (based on the areas in which questions were asked, and presumably for the entire study).

Concluding Comment

The foregoing findings of the research effort have been based on the Michigan business lobbyist as he has described himself. This chapter has reported on how the business lobbyist was recruited, how persons are generally recruited for business lobbying, and how the lobbyist would recommend preparing for a career as a business lobbyist, based on his own experiences and his observations of other lobbyists. A summary, the conclusions of this study, and recommendations for further study may be found in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introductory Comment

This study was conducted for a diverse audience and for a variety of reasons. This chapter begins by briefly reviewing the study objectives and the audience for whom the study was conducted. Next, the significant results previously reported are summarized. Then, based upon the results, certain conclusions are made which may be of use to the study audience. Finally, in consideration of the study findings and the approach taken in conducting this study, recommendations are made concerning further research.

Review of the Study Objectives

This study began with a discussion of a changed and more important state legislative environment for the business organization, and the significance of this new environment for the business lobbyist. To study this, the population of business lobbyists registered in the State of Michigan to lobby the House of Representatives and the Senate was examined.

The major objectives of the study are to describe the Michigan business lobbyist, his business life, and his opinions on the best recruitment methods for and ideal preparation of the business lobbyist based upon his experiences as a business lobbyist. While other

approaches might have been taken, by focusing on the Michigan business lobbyist, the objectives established for this study have been achieved.

Study Audience

This study has been conducted to provide knowledge about and an understanding of business lobbyists to its primary audience--the academic, research, and practitioner communities. In addition, for the prospective business lobbyist, the practicing business lobbyist, the business organization employing lobbyists, and the educational institution providing training for the future business lobbyist, it is meant to be of managerial significance. That is, it is intended to have practical application to the operational decision making within these groups. Each of these groups should be able to utilize this report either to understand their own situation better or to improve it. For instance, the generalized program of preparation which is suggested as a conclusion to this research report could be used to aid in the education of the lobbyist. It could serve to alert the prospective lobbyist to areas in which he should study and obtain experience. The practicing lobbyist may be able to use it to identify his own educational weaknesses and formulate an individualized program of training. The educational institution may be able to use it to develop a program of preparation for business lobbyists or to improve an already existing program.

Summary

The study results are reviewed and summarized in the following order: the state legislative environment, a description of the business

lobbyist, and the business lobbyist's life, recruitment, and comments on ideal preparation.

State Legislative Environment

According to the respondents to this study, the state legislative environment has become more important for business organizations, and consequently, the role of the business lobbyist has become more important to these organizations.

The study respondents indicate that, compared with ten years ago, the effect of state legislation on the business organization(s) which they represent has increased, and that their work now has a higher priority within these organizations. Consistent with this, the respondents also report that their personal recommendations on legislative policy are frequently adopted, and that they have the freedom to determine tactics on most legislative problems. Furthermore, many of the respondents carry a management title, and most report to an individual in a high-level position who has responsibility for all functional areas of the organization (or at least, for the government relations function).

Description of the Business Lobbyist

Based on the study results, the Michigan business lobbyist can be described as predominantly male, middle-aged, married with children, born and reared in Michigan in an urban setting, and well educated. The majority of the respondents have earned at least a college degree in one of the social sciences, as opposed to the natural sciences. Many of them have had prior government employment experience.

The respondents began lobbying in their late thirties on the average and generally possess at least six years of lobbying experience. The majority of them also have worked for more than one organization. So they have brought a number of years of other work experience to the lobbying role, and now possess several years of experience as lobbyists.

Business Lobbyist's Life

The respondents tend to have spent little time planning to become lobbyists; and they tend to have become lobbyists for their organizations subsequent to joining the organization in some other capacity. Also, most of the respondents would appear to have had some "inside" contact with the lobbying organization or lobbying activity which afforded them the opportunity to become a lobbyist, rather than entering the position directly from another field. This contact apparently reduced the time required for the individual to consider the offer of a lobbying position before taking it.

Primary factors which have influenced these individuals to become lobbyists include their enjoyment of this type of work, their interest in politics, their concern for the client's welfare and desire to promote client's interests, and their other job responsibilities.

Most of the respondents say that they did not train formally for the position of business lobbyist. Instead, they cite their work experience (in business, government, or politics) as their preparation for this career. They also indicate that their organizations do not

have a formal lobbyist training program, but that they may have some on-the-job training for the individual lacking hands-on experience, prior to assumption of full lobbying responsibilities. Concerning the effect of increased state legislation and new categories of issues on business lobbyist education and training, a number of respondents mention the need for increased, specialized knowledge, more sophistication, more technical and scientific training, greater effectiveness in traditional skills such as communication, legal and legislative background, knowing the people involved, and knowing the client's business and the issues.

Most respondents work for only one client (the majority of these work for trade associations); however, some work for more than one organization. Also, these individuals report an average of ten years of employment with their present organizations, but fewer years representing their organizations as business lobbyists. Michigan lobbyists tend to spend only part of their time on lobbying activities, and the remaining time on other activities for the client (e.g., association or legal work).

Overall, the most important job responsibility area for the respondents is working in some fashion with the state legislature on behalf of their employers by maintaining legislative contacts, influencing legislation, and monitoring legislative activities. Less important are trade association tasks, such as association management, membership relations, and communication and information programs.

Recruitment of the Business Lobbyist

Consistent with the way in which the respondents were recruited into their business organizations, candidates for a lobbying position need to have contacts with lobbying activities or the lobbying organization in order to become lobbyists.

Characteristics which the respondents feel are most important to possess in order to be successful as a business lobbyist include: an ability to sell ideas, honesty, interest in the job, job knowledge, and a pleasant personality.

When hiring a person as a business lobbyist, the most important characteristics considered by the respondents are the candidate's personal traits and abilities, such as honesty, positive attitude, professional attitude, cooperativeness, speaking and writing ability, general intelligence, and poise. The candidate must be able to make a good first impression, not only on the interviewer but on the legislator as well. The traits just listed assist in this. Also helpful, though rated second in importance, are such personal characteristics as pleasant personality, ambition, appearance, and the desire to work specifically for the respondent's organization.

Rated less important than traits and personal characteristics are experience and education. The respondents point out that the lobbyist needs to accomplish goals in a dynamic, multi-faceted environment, and that while education is important, a track record of proven experience is more significant. Areas of experience which are important for the would-be lobbyist to have are those in which

candidates gain experiences similar to those of a business lobbyist. Such experience can attract attention within an organization and gain entry for the candidate into the lobbying system. So communication, politics, government, and business are prior experience areas preferred by respondents in that these areas give the candidate not only a "real world" knowledge base, but also practical experiences similar to those of the working lobbyist. Education in government, politics, business, and communication are rated fourth in importance in the hiring of the candidate as a business lobbyist.

Echoing these hiring specifications, survey results reflect a bias against hiring the new college graduate unless he is older, more mature, has had some experience, and could be trained on the job prior to assuming full lobbying responsibilities.

Ideal Preparation of the Business Lobbyist

While education is not the most important factor to be considered in the hiring of a person to be a business lobbyist, some educational preferences are expressed by the respondents. Regarding the amount of education, the majority prefer a candidate with some college or a college degree. However, the lack of a college degree is not a barrier to employment, since possession of other characteristics could result in the individual's being hired.

As one would expect, based upon the nature of the job, the respondents also identified the areas in which study would make the business lobbyist more effective on the job. These areas include the

workings of government, communication skills, politics, business, and government relations. Consistent with these areas, college majors which would be appropriate are political science, communication, law, and business administration.

If a program of study were designed especially for the business lobbyist, it would stress courses in these areas also. Governmental courses would include government, political science, public affairs, and public administration. Communication courses would include general communication, public speaking, English, public relations, creative writing, and mass media courses. Business courses would include economics, business law, business administration, management, and personnel and human relations. These courses would be supplemented with courses in law and psychology. Thus, based on the respondents' recommendations, an outline of educational preparation emerges which would enhance the business lobbyist's background and his ability to perform successfully among the state legislators.

The respondents place clear emphasis, however, upon practical application with respect to accomplishing objectives--what to do, how to do it, when, and so forth. This is not to say that theory has no relevance, but that it must be operationalized so that the lobbyist can use the knowledge to function effectively in a set of complex relationships and thereby achieve the client's objectives.

After formal educational preparation, the respondents again emphasize the need for practical work experience to prepare for a lobbying career. Preparation might consist of government or business

experience, or perhaps politics, entry into lobbying work initially, law, public relations, or journalism.

Based on the respondents' comments, a final caveat must be entered with respect to education and experience as qualifications for lobbying: they do not substitute for the proper traits and personality characteristics which the respondents rate as very important in obtaining a job as a lobbyist and successfully performing in that capacity.

Conclusions

Moving beyond the study's immediate objectives just addressed, many conclusions, or rather implications, may be drawn from the results of this research that have managerial significance for the audience of this study. The conclusions offered concern the growing importance of the business lobbyist's role and its implications for the business organization; general selection criteria which may be applied by the business organization to evaluate business lobbyist candidates; a generalized program of preparation for business lobbyists; and finally, the role of the business school in the training of students to become business lobbyists and/or in the educational upgrading of practicing business lobbyists who wish to improve their skills for lobbying work. Each of these conclusions suggests actions which may be taken by the audience for whom this study has relevance, including those with managerial responsibilities.

Importance of the Role and Preparation
of the Business Lobbyist

The state legislative environment has become more important to the business organizations which are operating in the State of Michigan. By passing laws and making provision for the establishment of regulations, the Michigan State Legislature has affected and can continue to affect the operations and success of these business organizations. It would appear that more groups, representing more diverse interests are seeking to influence state legislation in many areas which may eventually affect the business organization. Furthermore, it seems that there are and will continue to be more laws which affect and there are more laws being enacted which may affect business organizations. Consequently, the business organization must provide input into the legislative process in order to bring about more favorable state legislation. One way of providing input is through the use of business lobbyists who interact with state legislators on behalf of the business organization. So, given that the state legislative environment has become more important, more dynamic, and more complex, the role of the business lobbyist has become more important. At the same time, since the number and variety of issues of concern to the business organization has increased and more parties are involved in the legislative process, business organizations must also pay more attention to the business lobbyist's preparation. Training which is in-depth and more extensive is required in order for the business lobbyist to be effective and efficient in carrying out his role.

In responding to the increased importance of the legislative environment, business organizations ought to:

1. Develop measures for themselves of the actual or potential impact of state legislation on their operations and performance;
2. Devise, based on the magnitude of the legislative impact, the appropriate strategy and allocate the necessary resources in order to interact successfully with the state legislature (including funds to hire business lobbyists and to support their efforts); and
3. Insure that their business lobbyists are prepared to carry out their role.

Finally, while the business organization may be tempted to remain legislatively uninvolved, believing in a separation of business and government, lack of representation at the state legislature may prove injurious to the business organization in terms of its operations and performance against objectives. Thus, this conclusion argues for strong business organization representation at the state legislative level of government.

Selection Criteria for Business Lobbyists

In light of the nature of the environment in which the business lobbyist practices his or her trade, generalized selection criteria have been derived from the results of this research effort which the business organization could use to select individuals to represent it

to the state legislature. Furthermore, these same criteria suggest for the business lobbyist candidate, the characteristics which the candidate should display in order to enhance the likelihood of his being hired as a business lobbyist.

However, before these criteria are elaborated upon, it must be reiterated that prior to the selection process, the prospective candidate must get into the lobbying system, because entering into lobbying work from "outside" the lobbying system is difficult. Getting into an organization's lobbying system involves establishing contact with the organization or with lobbying activities. This may be accomplished, for instance, by obtaining work in some other capacity within the lobbying organization, or by working in a government position where one is exposed to the lobbying system. Later, for the young prospective business lobbyist, an entry vehicle into lobbying will be proposed.

Returning to the general selection criteria for business lobbyists, they may be divided into four main categories: personal traits, personal characteristics, experience, and education.

Personal traits of the business lobbyist candidate should be examined first. The most important ones are: honesty, a positive attitude, a professional attitude, cooperativeness, speaking ability, general intelligence, poise, and writing ability. Personal characteristics, which include a pleasant personality, ambition, appearance, and a desire to work specifically for the organization should be considered second. Some of the candidate's traits and characteristics

may be assessed during the interview process by those individuals involved in recruiting and hiring. Others should be assessed by talking with the candidate's prior employers and other references. The organization's current lobbyists, as well as the management responsible for the lobbying activity, should be involved in the selection process.

The third category of selection criteria is prior work experience relevant to the job of lobbying. Experience in communication, politics, government, business, public relations, law, and/or journalism is likely to have provided the candidate with the job knowledge which will enhance his productivity as a lobbyist. In a hiring decision, the preference would be for the candidate who has at least several years of employment experience.

Fourth in importance as a selection criteria, is the educational background of the candidate. Education in government, politics, business, and/or communication, would be preferred to education in other fields. Also, the preferred candidate would have at least taken some college or earned a college degree in one of these areas (with course work in the others).

In addition, in the process of screening, the candidates references should be checked in order to verify his past performance, as well as to check the prior employer's perceptions of the candidate in regard to the selection criteria.

Besides the selection criteria just mentioned, evaluation of how the candidate will "fit in" with the organization and his motivation

for becoming a lobbyist should be considered. The candidate should be interested in politics and the business organization, interested in promoting the organization's interests, and he should feel that he would enjoy lobbying work. Observing and participating in lawmaking, presenting a case to legislators, and enjoying a variety of job tasks (as opposed to doing routine work) should be attractive to the business lobbyist candidate.

Finally, each of the selection criteria categories mentioned above should be expanded upon by the business organization seeking to hire additional business lobbyists. The tasks which the organization expects to be carried out, as well as the specific environment affecting the execution of those tasks should be defined. Based on this definition, specific values with regard to the categories discussed above, should be identified. Then, as a prelude to formal screening, the organization should seek out a pool of candidates likely to have those characteristics. This pool could be developed by looking for likely candidates first, within the business organization; second, in other similar business organizations; third, in other organizations involved in the lobbying process, such as state government agencies or the state legislature; and finally, in other government, communication, political, business, legal, or public relations organizations. Then, it would be a matter of comparing the pool of candidates with the selection criteria to identify the best candidate for the organization.

Program of Preparation for the Business Lobbyist

Another conclusion which may be drawn from the study results is that a specially designed program of study can help prepare an individual to be a better business lobbyist. An outline of this proposed study program, which may be of use to the prospective business lobbyist, the practicing business lobbyist, and the educational facility involved in the training of business lobbyists, follows.

The program of study is interdisciplinary in scope, incorporating education in government, politics, business, and communication. However, it is not solely academic in its orientation since in addition to building theoretical knowledge it also aims at the "proper" socialization of the prospective business lobbyist (student) and providing work experience to allow the student to be a successful practitioner of the lobbying trade. So, socialization, theory, and practical experience are all included and they are designed to dovetail in the proposed program of preparation for the business lobbyist (see Figure 5.1).

Socialization

As reported earlier, lobbyist recruiters look for certain personal characteristics in the business lobbyist candidate when making a hiring decision. The program of preparation, then, should be designed to "socialize," that is, develop the desired characteristics and behaviors in the candidate accordingly. It should seek to inculcate in the candidate those personal characteristics of

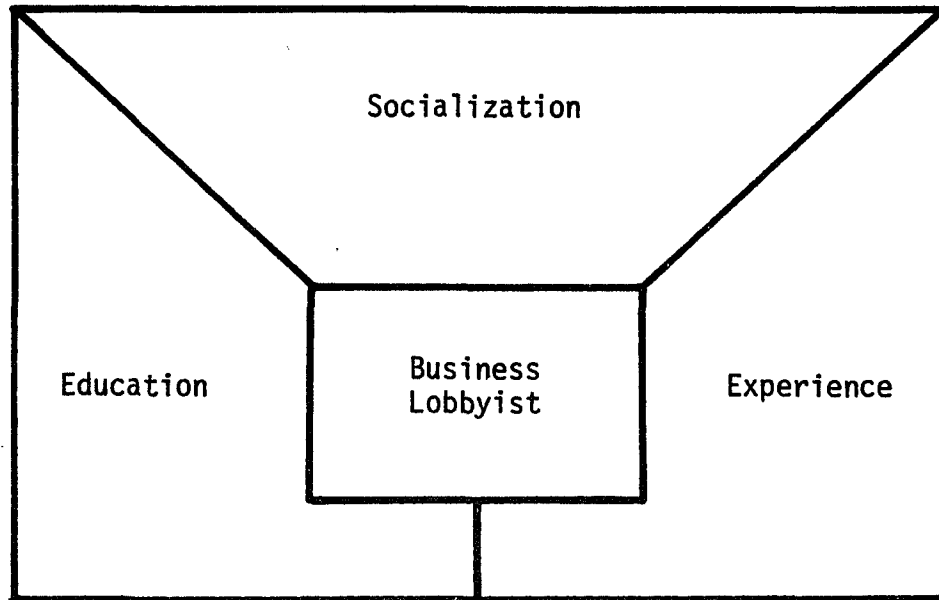


Figure 5.1 Program of Preparation.

honesty, a positive attitude, professionalism, cooperativeness, poise, good appearance, pleasant personality, and ambition which will enhance the suitability of the candidate for a job as a business lobbyist, as well as the candidate's ability to actually perform the role of lobbyist once he is hired. How socialization can be achieved in a program of preparation follows.

First, a faculty which provides by example appropriate models for the prospective lobbyist is essential. Observing role models who exhibit the desired characteristics (e.g., honesty, good appearance) facilitates the development of those characteristics in the student. Exposing the student to successful business lobbyists acting as guest

lecturers in the classroom should also transmit those characteristics to the student. Work experience with business organizations or trade associations on a summer job or a work/study program basis would also be helpful in the socialization process.

It is not enough, however, just to repeatedly expose the student to these characteristics. The student should be taught why these characteristics are needed to successfully perform the business lobbyist role. For example, the reasons why the business lobbyist must be perceived as honest by the state legislator (in order to facilitate a good working relationship and to have ideas believed in) should be emphasized. The problems of the lobbyist who does not possess these characteristics should also be explained and demonstrated.

Finally, the student should be provided with the opportunity to develop and demonstrate these characteristics in actual situations. Role-playing exercise, class presentations, team projects, work/study programs, and summer internships should be part of the program of preparation and should allow for the student's "internalization" of these characteristics.

Formal Education

The formal education process and the particular subjects studied should stress both the theory and application of those functional areas (and their integration) which facilitate the students' knowledge about and understanding of the lobbying environment and the role of the business lobbyist. The student should also develop some causal understanding of the relationship among the lobbying

variables in order to develop a predictive ability. The end product should be a student who can apply the appropriate theory to a given lobbying situation in order to develop a strategy to achieve the objectives of the employing business organization and successfully implement that strategy.

The theory which the business lobbyist needs in order to perform successfully may be found in the following areas and their integration. These areas and the subjects making up each area are based on the results of this study (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Educational Areas

Area	Subject
Government	Government Political Science Public Affairs Public Administration
Communication	Communication Public Speaking English Public Relations Creative Writing Mass Media
Business	Economics Business Administration Business Law Management Personnel and Human Relations
Miscellaneous	Law Psychology

The most important educational area is government and politics. The business lobbyist must understand the legislative process. Knowledge of how bills are created, how they move through the system, and how their passage may be facilitated or impeded is required. The importance of knowing the agents in the system and how they affect the movement of bills is also essential. The business lobbyist must be able to work with the various agents and speak their language. Understanding the role of the political process in shaping legislation is also necessary. Courses in government and political science can provide this understanding or knowledge.

Next, education in communication is required. The business lobbyist must be able to communicate with diverse audiences. Of course he must be able to successfully educate and influence state legislators concerning difficult issues related to complex systems such as economics and business operations. Also, the lobbyist must be able to successfully communicate with his business organization; for example, he must be able to communicate to the business organization the pressures on the state legislator which influence the legislator's decision making process. In addition, the business lobbyist must be able to communicate with all the other relevant publics which may impinge upon the success of the lobbyist's strategy. Other interest groups may be involved--some supportive, some in adversary roles. The media may also be involved, so some knowledge of public relations and sophisticated communications may be useful. Courses such as public speaking and creative writing can contribute to the lobbyist's ability to express himself effectively.

Since the business lobbyist represents a business organization, a grounding in the principles of business is essential. He must communicate with his organization in the language of business. He must understand the role of business in a complex economic system, as well as the issues affecting the success of business organizations. He must be prepared to explain the role of the business organization in the economic system to other individuals who may be unfamiliar with how the economic system operates. He must understand the implications of various laws and regulations (and proposed laws or regulations) on the performance of the business organization and on the economic system as a whole. Courses such as economics and business law can provide a strong theoretical and practical education in business.

Among the miscellaneous subjects in which education is useful are law and psychology. Some legal education can be helpful to the lobbyist who is participating in the drafting of legislation (or in modifying legislation). It is especially helpful in understanding how slight changes in the wording of a particular piece of legislation can radically change its effect. Also education in psychology would be useful in understanding the motivations of other individuals and how those motivations influence the legislative and political processes.

Formal education in the above functional areas, then, would provide a theoretical background for the business lobbyist. Some additional comments should be made, however, regarding this formal education.

First, none of these functional areas is sufficient in itself to serve as the basis for a study program for the business lobbyist.

The lobbyist environment incorporates many elements (e.g., the business organization and legislature) and many processes (e.g., political, legislative, and communication) which may be in a state of change. Thus, an interdisciplinary approach is needed which welds these functional areas together in a cohesive body of knowledge tailored to meet the business lobbyist's needs.

Second, formal education must extend beyond the textbook, lecture note, and term paper to case studies and role-playing exercises. The student must develop skill in applying the appropriate theory to specific situations to achieve stated objectives. The more "life-like" the situation, the better.

Third, this formal education should dovetail with the socialization process which the student is put through as a part of this program.

Work Experience

"Proper" socialization and formal education are not enough to prepare the student for business lobbying work. The student must have practical experience in the application of theory to real situations. Part-time employment in a lobbying support capacity through work/study programs or summer internships with a business organization or a trade association would be most useful. Another possibility would be working on the other side of the lobbyist-legislator interface; this would give the student the legislator's perspective on the lobbyist.

Any work experience, however, should involve "hands-on" experience for the student, as well as the assumption of responsibility

for some meaningful outcomes. The student will learn more about the role of the business lobbyist by putting theory into practice and learning from mistakes, than he will from observing others. This practical work experience should also reinforce the socialization process and the formal education process. Finally, the work experience should allow the student to learn who the players are in a legislative environment, and also open doors to employment opportunities.

Summary of the Program of Preparation

A program of preparation for the business lobbyist has been developed which consists of these main elements: socialization, formal education, and work experience. Bringing these three elements together in a business environment for the business lobbyist student should result in an individual who would be recruited by a business organization to work in a lobbying capacity, and who would be able to function successfully in that capacity.

Ultimately, the preparation program should yield the type of business lobbyist a business organization would be eager to hire--a business lobbyist who is familiar with the legislative process and the individuals involved, as well as with the business organization and its interests, and the relevant public policy issues; a lobbyist who is able to gather, analyze, and impart information; a lobbyist who is able to make sound recommendations to both the business organization and legislators, and to sell those recommendations; and a lobbyist whose performance reflects good judgment, a sense of timing, advanced

preparation, good organization, and a reputation for being well informed and honest. By providing this type of generalized study program, the business lobbyist should meet the needs of the business organization by successfully operating in the new state legislative environment.

Role of the Business School

The last area in which conclusions may be drawn from the study results concerns the role of the business school in the training of business lobbyists. The business school has a role to play in the education of business lobbyists whether it be the training of new lobbyists or the retraining of experienced business lobbyists. This role derives from what the business lobbyist does, and the nature of the organization which the business lobbyist represents, and the issues on which the business lobbyist must be knowledgeable.

This does not necessarily mean, however, that the business school should take a leadership role. First of all, the business lobbyist requires a multi-disciplinary background. In addition, in the context of a college or university, the study respondents prefer the political science department as a "home" for the training of business lobbyists. Finally, the number of students seeking this type of training may not be sufficient to justify a leadership role for the business school.

Nonetheless, the role of the business school in business lobbyist training is apparent, based on the outline of the program of preparation. The business school's role, then, includes the

socialization, education, and work experience of the business lobbyist. In this regard, the business school might well be involved as part of a joint program with the political science or government department of a college or university.

With respect to general training, the business lobbyist needs to be able to establish objectives, devise a strategy for achieving objectives, and implement the strategy in a complex environment. The lobbyist must get the job done. The business school can provide training in this area. It can also provide training in business law, often a subject of concern for the lobbyist who may be recommending legislation, or proposing amendments to the law. Also valuable is training in how the economic system operates. The business lobbyist must be prepared to discuss with the legislator, for instance, the ramifications of legislation proposed either by the lobbyist's organization, or by other interest groups. The business school could be involved in initial training for the prospective lobbyist and/or in the on-going training of current lobbyists, through an appropriate program of study developed specifically for them.

The business school could also be involved in arranging for work experiences for the student business lobbyist in the form of internships or work/study programs, as well as in their supervision. Student internships in business organizations would provide the student working in a lobbying support capacity with insights into lobbying; they could also provide socialization, education, and experience available nowhere else which could enhance the likelihood of the student making lobbying his career choice.

Earlier in this report, it was mentioned that business lobbyists prefer job candidates with certain personal characteristics and real world experiences, and that this study's results indicate that no lobbyist candidates were selected by campus interviews, or as a result of having been student interns. Perhaps, it is now time to make this a possibility, especially given the increasing importance of state government to the business organization and its performance. Business school involvement in the future business lobbyist's work experience could be critical.

Finally, as a part of the socialization process, the business school, through its faculty, could provide good role models for the student.

Recommendations

It is possible, based on the results and the conclusions of this research report, to make recommendations with regard to possible directions for future research in this area.

This study has dealt with one component (i.e., the state business lobbyist) of a system involving the state legislature and its members, business organization(s), and other interest groups and their representatives, as well as other concerned parties. Other approaches could have been taken, and other elements, relationships, and systems in different settings could have been studied. Some of these "roads not taken" suggest further research projects, as described below.

First, the business lobbyist might be studied in other settings (i.e., other states) and at different levels of government (e.g., federal) in order to see if the findings reported here are relevant to a broader population of business lobbyists or if these results are unique to those lobbyists practicing in the State of Michigan.

Second, a comparison also might be made of the different lobbyist types (i.e., professional organization, single business or corporation, business or trade association, or multi-client lobbyists) to discover their similarities or differences on the questions studied here. In total, these lobbyist types probably do not form a homogeneous group.

Third, one might utilize a different technique of study--the personal interview, as opposed to the mail questionnaire--as a means of gathering data. Personal interviews require more time of the subject and the researcher, but they would allow for in-depth discussion of the questions pursued here and might uncover findings or new insights which were not revealed by this research effort in the questionnaire format.

Another possibility would be to focus on the relationships between the business lobbyist, the state legislators, and/or the business organizations in Michigan or in other settings. One might describe these relationships and seek a greater understanding of them. One might also extend the scope of inquiry to determine the environmental variables which influence these interactions.

While this study has concentrated on description, further steps could be taken toward greater explanation and prediction,

answering questions such as: What are the interpersonal factors between business lobbyists and state legislators which result in a successful business lobbyist (based on his client's objectives)? Are these the same as or different from those uncovered in previous studies of the entire lobbyist population? One might also test various theories of interpersonal behavior in the context of the state legislator--business lobbyist--business organization relation in order to determine their validity.

The success of the business organization in creating a more favorable state environment in which to do business is another possible area of study. On specific issues, have businesses been successful or not, and why? What specific actions might the business organization take, both within the context of the state legislature and outside of it, in order to effect a more favorable state environment in which to operate?

Thus, there are a host of areas still to be studied, and a number of questions still to be answered. The problems of a changed and more important state legislative environment for the business organization provide many challenges and opportunities for both the business organization and for the researcher. These challenges and opportunities require a response and in responding, the information gathered and the knowledge gained may provide both a better understood and an improved business-government relationship.

Concluding Comment

A long road has been traveled to complete this research study from the initial investigation of its merits and feasibility, through the research design and execution, and the compilation and analysis of data, to the reporting of results. In carrying out this study, this researcher is fortunate to have had the cooperation of each of the seventy-four business organization lobbyists who have been examined as a group and reported on in this research study. Only by conducting a study such as this one, does one appreciate the importance of having subjects who are willing to cooperate in a research effort. It is hoped that their input and the efforts of this researcher have resulted in a study which helps to provide worthwhile insights into a facet of business-government relations.

NOTES

NOTES

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

¹See Samuel Patternson, "The Role of the Lobbyist: The Case of Oklahoma," The Journal of Politics 25 (February 1963): 83-84; and John S. McClenahan, "Is Business Ready for New State Power?" Industry Week 179 (November 12, 1973): 58.

²Phyllis S. McGrath, Managing Corporate External Relations: Changing Perspectives and Responses (New York: The Conference Board, Inc., 1976), p. 2.

³Ibid., p. 3.

⁴Martin R. Haley and James M. Kiss, "Larger Stakes in Statehouse Lobbying," Harvard Business Review 52 (January 1974): 126-129; and Arlene Hershman, "The States Move in on Business," Dun's Review 111 (January 1978): 33.

⁵McClenahan, "Is Business Ready?" p. 56.

⁶Michigan, Department of State, Campaign Finance Reporting Office, Legislative Agents Registered as of June 12, 1979 and Legislative Agents Registered as of February 1, 1980.

⁷Hershman, "States Move in on Business," p. 34; and Gary T. Ford, "Adoption of Consumer Policies by States: Some Empirical Perspectives," Journal of Marketing Research 15 (February 1978): 54.

⁸Senator William Sederberg, Michigan State Senate, Lansing, Michigan, interview on 7 August 1979; and Representative Lynn Jondahl, Michigan House of Representatives, Lansing, Michigan, interview on 27 August 1979.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

¹See Arlene Hershman, "The States Move in on Business," Dun's Review 111 (January 1978): 33-38; John S. McClenahan, "Is Business Ready for New State Power?" Industry Week 179 (November 12, 1973): 55-60; and Robert Brakeman and Debbie Del Valle, "The Power Brokers-- Unmasking Those Mysterious People Who Influence Your Legislature," Lansing Magazine 2 (September 1978): 19-25.

²Martin R. Haley and James M. Kiss, "Larger Stakes in Statehouse Lobbying," Harvard Business Review 52 (January 1974): 125-135.

³Ibid., p. 126.

⁴Ibid., pp. 126-127.

⁵Ibid., p. 127.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p. 128

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 128-129.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 129.

¹² Ibid., p. 130.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 130-131.

¹⁶Walter D. DeVries, "The Michigan Lobbyist: A Study in the Bases and Perceptions of Effectiveness" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1960), p. 276.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 54-55.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 81.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 81-82.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 139

²¹ Ibid., p. 292.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., p. 279.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 207-208.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 208.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 289-290.

²⁷ Samuel Patterson, "The Role of the Lobbyist: The Case of Oklahoma," The Journal of Politics 25 (February 1963): 76.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 75-79

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 78-79.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 80-81.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 83-84.

³² Ibid., pp. 85-86.

³³ Ronald D. Hedlund and Samuel C. Patterson, "Personal Attributes, Political Orientations, and Occupational Perspectives of Lobbyists: The Case of Illinois," Iowa Business Digest 37 (November 1966): 5.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴² Harmon Zeigler and Michael A. Baer, Lobbying: Interaction and Influence in American State Legislatures (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1969), p. 7.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 54.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 43.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 64-65.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 46.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 47.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 48.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 56

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 49-50.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 52-53.

⁵² Ibid., p. 55.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 61.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 79.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 105.

⁵⁶ Bernard D. Kolasa, "Lobbying in the Nonpartisan Environment: The Case of Nebraska," The Western Political Quarterly 24 (March 1971): 67-68.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 68.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 69.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 70.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 71.

⁶² Ibid., p. 74.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 75.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 77.

⁶⁵ John C. Quinn III, "New England Lobbyists: A Comparative Study" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1971), p. 31.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 33.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 36.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 38.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 61.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 44.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 45-46.

⁷² Ibid., p. 47.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 50.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 54.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 55.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 57.

⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 187-188.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 196.

CHAPTER III: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

¹Paul E. Green and Donald S. Tull, Research for Marketing Decisions (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978), pp. 79-80.

²Ibid., pp. 207-208.

³Ibid., p. 150.

⁴Marvin A. Jolson, "How to Double or Triple Mail-Survey Response Rates," Journal of Marketing 41 (October 1977): 79. See sample prenotification message.

⁵Ibid., p. 81.

⁶Green and Tull, Research, p. 150.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

¹See pp. 10-14 of this report.

²Ibid.

³See p. 156 in Appendix B of this report.

APPENDIX A

TELEPHONE PRENOTIFICATION STATEMENT

APPENDIX A

TELEPHONE PRENOTIFICATION STATEMENT

Contained in this appendix is a reproduction of the standard presentation used in the telephone prenotification of the survey subjects.

Survey Telephone Prenotification: Standard Presentation

Hello Mr. _____.

I'm George Nastas, a Ph.D. student in the College of Business Administration at Michigan State University. I'm studying the career background and preparation of business and professional organization legislative agents. This study is for my doctoral dissertation.

I would like to solicit your assistance in this study by completing my survey questionnaire. Would you be able to help me, Mr. _____?

Your name is not on the questionnaire and you'll be asked to read a cover letter describing the study and then to respond to a series of questions. I'll mail the questionnaire today and it will arrive in a Michigan State University envelope. Is this okay?

I've called you in advance to describe the study. Your reply is very important. Will you try to return the questionnaire soon after you receive it?

Thank you, Mr. _____. I appreciate your help.

APPENDIX B

REPRINT OF COVER LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX B

REPRINT OF COVER LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE

Reprinted in this appendix is the survey cover letter and the Legislative Liaison Representative Questionnaire sent to each of the Michigan business lobbyists whose participation was sought in this survey. The cover letter and questionnaire which were mailed out to each subject were xerographic reproductions on white paper of the originals.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
DEPARTMENT OF MARKETING AND
TRANSPORTATION ADMINISTRATION

EAST LANSING • MICHIGAN • 48824

Dear Sir:

Certainly no one is in a better position than you to recognize the growing importance of state government on business activities in the State of Michigan. You, as a legislative liaison representative, play a key role in shaping legislation which may affect business organizations. Yet few hard facts are known about those of you who do represent business and professional groups to the Michigan State Legislature - who you are, how your career evolved, how you view your work, and how one might prepare for a career as a legislative liaison representative.

You are the sole source of such information. That is why I am seeking your assistance in this study of legislative liaison representatives.

The enclosed self-addressed questionnaire is a first step toward what I hope will lead to a fuller study of business-state government relations and the role of the legislative liaison representative in that relationship. I cannot assure you that it will take only a few minutes of your time to complete this questionnaire. But if you agree that the findings would be useful to you, to the organizations you represent, to better business-state government relations, and to persons contemplating your field as a career, then I hope that you will elect to participate in this study. The quality and completeness of the findings will be dependent upon your participation.

You will be asked a number of questions pertaining to both fact and opinion. I assure you that this information will be treated in absolute confidence. No grant or other funds support this project, and only I shall see your responses. This questionnaire is going to legislative liaison representatives registered with the Michigan Department of State who represent business and professional organizations. All data will be coded and summarized before being used or shown to any other person, or reported in any written or published analysis. In other words, the focus is on patterns of response, and not on the responses of any one individual. The findings will be used for my doctoral dissertation at Michigan State University, as well as in subsequent publications to the public and research communities.

If you have any questions concerning this study or the questionnaire, please contact me at 353-6381. I would appreciate it if you would return the completed questionnaire in the prepaid self-addressed envelope by not later than
Thank you for participating in this study.

Sincerely,

George Nastas III

GN/nb

LEGISLATIVE LIAISON REPRESENTATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

Graduate School of Business Administration

Michigan State University

Subject: Survey of Legislative Liaison Representatives

Instructions for completing the questionnaire:

Most of the questions may be answered by placing an "X" beside the response which you think affords the best reply to the question at hand (In certain instances, more than one response may be permitted, with this fact noted in the question wording.). A few questions will ask that you rank your responses in order of significance, while a number of other questions will ask you to evaluate certain factors in terms of their importance. Please answer all of the questions.

There are no inappropriate answers to any of the questions in the survey. For this reason, you should feel free to choose any response you believe does the best job of depicting the answer most suitable for you. For this same reason, you should try to avoid spending too much time on any single item, since the first answer that you select will very often be the one which comes closest to representing the position that you wish to take.

Again rest assured that your answers will be regarded as confidential, and that any report made of the results will be presented in summary form only. In short, no individual answers will be reported. A final comment on confidentiality is made on page 11 of this questionnaire.

Thank you again for completing this survey questionnaire.

ABOUT YOUR BUSINESS LIFE...

1. What is your present job title?

A. Title: _____

2. Do you practice legislative liaison work:

- ___ A. on a salaried basis.
 ___ B. on a self-employed basis.
 ___ C. other: _____
 (please specify)

3. How many clients do you represent in your legislative liaison work?

A. Number: _____

4. Which client group(s) do you represent? (Indicate one or more).

- ___ A. Professional organizations
 ___ B. Single businesses or corporations
 ___ C. Trade or business associations
 ___ D. Other: _____
 (please specify)

5. Are you a:

- ___ A. multi-issue or a
 ___ B. single-issue

... legislative liaison representative.

For Questions 6 - 10, if you represent more than one client, please select the response which is most representative of your legislative liaison situation.

6. What is the nature of the organization that you represent to the state legislature.

- ___ A. organization employing its own legislative liaison representative.
 ___ B. organization represented by an independent legislative liaison firm.
 ___ C. other: _____
 (please specify)

7. Please identify your three most important areas of job responsibility (in priority order) for the organization that you represent to the state legislature.

Most important: _____

Second most important: _____

Third most important: _____

8. In what year did the organization which you now represent begin to represent itself to the state legislature through the use of legislative liaison representatives?

___ A. Year: _____
 (please specify)

___ B. Do not know

9. For how many years have you been a legislative liaison representative for your present organization?

A. Years: _____

10. For how many years have you been employed by your present organization?

A. Years: _____

11. How would you characterize your legislative liaison work?

- ___ A. Full-time occupation
 ___ B. Part-time occupation

12. On the average, about how many hours per week do you work?

A. Hours: _____

13. Generally speaking, about what percentage of your time do you spend on each of the following:

Legislative liaison work

- A. working with clients or constituents.
 — B. working with legislators.
 — C. working with other legislative liaison representatives.
 — D. working with state executive branch employees.
 — E. working on other legislative liaison activities (e.g., staff):

 (please specify)

Non-legislative liaison work

- F. working on non-legislative liaison work: _____
 (please specify)
 — G. other: _____
 (please specify)

14. How would you characterize your legislative liaison activities during legislative sessions?

- A. Full-time occupation
 — B. Three-quarter-time occupation
 — C. One-half-time occupation
 — D. One-quarter-time occupation
 — E. Less than one-quarter-time occupation

15. How would you characterize your legislative liaison activities between legislative sessions?

- A. Full-time occupation
 — B. Three-quarter-time occupation
 — C. One-half-time occupation
 — D. One-quarter-time occupation
 — E. Less than one-quarter-time occupation

16. Are you currently engaged in any work other than as a legislative liaison representative?

- A. Yes
 — B. No

17. If your answer to Question 16 was "Yes", in what type of work are you involved? (Indicate one or more).

- A. Association work
 — B. Attorney
 — C. Other professional:

 (please specify)
 — D. Other: _____
 (please specify)

For Questions 18 - 19, if you represent more than one client, please respond in a manner which is most representative of your legislative liaison situation.

18. What is the title of the person to whom you report (in the organization that you represent to the state legislature)?

- A. Title: _____
 (please specify)

19. What is the area of responsibility of the person to whom you report (in the organization that you represent to the state legislature)?

- A. Area: _____
 (please specify)

20. For how long, prior to becoming a legislative liaison representative, did you plan to become one?

- A. Less than two months
 — B. Three-to-six months
 — C. Seven-to-twelve months
 — D. One-to-two years
 — E. More than two years
 — F. Other: _____
 (please specify)

21. Through what means did you secure your first position as a legislative liaison representative?

- A. Grapevine referral
- B. Through the influence of an employee of the company or association by whom you were hired
- C. Internal transfer or promotion
- D. As a consequence of other job responsibilities with your company or association
- E. As a result of your own job campaign
- F. Through an employment agency
- G. Through an interview at college
- H. Other: _____
(please specify)

22. Did you train for the position of legislative liaison representative?

- A. Yes
- B. No

Please comment. _____

23. Please circle the importance you attach to each of the following in terms of its influence on your decision to become a legislative liaison representative. The importance scale runs from one (not important) to five (very important).

- | | not | very |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| | important | important |
| A. A general interest in politics and client | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| B. Promote client interests | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| C. Power, prestige, and influence | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| D. Enhancement of business | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| E. Enhancement of law practice | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| F. Urged by friends or interest group | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |

23. continued.

- | | not | very |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| | important | important |
| G. To promote an idea | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| H. To work for social change | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| I. Next step in job | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| J. Next step in career | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| K. The duties of your job led you into the field | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| L. You wanted to promote certain policies | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| M. Your boss felt that you were especially qualified | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| N. You felt this was best way to move up | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| O. Political aspirations | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| P. Meet important people | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| Q. Financial benefits | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |
| R. You just enjoy this type of work | 1 | 2 3 4 5 |

Please comment: _____

24. Please identify and rank the three most satisfying aspects of your work as a legislative liaison representative. (Let 1 = most satisfying, 2 = second most satisfying, and so on).

- A. Opportunity to present your side of the case
- B. Opportunity to be close to important people
- C. Variety of the work
- D. The freedom of the schedule you enjoy
- E. The monetary reward
- F. Observing and participating in lawmaking
- G. Other: _____
(please specify)

25. Please identify and rank the three most dissatisfying aspects of your work as a legislative liaison representative. (Let 1 = most dissatisfying, 2 = second most dissatisfying, and so on).
- ☐ A. The public image of your job
 - ☐ B. The necessity of being nice to people in order to get their help
 - ☐ C. The working conditions and long hours
 - ☐ D. Entertaining and giving parties
 - ☐ E. Moral level and activities of legislators
 - ☐ F. Preparing a case to present
 - ☐ G. Other: _____
(please specify)
26. Compared with ten years ago, has the affect of state legislation upon the organization(s) that you represent:
- ☐ A. decreased
 - ☐ B. remained about the same
 - ☐ C. increased
27. Compared with ten years ago, does legislative liaison work have a:
- ☐ A. higher
 - ☐ B. about the same
 - ☐ C. lower
- ... priority with your organization or clients?
- Please comment: _____

28. Is your organization or client actively interested in:
- ☐ A. about the same or
 - ☐ B. considerably different
- ... categories of issues now as it was ten years ago?
29. If your response to Question 28 was "B", what new categories of issues is your organization or client now interested in?
- _____

30. If your response to Question 28 was "B", what influence do you believe these new issues will have on legislative liaison education and training?
- _____

31. About how frequently are your personal recommendations on legislative policy adopted by your organization or client?
- ☐ A. Frequently
 - ☐ B. Occasionally
 - ☐ C. Seldom
 - ☐ D. Never
32. Do you have the freedom to determine your tactics on most legislative problems?
- ☐ A. Yes
 - ☐ B. No
33. How many years of public relations experience did you have before going into legislative liaison work?
- A. Years: _____
34. Are you a member of the Public Relations Society of America?
- ☐ A. Yes
 - ☐ B. No

ABOUT RECRUITMENT AND IDEAL PREPARATION...

35. In general, how are job openings filled for legislative liaison representative positions. (Indicate one or more).

- A. Grapevine referrals
- B. Employers circulate job openings among themselves
- C. Through the influence of an employee of the company doing the hiring
- D. Internal transfers or promotions
- E. As a consequence of other job responsibilities within the organization
- F. As a result of the individual's own job campaign
- G. Employment agencies
- H. Campus interviews
- I. Advertisements in various publications: _____
(please specify)
- J. Contact with former student interns
- K. Resumes received
- L. Other: _____
(please specify)

36. Please indicate the importance you attach to each of the following in determining whether or not a given individual will be successful as a legislative liaison representative by circling the appropriate number. The scale runs from one (not important) to five (very important).

	not important					very important				
A. Ability to com- promise	1	2	3	4	5					
B. Ability to sell his ideas	1	2	3	4	5					
C. Aggressiveness	1	2	3	4	5					
D. Cooperativeness	1	2	3	4	5					
E. Formal education	1	2	3	4	5					
F. General intelli- gence	1	2	3	4	5					
G. Pleasant personal- ity	1	2	3	4	5					
H. Honesty	1	2	3	4	5					
I. Interest in job	1	2	3	4	5					
J. Job knowledge	1	2	3	4	5					
K. Prior work exper- ience	1	2	3	4	5					

37. Please indicate the importance you attach to each of the following items in terms of the hiring of a person as a legislative liaison representative by circling the appropriate number. The importance scale runs from one (not important) to five (very important).

	not important					very important				
A. Personal										
a. ambition	1	2	3	4	5					
b. appearance	1	2	3	4	5					
c. desire to work specifically for your firm	1	2	3	4	5					
d. native of area	1	2	3	4	5					
e. pleasant person- ality	1	2	3	4	5					
B. Experience in										
a. business	1	2	3	4	5					
b. communication	1	2	3	4	5					
c. government	1	2	3	4	5					
d. journalism	1	2	3	4	5					
e. law	1	2	3	4	5					
f. politics	1	2	3	4	5					
g. public relations	1	2	3	4	5					
C. Backing										
a. family or friend	1	2	3	4	5					
b. grapevine refer- ral	1	2	3	4	5					
c. references	1	2	3	4	5					
D. Traits										
a. positive attitude	1	2	3	4	5					
b. cooperativeness	1	2	3	4	5					
c. general intelli- gence	1	2	3	4	5					
d. honesty	1	2	3	4	5					
e. poise	1	2	3	4	5					
f. professional attitude	1	2	3	4	5					
g. speaking ability	1	2	3	4	5					
h. writing ability	1	2	3	4	5					
E. Education in										
a. business	1	2	3	4	5					
b. communication	1	2	3	4	5					
c. economics	1	2	3	4	5					
d. government	1	2	3	4	5					
e. journalism	1	2	3	4	5					
f. law	1	2	3	4	5					
g. politics	1	2	3	4	5					
h. public relations	1	2	3	4	5					

38. Would you hire someone for a position as a legislative liaison representative who is "fresh" from college?

— A. Yes
— B. No

Please comment: _____

39. In your observations of fellow legislative liaison representatives, what educational weaknesses are most apparent? Please rank in order of significance as many of the following as you think represent weaknesses. (Let 1 = greatest weakness, 2 = second greatest weakness, and so on).

— A. Business administration
— B. Communication skills
— C. Economics
— D. Government relations
— E. Journalism
— F. Law
— G. Politics
— H. Public relations
— I. Workings of government
— J. Other: _____
(please specify)

Please comment: _____

40. On the average, about how much formal education would you say that legislative liaison work requires?

— A. High school degree
— B. Some college
— C. College degree
— D. Some graduate study
— E. Master's degree
— F. Professional degree (e.g., Law)
— G. Some post graduate study

41. Would you hire a person as a legislative liaison representative who did not have a college degree?

— A. Yes
— B. No

42. Please rank the following in terms of their importance in making the legislative liaison representative more effective. (Let 1 = most important, 2 = second most important, and so on).

Education in:

— A. Business administration
— B. Communication
— C. Economics
— D. Government relations
— E. Journalism
— F. Law
— G. Politics
— H. Public relations
— I. Workings of government
— J. Other: _____
(please specify)

43. In preparing for a career as a legislative liaison representative, in which one of the following fields would you major in college?

— A. Accounting and finance
— B. Advertising
— C. Business administration
— D. Business law
— E. Communication
— F. Economics
— G. English
— H. History
— I. Journalism
— J. Law
— K. Liberal arts
— L. Management
— M. Marketing
— N. Personnel and human relations
— O. Political science
— P. Psychology
— Q. Public administration
— R. Public relations
— S. Sociology
— T. Other: _____
(please specify)

44. In which one of the following do you believe a program of training for legislative liaison representatives should be centered?

☐ A. Business administration
☐ B. Communication
☐ C. Journalism
☐ D. Political science
☐ E. Public administration
☐ F. Public relations
☐ G. Other: _____
 (please specify)

45. In constructing a program of study, please evaluate the contribution of the following subjects in creating an effective legislative liaison representative. (Let 5 = very useful, 3 = some use, and 1 = little use).

Subject:	little use				very useful			
A. Accounting and finance	1	2	3	4	5			
B. Advertising	1	2	3	4	5			
C. Behavioral science	1	2	3	4	5			
D. Business law	1	2	3	4	5			
E. Business administration	1	2	3	4	5			
F. Communication	1	2	3	4	5			
G. Creative writing	1	2	3	4	5			
H. Economics	1	2	3	4	5			
I. Engineering	1	2	3	4	5			
J. English	1	2	3	4	5			
K. Government	1	2	3	4	5			
L. History	1	2	3	4	5			
M. Journalism	1	2	3	4	5			
N. Law	1	2	3	4	5			
O. Management	1	2	3	4	5			
P. Marketing	1	2	3	4	5			
Q. Mass media	1	2	3	4	5			
R. Personnel and human relations	1	2	3	4	5			
S. Political science	1	2	3	4	5			
T. Psychology	1	2	3	4	5			
U. Public administration	1	2	3	4	5			
V. Public affairs	1	2	3	4	5			
W. Public relations	1	2	3	4	5			
X. Public speaking	1	2	3	4	5			
Y. Social sciences and humanities	1	2	3	4	5			
Z. Other:	1	2	3	4	5			
(please specify)								

46. After college graduation, in which one of the following would you first work in preparing for a career as a legislative liaison representative?

☐ A. Business
☐ B. Enter legislative liaison work initially
☐ C. Government
☐ D. Journalism
☐ E. Law
☐ F. Politics
☐ G. Public relations
☐ H. Other: _____
 (please specify)

47. Please rank the following in terms of their contribution to a successful and effective career as a legislative liaison representative. (Let 1 = most important, 7 = least important).

☐ A. Business experience
☐ B. Formal education
☐ C. Government experience
☐ D. Journalism experience
☐ E. Legal experience
☐ F. Political experience
☐ G. Public relations experience

48. What other comments would you like to make concerning preparation for a person preparing for a position as a legislative liaison representative.

ABOUT YOURSELF...

49. What is your present age?

A. Age: _____

50. Are you?

- ___ A. Male
___ B. Female

51. What is your present marital status?

- ___ A. Single
___ B. Married, no children
___ C. Married, children
___ D. Divorced or separated
___ E. Widowed

52. In what state were you born?

A. Birthplace: _____

53. In what state were you reared?

A. Location: _____

54. Was the place where you were reared primarily:

- ___ A. rural or
___ B. urban

... while you were growing up?

55. What is the extent of your formal education?

- ___ A. Less than high school
___ B. Some high school
___ C. High school graduate
___ D. Some college
___ E. College graduate
___ F. Some graduate study
___ G. Master's degree
___ H. Professional degree (e.g., Law)
___ I. Some post graduate study

56. If you attended college, in which field did you major as an undergraduate?

- ___ A. Business administration
___ B. Communication
___ C. Economics
___ D. English
___ E. History
___ F. Journalism
___ G. Liberal arts
___ H. Political science
___ I. Psychology
___ J. Public administration
___ K. Public relations
___ L. Sociology
___ M. Other: _____
(please specify)

If the field in which you majored was a subset of a field identified above, please specify your specific major: _____

ABOUT ANY PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT EXPERIENCE...

57. Have you ever held an elective or appointive government position?

- ___ A. Yes
___ B. No

If "No", please go to Question 62.

If "Yes", please continue with the next question.

58. Please indicate if the position was elective or appointive and in what branch of government it was in by circling the appropriate letter. If you held more than one position, please circle all appropriate letters.

	Exec-	Judi-	Legis-
	utive	cial	lative
Appointive	(A)	(B)	(C)
Elective	(D)	(E)	(F)

At what level of government did you serve?

Federal	(G)	(H)	(I)
State	(J)	(K)	(L)
County	(M)	(N)	(O)
Municipal	(P)	(Q)	(R)

59. If you have served in a state legislature, for how many terms have you served?

A. Number of terms: _____

60. If you have served in a state legislature, in what capacity did you serve?

____ A. Representative
 ____ B. Senator
 ____ C. Both Representative and Senator

61. If you have served in a state legislature, in which state legislature did you serve?

____ A. Michigan
 ____ B. Other: _____
 (please specify)

ABOUT YOUR JOB HISTORY...

62. Of your total working years, about how many have been spent as a registered legislative liaison representative?

A. Years: _____

63. At what age did you become a registered legislative liaison representative?

A. Age: _____

64. For how many legislative sessions have you been registered as a legislative liaison representative?

A. Number: _____

65. For how many organizations have you worked full-time during your business career (including your present employer)?

A. Number of organizations: _____

66. Throughout your formal work experience, have you held a number of different kinds of jobs, or have you mostly worked within one given career field?

____ A. Have held a number of different kinds of jobs
 ____ B. Have held a number of different jobs, but mostly within one given career field
 ____ C. For the most part, have held a few jobs within one given career field

67. What was your first full-time job?

Job description: _____

68. What was your last full-time job prior to becoming registered as a legislative liaison representative?

Job description: _____

CHRONOLOGY OF OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITY RELATED TO LEGISLATIVE LIAISON WORK...

In completing this section of the questionnaire, please begin with your current position, and then proceed back through time in chronological order identifying those jobs which you believe significantly contributed to your assuming your current position as a legislative liaison representative.

Please continue at the top of the next page.

69A. 1. Dates of employment (mo, yr)
From ____ To Present

2. Nature of employer's business:

3. Your job title: _____

4. Brief job description: _____

5. Reason(s) for leaving: _____
not applicable

B. 1. Dates of employment (mo, yr)
From ____ To ____

2. Nature of employer's business:

3. Your job title: _____

4. Brief job description: _____

5. Reason(s) for leaving: _____

C. 1. Dates of employment (mo, yr)
From ____ To ____

2. Nature of employer's business:

3. Your job title: _____

4. Brief job description: _____

5. Reason(s) for leaving: _____

69D. 1. Dates of employment (mo, yr)
From ____ To ____

2. Nature of employer's business:

3. Your job title: _____

4. Brief job description: _____

5. Reason(s) for leaving: _____

E. 1. Dates of employment (mo, yr)
From ____ To ____

2. Nature of employer's business:

3. Your job title: _____

4. Brief job description: _____

5. Reason(s) for leaving: _____

F. 1. Dates of employment (mo, yr)
From ____ To ____

2. Nature of employer's business:

3. Your job title: _____

4. Brief job description: _____

5. Reason(s) for leaving: _____

A COMMENT ABOUT CONFIDENTIALITY...

All responses on this questionnaire are absolutely confidential.

However, in order for me to monitor the response to the questionnaire, this page contains a removable label containing a code.

This code will enable me to contact you in case:

- a. any answers need follow-up clarification.
- b. you would like a copy of the study results.

Just place an 'X' here _____ if you
would like a copy of the study results.

- c. you would be willing to be interviewed on
topics relevant to this study.

Just place an 'X' here _____ if you
are willing to be interviewed.

However, if you are at all concerned about anonymity, just tear off the coded label.
BUT please be certain to return the questionnaire to:

Mr. George Nastas III
Department of Marketing
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48824

in the enclosed self-addressed, prepaid envelope.

THANK YOU for your participation in this study.

APPENDIX C

DATA RECORD FORMATS

APPENDIX C

DATA RECORD FORMATS

Reprinted in this appendix are the data record formats for the Population Data Set and for the Response Data Set. The Population Data Set contains a data record for each population subject and for the three pretest subjects. The Response Data Set contains four data records for each respondent to this survey. These record formats indicate the contents of the data records by specifying the location of the data fields within the records, a brief description of each field, a brief definition of the various codes associated with each field as appropriate, and the length of each field. In addition, the Response Data Set record fields are cross-referenced to the questions on the survey questionnaire, and the format of the questionnaire is carried over to the Response Data Set record format.

Population Data Set Record Format

<u>Field Number</u>	<u>Card Column</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Field Length</u>
1	1-10	Name, Last	10
2	11-11	Name, First Initial	01
3	21-23	Case (Record) Number 001-172, Subject 301-303, Pretest subject	03
4	35-36	Number of Clients 00-99	02
5	37-37	Organization Summary 1 Professional organization 2 Single business or corporation 3 Business or trade association 4 2 & 3 5 1, 2, & 3	01
6	38-38	Issues 1 Multi-issue lobbyist 2 Single-issue lobbyist	01
7	39-39	Lobbyist Relation to Client 1 Employee 2 Free lance 3 Public affairs company 5 Attorney-client 6 Volunteer	
8	40-40	Mailing Address 1 Lansing area 2 Out-state 3 Out-of-state	01
9	41-43	Mailing Date, MDD	03
10	44-46	Return Date (Postmark), MDD	03

<u>Field Number</u>	<u>Card Column</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Field Length</u>
11	47-47	Prenotification Status	01
		1 Spoke with on phone	
		2 Did not call	
		3 Called, left message	
		4 Called, but not reached	
12	48-48	Participation Status	01
		1 Subject agreed	
		2 Subject refused	
		3 N/A, not called or not reached	
13	49-52	Type of Organization Representing	04
	49-49	1 Professional organization	
	50-50	2 Single business or corporation	
	51-51	3 Business or trade association	
	52-52	4 Other organization	
		(Indicate one or more)	
14	53-53	Participation (Return) Status	01
		1 Returned questionnaire	
		2 Refused to participate (on telephone)	
		3 Did not participate (out of population)	
		4 Pretest subject	
		5 Did not return questionnaire or returned unlabeled	
15	55-60	Pretest Delivery Date, MMDDYY	06
16	61-66	Pretest Return Date (Postmark), MMDDYY	06
17	68-69	Pretest Subject Identification Code (P2-P4)	02

Response Data Set Record Format

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
		ABOUT YOUR BUSINESSS LIFE...	
1	1-03	Case (Record) Number	
	4-04	Card Number, 1	
	5-06	Present job title, code	1
		01, Legislative counsel	
		02, Legislative analyst	
		03, Legislative agent	
		04, Partner	
		10, President	
		11, Executive director or secretary	
		12, Director-public affairs	
		13, Executive or senior vice president	
		14, Vice president	
		15, Employee	
		16, Affairs specialist-govt.	
		17, Attorney	
		18, Coordinator-govt. relations	
		19, Manager-government relations, public affairs	
		20, Executive-government affairs	
		21, Manager-natural resources	
		22, Manager-community activities	
		23, Administrative assistant	
		24, Small businessman	
	7-07	Form of Employment	2
		1, Salaried	
		2, Self-employed	
		4, Attorney-client	
		5, Volunteer	
		6, Appointed	
	8-09	Number of Clients, XX	3
	10-13	Type of Clients	4
	10-10	1, Professional organization	
	11-11	2, Single business or corporation	
	12-12	3, Business or trade association	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
1	13-13	Client summary 1-3, as above 4, 2 & 3 6, 1 & 3 5, 1, 2, & 3 7, 1 & 2	
	14-14	Issues 1, Multi-issue lobbyist 2, Single-issue lobbyist	5
	15-15	Organization-Lobbyist Relation 1, Employee lobbyist 2, Independent lobbyist 4, 1 & 2	6
	16-21	Job Responsibility Areas	7
	16-17	Most important job responsibility area 01, Membership development 02, Legislative liaison 03, Public relations 04, Influencing legislation 05, Monitoring legislation 06, Reporting on legislation 07, Knowledge of issues, research 09, Member relations, communication 10, Legislation analysis, research 11, Writing position papers 12, Lobbying 13, Educating & informing management 14, Association management 15, Staff work 16, Communication & information programs 17, Keep client informed 18, Work with grass roots 19, Passage of needed legis- lation 20, Legal opinion, analysis 21, Draft legislation 22, Understand legislative process, relate to client 23, Education programs 24, Contact with administration 25, Compliance with laws & reg- ulations, attorney	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
1	16-17	Most important area 26, Counsel 27, Work with other lobbyists 28, Policy development 29, Work with government 30, Trade, marketing problems 31, Relations with trade association	7
	18-19	Second most important job responsibility area See codes above	
	20-21	Third most important job responsibility area See codes above	
	22-25	Year Client First Represented By A Lobbyist, XX	8
	26-27	Number of Years the Lobbyist has Represented Present Client, XX	9
	28-29	Number of Years the Lobbyist has Been Employed by Present Client, XX	10
	30-30	Time Spent Lobbying 1, Full-time occupation 2, Part-time occupation	11
	31-32	Number of Hours Worked Per Week, XX	12
	33-53	Allocation of Work Time (XX.X%)	13
	33-35	A. Working with clients or constituents	
	36-38	B. Working with legislators	
	39-41	C. Working with other lobbyists	
	42-44	D. Working with state executive branch	
	45-47	E. Working on other lobbyist work	
	48-50	F. Working on non-lobbyist work	
	51-53	G. Other	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
1	54-54	Time Spent Lobbying, During Legislative Session 1, Full-time 2, Three-quarter-time 3, One-half-time 4, One-quarter-time 5, Less than one-quarter-time	14
	55-55	Time Spent Lobbying, Between Legislative Sessions See codes above	15
	56-56	Current Work Other Than As A Lobbyist 1, Yes 2, No	16
	57-60	Other Work	17
	57-57	1, Association work	
	58-58	1, Attorney	
	59-59	1, Other professional	
	60-60	1, Other	
	61-62	Client Supervisor's Title 01, Association chairman, president, executive director 02, Executive committee, board of directors 03, Director, state or government relations 05, Vice president, government relations, affairs, public affairs 06, Chairman, steering committee 07, Vice president 08, Regional or field manager 09, Assistant general manager 10, Self 13, General counsel 14, Division director	18
	63-64	Client Supervisor's Area of Responsibility 01, All areas 02, State relations	19

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
1	63-64	Client Supervisor's Area of Responsibility <u>continued.</u> 03, Government relations, affairs 04, Legislative affairs, liaison 05, Law department 06, Administration	
	65-65	Time Planned to Become Lobbyist 1, Less than two months, or not planned 2, Three to six months 3, Seven to twelve months 4, One to two years 5, More than two years 6, Other	20
	66-67	How First Became Lobbyist 01, Grapevine referral 02, Influence of employee of client 03, Internal transfer or promotion 04, Your other job responsibilities 05, Your own job campaign 06, Employment agency 07, College interview 08, Other 09, Friend 10, A former legislator	21
	68-69	Trained for Lobbyist Job	22
	68-68	1, Yes, formally trained 2, No	
	69-69	Respondent comment on training 1, Yes 2, No	
	70-11	Influence of Various Factors on Decision to Become Lobbyist	23
		Scale: A	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
1	70-11	Influence of Various Factors on Decision to Become Lobbyist	
	70-70	A. Interest in politics & client	
	71-71	B. Promote client interests	
	72-72	C. Power, prestige, & influence	
	73-73	D. Enhance business	
	74-74	E. Enhance law practice	
	75-75	F. Urged by friends or interest group	
	76-76	G. To promote an idea	
	77-77	H. To work for social change	
	78-78	I. Next step in job	
	79-79	J. Next step in career	
	80-80	K. Duties of job led you into field	
2		Record 2	
	01-03	Case (Record) Number	
	04-04	Card Number, 2	
	05-05	L. You wanted to promote certain policies	
	06-06	M. Your boss felt you were especially qualified	
	07-07	N. You felt this was the best way to move up	
	08-08	O. Political aspirations	
	09-09	P. Meet important people	
	10-10	Q. Financial benefits	
	11-11	R. You just enjoy this type of work	
	12-12	Respondent Comment on Influence Factors	
		1, Yes	
		2, No	
	13-19	Most Satisfying Aspects of Work as a Lobbyist, Ranking 24	
		Scale: B	
	13-13	A. Opportunity to present your side of the case	
	14-14	B. Opportunity to be close to important people	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
2	15-15	C. Variety of the work	
	16-16	D. Freedom of your schedule	
	17-17	E. Monetary reward	
	18-18	F. Observing and participating in law-making	
	19-19	G. Other	
	20-26	Most Dissatisfying Aspects of Work as a Lobbyist, Ranking	
		Scale: C	
	20-20	A. Public image of job	
	21-21	B. Necessity of being nice to people in order to get their help	
	22-22	C. Working conditions and long hours	
	23-23	D. Entertaining and giving parties	
	24-24	E. Moral level and activities of legislators	
	25-25	F. Preparing a case to present	
	26-26	G. Other	
	27-27	Affect of State Legislation on Your Client (vs. ten years ago)	26
		1, Decreased	
		2, About the same	
		3, Increased	
	28-29	Priority of Lobbyist's work in Client's Organization (vs. ten years ago)	27
	28-28	1, Higher	
		2, About the same	
		3, Lower	
	29-29	Respondent comment	
		1, Yes	
		2, No	
	30-30	Categories of Issues the Client is Interested in (vs. ten years ago)	28
		1, About the same	
		2, Considerably different	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
2	31-32	New Categories of Issues, Respondent Comment 00, No comment 01, Comment	29
	33-34	Influence of New Issues on Lobbyist Education & Training, Respondent Comment 00, No comment 01, Comment	30
	35-35	Frequency by which Lobbyist's Policy Recommendations are Adopted by Client 1, Frequently 2, Occasionally 3, Seldom 4, Never	31
	36-36	Lobbyist's Freedom to Determine Tactics on most Legislative Problems 1, Yes 2, No	32
	37-38	Years of Public Relations Exper- ience Prior to Becoming a Lobby- ist, XX	33
	39-39	Member in the Public Relations Society of America 1, Yes 2, No	34
		ABOUT RECRUITMENT AND IDEAL PREPARATION...	
	40-51	Means by which Job Openings for Lobbyists are Filled Scale: D	35
	40-40	A. Grapevine referrals	
	41-41	B. Employers circulate job openings	
	42-42	C. Through influence of employee of client doing hiring	
	43-43	D. Internal transfer or promotion	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
2	44-44	E. Consequence of other job responsibilities within the organization	
	45-45	F. Result of individual's job campaign	
	46-46	G. Employment agencies	
	47-47	H. Campus interviews	
	48-48	I. Advertisements	
	49-49	J. Contact with former student interns	
	50-50	K. Resumes received	
	51-51	L. Other	
	52-62	Importance of Various Items on the Success of Lobbyist	36
		Scale: A	
	52-52	A. Ability to compromise	
	53-53	B. Ability to sell ideas	
	54-54	C. Aggressiveness	
	55-55	D. Cooperativeness	
	56-56	E. Formal education	
	57-57	F. General intelligence	
	58-58	G. Pleasant personality	
	59-59	H. Honesty	
	60-60	I. Interest in job	
	61-61	J. Job knowledge	
	62-62	K. Prior work experience	
	63-17	Importance of Various Items on the Decision to Hire a Person as a Lobbyist	37
		Scale: A	
		A. Personal	
	63-63	a. Ambition	
	64-64	b. Appearance	
	65-65	c. Desire to work specifically for your firm	
	66-66	d. Native of area	
	67-67	e. Pleasant personality	
		B. Experience	
	68-68	a. Business	
	69-69	b. Communication	
	70-70	c. Government	
	71-71	d. Journalism	
	72-72	e. Law	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
2	73-73	f. Politics	
	74-74	g. Public relations	
		C. Backing	
	75-75	a. Family or friend	
	76-76	b. Grapevine referral	
	77-77	c. References	
		D. Traits	
	78-78	a. Positive attitude	
	79-79	b. Cooperativeness	
	80-80	c. General intelligence	
3		Record 3	
	01-03	Case (Record) Number	
	04-04	Card Number, 3	
	05-05	d. Honesty	
	06-06	e. Poise	
	07-07	f. Professional attitude	
	08-08	g. Speaking ability	
	09-09	h. Writing ability	
		E. Education	
	10-10	a. Business	
	11-11	b. Communication	
	12-12	c. Economics	
	13-13	d. Government	
	14-14	e. Journalism	
	15-15	f. Law	
	16-16	g. Politics	
	17-17	h. Public relations	
	18-19	Hiring a New College Graduate as a Lobbyist	38
	18-18	1, Yes 2, No	
	19-19	Respondent comment	
		1, Yes 2, No	
	20-30	Educational Weaknesses, Ranking	39
		Scale: E	
	20-20	A. Business administration	
	21-21	B. Communication skills	
	22-22	C. Economics	
	23-23	D. Government relations	
	24-24	E. Journalism	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
3	25-25	F. Law	
	26-26	G. Politics	
	27-27	H. Public relations	
	28-28	I. Workings of government	
	29-29	J. Other	
	30-30	Respondent comment	
		1, Yes	
		2, No	
	31-31	Formal Education Requirement for Lobbyists	40
		1, High school degree	
		2, Some college	
		3, College degree	
		4, Some graduate study	
		5, Master's degree	
		6, Professional degree	
		7, Some post graduate study	
	32-32	Hiring a Person who did not have a College Degree	41
		1, Yes	
		2, No	
	33-42	Education Areas which would make the Lobbyist More Effective	42
		Scale: F	
	33-33	A. Business administration	
	34-34	B. Communication	
	35-35	C. Economics	
	36-36	D. Government relations	
	37-37	E. Journalism	
	38-38	F. Law	
	39-39	G. Politics	
	40-40	H. Public relations	
	41-41	I. Workings of government	
	42-42	J. Other	
	43-44	College Major Preparation for Career as a Lobbyist	43
		01, Accounting and finance	
		02, Advertising	
		03, Business administration	
		04, Business law	
		05, Communication	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
3	43-44	06, Economics 07, English 08, History 09, Journalism 10, Law 11, Liberal arts 12, Management 13, Marketing 14, Personal and human relations 15, Political science 16, Psychology 17, Public administration 18, Public relations 19, Sociology 20, Other	43
	45-46	Location of a Program of Training for Lobbyists 01, Business administration 02, Communication 03, Journalism 04, Political science 05, Public administration 06, Public relations 07, Other 08, Law 09, Liberal arts 10, Psychology	44
	47-06	Contribution of Various Subjects to an Effective Program of Study Scale: G	45
	47-47	A. Accounting and finance	
	48-48	B. Advertising	
	49-49	C. Behavioral science	
	50-50	D. Business law	
	51-51	E. Business administration	
	52-52	F. Communication	
	53-53	G. Creative writing	
	54-54	H. Economics	
	55-55	I. Engineering	
	56-56	J. English	
	57-57	K. Government	
	58-58	L. History	
	59-59	M. Journalism	
	60-60	N. Law	
	61-61	O. Management	
	62-62	P. Marketing	
	63-63	Q. Mass media	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
3	64-64	R. Personnel and human relations	45
	65-65	S. Political science	
	66-66	T. Psychology	
	67-67	U. Public administration	
	68-68	V. Public affairs	
	69-69	W. Public relations	
	70-70	X. Public speaking	
4		Record 4	
	01-03	Case (Record) Number	
	04-04	Card Number, 4	
	05-05	Y. Social sciences and humanities	
	06-06	Z. Other	
	07-08	First Field Work in Post College 46 to Prepare for Lobbyist Position	
		01, Business	
		02, Enter lobbyist work initially	
		03, Government	
		04, Journalism	
		05, Law	
		06, Politics	
		07, Public relations	
		08, Other	
	09-15	Experience Areas Which Would 47 Make the Lobbyist More Effective	
		Scale: F	
	09-09	A. Business experience	
	10-10	B. Formal education	
	11-11	C. Government experience	
	12-12	D. Journalism experience	
	13-13	E. Legal experience	
	14-14	F. Political experience	
	15-15	G. Public relations experience	
	16-16	Additional Respondent Comments 48 on Preparation	
		1, Yes	
		2, No	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
4		ABOUT YOURSELF...	
	17-18	Present Age, XX	49
	19-19	Sex	50
		1, Male 2, Female	
	20-20	Marital Status	51
		1, Single	
		2, Married, no children	
		3, Married, children	
		4, Divorced or separated	
		5, Widowed	
	21-22	Birthplace	52
		See state code table	
	23-24	Growing Up Location	53
		See state code table	
	25-25	Rural/Urban Place where Raised	54
		1, Rural	
		2, Urban	
	26-26	Formal Education	55
		1, Less than high school	
		2, Some high school	
		3, High school graduate	
		4, Some college	
		5, College graduate	
		6, Some graduate study	
		7, Master's degree	
		8, Professional degree	
		9, Some post graduate study	
	27-28	Undergraduate Major	56
		01, Business administration	
		02, Communication	
		03, Economics	
		04, English	
		05, History	
		06, Journalism	
		07, Liberal arts	
		08, Political science	
		09, Psychology	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
4	27-28	10, Public administration 11, Public relations 12, Sociology 13, Other 14, Science 15, Agriculture, forestry, biology 16, Engineering 17, Education 18, Sociology & psychology 19, Social science 20, Natural resource manage- ment 21, Political science & economics 22, Mathematics 23, Business administration & liberal arts 24, Business administration & economics 27, Police administration ABOUT ANY PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT EXPERIENCE...	56
	29-29	Prior Government Experience 1, Yes 2, No	57
	30-31	General Areas of Prior Govern- ment Experience 01, Appt Exec Federal 02, Appt Exec State 03, Appt Exec County 04, Appt Exec City 05, Appt Judc Federal 06, Appt Judc State 07, Appt Judc County 08, Appt Judc City 09, Appt Leg Federal 10, Appt Leg State 11, Appt Leg County 12, Appt Leg City 13, Elec Exec Federal 14, Elec Exec State 15, Elec Exec County 16, Elec Exec City 17, Elec Judc Federal 18, Elec Judc State 19, Elec Judc County 20, Elec Judc City	58

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
4	30-31	21, Elec Leg Federal 22, Elec Leg State 23, Elec Leg County 24, Elec Leg City 25, More than one position 26, Aid to legislator	58
	32-33	Number of Years Served in State Legislature, XX	59
	34-34	Capacity Served in State Legislature 1, Representative 2, Senator 3, 1 & 2	60
	35-36	State in which Served in State Legislature See state codes ABOUT YOUR JOB HISTORY...	61
	37-38	Number of Years Spent as a Lobbyist, XX	62
	39-40	Age at which became Registered, XX	63
	41-42	See question 62	64
	43-44	Number of Organizations worked for Full-Time during Career, XX	65
	45-45	Types of Positions Held 1, Held a number of different kinds of jobs 2, Held a number of different jobs, mostly within one career field 3, Held a few jobs within one career field	66
	46-47	Description of First Full-Time Job 01, Described 00, Not described	67

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
4	48-49	Description of Last Full-Time Job Prior to becoming Lobbyist 01, Described 00, Not described CHRONOLOGY OF OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITY RELATED TO LOBBYIST WORK...	68
	50-50	Job History Completed 01, Yes 02, No	69
		Population List and Study Information	
	61-61	Employee Status 1, Employee 2, Free lance 3, Public affairs 4, Other 5, Attorney-client 6, Appointed 7, Volunteer	
	62-67	Date Questionnaire Mailed Out, MMDDYY	
	68-73	Date Questionnaire Returned (Postmark), MMDDYY	
	74-74	Prenotification Status 1, Yes 2, Did not call 3, Left message 4, Not reached	
	75-75	Participation Status 1, Agreed on telephone 2, Refused on telephone 3, Not reached or not called	
	76-76	Return Status 1, Questionnaire returned	

<u>Record Number</u>	<u>Field Position</u>	<u>Field Description & Codes</u>	<u>Question</u>
4	77-77	Location 1, Lansing area 2, Out-state Michigan area 3, Out-of-state area 4, Unknown, unlabeled questionnaire	
	78-78	Respondent Identified 1, Yes 2, No	
	79-79	Respondent Wants Copy of Study Results 1, Yes 2, No	
	80-80	Respondent Willing to be Interviewed 1, Yes 2, No	

Scales Used in the Questionnaire

- A. Not Important (1) to Very Important (5)
- B. Most Satisfying (1) to Third Most Satisfying (3), Ranking
- C. Most Dissatisfying (1) to Third Most Dissatisfying (3), Ranking
- D. Means Used (1), Means Not Used (0)
- E. Greatest Weakness (1) to Third Greatest Weakness (3), Ranking
- F. Most Effective (1) to Ninth Most Effective (9), Ranking
- G. Little Use (1), Of Some Use (3), Very Useful (5)

State Codes Used for Questionnaire

<u>Code</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Code</u>	<u>State</u>
01	Alabama	31	Nevada
02	Alaska	32	New Hampshire
03	Arizona	33	New Jersey
04	Arkansas	34	New Mexico
05	California	35	New York
06	Canal Zone	36	North Carolina
07	Colorado	37	North Dakota
08	Connecticut	38	Ohio
09	Delaware	39	Oklahoma
10	District of Columbia	40	Oregon
11	Florida	41	Pennsylvania
12	Georgia	42	Puerto Rico
13	Guam	43	Rhode Island
14	Hawaii	44	South Carolina
15	Idaho	45	South Dakota
16	Illinois	46	Tennessee
17	Indiana	47	Texas
18	Iowa	48	Utah
19	Kansas	49	Vermont
20	Kentucky	50	Virgin Islands
21	Louisiana	51	Virginia
22	Maine	52	Washington
23	Maryland	53	West Virginia
24	Massachusetts	54	Wisconsin
25	Michigan	55	Wyoming
26	Minnesota	60	Non USA
27	Mississippi		
28	Missouri		
29	Montana		
30	Nebraska		

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Brakeman, Robert, and Del Valle, Debbie. "The Power Brokers--Unmasking Those Mysterious People Who Influence Your Legislature." Lansing Magazine 2 (September 1978): 19-25.
- Costello, Daniel E., and Seifert, Walter W. "National Survey Finds Practitioners Favoring Increased Study." Public Relations Journal 20 (May 1964): 20-21.
- DeVries, Walter D. "The Michigan Lobbyist: A Study in the Bases and Perceptions of Effectiveness." Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1960.
- Ford, Gary T. "Adoption of Consumer Policies by States: Some Empirical Perspectives." Journal of Marketing Research 15 (February 1978): 49-57.
- Green, Paul E., and Tull, Donald S. Research for Marketing Decisions. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978.
- Haley, Martin R., and Kiss, James M. "Larger Stakes in Statehouse Lobbying." Harvard Business Review 52 (January 1974): 125-135.
- Hedlund, Ronald D., and Patterson, Samuel C. "Personal Attributes, Political Orientations, and Occupational Perspectives of Lobbyists: The Case of Illinois." Iowa Business Digest 37 (November 1966): 3-11.
- Henry, Kenneth. "The Large Corporation Public Relations Manager: Emerging Professional in a Bureaucracy?" Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1969.
- Hershman, Arlene. "The States Move in on Business." Dun's Review 111 (January 1978): 33-38.
- Hjelm, Victor S., and Pisciotte, Joseph P. "Profiles and Careers of Colorado State Legislators." The Western Political Quarterly 21 (December 1968): 698-722.
- Johnson, J. D. "The Washington Representative." Michigan Business Review 23 (May 1971): 6-26.
- Jolson, Marvin A. "How to Double or Triple Mail-Survey Response Rates." Journal of Marketing 41 (October 1977): 78-81.

- Jondahl, Lynn. Michigan House of Representatives, Lansing, Michigan. Interview, 27 August 1979.
- Kolasa, Bernard D. "Lobbying in the Nonpartisan Environment: The Case of Nebraska." The Western Political Quarterly 24 (March 1971): 65-78.
- McClenahan, John S. "Is Business Ready for New State Power?" Industry Week 179 (November 12, 1973): 56-60.
- McGrath, Phyllis S. Managing Corporate External Relations: Changing Perspectives and Responses. New York: The Conference Board, Inc., 1976.
- Michigan, Department of State, Campaign Finance Reporting Office. Legislative Agents Registered as of June 12, 1979.
- Michigan, Department of State, Campaign Finance Reporting Office. Legislative Agents Registered as of February 1, 1980.
- Patterson, Samuel. "The Role of the Lobbyist: The Case of Oklahoma." The Journal of Politics 25 (February 1963): 72-92.
- Presthus, Robert. "Interest Group Lobbying: Canada and the United States." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences 413 (May 1974): 44-57.
- Quinn, John C. III. "New England Lobbyists: A Comparative Study." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1971.
- Sederberg, William. Michigan State Senate, Lansing, Michigan. Interview, 7 August 1979.
- Skinner, Richard W., and Shanklin, William L. "The Changing Role of Public Relations in Business Firms." Public Relations Review 4 (Summer 1978): 40-45.
- Soslow, Neil G. "A Comparison of the Origins and Orientations of True Entrepreneurs, Other Owners, and Business Hierarchs." Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1966.
- Swanson, Stoakley W. "Profile of the Automobile Retailer: An Exploratory Study of the Origins, Growth, and Outlook of Selected Michigan Automobile Dealers." Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1973.
- "Time Opinion Survey Reveals PR Professionals' Views." Public Relations Journal 32 (January 1976): 42-43.

Vocino, Thomas. "Three Variables in Stimulating Responses to Mailed Questionnaires." Journal of Marketing 41 (October 1977): 76-77.

Walker, Albert. "Education Survey: Few Changes, Much Growth." Public Relations Review 2 (Spring 1976): 22-30.

Wright, Donald K. "Professionalism and the Public Relations Counselor: An Empirical Analysis." Public Relations Quarterly 23 (Winter 1978): 26-29.

Zeigler, Harmon, and Baer, Michael A. Lobbying: Interaction and Influence in American State Legislatures. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1969.