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The Effects of Community College Information Subsidies on Iowa Legislators

Margaret A. Eyerly

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The Effects of Community College
Information Subsidies on
Iowa Legislators

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Communication
and the Faculty of the Graduate College
University of Nebraska at Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts
University of Nebraska at Omaha

by
Margaret A. Eyerly
November, 1993

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Acceptance for the faculty of the Graduate College, University of Nebraska at Omaha, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master of Arts in Communication degree, University of Nebraska at Omaha.

Committee

Jeremy Harris Lipschultz Communication
Name Department

Robert E. Carlson Communication

Bernard Kolasa Political Science

Jeremy Harris Lipschultz
Chairman

November 16, 1993
Date

THESIS ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the communication process between the Iowa legislature and Iowa's community college system. The primary theoretical issue which was studied involved information subsidies.

Information subsidies, a subcategory of agenda-setting theory, suggests that an information subsidy is an attempt to produce influence over the actions of others by controlling their access to and use of information relevant to those actions. It is referred to as a subsidy because the source of that information makes it available at something less than the cost (or effort) a user would face in the absence of the subsidy (Gandy, 1982). For the purpose of the study, information subsidies was defined as any type of contact or message (written or oral) from a community college representative to a legislator; directly or through another source.

The study employed Stephenson's (1953) Q-Methodology as a statistical method to study the issues of information subsidies between the two groups. The q-sort technique was used as a measure for assessing beliefs, attitudes or values. McLeod and Chaffee's (1973) Coorientational Measurement Model assisted in the qualitative evaluation of the study.

Forty-five statements were constructed and treated as observations to study information subsidies between the two groups. The research was conducted through face-to-face meetings with 12 legislators and 12 community college representatives.

The results of the q-sorts, written questionnaires, and informal interviews appeared to strongly suggest that lobbyists and the information subsidies they provide to legislators are a very important part of the legislative process. Most legislators also feel that education is a broad and easily understood issue. In addition to professional lobbyists, there was strong agreement that there is a need for increased direct information subsidies from grassroots constituencies to legislators.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

A. Statement of Problem

Public relations professionals have spent decades looking for better ways to communicate with, inform, and persuade various audiences. In order to do this, PR professionals have refined a variety of methods, models, and formulas they follow in order to accomplish their communication goals.

Within communication research, there are a variety of viewpoints concerning the outcomes of communication. Traditional persuasion research considers communication, attitudinal, and behavioral changes to be the major issues (Tan, 1986). The coorientation model developed by Chaffee and McLeod (1973) presses researchers to consider other issues such as accuracy and understanding as important in the communication process.

This research will focus on studying the effects of information subsidies from community college lobbyists on legislators. Information subsidies, a subcategory within agenda-setting theory, suggests that an information subsidy is an attempt to produce influence over the actions of others by controlling their access to and use of information relevant to those actions. It is referred to as a subsidy because the source of that information causes it to be made available at something less than the cost (or effort) a user would face in the absence of the subsidy (Gandy, 1982).

Agenda setting and information subsidies are two areas that communication researchers have often looked at, from a variety of standpoints, in relation to federal and state legislative processes. Members of the news media and legislators have been studied frequently. Although the role of the media in agenda setting is brought up in the literature review, it will not be a primary focus of this study.

This study will focus on the issue of information subsidies provided through a public relations vehicle -- a special interest lobby. The Coorientation Measurement Model (McLeod and Chaffee, 1973) will be utilized as a framework in conjunction with Q-Methodology (Stephenson, 1953) to determine effects of information subsidies from the community college lobby on Iowa legislators.

The coorientation model has been utilized to measure and analyze how various groups and organizations perceive each others' orientations toward social issues (Tan, 1986). The following research will specifically use this model to analyze the coorientation between public relations practitioners (i.e. lobbyists) and their targeted public (i.e. legislators).

This is a timely issue because Iowa's community colleges are relatively young institutions compared to most other higher education entities. During the past decade the community colleges have worked hard to get a greater presence among legislative priorities - in the hope of increasing funding for and recognition of the institutions. Jointly, under the auspices of the Iowa Association of Community College Trustees, the 15 community colleges in Iowa have formed a lobby designed to communicate a united agenda and mission to the Iowa legislature; in the hope of producing legislative actions which will enhance the community college system.

The proposed research will be useful as both a means of further testing the theories discussed above and providing information to Iowa's community colleges on the success of their efforts.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Agenda Setting, the Media and Public Relations

According to John V. Pavlik (1987), a growing set of research is suggesting that media agendas are commonly beginning to reflect the agendas of other social entities, especially those with PR functions. He states that “pseudo-events” are becoming more commonly covered events (those events which organizations create which are covered by news media). Examples of possible pseudo events include: a press conference, a labor strike, a citizen in space, or even a terrorist hijacking of a commercial airliner.

According to Turk and Franklin (1987), the sources of raw material for information on which journalists rely and from which they determine what is news, have a great deal to do with the media’s content agenda. But also the media rely on their trusted sources for information. Their news staffs’ constraints of time and manpower do not allow them the luxury of actively investigating all leads and information. Turk (1985) refers to this process as providing journalists with “information subsidies.”

Oscar Gandy (1982) suggests that agenda-setting researchers McCombs and Shaw want to limit agenda setting to matters of issue salience (the knowledge of and perceived importance of an issue). It is necessary to go beyond agenda setting. In doing so, it is necessary to determine who sets the media’s agendas, how and for what purposes it is set, and what impact does this have on the distribution of power and values in society?

Gandy states that through **information subsidies** those with economic power maintain control over a capitalist society. The information market is similar to the commodities market - with surpluses and shortages. Advertising and promotional messages are overproduced and free to consumers while some information

(e.g. certain breakthroughs in the medical research field) is not available to the general public at any price. “Those with the power to control the price of information don’t only control its consumption, they also influence the decisions that are based on that information” (Gandy, p. 8, 1982).

Those considered to have the power to control information and/or its price can indeed have an effect on both the consumption of information and influence over decisions. This can span from the media to public relations professionals, legislative lobbyists to legislators, and far beyond. Based on the situation surrounding the information, the flow of information can have a variety of forms and characteristics. The forms and characteristics of the information can also have an effect on how the information is perceived by the receivers.

A variety of sources seek personal and collective advantage through their willful manipulations of the mass media and other information channels (Gandy, 1982). This leads directly into the literature’s consideration of the issues of information subsidies and power.

Information Subsidies and Power

Many private companies, non-profit organizations and entities of government jointly spend billions of dollars each year to construct and disseminate their messages to the media and other targeted groups. In many cases, the primary motive for controlling and affecting information is to affect the decisions made by those with power.

Most decisions usually involve a rational process, based on the amount and quality of information available to the decision maker at the time. The rationality assumption is basic to a decision-making model which seeks to predict or explain the behavior of policy actors (such as lobbyists) who seek to influence the policy process through the provisions of information subsidies (Gandy, 1982).

Decision makers are under a variety of pressures, including the daily immediate pressures of time and incomplete information. The strongest and most organized groups will have a definite effect on what is decided in the political process (Cobb and Elder, 1983).

According to Gandy (1982, p. 21), information relevant to a decision can be classified in three major categories:

1. Information about the range and probability of occurrence of different states or conditions of the decision makers relevant environment.
2. Information about the outcomes or consequences on the decision makers, in the event that one of those possible states comes to be.
3. Information about the subjective value or utility the decision maker could expect, should that consequence be realized.

Other research by Joseph Klapper (1960) on media effects suggests that the media's power is somewhat limited and "functions through a nexus of mediating factors." The media typically have strongest effect in the area of knowledge acquisition. Therefore, media campaigns and the news media will likely have the most success in getting people to think about certain issues or entities and believe that these issues might be important, rather than influencing personal attitudes and feelings directly (Pavlik, 1987).

Although the media may not directly influence people's attitudes and actions, it has been argued that there can be an affect on what issues are viewed as important (Turk, 1986). This result is indeed powerful in itself. Additional research has looked at the amount of time necessary and the elements involved in having an issue emerge to the forefront of an agenda.

Time lag, as a result of news stories in the media, has been identified as an important factor in research on public relations, especially in research on agenda setting (Pavlik, 1987). Combined research suggests a time lag of approximately two to six months for the effects of some news stories to surface on individuals' agendas,

although in some cases there can be no time lag or as much as several years. Researchers Lang and Lang (1983) note that issues emerge from prominence given a news item or other information. Continuity and reiteration contribute to the development of the information further and fix the basic issues prominently on individual and group agendas (Pavlik, 1987).

Agenda Setting, Information Subsidies and Legislators

The information about agenda setting and information subsidies can be applied to the state legislative process where some interesting information is both available and researchable on the communication processes utilized by such legislative bodies.

Legislators claim that the news media are relatively unimportant as sources of job-related information because of their specialized information needs on complex issues and bills. Legislators note that their primary sources for job-related information are readily available "insider sources" such as lobbyists, expert colleagues, or committee members. Even for non-decision professional information needs, the media did not rank much better with legislators (Riffe, 1989).

Riffe's research of Alabama legislators showed that public officials view the news media in an adversarial role and do not believe that the news media provide both sides of the story. The more actively the media covered "hot" issues in the state house, the more adversarial public officials saw them and the less likely they were to use the media for information. This appears to also preclude the media from being a linkage between the grassroots and their elected officials.

The media does not strongly influence legislators' "knowledge about" issues (relating to detailed information). Although the media and its agendas may possibly play a part in legislators "acquaintance with" topics (referring to superficial familiarity). The idea of "knowledge about" and "acquaintance with" originated with Robert Park in 1923. It is further noted that both journalism and agenda

setting of the media are aligned with the “acquaintance with” concept (Pavlik, 1987).

Research suggests that there are three types of agenda setting effects that the media have (Pavlik, 1987, p. 98):

- 1) Building Awareness of the Issues
- 2) Issue Salience
- 3) Priorities of the Issues

Although the public arena is the place where bureaucrats and politicians must be accountable, it is still a network of elite power and information brokers which the political realm is most responsive to (Gandy, 1982). The strongest groups should have a prime effect on what is decided in the political process (Cobb and Elder, 1983).

Research on congressmen has shown that public officials who are unfamiliar with certain issues rely on colleagues whom they view more knowledgeable in the area than themselves. Legislators who are viewed with expertise in certain fields are looked to for credible information, advice and voting cues (Porter, 1974).

In addition, outsiders and intermediaries with special interests seek access to these key legislative experts for promotion of their special interest information. This, in turn, also leads to the notion that many legislators receive information indirectly from outsiders. This information can often become distilled or given a new interpretation (Porter, 1974).

Sabatier and Whiteman 1985 look at how issues reach the legislative agenda. Their findings were consistent with previous research concerning sources of legislative information. The most important external sources of policy information are administrative agencies and interest groups, generally in that order. Primary reasons for selecting a source of policy information were the sources accessibility and ability to provide precise, relevant information in a timely fashion. Their survey also shows that the media ranked seventh, out of seven, sources for policy information as perceived by committee chairman.

Newspapers ranked as the primary source of information (among the media sources) for most legislators (Bybee and Comadena, 1984).

Riffe(1988) found, legislators sources ranked in the following order: 1) family, friends and other non-professional sources, 2) colleagues and fellow legislators and 3) news media in general (newspapers ranking first).

Those with access or control over information seem to play an important role in whose opinion and information has the potential for influencing others (Turk, 1986). Turk points out that media do not directly shape public opinion, citing: (a) many people pay little attention to the media, and (b) many people reject information from the media when it clashes with their firmly-held beliefs (Turk, 1986, p. 1).

Common use of newspapers by officials for reactions, opinions, suggestions and information on what other officials are doing suggests a linkage between the press and the political system (Dunn, 1969).

Another study of the media and policy makers suggested that the media affect policy makers agendas, but that it is more the contact between the media and the policy makers rather than the airing or publication of the story itself that led to political action (Cook, et. al., 1983).

Research revealed that problems with accessing pertinent job-related information is a serious concern to legislators on both the national and state levels and the attempts to deal with this need for information leads to information-exchange and advice-giving which call upon the perceived talents of a few "expert" legislators (Porter, 1974). According to Cobb and Elder (1983):

The content of a formal agenda will tend to reflect structural and institutional biases found within the system. For an issue to attain agenda status, it must command the support of at least some key decision-makers, for they are the ultimate guardians of the formal agenda. (pg. 89)

Research in separate state legislative studies also showed that those legislators viewed as experts were more successful at getting bills passed than the non-experts. Outsiders benefited accordingly by getting appropriate expert sponsors for their special interest bills (Porter, 1974).

Porter admits that the transmitting of information between legislators may not always be a conscious procedure. Legislators likely get their information in bits and pieces through a variety of sources: committee hearings, lobbyists, departmental officials, and generally other interested parties; yet information subsidies have proven to be a key element in the legislative decision process.

Gandy's Flow of Information and Influence in Government

In looking at information subsidies, the flow of information and the influence it produces goes through continually changing cycles.

According to Pavlik (1987), research by Westergaard found that special interests do manipulate the media and the public agenda to maintain power. Agenda setting only adds to this already existing advantage. Realistic policy options are recognized only to the extent which they are consistent with the dominant ideology.

Thus public officials' formulation of policy is constrained and influenced by cultural norms or ideological beliefs, which are themselves influenced and modified by changing social realities.

Public officials will in turn try to manipulate change within the system through a variety of means, but most commonly through direct or indirect information subsidies to other public officials.

"These information subsidies will define the problems and the available options, and will tend to do so in a manner consistent with prevailing ideology. In so doing, those who seem to support the maintenance of the status quo will face lower costs than those who must swim against the tide of popular perceptions and cultural beliefs"(Gandy, 1982, p. 54).

These forces must be overcome through various information channels used for information subsidies. These information subsidies

include both purposive attempts to enter information into the system and structural, organizational, or traditional influences which meter the flow of information.

Information is often valued in terms of its expected utility in reducing uncertainty about some future action or decision. Information subsidies also gain utility when the source of the information is viewed as credible and objective. Subsidy sources therefore strive to deliver their information through channels which appear to offer these types of prerequisites. Examples of these include: scientific publications, legislative investigations, court testimony, news reports, and other “unbiased” third parties (Gandy, 1982). This shows that although the media (news reports) may not be a primary source of information for legislators, they can be utilized as *one* of many channels for information subsidies.

When it comes to state legislators and their need for credible information on the volume of issues, a variety of sources can meet the prerequisites for delivery of information. Many sources can offer information which reduces uncertainty about future action or decisions.

Legislative Agenda Setting and Decision Making

Legislators are actively pursued with information from literally every possible perspective and source.

The topic of “agenda building and politics” is directly addressed in a book written by Cobb and Elder (1983). According to the authors:

The agenda-building perspective directs our attention to this vital linkage and encourages inquiry into the relationship between mass participation and elite decision making. (pg. xi)

Decisions by politicians are made in an arena of conflict where participation is limited to those “legitimate” groups who already have access into the political arena (Cobb and Elder, 1983).

Lobbyists are major group today which has gained access into the political arena. They have typically gained access through their contacts, by being an ex-legislator or by being associated with a

group which politicians view as legitimate. These groups primarily include government agencies such as education, human services, transportation, etc.

“The question of influence has not so much to do with influence on decisions, but rather influence over the range and types of alternatives considered” (Cobb and Elder, 1983, pg. 6). This statement relates directly to the communication issues of agenda setting and information subsidies, all of which deal with the control and flow of information from one source to another.

Those representing interest groups typically work for long-term relationships with legislators based on trust and confidence. Therefore, even if the legislator is not responding positively to current issues, it is important for the lobbyist to maintain a good relationship for future issues (Lindblom, 1968).

Government outputs are to some extent a product of communication and information which are prescribed as part of formal agendas. Control of or influence upon the agenda-building process is an important factor in the power equation (Cobb and Elder, 1983).

Coorientation Research

According to Grunig and Stamm (1973), coorientation research notes that high levels of congruency, accuracy, and understanding-agreement can be predicted to occur most often between systems with similar value orientations and similar external constraints. This communication between similar systems typically leads only to increased adaptation to the environment. The social control function does not lead to any major change in orientation of either system.

The most difficult communication issues occur when there are divergent orientations. One possible solution to dealing with this issue is to introduce a communication mediator who can coorient with both systems and explain the two systems to one another (Grunig and Stamm, 1973).

Interestingly enough, lobbyists act somewhat as a communication mediator in politics. The lobbyists (who are often ex-legislators) understand the complexity of issues that politicians deal with and also become well versed in the facts related to the group they are representing. These lobbyists are aware of what is necessary to get and maintain the attention of legislators. A critical component of getting the attention of legislators is for the group to crystallize their objectives into clear proposals, so they can claim agenda status (Cobb and Elder, 1983).

A four-state study of legislators and lobbyists by Zeigler (1969) showed that the extent of contact, effect of contact, and attitudes toward lobbyists are clearly interrelated. In the state of Oregon, where the researcher found a strong lobby with much interaction, most legislators said they depend on information from lobbyists, have confidence in the information from lobbyists, and to a slightly lesser degree they find the information from lobbyists to be helpful (Zeigler, 1969).

In addition, the study found that legislators greatly prefer experienced lobbyists, especially those with government experience. They also noted that experienced lobbyists tended to view their role more as informant, than persuader. This was congruent with most

legislators' views of lobbyists as informants, not persuaders (Zeigler, 1969).

Similar to Zeigler's findings on legislators and lobbyists relationships, Turk (1986) found that the public relations practitioners who viewed their role more as providers of information were more successful than those who saw their role as a persuader. Information was also more likely to be published if it was provided in response to a journalist's request.

The pre-political or pre-decision processes often play the most critical role in determining what issues and alternatives are to be discussed or considered and what the probable choice will be. Agenda status does not, of course, hinge on any one decision or action, sometimes it may be a result of non decision making (Cobb and Elder, 1983).

Although there are no empirical studies which directly address the issue of community college information subsidies impact on legislators, a published paper by Andres Gomez (1981) does present a case study of one Florida community college's lobbying efforts and the beneficial outcomes of these efforts. The paper further stresses that in light of intense competition for state and federal funding, community colleges must become more sophisticated in their lobbying efforts.

McLeod and Chaffee's Approach to Communication Research: The Coorientation Measurement Model

In McLeod and Chaffee's model the unit of analysis is not the individual, but the small social system, which can include dyads, small groups, organized collectives, or small communities. The principle variables being studied are not individual traits, but rather the relationship between the cognitions of two or more people (McLeod and Chaffee, 1973).

The key assumptions in this approach are:

- a) that the person's behavior is also a function of his/her perception or the orientations held by others around him/her and of his/her orientation of them, not simply his private cognitive construction of the world;
- b) the actual cognitions and perceptions of others can actually affect his/her behavior under certain conditions; and
- c) small social systems function partly as a unit with intercognitive relations within it - without the members of the unit necessarily being aware of these factors (McLeod and Chaffee, 1973, p. 470).

McLeod and Chaffee developed this model from a variety of approaches, but the primary conceptual basis for it stems from the coorientational model of Newcomb (1953). Newcomb's model assumes that two persons (A and B) attracted to each other positively or negatively, are simultaneously coorientated to an object of communication, called X.

McLeod and Chaffee's model suggests that at the beginning points of interaction, intrapersonal orientations that each person brings to the situation may be more important factors, but that these factors will eventually affect the dyadic results of the interpersonal communication process that follows.

Understanding (or agreement), accuracy, and congruency are the key issues in the coorientation model designed by McLeod and Chaffee (Tan, 1986, p. 226):

Understanding (or agreement): is the extent to which A and B have the same salience evaluations of X. Understanding is the extent to which A and B agree on what attributes to evaluate X on and on their evaluations of the importance of the attributes.

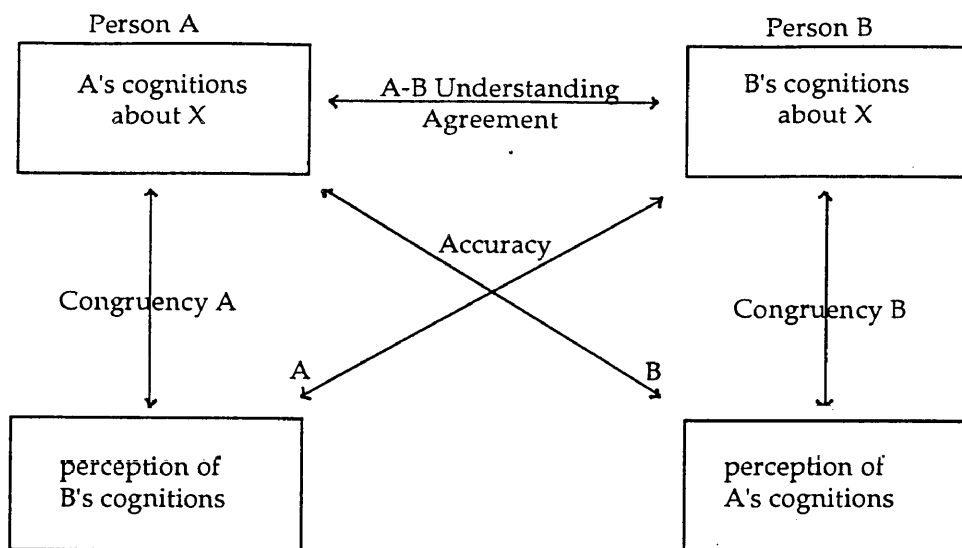
Accuracy: is the extent to which a person's estimate of the other person's cognition matches what the other person actually thinks.

Congruency: is the degree of similarity between a person's own cognitions and his/her perception of the other person's cognitions. It is the extent to which a person thinks the other person agrees or disagrees with him/her regarding evaluation of the object X.

The coorientation model considers accuracy and understanding to be the major communication effects (Tan, 1986).

It has been noted in some research that the coorientation model is a "measurement model" and not a theory (Broom, 1977); while other researchers prefer to call the approach coorientation "theory" (Wackman, 1973).

The approach allows researchers to determine the effects of communication between two groups (denoted as A and B in the model) and specifically measure the effects of the communication by focusing on the issues of understanding, congruency and accuracy. For the purpose of this study, the researcher will utilize this as a qualitative measurement approach.



Source: *American Behavioral Scientist* (1973)
The Coorientational Measurement Model
by McLeod and Chaffee (1973, p. 484)

A Look At Some Specific Coorientational Studies
Stamm and Pearce, 1971

This research is focused on developing a new model for the cognitive processes in interpersonal communication. They extended the work of Chaffee and McLeod and others on coorientation, but suggest that the accuracy state be redefined as an antecedent condition to various communication reactions.

Congruency is treated as the focal concept in the coorientation model as a result of findings that show people who interact frequently develop expectations about whether the other party will agree or disagree with them on an issue. They found that the juxtaposition of congruency and agreement could be a factor which stimulated further discussion between two people who frequently interact.

Grunig and Stamm, 1973

This study deals with examples of communication between collectives, the major issue is intrasystem, rather than interpersonal communications.

According to Grunig and Stamm, a study by Carter and Sutthoff showed that in communities where there was better understanding among observers, there were also better success records in financial elections.

Accuracy and understanding are the most realistic goals for communication, and they should be of most concern to communication researchers.

Application of coorientational concepts to collectives requires that one assumes there is a "collective cognition." In many cases the collective does not maintain cognitive similarity and therefore the researcher also may need to be prepared to recognize subcollectives within the group.

Tichenor and Wackman, 1973

This study looked at the coorientation approach in the context of the development of consensus or conflict in society. It looked at a specific case of a conflict between a suburban city council and a state pollution control agency and to what extent agreement on the issue related to exposure to different kinds of media content.

For the purpose of the study, agreement was defined as “similarity in orientation toward certain social objects among different actors” (p. 594). The key findings indicated when alternative points of view are available in a social system the distribution of public opinion on an issue may depend on patterns of media exposure. In addition, the author concluded that because the respondents were unable to estimate majority opinion, it is suggested that none of the media fulfill the function.

Wackman, 1973

This study looks at some coorientational issues as they relate to interpersonal communication. Accuracy is just as important as persuasion. Information exchange is a more typical function of interpersonal communication than is persuasion.

Coorientation theory assumes the major function of interpersonal communication is information exchange. Interpersonal communication results in reduced uncertainty regarding the other person’s cognitions. After communicating both parties estimates of the other’s cognitions toward an object or issue should change, thereby increasing accuracy. Accuracy should improve whether persuasion takes place or not.

Lipschultz, 1990

This study used the coorientation measurement model to investigate the nature of relationships between trial lawyers and news reporters. The model was used to measure accuracy,

agreement, and congruency between courtroom reporters and their trial lawyer sources. The study's results pointed to cooperation as the key component to trial lawyers' and news reporters' relationships. The patterns of orientations suggested that the two groups share many of the same orientations toward news coverage of the courts.

A Brief History of Iowa's Community Colleges and their Legislature Efforts.

IACCT History

In 1966, the general session of the Iowa legislature created 15 community college districts (merged areas) to allow all Iowans to be within driving distance of higher education opportunities. Each college was to be governed by a locally-elected Board of Trustees and supervised under the Iowa Department of Education.

In August of 1971, the 15 community colleges created the Iowa Association of Community College Trustees.

During the past decade, the community colleges have actively lobbied the legislature concerning community college issues. In the past five years, in the light of state budgetary problems, the community college lobby has had to fight hard to attain funding for the colleges.

Current Lobbying Activities

Most current lobbying efforts are handled through two full-time lobbyists and two additional lobbyists. These professional lobbyists (or legislative liaisons) are employed by IACCT and perform a number of duties, including:

- Work with the 15 community colleges to draft a united community college legislative agenda

- Meetings with Speakers, Education Appropriations chairs, Governor's staff, Education Committee, House Ways and Means Committee, etc.
- Appear before legislative committees to review community college recommendations for legislative action and the role and responsibilities of the colleges.
- Draft bills and work with key legislators to sponsor the bills.
- Provide information requested by legislators
- Monitor the introduction and progress of legislation which affects the community colleges in any way.
- Keep in touch with key legislators who support community college legislation
- Keep Trustees and Presidents up-to-date and involved in the legislative process.
- Provide information on community college issues to the media.

In addition to the professional lobbyists, many community college representatives (presidents and others) are actively involved in legislative affairs. A 17-member legislative committee, made up of community college presidents and trustees, meets regularly to monitor and participate in legislative issues concerning the community colleges.

A. STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

In the literature reviewed for this study it becomes clear that lobbyists play an important communication role in the legislative process by affecting what information and issues are considered. McLeod and Chaffee's Coorientation Measurement Model offers a method to evaluate the effects of communication between two such groups.

This study will focus specifically on the effects of information subsidies from community college lobbyists on Iowa legislators.

Due the fact that there is no prior empirical research focused directly on the effects of lobbyists' information subsidies on legislators in which to base specific research hypotheses, the following work will rely on research questions to guide this investigation. The primary research question is exploratory:

What effects do information subsidies from community college lobbyists have on Iowa legislators level of agreement, priorities and decisions concerning community colleges?

The techniques used to study this question were Q-Methodology and Chaffee and McLeod's Coorientational Measurement Model. The coorientation model looks specifically at three types of variables (Broom, 1977):

1. Understanding/Agreement - agreement or understanding of the issues

(Note: In the following study the issue of agreement appears to be most recognizable and measurable. Therefore, the issue will be referred to as agreement from this point on.)

2. Congruency-perception of shared values

3. Accuracy-accurately predicts the others orientations

B. Research Questions

By examining this question from the coorientational approach a framework is provided for acquiring insights on the following specific research questions:

- 1. To what extent do legislators and community college representatives (or lobbyists) agree on key issues concerning the community colleges; and if there is agreement, does it appear to be due to community college information subsidies?**

- 2. To what extent are legislators' and community college representatives' perceptions congruent concerning community college information subsidies?**

- 3. To what extent do legislators and community college representatives accurately perceive each others' perceptions of key issues facing community colleges?**

- 4. How do the two groups view the public's perceptions of community college issues?**

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

This research looks at the communication process between community colleges (as a lobbying group) and Iowa legislators. No previous study looks specifically at these variables. Legislators, defined as members of the Iowa House of Representatives and the Iowa Senate, and community college representatives, defined as members of the Iowa Association of Community College Trustees and Presidents (IACCT/IACCP) and the lobbyists employed by these groups were treated as subjects in a q-sort.

The research was executed during May and June, 1993, after the Iowa legislature's 1993 general session.

The study focused on measuring what effects information subsidies from the community colleges have on Iowa legislators.

Defining the concept of Information Subsidies:

For the purpose of this study, information subsidies are defined as any type of contact or message (written or oral) from a community college representative to a legislator; directly or through another source (i.e. media, letter, publications, staff, constituents, etc.)

For the purpose of this study, lobbyists are viewed as public relations practitioners because they conduct communication activities. The 1989 *New Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines lobbying as "to try to influence public officials and especially legislators." In the process of trying to influence legislators, lobbyists use a variety of communication methods.

Public relations is defined by the publication Public Relations News and also quoted as a viable definition for public relations in Cutlip and Center's (1978) book *Effective Public Relations* as "the management function which evaluates public attitudes, identifies the policies and procedures of an individual or an organization with the

public interest, and plans and executes a program of action to earn public understanding and acceptance.”

This definition is important to show that lobbyists are actively pursuing a public relations function by planning and executing programs to earn the *understanding* and acceptance of legislators. It also focuses on a key aspect of the Coorientation Measurement Model (understanding/agreement) which was used to help determine the success of community college lobbyists in providing information subsidies to legislators.

This research was designed to learn how legislators and community college representatives differentiate statements about a set of long-term community college issues. The primary goal was to study how Iowa legislators are affected by the information subsidies of the community colleges.

Forty-five statements were constructed and treated as observations to study information subsidies between the two groups. An unstructured approach (Kerlinger, 1964) was utilized in developing the statements. The unstructured approach looks at the sample as a set of homogeneous items - they measure one broad concept. In this case, the concept is “information subsidies” between legislators and the community colleges. In addition, the questions focused on three primary subject areas:

- 1) Finance of the community colleges.
- 2) Philosophy about what the community colleges’ mission and services is or should be, and general approach to community college issues
- 3) Lobbyists role in the legislative process and whether or not they make a difference in the advancement of issues.

These issues have been arrived at through pre-study interviews with legislators and key community college representatives (see Appendix C).

Before getting into how these issues will be measured it is appropriate to review the groups for the study.

The Variable Members of Two Groups

The groups were:

Group A: key members of the Iowa legislature involved in community college issues.

These key legislators were identified by community college lobbyists and the chief political correspondent for the Des Moines Register newspaper. They were asked to suggest legislators who are knowledgeable and/or involved with community college issues.

In addition, a content analysis of Des Moines Register Newspaper articles from August 1992 through April 1993 (through a "DataTimes" computer search) designated legislators' names mentioned in context with any community college issues.

Twelve key legislators were chosen based upon the above research.

Group B: the Iowa Association of Community College Trustees (IACCT), primarily represented by two lobbyists and the Iowa Association of Community College Presidents (IACCP).

Twelve IACCT and IACCP representatives were chosen to match the number of legislators chosen for the study. These people were chosen by the researcher based upon their amount of activity with legislative issues. Several community college representatives were chosen from a 17-member legislative committee as listed in the "1993 Iowa Association of Community College Trustees Membership Directory."

This approach to sampling is congruent with Babbie's (1992) description of "purposive or judgmental" sampling: selecting a sample on the basis of the researcher's own knowledge of a population and its elements in coordination with the specific aims of the research. For example, it may not be possible to define and sample all leaders within an organization, but a sample of the most visible leaders may be used to collect data sufficient for the researcher's purposes (Babbie, 1992, p. 230).

Data Collection - Using Q Methodology

The method employed to study the issue of information subsidies between the community colleges and the legislature was a method originally developed by William Stephenson (1953), called Q-Methodology.

“Q-Methodology provides a means for analyzing the phenomenological world of the individual (or of small numbers of individuals) without sacrificing the power of statistical analysis.” (Stephen, 1985, pg. 193)

According to Stephen the q-sort technique can be used as a measure for assessing beliefs, attitudes, or values.

The q-technique is designed to assist in the systematic examination of human subjectivity. The technique has primarily been used in psychology, but has positive uses for the political theory in both normative and empirical respects (Brown, 1980).

According to Brown the letter “q” stands for person correlations as opposed to the more conventional trait correlations expressed by “r.”

Q-Methodology and q-technique allow the researcher to use a scientific approach to the study of subjective ideas and can be especially helpful in studying intrapersonal communication processes in a variety of contexts (Aitken, 1988).

Q-Methodology can help study a situation where the self is intimately involved, whether in political or other matters. The technique can illuminate the effects that are operating where individuals and their viewpoints on issues are key factors (Brown, 1980).

According to Belz (1984), Q-Methodology taps into the subjective perceptions of people and allows types to form around latent perceptions. It outlines the patterns of perceptions, allowing the researcher to analyze, describe, and compare the patterns which emerge.

How Q-sort Works

In using Q-Methodology, the focus was on using statements to allow respondents to express their beliefs, attitudes, and values. The q-sort of these statements on an agree-disagree (or similar) continuum shows the relationship between statements on the continuum.

Using this technique, the sample size of people can range from one to thousands (Aitken, 1988). However, many researchers express the need for using at least 40 to 80 people subjects. Aitken suggests that the person carrying out the research is the most appropriate one to judge how many people and statements are necessary, based on a pilot study and the needs of the specific research.

The goal when using a q-sort is to assemble a set of items which represent a larger theoretical set of all possible items which relate to the issue(s) being studied (Stephen, 1985).

Q-Methodology is most commonly used to analyze relationships between people based upon an interdependent rank order system generated by the q-sort process. The most common approach to a q-sort is the forced-choice distribution where subjects are required to place a certain number of items in each category or column (Stephen, 1985).

The data from a forced-choice q-sort will also result in a specified mean and variance. The mean and variance of each subject's data is always the same, and because *they are properties of the distribution* rather than the subject's responses, they are known before any data is even collected (Stephen, 1985).

Two key aspects in the development of a study using Q-Methodology are: (1) to structure a measure that is based on theory and (2) to structure questions in a common manner with language common to the respondents (Aitken, 1988).

Data Gathering Procedures

For the purpose of this study, a q-sort was designed with 45 questions (see Appendix A). The statements were constructed by the researcher, based on information gathered in pre-study interviews (see Appendix C) with legislators and community college representatives. Individual statements were not numbered on the front of the cards and were shuffled into a random order prior to each subject's sort. This was to control for fatigue among the respondent statement ranks.

Respondents were instructed to rank the statements on a nine-point continuum from "agree" to "disagree." A statement with strongest disagreement was scored a -4, and a statement with strongest agreement was scored a 4.

Statements were typed on index cards, and each respondent was instructed to place the individual cards with each statement under the number which corresponded to their ranking of the statement. Respondents were asked to place only a certain number of statements under each of the nine areas on the continuum.

As suggested by Brown (1980), to facilitate the sorting, respondents were first instructed to read through the statements in order to get a broad impression of the overall content before beginning the sort.

Fixed Distribution of Statements

Number of Statements per Pile (frequency)

2 3 5 8 9 8 5 3 2

Score/values for Statements

- 4 - 3 - 2 - 1 0 1 2 3 4

Strongly Disagree

Neutral

Strongly Agree

A pilot study was carried out with four people not part of the actual study - two community college representatives and two

legislative/political representatives. A test/retest reliability test was conducted with the subjects, approximately a week apart.

The results of the pilot study met reliability expectations in the subjects responses by yielding statistically significant correlation coefficients of 0.80.

The actual study utilized 12 people from each group (for a total of 24 subjects).

Each individual spent 30-45 minutes q-sorting. The research was conducted with busy professionals, and it was important to limit the length of time with each individual to maintain their cooperation and attention.

In addition to the forced-choice q-sort, a short written questionnaire was administered to each respondent to gather additional data, such as demographic information (see Appendix B). As time permitted and in line with the respondent's willingness, the researcher asked a few open-ended discussion questions concerning how and why the person responded the way he/she did, and how they felt about the subject matter. This information was used in the final analysis to draw conclusions.

Data Analysis

Each q-sort was correlated with all other sorts. The coorientational issues of understanding/agreement, accuracy and congruency were addressed qualitatively by the researcher's evaluation of the subjects' responses. Responses were evaluated by comparing areas of strong similarity or difference among the subjects' responses to the statements, according to McLeod and Chaffee's definition for agreement, accuracy and congruence. The set of statements presented to the groups were primarily designed to provide differentiation among the two groups being studied and their perceptions of the public.

Questions 1-5 concentrated on what most legislators believe concerning the issue.

Questions 6-10 focused on what most community college representatives think about the issue.

Questions 11-15 focused on what each group believes the public thinks about the issue.

This typology was used for each set of issues to address the coorientational measurement model's issues of agreement, accuracy and congruency. To assist the researcher in designating which specific and general issues appeared to be significant, each cell of the typology was considered.

		GROUP	
		(A) Legislators	(B) Community College Reps.
I S S U E S	Finance (15)	Legislators think... Community college representatives think... The public thinks...	Legislators think... Community college representatives think... The public thinks...
	Philosophy (15)	Legislators think... Community college representatives think... The public thinks...	Legislators think... Community college representatives think... The public thinks...
	Lobbyists Role (15)	Legislators think... Community college representatives think... The public thinks...	Legislators think... Community college representatives think... The public thinks...

The study asked respondents to address the statements according to how they and their colleagues felt about the issues; how they believed the other group thinks; and how they think the general public feels concerning the issue.

By utilizing the forced-choice sort method the researcher was able to distribute the respondents answers across a quasi-normal distribution curve. In doing this, it identified the distinct areas where q-sorters held relatively strong beliefs.

Factor analysis was used to group the statements. In Q-Methodology the greatest focus is on the statements, rather than the subjects, because the factor score they receive reflect an attitude in operation (Brown, 1980). The factor analysis technique can be used to reduce a large number of operational indices into a smaller number of conceptual variables (Blalock, 1960).

Factor analysis is a procedure for studying the relations between traits (r) or persons (q) (Brown, 1980). It is a method for determining how subjects classify themselves. The q -sorts fall into natural groupings by virtue of being similar or dissimilar to one another. If two persons feel the same concerning a topic, their q -sorts will be similar and they will line up under the same factor. Factors indicate clusters of persons who rank their responses in essentially the same fashion (Brown, 1980, p. 6). They classify themselves on their own terms, which emerge as factors (Brown, 1980).

According to Brooks (1970), factor analysis allows the researcher to group subjects on the basis of their q -sorts and then to analyze the independent sources of information to determine the correlations of the groups' members. Then the number of variables can be reduced to those which appear to be the most dominant in the process being studied (Brooks, 1970).

According to Brown (1980), q -sorts from several subjects can be correlated and factor analyzed by any of the available statistical methods. The factor analysis allows the researcher to locate clusters of persons who have ranked the statements in essentially the same fashion. The explanation of the factors is then explained in relation to the commonly shared attitudes or perspectives which they relate to. The factors, although explaining subjective attitudes are considered to be both reliable and easily replicated and allow for statistical summary which facilitates more careful description and comparison (Brown, 1980).

The rotation of factors in this study was executed through varimax and simple structure approaches.

Varimax allows for the rotating the original factors to a mathematically precise solution. Although such objective procedures for rotation have their place, the researcher cannot be totally objective. Subjective guesswork has always been a part of science, and the rotation of factors provides an opportunity for the expression of this. (Brown, 1980)

A varimax theoretical rotation seeks a solution acceptable by statistical criteria. Judgmental rotation enables the researcher to follow theoretical inclination and hunches to a further degree. (Brown, 1980)

A computer program, written at Brown's Kent State, was installed at the University of Nebraska at Omaha on the university's main computer in 1993

The QMethod Computer Program

The "QMethod" program (XQ) was created by John R. Atkinson at Kent State University (see notes). Atkinson, manager of academic services for the Kent State computer center, wrote the program after taking a Q seminar taught by Steven R. Brown. The program is based on the Q-Methodology approach by Brown, also at Kent State University. Brown was the understudy of the originator of Q-Methodology - William Stephenson.

The program allows the user to create the text for each statement, enter the data from individual q-sorts, create a correlation matrix from the raw sorts, perform centroid factor analysis, do hand rotation or varimax rotation of factors, and perform a q-analysis of rotated factors.

A maximum of 120 sorts (subjects) and 200 statements are allowed in the XQ program. The values assigned to the statements must range between -6 and 13. The maximum number of factors that will be extracted is seven.

Ultimately, the program allows the researcher to see where factors cluster or overlap leading to interpretations of what might be bringing these factors together.

The primary information utilized in this study from the "XQ" program included: a correlation matrix between sorts; unrotated factor matrix; factor matrix normalized factors scores for Factor 1 and 2; descending array of differences between Factors 1 and 2; and factor characteristics.

ENDNOTES

For more information or questions concerning the QMethod computer program, contact the program's author:

John R. Atkinson
Academic Computer Service
Kent State University
Kent, OH 44242-0001
(216) 672-2736

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

Legislators and community college representatives in Iowa shared many of the same orientations toward community college issues. The responses yielded a two factor solution with one strong factor, and a second weaker factor.

The sorts of respondent's perceptions concerning community college issues and their perceptions of the other two groups (i.e. community college representatives or legislators and the general public) produced data showing significant areas of agreement, disagreement, consensus and dissension.

A correlation matrix between the sorts revealed that 39 percent of correlation coefficients between sorts were $>+.26$ level (see Appendix D). Below Table 1 shows how the participants in the study aligned for each factor. Subject Responses or Factor: A "Factor" indicates a cluster of persons who have ranked the statements in essentially the same fashion (Brown, 1980, p.6).

TABLE 1. SUBJECTS IN EACH FACTOR

	Subject Responses Factor 1	Subject Responses Factor 2	Subject Responses Isolates
Legislators	5 (42%)	4 (33%)	3 (25%)
College Reps.	<u>6 (50%)</u>	<u>4 (33%)</u>	<u>2 (17%)</u>
	11 (46%)	8 (33%)	5 (21%)

Analyzing the data by the normalized factor z-scores, six statements showed agreement between the subjects' responses

represented in Factor 1 and six statements showed disagreement. Factor 1 consisted of five legislators and six community college people. Questionnaire data showed that community colleges ranked in the top three in legislative priorities for most people in this factor. Republicans were slightly more prevalent in this factor (six republicans, four democrats and one independent). Below, Table 2 shows the statements where there was significant agreement or disagreement among the respondents who line up within Factor 1.

TABLE 2. NORMALIZED FACTOR Z-SCORES -- FOR FACTOR 1
(with an absolute value of >1.0 positively or negatively)

No.	Statement	Z-SCORES
34	Most community college representatives think credibility is the key factor in a lobbyists success, without it they will be ineffective.	2.159
41	In general, the public does <u>not</u> trust lobbyists.	1.616
33	Most legislators think lobbyists serve an important information role, especially on technical issues.	1.362
44	In general, the public does <u>not</u> understand lobbyists' role in the legislative process	1.350
45	In general, the public does <u>not</u> understand the complexity of the legislative process.	1.223
10	Most community college representatives' major concern is increased funding.	1.169
5	Most legislators believe community colleges are in need of additional funding.	-1.215
8	Most community college representative think legislators are open to looking for ways to enhance funding.	-1.448
22	Most community college representatives do not understand legislators views on community colleges.	-1.454
26	In general, the public understands the diverse mission of the community colleges.	-1.763

14	In general, the public thinks the legislature effectively budget state educational funds.	-1.836
42	In general, the public feels lobbyists serve an important role in the legislative process.	-2.317

Seven statements showed agreement between the people represented in Factor 2 and eight statements showed disagreement. Factor 2 consists of four legislators and four community college people. Most people in this factor ranked community colleges in their top three legislative priorities. The groups were evenly split by party (four democrats and four republicans). Below, Table 3 shows the statements where there was significant agreement or disagreement among the respondents in Factor 2.

TABLE 3. NORMALIZED FACTOR Z-SCORES -- FOR FACTOR 2
(with an absolute value of >1.0 positively or negatively)

No.	Statement	Z-Scores
10	Most community college representatives major concern is increased funding.	2.563
34	Most legislators think credibility is the key to a lobbyist's success, without it they will be ineffective.	1.696
28	In general, the public thinks taxes should be less regardless of the effect on higher education in Iowa.	1.555
17	Most legislators personal philosophy about community colleges greatly effects how they vote	1.319
33	Most legislators think lobbyists serve an important information role, especially on technical issues.	1.234
41	In general, the public does not trust lobbyists.	1.162
43	In general, the public thinks lobbyists can have an effect on the way legislators vote.	1.106

6	Most community college representatives do a good job of providing information on finance issues in a timely fashion.	-1.076
16	Most legislators do not have a good understanding of the community college's mission and philosophy.	-1.190
8	Most community college representatives think legislators are open to looking for ways to enhance funding.	-1.257
38	Most community college representatives should spend their time lobbying legislative leadership because legislators look for inside information from other respected legislators.	-1.285
18	Most legislators philosophy toward community colleges is based on the information they receive from community college representatives.	-1.526
26	In general, the public understands the diverse mission of the community colleges.	-1.620
42	In general, the public feels lobbyists serve an important role in the legislative process.	-2.028
11	In general, the public believes the community colleges need more money.	-2.131

There were also areas of general consensus between Factors 1 and 2. Factors 1 and 2 both AGREE on statements 33, 34, 10 and 41. Factors 1 and 2 both DISAGREE on statements 26, 42 and 8. Below, the rank statement totals for each the factors illustrates this.

TABLE 4. RANK STATEMENT TOTALS SHOWING CONSENSUS
BETWEEN FACTORS 1 AND 2

No.	Statement	F1	Plcmnt	F2	Plcmnt
33	Most legislators think lobbyists serve an important information role, especially on technical issues.	1.36	4	1.23	5
34	Most legislators think credibility is the key factor in a lobbyists success, without it they will be ineffective.	2.16	1	1.70	2
10	Most community college reps. major concern is increased funding.	1.62	2	2.56	1
41	In general, the public does not trust lobbyists.	1.62	3	1.16	6
26.	In general, the public understands the diverse mission of the community college.	-1.76	43	-1.62	43
42	In general, the public feels lobbyists serve an important role in the legislative process.	-2.32	45	-2.03	44
8	Most community college reps. think legislators are open to looking for ways to enhance funding.	-1.45	41	-1.26	40

Strong, but not dramatic, differences between Factor 1 and Factor 2 existed. Below, Table 5 reports the significant areas of positive or negative differences.

TABLE 5. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FACTORS 1 AND 2

No.	Statement	Type 1	Type 2	Difference
44	In general, the public does not understand lobbyists role in the legislative process.	1.350	-0.288	1.637
16	Most legislators do not have a good understanding of the community colleges' mission and philosophy.	0.398	-1.190	1.588
11	In general the public believes the community college need more money.	-0.552	-2.131	1.580
24	Most community college reps. do a good job of promoting their agenda and needs to legislators.	0.794	-0.393	1.187
6	Most community college reps. do a good job of providing information on finance issues in a timely fashion.	0.543	-1.076	1.169
1	Most legislators do not get involved in community college finance issues.	-0.236	0.803	-1.038
35	Most legislators think lobbyists can affect legislators' decisions.	-0.905	0.442	-1.348
14	In general, the public thinks the legislature effectively budgets state educational funds.	-1.836	-0.442	-1.348
4	Most legislators leave it the Education Appropriations Committee to determine community college funding.	-0.731	0.793	-1.525
28	In general, the public thinks taxes should be less, regardless of the effect on higher education in Iowa.	-0.179	1.555	-1.734

CHAPTER FIVE

Interpretations and Conclusions

Summary

There were many similarities and differences between factors one and two. There were five statements in which the subjects in both factors jointly agreed or disagreed.

Two statements related to the general public, stating that they do not trust lobbyists and that they do not understand the diverse mission of the community colleges.

Two statements related to legislators views on lobbyists. These state that credibility is the key issue in a lobbyists success. Also, lobbyists serve an important information role, especially on technical issues.

The last statement indicates that most community college representatives' major concern is increased funding.

R.Q.: This study asked what effects do information subsidies from community college lobbyists have on Iowa legislators level of agreement, priorities, and decisions concerning community colleges?

The findings from informal interviews lead to some qualitative conclusions.

The people in Factor 1 said quite consistently that lobbyists were effective and necessary, but the real impact can be made on legislators by contacts from the local community college people and local constituents. A few people in this cluster commented that some legislators feel that community colleges are getting into some areas that they should not be in - saying their primary focus should be vocational education.

The subjects in Factor 1 said that although legislators sometimes depend on other legislators or lobbyists for information, community colleges and education issues are broad and understandable enough

that most legislators feel comfortable making their own decisions without input from lobbyists or their legislative colleagues.

The people in the Factor 1 felt strongly about six statements concerning the public. Factor 1 subjects tend to agree that the public does not know much about the legislative process, lobbyists, or the community colleges. One subject in Factor 1 summed it up by stating that “the public does not get very actively involved in most issues, all they know is what they read or hear in the media.” Also the statement: “the public’s not tuned in much on community college issues or the legislative process.”

The next most prevalent issue for people in Factor 1 concerned funding for community colleges. The people in Factor 1 felt strongly that community colleges are primarily concerned with funding. They also think most legislators do not believe the community colleges are in need of additional funding. The subjects believe that community college people don’t think legislators are open to looking for ways to enhance community college funding.

In general, it appeared that the subjects in Factor 2 felt the community colleges are *not as effective* in the legislature as they could be. The subjects in Factor 2 are very entrenched in the political system and this appears to lead to greater skepticism from this group. These are people which can be a hard sell on the need to support community college, but once sold they have the political power and desire to be great supporters. They appear to have a great desire to see the community colleges succeed in getting greater political attention, but they understand the public and political obstacles which the colleges must battle. Mainly there is a need for much more local communication with legislators.

This is exemplified by statements such as:

“community colleges don’t know how to work the legislature and they could really be a force”

“the most effective lobbyists are the community college administrators and faculty”

“the basic way legislators relate to community colleges is based on how they see the community college in their districts”

“local people need to spend more time communicating with their local legislators”

“community colleges don’t understand how to get their information to the legislature”

The people in Factor 2 appeared to view the public in a slightly more *negative* light.

They thought the public:

- *does not trust lobbyists;
- *think lobbyists affect legislators votes;
- *does not understand community colleges;
- *does not think lobbyists serve an important role;
- *does not believe community colleges need more money; and
- *thinks taxes should be lower regardless of the effects on higher education in Iowa.

One legislator in Factor 2 said he thinks the public believes higher education gets enough money, they just need to make it work for them.

The people in Factor 2 have three statements centering on community college representatives and funding.

They believe:

- *community college representatives major concern is funding
- *that they do not do a good job of getting finance information out in a timely fashion
- *community college representatives do not believe legislators are open to looking for ways to enhance funding.

A few of the statements in Factor 2 centered on legislators philosophy on community colleges and lobbyists role in the legislature.

The types of people within Factor 1 and Factor 2

The people in Factor 1 consist of slightly less leadership-oriented legislators and several community college representatives who are

relatively new to Iowa. Legislators and community college representatives from the same districts appear to line up within this factor. The people in Factor 1 seem to believe the public understands the role of lobbyists in the legislature; Factor 2 does not.

There was inter-agreement within Factor 2. The opinions of this group are led by a community college representative (who is a past legislative leader) and a legislator (who has served many years in the legislature in leadership positions). The people in this factor are deeply into Iowa politics and tend to be in high leadership positions. The people in Factor 2 think the public does not believe the community colleges need more money and the public thinks taxes should be less, regardless of the effect on education. The people in Factor 1 do not feel as strongly about these issues. Factor 2 people appear to be harder on the public and community colleges than Factor 1. Factor 2 subjects seem to feel more strongly that the public is down on legislative spending on higher education.

Factor 1 and Factor 2 differ on finance-oriented issues. Six of the ten statements they differ most on are concerning finance issues. Three of these six statements have to do with the public's perceptions of higher education funding.

Possible third factor

Based on the background of the five isolates, and the informal interviews with them, they appear to have very strong and independent feelings concerning community college issues. They also tended to be the most intense advocates for the community colleges. The case could be made that a larger sample of people may have yielded a third factor represented by "independents."

The isolates appear not to line up with the other two factors because they are more independent thinkers. They agree that community colleges need to improve communication with the legislature, but the way they feel on most statements is scattered throughout the spectrum and sometimes is at odds with the other isolates.

Interpretations

The findings of this study support the notion that legislators and community college representatives have agreement on several issues.

The results of the q-sorts, questionnaire, and informal interviews appeared to suggest that lobbyists and the information subsidies they provide to legislators are a very important part of the legislative process. Most importantly, professional lobbyists for the community colleges are an important and necessary commodity.

Most decisions usually involve a rational process, based on the amount and quality of information available to the decision maker at the time. Policy actors (such as lobbyists) seek to influence the policy process through the provisions of information subsidies, according to Gandy (1982).

“The question of influence has not so much to do with influence on decisions, but rather influence over the range and types of alternatives considered” (Cobb and Elder, 1983, pg. 6).

The present study found that most legislators feel that education is a broad and more easily understood issue; they feel there should be an increased amount of direct contact from the grassroots constituencies- mainly the local community college representatives.

This area brings a new twist to the theory base concerning information subsidies and legislators. The research by Riffe (1989) and Porter (1974) showed that legislators depend on “insider” sources such as expert colleagues, lobbyists or committee members to give them information which will determine how they decide to vote. The results of this study seemed to say that in areas that legislators consider more broad and understandable, such as education, legislators do not depend as much on these sources. They feel more comfortable in making their own decisions, based upon the information they have available.

A study by Sabatier and Whiteman (1985) supports the notion that the most important external sources of policy information are administrative agencies and interest groups. The primary reasons

for selecting a source of policy information were the sources' accessibility and ability to provide precise, relevant information in a timely fashion.

Turk (1986) found that the public relations practitioners who viewed their role more as providers of information were more successful than those who saw their role as a persuader. It appears that legislators prefer information from the local community colleges that can demonstrate the reasons behind the needs, and also demonstrate how legislative support will benefit the local constituency.

It appears that community college representatives have been successful in stressing the issue of funding. Legislators believe it is the major concern of community college representatives. But it does not appear that community colleges have provided adequate information subsidies to convince legislators that there is a sincere need for increased funding.

In an informal interview with one person, he commented that the community colleges are spending too much time on funding and not enough time promoting their mission and purpose and producing statistics which support this.

Interestingly enough, the major area of commonalty which appeared to surface in the study between legislators and community college representatives is the belief that the general public is unaware and unconcerned with the complexities of both the legislative process and the community colleges. This area formed a considerable amount of common ground for the two groups.

Prior to completing the study, the researcher believed there may be three distinct areas which were important to the relationship between legislators and community college representatives in Iowa. These three areas were funding, philosophy and lobbyists' role in the legislative process.

The current study seemed to support the fact that funding and lobbyists' role in the legislative process were significant issues between the two groups. To a lesser degree, it also appears that

philosophy is an issue because legislators do not depend on insider sources to make their decisions on education; they feel comfortable in utilizing the information available to them and their own philosophy to make these decisions.

An area which the researcher did not completely anticipate being such a significant area of agreement was the groups' agreement on issues relating to the public. This is an area where the media, an issue which was not explored much in the q-sort, comes into play. The subjects seem to feel that the public only knows what they hear or read in the media and that this is not adequate information for the public to base decisions.

Coorientation - Agreement, Accuracy & Congruency

In this study the issue of coorientation was evaluated qualitatively. Each subject sorted the statements only once, rather than a traditional coorientation study which would have the subjects sort the statements once based on their opinions and again based on how they view the other group's opinions.

Instead, this study addressed three general issues and questions: how they and their colleagues view the issues; how they feel the other group views the issues; and how they think the general public views the issues.

The results show that legislators and community college representatives share common ground on basic issues. The results led to a two factor solution, with each factor being composed of almost equal mixes of legislators and community college representatives.

R.Q. 1: To what extent do legislators and community college representatives or lobbyists agree on key issues concerning the community colleges; and if there is agreement, does it appear to be due to community college information subsidies?

Agreement

The two groups appear to have the greatest level of agreement concerning issues relating to lobbyists and the legislative process. This area is more dominant than the areas of finance and philosophy. Subjects within the two factors felt strongly on four statements concerning lobbyists' role in the legislative and information processes. They noted an additional four statements which they felt strongly about. They seem to feel strongly that lobbyists serve an important role in the legislative process, but that the local community colleges need to get much more active in providing information subsidies to legislators. In addition, they agree that the general public understands relatively little about the legislative process and does not trust lobbyists. The primary community college issue that legislators felt strongly about was that the community colleges' primary concern is funding and that the local community colleges' need to spend more time with legislators. Therefore, community college information subsidies are having some effect.

Disagreement

Of the 45 statements, ten statements distinguished Factors 1 and 2 with a difference of greater than one standardized score.

In informal interviews with subjects, they appeared to have general agreement. They agreed that education is a high legislative priority, and that the public has the greatest need for information subsidies.

R.Q. 2: To what extent are legislators' and community college representatives' perceptions congruent concerning community college information subsidies?

Congruency

Concerning congruency, the two groups have differing opinions on some issues, but in both cases education, in general, and community college education are high priorities. They have somewhat congruent missions and priorities due to their joint interest in the issue of

education in Iowa. The rankings of their legislative priorities on the questionnaire recognized this fact. In addition, the community colleges' mission is to educate citizens, and over 60 percent of the legislative budget is devoted to education. Beyond this point congruency could not be determined by this study.

R.Q. 3: To what extent do legislators and community college representatives accurately perceive each others' perceptions of key issues facing community colleges?

Accuracy

Qualitatively the two groups (legislators and community college representatives) appear to lack accuracy. In the area of accuracy, there appears to be a great many opportunities for misinformation between the two groups. One primary example of misinformation is that some legislators believe the community colleges should be primarily vocational schools. The community colleges, therefore, have not done a good job of communicating their mission, which is to be a comprehensive two-year college. There is also some disagreement between some legislators and community college representatives' views on the legislative process.

R.Q. 4: How do the two groups view the public's perceptions of community college issues?

As stated earlier, throughout chapter five, the public was an area which both legislators and community college representatives felt strongly. They agree that the general public is relatively unfamiliar with community college issues and the legislative process.

The forced q-sort methodology allowed subjects to identify their strongly held views. The research compared these. It was also noted in observing the subjects doing the q-sorts and their follow-up comments, that there were additional issues. Many subjects commented that they would have placed more statements on the more extreme ends (strongly agree and strongly disagree) if they

would have been allowed. The subjects also tended to agree with more of the statements and then forced the cards to the left, in order to reach the required distribution.

In general, communication appears to be relatively good between the two groups. In addition, community colleges appear to be doing a relatively good job of providing information subsidies to legislators. It is important to note that the legislators involved in the study were identified for being somewhat knowledgeable on community colleges. This could lead to the conclusion that there would be much greater gaps in information subsidies to the remaining legislators.

It further appears that the greatest area of need for increased information subsidies is from the local community colleges to *their* legislators. Likewise, the general public appears to have a considerable gap in information subsidies from both the community colleges and the legislature. The issue of the public's views concerning community colleges and the legislative process was dealt with directly. The media appear to play a role in this, but the media's involvement in these issues was not addressed.

Conclusions

Based upon the results of this study, it appears that the community colleges in Iowa have been relatively successful at providing information subsidies to Iowa legislators who are interested and active in community college issues. There is also a high degree of agreement between the two groups studied.

The issue of finance appears to be one of the primary areas in which the community colleges use information subsidies. It appears that local community college representatives need to become much more active in providing additional information subsidies to their local legislators. In providing information subsidies, the local colleges also need to focus on issues beyond financing, including mission, philosophy, needs, and the local community colleges impact on the area.

The area of public perceptions is one which needs to be addressed in much more detail than could be accomplished in this study. But this subject did provide an area of considerable agreement between the two groups. If the public is indeed as uninformed as these two groups believe them to be on the issues of community colleges, lobbyists, and the legislative process; then informational campaigns addressing these issues may be wise.

Cobb and Elder (1983) say the strongest and most organized groups will have a definite effect on what is decided in the political process. This study appears to indicate that the community colleges are currently having an effect on decisions, but still have a lot of room for improvement.

Implications

The results of this study add additional support to the existing body of research concerning information subsidies.

According to Gandy (1982), information subsidies can define the problems and the available options and will tend to do so in line with current ideology. In addition, information is often viewed in terms of its utility and the credibility of the source. This study suggests that Iowa legislators are very willing to accept information subsidies from paid lobbyists, but when it comes to higher education they prefer it directly from the local source.

Somewhat contrary to the research which states that legislators often look to other legislative experts for information and advice (Porter, 1974), this study shows that with broad and general issues, like higher education, that this is not necessarily true. Instead, the legislators feel more comfortable in acquiring information from their sources and making their own decision.

Turk (1986) found that the public relations practitioners who view their role more as providers of information were more successful than those who saw their roles as a persuader.

Experienced lobbyists tend to view their role more as informants, than persuaders. This is congruent with how legislators view lobbyists (Zeigler, 1969).

It appears that the Iowa legislative members in this study have accepted the lobbyists and other community college representatives as reliable sources of information. Because they do not need to rely on other legislators for advice or voting cues.

As long as Iowa legislators can continue to trust the community college representatives as reliable information providers, they will likely be receptive to their information subsidies.

It also appears that in Iowa those in education have an edge in getting their information subsidies noticed by legislators, since education is a key priority with many legislators.

According to Gandy (1982), policy actors such as lobbyists seek to influence the policy process through the provision of information subsidies. This study appears to say that in addition to lobbyists and other legislators, local community college representatives can do a lot to influence legislators attitudes and opinions.

Limitations

This study had some limitations which were recognized by the researcher.

One of the first constraints of this study was trying to get an interest and commitment from the two groups involved in the study, who were scattered geographically throughout the state. It was somewhat difficult to arrange in-person meetings with 24 such subjects.

During the course of analyzing the data from the subjects' q-sorts, the researcher realized that even more important than the q-sorts were the qualitative data from the interviews. This researcher would have appreciated additional time to spend with each subject to acquire more qualitative information to utilize in the analysis of the data.

As with most methods, the Q-Methodology approach has its inherent limitations. Due to the fact that it requires in-person meetings to complete the q-sorts, the necessary investment of time with each subject tends to limit the number of subjects involved in the study. Still, many people may not be comfortable with the number of subjects represented in the study. It is noted that broad generalizations in the relationship between community colleges and legislators are being drawn from the ordering of a list of statements by 24 subjects.

Another issue which must be recognized in the researcher's decision to go with the forced-sort method is that this approach may lead the subjects into placing the statements into categories they may not otherwise. On the other hand, it does require the subjects to determine which issues they feel the most strongly about and also lends to the statistical reliability of the study.

Further Research

There are many areas of research which could be expanded upon based on the findings from this study.

One major area is the media and their influence on the relationships between the community colleges and the legislature. This was an area just touched on in this study. Research focused on this area may add additional insight.

An area of further research based on the results of this study could also be the issue of the general public's views on community colleges and the legislature. This study provides insights on how members of the community colleges and the legislature view public attitudes on the issues discussed, but further research could verify or contradict the beliefs of these groups.

This study could also be expanded by research which studies the relationships of community colleges and legislators throughout the United States. Due to the fact that Q-Methodology would not readily lend itself to a nationwide study, a written survey of community

college people and legislators in various states could investigate many of the areas approached within this study. It is recognized by the researcher that there are different types of community college systems in various states and also different types of state legislative bodies. A major issue which could be studied is whether or not any certain types of systems appear more effective in providing information subsidies to legislators than others.

Appendix A

Q-Sort Questions

Finance oriented statements

1. Most legislators do not get involved in community college finance issues.
2. Most legislators look to legislators who are knowledgeable on community college issues for cues on how to vote on community college funding.
3. Most legislators count on community college representatives to provide information on community college funding needs.
4. Most legislators leave it to the Education Appropriations Committee to determine community college funding.
5. Most legislators believe community colleges are in need of additional funding.
6. Most community college representatives do a good job of providing information on finance issues in a timely fashion.
7. Most community college representatives base their financial requests on facts and need.
8. Most community college representatives think legislators are open to looking for ways to enhance funding.
9. Most community college representatives have good credibility with legislators on fiscal representations.
10. Most community college representatives' major concern is increased funding.
11. In general, the public believes the community colleges need more money.
12. In general, the public is not concerned with community college funding.
13. In general, the public only knows what they read in the paper concerning community colleges' budgets and funding.
14. In general, the public thinks the legislature effectively budgets state educational funds.

15. In general, the public thinks the community colleges could be more cost-effective.

Philosophy/legislative process oriented statements

16. Most legislators do not have a good understanding of the community colleges' mission and philosophy.
17. Most legislators personal philosophy about community colleges greatly affects how they vote.
18. Most legislators' philosophy toward community colleges is based on the information they receive from community college representatives.
19. Most legislators formulate their philosophy about community colleges based on their voting constituents' feelings.
20. Most legislators think community colleges are primarily vocational schools.
21. Most community college representatives do a good job of telling their mission to legislators.
22. Most community college representatives do not understand legislators views on community colleges.
23. Most community college representatives understand the legislative process and how to get their message to legislators.
24. Most community college representatives do a good job of promoting their agenda and needs to legislators.
25. Most community college representatives are in touch with the educational needs of Iowans.
26. In general, the public understands the diverse mission of the community colleges.
27. In general, the public supports community colleges.
28. In general, the public thinks taxes should be less, regardless of the effect on higher education in Iowa.
29. In general, the public does not agree with the philosophy of improving higher education opportunities though local property tax support (bond issues).

30. In general, the public thinks community colleges do a good job serving Iowans.

Lobbyists role/legislative process oriented statements

31. Most legislators want to hear from lobbyists.
32. Most legislators depend on lobbyists to provide them with facts concerning an issue.
33. Most legislators think lobbyists serve an important information role, especially on technical issues.
34. Most legislators think credibility is the key factor in a lobbyist's success, without it they will be ineffective.
35. Most legislators think lobbyists can affect legislators' decisions.
36. Most community college representatives are considered credible sources for legislators.
37. Most community college representatives do a good job of bringing community college issues to the attention of legislators.
38. Most community college representatives should spend their time lobbying legislative leadership because legislators look for inside information from other respected legislators.
39. Most community college representatives think their information can have an effect on legislative voting.
40. Most community college representatives provide a valuable resource to legislators.
41. In general, the public does not trust lobbyists.
42. In general, the public feels lobbyists serve an important role in the legislative process.
43. In general, the public thinks lobbyists can have an effect on the way legislators vote.
44. In general, the public does not understand lobbyists' role in the legislative process.
45. In general, the public does not understand the complexity of the legislative process.

Instructions to Respondents

(explained aloud to respondents)

The following exercise should take you less than an hour. Some people take more time, some require less. After you complete the sorting process, I would like you to fill out a brief written questionnaire.

Please begin by taking a few moments to read through each statement to get a feel for what issues are covered. Then begin by placing the cards with the statements you disagree with to the left and the statements you agree with to the right. If you feel neutral toward an issue, as you should on many of the statements, it will go toward the center. Due to the way I am statistically analyzing this study, I will need you to place the statements in piles as shown with the numbers marked (show on lay-out). Many people find it helpful to first roughly sort the statements and then to go back through to balance the number of statements required in each pile.

After you are through, I will transfer your responses to a scoring sheet while you complete the short written survey.

A few clarifications before you begin.

1. In the statements you may view the term “community college representative” equal to community college lobbyist.
2. When reading the questions focus on the state-level for the Iowa Association of Community College and the Iowa legislature.
3. The information you provide will remain anonymous, the results which will be reported will reflect only patterns and differences among individuals and the groups, but will not name any individual's responses.

Appendix B

Questionnaire

How do you rank community college issues compared to other legislative priorities (please rank in order of importance - 1 being most important).

- Regents Universities
- Private Colleges
- Health and Human Services
- Community Colleges
- K thru 12 Education
- Environmental Issues
- Economic Development Issues
- Transportation Issues
- Agriculture

In general, how would you classify your voting patterns concerning community college issues? (*legislators only*)

- Support
- Opposition
- Neutral

In general, would you say you disagree or agree with the manner in which community colleges are currently addressing educational needs in Iowa? (*legislators only*)

- Agree
- Disagree
- Neutral

Demographic Information

Gender

- Male
- Female

Age

- Under 30 years
- 30-39 years
- 40-49 years
- 50-59 years
- 60 or older

Party Affiliation

- Independent
- Republican
- Democrat
- Other (please specify_____)

Years in legislature

- 1-2
- 3-5
- 6-10
- 11 or more

Years in Community Colleges

- 1-2
- 3-5
- 6-10
- 11 or more

Check all applicable affiliations (*legislators only*)

- Party or legislative leadership
- Committee Chair
- Sub-Committee Chair
- Committee Member (please specify_____)
- Actively involved in the progress of community college issues

How would you describe your

District's Primary Geography/Population Composition

- Primarily Urban
- Primarily Suburban
- Primarily Rural
- Almost an even mix of city and rural populations

Educational Background (check all that apply)

- Did not finish high school
- High school graduate
- Some college
- Community college (attended or graduated)
- Public four-year university (attended or graduated)
- Private college (attended or graduated)
- Post graduate work or degree
- Other (please specify) _____

Highest level of education completed? (please check only one)

- High school diploma or GED
- Some College
- Associate Degree
- Bachelor's Degree
- Master's Degree
- Doctorate
- Juris Doctorate
- Other (please specify _____)

Have you or anyone close to you ever been involved with a community college in any way? (*legislators only*)

- Yes (please specify)_____
- No
- Uncertain

Appendix C Pre-Study Interviews

Representative #1:

Lobbyist personality is important -- they don't need to be strong-willed and forceful to be effective.

Lobbyists don't always provide all the facts, they give those facts which contribute to their viewpoint, but in most cases will give opposing viewpoints when asked. Usually they articulate the flaws in those arguments.

Lobbyists serve an important information role especially on technical issues (i.e. telecommunications). They provide opportunity to get differing viewpoints from different lobbyists.

With lobbyists it's not just a matter of being for or against an issue, it's also grey areas within the issue.

It's the subcommittees responsibility to seek input of lobbyists on issues in order to thoroughly research issues.

He says once he's made up his mind on an issue he doesn't like to have to spend time with lobbyists, but doesn't mind giving them time prior to that.

Some lobbyists are not liked or respected for various reasons.

His decisions are based on how he views the facts, the effect of the issue on his district and his personal philosophies and experiences.

Representative #2:

Says you can gauge legislators knowledge on an issue based on the amount of debate -- on technical issues not that many understand there is much less debate. Most debate comes from committee members or others who have a stake in the issue.

He views legislators role as very valuable

Says lobbyists are not viewed positively by the general public. He tells the public that lobbyists provide a valuable resource due to legislators limited staff.

Disagrees in philosophy with community colleges. He thinks they should be mainly vo-tech. Getting too heavy into the liberal arts transfer. "That's not how the system is supposed to work."

Lobbyists are good at presenting their point of view and giving insights on opposing points of view.

He is interested in both the facts and point of view that lobbyists offer.

Credibility is the key for lobbyists, without it they will be ineffective.

Typically lobbyists are always sought out to testify on funding issues, not on policy issues.

He looks to constituents back home, education chairs and educational appropriations chairs and caucuses for guidance on his voting.

Individual philosophy makes a big difference for legislators and how they vote.

Legislators do respond to heat on issues in the media (ethics), but they're not a source of information except on general public opinion (opinion polls).

Senator:

Lobbyists provide an invaluable and necessary service by providing technical information on issues, but public doesn't believe this.

Lobbyists need good people skills in addition to having the facts

Lobbyists = "Third House"

Many new legislators are leery of lobbyists

Lobbyists need to talk to as many people as possible

Sources of information other than lobbyists --Inside information - other legislators who are respected --Voice from home --Staff - caucuses, service bureaus, department of ed., legislators staff. Lobbyists also try to talk to staff and get people from back home to call legislators

Success Key for Lobbyists --Accessibility and willing to get answers and information for legislators --Truthfulness --People Skills
Compromise is important. Lobbyists need to give and take and be understanding of legislators situation.

Governor's education appropriations proposal is the starting point for discussion and eventually decisions.

Lobbyists also get their story to the governor through his staff, budget hearings, constituent connections and party leaders.

After governor makes proposal they can still pitch subcommittees and individual legislators. Get constituents to call from home, these need to be sincere callers, not scripts. Committee members make decisions based on facts and compromise.

Legislators who aren't that interested in issues look to their respected colleagues for information and guidance on how to vote.

Representative #3:

The majority of legislators don't get involved or care much about the community college or any other specific agendas.

The legislative leadership means everything in getting legislation passed. Party leadership and committee chairs make the decisions and influence the other legislators.

Party lines 51/49 -- slight majority republican

Decisions are made in small groups -- party caucuses and subcommittees. Bartering among leaders.

Governor's Agenda is the starting point from which they start with and add to or cut from for the majority of all major legislation.

They also build off last year's programs.

Most everything concerning higher education funding is primarily determined in the Education Appropriations Subcommittee.

Lobbyists can greatly effect decisions --By their contacts and reputation with legislators --Lobbyists appear before subcommittees and present information and proposals

Most general legislators look to chairpersons for leadership and voting signals. They look to those in leadership positions that they trust.

Getting Power and Trust as a Legislator --Get power from being trusted and having experience (time) in legislature --Repay favors to those legislators who help you get elected to leadership and help you pass the legislation you favor --Whether you're in the majority or minority party makes a big difference. Majority party has a lot more power.

Lobbyist:

One senator turned around on "2410" in favor of community colleges prior to that he was solely pro-regents.

One senator is not with community colleges because he disagrees on philosophy. He thinks it should be K-14. He favors what community colleges do, but wants to force them to package it another way.

Legislators depend on lobbyists for information and facts and believe them. IACCT lobbyists have been successful at establishing trust and this is rare.

In general, legislators don't have a lot of specific information -- they're generalists.

Legislators don't define community college priorities by the standards set by community colleges. Legislators respond to political pressure, facts, what it means to their home district, what it means to them politically. Pressure is a key factor in political decisions.

Important factors in valuable exchange with legislators --
Overall report with legislators is the single most important factor.
Art of compromise -- find middle ground. --Information --Compromise
--Trust -- gives information meaning and substance

Appropriations chairs, education chairs and ranking members, along with others who follow community college issues, provide the leadership inside the legislature. They are the spokespersons for the community college inside and other legislators often blindly follow them.

Generally, IACCT utilizes an educational process from people back home to get to general legislative population. Informational sessions put on by local community colleges.

One senator loves a particular community college because of what he's seen them do. Another senator thinks issues through logically. While another senator got his background as community college board member.

In forwarding the community college agenda with legislators, money is the bottom line and the main interest of legislators. Their attitude is we agree we need to do these things, but can we afford it.

The lobbyist job is to propose the agenda and to try to show to the legislator that it is possible/achievable financially. Show legislators how the community college priorities can fit in and leave room for other priorities elsewhere.

Appendix D

Coorelation Matrix Between Sorts

UNANALYZE community colleges

Correlation Matrix Between Sorts (Up to 32 Only)

SORT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
1	100																								
2	39	100																							
3	37	32	100																						
4	16	35	32	100																					
5	28	43	35	31	100																				
6	21	13	13	17	18	100																			
7	19	19	19	17	17	100																			
8	40	35	32	33	33	33	100																		
9	20	19	19	17	17	17	100																		
10	40	35	32	33	33	33	35	100																	
11	19	19	19	17	17	17	17	100																	
12	31	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	100																
13	51	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	100															
14	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	100														
15	10	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	100													
16	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	100												
17	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	100											
18	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	100										
19	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	100									
20	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100								
21	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	100							
22	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	100						
23	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	100					
24	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	100				

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