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ABSTRACT

Keith L. Tingley. LOBBYING TACTICS EMPLOYED IN HIGHER EDUCATION AT THE STATE LEVEL: A TWO-STATE STUDY (Under the direction of Dr. William Rouse, Jr., and Dr. Cheryl McFadden), Department of Educational Leadership, April 2017.

This study sought a better understanding of lobbying tactics used in higher education at the state level. Given the economic recession the United States experienced in recent years, it is now more important than ever for public higher education to maintain its current funding levels and effectively communicate needed policy changes. To advance all public institutions, there must be communication with legislative officials and state-level higher education governing board members. The primary research question for this study was: What strategies and tactics are used in higher education lobbying at the state level, and how do these strategies influence the decisions made by legislative decision makers?

Through semi-structured interviews in North Carolina and South Carolina, the researcher coded and analyzed information using the framework for public policy development established by the work of Gabel and Scott. The researcher developed a case study for each state, extracted common themes, compared them through a cross-case analysis, and then used triangulation to help validate the results, mostly using newspapers and periodicals to back up what was discovered during the interviews. The analysis revealed the common strategies and tactics that guide lobbying activities in North Carolina and South Carolina. The researcher also conducted interviews with campus-based lobbyists at public institutions, elected officials, and higher education governing board members in North Carolina and South Carolina. This study identifies the most important state priorities in public higher education.

This study went beyond previous studies as it examined two states with differing higher education governing structures. Further, this study involved interviews with elected officials,

campus-based lobbyists, and higher education governing board members. The strategies and tactics identified will help higher education institutions advocate for funding and policy changes, and increase the body of knowledge of public higher education lobbying at the state level.

LOBBYING TACTICS EMPLOYED IN HIGHER EDUCATION AT THE STATE LEVEL: A TWO-STATE STUDY

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Educational Leadership

East Carolina University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Education in Educational Leadership

by

Keith L. Tingley

April 2017

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DEDICATION

For my parents, Blaine and Sarah, thanks for all the support, love, and guidance throughout my life.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

Background

Lobbying by public higher education institutions at the state level ranges from keeping elected officials informed to direct interventions that more profoundly affect institutions. Very little is known publicly about what occurs at the state level regarding higher education policy and little is reported about lobbying activities, which makes it a topic worthy of further investigation. According to the Center for Responsive Politics (2015), between $81 million and $110 million was spent each year for education lobbying from 2008-2014 for both higher education and K-12. In the four years prior, 2004-2007, an average of $85 million was spent by the same lobbying entities (Center for Responsive Politics, 2015). Some 90% of education lobbying is spent on higher education, resulting in an average of $76.5 million per year spent for higher education lobbying (Vedder, 2013). These figures include those disclosed by each organization and institution spent on outside lobbying contracts (Center for Responsive Politics, 2015).

According to the State Higher Education Executive Officers Association (SHEEO) (2015), $86.3 billion was appropriated by states and localities to higher education during the 2014 fiscal year. To navigate the state appropriations process, many university systems turn to lobbyists to negotiate with legislators and state officials (Ferrin, 2003). While the Center for Responsive Politics (2015) found that $81 million was spent on lobbying in 2014, this is not an accurate total of the amount spent on lobbying for public higher education, as many institutions fail to include employees who work for the institution in multiple roles. The largest single reported spender, Texas A & M University, spent more than $1.565 million in 2012 and $1.05 million in 2013 (Center for Responsive Politics, 2015). Lederman (2006) and Ferrin (2003)

found that smaller private colleges use lobbyists to advance their position on the state level and often petition federal officials for research funding and legislation that benefit their interests.

Some universities, such as the University of California, Los Angeles, have as many as 30 employees in offices often called Government Affairs, State Government Relations, Federal Government Relations, or Policy Offices, but the total lobbying expenditures reported for the entire University of California system was only $788,000 (Center for Responsive Politics, 2015). Further examples include The Ohio State University which reported only $260,000 in lobbying activity in 2013 (Center for Responsive Politics, 2015), but had a staff in its Government Affairs Office that included six people making over $100,000 each per year and a combined income of over $900,000 (Vedder, 2013). Vedder (2013) proposed that the most plausible dollar amount spent within higher education lobbying is $1 billion, which exceeds $60 for every full-time student in the United States. With the exception of Glade (2011) and Ferrin (2003), limited research has been conducted on in-house lobbying at the state level.

This study examined lobbying techniques and strategies used for state-level funding, policy development, and resource requests in North Carolina and South Carolina. While these two states are often grouped together and referred to as “the Carolinas,” they have very different economies, political landscapes, and educational structures. These two states were selected because of their distinctive governing structures, the amount they allocate in funding for public higher education, and the policies placed on each system’s ability to lobby.

Since the first state public institution was formed, state appropriations have been the primary catalyst of higher education in the United States. While the primary function of states in public higher education is to provide funding, states also influence higher education through governing boards and legislation that create policies. The construction and maintenance of

facilities is often decided in the state legislature after recommendations are made by the local campus and state governing boards. Many states appropriate a significant amount of funding for in-state students, and these funds educate student residents at a reduced cost.

Since the founding of the University of North Carolina (UNC) in 1789, the General Assembly of North Carolina has played a major role in the funding of public institutions. What eventually became the UNC system began with one institution established in 1789; the General Assembly started sponsoring other institutions in 1877. A bill passed by the state legislature in 1971 brought all the campuses together under a single governing structure (Link, 1995). Since 1971, the UNC system has supported 16 universities and one high school for gifted students, and it is managed by the University of North Carolina Board of Governors (UNC BOG).

Every public higher education institution in North Carolina has some form of lobbying for state funds; however, individual institutions are strictly forbidden by the UNC General Administration (UNC-GA) to lobby for state funds. Instead, the entire UNC-GA is supposed to ask for funding and policies as a group and not as individual institutions. Despite this policy, more than half of the state institutions have full-time, in-house lobbyists; the others employ someone for this role at least part time. Among the remaining institutions, some are represented by the lobbying officials within the UNC-GA, and others use influential volunteers who are traditionally institutional alumni. In many instances, students are brought before legislators to share personal stories that depict the need for future or continued funding.

The South Carolina public higher education system is overseen by the South Carolina Commission on Higher Education (South Carolina CHE). This commission not only oversees the state's three research universities and 10 four-year institutions, but it also oversees four two-year institutions and 16 technical colleges (South Carolina CHE, 2010). The University of South

Carolina was established in 1801, marking the start of public higher education in South Carolina (University of South Carolina, 2017). The South Carolina CHE, established in 1967, only four years before the consolidation of the University of North Carolina. South Carolina CHE, which is recognized as a coordinating body of higher education has the power to plan and budget for higher education, and some coordinating bodies can authorize new programs or review existing programs. Coordinating bodies have very little responsibilities in personnel and institutional operations (Lingenfelter, 2009).

By dollars spent, the UNC at Chapel Hill leads the North Carolina state schools in spending for lobbying purposes, spending $427,278 in 2012, $331,183 in 2013, and $349,296 in 2014 (Center for Responsive Politics, 2015). The University of South Carolina (USC) spent $200,000 in 2012, $120,000 in 2013, and $80,000 in 2014 to be the top education spender in South Carolina (Center for Responsive Politics, 2015). An extensive literature search found no published material describing higher education lobbying techniques and strategies within South Carolina, and only one study, conducted by Burkum (2009), examined higher education lobbying in North Carolina. Much of the previous overarching research on higher education lobbying has concentrated on the competition for federal funds and not on the strategies used on the state level.

The Center for Responsive Politics (2015) tracks federal level lobbyists who work in the District of Columbia and found 12,278 registered in 2013. One estimate showed that in 2009, there were 42,000 state and federal registered lobbyists, but Farrell (2009) quoted a professor at American University citing 261,000 members in the “influence-lobbying complex.” Farrell (2009) asserted that lobbyists are those who run the U.S. government. Federal level lobbying is

often scrutinized by the media while very little attention is paid to what occurs in state-level political activities.

Context of the Study

The U.S. public higher education system produces 65% of all bachelor degrees or higher awarded in the country (National Center for Education Statistics, 2008). Across the country, the total state appropriations for higher education reached $88.7 billion in the year 2008, but have since decreased to $86.3 billion in 2014 (SHEEO, 2015). In North Carolina, the state public higher education system spends more money per capita than any surrounding state and far exceeds the national average (Gillen & Vedder, 2008). This level of support has kept student tuition rates low compared to other states. During the Great Recession of 2008-2011, the North Carolina state legislature made one-time university system appropriation reductions and permanent reductions across the board. As a result of the overall competition for state dollars, all public sectors now fiercely compete for less money (Robinson, 2015).

Public institutions in North Carolina and South Carolina rely heavily on state appropriations. In fiscal year 2013, North Carolina appropriated $3.78 billion to the UNC system and the state's public community colleges, while South Carolina spent $921 million (SHEEO, 2015). Nationally, there was a 10.8% decrease in state funding for higher education over the immediate past five years. North Carolina saw a 6.6% increase in higher education funding, while South Carolina had a 22.2% decrease (SHEEO, 2015). Given that North Carolina funds higher education at five times that of South Carolina, it can be deduced that the states have very different education funding structures, as South Carolina places much more burden of paying higher education costs on students.

As of 2013, South Carolina ranked as the seventh least affordable state for public higher education, while North Carolina ranked eighth in the country for the most affordable public education (Shain, 2013). In 2012, the average tuition and fees for each full-time enrollee in North Carolina was $6,514 per year, while in South Carolina the same costs were $11,138 per year. Even with the high cost, South Carolina's full-time enrollment was up 33.1% between 2006 and 2011, while North Carolina's enrollment increased 39.7% over the same period. South Carolina and North Carolina ranked 13th and 10th in the country, respectively, for enrollment in higher education (Sauter, Hess, & Frohlich, 2013).

If higher education institutions are not able to lobby effectively, they may receive less funding and could have limited influence on the state regulations that impact campus communities. While the Center for Responsive Politics (2015) compiles data for total lobbying activities, the vast majority of the money is used by institutions to compete for federal dollars. No organization has separated the numbers spent on the federal and state level or compiled the amount of money spent on in-house lobbyists (Bennett, 2012).

Cook (1998) conducted extensive research on higher education lobbying, with emphasis on association lobbying. There is limited research on the current tactics employed on the state level when it comes to higher education. Burgess and Miller (2009) conducted a study of land grant institutions that explored the activities higher education lobbying officials perceive to be effective. Burkum (2009) researched the role of higher education governance structures in state-level higher education lobbying by focusing on lobbyists and lobbies from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and North Carolina. Burkum (2009) focused on tactics that had previously been identified by Berry (1977), Murphy (2001), Scholzman and Tierney (1983), and Zorack (1990).

Purpose of the Study

This study examined the lobbying tactics and strategies used in higher education at the state level in North Carolina and South Carolina. It also examined the impact lobbyists have on legislation. This study identified which in-house types of lobbying have been conducted by professionals, students, faculty, and alumni. In addition, the study focused on the return on investment for higher education institutions that contract with outside lobbying firms, as this is an area likely to expand if state dollars continue to be highly competitive. Finally, this study differentiated between external lobbying and internal lobbying, with internal lobbying being those persons who lobby directly for a higher education institution, and external lobbying being those persons mobilized on behalf of a cause that is coordinated by the university. This external lobbying is most often referred to as grassroots lobbying. Cook (1998) provided a theoretical framework for higher education lobbying at the federal level that concentrated on association lobbying. Burkum (2009) researched state higher education governance structures and their impact on lobbying, while Glade (2011) studied the effect the great recession had on state-level higher education lobbying activities in Pennsylvania. To date, however, no study has conducted a two-state comparison into the full scope of lobbying activities and how these activities impact decisions.

Research Question

To examine this issue, the primary research question was: What strategies and tactics are used in higher education lobbying at the state level, and how do these strategies influence the decisions made by legislative decision makers? The primary research question addresses which strategies and tactics are being used by public higher education institutions at the state level, as seen by those who lobby or have been lobbied. Furthermore, secondary questions included (a)

What strategies are perceived to be the most appropriate when dealing with legislative decision makers? (b) Are there differences in lobbying strategies and tactics in different states? (c) What role, if any, do alumni, students, and board members have in lobbying? Details of how this study addressed the research question are explained in Chapter 3.

Significance of the Study

Both Bennett (2012) and Cook (1998) examined lobbying tactics conducted on the federal level, but neither examined lobbying on the state level. While Burkum's (2009) study addressed lobbying tactics used in certain states, his interview sample was too small to draw conclusive data on lobbying tactics. For example, in North Carolina, Burkum (2009) interviewed three lobbyists, three members of the North Carolina BOG, and only one state legislator. Burkum's (2009) study did not examine the impact alumni or other advocacy groups had on decision making within states. Glade (2011) conducted an in-depth study on how the economic conditions affected state-level lobbying in the state of Pennsylvania after the Great Recession of 2008. Burgess and Miller's (2009) study was limited to the strategies higher education lobbying personnel believed to be effective; it did not compare these perceptions with those of decision makers who have been lobbied with these tactics. Ness, Tandberg, and McLendon (2015) contended there is not enough research in higher education lobbying and recommended a multi-faceted approach built on past research and theory in political science to add to the "poorly-understood" (p. 180) literature on lobbying in public higher education.

This current study contributes to higher education theory and research in the areas of public policy and practice. In the realm of education theory, it contributes a clearer picture of state lobbying techniques in public higher education. It also identifies key differences between one state--North Carolina--which contributes more resources to higher education compared to

another state--South Carolina--which contributes less to higher education. Additionally, the findings of this study help create a better understanding of higher education lobbying theory.

The findings of this study may also help higher education researchers identify lobbying techniques at the state level. By using North Carolina and South Carolina as case studies, this study compared higher education institutions and the lobbying techniques from the perspectives of the lobbyists and the decision makers being lobbied. It also described how ideas are turned into policies from a bottom-up approach, which means that policies start at the local institution level and are pushed up through the governing bodies to become system-wide policies and actions.

Lobbying can be conducted by both formal and informal means. Formal political processes operate within procedures set by the federal government and, as in the context of this study, by the governing boards of higher education. Formal lobbying makes up a relatively small part of the work of a lobbying official (Scott, 2009). Informal lobbying consumes much more of a lobbying official's time, as the process of government is slow with long periods between legislative sessions (Amenta, Carruthers, & Zylan, 1992). The current study investigated which types of informal lobbying are being conducted by public higher education institutions and paid close attention to the roles that alumni and students have in the process.

Finally, this study provided a new perspective on higher education lobbying through the two case studies. Public higher education has a large constituency, which has the potential to gain a competitive advantage of other sectors (Bennett, 2012). The study's findings regarding the lobbying techniques used by public higher education institutions within two states may also have the practical effect of leading to more productive higher education lobbying activities.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework was based around the public policy development process and what Gabel and Scott (2011) refer to as "the marketplace for public policy" (p. 92). Gabel and Scott (2011) found that lobbying is involved in every aspect in the creation of laws and regulations in the United States. This framework could also be applied to funding within public higher education and how policies are made on the institutional and state levels. Within many public higher education institutions, public service, lobbying, and some level of marketing are intertwined in many ways. Gabel and Scott (2011) established a framework consisting of three theoretical components: stakeholder theory, aggregate marketing system (AMS), and consumer vulnerability.

According to this framework, lobbying is more complex than simply working for a cause to influence political decision makers. The model considers the regulatory infrastructure placed on lobbyists by the federal government. Gabel and Scott (2011) contended that certain stakeholders are left out of the policy development process due to these constitutional constraints. This is significant, as individual higher education institutions have restrictions placed on them by governing boards and state legislatures.

The basis for AMS was developed by Wilkie and Moore's (1999) characterization of government as a provider "of services intended to facilitate system operations" (p. 201). Out of the seven operations Wilkie and Moore (1999) identified as government operations, only one, inspections, is not influenced by marketing. Gabel and Scott (2011) contended that the complex legal infrastructure of the government affects the government's role as "society's representative" and the ability of policy development officials to achieve "proper balance to serve society's goals" (p. 92). Furthermore, lobbying law plays a major role in the methods marketing

executives use when trying to influence laws, regulations, standards, or—in the public higher education sector—funding.

Applying stakeholder theory to government entities is a relatively new approach, while stakeholder theory has been applied to corporate governance since the 1980s (Freeman, 1984). In the model developed by Gabel and Scott (2011), policymakers are the marketing focus, as they distribute and make the "law product" (p. 93). This role for policymakers gives them numerous stakeholders: lobbying firms, business entities, non-profits, citizens, students, parents, taxpayers and institutions of higher learning. Hill (2007) suggested that a social contract structure exists in the public policy marketplace. This social structure shows that more highly resourced stakeholders receive higher benefits and force public policymakers to adjust the rewards given through policies.

Gabel and Scott (2011) suggested that the public policy marketplace is a high-stakes situation in which certain stakeholders are going to be more vulnerable because of deficiencies when compared to their peers. To put this in perspective with regards to higher education, one institution may have an extremely large alumni base and a public affairs office full of experienced professionals, and another institution may not have comparable resources. Because of these inherent deficiencies, it is likely that the second institution would not be able to lobby effectively, and thus would lack the cultural and economic capital to influence decision makers (Schultz & Holbrook, 2009).

Limitations and Delimitations

One major limitation of the study was the ability to meet with legislative decision makers. In North Carolina, the General Assembly's long session of 2015 lasted for over nine months and very few elected officials would even discuss the study. In South Carolina, the

legislature was going through a turbulent time with the South Carolina Commission on Higher Education (CHE). This situation effectively limited the number of in-person interviews and necessitated more telephone interviews. While the study examined how lobbying was conducted within these two states, the findings are unique to this study alone.

The major delimitation of the study was that it examined lobbying tactics on the state level only and did not address federal lobbying conducted by institutions in North Carolina and South Carolina. Because there had been research conducted previously by Cook (1998) and Bennett (2012) on the federal level, it was important to examine lobbying on the state level. Furthermore, besides Burkum (2009), there had not been a study on lobbying tactics used by higher educational institutions within the state of North Carolina. This study expanded on the research conducted by Burkum (2009) and Glade (2011), and examined the full spectrum of higher education state lobbying tactics employed by institutions. Using some of the same principles that Cook (1998) and Bennett (2012) applied to the federal level permitted the researcher to develop a theory on how public institutions lobby and which lobbying tactics are most effective.

Implications for Policy and Practice

The research of Cook (1998) and Bennett (2012) focused on lobbying conducted by associations, but did not explore lobbying strategies used by institutions. This study explored lobbying conducted by institutions through an in-depth qualitative inquiry. It focused on the state level to provide a full perspective on what role, if any, alumni and students of higher education institutions play in lobbying efforts. Burkum's (2009) study analyzed the role state governing boards played in the lobbying process, but his study was limited by only including the

perspectives of those who lobby on behalf of institutions and members of the governing board from three selected states.

The interviews in this study may help future researchers to understand the perspectives of legislative decision makers and the extent that contact from constituents contributes to their decision making in higher education. Interviewing lobbyists for selected state institutions allowed the researcher to discover the philosophies and techniques used to advance institutional goals. Studying lobbying on the state level also permitted the researcher to examine the impact of student lobbying on each state. Studying higher education lobbying through Gabel and Scott's (2011) model allowed for the inclusion of marketing, lobbying, and political positions.

Operational Definitions

This section defines key terms used throughout the study.

Direct lobbying: Refers to attempts to communicate with legislators or employees on a personal level, which could be by delivering policy information or just spending time with legislators, their staff, and legislative committees (Internal Revenue Service, 2015).

Indirect lobbying: Mobilizing constituents or voters to pressure for support by public officials (Hojnacki & Kimball, 1999).

Interest groups: Organizations that seek to influence individuals or enterprises with shared points of view on issues (Mack, 1989, p. 2).

Legislature: The elected policymaking body of government. In North Carolina, the General Assembly includes the North Carolina House of Representatives and the North Carolina Senate, referred to throughout this study as the North Carolina General Assembly (NCGA). In South Carolina, the legislature is composed of the South Carolina Senate and South Carolina

House of Representatives, referred to throughout this study as South Carolina General Assembly (SCGA).

Lobby or lobbying: Definition (a), Effort of organized interests to inform policymakers and persuade them to choose policy choices (Berry, 2001). Definition (b), North Carolina General Statute 120C-100.9 (North Carolina Constitution, 2015) defines lobbying as any of the following:

Influencing or attempting to influence legislative or executive action, or both, through direct communication or activities with a designated individual or that designated individual's immediate family. Developing goodwill through communications or activities, including the building of relationships, with a designated individual or that designated individual's immediate family with the intention of influencing current or future legislative or executive action, or both.

Lobbying firms: Private firms hired by institutions to lobby for certain funding or legislative purposes that gross more than $3,000 per quarter (U.S. House of Representatives, 1995).

In-house lobbying: Employees who work for higher education institutions whose primary job responsibility is the coordination of lobbying activities or lobbying directly.

Inside lobbying: Traditional form of lobbying used by lobbyists to communicate their organizations' policy preferences. This includes meetings, testifying in committees, and negotiating with policymakers (Kollman, 1998, p. 4).

Outside lobbying: Attempts by interest groups to mobilize constituents outside the lobbying community to those on the inside of the policymaking community (Kollman, 1998, p. 3).

Outside strategies: Contact between interest groups' members and the offices of legislative decision makers (Wilcox & Kim, 2005, p. 137).

Strategies: Broad plans of attack, or general approaches to lobbying (Berry, 1977, p. 212).

Tactics: Specific actions taken to advocate certain policy positions (Berry, 1977, p. 212).

Organization of the Study

Chapter 1 introduces the study and provides the background for the dissertation. Chapter 2 reviews the current literature surrounding lobbying, higher education funding, and previous research on public higher education lobbying. It also expands on the conceptual framework and explains the role states play in higher education. While this study expanded the current research on higher education lobbying at the state level, the literature review provided necessary context of the current state of higher education and the role that lobbying plays in decisions that affect public higher education at the federal level. The research question guiding this study was: What strategies and tactics are used in higher education lobbying at the state level, and how do these strategies influence the decisions made by legislative decision makers? The methodology for answering this question is described in Chapter 3.

The primary research question was answered through a number of semi-structured interviews with individuals who influence the legislative decision making process in higher education. While there were common themes centered on the research question, several secondary questions also arose during the interviews, such as: (a) What strategies are perceived to be the most appropriate when dealing with legislative decision makers? (b) Are there differences in lobbying strategies and tactics in different states? (c) What role, if any, do alumni, students, and board members have in lobbying? Chapter 4 describes the findings of the

interviews and results of the data. Three fundamental goals drove the data and the subsequent analysis to answer the primary research question. The first goal was to discover which lobbying techniques and tactics were being used in North Carolina and South Carolina, and to identify any differences in the way institutions conducted lobbying in these states. The second goal was to discover how the structure of the states' governing boards impacted the political infrastructure surrounding lobbying and the limitations placed on each institution. Chapter 4's findings present the potential for merging theory and practice in public higher education lobbying.

The overarching purpose of this dissertation was to identify the processes, strategies, and perceptions that exist in public higher education lobbying. Currently, this topic is rarely discussed, even in a culture of media-driven conversation on higher education. The media has failed to expose the details of negotiations and decision making in funding higher education institutions, and while some researchers have conducted studies on this phenomenon, a literature review demonstrated that information is sparse. Chapter 5 draws conclusions based on the study's findings and explains implications for higher education lobbying at the state level.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter 1 described the historical context and the need for more research on public higher education lobbying. Chapter 2 reviews literature on higher education and the processes of lobbying. This chapter begins by examining research on state appropriations to higher education, federal funding of higher education, lobbying tactics, and lobbying techniques used by higher education institutions. The chapter reviews research on lobbying at the federal and state levels and lobbying by higher education associations. Chapter 2 presents a necessary foundation for the context of lobbying and how it applies to higher education.

Higher Education Funding and the Federal Government

The Morrill Land Grant Act, passed in 1862, was the first time the Federal Government inserted itself into public higher education (Magness, 2009); however, it was not until the Higher Education Act of 1965 that the federal government took a persistent long-term interest in funding higher education (Cook, 1998). The expansion of the federal government's role in higher education was evident with congressional passage of student and financial aid legislation, including the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, better known as the G.I. Bill (Hearn & McLendon, 2003). While states often advocate for independence in higher education, with each re-authorization of the Higher Education Act (HEA), the federal government increases its role in higher education (Cook, 1998). The funding contributed by the federal government through these programs comes in the form of student aid; these funds do not go directly to the institution but instead indirectly help sustain higher education. The higher education community has accepted this funding role of the federal government and now advocates for federal funding.

Major components of higher education federal funding are authorized by the HEA, which was created to provide financial assistance to students. The HEA is the federal legislation

that authorizes most federal student assistance programs; it created scholarships including Pell grants and gave low-interest loans to students needing financial assistance. Another form of funding provided by the federal government is in the form of legislative earmarks (Cook, 1998). Earmarks are specific appropriations for colleges or a group of institutions, which have not gone through a legislative committee (Cook, 1998). Cook (1998) stated, "Academic earmarks bypass the formal peer review process and are made without a review of their merit" (p. 39). To understand earmarks, one needs to examine the history of earmarks. From 1982 to 1992, earmarks grew exponentially from $11 million to more than $700 million (Cook, 1998). Cook (1998) provides numerous examples of academic earmarks to science, including $8 million to two-year Delta College in Michigan to build a planetarium, even though Delta College does not have any majors in the sciences. Cook (1998) referred to John Murtha, who in 1993 was chair of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations as the "King of Earmarks" (p. 41). Murtha supported Department of Defense earmarks worth at least $333 million, with $202 million going to colleges and university in his own district.

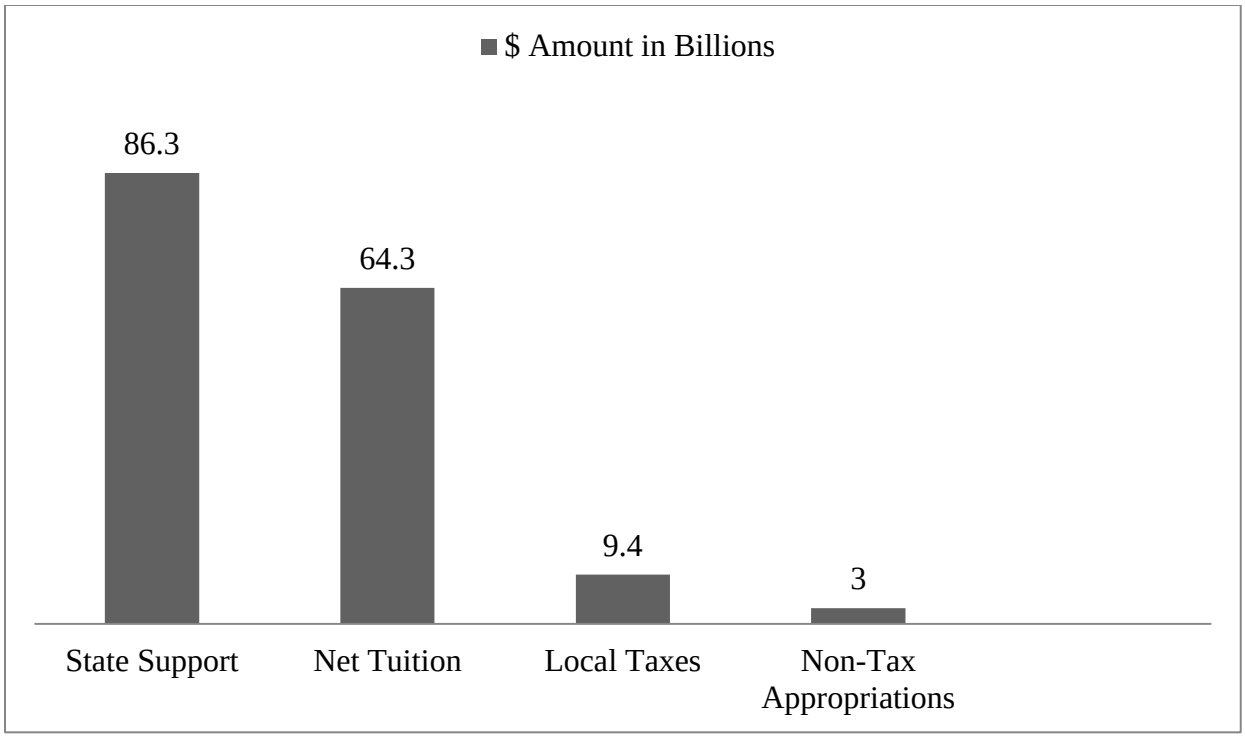
State Appropriations and Higher Education

Public universities receive funding from a vast array of sources, but the two most important funding sources remain state appropriations and student tuition (Lowry, 1998; Noll & Rogerson, 1998). Lowry (1998) found that 78% of unrestricted university revenues came from these two sources when they analyzed 428 individual campuses in 50 states. Weerts and Ronca (2006) contended that the relationship between states and public higher education is symbiotic as the institutions play an important role in improving each state's economy, while states bear the responsibility of funding institutions.

Hearn, McLendon, and Mokher (2009) argued that state funding is one of the most prominent and debated issues facing higher education in the United States. Since 1980, average state fiscal support has decreased dramatically. Nationally, if the current trend continues, state funding for higher education will reach zero in the year 2059 (Mortenson, 2012). Because public higher education institutions are being forced to compete for increasingly fewer resources, which are contested by other institutions and the public, institutions are also forced to defend their autonomy (Sabloff, 1997). Rizzo (2004) found that between the years of 1976 and 2001, public education's share of state funding decreased by four percent. Public higher education funding decreased by six percent, far surpassing the percentage decrease for K-12. Over this same period, Rizzo (2004) discovered that higher education funding by states peaked in 1983 at 23.5%, but declined by 30% in 2001 to 16.4%. Tandberg (2010) noted that state support of higher education has declined rapidly compared to other state spending, but this decline differs greatly between states.

As Figure 1 illustrates, most funding in higher education is derived from state dollars and tuition. As of 2016, 52% of general operating expenses in public higher education comes from state appropriations. A smaller but still substantial amount of 39% comes from tuition paid by students. Local taxes account for six percent of funding for higher education, with most this number allotted to community colleges. Nontax appropriations, mostly driven by lotteries, continue to be a growing segment in public higher education funding. In 2014, these funds accounted for two percent of state funding. Major uses for the $86.3 billion include: general operating expenses, special-purpose appropriations, and state funded financial aid.

There are several factors that affect state appropriations toward higher education. The most important factors are economic in nature, such as employment levels within a state (Hearn



Note. Adapted from "State Higher Education Executive Officers Association (SHEEO) Annual Report," by SHEEO (2015). Retrieved from http://www.sheeo.org/shef

Figure 1. State, local, and net tuition revenue supporting general operating expenses in higher education, US, Fiscal Year 2014.

et al., 2009). Other factors include enrollment size, population, and other demographic? conditions affecting the state (Apostolov, Kane, & Orszag, 2005). Lowry (1998) found that tax revenues for public universities were lower in states with more elderly residents, presumably because the elderly receive no direct benefits from public universities and are not supportive of higher education.

Scholars have conducted research on higher education funding in recent years. Borcheding and Deacon (1972), Clotfelter (1976), and Webber and Ehrenberg (2010) examined state funding based on the number of residents who reside in the state. Hoenack and Pierro (1990) used a study in Minnesota that only looked at voting age residents. Tandberg (2010) argued that while scholars have researched higher education funding, they have ignored political factors, or at least undervalued or improperly measured them.

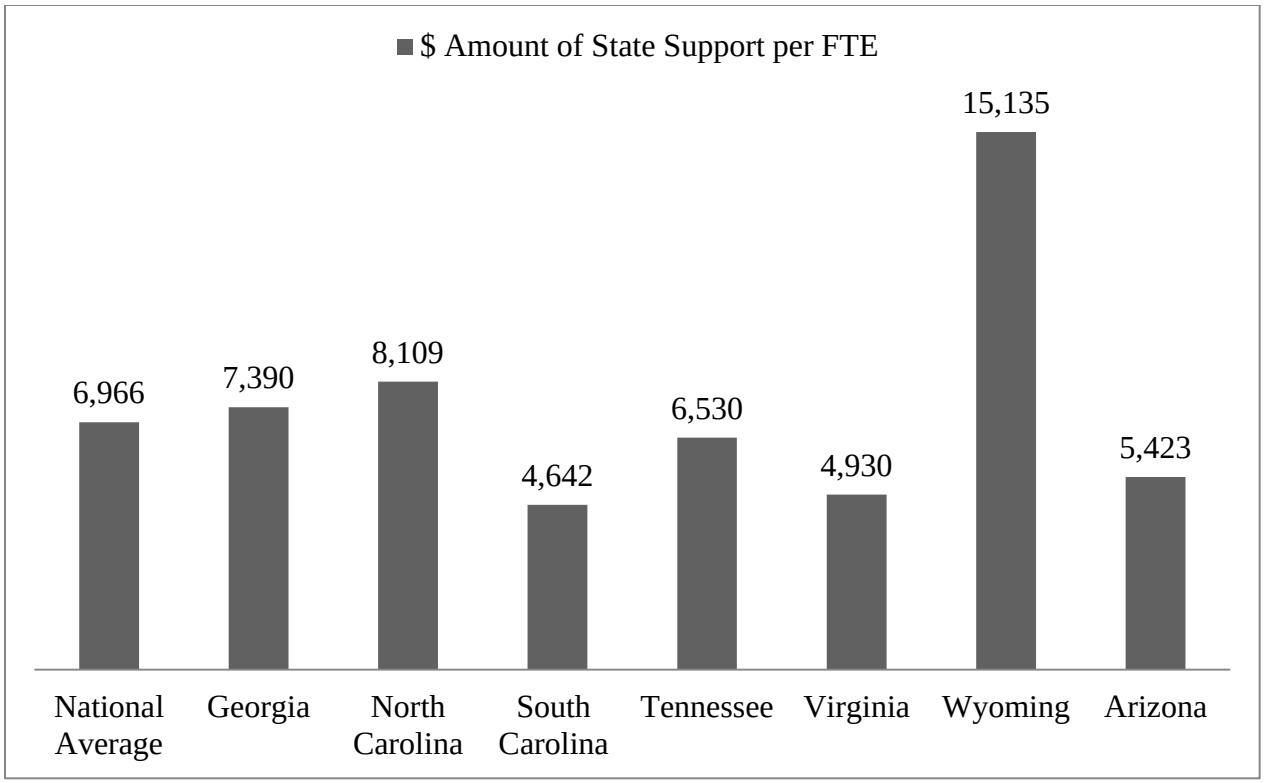
Tandberg and Ness (2011) conducted a study examining capital expenditures in higher education, and built a strong empirical study using previous research (Tandberg, 2006, 2010). The data showed that capital spending in higher education is more politically influenced than other forms of higher education. This study used the National Association of State Budget Officers (NASBO) data from 1988 to 2004, which distinguished between federal capital dollars and actual state expenditures as the dependent variable (Tandberg & Ness, 2011). The independent variables used were interest groups, citizen ideology, electoral competition, budget powers of the governor, legislative professionalism, higher education governance structures, and political culture (Tandberg & Ness, 2011, pp. 404-406).

Funding formulas or funding guidelines are used by some states to determine allocation of state dollars for higher education (McKeown & Layzell, 1994). These states use mathematical measures usually consisting of rates, ratios, or percentages that compare statistics, such as

retention, graduation, and transfer success (Ashworth, 1994). Other schools use instruction, research, support servers, operation and maintenance, institutional support, and scholarships and fellowships, as these are the expenditure categories determined by the National Association of Colleges and University Business Offices (NACUBO). There are two other NACUBO categories: auxiliary enterprises and hospitals. These categories are often not included because they do not affect all institutions (McKeown, 1989).

North Carolina is one of only three states in the country with higher education tuition included in its state constitution; the other states are Arizona and Wyoming (Ariz. Const. art. XI, § 6; N. C. Const. art. IX, § 9; Wyo. Const. art. VII, § 16). Article IX, Section 9 of the North Carolina Constitution reads: "The General Assembly shall provide the benefits of the University of North Carolina and other public institutions of higher education, as far as practicable, be extended to the people of the State free of expense" (North Carolina Constitution Article IX, § 9). This clause has never been challenged within the state of North Carolina or the Supreme Court. However, similar language in the Arizona state constitution was challenged there and the Arizona Supreme Court ruled in 1935 that the state could impose charges as long as they were not "excessive or other than reasonable" (Ryman, 2009).

Figure 2 shows how North Carolina and South Carolina compare to each other and other southeastern states in FTE funding. This is an important metric as some states may have a larger education budget, which could be attributed to higher numbers of enrolled students. As the figure illustrates, North Carolina spends $8,109 per FTE student while South Carolina spends $4,642. Compared to the other states located in the same region as North Carolina and South Carolina, North Carolina far outspends the other states. In states that have a state-funded higher education system, the numbers of students are measured by using full-time equivalent (FTE) students.



Note. Adapted from "State Higher Education Executive Officers (SHEEO) Association Annual Report" by SHEEO, 2015. Retrieved from https://sheeo.org/shef

Figure 2. Spending per full-time equivalent (FTE) student in the southeastern United States with Wyoming and Arizona.

Wyoming and Arizona were also included in the figure because they are the only states other than North Carolina that have a constitutional mandate. Using FTE helps provide more accurate and comparable numbers of students since so many students are part time; thus, three part-time students may equal one FTE student based on the number of hours they are taking (Gillen & Vedder, 2008). In 2015, North Carolina spent $8,109 per FTE student, which is substantially higher than the national average of $6,966. In comparison, South Carolina spent $4,642 per FTE student, Virginia spent $4,930 per FTE Student, and Tennessee spent $6,530 per FTE student. Wyoming spends $15,135 per FTE student and has one doctoral institution and eight two-year colleges. This creates an anomaly and makes the state an outlier in FTE Spending (SHEEO, 2015).

Hovey (1999) claimed that higher education is affected more by difficult state financial conditions than any other public funding priority. There is currently a major debate about higher education funding formulas, and many scholars are trying to build formulas to look at higher education funding; however, the only point on which experts would agree is that there is no perfect formula when it comes to funding (McKeown & Layzell, 1994). Doyle and Delaney (2009) contended that when economic times are bad, legislators target higher education for two reasons: first, because colleges and universities collect their own revenue, and second, because college students are the states' neediest population, compared to other populations of the state.

As Figure 3 indicates, the percentage of North Carolina and South Carolina residents with a bachelor's degree or higher is lower than the national average of 29.8%. The percentage of North Carolina residents with a bachelor's degree is 28.4%; this exceeds the states of South Carolina and Tennessee, but falls behind Virginia and Arizona (United States Census Bureau, 2015). This is important as North Carolina outspends every one of these states in FTE per

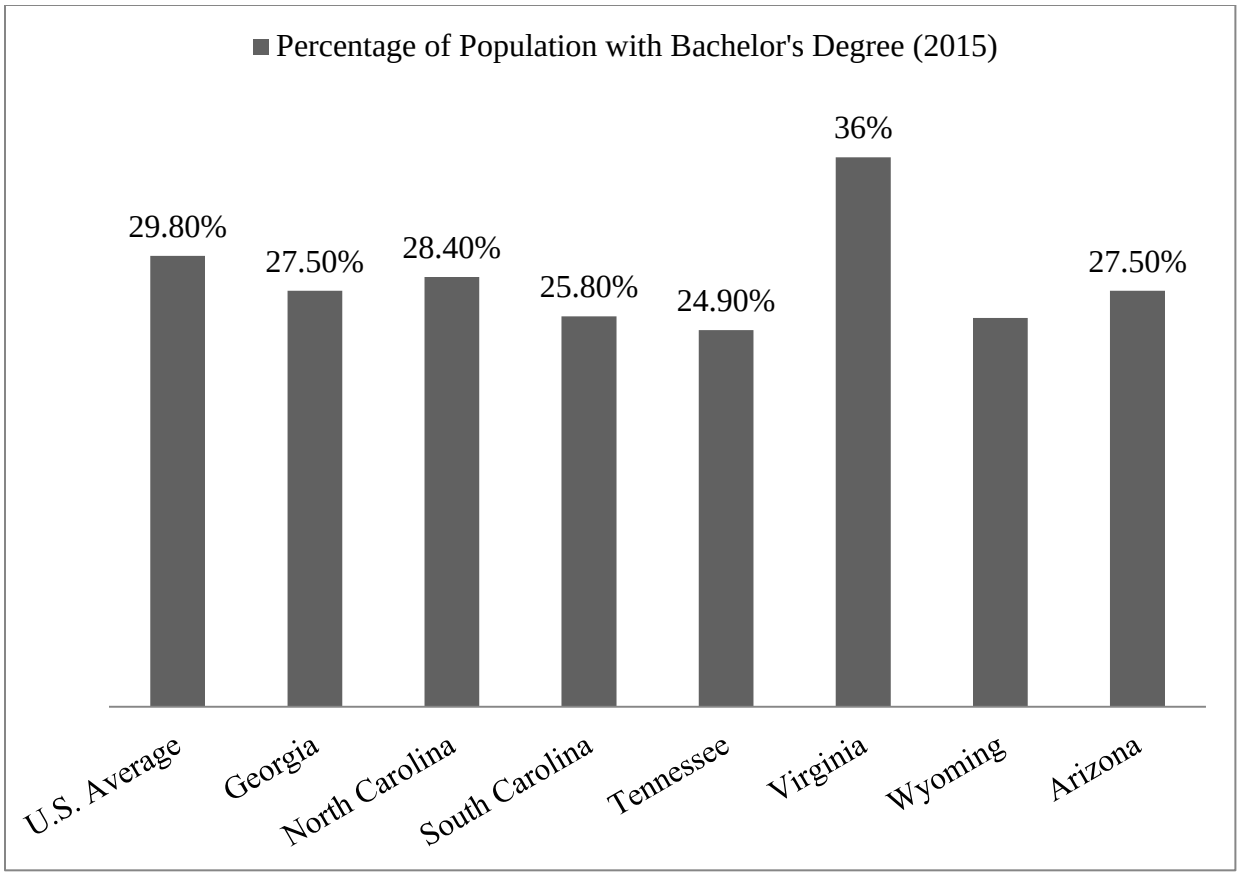


Figure 3. Percentage of residents with a bachelor's degree over the age of 25, in southeastern states with Wyoming and Arizona according to the United States Census Bureau (2015).

student except for Wyoming. In theory, the more money spent, the higher the return in number of graduates (Oliff, Placios, Johnson, & Leachman, 2013). The percentage of residents with a degree is one of the measurements that assess a state's ability to educate its citizens.

The Background Setting

For the purposes of this study it is important to understand the larger cultural context surrounding higher education in North Carolina and South Carolina. Pye (1965) was one of the first researchers to use the term "political culture," meaning "the sum of the fundamental values, sentiments and knowledge that give form and substance to a political process" (p. 15). According to Fiske (2002), "culture is a socially transmitted or socially constructed constellation consisting of such things as practices, competencies, ideas, schemas, symbols, values, norms, institutions, goals, constitutive rules, artifacts, and modifications of the physical environment" (p. 85). Elazar (1966) has the most recognized definition of political culture, which develops the idea of moralistic, individualistic, and traditional cultures. Elazar (1966) defines political culture as "the particular pattern of orientation to political action in which each political system is embedded" (p.78). Under Elazar both North Carolina and South Carolina are considered traditionalistic states. Graham and Moore (1994) associates traditionalist culture with the south and state that South Carolina is the original model of traditionalist culture, which can be seen as far back as 1670 due to South Carolinians devotion to scholarly justifications for slavery and secession. What follows is a brief review of the context surrounding the respective political cultures of each state that provides some perspective into their approach to government and policy-making.

Political Culture of North Carolina

At the founding of the United States in 1776, the state government in North Carolina had already developed established a system of local and state authorities, much of which still are seen

today. For example, while the state of North Carolina sets voter registration requirements it mandates local governments to implement policies. This is in part driven by the North Carolina Constitution, which delegates most of the policy-making responsibility to the General Assembly and leaves very little power to the Office of the Governor. The General Assembly has the exclusive right to arrange voting districts, set state laws, and get guidelines for each local government. In turn, local county and city governments are responsible for tax management, law enforcement, and coordinating day-to-day maintenance of the area they oversee (State Library of North Carolina, 2016). While this relationship is symbiotic in nature it also has the capacity to initiate legislative power struggles as seen in the recent passage of the Public Facilities Privacy & Security Act, where the General Assembly exercised its governmental authority to supersede local ordinances passed by the City Council (Gordon, Price, & Peralta, 2016).

For most of the 19th and 20th centuries, many political scientists and historians labeled North Carolina as the most progressive state in the American south (Leffler & Newsome, 1954). Perhaps the most famous dissenter was scholar V. O. Key Jr., who described North Carolina as a "progressive plutocracy", because while it was progressive in economic development and leadership, it was also dominated by a small, powerful elite consisting of key businessmen and lawyers who did not like governmental power or authority (Campbell, 2010; Key, 1959). Fleer (1994) noted that North Carolina is a state consisting of contrast and paradox at many levels; from the patent urban-rural divisions, to pervasive attitudes and approaches toward education, the economy and politics.

North Carolina's paradoxical nature can be seen in its claims to having evolved an innovation and entrepreneur economy, when in truth it has traditionally been one of the more agriculture-based economies in the United States (Christensen, 2014). Christensen (2014)

attributes North Carolina's recent economic growth to a higher employment rate, and the creation of a significant number of higher wage jobs. Christensen (2014) asserts that this economic upturn is due largely to the presence of three major University institutions; University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina State University, and Duke University. All are part of what is known as the Research Triangle Park; an urban hub of research, innovation, and industrial growth (Christensen, 2014) that exists in stark contrast to the slower-developing rural areas (Gannon, 2016). Despite these positives North Carolina still has widespread poverty, even among citizens who work full-time jobs. In fact, according to Christensen's (2014) findings, most of the poor in the state are working, but their jobs, across sectors such as service, retail, manufacturing, agriculture, do not provide enough income to support themselves or their families.

Since 1980 the population of North Carolina has increased 67 percent, making it one of the fastest growing states. According to Kardish (2014), this migrant population consists mostly of northeasterners, Californians and foreign immigrants attracted by the low cost of living and positive job outlook. Between 2000 and 2010 the Hispanic population in North Carolina increased by 10 percentage points with the majority moving to rural areas (Gergen & Martin, 2016). As of 2010, minorities make up about half of the state's population under the age of 18 demonstrating a rapid shift in North Carolina's youth demographic.

North Carolina has traditionally been a one-party political order under Democratic Party control, but in recent times has evolved into a two-party system split evenly between Republicans and Democrats (Eamon, 2014). In fact, Kardish (2014) asserts that North Carolina is one of the most politically balanced states in the country with Republicans making up 41.9% and Democrats comprising 41.3% of registered voters. In 2010, North Carolina Republicans, riding

sentiment against President Barack Obama, took control of the North Carolina House and Senate for the first time since 1870 (Kardish, 2014). Then in 2012, Republicans could establish a veto-proof majority and won the governorship with the election of Pat McCrory (Kardish, 2014). This is significant because McCrory's appointment, and the general change in the political makeup of state government, also lead to personnel changes within the governing boards that manage and set policy for North Carolina's public university system (Ovaska-Few, 2015). In fact, almost all appointed university boards and commissions now lean favorably to Republicans. Among the largest shifts was among the University of North Carolina's (UNC) Board of Governors (UNC Alumni Review, 2013). In 2012, the Board of Governors was represented by nineteen Republicans, fourteen Democrats, and two unaffiliated members. Following the Spring of 2013 when the North Carolina House of Representatives, Senate and Governorship assumed Republican control, the UNC Board of Governors comprised twenty-nine Republicans, two Democrats, and two unaffiliated members and two members unable to be identified by political party (UNC Alumni Review, 2013).

The changing demographics of the UNC Board of Governors has led to changes in higher education, including the forced retirement of UNC system president Tom Ross in 2015 (Purdy, 2015). While little explanation was provided as to why Ross was forced out, most saw this as purely a political move to allow the Republican majority to hire their own leader (Stancill, 2016). So far, the changes at the General Assembly have led to the implementation of the Public Facilities Privacy and Securities Act, which impacts individuals, civil liberties at institutions of higher learning, and proposals to set fixed tuition rates for students enrolled in the UNC system, which some researchers say may adversely affect school budgeting and affordability in the long-run (Anderson, 2016).

Political Culture of South Carolina

The government structure of South Carolina is like North Carolina's in that the counties act more like an extension of state government, while local municipalities develop local laws. Prior to 1975, counties in South Carolina performed purely constitutional or statutory functions required by the state. Revisions were made to the state constitution in 1973 and passage of the Local Government Law delegated similar authorities to South Carolina's counties as they did local municipalities (Tyer, 1998). As is the case in North Carolina, the South Carolina General Assembly holds far more power in the state than the governor. The General Assembly is so large and holds so much power that very few other entities have substantial influence on policy and governance (Welch, 2015). Education policy is a prime example, where the role of the South Carolina Commission of Higher Education has been limited to coordinating body, forcing the most significant decisions about higher education on the legislature (Welch, 2015).

Contrary to North Carolina, which many consider a progressive southern state, South Carolina is considered one of the least progressive (Smith, 2016). Like North Carolina, however, it had traditionally been a Democratic stronghold until recent years when it switched to Republican control. Elving (2015) described South Carolina as "Yellow Dog Democrat" state, a term meaning that the state would vote for a Democrat regardless of the candidate.

Elving (2015) delineates a timeline of historical national events that has led to South Carolina's transition from a Yellow-dog Democrat, to a more Republican-heavy voting population. According to Elving (2015), this shift started with the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education ruling that separate but equal schools were in fact, unequal, followed by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Elving (2015) attributes the 1980 defeat of Jimmy Carter, a Georgia Democrat favorite among many Southern Baptist voters, as a defining moment in the change of political

tide in the south. When Ronald Reagan carried 49 of the 50 states in the 1984 general election, it consequently helped carry many Republican state candidates into power, resulting in a reform of much of the legislature throughout the south. In 1993 the nomination of Bill Clinton (who, like Carter, was a former southern governor) created rifts throughout a southern voting population who might otherwise have favored him, because of his views on 2nd Amendment gun laws. Elving (2015) asserts that, as a result, many South Carolinians were then drawn to the political stance of Georgian Newt Gingrich. Using his platform as Speaker of the House, Gingrich helped create a massive surge of Republican voters in the south for the ’94 midterm elections, resulting in a GOP political victory often dubbed the “Gingrich Revolution” (Elving, 2015). Elving (2015) attributes George W. Bush carrying all 11 southern states in the 2000 general election in part, to Gingrich’s influence, demonstrating an emerging trend that Democratic candidates from the South could no longer count on voting support from Southern states as they had in the past. The Southern trend toward Republican party affiliation culminated in electoral sweeps in 2012 and in 2014 that created majority or near-majority Republican control in most Southern states, including South Carolina (Elving, 2015).

Manufacturing is now by far the largest contributor to South Carolina’s economy, having surpassed the agriculture industry. The top five manufacturing sectors in South Carolina include: aerospace and aviation, automotive manufacturing, biotechnology and life sciences, transportation, and recycling. During the 2008 recession, while most states were losing jobs, South Carolina’s number of jobs grew, reaching a peak in 2010 when 1,200 companies either expanded or entered the state (Newsmax, 2015). South Carolina is quickly becoming one of the top automotive states in the country, boasting over 250 automotive manufacturing plants,

Business Facilitates magazine ranked South Carolina third in the country in automotive manufacturing (South Carolina Auto Industry, 2017).

Higher education in South Carolina has been the subject one of the most highly contested political battles in recent history. In March of 2015, the South Carolina House of Representatives presented a bill to defund the South Carolina Commission on Higher Education (CHE) (Cope, 2015). Cope (2015) reasons that the proposal was made in response to frustration over the Commission's inattention to fiscal regulation on state campuses and enacted by lawmakers, "Angered by higher education costs and the implosion of SC State University… [and their assertion that] the commission should have brought the school's $17 million deficit to [their] attention" (p. 1). The bill to defund the SC CHE did not pass the General Assembly, instead a law was passed that removed all Board of Trustees members at South Carolina State, replacing them with appointees decided by governor Nicki Haley and six other state officials (Associated Press, 2015).

Higher Education Governance Structures

Burkum (2009) conducted an extensive study on the role of state higher education governance structures and their impacts on state-level lobbying. Using a multiple case study research design, Burkum (2009) interviewed state legislators, public higher education lobbyists, and association lobbyists to examine the impact of governance structures on higher education lobbying. North Carolina was one of the states included in the national study.

The North Carolina Board of Governors has the legal authority to oversee the 16 four-year institutions in North Carolina and the North Carolina School of Science and Mathematics (Link, 1995). The Board's responsibilities include electing the university president, who is the administrator on behalf of the Board of Governors; planning and developing a coordinated

system of higher education in North Carolina; and managing and governing all affairs of constituent institutions. The Board of Governors also has the responsibility of appointing half of the institution-specific boards in the state, with the remaining appointments coming directly from the legislature. The Board of Governors maintains a close relationship with the State Board of Community Colleges, the Community College Systems Office, and all private colleges and universities in North Carolina (North Carolina Constitution General Statute, § 116-11, 2014).

According to the Waller, Coble, Scharer, and Giamportone (2000), the North Carolina Board of Governors is a consolidated governing board; it is centralized and has the duty to govern all public postsecondary institutions. This type of governing structure is responsible for the coordination of higher education policy and planning. The UNC system oversees 16 higher education institutions and the North Carolina School of Science and Mathematics. As established previously, this is far different than the South Carolina CHE that oversees all 33 public institutions of higher learning. The 16 public institutions are guided by a clause mandate regarding higher education in the North Carolina Constitution (2015), specifically:

> The General Assembly shall maintain a public system of higher education, comprising The University of North Carolina and such other institutions of higher education as the General Assembly may deem wise. The General Assembly shall provide for the selection of trustees of the University of North Carolina and of the other institutions of higher education, in whom shall be vested all the privileges, rights, franchises, and endowments heretofore granted to or conferred upon the trustees of these institutions. The General Assembly may enact laws necessary and expedient for the maintenance and management of the University of North Carolina and the other public institutions of higher education. (North Carolina Constitution General Statute IX, § 8, 2015)

This mandate, combined with the several other acts passed by the North Carolina General Assembly, has provided the roles and responsibilities managed by the North Carolina Board of Governors. The UNC system has evolved over 220 years to become one of the most highly recognized higher education systems in the world and is recognized as a governing board when compared to other higher education board structures in the United States (Waller et al., 2000). The responsibilities of a governing board include ensuring the following: quality and integrity of the institutions, delivery of the institution's mission, fulfillment of the board's fiduciary responsibility, the institution's compliance with local accreditation standards, and appointment of a chief executive (Middle States Commission on Higher Education, 2010). The authority of the North Carolina Board of Governors is attributed by the legislature, according to the UNC (2015b). The UNC Board of Governors is the policy-making body charged with the general determination, control, supervision, management, and governance of the University of North Carolina. Its 32 voting members are elected by the NC General Assembly for four-year terms. Former board chairs may continue to serve for limited periods as non-voting members *emeriti*. The president of the UNC Association of Student Governments or that student's designee is also a non-voting member.

The strength of the system occurred through various acts of the state legislature; in fact, it was an evolution that began with the flagship, UNC-Chapel Hill, but now includes 16 universities and the School of Science and Mathematics. The schools were individually created over a period of over 180 years, beginning in 1867 when Fayetteville State College (now Fayetteville State University), one of the state's five current Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), was added as a state institution. North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering (now North Carolina State University), which is a land grant

university, and Pembroke State University were added in 1887. What is now UNC-Pembroke was created by the General Assembly to educate the state's American Indians. Western Carolina College (now Western Carolina University) and the Women's College of the UNC (now UNC-Greensboro) were added in 1891, along with two more HBCUs that gained university status in 1969: Elizabeth City State College and North Carolina Agricultural and State College. In 1892, the fourth HBCU was added with Winston-Salem Teacher's College, followed by Appalachian State Teacher's College in 1899; both of these institutions are now recognized as universities (UNC, 2015a).

Growth continued in the 20th century, as East Carolina Teachers College was created in 1907 and currently stands as East Carolina University. North Carolina Central University, which was founded as North Carolina College at Durham in 1909, became the fifth public HBCU in North Carolina. Regional colleges created in different ways and for different purposes existed in North Carolina, many of which would be absorbed into UNC. Asheville Biltmore College, founded in 1927, Charlotte College, founded in 1946, and Wilmington College, founded in 1947, all became UNC schools with their locations as their campus designation. Finally, the UNC School of the Arts was founded in 1963 (UNC, 2015a).

The 1931 session of the General Assembly started to assemble the present-day UNC. Three state-supported institutions were consolidated: UNC-Chapel Hill, North Carolina State University, and the UNC-Greensboro. In 1969, legislative action formed and brought in UNC at Charlotte, UNC at Asheville, and UNC at Wilmington. In 1971, the largest consolidation occurred when the 10 public senior institutions, as they were classified at the time, were brought into UNC (UNC, 2015a). These included: Appalachian State University, East Carolina University, Fayetteville State University, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University,

North Carolina Central University, School of the Arts, UNC at Pembroke, Western Carolina University, and Winston-Salem State University (UNC, 2015a). As opposed to the South Carolina CHE the 58 two-year institutions, better known as community colleges, are separate from the four-year institutions in North Carolina. The original legislation creating the North Carolina Community College System placed oversight on the State Board of Education, in 1979 the General Assembly established the State Board of Community Colleges, which now provides oversight (North Carolina Community College System, 2017).

Most of these schools were independent entities, which required them to advocate separately, until the state system as it currently stands was formed in 1972 (UNC, 2015a). There was turmoil around the merger of the UNC system throughout the 20th century, which was heavily documented by Bratton (1986) (among others) that demonstrated the political influence the university system has within the state. The UNC system is operated by the General Administration staff. This staff is led by the system president, who is appointed by the Board of Governors. As of July 15, 2015, the UNC-GA has 274.5 FTE positions. There are five lobbyists employed by UNC-GA and several others who are support staff for advocacy initiatives. The legislature appropriated $28.1 million for 2014-2015 in operating expenses, and all funds added up to a budget of $62.1 million, which included fees taken from each campus and given to General Administration (A. Poole, personal communication, July 15, 2015). In fall 2015, the enrollment of all UNC system schools was 221,968, which generated 202,447 FTEs. During 2013-2014, a total of 36,942 degrees were conferred by the 16 institutions (UNC, 2015b).

The South Carolina CHE (2015) oversees not only the state's baccalaureate institutions, but also the state's two-year technical colleges, along with the Medical University of South Carolina, which is a stand-alone institution not directly tied in with an institution with

undergraduate studies. According to the South Carolina CHE (2015), baccalaureate or higher institutions are recognized as public senior institutions, senior research institutions, or four-year public institutions. The state also recognizes regional educational coalitions and public two-year regional campuses of the USC (South Carolina CHE, 2015). Table 1 and Table 2 show a list of institutions in North Carolina and South Carolina with their total enrollment as of 2013.

The governing structure for the South Carolina Commission on Higher Education (CHE) is a coordinating regulatory board. These coordinating boards serve as liaisons between the state government and the governing boards of each institution. Far different from the structure of the consolidated governing board, these boards have no governance authority. A board consists of 10 members appointed by the governor, one member appointed by the board to serve as Executive Director, and three ex-officio members, who serve by virtue of the position he or she holds. Each of these ex-officio members are from the following: one must serve on the board of trustees of one of the public senior institutions, one must be from the board of trustees from one of the four-year public institutions, and one must be a member of local area technical colleges (North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, 2000).

The South Carolina CHE has the very complicated responsibility of coordinating both the universities and community colleges in the state. It also has a relationship with all the other institutions within South Carolina, even those that do not receive appropriated state funds or operate on state property. The affiliation lies with these private institutions' ability to host in-state South Carolina students, and the students receive state dollars (South Carolina Education Lottery, 2014). Established in 1967, the South Carolina CHE coordinates much more than just the 33 public institutions of higher learning in the state (Finan, 2015). Table 3 shows the number

Table 1

List of Public Institutions, Location, and Enrollment in North Carolina, 2013

Institution	Location	Enrollment
Appalachian State University	Boone	17,838
East Carolina University	Greenville	26,887
Elizabeth City State University	Elizabeth City	2,421
Fayetteville State University	Fayetteville	6,179
North Carolina A&T State University	Greensboro	10,561
North Carolina Central University	Durham	8,093
North Carolina State University	Raleigh	34,009
UNC Asheville	Asheville	3,784
UNC Chapel Hill	Chapel Hill	29,127
UNC Charlotte	Charlotte	26,571
UNC Greensboro	Greensboro	18,074
UNC Pembroke	Pembroke	6,222
UNC Wilmington	Wilmington	13,937
UNC School of the Arts	Winston-Salem	912
Western Carolina University	Cullowhee	10,107
Winston Salem State University	Winston-Salem	5,399

Note. Enrollment as of 6/1/2014.

Table 2

List of Public Senior Institutions, Locations, and Enrollment in South Carolina, 2014

Institution	Location	Enrollment
The Citadel	Charleston	3,350
Clemson University	Clemson	21,303
Coastal Carolina University	Conway	9,478
College of Charleston	Charleston	9,866
Francis Marion University	Florence	4,187
Medical University of South Carolina	Charleston	2,678
South Carolina State University	Orangeburg	4,500
USC Columbia	Columbia	32,848
USC Aiken	Aiken	3,280
USC Beaufort	Bluffton	1,875
USC Upstate	Spartanburg	5,495
Winthrop University	Rock Hill	6,170

Note. Enrollment as of 6/1/2014.

Table 3

Institutions Affiliated with the South Carolina Commission on Higher Education

Type of Institution	# in South Carolina	Public
Research universities	3	Yes
Comprehensive four-year universities	10	Yes
Two-year regional campuses of USC	4	Yes
Technical colleges	16	Yes
Independent/private senior institutions	22	No
Independent/private two-year institutions	3	No
Private professional schools (Chiropractic and Law)	2	No
Out-of-state degree-granting institutions licensed by CHE to operate in South Carolina	27	No

of institutions in South Carolina with which the CHE has a relationship. This relationship involves direct appropriations and lottery funds distributed in scholarships and grants.

As in North Carolina, South Carolina operates based on the authority given to it by the legislature. The South Carolina CHE operates under the South Carolina Code of Laws pursuant to §59-103-5:

> *(4)* "Public higher education" shall mean state-supported education in the post-secondary field, including comprehensive and technical education; (2) "public institution of higher learning" shall mean any state-supported-post-secondary educational institution and shall include technical and comprehensive educational institutions. (South Carolina Legislative Council, 2015)

The major difference in the two states is that South Carolina CHE has a relationship with private schools in the state, as the private institutions can receive lottery funds. The other institutions have the relationship with the South Carolina CHE to make them eligible for state lottery funds distributed in the form of Legislative Incentives for Future Excellence (LIFE) Scholarships, Palmetto Fellows, and the HOPE Scholarship Program. These programs received $160,182,570 from the educational lottery appropriations in 2013-2014 (South Carolina Department of Administration, 2015). In comparison, the public universities only received $360 million in appropriated funds; they did receive more state dollars, though, as students receive grants and scholarships to attend public universities, but this money is based on the number of in-state students who apply and receive these grants and scholarships and not as an appropriated line item (South Carolina Department of Administration, 2015). The private school system in South Carolina has a clear mechanism to lobby with a coordinated agenda that can be found in Appendix D.

According to the annual report by the South Carolina CHE (2015), there were 244,692 students enrolled within the state. Of these, 205,757 or 84% were enrolled at public institutions, while 38,935 or 16%, were enrolled at independent institutions. The total FTE of these students was 69%, and a total of 50,044 degrees were awarded in 2013-2014 between all public and independent institutions (Finan, 2015). It must be noted that this number includes public universities, private institutions, and community colleges. The figure from North Carolina only includes institutions that are under the purview of the North Carolina Board of Governors.

The South Carolina legislature gives the South Carolina CHE its limited power; despite this, the legislature has been extremely displeased with how the commission has handled recent situations (Cope, 2015). The staff of the South Carolina CHE is equivalent to 33 FTE employees, only one of these employees works in a lobbying role, the entire operational budget for the South Carolina CHE is $1.6 million. While the operational budget is only $1.6 million, the CHE tries to emphasize that the CHE staff is responsible for $360 million in total funding (South Carolina CHE, 2015). This amount of staff support and funding is less than 10% what the UNC system has during the same time period.

Lobbying in Political Science

The history of the word “lobby” is heavily debated. While lore alleges it was coined by Ulysses S. Grant in the Willard Hotel during his presidency from 1869-1877, research shows that it originated in British Parliament, referring to the lobbies outside of legislative chambers where most of the deal making took place before votes (Boltz, 2010). Sheidlower (2006) contended that it may date back as early as 1640 to refer to the lobbies that were open to constituents to ask questions and interact with elected officials. Lobbying is a process that encompasses a range of activities, often occurring simultaneously. Lobbying is not a simple process but is an ongoing

process that involves researching legislations or policies, monitoring developments occurring within society that impact legislation, working with coalitions that have interests in the same issues, and in turn, educating elected officials and decision makers, as well as the media and general public on those issues (Association of Government Relations Professionals, 2016).

Lobbyists have always been a part of the policymaking process in the United States (Cook, 1998). According to Dwoskin (2012), lobbying in the United States began in 1792 when William Hull was employed by Virginia veterans to seek additional compensation. While Hull may have been the first paid lobbyist, lobbying in the United States existed well before this and can probably be traced to Europe when the first settlers asked for government freedoms to allow them to travel to the new world. Europe also saw petitions emerge in the 18th century when citizens were demanding change from members of parliament (Parliament, 2016). Magness (2009) documented organized lobbying in higher education at the federal level between 1858 and 1861 to help pass the Morrill Land Grant Act, the first major involvement of the federal government in higher education.

Mack (1989) contended that government, politics, and lobbying are so intertwined that it is not always easy to distinguish between them. Mack (1989) defined government as the exercise of sovereign authority in ruling a society or nation, politics as the pursuit of government power, and lobbying as the process of influencing public and government policy. Another definition of lobbying can be found in the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995, which stated:

> Any person or entity that employs or retains another person for financial or other compensation to conduct lobbying activities on behalf of that person or entity, a person or entity whose employees act as lobbyists on its own behalf is both a client and an employer of such employees. (Lobbying Disclosure Act, 1995)

The legislation excluded those individuals whose "activities constitute less than 20 percent of time engaged in services" (Lobbying Disclosure Act, 1995), thus allowing for grassroots lobbying, and for some university personnel who lobby to not actually be registered as lobbyists.

For the purposes of this dissertation, the following definition for lobbying was used on the merit of its simplicity and scope: "The effort to organize interests to inform policymakers and persuade them to choose policy choices" (Berry, 1977, p. 212). This definition serves as the framework for the term lobbying as referenced in this dissertation.

Levine (2009) insisted that lobbying should be called the "fourth branch of government" (p. ix). Milbrath (1963) said that "*lobbyist*" and "*lobbying*" have so many variations of definition that there is no clear understanding of the terms (p. 7). Milbrath (1963), Zorack (1990), and Burkum (2009) separated lobbying behavior into strategies and tactics. Lobbying strategies is the broad approach to lobbying, which can include resource allocation and a general plan to implement lobbying tactics. Lobbying tactics, on the other hand, are specific actions used to advance a cause (Berry, 1977). Zorack (1990) identified some of these actions as proposing legislative drafts, testifying at hearings, using the press and media to send out a specific message, and meeting with policymakers.

While the general public may view lobbying in a negative light, many people consider it an important part of the legislative process (Levine, 2009). Milbrath (1963) found that the public was misinformed about lobbyists and lobbying, and that the press tended to sensationalize the negative side of lobbying. Milbrath (1963) explained that the media is quick to point out "evildoers," even though they comprise only a small percent of persons engaged in lobbying activities (p. 6). National polls conducted by *USA Today* and CBS NEWS/*The New York Times* showed that public opinion about lobbying was very negative, with over two-thirds of those

surveyed believing that lobbyists have far too much influence on policymaking, are a threat to the democratic process, and most often do not have the public interest in mind when advocating (Rosenthal, 1993). Levine (2009) stated:

> Lobbyists are indispensable players in the business of national policy making. Whether representing a business, an industry, a nonprofit institution, a public interest group, or a faith-based organization, lobbyists are the means by which the private sector participates in the give-and-take of lawmaking. (p. ix)

The goals of lobbying are simple: to access and influence legislation for gain of a specific cause or project (Berry, 1977; Burkum, 2009; Cook, 1998; Rosenthal, 1993). Zorack (1990) contended that lobbyists with larger resources and a larger network are much more effective than lobbyists with fewer means. Lobbyists work with decision makers through personal relations, formal and informal means, and contacts (Bennett, 2012; Cook, 1998; Rosenthal, 1993).

Lobbyists' overarching goal is to influence legislative outcomes by their relationships with elected officials and their staff (Levine, 2009). The importance of relationships can be traced to theories by Ferguson (1984) and more recently by Bruning, Castle, and Schrepfer (2004). Lobbyists are hired for a wide range of causes to persuade legislative personnel and decision makers to gain benefits through legislative action (Bennett, 2012; Cook, 1998; Levine, 2009; Rosenthal, 1993). Lobbyists, hired by interest groups, play an important role in state policymaking (Tandberg, 2006, 2010).

Berry (1984) addressed the importance of lobbying and pointed out that everyone has the right to express their political views, to petition their elected officials, and to organize on behalf of causes. Berry (1984) explained that being able to lobby is a political right of every citizen in the United States by the first amendment in the U.S. Constitution. Berry (2001) summarized

lobbying in the following statement: “Individual lobbyists rarely make the critical difference between a bill’s passing or failing or a favorable regulation’s being implemented… But the effective lobbyist can wield influence, even if only at the margins of public policy” (p. 135).

Birnbaum (1993) described the general public’s perception of lobbying with the statement, “Being a lobbyist has long been synonymous in the minds of many Americans with being a glorified pimp” (p. 7). Much of the negativity surrounding lobbying involves the view that lobbyists break laws. Yingling (2006) asserted that certain lobbyists are what paint lobbying in a negative light. He referenced, “Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon did things that were illegal and deserve everything they get” (Yingling, 2006, p. 36), but believed that lobbying laws are in place to keep lobbying ethical and regulated.

Interest Group Lobbying

Interest group lobbying is one of the strongest and most influential forms of lobbying that takes place on any level (Grossman, 2012). Berry (1977) stated, “With the exception of those groups associated with Ralph Nader, and a few other well-known organizations such as Common Cause and the American Civil Liberties Union, public interest groups do not receive adequate attention from the media” (p. 13). Today, interest groups are visible and present throughout American society, in the media, and in almost every political decision. The level of interest group activity at the local, state, and national levels has exploded. In 1955, there were 5,000 national associations, which expanded to more than 23,000 by the year 2000 (Hula, 1999). Kollman (1998) stated:

> Mass expressions of public concern directed toward the federal government are rarely spontaneous. Behind most telephone calls, letters, faxes, and E-mails to members of Congress, behind marches down the Mall to Washington, DC, and behind bus caravans to

the Capitol, there are coordinating leaders, usually interest group leaders, mobilizing a select group of citizens to unite behind a common message. (p. 3)

Public opinion polls consistently show that the majority of Americans believe government is beholden to the privileged, organized groups within the American electorate (Kollman, 1998). Tandberg (2006) described interest groups as a way to increase political influence by combining resources and in some cases, taking it a step further and forming alliances.

Clifton (2004) explained that interest groups and social movement organizations are now not only affecting policy decisions, but also affecting political parties, influencing the structure of the two-party system and playing a role in party nominations to elect candidates who support their specific agendas. Party leaders depend on donations and activism from interest groups to help elect party candidates, and this in turn has caused these parties to change their policy goals. Amenta, Carruthers, and Zylan (1992) stated that social-movement models determine that success depends on mobilization of resources and collective action.

Hrebenar and Thomas (2004) argued that higher education itself is an interest group and is gaining more influence within states. Victor (2007) stated that interest groups select their lobbying tactics in response to legislative context. Many scholars agree interest groups are purveyors of information to Congress (Berry, 1997; Milbrath, 1963; Victor, 2007). Victor's (2007) study found that interest groups' decisions about how to lobby are impacted by the context of the legislation.

Lobbying Strategies

Inside and outside strategies are the most well-known strategies used amongst lobbyists (Hall & Reynolds, 2012). Inside strategies "involve quietly persuading a member of Congress in

a meeting with interest group lobbyists to act in a particular way" (Wilcox & Kim, 2005, p. 130). Blei (2003) listed the following strategies as inside lobbying: meeting with lawmakers and legislative staff, providing analysis and information to committees and legislative officers, testifying in committee, and negotiating with policymakers and other lobby groups. Wilcox and Kim (2005) also included supporting candidates during campaigns through donations, hiring lobbyists with access to key legislators, offering to help candidates get elected, and providing information or technical assistance on legislation. Generally, inside lobbing takes place by those who work on Capitol Hill and are familiar with the legislative decision makers (Beyers, 2004; Blei, 2003).

Wilcox and Kim (2005) described outside strategies as "involving contact between a group's members and the offices of legislators" (p. 137). Outside strategies are the more well-known and documented forms of lobbying and consume most lobbying tactics, some of which include: local lobbying visits by constituents to their elected officials; media activity, including assisting reporters with stories; building coalitions; letter writing campaigns; and grassroots lobbying (Blei, 2003). Berry (1977) identified four strategies that interest groups use to influence government officials: (a) legal action; (b) embarrassment and confrontation; (c) information; and (d) constituency influence. Finally, Berry (1977) explained constituency influence as the basis of grassroots lobbying.

Another lobbying strategy that has emerged in recent years is "grasstops lobbying" previously known as "astroturf lobbying." Instead of ordinary citizens who lobby, grasstops lobbying involves mobilizing community leaders, professional associations, and often well-known figures who are able to get their foot in the door with elected officials and have a substantial impact on legislative agendas (Cooper, 1994). Savage (1995) described grasstops:

> If grassroots-organizing from the ground up-has become astroturf, planting a legislator's friend to as a lobbyist is called "grasstops." Friends, relatives, and associates of legislators are hired by corporations and public relations firms to get close to lawmakers and plant ideas about upcoming legislation. (p. 9)

Carney (2008) alleged that many firms train clients to stay clear of direct lobbying to avoid reporting the activities. Carney (2008) stated, "The firm's stock-in-trade is teaching clients how to tap their own networks of well-placed civic, business, and labor leaders to reach public officials themselves—hence the term grasstops" (p. 23). Berry (1977) found that groups felt that direct lobbying is a way to strengthen one's argument with elected officials.

Lobbying Tactics

Many scholars have identified two separate approaches to lobbying: direct lobbying and indirect lobbying (Bennett, 2012; Cook, 1998; Hojnacki & Kimball, 1999; Mahood, 2000; Victor, 2007). Direct lobbying is personal contact between a lobbyist and decision maker. There are several examples of direct lobbying: a lobbyist having formal or informal contact with a legislator or legislative staff; a lobbyist testifying or arranging for someone to testify in a committee; and a lobbyist providing a draft or submitting a request for a specific agenda item. Indirect lobbying is often referred to as grassroots lobbying or simply organizing others to lobby (Kollman, 1998).

Scholzman and Tierney (1983) claimed that grassroots lobbying "is an ancient weapon in the pressure group arsenal" (p. 363). Cook (1998) defined grassroots lobbying as "efforts by government relations officials in Washington, DC to involve the folks back at home in contacting their legislators for the purpose of influencing policy making" (p. 154). Nownes and Freeman (1998) found that unions are more likely to use grassroots outreach than corporate and

intergovernmental groups. Mack (1989) classified the two major forms of indirect lobbying as grassroots communications and advocacy advertising. Mack (1989) also pointed out that direct lobbying costs are tax deductible, while indirect lobbying costs are not. This is one way after the fact to determine if something is direct or indirect (Mack, 1989). One of the core principles in lobbying is determining who will do the lobbying, what lobbying tactics will be used, what players will be lobbied, and how a plan to lobby will be implemented (Burkum, 2009).

In Table 3, Burkum (2009) presented findings, on lobbying in higher education across various states. The findings show a broad overview of examples of lobbying but did not clarify in what states these activities were typically conducted. Table 3 explains method of delivery and does provide examples of lobbying activities.

Freeman and Nownes (1999) claimed government lobbyists view themselves as partners rather than lobbyists. Much of the authors' research had been on how techniques differ between government lobbyists, those who work for a government agency, and those who work for outside causes. Much of the literature showed that the tactics used by these government partners are the same as those used by private interest groups (Cigler, 1995).

Berry (1977) conducted one of the largest national studies of public interest lobbying. In his study, Berry (1977) interviewed 83 interest groups that fit into seven categories: politics, consumer groups, churches, civil-rights, environmental, peace-arms, and miscellaneous. Eighty-three percent of his respondents thought face-to-face meetings were the most effective way to lobby, while only 20% of respondents thought testifying at a congressional hearing was effective. Grassroots lobbying, such as a letter writing campaign, was considered very effective by 47% of respondents. Direct contact from an influential organization official was considered

very effective by 34%. Finally, public relations efforts were considered very effective by 24%, and publishing research was considered very effective by 30% of respondents (Berry, 1977).

Berry (1977) created one of the most comprehensive pictures of lobbying at the federal level. For instance, he found face-to-face meetings were popular in Washington, DC because lobbyists lobby their "friends" and leave their enemies "alone" (Berry, 1977, p. 216). Lobbyists spent more time with elected officials who supported their cause while paying little attention to those who opposed the cause. Berry (1977) also explained that a key reason lobbyists tend to leave their opponents alone on certain issues is because these opponents may be their biggest allies on a later issue. MacMillan (1981) presented 12 different tactics that can be used specifically by interest groups or government agencies. Many of these were consistent with Berry's (1977) findings, with the only additions being using a third party and financial campaign support. Table 5 documents the lobbying techniques used most frequently at the federal level. Many of these practices are also used on the state level.

Using a Delphi survey technique, Burgess and Miller (2009) identified strategies used by land grant universities that senior government relation officers used with public officials. These strategies particularly stressed the need for access to campus decision makers and a high level of trust between campus leaders and elected officials. The result of the Burgess and Miller (2009) study produced 58 strategies for effectively working with elected officials, as shown in Table 6 by using the mean of responses. Burges and Miller (2009) found that the only unanimous strategy was having an infrastructure that allowed the college president or chancellor to be involved in lobbying activities.

Table 4

Actions, Examples, and Implementation of Lobbying Activities

Action	Examples	Method of Implementation
Provide information	Testify at hearings	Face to face
	Present research results	Face to face
Provide arguments	Present organizational opinion	Face to face, e-mail, postal
	Inspire letter writing campaign	E-mail, postal
Provide services	Help draft legislation	Face to face, phone, e-mail
	Plan legislative strategy	Face to face, phone, e-mail
	Entertain decision maker	Face to face
	Offer assistance and favors	Phone, face to face
Provide resources	Contribute work to campaign	Face to face
	Contribute personnel to campaign	Face to face
	Contribute financially to campaign	
Political activity	Build coalitions	Face to face, postal, phone, e-mail
	Publish voting records	Postal, e-mail
	Run advertisements	Media
	Endorse candidate	Media
	Secure endorsements for candidate	Face to face, phone, e-mail
	Engage in protests	Media

Note: Adapted from Burkum (2009).

Table 5

Lobbying Techniques Used on the Federal Level

Lobbying Technique	Extent of Usage
Testifying at hearings	99%
Contacting officials directly	98%
Informal contacts	95%
Presenting search results	92%
Sending letters to members	92%
Entering into coalitions	90%
Shaping implementation	89%
Planning legislative strategy	85%
Helping to draft legislation	85%
Inspiring letter-writing campaigns	84%
Having constituents contact	80%
Contributing financially to campaigns	58%
Publicizing voting records	44%
Running ads in the media	24%
Endorsing candidates	22%
Engaging in protests	20%

Note. List of lobbying techniques from Scholzman and Tierney (1986, p. 150). Duplicated by Cook (1998).

Table 6

List of Participants

Interviewee Category	North Carolina Participants	South Carolina Participants
In-house lobbyists from public higher education institutions	One from one large public university, one from one mid-size public university, one system-level lobbyist	Two from small public universities, one from a mid-size public university
Higher education bodies	Two members of the UNC Board of Governors	Two members from the South Carolina Commission on Higher Education
Members of General Assembly	One state senator, one state House member	One state senator
Outside lobbyists	One	None

Higher Education as a Political Tool

Hearn and McLendon (2003) contended that higher education remains a major source of political activity throughout the United States. For example, politicians have developed methods to allot funds based on key performance indicators such as job placement, graduation rates and retention, which turned the focus of higher education to performance-based funding (Zumeta, 1998). Murray (1976) stated, "The politics of higher education continues to be fascinating, significant, and unfortunately, ignored area of academic research" (p. 79). Throughout recent statewide campaigns, most notably for governor, it was seen that higher education is often one of the most contested issues. Issues such as state lotteries, admission policies, and merit-based scholarships are often the highlights of campaign debates (Hearn & McLendon, 2003). Legislators and governors are often seen politicizing the appointment process to university governing boards, which may lead to diminished quality of public university governance (Association of Governing Boards Universities and Colleges, 1998; Hearn & McLendon, 2003).

Gittell and Kleiman (2000) conducted a study on the impact of state politics and the culture on higher education policy. Three states were used in the study: California, North Carolina, and Texas. During interviews, the researchers found a strong connection between political culture and higher education systems. This was found numerous times, as in when interviewees responded, "That's the way our state operates" (Gittell & Kleiman, 2000, p. 2). The researchers found that North Carolina's centralized system reflected a state governed by elites. On the contrary, Texas, which values individualism and local authority, has a decentralized higher education system.

The Federal Process and Higher Education Lobbying

From the late 1960s through the present day, several higher education scholars have described lobbying activities or provided advisement on higher education federal lobbying (Bennett, 2012; Burkum, 2009; Cook, 1998; Glade, 2011; Rosenthal, 1993). King (1975) investigated the rise in lobbying within higher education and discussed the relationship between the federal government and higher education. King's (1975) study provided the baseline of historical research for higher education lobbying.

As stated, colleges and universities spend millions of dollars a year on federal lobbying. In addition to searching for federal funds, institutions lobby for legislation that will affect many institutions. Some of the activity includes, but is not limited to: working within the courts on lawsuits that affect policies, such as admissions policies, negotiating tax incentives on the federal level for students, and general federal policies that affect higher education. In recent years, there has been a plethora of affirmative action issues, first amendment challenges, and lawsuits involving the way states admit students. Institutions and higher education associations lobby for these issues constantly (Cook, 1998).

Cook (1998) conducted qualitative and quantitative research to assess how colleges and universities influence public policy as reported in her book, *Lobbying for Higher Education: How Colleges and Universities Influence Federal Policy*. While others, such as Bennett (2012), focused on association lobbying and grassroots lobbying efforts, Glade (2011) looked at in-house lobbyists for state institutions. Gray, Lowery, and Wolak (2004) noted there has been a decrease in higher education association lobbying and an increase in direct lobbying conducted by the institutions. Delaney (2011) focused on earmarks and state appropriations—something that many elected officials and interest groups have tried to eliminate.

According to Cook (1998), the higher education community has traditionally boasted that they do limited lobbying. In fact, Cook (1998) pointed out much of the earliest federal lobbying was to limit the federal government's involvement in higher education. The higher education associations were not supposed to be involved in politics and were merely trade associations. Murray (1976) even pointed out that the original intent of higher education associations was to "ride above the waves," meaning their intent was not to get involved in politics (p. 90).

Higher Education Association Lobbying

Bennett (2012) identified several hundred higher education associations located within Washington, DC. Cook (1998) concentrated her study on the six largest associations identified by scholars as "the big six" (p. 19). These associations serve as the primary federal lobbying contacts for most higher education institutions (Bennett, 2012). These associations are the American Council on Education (ACE), the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC), the Association of American Universities (AAU), the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities (NAICU), the American Association of Community Colleges, and the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU).

According to Gladieaux and Wolanin (1976), the big six associations did not establish lobbying offices in Washington, DC until the 1960s. Gladieaux and Wolanin (1976) claimed that 1968 could be seen as the year that higher education truly embarked on lobbying, as this was the year that the National Center on Higher Education moved to Dupont Circle. The building for the Center was purchased by a $2.5 million grant from the Kellogg Foundation to coordinate lobbying activities by higher education associations (King, 1975). While most of the associations

have moved from the building at Dupont Circle, the history establishes a strong lobbying tradition in Washington, DC.

In recent years, there has been a decline in collective lobbying conducted by associations, which has been replaced by direct lobbying conducted by institutions (Gray et al., 2004). While Gray et al. (2004) defined institutions as "organizations without members, such as business firms and cities" (p. 18), the term also encompasses higher education entities. Gray et al. (2004) also pointed out that state lobbying by associations has lost share proportionally; it has decreased from 29.24% in 1980 to 28.2% in 1990. In 1997, association lobbying only accounted for 22.62% of total lobbying conducted on the state level (Gray et al., 2004).

Cook (1998) administered a national survey to higher education institution leaders asking for their institution's input on higher education lobbying associations and the internal governmental affairs staff that work for their institution. The purpose of her study was to determine the institutions' perspectives on the effectiveness of advancing their policy status. Cook (1998) did this study from several perspectives: the institutions' leaders, association lobbyists, federal education agency staff members, and elected federal officials and their staffs. Cook's (1998) study showed that the big six higher education associations had changed their strategies to adapt to a changing political landscape and leadership over several decades.

Higher Education Lobbying at the State Level

As noted, most of the research on higher education lobbying has concentrated on federal lobbying and lobbying by associations. With the exceptions of Burkum (2009), Glade (2011), and Burgess and Miller (2009), there has not been a recent study on lobbying tactics currently used on the state level for public higher education institutions. Burkum's (2009) main focus was to determine the role state governance structures played in lobbying in higher education; it was

not to examine the forms of lobbying being used and their effectiveness. In addition, Burkum (2009) examined many grassroots lobbying efforts conducted by universities on the state level. Glade (2011) focused on the effect the economic downturn had on lobbying in Pennsylvania. Burgess and Miller's (2009) study examined the strategies perceived to be important from the perspective of lobbyists.

Bradbury and Campbell (2003) conducted an extensive study on Georgia's HOPE scholarship. The study was based on county public school systems and the competition for common source HOPE funds. The most significant finding of the study was that differing grading standards were found based on interest group proxies (Bradbury & Campbell, 2003, p. 387). The extent of lobbying conducted by certain counties and the amount they put into funding HOPE were both significant determinants of how much funding each county's students received.

Tandberg (2006) stated, "State politics in regard to public higher education is a high stakes game, in which most issues are highly contested, the processes are dynamic, and the issues affect many people" (p. 26). Institutions not only compete for money against other sectors, but are also often pitted against other higher education institutions in a complex political process where each institution is trying to position itself. Palmer (1992) helped explain the importance of lobbying:

> Trips to the state capital during the legislative session can be "too little and too late" unless they culminate local, district, and state-wide lobbying efforts that occur year-round. The most important place for lobbying is at home: in our own schools and communities. In reality, lobbying takes place every day in the way we carry out our programs and interact with administrators, students, other teachers, parents, and the community. (pp. 41-42)

Burkum (2009) and Glade (2011) provided the most in-depth studies of higher education lobbying at the state level. While the focus of Burkum's (2009) study was the role that a state's governance structure played in lobbying, a large part of his study also identified an array of lobbying tactics used by different institutions in different situations. One major gap in Burkum's (2009) research was that he did not interview elected officials to examine the role of governors and executive branch education agencies. As Burkum (2009) recommended, the perspectives of elected officials need to be studied, as they often play a dual role in the higher education policy process: a lobbyist in many situations, and someone who has been lobbied in others.

Tandberg (2006) claimed that most universities have either an in-house lobbyist or an outside contract lobbyist; some institutions have both. Tandberg (2006) also stated, "Many, if not most, large public universities have an office of government affairs that lobbies at the state and federal level" (p. 419). Smaller institutions rely on their president or chancellor to lobby if there is no in-house person designated for the responsibility. Institutions, both small and large, often use alumni to help lobby elected officials. In many cases, students even lobby on behalf of an institution (Tandberg, 2006.) Cook (1998) recognized the following as major higher education lobbying techniques prior to 1995: testifying at hearings, contacting officials directly, informal contacts such as sending a third party to meet with an elected official, presenting research results, sending letters to members, shaping implementation, planning legislative strategy, helping to draft legislation, and inspiring letter-writing campaigns.

Murphy (2001) studied the efficacy of higher education institutions by interviewing government affairs staff. The study was based on the viewpoints of those people conducting the lobbying and not those being lobbied. Murphy's (2001) study was in 36 states with 147 people completing the survey. Using information from Cook (1998), Burkum (2009) found that those

conducting the lobbying believed the two most impactful forms of lobbying were personally presented arguments to policymakers and having others contact the policymaker.

Rosenthal (1993) conducted an interview-based study of lobbyists on the state level, but did not deal with higher education issues. The study focused on contextual factors that influence how lobbying is conducted, the legislative process, and who is lobbied. Rosenthal (1993) noted that during the 1960s and 1970s, many state legislatures went from being part-time to full-time commitments, though being a state legislator is a part-time position that is not equal to a full-time salary (Rosenthal, 1993).

Clemens, Kaszton, Rufer, and Sucheski (2010) stated, "Lobbying of government does not simply occur at the federal level, where a great deal of information and transparency exist, the same is not true of lobbying at the state level (p. 7). This quote reinforces there is a lack of reporting of the lobbying activities taking place in higher education. Clemens et al. (2010) found that there is broad and well-developed research on private sector lobbying, but there is a "disconcerting lack" of research on what they refer to as "taxpayer-funded lobbying" (p. 7). The research on private sector lobbying is driven by market-based constraints and competition, while taxpayer-funded lobbying does not have the same level of accountability (Clemens et al., 2010).

According to the AASCU (2013), Americans have relied on higher education to strengthen and revitalize their communities and the nation. A task force convened in 2012 and published a report in 2013 entitled, *Creating a New Compact Between States and Higher Education*. This report (AASCU, 2013) found the following with regards to lobbying:

> Public universities do not generally make contributions to legislative candidates, incumbent office holders or political action committees that support their election efforts, as do many business associations and unions. K-12 teacher unions and their labor unions,

> utilizing expansive and well-organized networks of members, combined with considerable financial resources dedicated to lobbying, may hold greater sway in influencing state policymakers' spending decisions. While public universities and university systems utilize internal government relations staff (and, to a lesser degree, outside lobbyists) to appeal to state policymakers on their behalf, these institutions' lobbying efforts are often eclipsed by other larger, more homogenous, well-organized and well-financed groups when it comes to promoting state investment and policy priorities. (p. 32)

Furthermore, the task force found that a lack of legislative memory, created by high legislative turnover, requires strategic efforts and lobbyists who can champion and promote higher educations' contribution to state objectives.

Summary

While the literature review examined studies on several areas related to higher education lobbying, there are still major gaps in research, particularly in comparing lobbying strategies for public higher education on the state level. As described, there is a vast amount of research on lobbying and higher education lobbying on the federal level, but a deficit of research on the state level. This two-state qualitative study was a mechanism to help fill this gap. As previously described, North Carolina and South Carolina are vastly different in the way they support and fund public higher education. The intensive two-state study included interviews with both those who have lobbied and been lobbied. Furthermore, interviewing an array of constituents related to public higher education lobbying provided a comprehensive picture of policy decisions and public funding related to higher education.

Additionally, the available literature lacked research on the role of alumni and students in the lobbying process. Through the open-ended interview method, described in Chapter 3, this study clarified the ways alumni and students affect decision makers. Previous studies also failed to include interviews with people who influence the political spectrum of higher education, another area of research undertaken by this study.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the research methods used for this study. The goal of this study was to answer the primary research question: What strategies and tactics are used in higher education lobbying at the state level, and how do these strategies influence the decisions made by legislative decision makers? The results of this study were uncovered by using data collection through personal interviews and document analysis to provide context on how different institutions lobby for funding and policy development. This method explained how higher education institutions develop relationships with the legislature, how the appropriations process works, and how each institution positions itself against other institutions competing for the same funds.

Design

Because the study focused on differences in two states' approaches to higher education lobbying, this study used a case study approach with each state serving as a case study, and a cross-case analysis of different themes presented in the literature review and the interviews. As stipulated by Stake (1995) and Yin (2003), a qualitative case study explores a phenomenon within its data sources. Baxter and Jack (2008) explained that this approach allows a researcher to explore multiple facets of the issue through multiple lenses. Stake (1995) and Yin (2003) recommended a constructivist paradigm that would allow a relationship between the researcher and the participants, permitting the participants to tell their stories. According to Yin (2003) and Baxter and Jack (2008), the case study approach should be used when: (a) the focus of the study is to answer both the "how" and the "why" questions; (b) the researcher is unable to manipulate the behavior of those individuals in the study; (c) the researcher wants to explain contextual

conditions; and (d) there are no clear boundaries between the phenomenon and the context from which it exists.

Qualitative research allows researchers to see data from a perspective much different than quantitative research. Patton (2002) described qualitative methodology as a detailed description of situations, events, people, interactions, and observed behavior, which allows researchers to use direct quotations from the subjects about their attitudes, experiences, beliefs, and thoughts. Krathwohl (1998) stated qualitative research produces a "holistic view of phenomenon" (p. 229) because reality differs by person, producing several different realities. Yin (2003) argued that case studies are important because contextual conditions are just as significant as the phenomena being studied. Yin (2003) also explained that case studies are appropriate for past events, but are even more appropriate for recent and on-going phenomena. Thus, conducting a two-state comparison in a case study method seemed appropriate, especially when applying triangulation to help validate findings.

Creswell (2009) noted one of the major differences between qualitative and quantitative methods: the researcher is the instrument that collects and analyzes data in qualitative methods, while the tool in quantitative methods is something developed by the researcher. A qualitative method researcher can use multiple methods to collect data, such as interviews, reviews of previous data, and observations (Creswell, 2009). Merriam (1998) explained that qualitative research is a time-intensive process, because it causes the researcher to spend long periods in the field. Qualitative research allows the researcher to interpret data from the perspective of the participants and to draw casual inferences (Bennett & Elman, 2006).

The researcher chose the qualitative research approach for this study because it is useful whenever a phenomenon has not been studied extensively (Bennett, 2012; Krathwohl, 1998).

Prior research on this topic was very limited, and most of it was at least 15 years old. An extensive literature review revealed that there had not been a similar study conducted on the state level that compared two neighboring states. Furthermore, understanding the perspectives of participants in this current economic climate would provide opportunities for future research.

Case Study

Over the years, there have been many researchers who used case studies to conduct qualitative research. Some of these include Easton (2010), Seawright and Gerring (2008), and Yin (2003). As described by Shavelson and Towne (2002), case studies are appropriate when the research question is description-related, such as discovering "what is happening or what has happened" or when seeking an exploratory question such as, "Wow, did something happen?" (pp. 99-106). Shavelson and Towne's (2002) approach also allows the explanatory question "How or why did something happen?" (pp. 99-106). The nature of this dissertation warranted a case study approach. To gain multiple perspectives on public higher education lobbying at the state level, this study used multiple institutions and perspectives from within each state.

State Selection

North Carolina and South Carolina are often grouped together as they compose the "Carolinas," but the states are quite different as far as their economies, culture, state politics, and public higher education systems. The two states were chosen for the study because of the proximity to each other, having lived in both states, and having spent more than 10 years working in public higher education in North Carolina. In addition, the doctoral internship for coursework allowed me to witness North Carolina's state relations process as part of the State Relations Council. The history of the two states' higher education systems are quite different, with North Carolina being the oldest in the country with the establishment of the UNC at Chapel

Hill in 1789 (UNC, 2015a). South Carolina's higher education system can be traced to the founding of the Citadel in 1802 (Meriwether, 1889), but the governance structures of the state systems are very different. The funding for higher education within all the states is quite complex and varies, and the governing boards of higher education institutions are different as well. Through this qualitative study, the researcher examined all these aspects to compare the states' lobbying techniques with each other and with traditional lobbying methods.

Sample

The study was composed of four samples: representatives from public higher education institutions in North Carolina and South Carolina, state representatives and their staffs from the two state legislators, individuals who have lobbied on behalf of public higher education, and members of the North Carolina Board of Governors and the South Carolina CHE. While random sampling is often used in qualitative research, Creswell (1998) stated that purposeful sampling is more applicable whenever it is an option. For this study, there were 14 interviews—eight from North Carolina and six from South Carolina. More information on the interview participants can be found in Chapter 4.

Modes of Analysis

Analysis of data came from interviews and document review. Two sets of questions guided each interview: Interview Guide 1 (see Appendix A) was used for participants who lobby, and Interview Guide 2 (see Appendix B) was used for the decision makers who have been lobbied. There was some secondary analysis when any documents, such as state relations' plans or strategic plans for lobbying for selected institutions, were provided. It was most important to discover details about the role of lobbyists in each state and the types of lobbying being conducted. This corresponded with several of the questions outlined in Interview Guide 1, which

details the open-ended questions used to guide the interview with internal lobbyists from institutions and lobbyists hired to lobby on behalf of individual institutions.

The researcher used Stake's (1995, 2006) cross-case analysis method to analyze the data, as it showed similarities and differences in the data. This allowed a significant understanding of the issues presented. The researcher used coding to track trends and group data after recording and transcribing all the interviews. The researcher used a qualitative research program known as NVivo to collect, organize, and analyze the data from the interview transcripts. NVivo triangulation allowed for validity of the data, as explained by Denzin (1978); different levels of techniques, methods, and theories were combined to produce data that would lead to the results of the study. The researcher incorporated triangulation to determine the credibility of the findings (Stake 2006; Yin, 2003). In this study, the researcher cross-verified findings with multiple interviews, recent newspaper articles and social media posts in accordance with Patton's (1999) suggestions on effective data validity.

Miles and Huberman (1994) argued that a cross-case analysis could be used when a logical connection exists between two variables. Given the similarities and differences between each state, and that logically there would be similarities, a cross-case analysis is most appropriate for comparing the themes. Meyer (2001) contended. "The idea behind cross-case searching tactics is to force investigators to go beyond initial impressions, especially through the use of structural and diverse lenses on the data" (p. 342). The cross-case analysis was aided by NVivo, although because the language of the two states was quite different, it was not as helpful as originally planned. Still, NVivo did group certain themes, which aided in completion of the cross-case analysis.

Lobbying strategies and participants were of particular interest throughout each interview. The researcher asked questions both related and unrelated to funding appropriation to reveal a broader picture of the methods and parties involved in lobbying. The researcher intended to inquire about the funding decision process and priorities from the participants' perspectives. This provided the interview participants the opportunity to tell their stories about what lobbying looks like within their states and institutions. The questionnaire for those who have been lobbied (Interview Guide 2) is in Appendix B and was used by the researcher when interviewing legislative decision makers.

Data Collection

Upon Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, the researcher conducted initial outreach via e-mail. All participants received the consent form prior to the interview to give them an opportunity to read it and ask questions pertaining to the study. The majority of the interviews took place in the participants' offices; the remainder took take place via telephone.

A qualitative method allowed the researcher to study the phenomenon associated with tactics used by lobbyists and the effects of those tactics on legislative decisions. A semi-structured interview format enabled focused, conversational, and positive two-way communication that encouraged participants to describe their experiences and interpretations of the answers to the questions in their own words.

This study's main source of data collection was the interviews. The flexibility offered by the open-ended interview technique allowed participants to share their interpretations and their points of view, and allowed the researcher to observe non-verbal cues that could not be interpreted any other way (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). The researcher read the prepared questions to all interviewees, but occasionally an idea or concept arose that allowed the

researcher to pursue further discussion and ask spontaneous questions. The IRB reviewed the questionnaire prior to any interviews. In addition, two experts reviewed the questions. One expert worked at a public institution in a lobbying-related position, and the other was a legislative staffer who had both lobbied and been lobbied.

Interviews with state-level policymakers, institutions' government relations staff, governance members, and individuals who lobbied on behalf of institutions allowed for a full picture of state higher education lobbying and identified lobbying strategies in each state. The interviews allowed the researcher to determine the lobbying techniques used in public higher education. The only other data collection method was the document review; the researcher reviewed the State Legislative Agenda as produced by the North Carolina State Relations Council (see Appendix C) and the Legislative Priorities vs. Results from the South Carolina Independent Colleges and Universities (see Appendix D).

Selected Participants

As discussed previously, the researcher interviewed each participant using one of two questionnaires that appear in Appendix A (Interview Guide 1) and B (Interview Guide 2). Interview Guide 1 was for those who lobbied, and Interview Guide 2 was for those who were lobbied. Each interviewee answered all standardized open-ended interview questions, depending on if they were lobbyists or someone that had been lobbied. The advantage of using this method was to enable participants to contribute greater detail and to allow the interviewer to ask probing questions as a follow-up (Turner, 2010). Creswell (2007) acknowledged that one of the challenges with open-ended interviews could be coding the data. To help alleviate this challenge, the researcher organized the interviews by similar themes and codes from the transcripts.

The researcher contacted potential participants with a letter explaining the study and the reason they were selected to participate. Secondly, participants received an e-mail seven days after the letter. Finally, the researcher contacted participants with a telephone call seven days after the e-mail. During this telephone call, the researcher followed up on the e-mail, answered any questions, and scheduled a time to conduct the interview. By following these three separate steps in reaching out to the potential participants, the researcher either secured an interview or removed the individual from the list of potential participants.

For many of the potential participants, an intermediary made contact after the initial e-mail. These intermediaries introduced the researcher to potential interviewees and provided a description of the study. The intermediary for each introduction used e-mail, telephone, or an in-person introduction. The intermediaries consisted of contacts that the researcher made while completing his internship for the doctoral program in Educational Leadership at East Carolina University. This internship allowed for contacts to be made within North Carolina's Federal Relations Council and State Relations Council. These contacts helped within South Carolina as well. Intermediaries contacted potential participants through the study recruitment efforts previously identified.

Participants were key lobbying officials from three institutions in North Carolina and South Carolina. Participants included elected officials from the North Carolina General Assembly and South Carolina General Assembly, who had served on an appropriations or higher education committee. Additionally, participants included appointed members from the North Carolina BOG and South Carolina CHE—each played a role in the public affairs process or served directly on this committee. Finally, one participant from North Carolina had lobbied on behalf of a higher education institution; while not hired to do so, the participant was part of

several legislative efforts from different previously held roles. Table 6 shows the participants who were interviewed from each state.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are present in any kind of research (Orb, Eisenhauer, & Wynaden, 2001). Creswell (2009) contended that ethical considerations are extremely important in qualitative research since it includes direct contact with people. Throughout history there have been numerous violations of human rights in the name of scientific research (Orb et al., 2001). The major ethical consideration with this qualitative study was participant confidentiality. While those who agreed to participate in the study signed the consent form, almost everyone said several times that they wanted to remain anonymous, even after the researcher told them during the reading of the informed consent that they would remain anonymous. To alleviate this concern, each interviewee from an institution is referred to as a "North Carolina Lobbyist" or a "South Carolina Lobbyist" with a corresponding number; each elected official is referred to as an "North Carolina Elected" or "South Carolina Elected" with a corresponding number; each North Carolina Board of Governor's member is referred to as a "North Carolina BOG Member" with a corresponding number; each South Carolina CHE member is referred to as a "South Carolina CHE Member" with a corresponding number; and each lobbyist retained on behalf of higher education causes is referred to as a "Higher Education Lobbyist," with a corresponding number. To help protect the identity of campuses and persons' names during interviews, campuses are referred to anonymously as "campus" and individual names in interviews are designated by parentheses and a descriptor without identifying information.

Summary

The intent of the study was conduct research in an unexplored area. The methodology set forth in Chapter 3 allowed for the development of a complete picture of public higher education lobbying in North Carolina and South Carolina. The researcher expected to complete 18 interviews with persons who were part of the influence process in higher education lobbying. While the 18-interview goal was not achieved, the 14 participants represented several different viewpoints from individual perspectives. The interviews are presented in a case study for each state in Chapter 4, along with all the findings from the participant interviews in a cross-case analysis. Comparisons were made using the conceptual framework and applied to each state. Chapter 5 follows with a conclusion to the study and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 4: DESCRIPTION OF THE CASES AND CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

A total of 14 interviews were used for this study to answer the research question, "What strategies and tactics are used in higher education lobbying at the state level, and how do these strategies influence the decisions made by legislative decision makers?" These interviews, along with printed materials that validate the findings, are presented through a cross-case analysis. Triangulation was used by connecting the findings to numerous newspaper articles, social media posts, and other printed material to help validate the results.

Strategies and Tactics

The first major finding of this study answers the research question: "What strategies and tactics are used in higher education lobbying at the state level, and how do these strategies influence the decisions made by legislative decision makers?" The majority of the strategies and tactics used by lobbyists were previously identified by Burkum (2009), Cook (1998), and Bennett (2012). While some strategies and tactics employed were similar in both North Carolina and South Carolina, each state has its own lobbying culture and is characterized by different approaches to how state campuses connect with the legislature. These different approaches are due to the vast infrastructural differences in the higher education system in each state, furthermore, the UNC Board of Governors has far more influence with the North Carolina Legislature than the CHE does in South Carolina.

MacMillan (1981) stated that a "decision on level essentially involves whether lobbying strategy should be at the federal, state, or local level" (p. 73). Since this study concentrated on state-level lobbying, the researcher clearly stated to each participant that this was the perspective from which he was speaking. MacMillan (1981) explained that a key to lobbying is finding the right focus and influencing committees within the legislature. This complements Gabel and

Scott's (2011) analysis of lobbying by keeping the regulatory infrastructure while using practical lobbying techniques. In both North Carolina and South Carolina, the regulations from the federal and state government, the Board of Governors in North Carolina and CHE in South Carolina, played a role in the strategies and tactics each institution used.

The study proved there are many lobbying strategies and tactics used within North Carolina and South Carolina in public higher education. In Table 3, Burkum (2009) identifies actions, examples, and implementation methods used by lobbyists within higher education. Table 7 goes a step further to show which of the two states uses each lobbying strategy. There are four forms of lobbying action conducted by both states: Providing Information, Advocacy, Networking, and Political Activity. While some of these actions may not appear to be examples of lobbying to the outsider, research shows they are calculated attempts to persuade decision makers.

Based upon the information presented above, one can conclude that a wide variety of lobbying tactics are used in public higher education in North Carolina and South Carolina and that there is some overlap in the strategies used in both states. Because three different participant groups provided the information comprising this table (including elected officials, university lobbyists, and governing board members), a comprehensive picture of how lobbyists operate within both states can be established. Table 7 separates lobbying into four categories. While some of these categories show overlap, the researcher determined this the best method to clearly present the information. The categories are: Providing Information, Advocacy, Networking, and Political Activity.

Table 7

Actions, Specific Examples, and Implementation of Lobbying Activities in North Carolina and South Carolina

Action	Examples	Method of Implementation	State
Provide Information	Provide experts with information	Face to face, e-mail	North Carolina, South Carolina
	Present research results	Face to face, e-mail, phone	North Carolina, South Carolina
	Provide written list of faculty for information	Published	North Carolina
Advocacy	Present organizational opinion	Face to face, e-mail, newspaper	North Carolina, South Carolina
	Ask alumni to represent	Face to face, e-mail, phone	North Carolina, South Carolina
	Ask students to represent	Face to face	South Carolina
	Seek support from parents	Face to face, e-mail	North Carolina
Networking	Sporting events	Face to face	North Carolina South Carolina
	Inaugurations of key personnel	Face to face	North Carolina
	Departures of key personnel	Face to face	North Carolina
	Signature university events	Face to face	North Carolina, South Carolina
	Legislative receptions	Face to face	North Carolina

Table 7 (continued)

Action	Examples	Method of Implementation	State
Political Activity	Build volunteer board	Face to face, postal, phone, e-mail	North Carolina, South Carolina
	Build alumni email database	E-mail	North Carolina, South Carolina
	Advocacy day at legislature	Face to face	North Carolina, South Carolina

Note. Based on personal interviews between February 27, 2015 and June 16, 2015.

Providing Information

Only six states do not consider the submission of information a form of lobbying from a legal standpoint. North Carolina and South Carolina are among those six yet there is no definitive answer on where the two states stand on the issue of providing information (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2016). Still, based on the findings of this study, it is apparent that providing of information to elected officials and staff is a major way public universities reach their desired outcomes. According to interview subject North Carolina Lobbyist 3 providing of information, "allows the university to control the information and not someone who doesn't have the universities best interest in mind."

In North Carolina, the most reported common interaction between university lobbyists and lobbying officials takes the form of providing information. In South Carolina, it was mentioned frequently, but not to the same extent as in North Carolina. This can be attributed to the fact that only one of the South Carolina Lobbyists actually lobbied full-time, for the rest it was only part of their job responsibilities. The most common way information was transmitted in the two states was via phone and email; committee presentations were often yielded to experts in a specific topic or to the university chancellor.

Two lobbyist participants in North Carolina spoke about the importance of communicating honest and factual information when building a rapport with elected officials. North Carolina Lobbyist 3 stated, "as a liaison it's important to provide correct information…if I provide something incorrect, I lose all trust and the relationship". South Carolina Lobbyist 2 clarified what type of information the campus provides:

> We're a conduit of information. In other words, what's your graduation rate? What are your highest majors? How many people of yours stay in the State? What's your

employment rate after graduation? In other words, are we a good return on investment? My job, I think, is to articulate all that - articulate our value to the State, and more importantly, answer questions for legislators.

North Carolina Lobbyist 2 explained a scenario in which a list of expert faculty was compiled to disseminate to elected officials. The elected officials, who received the list without asking, were thankful and explained it was the first time they had received such a list unprompted. Lobbyists in both states use the presentation of research results as a common method of reaching elected officials since it fulfills two purposes; first it, promotes the university to the forefront of the official's attention and second, the results presented are often perceived as being of valuable service to the state's interests. The majority of research results that lobbyists present in this manner target a specific outcome sought from elected officials. For example, if a campus is asking for additional state appropriations, the lobbyist will provide data on how that funding will be used and how it will impact the students, region, and state. Lobbyists will often make presentations themselves or, on occasion, bring faculty in front of a specific committee.

Lobbyists in both states expressed concern about delegating liaison duties to campus representatives who might not be in a position to comprehend the true priorities and needs of their institutions. The lobbyists demonstrated an even bigger fear that elected officials would be subjected to misinformation from media and competing interest groups. Lobbyists from North Carolina communicated there were rather large independent think tanks in the state with major sway with elected officials and which also had influence in the media. For these reasons, providing information is probably the single most important form of interaction that university lobbyists have with elected officials.

Advocacy

During the interviews, participants discussed how campuses organized lobbying activities. They insisted, however, that they did not and would not use the word “lobbying” and that “advocacy” was the term they used to describe what their job entailed. By focusing on advocacy rather than lobbying there are fewer limits to what, how, and who each institution uses to gain influence. The participants from campuses contended that they were working to educate decision makers on issues instead of lobbyists who try and impact specific legislation. While many states contend that advocacy is not the same as lobbying, the findings of this study indicate efforts undertaken by “advocates” in both states that are clear attempts to win over influence of legislative decision-makers and often times focused on specific legislation.

During each interview with a lobbyist, the researcher asked, “What role do alumni play in the lobbying process?” In North Carolina, there was not a consensus opinion on alumni being a significant part of the lobbying process, especially if they were not involved with the university. Alumni tend to be organized by volunteer boards; often referred to as a Board of Visitors or an Alumni Board. The participants were much more comfortable with the idea of alumni working in conjunction with the university rather than working independently on the university’s behalf. Conversely, state-level board members made the point that that alumni are important representatives for their universities in how they contribute to society, or making a living, and add to the economic development of the state.

The interviews revealed that the use of faculty and students in lobbying was very sporadic in North Carolina. Participants had major concerns about students going directly to the legislature to advocate personal issues. Some felt that including students as part of the process was beneficial, while others thought it could be detrimental; overall, there were truly mixed

feelings on using students and faculty as advocates. North Carolina BOG Member 2 was the most forthcoming about the ability to interact with faculty, explaining that they met and spoke with faculty and students as much as they can.

Only North Carolina Lobbyist 3 held a positive view of using students to lobby elected officials. The other two lobbyists from the state expressed concerns that students gave mixed messages and could not be guaranteed to align with institutional priorities. However, North Carolina Lobbyist 3 referred to student involvement as "something you should have in your toolkit." The lobbyist explained, "we have probably not [used students] as much. Not every session, necessarily, but students can be really good advocates, and I've taken students up to legislature with me". North Carolina Lobbyist 3 explained the importance of knowing the number of students within an institution that hail from an elected official's home district. North Carolina Lobbyist 3's university has students from 99 of the 100 counties in North Carolina, making them an impactful way to find a connection point to each elected official in the state.

Networking

In North Carolina, two of the three lobbyists mentioned that elected officials are regularly invited to university events. Some of these events include: inauguration parties for key personnel, retirement receptions, legislative events, and casual gatherings such as sporting events. The intention of these events is to expose elected officials firsthand how state funding or policy impacts the individual campus. In North Carolina, one lobbyist discussed elected officials attending sporting events and sitting in the Chancellor's Box while interacting with university officials. In South Carolina, only one Commission member spoke about elected officials attending university events, but did acknowledge that CHE board members and elected officials are regularly invited to homecoming and football games. These findings validate what Burkum

(2009) discovered during his interviews, that one of the most significant ways state-level lobbyists in Pennsylvania engaged with elected officials was hosting them for football games, or meeting with them around “football related activities” (p. 96).

In North Carolina, networking is the most coordinated component of the lobbying process. This facet of the university officials’ job truly distinguishes them as lobbyists rather than advocates in many ways. First, the North Carolina lobbyists pride themselves on orchestrating key legislative receptions. These events happen several times a year with the largest taking place during or around the legislative session at the state capital. South Carolina seemed to have far less heavily coordinated events to entertain and network with elected officials. In North Carolina, much of the networking takes place on campus, but subjects at each campus studied revealed they held legislative receptions in the state capital. The purpose of these legislative receptions was to introduce university officials and key dignitaries to elected officials. The receptions were described as formal events with alcohol, food, and a coordinated agenda designed to bolster each institution.

In North Carolina, whenever key university personnel join a given campus, it is customary for an event to be held to welcome the employee. The same can be said whenever a university official retires or leaves the institution. North Carolina Lobbyist 1 spoke about a reception held for a departing Chief of Staff that all local elected officials attended. Key events, such as a university founder’s day, homecoming, or the opening of a new facility mark the opportunity for elected officials to join campus. In fact, from time to time elected officials are asked to speak; most often about the benefits the new facility will bring or the overall positive impact the institution has on the community.

Political Activity

For purposes of this section, political activities are defined as "clear intentions to influence legislative decision makers." While political activity is similar to providing information, for this section it is different than providing information as it focuses on building coalitions and the infrastructure to advocate on behalf of institutions. Political activities outside of higher education also include: publishing voting records, running advertisements, and securing endorsements for specific candidates (Berry, 1977). The political activities the researcher identified in the study were coordinated quite differently in each state, partly because of the vast resources in North Carolina compared to South Carolina.

Each institution in North Carolina researched for this study has a Board of Visitors. As described by all three North Carolina lobbyists, the Board of Visitors for institutions in North Carolina is a collection of alumni and other stakeholders who serve as ambassadors for their respective alma maters. In one sense, the Board of Visitors is an advisory group to each institution Board of Trustees. North Carolina Lobbyist 1 described it as a feeder group to the Board of Trustees, since many of the members of the Board of Trustees were previously on the Board of Visitors. At the institution where NC Lobbyist 1 works, the Board of Visitors has a Legislative Affairs Committee whose members are specifically charged with advocating elected officials they have relationships with and with helping provide input on the legislative activities at the institution.

South Carolina Lobbyist 2 stated that e-mail is the most commonly used method of communicating with elected officials and that one tactic for targeting officials involved circulating prepared emails via contacts on their community boards or among their alumni members. One institution that does have more resources then others in the state is the University

of South Carolina. South Carolina Lobbyist 2 explained, “[They] have a little bit more organized system they call the Carolina Action Network. That’s an email system they have for all their alumni. I’m an alum, so I get those emails. When they feel like they need to rally the alums, they have a pretty good email system for trying to do that kind of grassroots work.

Grassroots vs. Grasstops

One of the secondary research questions of this study was: Are there differences in lobbying strategies and tactics in different states? Probably the most significant theme that emerged from the study was the use of grasstops lobbying in North Carolina and grassroots lobbying in South Carolina. Carney (2008) offered a major revelation that is very apparent in higher education: the use of grassroots lobbying allows higher education institutions to lobby without having to report it to the Secretary of State. Carney’s (2008) revelation can also be applied to grasstops lobbying, which has similar principles. Grassroots lobbying is focused more on motivating masses and having the right people lobby on one’s behalf. From the beginning, North Carolina Lobbyist 3, with more than 25 years of experience, stated, “You also need to have some grass-root activity, and by that I’m saying not overwhelming legislators, but having a lot of different legislators touched.” He/she was quick to distinguish, “I’m primarily a grasstops advocate rather than a grassroots advocate” (personal communication, May 11, 2015).While not actually using the term “grasstops,” North Carolina Lobbyist 1 described how the institution used a grasstops approach when using volunteers, “we use all of our boards of trustees, we use our board of visitors, we use certain foundations, folks that we have, our board of visitors actually has a separate legislative subgroup” (personal communication, April 24, 2015).

As described by North Carolina Lobbyist 2, North Carolina operates in a very coalition-based model as opposed to South Carolina, which does not. In fact, only the University of South

Carolina (USC) branch schools acknowledged any communication across the state; this was in part due to a lack of staffing at the South Carolina CHE. In South Carolina, resources are much scarcer; therefore, one must use several different tactics that do not require much personnel time or money.

The term "grassroots" was used by the participants in two of the interviews the researcher conducted with South Carolina lobbyists. South Carolina Lobbyist 1 stated, "We use alumni, and what I would call donor community supporters. In all the cases, [their involvement] was part of our grassroots effort". South Carolina relies heavily on the grassroots approach. This is a direct result of not having full-time employees designated for lobbying activities compared to North Carolina, where every institution involved in this study has employees for whom lobbying is a primary job responsibility.

Other Strategies and Tactics

North Carolina Lobbyist 2 did not go into many other details about specific tactics or strategies involved in the "advocacy" endeavors aside from those already mentioned, but did mention an approach used in the legislature. North Carolina Lobbyist 2 emphasized that there should be a "touch point" for every elected official; an issue they find uniquely important that connects them to the university on a personal level. According to NC Lobbyist 2 part of their strategy was to find what that touch point is and build a relationship. North Carolina Lobbyist 2 stated, "You have to find out what is important to each elected official."

One approach used by North Carolina Lobbyist 3 that was not mentioned in any other interviews, constituted the strategic use of technical data about the institutions' students and alumni. NC Lobbyist 3 stated:

> I carry around with me…a tally of all of our current student enrollment by district, and our alumni by district…[so] before you're talking with someone [they know] how well represented you are in their area…you can point out that [your institution] might be 200 miles away, but that doesn't mean you're not important, or that you don't have a presence.

North Carolina Lobbyist 3 also spoke about the necessity of conveying the value their institutions possess as a resource to families or individuals aspiring to personal advancement. This interviewee stated they also made of a habit of reminding those in the legislature that investing in strong state institutions of higher education would enhance the experience for those around them who currently attend or may attend in the future.

In North Carolina, research showed that elected officials often use campus facilities to host events. The researcher classified this accommodation under the category of "providing a service" to elected officials, since both of the elected officials' staff use campus-based contacts as a starting point for securing an event location. This exchange of services or resources has to be included as a means for campuses to gain favor with politicians for future or current initiatives. This finding is validated because not only do elected officials use campus facilities, but political parties do too. For instance, the North Carolina Democratic Party held its annual Jefferson Jackson Dinner in the Talley Student Center on the North Carolina State University campus in June 2016. This event, a fundraiser for the party, featured North Carolina Gubernatorial candidate Roy Cooper. Furthermore, nationally elected leaders including Chairman of the National Congressional Black Caucasus, G. K. Butterfield held his State of the District on the campus of East Carolina University in 2016 (Butterfield, 2016). Exploring this phenomenon in

more depth revealed that the Talley Student Center also held a presidential rally for Bernie Sanders in 2016 (Sanders, 2016) and has also been a location for early voting (Davis, 2016).

Decision of Strategy and Tactic

Victor (2007) has contended that organizations spend a great deal of time deciding on what strategies and tactics to use when they lobby. This study found that strategies and tactics used by higher education institutions are driven by state laws, governing board policies, and the resources the institution has available. All campus-based officials communicated that they determined their tactics according to the issues at hand and the resources available. These resources most often included what people they wanted to incorporate in their lobbying plan. This finding aligns with Scholzman and Tierney's (1983) research, which found that several factors determine the type of lobbying conducted by organizations: the amount of resources available to the organization, and the size, location, structure, and type of issues that the institution faces. Resources in this case, included money, institutional supporters (both internal and external), and the information they could provide to elected officials.

Agenda Setting As a Strategy

This study found that each state has a different way of setting agendas. Through the interviews, it became clear that agenda-setting is a strategy for higher education institutions in North Carolina, while lack of agenda is a strategic decision for some institutions in South Carolina's higher education system. According to many of the study participants from South Carolina, this lack of a common agenda favors the larger academic institutions, and puts the others at a major disadvantage for reasons further explained later in this section. This discrepancy is partially explained by Gabel and Scott's (2011) three-fold framework: policymakers prioritize stakeholders on the basis of who has more resources, not those with the

most need. Larger institutions tend to have a larger presence within the state and are therefore not only more visible to policymakers, but possess lobbying groups with the most resources to lobby. These circumstances, coupled with the complexity of lobbying law, the ethics set by the legislature, and lobbying guidelines set by each higher education body make it difficult for certain, smaller institutions to make progress with the legislature.

In North Carolina, a considerable amount of time is spent determining what the focus of lobbying should be in any given session. According to the North Carolina campus officials interviewed, the state agenda-setting process is, as stated by NC Lobbyist 1, a "bottom up approach". NC Lobbyist 1 went on to explain that legislative policies and requests start at the department level, work their way through deans and directors, before being addressed by the administration and taken before the Board of Trustees for final approval. North Carolina Lobbyist 2 stated that "The process is quite complex and takes a long time to push the proper channels. There is a lot of back and forth, the starting requests look very different than the final requests". In order to reduce impediments to the objectives at hand, North Carolina Lobbyist 3 maintained, "We all need to work together as a state relations council and stay on board with where our leadership from general administration directs us because they are the ones who are close to the board of governors".

The regular meetings of the North Carolina Board of Governors (BOG) serve as the mechanism for correspondence among all the institutions in North Carolina to work with General Administration and the appointed members of the BOG. The UNC State Relations Council meets on a more regular basis, as the researcher of this study learned when he served as an intern on the State Relations Council. UNC-General Administration staff conducted these meetings, but there was a lot of interaction between the representatives of each institution. According to each of the

campus-based officials interviewed and each member of the North Carolina BOG, it is a very collaborative process that allows for positive two-way communication.

Figure 4 displays the North Carolina request cycle as explained by participants during their interviews. The graphic depicts how requests are made at the campus level and progress through the North Carolina BOG and the legislature before becoming policy and/or appropriation. While this figure does not include all the steps in the process that occur before the initial request reaches General Administration, it does show a full cycle of assessments and determinations made at the various levels of administration and how funds are allocated back to campuses. Based on the literature review, there was no other model found that shows the process of requesting funds or policies at the state level. Figure 4 indicates that the cycle starts with determining needs, and that it concludes with the allocation of funds or implementation of policy before starting over again.

From the interviews with subjects from South Carolina, it was not clear if there is a state-level agenda in South Carolina, but all participants agreed that there is definitely no written agenda. The consensus among interviewees was that the lack of coordination was mostly because larger institutions such as Clemson and the University of South Carolina wanted to maintain autonomy from the South Carolina Commission on Higher Education or its sister institutions. When asked about going directly to the legislature rather than through the CHE, South Carolina Lobbyist 1 stated, “I think the legislature is looking for [campuses] to come together and give comprehensive approaches”. South Carolina CHE Member 2 provided an example when discussing imbalance in institutions, “in our state, the research institutions do not want a Board of Governance and so it will never happen in this state. They want to have their independent boards. There’s been discussion [about coming together] and there’s been great push back”.

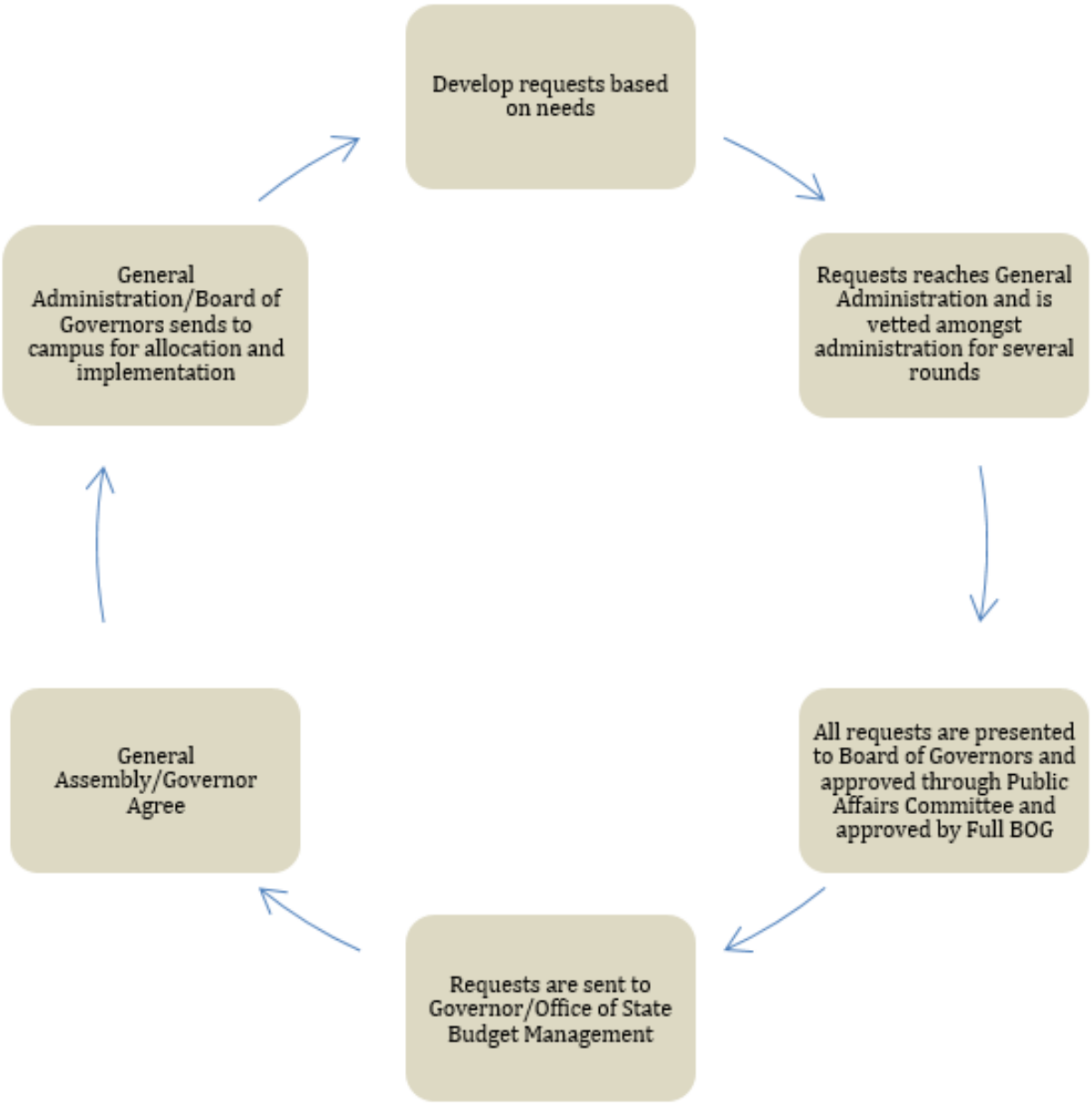


Figure 4. North Carolina request cycle.

Lobbying Strength in Working with Other Institutions

Although it is difficult to gauge which lobbying activities directly impact outcomes, there was widespread belief among the subjects interviewed that institutions working together helps advance each individual institution. During several North Carolina interviews it became clear that although each institution had separate lobbying agendas, the agenda items that affected more than one campus led these campuses to work together on lobbying tactics. All three North Carolina lobbyists discussed lobbying strategies and tactics that were decided within the State Relations Council at the UNC System and how they were implemented by each institution's legislative liaison.

North Carolina Lobbyist 3 was very forthright in stating the value of working together to achieve results, more specifically when discussing a Board of Governor's request from the previous decade. The request called for the University of North Carolina at Wilmington and Appalachian State to receive a minimally acceptable level of state appropriations. During North Carolina Lobbyist 3's tenure this was the second time such a request had been put forth. The previous instance took place in the 1990s and involved East Carolina, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Appalachian State University, University of North Carolina Wilmington, and the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. In that case, each institution was requesting increased funding for a per-student basis or per-FTE basis. These institutions were not being funded by the state at the level needed in relation to others. North Carolina Lobbyist 3 considered the more recent request that the greater success, because the institutions achieved an acceptable level of state appropriations per student. The appropriations were determined through funding analyses that dictated no campus should be receiving one standard deviation below the mean in terms of dollars, per FTE calculations. The institutions worked together to mobilize

alumni, educate elected officials, and even went as far as a call system to get the message out about how important this was to each campus.

South Carolina Lobbyist 1 also described their experiences in partnering with other institutions for funding purposes though they differed from the experiences of North Carolina Lobbyist 3. North Carolina Lobbyist 3 had the support of external authorities such as the UNC Board of Governors and other state institutions that advocated the agenda vetted by the State Relations Council. In contrast, South Carolina Lobbyist 1's efforts were not coordinated with the South Carolina Commission of Higher Education. Instead, SC Lobbyist 1 worked with a total of three other academic institutions to receive what the respondent described as "parity" to other institutions on the FTE basis. The institutions included in this parity were South Carolina Beaufort, South Carolina Upstate, and South Carolina. The previous state funding model was stopped by the South Carolina Legislature and budgeting was no longer influenced by enrollment calculations. This hurt the schools that had growth and needed more resources while those who maintained their current enrollment were not affected. South Carolina Lobbyist 1 used the example of USC Aiken to explain how the funding formulas hurt certain schools, which at one point received 12% of its budget from state funding. South Carolina Lobbyist 1 described USC-Beaufort in worse shape, as well as USC-Upstate, because they had had more growth and then other schools but maintained the same level of funding. Though the three institutions were not able to entirely fulfill their funding requests they did manage to convince legislators to increase funding, adding $200,000 to each institution's annual budget.

Board Members are Lobbyists at the State Level

One of the notable findings of the study is the role of South Carolina CHE members and the North Carolina Board of Governors. The role often means that these individuals are both

lobbyists and the targets of lobbying by others. North Carolina BOG Member 1 stated, “Now at the Board of Governors, I’m lobbying every day it seems. We’re always involved in lobbying, that’s a big part of what we do”. Given that the Board of Governors are appointed by the legislature, their lobbying activity is focused primarily on the same people that appointed them. North Carolina Lobbyist 3 explained that the Board of Governors have to be the “number one advocates” for budget requests and policy agendas, and considered lobbying the legislature part of their “statutory duty” to present the needs of the university to the general assembly.

Of the 50 states, the North Carolina Board of Governors has one of the largest governing boards, composed of 32 voting members. Each member of the Board of Governors is appointed to a four-year term; therefore, there are 16 members at a time, in staggered two-year increments. These 16 members are approved by the legislature every two years, and each member serves a four-year term. Of the appointments, a minimum of two must be women, two must be a minority race, and another two must be members of the minority party of the legislature. There are special members of the Board of Governors that include former governors, past board chairs, and the president of the UNC Association of Student Governments. Each elected member is charged with representing the needs of the entire state (Waller et al., 2000). The process of being nominated can be viewed as highly controversial, as evidenced by recent headlines in North Carolina media targeting three major campaign donors who have been appointed by then North Carolina Speaker of the House Thom Tillis (Neff & Frank, 2013). Because of the politicization of board appointments, the interviewees in this study expressed strong belief that each institution benefits from having members graduates of their institution on the Board of Governors. In North Carolina, each institution has 12 members on its Board of Trustees (13 if you include the elected student body president of each institution). Based on interview responses, the researcher

concluded that each of these board members plays a part in getting outcomes met by elected officials.

In South Carolina, the state legislature exclusively makes appointments to each campus governing board. The South Carolina governor can also be involved with higher education appointments, as demonstrated during May 2015 when the entire board of South Carolina State was removed after a bill signed by Governor Nikki Haley and the new appointments being determined by Haley and a small group of elected officials (Shain, 2015). Each of the four-year or research institutions has boards that range from 13 members, such as at Clemson and South Carolina State, to 20 at the University of South Carolina (Association of Governing Boards, 2016). Depending on the institution, members either serve four or six-year terms. South Carolina institutions have no students on any of their boards, compared to North Carolina which maintains ex-officio board membership for Student Government Association Presidents. Generally speaking, South Carolina has a far more convoluted appointment process than does North Carolina. Of the 12 state institutions, 10 receive one board appointment each by the governor, while the remaining members are solely at the discretion of the legislature. The exception to this arrangement can be found at Clemson, which has members appointed for life, as provided in the will of Thomas Clemson (Sams, 2010). At Clemson, departing board members hand down board appointments to their successors, a tradition that is unique within institutions of higher education. According Kiley (2012):

> The presence of self-perpetuating trustees and lifetime appointments—found at other colleges independently, but rarely together—can insulate an institution's governing board from political pressure, ensure some consistency over time, and give individuals who

might not have the time to lobby lawmakers for a position the opportunity to serve an institution. (p. 1)

At the institution for which South Carolina Lobbyist 2 works the approach to relationship building between board members and elected officials involves designating board member contacts to elected officials according to geographic location. Perspectives were varied among study subjects when characterizing the relationships between board members and elected officials. The informal contact board members and elected officials experience at social affairs cannot be understated. In North Carolina, UNC BOG members underplayed the intentions behind their communication with elected officials, and the fact that this contact ultimately aims to benefit the North Carolina institutions. This was evidenced by North Carolina BOG Member 1 stating they "hosted a dinner for key legislators from the House at Carolina Country Club last year right before budget discussions began." North Carolina BOG Member 1 went on to deny the intent of this interaction had anything to do with lobbying by stating, "Again, everybody says it's about greasing palms and stuff like that. It really isn't. It's more about building relationships. Now they're going to expect people to contribute to their campaigns, but all this stuff that you read about pay for play and all of that, that is overblown".

While those interviewed often spoke about the complexity of relationship, the researcher determined that the pervading sentiment is that elected officials will trust information provided by those they know over information received from those they do not trust or know as well. In this sense, board members are forced into establishing positive relationships with elected officials on both a professional and personal level to create a bond of familiarity. It takes a politically savvy individual to navigate these complex roles, which explains why many board members have direct ties to elected officials.

Not All Institutions are Created Equal in Access and Influence

Gabel and Scott's (2011) framework established that entities with fewer resources are more vulnerable to lobbying against entities with more lobbying power. North Carolina Lobbyist 3 was adamant that institutions with more Board of Governor appointments are much better off than those with less. North Carolina Lobbyist 3 articulated the advantages of having allied board representatives by saying "it can't hurt to have [board] members who understand your campus, understand your strengths, and understand your needs". All the lobbyists, board members, and elected officials the researcher interviewed, acknowledged that institutions are treated differently according to their prestige, power, and the overall impact of the state.

In South Carolina, there is clearly a discrepancy in the level of resources and access afforded public institutions. There are those institutions that possess both resources and access, notably the University of South Carolina and Clemson, while the remaining state institutions struggle for inclusion in policy development and decision-making. Traditionally, this has also been the case in North Carolina, where the University of North Carolina and North Carolina State have received the bulk of state appropriations. Bratton (1986), published an in-depth examination of universities battling for inclusion in the University of North Carolina system, most notably East Carolina University, the environment described by Bratton in North Carolina in the mid-20th century seems very similar to the current state of South Carolina.

Are University Officials Lobbyists?

In both North Carolina and South Carolina, elected officials referred to their campus-based legislative contacts as lobbyists. The campus-based legislative contacts in North Carolina were averse to categorizing themselves as lobbyists, and in South Carolina the attitude of the campus-based officials toward the label "lobbyist" differed from campus to campus. Regardless

of their interpretation, these people conduct activities that are involved with influencing the public policy development process as it relates to higher education – activities that typically fall under the definition of lobbying, however, each of these officials do not tell an elected official how to vote or create a call to action, which allows for them to continue as liaisons. As North Carolina Lobbyist 3 stated, each campus-based official is recognized as a legislative liaison due to the North Carolina General Statute §120-47.8 that states:

> The Governor, Council of State, and all appointed heads of State departments, agencies and institutions shall designate all authorized official legislative liaison personnel and shall file and maintain current lists of designated legislative liaison personnel with the Secretary of State. (North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, 2015)

In South Carolina, of the three university officials who were interviewed, one was registered as a lobbyist principal with the state of South Carolina. The researcher designated this subject South Carolina Lobbyist 2, as the individual's primary responsibility was in the chancellor's office in this government relations capacity. When describing the position, South Carolina Lobbyist 2 stated, "I do register as a lobbyist, a lobbyist principal." South Carolina Lobbyist 2 spoke about their role as the main person who disseminates information from their institution to elected officials. South Carolina Lobbyist 2 spoke at length about inviting elected officials to campus to allow them to witness the impact of state dollars on students, hoping to continue state support.

The other two lobbyists in South Carolina would not confirm that they are truly lobbyists. South Carolina Lobbyist 1 stated, "I am not registered as a lobbyist". Like the participants, the researcher interviewed in North Carolina South Carolina Lobbyist 3 claimed the role of liaison. South Carolina Lobbyist 3 stated:

> No, I'm just a liaison. I listen, I provide information to my issues when they ask me, I look at what we need from our legislators so that I can answer those questions but I am just a liaison. I am not a lobbyist by any means.

Even though most of the participants denied being lobbyists, and instead felt they were liaisons, their duties reflect the duties of lobbyists in sectors outside of higher education. As Vedder (2013) established, higher education lobbying expenditures is vastly underreported. As seen in North Carolina, while the lobbyists are listed as liaisons, they are still lobbyists in terms of the function they serve to the institutions that employ them. The North Carolina legislature allows this by permitting each institution to classify their lobbyists as liaisons, as is also the case in other branches of government where similar arrangements exist between institutions and public policy makers.

When elected officials were asked if their campus contacts lobbied and how frequently, all made it clear that they are regularly lobbied. North Carolina Elected l responded, "The question is when aren't I being lobbied? Weekly, yes. I'm trying to think if there's anybody on my schedule today. I don't think so but, yes…I am lobbied every week". When South Carolina Elected l was asked the same question, the response was "only about every other day". This reinforces that these university officials are operating in a lobbying capacity while being protected from scrutiny as liaisons.

One of the major themes that emerged from the literature review was that campuses seemed to underreport lobbying activity and its legality. This led to the question during the interviews: "Why did North Carolina not recognize campus-based officials as lobbyists?" The interpretations during interviews differed between each interviewee; however, it was clear that each person who worked for a higher education institution and conducted lobbying activity was

actually registered as a legislative liaison within the state. Being defined as a liaison explains why these university officials are not seen as lobbyists, although their clear responsibilities outside of the government sector would be seen as lobbying. This aligns with the assertion made by Clemens et al. (2010), that there is not as much scrutiny on taxpayer-funded lobbying at the state level as there is at the federal level.

Reaching Intended Outcomes

With sole distribution of state appropriations, it is important for campuses to educate elected officials on how individual institutions are serving the needs of the state. Elected officials spoke at length during their interviews about what they expect from public higher education institutions including; connecting graduates to jobs needed in the state, graduating students on time, graduates getting jobs in their field of study, and being good stewards of resources. The consensus was that elected officials are much more willing to fulfill requests made by campuses which meet their expectations.

Across both states elected officials indicated they want to see the economic impact of public higher education. The most effective way for campuses to reach desired outcomes, therefore, is to prove their impact on the economy. This became evident when North Carolina BOG Member 2 stated that the "success of the state higher education system is directly tied with the success of the economy". Across both states, all 14 people interviewed mentioned that public higher education's role within the economy is the most important role it fulfills. While one can argue that secondary roles exist, for the purpose of this study the researcher identified four primary functions higher education serves within the economy: educating the people of the state, helping create business and drive innovation, and helping fulfill the healthcare needs of the state. North Carolina Elected 2 stated that North Carolina was "where we're not just dealing with

poverty, but we deal often with pockets of chronic poverty". North Carolina BOG Member 2 stated, "Without public higher education I would have not been able to afford to go to college, and I probably wouldn't have a four-year degree". North Carolina Lobbyist 3 emphasized that providing facts around the economy, such as unemployment rates, when discussing the needs of the university is important to correlate the success of the institution to the success of the state.

Each elected official believed there was a direct correlation between the success of public higher education institutions and the growth of each state's economy. South Carolina CHE Member 1 spoke quite frequently about how higher education should respond to "the needs of economic development and the business community". South Carolina CHE Member 2 had similar thoughts and added that several factors were changing higher education: "I think higher education is, in some ways, going through a transformation right now because there are a lot of factors that are pressing on higher education and the biggest one is the economic factor".

Participants in South Carolina placed emphasis on collaboration with other departments in the state to help drive job creation. South Carolina CHE Member 2 spoke at length about the partnership with car manufacturer Volvo, who had made a major job announcement at the time of the researcher's interviews in South Carolina. CHE Member 2 explained that one of the major reasons why South Carolina was able to secure the manufacturing facility was the state's ability to prove to Volvo and the South Carolina General Assembly that the education infrastructure could produce a workforce to fill the jobs needed. This was done because both technical colleges and 4 year campuses worked together to lobby the General Assembly for the incentives package and to Volvo what the state's higher education system could provide.

While the interviews often centered on job creation and workforce training, higher education also provides business consulting, housing rehabilitation, and public-private

partnerships that produce seed money for new businesses (The Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government, 2010). As economies continue to evolve from manufacturing-based to technology-based, higher education is crucial to the success individuals in each state can have in the work force. Higher education institutions in North Carolina and South Carolina understand the importance of reminding elected officials of this fact and use its sway in nearly every lobbying strategy they adopt.

Good Stewards of Resources

All elected officials across both states agreed that higher education institutions need to be good stewards of resources, including state dollars, tuition, and fees paid by students for services. They do not want outlandish spending and only spend money on items that relate to the direct benefit of students and the economic needs of the state. North Carolina Elected 2's expectations focused on providing a good education at a good price. The elected official highlighted the fact that the legislature subsidizes higher education for state citizens. This fact was also addressed by North Carolina BOG Member 2's statement that, "North Carolinians underappreciate the generosity of this state in the legislature as it relates to public higher education, because we're feeling a lot of budgetary pressures". Higher education lobbyists need to educate elected officials that their individual institutions are good investments on public funds.

Across both states, elected officials made it clear that they support increased funding for higher education but also want to see those funds used efficiently. North Carolina Elected 1 spoke at length about excess spending in higher education that finances initiatives not directly related to student education or workforce preparedness. South Carolina Elected 1 believes more money should be spent in areas that will facilitate job development, allowing for more research

and partnerships with technical colleges to incentivize large employers to establish workplaces in the state.

Expediting Students

Having students graduate on time is a major challenge across the United States. According to the U.S. Department of Education (2016), the six-year graduation rate for students in the United States is 59%. South Carolina Elected Official 1 spoke frequently about optimizing conditions that would ensure students graduate in a four-year time period. South Carolina CHE Member 2 discussed the importance of technical colleges in improving affordability and access to higher education. The system also allows students the opportunity to transfer to four-year institutions. The member said these types of transfers create a problem, however, because "it also burdens the four-year institutions because they have bloating junior and senior classes".

As South Carolina Elected 1 noted, the state supplements the funding of students to attend public institutions. The elected official talked about a potential scheme to charge higher tuition for students who stay longer. This approach has been established at institutions elsewhere in the United States. The North Carolina General Assembly has already enacted legislation addressing tuition charges for students who prolong graduation. North Carolina General Statute §116-143.7 (2009) states, "Undergraduate students who elect to take more than 140 degree-credit hours to complete a baccalaureate degree or more than 110% of the credit hours necessary to complete a five-year program will be subject to a 50% tuition surcharge" (p. 1).

In 2015, 35.9% of the North Carolina total budget went to higher education; in South Carolina, the number was 29.6% (Russell, 2015). Because of the sheer amount of state tax dollars that go into education, there are set expectations for both K-12 and higher education institutions. The interviews in this dissertation provided a small sampling of the perceptions and

expectations of those involved in the decision-making process regarding the distribution of state funds. The researcher determined that public higher education institutions' capacity to meet or exceed these expectations is central to their continued funding and growth.

Veterans

Another major topic that emerged during two interviews in South Carolina was securing in-state tuition for veterans—the Veterans Affairs (VA) benefits would permit former military service members to complete higher education at a subsidized cost. This was a significant issue across both states, but it most deeply affected the institution where South Carolina Lobbyist 2 works due to the large number of veterans who attend it. Among the tactics used in South Carolina were using former military personnel to help tell the story of the importance of in-state tuition for veterans. According to the interviews, no current students lobbied for the issue, at least not coordinated by the institution.

The issue of in-state veterans was prior to the federal passage of Veterans Access, Choice and Accountability act of 2014. Section of 702 is now Federal Law that "Requires VA to disapprove programs of education for payment of benefits under the Post-9/11 GI Bill and Montgomery GI Bill-Active Duty at public Institutions of Higher Learning (IHLs) if the school charges qualifying Veterans and dependents tuition and fees in excess of the rate for resident students for terms beginning after July 1, 2015" (Department of Veterans Affairs, 2017).

Stand-Alone Issues

Several institution-specific themes emerged during the interviews. North Carolina Lobbyist 1 spoke about two public medical schools collecting debt on outstanding medical bills. Driven, in part, because the two medical schools are set up very differently, thus allowing one school to collect debt through paychecks while the other was unable because it was completely

public. North Carolina Lobbyist 3 stated, “Summer school is of one interest right now to [our campus] because we have so much potential to grow our summer school if we can address it in a way that the policy agenda calls for”. In South Carolina, the only issues discussed in all interviews were state appropriations, mostly around parity, and in-state tuition for veterans.

In both states, it was apparent that the issues for which the lobbyists advocated were tied to policy development or establishment or related to funding. Advocacy for social policy changes was rarely discussed during the interviews. Most advocated policies were about veterans receiving in state tuition, consistencies in how each state interprets in-state residents, and tuition and fee increases annually.

Stakeholder Theory and Relationship Management

Gabel and Scott (2011) argued that one of the basic tenets of stakeholder theory involves accurately identifying interest groups before examining the relationships between them. Under Gabel and Scott’s (2011) conceptualization of stakeholders on the federal level, these interest groups included: marketing firms and executives, consumers, media, constituents/voters, lobbying service firms, and society at large. Higher education has arguably more stakeholders than any other industry. Stakeholders include students, elected officials, taxpayers, parents of students, employees of institutions, and business owners who look to campuses for innovation and economic development. Since the purpose of lobbying is ultimately to advance agendas that serve the interests of specific individuals or groups of individuals, these stakeholders are inextricably tied to lobbying activities to some degree.

Regardless of their size and mission, all types of organizations have stakeholders competing for priority. This is very much the case in higher education. During several interviews, participants mentioned that recalcitrant or mismanaged persons involved in lobbying

activities could have negative consequences. In North Carolina, participants reported that the North Carolina BOG and General Administration Office are very involved in trying to manage stakeholders. Ferguson (1984) was first to suggest that lobbyists should focus on relationships. For the purposes of this study, the researcher used the relational approach developed by Bruning et al. (2004), which "requires that practitioners develop initiatives centered on the notion of mutual benefit" (p. 436).

While lobbyist participants dismissed the researcher's contention, it was evident that stakeholders informally engaged elected officials as a means of building relationships with them. This type of activity was not reported by UNC-GA because no employees of the state were involved in these engagements and the North Carolina BOG participated in a volunteer capacity. This point adds to the conversation about ethics and potential disclosure violations surrounding the reporting of this type of activity. North Carolina BOG Member 1 also discussed relationships, "Now I've got relationships in the Senate, too. I had lunch with [a Senator] the other day. [Another BOG member] was here recently, and [is] a good friend. I can talk to some of those people as well, but I got elected in the House, and so I have a stronger connection to the House. When we need something, I have people to call".

In South Carolina, the CHE only has one person designated to communicate with the legislature on the system level, and there is little to no coordination amongst any of the schools. In North Carolina, there is a minimum of five full-time employees who work to coordinate the advocacy process at any one time.

South Carolina Lobbyist 2 spoke about reciprocity in relationships with elected officials, stating that, through experience, they had found "you want to make sure that these long term relationships are beneficial to the legislator, if they feel that they can talk to [advocates] about

issues they might have". South Carolina CHE Member 2 spoke about how relationships with the legislature permit CHE members easy access to elected officials which provides opportunities to make their stakeholders' needs heard. This subject stated, "I have a relationship with a lot of [legislators] and I can just call them up and say, 'Okay, this is where we are.' The commissioners really have the opportunity to lobby the legislature." South Carolina CHE Member 1 discussed how they use relationships and influential alumni to lobby policymakers in an effort to meet an institution's needs.

Gabel and Scott's (2011) research on stakeholder management and relationships can be clearly seen in lobbying at the state level in North Carolina and South Carolina. The established relationships at all levels of decision making were evident during the interviews. At the core of each institutions and state's lobbying strategies and tactics is using the relationships of each institution and its stakeholders to accomplish goals. Having positive two-way relationships is central to successfully lobbying at the state level.

Summary

After collecting the 14 interviews and coding them, the researcher triangulated findings with previous literature for validation purposes. Most of the findings in this study reiterated discoveries made by Burkum (2009) and Cooke (1998), but the types of grasstops and grassroots lobbying practices found specifically in North Carolina and South Carolina, had not been previously identified.

In summary, the results of this study clearly illustrate that public higher education institutions are lobbying on the state level in North Carolina and South Carolina. It also illustrates that there are clear differences in how institutions within each state approach lobbying, as a result of state governance structures and the resources available to them. There are also

major differences in the agenda-setting process in each state. Lobbying activity is ongoing in all institutions, but those with a full-time lobbyist operative seem to have more direct contact with elected officials and coordination among their volunteer boards.

As demonstrated by the interviews in this study, public higher education in North Carolina and South Carolina is in a transitional period due to modifications to each state's political profile, the pressures on higher education abroad, and shifts in each state's economy. The changes are further evidenced by recent turnover in executive leadership in higher education. North Carolina recently announced the hiring of Margaret Spellings as President of UNC. As of February 15, 2016, South Carolina is in the process of hiring its next Executive Director. According to South Carolina CHE Member 1, the state is considering a more coalition-based lobbying model, similar to that found in North Carolina. Participants in this study based in South Carolina clearly want this to occur. However, the researcher inferred from their interview responses that there are some institutions that would prefer to maintain autonomy and lobby outside of the CHE or only with selective institutions.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

This study explored the lobbying tactics and strategies employed by public higher education institutions in North Carolina and South Carolina. The study approached lobbying from the theoretical foundation established by Gabel and Scott (2011), and applied their framework of lobbying and its role in the policy development process and state appropriation to higher education. The study was guided by the research question: "What strategies and tactics are used in higher education lobbying at the state level, and how do these strategies influence the decisions made by legislative decision makers?" While the research question was addressed throughout Chapter 4, Chapter 5 summarizes the entire study and provides recommendations for institutions to lobby effectively for both future funding and policy development.

Summary of Findings

Overall, this study confirmed strategies and tactics previously identified in higher education lobbying, while also identifying some new strategies and tactics. The most commonly used strategies in public higher education lobbying at the state level center around relationships and controlling the flow of information. Those interviewed worked to have a positive relationship between the institutional representatives and elected officials. This was to ensure elected officials are receiving factual information that meets the needs of the institution. The most common tactics were using alumni to advocate for the institution through a volunteer role, bringing elected officials to campus to see the impact of their decisions, and providing information that would benefit the intuition's case for the issue they are advocating. The majority of the alumni who lobby on behalf of an institution are the same alumni who were appointed to the institution's governing board by the elected officials.

This study also determined that there are differences in the lobbying tactics and strategies used by North and South Carolina and that these disparities are because of resources and the political cultures found in each state. When identifying and categorizing the lobbying tactics and strategies used in North Carolina and South Carolina this study determined that North Carolina uses a grasstops approach, while South Carolina focuses more on grassroots practices. South Carolina is forced into a grassroots approach, in part, because the institutions do not have resources to lobby directly. This causes the institutions to use email, phone calls, and not as much face-to-face lobbying compared to North Carolina.

By interviewing elected officials, the researcher discovered that lobbying conducted by campuses is important in achieving stakeholder goals. While many interviewees were reluctant participants in membership mobilization, in terms of using students, alumni, parents, and other stakeholders to lobby on their behalf, their responses indicate that these groups are important contributors to achieving institutional goals if they are mobilized correctly. The study found that elected officials were concerned with the opinions of higher education stakeholders, likely because they comprise such a large part of the voter base. In every reported successful example of achieving lobbying goals, there was at least some use of students and alumni.

In South Carolina, there is no coordination and very little lobbying of the legislature by the South Carolina Commission of Higher Education. Thus, individual institutions have little alternative but to act as their own advocates. This system favors larger, more politically savvy institutions such as Clemson and South Carolina that have the resources to employ advocates who can lobby successfully on behalf of their shareholders and monopolize state appropriations. These institutions often have more influence with the legislature than the South Carolina Commission of Higher Education, which leaves smaller schools at a major disadvantage when

trying to advocate for their own agendas. This raises questions of utility within governing and coordinating bodies. Are they necessary if individual institutions exceed their influence and have more access to elected officials? While some state-wide bodies play an important role in policy development and funding their involvements vary greatly from state to state.

Contributions

The results of this study add to the existing literature on public higher education lobbying. This study built on Cook's (1998) and Burkum's (2009) research on public higher education lobbying to provide an in-depth exploration of the lobbying practices found in two separate states with differing attitudes toward governance. This study can serve as a guide to governing boards and individual institutions of higher education as they develop lobbying strategies. It is important to note that varying state policies, political cultures and the availability of resources affect the feasibility of institutions incorporating these strategies into their lobbying plans.

The first major finding of this study was that institutions must be able to lobby effectively for state funding, as it is critical to their success. While institutions may have different priorities, they must be able to demonstrate their value to stakeholders and convince elected officials that they will provide a return on state funds. As Doyle and Delaney (2009) stated, "Higher education is one of the easiest political targets for reduced funding when the economy declines, as people who attend college are not among the "neediest" of the state" (p. 60). Therefore, no institution is immune to a depressed economy or a decline in state revenue. The study's interview participants, however, expressed a strong belief that higher education is the largest driver of a state's individual economy. Therefore, when lobbying, it is crucial for an institution to portray skillfully its positive influence on the state's economy to elected officials. In exchange, elected officials

expect to see a return on an investment from an institution, such as job creation and employment opportunities, as well as the efficient use of resources.

The second major finding of this study is that campuses are effective conduits of information to elected officials. Controlling the flow of information is a lobbying tactic. As described previously, higher education governing bodies, the Federal Government, and individual state governments allow institutions of higher learning and other non-profits to advocate on behalf of causes. This is allowed because they educate on issues but not on specific legislation. The interviews across both states did prove that institutions are within their legal right by providing information while not telling elected officials how to vote or asking for a call to action, instead controlling what information each elected official is provided.

The relationship between lobbyist and elected officials is the most important aspect in advancing institutions goals. Every elected official interviewed expected lobbyists to give correct information; it was clear that no matter what tactic was used correct information was the minimum expectation of elected officials. Lobbyists should work to develop a relationship with elected officials before an agenda item arises and work to network with lobbyists on campus to demonstrate the impact of state dollars on the individual institution.

Responses indicated that access to state level higher education appropriations are the most lobbied pursuits in both states, followed by changes or modification to policies. In both North Carolina and South Carolina there is an effort by smaller institutions, which receive less funding, to implement state-wide funding formulas that allow them to be competitive on a per student basis with larger institutions. In-state tuition for veterans was a consistent policy issue for lobbyists in both states, in part, because Veterans Affairs benefits permit them access to in-state

tuition in other states. If North Carolina and South Carolina are not able to implement similar initiatives for veterans, they risk losing a growing population and future revenue.

This study established there are vast differences between the two states' higher education lobbying strategies. Agenda setting, which involves organizing, strategizing, and implementing lobbying strategies at the state and institutional level are far different between the two states. In North Carolina, the processes are clear, and each institution prides itself on achievements with the legislature. In South Carolina, at least among the individuals interviewed, there was a feeling of discontent with the South Carolina CHE and the lack of processes and structures to conduct lobbying activity. Each state's public higher education system and policies are shaped uniquely by its political culture, which includes historical, economic, and social factors. The legislature significantly influences the direction of each state's public higher education system, as it controls appointments to boards of governance. North Carolina has focused more of their lobbying activity on research funding. North Carolina BOG Member 3 believes, "The Board of Governors and UNC system has put an increased focus on research to adapt our economy." As Gillen and Vedder (2008) indicated, North Carolina has attracted a number of new businesses and high paying jobs, which are directly tied to the state's higher education system and the prominence of Research Triangle Park, an urban industrial growth center that Christensen (2014) credits with altering the character of North Carolina's industry from agricultural to technological. While South Carolina has put more of their lobbying activity to bring in manufacturing jobs, which has led to more of an increase need for two-year degrees.

This study determined that it is important for institutions to have control over what information is communicated to elected officials. The interviews with elected officials portrayed an environment in which there is a vast array of information being communicated from alumni,

media, parents, and others that have a stake in higher education. Many of the research subjects agreed that these groups and the respective values they possess are an important part of the political process; however, interview respondents also claimed that oftentimes the institutional priorities these stakeholders perceive can be far different from the true priorities of each institution. Because of this, it is extremely important for lobbyists to position themselves as the primary source and authority on information related to their campus.

The results of this study reveal there is a major need for South Carolina to develop a state-level agenda process for all institutions similar to the process set in North Carolina. A combined and coordinated agenda can have a powerful impact, according to the lobbyists interviewed in North Carolina. The agenda should include a plan for lobbying, with determination of what tactics will be used in what way. The fact that the North Carolina legislature supports higher education at a rate five times greater than the South Carolina legislature is not simply due to chance or economic factors. Michael (2012) attributes this pattern to strong leadership and the centralization of the UNC system that occurred because of the strategy put forth by UNC system President Bill Friday. During Friday's tenure, the UNC system was consolidated, grew dramatically, increased in prestige, and became an economic powerhouse (Michael, 2012). While these outcomes cannot be exclusively credited to the enactment of a coordinated agenda, clear planning and direction were obvious factors in the system's success. The discontent among all participants interviewed in South Carolina regarding the lack of coordination across higher education provides evidence that a change is needed. According to the individuals interviewed, a coordinated agenda by the South Carolina CHE would advance the goals of public higher education institutions substantially better than the current system.

Perhaps the most significant finding in this study, which directly answers the primary research question, was that these two states conduct lobbying activities differently. North Carolina employs a grasstops approach with some grassroots movement, while South Carolina almost exclusively uses a grassroots approach. Participants expressed that North Carolina lobbying is based on the principle of having the right people lobbying on behalf of institutions. Those suitable to the role of lobbyist or advocate may include, but are not limited to: Board of Governor members, institutional Board of Trustee members, or involved alumni. South Carolina, in contrast, has a more informal approach that includes mobilizing alumni through databases and coordinated efforts or initiatives driven by self-motivated students, faculty, and staff. While neither system is perfect, both systems are effective. Based on the opinions expressed in the 14 interviews, the more effective lobbying model would include both grassroots and grasstops approaches with a heavy emphasis on centralizing all lobbying activities on campuses and on the state level.

As stated before, most interview subjects expressed their reluctance to use alumni and students for lobbying unless they are under the direct supervision of the institution. One lobbyist in North Carolina, however, proposed an ulterior advantage in knowing demographic data for the student population at their institution. This subject claimed that knowing how many students came from a certain legislator's district provided opportunities to build strategic relationships with state officials. Incidentally, while none of the elected officials explicitly mentioned the value of student participation in lobbying, they did acknowledge alumni living in their district were an important mechanism for learning about activities on a specific campus.

Research showed the level of involvement for chancellors differs from institution to institution with regards to the lobbying process. In fact, only one elected official mentioned

meeting with a chancellor on a regular basis. According to one member of the South Carolina CHE, South Carolina chancellors are looking for increased dialogue from the South Carolina CHE and among other institutions. South Carolina Lobbyist 1 stated, “It's the chancellor and the person in my role that would still need the marketing and community building relationship…with the legislature”. It was evident from these two interviews that chancellors should be more involved in the legislative process.

Research interviews indicated that on the state level, the South Carolina legislature has true oversight over state institutions, while the South Carolina CHE prepares reports and collects data. The results of the study revealed a strong level of institutional governance in South Carolina with direct contact with the legislature. In North Carolina, governance can be found distributed among institutions, the North Carolina legislature, and the North Carolina Board of Governors. Appointments to the institution-specific boards in North Carolina are spread between the legislature and the Board of Governors and in South Carolina all appointments are from the legislature (North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, 2000).

Finally, this study showed that communication was the single most important tool that a campus needs to work effectively with the legislature, the institutional board, and the state’s governing body. As stated during several interviews with lobbyists, higher education lobbyists view themselves as “conduits” of information above any other role they play in lobbying. Milbrath (1960) was the first researcher to approach lobbying as a communication model. Based on the interview responses provided by subjects in this study, Milbrath’s (1960) approach remains relevant to all lobbying conducted by higher education institutions at the state level. Milbrath (1960) stated, “The lobbyist has finished his job when he has communicated in the most effective way possible” (p. 52).

Limitations

This study is similar to other qualitative studies in that it is not statistically generalizable to a larger population, and a study of states other than North Carolina and South Carolina would most likely produce different results. This study only included interviews with individuals directly related to the policy and appropriation process; however, it may have been helpful to interview some of those who are not directly related but have a perspective on lobbying, these could include provosts or other senior academic officials. Another limitation was the timing of the interviews. Given the political climates of each state and the transitions in leadership in the University of North Carolina and South Carolina CHE, the participants' answers may have been different were there more stability in the environment.

The primary limitation of the study was the sample size for participant interviews. This dissertation is based on interviews with 14 people, eight in North Carolina and six in South Carolina. While 14 interviews do offer a significant and useful variation of perspectives, it is a relatively small group considering more than 60 people were invited to participate. The study was also limited by several specific situations mentioned during interviews. These situations had to be redacted or summarized to ensure the anonymity of participants or institutions.

All lobbyists were hesitant to use the word "lobbying," despite their participation in lobbying activities on behalf of the institutions. By allowing public entities to employ liaisons, the state of North Carolina facilitates the ability of institutions to lobby without publicly or officially disclosing their lobbying activities. Every campus-based lobbyist interviewed in this study used the word "advocacy" in place of lobbying. In addition, participants frequently asked for assurance that what they stated would remain anonymous, which inferred they were very concerned with what they were saying as relates to lobbying.

The comments of participants in North Carolina were extremely favorable towards the Board of Governors, while in South Carolina, the participants expressed dissension towards the South Carolina CHE. The possibility of interviewee bias may have limited the study, as the participants occasionally strayed from answering the questions to provide other opinions. In particular, two of the North Carolina BOG members interviewed were resentful toward the citizens of North Carolina and spent time discussing the lack of appreciation for the BOG members' contributions to the state.

Recommendations

The first recommendation would be for institutions to develop a state relations plan when coordinating lobbying activities. This plan would assign roles for multiple stakeholders, have clear directives and transparent motives that would strengthen each institution's ability to achieve lobbying goals. The participant responses indicated that campus officials were resistant to sharing specific information on their institution's lobbying priorities; responses were generalized and related to several institutions. Future research into specific institutional priorities, especially since current laws mandate the disclosure of lobbying practices are warranted. Another recommendation would be to conduct a longitudinal study on a piece of legislation that affects higher education identifying the steps taken to lobby elected officials from conception until it becomes law.

The most prevalent topic discussed during interviews was parity funding across all institutions. Institutions that currently receive a higher portion of the funds prefer to deal directly with the legislature, avoiding collaboration with sister institutions and the governing board. As this study found, there is value in multiple institutions working collaboratively to lobby the same cause. This topic can be explored in future research, specifically addressing if lobbying is more

effective when combined with multiple institutions. The independence of larger, more established, and better funded institutions often results in a clear advantage over other smaller peer institutions. Lobbying collaboration between alumni, faculty, staff, and students also warrants further research, as many institutions use this strategy to achieved desired outcomes.

Implications for Policy and Practice

Agenda Setting

The first step for institutions to develop a lobbying plan should be to prioritize their needs and create an actionable plan. When discussing a coordinated agenda in North Carolina, interviewees believed that combining resources and leveraging each institution's strengths could help move the institutions forward together and separately. Elected officials in North Carolina preferred a coordinated agenda to limit the amount of time they spent communicating with representatives of higher education as compared to other sectors. In South Carolina, all the institutional lobbyists interviewed expressed the desire for a coordinated agenda. As demonstrated by the methods used in North Carolina, combining lobbying techniques and priorities is an advantage when meeting with elected officials.

In North Carolina, the agenda setting process seemed consistent across the state. While the ways institutions prioritize their needs differ from campus to campus, the submission of agenda items to the UNC-GA and the BOG is consistent. On a campus level, best practices stipulate a form used in a "bottom up" approach, as suggested by North Carolina Lobbyist 1 (personal communication, April 24, 2015). Introducing or creating a standard form in the State Relations Council could streamline the process on each campus. Providing each faculty member, director, dean, and vice chancellor/president the chance to suggest priorities would increase buy-in and cultivate a shared vision of the institution's strategic priorities.

The South Carolina interviews revealed a need for coordinated, state-level agenda setting among institutions. As many of the South Carolina lobbyists expressed, several schools want to maintain their autonomy in dealing with the legislature and avoid working with other state-funded schools. Based on the interviews in South Carolina, the ability to unify institutions with one vision and priority list to deliver to the legislature would reduce duplication in the system and enable all the institutions to gain more traction with elected officials. While there is value for some institutions to stay separate, others do not have the same amount of leverage because of size, alumni strength, and economic factors. These schools will continue to lag because of their inability to lobby with the same strength and effectiveness as other institutions.

A Model for Success

Based on the literature review and the interviews, there is no one model for effective public higher education lobbying at the state level. While federal law dictates lobbying activity, state policies have a major impact on how institutions lobby for their needs. Each state institution operates lobbying activity based on the resources available, laws set by the legislature, and policies adopted by their governing or coordinating body. Still, there are some basic tenets that could help each institution meet their needs.

First and foremost, each institution needs a lobbying plan. As opposed to a mere agenda, this document should be a written plan with executable action items. Each plan needs to have objectives and goals. An objective is defined as a measurable step one takes to achieve a strategy, while a goal is a broad long-term outcome (Belicove, 2013). This plan should also include resources available, a timeline, and a list of people with specific assigned tasks. The resources should include people, a budget, and outcome targets. Along with the resources, the plan should include both restrictions and limitations. According to lobbyists from both states,

one of the best tactics is to bring elected officials to campus for networking events. While these are offered as networking the goal is to expose the elected officials to the campus.

The model for success should be developed by not only the chief lobbying official at each institution, but also the institution's chancellor or equivalent. The vice chancellors should be involved in the plan development as well as clearly defining parameters that those involved in lobbying should not cross. As demonstrated by the interviews in this study, key lobbying officials are apprehensive of the involvement of people with their own agendas, such as alumni and faculty, as they may address elected officials without accurate knowledge of the institution's priorities.

Future Research

Lobbying Expenditures

As discovered in the literature review and confirmed by the results of this study, universities and state systems underreport lobbying activities. While it is very difficult to track lobbying activities by appointed or otherwise volunteers, the researcher does not believe that campuses will ever put a figure on true invested lobbying dollars without federal legislation. With the amount of money put into managing volunteer boards, the costs associated with travel for volunteers, staff and students, and the salaries paid to staff who put their hours into lobbying, the number is exponentially higher than what is reported. A tremendous amount of lobbying activity is conducted by faculty, staff, and administrators that is not classified as the work of lobbyists or liaisons. From the interview responses, the researcher ascertained that campus officials did not want to share too much information on the priorities currently being coordinated by the institution. While respondents failed to define a clear reason for this hesitation, especially given current laws that mandate disclosure of lobbying practices, it is an avenue for future

research. Of all the suggested topics for future research, an accurate calculation of lobbying expenditures is both the most necessary and hardest to obtain. Future researchers could contribute to this area by conducting a qualitative study, with heavy document review, at one institution as a case study. Even with an in-depth study and document review, it may be difficult to calculate an exact result because of the unaccounted direct costs to the institution for volunteers.

There is a major need to conduct studies in additional states. While North Carolina and South Carolina display differences in their approach to lobbying, research inquiries in more states could provide further understanding of higher education lobbying techniques and their ramifications. Additionally, the body of literature could benefit from similar studies being conducted within community colleges. Given community colleges have different structures and funding than four year institutions, comparing the lobbying strategies and tactics would be beneficial.

Merged Boards and Board Structure

Lambert (2014) made a case that in this current era, governors and legislators are often at war with university leaders. Higher education statewide boards play an important role in bridging the divide between higher education institutions and the public by communicating the broad purposes that institutions serve (Lambert, 2014). Elected officials are always looking for ways to reduce administrative costs, and given the recent recession, some states may be looking to merge their higher education boards or reduce the size of board appointments. This would reduce administrative costs and, according to the South Carolina participants, allow for collaboration between community colleges and four-year institutions.

The South Carolina CHE, overseeing both community colleges and four-year institutions, could be a useful subject for a case study, especially one studying how a merged board aids in economic development. This could also explain if there is more value in community colleges and four-year institutions lobbying together to achieve goals. During the interviews for this study, it was widely known that North Carolina and South Carolina, among other states, were both vying to bring the Volvo plant along with thousands of jobs to each state. South Carolina CHE Member 3 observed, "I think we're going to be forced economically to have greater collaboration between our technical schools, our four-year institutions and our research institutions in terms of producing graduates that are needed to drive our state economy" (personal communication, May 28, 2015). CHE Member 3 described an environment where all higher education entities, the General Assembly, and the Department of Commerce contributed to the overall proposal to bring the plant to South Carolina. While CHE Member 3 did not explain any direct lobbying tactics, the member did discuss several meetings with the General Assembly and higher education board members to help secure the South Carolina's bid. In the end, South Carolina was successful in attracting the Volvo plant in part due to a large incentive package. According to Wren (2015), beyond the $500 million in construction the new plant will generate, $11.3 million in state and local taxes will be collected before construction ends in 2017. By 2024, the first year of full production of 100,000 vehicles will generate $72.4 million in annual taxes. With the newest plan, South Carolina's automobile industry will have a $27.1 billion economic impact and employ 57,000 people (Wren, 2015). With the addition of Volvo, South Carolina will most likely become the country's largest producer of automobiles.

Future research should investigate if and how the combined higher education system in South Carolina influenced Volvo's decision to open the plant in the state. Some possible research

questions include: Is there less bureaucracy with a combined higher education system? Is it easier to produce an incentive package with evidence that the single higher education system can train manufacturers in community colleges and business-oriented employees in four-year universities? Is there more influence in lobbying when community colleges and four-year institutions work together? How does the combined system work with the Department of Commerce in incentive packages?

Multi-Institutional Collaborations

Another opportunity for a future study is a new project in South Carolina called the Lowcountry Graduate Center. The center is collaboration between the College of Charleston, Citadel, Medical University of South Carolina, Clemson, and the University of South Carolina (Lowcountry Graduate Center, 2016). According to South Carolina CHE Member 2: "This Lowcountry Grad Center enables the three institutions in Charleston to not only collaborate with other institutions in other parts of the state, basically… bringing the university to the student as opposed to the student going to the university" (personal communication, May 28, 2015).

All classes are streamed online from the various campuses directly to a classroom in Charleston. The center was created to "help drive the economy" (South Carolina CHE Member 2, personal communication, May 28, 2015). The most recent year reported that the center received $785,000 in state funds, but had more than 1,000 graduate students attending the center (Knich, 2014). A study of the value of this center and the return on state dollars could be a future model for other states. CHE Member 2 explained a group of elected officials, institution representatives, and community members lobbied to create the center. A case study model can be used to explain the multi-institutional collaboration and what lobbying strategies were used to bring this vision to a reality.

Funding Model

The funding structure in South Carolina is another area that deserves further research and could be explored from numerous angles. South Carolina Lobbyist 3 stated, "The funding in South Carolina, we receive our appropriations as an individual line item; it's very political" (personal communication, June 1, 2015). This is different than most states, where dollars are appropriated for a specific purpose. A study could compare the model and its implications to models in states that appropriate money for specific purposes. The funding model should include what differences can be seen in lobbying strategies and tactics with different funding models. The implications for future research could create case studies to compare and contrast if lobbying activities, or lack thereof, contribute to the single line item model.

The allocation of state dollars to private institutions is another important opportunity for further research in South Carolina. As seen in Appendix D, the private and independent colleges and universities in South Carolina actually lobby the legislature to give discounts to in-state students. This model raises the question: Is there any benefit for state institutions to remain state institutions if the private schools also receive state funds, without having to operate within the confines of the state-level decision making? This is a major area that needs to be explored and comparing one state's lobbying activities by non-public and public institutions could create new literature in state level higher education lobbying.

Higher Education Lobbying of Independent Colleges and Universities

As seen in Appendix D, the South Carolina Independent Colleges and Universities (SCICU) has a lobbying agenda, much more so than the public universities in the state. In North Carolina, there is a similar association called the North Carolina Independent Colleges and Universities (NCICU). After several calls to the NCICU, the researcher was unable to ascertain if

there was a true legislative agenda; however, the website clearly states: “Our focus in public policy is to work to maximize college access, affordability, and financial aid for North Carolina students who attend private colleges and universities in the state” (NCICU, 2016). A full study comparing states could help future associations develop better processes and lobbying strategies and tactics. Furthermore, there is limited information available about the activities and impact of these associations across the state. This area has potential for future research.

Duplication of Degrees, Schools, and Programs

Across both states, several interview participants discussed what NC Elected 1 described as “massive duplication between sectors of the university; every university doesn’t need all the same set of programs and majors” (personal communication, February 27, 2015). There is more lobbying to keep the number of schools than to consolidate in North Carolina, with the exception of South Carolina State, there isn’t a push to close any current schools. South Carolina Lobbyist 2 stated, “We got to make some hard choices here…do we need 33 institutions in the small state of South Carolina?” (personal communication, May 29, 2015). The duplication of degrees and underperforming programs have been major topics since 2014. In fact, during the process of the interviews for this dissertation, the UNC system made several changes at the May, 2015 meeting of the Board of Governors: 221 programs were identified as low production and 46 were discontinued (University of North Carolina, 2015c). All of the discontinued programs were recommended by General Administration before the Board of Governors took action. Furthermore, a bill was presented in the 2014 short session that would have “allowed the UNC Board of Governors to study closing any institution whose enrolment fell by 20% between July 1, 2010 and June 30, 2013” (Mims, 2014, p. 1). This bill, which was removed during the session, was intended to initiate the closure of Elizabeth City State University (Mims, 2014). While many

studies have been conducted on consolidating degree programs, there has not been a study on the implications of closing campuses in South Carolina or North Carolina. In fact, in his closing speech to the UNC Board of Governors outgoing UNC System President Erskine Bowles remarked, “If we keep having cuts, cuts, cuts, we’ll have to look at eliminating schools—campuses” (Mooneyhan, 2010).

Policy Development and Interest Group Influence

Based on the interviews, higher education plays a central role in economic development and assisting individuals with advancing their socioeconomic status. An in-depth study that focuses solely on policy development and the role of lobbying at the state level would be beneficial to higher education institutions while increasing the body of knowledge regarding the process of ideas and issues becoming policy at the state level. The 14 interviews from this study offered limited information on the cycle of policy progressing from the campus level, through the higher education body, to state law. There is extensive political science literature on how issues become laws but very limited research on how higher education policy is developed. Per Ness et al. (2015), “There have been few efforts to systematically collect and analyze data for the purpose of examining, testing, elaborating or revising theories, or even hypotheses, on the possible impacts of lobbyists and lobbying in state policy formation for higher education” (p. 154). Ness et al. (2015) provided a framework for exploring the influence of interest groups in state-level higher education lobbying. This framework can be used to identify contextual factors within states that influence policy outputs. Using this framework, a qualitative study could specifically identify how policy development is conducted within states and the effects interest groups have on policy outputs.

Summary

This study not only supports previous work done by Cook (1998) and Burkum (2009), but also expanded on the body of knowledge that has previously been identified. This study presents a framework of lobbying strategies and tactics that can be used across both public and private institutions as well as providing a framework for state level agenda setting. This study will allow future leaders of higher education a knowledge base of how lobbying is conducted that will help advance higher education.

The media, elected officials, parents, and academic scholars have questioned whether public higher education can survive the current political environment and maintain its traditional academy integrity. Public institutions must sustain the trust of both citizens and elected officials. To do this, elected officials and university personnel need to have public confidence in the appropriation of state funds at public universities. Higher education will continue to be a major political issue and will be scrutinized in tough budgetary times. Politicians, the media, students, parents, and the public are all constituents of public higher education because it affects the state economy and they invest in it through tax funds. Clearly, institutions must continue to not only survive but thrive in difficult economic times. Each institution must continue to evolve and share its story and value, just as other publicly-funded entities. Effective lobbying is centric to the success of public higher education.

The findings of this study support previous literature on direct and indirect lobbying as established by Hojnacki and Kimball (1999), Mack (1989), Cook (1998), and Burkum (2009). By expanding the literature and comparing the two states, this study assists higher education institutions in developing a lobbying plan and evaluating their strategies and tactics. A lobbying

plan is crucial to support any new initiative for the continued success and growth of public higher education.

Coincidently, between the conclusion of interviews and the processing of information for this dissertation was that the South Carolina House of Representatives asked the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges to give a report on the status of the Commission of Higher Education. This report, dated October 28, 2015, recommended, among other items, a "Strategic Public Agenda" (Dickens, 2015, p. 3). This report, which supports much of the findings of this study, communicated the following to the legislature:

> Several comments were made that [CHE] needed to become far more active in several aspects, including the carrying out of statutory authority, building partnerships with the institutions, their presidents and their board chairs, and having a public relations staff person to help better inform the general public on the important functions of the Commission. So, the statutory authority is there, but CHE is either not using it or doesn't feel empowered to do so. (Dickens, 2015, p. 2)

While the Association of Governing Board of Colleges and Universities identifies the South Carolina CHE as a coordinating body, the CHE does not exercise its power to the fullest extent according to Dickens (2015). This is an important validation of this study that shows elected officials do not believe the South Carolina is an effective higher education body.

As established in this study, relationships are crucial to lobbying plans, and grassroots methods that rely on students, alumni, and faculty will only go so far. Formalized political approaches are required for success. The grasstops approach seems to be the most preferred by those involved in the lobbying process, and it is likely the most successful. Public institutions of

higher education must incorporate these methods on the state level, and coordinate with all other public institutions in the state to maximize the efficiency of their message.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE 1

Interview with a Lobbyist

1. Please state your official position and title.
2. How long have you been in your current position?
3. What is your institution's history of lobbying? On the federal level? State level?
4. What type of issues do you typically advocate for your institution?
5. What type of methods does your institution use to reach elected officials?
6. Would you share a specific instance when you lobbied on behalf of your institution and were successful in accomplishing your goals?
7. What lobbying techniques were used during this instance?
8. Does your institution have a strategic plan or a plan for lobbying?
9. Does your institution use volunteers for lobbying? If so, in what way?
10. Has your institution ever used students to lobby elected officials?
11. Describe your relationship with university system wide lobbyists?
12. How are lobbying decisions made, as far as what is going to be an institutional priority?
13. Please describe your typical day spent in the office. What about when you are meeting with elected officials?
14. What factors influence the tactics you use for particular officials?
15. What else should I know about how you decide what to lobby and how do you prepare?
16. What questions do you have for me?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE 2

Interview with Those Who Have Been Lobbied

1. What is your official position and title?
2. How long have you been in your current position?
3. What's your view of public higher education?
4. What has shaped your views of public higher education?
5. Previously, and currently, have you had direct interaction with public higher education institutions? If so, with whom at the institution?
6. What are your expectations for public higher education?
7. What kind of facts do you seek from public higher education institutions?
8. What role do you think public higher education has within the state?
9. Have you ever been lobbied by public higher education institutions?
10. What type of lobbying has been conducted by students, staff, faculty, and alumni?
11. Have you had colleagues who have been lobbied by public higher education? If so, what have they told you about these interactions?
12. What information can public higher education institutions provide to you in your position?
13. Is there anything that public higher education institutions are doing currently that you don't agree with?
14. What do you think the public higher education system can improve on?
15. Is there additional information you would like to share with me?

APPENDIX C: THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA 2015 POLICY AGENDA

1) Incentivize savings practices to encourage and maximize campus efficiencies

Current state statutes governing the carry-over of General Fund appropriations to the next fiscal year provide little direct incentive for campuses to conserve funds. Carry-forward authority is limited to a maximum of 2.5% of an institution's annual General Fund appropriation. The current incentive is, in effect, to "use it or lose it," as budget managers fear they will lose funds going forward if they fail to expend the full amount appropriated. Best business practices are designed to encourage savings.

This recommendation would increase the current carry-forward maximum from 2.5% to 5.0% of an institution's annual appropriation. These retained savings could be used to support critical one-time investments including: (1) building repairs and renovations, (2) computer and equipment upgrades, (3) matching and leveraging private funds to support the Distinguished Professorship program, and (4) implementing energy savings projects or other efficiency initiatives.

2) Provide In-state tuition for military veterans

In 2014, Congress passed comprehensive Veterans Administration (VA) reform legislation requiring public universities to provide in-state tuition for certain veterans or risk being barred from collecting all VA educational benefits. Prior to the federal legislation, the NC legislature passed a budget that included recurring funding for UNC institutions to participate in the VA's Yellow Ribbon Program with the first awards to be issued in the 2015-16 school year. In light of the federal legislation, the Yellow Ribbon Program proposal is no longer workable for public universities.

We encourage the legislature to pass conforming legislation providing in-state tuition for certain veterans beginning July 1 st, 2015, and carry-forward the 2014-15 appropriation being held in escrow, thereby permitting UNC to use these funds to pay for the transition cost associated with complying with federal law requiring in-state tuition for qualified veterans.

3) Restore BOG Authority for certain Repair & Renovation and Maintenance Projects

The University of North Carolina and state government in general is facing serious challenges with maintaining their critical infrastructure, due to inconsistent Repair & Renovation funding. One recent study indicated UNC was facing over a $2b R&R shortfall. Until recently, UNC institutions were able to address some of the R&R needs by identifying efficiencies in their operating budget to tackle their R&R backlog. These investments allowed the institutions to fix problems before they became emergency repairs. We encourage the legislature to reinstate this authority up to $1m for the Board of Governors and allow the institutions to carry forward these identified efficiencies into the next year if contractually obligated to complete the R&R project.

4) University Budget Effectiveness

When the State Budget Act was enacted in 2006, the legislation recognized the University of North Carolina is part of the legislative branch of government and included several exemptions not provided for executive branch agencies. During the 2013 budget process however, slight

changes were made to the State Budget Act that created a potentially inconsistent dual reporting requirement to both the legislature and the executive branch as it relates to submitting a Board of Governors-approved budget. UNC must now report a budget following the instructions as directed by the executive branch, while also presenting the needs of the university to the General Assembly and Governor as directed elsewhere in statute. We encourage the legislature to reinstate the exemptions which reflect the University's unique position as an agency governed by the legislative branch of state government.

UNC Efficiency Omnibus:

1) After Tax Benefit Plan Efficiency

Currently, each campus must maintain an Employee Insurance Committee if the institution offers after-tax payroll deduction insurance products. By requiring each institution to maintain an Employee Insurance Committee, UNC misses out on opportunities to centralize the offerings and gain greater efficiencies. We encourage the legislature to modify the statute for competitive selection of payroll deductions insurance products paid for by state employees to be approved by the President of the University as it impacts UNC employees and eliminate the need for each campus to maintain an Employee Insurance Committee.

2) Insurance Acquisition Authority

State law, through GS 58-31-55, limits the University's authority to acquire insurance and requires that the University place insurance through the NC Department of Insurance and its designated broker. As a result, the University spends several hundred thousand dollars in placement costs for insurance products that are specific to University operations and expertise. The University has the capability and expertise to acquire excellent coverage with lower transaction costs, with resulting savings to the State due to reduced risks and fees.

3) UNC Board of Governors Legal Services Authority

Under current law, UNC must petition the Attorney General and the Governor's office before securing outside counsel. While the Attorney General is appropriately the University's representative in litigation matters, the University's complex and multi-faceted business operations, which are unique to State government, often require the assistance of specialized private counsel in other areas such as intellectual property, technology transfer, international law and regulatory compliance that are outside the scope of services provided by the Attorney General's office. The University is not among the administrative departments within the executive branch. Moreover, the University always pays the costs of private counsel that it retains from University resources. UNC encourages the legislature to give authority to the Board of Governors to authorize the president to retain private legal counsel without need for separate approval from the Attorney General or Governor's office in any non-litigation matter, as well as in any litigation mater in which the Attorney General concurs that representation of the University in the litigation matter would be enhanced by assistance from outside counsel, recognizing that the University will continue to be responsible for paying the costs of outside legal counsel from its own resources.

4) Support state aid intercept to keep student fees affordable

As the cost of college attendance goes up, universities across the country are looking for ways to keep student fees low. Several states, including Virginia, Kentucky, Colorado and Massachusetts, have intercept programs that provide public entities more favorable access to capital markets. Credit ratings for institutions that participate in intercept programs are typically "one-notch" below the state's general obligation bond rating. Implementing a program in North Carolina would allow UNC campuses to refinance existing debt or finance new debt on self-liquidating projects with AA category bonds. The estimated total cash savings on refinancing existing debt is $8.2 million for the UNC system and would greatly assist our campuses in keeping student fees affordable, especially those campuses who are having to pay higher interest rates due to diseconomies of scale.

5) Administer self-supporting programs & non-credit instructions to Institutional Trust Funds

The UNC Strategic Plan encouraged institutions to improve time to degree completion. Many campuses would like to better utilize academic offerings during the summer as a way to accomplish this goal, which are classes that aren't subsidized by the state. While summer term charges full tuition to cover costs and allows better utilization of existing facilities, it also operates across fiscal years, which creates operating challenges under the current structure and limits the institution's ability to expand class offerings. Similarly, non-credit instruction similarly is receipt-supported and receives no state appropriation. The current model creates operating difficulties, inefficiencies and cash management issues for those offerings that overlap fiscal years. We encourage the legislature to allow the campuses to retain funding for these non-state subsidized course offerings in Institutional Trust Funds.

APPENDIX D: SCICU PUBLIC POLICY COMMITTEE

Legislative Priorities vs. Results for 2014

1.0 South Carolina Higher Education Tuition Grants Program

1.1 Support the FY 2014-2015 budget request of the South Carolina Higher Education Tuition Grants Commission for an additional ~~$1,275,866~~ $258,764 (Revise per TGC). If funded at the new level, the maximum student award will be increased from $2,900 to $3,000. The short-term goal is to increase the Commission's budget to a level that will sustain a maximum award of $3,200, the FY 2007-2008 level prior to a steady increase in the number of annual awards.

The South Carolina Tuition Grant Commission received an additional $258,764 in lottery funds and will be able to increase the maximum award to $3,000. The budget request was lowered prior to the beginning of the session because of a decrease in the number of grant awards. See Priority 3.1 for an additional $400,000 plus in appropriations.

1.2 If new state revenues are not sufficient to increase the Commission's budget for FY 2014-2015 to the requested level, advocate for funding at levels no less than those established in the FY 2014.

1.3 Resist all efforts to reduce or cap appropriations allocated to higher education need-based grants and merit scholarships from the levels established in the previous year's budget.

Contingencies 1.2 through 1.3 were not necessary considerations this year.

2.0 Merit-based Scholarships

2.1 Advocate for full funding of Palmetto Fellows, LIFE, HOPE, and Lottery Tuition Assistance scholarships to all eligible students to include both lottery and general fund appropriations.

Merit scholarships were fully-funded for FY 2014-2015 including a projected growth of approximately 2% in the number of scholarships awarded. The General Assembly appropriated more than $300 million in general and lottery funds for these programs.

3.0 Need-based Scholarships

3.1 Support the budget request of the Commission on Higher Education to add $2,600,000 for need-based student aid. The increase is needed to return funding to the level achieved in FY 2012-2013 after that year's $4,000,000 increase was not fully realized the FY 2013-2014 budget.
The General Assembly appropriated an additional $2,600,000 in non-recurring appropriations to the CHE need-based grant program. The Tuition Grants Commission will receive more than $400,000 of this increase.

Note: The Tuition Grants Commission receives approximately 16.0% of the need-based appropriation to CHE to be used for tuition grants. The 16.0% relates to the proportion of students attending independent colleges and universities compared to the number attending public higher education institutions.

4.0 PASCAL (Partnership Among South Carolina Academic Libraries)

4.1 Support CHE's budget request for $1,500,000 in additional recurring funds for PASCAL. PASCAL was funded at the $2,000,000 level prior to the FY 2008-2009 recession. Since that time, PASCAL has received inconsistent funding from surplus unclaimed lottery prize money.

Neither the Governor nor the House nor the Senate supported additional recurring funds for PASCAL. The current level of $164,289 was maintained throughout the process.

4.2 If new state revenues are not sufficient to restore core funding to PASCAL, advocate for funding at the current level of $164,289 in general appropriations and up to $1.5 million as a first priority in excess unclaimed lottery prize funds.

PASCAL moved up one slot from last year and is the #1 funding priority for excess unclaimed lottery prize money. PASCAL is eligible for up to $1.5 million if the excess unclaimed funds exceed $8 million.

Note: PASCAL is a partnership among public and private higher education academic libraries that promotes and enables all the partners to exchange resources through a central electronic card catalogue and delivery system. PASCAL also operates a purchasing consortium that negotiates reduced costs for subscriptions to electronic journals. SCICU members benefit from the expanded resources and cost efficiencies of PASCAL, elements essential for maintaining accreditation.

5.0 Representation on the Commission on Higher Education

5.1 Work for the nomination and confirmation of Dr. Evans Whitaker, president of Anderson University, as the independent colleges and universities' representative to the Commission on Higher Education. As chair of the SCICU Council of Presidents, Dr. Whitaker was recommended to Gov. Nikki Haley for appointment by his colleagues.

Governor Haley's Office was not able to submit Dr. Whitaker's name for conformation prior to sine die. Turnover on the Governor's staff and SLED's inability to complete a large number of pre-appointment criminal background requests added to the delay. We will work with the Governor on a possible interim appointment.

6.0 Federal Higher Education Issues

6.1 Support the agenda (attached) of the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities in the broad areas of student aid funding, regulations, and higher education policy with particular emphasis on the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act.

In February, Presidents Jairy Hunter (Charleston Southern University), Claude Lilly (Presbyterian College), and Nayef Samhat (Wofford College), along with SCICU President Mike LeFever, visited with members of the South Carolina Congressional delegation to discuss issues such as Pell grants and other campus-based student aid, over-reaching federal regulations, affordability, value, and student debt.

The Bipartisan Budget Resolution passed by Congress in January funds an increase of $85 for Pell Grants from $5645 to $5730 for academic year 2014-2015. The budget agreement also reinstates cuts made to campus-based aid program during last year's sequestration. Supplemental Economic Opportunity grants will receive $37 million and Federal Work Study will receive $49 million.

House and Senate appropriation subcommittees are beginning to mark up the budget for FY 2015. At this point, several programs are slated for increases, but the process has a very long way to go.

Stricter administrative regulations by the Department of Education continue to roil the higher education community. In spite of reciprocal regional agreements being promoted by the states, DOE wants to vastly expand the reach of the federal government in the area of distance learning by requiring all states to establish an "active process" to examine an institution and its programs.

Some progress has been made with the qualifications for PLUS Loans. Following the Department's stricter interpretation of the term "adverse credit" in late 2011, many borrowers were denied PLUS Loans, affecting enrollment at a number of private colleges, including Historically Black College and Universities. Dr. David Swinton, President of Benedict College, represented the minority-serving institutions in recent negotiations with the Department of Education. The tentative agreement on PLUS Loans eases some financial considerations and could mean that more applications will be approved.

SCICU continues to work with our national partners such as the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities to address these and many other issues.

APPENDIX E: INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY
University & Medical Center Institutional Review Board Office
4N-70 Brody Medical Sciences Building· Mail Stop 682
600 Moye Boulevard · Greenville, NC 27834
Office **252-744-2914** · Fax **252-744-2284** · www.ecu.edu/irb

Notification of Initial Approval: Expedited

From: Social/Behavioral IRB

To: Keith Tingley

CC: Cheryl McFadden

Date: 1/28/2015

Re: UMCIRB 14-001442
LOBBYING TACTICS EMPLOYED IN HIGHER EDUCATION AT THE STATE LEVEL

I am pleased to inform you that your Expedited Application was approved. Approval of the study and any consent form(s) is for the period of 1/28/2015 to 1/27/2016. The research study is eligible for review under expedited category #6, 7. The Chairperson (or designee) deemed this study no more than minimal risk.
Changes to this approved research may not be initiated without UMCIRB review except when necessary to eliminate an apparent immediate hazard to the participant. All unanticipated problems involving risks to participants and others must be promptly reported to the UMCIRB. The investigator must submit a continuing review/closure application to the UMCIRB prior to the date of study expiration. The Investigator must adhere to all reporting requirements for this study.

Approved consent documents with the IRB approval date stamped on the document should be used to consent participants (consent documents with the IRB approval date stamp are found under the Documents tab in the study workspace).
The approval includes the following items:

Name	Description
Appendix A & B Dissertation.docx	Interview/Focus Group Scripts/Questions
Informed Consent Document No More Than Minimal Risk Tingley.doc	Consent Forms
Tingley final proposal.docx	Study Protocol or Grant Application
Tingley interview request.docx	Recruitment Documents/Scripts

The Chairperson (or designee) does not have a potential for conflict of interest on this study.