

Oliphant: How the Right Hijacked Arizona

National Journal

March 29, 2014



A toxic chemical leak, a contaminated water supply,
and a long wait for answers in West Virginia.

BY MARIN COGAN

National Journal **Membership**

BEST PRACTICES IN WASHINGTON ADVOCACY

ANNUAL MEMBER SUMMIT



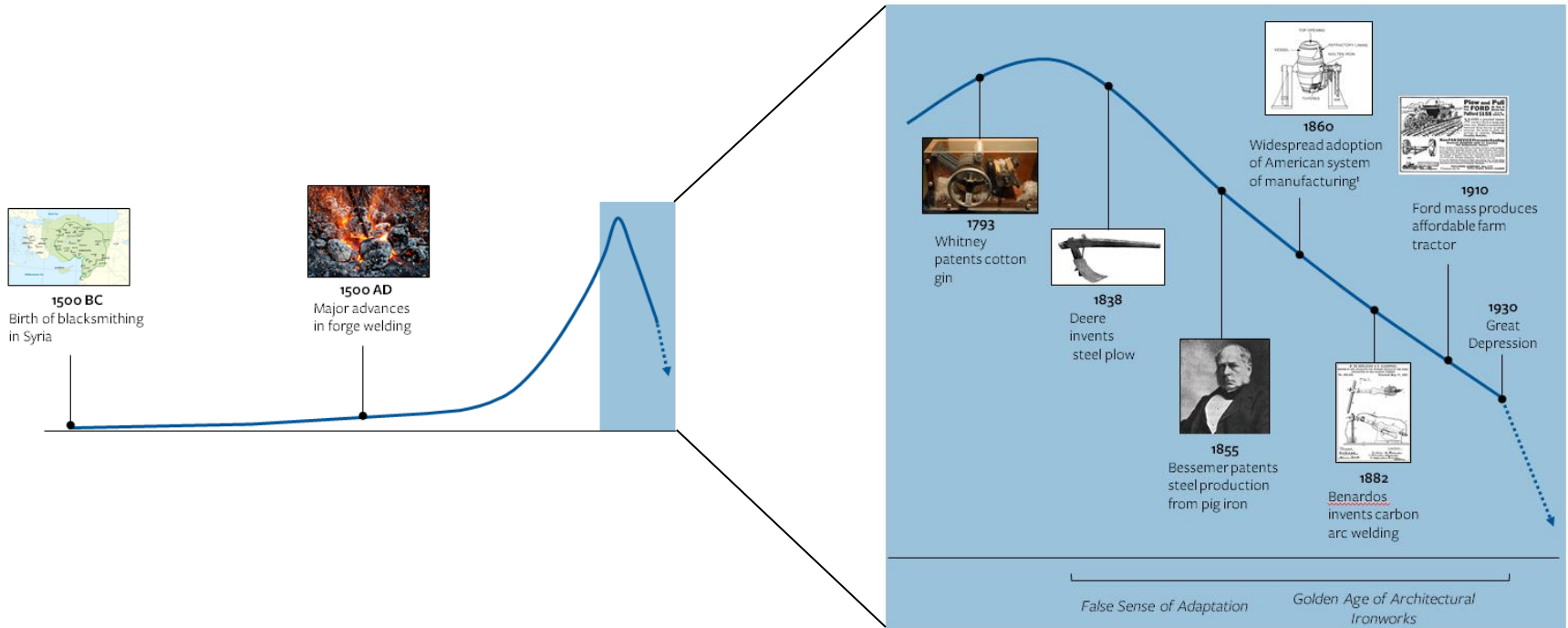
Opening Discussion
A Role in Transition

Not On Angie's List

The Rise and Fall of the Smithing Profession

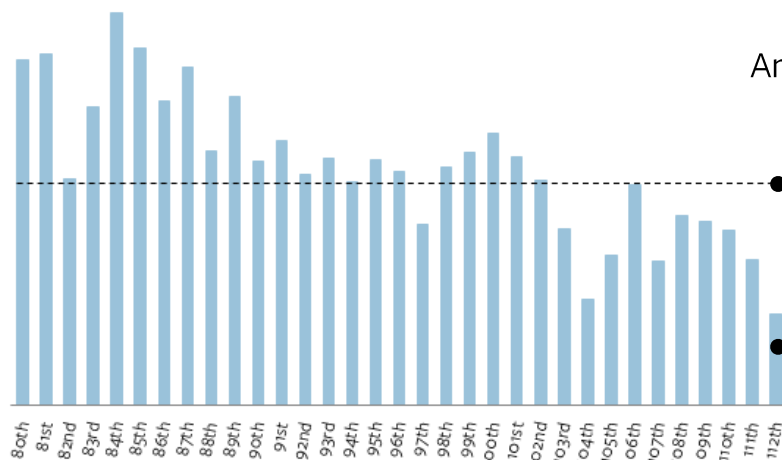
Global Market Demand for Blacksmithing

1500 BC - 1930 AD



A Dysfunction with Many Contributing Factors

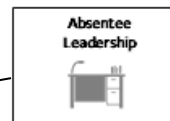
Halting Congressional Production



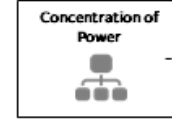
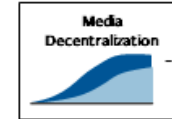
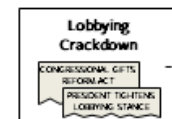
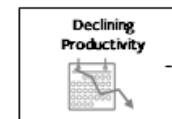
Annual Average:
609 laws

2012:
238 laws*




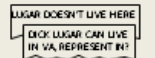
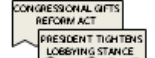


*Lowest rate of legislation passed vs. introduced since tracking began after World War II



Drivers

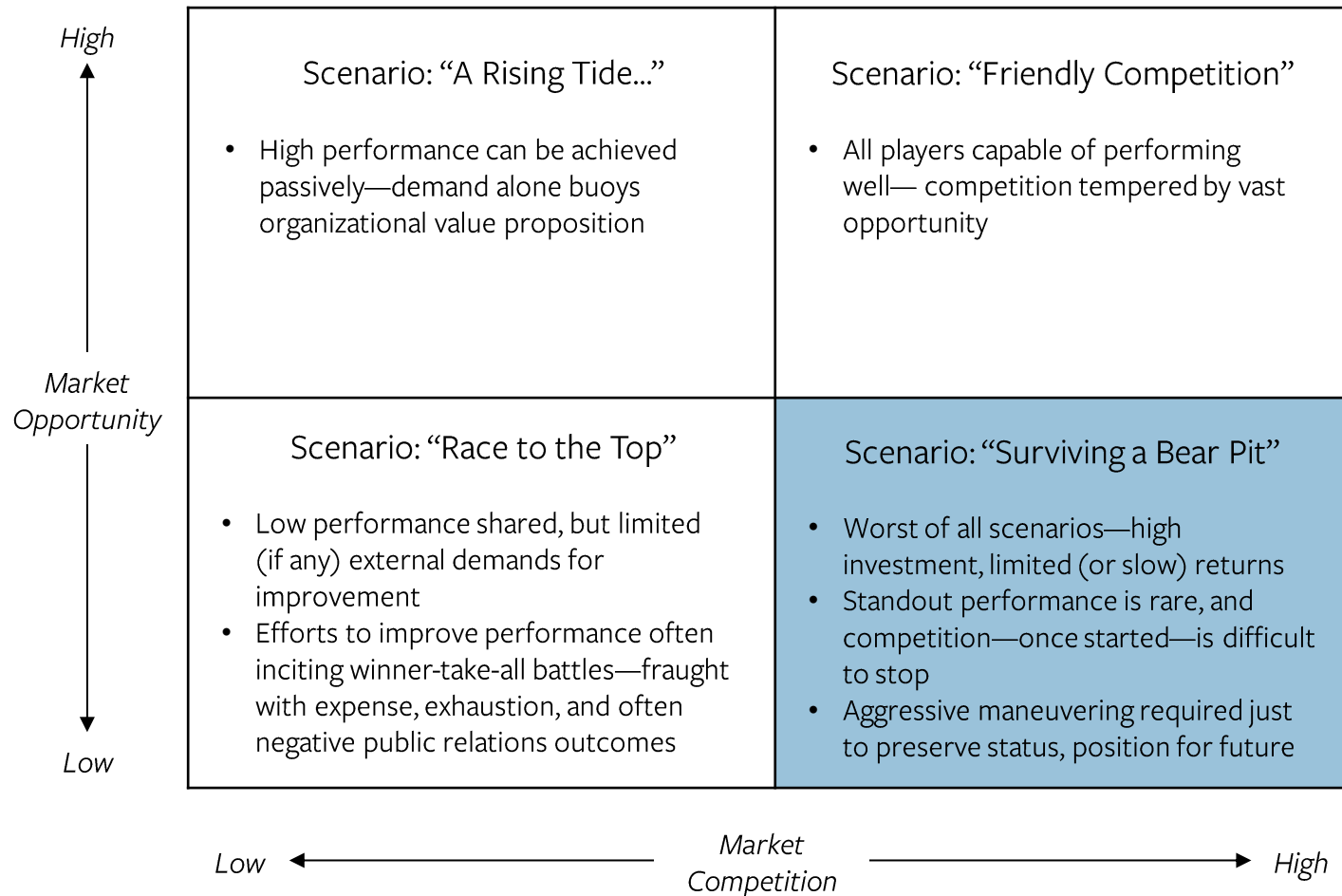


A Sisyphean State of Affairs

Driver	Outlook	Rationale
Redistricting and Lack of Compromise 	↔	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Court challenges to 2012 redistricting few and far between Next redistricting in 2022 Shifts from demographics likely to be marginal, occurring over long term Same-party challenges to incumbency continue to limit potential for compromise
Declining Productivity 	↓ ↔	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number of days in session likely to drop going into 2014 midterms Should Republicans take the Senate in 2014, could see improvement on days in session at the margins (as occurred with re-invigorated Dem party after retaking of the House in 2006) No reason to believe that amount of time spent fundraising (versus legislating, conferring with colleagues on issues) will change
Declining Experience, Sophistication 	↔ ↓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Current outlook: Not likely to see incumbent losses in 2014 and 2016 as witnessed in "wave" elections of 2008 and 2010 That said, further drops in tenure likely as senior members retire in coming years Education requirements and generational differences (lack of legislative experience, new legislative approaches) among new legislators persist
A Commuter Congress 	↔ ↓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Residency-related challenges not going away...and could get worse Public disgust with Congress likely encouraging members to spend more time back home, cultivate image as "one of us, not one of them" Not likely to see a resurgence in joint travel—reduced as effect of partisanship and diminished collegiality—in the near term
Lobbying Crackdown 	↔	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recent revolving-door exceptions and foreign government loopholes notwithstanding, status quo holds Next president likely to have considerably more "establishment" backing; cause to restrict lobbying will diminish, but relaxing of current policies not a given Fresh scandal(s) could again increase scrutiny
Media Decentralization 	↓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Communications technologies and media channels—local and national—proliferating rapidly; result is more voices and new voices in the discussion, adding to sense of "clutter" Transparency among new and emerging media could have chilling effect on degree to which members of Congress visibly and predictably engage with audiences
Concentration of Power 	↓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recent efforts to push power to committees unsuccessful Reality: Powerful committees unlikely to emerge when party holds relatively narrow majority; leadership assumes reigns for consistency in messaging Closely divided public portends narrow majority for some time to come Reduced incentive for legislator collaboration in the no-earmark era

A Bear of a Market

A Consultant's View of Washington Advocacy, circa 2013



Begging the Question...

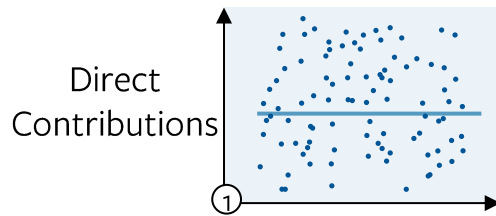
Which Way from Here?

1. Do we scale back? Pack it in (for now)?
2. Can we overwhelm the challenge with effort? Do what we do today...just more of it?
3. Can we overwhelm the challenge with improvement? Do what we do today...but better?
4. Do we ply our skills in new or adjacent advocacy “markets”?
5. Do we re-engineer our operations? Adopt a unique tactical agenda to advance our priorities?

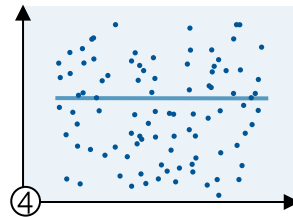
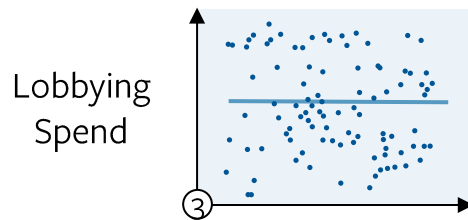
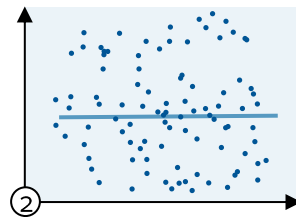
Not by Lobbying Spend Alone

Flat-Lining Yield on Corporate Spend

*All Policy
Influentials*



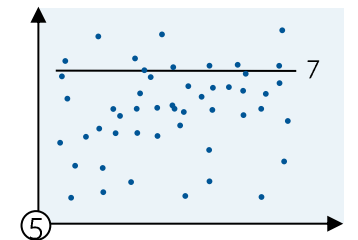
*All Hill
Staff*



Associations Investing Past Point of Return

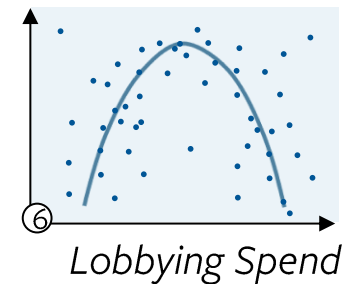
*All Policy
Influentials*

*Perceived
Lobbying
Effectiveness*



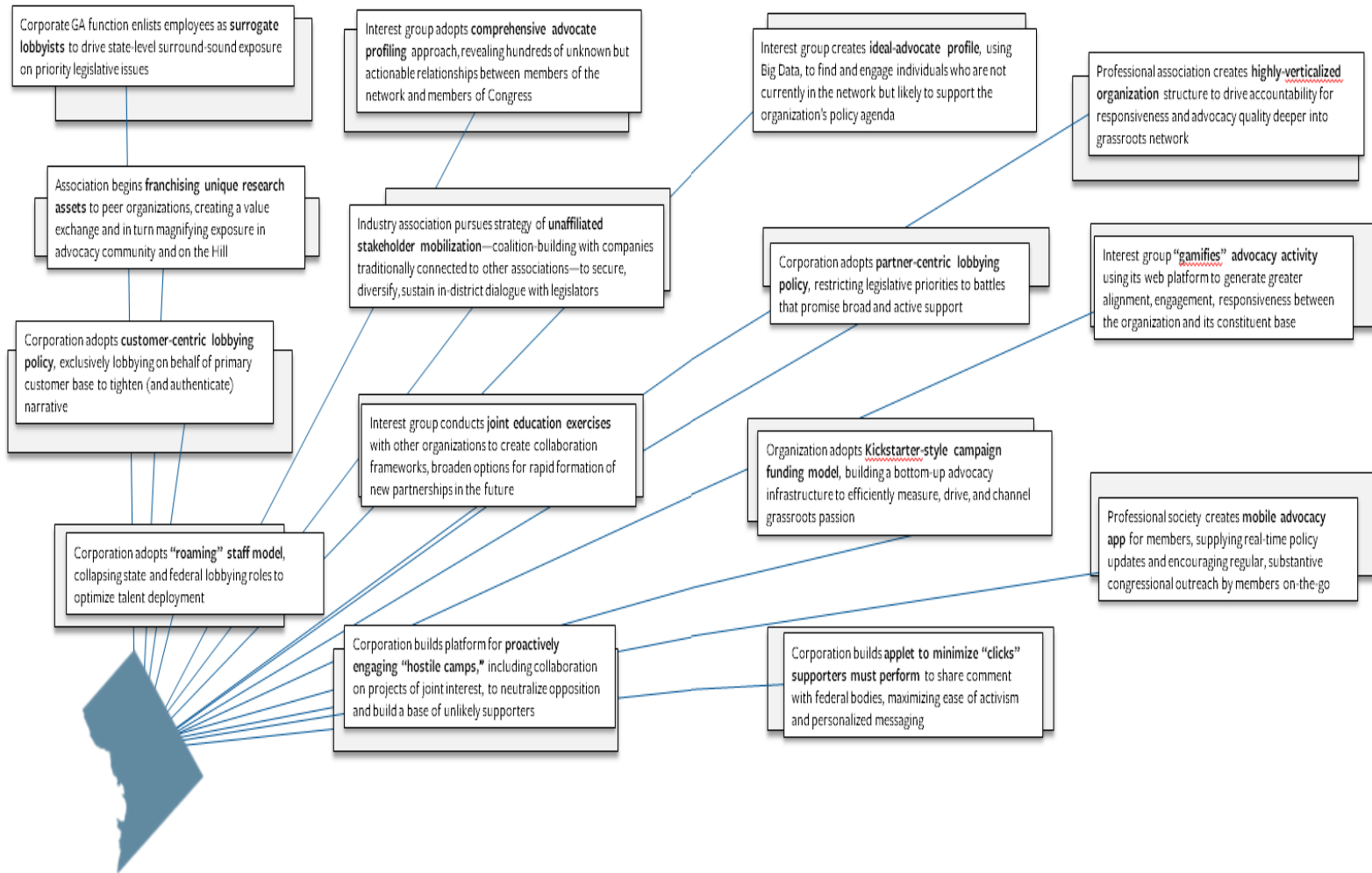
Lobbying Spend

*Lobbying's
Contributions
to Perceived
Overall
Effectiveness*



Experiments Afoot across Washington

Sample Activities Seen in the Research



Advocates at the Center

Recurring Theme

Leveraging the Influence of Others

- Grassroots community members
- Community leaders
- Friends and families
- Customers
- Employees
- Partner organizations
- “Hostile camps”

Transforming the Government Affairs Model

Repositioning for the Future

Model #1: GA Optimized for Direct Influence

Government Affairs Function

Primary Focus: Building own influence

Influence Model: Direct; executives are doers

Agenda Autonomy, Control: High

Purview: All legislative-related activity (including low-value activity)

Inputs on Process and Tactics: Internal, top-down management

Accountability: Limited to senior staff, “controllers”

Grassroots Relationships: Transactional, campaign-based

Workflow: Cyclical; extreme up and down periods

Flexibility: Occasional, targeted

Scale: Low

Model #2: GA Optimized for Distributed Influence

Government Affairs Function

Primary Focus: Leveraging the influence of others

Influence Model: Indirect; executives are facilitators

Agenda Autonomy, Control: Low; interdependent

Purview: Limited to “highly billable” activity; mostly directorial

Inputs on Process and Tactics: External and internal, bottom-up as well as top-down

Accountability: Highly distributed

Grassroots Relationships: Familial, continuous

Workflow: Mostly steady

Flexibility: Constant, broad

Scale: High

The Importance of Management

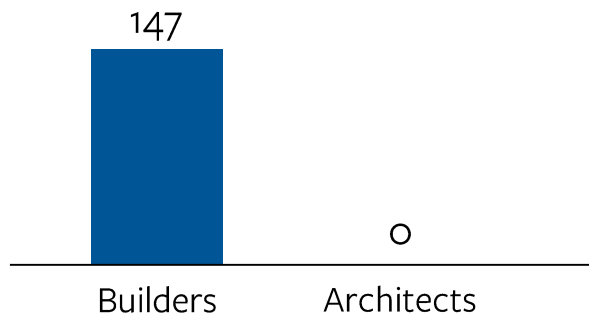
The Winchester Mystery House



- 160 rooms
- 6 kitchens
- Gas lights
- 47 fireplaces
- 10,000 windows
- Intercoms



Winchester House Workforce, 1884



- 65 doors to blank walls
- 13 staircases abandoned
- 24 skylights in floors

\$5.5 million total cost over 38 years

Greater than the Sum of its Parts

Working Together to Drive Change

Traditional Advocate

- 👍 Credible and authentic (firsthand) knowledge of local issues
- 👍 Many constituent connections
- 👍 Significant ability to impact fundraising and public opinion
- 👍 Technical expertise

- 👎 Not (usually) politically connected
- 👎 Unfamiliar with policy issues

Hybrid Role

- 👍 Credible and authentic (firsthand) knowledge of local issues
- 👍 Many constituent connections
- 👍 Significant ability to impact fundraising and public opinion
- 👍 Technical expertise

- 👍 Growing number of political connections
- 👍 Working knowledge of lawmaking process

Traditional Lobbyist

- 👎 Viewed as “contract” help
- 👎 Not tied to constituent community
- 👎 Close to money, but not in district
- 👎 Lacks technical expertise

- 👍 Many political connections
- 👍 Expert in policy process

Supporting High Value Interactions

Congressional Relationship Continue in the District

