

NEWS RELEASE

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Top 25 Special Interest Groups Spent \$285 Million on Lobbying Since 2000

The top 25 special interest spenders alone invested almost \$285 million on lobbying between 2000 and

Table 1

2022, according to a new analysis by the New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission (ELEC).

Top 25 Lobbying Spenders by Special Interest Group 2000-2022				
New Jersey Education Association (NJEA)	\$52,560,827	Chemistry Council of NJ/ State Street Associates	\$ 8,771,067	
AARP	\$16,563,882	Atlantic Electric	\$ 8,678,280	
Verizon	\$16,398,266	NJ Realtors	\$ 8,626,867	
Horizon Blue Cross Blue Shield	\$16,288,805	Honeywell	\$ 7,839,524	
Public Service Enterprise Group (PSEG)	\$15,981,607	NJ Business and Industry Association	\$ 7,553,298	
New Jersey Hospital Association (NJHA)	\$13,546,085	Cooper Health System	\$ 6,359,963	
Prudential Companies	\$11,688,355	AT&T	\$ 6,292,437	
NJ State League of Municipalities	\$11,074,028	Hackensack University Medical Center/ Hackensack Meridian Health	\$ 6,020,456	
Engineers Labor-Employer Cooperative	\$10,600,153	Cablevision/CSC Holdings	\$ 5,951,725	
Comcast	\$10,106,102	Virtua	\$ 5,656,840	
New Direction NJ Corporation	\$ 9,378,381	United Water/ Suez Water	\$ 5,458,544	
NJ Builders Association	\$ 9,008,772	Healthcare Institute	\$ 5,391,639	
First Energy/ JCPL	\$ 8,909,855	Total	\$284,705,757	

"These 25 groups were responsible for one-fifth of all lobbying expenditures during that 23-year period," said Jeff Brindle, ELEC's Executive Director. "Most of these are large organizations with big financial stakes in New Jersey. Policies they support or oppose can have a significant impact on these organizations and the lives of New Jersey citizens."

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Annual reports filed for 2022 show that eight of the top ten spenders last year also rank among the top spenders since 2000. However, for the first time in a decade, no group spent more than \$1 million. In 2021, four¹ of the top ten spent more than that sum.

2022 Versus 2021						
GROUP	2022		2021	DIFFERENCE \$	DIFFERENCE %	
Public Service Enterprise Group (PSE&G)*	\$	849,112	\$2,663,960	\$(1,814,848)	-68%	
American Civil Liberties Union Of New Jersey	\$	716,928	\$ 365,864	\$ 351,064	96%	
NJ Realtors/ NJ Association of Realtors Issues Mobilization Fund*	\$	714,897	\$ 479,179	\$ 235,718	49%	
AARP NJ*	\$	648,590	\$ 389,872	\$ 258,718	66%	
NJ State League of Municipalities*	\$	646,740	\$ 610,245	\$ 36,495	6%	
Chemistry Council of NJ (Includes State Street Associates)*	\$	636,306	\$ 553,840	\$ 82,466	15%	
NJ Hospital Association*	\$	608,069	\$ 637,597	\$ (29,528)	-5%	
CEP Renewables LLC	\$	605,685	\$ 175,000	\$ 430,685	246%	
Engineers Labor Employer Cooperative*	\$	566,394	\$1,213,934	\$ (647,540)	-53%	
NJ Business & Industry Association*	\$	550,851	\$ 518,222	\$ 32,629	6%	
Total Top Ten Spending\$ 6,543,573						
Total Lobbying Spending		5,076,034				
Top Ten As Percent of Total		7%				

Table 2
Top Ten Special Interest Lobbying Spenders
2022 Vorsus 2021

*Also among top 25 spenders since 2000

Preliminary 2022 numbers show lobbyists spent a total of \$95.1 million last year- a drop of 0.9 percent versus updated totals for 2021. Even with the decrease, it is the fourth largest lobbying spending total ever for New Jersey.

Table 3Total New Jersey Lobbying						
Expenditures By Year 2018-2022						
YEAR	YEAR TOTAL CHANGE- \$ CHANGE- %					
2022	\$ 95,076,034	\$ (911,161)	-0.9%			
2021	\$ 95,987,195	\$(10,820,449)	-10.1%			
2020	\$106,807,644	\$ 5,164,902	5.1			
2019	\$101,642,742	\$ 9,922,613	10.8			
2018	\$ 91,720,129	\$ 1,320	0.001			

¹ Fuel Merchants Association of NJ, PSEG, Horizon and Engineers Labor Employer Cooperative.

Brindle said lobbying expenditures may be reverting to a more normal pattern following the worst years of the pandemic, which led to scores of emergency bills related to everything from hospital care to business closures. Other big issues in recent years included approval of a special utility bill subsidy to keep nuclear power plants operating; restructuring the state's largest health insurer; legalization of recreational marijuana use in the state; and approval of offshore windmills.

"The last five years have been a relatively tumultuous time for the state and lobbyists. Things seem to be settling down somewhat," Brindle said.

One sign of a calmer atmosphere is the fact that the New Jersey Education Association (NJEA), which represents 200,000 teachers and other school employees and is the state's largest union, spent its smallest amount on lobbying since 2014.

Since 2000, no group has come close to the \$52.6 million the group has spent on lobbying. During the period, NJEA spent three times more than AARP, the next highest spender.

It spent the most by one group in a single year- \$11.3 million in 2011, or \$14.9 million in today's dollars. The teacher's union also was the top annual spender in five other years- 2010, 2013, 2015, 2019, and 2020.

In 2022, it spent just \$357,260

in New Jersey Ranked by Year Since 2000					
			INFLATION		
YEAR	GROUP	AMOUNT	ADJUSTED		
2011	New Jersey Education Association	\$11,259,886	\$14,975,705		
2015	New Jersey Education Association	\$10,348,911	\$13,062,707		
2010	New Jersey Education Association	\$ 6,869,256	\$ 9,177,572		
2019	New Jersey Education Association	\$ 6,240,028	\$ 7,302,085		
2020	New Jersey Education Association	\$ 6,255,530	\$ 7,231,018		
2006	Verizon	\$ 4,717,250	\$ 7,000,296		
2016	Engineers Labor-Employer Cooperative	\$ 4,392,830	\$ 5,475,686		
2013	New Jersey Education Association	\$ 3,316,893	\$ 4,259,648		
2017	Horizon Blue Cross Blue Shield	\$ 2,524,921	\$ 3,081,677		
2009	NJ Progress PAC	\$ 2,151,864	\$ 3,000,756		
2021	PSEG	\$ 2,663,960	\$ 2,941,200		
2014	AARP	\$ 1,645,217	\$ 2,079,107		
2018	PSEG	\$ 1,475,770	\$ 1,758,239		
2008	AARP	\$ 1,261,734	\$ 1,753,217		
2007	AARP	\$ 1,188,573	\$ 1,714,970		
2000	NJ Hospital Association	\$ 804,081	\$ 1,396,962		
2012	PSEG	\$ 863,073	\$ 1,124,618		
2005	NJ Builders Association	\$ 606,981	\$ 929,803		
2004	NJ Builders Association	\$ 575,817	\$ 911,949		
2022	PSEG	\$ 849,112	\$ 868,015		
2003	NJ Builders Association	\$ 479,306	\$ 779,315		
2002	NJ Builders Association	\$ 379,608	\$ 631,280		
2001	NJ Builders Association	\$ 353,950	\$ 598,255		

Table 4Top Annual Lobbying Spendersin New Jersev Ranked by Year Since 2000

Rounding out the top ten spenders since 2000 are AARP, an association that advocates on behalf of retirees; Verizon and Comcast, two telecommunications firms; Horizon Blue Cross Blue Shield, the state's top health insurer; Public Service Enterprise Group (PSEG), the state's top energy producer; New Jersey Hospital Association, which advocates for hospitals; Prudential, an insurance company; the NJ State League of Municipalities, an association of local elected officials; and the Engineers Labor Employer Cooperative, a coalition of unions, contractors and developers. All spent more than \$10 million.

Most unions try to influence state capitol decision-making through contributions made directly to candidates and parties, or through independent spending. They generally do not spend a lot on lobbying. NJEA is unusual because it spends heavily on all three, including lobbying. It is why unions as a sector topped the list.

Top 25 Lobbying Spenders by Sector			
SECTOR	TOTAL		
Unions	\$ 52,560,827		
Telecommunications	\$ 38,748,530		
Energy	\$ 33,569,742		
Hospitals	\$ 31,583,344		
Issue Advocacy	\$ 25,942,263		
Insurance	\$ 16,288,805		
Insurance / Finance	\$ 11,688,355		
Municipalities	\$ 11,074,028		
Unions/Contractors/ Developers Coalition	\$ 10,600,153		
Builders	\$ 9,008,772		
Chemicals	\$ 8,771,067		
Realtors	\$ 8,626,867		
Technology	\$ 7,839,524		
Business- General	\$ 7,553,298		
Water	\$ 5,458,544		
Drug Firms	\$ 5,391,639		
Grand Total	\$284,705,757		

Table 5 Top 25 Lobbying Spenders by Sector

Industries deemed heavily regulated by the state have been prevented since 1911 from making direct contributions to candidates. So traditionally, they have relied more on lobbying than contributions. These industries include energy utilities, telecommunications, insurance, and banks. They tend to spend heavily on lobbying.

Among the top 25 lobbying spenders between 2000 and 2022, more than \$105 million- 37 percent- was spent by state-regulated industries.

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Another sign spending was more subdued in 2022 is that outlays for communications- one of the biggest lobbying cost drivers in recent years- fell to a decade low of \$3 million, or 3 percent of total expenditures.

The last year when it was lower was 2014, when the total was \$2.2 million.

By contrast, it hit an all-time high in 2020 at \$18.1 million- 17 percent of all lobbying expenses.

Communications Expenditures in 2022				
GROUP	AMOUNT			
Engineers Labor Employer Cooperative	\$ 404,094			
AARP NJ	\$ 365,226			
Public Service Enterprise Group (PSEG)	\$ 261,863			
NJ Association of Realtors Issues Mobilization Fund	\$ 257,496			
Fuel Merchants Association of NJ	\$ 156,477			
Move Health Care Forward NJ Inc	\$ 144,856			
RAI Services Company	\$ 105,123			
NJ League of Conservation Voters	\$ 83,361			
American Property Casualty Insurance Association	\$ 66,500			
NJ Realtors	\$ 56,723			
Communication Expenditures- Top Ten	\$1,901,720			
Total Communications Expenditures	\$3,097,942			
% Top Ten	61%			

Table 6Top Ten Expenditures onCommunications Expenditures in 2022

The number of lobbyists dipped from 916 in 2021 to 914. The number peaked at 1,043 in 2008.

Despite the more normal rhythm of lobbying activity in 2022, demand for lobbying services set a record for the fourth straight year as the number of clients reached 2,343- up 2.6 percent from 2,283 in 2021.

After falling three straight years, the amount spent on "benefit passing" – gifts like meals, trips or other things of value- given out by lobbyists rose 72 percent to \$2,349. It remains well below the \$163,375 peak in 1992.

An analysis of fees paid by represented entities to governmental affairs agents showed that the most money came from the health care industry. Miscellaneous health care firms paid \$6.1 million while hospitals spent \$3.1 million to hire multi-client firms. These two categories combined totaled \$9.2 million.

Rounding out the top ten business sectors were energy, development, insurance, pharmaceuticals, transportation, finance, marijuana industry firms, and telecommunications.

These ten sectors alone paid \$36.1 million to professional lobbying firms- about half the fees paid to governmental affairs agents. The spending totals do not include direct spending by companies or associations.

Table 7 Fees Paid to Governmental Affairs Agents Ranked by Top Ten Business Sectors in 2022				
BUSINESS SECTOR FEES PAID TO LOBBYISTS				
Healthcare- Miscellaneous	\$ 6,129,908			
Energy	\$ 5,248,663			
Development	\$ 5,110,595			
Insurance	\$ 3,951,462			
Pharmaceuticals	\$ 3,116,100			
Health Care- Hospitals	\$ 3,089,269			
Transportation	\$ 2,869,654			
Finance	\$ 2,833,010			
Marijuana	\$ 1,947,776			
Telecommunications	\$ 1,847,159			
Total- Top Ten	\$36,143,597			

Receipts paid to governmental affairs agents (lobbyists) rose 5 percent in 2022 to \$70 million. The top ten multi-client firms reaped the lion's share- \$45.7 million, or 65 percent.

Top Ten Multi-Client Lobbying				
Firms Ranked by 2022 Receipts				
FIRM	RECEIPTS			
Princeton Public Affairs Group Inc	\$11,276,181			
Public Strategies Impact LLC	\$ 7,579,515			
CLB Partners Inc	\$ 6,005,550			
The Zita Group LLC	\$ 3,806,700			
MBI Gluckshaw	\$ 3,786,352			
Gibbons PC	\$ 3,599,400			
Optimus Partners LLC	\$ 2,931,650			
Capital Impact Group	\$ 2,339,205			
McCarter & English LLP	\$ 2,195,628			
Mercury Public Affairs	\$ 2,168,098			
Receipts- Top Ten	\$45,688,279			
Total Governmental	\$70,038,851			
Affairs Agent Receipts	\$70,030,031			
Percent Top Ten	65%			

Table 8

Lobbying Expenses by Category- 2018-2022							
CATEGORY	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2021- 2022 % +	
						or -	
Salary ¹	\$54,931,497	\$ 56,148,622	\$ 55,465,036	\$58,515,812	\$61,826,240	6%	
Support Personnel	\$ 2,463,181	\$ 2,650,872	\$ 2,152,834	\$ 2,556,858	\$ 2,649,580	4%	
Fees ²	\$ 2,261,072	\$ 2,826,599	\$ 4,976,172	\$ 3,592,512	\$ 2,236,067	-38%	
Communication Costs ⁴	\$ 6,929,935	\$ 13,717,962	\$ 18,141,915	\$ 7,163,184	\$ 3,097,942	-57%	
Travel	\$ 541,575	\$ 486,061	\$ 168,658	\$ 144,250	\$ 233,767	62%	
Benefit Passing ³	\$ 2,331	\$ 5,180	\$ 2,783	\$ 1,367	\$ 2,349	72%	
Total	\$67,129,591	\$ 75,835,295	\$ 80,907,398	\$71,973,983	\$70,045,945	-3%	
Compensation to Governmental Affairs Agent Not Included on Annual Reports ⁵	\$24,590,538	\$ 25,807,447	\$ 25,900,246	\$24,013,212	\$25,030,089	4%	
Adjusted Total	\$91,720,129	\$101,642,742	\$106,807,644	\$95,987,195	\$95,076,034	-1%	

Table 9Lobbying Expenses by Category- 2018-2022

1- Salary includes in-house salaries and payments to outside agents.

2- Fees include assessments, membership fees and dues.

3- Benefit passing includes meals, entertainment, gifts, travel and lodging.

4- Communication costs include: printed materials, postage, telephone calls, faxes, receptions, and, in 2006 and years following, also includes direct mail pieces, newspaper advertisements, and television and radio broadcasts.

5- Compensation paid by Represented Entities filing the Form L-2 designating a Governmental Affairs Agent now being added due to a change in ELEC methodology to better capture all payments to outside agents

In New Jersey, lobbyists who raise or spend more than \$2,500 were required to file a report on February 15th that reflects activity from the prior calendar year.

Summary information about lobbyist activities in 2022 can be obtained at the following website: <u>https://www.elec.nj.gov/publicinformation/gaa_annual.htm</u> Copies of annual reports also are available on ELEC's website.

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