Appendix:
Survey Information

Several surveys were administered to obtain the information necessary for this work. All of the surveys were based upon the 1981 sessions. A copy of the main survey, the four page questionnaire sent to legislators in every state chamber, is included at the end of this appendix.

The Fifty-State Legislator Survey

The responses represent a return of 43 percent. Questionnaires were sent to sixty-six members of every house and thirty-three members of every senate (except when fewer members served in such chambers). Within each chamber the members were randomly selected. The original mailouts were made upon the close of legislative sessions, which meant that they were staggered according to length of session. Nonrespondents were sent two followup questionnaires. The primary purpose of the study was to conduct an analysis at the chamber level, and to that end our minimum number of responses for any chamber is seven. The mean exceeds twenty-one. The respondents make up 27 percent of all state legislators.

In total figures, house respondents represent 69 percent of the returns, compared to 74 percent of all legislators (Nebraska excluded). The Democrat-Republican ratio among respondents is 53-47. Majority party respondents make up about 25 percent of all majority party members.

The Legislative Workday and Bill Passage Surveys

Two non-opinion surveys were necessary to obtain vital information about each legislative chamber. In the first case, legislative service personnel were sent a questionnaire containing a monthly breakdown asking them to indicate the days of each week the legislators actually met within each month. While human error cannot be avoided entirely, the responses were detailed and of high quality, in-
indicating the respondent had consulted official records. An expensive alternative method would require consulting each legislative journal and counting the days of official business recorded.

The second survey required determining the number of bills introduced and passed in the first and second chambers of each legislature. In many states we were sent official documents from which the information could be extracted (with varying degrees of difficulty). In other states, qualified personnel filled out a form we had sent along with the request. Our sources were often state librarians or the immediate professional service staff of the legislature. Completion of this survey required much telephoning and follow-up.

The Committee Membership Survey

This survey was the easiest to administer, since we were asking for nothing more than the committee membership roster for the year in question. We received complete committee lists for all chambers and were able to use these lists to verify questionnaire data as well as to determine committee size and the number of committees employed. For most states these lists do not include subcommittee assignments.

The Indiana–Missouri Surveys

For the 1981 sessions of the Indiana and Missouri legislatures, the official journal indexes were utilized to obtain individual bill sponsorship and success data. Members who retired voluntarily from the legislature after the 1981–82 term were sent a questionnaire to elicit their reasons for doing so. Of the sixty-three who voluntarily retired, forty-three responded satisfactorily. In Indiana 36 percent of the retirees were minority party members, compared to 34 percent for the entire legislature. In Missouri 42 percent were minority party retirees, compared to 32 percent minority party membership in the full body. There was no substantial evidence that minority party members have a greater tendency to retire.
STATE LEGISLATIVE SURVEY

1. How many years have you served in the legislature? ______ Present chamber? ______

Party affiliation? ______________ Date of birth (year)? ______________

Please indicate if during the most recent session you held any of the following positions:

( ) Committee Chair or Ranking Member of Committee
( ) Speaker, Majority or Minority Leader, or party whip
( ) Member of Policy Committee (skip if this is not a leadership committee)
( ) Subcommittee Chair ( ) Other ____________________________

Have you held any of the above positions in prior sessions? ( ) yes ( ) no

2. In your legislature, where would you say the most significant decisions are made? Please use numbers 1, 2, and 3 to order your top three choices, where "1" is your first choice.

( ) Party Caucus ( ) Regular Committee Meetings ( ) In Governor's Office
( ) In Policy Committee ( ) Prelegislative Session ( ) In Subcommittees
( ) On the Floor ( ) Office of Presiding Officers or Majority Leaders ( ) Other ______________

3. From your experience in committee work, what would you regard as the ideal committee size (# of members) for the following types of committees?

_______ a typical standing committee of your chamber,
_______ a typical subcommittee (if appropriate to your chamber)

Which of the following rules best describes the committee voting procedures in your chamber?

( ) In order to report a bill out favorably, voting support of only a majority of those present must be obtained (if quorum exists).
( ) In order to report a bill out favorably, voting support of a majority of the full committee membership must be obtained.

If you have a committee quorum rule, what is it? ____________________________

4. Some state legislatures now use subcommittees frequently. What is the status of this practice in your chamber? (please check)

( ) Subcommittees are an official part of my chamber rules and at least some committees are required to use them.
( ) Subcommittees are used on a regular basis in many committees, but it is really up to the chairman of the committee to decide in each session whether they will be used.
( ) Subcommittees are not very common but they tend to be used in an informal manner in some committees.
( ) To my knowledge subcommittees have not been used.

5. Where would you say partisanship is most evident in your chamber? (please check one)

( ) During floor proceedings ( ) During committee proceedings
( ) During subcommittee proceedings ( ) Not evident in my chamber
6. During the most recent session, how many regular committee assignments did you receive? __________
   How many of these committees actually handled legislation? __________
   How many subcommittee assignments did you receive? __________
   How pleased have you been with your committee/subcommittee assignments?
   ( ) Pleased   ( ) Neither pleased nor displeased   ( ) Displeased
   Please check if any of the following items characterize your chamber committee system:
      ( ) Most members receive too many committee assignments.
      ( ) Many committees are too large to work effectively.
      ( ) For at least some committees too many proposals are received.
      ( ) For many members the schedule of meetings (committee/subcommittee) creates attendance problems.

7. What is the nature of committee staffing in your chamber? (please check)
   ( ) The only staff help committees get is through a central office and generally staff members do not attend the committee meetings.
   ( ) Only important committees are assigned specific staff.
   ( ) Most or all committees have at least one staff member assigned.
   ( ) Other ________________________________

   If your committees do receive staff help, which of the following functions do the staff members perform?
   ( ) Clerical   ( ) Technical or scientific
   ( ) General information input   ( ) Policy-level advice

8. Do any of the following statements characterize the way committees are managed in your chamber? (please check)
   ( ) A committee chairman usually has almost full control over the committee agenda.
   ( ) Most committees are dominated by the chairman.
   ( ) Important committees rely on subcommittee reports.

9. In a typical legislative day, how many hours do you spend on committee work (including meetings, preparation, information discussion, subcommittee assignments, etc.)? __________
   How many hours do you spend on other work? __________

   Of those hours you spend on committee/subcommittee work, how would you estimate they are allocated among the following activities?
   # of Hours
   ( ) Obtaining information about proposals in order to understand their content.
   ( ) Finding out how other committee members feel about the issues (formal and informal discussions).
   ( ) Hammering out workable compromises with members of the committee(s).
   ( ) Reviewing the conduct of administrative agencies.
   ( ) Other ________________________________
10. We would now like to turn to your evaluation of specific committees on which you served. Could you name two regular committees on which you served during the most recent session of your legislature? (Please indicate committees that handle legislation. If you served on only one committee of this type, we would appreciate your response regarding it.)

A. __________________________ B. __________________________

Which of the following items help describe the committee's proceedings during the most recent session? (please check)

Committee A Committee B
( ) ( ) Held public hearings
( ) ( ) Appointed subcommittees
( ) ( ) Amended bills in committee
( ) ( ) Reviewed conduct of administrative agencies
( ) ( ) Amendments were usually made by a voice vote or show of hands rather than a roll call vote
( ) ( ) Bills were usually reported out by a voice vote or show of hands rather than a roll call vote

It would be very helpful if you could provide the following information for the above two committees:

Number of staff members assigned? A ______ B ______
Number of meetings per week during last two months of session (estimate)? A ______ B ______
If the committee had regular working subcommittees, how many did it have? A ______ B ______
Please check if you were chair of either committee: A ______ B ______
About how many bills did the committee receive this most recent session? A ______ B ______

Which of the two committees (A or B):

a. Has required more of your time? A ( ) B ( )
b. Has seemed more efficient? A ( ) B ( )
c. Has had a more complex subject matter? A ( ) B ( )
d. Has dealt with more important policies? A ( ) B ( )
e. Has dealt with issues that cause more disagreement? A ( ) B ( )

How many members were typically present at a committee meeting? A ______ B ______

11. How satisfied were you with those bills that were passed or recommended favorably by the following units of your legislature?

| Degree of Satisfaction | 
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|                        | very high | high | medium | low | very low | not applicable |

Committee A 

Committee B 

In general, my committees 

(if you have more than 2)

The other committees of the chamber

My party caucus

My chamber as a whole
13. How satisfied were you with the decisions not to consider, recommend unfavorably, or defeat bills by the following units?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Degree of Satisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>very high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee A</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee B</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The other committees of the chamber</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My party caucus</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My chamber as a whole</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Apart from the bills, how satisfied were you with the way business was conducted by the following units during the most recent session?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Degree of Satisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>( )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. Please indicate if any of the following statements would apply to your experience with Committees A and B during the most recent session:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Committee A</th>
<th>Committee B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Members of the committee share a similar perspective to a greater degree than do members of my chamber as a whole.</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is often an excessive amount of time consuming debate and discussion before the committee can reach a decision on important issues.</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important committee decisions are often held up because individual legislators are unwilling to compromise.</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I usually have a good idea what position my fellow committee members will take on an issue before I discuss it with them.</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The committee chairperson usually keeps unnecessary debate and discussion to a minimum.</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By the time we understand each others' positions on an issue, there is usually an obvious compromise solution on which committee members can agree.</td>
<td>( )</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the debate and discussion is left to subcommittees where most major differences are ironed out.</td>
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<td>( )</td>
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</tbody>
</table>