

Legislative Politics in Indiana:

A preliminary report to the
1961 General Assembly

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FOREWORD

The data presented in this report were accumulated by the authors in the course of researches into the legislative process in Indiana. Although much of their data have been gathered in a cooperative enterprise, each of the authors is preparing a separate study relating to the general subject. The findings presented here are not central to any of the individual studies, but they constitute information about Indiana legislators of sufficient interest to warrant publication in this form.

Most of the research expenses were ultimately paid by the Social Science Research Council, a non-profit national organization which sponsors research in various fields of the social sciences. The Council's support came mainly through Indiana University's Professor Charles S. Hyneman, who is administering an SSRC grant for the study of state politics. The Council also maintained Kenneth Janda on a Fellowship during the period of research. Additional support was given by the Bureau of Government Research, which aided substantially in financing the actual interviewing, and by the Research Committee of Indiana University, whose small grant to Henry Teune and Kenneth Janda for the purposes of doctoral research allowed for the completion of the interviewing.

The findings presented and the conclusions drawn in this report are solely those of the authors and in no way reflect the attitudes or opinions of these organizations.

Special mention must be given to Miss Marta Petoe, who handled efficiently the demanding task of coding the responses contained on the interview forms and punching the codes into IBM cards so that the interview data could be processed with the aid of electronic computers.

During the summer of 1960, the authors undertook a project aimed at interviewing all candidates for the 1961 Indiana legislature and all holdover Senators from the 1959 session. The purpose of this interviewing was to provide information needed for the authors' individual Ph.D. dissertations being written on various aspects of the legislative process. Each of the four participants prepared questions which, for the purposes of his research, he would like to have asked of the prospective legislators. The questions were then subjected to review and criticism by all, and the ones which survived were incorporated into a twenty-two page interview schedule. Except for the omission of some questions that were not to be asked of candidates with no previous legislative experience, identical schedules were prepared for each of the 277 individuals we wished to interview.

An attempt was made to inform each individual of our project by mail and at the same time to request an appointment for the interview at a specified time and date which would fit with our planned travels across the state. A letter of explanation designating the requested appointment was mailed to each prospective respondent weeks in advance of the proposed interview date. Included with each letter were a short summary of previous findings on The Indiana Legislator prepared by Indiana University's Professor David R. Derge and also a return postcard which the candidate could use to confirm the interview appointment.

The success of the project can be judged by the results: interviews were obtained from 238 individuals, or 86% of the total universe of 277. Interviews were secured from 93 of the 100 successful candidates for the Indiana House of Representatives and from 44 of the 50 Senators. Governor Welsh and Lieutenant Governor Ristine were interviewed also. Although a few schedules were filled in by the individuals themselves and returned to us by mail, 211 of the responses were obtained by personal interview, which involved traveling throughout the state to the homes, offices, farms, factories, and places of business of these prospective legislators.

With only rare exceptions, the people we interviewed gave us warm welcomes and their sincere cooperation, and we found them to be deeply interested in encouraging research of the type being conducted. They seemed to feel much as we do—that an improved understanding of the state legislature is not only important for today's citizens but will be of assistance to the legislators of the future.

In response to numerous requests from the people interviewed this summer and in answer to recent inquiries from many members of the 1961 legislature, we have prepared this preliminary report on our findings. It needs to be stated that none of the material in this report will play a central role in any of the four dissertations, which are all concerned with more specialized aspects of the legislative process. The findings reported here have emerged largely as a by-product of questions designed to furnish information for other purposes, and obviously not all of the data have been included in the analyses to be presented here. In preparing this report for distribution during the legislative session, we only touched upon the kinds of analyses thought to be of general interest to the members of the General Assembly. Moreover, less than one-sixth of the total data from each interview was utilized in making these limited analyses. It is hoped that additional studies from these interview data will be made available for the legislators as they appear.

Comparison of House and Senate Members

In the Constitutional Convention of 1850, considerable debate was devoted to the institutional arrangements providing for the two chambers of Indiana's General Assembly. As did the makers of the United States Constitution, the founders of Indiana's present form of government thought it desirable to have different types of people serving in the two houses. The official Debates of 1850 report that delegates to the Convention urged that the Senate be "composed of the older men of the country" who were "more stable in character." On the other hand, they wished to have the House members reflect the characteristics of the "popular" segment of society. To achieve this end, they constructed institutional arrangements which established a higher age of entry for the Senate, allowed the Senators to serve a full session without threat of removal at the polls, and offered Senators the advantages of belonging to a less numerous, and therefore more select, social organization. If these then were their intentions, does the 1961 legislature demonstrate the differences intended by the Constitution-makers?

Our summer interviewing produced data which allow some rough comparisons to be made between House and Senate members on the basis of selected social characteristics. A reading of Figure 1 reveals some small but discernible differences between the members of the two chambers on the basis of occupation, education, place of birth, and income. Moreover, these differences conform in a general way to the apparent intentions of the framers of Indiana's Constitution. Regarding occupation, the 1961 Senate has almost twice the proportion of lawyers as does the 1961 House, and the practice of law claims more than twice as many members of the Senate as any other occupation. Furthermore, these data are not peculiar to the 1961 session but are amazingly consistent over a long period of time. Of the 928 men who have served in the Indiana House from 1925 through 1959, there have been 211 lawyers and 211 farmers --each group comprising 23% of the chamber's membership. However, of the 330 men who have served in the Indiana Senate over the same period of time, 33% have been lawyers as opposed to only 17% farmers. If the premise be granted that lawyers as a group reflect the virtues of legislator-statesmen as conceived by the founding fathers while they viewed farmers as voicing the sentiments of the common people, then it follows

Comparison of Chamber Members on Social Characteristics

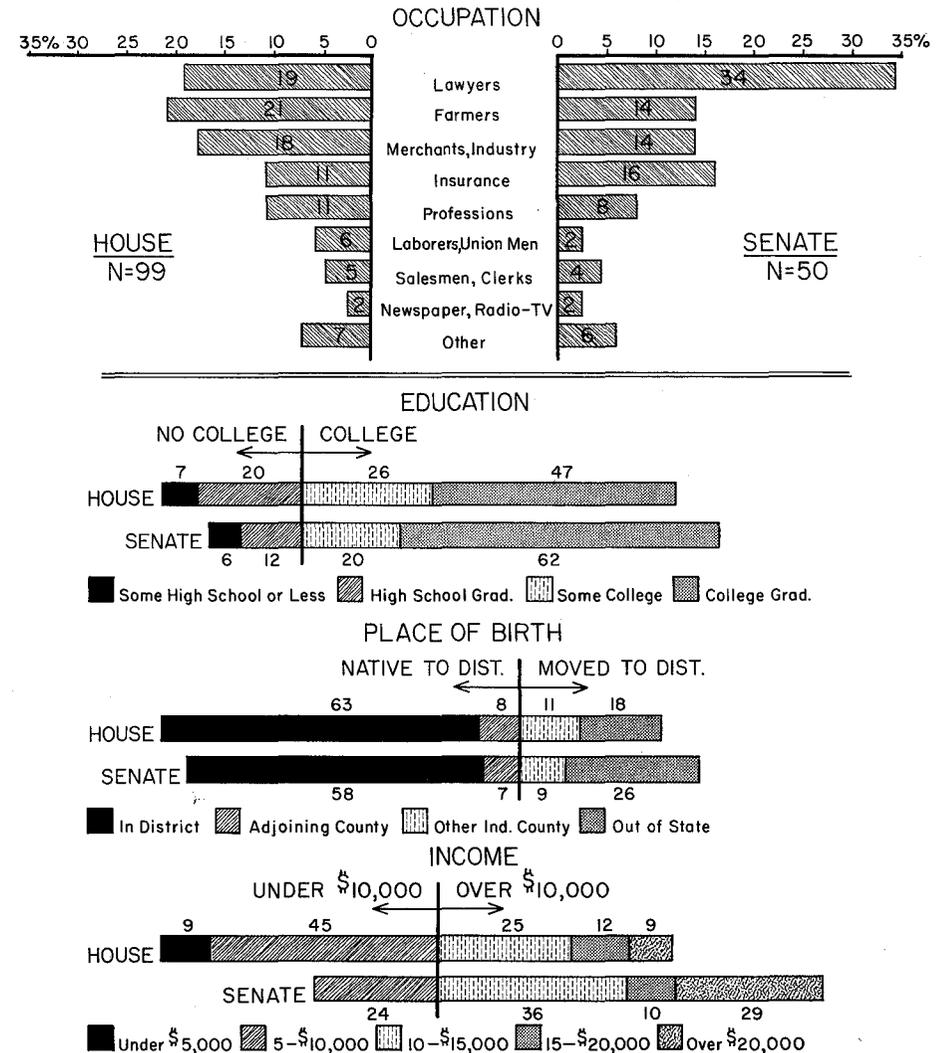


FIGURE 1

that the founders' wishes were at least approximated in the occupational composition of the Indiana legislature.

Owing in part to the preponderance of lawyers in the chamber, Senators also show a slight edge in formal education. Not only are Senators more likely to have had some college, but they are also more likely to have received four year college degrees. As with the data on occupation, these differences are well established over time. Of the 1258 men who served in the legislature between 1925 and 1959, 65% of the Senators had the benefit of a college education against 52% of the Representatives. In passing, it might be noted that the 1961 General Assembly appears to be the best educated legislature in Indiana's history, with about 75% of its members having had the road to knowledge made smoother by formal schooling past high school, thus requiring only one-fourth of the membership to learn the hard way from experience, where the test comes first and the lesson afterwards.

Place of birth offers a somewhat crude test of "cosmopolitanism"-- a sense of having interests and experiences extending past the confines of the locality in which the person was born. Measured against this standard, House members are slightly more likely to have been born in the area which they represent than are Senators, one-fourth of whom are not native Hoosiers. But for both groups, by far the largest proportions of members have been born and raised on Indiana soil. Nevertheless, the data show that the Senate is more apt to reflect views of men who have lived in localities other than those they represent.

If it were the intentions of the founding fathers to have the Senate reflect the sentiments of the wealthier members of the community, they were clearly successful on this score. As in education, where both House and Senate members were far above the average of the population in number of years of schooling completed, members of the 1961 legislature are also significantly above the median income for Indiana residents, but there is a striking difference between the incomes received by Representatives and Senators. Whereas 46% of the House members reported making over \$10,000 per year, 76% of the Senators disclosed incomes above that figure.

On the basis of these selected social characteristics, it is possible to detect some consistent differences between the members of Indiana's "upper" and "lower" houses, and these differences, in general, seem to conform to the intentions of those who made the constitution 111 years ago.

The Two Party System in Indiana

A recent Harvard Ph.D. dissertation on Indiana politics described Indiana's two major parties as "strong, virile, well-disciplined and evenly matched." That statement receives support in the findings of Professor Derge of Indiana University who reports that during the 18 session period from 1925 to 1959 Republicans held 52% of the House seats to the Democrats' 48% and that Senate seats divided 54%-46% between the Republicans and Democrats. However, Professor Derge notes that, despite the over-all division in seats held, Republicans controlled 12 of the 18

House sessions and 14 of the 18 Senate sessions. These findings fit in with a common-sense evaluation which awards the edge to the Republicans over the years, although the Democrats could always boast of a frequently successful, healthy organization. If that evaluation is true for the parties over the years, the question then arises, how do the parties stack up in 1961 and what are the forecasts for the future?

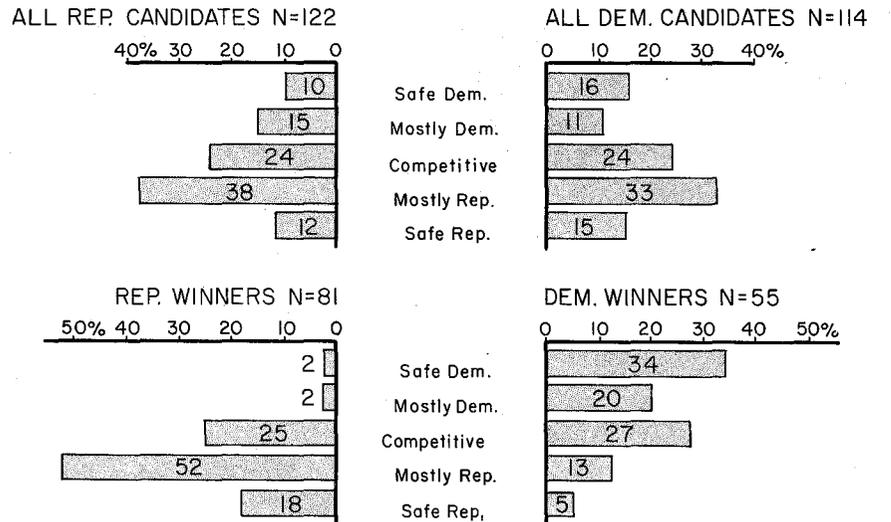
Our interview schedule included a battery of questions concerning the strength of political parties in the legislative districts throughout the state. Responses to some of these questions are portrayed in Figure 2. Comparing the answers of all Republican candidates with all Democratic candidates, we find that Republicans and Democrats alike report that "over the years" about 25% of the districts have been Democratic, 25% competitive, and 50% Republican. Considering that the greatest proportion of the Republican districts were designated simply as "mostly" Republican, these state-wide data verify and add precision to the judgment that, in the past, Indiana has been a two party state with Republican leanings. But how about the future?

We can perhaps get some idea of things to come by examining the responses of only the candidates who won in 1960. Comparing Republican winners against Democratic winners, it becomes obvious that the 1960 election saw more Democrats win in districts they thought to be previously Republican than did Republicans in districts seen as previously Democratic. These responses indicate a considerable shifting of party sentiment toward the Democratic party in many districts across the state. This is confirmed by the candidates who gave answers to the question of whether or not they thought the political nature of their district was changing. As Figure 2 shows, exactly half of the Republicans and almost two-thirds of the Democrats saw their districts as shifting Democratic. Roughly one-third of both parties replied that there was no change in party strength in their districts, and less than one-tenth of all candidates saw the Republican party on the increase. Lest Democrats interpret this as a wholesale swing which will place the state in the Democratic ranks, it needs to be recognized that these data have not yet been examined according to party strength "before" and "after." That is, it is possible that party members may feel that their district is becoming more Democratic but still not enough to move the district out of the mostly Republican camp. Or, it may be that people in Democratic districts perceive their districts as shifting even more Democratic. Additional research is needed in order to draw more precise conclusions from these data. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that candidates of both parties sensed a widespread shifting of party strength in favor of the Democrats.

It is somewhat interesting to note the reasons given by members of the two parties for the changing political nature of their district. Turning once again to Figure 2, we can see that the Democrats are more likely to attribute this change in voting behavior either to the increased independence (and presumably, wisdom) of the voters or they are more apt to account for the change as part of a broad but vaguely defined swing to the Democratic party; it is the "trend" of the times, was the most frequently encountered response. The Republicans are not as prone to ascribe the increase in Democratic strength to either the intelligence

Party Strength in Indiana

RATINGS OF PARTY STRENGTH IN LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS



SHIFTING OF PARTY STRENGTH



WHY STRENGTH IS SHIFTING

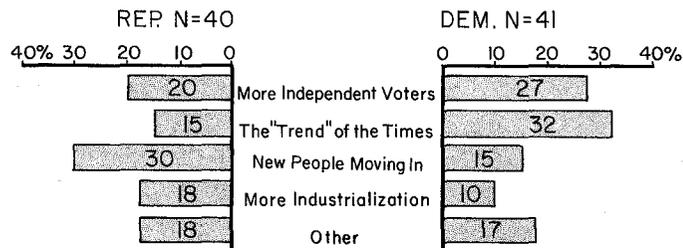


FIGURE 2

of the voter or to fate, but they are far more likely to explain it all away with the simpler reasons that more new people (mainly Southerners) with Democratic attachments are moving into the district or that the district is becoming more industrialized, which means more laborers, unions, and thus more Democratic votes. But regardless of the accuracy of the reasons advanced to explained the increase in Democratic strength and mindful of the cautions to be observed in interpreting these data, it seems justifiable to conclude that the Democratic party is enjoying a period of prosperity which points toward the elimination of the slight Republican predominance of the past and toward the emergence of Indiana as a state with a highly competitive two party system of the first order.

Comparison of Party Members on Social Characteristics

Figure 3 depicts the same comparisons made between Republicans and Democrats, irrespective of chamber, as were made between House and Senate members without separation according to party. The same characteristics which distinguish Senators from Representatives also serve, in a lesser degree, to distinguish Republicans from Democrats. However, it is somewhat surprising to note that less differences exist when legislators are compared on the basis of party than when examined according to their chamber membership.

The 1961 General Assembly contains slightly more Republican than Democratic lawyers, but the ratio is not as large as the nearly 2 to 1 proportion which holds between the chambers, in spite of the fact that Republicans are predominant in the House. Next to the lawyers, the largest occupational grouping in the session is the farmers, as they have been throughout the previous 18 session period. Here, the spread between parties is greater than for lawyers; farmers tend to enter the legislature via the Republican party. Republican-Democratic differences are nearly identical with the Senate-House distribution of farmers, fitting with the fact that Republicans predominate in the House. In addition to the tendency of farmer-legislators to be Republican, there are three other variations in occupational groupings which deserve to be mentioned. (1) Republicans are twice as likely as are Democrats to be merchants or officials in industry. (2) Democratic laborers are the rule; Republican laborers the exception. (3) The Democratic party contributes a disproportionate share of professional men, most of whom are teachers. It should also be remarked that the 1961 session is not unique in this occupational distribution between parties. Comparable data exist for the past 36 years.

Although the data reveal some differences between Republicans and Democrats in occupational groupings, none of these are as striking as the House-Senate variation in lawyer composition. House-Senate differences are also greater than party differences in education, place of birth, and income. Figure 3 reveals that the Republican edge in formal schooling is slight and that there is just a little difference between the parties on place of birth. Although the separation in income is more definite, it is not quite as strong as is the disparity in the incomes of Senators and Representatives. Of the Republicans, 62% reported an income upwards of \$10,000 compared to 46% of the Democrats.

Comparison of Party Members on Social Characteristics

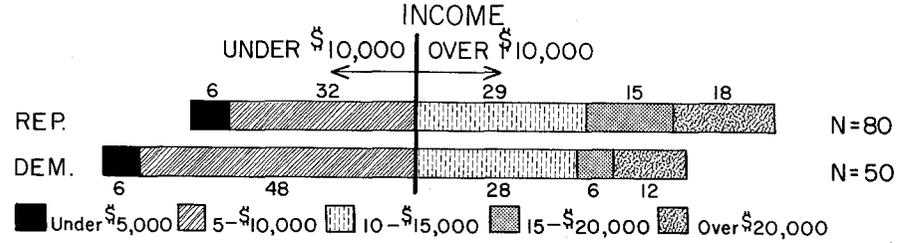
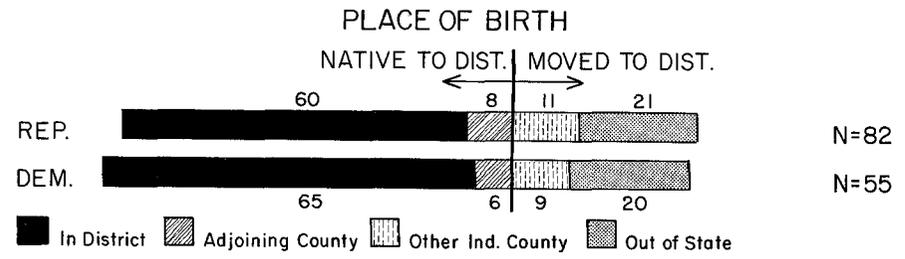
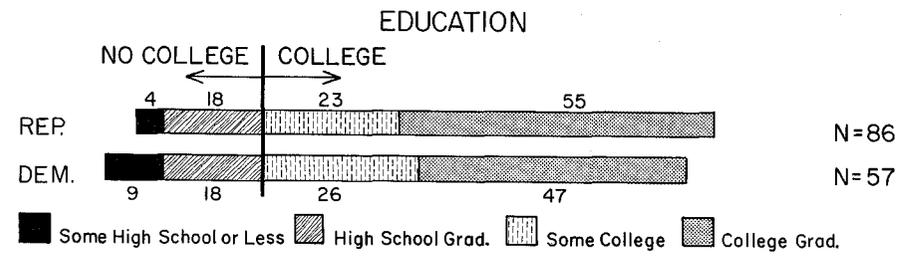
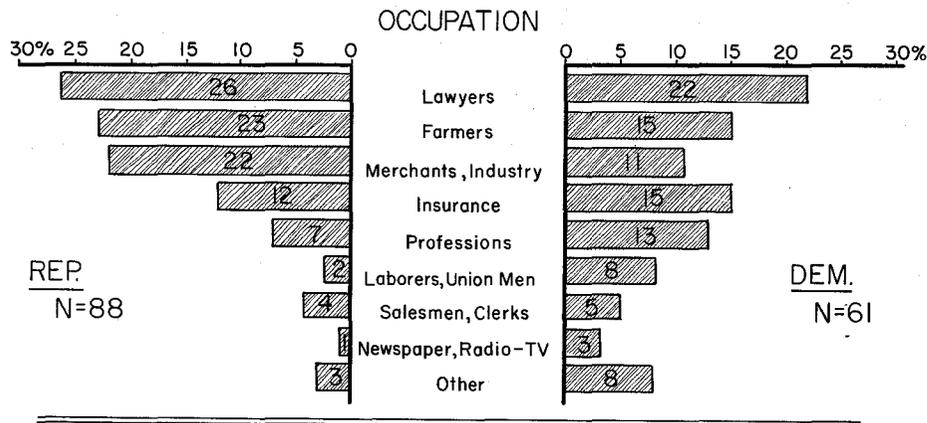


FIGURE 3

The House-Senate differences become even more striking when realizing that, in every case, they are forced to buck contrary differences associated with the two parties, whose members are represented in reversed proportions in the two chambers. Thus, although the Republicans tend to receive higher incomes than the Democrats, it is the slightly Democratic Senate whose members rank higher on income than do members of the strongly Republican House. The consistency of this pattern on each of these characteristics only points more strongly to the general conclusion indicated by comparing Figure 1 with Figure 3: considering social characteristics alone, greater differences exist between Senators and Representatives, irrespective of party, than between Republicans and Democrats.

Comparison of Party Members on Political Attitudes

It was previously shown that social differences between House and Senate members seem to conform in a general way with the intentions of the framers of Indiana's Constitution. However, it is somewhat ironic to note that these intended differences do not have the same consequences for the formation of public policy that the founding fathers expected. According to the official Debates, delegates to the 1850 Convention hoped that their structural arrangements would "give to the Senate a more conservative character," and delegates viewed the Senate as a "conservative body, calculated to act as a wholesome check upon the more popular branch of the legislature." In fact, the founders today would find two political groupings which represented opposing political attitudes along the lines they anticipated, but they were wrong in thinking that these groupings would coincide with House and Senate membership. Instead, the really significant differences in political attitudes among members of the 1961 legislature lies with party alignment.

This involves an interesting paradox, and it might help to spell it out in more detail. The facts are that Representatives and Senators differ more on social characteristics than do Republicans and Democrats, but Representatives and Senators of the same party display very little difference in political attitudes while Republicans and Democrats stand poles apart. The small differences between Republicans and Democrats on social characteristics might have led some people to conclude that, after all, there really is not much separating the two parties. Our 1960 interview data reveal exactly the opposite: members of the two political parties hold sharply differing attitudes on a whole complex of political questions conforming to the common distinctions between conservative and liberal orientations.

In the course of the interview, we handed each respondent a sheet of statements on political matters and asked them to check whether or not they would "agree," "tend to agree," be "undecided," "tend to disagree," or "disagree" with each statement.* Included in the series of

*In scoring the responses to these statements, we assigned values from +2 to -2 according to whether or not the person agreed or disagreed

statements were three items designed to disclose political attitudes. Figure 4 shows the outstanding differences between the average Republican and the average Democratic responses to these three items. Republicans overwhelmingly agree that business enterprise ought to remain free from government regulation, while the Democrats are almost evenly divided on their opinions but tend ever so slightly to disagree. Republicans tend to agree that organized labor has far too much influence in the Indiana legislature, while Democrats strongly disagree. Finally, the Democrats would place greater responsibility with the government in guaranteeing adequate housing, education, medical care, and protection against unemployment than would the Republicans, who take the opposite stand.

For these three statements, all Democrats differ from all Republicans on an average of 66 index points per item. When comparisons are made between party members of the two houses, it is found that merely 6 index points separate Senate from House Republicans while only 10 index points measure the separation between Senate and House Democrats. The pattern is clear: the variable associated with liberal and conservative political attitudes is party and not chamber.

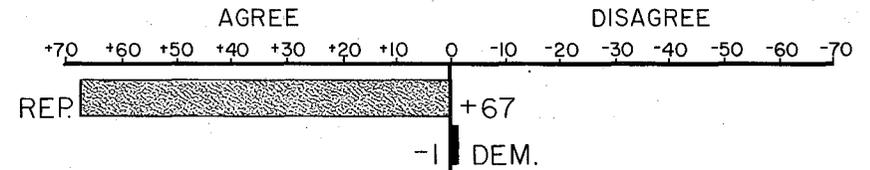
Comparison of Party Members on Agreement with Group Policies

Having found that members of the two parties group in distinctly different places on the liberal-conservative continuum, we would also expect to find them reveal the same difference in their agreement or disagreement with the policies and activities of various interest groups which operate before the legislature. The past summer's interview project has provided data to test that proposition. The candidates were handed a list of eight of the more or less well-known interest groups in Indiana and were asked to check the extent of their agreement with the groups' policies and activities concerning public issues. There was no special significance in the groups listed; we simply wanted to have available a range of groups with different interests. The index of

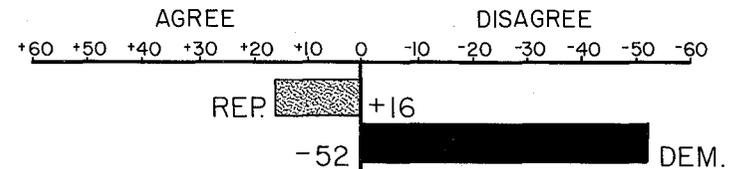
with the statement. The "tend to" categories were weighted +1 and -1 respectively, and "undecided" responses received a score of 0. In order to prepare comparable scores for groups of legislators, all the individual scores for a particular statement were summed and divided by the highest possible value for any given statement. Consider a group which contained 25 individuals. If all individuals were to agree with a statement, it would receive a score of +50. If, however, not all individuals agreed and the resulting score was, say, only +25, then the score given to the group would be 25 divided by 50 or +.50. This procedure has the effect of averaging out the agree-disagree responses to give a single measure. As is the case with all averages, this figure does not say how much individuals deviate from the group figure. Although the average height of American males is about 5' 9", that group contains Wilt Chamberlains as well as Mickey Rooneys. Notwithstanding such deviations, it is still meaningful to compare, say, American males with Japanese males on the basis of height and to conclude that Americans are taller than Japanese.

Differences in Attitudes between Republicans and Democrats

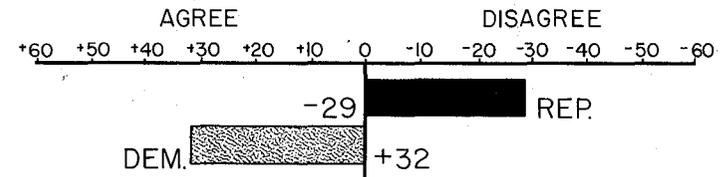
➤ BUSINESS ENTERPRISE CAN CONTINUE TO GIVE US OUR HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING ONLY IF IT REMAINS FREE FROM GOVERNMENT REGULATION.



➤ ORGANIZED LABOR HAS FAR TOO MUCH INFLUENCE IN THE INDIANA LEGISLATURE.



➤ THE GOVERNMENT HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE TO IT THAT ALL PEOPLE, POOR OR RICH, HAVE ADEQUATE HOUSING, EDUCATION, MEDICAL CARE, AND PROTECTION AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT.



INDEX OF AGREEMENT: +100-- EVERY RESPONDENT AGREED WITH THE STATEMENT
 -100-- EVERY RESPONDENT DISAGREED WITH THE STATEMENT

REPUBLICANS N=81 DEMOCRATS N=54

FIGURE 4

agreement was again computed for different groupings of legislators. Figure 5 depicts the patterns of Republican-Democratic scores for each of the eight groups, ranked according to the net difference in size of the two scores.

It can be seen that Democrats and Republicans are most clearly at odds with each other concerning the policies of the state AFL-CIO. The Indiana State Chamber of Commerce offers the next largest source of disagreement. Both of these follow as expected, but the pattern for the Indiana State Teachers' Association may raise some eyebrows. Although both Republicans and Democrats place themselves on the agreement side of the chart, the Republicans appear to hold more reservations about the ISTA's policies than do the Democrats. A partial explanation for this may be that more Democratic law-makers are teachers, but the attitudes of these individuals toward the ISTA have not yet been checked out.

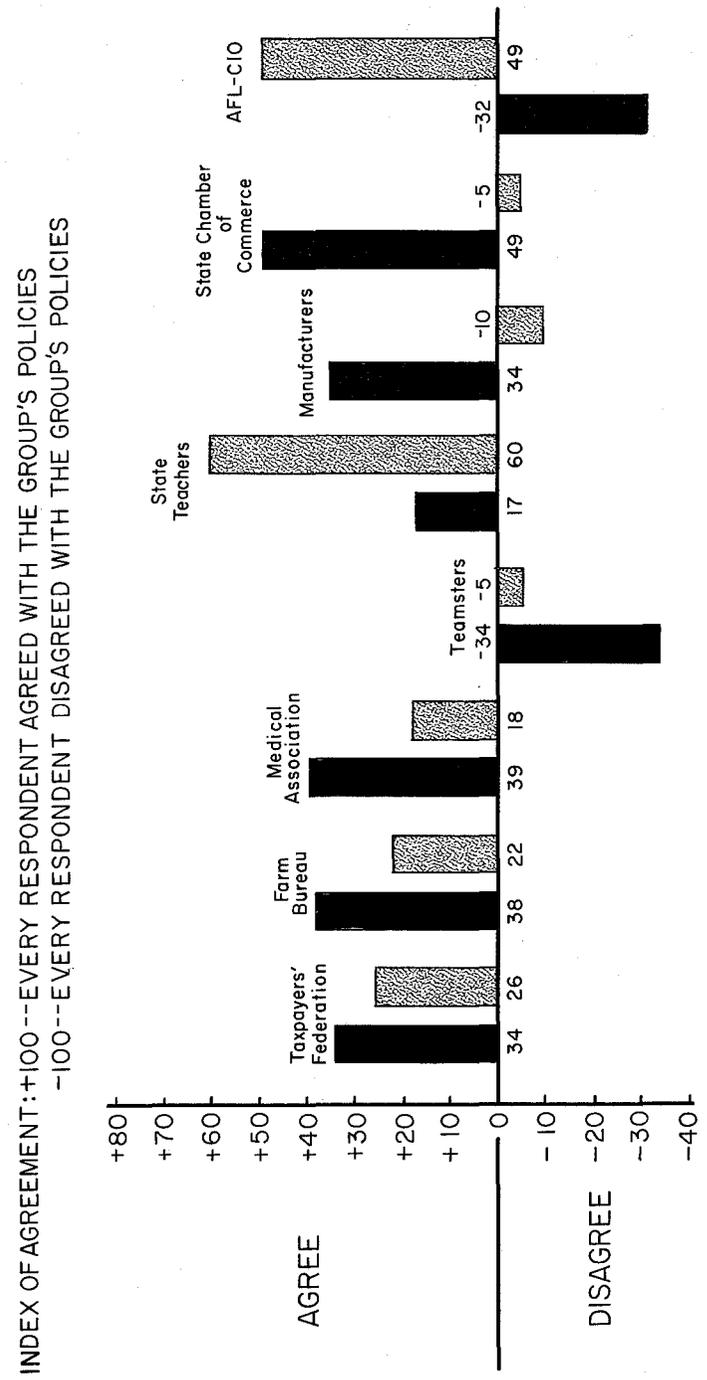
In order to make further comparisons between the parties' rankings of their agreement with group policies, it will be helpful to introduce a simple measure of comparison called the rank-order correlation coefficient.* This is simply a statistic which ranges from +1.00 to -1.00 and expresses the degree of similarity between two independent rankings of any set of things judged on a common criterion. A score of +1.00 represents perfect similarity between the rankings, a score of 0.00 indicates no relationship whatsoever, and a score of -1.00 measures a complete inverse relationship between the rankings. For example, if the AP and UPI rankings of the top ten Indiana high school basketball teams were identical, the rank-order correlation coefficient would be +1.00. But if these press services disagreed completely so that the AP's top team was 10th in the UPI listing, and the AP's 2nd team rated 9th by the UPI, and so forth, then the correlation would be -1.00. As a matter of fact, the rankings are usually quite similar and frequently result in a correlation of +.90 or better.

When the Republicans' index of agreement scores for these groups are ranked in order from the group with which they agree the most to the one they disagree with the most and when this ranking is compared with the Democrats' ranking for these same groups, the correlation coefficient is -.36--indicating a substantial amount of difference between Republicans and Democrats on the extent of their agreement with the policies of these eight interest groups. That this phenomenon is attributable to inter-party differences and not to chamber variations can be seen by noting that Senate and House Democrats differ very little in their agreement with the policies of these groups, for their correlation coefficient is +.83. Similarly, Republican Senators and Representatives substantially agree in their rankings and demonstrate a correlation coefficient of +.76.

*For those with statistical training, we utilized the Spearman rank-order correlation coefficient calculated by this formula:

$$R = 1 - \frac{6 \sum d^2}{N(N^2 - 1)}$$

Republican-Democratic Agreement with the Policies of Selected Interest Groups:



REPUBLICANS N=79 DEMOCRATS N=51

FIGURE 5

It needs to be remembered that Republicans and Democrats do not stand opposed to each other on the policies of every group. Moreover, there are individual Republicans who frequently align themselves with the attitudes and opinions of the opposition just as there are some Democrats who have more conservative leanings than their fellow party members. However, the data are clear: Republicans and Democrats in general display undeniable differences in their tendencies to agree and disagree with the policies of various groups which operate before the Indiana legislature.

These conclusions may lead to a general re-evaluation of the political parties in Indiana. It is a common charge of interested and intelligent citizens that there really is not much difference between the parties any more. As long as one only considers social characteristics, this is not too far wrong. Although Democrats do differ from Republicans in established patterns on occupation, education, place of birth, and income, these differences are not as great as those demonstrated between House and Senate members. However, when one considers attitudinal differences as well, the parallel breaks down completely. The fact is that Democrats and Republicans do differ on these items, and they differ in significant respects.

Effective Organizations at the Indiana Legislature

One of the special purposes of the summer's interviewing was to provide data on the function of interest groups as participants in the legislative process. Modern legislators are burdened with the task of deciding public policy for a complex society. Many of the laws which need to be enacted are of a technical nature and affect only certain segments of the society. As a result, the legislator must frequently turn to the authorized spokesmen of established organizations to see how proposed legislation might affect members of the group. Often the legislator seeks information from opposing organizations to get both sides of the issue. In this respect, interest groups form an important part of the legislative process and play a significant role in influencing public policy. In order to be able to study the attitudes of legislators toward these social organizations which have interests in the laws enacted by the 1961 General Assembly, we prepared a list of nine organizations and asked the legislators to rate these organizations according to their effectiveness in influencing public policy. As a result of these ratings, we are able to make some statements about the relative effectiveness of selected organizations at the Indiana legislature.

Figure 6 sets forth the Republican-Democratic ratings of the legislative effectiveness of nine organizations. The organizations are arranged according to their effectiveness when both parties' scores are averaged together. An index of effectiveness was calculated in the same manner as was the index of agreement, except that here, the legislators were asked to rate the organization as "very effective," "somewhat effective," "undecided," "relatively ineffective," or "completely ineffective." It also warrants mention that only candidates who had previous legislative experience were asked to rate these organizations for their effectiveness.

Organizations Ranked According to Legislative Effectiveness

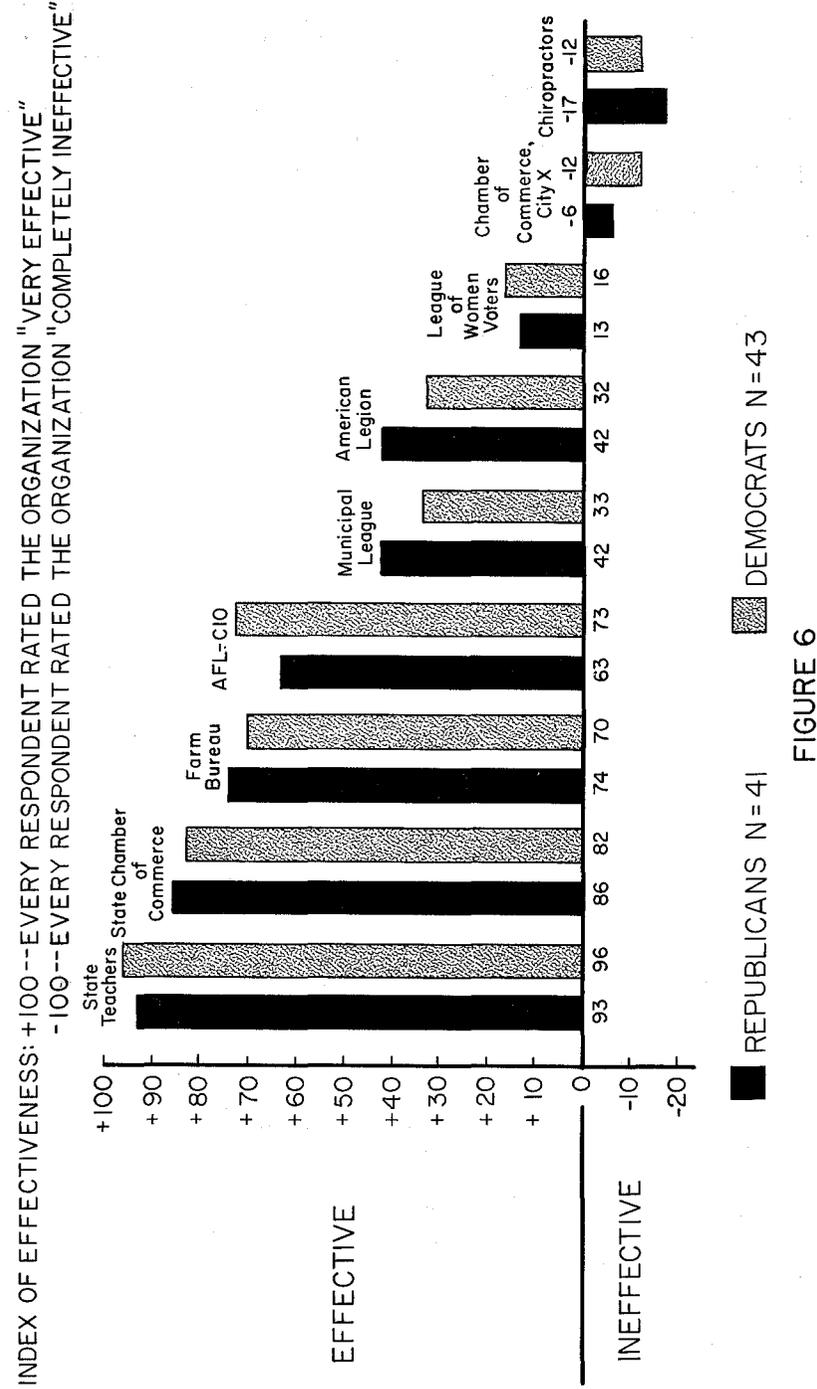


FIGURE 6

There are several striking features about Figure 6. First, it is easily seen that Democrats and Republicans demonstrate a high level of agreement in their ratings of legislative effectiveness. The correlation coefficient on this ranking is a very high +.98. Comparing this statistic with the -.36 correlation between Democratic and Republican attitudes towards the policies of different interest groups, it at once becomes clear that legislators seem to perform the very difficult task of preventing their feelings about a group's policies from contaminating their judgment about the effectiveness of the group in the legislature. This attests to the quality of the men sent to the legislature, for studies have shown that the ability to discriminate between different aspects of related subject-matter is positively related to intelligence, especially when emotions are involved.

In order to examine more closely the relationship between agreement with group policy and rating of group effectiveness, we will study the rankings given to the four organizations included in each listing. The organizations purposely included in both were the Teachers' Association, the State Chamber of Commerce, the Farm Bureau, and the State AFL-CIO. When only these four organizations are considered, the Republicans and Democrats demonstrate almost complete disagreement in their attitudes toward group policies. The correlation is -.80. However, the coefficient of correlation between Republican and Democratic rankings of these same four groups' legislative effectiveness is a high +.80. Thus, although the Republicans and Democrats stand at opposite poles concerning their attitudes towards the policies of these groups, party members do not allow their sentiments to overpower their judgments of the groups' legislative effectiveness.

Ignoring the rankings of the groups and considering only the scores alone, we find some systematic differences between the ratings of group effectiveness and attitudes toward group policies. In each of the four cases of overlapping groups, there is a definite tendency for party members who agree with the group's policies to score that group slightly higher in legislative effectiveness. Thus, Republicans score the State Chamber and the Farm Bureau a little higher than the Democrats, who counter by assessing the State Teachers and the AFL-CIO higher than the Republicans. Apparently, this is in contradiction to the previous statement that attitudes toward policies do not influence ratings of effectiveness. However, these differences in scores are small and perhaps can be accounted for by the wording of the question. As was said, the question was designed for purposes other than a rating of groups according to effectiveness. Therefore, the question in the schedule was worded: "Could you give me your estimate of how effective these organizations are in influencing public policy and especially of how effective they are in making their case before the legislature?" (Italics added) It is probable that a small percentage of legislators allowed the italicized portion of the question to enter their judgment, so that, if they tended to agree with the organization's policies, they tended to be more favorable to the presentation of the organization's case before the legislature. Pending further examination and other study, this explanation will be advanced to account for these apparent exceptions to the general rule.

One other thing to be noted from Figure 6 is that not all organizations were rated on the effective side. Undoubtedly, there would be other interest groups which would have been rated ineffective, but we wished to include more or less well-known organizations which, almost by definition, are the effective ones.*

The Most Powerful Groups in Indiana State Politics

During the course of our interviews with the legislative candidates but before asking them to rate organizations for their effectiveness, we placed this question to each legislator.

"You hear a lot these days about the power of interest groups and lobbies in state politics. What would you say are the most powerful organizations of this kind here in Indiana?"

We then recorded the groups named by the legislator. Figure 7 portrays the results of a Republican-Democratic analysis of the survey data on that question. Several important facts arise out of these data. First, labor, which is fourth in legislative effectiveness, is viewed as the most powerful organization in state politics, above the State Teachers' Association, which ranked first on legislative effectiveness. It needs to be emphasized that these were two entirely different questions designed to get at different information. When the whole complex of state politics is considered, both Republicans and Democrats named labor as powerful more frequently than they named any other organization. Of those who gave specific reasons for labor's power in state politics, about one-half of the Republicans and Democrats alike cited the size of the membership and the potential electoral influence--a factor which is somewhat removed from the legislative arena. The bulk of the other reasons given for labor's power could be labeled organizational factors.

For those who volunteered specific reasons for the Teachers' power in state politics, the prestige of the group and its members was named about 30% of the time, followed closely by credit given to organizational factors and also to its lobbyists.

About 40% of those who gave reasons for the power of the State Chamber of Commerce listed the information-providing function of the Chamber as its main asset. Another 30% emphasized the Chamber's financial resources, which frequently were mentioned for their contribution to the information-providing service in that finances enable the Chamber to maintain the staff necessary for the job.

In the eyes of the legislative candidates, the farm organizations owed their influence mainly to the size of membership (30%), to the

*It was felt that any localized interest group, such as the Chamber of Commerce of city X, would tend to be rated ineffective. Therefore, one local group was included to draw out the ineffective responses, but we wished to avoid mentioning localities and thus did not report the name of the city.

Most Powerful Interest Groups in Indiana State Politics

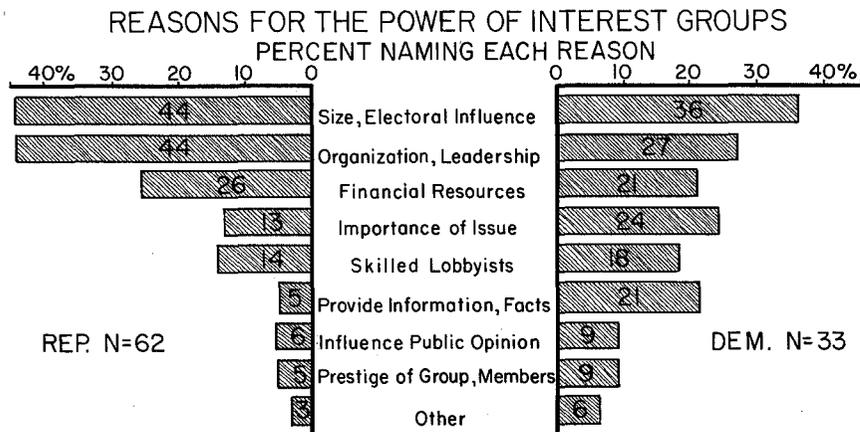
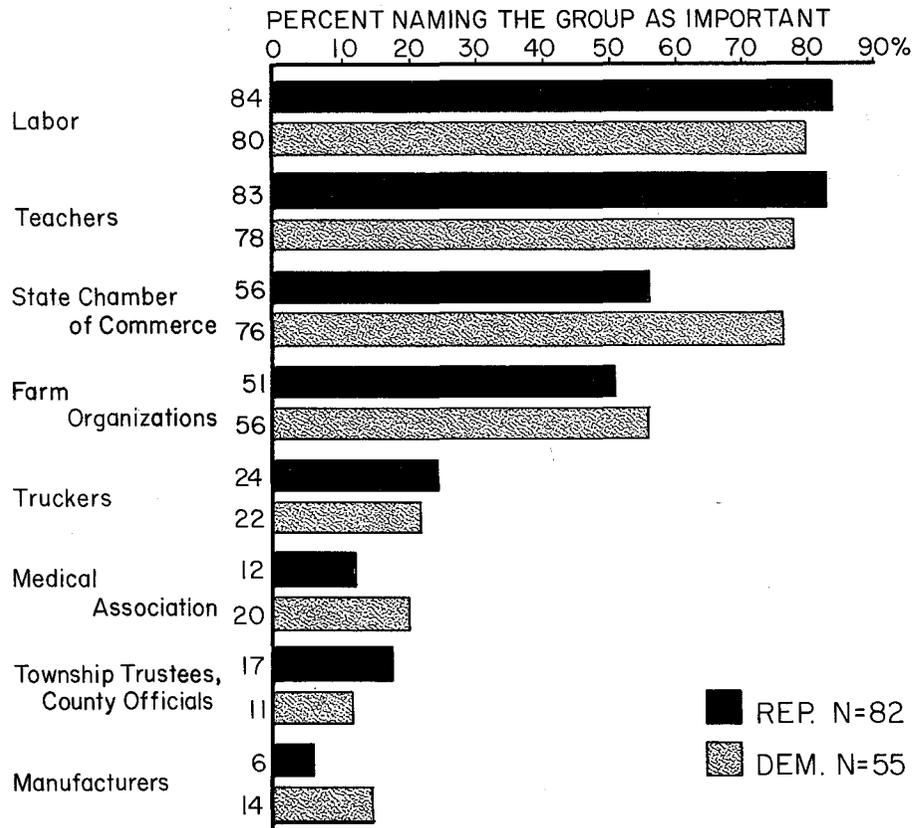


FIGURE 7

prestige of its members (25%), and to organizational factors (15%). Included under the title "farm organizations" were some scattered mentions of the Farmers' Union, but the bulk of the references were to the Farm Bureau.

Returning to Figure 7 and examining the reasons given for the power of interest groups in general, it is clear that both parties name size and electoral influence as the most important source of power for organizations which are influential in Indiana State politics. Organization and leadership emerge as the next most important reason for the power of interest groups in state politics. The only outstanding difference between the two parties and the reasons given for the influence of interest groups appears in the fact that Democrats seem to attribute more importance to the information provided by these organizations. No satisfactory explanation of this occurrence has yet been advanced, but one of the authors is pursuing additional research on personality factors and group-orientations which may provide the answer.

One additional remark about the data is in order here. It will be remembered that Republican-Democratic rankings of group effectiveness in the legislative process were substantially independent of agreement with the group policy. However, this independence does not exist when party members rate groups for their power in state politics. In most of the cases, party members who tended to disagree with the policies of specific interest groups were more likely to name that group as powerful in Indiana state politics. These relationships can be seen in the party ratings on agreement and power for the Teachers, the State Chamber, the farm organizations, the Medical Association, and the manufacturers. A tentative explanation for this relationship, but one which requires further research, is that the phrase "most powerful" organizations has some unfavorable connotations, and that some respondents are likely to impute "power" to groups with which they disagree.

To conclude this treatment of interest groups in the legislative process, it may be well to report on the legislators' replies to the question, "What personal qualities and factors in his background make for an effective lobbyist in the legislature?" There were no significant Republican-Democratic differences in the responses to this question. About 70% of the legislators stressed, above all other factors, the honesty and personal integrity of the lobbyist. This was followed by a high regard for a thorough knowledge of the subject-matter (53%), the importance of an agreeable personality (38%), a demonstration of helpfulness in conducting research and providing information (16%), and the benefit of previous legislative experience (12%). Only 5% of our sample of Indiana state legislators responding to this question thought formal education to be of special value to a lobbyist and the same percentage rated persuasiveness as important. The data indicate that legislators seek in lobbyists mainly those factors which promise to aid them in their difficult task of ascertaining facts and opinions involved in legislative issues so that they can be better informed when attempting to formulate public policy in unfamiliar subject-matter areas.

Political Career Patterns of the Members of the 1961 Session

The summer interviews concluded by asking the candidates some general questions about personal aspects of their political careers. When asked how they would rate their legislative service as a personal experience, about 80% of the candidates who had served in previous sessions replied that their personal experience in the legislature was most enjoyable. Only 20% of the men rated the experience as simply "satisfactory," and none rated it "unsatisfactory." These data conform to previous findings by Professor David Derge, who questioned a group of legislators having retired between 1945 and 1955.

When asked whether or not they intended to continue their political careers if they won in the 1960 election, nine out of ten of the candidates answered yes. This indicates that the voters of Indiana will have an opportunity to pass judgment on 90% of the present legislators for their jobs done in the 1961 session. About three-fourths of the present legislators stated that they were content to continue their political careers by remaining in the Indiana General Assembly. However, the other quarter thought they might try their hands at running for other offices, with at least three individuals having Congressional aspirations.

The public seems to have some feeling that legislative service can be of benefit to the earning power of a legislator in his own business or occupation. The argument runs that the legislator acquires new business contacts from different parts of the state or that he benefits from increased stature in his home community because of his high political office. The data show that this generalization cannot apply to all occupational groups. While it is true that about half of the lawyers reported that legislative service helps their law practice, about 30% of the lawyers claimed that they could not make up in two years what they had lost by closing down their practice for more than two months. Half of the non-lawyers believed that legislative service makes no difference in their personal earning power, while one-third claimed that their finances suffer from legislative service. The remaining 20% stated that their incomes are given a boost. At least until additional research is conducted on this question, it seems most accurate to conclude simply that no clear pattern emerges from the data and that legislative service appears to have different effects on personal earning power in accordance with particular situations.