

CONGRESSIONAL STAFFING:  
A SELECTED ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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## ABSTRACT

This bibliography provides the reader an overview of the growth, development, responsibilities, and duties of personal staffs of Senators and Representatives and the staffs of congressional committees, as seen and studied by academicians, journalists, former Members of the House and Senate, and former staff members.

Sarah Mitchell and Daphne Lee of the Government Division assisted in the preparation of this bibliography.

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INTRODUCTION

The Appropriations Act of August 18, 1856, authorized the hiring of a clerk for the Senate Committee on Finance, a clerk for the Senate Committee on Printing a clerk for the House Committee of Claims, and a clerk for the House Committee of Ways and Means. 1/ This Act is believed to have been the first to authorize the employment of staff for Congressional Committees.

It was not until 1885, however, that each Senator was authorized to hire a clerk, when Congress was in session, at no more than \$6 per day. In 1893, the House first authorized a clerk for its Members at a salary of \$100 per month. 2/

Even though the number of Members of Congress has remained substantially the same since the turn of the century, the increase in population, legislative work, and constituency service programs have lengthened their workday, limited allocation of their time, and required greater levels of staff assistance.

Due to the facilities of modern transportation and communication, there is more personal contact between a Member of Congress and his or her constituents than ever before. People come to Washington from the district or State to

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1/ 11 Stat. 103

2/ Guide to the Congress. 2d Edition. Washington, D.C. Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1976. p. 463

consult with the Member, or visit the District or State offices. With even greater frequency, constituents also telephone, telegraph, and write. There is no possible way the Member can personally handle all of the visitors, phone calls, telegrams and the mail. Consequently, the congressional staff is an important link between the congressional office and outside groups or individuals. At the same time, the complexity of public policy issues has enhanced the expert staffs of congressional committees and of the agencies which assist the Congress.

This selected annotated bibliography on congressional staffing is intended to acquaint the reader with major contemporary studies, articles, and books, as well as with earlier works on the subject. Earlier books and articles, especially those written before the enactment of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, the Committee Reform Amendments of 1974, and the Senate Committee System Reorganization Amendments of 1977, could not take into consideration the effects that these measures have had on the staffing of committees in the Senate and the House of Representatives; nor could they deal with other changes that have increased the number and responsibilities of personal office staff.

Citations in this bibliography cover the growth, development, responsibilities, and duties of personal staffs of Senators and Representatives and the staffs of congressional committees as seen and studied by academicians, journalists, former Members of the House and Senate, and former staff members.

No bibliography in a subject area as broad and diverse as congressional staffing can be all inclusive. Most of the books listed and some other items cited contain extensive bibliographies of their own.

For all books included in this bibliography, Library of Congress call numbers have been provided. Congressional offices seeking items in this bibliography should call the Congressional Research Service at 287-5700.

CONGRESSIONAL STAFFING:  
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BOOKS

Bibby, John F., and Roger H. Davidson. On Capitol Hill: studies in the legislative process. 2d ed. Hinsdale, Ill., Dryden Press, 1972. 300 p.  
JK1051.B5 1972

This work examines Congress through a number of studies including ones on campaigning, the job of the Member, the Member's office staff, casework, constituency and press relations, the committee system, committee staff, the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 and congressional reform.

Bolling, Richard. Power in the House. New York, Dutton. [1968] 291 p.  
JK1316.B6

Congressman Bolling's book traces the historical development of the House from its inception through the 90th Congress and argues that congressional reform is both necessary and possible today. He mentions the need for adequate staffing of committees, especially minority and non-partisanship staff positions.

This book was reprinted in 1974 by Capricorn Books.

Brownson, Charles B., ed. Congressional staff directory. Mount Vernon, Va. Congressional Staff Directory, 1980. 1067 p. JK1012.C.65

This volume is prepared annually by Brownson, a former Member of Congress [1951-59], and contains biographical information for Representatives and Senators, committee assignments, selected personal and committee staff, titles of staff members, room and telephone numbers, and other information on Members of Congress and their staffs.

Committee for Economic Development. Making Congress more effective. New York, Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, 1971. 75 p. JK1061.C585

This pamphlet contains recommendations that Congress strengthen its staff resources by recruitment of highly qualified specialists, that resources in certain cases be pooled where every committee would have access to "the best technical and analytical service," and that Congress provide for adequate minority staffing, as well as professional staff training and development. (This publication is available from the Committee for Economic Development, 1700 K St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006)



Congressional Yellow Book. Buhler, Michaela and Dorothy Lee Jackson, eds.  
Washington, Washington Monitor, 1981. 1 v. (loose leaf)

JK1010.C68

A loose leaf directory of Congress, its committees and its staff. Completely updated four times every year. Also includes information on Members of Congress, their personal staffs, and the nearly 300 congressional committees and subcommittees and their staffs and jurisdictions.

Cotton, Norris. In the Senate: amidst the conflict and the turmoil.  
New York, Dodd, Mead, 1978. 239 p.

E748.C867A34

The author, a former Representative for eight years and a Senator for twenty years, recalls the changes in the Congress during his tenure. He discusses the function and growth of personal and committee Senatorial staffs, some of the reasons for such growth, including the expansion of Federal programs, casework, the increase of congressional mail, and the introduction of more legislation.

Davidson, Roger H., and Walter J. Oleszek. Congress against itself.  
Bloomington, Indiana University Press, c1977. 306 p. JK1429.D38 1977

The authors, political scientists and former staff members on the House Select Committee on Committees, examine the political and institutional forces involved in the passage of 1974 House Committee Reform Amendments. The role of committee staffs is also discussed.

Dodd, Lawrence C., and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, eds. Congress reconsidered.  
New York, Praeger [1977] 315 p. (Praeger university series); 2d ed.,  
Washington, Congressional Quarterly Inc. [1981]. JK.C587 1977

Contents.--The changing Senate: from the 1950s to the 1970s, by N.J. Ornstein, R.L. Peabody, and D.W. Rohde.  
The House in transition, by L.C. Dodd, and B.I. Oppenheimer.  
Congressional dynamics and the decline of competitive congressional elections, by A.D. Cover, and D. R. Mayhew.  
The conservative coalition in Congress, by J.F. Manley.  
The Rules Committee: New arm of leadership in a decentralized House, by B.I. Oppenheimer. Committee reform and the revenue process by C.E. Rudder. Congress in organizational perspective, by J. Cooper. The new congressional budget process: the hows and whys of House-Senate differences, by J. W. Ellwood, and J.A. Thurber. Congress and the intelligence community, by J.T. Elleff. Congressional oversight: structures and incentives, by M.S. Ogul. Congress and the President: enemies or partners?, by J.R. Sundquist. Will reform change Congress?, by C.O. Jones. Strengthening a congressional strength, by R.F. Fenno, Jr. Congress and the quest for power, by L.C. Dodd. The second edition contains revisions of earlier articles, and new material on changes in the Congress since 1977.

Fenno, Richard F. *Congressmen in committees*. Boston, Little, Brown, c1973. 302 p. (The Study of Congress series) JK1029.F45

Fenno examines committee differences, comparing six House committees with their Senate counterparts. In making the comparisons, he utilizes such performance variables as Member goals, environmental constraints, strategic premises, and decisionmaking processes. He also briefly discusses committee staffing in the congressional committee system.

----- Home style: *House Members in their districts*. Boston, Little, Brown, c1978. 304 p. JK1323 1978.F46

The author accompanied eighteen House Members to their districts to examine the components of Members' relationships to their constituency. These data were gathered from the early to mid-1970s. He finds that the Members' home styles differ according to Member personality, the Member's explanation of his Washington activities, and the Member's allocation of personal time and office resources to the District. Among the factors appearing to influence the allocation of a Member's time and the amount of staff assigned to the district are personal goals, family residence, distance from Washington, established constituent expectations and the desire of Members to be responsive to constituent concerns.

Fiorina, Morris P. *Congress; keystone of the Washington establishment*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1977. 105 p. (A Yale fastback book; 18) JK1071.F55

Fiorina suggests that more Federal programs and regulations increase citizen needs for help and special interest demands for support. Larger congressional staffs and proliferating subcommittees enable Congressmen to respond to both, and to benefit accordingly at the polls. According to the author, larger and more professional congressional staffs in Washington and in the District provide better constituency services, and assist the Member in making effective public policy decisions through the economic, technological and social science expertise of their staffs.

Fox, Harrison W., Jr., and Susan Webb Hammond. *Congressional staffs: the invisible force in American lawmaking*. New York, Free Press, c1977. 227 p. JK1083.F68

This book discusses the origins and growth of congressional staffs, the personal attributes of staff members (education, training, previous employment, etc.), recruitment and tenure, patterns of staff organization, the variety of staff activities, communication channels and information resources, the four congressional support agencies, other support activities provided by informal and outside groups, and the ways in which congressional staffs affect policy and the institution. A number of appendices provide considerable survey data.

Galloway, George B. *Congress at the crossroads*. New York, Crowell [1946] 374 p. JK1061.G3

Galloway discusses congressional, personal and committee staffing, and the composition, function and operation of the Congress. Although the book is dated, the appended tables [congressional staff as of June 1944 and the staff of Congress in the 79th Congress, 1st Session (1945)] could be useful for comparative purposes.

Goodwin, George, Jr. The little legislatures; committees of Congress  
[Amherst] University of Massachusetts Press, 1970. 284 p.

JK1029.C6

In his examination of the congressional committee system, Goodwin includes an analysis of committee staffing. He looks at the function, appointment, influence, partisanship, roles, size, and operating styles of committee staff personnel.

Green, Mark J., and others. Who runs Congress? New York, Viking Press,  
c1979. 343 p.

JK1061.G68 1979

This book was a product of Ralph Nader's Congress Project. The authors discuss the internal organization and operation of the Congress and its relevant problems. They also discuss the work of the Members, the demands upon their time, constituent services, legislation and voting, and how their staff personnel function in these areas.

Griffith, Ernest S., and Francis R. Valeo. Congress: its contemporary role.  
5th ed. New York. New York University Press, 1975. 268 p.

JK1061.G7 1975

This updated version of Griffith's book notes new developments and significant changes in the structure, mood and role of Congress. The authors also discuss the effect of staffing upon the total role of Members of Congress, as well as the roles of the legislative, committee, temporary and investigative staffs.

Groennings, Sven, and Jonathan P. Hawley, eds. To be a Congressman: the  
promise and the power. Washington, Acropolis Books, 1973. 258 p.

JK1061.G75

This book contains articles by eleven contributors who discuss the involvement of a Congressman in organizing and directing an office and staff, communicating with the public, and responding to its many needs. Other aspects of working with colleagues on committees and in informal groups, policies, power and leadership, are also discussed.

Heaphey, James J., and Alan P. Balutis, eds. Legislative staffing: a  
comparative perspective. Beverly Hills, Sage Publications, New York,  
distributed by Halsted Press, c1975. 244 p.

JF540.5.L43

This book is a compilation of ten in-depth studies of legislative staffing in the U.S. Congress, five States and three developing countries. Legislative and personal congressional staffs, their roles, behavior, structure, workload, resource utilization and characteristics are examined and compared. Tables showing results of comparative studies are also included.

Horn, Stephen. Unused power; the work of the Senate Committee on  
Appropriations. Washington, Brookings Institution, 1970. 285 p.

JK1240.A62H67

The author, a former Senate legislative assistant, examines the Senate Committee on Appropriation's role of gathering and imparting information, making judgments and implementing the Senate's will, as it was in the 89th Congress (1965-1966), and recommends certain changes. Horn discusses the committee membership, operating structure, subcommittee

and staff system and the hearing and decisionmaking process. He includes the function of committee staff, operating problems, and role of the staff in decisionmaking.

House Republican Task Force on Congressional Reform and Minority Staffing.  
We propose: a modern Congress. New York, McGraw-Hill [1966] 338 p.  
JK1061.H6

This study is a compilation of works by Members of Congress. Among the articles related to congressional staffing generally are former Representative James C. Cleveland's article on minority party committee staffing, former Representative Donald Rumsfeld's article on congressional office operations, and an article by Representative James Broyhill on reforms in the congressional personnel system.

Jewell, Malcolm E., and Samuel C. Patterson. The legislative process in the United States. 3d ed. New York, Random House, c1977. 527 p.  
KF4933.J4 1977

The authors examine the structure and functions of the Congress in comparison with those of State legislatures, including committee staffs, types of legislative staffs, individual Members' staffs, and the role of the staff in the legislator-constituent relationship.

Jones, Rochelle, and Peter Woll. The private world of Congress. New York, Free Press, c1979. 264 p.  
JK1061.J65

In this book, the authors explain the power incentive of Members of Congress and congressional staffs. Based upon personal interviews and their experience on Capitol Hill, the authors assert that the dispersion of power is growing in Congress. They discuss how Members of Congress try to obtain the symbols of power--committee chairmanships, assignments to prestigious committees, large and expert staffs, legislative victories, and special perquisites. They also discuss how "Staffs: the Surrogates of Power," use their positions, their bosses and their expertise to advance their own policy preferences.

Kammerer, Gladys M. Congressional committee staffing since 1946. Lexington, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 65 p.  
JK1029.K3

The author reviews the actions of Congress to implement the mandate of the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act to provide congressional committees with competent professional staff. The author describes the backgrounds of the professional staff members of each of the committees of Congress from 1946 to 1950, thus providing information of comparative or historical interest.

Keefe, William J., and Morris S. Ogul. The American legislative process: Congress and the States. 5th ed. Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Prentice-Hall, c1981. 495 p.  
JK1001.K4 1981

This work examines the congressional committee system, the legislative process, oversight, and executive-judicial relations. Included are discussions on the costs of congressional offices and congressional and committee staff personnel in both Congress and State legislatures.

Kingdon, John W. Congressmen's voting decisions. New York, Harper & Row, 1973. 313 p. JK1319.K53

Based primarily on interviews with a cross section of Congressmen in the 91st Congress (1969), this book reports the results of a study exploring how Members of the House reach their decisions when voting on the House floor. Kingdon discusses the overall importance of the constituency, the staff, and staff activities as contributions to a final vote.

Kofmehl, Kenneth. Professional staffs of Congress. 3d ed. West Lafayette, Ind. Purdue University Press, 1977. 282 p. JK1083.K6 1977

Kofmehl's book is a comprehensive history and analysis of committee staffing procedures in the House and Senate. Revisions for the third edition include a discussion of committee staff growth, the expansion of permanent committee staff in the House, efforts to increase minority party staffing, and the establishment of committee-related Senate personal staff.

Kornberg, Allan, and Lloyd D. Musolf, eds. Legislatures in developmental perspective. Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1970. 590 p. JF501.L44

This book is a collection of fifteen articles by international political scholars on comparative legislative systems. The development, role and function of the British, Canadian, Chilean, Lebanese, Kenyan and Philippine political systems are discussed, as well as the American Congress political system. Included are chapters on staffing the legislature and committee professional staffing.

Malbin, Michael J. Unelected representatives: congressional staff and the future of representative government. New York, Basic Books, c1980. 282 p. JK1083.M34

This work examines the expansion and new roles of congressional staffs, with emphasis on committee staffs. The author discusses the effect staffs have on the legislative process, including how they negotiate and act on behalf of the Members, and the effect they have on Congress' ability to act as a legislative body. The author also examines, in a series of case studies, the actual operations of committee and subcommittee staffs (House, Senate, and Joint) in specific legislative oversight situations. He presents detailed examinations of the role of the Senate staff in the 1978 "Sunset" legislation; the negotiation process between House and Senate staff on the "phantom conference" on the 1977 Veteran's Educational Benefits bill; the two House Commerce Subcommittees on Oversight and Investigation and Energy and Power; as well as the nonpartisan staffs of the Joint Taxation and House Budget Committees.

Manley, John F. The politics of finance: the House Committee on Ways and Means. Boston, Little, Brown, 1970. 395 p. JK1430.W32M33

This work provides a comprehensive view of the committee by examining the leadership roles within the committee, the significant role played by its senior members, some views of the staff members, and the role the committee then exercised in the House leadership machinery.

Matthews, Donald R. U.S. Senators and their world. New York, Norton  
[1973] 303 p. JK1161.M35 1973

This study attempts to explain how Senators act and why by focusing on the behavioral aspect of the Senate Chamber. Based largely upon interviews with Senators, their staffs, and journalists, this work covers various phases of life in the Senate.

Ogul, Morris S. Congress oversees the bureaucracy: studies in legislative supervision. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1976. 237 p.  
JK585.048

Ogul offers some general observations about the potential for effective legislative oversight. Defining oversight as "behavior by legislators and their staffs, individually or collectively, which results in an impact, intended or not, on bureaucratic behavior," Ogul then, in a series of case studies of various House committees, evaluates the achievements of the Congress in legislative review.

Ornstein, Norman J., ed. Changing Congress: the committee system. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1974. 176 p. (American Academy of Political Social Science, Philadelphia. Annals, v. 411.) H1.A4, v. 411/JK1029

Contents. Committees in the House, by R. Bolling. Committees in the Senate, by B. Brock. Evolution of the Senate's committee system by W. Kravitz. Committee reforming the House of Representatives and the subcommittee bill of rights, by D. W. Rhode. Representation and congressional committees, by R. H. Davidson. Committees and the norm of specialization, by H. B. Asher. House-Senate relationships: comity and conflict by W. J. Oleszek. Committee conflict in the congressional arena, by P. Brenner. Congress, the executive and the budget, by L. Fisher. The press and the committee system, by M. Russell. Assessing the congressional committee system: contributions from a comparative perspective, by G. Nelson. Committees from the leadership perspective, by R. L. Peabody. Towards restructuring the congressional committee system, by N. J. Ornstein. Between party battalions and committee suzerainty, by C. O. Jones. Restructuring the House of Representatives, by J. W. Gardner.

Polsby, Nelson W., comp. Congressional behavior. New York, Random House [1971] 269 p. JK1061.P62

This collection includes material on constituency influence, role of congressional staff, leadership, committee assignments, the seniority system, and the Democratic Study Group.

Radler, Don. How Congress works. New York, New American Library, 1976. (A Signet book) JK1062. R3

Radler, a congressional committee consultant and writer, explains, ". . . this book aims at an understanding of how representative democracy works, how that affects you - and how you can affect it." He discusses congressional leaders; committees; how a bill becomes a law; casework: helping people; staff work: helping Members of Congress; congressional ethics; and the ongoing process of congressional reform.

Rapoport, Daniel. Inside the House: an irreverent guided tour through the House of Representatives, from the days of Adam Clayton Powell to those of Peter Rodino. Chicago, Follett Pub. Co. [1975] 260 p.

JK1323.1975.R35

As a reporter for the United Press International, the author covered the House from 1963-1974. He describes the House in terms of "individuals and events rather than an 'institution,' as a flesh and blood community instead of an abstract entity." He writes about the role of the staff in the Member's offices, the committee staffs and other personnel in the House.

Redman, Eric. The dance of legislation. New York, Simon and Schuster [1973] 319 p.

KF4980.R4

This book, written by a former Senate staff member, describes the role and activities of Senate staff members in the operation of the Senate. The author presents a case study of the legislative process in the Senate, from the introduction of a bill to its becoming a public law, and the problems encountered along the way.

Reid, T. R. Congressional odyssey: the saga of a Senate bill. San Francisco, W. H. Freeman, c1980. 140 p.

JK1067.R44

This reporter-author tracked the almost two-year journey of a somewhat obscure piece of legislation, the Inland Waterways Bill, from introduction to enactment into law during the 95th Congress. This case study includes all aspects of the legislative process--personal, procedural, staff work, political, and passage--to present a clear picture of the intricacies involved in getting a bill through Congress.

Riegle, Donald W. Jr. O Congress. New York, Doubleday, 1972. 295 p.

E840.8.R53A3

Taken from a personal one-year diary, the Michigan Senator describes the life of a Member of the House, the inner workings of the Congress, the relationship of a Member with colleagues, his personal staff and their duties, some necessary attributes of a good staff, and the resultant accomplishments.

Ripley, Randall B. Congress: process and policy. New York, Norton, c1978. 425 p.

JK1061.R55 1978

Ripley analyzes Congress as an institution, its congressional relations with key portions of its environment, and the importance of Congress as a policymaker. He discusses congressional and committee staffs, the functions and organization of personal staffs and the legislative impact of the staff on the operations of Congress.

Schwarz, John E., and L. Earl Shaw. The United States Congress in comparative perspective. Hindale, Ill., Dryden Press, c1976. 421 p.

JK1051.S48

This book analyzes the United States Congress and three Western European legislatures (Great Britain, France, and West Germany) with the principal focus on the American Congress. The authors discuss the differences, the structures and the effectiveness of the four legislatures

in representing citizen opinion and in the decisionmaking process. They also compare committee staffing and staff work in the casework and constituent service functions.

Tacheron, Donald G., and Morris K. Udall. The job of the Congressman. 2d ed. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, c1970. 461 p. JK1331.T31 1970

This book provides basic information, some of it now dated, about operating problems of particular concern to the newly elected Member of the House of Representatives, as well as to his or her staff, including managing and staffing a congressional office, conducting legislative business, and serving and informing constituents.

Truman, David B., ed. The Congress and America's future. 2d ed. Inglewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, c1973. 216 p. (A Spectrum Book)

JK1061.A73 1973

In this collection of essays, legislative oversight, constituent services and constituent influence, power in the House and Senate, economic policy and congressional staffing are among the topics considered. The final chapter deals with prospects for changes in Congress. The essays in the 1965 edition of this book were designed as "background reading for the 26th American Assembly at Arden House, Oct. 29 to Nov. 1, 1964, and for other sessions of the American Assembly." This edition has been revised and updated by the authors.

Vital statistics on Congress, 1980. By John F. Bibby, Thomas E. Mann, Norman J. Ornstein. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 113 p. (American Enterprise Institute Studies in Political and Social Processes) JK1041.B53

Statistics have been compiled in this book on congressional elections, committees, committee staffs, congressional staffs, congressional mailings, workloads, expenses, campaign finance, and voting patterns. "Each section of the book contains an introductory essay, prepared by the editors, which highlights the most salient facts and trends pertaining to these aspects of Congress."

Weaver, Warren, Jr. Both your Houses; the truth about Congress. New York, Praeger, 1972. 307 p. JK1041.W4

Weaver examines the legislative process of Congress from a journalistic viewpoint, including the committee system, the role of the staff in congressional offices, and the official life on Capitol Hill. He also suggests ways in which the inadequacies of the legislative branch might be improved.



ARTICLES

Albright, Joseph. The pact of the two Henrys. New York times magazine, Jan. 5, 1975: 16-17, 20, 24, 26, 28-31, 34.

In a legislative history of the trade bill and Soviet emigration agreement, the author provides an insight into the role of congressional compromise and that of congressional staffs in influencing legislation.

Beck, Allison. The last plantation: will employment reform come to Capitol Hill? Catholic University law review, v. 28, winter 1979: 271-311.

K3A79

This article examines the exclusion of congressional employees from fair employment laws, and the problems of employment discrimination on Capitol Hill, focusing upon alternatives which would afford congressional employees greater employment protection. Doctrines of separation of powers, legislative immunity, the speech and debate and the equal protection clauses are also discussed.

Bowlin, Samuel W. A look at the Congressional Fellowship Program. GAO review, winter 1973: 12-18

HJ9701.G3

Bowlin summarizes the reactions and experiences of GAO's first fellows participating in the Congressional fellowship Program, to provide an opportunity to study and learn how the Congress functions, how it is organized, and how it relates to activities of the executive branch.

Brown, Eugene. In the shadows -- jobs on Capitol Hill. Democratic review, v. 1, Apr./May 1975. 52-57

JK2311.D48, v. 1

A former staff member of the Senate and House discusses job opportunities, working conditions, and the technicalities of finding and keeping a job on Capitol Hill.

Brunetti, Louis Leo. The speech or debate clause and immunity for congressional aides. Duquesne law review, v.11, summer 1973. 677-686.

K4.U65, v. 11

Case note observes that the "United States Supreme Court has held that the speech or debate clause applies to congressional aides, insofar as the aides' conduct would be a protected legislative act if performed by the Member himself; but it does not extend immunity to the Member's aide when testifying before a grand jury about acts done by the Member or himself, if such inquiry does not impinge upon the legislative process, and proves relevant to investigating possible third party crimes."

Capitol Hill's growing army of bureaucrats. U.S. news and world report, v. 87, Dec. 24, 1979: 52-55.

JK1.U58

This article cites the growth of congressional staff from 1955 to 1979. Critics charge that this growth has produced a legislative bureaucracy that impedes Congress's pace and efficiency. The lawmakers claim that due to today's complex issues, their workloads, and the rising demand for services from people back home, they are forced to maintain large staffs.

Cohen, Richard E. The Senate's new staff chiefs under pressure not to mess up. National journal, v. 13, Jan. 24, 1981. 140-145 JK1.N28, v. 13

The author presents profiles of 15 new Republican committee staff directors their duties now as opposed to their experience on the minority side, the operation of their committees and subcommittees, and the issues they will deal with.

Congressional bureaucracy: growing staff system on Hill forcing changes in Congress. Congressional quarterly weekly report, v. 37, Nov. 24, 1979: 2631-2654. JK1.C15, v. 37

"Congress today has a full-fledged bureaucracy--vastly smaller than the executive branch's but with virtually all the elements of a complicated infrastructure necessary to support an increasingly complicated federal government." The main reason behind the growth is the increase of the number of staff employed by Congress and other agencies in the Legislative Branch.

Development of committee staffs. In Congressional Quarterly Inc, Guide to Congress. 2d ed. Washington, Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1976. p. 389-396. JK1021.C561976a

Discusses the development and expansion of committee staffs from the early years of Congress through 1970, including the changes under the 1946 and 1970 Legislative Reorganization Acts. Also discussed are expansion of committee staffs, the use of committee staff for personal work of Senators, description of staff work, minority staffing, and staff size and professionalism.

Galloway, George B. The operation of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. American political science review, v. 45, Mar. 1951: 41-68. HAL.A6, v. 46

This article reviews the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 in terms of its own objective, "to streamline and simplify congressional committee structure; to eliminate the use of special or select committees; to clarify committee duties and reduce jurisdictional disputes; to regularize and publicize committee procedures; to improve congressional staff aides; to reduce the workload in Congress; to strengthen legislative oversight of administration; to reinforce the power of the purse; to regulate lobbying and to increase the compensation of Members of Congress and provide them with retirement pay."

Gwartzman, Milton S. The bloated branch. New York times magazine, Nov. 10, 1974: 30-31, 98, 100-102.

Gwartzman notes the rapid expansion of congressional staffs, budgets, and complex duties of Members. He argues that their increasing legislative empires have made Congressmen busier than ever before but have also reduced their role in actions undertaken in their name.

Hill workers push for job protections Congress denied by labor exemptions.  
Congressional quarterly weekly report, v. 36, Feb. 11, 1978: 337-346.

JK1.C15, v. 36

This article discusses the employment practices of the House and Senate, and cites statistics and studies that appear to show discrimination in the pay and promotion of women and minorities.

Isaacs, Stephen. The Capitol game. Washington post, Feb. 16, 1975: A1, A8; Feb. 17, A1, A4; Feb. 18, A1, A12; Feb. 19, A1, A9; Feb. 20, A1, A6; Feb. 21, A1, A6; Feb. 23, A1, A12; Feb. 24, A1, A4.

This eight-part series studies the expenses of Senate committees and committee staff activities, charging that several committees perform tasks other than those they were created to perform and that committees or staff are frequently used by Senators for non-committee purposes. The final segment of the series, written by Mary Russell, deals with the House committees.

Johannes, John R. The distribution of casework in the U.S. Congress: an uneven burden. Legislative studies quarterly, v. 5, no. 4, Nov. 1980: 517-544.

JF501.L42, v. 5.

This article discusses the uneven distribution of casework from data compiled by the author in the 95th Congress. The factors that have independent effects on casework in the House, include: region (the East); constituents' abilities to ask for assistance (education, concentration of government employees in districts, and the percentage urban); and Member salience and visibility (seniority). In the Senate, legislative activism, State population, and concentrations of the elderly are significantly related to case loads. The author concludes that the uneven distribution of casework has several implications: (1) if there is a connection between getting reelected and doing lots of casework, some Members have advantages over their colleagues; (2) current staffing arrangements are less than equitable, given the different caseloads. Some need more help than others; (3) some constituencies receive more congressional help than do others; (4) to the extent that casework input offers opportunities or incentives for legislation and oversight, some Senators and Representatives, with varied committee experience, may be in a better position to follow through to adjust agency policies and procedures, or change the public law. It could also mean that certain types of issues from particular States and districts will receive more attention by Members than others.

Judge, John F. Standing staffs: the invisible empire. Government executive, v. 6, May 1974: 67-68.

JK1.G58, v. 6

"The furious dynamics of national legislation is the business of the staffs of the standing committees of the Senate and House of Representatives. Working in an area filled with powerful egos, the staff members deliberately keep out of the public eye. Constantly under pressure, the staffers operate in antiquated facilities and carry almost overbearing workloads."

Loomis, Burdette A. The congressional office as a small (?) business: new Members set up shop. Publius, v. 9, summer 1979: 35-55. JK1.P88

The author discusses the growth of staff in congressional offices, decentralization, specialization, and organization of congressional offices. Information and data were drawn from the 70 Democratic members of the 94th Congress. He compares congressional offices to small business enterprises in that both are concerned with a product.

Mullen, Patrick R. Congressional reform: minority staffing in the House of Representatives. GAO review, v. 10, summer 1975: 32-40.

H19701.G3, v. 10

The author explores "the rationale behind minority staffing reform and the manner in which it was handled in the House of Representatives."

Patterson, Samuel C. The professional staffs of congressional committees. Administrative science quarterly, v. 15, Mar. 1970: 22-37.

HD28.A25, v. 15

This essay focuses upon the professional staffs of congressional committees and aims to clarify four points: the development, utilization capabilities and constraints on the performance of professional staff members of congressional committees. The author examines major users of committee staff personnel and the capabilities of the staff members. He studies the principal constraints, in the congressional context, which shape the behavior of staff personnel.

Pincus, Walter. House of ill repute: making good use of the hired help. New republic, v. 172, Mar. 8, 1975: 16-18. AP2.N6235, v. 172

The author discusses the past organization of House staffs and committees, pointing out problems inherent in the old system, abuses that appeared, and changes in staff structure and leadership that are now evident.

----- The scandalous Senate: committee chicanery. New republic, v. 172, Feb. 22, 1975: 16-19.

AP2.N6235, v. 172

Pincus presents examples of how Senators utilize committee staff positions to supplement their personal office staff.

Price, David E. Professionals and "entrepreneurs:" staff orientatons and policy making on three Senate committees. Journal of politics, v. 33, May 1971: 316-336. JA1.J6, v. 33

Price uses examples from the Senate Commerce, Finance, and Labor and Public Welfare Committees during the 89th Congress to identify two types of staff: "professionals" and "policy entrepreneurs." He points out that the apparent basic difference between the two is that the "policy entrepreneur" has an activist and partisanship notion of his job, whereas the "professional" considers expertise and legislative acumen the basic norm.

Reveles, Robert A., and Daniel Maldonado. The role of the Spanish speaking aide on the Hill. Bureaucrat, v. 2, summer 1973: 173-177.

JQ3092,Z1B86, v. 2

This article examines the activities, legislative achievements bicultural issues, and problems of Spanish-speaking congressional employees on Capitol Hill.

Sherrill, Robert. Who runs Congress? New York times magazine, Nov. 22, 1970: 52-53, 56, 60, 65-66, 68-70, 72, 78, 80, 83, 85-86, 88.

In this article, Sherrill discusses the influence exerted by congressional and committee staff members and aides.

The hidden powers who really run Congress. U.S. news and world report, v. 90 Mar. 9, 1981: 47-49. JK1.U58

This article discusses the importance of congressional staff to Members, from drafting legislation to running their offices. Profiles of seven key Senate aides are included.

Wolman, Harold L., and Dianne Miller Wolman. The role of the U.S. Senate staff in the opinion linkage process: population policy. Legislative studies quarterly, v. 2, no. 3, Aug. 1977: 281-293. JF501.L42, v. 2

The authors compare answers by Senators serving on a Senate committee to a questionnaire on population and family planning policy to answers of their staff responsible for the subject area. The authors findings "suggest that, at least for population and family planning policy, staff members do not appear to greatly affect either their Senator's perception of public opinion or their Senator's personal attitudes."

UNPUBLISHED WORKS

Ader, Elaine R. Membership turnover and district presence in Congress. 1980. 41 p. Paper prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 28-31, 1980.

This paper discusses membership turnover in the House as the result of the 1978 election, and the effect it has on services to the districts, due to changes in congressional staff size, new Member attitudes, and Member policy preferences.

Burks, Stephen W., and Richard L. Cole. Congressional staff personnel role orientations: an empirical examination. 1975. 32 p. Paper prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, September 2-5, 1975.

This paper attempts to establish a link between staff role orientations and legislative behavior. Staffers were asked to indicate how much influence they had in four key areas of legislative work: background research, content and working of legislation, development of innovative programs, and development of floor support for committee legislation.

Cranor, John D., and Joseph W. Westphal. Congressional district offices, Federal programs and electoral benefits: some observations on the passing of the marginal Representative, 1974-1976. 1978. 42 p. Paper prepared for delivery at the 1978 Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 20-22, 1978.

This study focuses on the activities of the Representatives in the House who won the 1974 election by less than 55 percent of the two-party vote (i.e., marginal Representatives) and who were successful in increasing their electoral percentages in 1976. The authors conclude there is a moderately strong relationship between a Member's district service orientation (staff assistants, constituency services, frequent visits by the Member) and his increasing electoral margins.

Macartney, John D. Congressional district offices: their staffs and functions. 1979. 59 p. Paper prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 31-September 3, 1979.

This is a study of general political staffing by Federal, State and local legislators in California, with a particular focus on personal field staffs -- the aides that Congressmen and other legislators have deployed back to their home States and districts. Macartney reviews 14 functions staffs perform "(from legislative support to casework to fending off 'nuts');" and the various arrangements incumbents choose for organizing and deploying their staffs.

Rundquist, Paul S. Senate personal committee staff: a first year appraisal. 1976. 27 p. Paper prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 2-5, 1976.

Rundquist examines the factors leading to the 1975 passage of Senate Resolution 60 [as modified by Senate Resolution 110], which authorized the appointment of personal committee staff to assist Senators with their

committee-related work. He compares the qualifications, roles, legislative policy analysis capabilities and professionalism of the new staff members to committee and personal staff professionals.

Salisbury, Robert H., and Kenneth A. Shepsle. Congressional staff turnover and the ties-that-bind: Congressman as enterprise. St. Louis, Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. 1980. 49 p. (Washington University, St. Louis. Center for the Study of American Business. Working paper no. 54)

"This paper explores some of the causes and consequences of turnover in the staffs of the United States Congress. Quantitative data from the period 1962-1978 is brought to bear on some of the hypotheses that emerge from the analysis. It also presents a new view of modern legislators that emphasizes the legislator less as an atomistic individual and more as the head of one or more enterprises (personal office, committee, subcommittee, party grouping, special-interest caucus, etc.)"

Schick, Allen. The staff of independence: why Congress employs more but legislates less. 1980, 28 p. Prepared for the Miller Center, University of Virginia.

This paper explores the causes for the growth of congressional staff, concentrating on two major reasons: relations between Congress and the President, and the distribution of power within the Congress. The author offers several hypotheses, including Congress' striving for political independence from the executive branch--free to make its own assumptions, develop its own alternatives, and draw its own conclusions--and not be dependent upon executive data or executive interpretations. He points out that during the 1970s, Members sought independence from committee chairmen, committee jurisdictions, and political parties. Each of these factors has led to staff expansion.

Schotland, John A., and others. The first weeks: from victory, through confusion to effectiveness; a new Member's manual of introduction to the United States House of Representatives. Washington, Georgetown University Law Center, 1978. 112 p.

The authors of this unpublished manual provide a comprehensive orientation for a newly elected Member of the House of Representatives. Included are such topics as organization structure of both parties, committee assignment procedures, hiring an office staff, administrative information, and floor procedures.

Stenger, Thomas C. Congressional committee staffers' policy orientations in the hearing process. 1978. 47 p. Paper prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 20-22, 1978.

This is a study of policy advocacy in the hearings process by staff directors of several House committees. Some staffers approached their hearing responsibilities from the standpoint that policy advocacy was a legitimate part of their participation in the hearings process. Some chose to remain neutral. Others felt policy advocacy was not an appropriate staff role.

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

U.S. Congress. House. Clerk of the House. Report of the Clerk of the House for Jan. 1, 1981 to Mar. 31, 1981. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1981. 1344 p. (97th Congress, 1st session. House. Document no. 97-52)  
Includes salaries of all House personnel staff and committee staff, as well as itemizations of all official expenses of House Members, officers, and committees. This document is issued quarterly.

U.S. Congress. House. Commission on Administrative Review. Final report; communication from the Chairman . . . transmitting the final report pursuant to section 5 of House Resolution 1368, 94th Congress. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977. 2 v. (95th Congress, 1st session. House. Document no. 95-272) JK1433.U54 1977

The Commission was established to study and recommend changes in the administrative structure of the House. This volume contains an overall summary of the work and findings of the Commission, and the results of an extensive survey of House Members and staff on congressional operations generally. The additional volumes listed below treat specialized administrative or operational functions in the House.

----- Financial ethics; communication from the Chairman . . . transmitting a report on financial ethics pursuant to section 5 of House Resolution 1368, 94th Congress. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977. 49 p. (95th Congress, 1st session. House. Document no. 95-73) JK1333.U54 1977  
Partial contents.--Financial disclosure, Outside income, Gifts, Unofficial office accounts, Franking privilege, Travel, Proposed Select Committee on Ethics.

----- Administrative reorganization and legislative management; communication from the Chairman . . . transmitting a report pursuant to section 5 of House Resolution 1368, 94th Congress. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977. 2 v. (95th Congress, 1st session. House. Document no. 95-232) KF4990.A25 1977a  
Vol. 1--Administrative units; Vol. 2--Work management.

U.S. Congress. House. Commission on Information and Facilities. The feasibility of a congressional staff journal as a "process for communication;" communication from the Chairman. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977. 4 p. (95th Congress, 1st session. House. Document no. 95-18) JK1083.U48 1976

The Commission, through a pilot project, discovered a significant audience for a staff journal in the House to provide a means to share information of professional importance to Hill employees. On the basis of this report, the Congress initiated publication of the journal, Staff; which is now published by the Senate Rules and Administration Committee.

Also issued as a committee print, 94th Congress, 2d session.



U.S. Congress. House. Commission on Information and Facilities. Task Force on Information Resources. Inventory of information resources for the U.S. House of Representatives, Part I; Internal Resources. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976. 64 p. (94th Congress, 2d session. House. Document no. 94-537) JK1333.U54 1976

This report is an annotated inventory of all the information resources and services then provided to the House of Representatives. "The categories of information covered include: (1) legislation and the legislative process; (2) management of congressional offices; and (3) the organization and operation of Congress."

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Appropriations. Subcommittee on Legislative Branch Appropriations. Legislative branch appropriations for 1981. Hearings, 96th Congress, 2d session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 2 v. (1526 p.) KF27.A654 1981

These hearings, and those from earlier years and those to come, are a valuable resource for operational information about offices in the House. Included in the hearings are budget justifications and operational descriptions for the Architect of the Capitol, General Accounting Office, Government Printing Office, House of Representatives (includes some joint committee requests), Library of Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, and Congressional Budget Office (see also Senate Hearings on Legislative Branch Appropriations).

U.S. Congress. House. Committee on House Administration. Studies dealing with budgetary, staffing and administrative activities of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1946-1978. Washington. U.S. Govt Print. Off., 1978. 81 p. JK1431.S78

At head of title: 95th Congress, 2d session. Committee print. Contents.--A brief guide to understanding the legislative branch budget, by R. Keith.--Legislative branch appropriations, fiscal year 1978, by P. Dwyer.--Annual appropriations for Member clerk-hire, U.S. House of Representatives, fiscal year 1947-1977, by P. Dwyer.--House committee staffing and investigations funding, 1947-1977, by P. Rundquist.--Congressional workload and activity, by A. Stevens.--Disposition of the unused portion of a Member's clerk hire allowance and its impact on the Federal budget and fiscal policy, by R. Keith.

U.S. Congress. Joint Committee on Printing. The official congressional directory. 97th Congress, 1st sess. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1981, 1104 p. JK1011 1981

This directory, issued in the 1st session of each Congress (with a subsequent, and limited, update volume issued in the 2d session) includes: the names of administrative or legislative assistants and secretaries to Members, biographies of Members of the current Congress, Members' committee assignments, data on key personnel in the legislative, executive and judicial branches and independent agencies, the names of press representatives and services accredited to the Congress, and maps of States and congressional districts.

- U.S. Congress. House. Select Committee on Committees. Committee organization in the House. Panel discussions, 93rd Congress, 1st session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1973. 875 p. KF27.5.C57 1973.  
Discussions featuring presentations by leading scholars in the field of congressional organization. Statements by Walter Kravitz, Kenneth Kofmehl, John S. Saloma, and others address the role of committee staffs.
- U.S. Congress. House. Select Committee on Committees. Final report. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 669 p. (96th Congress, 2d sess. House Report no. 96-866) JK1429.U54 1980.  
Report includes surveys of earlier reorganization efforts, including changes in House and Senate committee staffing procedures. Tables showing growth in congressional staffing in general are included as is a bibliography on the congressional committee system, a section of which focuses on congressional staffing.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Commission on the Operation of the Senate. Committees and Senate procedures; a compilation of papers. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977. 201 p.  
At head of title: 94th Congress, 2d. session. Committee print. Partial contents.--Overview of the Senate committee system, by Walter J. Oleszek.--An overview of Senate committee procedures, by B. Samuelson.--Senate committee operations, by B. Samuelson.--Senate committee personnel practices, by S. L. Walsh.
- Senate administration; a compilation of papers. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976. 110p. JK1239.S45  
At head of title: 94th Congress, 2d session. Committee print. Partial contents.--Present administrative functions of the Secretary of the Senate, Sergeant at Arms, Architect of the Capitol, and the Rules Committee, by M. Brigham.--Personnel practices and policies of the Sergeant at Arms, Secretary of the Senate, and Architect of the Capitol.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Appropriations. Subcommittee on Legislative Branch Appropriations. Legislative branch appropriations for 1981. Hearings, 96th Congress, 2d session. 2 v. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 880 p.  
The Senate Committee on Appropriations reviews budget requests and justifications from those offices in the Congress jointly funded by the House and Senate, as well as those budget requests solely for the operation of the Senate. These volumes, and those for earlier years and those to come, are valuable resources on the operations of the Senate (see also House Hearings on Legislative Branch Appropriations).

U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Rules and Administration. Committee-related Senate employees. Hearings, 94th Congress, 1st session, on S. Res. 60, as modified by S. Res. 110. Apr. 30, and May 20, 1975. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1975. 98 p. KF26.R8 1975a

"Senate Resolution 60, as modified by Senate Resolution 110, would create a new category of Senate employees--assistants to be employed directly by a Senator and to be housed in his personal Senatorial office, but whose functions would relate to and be confined to the work of committees on which the Senator is a member. Such committee-related employees would 'be accorded equitable treatment with respect to the records of that committee.'"

----- Additional Senate committee employees; report to accompany S. Res. 60. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., June 5, 1975. 9 p. (94th Congress, 1st session. Senate. Report no. 94-185)

----- Expenditure authorizations and requirements for Senate committees. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1980. 85 p.

JK1015L

At head of title: 96th Congress, 2d session. Committee print.

"This revised committee print has been prepared by the Committee on Rules and Administration to assist Senate committee members and staff personnel in arriving at their budget recommendations for the next committee funding year, and in preparing the supporting materials which will be required by this committee. The fiscal year for expenditure authorizations will be the 12-month period from March 1, 1981, through February 28, 1982. . . . Part I of this committee print provides Senate committees with detailed information on the requirements for expenditure authorizations for the funding year beginning March 1, 1981. . . . Part II lists all funds authorized by the Senate from the 83d through the 96th Congresses for inquiries and investigations by Senate committees."

----- Transferring unexpended balances of funds appropriated for salaries of Senate committee employees; report to accompany S. 2018. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1979. 6 p. (96th Congress, 1st session. Senate. Report no. 96-493) JK1015D

This report explains the rationale behind Senate action to revise the procedures by which committee budgets and staffing levels are approved.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Secretary of the Senate. Report of the Secretary of the Senate from Oct. 1, 1980 to Mar. 31, 1981. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1981. 2 v. (97th Congress, 1st session. Senate. Document no. 97-4)

Includes salaries of all Senate personal staff and committee staff, as well as itemizations of all official expenses of Senate Members, officers, and committees. This report is issued semi-annually.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Temporary Select Committee to Study the Senate Committee System. Second report with recommendations of the Temporary Select Committee to Study the Senate Committee System: operation of the Senate committee system: staffing, scheduling, communications, procedures, and special functions. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977. 24 p.  
JK1239.U54 1977

At head of title: Committee print.

This volume includes a variety of proposals to change the staffing procedures of Senate committees. These recommendations were not formally endorsed by the Select Committee, but have served as the basis for subsequent action by the Senate Rules and Administration Committee.

U.S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. Ethics manual for Members and employees of the U.S. House of Representatives; prepared at the direction of The Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. 97th Congress, 1st session. [By] Jack Maskell. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1981. 234 p.  
KF4990.A25. 1981

This manual provides a summary of provisions of House ethics rules applicable to Members and staff.

----- The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970: summary and analysis of provisions affecting committees and committee staffs of the House of Representatives. [By] Walter Kravitz. Washington, 1975. 80 p.  
Report no. 75-218S

This report describes and analyzes provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 which made innovations in the operations and functions of House committees, in House floor procedures, and in other areas of interest to House committees. The subject matter is grouped under the following headings: committee procedures; committee functions; floor procedures; committee staff; analytical and information services for committees; indirect sources of information for committees; and miscellaneous provisions of interest to committees.

----- The legislator as user of information technology. [By] Robert L. Chartrand. Washington, 1980. 42 p. Report no. 80-11 SPR.

"The development of improved information support services for Congress has involved the significant employment of modern technologies--computer, telecommunications, microform, audio, and video--for providing relevant, reliable information in a timely manner. This report traces the introduction and expansion of these systems, illustrates current automated information activities, and highlights the role played by information technology within the congressional environment."

----- Workshop on Congressional oversight and investigations, Washington, 1978. Proceedings of the three-day workshop . . . December 1, 6, and 7, 1978. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1979. 217 p. (96th Congress, 1st session. House. Document no. 96-217)

This document provides the proceedings of a workshop on Congressional oversight and investigations and focuses, in part, on the role of the staff. Additional documents from the proceedings, including an oversight manual, were prepared by the Congressional Research Service. The workshop was sponsored under the auspices of the House bipartisan leadership.