

Developing Legislative Effectiveness in the Virginia House Of Delegates:

Revitalizing the Institution for a New Era



Casey Boyette

Master of Public Policy Candidate

Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy

University of Virginia

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Honor Pledge

On my honor as a student, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid on this assignment.

Disclaimer

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Acronyms

CEL: Center for Effective Lawmaking

GLLI: Georgia Legislative Leadership Institute

SLC: Southern Legislative Conference

SLLF: State Legislative Leaders Foundation

NCSL: National Conference of State Legislatures

NPV: Net Present Value

Executive Summary

This report investigates professional development related to legislative effectiveness in the Virginia House of Delegates. The legislature is rapidly changing in both demographics and the average level of legislative experience, and it is the responsibility of the House of Delegates to permit institutional norms to change with it. Opportunities for delegates to develop their own legislative effectiveness are currently not equally distributed. Although some legislators do have access to networking, mentoring, and training opportunities, there is a latent opportunity to make these opportunities both more widespread and more effective.

Institutional norms within the legislature currently allow social networks and campaign fundraising skills to dictate which delegates are the most effective lawmakers. Moreover, women and minorities are at a particular disadvantage under these institutional norms and would benefit immensely from a new system. Revitalization of training and support systems offered to new delegates would allow the House of Delegates to cultivate a new cohort of leaders more efficiently and promote long-term legislative effectiveness across demographics and party lines.

This report considers three strategies to revitalize the legislature. Option 1, allowing the present trends to continue, would include a basic orientation process, nominations for external “Emerging Leader” Programs, and a party-specific mentor program. Option 2, expanding the formal mentor network, would promote cross-party relationships and expand the resources new delegates can access. Option 3, creating a legislator leadership training program for Virginia delegates, would allow new delegates to get to know one another and develop their legislative skills in a retreat setting before their first legislative session.

Recommendation

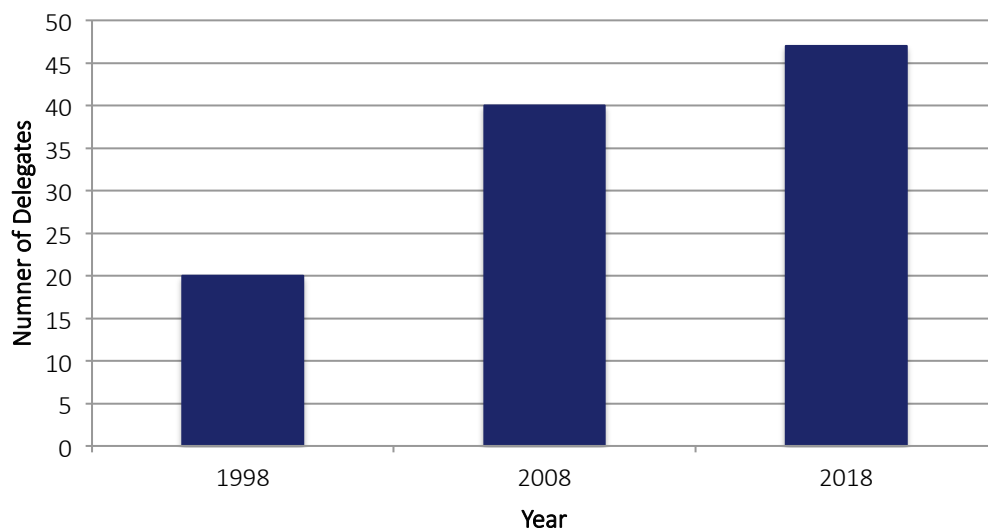
The best course of action for Virginia’s House of Delegates to promote legislative effectiveness equally is to implement a legislator leadership training program. The House of Delegates can partner with the Center for Effective Lawmaking within the University of Virginia to develop a curriculum that would highlight skills useful to all incoming delegates. This program would simultaneously create an environment where delegates build strong relationships with each other, promoting cooperation and bipartisanship for the remainder of each legislator’s tenure.

Introduction

The Virginia House of Delegates is changing, but professional development opportunities for new delegates have not transitioned appropriately. Over the last 20 years, turnover in the Virginia House of Delegates has risen, and as a result, the average level of legislative experience has fallen. The large, diverse cohort of freshman delegates that joined the General Assembly for the 2018 session is a recent example of other ways the institution is changing. While loss of institutional knowledge from rising turnover could be an obstacle to legislative effectiveness among delegates, it also poses a latent opportunity to permanently alter how legislative effectiveness is developed in Virginia, to better prepare delegates to be knowledgeable and ethical starting with their first sessions.

After the 2017 election, 21 seats changed, a six-seat increase from the 15 seat changes after the 2015 election (Virginia Public Access Project, 2018c). Given this increased turnover, the average level of experience in the House of Delegates is declining: in 1998, 31 delegates had over 15 years of experience, while today, only 16 have that much experience, and 47 delegates have between 0 and 4 years (Virginia Public Access Project, 2018b). The number of legislators with under four years of experience is shown in Figure 1, below.

Figure 1. Delegates with under four years of experience 1998-2018

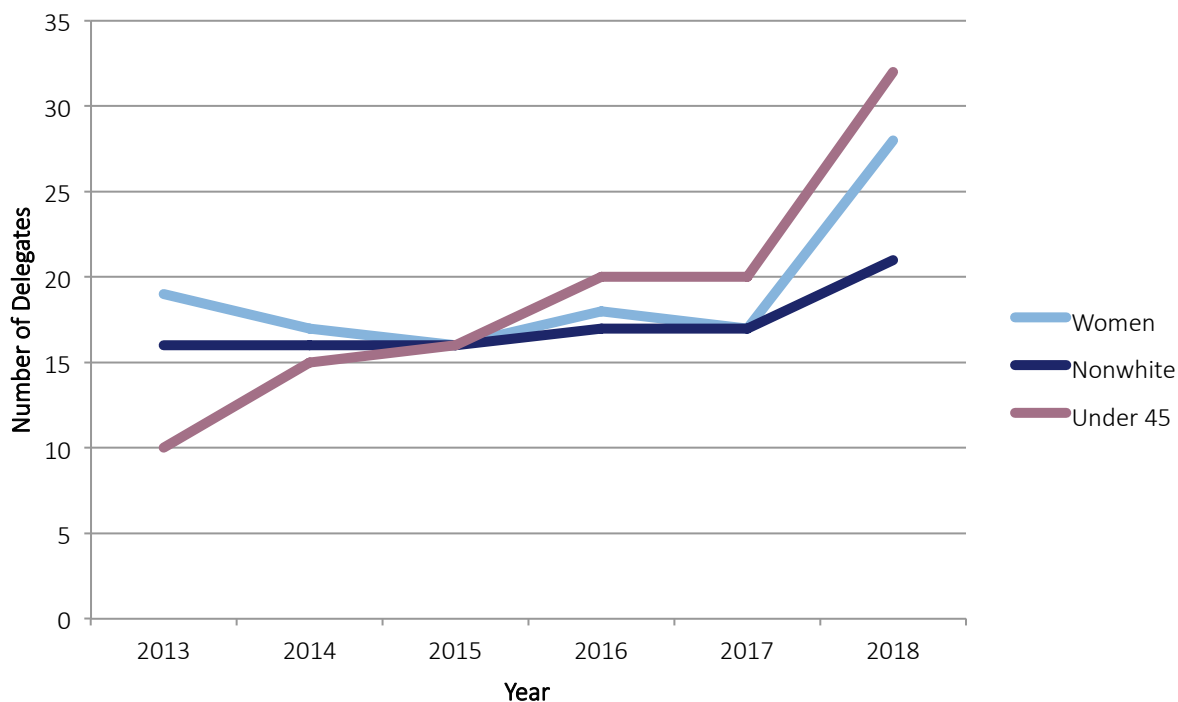


(Virginia Public Access Project, 2018)

The institution is also growing more diverse with the increased turnover. Between 2015 and 2018, the percentage of white delegates fell from 84 percent to 79 percent, and the percentage of male delegates fell from 84 percent to 72 percent. The percentage of delegates under the age of 45 more than doubled, increasing from 16 percent to 32 percent (Virginia Public Access

Project, 2018a). Although these gains in representation, shown in Figure 2, are substantial, the representation of women and minorities in the House of Delegates does not yet reflect the population of Virginia. Women make up 28 percent of the House of Delegates, which leaves a 23-percentage point gap between their share of the legislature and their share of Virginia’s population. A similar gap is reflected in minority representation — although 21 percent of the legislature is minority individuals, the state is 31 percent minority, revealing a 10-percentage point gap (“U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts,” 2016; Virginia Public Access Project, 2018a).

Figure 2. House of Delegates Demographic Change, 2013-2018



(Virginia Public Access Project, 2018)

The diversity gap for women and minorities extends into leadership in the House of Delegates. During the 2018 session, all 27 House of Delegates committee chairs and vice chairs were white. Only four were female, and only one of those women was a committee chair. The lack of diversity in majority party leadership positions within the House of Delegates, though subject to the demographics of the Republican Party, demonstrate the barriers facing minority and female legislators. Historically, women and minorities are less likely to possess leadership positions or seniority, and this lack of “institutional visibility” can affect perceptions about these individuals in the legislature (Ellickson & Whistler, 2002, p. 504; Thomas, 1994). This is especially harmful given that committee chairs are especially influential on policy factors, while committee membership alone has little effect on legislative outcomes (Berry & Fowler, 2018, p. 10). Access to leadership

positions is one of several aspects of legislative service that influence legislative effectiveness. The particular challenges of being a woman or person of color in the legislature suggests a need for institutional change that will allow all legislators in the House of Delegates to be effective.

Problem Definition

The recent turnover in the House of Delegates presents an opportunity for the legislature to restructure its support for new legislators. The rising number of delegates with less than four years of experience represents a loss of institutional knowledge that is typically harmful to legislative effectiveness, when that effectiveness is primarily derived from experience and seniority. However, this loss of institutional knowledge presents an opportunity to create lasting institutional change that could ultimately improve overall legislative effectiveness by increasing the level of support delegates receive and improving the ways they work together (A. Rosenthal, 2007). By revitalizing the training and support systems already in place, the House of Delegates can cultivate a new cohort of leaders more efficiently and promote long-term legislative effectiveness across demographics and party lines.

Background and Literature Review

Virginia House of Delegates

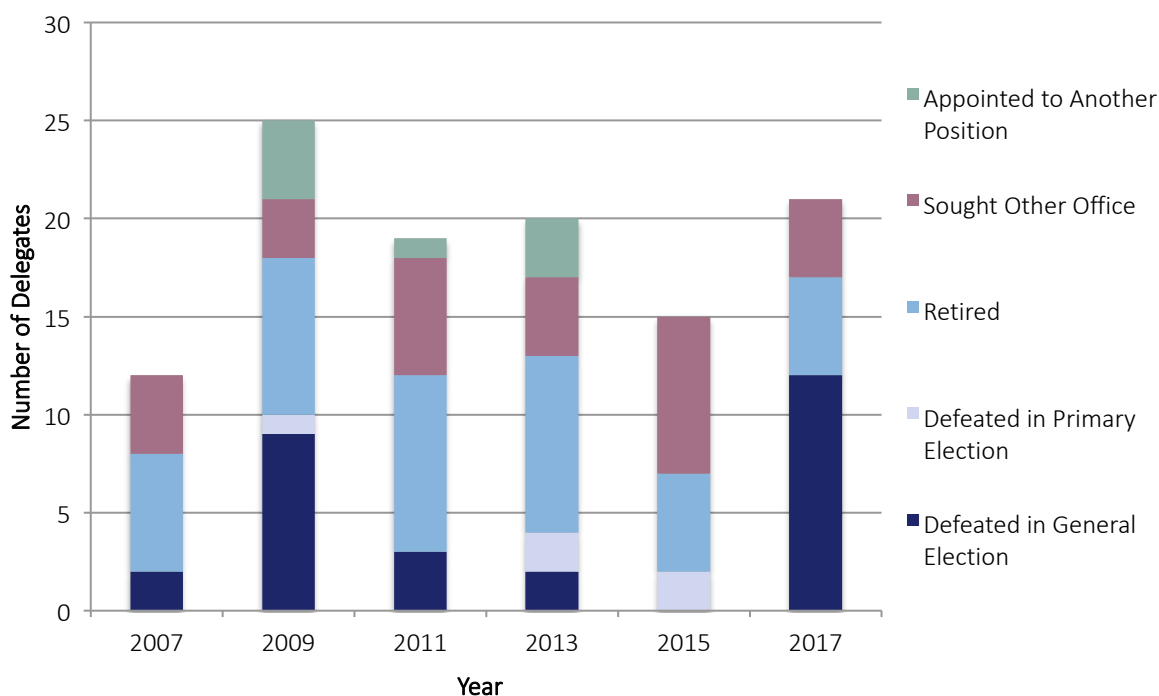
The General Assembly of Virginia's House of Delegates has 100 members. It is composed of a citizen legislature, meaning that outside of the 30- or 60-day sessions (alternating annually), legislators typically maintain outside occupations (Peaslee & Swartz, 2013). In addition to session length, considerations of salary, benefits, and staff resources place Virginia 32nd in the nation in terms of legislature professionalization, or the degree to which it resembles the U.S. Congress (Squire, 2007, p. 220). In Virginia, term limits do not bound legislators' length of service. The Virginia House of Delegates has been Republican-controlled for nearly two decades, although the 2017 election increased the number of Democratic delegates to 49 (Virginia Public Access Project, 2018c).

Political Context of Turnover in House of Delegates

Cyclical shifts in the values of voters may be responsible for the recent rise in turnover and Democratic delegates. Historically, as the mood of the majority changes, the political figures who represent the majority shift to reflect those views (Schlesinger, 1986). Therefore, while Virginia has elected primarily Republican representatives in recent decades, the recent rise in Democrats is consistent with the ideas presented in cyclical theory, and it would be reasonable to expect

the number of Republican delegates to rise in future years. Turnover in the House of Delegates may also reflect cycles in the mood of voters in Virginia. Over the past six elections, turnover rates have both risen and fallen again. However, the two elections where turnover is particularly high (2009 and 2017), the major differences lay in the number of seats that changed due to electoral defeat, as shown in Figure 3 below (Virginia Public Access Project, 2018c). Although these spikes in turnover may represent wave elections aligned with changes in the public mood, delegates can expect cycles of high and low turnover to continue into the foreseeable future.

Figure 3. Cause of Turnover in House of Delegates, 2007-2017



(Virginia Public Access Project, 2017)

Despite the evidence that predictable political cycles may play a part in the recent turnover, the subsequent loss of institutional knowledge has remained steady over time (as shown above in Figure 1). Since 1998, the number of legislators with under four years of experience has risen from 20 to 47 – nearly half of the legislature (Virginia Public Access Project, 2018b). If the House of Delegates aims to continue introducing – and adequately considering – over a thousand bills each session, it will become increasingly necessary to equip legislators with tools for effectiveness early in their legislative careers.

Legislative Effectiveness

Legislative effectiveness encompasses a large number of skills and attributes that delegates bring to the legislature. For the purposes of evaluation within this report, legislative effectiveness is considered the ability of delegates to move substantive bills through the House of Delegates (Volden & Wiseman, 2015, 2018). The Center for Effective Lawmaking (CEL), housed jointly within the University of Virginia and Vanderbilt University, intends to study and expand awareness of factors that influence legislative effectiveness. The CEL has assessed the legislative effectiveness of members of the U.S. Congress, and soon expects to evaluate state legislators as well. However, the existing analysis has already yielded knowledge of specific practices that appear to significantly boost legislative effectiveness in the U.S. Congress. These practices are as follows (Volden & Wiseman, 2015):

- “Habit 1:* Develop a legislative agenda rooted in personal background, previous experiences and policy expertise.
- Habit 2:* Develop a legislative agenda tightly focused on district needs.
- Habit 3:* Be entrepreneurial with positions of institutional power.
- Habit 4:* Be open to compromise, even with those who are not natural allies.
- Habit 5:* Cultivate a broad set of allies, even beyond the House.”

Certain features of the legislative institution directly impact the ability of delegates to engage in the practices listed above. The structure of networks, distribution of leadership opportunities, and educational resources facing new delegates currently hinder the development of legislative effectiveness through a number of institutional norms.

Barriers to Legislative Effectiveness

Absent some sort of intervention, pathways to leadership opportunities in legislative contexts are inefficient and unequally distributed. In federal and state legislatures nationally, studies show that new legislators rely on access to particular networks or campaign skills unrelated to actual legislative ability in order to accomplish their legislative agendas.

Organizational researchers have noted the role of networking in the acquisition of both influence and respect (Bacharach & Lawler, 1998; Brass, 1985; Ellickson & Whistler, 2002, p. 505; Pfeffer, 1981). Respect can translate directly to political influence, and consequently, to legislative effectiveness (Ellickson & Whistler, 2002, p. 502; Weissert, 1991). However, qualities of each individual legislator have less to do with their ability to garner respect than institutional factors (Ellickson & Whistler, 2002). Specifically, informal networks, or “old boy’s networks” present

benefits to their members which are otherwise scarce (Ellickson & Whistler, 2002, p. 505; Kaufman, 1995; Lorber, 1975; Moore, 1992). In a national study of state legislatures, factors shown to directly promote respect within the legislature include parliamentary expertise, positions of party and/or committee leadership, seniority, and willingness to network (Ellickson & Whistler, 2002). Therefore, shifting away from exclusive networks in favor of widely accessible opportunities for delegates to socialize with their peers could allow more open development of relationships, thus distributing political respect and its subsequent legislative influence more broadly across social groups.

Other factors that also influence legislative effectiveness include the allocation of committee assignments and leadership positions. But party loyalty and campaign contributions often determine committee assignments: incumbents who generate larger campaign contributions are more likely to be assigned to prominent committees, and the same is true of legislators who have demonstrated greater party loyalty by consistently supporting party-friendly bills (Heberlig, 2003; Kanthak, 2009). Leadership positions are of even greater importance to legislators. While committee placement is crucial for delegates interested in a particular policy area, committee *chair* positions have been shown to have vastly more influence over policy, independent of the personalities and skills of individual legislators (Berry & Fowler, 2018). Thus, the institutional norms that often place legislators who are more senior in committee chair positions have an immense impact on the legislation that is eventually passed.

Lastly, access to leadership training is limited. Several organizations such as the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) and the State Legislative Leaders Foundation (SLLF) host training sessions for “Emerging Leaders” (Householder, 2018; Little, 2018). A sample agenda for such an Emerging Leaders Program is provided in Appendix D. However, attendance for these programs is limited to those who are nominated to attend by leadership. Nomination to Emerging Leaders programs is often used to reward delegates for party loyalty, and may exclude those who could benefit from such programs the most (Little, 2018). Moreover, these programs are targeted to a broader set of state legislators and are therefore not tailored to the needs of Virginia legislators specifically.

These findings suggest certain aspects of legislative training and support would likely benefit Virginia delegates. However, in order to have the largest positive impact of legislative effectiveness in the House of Delegates, leadership should also consider the specific roles and needs of minority and female legislators. Building an institution that serves all demographics equally requires an emphasis on networking meaningfully throughout the legislature and early support opportunities that develop authentic legislative agendas among all new legislators.

Additional Barriers for Women and Minorities

While the unequal opportunities described above have the potential to put any legislator at a disadvantage, these findings have particularly harmful implications for women and minorities in the House of Delegates. Interaction and networking with other legislators directly affect a delegate's legislative effectiveness (Ellickson & Whistler, 2002; Mooney, 1991). But certain opportunities to build interpersonal relationships are inaccessible to some legislators — women are less likely to socialize on the golf course or forego family obligations to participate in activities beyond the working day (Brass, 1985). Minorities may also face implicit biases as a barrier to networking. Establishing expectations for legislators to get to know all of their peers well can have a significant impact on spreading political respect and its subsequent influence more equally among delegates.

Mentoring can also affect the ability of women and minorities to “overcome obstacles to leadership” (C. S. Rosenthal, 2010, p. 169). A 2001 survey identified a mentor gap for women and minorities, which a significant portion of female state legislators consider a hindrance to their ability to pass legislation, climb the leadership ladder, and be included in leadership decisions (2010). The lack of effective mentors and sponsors is widespread across career fields and limits the ability of women and minorities to access leadership (American Association of University Women, 2016). Gaining a sponsor through mentorship is one potential path to equal opportunities for women and minorities in the legislature.

Evaluation Criteria

Each criterion is scaled as limited, moderate, or significant. Effectiveness, financial feasibility, equality, and sustainability each have two impact categories contributing to this score, while political feasibility is measured by a single impact category. Criterion-level scores are the average of each impact category, rounding down when necessary. For example, if one impact category received a score of “limited” and the other received a score of “moderate,” the overall criterion would be listed as limited.

Effectiveness

The effectiveness criterion has two components that produce an overall score of limited, moderate, or significant effectiveness: first, the number of legislators served by the particular option over ten years, and second, the option's program effectiveness score. The program effectiveness score (measured on a scale of 0-5, with 0 representing low effectiveness and 5 representing high effectiveness) is calculated by assessing the potential of each option to

develop each of the five practices of effective lawmakers identified by Volden and Wiseman (2015). Each practice that a program encourages adds a value of 1 to the score. More details on the program effectiveness score, and how cost effectiveness can be measured using this score, are available in Appendix B.

Financial Feasibility

The financial feasibility criterion also has two components, resulting in an overall score of limited, moderate, or significant feasibility. It consists of the cost effectiveness of each option over 10 years and the cost of each option to the Commonwealth of Virginia over 10 years. Each 10-year cost estimate is in net present value, using a standard seven-percent discount rate.

Political Feasibility

The political feasibility criterion, consisting of a single impact category, is determined to be limited, moderate, or significant based on the likelihood of support from House of Delegates leadership from both political parties. Options with significant political feasibility are very likely to achieve support, while options with limited political feasibility will require immense effort in order to be adopted.

Equality

The equality criterion consists of two impact categories: the degree of access, and the degree of benefit for members of historically disadvantaged groups in the legislature. Each option provides limited, moderate, or significant access to opportunities that allow individuals of all gender and racial groups to grow as effective legislators. And each option demonstrates limited, moderate, or significant benefits for those who are traditionally disadvantaged in the legislature. This is distinct from the effectiveness criterion because some options may generate legislative effectiveness among many privileged delegates, but fail to generate benefits that would meaningfully increase legislative effectiveness for women or minorities.

Sustainability

Sustainability is determined to be limited, moderate, or significant. This criterion has two components: first, sensitivity to changes in party majority or turnover in leadership, and second, the necessary level of administrative support from staff members in the House of Delegates' Clerk's Office.

Discussion of Tradeoffs

The most important aspect of each option is its effectiveness — if it is not likely to produce a substantial increase in the number of effective lawmakers in Virginia, it is not worth implementing. Financial and political feasibility are equally important in ensuring the option is achievable within Virginia’s current fiscal and political climate. And although equality of the option is not necessary for successful implementation, it is essential to address historical inequality facing women and minorities in the legislature. Lastly, option sustainability is important, as the ideal program would alter the institutional norms of the legislature in the long term.

Policy Options

The House of Delegates has the option to continue its current efforts to train and support incoming delegates, design a mentorship program that expands on the current system, or implement a statewide new delegate training program. These options range most notably in both effectiveness and expense.

Option 1: Let Present Trends Continue

Maintaining current efforts of cultivating leaders is a highly politically feasible and sustainable method of promoting effective leaders in the House of Delegates. The current training strategy consists of three components: new member orientations, mentoring within the Democratic party, and attendance at “Emerging Leader” training programs offered by external organizations. These were the strategies employed during the 2018 session.

Currently, new delegates can attend an orientation program prior to the start of their legislative careers. This primarily educates legislators on the rules of the institution and the resources available to them. Legislators need this information to perform their day-to-day work, but the orientation does not address as many legislative effectiveness skills as it could. For example, it leaves out opportunities for socialization and critical reflection on what each delegate hopes to accomplish during their time in the House of Delegates.

A mentorship program was also recently implemented among Democratic delegates, which connects members of the recent cohort to more senior members of the party. This program is likely to provide benefits related to role modeling and “psychosocial” development, which includes positive feelings of one’s personal success, job satisfaction, and closeness to leadership, while other career benefits related to promotion will not be achieved from a program isolated

within the minority party (C. S. Rosenthal, 2010, p. 175). Given that the development of relationships that cross party lines is already rare, mentoring relationships that exist only within parties may worsen chances of bipartisanship in the legislature (Caldeira, Clark, & Patterson, 1993; Ellickson & Whistler, 2002).

Lastly, external organizations such as NCSL, SLLF, and the Southern Legislative Conference (SLC) sponsor “Emerging Leader” programs for legislators that delegates from Virginia occasionally attend. These programs are free for all state legislators to attend. They offer training for legislators to learn to leverage formal and informal tools of leadership as individuals, develop ethical frameworks, and emphasize the importance of building relationships with legislator from other states (Householder, 2018; Little, 2018). However, these trainings do not offer content that is specialized to the legislative context in Virginia, and the relationships cultivated in the programs would not generate newfound political respect in delegates’ home states. Based on attendance data that suggests that somewhere between one and two legislators attend the most convenient legislator training program, the SLLF Emerging Leaders program in Charlottesville, VA each session, I assume an average of one legislator attends an outside legislator training program each year. Because this program occurs biennially, rounding up produces an average of one confirmed attendee to such programs per year. This estimate seems appropriate, as NCSL also hosts a similarly sized biennial program, but its attendance data is private.

Evaluation

Effectiveness: This option demonstrates limited effectiveness. If the House of Delegates sends on average one delegate to a training program each year, and each new Democratic delegate receives a mentor, we can expect about 60 delegates to benefit from the legislator professional development opportunities currently offered in the House of Delegates over the next 10 years. However, while the external legislator leadership training programs earn a program effectiveness score of 2 out of 5, the current structure of the mentor program in the House of Delegates is unlikely to promote any of the practices of highly effective lawmakers, thus earning the existing mentor program a 0 for program effectiveness. The combination of limited program effectiveness scores overall and the limited number of delegates affected makes this option relatively ineffective.

Financial Feasibility: This option is moderately financially feasible, as these costs are already included in the state budget for the operation of the House of Delegates. Considering the cost of time and travel to attend these programs, this program will cost more than \$7,300 over the next 10 years, using a seven percent discount rate. This results in a cost effectiveness value of about

\$366. All of these costs are to the Commonwealth of Virginia. Details related to this cost analysis are available in Table A.1 in Appendix A. Details related to cost effectiveness are available in Appendix B.

Political Feasibility: Given that this option is already in place, the likelihood of adoption is significant — it requires no additional action.

Equality: The equality of this option overall is limited. Access to mentors is equally distributed within the Democratic Party, but opportunities to attend external training programs are unfairly distributed among delegates due to the subjective nomination process. Additionally, the quality of benefits for women and minorities is limited within the external training and mentor programs because neither option allows minorities and female legislators to network broadly within the legislature to build relationships that would lead to political respect.

Sustainability: Overall, this option is significantly sustainable. It is significantly insulated from changes in leadership and party power — the professional development opportunities in place are not necessarily the initiatives of particular leaders. If, for any reason, the House of Delegates underwent a massive change in leadership or the majority and minority parties flipped, the current opportunities for professional development relating to legislative effectiveness would not likely change. This option also poses significant administrative ease. Nominating external program attendees and matching mentors within the Democratic Party creates no great administrative burden for leadership or the Clerk’s Office within the House of Delegates.

Option 2: Expand Formal Mentor Network

Mentor programs are a common method of connecting experienced legislators to newly elected legislators. Although delegates in Virginia have informal access to each other’s expertise, establishing a formal program could facilitate a more efficient transfer of knowledge between the more and less experienced. This strategy can achieve modest gains in legislative effectiveness at a relatively low cost. Moreover, the exact program specifications can be tailored to match the preferences of House of Delegates leaders. The design of the program recommended in this report is based on best practices research, coupled with considerations of time and program costs.

The benefits of a formal mentor program can certainly extend to legislative effectiveness among Virginia delegates. Mentoring has been shown to boost protégé performance and retention in other fields, such as academia and nursing (Robinson & Niemer, 2010; Schwitzer & Thomas, 1998). But studies related to mentoring are more often interview-based, and lacking in rigorous research design — statistical surveys of mentoring are more cautious about drawing a causal

relationship between mentoring and success in a given field (Merriam, 1983). However, several studies do find small benefits in aspects of career success that new legislators would value. For example, Allen et al. found moderate correlations between the possession of mentors and career outcomes such as promotions and expectations for advancement, which could mean favorable committee assignments or attainment of leadership positions (2004). Thoughtful program design is crucial to reaping the potential benefits that mentors can offer.

Formal mentor programs can more equitably distribute the benefits of mentors for new legislators. Women are often excluded from the networking activities that allow mentors and protégés to connect (McBride, Campbell, Woods, & Manson, 2017; Sonnert & Holton, 1996). Further, a 2004 survey of female state legislators found that women see a lack of mentors as an “impediment to their careers” (C. S. Rosenthal, 2010, p. 169). This issue affects all minority legislators: the traditional networks of mentor access benefit the privileged and disadvantage women and minorities who have fewer opportunities to access those resources (Manson, 2009; McBride et al., 2017; Mkandawire-Valhmu, Kako, & Stevens, 2010; Wallen, Rivera-Goba, Hastings, Peragallo, & de Leon Siantz, 2005). Creating opportunities for formal connections can equalize access to networks and resources that allow the most privileged members of the General Assembly to be effective early in their careers.

However, there is a tradeoff between the formality of the mentor relationships and the effectiveness of the relationship. As Merriam points out, the mutual attraction between mentor and protégé to work with each other is often a key aspect of the success in a given relationship (1983). The quality of the relationship between both parties, a likely byproduct of the initial interest in learning from one another, is considered an important predictor for protégé satisfaction in the relationship (Allen, Russell, & Maetzke, 1997). Additionally, the formality of the program will have to navigate the institutional context in which there are simply fewer minority individuals with experience in the House of Delegates, likely creating the impediment to accessing informal mentors in the first place. As Rosenthal points out, female legislators see a dearth of women in the legislature and in leadership as the cause for the gap in being included in the leadership decisions (C. S. Rosenthal, 2010). Moreover, the informal mentor relationships that women (and likely minorities as well) do tend to participate in are not “homogenous,” which benefit protégés the most, but “diversified,” in which the mentor does not belong to the same social groups as the protégé (C. S. Rosenthal, 2010, p. 176). Although diversified relationships carry some career benefits when the mentor is a member of the majority party, the “psychosocial” aspects of the relationship are weakened. These include feelings of one’s personal success, job satisfaction, and closeness to leadership (C. S. Rosenthal, 2010, p. 175). These are the aspects of the relationship most likely to “result in closer relationships to leadership” (C. S. Rosenthal, 2010, p. 176).

Additional considerations for the quality of mentor relationships include the roles mentors serve and the potential risks a mentor relationship can pose. Mentors can be considered an older person who guides a younger person in “all aspects of life” (Merriam, 1983, p. 169). Mentors facilitate both career growth and the psychosocial development of protégés, which the literature on mentoring considers as distinct functions of the relationship. Many psychosocial functions do not arise in the first year of the relationship (“initiation”), but during the “cultivation stage” between two and five years (Kram, 1983, p. 616). In addition, this phase can facilitate coaching, exposure, and sponsorship from the mentors (Kram, 1983, p. 622). However, relationships may become destructive if protégés feel undermined by their mentor, or if mentors feel threatened by the success and opportunities for the protégé to advance (Kram, 1983; Merriam, 1983). In the context of a legislature, senior delegates may be able to use the relationship to support their own agendas, which could be harmful to the growth for newer legislators (O’Malley, 2018). Alternatively, former legislators have fewer opportunities to sponsor new legislators and include them in leadership decisions from outside of the legislature.

A mentor program based on this research could be implemented in a variety of ways. One potential program, summarized below in Table 1, balances the tradeoffs of efficient program design and the needs of women and minority legislators. First, this program would provide new legislators with access to two mentors. Although this expands the administrative burden for the Clerk’s Office somewhat, this arrangement addresses the variety of roles a mentor serves for a protégé and minimizes several risks associated with each specific form of mentorship. Rather than working with “one nurturing individual,” delegates may benefit from “developing an evolving network of support;” this network would mean that individuals could “[draw] upon support from multiple sources” (Higgins, Chandler, & Kram, 2008; McBride et al., 2017, p. 306). This mentor program would match new delegates to more senior delegates and former delegates no longer serving in the General Assembly with whom they share legislative interests.

This program will require some administrative effort to establish for each incoming cohort. To promote bipartisanship, new legislators will be matched with mentors within the legislature across parties, based on shared committee membership. New legislators may share both party membership and issue preference with their mentors who are former delegates. The House of Delegates’ Clerk’s Office will conduct the mentor recruitment and matching and will introduce the new delegate to his or her mentors via email. However, after the matches are completed, it will be the responsibility of each delegate to maintain the relationship. The mentor program will include a short orientation process for both protégés and mentors to set expectations for the relationship, although for protégés, this can be incorporated as part of the standard new delegate orientation process. The orientation program should designate the protégé as the

initiator for all contact and recommend mode of contact and frequency. Communication by phone and in-person will work best during the initial phases, but email can become more frequent as the protégés gain experience (McBride et al., 2017). Initially, weekly contact is best, but monthly or quarterly contact is sufficient, especially after a year into the relationship (McBride et al., 2017).

Table 1. Mentor Program Design

<i>Mentors</i>	Senior delegate Former delegate
<i>Matching strategy</i>	Senior delegate mentor: Cross party, within committee Former delegate mentor: Within party, within interest area
<i>Program Initiation</i>	Short orientations for each participant type, and introduction via email
<i>Length of program</i>	Two to five years
<i>Recommended contact frequency</i>	Weekly contact during initial phase, and then monthly or quarterly depending on protégé needs
<i>Contact method</i>	Phone, in-person, and email
<i>Program Administrator</i>	House of Delegates Clerk's Office

Evaluation

Effectiveness: This option is moderately effective in boosting legislative effectiveness within the House of Delegates. It would affect all incoming delegates, resulting in approximately 190 delegates benefitting within the first ten years. The program effectiveness score is 2.25, as the program is likely to help delegates cultivate the following skills: developing an agenda that works for them; being open to compromise across party lines; and, potentially, in developing a broad set of allies. Details on effectiveness scores are available in Appendix B.

Financial Feasibility: This option is moderately financially feasible. Implementing a formal House of Delegates mentor program will generate primarily administrative costs of nearly \$14,000 over the next 10 years, using a seven percent discount rate. This results in an incredibly low cost effectiveness value of about \$32. All of these costs are to the Commonwealth of Virginia. Details related to this cost analysis are available in Table A.2 in Appendix A. Details related to cost effectiveness are available in Appendix B.

Political Feasibility: This would be an expansion of an existing mentor program in the Democratic Party, so this would likely have moderate political feasibility. The effort to decrease partisanship

would appeal to many voters in Virginia, which may also boost the political feasibility somewhat. However, the anticipated complexity of the program design may hinder the political feasibility. It would require a high level of coordination to match bipartisan mentors within the legislature and same-party mentors from outside of the legislature. This program would require broad buy-in from leadership on both sides.

Equality: The equality of this option is moderate. The distribution of access is significant for this option, because all new delegates will have the opportunity to benefit from two mentors. However, the quality of benefits is only moderate — though women and minority legislators have been shown to need greater access to mentors, as discussed above, access to legislators similar to themselves is incredibly important for growth opportunities (C. S. Rosenthal, 2010). Moreover, while diversified mentor relationships may create opportunities for legislators to grow in some areas of legislative effectiveness, new delegates will still only have access to two people, one of whom is no longer within the legislature. This limits networking opportunities, and harms the development of political respect and its subsequent opportunities within the legislature.

Sustainability: This option has limited sustainability. This option would be institutionalized within the House of Delegates' Clerk's Office, and thus only moderately sensitive to turnover in leadership or party changes. However, the administrative ease for matching and training mentors is limited, thus reducing the overall sustainability of the option.

Option 3: Establish Virginia Legislator Leadership Training Program

Most states offer new legislators opportunities to learn about the structure and processes of the legislatures they have recently joined. These typically include procedures for bill enactment, the powers and duties of leadership, and the functions associated with legislative staff, committees, caucuses, and other administrative facts about the institution (A. Rosenthal, 2007). While this information is essential for the day-to-day work of legislators and their staff during session, it does little to promote important skills and leadership qualities beyond what the elected officials already possess. Surveyed state legislators noted that training of this variety is “important,” but the actual quality of such programs (when instituted) varies from state to state (A. Rosenthal, 2007, p. 212). Well-designed training programs are essential. A 2016 study found that when federal departments spent money developing high-quality leadership programs, public sector workers performed better as individual leaders and boosted overall “organizational effectiveness” (Seidle, Fernandez, & Perry, 2016, p. 611). The design of Virginia’s legislator leadership training program is based upon a successful state legislator program that has become institutionalized in Georgia, which is described in detail on page 21. Additional program features are based on a similarly successful program in Kansas.

Case Study: Georgia Legislative Leadership Institute (GLLI)

Georgia's legislature is similar to Virginia's General Assembly. Similar to Virginia, it is composed of a citizen legislature without term limits, possessing a relatively small degree of professional staff, and meets for 40 days each year. While Virginia is ranked 32nd in professionalization, Georgia is not far behind in 37th place (Squire, 2007). The similarities between each legislature and its context make the Georgia Legislative Leadership Institute (GLLI) a reasonable example for Virginia to follow. The GLLI program is designed to meet the needs of legislators who are comparable to Virginia's delegates, and operates in a state where turnover has also recently started to rise. Georgia's training curriculum is designed to cover five themes of leadership: personal, collective, policy, ethical, and legislative (described in greater detail below).

In Georgia, each set of three-day trainings is held biennially, with the first session occurring in May and the second in October of the same year. It is designed and administered by an outside organization, the Carl Vinson Institute of Government within the University of Georgia, and it is supported financially by a foundation. Given the "extremely positive" evaluations from attendees and high attendance rates, the program has been institutionalized through an Act that approved the creation of a board to work with the GLLI to ensure each session provides training that the legislators need. This statute also protects the program from changes in majority party and leadership turnover.

One of the core features of the program is that it builds in time for legislators to get to know one another. The sessions take place at retreat locations within Georgia to remove legislators from the routines of the capital and facilitate relaxed socialization. The specific goals of the GLLI are described below:

1. Personal leadership: Understanding personal styles, understanding how we communicate and process information, and identifying individual styles of problem solving and decision making
2. Collective leadership: Leading others, working in groups to solve problems and make decisions, and sharing leadership responsibility for collective action
3. Policy leadership: Understanding the political beliefs of constituents and colleagues; the competing visions, values, and choices involved in policy process; and solving policy problems and making policy choices
4. Ethical leadership: Addressing ways in which legislators can respond to moral dilemmas, ethical decisions, and fairness in policy making
5. Legislative leadership: Addressing the challenges of legislative representation and representative government, representing the changing face of Georgia, and preserving the legislative institution

(Feustel & Jones, 2001; Jones, 2018; A. Rosenthal, 2007)

The content of the legislator training program is grounded in the curriculum of existing leadership programs for state legislators or public servants across the country. Strong training programs are based around a formal framework that informs the training and development of legislators (Day & Harrison, 2007; Seidle et al., 2016). One potential framework for leadership development addresses three levels of development: the leader, the relationship with external partners (ranging from their superiors to their constituents), and the organizational culture of the legislature (Day & Harrison, 2007; Seidle et al., 2016). A major component of such a program is “leader self-identity,” or the collection of a leader’s “values, experiences, and self-perceptions” that inform how a leader thinks about him or herself (Day & Harrison, 2007, p. 365). Incorporating each level of the leadership framework by “engaging across...functional, hierarchical, [and] geographic” boundaries is recommended (Day & Harrison, 2007). This is achieved to some degree by Georgia’s legislator training program. Georgia’s legislators attend a biennial training throughout their legislative careers, engaging in leadership development beyond their first session (Jones, 2018; A. Rosenthal, 2007). This allows legislators to grow relationships across the boundaries to promote meaningful development of leader self-identity in all legislators. The perceived effectiveness of the program is made evident by the participation of over 90 percent of the legislature each session (A. Rosenthal, 2007). However, the Kansas state legislator training achieves a similarly high attendance rate for a program designed for new legislators alone (O’Malley, 2018). To ease implementation, Virginia’s legislative training may begin with developing a leadership identity and strong interpersonal relationships within each class of new delegates. However, after an initial implementation period of several election cycles, Virginia could expand the program to include all legislators. In doing so, the program’s curriculum would also incorporate the development of skills that will benefit legislators with all levels of experience, such as consensus building, engagement with constituents, and accountability throughout the budgeting process (A. Rosenthal, 2007). An ideal program would provide specialized experiences for new and experienced legislators that still promote relationship-building among all attendees.

To best serve new delegates, the program would take place biennially in the December immediately following the election. Georgia legislators found this timing (near the holidays) promoted relationship building during the program, and in Kansas, the session allowed new legislators to apply the curriculum to legislative goals they recently set on the campaign trail (O’Malley, 2018; A. Rosenthal, 2007). Kansas and Georgia conduct legislator training in retreat locations, which encourages a relaxed atmosphere for both learning and socialization (A. Rosenthal, 2007). To provide enough time for new delegates to take part in event programming and get to know each other, the event should be three days long (Feustel & Jones, 2001; A. Rosenthal, 2007). Outside organizations administer both the Kansas and the Georgia training programs with input from the legislature (O’Malley, 2018; A. Rosenthal, 2007). Because this

program would begin with the House of Delegates, the curriculum committee will be composed of a five-member bipartisan board including the Speaker of the House, House Majority Leader, House Minority Leader, Minority Caucus Chair, and a representative from the Center for Effective Lawmaking. For more details regarding curriculum, see sample agendas in Appendix C.

Table 2. Legislator Leadership Training Program

<i>Participants</i>	New legislators
<i>Timing</i>	Biennial, occurring in December following the election
<i>Location</i>	Retreat location in Virginia
<i>Length of program</i>	Three-day session
<i>Curriculum committee</i>	Speaker of the House, House Majority Leader, House Minority Leader, Minority Caucus Chair, representative from the Center for Effective Lawmaking
<i>Program staff</i>	Staff from Center for Effective Lawmaking at the University of Virginia
<i>Program Content</i>	Based on best practices in leadership training generated from Center for Legislative Effectiveness research, as well as similar programs in Georgia and Kansas

Evaluation

Effectiveness: This option is significantly effective. It would impact an estimated 190 delegates over the next 10 years. And, because it would be built around best practices in legislative effectiveness research, it can target every single practice that is associated with effectiveness, thereby earning a program effectiveness score of 5. Details on effectiveness scores are available in Appendix B.

Financial Feasibility: This option is significantly financially feasible. This would be the most costly option, given that it involves both program development and coordination from an outside organization, along with a three-day event biennially. It would cost \$347,613 in net present value over the next 10 years, using a seven percent discount rate. This results in a cost effectiveness value of about \$366. However, partnership with a foundation to fund this professional development, as Kansas and Georgia have done, would mean this program could cost the Commonwealth of Virginia nothing. Details related to this cost analysis are available in Table A.3 in Appendix A. Details related to cost effectiveness are available in Appendix B.

Political Feasibility: This program has moderate political feasibility. The initial implementation of this option requires extensive buy-in from leadership — legislator training programs cannot be

successful without it (A. Rosenthal, 2007). Leadership within the legislature may believe that a training program would be better created from within the institution, and it may be challenging to persuade these individuals otherwise (O'Malley, 2018). Despite this potential challenge, Virginia would not be the first state to implement such a program. They are already in place in some form or another in many states, and others are looking to implement them soon (O'Malley, 2018). Lastly, this program would benefit both parties equally, so partisanship may play only a small role in the adoption of this program.

Equality: This option offers significant equality overall. The distribution of access is significant for this option because all new delegates will have the opportunity to attend the legislator leadership training session. Additionally, the quality of benefits is significant. The structure of the program would not only develop each individual skill that effective legislators possess, it would also provide opportunities to network before the session even begins. This could put women and minority legislators on equal footing to develop relationships and gain political respect and its subsequent opportunities within the legislature without having to penetrate existing networks once the legislative session begins.

Sustainability: Lastly, this option is significantly sustainable. Generating a relationship between the legislature, the Center for Effective Lawmaking, and the foundations sponsoring this opportunity would institutionalize this option, insulating it from turnover among leadership or changes to party majority. Additionally, this program is significantly administratively easy, as the administrative burden would rest on the Center for Effective Lawmaking instead of the House of Delegates' Clerk's Office.

Outcomes Matrix

The following table summarizes the evaluation criteria for each of the three policy options presented in this report.

Table 3. Assessing Options Against Evaluation Criteria

<i>Evaluation Criteria</i>	<i>Impact Category</i>	<i>Policy Options</i>		
		<i>Option 1: Let Present Trends Continue</i>	<i>Option 2: Establish Formal Mentor Network</i>	<i>Option 3: Legislator Leadership Training Program</i>
<i>Effectiveness</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Limited</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Significant</i>
	Number of legislators affected over ten years	60 delegates ¹	190 delegates	190 delegates
	Program effectiveness score (1-5)	2 ²	2.25	5
<i>Financial Feasibility</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Significant</i>
	Cost Effectiveness	\$365.82	\$32.13	\$365.91
	Cost of option to Virginia over ten years (NPV)	\$7,316	\$13,734	\$0
<i>Political Feasibility</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Significant</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Moderate</i>
	Likelihood of adoption	Significant	Moderate	Moderate
<i>Equality</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Limited</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Significant</i>
	Distribution of access to resources provided	Limited	Significant	Significant
	Quality of benefits for women and minorities	Limited	Moderate	Significant
<i>Sustainability</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Significant</i>	<i>Limited</i>	<i>Moderate</i>
	Insensitivity to leadership and party changes within legislature	Significant	Moderate	Significant
	Administrative ease for Clerk's Office	Significant	Limited	Significant

Note: NPV signifies is net present value.

¹ Assuming a 50 percent split of Republican and Democrat freshmen, and an average freshman class size of 19, this results in ten Democrats receiving mentors every two years, plus one Delegate attends training program each year, to reach a total of 60 delegates affected over ten years (Virginia Public Access Project, 2018c). However, as Appendix B shows, the program effectiveness score only applies to ten legislators, rather than all 60.

² This program effectiveness score only applies to the 10 legislators who accessed external legislative leadership training programs.

Recommendation

Option 3: Establish Virginia Legislator Leadership Training Program

The best course of action to revitalize the institutional norms within the Virginia House of Delegates would be to implement Option 3, establish a biennial legislator leadership training program. This option is certainly the most effective — by partnering with the Center for Effective Lawmaking, the curriculum would be designed based on best practices in legislative training and evidence of what highly successful legislators are already doing in legislatures across the country. All three of the policy options were sufficiently politically feasible and sustainable, but Option 3 also significantly expands the equality of opportunities for legislators to improve their legislative effectiveness, whereas the others do not. Although it is more expensive, careful implementation could mean that this option would come at no cost to legislators, and could, in fact, save the money currently being spent to send legislators to similar programs run by national organizations. Coincidentally, creating this program would result in identical costs effectiveness in the development of effective legislators as the Option 1, the status quo — \$366. However, instead of the state paying for this program, external partners would support these gains in effectiveness.

Creating a legislative leadership training program clearly provides the best chance that all Virginia delegates will enter the legislature with the skills they need to do their jobs. While Option 1 demonstrates stronger political feasibility, it shares neither the magnitude of efficacy nor the opportunities for equality that the training in Option 3 would provide. Although Option 3 would indeed require a high degree of buy-in from House of Delegates leaders, this additional effort is well worth the gains in equality that Option 3 provides.

After the initial implementation of this training program for new delegates, the program can be expanded to include all members of the legislature. Although the costs were estimated under the assumption of 19 new delegates each session, the cost of expanding the existing program would not be too high. Additionally, given that legislative effectiveness skills translate to both houses of the legislature, the program could easily serve state senators in Virginia if the House of Delegates and Senate wish to work together in this effort.

The primary challenges associated with this policy option relate to implementation. Successful implementation will require close attention to details ranging from the source of funding to the design of the training program itself. The following section begins to address these concerns.

Implementation

Several factors regarding the implementation of the training program will determine how successful it is. The support of leadership from both political parties within the House of Delegates is essential to create a lasting, meaningful change to the institution. Recognizing that all incoming delegates are “emerging leaders,” House of Delegates leaders have the opportunity to cultivate an institution capable of leading a continuously evolving Commonwealth.

First and foremost, the program should be designed and run by an external organization to be most effective (O’Malley, 2018). The Center for Effective Lawmaking has a branch housed within the University of Virginia and is an excellent candidate for this role. The CEL already employs a staff dedicated to promoting legislative effectiveness at the Congressional level and plans to publish an updated “best practices” guide based on current research findings for Congress by November 2018.

Secondly, the most successful state legislator training programs run in other states are also funded by generous foundation support. The CEL already has a relationship with the Hewlett Foundation, which provided \$400,000 in general support funding for the CEL’s work in 2017 (Hewlett Foundation, 2017). The CEL intends to renew this grant funding, and this grant renewal can include the cost of developing and implementing the legislative leadership training program for Virginia’s House of Delegates.

Lastly, although this program is designed based on current best practices research, continuous evaluation and adjustment are important for this program’s success. Collecting information each session on program attendees and their legislative success, as well as changes in the number of women and minorities who rise to leadership roles over time will demonstrate the effectiveness of the program. If no meaningful change is observed on either of these metrics, House of Delegates leadership and the staff within the CEL should reassess the curriculum to discover areas for improvement.

Appendix A. Cost Analysis by Option

General Assumptions

- Delegates receive a fixed salary that is not based on the actual amount of time spent working and a per diem for each day spent as a legislator, so the per diem is the only value used to assess the cost of legislator time to attend outside legislator training programs. However, it is worth considering the opportunity cost of legislators' time during mentor meetings and training sessions. Although this could result in loss of productivity, the increase in effectiveness to be expected from the time spent on these activities may compensate for the lost time.
- For the purposes of this cost analysis, I assume an average of one legislator attends an outside legislator training program each year. This is based on attendance data that suggests that somewhere between one and two legislators attend the most convenient legislator training program, the State Legislative Leaders Foundation (SLLF) Emerging Leaders program in Charlottesville, VA, each session. Because this session occurs biennially, rounding up produces an average of one confirmed attendee to such programs per year. The National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) does not provide similar attendance data, so if attendance at NCSL's Emerging Leader program matches that of SLLF's, it is possible the costs of the status quo are twice that estimated above in Table A.1.
- I estimate that expanding the formal mentor program will require 40 hours devoted to recruiting, matching, and supporting mentors once matches are made, and 40 hours devoted to planning and implementing an orientation session for mentors.
- The number of new delegates following each election is estimated to be 19. This is based on the number of incoming delegates following the past six elections (since 2007) (Virginia Public Access Project, 2018c).
- Although Option 3 is likely to be funded by an outside foundation, the costs of administering the program are included to demonstrate the value of a targeted training effort.

Table A.1. Option 1: Let Present Trends Continue

<i>Assumption</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Unit</i>	<i>Source</i>
Attendees per year	1	People	Little, 2018
Number of programs over ten years	10	Years	
Length of program	3	Days	Little, 2018
Cost of legislator time per day	\$196.00	2018 dollars	Virginia House of Delegates, 2018
Cost of air travel from Richmond, VA	\$385.53 ³	2018 dollars	Bureau of Transportation Statistics, 2018
Program costs per attendee	\$0	2018 dollars	Little, 2018; Householder, 2018
Total costs per year	\$973.53		
Discount rate	7%		
Total costs over 10 years	\$7,316.30		

Note: Although the House of Delegates Democratic Party currently matches new delegates to experienced mentors, the cost of time for this mentor program is not considered in this cost analysis. These legislators are being paid for the time they spend in the legislature at a fixed rate, so mentor participation should not pose any additional cost to the Commonwealth of Virginia. Additionally, the cost of the standard new legislator orientation is not included in this calculation.

³ The average rate of change for airfares in constant 2017 dollars in the US between 1995 and 2017 is -1.4. Applying this rate of change to the \$415.05 average airfare out of Richmond, VA in 2017 to the next ten years yielded an average cost of \$379.02 between 2019 and 2028 (Bureau of Transportation Statistics, 2018). Converted to 2018 dollars, this is equivalent to \$385.53.

Table A.2. Option 2: Expanding Mentor Program Costs

<i>Assumption</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Unit</i>	<i>Source</i>
Participants (average size of cohorts)	19	People	VPAP, 2018
Administrative matching and support	40	Hours	Estimate of administrative burden to recruit, match, and support mentors
Wage rate of House of Delegates Clerk's Office Employees	\$36.27	2018 dollars	Richmond Times-Dispatch, 2018
Breakfast for orientation	\$336.74	2018 dollars	Panera Bread, 2018
Staff costs for orientation	40	Hours	Estimate of administrative burden to plan and host mentor orientation
Total costs per year	\$1,827.54		
Discount rate	7%		
Total costs over 10 years	\$13,734.39		

Note: As in the previous estimate, the cost of mentor time is not considered, as the Commonwealth of Virginia would not be directly paying that cost. Once again, the opportunity cost of mentors' time is worth considering – both that of legislators currently in office and former legislators.

The primary cost of this program would be the cost of time for employees within the House of Delegates' Clerk's Office to administer this program. I recommend an orientation program for mentors to learn the essential skills for being effective mentors, which would take place over a single morning.

Table A.3. Option 3: Create Legislator Training Program Costs

<i>Assumption</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Unit</i>	<i>Source</i>
Attendees per session	19	People	VPAP, 2018
Programs over 10 years	5	Sessions	Jones, 2018
Supplies and materials	\$1,585.36	2018 dollars	Jones, 2018
Program development costs	\$22,500.00	2018 dollars	Jones, 2018
Administrative/coordination costs	\$10,800.00	2018 dollars	Jones, 2018
Program expenses (meals, conference services, AV, Room rental, parking, entertainment):	\$21,251	2018 dollars	Jones, 2018
Travel for speakers and staff	\$558.00	2018 dollars	
Lodging (for participants, speakers, and staff)	\$21,616.56	2018 dollars	Jones, 2018
Legislator per diem	\$196.00	2018 dollars	Virginia House of Delegates, 2018
Length of legislator attendance	3	Days	A. Rosenthal, 2007; NCSL, 2001
Total costs per year	\$89,483.04		
Discount rate	7%		
Total costs over 10 years	\$347,613.46		

Note: The cost of this program is estimated based on the costs of a similar program run by the Georgia Legislative Leadership Institute within the University of Georgia. While the actual cost of program development, space rental, and lodging may differ in Virginia, this data is useful to provide a preliminary estimate.

The costs estimated for the legislative leadership training program relate only to the initial program implementation for new delegates. Estimates of attendees and program development and administration do not include the cost of including the entire legislature.

Appendix B. Cost Effectiveness Analysis

The leadership training program, if developed by the Center for Effective Lawmaking, would be designed specifically to support all five practices that create effective legislators. The formal mentor program would naturally impart some of the lessons, as do the existing legislator training programs that Virginia is already sending a limited number of delegates to each year.

Table B.1. Effectiveness Metrics and Cost Effectiveness Analysis, by Option

<i>Practices for Legislative Effectiveness</i>	<i>Option 1: Let Present Trends Continue</i>	<i>Option 2: Expand Formal Mentor Program</i>	<i>Option 3: Leadership Training Program</i>
“Habit 1: Develop a legislative agenda rooted in personal background, previous experiences and policy expertise”	Yes, for ten delegates	Yes	Yes
“Habit 2: Develop a legislative agenda tightly focused on district needs”	Yes, for ten delegates	No	Yes
“Habit 3: Be entrepreneurial with positions of institutional power”	No	No	Yes
“Habit 4: Be open to compromise, even with those who are not natural allies”	No	Yes	Yes
“Habit 5: Cultivate a broad set of allies, even beyond the House”	No	Yes, potentially	Yes
Total Program Effectiveness Score (1-5)	2	2.25	5
Impact (Number of Delegates Affected)	10 Delegates	190 Delegates	190 Delegates
Program Effectiveness Magnitude (Effectiveness x Impact)	20	427.5	950
Total Costs	\$7,316.30	\$13,734.39	\$347,613.46
Cost Effectiveness (Total Costs Divided by Program Effectiveness Magnitude)	\$365.82	\$32.13	\$365.91

Note: For each legislative practice, the response “yes,” adds the value of 1 to a given option’s legislative effectiveness score. “Yes, potentially” provides a value of 0.25 to the legislative effectiveness score, and “No” adds 0 value to the legislative effectiveness score. This score is then multiplied by the anticipated impact of each program to determine the magnitude of each option’s effectiveness. The cost over ten years is then divided by this value to determine the cost effectiveness per effected legislator.

Source: Volden & Wiseman, 2015

Appendix C. Sample Agendas from 2017 Georgia Legislative Leadership Institute Sessions I & II



**Carl Vinson
Institute of Government**
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

PROMOTING EXCELLENCE IN GOVERNMENT

2017 Georgia Legislative Leadership Institute

**Session 1 – Callaway Gardens Lodge and Spa
Thursday, May 18 ~ Saturday, May 20**

Agenda

Thursday, May 18

1:30 PM	Registration Opens	3:45 PM	Break
2:00 PM	Welcome and Introductions ~ Class of 2017	4:00 PM	“Who Am I, Who Are You?” ~ My Personal Coat of Arms
2:15 PM	Meet Your Colleagues!	5:00 PM	Wrapping Up ~ Observations, Reflections, and Logistics
3:00 PM	“Why Are We Here?” ~ Overview of the Carl Vinson Institute of Government and the Georgia Legislative Leadership Institute	5:15 PM	Adjourn/Hotel Check-In
		6:00 PM	Social Hour
		7:00 PM	Dinner
3:15 PM	Personal Preferences and Leadership Styles	8:00 PM	Hospitality Suite Open

Friday, May 19

7:00 AM	Breakfast Opens	3:00 PM	Break
8:00 AM	Getting Started	3:15 PM	Leading through Others: Communication, Power, Motivation, and Influence (cont’d)
8:15 AM	Personal Preferences and Leadership Styles	5:00 PM	Wrapping Up ~ Observations and Reflections
10:15 AM	Break	5:15 PM	Adjourn/Personal Time
10:30 AM	Personal Preferences and Leadership Styles (cont’d)	6:00 PM	Social Hour
12:00 PM	Lunch	7:00 PM	Dinner
1:00 PM	Leading through Others: Communication, Power, Motivation, and Influence	8:00 PM	Hospitality Suite Open

Saturday, May 20

7:00 AM	Breakfast Opens	1:00 PM	Dilemmas and Decisions: Practical Ethics for Personal and Public Life
8:00 AM	Getting Started	2:30 PM	Break
8:15 AM	Campaigning, Legislating, and Representing Constituents: Expectations, Experiences, and Lessons Learned	2:45 PM	Practical Ethics for Personal and Public Life (cont’d)
10:15 AM	Break	4:30 PM	Observations, Reflections, Evaluation, and Closing Remarks
10:30 AM	Leadership of We	5:00 PM	Session I Adjourns
12:00 PM	Lunch	6:00 PM	Social Hour and Buffet Dinner
		8:00 PM	Hospitality Suite Opens



2017 Georgia Legislative Leadership Institute ~ Session II

**Atlanta Evergreen Marriott Conference Resort – Balsam Room
Thursday, October 5 ~ Saturday, October 7**

Agenda

Thursday, October 5

1:30 PM	Registration Opens	5:00 PM	Wrapping Up ~ Observations, Reflections, and Logistics
2:00 PM	Welcome to Session II!		
2:15 PM	Conversations and Connections	5:15 PM	Adjourn/Hotel Check-In/Personal Time
2:30 PM	Overview of Session II		
2:45 PM	The Political Problem of Fairness	6:00 PM	Social Hour
3:45 PM	Break	7:00 PM	Dinner
4:00 PM	Veteran Legislator Panel	8:00 PM	Hospitality Suite Open

Friday, October 6

7:00 AM	Breakfast Opens		
8:00 AM	Getting Started	1:30 PM	Leadership Challenges in Collective Decision Making
8:15 AM	What Do We Value? Ranking Public Policy Values	3:30 PM	Break
9:15 AM	Break	3:45 PM	Political Challenges in Collective Leadership
9:30 AM	Russ Hardin, President, Robert W. Woodruff Foundation	5:00 PM	Wrapping Up ~ Observations, Reflections, and Logistics
10:00 AM	Break		
10:15 AM	Our American Republic and Its Unique Heritage	5:15 PM	Adjourn/Personal Time
12:00 PM	Legislative Leadership Luncheon w/House Speaker Ralston	6:00 PM	Social Hour
		7:00 PM	Dinner
		8:00 PM	Hospitality Suite Open

Saturday, October 7

7:00 AM	Breakfast Opens	2:00 PM	Break
8:00 AM	Getting Started	2:15 PM	Policy Making Simulation
8:15 AM	The Georgia General Assembly: Past, Present, and Future	4:00 PM	Conclusion: Leadership Principles for Policy Leaders
9:15 AM	Break	4:15 PM	Evaluation and Reflection
9:30 AM	Public Questions and Choices	4:45 PM	Graduation
10:30 AM	Break	5:00 PM	Program Closing
10:45 AM	Public Visions and Values	5:15 PM	Session II Adjourns
12:00 PM	Lunch	6:00 PM	Social Hour
12:45 PM	Public Problems and Decisions	7:00 PM	Buffet Dinner

Source: Carl Vinson Institute of Government at the University of Georgia; Jones, 2018

Appendix D. Sample Agenda from State Legislative Leaders Foundation Emerging Leaders Program, 2017

2017 Emerging Leaders Program Agenda			
Monday July 10	Tuesday July 11	Wednesday July 12	Thursday July 13
	Professors Frank & Harris	Professors Harris & Freeman	Professor Freeman & other Faculty
	8:00 - 9:30 AM <i>Economic Inequality Part I: What are the issues?</i> The Second Machine, Brynjolfsson and McAfee	8:00-10:00 AM <i>Ethics and Political Leadership</i> Ethics Vignettes	8:00 - 10:00 AM <i>Personal Leadership: Making a Difference</i> What Got You Here Won't Get You There, Marshall Goldsmith
	9:30 - 9:45 AM Refreshment Break	10:00 - 10:15 AM Refreshment Break	10:00 - 10:15 AM Refreshment Break
	Professor Frank & Harris	Professor Frank	Professor Freeman & other Faculty
	9:45 - 11:15 AM <i>Economic Inequality Part II: What are the Answers?</i> The Second Machine, Brynjolfsson and McAfee	10:15 - 11:45 AM <i>Innovations in Change From Your Own Backyard</i>	10:15 - 11:30 AM <i>Personal Leadership: Making a Difference (continued)</i> What Got You Here Won't Get You There, Marshall Goldsmith & Bridging the Values Gap, Ed Freeman
	11:15 - 11:30 AM Group Photo 11:30 - 12:15 PM Lunch	11:45 - 12:45 PM Lunch	11:30 - 12:15 PM Summary & Wrap-Up Program Evaluations
	Professors Fairchild & Freeman	Professor Fairchild	
Opening Night Begins 5:30 PM Followed by dinner and program introduction	12:15 - 1:15 PM <i>Ethics and Fiction</i> Sonny's Blues by James Baldwin	12:45 - 2:15 PM <i>Financial Services and the Underserved</i> Financial Services in Distressed Communities and The Power of Experience in Understanding the Underbanked Market	12:15 - 1:15 PM Optional Lunch & Participant Departures
	1:15 - 1:30 PM Refreshment Break	2:15 - 2:30 PM Refreshment Break	
	Professor Ed Ayers	Professors Harris & Frank	
	1:30 - 3:00 PM <i>Why the Civil War Still Matters</i> Material TBD	2:30 - 4:30 PM <i>Negotiation and Political Leadership</i> Pepulator Simulation	
	3:15 PM Depart Gatehouse for Monticello		
	6:15 PM Reception & Cook-Out, Wilkerson Courtyard		
Evening Learning Team Meetings- Discuss Tuesday Readings - Location: Hotel Learning Team Rooms	Individual Prep Time	5:30 PM Depart Gatehouse for Freeman Residence 6:00-8:00 PM Reception & Dinner, Home of Professor Freeman	

Source: State Legislative Leaders Foundation; Little, 2018

Resources

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