

West Chester University

Digital Commons @ West Chester University

West Chester University Doctoral Projects

Masters Theses and Doctoral Projects

Fall 2023

Term Limits: An Argument for the Senate

Deanna Ferry
df940477@wcupa.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.wcupa.edu/all_doctoral



Part of the [American Politics Commons](#), [Leadership Studies Commons](#), [Other Public Affairs, Public Policy and Public Administration Commons](#), and the [Public Administration Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Ferry, Deanna, "Term Limits: An Argument for the Senate" (2023). *West Chester University Doctoral Projects*. 230.

https://digitalcommons.wcupa.edu/all_doctoral/230

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Masters Theses and Doctoral Projects at Digital Commons @ West Chester University. It has been accepted for inclusion in West Chester University Doctoral Projects by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ West Chester University. For more information, please contact wcrestler@wcupa.edu.

Term Limits: An Argument for the Senate

A Dissertation Project

Presented to the Faculty of the
Department of Public Administration

West Chester University

West Chester, Pennsylvania

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

Doctor of Public Administration

By

Deanna Ferry

December 2023

Dedication

In dedication to my incredibly supportive husband and daughter. To my husband, for motivating me daily to keep going and see this analysis through to completion. And to my baby girl and honorary co-writer, may you grow up with a thirst for knowledge and devotion to public service like your Daddy and Mama. I love you both with all my heart.

Acknowledgements

I'd like to acknowledge a few groups of people, without whom I wouldn't have been able to get to this point in my studies, life or career. Thank you to my committee, Dr. Kline, Dr. Crossney and Dr. Davis, for your time and patience as I worked through the trials of dissertation writing. You have all been instrumental in not only my course work, but my independent studies as well. Without you, I would not have been able to cross this finish line. Special thanks to my committee chair, Dr. Angela Kline, who so graciously took time to work through the pitfalls of research collection with me while I was nine months pregnant and not the most pleasant or motivated person to work with.

Thank you to my parents, siblings and in-laws for driving me to be my best and to push me to keep going when I was exhausted and frustrated with progress, or lack there-of. Specifically to my Mom and Dad, thank you for establishing education as a key part of my life from a young age. Those summer work sheets really paid off. The phone calls to bounce ideas off of you for research topics throughout the last five years have been instrumental to my success in this program as well. You have both helped to develop my frame of thinking to go beyond myself, and to examine all perspectives of an issue in order to fully understand it. For that and so much more, thank you.

To my amazing husband, a special thank you to you for your support and encouragement throughout this program, and particularly throughout the home stretch of schoolwork and the dissertation process. Thank you for believing in my ability to be able to hang in there as we dated, brought Tucker home, got engaged, got married and welcomed sweet Evelyn into the world. The last few years have been a whirlwind of beautiful milestones in our lives, and I can't thank you enough for helping me hit one more.

Abstract

In this research study an argument is made to impose term limits on Senators serving in the United States Congress. It looks to explore historical data to prove effectiveness of self-imposed limits, real time data of sitting Senators to offer a modern perspective, and examples from other imposed term limits for sitting elected officials to demonstrate their benefit to constituents. The data utilized in this study is applied through organizational theory and quantified based on results and responses from both primary and secondary sources. Historical sources are applied as well through the literature review focusing on three primary themes emerging from the data collected, while a mixed method approach was applied to information gathering. These three themes are: historical evidence, evidence in favor, and counter-evidence. The conclusion of this study found that there needs to be an increased level of responsiveness, accountability and availability to communicate with members of the Senate, which can all be achieved through the implementation of term limits. Further, this study provides evidence that an increased level of diversity across multiple demographic points will not only increase representative democracy in the Senate, but will also be achievable through term limit requirements as it will deter career politicians aiming to end their career in the federal legislature. It is therefore recommended based on the results of this analysis that term limits are applied for all members of the Senate.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	v
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	15
Chapter 3: Methods and Analysis	36
Chapter 4: Conclusion.....	56
References.....	66
Appendix I: Sample Outreach Letters.....	72
Appendix II: WCUPA IRB Approval Letter.....	74
Appendix III: Informed Consent Form	75
Appendix IV: Senator Cruz’s 2023 Amendment	77

List of Figures

1. 118 th Senate Age	8
2. 118 th Senate Gender Orientation.....	8
3. 118 th Senate Race	9
4. 118 th Senate Class Tenure	10
5. Interview Outreach Responses.....	53

Chapter One: Introduction

Term limits have been a point of contention within the United States since its' creation, with Thomas Jefferson being the biggest proponent of the idea. He supported their implementation, and believed that without them, elected officials would likely be serving terms for their entire lives (Baturu, 2014). The Constitution of the United States was amended to establish term limits for the President, but does not impose term limits on any other elected office including the Senate. Many politicians today focus on building an entire career of campaigning and holding elected positions (Allen, 2020). This focus is often counter-intuitive to improving the quality of life for those being served by the elected officials, as elected officials often continue to run on the same platforms and work to serve their own interests as opposed to their districts' interests.

In John M. Carey's text, *Term limits and legislative representation*, he outlines early 2000 state term limit requirements for both the house and senate positions. Approximately 15 states have implemented term limits, and most are for two terms (Carey, 1998). As of 2010, "fifteen states have legislative term limits, and several large cities including New York, [and] Los Angeles have adopted term limits for their mayors and/or city councils" (McGlynn, 2010, p.122). These states and cities are essential to examine as part of the analysis for imposing term limits on elected officials serving at the federal level. Here, the benefits of term limits will be explored as they relate to organizational theory and organization culture. Organizational theory's application will be the crux of the argument for their imposition, as it has historically been applied "[a]s a mechanism having the ultimate aim of offsetting those forces which undermine human collaboration" (Scott, 1961, p. 89). When applying these terms to the focus of this analysis, *the force* is analogous to career politicians, whereas *the human collaboration* is

TERM LIMITS

analogous to the Senate floor. That is, it will directly grow upon existing research and focus on the human experience (Yanow, 2006).

Throughout the course of American history, this topic has been discussed and vetted throughout multiple classes of the Senate, spanning over a number of decades. While the conversation has evolved over time, so has other aspects of American culture, including life expectancy. With modern medicine developments, technology advancements, and countless other advances to society, people are living longer than they did in the 1700's and 1800's. On average in the United States, people lived to be 47 years old in the 1900's, whereas in 2021 the average life expectancy was 76 years old (Shmerling, 2022). Due to an increase in life expectancy people throughout the United States are choosing to stay in the work force for longer. Even past retirement, many people choose to continue to work part-time jobs to stay active and bring home some additional income to supplement retirement, social security and Medicare benefits. Those individuals who are elected to political office are no different. This research on term limits is necessary to determine if they could help to curb the career politician mentality in government, particularly since the office of a Senator is often viewed as an esteemed and respected position within the field of civil service.

In recent years there has been little published on the benefits of term limit representation. There has, however, been a very consistent push from one particular Senator to impose term limits in Congress, though no official studies have been cited to support the proposed amendments. Further, there is truly only a handful of studies ever conducted throughout the course of history on the success and failure of term limits. This research can be crucial in closing that gap to help law makers determine if the imposition of term limits in the Senate would be beneficial to the people of America, or if it would best to continue to allow unlimited terms.

TERM LIMITS

Research Question

The research question that this study aims to answer is, is it more beneficial for the electorate to have United States Senators with imposed term limits represent them, than to have Senators that run and serve an unset number of terms represent them? Throughout this analysis, term limits should be understood to be defined as “a legal limit on the number of terms, or consecutive terms, that the holder of a particular office may serve” (Oxford, 2019).

This two-part question is a comparison of the benefit to the electorate who is served by elected officials that are imposed by term limits versus those who are not. The first part of the question focuses on those elected officials who are imposed by term limits and are on a time limit to accomplish what they promised to do while running for office. This piece of the question is important because it will help to define the benefits of representation by looking at how motivated elected officials are when under the pressure of a time limit to accomplish what they ran for office to do. This will help future voters in establishing expectations for their elected leaders, and in particular for this study United States Senators. The second part of the question focuses on the benefit of having elected officials who are not bound by term limits.

This research is necessary because of the contrast that will be analyzed between how senators are able to lead when under a time limit, versus when they are not. This comparison can be useful in determining whether or not the implementation of term limits at the federal level will be effective and most importantly, be beneficial. The data set that will be focused on for primary data collection will be the 100 current sitting Senators who are all not imposed by term limits. This analysis aims to review the potential for term limits to be imposed on members of the Senate, and the benefits that term limits can have on representation and the quality of public service. Further, the analysis will examine the data collected in primary research through the lens

TERM LIMITS

of Organizational Theory and the impacts on the culture of congress that term limits have the potential to create.

This research question is necessary because of the potential for elected officials to take advantage of constituents and the American Democratic system by having a career as inefficient and ineffective leaders for long durations of time. At its' core, this research and study aims to explore if career politicians are continuing to effectively represent their constituents throughout their tenure in Congress, or if term limits will help to improve the type of representation seen in the Senate. The first is to be explored in this study, and that is the success or failure of representation by elected individuals based on term limit status. The second is through incentivized representation. Or in other words, by motivating the public to hold their elected officials accountable to working for them, not only in election years but through their entire term. Motivating their elected officials can primarily be accomplished through continued engagement and election participation. The third is by holding their elected officials accountable for their vote, and for active participation in committees or through bill sponsorship, or co-sponsorship, while in office. Accountability can be more difficult depending on which state a Senate is from. In small states, like Delaware, Rhode Island or Connecticut, ensuring constituent satisfaction can be achieved at a much higher rate than in Texas or California, where not only is the Senator's geographic reach much greater but their constituent base as well. This study is essential to determining if term limits can help to achieve improved representation in the Senate.

Overview of American Democracy

The American Democracy system functions as a three-branch government, along with a checks and balance system to ensure that no single branch has too much power or control of

TERM LIMITS

another or the government as a whole. The three branches of the United States government are the executive, the judiciary and the legislative. The executive branch at the federal level is led by the President of the United States who leads as the Head of State, Head of the Military and works alongside his co-elected Vice President, and appointed cabinet members (U.S. Const. article II, 1788). A number of agencies also work under the President to accomplish their objectives while in office. The legislative branch of our federal government is split into two houses, the House of Representatives (House) and the Senate (U.S. Const. article I, 1788). The House of Representatives has 435 members, each representing a piece of their state districted base on its' population. Seats are redistributed and redistricted approximately every 10 years dependent on the census to ensure representative is as fair and equal as possible (U.S. Const. article I, 1788). Representatives in the House run on a two-year election cycle and are not subject to term limits. The Senate has 100 members, two from each state (U.S. Const. article I, 1788). One third of the Senate is up for re-election every 2 years, and each member is elected for a six-year term (U.S. Const. article I, 1788). Like the House of Representatives, the Senate is not bound by term limits and can run for an unlimited number of terms. The last branch of the federal government is the Judicial Branch. The Judicial Branch includes the Supreme Court, with nine justices who serve for life once their presidential appointments are approved by the Senate (U.S. Const. article III, 1788). The Supreme Court is the highest court in the country and is meant to serve as a bi-partisan arm of the federal government, aimed at ruling on the most challenging of issues facing the nation (U.S. Const. article III, 1788).

The three branches of government have a number of checks and balances intertwined within them to ensure that no one branch becomes too powerful. This can be both a positive and negative based on the action of the oversight. For example, bills that make it through congress

TERM LIMITS

can still be vetoed by the President for any reason they want. This can be a benefit or a detriment based on what the bill is for, and what the reason for the veto is. Many times, Presidential vetoes are driven for political purposes and are meant to prevent alternative agendas from moving forward. Particularly, it's common to see this type of power implemented when the majority party of one branch, such as congress, is not in line with the majority party of another branch, such as the executive. Dueling agendas can also be a common issue in the legislative branch, when the Senate and House are each working to accomplish different things for different political parties. This internal opposition to each other can make it challenging to get bills through Congress and onto final approval and signature to the President. Of the two branches that make up Congress, the Senate has historically been revered as the more prestigious and more important chamber. This is because Senator's, while there are two, represent the interests of the entire state where they're elected, as opposed to the House whose representatives only vote with their constituents in mind. Usually, Senator's also have a stronger resume, filled with other offices they held prior to becoming a member of the Senate since they are required to be older, 30, to be elected. More often than not, they have worked their way up to the Senate. It's rare for a Senator to be elected without holding any prior office (Copeland, 1989).

A Closer Look at the Senate

Senators are empirically important to American Democracy because of the essential function they provide to Congress. They not only are the higher chamber of the legislature, but they are pillars of society meant to be examples of what can be attained through hard work and devotion as a public servant. Senators have the experience, knowledge and resources to put forth new laws and vote in accordance with their constituents needs. They are looked up to in society and in politics as having achieved success in being elected to serve in one of the highest

TERM LIMITS

offices possible. Therefore, it's essential to explore term limits to ensure their maintaining the best interests of their constituents and that they are ethically working for their respective states.

As of 2023, 66% of the Senate is from the Boomer generation born between 1946 and 1964, 23% are of the Gen X generation born between 1965 and 1980, 8% is from the Silent generation born between 1928 and 1945 and 3% are from Millennial Generation born between 1981 and 1996. Thus, the majority of the Senate (74%) is 59 years old or older (Schaeffer, 2023). This breakdown comparison is further visually represented in Figure 1. To put this into perspective, the average age of retirement in the United States in 2023 is 62 years old (Hartman & Brandon, 2023). In the current Senate class, the biological gender breakdown of the Senate is 25% women and 75% men (Schaeffer, 2023) as seen in Figure 2 (Hartman & Brandon, 2023). This “[ties] the record number of seats” held by women with the 116th Congress, with “four states – Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire and Washington – hav[ing] all-female Senate delegations” (Schaeffer, 2023, p.3). Within the 118th Senate composition, the current class of Senators, there are two Senators who identify as part of the LGBT community (Hartman & Brandon, 2023). Another important demographic pertinent to diversity in representation is race, which PEW Research Center combined the data for mixing both the Senate and the House. A big picture looks at the racial breakdown of the legislature shows that it is the most diverse Congress class in history of the United States with 137 elected officials identifying as non-white, equating to roughly one quarter of all legislators (Schaeffer, 2023). This is a massive jump from the 1% of representatives elected in the 79th Congressional class who took office in 1945 (Schaeffer). The complete breakdown of non-white representatives is demonstrated in Figure 3 (Hartman & Brandon, 2023).

TERM LIMITS

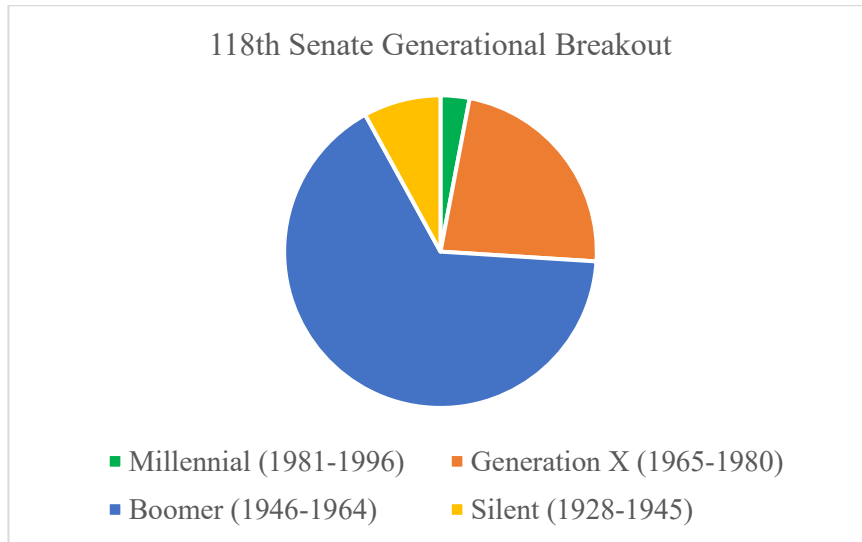


Figure 1. 118th Senate Generational Breakout. (Adapted from Schaeffer, 2023).

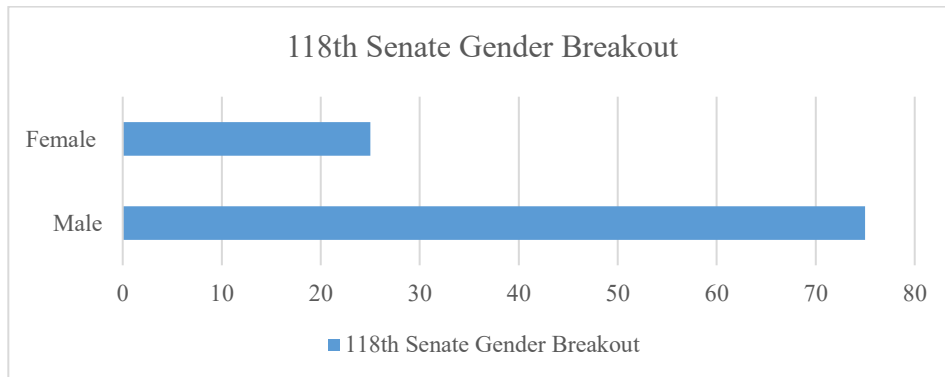


Figure 2. 118th Senate Gender Breakout. (Adapted from Hartman & Brandon, 2023).

TERM LIMITS

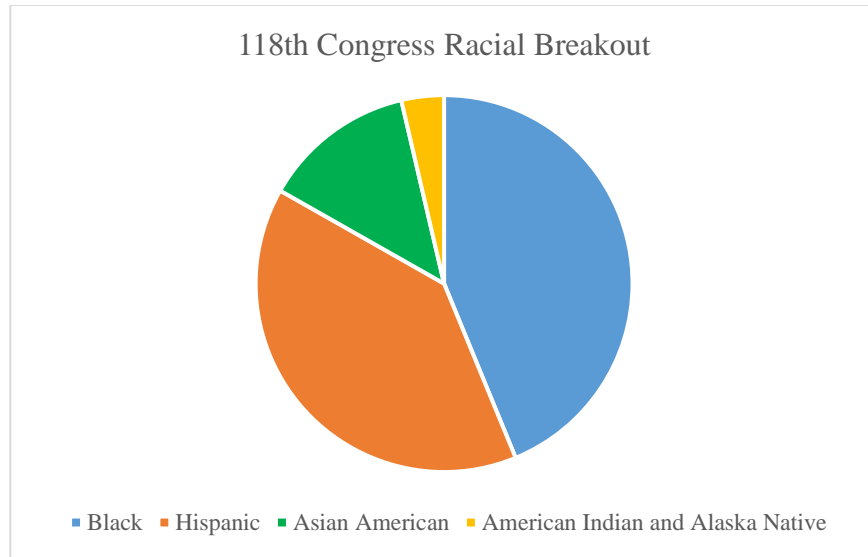


Figure 3. 118th Congress Racial Breakout. (Adapted from Hartman & Brandon, 2023)

Along with the demographics of the Senate there is another crucial factor to consider within this study of term limits, and that is the duration of service for Senators. Currently, the two Senators who have been in office the longest of all members in the 118th class are Chuck Grassley, who has served since 1981, and Mitch McConnell, who has served since 1985 (United States Senate, 2023). Another notable tenure in the Senate is that of current President Joseph Biden, who had served 36 years in a Senate seat for Delaware, up until he served as Vice President for two terms with President Barack Obama, had a four-year break in service during the Donald Trump Presidency, and has now served nearly four more years as President of the United States (The White House). Combined, President Biden has served in some elected role within the Federal government for nearly 48 years. The current record for longest serving Senator is Robert C. Byrd, who served 51 years, 5 months and 26 days (United States Senate, 2023). On the other side of the service spectrum, there are currently eight freshman Senators serving in this congressional class (United States Senate). Meaning the remaining 90 Senators

TERM LIMITS

have served somewhere between two and five terms, or between 12 and 30 years. Considering it is required for a citizen to be at least 30 years of age to hold a seat in the senate, it's clear with the tenure record of the current Senate class why the majority of the sitting Senators are from the Boomer generation. In figure 4, a clear breakdown in age and terms served is demonstrated in a clear visual that brings a stark awareness to the 42 members who have served more than two terms to date.

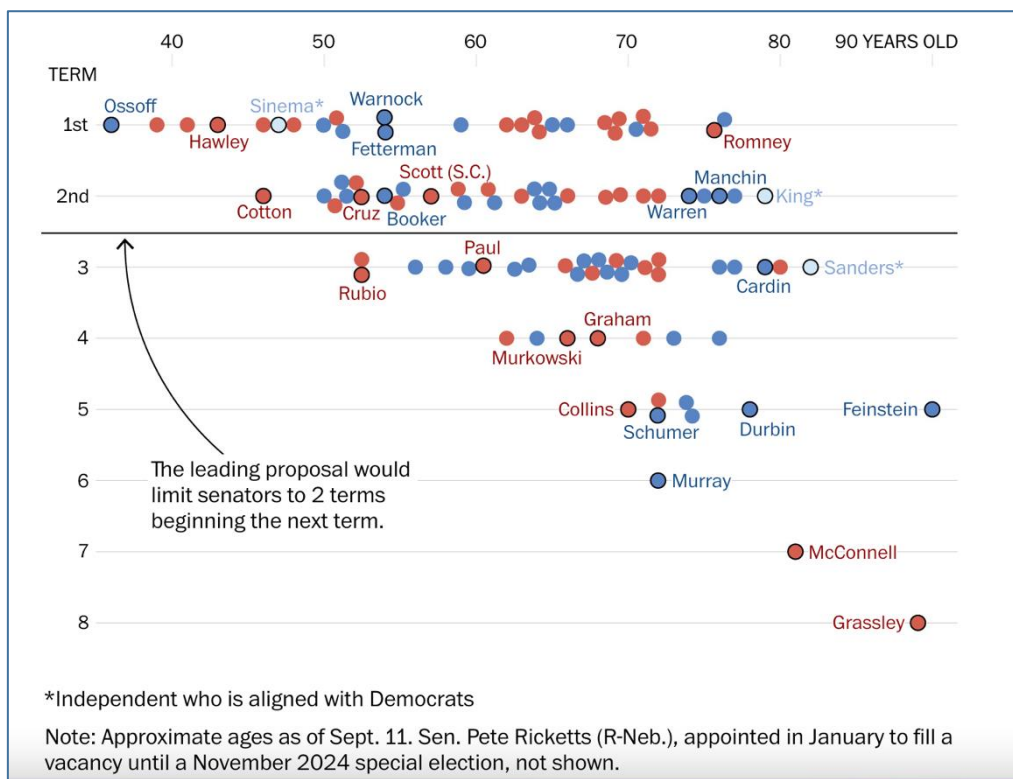


Figure 4. 118th Senate Class Tenure (Mourtopalás, Hawkins and Dormido, 2023)

Breakdown of Analysis

Literature Review

First a deep dive into current literature will be necessary to determine a starting point for further study into the effectiveness of term limits. The literature review will be heavily focused

TERM LIMITS

on historical data, as well as an overview of studies that cover both the benefits and detriments of implementing term limits in any capacity. This analysis will provide a well-rounded argument for both sides, which will help to truly determine whether or not the implementation of term limits is in the best interest of the constituents being served.

Despite what has been studied in the past relative to the Senate, a new evaluation is an important place to start for future research. This is because the make-up of the Senate changes every two years and it will be important to understand the current composition to determine if (1) change will be possible based on the respective parties in power in the legislative and executive branches, and (2) if the chamber of the legislature will be receptive to change based on the tenure of representatives. This issue does have a deep-rooted history in Congressional discussion and prior attempts to implement term limits have failed. It will be important to also explore the result of voting records, or potential votes, on this issue by current members to understand how possible it is for implementation within this particular Senate class.

Additionally in this chapter, counter arguments will be made to the potential pitfalls of term limits. These counter arguments are important to recognize as reasons why it may not be possible for implementation as well as to describe the current political difficulties impeding a potential vote for a constitutional amendment. These arguments are further tied into the literature examined throughout the literature review and tied back to arguments in favor of term limits to explain why implementation may fail. Ultimately, they provide deeper analysis for the study and help to explain why more research is necessary.

Method and Analysis

After the literature review is complete, an explanation of the data and methods of this study will be explained. The methods chapter will explore what the West Chester University

TERM LIMITS

Internal Review Board (IRB) approved and why changes were necessary to be made to the methods as the data collection process went on. Further, a discussion on how those changes were implemented will be had. There was a mixed method of data collection that was attempted through this study. Qualitative methods are important to apply to these areas of research, as well as a thorough review of previously published literature on term limits. Qualitative methods, specifically, because testimony of public administrators with experience and respect hold value, specifically in policy areas such as term limits. Testimony will be collected in the form of elite interviewing. Elite interviewing has an important function to political scientists by providing understanding to the interviewees “perceptions, beliefs and ideologies” (Richards, 1996, p.199). There are both benefits and pitfalls to engaging in elite interviews, which will further be addressed in the literature review.

The data that would have been pulled from the elite interviews would have added a dimension of validity to this research that would be otherwise lacking from the data set and subsequent analysis. Survey data would have also added additional expertise that would have validated the aforementioned testimony, and could have helped to achieve a greater level of participation from Senators to capture the consensus amongst the current class. Getting primary data on whether or not the current sitting Senators are for or against term limits would have helped to determine whether or not approval of the proposed amendment was possible. This information would have been influential to this study because the primary data would have been added to the “existing store of social knowledge” (Hox, 2005, p.593). Further, a combination of primary and secondary sources was utilized by using historical data, survey and interview methods. Secondary sources were primarily pulled from the literature review for this analysis, whereas primary sources were through various modes of outreach for interviews and surveys to

TERM LIMITS

sitting Senators. The literature review is essential in answering the research question and discerning the benefit to constituents through analyzing the benefits and detriments to term limits previously documented.

The method of collection went much differently than what was anticipated, and it made for a smaller data set than what was hoped for through this research study. Disappointingly, this process brought other issues of our legislature to light and garnered some key recommendations for internal policy changes for future congressional classes. This section will review what lessons can be taken away from the data collection processes and how that plays into term limits in the future as well.

Conclusion

While there are many strong arguments for the term limits in the Senate, there are also a number of limitations to their implementation that are important to acknowledge. These limitations are focused primarily on data collection and methods.

The first limitation that will be discussed is focused on data collection and touches on the availability of Senators to have a discussion about the topic of term limits, followed by the level of their staff's accessibility to the public and researchers. Limitations in data collection were detrimental in this study, and responses in large part were shocking. The second limitation is focused on the breakdown of the responses. There were three main responses that were received through outreach efforts, none of which yielded results that were sufficient enough to be included in the results of this study. This is the primary limitation and impacted other areas of this study, namely methods.

The next limitation dives into the impact that data collection issues had on the methodology of this study. Within the data collection process multiple modes for outreach were

TERM LIMITS

attempted, along with follow ups for any responses that could potentially lead to an interview or completed survey. The majority of limitations rest in the response rate in general, and the Senator's reason for declining to participate in this study.

There are both internal and external recommendations for Congress that will be covered in this section. For internal policy recommendations three things will be focused on: an increase of accountability, and increase in transparency, and the expedition of freedom of information act requests. These internal policy recommendations are meant to be implemented within Congress operating procedure to increase the responsiveness and communication with the people they are representing, both within their constituencies and outside them. What many Senators fail to realize is that while each Senator is elected by their respective constituents, their votes effect far more than their represented districts. The external policy recommendation would be to implement term limits for various reasons.

Finally, this analysis will conclude by going through some general summaries of the information covered throughout the study. The first is to sum up the historical data covered through the literature review, and through touching on prior voting history on term limits. The second will be to review the current congress make up in more detail, while emphasizing points covered in the introduction. Lastly, final thoughts on the future of Congressional leadership, specifically in the Senate, and hypothesize on the impact that term limits in the Senate chamber will have on future Senate representation.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

An Introduction to Current Literature

The objective of this literature review is to evaluate what has been studied and evaluated in terms of term limits, and what areas of this subject that have yet to be explored. Being that there is no current law or constitutional amendment imposing term limits for sitting Senators, the studies that will be included in this review will be primarily evaluating term limits across a broad range of public offices. Primary stakeholders for the federal imposition of term limits primarily include Congress, Senators, and their respective electorate. These groups of people are directly impacted by the potential implementation of term limits to the United States Senate. Congress is impacted by having one of its' two chambers in for a set period of time, which can cause periods of disruption every few years as offices turn over. Senators, of course, will be impacted directly, along with their office staff and the committees in which incumbents serve on. The electorate is also a key stakeholder because a change to term limits would require them to be much more involved in elections as there won't be a constant incumbent on the ticket. Term limits would force voters to pay more attention to who is running for office, especially in mid-term year elections which historically do not have as large of a turn out as presidential-year elections (DeSilver, 2020). Further, it may cause some potential candidates to reconsider running for office if there were a twelve-year limit on their tenure, which may reflect the type of candidate running for office.

There are a number of reasons why imposing term limits on United States Senators could be favorable. The first is that Senators have a single term that is three times as long as their counterparts in the United States House of Representatives (House). It can therefore be argued that Senators have more time to make a difference and leave their mark during each term they

TERM LIMITS

are elected to, when compared to other federally elected representatives in the House. The federal level of government is an ideal level of government to examine term limits as most members of the Senate are veteran politicians, and have worked their way to this elected office. In other words, they are experienced political figures and a role in Congress is likely not the first elected position they've held (Copeland, 1989). This is important for an analysis such as this because they have experience with voting in session and likely have experience writing public policy as well and thus can likely make a difference within a single term.

Additional stakeholders for term limits in the Senate include political parties, political action committees, and special interest groups. Political parties are stakeholders because while they may not be directly impacted by the imposition of term limits, the elected officials representing their ideology would be. Further, the culture of the Senate heavily relies on political party identity and the power that the majority party holds while they maintain the majority vote. Political action committees and special interest groups are also stakeholders because they rely heavily on elected officials to help move their preferred policies and initiatives forward. The primary purpose of these organizations at present is the large impact they make as campaign donors to incumbents. Without unlimited campaigns to finance, there is a minimal need for continued financial support. These groups would be affected by the implementation of term limits it would force these groups to create new relationships with incoming Senators and it's likely their impact will be weakened as a result since committee assignments will end quicker due to increased turnover.

The organizing principle of the research included within this review will be thematic. There are three main themes that emerged from conducting research into existing literature and are as follows: historical evidence, evidence in favor of term limits, and counterevidence against

TERM LIMITS

term limits. This type of review organization demonstrates that the research examined within this literature review is not linear, and therefore has not developed sequentially over time. Rather, this data is evolving and there is much more to learn on the imposition of term limits at all levels of government, including the federal level as this study aims to explore.

Historical Evidence

The Constitution

Term limits have been a point of contention within the United States since its' creation, with Thomas Jefferson perhaps being the biggest proponent of the idea. He believed politicians that were elected to office without a designated term limit for their position would become what we now call career politicians, and be in that post for life (Baturu, 2014). Today career politicians are defined as full time elected officials who do not have much experience outside of the political structure, and who build a professional career within politics and government alone (Allen, 2020). Jefferson also felt that political positions could become inherited generationally, or would be passed down within the same family unit as the originally elected politician (Baturu, 2014).

The Constitution of the United States established term limits for the President through an amendment, but did, not and still does not, impose term limits on any other elected office, including the Senate (U.S. Const. amend. XXII, 1947). Despite being a topic of contention and debate, little action has been done at the federal level to implement policies for term limits to any office held in Congress. The Senate, while independently elected every six years, only re-elects 1/3 of its members every two years (U.S. Const. article I, 1788). This is established within the Constitution of the United States and ensures that the members of the Senate will not lose

TERM LIMITS

continuity of their processes every time elections are held. In other words, it provides a safeguard from a mass reorganization every election cycle.

Another key piece of the Constitution to examine when considering term limits in the Senate would be the 17th Amendment, which changed the process of the Senators from being elected by the state legislature to being elected by the people in 1913 (U.S. Const. Amendment XVII, 1913). This amendment is important as it exhibits the everchanging process of ensuring appropriate democratic representation within the government, and in particular in the federal legislature. The intent of this amendment is clear, and that is to put the power of election into the hands of the people being represented. It also limited power of state legislatures and further divided the connection between the state and federal levels of government.

Understanding the intent of the constitution and interpreting the constitution in the current political environment may prove to further strengthen the Senate as a whole for the future. Further, understanding the culture of the Senate today may lead to a greater ability for the implementation of change.

A Deeply Rooted Culture

E.H. Shein defines culture in his study *Organizational Culture* (1990). To break the definition down in terms of application to the United States Senate, three major facets of Shein's definition will be examined. These facets are: the pattern of assumption, the problem, and implementation (Shein, 1990). The pattern of assumption is for an elected official to win as many terms as possible to stay in office. If that elected official is a member of the political party that holds the majority, the problem is the possibility for the majority party to switch and the incumbents to be elected out of office. On the other hand, if the elected official is not in the political party that holds the majority, the problem is to get enough members of the party elected

TERM LIMITS

elsewhere to take over the current majority party. It is very clear to see the ways in which implementation of the assumption and problem can impact the culture of the Senate as a whole. Thus, a big piece of the culture of congress is to stick to your party line when it comes to sponsorships and voting. For freshman members of the Senate, that means it's necessary to rely on the senior members of their party for guidance and advice.

With this cultural dynamic in mind, it is evident that the career politicians truly do take full ownership of the cultural changes allowed throughout the Senate by dictating where resources and changes are made (Shein, 2003). In essence, the long-term strategy for politicians in the Senate is to maintain party control for as long as possible. By achieving this goal, this half of Congress creates an organizational culture dictated and designed by one single party respective to which is in majority power. Imposing term-limits has the potential to break down the organizational culture, and has the ability to cause a shift in the type of individual who would want to run for Senate in the future because uprooting the organizational culture of such a long-standing institution such as the Senate would have a two-fold impact. First, it would benefit the newly elected officials in setting their own term agendas, as opposed to following the lead of Senators with more seniority within their party. Second, it could potentially hinder the incumbents that have diligently worked to onboard and teach the new officials throughout their tenure to vote party line. This type of change to the internal operation of the Senate may be too much to handle for many politicians who have built their career on these cultural standards.

Historical Evidence Conclusions

The most compelling data from historical evidence as it relates to the benefit of term limits for the electorate is the 17th amendment, as it demonstrates not only precedence in changing the way in which Senators are elected, but also the importance of giving the electorate

TERM LIMITS

a stronger position of power in electing their federal officials. It can be reasonably assumed that if the way in which these leaders were elected was modified once before, that it could be modified again. Term limits can have the potential to give a stronger voice back to the people, and less on the culture that is ingrained in the Senate as discussed here as well. Taking away the influence of senior Senators, while still maintaining a culture of mentorship can be achieved through a two-term limit. Twelve years is a significant amount of time to ensure success and foster relationships necessary to do the work needed to benefit constituents from across the Country. However precedence is not enough, and more favorable evidence for term limits is needed to move forward.

Evidence in Favor

Of all the literature published in favor of term limits, the strongest arguments come from John M, Carey. A piece of work he contributed to, *The effects of term limits on state legislatures: a new survey of the 50 states*, by John M. Carey, Richard G. Niemi and Lynda W. Powell, makes compelling argument (2006). These researchers found evidence to support the diversity of candidates increased in areas where term limits were mandatory (Carey, 2006). This would make a significant impact to the effort of increasing the collaboration of people that accurately represent their constituency. Similarly, Carey et al. (2006) found that term limits forced elected officials to work more to benefit their electorate as they were held to a greater level of accountability. This is an argument in favor of term limits as well, especially when the electorate is as vast as Senate legislative districts tend to be.

Other studies have been published that do not necessary outline the benefits of imposed term limits, but rather focus on the negative deconstructive behavior that is fueled by not having them. For example, it was found that career politicians tend to have undue influence of newer

TERM LIMITS

members of congress and specifically those within their own party (Rodet, 2014). This touches on the previous point that senior members take junior members under their wing to influence their votes, sponsorships and committee assignments. This is important to note because of the impact that being an incumbent has on the Senate, and further helps to define the importance holding onto an elected seat for as long as possible. Further it was found that in the absence of term limits and the pressure to hold office for a particular political party, that elected officials tend to only focus their time and energy into running for re-election when the time comes (Burstein, 2002). Again, this relates to the deep-rooted importance that incumbency has within the Senate chamber and its' offices. Lastly, it was found that term limits would have a modest impact when it came to a particular political party being impacted the most (Reed, 1994). This demonstrates that the effect on the party that's in the majority may not be as large as sitting Senator's may believe. Another strong point in favor of term limits that is consistent in existing research is that term limits cultivate an environment where electoral competition is increased (Steen, 2006). Increased competition allows for more experience to grow at the grass roots level and build up to higher offices. This pattern of growth has the potential to foster trained and talented individuals who learn over time by holding various offices at different levels of government, and not just by career politicians who hold onto their elected offices for as long as possible. Together, these arguments paint a positive picture for a future that includes term limits for Senators, as it is evident that there is much to be gained from their utilization.

Focused on Re-Election

A public sector that is consistently re-electing the same officials to represent them, does not allow for the necessary collaboration needed for successful representation (Scott, 1961). This type of collaboration most heavily impacts Congress as a whole as career politicians make it

TERM LIMITS

increasingly more difficult to introduce fresh ideas of newer talent, to foster growth, or to initiate change when term limits are not imposed. This same argument can be made for members of the Senate, as well.

It has been argued that the goal of elected officials will shift from representing their electorate to the best of their ability, to campaigning to the best of their ability after their first term (Burstein, 2002). More so, it is argued that “officeholders usually strongly want to win reelection, and believe that failure to do what the public wants will mean defeat” (Burstein, 2002, p. 386). This heavily impacts Congress as a whole, as it becomes increasingly difficult to introduce fresh ideas or talent to foster growth or change when incumbent officials continue to run. Therefore, the goal of elected officials will shift from representing their electorate to the best of their ability, to campaigning to the best of their ability. This mindset and shift in goal setting is clearly not in the best interest of their constituents. Additionally, “legislative bargaining models featuring ideology imply that senior incumbents use their advantage to buy votes and impose their ideology while never losing reelection” (Rodet, p. 2014, p.648). Having the benefit of working with fellow elected leaders, at any level of government, gives room for opportunities to make deals, as Rodet’s point indicates. Further,

Cox and Katz (2002) argue that this measure is biased upwards, since incumbents who think they will lose the next election are more likely to retire than those who think they will win. Such strategic thinking causes the winning margins of incumbents who chose to run to be higher than would be the case if incumbents’ reelection decisions were made without taking into account their potential for success. (Mooney, 2009, p. 206)

This is an important factor to consider in a debate for term limits because it skews data. “In an influential article, Gelman and King (1990) measure incumbency advantage as (roughly) the

TERM LIMITS

difference between the winning margins in open-seat and incumbent-contested races” (Mooney, 2009, p. 206). This study provides a good foundation for identifying the margin of benefit for incumbents to determine if term-limits are necessary, being that they are more likely to win than non-incumbered candidates.

Strong Influences

Another impact of career politician influence is when senior politicians use their position, experience and connections to influence the vote of their colleagues (Rodet, 2014). Having the benefit of working with fellow elected leaders throughout the years, at any level of government, gives room for opportunities to make deals and pork roll when important bills are up for vote (Carey, 2006). Additionally, there is no recourse and these senior members are not likely to lose an election despite these actions (Rodet, 2014). Term limits will help to weaken the impact of influence, while still allowing for mentorship.

State Legislatures

As of 2023, “fifteen states have legislative term limits [in addition to] several large cities” (McGlynn, 2010, p. 118). To determine if term limits being applied on a smaller scale is effective, it is crucial to look at these areas in order to identify whether similar limits on the Senate would be successful in fostering growth and a fresh perspective that would benefit the electorate nationally. In their case study *The effects of term limits on state legislatures: a new survey of the 50 states* (2006), John M. Carey, Richard G. Niemi and Lynda W. Powell looked to examine the impact of term limits on state legislators. Their findings demonstrated a lot of positive benefits in favor of term limits and perhaps may be one of the strongest pieces of existing research to support term limits. While their examination was not of the federal level of

TERM LIMITS

government, it's beneficial to see whether or not term limits have worked on a smaller scale to better understand potential impacts of a federal level implementation.

First, they found that there “are no systematic differences between [term limited] and [non-term limited] states in the professional backgrounds, education levels, income levels, or ideologies of legislators, or in the electoral success of black candidates or religious fundamentalists” (Carey, 2006, p. 294). Further, it was found that term limited “states were more inclined than [non-term limited] states to elect women legislators both before and after limits were adopted, although term limits may have magnified this effect” (Carey, 2006, p. 294). Most notably, it was found that the success of candidates who associated as a minority was not impacted by the imposition of term limits (Carey, 2006). These findings are important for term limit implementation at the national level being that diversity amongst members of the Senate is essential to adding dimension to the floor. With more diversity and inclusion in the Senate, the needs of constituents may be better served, as the population of elected officials will get closer to being reflective of the populations that they are meant to represent.

Second, it was found that there is no difference in the types of individuals who are deciding to run for office, regardless of their education levels, professional careers, or economic status when term limits are imposed (Carey, 2006). This finding demonstrates how little the imposition of term limits will change the pool of candidates seeking an elected position in the Senate. Running and campaigning for office is a vigorous and emotionally draining exercise, and it's not for everyone. It is therefore important to emphasize that term limits do not deter qualified potential candidates from running for office.

Next, Carey, et al. discovered that “term limits decrease the [amount of] time legislators spend on activities for which they are roundly criticized-most notably the time they devote to

TERM LIMITS

securing pork for their districts” (Carey, 2006, p. 294). “Consistent with this result, term-limited legislators report placing higher priority than do their non-limited counter-parts on the needs of the state as a whole, and on the demands of conscience relative to more narrow district interests” (Carey, 2006, p. 295). In other words, it was found that that term limits force legislators to focus their actions throughout their term on tasks that target the needs of their jurisdiction and the state they serve as a whole. The benefit of this is being able to develop and implement actual fundamental change and policy, if needed, without the extra nonsense that many career politicians may want to implement for favors to donors or other politicians to get agendas passed. This finding demonstrates that bargaining for favors to donors or other politicians to get agendas passed is not needed to get work done. It also proves that Senators would be more focused and driven to achieving the change they campaigned on within the time they have in the position. This benefit ties in nicely with the next aspect of term limits that were found by Carey, et al (2006) in their study.

Lastly, but perhaps most importantly, the study found that “term limits [were found to] encourage legislators to weigh their perception of the collective good more heavily than the good of their district in making policy” (Carey, 2006, p. 295). Meaning that term limits directly impacted the type of representation for constituents for the better. Further, Carey, et. al. found that this “is a critical means of ensuring political accountability” specifically for the people who are represented directly by these elected officials (Carey, 2006, p. 295). For the electorate of an entire state to be able to have this level of accountability for six or twelve years in a Senator would be a major improvement to the current system and culture of federal representation. Additionally, Senators will be able to better hold each other accountable, specifically those

TERM LIMITS

Senators from the same state and neighboring states, whose votes and sponsorships directly impact one another.

If term limits are impacting state legislators in these ways, it's presumable that a similar impact could be seen at the federal level as well. For a national electorate to be able to have this level of accountability for six or twelve years with a Senator would be a major improvement to the current system and culture of the Senate. Additionally, the accountability of the electorate to vote in legislators that are willing to work will foster accountability within the Senate itself. Senators will begin to hold each other accountable for their decisions, votes and propositions being that their time in office will be strictly defined.

Favorable Evidence Conclusions

To link the data found to favorably support the implementation of term limits back to the research question of this study, it's important to note the significant evidence demonstrating a benefit to not only the quality of representation but the diversity in representation as well. Furthermore, there is again precedence to turn to in regard to successful implementation of term limits when considering state legislatures and the impact of term limits in the 15 states that have them. The benefit that larger constituent populations could see from having term limits imposed at the federal level, could span the reach beyond state districts. For example, and as discussed within the literature review, it would be very beneficial for an entire state's constituency to have a Senator that is no longer solely focused on re-election and campaigning, but rather on ensuring they are doing the best job possible for the people they are there to represent. Additionally as discussed, it would be beneficial for the representatives of the state to identify racially, ethnically, or sexually, as those members of the state and people they are elected to vote on behalf of. The benefit of this is to have a Senator that understands the trials and tribulations that

TERM LIMITS

need to be addressed for certain demographic populations of a state, and further, can prioritize the issues they focus on to match those needs while in office. Essentially, the literature available in favor of the research question helps to demonstrate the benefit to the people should term limits be implemented at the federal level of government.

Counter Evidence

The strongest published research that speaks against term limits is that of C.Z. Mooney in their study *Term Limits as a Boom to Legislative Scholarship: A Review* (2009). Mooney outlines key reasons why term limits will weaken the long-standing organizational structure of the legislature. It is found in this study that “[m]ost political scientists oppose term limits” (Mooney, 2009, p. 209). Which is interesting as they are to be considered subject matter experts on these types of considerations. Mooney (2009) credits this to three specific impacts: lame ducks, purging old heads, and turnover (Mooney, 2009, p. 209). The first reason is the impact of a lame duck term, not only for the constituents through a lack of motivation, but also for cooperation within the House itself (Mooney, 2009). A lame duck is defined as a politician holding political office that will not or cannot serve in the following term (Mooney, 2009). Some examples of a lame duck would include an incumbent who chooses to not run in a re-election campaign, or an incumbent who is imposed with a term limit and enters their final term (Mooney, 2009). “The greater knowledge and length of the lame-duck period make term limits’ theoretical implications clearer and its empirical manifestations more extensive” (Mooney, 2009, p. 210). Lame ducks typically are less likely to start new initiatives or participate in debates for bills that won’t come to a vote in time for them to make a vote on it. Once they do leave, the impact of turnover for their vacated office could also have negative impacts on the legislature as a whole (Mooney, 2009). Depending on who comes in, it’s hard to say how much time it will

TERM LIMITS

take for them and their staff to come up to speed on what is on the floor or being debated within the chambers. Furthermore, it would be necessary to stagger an implementation of such a change so as to not vacate all of the long-standing members who serve as mentors for the newcomers (Mooney, 2009). The main issue with lame duck politicians is that some elected officials who enter their lame duck term no longer feel it is necessary to work for their constituents once they announce they are leaving, since there is no longer a chance to be re-elected (Mooney, 2009). When thinking of the big picture in the Senate, that means that a portion of the 1/3 of the delegation up for election every two years will be in their lame duck period. With only 100 senators to vote, that could mean that approximately 10% would be unmotivated to act due to term limits. A counterargument would be that the response to lame duck periods is dependent upon the person. Some lame duck Senators could be so inclined to quickly push anything and everything through their vote while they still can. They could also begin to work with their replacement to bring them onboard early, especially if they are acquaintances from the same party. This can potentially build the mentorship culture within the Senate, and keep it alive should mandatory term limits be implemented.

Another point made by Mooney, is the impact the aging population of the Senate can have when coupled with term limits. In today's work environment, older elected officials are seen as long-term members and are expected to mentor younger members in the ways of Congress. These "long-time members might be instrumental in passing on norms and knowledge to younger members, so their absence could weaken a legislature (Moncrief and Thompson 2001; Carey et al. 2006), reduce its congeniality and bipartisanship (Rosenthal 1998, 2004), and result in less-informed public policy (Kousser 2005), among other implications of a variety of theories" (Mooney, 2009, p. 210). Thus, term limits pose a serious potential threat to the

TERM LIMITS

established culture of the Senate. This factor plays deeply into the organizational culture as Shein (1990) discusses the need for training and development of a workforce as it makes sense through their structure of their culture. Should term limits be imposed, there will need to be an evaluation done on onboarding and training for newly elected officials. This is something that has been done recently at the local level as term limits have been defined. While there is no denying a potential shift in the culture of Congress through the implementation of term limits, other negative effects caused by long standing incumbency could be remediated through term limits. For example, should term limits be imposed, there will need to be an evaluation done on the onboarding process and training for newly elected officials. This will limit the need for career politicians to handhold younger, newly elected congressman. Another counter argument to this point is that newly elected Senators have the potential to increase bi-partisan efforts, as they would likely be more focused on the public policy needs of their constituents if they were to be limited to a set number of terms.

The final effect is turnover. Turnover is explained by Mooney (2009) as having “implications for theories about institutional resources and power, new member socialization, and other aspects of legislator interaction (Shin and Jackson 1979; Niemi and Winsky 1987; Opheim 1994)” (Mooney, 2009, p. 210). Turnover is something that should be considered upon implementation, but it is not a reason to fail to implement. Turnover happens every election regardless of whether there are term limits or not, especially in swing states and purple districts where the leadership could change from term to term. The Constitution of the United States also helps to limit to impact of turnover by staggering the elections throughout the Senate (U.S. Const. article I, 1788). The Constitution has 1/3 of Senators campaigning for re-election every two years, which is a benefit to their longer terms. It is because of these longer terms that make

TERM LIMITS

the Senate chamber of Congress the most realistic and practical for term limits, over the House of Representatives whose terms are only two short years.

There is an additional perspective to term limits, and it is focused on the fact that sometimes the electorate gets it right the first time. A represented population may be very pleased with the results a Senator or election official may be bringing to their community and would not want to elect a new person to break that positive impact. It can be “argued that electoral competition frequently forces elected officials to enact policies consistent with public opinion” (Burstein, 2002, p. 386). In this sense, the incumbent may be even more inclined to continue to do good in their community because they are motivated by the potential competition. Which is why some incumbents continue to win, as they consistently demonstrate positive impacts in their community. Imposing term limits in this case could have a negative impact on the community, as the competition may not be willing to work as hard as the incumbent. The real losers in this instance would be the community that is benefiting most from a leader that is working hard and effectively to help the electorate they serve.

Carey, et. al., (2006) found further evidence that there could be negative effects of term limits within their research. First, that “[m]ajority party leaders suffer losses in influence at the expense of governors and possibly of legislative staffers” (Carey, 2006, p. 295). This is a nod to the administration turnover of the office when a new Senator is elected, and would be more common should term limits be mandated. While for this analysis it was established that the focus would remain on the structure of the Senate floor and not individual offices, it’s important to note the impact that term limits would have on the continuity of services within the office of the Senate. Second, Carey notes that:

TERM LIMITS

No term limit proponents that we are aware of have explicitly argued that weakening the political influence of elected lawmakers is a goal of the reforms, but even at this early stage, the institutional impact of term limits appears to be in this direction. (Carey, 2006, p.295)

This argument mirrors that of Mooney's in the sense that a consequence of term limits is to impact the culture of the Senate as an institution. A counter argument to this, however, is that perhaps a shake-up is what the County needs. Further, the impact of term limits on culture is stunted through the staggered elections as previously noted. Understanding the intent behind a staggered election cycle and interpreting it in the current political spectrum may prove it to in fact strengthen the Senate as a whole should the Country move forward with mandated term limits for Senators.

With the culmination of these works to consider as a whole, it is clear that there are strong arguments against implementing term limits at the federal or state level. They are convincing in their points and make a clear argument for why it's not a good idea. That being said, change does take time and effort to implement and is not often accepted by all at the start. Nelson Polsby further supports Mooney in his work, *Some Arguments Against Term Limits* (1993). Polsby argues four main points that highlight key arguments in Mooney's work: (1) unconstitutionality, (2) violate political strategy, (3) faulty supportive principals, and they (4) constrict candidate options (1993). If anything, these arguments provide additional evidence to Mooney's point that an implementation plan is necessary to stagger the impact across the nation if imposed. However, much of the evidence cited in both works have notable counter arguments in published work promoting term limits.

Counter Evidence Conclusions

TERM LIMITS

To circle back to the research question, the counter evidence published in literature suggest two primary impacts to the benefits of imposing term limits: (1) changing internal cultural structure of the Senate, and (2) turnover. While these are definitely arguments as to why term limits would not benefit sitting Senators, there is not enough evidence to demonstrate term limits negatively impacting the electorate which is the focus of this study. Internal changes to the dynamic and power struggle within the Senate has the potential to slow productivity, but it also has the potential to increase focus on what is most important – serving their constituents. Which is a clear benefit to the electorate. With respect to turnover rates, the Senate is a perfect sector of government to analyze for term limits because they have the longest elected term of the executive and legislative branch of federal government. Therefore, turnover is not as big of an issue as it may be if there terms were two or four years like other elected officials in these branches. The longer terms benefit the electorate because it ensures they are voting in individuals who are have enough time to get done what needs to be during a single term, let alone two.

Literature Review Conclusions

Based on the current literature available for and against term limits, it's evident that there is a need for a deep investigation in how term limits would work on the federal scale, and how successful legislators are when limiting themselves. It is evident that the majority of research was completed in the 1990's as well. This was in part due to a lawsuit that was taking place regarding the constitutionality of implementing mandatory term limits in state legislators. Despite the relevance at the time, it's interesting that there has been little to no updated evaluation aside from that of a select few in the early 2000's. It's likely that once the early 2000's and the age of information took off within our culture, a focus shifted to archived data being a sole source for this type of information due to the accessibility increase to elected

TERM LIMITS

officials in real time. Further, with direct access increasing, internal policies were formed and new positions were created to help curate each Senator's image and message through social media and press outreach. Within the U.S. Senate website, a notice is published that reads:

“All questions and comments regarding public policy issues, legislation, or requests for personal assistance should be directed to the senators from your state. Please be aware that as a matter of professional courtesy, many senators will acknowledge, but not respond to, a message from another senator's constituent.” (United States Senate, Contacting U.S. Senators)

This verbiage makes it clear that an internal policy has been made that limits the interaction between a sitting Senator and anyone who is not a constituent. Thus, making research such as like more difficult and increasing the divide between elected officials and citizens looking to learn more. However, it is important to continue to try to reach out and peel back the red tape to find fresh and relevant data on the topic of term limits and others. It is my hope that this research design will serve to fill the void currently felt in this area of study and to contribute new and important information on the implementation of term limits.

As the decision to impose term limits continues to be argued at the federal level, it is crucial to study the implementation of a term limit policy for these elected officials. Results of these studies will help to identify whether term limits in the Senate would be successful in fostering a new culture and fresh perspective to benefit the electorate nationally. One recommendation would be for the increase in case studies in these jurisdictions to advance the data on term limits over time.

It is important to note that implementation of any new policy takes time and it takes development in areas that are affected by the policy change. For term limits specifically,

TERM LIMITS

Congress should start to focus on the benefits and challenges from the state legislatures that have implemented these types of term limit policies. Lessons learned from these states can help to develop a policy that will work best at the national level, and will assist in bypassing major challenges the states may have encountered during their implementation. Further, it will help foster development to a policy so that best practices can be established in the future.

Additionally, polling and interviews should be conducted regarding whether or not a constitutional amendment is supported by those currently in Congress. Similar quantitative analysis should also be done at the state level in order to capture the feedback from who may be interested in running for Senate in the future.

Despite potential pitfalls, and based on research, the benefits of implementing term limits will far out-weigh the negatives regarding the quality of leadership. The goal of imposing term limits is often thought of by legislators to weaken their political influence (Carey, 2006), but this is simply not true. It is evident through findings within this literature review that imposing term limits will enhance the level of accountability the electorate is able to place on their elected officials. It will also clear that term limits will help to sharpen the focus of elected officials' on getting things done, and less on pork roll and networking for campaign support and funding. Further, it is shown through previous study reviewed within existing literature that term limits will increase the diversity and demographics of the Senate to better reflect the populations Senators are representing. This in turn will improve the response to govern for the needs of minority populations that have historically been underserved. And finally, it's been made clear that term limits will dismantle the current organizational culture that places a greater importance on party superiority than it does on getting work done and passing beneficial legislation. In sum, additional and more current research is necessary to continue the evaluation of the necessity of

TERM LIMITS

term limits despite having substantial evidence of their benefits. Studies such as this, can only aid in the progression of their implementation.

Chapter Three: Methods and Analysis

Hypothesis

To reiterate, the question this study aimed to answer was, is it more beneficial for the electorate to have United States Senators with imposed term limits represent them, than to have Senators that run and serve an unset number of terms represent them?

Term limits have historically carried a negative connotation relative to their implementation at the federal level. It is hypothesized that the data collected through this study will demonstrate a benefit to the electorate and improve representative demographics. Further, it is predicted that the institution of Congress as a whole will be positively influenced should term limits be imposed. Through this analysis it will be clear that while there are limitations and significant considerations to staffing amid transitions of power, the imposition of term limits to federally elected Senators is more beneficial for the future electorate of the United States.

Procedures

Process and Timeline

Before any data collection began, a submission to the IRB for the Protection of Human Subjects needed to be approved by West Chester University of Pennsylvania (West Chester University, 2022). The goal was initially for the IRB to be submitted by May of 2022 and approved by August of 2022, however this timeline was pushed back to accommodate for the election in November of 2022. Therefore, the IRB was submitted in February of 2023, once new members took office, and was approved in March of 2023. Initially, the plan was to complete and send out interview and survey requests by January of 2023, however with a delayed IRB approval this too was pushed back. The final IRB submission was approved on February 3, 2023, and outreach was able to begin.

TERM LIMITS

Initial outreach to Senators and staff began on February 7, 2023, via each individual Senator's communication request forms accessible through their respective websites. Initial outreach efforts concluded on February 26, 2023, after visiting all 100 websites and filling out the forms necessary to request either a survey response or interview. The time it took for the initial outreach was longer than anticipated because of the lack of public information on the U.S. Senate's official website. For most other offices, including all members of the House of Representatives, direct emails are provided for staff or communication directors, but not for the Senate. Therefore, the only way to contact the Senator's office was through phone or form submission on their respective websites, which could only be accessed one by one and each website needed to be navigated for their contact information. There were five Senators that did not have a contact request form on their website, but rather had their email posted to their website instead. The Senators who received an email directly were Senator Angus King (I-ME), Senator Rand Paul (R-KY), Senator Eric Schmitt (R-MO), Senator Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH) and Senator Tina Smith (D-MN).

It was anticipated for the survey and interview outreach to be sent separately, as there were specific Senators that were being pinpointed for interviews so that certain demographics were included in the interviewees. In particular, the goal was to source data from both male and female Senator's, representing both republican and democrat, who were considered senior and junior Senators, and Senators of varying races and ethnicities. However, upon starting the outreach for responses, it was immediately made clear that responses would be few and far between for surveys. This was for a number of reasons, including a lack of initial replies back to requests for contact, but ultimately it was decided that the remaining Senators would all be contacted for interviews as opposed to surveys in an attempt to not only increase response rate,

TERM LIMITS

but to promote participation as well. Approval for both primary sources, interviews and survey, were approved in the IRB that was submitted. A copy of the sample outreach is included as Appendix I, and a copy of the approved IRB is attached as Appendix II, for reference.

After the initial outreach, a secondary outreach was made via telephone to all Senators who did not respond to the first inquiry. A total of 74 calls were made to the Senator's offices, beginning on March 16, 2023, and concluding on March 26, 2023. All of the secondary outreach effort calls resulted in voicemails as not one Senatorial office answered the call. It is important to note this to demonstrate the difficulty in not only gaining participation in this study, but to get in contact with someone within their offices to speak with them about the research and outreach effort. Following an effort to follow up with the Senators offices via telephone, the focus shifted to only following up with those offices that replied with a *maybe* response to try to schedule participation through an interview. Ultimately, not a single Senator was willing to participate in an on-record interview to be included in this study.

In addition to attempting to obtain primary data through surveys and interviews, secondary data was collected through the literature review and historical references as well. These secondary data sources did not require IRB approval to complete and therefore the collection of this information was on a rolling basis in order to complete the study. With this in mind, the literature review was scheduled to be completed by October 2023, however new information has been continuously added throughout November of 2023 in order to encapsulate as much recent data as possible before submitting this study for publication. Historical references were targeted to be completed around the same time for the same purpose, and was completed by October 2023.

Research Process

TERM LIMITS

With the combination of information from published literature on term limits and historical data serving as secondary data, a closer look is necessary for primary data sources that were meant to be included within this study. Specifically, elite interviewing, accountability and the transparency of public officials as well as the importance of qualitative methods.

Elite Interviewing, Accountability, and Transparency

David Richards examines the advantages and the problems of elite interviewing in his analysis, *Elite Interviewing: Approaches and Pitfalls*. There are five main advantages to elite interviewing: (1) “they can help in interpreting documents” (Richards, 1996, p.200), (2) they can identify “personalities involved in the relevant decisions” (Richards, 1996, p.200), (3) “they can provide information not recorded elsewhere, or not yet available” (Richards, 1996, p.200), (4) “they can help establish networks” (Richards, 1996, p.200), and (5) “they can help you to understand context, [...] tone, [...] and atmosphere, of the area you are researching” (Richards, 1996, p.200). Further, Richards outlines four main problems with elite interviewing: (1) accessibility, (2) “reliability” (Richards, 1996, p.201), (3) consistency in responses, (4) “too differential” responses (Richards, 1996, p.201).

The advantages of elite interviewing for term limits would have been beneficial to this study in particular. To Richards’ first point, interview with Senator’s would have helped to determine perceptions of term limit implementation in the current 118th Senate. Further, it could have helped to identify which Senators will and will not vote for such a resolution or bill should it go to the floor for a vote. Most importantly, the information collected through multiple elite interviews could have helped to identify the likelihood of term limits being implemented. Combined data collected through multiple elite interviews with Senator’s from both sides of the aisle, representing diverse regions of the country, and personally identifying across a multitude

TERM LIMITS

of demographic points, would have added further validity to interviews as well. It would have not only provided a deeper contextual reference for term limits, but would have also aided in expanding the network for future communications as well.

Gaining access to elites, or Senator's in this case, is a challenge. It can be a complex process and [...] depends a great deal on serendipity, social networks as well as particular circumstances (McDowell 1998, 2135). However, the location and length of interviews can also affect one's success in gaining access (Demeritt and Dyer 2002; Elwood and Martin 2000). Researchers should attempt to pursue as many different avenues as possible in a polite, yet persistent and opportunistic manner (Yeung1995). (Harvey, 2010, p.196)

Even if a good response rate for interviews and surveys is found through data collection, there is still the issue of reliability to manage. Maintaining consistent and clear communication with the Senators and their staff was essential to ensuring that survey responses were returned and interviews were completed in a timely manner. However, without an initial correspondence, not much else can be done to ensure participation rates. With initial correspondence, and to Richard's point in ensuring consistency in elite interviewee's answers, it is crucially important that a *yes* response to participate remains a *yes* response, let alone ensuring responses during an interview are clear and truly answer the questions being asked.

Methods

“Interviewing does have severe limitations however, which means they cannot be relied upon as the sole methodology” (Lillieker, 2003, p.208). Because of this and the aforementioned pitfalls of elite interviewing, it's important to not only collect primary, qualitative data, but also to collect historical, secondary data through a literature review and secondary data through

TERM LIMITS

current event articles on the current status of bills concerning term limit legislation being considered by the 118th senate class. The “data collected must be reinforced by other forms of empirical data or must be based upon a broad sample of interviews” (Lillieker, 2003, p.208). Adding secondary data sources to compliment the primary sources will not only save time and add validity to arguments supported in primary, qualitative sources, but will expand the scope of the sample size beyond what time allows and resources allow for (White, 2010).

The analysis of the primary data is primarily qualitative, whereas secondary sources were analyzed through a mixed method approach. Much of the records indicating Senator’s potential vote on term limits were pulled were analyzed quantitatively, whereas the contents covered in the historical literature review have a qualitative application. A qualitative method is primarily applied throughout this study due to the nature of the research topic. It’s equally important to learn the perspective of the current Congressional class to determine the likelihood of implementation in the near future, while understanding that voting on the topic will change as the Senators are voted in and out of office. Further, it is important to incorporate diverse references to demonstrate that this concept is not one that is new to members of congress, nor one that has been considered lightly in the past. Moreso it is anticipated that by utilizing multiple approaches and references it will help to prove that despite having a negative connotation with senior Senate members, term limits should be considered more seriously for the future. The political environment is changing and evidence found through this study may provide enough support to encourage congress members to reconsider previous dissenting opinions against term limits.

Establishing the foundation for the research through a literature review and historical resources was ultimately step one in the research approach. These secondary sources provided supporting data as to which Senators have been closely tied with previous term limit amendment

TERM LIMITS

attempts specifically over the past few years. Senator Ted Cruz, for example. The sources that were considered for historical references included news articles, personal testimony on websites for elected officials, social media pages, and recorded interviews from media outlets, in addition to published work in academia. These sources were meant to provide a well-rounded data pool to support the primary data that was going to be collected through the research design (Vartanian, 2010). This data was intended to undergo a mixed analysis of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. A qualitative data analysis was completed on prior term limit amendments introduced in the Senate, and on all other testimonial and interview information collected through historical references. A quantitative approach would have been applied to the interview and survey responses received by Senators to evaluate the probability of such an amendment passing a vote in the Senate this session. Qualitative analysis was an appropriate method for to answer the research question because it would have helped to determine if representation by term limited elected officials was more beneficial to the electorate. Further, quantitative analysis would have been the most appropriate method in determining whether or not the implementation of term limits in the Senate was even possible based on prior support for similar amendments and what the current pulse of the Senate is regarding this vote.

The primary data that was anticipated to be included was primarily from interviews and survey responses from as many senate office holders as possible, who have held office as of January 2023. It was anticipated that data could be included from interviews conducted on between two to four members of the Senate. The hope was for half of the interviewees to represent each party equally and each side of the issue equally. Ideally, one to two would have had self-imposed term limits and the other half would have not. Unfortunately, there are very few if any current sitting Senator's that have publicly committed themselves to term limits for

TERM LIMITS

political reasons. For example, Senator Ron Johnson (R-WI) had pledged himself to run for only two terms, but has since broken that pledge due to his belief that the nation is in too much trouble for another candidate to take his seat (Hunt, 2023). The purpose of this approach was to collect information from both sides of the argument so that the data collected through this study may be as fair and balanced as possible (Boyce, 2006). In the end, the analysis of the information gathered would be much more rounded should information be collected from every angle.

The interviews were planned to be brief in order to be respectful of the time that the participating elected officials were giving to the study (Boyce, 2006). Questions were designed to be straightforward and focus on each Senator's individual experiences and thoughts on the implementation of term limits should they be imposed. Further, for any participant willing to give an interview, they would have been sent the questions in advance in order to be prepared and have adequate notice of the conversation topic and direction of the conversation (McGrath, 2019). The goal for each interview was to address eight questions to succinctly capture all pertinent information, while again, respecting the time of the Senator's willing to participate. The questions that were prepared to be sent in advance include the following:

1. What is your viewpoint on imposing term limits in the Senate?
2. What is your definition of term limits?
3. How have you embodied this viewpoint during your time in office?
4. How long have you held this viewpoint and was there a turning point in your viewpoint?
5. Would you encourage other Senator's to take the same viewpoint?
6. How do you feel term limits, or the lack thereof, impact representation in the Senate?

TERM LIMITS

7. How do you feel term limits, or the lack thereof, impact the quality of representation to your constituents?
8. Do you believe that term limits should be implemented in the future?

As previously stated, the primary source data collected throughout these interviews were going to have a focus through qualitative analysis. The qualitative data was not compiled using data analysis software but rather was compiled independently through a Microsoft Office Excel spreadsheet to track outreach efforts, responses and schedule. The sample size was manageable enough to handle independently and was all in all the best way to approach analysis and tracking on this data set. Additionally, for the data collected through the interviews, the software program Zoom was planned to be utilized along with the dictation feature included in the software. Using the dictation would the enabled the conversation for interviews to flow more freely and remain focused on the questions and topic at hand. It will also save time to focus more on the data analysis than transcribing interviews, which can take a lot of time.

The survey questions that were going to be sent to Senate offices were similarly brief and focused on individual opinions on the possible imposition of term limits (Boyce, 2006). This survey was meant to afford all current Senators as off January a chance to voice the viewpoints term limits. The purpose of this survey was to get a real point in time snapshot of what members who are a part of the current Senatorial class think about implementing term limits. This point in time data grab will determine whether or not a bill could be passed through the senate if brought to the floor as it is anticipated in 2023. Further, it will show whether the perception of term limits is changing among those sitting in office from a negative connotation, to one that is more positive. If the perception of the utility of term limits is changing within the Senate, then it can

TERM LIMITS

be concluded that the perception of term limits could be changing amongst their constituents as well. Poll questions were going to include the following five questions:

1. What is your definition of term limits?
2. How many terms have you served in your current office and how many do you plan to serve?
3. Have you thought about self-imposing term limits and if so, why?
4. Do you find there is a difference working with Senators who have imposed term limits on themselves, compared to those who haven't, and if so, what are those differences?
5. If a bill to impose term limits on the Senate were to come to a vote on the Senate floor this session, how would you vote?

Similar to the analysis of the interview driven primary data, the data collected throughout the poll will have a focus on a qualitative analysis. The qualitative data that was analyzed in the survey data set was also compiled independently, and data analysis software was not utilized for Senator responses to these questions either. A software program, Survey Monkey, was planned to be utilized to disseminate the questions to those offices that were willing to participate in the survey. Similar to the interview data, this set of responses is manageable enough in its' size so that software will not be needed to handle the analysis. Eliminating the need for primary data collection software will also eliminate the requirement of a budget for the sample collection. Once a Senator had indicated they would participate in the survey, there would have been ample time, up to four weeks, for the survey to be returned back. It would have then been processed in real time as the responses came back via the Survey Monkey program. Processing responses on a rolling basis was intended to allow for a smoother process for analysis in order to streamline

TERM LIMITS

the data once it has all been returned. After four weeks, responses would have not been allowed to be submitted and a return rate would have been evaluated at that time.

The goal was for the data to be robust and diverse enough to be a beneficial comparison between the data collected through the survey and the interviews, against the historical data pulled for the literature review. The combination of both qualitative and quantitative data was meant to help to determine the efficiency of term limits based on Senators' perception of their potential implementation. Especially, the relevant historical information that was collected and examined through the literature review. In being able to compare how term limits have been implemented in other sectors of public service, it will help to determine if there is a correlation between successful or unsuccessful durations in public service. This data comparison could help determine if a movement to impose term limits in the Senate will have a positive impact on senatorial terms and representation as a whole. It is beneficial to add depth to the research collection by adding a historical aspect to the qualitative data collection process as well. This historical analysis will be specifically aimed at previous votes cast on the Senate floor when term limits have come to a vote in the past. Looking at this historical data will draw yet another comparison to draw on the progression of perception of term limits within the Senate over time.

Data

Data Collection Approach

There are a few key components to the data collection that were important to identify. The first was time. In order to increase the response rate for the survey, inquire to schedule interviews and to conduct the actual interviews themselves, it was crucial to ensure the ease of participation and access to the questionnaires (Dillman, 2011). Having a simple and clear platform, like Zoom and Survey Monkey, was necessary to ensure that the appointed staffer or

TERM LIMITS

elected official did not have to download any new software to participate and allowed for the greatest level of participation possible due to the program's universal use. These are two very common data collection and business tools used in the normal function of office work, particularly following the COVID-19 pandemic when much work was pushed towards a digital platform. It was not foreseeable that any office or Senator who was willing to participate in the data collection process would have had encountered a roadblock using these programs. Further, these programs would have helped to save time and expenses for traveling to conduct in-person interviews, being that the central location for all 100 Senators is in Washington, D.C. and the analysis and study is being conducted in Pennsylvania through West Chester University. Further, the goal was for participants to have quick, easy access and clear, direct instructions. Answers to the survey should have been brief, and no more than five questions would have been asked.

There were other considerations for data collection in addition to time, including managing bias and ethical considerations. Managing bias was not a problem as the subject of term limits is not an issue that has a specific party affiliation. For example, there are members of both political parties that chose to participate in self-imposed term limits. That being said, great care was taken to ensure that the participating Senators would have been equally represented by both parties, from varying states, and not just in one region or coast. Next was to address ethical considerations. There was a great need to ensure the research was all ethically collected and analyzed (Weimer, 1999). Therefore, it was acknowledged and understood to not accept gifts or bribes and to relay all information truthfully and honestly. These considerations were upheld as the data collection and subsequent analysis was completed. Another piece of managing the ethical collection of data was to include executed informed consent forms for all participants in this study, herein attached as Appendix II.

TERM LIMITS

The combination of present and past data was meant to provide a well-rounded sum of information to base conclusions from. The combination of information sources and methods was intended to further the validity of the research and support the outcomes from the data. The sample for this collection approach was defined as those individuals who are currently serving in the Senate. Going directly to the federally elected Senators was an effort to promote transparency within the research process and to provide further validity to the process and conclusions of this study.

Data Analysis

Organizational Theory

Traditionally, application of organizational theory is twofold. First it has been applied as an “intermediary for accomplishing goals and objectives” (Scott, 1961, p.88). This is where key terms will be utilized as part of the definition as to what accomplishing goals and objectives looks like relative to representatives’ benefit while in office. Second, it has been applied as a “mechanism having the ultimate aim of offsetting those forces which undermine human collaboration” (Scott, 1961, p. 88.). A main point of human collaboration in this application is the impact to the Senator’s collaboration when new members rotate into positions. This is a major application to see how success is impacted as well with self-imposed Senators as they turn over to representatives who may choose to not self-impose a term limit during their time in office. Regardless of which of the two applications of traditional organizational theory is being applied to the data, it’s evident through this analysis that the implementation is appropriate.

The last piece of the puzzle was to associate the data that was collected and analyzed through the aforementioned methods to the underlying theory, organizational theory. This was meant to be achieved in a number of ways. The first was through the literature review that

TERM LIMITS

established what had already been published on the subject. The second was intended to be through the analysis of primary data, which was supposed to be explored more through recommendations to implement term limits as well. This is appropriate because as the information outlined throughout the literature review dictates, there is a solid foundation of information already published on the topic of the benefits and detriments of term limits. When applying that information to the research question in an effort to analyze the benefits of term limited elected officials on the electorate, applying this theory will help to better support the argument of this study.

Theoretical Framework

As previously noted, the framework for which this study planned to move forward through data collection methods was primarily interpretive. While interviews and observation of currently serving and recently served representatives may demonstrate some of the research characteristics of positivism, the analysis of the data was examined through the lens of interpretivism. Interpretivism is different from positivism in that it is focused on perpetuating new indicators for determining if claims are accurate (Yanow, 2006).

This was achieved by focusing on “critiquing the positivist philosophies and ideas that inform the “pre-turn” practices of the social sciences, decrying their limitations and those of their associated methods” (Yanow, 2006, p. xii). This method, while not included as a qualitative method, is still part of human-interest studies and is heavily reliant on research. Research via interpretivism is focused on building on literature and research from past theorists to weave data together through the historical research of others. Within the interpretive framework, value is placed on understanding that “human activity is pattered” (Yanow, 2006, p. xvii) and trends should be identified. An advantage to this method is that researchers are able to stand on the

TERM LIMITS

shoulders of the work of others to build upon their analysis and develop theories based on research. Additionally, utilizing this framework allowed for collaboration with new interpretation designed to mold understanding as new data was found.

Specific to this study, the data collected through primary and secondary sources was measured in terms of the benefit Senator's gave to the electorate that they are voted in to serve. The measure of benefit was a combination of what has been achieved over time in their tenure as well as human activity, which is innate to the interpretive framework of research. In this particular study, there was little science to the interpretation of a benefit to the electorate and therefore the conclusions of the research could not possibly be gathered through the positivist framework. The characteristics of positivism that may be present during the interview process may include, "objectivity, rationality, neutrality and truth" (Major, 2010, p.19). These are guiding characteristics of any professional interview, as bias should not, and did not, play a role in the data collection or review of the information being collected through this method.

Scott makes an argument for this framework in his analysis of traditional applications of organizational theory when he states, "organization theory [...] gathers the grounds for management activities in a various number of crucial areas of business endeavor[s] [...], [though it] is not a homogeneous science based on generally accepted principles" (Scott, 1961, p.88). In this assessment, it is evident that the science of behavior is not a focus of the analysis with respect to this theory, but rather the activities of their behavior are relied upon to make determinations of trends or patterns that may be evident. This is classic interpretivism, and further demonstrates that the appropriate framework for study should in fact be interpretive.

The use of this theoretical framework led to the need to address theory generation. "Different theories of organization have been, are being evolved and continued to be evolving"

TERM LIMITS

(Scott, 1961, p.88). Due to this long-standing history and the development of this theory over time, it will need to be applied to the data in two parts: traditional and modern. These segmented applications were applied separately and specifically to the relevant information collected. That is, the information of historical significance in the literature review, and new information gathered through primary source data collection via the survey and interviews, respectively. The case studies were analyzed through traditional theory, as they would have had more relevance to the application through that perspective. Whereas the newly produced primary data that was planned to be collected through interviews would have had more relevance to the modern application of organizational theory.

Further, “classical organization theory is based on four key pillars. They include division of labor, the scalar and functional processes, structure, and span of control” (Önday, 2016, p. 90). For this analysis, span of control was the pillar centrally focused on as the area of organizational theory that was most impacted through the implementation of term limits. Span of control is often times related to organizational performance, but it can additionally be tailored to analyze individual performance. “At the departmental level, the measure of supervisory manpower is expressed as the span of control. [...] The span of control is ordinarily regarded as a measure of limited hierarchical authority exercised by a single manager” (Ouchi, 1974, p. 362).

Results of Outreach

Once the initial outreach concluded on February 26, 2023, there were only 26 Senator offices that responded to the inquiry, or 26% of the recipient pool. Following the second outreach, which concluded on March 26, 2023, only an additional six Senator’s responded, bringing the grand total for response rate to 32%. Of the 32% that did respond back, there were two who replied that they may be interested if given more information, 30 who said they would

TERM LIMITS

not be participating in the research. Overwhelmingly, the vast majority of the pool was unresponsive, while no one said they would participate on record.

Of the two who replied *maybe*, one office was sent the interview questions and then stopped responding, and the other required a privacy form to be signed before speaking about term limits. One office that said no, originally said yes, but then required that the conversation be off-record and with a representative from the Senator's office, but not the Senator himself. The remaining *no* responses broke down into three primary reasons; (1) they were too busy, (2) they said they couldn't participate with no further reason given, and (3) that they would only speak with individuals from their own states. There were nine responses that said *no*, without reason, just that they could not speak on the topic. There were nine *no* responses due to the inquiry being from out of their state and not a part of their constituency. These responses made it clear that the Senator would only speak with individuals from their respective states. Then there were ten Senators whose staff replied back that they were *too busy* to participate and couldn't make time in their schedules for months. What was interesting about these responses was that the date was flexible for responses and the date was specifically un-set to avoid this type of response. The final *no* response indicated that their particular office had a policy against speaking with anyone who is doing data collection, regardless of the reason. These responses from all outreaches are shown in Figure 5 below.

TERM LIMITS

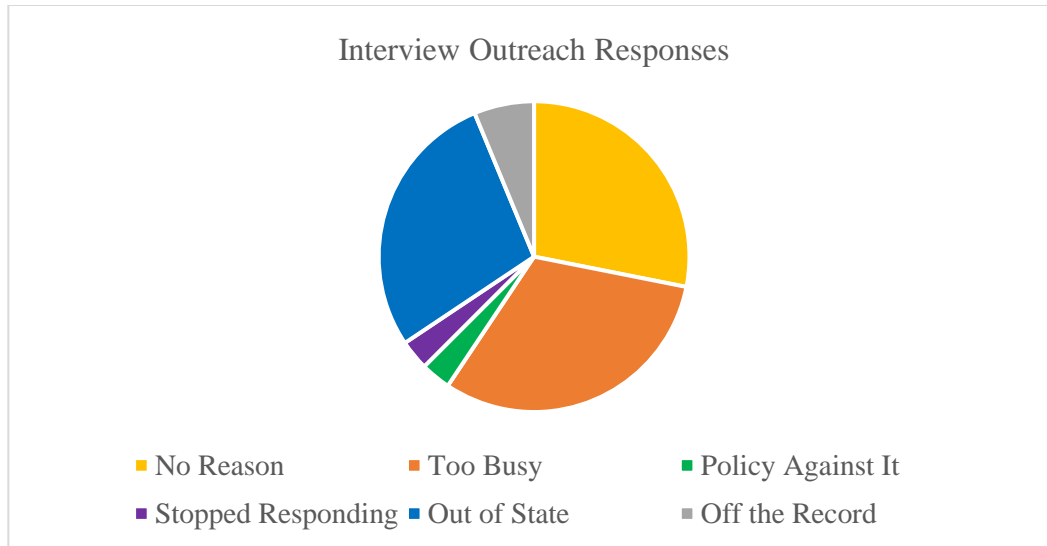


Figure 5. Interview Outreach Responses

Following May 2023, there were no additional responses received from any Senatorial office to inquiries for participation in the survey or the interviews. Thus, the results of outreach were not only shocking, but also incredibly disheartening. No additional primary data from surveys or interviews were collected for this analysis. However, there is data that can be gleaned from the lack of feedback from Senator's as there would be had they responded and participated more positively.

Despite a failed effort to conduct qualitative analysis through elite interviews with sitting Senators, determining if there is enough favor for a majority vote on the 118th senate floor is still possible. Most importantly, there are 17 co-sponsors of Senator Ted Cruz's joint senate resolution for term limits according to the official resolution record (S.J. Res. 2). Thus, it can be inferred that 18% of the Senate would likely vote *yes* in an official vote. It is also notable that all 18 members of the senate are from the republican party, though co-sponsors from the house demonstrate bi-partisan support. The co-sponsors of the resolution represent 13 different states, from all regions of the Country, which is notable as well. Additionally, there are three Senators

TERM LIMITS

who co-sponsored previous proposed term limit legislation, but not current legislation, who have spoken out publicly regarding their approval of such an implementation. Those are Senators Deb Fischer (R-Neb.), Ron Johnson (R-Wisc.), and Thom Tillis (R-N.C.), again all republicans. The addition of these Senators would mean there is a total of 21 votes in favor of term limits, which is 45 votes short of a 2/3 majority in this chamber. If the remaining 28 republicans in the Senate vote party line on this issue, that would mean there were 49 votes in favor, and another 18 votes would be needed from across the aisle. One democrat senator that is in favor, and has spoken publicly on his interest in a two-term limit on senators is Senator John Hickenlooper (D-Colorado) (U.S. Term Limits, 2019). His favorable vote would bring the count up to 50. Of course, this is all strictly speculation given that a voting record on this issue does not exist for the current, or past three senate classes.

Senator Cruz previously sponsored three other Joint Senate Resolutions aimed at imposing term limits. The first resolution was S.J. Res. 2 of the 115th Congress, and was introduced on January 3, 2017, where it died before going to a vote. The second was S.J. Res. 1 of the 116th Congress, and was introduced January 3, 2019, where again, it died before going to a vote. The third was S.J. Res 3 of the 117th Congress and was introduced on January 22, 2021, where it again, died before going to a vote. Thus, it can likely be predicted that S.J. Res 2 of the 118th Congress will again die before ever going to a vote, despite having 21% of the Senate as co-sponsors at one time or another.

Summary

A mixed method approach was in fact used for the data collected. Qualitative data was utilized through collecting information in the literature review and historical references. Quantitative data was attempted to be used throughout collecting primary data from the Senator

TERM LIMITS

directly, though was unable to be obtained being that there were zero Senators willing to participate in the study. Despite this, quantitative data and personal testimony was able to be utilized by collecting information on bill support and sponsorship from various sources, to determine if there was at least an obvious majority that would pass this amendment through Congress.

The research question is directly aligned with the data collected from this study because it was meant to discern if there is a benefit to the electorate in having elected officials in the Senate with term limits, as opposed to those represented by those Senators without term limits. This analysis does just that by taking a deeper dive into previously published literature on term limits, and combining it with current events and historical data to demonstrate their necessity.

Additionally, the mixed method approach adds validity and depth to the study, and despite have less information that anticipated for quantitative analysis, there still is some to use from the prior co-sponsors and those elected officials that have spoken out publicly either for or against the amendment for implementing term limits.

Chapter Four: Conclusion

Research Question Revisited

To reiterate, the question this study aimed to answer was, is it more beneficial for the electorate to have United States Senators with imposed term limits represent them, than to have Senators that run and serve an unmet number of terms represent them?

Throughout this analysis, term limits should be understood as defined as “a legal limit on the number of terms, or consecutive terms, that the holder of a particular office may serve” (Oxford, 2019). To answer this question further, the term *beneficial* needed to be defined. For purposes of this study, the term *beneficial* was not defined up front but was left to interpretation through what has been published and analyzed through the literature review. Through the literature review, it was clear that *beneficial* representation is different for everyone, but in sum it comes down to representative democracy that fits respective constituencies. While part of this research included a look at historical information through a literature review, another part was to make an attempt at collecting primary data through surveys and interviews. Though the collection of primary data through these measures were unsuccessful, it did raise other issues such as accountability, accessibility and culture in the Senate. Additionally, it was found that despite primary data collection, secondary data sources were able to identify a number of sentiments from Senator’s regarding term limits. While this was not as fruitful as potentially speaking with Senator’s directly it is informative in determining whether or not term limits, and Senator Cruz’s constitutional amendment, have the potentiality of passing through Congress in time.

The data collection process of this study most compliments the work of Scott in that it demonstrated the lack of participation that many Senators who have been elected for multiple

TERM LIMITS

terms engage in. Through their work, they make the point that freshman elected officials essentially have a stronger sense of duty to those they represent (Scott, 1961). This is clear in the response rate, as well as the lack of participation from the two Senators from Pennsylvania, despite one being in their freshman term. Additionally, this study compliments the work of Carey et. al. on a number of points. First, is the point that term limits forced elected officials to work more to benefit their electorate as they were held to a greater level of accountability (Carey, 2006). And second, this study further contributes to Carey, et. al.'s analysis that term limits "encourage legislators to weigh their perception of the collective good more heavily than the good of their district in making policy" (Carey, 2006, p. 295). Again, this accountability is crucial in ensuring participation in studies such as this and by the lack of participation from primary sources for this study it's evident that term limits would benefit the collective good, and not just their constituency. Though, ensuring their constituency is well served should still take precedence.

Research Limitations

There were many limitations to this study, including limitations from data collection, outreach issues, and response breakdown, but there are three key limitations essential to discuss. Those limitations are: limited participation from primary sources, primary source accessibility, and a lack of responsiveness from primary data sources.

Prior to completing the data collection, it was hypothesized that there was the potential for limited participation in the data poll and the interviews with Senators. Limited participation could occur for a number of reasons. The first is the potential for the timing of the inquiry to be inconvenient being that it was right after new officials took office following an election year. This is typically a very busy time for many employees in Senate offices as they are starting their

TERM LIMITS

first session and catching up on bills being considered for the floor. Because of the busy season, it is possible that outreach can get lost in the shuffle of other emails and overlooked. Further, it may just not be urgent enough to warrant a response. Leading to the second reason, the lack of importance the correspondence could be to a busy and overwhelmed Senator at the start of a new session, and given everything else going on in their offices. The third is that there is a lack of time available for the members of Congress to give to their participation. Despite efforts to keep the interview brief and the survey short, it is possible that Senator's and their staff will feel that it will take up too much time to participate. These three issues were all of concern prior to the initial outreach effort, and proved to be of correct concern as they all played a role in the outcome of responses.

Another limitation that came into play with data collection was the accessibility of contact information for outreach. As previously mentioned, outreach took an unusually long time due to the unavailability of information on the official Senate website, and due to the lengthy timeframe of a FOIA request it was not in the study's best interest to file one. All but five initial outreach requests were sent using the communication portals on each individual Senator's website. The five emails that were sent were only sent because those Senator's had them posted on their websites as opposed to completing the inquiry form. Not only was this more time consuming, but it also limited the potential for a response back being that it went into a general inquiry inbox likely maintained by an intern, as opposed to going to a direct staffer for an immediate response. A handful of these initial inquiries were responded back to with an auto-generated *thank you for reaching out* email, indicating the outreach had been received and that a response would come from someone in the office shortly. A number of these had no follow up outreach efforts from the Senate office. While it was easier to find the telephone information for

TERM LIMITS

the unresponsive 74 offices from the initial outreach, responses in return to phone calls were still limited. It's conceivable that the office bandwidth is equally to blame for the lack of return of phone inquiry as well, but could also be likely that Senator's not wanting to return any out of state outreach. Additionally, more offices could have off the record policies that were suggested by two other offices who did respond.

The final limitation is the 68 offices that failed to respond, the vast majority of the 118th Senate. One of which included Senator Ted Cruz. Aside from the reasons already covered as limitations, i.e. non-residents, requesting off the record conversation and being too busy, there is also the matter of topic avoidance to consider. In January of 2023, Senator Ted Cruz re-introduced an amendment to the United States Constitution to the Senate for the fourth time, attached within as Appendix III. Previously, this amendment had been brought to the Senate in 2017, 2019, and 2021 (Jacobs, 2021). Section 1 of the amendment is specific to the House of Representatives, limiting them to three terms (S.J. Res. 2). Section 3 is a grandfather clause excluding all terms beginning before the amendment's ratification from implementation (S.J. Res. 2). Section 2 limits the number of terms a Senator can serve to two terms (S.J. Res. 2). The introduction of this amendment could potentially be putting a taboo on the topic for Senator's to speak on, as they would be tipping the hand of their vote, which is why it should be considered a limitation to data collection.

It's important to acknowledge the lack of responsiveness as a limitation from Pennsylvania's two Senator's, especially considering this research study is based out of Pennsylvania. Senior Senator Robert Casey's office stated that the Senator would not be available for the interview after numerous back and forth correspondences with the scheduler for his office, but offered to have an off the record conversation with a staffer. Senator Casey was

TERM LIMITS

reportedly out on medical leave when the initial outreach had gone out, but returned to his office by the close of the response window in May of 2023. Unfortunately, without a signed informed consent form from him or anyone else in his office, an off the record conversation was not going to be helpful for this particular study. The Junior Senator John Fetterman, who is in his first term in the office of Senate, had only been in office for one month at the time of the initial outreach, and had unfortunately been checked into a health facility to be treated for clinical depression following his most recent stroke (Kapur, 2023). Thus, both Senator's from Pennsylvania were unavailable to participate in this study. The unfortunate aspect of this is that they were the two most likely to participate aside from Senator Ted Cruz. Not having them participate for their respective reasons is a huge limitation to the data development of this study.

Interpretation

The significance of this study is that it demonstrates a clear need of new policies and procedures when it comes to not only the communication and transparency of sitting Senators with the electorate, but also the need for term limits as it relates to the culture of Congress as an institution. At the beginning of the study, there was plenty of optimism at the opportunity to have an open dialogue on an issue that has been considered by Congress for many years. During the study, it was unfortunately evident that that dialogue was not going to progress through this study, but what has emerged is the evidence for accessibility and transparency. Furthermore, there are significant findings from previously published literature and historical references that make a strong argument for the implementation of term limits at the federal level, and the high likelihood of that implementation benefiting the electorate for the better. Thus, despite the data collection piece of this study not being a great success in the way it was intended to be, important information is still discernable through the results it yielded in the process.

TERM LIMITS

Internally, the validity of this study has demonstrated that it's important to keep moving forward with research despite hitting roadblocks. There are important lessons to be learned in failure. Specifically in regard to this study, those lessons include demonstrating a need to improve the modes and means of communication with elected officials. Externally, the validity of this study has helped to further expose the need, and potential success, for implementing term limits in the United States Senate. Particularly by demonstrating the possible benefit that their imposition could have on Senator constituencies.

Policy Recommendations & Future Research

There are both internal and external policies that are recommended from the results of this study. First, internal policy recommendations that can help to improve not only the operations of the Senate, but can help to increase the responses back to those who reach out. The first is to increase the level of accountability within the elected official's community to respond to not only their constituents, but to anyone who reaches out with inquiries. This will in turn help to increase transparency as well, which is a second policy recommendation. This can be attained by the constituents ensuring that their Senator is not only working with their best interests in mind independently, but that they are hearing those in the communities that they serve as to what they want. If a Senator votes against what is best for, or what their constituents want, they should be sure to voice their concerns. Further, constituents need to hold their elected officials to be accountable through the polling booth. If their Senator is not truly serving them, or the community that they live in, they need to vote them out. However, this is much harder than it sounds on the surface because of how much it takes to run for Senate. Not only is this difficult because of the amount of name recognition needed to run for as high an office as Senate, but it takes a large amount of funding. This funding is primarily sourced from fundraising, and often

TERM LIMITS

times is donated by Political Action Committees (PAC's). One of the ways that Senators are able to build up a large amount of funding is by developing relationships with PAC's and donors over time and while in office. Therefore, the longer a Senator is in office, the more established their funding sources are and the more difficult it is to get them out of office.

This leads well into another policy recommendations, which of course is the implementation of term limits in the Senate. Ironically, Senator Cruz's amendment if passed would impose a two-term limit for all Senator's voted into office once, or if, the amendment passes. This amendment is perfectly in line for Senatorial term limits being analyzed in this study. Senator Cruz's joint resolution has only been introduced in Senate, and is waiting for referral from the Senate Judiciary Committee for a vote on the Senate floor (S.J. Res. 2). It is a strong recommendation following this analysis for the Senate to vote in favor of Section 2 of this proposed Constitutional Amendment (S.J. Res. 2). If, however, as history has demonstrated this bill amendment dies before going to a vote, it may be best to have the change come from a different branch of the government to break the cycle and prevent any votes from being cast that may be a conflict of interest for sitting Senator's. An executive order would not be an option, since a constitutional amendment would need to come from Congress. Therefore the only additional option would be for the Supreme Court to rule on term limits at the federal level. In 1995, the Supreme Court ruled against the implementation of term limits at the state level in their decision of *U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Thornton* (U.S. Term Limits, 1995). This does not bode well for a potential ruling on the federal level, and further there would need to be a case to come forward, reviewed and selected for a hearing and subsequent ruling.

Another policy recommendation is focused on constituent relations. There is no official policy in the Senate Ethics Committee stating that Senators are not able to speak with non-

TERM LIMITS

constituents. In fact, there is a section of The Senate Code that states that a “[m]ember, officer, or employee participates in the event as a speaker or a panel participant, by presenting information related to Congress or matters before Congress, or by performing a ceremonial function appropriate to the Member’s, officer’s, or employee’s official position” (Select Committee on Ethics, The United States Senate, 114th Congress, p. 15). Therefore with a policy in place, it is a recommendation from this study that Senator’s fulfill their responsibilities to all citizens they represent, and those they don’t, by engaging in conversation and participation in interviews and studies such as this. By avoiding these topics and conversation, they are limiting accessibility and transparency of the Senate.

Aside from policy recommendations, there is future research that would also help to supplement this area of study. Primarily, research that would analyze the potential for a constitutional amendment for term limits to pass in Congress. At this point in time, there is a satisfactory amount of information on the benefits and arguments regarding term limits, but there isn’t much information on the possibility of passing it at the federal level. Additionally, research updating existing literature would be helpful as well as many of the sources published are from the early 2000’s. Publishing more up to date information on the benefits and detriments to this data would be helpful for the progress of term limit implementation and consideration from Congress.

Conclusions

Based on the information found through a literature review and historical sources, as well as the outcome of attempted data collection for this study, it’s evident that there are many reasons to impose term limits to members of the Senate. To revisit some key points, term limits

TERM LIMITS

have proven to increase diversity in representation and to keep candidates accountable for their actions and voting record while in office.

To help the future electorate benefit greater by their elected Senators, it's crucial to establish more safeguards to keep Senator's from becoming complacent career politicians. The Senate should not be a resting place for career politicians to collect additional pension contributions until they die. Change starts with the voters and voters must continue to hold Senators to a high standard in order to be sure that their interests are being well represented. Through this study, it has become clear that the subject of term limits is taboo amongst elected officials and that too much change. If elected officials are making themselves unavailable and making it difficult for studies to be conducted on this subject, it's hard to say if there will be or can be change since the decision is theirs to pass through a Constitutional amendment. Understandably, it's a decision in the sense that they would effectively been voting to fire themselves in due course. Regardless of how it is voted on, it's progress enough to remain a conversation within Congress and leaves much room for optimism in the future for both leaders, representatives and citizens being served.

Despite these potential pitfalls, the benefits of implementing term limits will far outweigh the negatives regarding the quality of leadership. For example, it will enhance the level of accountability the electorate is able to place on their elected officials. It will also help to sharpen the focus of elected officials' on getting things done, and less on pork and networking for campaign gain. Further, it will increase the diversity and demographics of the Senate to better reflect the populations Senators are representing and in turn better legislate for the needs of minority populations that may have historically been under served. And finally, it will dismantle

TERM LIMITS

the current organization culture that toxically places more importance on party majority than it does on getting work done and beneficial legislation passed.

As history has shown, the Senate is not likely to bring this specific amendment to a vote, which means it's not likely to pass any time soon. Further, even with party-line voting and a small bi-partisan margin, there aren't enough votes for a 2/3 majority vote in the Senate if it were to go to the floor. Additionally, the conflict of interest in having sitting Senator's vote on term limiting themselves make it even more unlikely that this amendment will pass on the floor. However, future Senate classes may be more proactive than those we've seen to date given that there is a significant amount of existing information to demonstrate the benefit of implementing term limits for the electorate.

References

- Allen, N., Magni, G., Searing, D., & Warncke, P. (2020). *What is a career politician? Theories, concepts, and measures*. *European Political Science Review*, 12(2), 199-217.
- Archibald, M. M., Ambagtsheer, R. C., Casey, M. G., & Lawless, M. (2019). *Using zoom videoconferencing for qualitative data collection: perceptions and experiences of researchers and participants*. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 18, 1609406919874596.
- Boyce, C., & Neale, P. (2006). *Conducting in-depth interviews: A guide for designing and conducting in-depth interviews for evaluation input*.
- Baturo, A. (2014). *Democracy, Dictatorship, and Term Limits*). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. (pp. 293- 320). Retrieved April 18, 2021, www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.4772634.17.
- Burstein, P., & Linton, A. (2002). *The Impact of Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Social Movement Organizations on Public Policy: Some Recent Evidence and Theoretical Concerns*. *Social Forces*, 81(2), 381-408. Retrieved April 25, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/3086476.
- Carey, J. M. (1998). *Term limits and legislative representation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Carey, J. M., Niemi, R. G., Powell, L. W., & Moncrief, G. F. (2006). *The effects of term limits on state legislatures: a new survey of the 50 states*. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 31(1), 105-134.
- Copeland, G. W. (1989). *Choosing to Run: Why House Members Seek Election to the Senate*. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 14(4), 549–565. <https://doi.org/10.2307/439958>

TERM LIMITS

DeSilver, Drew. *Voter Turnout Always Drops off for Midterm Elections, but Why?* Pew Research Center, 30 May 2020, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/07/24/voter-turnout-always-drops-off-for-midterm-elections-but-why/>.

Devotta, K., Woodhall-Melnik, J., Pedersen, C., Wendaferew, A., Dowbor, T. P., Guilcher, S. J., & Matheson, F. I. (2016). *Enriching qualitative research by engaging peer interviewers: A case study*. *Qualitative research*, 16(6), 661-680.

Dillman, D. A. (2011). *Mail and Internet surveys: The tailored design method--2007 Update with new Internet, visual, and mixed-mode guide*. *John Wiley & Sons*.

Hartman, Rachel & Brandon, Emily. (2023). What is the Average Retirement Age? US News. <https://money.usnews.com/money/retirement/aging/articles/what-is-the-averageretirementage#:~:text=Among%20those%20looking%20ahead%20to,of%2062%2C%20the%20survey%20found.>

Harvey, W. S. (2010). *Methodological approaches for interviewing elites*. *Geography Compass*, 4(3), 193-205.

History, Art & Archives United State House of Representatives. (2021, January 3). *Members with 40 Years or More House Service*. <https://history.house.gov/Institution/Seniority/40-Years/>.

Hox, J. J., & Boeije, H. R. (2005). *Data collection, primary versus secondary*. 593-599.

Hunt, Albert. (2023, April 30). *Term limits wouldn't clean up Congress – they could make things worse*. *The Hill*. Accessed most recently October 15, 2023. <https://thehill.com/opinion/campaign/3979677-term-limits-wouldnt-clean-up-congress-they-could-make-things-worse/>.

TERM LIMITS

- Jacobs, Emily. (2021, January 21). Sen. Ted Cruz reintroduces congressional term limit amendments. *New York Post*. Accessed most recently September 24, 2023. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/congress/sen-john-fetterman-checked-hospital-clinical-depression-rcna71087>.
- Kapur, Sahik, et al. (2023, February 16). Sen. John Fetterman has checked himself into the hospital for clinical depression. *NBC News*. Accessed most recently September 24, 2023. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/congress/sen-john-fetterman-checked-hospital-clinical-depression-rcna71087>.
- Lilleker, D. G. (2003). Interviewing the political elite: Navigating a potential minefield. *Politics*, 23(3), 207-214.
- Major, C. H., & Savin-Baden, M. (2010). *Qualitative research synthesis: the scholarship of integration in practice. New approaches to qualitative research* (pp. 3-34). Routledge.
- McGlynn, A., & Sylvester, D. (2010). *Assessing the Effects of Municipal Term Limits on Fiscal Policy in U.S. Cities*. *State & Local Government Review*, 42(2), 118-132. Page 118. Retrieved April 25, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/41057541.
- McGrath, C., Palmgren, P. J., & Liljedahl, M. (2019). *Twelve tips for conducting qualitative research interviews*. *Medical teacher*, 41(9), p. 1002-1006.
- Mooney, C. Z. (2009). *Term limits as a boon to legislative scholarship: A review*. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 9(2), p. 204-228.
- Mourtouपालas, Nick, Derek Hawkins and Hannah Dormido. U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Thornton (2023, September 16). *Washington Post*. Accessed most recently October

TERM LIMITS

- 15, 2023. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2023/09/16/term-limits-congress-senate-house/>.
- Myerson, R. (2006). *Federalism and incentives for success in democracy*. University of Chicago: Quarterly Journal of Political Science, 1: 3–23 (pp.1-6).
- Önday, Ö. (2016). *Classical organization theory: from generic management of socrates to bureaucracy of weber*. International Journal of Business and Management Review, 4(1), 87-105.
- Ouchi, W. G., & Dowling, J. B. (1974). *Defining the span of control*. Administrative Science Quarterly, 357-365.
- Oxford. Oxford Languages. *Term Limits*. 2019. <https://languages.oup.com/google-dictionary-en/>.
- Polsby, N. W. (1993). *Some arguments against congressional term limitations*. Harvard JL & Public Policy, p.101.
- Reed, W. R., & Schansberg, D. E. (1994). *An analysis of the impact of congressional term limits*. Economic Inquiry, 32(1), pp. 79-91.
- Richards, D. (1996). *Elite interviewing: Approaches and pitfalls*. Politics, 16(3), 199-204.
- Rodet, C. (2014). *Voter Behavior, Term Limits, and Seniority Advantage in Pork-Barrel Politics*. Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics (JITE) / Zeitschrift Für Die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, 170(4), 646-683. Retrieved April 18, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/24549016.
- S.J. Res. 2 – A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to limiting the number of terms that a Member of Congress may serve. 118th Congress. (2023-2024). Accessed most recently September 24, 2023.

TERM LIMITS

- <https://www.congress.gov/bill/118th-congress/senate-joint-resolution/2?q=%7B%22search%22%3A%22sj+in+2023-2024%22%7D&s=1&r=25>
- Schaeffer, Katherine. "The Changing Faces of Congress in 8 Charts" *Pew Research Center*, Pew Research Center, 7 February 2023, <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2023/02/07/the-changing-face-of-congress/>
- Schein, E. H. (2003). *On dialogue, culture, and organizational learning*. Reflections: The SoL Journal, 4(4), 27-38.
- Schein, E. H. (1990). *Organizational culture*. American Psychological Association, (Vol. 45, No. 2) p.109.
- Scott, William G. (1961) *Organizational Theory: An Overview and an Appraisal*. Academy of Management Journal, 4-1, p. 88, 1961.
- Select Committee on Ethics, The United States Senate, 114th Congress. The Senate Code of Official Conduct. March 2015. Rule XXXXVII. https://www.ethics.senate.gov/public/_cache/files/efa7bf74-4a50-46a5-bb6f-b8d26b9755bf/2015---red-book---the-senate-code-of-official-conduct.pdf#page=22.
- Shmerling, Robert H. (October, 2022). Why Life Expectancy in the US is Falling. *Harvard Health Publishing, Harvard Medical School*. Retrieved September, 2023, from <https://www.forbes.com/advisor/retirement/average-retirement-age/>.
- Steen, J. A. (2006). *The impact of state legislative term limits on the supply of congressional candidates*. State Politics & Policy Quarterly, 6(4), 430-447.
- The White House. Joe Biden. Accessed September 9, 2023. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/president-biden/>.
- U.S. Const. article I. (1788).

TERM LIMITS

U.S. Const. article II. (1788).

U.S. Cons. article III. (1788).

U.S. Const. amend. XXII. (1947).

U.S. Const. Amendment XVII. (1913).

U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Thornton. Ballotpedia. Accessed most recently October 15, 2023.

https://ballotpedia.org/U.S._Term_Limits,_Inc._v._Thornton.

U.S. Term Limits. May 14, 2019. Sen. John Hickenlooper is in favor of term limits.

YouTube. Accessed most recently October 15, 2023. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2qHUYEsjKoI>.

United States Senate. (2023, February 10). Longest-Serving Senators.

https://www.senate.gov/senators/longest_serving_senators.htm.

United States Senate. (2023, November 20). Contacting U.S. Senators.

<https://www.senate.gov/senators/senators-contact.htm>.

Vartanian, T. P. (2010). *Secondary data analysis*. Oxford University Press.

Weimer, D., & Vining, A. (1999). *Toward Professional Ethics*. Policy Analysis: Concepts and Practice, 3rd edn, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall. p. 51-53.

West Chester University, The Graduate School. (2022, January 27). *The Graduate School: Thesis and Doctoral Culminating Projects*. West Chester University.

https://www.wcupa.edu/_admissions/SCH_DGR/documents/WCUmanual_culminating_grad_research_5_26_20.pdf.

White, P. (2010). *Making use of secondary data*. Key methods in geography, 2, 61-76.

Yanow, D. and P. Schwartz-Shea (2006). Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn, xi-26.

TERM LIMITS

Appendix I.

SAMPLE SURVEY EMAIL

Dear _____,

My name is Deanna Giorno and I'm a Doctoral Candidate at West Chester University of Pennsylvania. I'm reaching out to request your participation in my Dissertation data collection through a poll. The topic of my Dissertation is term limits in the United States Senate. This study has been approved by the West Chester University Institutional Review Board, protocol IRB-FY2022-342.

If you are available and interested in participating through a poll, please allow me to send you a consent form and reply back to this email with your completed form. Upon receipt, I will promptly send you the direct link to the survey. It will likely only take up to 10 minutes of your time.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Deanna Giorno, Doctoral Candidate
West Chester University of Pennsylvania

SAMPLE INTERVIEW EMAIL

Dear _____,

My name is Deanna Giorno and I'm a Doctoral Candidate at West Chester University of Pennsylvania. I'm reaching out to request your participation in my Dissertation data collection through an interview scheduled at your convenience. The topic of my Dissertation is term limits in the United States Senate. This study has been approved by the West Chester University Institutional Review Board, protocol IRB-FY2022-342.

If you are available and interested in participating through an interview, please allow me to send you the consent form and reply back to this email with your availability for a zoom call. The interview will likely take no more than 30 minutes of your valuable time. Please also indicate if you would be willing to have our zoom interview recorded. This is not necessary to participate in an interview.

Thank you for your time and consideration.


Sincerely,

Deanna Giorno, Doctoral Candidate
West Chester University of Pennsylvania

TERM LIMITS


Appendix II.

11/25/23, 8:58 AM Gmail - IRB-FY2022-342 - Initial: Initial - Expedited

 Deanna Giorno <deanna.giorno@gmail.com>

IRB-FY2022-342 - Initial: Initial - Expedited
1 message

do-not-reply@cayuse.com <do-not-reply@cayuse.com> Fri, Feb 3, 2023 at 11:31 AM
To: AKline@wcupa.edu, DG940477@wcupa.edu



Office of Research and Sponsored Programs | West Chester University | Ehinger Annex
West Chester, PA 19383 | 610-436-3557 | www.wcupa.edu

Feb 3, 2023 11:31:17 AM EST

To: Deanna Giorno
Public Policy and Administra., University College

Re: Expedited Review - Initial - IRB-FY2022-342 Term Limits & Organizational Theory: An Argument for the Senate

Dear Deanna Giorno:

Thank you for your submitted application to the West Chester University Institutional Review Board. Since it was deemed expedited, it was required that two reviewers evaluated the submission. We have had the opportunity to review your application and have rendered the decision below for Term Limits & Organizational Theory: An Argument for the Senate .

Decision: Approved

Selected Category: 6. Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.
7. Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Sincerely,
West Chester University Institutional Review Board

IORG#: IORG0004242
IRB#: IRB00005030
FWA#: FWA00014155

<https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/?ik=9ec6ffbcd2&view=pt&search=all&permthid=thread-f:1756828174251856817&simpl=msg-f:1756828174251856817> 1/1

TERM LIMITS

Appendix III.

Project Title: Organizational Theory & Term Limits: An Argument for the Senate

Investigator(s): Deanna Giorno; Angela Kline

Project Overview:

Participation in this research project is voluntary and is being completed by Deanna Giorno as part of her Doctoral Dissertation to research term limits in the United States Senate. Your participation will take about 30 minutes if you are participating in an interview, and approximately 10 minutes if you are choosing to participate in a poll. Participants will benefit by contributing to a timely and impactful study that has the potential to be influential for future legislation that will impact term limits in the United States Senate.

If you would like to take part in either a poll or an interview, West Chester University of Pennsylvania requires that you agree and sign this consent form.

You may ask Deanna Giorno any questions you have to help you understand this study. If you don't want to be a part of this study, it won't affect any services from West Chester University. If you choose to be a part of this study, you have the right to change your mind and stop being a part of the study at any time.

1. **What is the purpose of this study?**
 - To gather real time data to influence and determine future legislation and the implementation of term limits for United States Senator's
2. **If you decide to be a part of this study, you will be asked to do the following:**
 - Either complete up one of four to fifteen total interviews to be included in the final study and/or complete a poll that will be offered to all current sitting Senator's
 - An interview will take up to 30 minute of your time
 - A poll will take up to 10 minutes of your time
3. **Are there any experimental medical treatments?**
 - No
4. **Is there any risk to me?**
 - There are potential privacy risks, but those are being mitigated as best as possible to prevent any data from being compromised.
5. **Is there any benefit to me?**
 - Participants will benefit by contributing to a timely and impactful study that has the potential to be influential for future legislation.
 - Other benefits may include: This study aims to assist legislators and influence legislation that will impact term limits in the Senate.
6. **How will you protect my privacy?**
 - The session will be recorded with your consent.
 - Zoom will be utilized for the videography and audio.
 - Your records will be private. Only Deanna Giorno, Angela Kline, and the IRB of West Chester University of Pennsylvania will have access to your name and responses.

TERM LIMITS

- Your name will **not** be used in any reports.
- Records will be stored:
 - Password Protected File/Computer
- Records will be destroyed Three Years After Study Completion
- 7. **Do I get paid to take part in this study?**
 - No, there will be no compensation for participation.
- 8. **Who do I contact in case of research related injury?**
 - For any questions with this study, contact:
 - **Primary Investigator:** Deanna Giorno at 267-205-1115 or deanna.giorno@gmail.com
 - **Faculty Sponsor:** Angela Kline at akline@wcupa.edu
- 9. **What will you do with my Identifiable Information/Biospecimens?**
 - Not applicable.

For any questions about your rights in this research study, contact the ORSP at 610-436-3557.

I, _____ (your name), have read this form and I understand the statements in this form. I know that if I am uncomfortable with this study, I can stop at any time. I know that it is not possible to know all possible risks in a study, and I think that reasonable safety measures have been taken to decrease any risk.

Subject/Participant Signature Date:

Witness Signature Date:

HEN23007 MDP

S.L.C.

118TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. _____

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to limiting the number of terms that a Member of Congress may serve.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. CRUZ introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on _____

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to limiting the number of terms that a Member of Congress may serve.

1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled*
3 *(two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the fol-*
4 *lowing article is proposed as an amendment to the Con-*
5 *stitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all*
6 *intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when*
7 *ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several*
8 *States within seven years after the date of its submission*
9 *by the Congress:*

2

1 “ARTICLE —

2 “SECTION 1. No person who has served 3 terms as
3 a Representative shall be eligible for election to the House
4 of Representatives. For purposes of this section, the elec-
5 tion of a person to fill a vacancy in the House of Rep-
6 resentatives shall be included as 1 term in determining
7 the number of terms that such person has served as a Rep-
8 resentative if the person fills the vacancy for more than
9 1 year.

10 “SECTION 2. No person who has served 2 terms as
11 a Senator shall be eligible for election or appointment to
12 the Senate. For purposes of this section, the election or
13 appointment of a person to fill a vacancy in the Senate
14 shall be included as 1 term in determining the number
15 of terms that such person has served as a Senator if the
16 person fills the vacancy for more than 3 years.

17 “SECTION 3. No term beginning before the date of
18 the ratification of this article shall be taken into account
19 in determining eligibility for election or appointment under
20 this article.”.