**Online Appendix**

**Table A-1: Sessions Excluded from Bipartisan Representation Calculations**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **2002** | **2003** | **2004** | **2005** | **2006** | **2007** | **2013** | **2017** |
| AK |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |
| AZ |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| FL |  | X |  |  |  |  |  | X |
| GA |  | X |  |  |  |  |  | X |
| LA | X |  | X |  | X |  |  |  |
| MA |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ME |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| MS | X |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| MT |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| NC |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| NH |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| RI |  | X |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| SD |  | X |  | X |  |  |  |  |
| TX |  |  |  |  |  |  | X |  |

**Table A-2: Bicameral Distinctiveness by State**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **State** | **Index Score** |  | **State** | **Index Score** |
| Vermont | 0.67 |  | Ohio | 0.40 |
| Maine | 0.54 |  | Oklahoma | 0.40 |
| New Hampshire | 0.54 |  | Wisconsin | 0.40 |
| West Virginia | 0.53 |  | Utah | 0.38 |
| Connecticut | 0.50 |  | California | 0.36 |
| Massachusetts | 0.48 |  | Hawai’i | 0.36 |
| Texas | 0.48 |  | Iowa | 0.36 |
| Pennsylvania | 0.47 |  | Nevada | 0.36 |
| Alabama | 0.46 |  | Colorado | 0.35 |
| Louisiana | 0.46 |  | Rhode Island | 0.35 |
| Missouri | 0.46 |  | Wyoming | 0.35 |
| South Carolina | 0.46 |  | Montana | 0.34 |
| Kansas | 0.45 |  | New Mexico | 0.34 |
| Kentucky | 0.45 |  | Alaska | 0.33 |
| Mississippi | 0.45 |  | Maryland | 0.33 |
| Arkansas | 0.43 |  | Oregon | 0.33 |
| Delaware | 0.43 |  | Minnesota | 0.31 |
| Florida | 0.43 |  | Illinois | 0.30 |
| Georgia | 0.43 |  | South Dakota | 0.22 |
| Tennessee | 0.43 |  | Washington | 0.22 |
| Michigan | 0.41 |  | Idaho | 0.20 |
| New York | 0.41 |  | North Dakota | 0.19 |
| Virginia | 0.41 |  | New Jersey | 0.18 |
| Indiana | 0.40 |  | Arizona | 0.17 |
| North Carolina | 0.40 |  |  |  |

**Table A-3: Description of Variables for Bill Amendment Analysis**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Description** | **Mean** | **Range** |
| Bills amended | Proportion of bills amended in second chamber | 0.37 | [0.00, 0.97] |
| Bicameral distinctiveness  | Index of bicameralism | 0.39 | [0.17, 0.67] |
| Divided legislature | Dummy (1 = lower and upper chamber controlled by opposite parties) | 0.09 | [0, 1] |
| Divided government | Dummy (1 = legislature and governorship controlled by opposite parties) | 0.25 | [0, 1] |
| Professionalism index | Index of legislative professionalism (Squire 2017) | 0.19 | [0.03, 0.61] |
| Leadership centralization | Centralization of leadership power—upper chamber (Clark 2015) (0 = score below 1; 3 = scores 3 or above) | 1.84 | [0, 3] |
| Joint committees | Dummy (1 = joint legislative committees are primary standing committees) | 0.06 | [0, 1] |
| Term limits | Dummy (1 = state has legislative term limits) | 0.29 | [0, 1] |
| State population | Natural log of state population size(2010 Census data) | 15.17 | [13.24, 17.43] |
| State median income | Median household income in state, in thousands (2010 Census data) | 51.40 | [39.08, 67.47] |

**Table A-4: Alternative Models of Bill Amendment Patterns**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model A-1 | Model A-2 | Model A-3 |
|  | Alternative dependent variable | Alternate measure of divided legislature | Decomposition of legislative professionalism |
| Bicameral distinctiveness | 0.48 (0.24)# | 0.55 (0.20)\*\* | 0.54 (0.20)\*\* |
| **Control variables** |  |  |  |
| Divided legislature | 0.05 (0.04) | -- | -0.01 (0.03) |
| Difference in chamber medians | -- | -0.03 (0.05) | -- |
| Divided government | 0.01 (0.03) | 0.00 (0.03) | 0.01 (0.03) |
| Professionalism index | 0.52 (0.25)\* | 0.51 (0.24)\* | -- |
| Salary (in $1000s) | -- | -- | -0.001 (0.002) |
| Session length (in days) | -- | -- | 0.0008 (0.0004)# |
| Staff members per legislator | -- | -- | 0.01 (0.01) |
| Leadership centralization | -0.07 (0.03)\* | -0.08 (0.03)\* | -0.08 (0.03)\* |
| Joint committees | -0.33 (0.07)\*\* | -0.33 (0.05)\*\* | -0.36 (0.05)\*\* |
| Term limits | -0.06 (0.06) | -0.02 (0.06) | -0.01 (0.06) |
| State population | 0.01 (0.04) | -0.01 (0.04) | -0.00 (0.05) |
| State median income | 0.001 (0.004) | 0.002 (0.003) | 0.003 (0.003) |
| Constant | 0.18 (0.57) | 0.32 (0.51) | 0.13 (0.67) |
|  |  |  |  |
| R-squared | 0.354 | 0.352 | 0.356 |
| N | 196 | 196 | 196 |

**Table A-5: Alternative Models of Bill Amendment Patterns**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | Model A-4 |
|  | Joint Committee States Excluded |
| Bicameral distinctiveness | 0.56 (0.20)\*\* |
| **Control variables** |  |
| Divided legislature | 0.01 (0.04) |
| Divided government | -0.00 (0.03) |
| Professionalism index | 0.51 (0.25)\* |
| Leadership centralization | -0.08 (0.03)\* |
| Term limits | -0.02 (0.06) |
| State population | -0.01 (0.04) |
| State median income | 0.002 (0.003) |
| Constant | 0.33 (0.51) |
|  |  |
| R-squared | 0.269 |
| N | 184 |

**References**

Clark, Jennifer Hayes. 2015. *Minority Parties in U.S. Legislatures: Conditions of Influence*. Ann

Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Squire, Peverill. 2017. “A Squire Index Update." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 17:361-71.