

**Choosing How to Represent:  
House Members and the Distribution of Their Representational Allowances**

Garry Young  
George Washington University

Comments Welcome:  
YoungG@gwu.edu

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**Abstract:** Members of Congress make numerous decisions about how to allocate their representational resources. These decisions include how and what type of staff to hire, how many mass mailings to send to district residents, and how often to travel home. These decisions reflect a legislator's representative priorities chosen under constraints and raise interesting questions about representation. For example, does electoral safety affect the relative allocation of resources between constituency service and developing a presence in policymaking? While a rich literature addressing different aspects of representative resource allocation, there is very little that addresses overall resource allocations, as opposed to some portion of it, such as district travel or the frank. Furthermore, no one has taken a systematic look at the current House system. Beginning with the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress, House members now use an exceptionally flexible account system known as the Members Representational Allowance (MRA). It provides members with more flexibility to choose an optimal mix of representational resources than the earlier system of separate resource accounts. In this paper, I examine the representational choices members make by examining their MRA expenditures during the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress. A number of key political factors influence MRA allocation decisions, including electoral vulnerability, seniority, career choices, and access to other non-MRA resources.

## **Choosing How to Represent: House Members and the Distribution of Their Representational Allowances**

The euphoria of winning election to the U.S. House of Representatives soon gives way to the hard reality that numerous difficult decisions need to be made quickly. Far removed from the campaign's focus on lofty promises of policy influence and change, these are practical, often prosaic, choices about resource allocation. They include questions about the size, composition, and geographic allocation of staff; the quantity and location of district offices; and types and location of office equipment. As that first term commences the new member must make further choices about the frequency and nature of travel to and around the district as well as choices about the frequency and nature of outreach communications to constituents within the district.

These decisions constitute more than just the mechanical enterprise of setting up what, in many respects, is organizationally the equivalent of a significant small business (Loomis 1979) or enterprise (Salisbury and Shepsle 1981; Whiteman 1995). Rather, these allocation decisions reflect a member's representational priorities as pursued under constraints. Over time these decisions can affect the nature of a member's career, even the longevity of that career. Likewise in the aggregate, these decisions form a sort of representative profile, an overall portrait of the representational choices the legislator has made. Many of these allocation decisions directly involve aiding, communicating, and otherwise interacting with constituents. Thus the allocation decisions form a crucial component of a member's home style (Fenno 1978). But allocation is not solely about the home district. These decisions also directly affect a member's career on the Hill (Eulau and Karps 1977; Fenno 1978; Cain, Fiorina, and Ferejohn 1987). Consider, for example, the sometimes difficult tradeoff members can face over whether to hire policy specialists who can help the member make a legislative mark but often come at a high salary cost. (Loomis and Schiller 2006) As a legislator progresses through a House career, the

constraints and priorities likely change and, presumably, the representative profile changes as well.

Over the history of Congress the resources available to members have increased dramatically; in particular, steep increases after World War II helped fuel the rise of the incumbency effect (Erikson 1971; Mayhew 1974; Fiorina 1977; Gelman and King 1990; King 1991). Yet, while numerous studies use different aspects of representative resource allocation to explain incumbency levels, surprisingly little research has been done on the allocations themselves. Furthermore, of the research that does exist, none examines the current system, which was instituted in 1996 soon after the Republicans became the majority party in the House. Prior to 1996, representational allowances were separated into exclusive categories. The 1996 reform created the Members' Representational Allowance (MRA), which is a combined account. From this single account a legislator pays for all staff, office expenses, franking, and domestic travel.

As I explain in more detail below, in practice this system gives members far more flexibility in how he or she allocates resources. It provides more flexibility to choose an optimal mix of resources given that member's preferences and constraints. At the same time the presence of a variety of resource mixes among the different legislators provides a rich research opportunity to examine the representational choices members make.

This paper presents a first effort at presenting and explaining the allocational patterns of MRAs. It proceeds as follows. First, it provides a brief overview of the adoption of the MRA system in 1996 along with an explanation of how the MRA system functions. Using 106<sup>th</sup> Congress data from the National Taxpayers Union, the paper then goes on to examine how MRA

allocation varies by member. The conclusion considers broader implications and possible avenues of further research.

### **ADOPTION OF THE MEMBERS' REPRESENTATIONAL ALLOWANCE**

By most contemporary standards the allowances members of the House granted themselves in the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress (1789-1791) were modest. Individual members had no publicly provided offices, nor staff. After contentious debate, Congress allocated members of the House \$6 compensation for each day of congressional attendance and a \$6 per day travel allowance (Congressional Quarterly 1992: 3). Both houses also adopted the franking privilege, in keeping with both the House of Commons and the Continental Congress (Committee on House Administration 2005).

Fast forward to the modern Congress where we see the typical House member enjoying extensive office space in one of several office buildings, maintaining multiple offices in the congressional district, dispersing eighteen regular staff across the Washington and district offices, utilizing an array of computers, printers, fax machines, and multi-media equipment, and able to take a virtually unlimited numbers of trips back to the district. A complete history of how the U.S. legislator went from a desk, footlocker, and quill pen to multiple offices, a small army of staff, and the now ubiquitous Blackberry remains to be written.<sup>1</sup> That story could tell us a great deal about the ways representation has changed and adapted as the United States transitioned from a rural, mainly agrarian, global backwater to an urban, highly industrialized global superpower. It might also provide a variety of insights about the development and institutionalization of Congress that contrasts with the conventional literature.

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<sup>1</sup> Staffing receives the most attention in the literature though the focus often splits between committee and personal staff. Examples of this literature include Heaphey and Balutis 1976; Fox and Hammond 1977; Malbin 1980; Schiff and Smith 1983; and DeGregorio 1997.

Consider, for example, the issue of party in Congress. There have been claims of a partisan element in virtually every aspect of congressional politics including roll call voting (e.g., Cooper, Brady, and Hurley 1977), the adoption of House rules (e.g., Binder 1997), the use of procedure (e.g., Cox and McCubbins 1993), the provision of pork to districts (e.g., Leavitt and Snyder 1995), committee composition (e.g., Young and Heitshusen 2003), and committee staff allocations (e.g., Heitshusen 1999). Yet, the representational resources of the sort I discuss here – i.e., travel monies, the franking privilege, personal staff, etc – are not allocated according to party. Likewise it does not appear to be the case that partisan motives explain the adoption of various resources. Two quick examples will suffice here. Two major transition points in resource allocations were 1893 and 1996. In 1893 the House created a personal staff system (Fox and Hammond 1977) while in 1996 the House created the MRA system. These were both periods of very high party polarization yet both reforms treated the parties equally and both passed with no controversy under voice votes.<sup>2</sup>

It is on the latter reform – the creation of the MRA system – that I now turn with a brief focus on the adoption and implementation of the current system followed by a description and analysis of its use.<sup>3</sup>

## **REPUBLICAN REFORMS**

Immediately prior to adoption of the MRA, members' representational resources were dispersed across three annual-based accounts: the clerk-hire allowance, the official expenses allowance, and the official mail allowance. The clerk-hire allowance covered staff salaries. The

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<sup>2</sup> The main caveat to this non-partisan claim concerns committee staff. Committee staff are allocated unequally across the two parties. Thus it is a possible that some majority party members with access to committee staff can use that staff to substitute for personal staff policy-specialists. I revisit this issue later in the paper.

<sup>3</sup> Throughout the paper I will largely ignore the issue of compensation for members, though arguably compensation indirectly affects representation efforts.

official expenses allowance covered member and staff travel, district office rent, non-franking based constituent communications, equipment, telephones, and other miscellaneous expenses. The franking allowance covered those items defined under the franking provision (historically a matter of some controversy). These include mass mailed newsletters, postcards inviting constituents to attend “Town Hall” meetings, as well as more personalized and targeted outreach mailings addressing, for example, specific policy issues (Congressional Management Foundation 1994).

This system did allow some limited transfers from one account to another. At the start of the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress members could transfer up to \$75,000 in or out of their clerk-hire allowance and their official expenses allowance. They could transfer up to \$25,000 into, but not out of, their franking allowance. Given the size of the total accounts this provided modest flexibility at best. According to the Congressional Management Foundation (1994: 157), in 1991 veteran members spent on average: \$485,384, \$169,727 and \$99,074 on clerk-hire, official expenses, and franking, respectively. Corresponding numbers for freshmen members were \$439,230, \$196,168, and \$107,425.

This brief description belies what in fact was a highly complicated system that had come about slowly through hundreds of different statutes and precedents. Thus one motivation for reform was simply to streamline the system and improve member accountability. Another motivation was to give members more control and flexibility over their representational spending (*Congressional Record*, 3/19/96, H2360). As I noted earlier, the legislation itself was not controversial. The House of Representatives Administrative Reform Technical Corrections Act (H.R. 2739) provoked virtually no floor discussion and easily passed both chambers. Indeed, it passed the House under suspension of the rules with a voice vote while in the Senate it passed by

unanimous consent. The legislation was signed into law by President Clinton on August, 20, 1996 (*Congressional Record*, 9/3/1996, D878).

## **THE MEMBERS' REPRESENTATIONAL ALLOWANCE**

The new law scrapped the old system of separate accounts in favor of the single Members' Representational Allowance. MRAs for each member are determined by the House Administration Committee based on population,<sup>4</sup> district office space costs, and district distance from Washington. MRAs are annual (calendar year); any funds not obligated by year's end are lost, and members are personally liable for cost overruns (Congressional Management Foundation 2004). House rules provide strict limitations on allowable MRA usage. For example, a member's personal expenses, campaign expenses, political expenses, and committee expenses can not be reimbursed by the MRA.<sup>5</sup> In addition, members can supplement the MRA with personal funds, but not with campaign or committee funds (Members' Congressional Handbook 2003).

The *Members' Congressional Handbook* (Committee on House Administration 2003) provides specific requirements and guidelines for using MRAs. Some of these guidelines are directly applicable to allocation choices and thus I summarize some of the more salient features by category. Table 1 contains a detailed overview of acceptable MRA expenses.

### *Staffing*

The MRA pays for all personal staff salaries, excluding benefits (Committee on House Administration 2003). Based on the 1996 act, members can employ no more than eighteen

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<sup>4</sup> More precisely the criterion is the number of postal drops in the district, which varies largely by population.

<sup>5</sup> A question overheard by the author outside a House office building: "Do you think we can use the MRA to pay for traffic tickets – if the boss was a passenger?" Alas, the answer appears to be no.



permanent staffers and four additional staffers (2 U.S.C. § 92).<sup>6</sup> Despite the limit in total staff, House rules do grant members considerable latitude in setting salaries. This gives members flexibility in the experience and expertise mix of the staff, although 2001 salaries were upper bounded at \$140,451 (Committee on House Administration 2003). Staffers can be allocated across offices as the member chooses.

### *Official and Representational Expenses*

The MRA pays for a wide variety of expenses contained under the general rubric “official and representational expenses.” These include general expenses ranging from small appliances to costs related to holding “Town Hall Meetings” (Committee on House Administration 2003). Official and representational expenses also include charges related to running district offices (e.g., rent), communications, purchasing equipment, and travel. The MRA can reimburse official domestic travel expenses to and from the district for both members and staff. There is no limit on the number of trips taken as long as travel does not take place on sixty consecutive days (Committee on House Administration 2003).

Most communications are subject to clearance by the Franking Commission, which is composed of members and chaired by the chair of the Committee on House Administration. While there is no limit on the amount of franking a member uses (subject to MRA budget constraints, of course) there are limits on the types and timing of communications.<sup>7</sup> Likewise there are a variety of different regulations governing district office space and the circumstances of domestic travel. For example, members must pay fair market value for privately owned space. That is, members cannot receive a full or partial contribution of office space for their official district offices.

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<sup>6</sup> Additional staffers include part-time and temporary employees, employees on leave without pay, and interns.

<sup>7</sup> Initially MRA procedures did include a cap on total franking expenditures. This was lifted in 1999 (VandeHei and Wallison 1999).

## HOW MEMBERS' SPENT THEIR MRA DURING THE 106<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS

The National Taxpayer's Union produced MRA data in complete form for the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress. Spending is broken down into five categories: staff salaries, communications, office expenses, and travel. Communications includes all frank expenses as well as publications and reproduction, but not telecommunications which is included under office expenses.<sup>8</sup> Other office expenses include rent, equipment, and supplies and materials. The not spent category is the average percentage of the MRAs not spent. As noted earlier, House rules do not allow members to save unspent monies for future use.

During the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress staff salaries took up the biggest piece of the overall MRA budget (66%) by a large margin.<sup>9</sup> After staff the next largest spending category was office expenses (17%), followed by communications (7%) and travel (3%). On average members did not spend 6% of their MRA.

Table 2 provides a detailed breakdown of the amounts included in these categories and their sub-categories. Several points about table 2 are worth noting. First, the averages belie substantial spending variance. For instance while the average member spent \$90,331 on the frank during the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress, far higher (\$152,427) and far lower (\$28,235) amounts lie within a standard deviation of the mean. Differences in the frank are illustrated in a different manner by the first column of table 2, which shows the number of items mass mailed. Mass mailings also varied dramatically. Indeed, while forty-two members reported sending no mass mailed items during the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress, two members each sent over two million items.

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<sup>8</sup> Publication and reproduction likely include some items that are not strictly communication related. Nonetheless, the frank and publication and reproduction categories are so highly correlated ( $r=.67$ ) that it is reasonable to combine them into a single category. Unfortunately the data does not allow for distinguishing telecommunications costs from other office costs.

<sup>9</sup> When the MRA was adopted some argued that members would use the added flexibility to boost staff salaries (Love and Burger 1995).

Table 2 also suggests some relatively clear party differences. Republicans on average spent less of their MRAs than Democrats. (As shown below, this difference holds up with more rigorous controls). Democrats outspent Republicans in every category except travel and publication and reproduction, though there is notable variance across the two parties in all the spending categories as indicated by the standard deviations. Note too the large differences between freshmen and veterans in some categories. Freshmen spent far more on communications than do veterans, a bit less on office costs (excepting equipment), and less on staff. As I argue below, this makes perfect sense in political, theoretical, and practical terms.

Given the large amount of spending variance, and the interesting spending differences across types of members, the task remains to develop some basic theoretical expectations and then pit them against more rigorous methods than the descriptive statistics provided in Table 2.

### **EXPLAINING MRA ALLOCATION**

To understand how and why a member allocates representational resources we must first start with goals. What are members trying to achieve? As with many other scholars my approach is to begin with re-election (Mayhew 1974). Yet, it is hard to believe that legislators seek re-election simply for re-election's sake. To be sure, winning election must provide its own psychic rewards, but re-election is a necessary step to achieving other goals. Thus I assume that members have multiple goals (Fenno 1973) but that not all goals are created equally (Loomis 1979; Strøm 1997). The necessity of re-election forces members to direct resources towards it. As the uncertainty of re-election drops, a member is then able to direct more resources towards the higher-ordered goals;<sup>10</sup> the specific hierarchy of these higher-order goals depends on the

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<sup>10</sup> Given some level of re-election uncertainty, if re-election were a member's only goal then all resources would flow towards re-election even in the face of diminishing returns. Say it takes 75% of a member's resources to maintain a .80 probability of re-election, but in the face of diminishing returns the member would have to devote her

preferences of the individual members, be it a preference for working on particular policy problems, running for higher office, gaining institutional power, serving constituents, or some combination.

An extreme reduction in re-election uncertainty occurs when a member opts to retire. Thus if there is a systematic component to MRA use, we should see dramatic differences in its use for retiring members. Likewise other political factors such as party, seniority (Fenno 1974), and seeking higher office may shape representational allocation as well. Furthermore members with institutional power may allocate their MRA differently both because of differing goals – since such leaders often, though not always, are electorally safe – but also because such leaders have access to other types of staff.

Yet, explicit political factors should not be the only factors affecting MRA allocation. There are a variety of non-political constraints that may play a role and there are constituent demand issues that likely affect MRA allocation as well. For example, as Fenno (1974) demonstrated, the distance of the congressional district from the District of Columbia affects travel. I will test whether distance increases the travel allocation. Other possible constraints include the geographic size of the district, the districts population, and district cost of living.<sup>11</sup>

Also there is the issue of constituent demand. Demand for constituency services likely varies by district and this could affect some aspects of MRA, especially office expenses and

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last 25% just to gain an extra .05 worth of safety. A member wholly concerned with maximizing re-election probability allocates the remaining portion despite the poor return.

<sup>11</sup> Despite the one person-one vote standard, House districts do vary substantially. This is for two reasons. First, all states are constitutionally guaranteed one seat. This effectively creates different sized districts across the states (as opposed to within them). Also, the further away from redistricting the more likely population sizes will differ due to differential migration rates. In the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress House districts varied from 493,782 (Wyoming's At Large) to 1,062,153 (Nevada's 2<sup>nd</sup>). As noted earlier, the MRA is adjusted for population, cost of living, and distance differences but I include these controls anyway in case the adjustment is insufficient or there are otherwise differences in allocation across categories of MRA due to them.

staffing. Thus I include controls for some of the factors likely to generate more requests for casework, such as the number of immigrants in the district.

While demand and constraints likely affect spending choices, it is important to consider the effects of the MRA system on flexibility. Under the old system members had to spend money from exclusive accounts. This effectively reduced flexibility and made it harder for members to choose an optimal mix of spending. Consider an example that should be familiar to most academic faculty. Suppose a department granted its faculty separate annual accounts of \$100, \$100, and \$500 for photocopying, long distance telephone calls, and conference travel, respectively. A faculty member who makes frequent long distance phone calls or sends many long distance faxes may feel badly constrained by the \$100 limit. He may have to make fewer calls than is optimal for research or (egads!) pay for the calls out of his own pocket. Yet, he dislikes conferences and rarely requires photocopies. He may go to conferences and make photocopies just because the money is available, but it is not his highest valued use of the money. Contrast that with a different faculty member who greatly values conference travel but would sooner go to the dentist than spend extensive time on the telephone. Her research may be greatly constrained by the conference budget, yet the phone budget goes virtually untouched. Were the accounts combined, so that faculty have \$700 for all three items, in whatever mix they prefer, then the chatty professor can get more value out of his money, by spending more on long distance, while the jet setting professor is happier by spending more on conference travel and less on other items. In essence the MRA allows House members to choose the optimal mix of spending (given overall budget constraints and the types of factors already discussed)

What of the MRA categories themselves? For analysis purposes I divide the MRA into four categories: communications, office, staff, and travel. Communications includes both the

frank and publication and reproduction. Office includes all expenses except communications, staff pay, and travel costs. The key question is where do these various categories fit in the scheme of goals? To be sure, there can be elements of multiple goals in each category. But nonetheless it is possible to make reasonable assertions about preponderance. Communications is the most obvious. During the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress, 81% of franking costs went towards mass mailing. Given the strong correlation between the frank and publication and reproduction it is likely that a great deal of these costs go towards mass mailing as well. Thus while communications costs includes a variety of different purposes – including casework – their primary purpose appears to have a direct electoral component. Of all the MRA categories this is the one most likely to correlate with electoral factors, such as electoral safety and retirement.

Office expenses are more ambiguous. Policy-tasked staffers tend to be at the Washington office while most of the expenses in the office category occur in the district offices (e.g., the Washington office is rent-free). Given that constituency-service work is the main task of the district offices, it is reasonable to assert that office expenses are constituency in nature. Staff is the most ambiguous of all. Yet, in general policy-tasked staffers are more expensive than constituency-tasked staffers (Congressional Management Foundation 2000b). Thus, controlling for other factors, such as member seniority, added staff expense likely comes from more focus on policy. Travel too has different components, especially since so many members' families now keep their residences in the districts, but travel has a clear electoral component. I thus expect that the electorally vulnerable will travel more. As a career is established and a member focuses more on policy and leadership efforts, the travel budget will decrease.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Note that the MRA does not pay for expressly political travel. So, for example, a member with leadership ambitions may travel to other districts to help raise money for political allies, but a trip like that normally would be paid for with campaign finances of one sort or another. Likewise committee travel comes out of non-MRA budgets. Thus leadership ambition and policy travel is largely distinct from MRA travel.

## REGRESSION ANALYSIS

For the analysis I used three general types of independent variables: political variables, constraints, and demand variables. As a measure of electoral certainty I used the member's percentage vote in the 1998 election. Other independent political variables include party, the year the member was first elected, whether the member was a freshman, whether the member retired at the end of the Congress, whether the member ran for higher office at the end of the Congress, and whether the member was a full committee chair or one of the top five majority or minority party leaders.

Constraints are district characteristics that may constrain a member's spending flexibility. These include district geographic size, district population, district cost of living, and the distance from the district to the District of Columbia. Finally, demand variables include demographic categories that may be associated with higher demand for constituency service. These include the percentage of veterans in the district, the percentage of the district's residents over the age of sixty-two, the percentage of immigrants in the district, the percentage of impoverished families in the district, and the percentage of non-white district residents. The appendix provides a more detailed explanation of the variables and their sources.<sup>13</sup>

Simply running OLS on each separate category of spending could yield misleading results since the categories are interrelated and represent tradeoffs, e.g., spending more on staff yields less money for communications. As a consequence the error terms of each equation can be correlated. As an alternative I used Seemingly Unrelated Regression (SUR) a simple method that corrects for the correlated errors (Zellner 1962; Srivastava and Giles 1987).

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<sup>13</sup> I also tested two types of ideology variables. Poole and Rosenthal's (2000) familiar DW-NOMINATE scores (dimension 1) is very correlated with party and thus was not used in lieu of party. Using the ideology measure or party had no impact on the other results. I also tested models using the National Taxpayer Union vote score. It was correlated with party, though less so than the NOMINATE scores, but proved unrelated to MRA spending.

Table 3 presents the SUR results across each category of spending. The dependent variable for each equation is the dollar amount spent in the given category.<sup>14</sup> The Previous Margin variable is negative and statistically significant for communications and positive and statistically significant, with a similar size coefficient, for savings. Thus the more electorally vulnerable the member, the more he or she spends on communications and less on savings. A one percentage drop in previous margin corresponds with about a \$1,500 increase in communications spending. In overall MRA terms, the effect is not terribly large, but it turns out that electoral vulnerability does increase mass mailings by a considerable “per piece” amount. Running a single OLS model with the number of mass mailed items as the dependent variable (and the same independent variables) indicated that for each percentage decrease in a member’s margin, the number of mass mailed items he or she sent out increased by 6,020. In short, the more electorally vulnerable the more a member engages in advertising through mailed communications, especially mass mailings, which take up the bulk of franking expenditures.

Table 3 also shows an interesting party effect. The negative coefficient on the non-savings categories indicates that the Republicans spend less across the board but the effect is only statistically significant for staffing. Republicans also save more of their MRA than Democrats. Republicans spend about \$33,000 less on staff than Democrats and save about \$49,000 more. This finding has several interpretations. The first is simple fiscal conservatism. The second, obviously related, possibility is that since the Republican base of voters is more fiscally conservative than the Democratic base, Republican members get more political credit by boasting of MRA savings. For example, Virgil Goode (R-VA) received glowing publicity in the

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<sup>14</sup> An alternative method is to specify the dependent variables as proportions of the overall MRA, e.g., the proportion of the MRA devoted to communications, and run the SUR procedure suggested by Tomz, Tucker, and Wittenberg (2002). I ran estimates using this procedure as well and produced results quite similar to those reported here.



*Danville Register-Bee* when he was ranked as the thriftiest member for the third year in row. The designation came from the National Taxpayer's Union and was based on MRA usage (Whitehurst 2003). The fact that key savings occurs with staff raises a third possibility. As the majority party, many Republicans have access to more committee staff than Democrats. This may result in some greater flexibility in constructing personal staff.<sup>15</sup> Finally, Republican advantages in obtaining pork for their districts (e.g., Lee 2003) may lessen the need for MRA spending.

Recall that the Year First Elected variable is scored for the year the member was elected, so less senior members have higher values of the variable. The results indicate that newer members spend a bit more on office expenses and travel than more senior members. More senior members however spend more on staffing. Part of this latter effect stems from longer serving members having more senior, and thus more highly paid, staff. In fact, this is consistent with the results found by a survey of staff salaries (Congressional Management Foundation 2000b). At the same time, the staffs of more senior members feature higher proportions of policy-oriented staffers. Indeed, relying on job titles to identify policy-oriented staff I found that both margin and seniority are strongly correlated with the proportion of the overall staff made up of policy-oriented staff. This type of staffer is generally more expensive than constituency-tasked staffers and thus increase staff costs (Congressional Management Foundation 2000b).

For the most junior of members we see some interesting effects. Freshmen pour far more into communications (nearly \$53,000) than other members – a clear indication that freshmen are attempting to cement a presence in the district through advertising. In contrast, freshmen spent much less on staff than did veterans, in part perhaps because freshmen are counseled to hire just

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<sup>15</sup> I do include an explicit control for committee chairs, who, of course, have the greatest control over committee staff. Including a variable for subcommittee chairs does not reduce the partisan effect.

immediate core staff in the beginning so that the new members can develop a better sense of their staffing needs after gaining more experience in office (Congressional Management Foundation 2000a) and, of course, freshmen are likely to have less experienced, and thus cheaper, staff (Congressional Management Foundation 2000b). Interestingly, freshmen spent a bit less on travel than veterans.

Retiring members show dramatic differences in relation to their colleagues. Members were counted as retiring if they voluntarily left the House at the end of the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress, without at the same time running for (or making it known they were running for) another office. Retiring members spent about \$135,000 less of their MRAs than their non-retiring counterparts. The differences hold across all the categories. Retiring members communicated less,<sup>16</sup> traveled less, and spent less on district and staff than other members (though the staff effect is not statistically significant).

Note also the higher office result. This variable accounts for all members who ran or announced a run for higher office during the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress. These members spent considerably more on communications (over \$78,000) and travel (about \$19,000) than other members. To be sure, franking and travel restrictions constrain a member's ability to work outside the district. Still, increasing communications can shore up a district base. Increasing travel might do the same within the district but also make it easier for a member to travel within the state on campaign money. That is, a member might fly home to the district for official representative business on MRA funds and then make a side trip outside the district for campaign purposes on campaign funds.

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<sup>16</sup> In fact, using the same set of independent variables in a model with the number of mass mailed items as the dependent variable shows that retiring members sent on average 172,913 fewer pieces of mass mail.

Finally, I included a control variable for whether the member was a full committee chair or party leader. These members have access to other staffers and this may free their resources up either for savings or other areas. Indeed, chairs and leaders save more with most of the savings coming from staff (though chairs and leaders also spend less on travel).

The models include a variety of constraint and demand variables meant to capture other influences on spending. As Table 3 indicates the larger the geographic size of the district, the more the member spends on office expenses and travel costs. More populated districts boost communications (more mailing targets), office, and travel expenses spending while districts with higher living costs understandably increases office expenses. Also understandably the further the district resides from the District of Columbia the more the travel costs. Finally the demand variables produce a mix of results. For example higher poverty yields less communications expenditures and fewer savings but greater expenditures for office, travel, and staff salaries though the later is not statistically significant.

Table 4 provides an overview of the substantive effects the political variables. All variables in the models were held at their mean value while the variable of interest was set at maximal and minimal values. Table 4 shows the substantive effects in terms of the dollar amount and percentage change in the MRA category. The shaded cells represent the cases where the substantive effect is statistically significant.<sup>17</sup> Table 4 helps puts the political effects in stark relief. For example, measured by previous margin the most vulnerable members spend 32% more on communications than their safest counterparts.

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<sup>17</sup> This was done using CLARIFY and Stata 9 (Tomz, Wittenberg, King 1999; King, Tomz, and Wittenberg 2000). CLARIFY estimates the expected value of the dependent variable given particular values of the independent variables as the mean value across 1,000 simulations. The simulations also produce a 95% confidence interval around each mean which can be used to determine whether two means – or a change in one mean to the other – is statistically significant.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

What we can start to see in Table 4 is the presence of clear career and electoral effects. These effects are similar across the parties though the absolute amounts by party differ, with Republicans spending less. Freshmen in an effort to begin building their incumbency advantage pour substantially more of their resources into communications. Junior representatives, especially the electorally vulnerable, pour notably more resources into the area directly related to gaining electoral safety and serving constituent needs: communications, travel, and constituency office expenses. As the career continues, especially for those members who gain some level of electoral safety, this allocation pattern shifts towards staff. For example, a safe Republican in her sixth term spends about \$65,000 less on communications, travel, and constituency and about \$40,000 more on staff than a marginal Republican in his second term. Other political factors condition resource allocations. Ambitious politicians shift their resources to communications, chairs and leaders dramatically drop their personal staff expenses as they gain control of committee staff, and retiring members rein back their representative spending virtually across the board.

In short, there is a clear, systematic political content to MRA allocation. To be sure, constraints and demand matter a great deal. For example, a member representing a geographically large district usually maintains more offices and allocates considerably more money to office expenses and travel than members representing geographically small districts. Still, representational choices are not random and they are just partially determined by non-political constraints and constituent demand.

All of this suggests considerable room for a variety of research directions. As MRA data accumulates it will be possible to perform a time series analysis rather than the type of cross-

sectional “snapshot” taken here. That will allow for more precise depictions of, for example, career patterns over time (Hibbing 1991). Another interesting route to take is to look at the “other side” of the equation by looking at the effect of MRA allocation decisions on congressional elections. Finally, as argued earlier, the development of representational resources over the history of the House (and the Senate) remains virtually unstudied and promises a rich avenue of research along several dimensions.

## APPENDIX

*Member Representational Allowance:* Sources for the MRA data came from the National Taxpayer Union's website: [www.ntu.org](http://www.ntu.org). Data for 1999 and 2000 were combined into a single 106<sup>th</sup> Congress dataset as were various categories of spending. Website accessed: July 2004.

*Previous Margin:* Calculated as the incumbents percentage of the vote in the 2000 general election. Source: *Politics in America*.

*Republican:* Dummy variable score 1 if Republican, 0 otherwise.

*Year First Elected:* The year (1990, 1992, etc) the member was first elected to the House (continuous service only). Source: *Politics in America*.

*Freshman:* Scored as 1 if the member was elected in 1998 or later. Source: *Politics in America*.

*Retiring:* Scored as 1 if the member retired at the end of the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress without running or announcing to run for higher office. Primary source: *Politics in America*.

*Higher Office:* Scored as 1 if the member ran for higher office (or announced a run for higher office) sometime during the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress. Primary source: *Politics in America*.

*Chair or Leader:* Scored as 1 if the member was a full committee chair or one of the five party leaders (Speaker, Majority Leader, Majority Whip, Minority Leader, Minority Whip). Source: *Politics in America*.

*Geographic Size of District:* District size in square miles: Source: Adler (2005) who in turn derived it from *Congressional Districts in the 1990s*.

*Distance from District:* As the crow flies mileage from the District of Columbia to the largest city in the district.

*Population:* District population during the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census. Website: <http://censtats.census.gov/pub/Profiles.shtml>. Accessed: January 2005.

*Cost of Living:* Cost of living in city closest or within district. Source: Congressional Management Foundation (2000b) as derived by the ACCRA.

*Veterans:* Proportion of district composed of civilian veterans. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census. Website: <http://censtats.census.gov/pub/Profiles.shtml>. Accessed: January 2005.

*Seniors:* Proportion of district composed of residents sixty-two and older. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census. Website: <http://censtats.census.gov/pub/Profiles.shtml>. Accessed: January 2005.

*Immigrants:* Proportion of foreign born living in district. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census. Website: <http://censtats.census.gov/pub/Profiles.shtml>. Accessed: January 2005.

*Families in Poverty:* Proportion of district families in poverty in 1999. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census. Website: <http://censtats.census.gov/pub/Profiles.shtml>. Accessed: January 2005.

*Non-White:* Proportion of non-white residents in the district. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census. Website: <http://censtats.census.gov/pub/Profiles.shtml>. Accessed: January 2005.

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**Table 1**  
**Overview of Expenses Covered by the Members' Representational Allowance**

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### **Staff**

The MRA pays for up to eighteen full time employees and four additional employees. In 2001 the maximum staffer salary was \$140,451. The MRA is not normally charged for staffer benefits.

### **Official and Representational Expenses**

#### *General*

- small appliances (e.g., microwaves)
- certificates of recognition
- clipping services
- decorating expenses
- drug testing
- educational expenses for members or staffers
- staff hiring expenses
- incidental, non-social food and beverage expenses
- limited gifts and donations
- purchase of various greeting cards (e.g., recognizing constituent birthdays)
- interpreting and translating services
- messenger services
- photography expenses
- purchasing various publications (e.g., *CQ Weekly*)
- staff meeting expenses
- office supplies
- telecommunications costs in member or staffer residences
- costs related to town hall meetings, including "electronic" town hall meetings

#### *District Offices*

- cable television
- custodial services
- furniture
- rent
- parking
- office repair costs
- security
- signage
- storage
- utilities

#### *Communications*

- advertisements related to official duties
- audio and video expenses
- booth expenses (e.g., at county fairs)
- distribution of publications
- electronic communications (e.g., email, fax)
- franked mail
- newspaper inserts
- some postal expenses not covered by the frank
- print and production
- stationary
- various web site expenses (website space on house.gov does not charge to the MRA)

#### *Equipment*

This category includes computer related hardware and software. The Chief Administrative Officer provides guidelines for ensuring inter-office compatibility for Washington office equipment.

#### *Travel*

This category includes expenses-related district travel by members, staffers, or vendors (campaign, committee, and political travel excluded). Vendor travel can be paid when the vendor travels in support of a member's office (e.g., to provide training). The travel budget can include expenses such as leasing a car and mileage.

There is no limit on the number of trips taken as long as sixty consecutive days of travel is not exceeded.

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**Source:** Committee on House Administration (2003)

**Table 2**  
**Average MRA Spending in the 106<sup>th</sup> House**  
mean  
(standard deviation)

	Communications			Office Costs			Staff Pay	Travel	Total Spending (\$)	MRA Spent (%)
	Number of Items Mass Mailed	Frank (\$)	Publication & Reproduction (\$)	Rent (\$)	Equip. (\$)	Misc. (\$)	(\$)	(\$)		
All Members	496,186 (427,313)	90,331 (62,096)	50,557 (43,333)	152,784 (37,956)	125,218 (37,922)	59,620 (19,375)	1,273,017 (137,336)	61,730 (29,873)	1,813,258 (144,865)	93.7 (6.8)
Republicans	459,451 (419,879)	84,489 (60,170)	51,631 (44,428)	145,459 (33,217)	123,632 (34,776)	54,514 (16900)	1,258,115 (130,897)	64,495 (31,442)	1,782,337 (144,685)	92.0 (7.3)
Democrats	537,105 (433,071)	96,796 (63,991)	49,417 (42,162)	160,688 (41,033)	127,255 (40,920)	64,933 (20309)	1,291,633 (137,122)	58,995 (27,936)	1,849,716 (124,347)	95.7 (4.8)
Freshmen	688,068 (435,494)	125,371 (62,968)	91,043 (56,118)	143,984 (36,541)	147,491 (46,960)	68,432 (22819)	1,183,438 (160,882)	63,836 (25,499)	1,823,594 (171,327)	95.1 (5.3)
Non-Freshmen	471,828 (420,607)	85,883 (60,632)	45,417 (38,587)	153,901 (38,032)	122,391 (35,707)	58,501 (18631)	1,284,389 (129,937)	61,463 (30,402)	1,811,946 (141,357)	93.5 (6.9)
Full Committee & Party Leaders	468,269 (434,700)	82,021 (58,845)	35,753 (32,279)	147,095 (45,709)	118,742 (36,151)	56,112 (24199)	1,299,967 (139,177)	53,359 (29,142)	1,793,048 (169,352)	91.7 (8.9)
Non-Leaders	499,327 (426,925)	91,266 (62454)	52,222 (44,127)	153,425 (36,997)	125,947 (38,091)	60,015 (18752)	1,269,985 (136,975)	62,672 (29,844)	1,815,532 (141,915)	93.9 (6.5)

Source: National Taxpayers Union

**Table 3**  
**SUR Estimates of Different Categories of MRA Spending in the 106th Congress**  
(standard error)

Variable	Communications	Office	Staff	Travel	Savings
Intercept	-226903.6 (1317631)	-2592003*** (897701.8)	7796496*** (1972779)	-1664559*** (364429.6)	-1274332*** (1789749)
<i>Political Variables</i>					
Previous Margin	-1527.53*** (328.13)	-205.13 (223.55)	471.33 (491.27)	-0.08 (90.75)	1514.36*** (445.69)
Republican	-9803.57 (8847.43)	-9496.93 (6027.75)	-32543.86** (13246.51)	-314.86 (2447.02)	48987.75*** (12017.53)
Year First Elected	196.37 (661.57)	1397.6*** (450.73)	-3352.43*** (990.52)	854.08*** (182.98)	653.57 (898.62)
Freshman	52623.28*** (14620.53)	1666.92 (9960.96)	-70402.74*** (21890.09)	-7088.17* (4043.74)	-7209.49 (19859.18)
Retiring	-42568.99* (19036.57)	-61693.55*** (12969.61)	-18581.37 (28501.86)	-9986.19* (5265.12)	135472.3*** (25857.52)
Higher Office	78033.41** (32919.76)	14900.66 (22428.22)	-45573.16 (49288.01)	19065.33** (9104.93)	-33265.98 (44715.17)
Chair or Leader	1046.43 (20968.48)	260.44 (14285.82)	-53337.45* (31394.36)	-10377.03* (5799.45)	69571.66** (28481.66)
<i>Constraints</i>					
Size (SqMi)	-0.09 (0.14)	0.22** (0.10)	0.17 (0.22)	0.27*** (0.04)	-0.21 (0.2)
Population	0.13** (0.06)	0.08* (0.04)	-0.10 (0.09)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.18** (0.08)
Cost of Living	-114.39 (389.61)	805.69*** (265.44)	938.51 (583.33)	-123.63 (107.76)	-719.45 (529.21)
Distance from D.C.	3.50 (6.52)	-5.62 (4.44)	8.46 (9.76)	11.95*** (1.80)	16.84* (8.85)
<i>Demand Variables</i>					
Veterans	-737.06 (2550.13)	-397.04 (1737.4)	3527.81 (3818.09)	-505.19 (705.31)	-3176.98 (3463.86)
Seniors	1613.90 (1617.67)	596.10 (1102.12)	2610.52 (2422)	2 (447.41)	-724.14 (2197.29)
Immigrants	1696.65** (681.93)	532.64 (464.60)	735.29 (1020.99)	-666.59*** (188.61)	-1719.44* (926.27)
Families in Poverty	-2971.85*** (1106.23)	1316.69* (753.67)	2289.04 (1656.26)	1621.28*** (305.96)	-3574.12** (1502.6)
Non-White	193.29 (352.17)	621.32** (239.94)	-494.10 (527.28)	-233.02** (97.40)	40.42 (478.36)
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>					

\*\*\* p < .01 \*\* p < .05 \* p < .10 n = 435

