

# Members' Representational Allowance: History and Usage

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# Members' Representational Allowance: History and Usage

Members of the House of Representatives have one consolidated allowance, the Members' Representational Allowance (MRA), with which to operate their offices. The first full year of the MRA was the second session of the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress (1996). It was made subject to regulations and adjustments of the Committee on House Administration. Representatives have a high degree of flexibility to use the MRA to operate their offices in a way that supports their congressional duties and responsibilities, and individual office spending may be as varied as the districts Members represent.

Following FY2010, when the appropriation for the MRA reached its prior peak of \$660.0 million, the account

- decreased in FY2011, FY2012, and FY2013 (-7.1%, -6.4%, and -5.2%, respectively);
- increased from FY2013 to FY2014 (+1.9%);
- remained flat in FY2015 (0.0%);
- remained flat in FY2016 (0.0%);
- increased from FY2016 to FY2017 (+1.5%);
- remained flat in FY2018 (0.0%);
- increased from FY2018 to FY2019 (+2.0%);
- increased from FY2019 to FY2020 (+7.2%);
- increased from FY2020 to FY2021 (+4.1%);
- increased from FY2021 to FY2022 (+21.0%);
- increased from FY2022 to FY2023 (+4.6%); and
- remained flat in FY2024.

For FY2025, the House requested, and the House-reported bill (H.R. 8772, which failed on passage) would have provided, \$843.6 million (+4.1%). Since the beginning of FY2025, the legislative branch has been funded by continuing appropriations resolutions (P.L. 118-83, through December 20, 2024; and P.L. 118-158, through March 14, 2025).

Although operating on a different timeline, changes to the authorizations for individual offices follow a similar pattern.

- In the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress, the House agreed to H.Res. 22, which reduced the amount authorized for salaries and expenses of Member, committee, and leadership offices in 2011 and 2012. This resolution stated that the MRA allowances for these years may not exceed 95% of the amount established for 2010.
- Individual MRAs were further reduced 6.4% in 2012 and 8.2% in 2013.
- In 2014, the individual MRAs increased by 1.0%.
- In 2015, the individual MRAs remained flat.
- In 2016, the individual MRAs increased by 1.0%.
- The individual 2017 allowances initially increased by 3.9% from 2016, and then by another \$25,000 when the House agreed to H.Res. 411.
- In 2018, the individual MRAs increased by \$25,000.
- In 2019, the individual MRAs increased by 1.0%.
- In 2020, the individual MRAs increased by \$62,250.
- In 2021, the individual MRAs increased by \$65,000.
- In 2022, the individual MRAs increased by 21.0%.
- In 2023, the individual MRAs were recalculated generally.

- In 2024, the individual MRAs remained unchanged from the prior year.

This report provides a history and overview of the MRA and examines spending patterns in recent years. The data exclude nonvoting Members, including Delegates and the Resident Commissioner, as well as Members who were not in Congress for the entirety of the session. Information is provided on total spending and spending for various categories, including personnel compensation; travel; rent, utilities, and communications; printing and reproduction; other services; supplies and materials; equipment; and franked mail. The data collected demonstrate that, despite variations, many Members allocate their spending in a similar manner, and spending allocation patterns have remained relatively consistent over time.

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## Introduction

Congressional office spending has been a regular topic of interest to academics, interest groups, newspapers, and constituents for many years. It is a topic frequently mentioned in newspaper articles that address individual Member spending or generally discuss financial accountability among elected officials, and it has been examined by watchdog organizations and interest groups covering congressional spending on internal operations generally. A few scholars have also examined how Members typically spend their office allowances, analyzing spending within broader theories of representation.<sup>1</sup> Individual office spending may be as varied as the districts Members represent. Factors affecting spending include the tenure or interests of the Member, levels of casework, geography, unexpected events, and even the congressional calendar.

While Representatives have a high degree of flexibility to operate their offices in a way that supports their congressional duties and responsibilities, they must operate within a number of restrictions and regulations. The Members' Representational Allowance (MRA), the allowance provided to Members of the House of Representatives to operate their DC and district offices,<sup>2</sup> may only support Members in their official and representational duties. It may not be used for personal or campaign purposes. Additional regulations or restrictions regarding reimbursable expenses may be promulgated by the Committee on House Administration, the Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards, also known as the Franking Commission, and the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, and may be found in a wide variety of sources, including statute, House rules, committee resolutions, the *Members' Handbook*,<sup>3</sup> the Franking Manual,<sup>4</sup> the *House Ethics Manual*, "Dear Colleague" letters, and formal and informal guidance.<sup>5</sup>

This report provides a history of the MRA and overview of recent developments. It also demonstrates actual MRA spending patterns in recent years for all voting Members who served for a defined period.<sup>6</sup> Spending and practices across offices and across time vary, and an

<sup>1</sup> Burdett Loomis and Wendy Schiller, *The Contemporary Congress*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Belmont, CA: Thompson-Wadsworth, 2006), Ch. 7-8; Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Congressmen in Committees* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), p. 1; David Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 49; Gary W. Cox and Jonathan N. Katz, "Why Did the Incumbency Advantage in the U.S. House Elections Grow?" *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 40, no. 2 (May 1996), pp. 479-481; Alexander C. Furnas and Timothy M. LaPira, "Long-term Trends in Congress's Brain Drain," in *Legislative Capacity in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, New America, Sept. 1, 2020, pp. 8-18; and David C.W. Parker and Craig Goodman, "Making a Good Impression: Resource Allocation, Home Styles, and Washington Work," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 4 (November 2009), pp. 493-524. One study of MRA expenditures during the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress, for example, examined the effect of a Member's standing within the House, time in office, and plans for retirement or reelection on spending (Garry Young, "Choosing How to Represent: House Members and the Distribution of Their Representational Allowances," updated version of a paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 7, 2005, pp. 15-18, available at <http://home.gwu.edu/~youngg/research/Homestyle%20Choices%20v3.02.pdf>).

<sup>2</sup> For additional information on the resources available to Members of Congress, see CRS Report RL30064, *Congressional Salaries and Allowances: In Brief*, by Ida A. Brudnick.

<sup>3</sup> Available at <https://cha.house.gov/>.

<sup>4</sup> Available at <https://cha.house.gov/>.

<sup>5</sup> Available at [https://ethics.house.gov/sites/ethics.house.gov/files/documents/2008\\_House\\_Ethics\\_Manual.pdf](https://ethics.house.gov/sites/ethics.house.gov/files/documents/2008_House_Ethics_Manual.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> Information on spending by certain Members was excluded from the observation data and summary findings because of characteristics related to the district or status or tenure of the Member. Nonvoting Members, including the Delegates and the Resident Commissioner, have been subject to the same expense formula as other Members since January 1, 1983 (P.L. 97-357, 96 Stat 1711, October 19, 1982), although the distance from D.C., size of population, or both, may vary greatly from other Members. Members who were not in Congress for all of a calendar year, whether the Member left Congress prior to the end of the year or entered any time after the beginning of the session, were excluded from the calculations from that year since spending for any portion may not be reflective of allocations for an uninterrupted year. (continued...)

examination of additional Congresses would be required for a more complete picture of congressional office spending patterns.

## Establishment of the MRA

The MRA, which was first authorized in 1996, was preceded by multiple allowances for each Member covering different categories of spending—including the former clerk hire allowance, official expenses allowance, and official mail allowance. The establishment of the MRA followed efforts by the House, dating back to the late 1970s, to move to a system of increased flexibility and accountability for Member office operations.<sup>7</sup>

In September 1995, the Committee on House Administration authorized the consolidation of these allowances.<sup>8</sup> Subsequently, in November 1995, the FY1996 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act combined the separate appropriations for personal office staff, official office expenses, and mail costs into a single new appropriations heading, “Members’ Representational Allowances.”<sup>9</sup> According to the House Appropriations Committee report on the FY1996 bill, the consolidation was adopted to simplify Members’ accounting practices and allowed Members to more easily show savings achieved when they did not spend all of their allowance.<sup>10</sup> Subsequent legislation in 1996 further defined the MRA and made it subject to regulations and adjustments adopted by the Committee on House Administration.<sup>11</sup> Additional provisions included in the FY2000 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act amended language regarding official mail and repealed obsolete language and terms.<sup>12</sup>

## Subsequent MRA Legislation

### Appropriations Acts: Administrative Provisions Related to Unexpended Balances and Deficit Reduction

Since the MRA’s establishment, appropriations acts funding the legislative branch have contained—or continued, in the case of a continuing resolution—a provision requiring unused amounts remaining in the MRA be used for deficit reduction or to reduce the federal debt.<sup>13</sup>

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This limitation resulted in the following number of Members included in the data: for 2009, 429; 2010, 428; 2011, 430; 2012, 426; 2013, 428; 2014, 430; 2015, 431; 2016, 431; 2017, 426; 2018, 424; 2019, 428; 2020, 425; 2021, 428; and 2022, 422.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, House Administration Committee Orders 35, 38, 39, and 40 (effective May 1, 1983; August 1, 1985; March 15, 1990; and May 8, 1991, respectively). These were reprinted within the notes for 2 U.S.C. 57 in prior versions of the *U.S. Code*.

<sup>8</sup> Committee Order No. 41, effective September 1, 1995; and Dear Colleague letter from the Committee on House Oversight, “Important Information Regarding New Member Allowance Structure--New Congressional Handbook,” August 3, 1995, reprinted in U.S. Congress, House Committee on Oversight, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Oversight of the House of Representatives during the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress*, 104<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., January 2, 1997, H.Rept. 104-885, pp. 55-56.

<sup>9</sup> P.L. 104-53, 109 Stat. 519 (November 19, 1995).

<sup>10</sup> U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill, 1996*, report to accompany H.R. 1854, 104<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., H.Rept. 104-141, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> P.L. 104-186, 110 Stat. 1719 (August 20, 1996); 2 U.S.C. 5341.

<sup>12</sup> P.L. 106-57, 113 Stat. 415 (September 29, 1999).

<sup>13</sup> The first few laws with this provision referred to the federal deficit. A budget deficit (or surplus) is calculated based (continued...)

This provision was included in legislative branch appropriations bills reported by the House Appropriations Committee in FY1999 and since FY2002. In some years prior to consideration of FY2002 funding, it was added by amendment, including

- H.Amdt. 458 (403-21, Roll no. 415) to H.R. 1854, 104<sup>th</sup> Congress (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1996);
- H.Amdt. 1245 (voice vote) to H.R. 3754, 104<sup>th</sup> Congress (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1997);
- H.Amdt. 287 (voice vote) to H.R. 2209, 105<sup>th</sup> Congress (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1998);
- H.Amdt. 166 (voice vote) to H.R. 1905, 106<sup>th</sup> Congress (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 2000); and
- H.Amdt. 865 (voice vote) to H.R. 4516, 106<sup>th</sup> Congress (Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 2001).

## Other MRA Legislation Introduced

In addition to the appropriations language, numerous bills and resolutions addressing the MRA have been introduced (for examples, see tables in the **Appendix**). This legislation has generally fallen into three major categories:

- Attempts to change the MRA procedure or regulate, prohibit, authorize, disclose, or encourage the use of funds for a particular purpose.
- Stand-alone legislation that would govern the use of unexpended balances, including language to require these funds to go toward deficit reduction.
- Bills or resolutions that would limit or change the growth of overall MRA or adjustment among Members.

MRA-related amendments have also been offered to the legislative branch appropriations bills. These include

- H.Amdt. 213, which was offered to H.R. 3219, the FY2018 legislative branch appropriations bill, increasing funding for the Government Accountability Office, offset by a reduction in the Members' Representational Allowance, which failed by voice vote.
- H.Amdt. 214, which was offered to H.R. 3219, the FY2018 legislative branch appropriations bill, relating to the use of the Members' Representational Allowance for Member security, was agreed to by voice vote.
- H.Amdt. 642, which was offered to H.R. 4487, the FY2015 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, on May 1, 2014. This amendment, which would have

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on total spending of the entire federal government less total revenue collected. Since P.L. 106-57 (September 29, 1999), these provisions have also referred to the debt, stating any amounts remaining after all payments are made "shall be deposited in the Treasury and used for deficit reduction (or, if there is no Federal budget deficit after all such payments have been made, for reducing the Federal debt, in such manner as the Secretary of the Treasury considers appropriate)." Annual legislative branch appropriations bills with this language include P.L. 104-53, P.L. 104-197, P.L. 105-55, P.L. 105-275, P.L. 106-57, P.L. 106-554, P.L. 107-68, P.L. 108-7, P.L. 108-83, P.L. 108-447, P.L. 109-55, P.L. 110-161, P.L. 111-8, P.L. 111-68, P.L. 112-74, P.L. 113-6, P.L. 113-76, P.L. 113-235, P.L. 114-113, P.L. 115-31, P.L. 115-141, P.L. 115-244, P.L. 116-94, P.L. 116-260, P.L. 117-103, and P.L. 117-328. The two long-term continuing resolutions (also known as CRs) enacted during this period—P.L. 110-5 and P.L. 112-10—continued this language from prior years.



- prohibited the use of the MRA for leased vehicles, excluding mobile district offices and short-term vehicle rentals, was not agreed to by a recorded vote (Roll no. 188).
- H.Amdt. 1284, which was offered to H.R. 5882, the FY2013 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, on June 8, 2012. This amendment, which would have prohibited paid advertisements on any internet site other than an official site of the Member, leadership office, or committee involved, was not agreed to by a recorded vote (Roll no. 375).
  - H.Amdt. 708, which was offered to H.R. 2551, the FY2012 Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, on July 21, 2011. The amendment, which prohibited the use of funds to make any payments from any MRA for the leasing of a vehicle in an amount that exceeds \$1,000 in any month, was agreed to by voice vote. This language was included in P.L. 112-74 and subsequent legislative branch appropriations acts. H.Amdt. 709 and H.Amdt. 710, which also proposed restrictions on the MRA, failed by voice vote.

## **Expenses Related to the Coronavirus Pandemic: Additional Flexibilities**

The Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act (CARES Act, P.L. 116-136, enacted March 27, 2020) provided additional funding to allow legislative branch entities “to prevent, prepare for, and respond to coronavirus, domestically or internationally.” Funding included \$25.0 million for the “House of Representatives, Salaries and Expenses.” This account funds all activities of the House, but it does not fund salaries of Members of Congress.

Although individual MRA levels were not adjusted, Member offices were provided with additional flexibilities due to the COVID-19 pandemic. On March 16, 2020, the Committee on House Administration (CHA) issued a “Dear Colleague” letter stating that, while ordinary commuting expenses are not reimbursable, staff experiencing “unique commuting expenses associated with the coronavirus” could seek reimbursement.<sup>14</sup> CHA also “authorized Member and Committee Offices to use their remaining LY19 funds towards unanticipated expenses for teleworking equipment, teletownhalls, and supplies. Acceptable purchases include desktop computers, laptops, tablets, docking stations, monitors, keyboards, mice, printers, multi-function printers (scanner/fax/copier/printer), toner, and cell phones for continuity of operations (COOP).”<sup>15</sup> Offices could also use available legislative year 2020 funds. CHA adopted new regulations governing House paid interns due to the circumstances of the pandemic, including allowing funds to be used for interns in district offices, allowing paid interns to telework, and allowing House offices to issue paid interns House equipment such as laptops or phones.<sup>16</sup> Face masks purchased for official business were also deemed reimbursable.<sup>17</sup> Additional telework

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<sup>14</sup> Dear Colleague letter from the Committee on House Administration, “Update about the coronavirus: commuting expenses,” March 16, 2020. See also Dear Colleague letters of March 6 and March 11, 2020, and joint guidance from the Committee on House Administration and the Committee on Ethics issued on March 15, 2020.

<sup>15</sup> “Use of LY19 Funds for Continuity of Operations Supplies,” March 24, 2020, available to House offices on HouseNet.

<sup>16</sup> Dear Colleague letter from the Committee on House Administration, “Updated House Paid Internship Program Regulations and Intern Telework Policy,” May 6, 2020, and <https://cha.house.gov/member-services/house-paid-internship-program>.

<sup>17</sup> Dear Colleague letter from the Chief Administrative Officer, “Availability of Hand Sanitizer and Face Coverings for Member and Committee Offices,” April 21, 2020.

support, including technical assistance and training and COOP planning, was also provided by the House Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) and the House Sergeant at Arms. In addition, the CAO “purchased several hundred plexiglass barriers of various types,” and the purchase of additional barriers by House offices would be considered a reimbursable expense.<sup>18</sup>

## Other Structural Changes

### Discussions Regarding Potential Revisions to the MRA Formula

Many of the components of the MRA formula predate the establishment of the MRA in September 1995. The long-standing nature of the formula, as well as efforts to reexamine it, have periodically been addressed by the House since 1995. For example, in a December 13, 1995, “Dear Colleague” letter, the Committee on House Oversight (the name of the Committee on House Administration during the 104<sup>th</sup> and 105<sup>th</sup> Congresses) stated (in H.Rept. 104-885)<sup>19</sup>

The formulas are long-standing and were used when Members’ allowances were in distinct and separate funds, the intention was to produce an equitable allowance for all Members based on geographical location, and varying population and costs in their districts. This approach is under review to determine its equity in light of the single MRA fund.

In the Committee on House Administration activity report for the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress (H.Rept. 106-1056), the minority committee members stated:<sup>20</sup>

Another significant improvement made by the Committee since 1995, consolidation of the Members’ office allowances into one Members’ Representational Allowance (MRA), continued a trend begun under Democrats during the 1970s. The flexibility afforded by a single MRA has relieved many administrative burdens imposed by the prior scheme of multiple, discrete office accounts. However, in this area much work remains because the MRA formula, which has not been modified since 1986, has not kept pace with changes in the economy and how Members operate their offices. A recent study reconfirmed that House personal staff earn on average substantially less than comparably educated workers in the national economy and elsewhere in the federal government, yielding high staff turnover and low tenure in Members’ offices impairing Members’ ability to achieve their goals. In addition, high costs of computers and other commodities Members must buy also compete for the available resources. In the First Session of the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress, the Committee should re-examine the MRA formula, and make appropriate adjustments effective for the Second Session. If Members are to represent their constituents effectively, they must have adequate resources.

Some years later, the House Appropriations Committee’s report to accompany the FY2020 Legislative Branch Appropriations bill (H.Rept. 116-64) stated:<sup>21</sup>

*Analysis of Members’ Representational Allowances:* The Committee believes that the formula used to calculate the MRA is due for a review and re-examination. For example, one issue that merits study is whether the MRA adequately supports the cost of district

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<sup>18</sup> Dear Colleague letter from the Chief Administrative Officer and the Attending Physician, “Guidelines for Modified Office Occupancy,” June 15, 2020.

<sup>19</sup> U.S. Congress, House Committee on Oversight, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Oversight of the House of Representatives during the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress*, 104<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., January 2, 1997, H.Rept. 104-885, p. 77.

<sup>20</sup> U.S. Congress, House Committee on House Administration, *Report on the Activities of the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives during the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress*, 106<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., January 2, 2001, H.Rept. 106-1056, pp. 25-26.

<sup>21</sup> U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations, 2020*, report to accompany H.R. 2779, 116<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., 2019, H.Rept. 116-64, p. 7.

office rent in districts where there is no Federal office space available for rent and districts with above-average market rents. The Committee understands that the CAO is conducting an analysis of the MRA formula and looks forward to the results of that analysis.

Interest in the MRA formula continued, and the House Appropriations Committee's report to accompany the FY2021 Legislative Branch Appropriations bill (H.Rept. 116-447) stated:<sup>22</sup>

In H.Rept. 116-64, the Committee directed the CAO to produce and submit to the Committee a report on the adequacy of district office rent allocations in the MRA in districts where there is no Federal office space available for rent and districts with above-average market rate rents. The Committee looks forward to receiving this report in a timely manner.

### Formula Recalculation in 2023

The 2023 individual MRA formula was revised generally through the adoption of Committee Resolution 118-13.<sup>23</sup> The MRA components continued to be

- a clerk-hire component (revised for 2023 to \$1,434,751 for all Members);
- an official expense component (based on one standard component—revised for 2023 to \$134,412 for all Members for office expenditures—and two variable components—calculated based on travel<sup>24</sup> and district office rent); and
- an official mail component (based on nonbusiness delivery stops in a congressional district).

The formula and individual authorized levels for 2024 remained unchanged since the 2023 revisions.<sup>25</sup>

### Allowable Expenses: Most Recent Changes

The Committee on House Administration has sometimes amended language in the *Members' Congressional Handbook* governing allowable expenses through the adoption of committee resolutions. Committee resolutions related to the MRA adopted in the 117<sup>th</sup> and 118<sup>th</sup> Congresses include<sup>26</sup>

- Committee Resolution 117-14 (relating to Community Funding Projects and the Wounded Warrior Program<sup>27</sup> and House Gold Star Family Fellowship Program), adopted by committee poll conducted April 22, 2021, through April 26, 2021;
- Committee Resolution 117-22 (relating to the purchase of certain tokens for constituents, amending regulations related to allowable off-site events, and

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<sup>22</sup> U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations, 2021*, report to accompany H.R. 7611, 116<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., 2020, H.Rept. 116-447, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> See Committee on House Administration, "Committee Resolutions," <https://cha.house.gov/committee-resolutions>.

<sup>24</sup> According to the committee resolution, travel includes a "Variable amount for official travel expenses, including travel between Washington, D.C., and the district, as well as local official travel within the district and out of district official travel."

<sup>25</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from July 1, 2024, to September 30, 2024, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 118-170, 118<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., p. 3275.

<sup>26</sup> For resolutions from the 118<sup>th</sup> Congress, see <https://cha.house.gov/committee-resolutions>. For resolutions from the 116<sup>th</sup> and 117<sup>th</sup> Congresses, see <https://democrats-cha.house.gov/committee-activity/committee-resolutions>.

<sup>27</sup> Renamed the Green and Gold Congressional Aide Program (P.L. 117-103, div. I, title I, §114, Mar. 15, 2022, 136 Stat. 511; 2 U.S.C. §5514).

allowing for the purchase of “challenge coins”) adopted by a committee poll conducted June 13, 2022, through June 16, 2022;

- Committee Resolution 117-25 (relating to duty stations for Members of the House and travel expenses while on official business), adopted by a committee poll conducted December 23, 2022, through December 27, 2022;
- Committee Resolution 118-15 (amending Committee Resolution 117-25), adopted by a committee poll conducted on March 31, 2023;
- Committee Resolution 118-22 (a resolution to update and modernize the *Members' Congressional Handbook*), adopted unanimously during a full committee markup on September 28, 2023; and
- Committee Resolution 118-34 (a resolution to update and modernize the *Members' Congressional Handbook*), adopted unanimously during a full committee markup on April 30, 2024.

### Employees for Congressional Member Organizations

Another structural change in recent years relates to the use of shared staff of Congressional Member Organizations (CMOs). For additional information, see Committee Resolution 117-8; the Eligible Congressional Member Organizations Handbook;<sup>28</sup> CRS Report R40683, *Congressional Member Organizations (CMOs) and Informal Member Groups: Their Purpose and Activities, History, and Formation*, by Sarah J. Eckman; and separate orders included in the resolutions for adopting the Rules of the House of Representatives for the 118<sup>th</sup> (H.Res. 5) and 119<sup>th</sup> (H.Res. 5) Congresses.<sup>29</sup>

## Appropriations and Allocations: Timing Differences with the Overall Fiscal Year Appropriation and Individual Member Calendar Year Authorization

Funding is provided on a fiscal year (beginning October 1) basis and a single total amount for all Members is provided under the appropriations heading, “Members’ Representational Allowances,” within the House account “Salaries and Expenses” contained in the annual legislative branch appropriations bills.

Allowance or authorization levels for individual Members of the House are authorized in statute and are regulated and adjusted by the Committee on House Administration pursuant to 2 U.S.C. 4313 et seq. and House Rule X(1)(j). The individual MRAs for the 441 Members, Delegates, and the Resident Commissioner are authorized for periods that correspond closely to the sessions of Congress—from January 3 of each year through January 2 of the following year.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Available at “Handbooks and Rules,” Committee on House Administration, <https://cha.house.gov/member-services/handbooks>.

<sup>29</sup> See also the section-by-section analysis for the resolution for the 119<sup>th</sup> Congress: <https://docs.house.gov/billsthisweek/20241230/119th%20Congress%20Rules%20Section%20by%20Section%20FINAL.pdf>.

<sup>30</sup> The delegates represent American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, the Virgin Islands, and the District of Columbia. Puerto Rico is represented by a resident commissioner. For additional information, see CRS Report R40555, *Delegates to the U.S. Congress: History and Current Status*, by Jane A. Hudiburg.

In addition to the complexity involved in different time frames and split responsibilities—with the appropriation on a fiscal year determined by the Committee on Appropriations, and the authorization roughly following the calendar year as allocated by the Committee on House Administration—the House has indicated that the total authorized level for all MRAs may be more than the total appropriation due to projections on spend-out rates.

For example, the House Appropriations Committee report accompanying the FY2020 legislative branch appropriations bill stated that, of the amount recommended, “Almost half of the increase is needed just to bring the appropriation more in line with currently authorized spending.”<sup>31</sup>

A discussion of the use of prior spending patterns in the determination of MRA appropriations levels was included in numerous House reports, particularly in the first few years of the MRA.<sup>32</sup> For example, the FY1997 report accompanying the legislative branch appropriations bill stated,

Many Members do not expend their full allowance. That is why the Committee bill does not fully fund this account. The frugality of those Members is already projected in the bill presented by the Committee. Since these prospective savings are already taken in the bill, they reduce the need for appropriated funds and, therefore, contribute directly to the reduction in federal spending and consequently lower the projected deficit. If the Committee bill were to fully fund the Members' Representational Allowance, the amount appropriated would have to be increased by \$27 million. Thus, the account is underfunded by almost 7%.<sup>33</sup>

This difference was also discussed during a hearing on the FY2009 legislative branch appropriations requests.<sup>34</sup>

Pursuant to law, late-arriving bills may be paid for up to two years following the end of the MRA year.<sup>35</sup> The permissibility of payment for late-arriving bills does not provide flexibility in the

<sup>31</sup> U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill, 2020*, H.Rept. 116-64, report to accompany H.R. 2779, p. 2.

<sup>32</sup> U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill, 1996*, H.Rept. 104-141, report to accompany H.R. 1854, p. 12; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill, 1998*, H.Rept. 105-196, report to accompany H.R. 2209, p. 10; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill, 1999*, H.Rept. 105-595, report to accompany H.R. 4112, p. 10; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill, 2000*, H.Rept. 106-156, report to accompany H.R. 1905, p. 11; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill, 2001*, H.Rept. 106-635, report to accompany H.R. 4516, p. 11; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill, 2010*, H.Rept. 111-160, report to accompany H.R. 2918, p. 8.

<sup>33</sup> U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill, 1997*, H.Rept. 104-657, report to accompany H.R. 3754, p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> At this hearing, Chief Administrative Officer Dan Beard indicated that the appropriation “is usually 92 or 93 percent of the authorization.” U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on the Legislative Branch, *Legislative Branch Appropriations for 2009*, hearings, 110<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., April 9, 2008, pp. 518-519, 528-529.

<sup>35</sup> The two-year period for late receipts for Congress is shorter relative to annual appropriations for much of the rest of the federal government, which is subject to a five-year period (31 U.S.C. §1551 et al.). This is discussed in the *Principles of Federal Appropriations Law*. This publication states: “For appropriations of the House and Senate, unobligated balances more than two years old cannot be used short of an act of Congress. Instead, obligations chargeable to appropriations that have been expired for more than 2 years ‘shall be liquidated from any appropriations for the same general purpose, which, at the time of payment, are available for disbursement.’ 2 U.S.C. §102a.” United States General Accounting Office, *Principles of Federal Appropriations Law*, Third Edition, vol. I, January 2004, <http://www.gao.gov/special.pubs/3rdEditionVol1.pdf>, pp. 5-76 – 5-77. Chapter 5 (“Availability of Appropriations: Time”) also has a section on the “Evolution of the Law” related to the treatment of unexpended balances. Another section in this chapter, on “Closed Appropriation Accounts” contains the following footnote on Treasury operations and the treatment of closed appropriations: “We commonly talk about “returning” appropriation balances to the (continued...)”



timing of the obligation, a point emphasized in the *Members' Congressional Handbook*, which states: “all expenses incurred will be charged to the allowance available on the date the services were provided or the expenses were incurred” and the “MRA is not transferable between years.”<sup>36</sup>

## Fiscal Year Appropriations: Funding History

The MRA is funded in the House “Salaries and Expenses” account in the annual legislative branch appropriations bills. One single line-item provides funding for all Members’ MRAs.

The FY2010 MRA funding level of \$660.0 million was not exceeded until FY2022.

The FY2010 level was subsequently reduced to \$613.1 million in FY2011 (-7.1%), and then to \$573.9 million in FY2012 (-6.4%). The FY2012 funding level was continued in the FY2013 continuing resolution (P.L. 113-6), not including a 5.2% sequestration (i.e., an across-the-board rescission of nonexempt spending). The FY2014 level of \$554.3 million was continued in the FY2015 act (P.L. 113-235) and the FY2016 act (P.L. 114-113).

At an April 20, 2016, markup of the FY2017 bill, the House Appropriations Committee Legislative Branch Subcommittee recommended a continuation of this level. At the May 17, 2016, full committee markup, an amendment offered by Representative Farr to increase this level by \$8.3 million, to \$562.6 million (+1.5%), was agreed to. This level was included in the House-passed FY2017 bill (H.R. 5325). H.R. 5325 was not enacted, however, this increase was provided in the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2017 (P.L. 115-31), which was enacted on May 5, 2017.

The FY2017 level was continued for FY2018. The FY2019 level of \$573.6 million represented an increase of \$10.998 million (+2.0%). The FY2020 law (P.L. 116-94) provided \$615.0 million, an increase of \$41.4 million (+7.2%). The FY2021 law (P.L. 116-260) provided \$640.0 million (+4.1%). The FY2022 law (P.L. 117-103) provided \$774.4 million (+21.0%).

The FY2023 act (P.L. 117-328) provided \$810.0 million (+4.6%), a level continued in the FY2024 Further Consolidated Appropriations Act (P.L. 118-47).

For FY2025, the House requested, and the House-reported bill (H.R. 8772, which failed on passage) would have provided, \$843.6 million (+4.1%). The report accompanying H.R. 8772 (H.Rept. 118-555) stated that the funding level would reflect “an increase of MRA spending closer to the authorized amounts compared to recent historical trends.” The House did not consider further separate legislative branch funding prior to the start of FY2025 on October 1, 2024, and the legislative branch has since been funded by continuing appropriations resolutions (P.L. 118-83, through December 20, 2024; and P.L. 118-158, through March 14, 2025).

**Table 1** provides the appropriation for the overall MRA account for all Members from FY1996 through FY2024. **Figure 1** shows the same information in current and constant (2024) dollars.

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Treasury. In point of fact, for the most part, they never leave the Treasury to begin with. An appropriation does not represent cash actually set aside in the Treasury. Government obligations are liquidated as needed through revenues and borrowing. Thus, the reversion of funds to the Treasury is not a movement of actual cash, but a bookkeeping adjustment that in the various ways discussed in the text, affects the government’s legal authority to incur obligations and make expenditures.”

<sup>36</sup> The *Members' Handbook*, available at <https://cha.house.gov/>.

**Table I. MRA Appropriations: FY1996-FY2024**

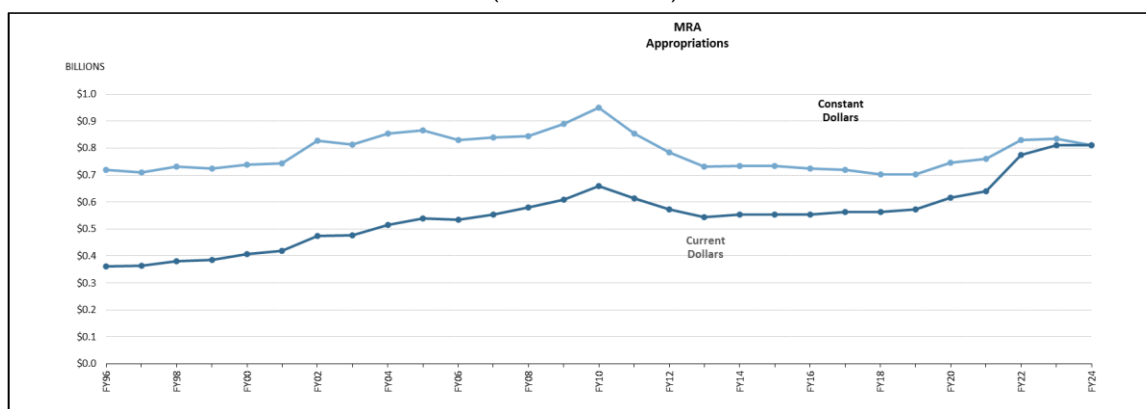
(in thousands of current dollars)

Fiscal Year	\$	Fiscal Year	\$	Fiscal Year	\$	Fiscal Year	\$
1996	360,503	2004	514,454	2012	573,939	2020	615,000
1997	363,313	2005	538,655	2013	543,919	2021	640,000
1998	379,789	2006	534,109	2014	554,318	2022	774,400
1999	385,279	2007	554,716	2015	554,318	2023	810,000
2000	406,279	2008	579,548	2016	554,318	2024	810,000
2001	420,182	2009	609,000	2017	562,632		
2002	475,422	2010	660,000	2018	562,632		
2003	476,536	2011	613,052	2019	573,630		

**Source:** Annual and supplemental appropriations conference reports, acts, and committee prints.

**Figure I. MRA Funding: Current and Constant Dollars**

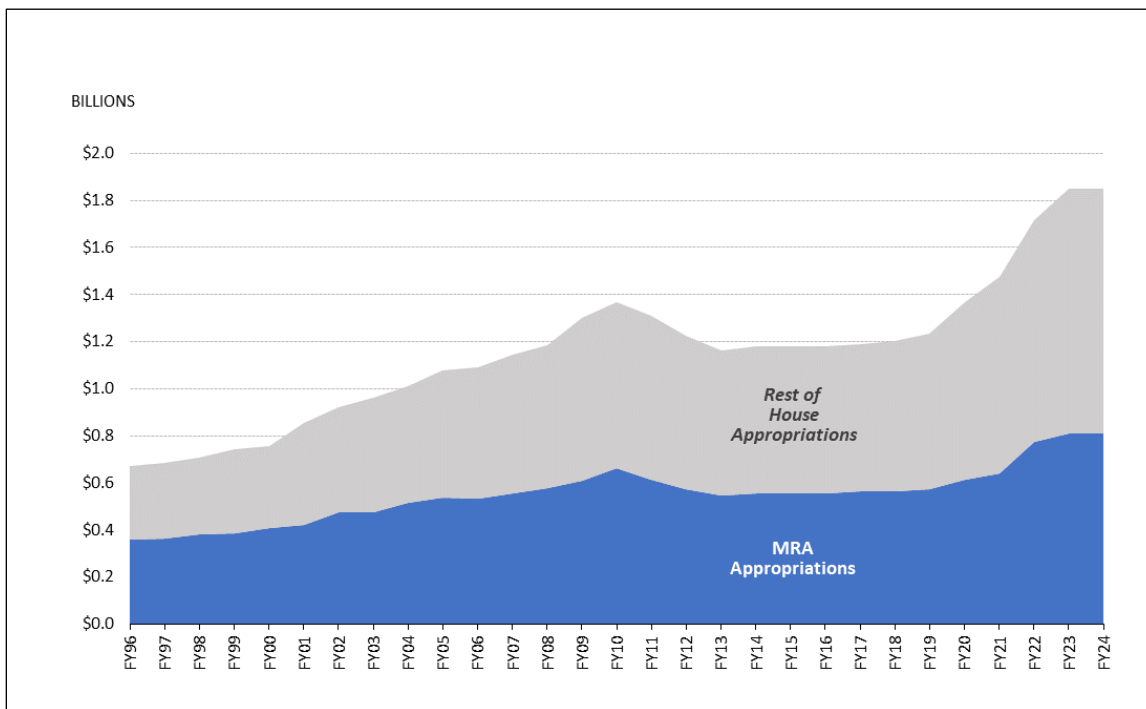
(FY1996-FY2024)



**Source:** CRS calculations based upon annual legislative branch appropriations acts, including supplemental appropriations and rescissions. Constant (2024) dollars based on Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers (CPI-U, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics).

**Figure 2** shows that the MRA is the largest category of appropriations within the House of Representatives, regularly comprising approximately 43%-53% of House appropriations. The MRA appropriation does not include certain benefits—including any government contributions toward health and life insurance and retirement, which are paid through another House account.

**Figure 2. MRA Funding Compared to Overall House Appropriations**  
(current dollars)



**Source:** CRS calculations based upon annual legislative branch appropriations acts, including supplemental appropriations and rescissions.

## Establishment of a Separate Account for Paid Interns in FY2019

Prior to FY2019, any payments for interns in House Member offices were derived from the MRA. In FY2019, an administrative provision in the legislative branch appropriations act (P.L. 115-244) established a separate allowance for interns in Member offices.

In the initial year, \$8.8 million was provided for paid interns. In FY2020, \$11.0 million was provided; in FY2021, \$11.0 million; in FY2022, \$15.4 million; and in FY2023, FY2024, the FY2025 request, and the FY2025 House-reported bill (H.R. 8772, which failed on passage), \$20.6 million.

## Individual MRAs for Members: Formula and Authorized Levels Since 1996

The MRA for each Member is set by the Committee on House Administration based on three components: personnel, official office expenses, and official (franked) mail. The personnel allowance component is the same for each Member. The office expenses and mail allowances components vary from Member to Member. The office expense component includes a base amount; a mileage allowance, which is calculated based on the distance between a Member's district and Washington, DC; and an office space allowance, which is based on the cost of office space in a Member's district. The official mail component is calculated based on the number of nonbusiness addresses in a Member's district. The three components result in a single MRA authorization for each Representative that can be used to pay for official expenses.



**Table 2** demonstrates the variation in authorization levels that resulted from this formula since 1996. **Figure 3** presents this information graphically.

The average 2022 individual authorization represented the first authorization to exceed the 2010 level in current (non-inflation adjusted) dollars.

Additional information on actions taken to adjust the annual individual allowances follows.

**Table 2. Variation in Individual MRA Authorization Levels: 1996-2024**

(current dollars)

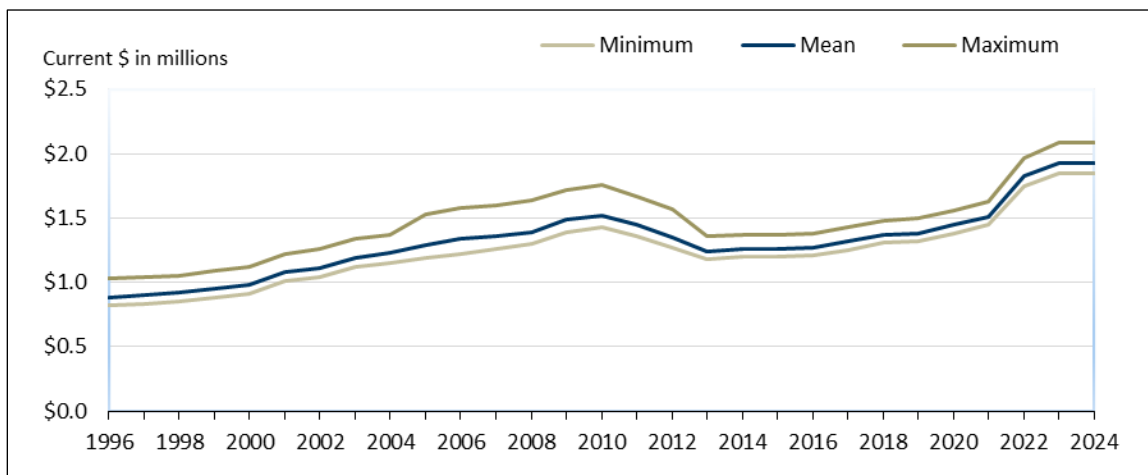
Year	Minimum	Average (Mean)	Maximum	Lower Quartile (25 <sup>th</sup> Percentile)	Median (50 <sup>th</sup> Percentile)	Upper Quartile (75 <sup>th</sup> Percentile)
1996	\$824,671	\$886,751	\$1,026,976	\$865,420	\$881,682	\$902,167
1997	\$836,231	\$901,165	\$1,038,535	\$879,620	\$896,606	\$918,490
1998	\$854,904	\$919,396	\$1,056,176	\$897,967	\$914,672	\$936,395
1999	\$885,424	\$952,102	\$1,088,405	\$930,137	\$947,661	\$967,940
2000	\$914,895	\$985,831	\$1,122,018	\$962,571	\$981,204	\$1,001,807
2001	\$1,009,420	\$1,081,069	\$1,216,831	\$1,057,403	\$1,076,568	\$1,097,123
2002	\$1,043,283	\$1,114,319	\$1,258,737	\$1,089,931	\$1,109,598	\$1,130,975
2003	\$1,116,519	\$1,191,527	\$1,338,831	\$1,166,075	\$1,186,107	\$1,212,784
2004	\$1,152,825	\$1,234,976	\$1,370,805	\$1,206,116	\$1,228,892	\$1,258,233
2005	\$1,188,715	\$1,286,784	\$1,524,617	\$1,253,938	\$1,278,424	\$1,310,388
2006	\$1,218,685	\$1,335,086	\$1,574,753	\$1,301,692	\$1,326,374	\$1,360,650
2007	\$1,262,065	\$1,356,251	\$1,600,539	\$1,322,060	\$1,346,203	\$1,383,810
2008	\$1,299,292	\$1,393,391	\$1,637,766	\$1,359,350	\$1,383,430	\$1,420,454
2009	\$1,391,370	\$1,484,174	\$1,722,242	\$1,451,041	\$1,475,849	\$1,510,755
2010	\$1,428,395	\$1,522,114	\$1,759,575	\$1,488,258	\$1,513,947	\$1,549,464
2011	\$1,356,975	\$1,446,009	\$1,671,596	\$1,413,845	\$1,438,250	\$1,471,991
2012	\$1,270,129	\$1,353,205	\$1,564,613	\$1,323,334	\$1,345,972	\$1,377,773
2013	\$1,183,717	\$1,243,560	\$1,356,445	\$1,226,726	\$1,240,212	\$1,257,959
2014	\$1,195,554	\$1,255,909	\$1,370,009	\$1,239,263	\$1,252,531	\$1,270,493
2015	\$1,195,554	\$1,255,960	\$1,370,009	\$1,239,165	\$1,252,531	\$1,270,516
2016	\$1,207,510	\$1,268,520	\$1,383,709	\$1,251,557	\$1,265,056	\$1,283,221
2017 <sup>a</sup>	\$1,251,177	\$1,315,523	\$1,433,709	\$1,298,423	\$1,311,873	\$1,329,280
2018	\$1,307,510	\$1,368,520	\$1,483,709	\$1,351,457	\$1,365,056	\$1,383,243
2019	\$1,320,585	\$1,382,329	\$1,498,546	\$1,365,073	\$1,378,707	\$1,397,053
2020	\$1,382,835	\$1,444,579	\$1,560,796	\$1,427,323	\$1,440,957	\$1,459,303
2021	\$1,447,835	\$1,509,219	\$1,625,796	\$1,492,110	\$1,505,847	\$1,524,314
2022	\$1,751,880	\$1,826,590	\$1,967,213	\$1,805,711	\$1,822,208	\$1,844,406
2023	\$1,849,149	\$1,928,100	\$2,088,499	\$1,904,201	\$1,920,850	\$1,948,042
2024	\$1,849,149	\$1,928,100	\$2,088,499	\$1,904,201	\$1,920,850	\$1,948,042

**Source:** CRS calculations based on the *Statements of Disbursements* for 1996-2024 (in current dollars). The Member allowances are available from January 3 through January 2 of the following year.

**Notes:** The calculations exclude nonvoting Members, including Delegates and the Resident Commissioner. Members elected by special election and sworn in during the quarter are also excluded since the allowance level may be prorated. Calculations in any year may vary by quarter due to turnover.

- a. Levels represent the initial 2017 authorizations and do not include the increase of \$25,000 for each authorization provided by H.Res. 411, which was agreed to on June 27, 2017.

**Figure 3. MRA Allowances by Member: Maximum, Minimum, and Mean**  
(current dollars, 1996-2024)



**Source:** CRS calculations based on the *Statements of Disbursements* including expenses for 1996-2024 (in current dollars). The Member allowances are available from January 3 through January 2 of the following year.

**Notes:** The calculations exclude nonvoting Members, including Delegates and the Resident Commissioner. Members elected by special election and sworn in after the start of the session also excluded since their allowance level may be prorated. Calculations in any year may vary by quarter due to turnover.

## 112<sup>th</sup> Congress: Resolution Reducing Individual Authorizations

In the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress (2011-2012), the House agreed to H.Res. 22, which reduced the amount authorized for salaries and expenses of Member, committee, and leadership offices in 2011 and 2012. This resolution, agreed to on January 6, 2011, stated that the MRA allowances for these years may not exceed 95% of the amount established for 2010. Individual MRAs, which reflect authorized levels from January 3 of each year through January 2 of the following year, subsequently were reduced, resulting in a total reduction of 11.08% from 2010 to 2012.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> The *Statement* contains the following: "The total amount of each Member's 2012 Representational Allowance is 88.92% of the amount authorized in 2010. This is in accordance with a 5% reduction to the 2010 authorization mandated in House Resolution 22, agreed to on January 6, 2011, and a 6.4% reduction to the 2011 authorization as reflected in H.R. 2055, the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2012 (P.L. 112-74)." U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from October 1, 2012, to December 31, 2012, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 112-160, 112<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., p. 2409.

## 113<sup>th</sup> Congress: Multiple Influences on Individual Authorized Levels

Individual authorization levels for 2013 (January 3, 2013-January 2, 2014), which were affected by both redistricting<sup>38</sup> and sequestration,<sup>39</sup> were reduced by a total of 8.2% according to the *Statement of Disbursements*.<sup>40</sup> For legislative year 2014 (January 3, 2014-January 2, 2015), each Member's MRA increased by 1.0%.<sup>41</sup>

### Subsequent Years

The FY2015 MRA appropriations level remained unchanged from FY2014, and Members' individual allowances were continued from legislative year 2014 to 2015.<sup>42</sup>

The FY2016 MRA appropriations level remained unchanged from FY2014 and FY2015, although Members' individual allowances for legislative year 2016 were increased by 1.0%.<sup>43</sup>

The FY2017 MRA appropriations level increased by 1.5% from FY2016. According to the *Statement of Disbursements*, each Member's authorization for 2017 was increased "by approximately 3.9% of the average MRA."<sup>44</sup> This resulted in an average increase of approximately \$47,000.

A shooting on June 14, 2017, at a practice for the Congressional Baseball Game, which wounded one Member of Congress, two U.S. Capitol Police (USCP) officers, and two members of the public in Alexandria, VA, had an impact on consideration of MRA funding for FY2018.

The report accompanying the legislative branch appropriations bill (H.R. 3162), in addition to addressing funding for the Capitol Police and the House Sergeant at Arms, indicated that the Appropriations "Committee has provided resources necessary to support the Committee on House Administration's plan to increase Member's Representational Allowance (MRA) by \$25,000 per

<sup>38</sup> The individual authorizations correspond to the legislative year (January 3-January 2), while appropriations correspond to the fiscal year (beginning October 1). The 2013 authorization was the first to follow redistricting after the 2010 census and 2012 election cycle. Since the variables in the MRA formula—including distance from DC, the cost of office space, and the number of nonbusiness addresses—account for district characteristics, the individual MRA may vary following redistricting.

<sup>39</sup> Pursuant to the Budget Control Act of 2011 (P.L. 112-25), as amended by the American Taxpayer Relief Act of 2012 (P.L. 112-240), a sequestration order was issued on March 1, 2013 (White House, President Obama, Sequestration Order for Fiscal Year 2013 Pursuant to Section 251A of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act, As Amended, March 1, 2013, available at <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/DCPD-201300132/pdf/DCPD-201300132.pdf>).

<sup>40</sup> The *Statement* contained the following: "Because the House is operating under a continuing resolution at FY 2012 levels, the total amount of funds available for MRAs remains unchanged.\* However, to account for redistricting and other factors, individual MRAs have been recalculated using the sum of the following components adjusted proportionally to ensure the total is consistent with 2012 funding levels.... \*This amount was reduced on March 4, 2013, by 8.2% to comply with sequestration orders issued pursuant to the Budget Control Act of 2011." U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from April 1, 2013, to June 30, 2013, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 113-41, 113<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., p. 2597.

<sup>41</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from April 1, 2014, to June 30, 2014, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 113-141, 113<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., p. 2559.

<sup>42</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from January 1, 2015, to March 31, 2015, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 114-29, 114<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., p. 2854.

<sup>43</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from January 1, 2016, to March 31, 2016, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 114-120, 114<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., p. 2861. For information on the relationship between the appropriations and allocations, see the section on "Appropriations Acts: Administrative Provisions Related to Unexpended Balances and Deficit Reduction."

<sup>44</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from April 1, 2017, to June 30, 2017, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 115-52, 115<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., p. 2664.

account this year for the purpose of providing Member security when away from the Capitol complex.”<sup>45</sup>

The House approved the MRA authorization increases when it agreed to H.Res. 411, by unanimous consent, on June 27, 2017.

As stated above, during consideration in the House of the FY2018 legislative branch appropriations bill (H.R. 3219)<sup>46</sup> on July 26, 2017, two amendments related to the MRA were offered: H.Amdt. 214 was agreed to by voice vote, and H.Amdt. 213 failed by voice vote.

Subsequently, on July 28, 2017, House Sergeant at Arms Paul D. Irving issued a “Dear Colleague” letter announcing that his office “will assume the cost of and oversee future District Office security upgrades, maintenance, and monthly monitoring fees.”<sup>47</sup> These upgrades were previously supported through the MRA.

On August 15, 2017, the Committee on House Administration issued a “Dear Colleague” letter announcing updates to the *Members' Congressional Handbook* incorporating these and other changes.<sup>48</sup> The MRA remains available for security measures necessitated by official duties as discussed in the letter and the *Handbook*.

The FY2018 act continued the FY2017 level of \$562.6 million. According to the *Statement of Disbursements*, the “Members’ Representational Allowance for 2018 utilizes each Member’s 2017 amount and increases that amount by \$25,000.”<sup>49</sup>

The FY2019 act provided \$573.6 million (+2.0%). According to the *Statement of Disbursements*, Members’ individual allowances for legislative year 2019 were increased by 1.0%.<sup>50</sup>

The FY2020 law (P.L. 116-94) provided \$615.0 million, an increase of \$41.4 million (+7.2%). According to the *Statement of Disbursements*, Members’ individual allowances for legislative year 2020 were increased by \$62,250.<sup>51</sup>

The FY2021 law (P.L. 116-260) provided \$640.0 million (+4.1%). According to the *Statement of Disbursements*, Members’ individual allowances for legislative year 2021 were increased by \$65,000.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Legislative Branch, *Legislative Branch, 2018*, report to accompany H.R. 3162, 115<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., July 6, 2017, H.Rept. 115-199, p. 3. See also the *Members' Congressional Handbook*, <https://cha.house.gov>.

<sup>46</sup> On July 18, the text of H.R. 3162 was included in a print issued by the House Rules Committee entitled, “Text of the Defense, Military Construction, Veterans Affairs, Legislative Branch, and Energy And Water Development National Security Appropriations Act, 2018” (Committee Print 115-30, which also contains the text of H.R. 3219, H.R. 2998, and H.R. 3266). Subsequently, the House agreed on September 14 to H.Res. 500, which included the text of Rules Committee Print 115-31, as amended, in an amendment in the nature of a substitute for H.R. 3354. The text of the legislative branch bill, as agreed to in H.R. 3219, was unchanged. H.R. 3354, which then included text for all 12 appropriations bills, was agreed to in the House on September 14, 2017.

<sup>47</sup> Available to House offices at <https://e-dearcolleague.house.gov/>.

<sup>48</sup> The updated Handbook is available at <https://cha.house.gov/>.

<sup>49</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from July 1, 2018, to September 30, 2018, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 115-161, 115<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., p. 2523.

<sup>50</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from January 1, 2019, to March 31, 2019, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 116-26, 116<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., p. 2981.

<sup>51</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from January 1, 2020, to March 31, 2020, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 116-116, 116<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., p. 3399.

<sup>52</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from April 1, 2021, to June 30, 2021, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 117-48, 117<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., p. 2657.

The FY2022 law (P.L. 117-103) provided \$774.4 million (+21.0%). According to the *Statement of Disbursements*, Members' individual allowances for legislative year 2022 also increased by 21.0%.<sup>53</sup>

The FY2023 law (P.L. 117-328) provides \$810.0 million (+4.6%). The 2023 individual MRA formula was revised generally through the adoption of Committee Resolution 118-13. According to the *Statement of Disbursements*, the formula continued to account for a clerk-hire component, an official expense component (office, travel, and district office rent components), and an official mail component.<sup>54</sup>

The FY2024 law (P.L. 118-47) continued the FY2023 funding level. The 2024 individual MRA remained the same as in 2023.<sup>55</sup>

## Guidelines, Operations, and Sources of Regulations

Expenses related to official and representational duties are reimbursable under the MRA in accordance with the regulations contained in the *Members' Congressional Handbook*.

The *Handbook*, for example, states that a

Member is personally responsible for the payment of any official and representational expenses incurred that exceed the provided MRA or that are incurred but are not reimbursable under these regulations.<sup>56</sup>

Certain expenses, including personal expenses, alcoholic beverages, and gifts and donations other than those specified, are also not reimbursable. The MRA is not transferable between years, and unspent funds from one year cannot be obligated in any subsequent year.

Other limitations on the use of official funds are also contained in House Rule XXIV.

## “Dear Colleague” Letters Related to the MRA

“Dear Colleague” letters—which are distributed among Members, committees, and officers—frequently mention the MRA. These “Dear Colleague” letters have announced changes in the dissemination of information or the processing of vouchers, elaborated on procedures, reminded Members and staff of guidelines on the use of funds, and asked for support for MRA legislation.

The Committee on House Administration, for example, has distributed regular annual “Dear Colleagues” announcing or explaining regulations, such as those pertaining to end-of-year expenses, district office space, and travel.<sup>57</sup> Other letters have been issued regarding allowable

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<sup>53</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from April 1, 2022, to June 30, 2022, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 117-130, 117<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., p. 3085.

<sup>54</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from January 1, 2023, to March 31, 2023, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 118-27, 118<sup>th</sup> Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> sess., p. 3535. See also Committee on House Administration, committee resolutions, <https://cha.house.gov/committee-activity/committee-resolutions-118>.

<sup>55</sup> U.S. Congress, House, *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, as compiled by the Chief Administrative Officer, from July 1, 2024, to September 30, 2024, part 3 of 3, H.Doc. 118-170, 118<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., p. 3275.

<sup>56</sup> The *Members' Handbook* is available at <https://cha.house.gov/>.

<sup>57</sup> For example, recent Dear Colleague letters issued by the Committee on House Administration have included “End-of-Year Expenses: Policies and Best Practices,” November 15, 2021; “End-of-Year Expenses: Policies and Best Practices,” December 6, 2018; and “Updates to the Members' and Committees' Congressional Handbooks,” March 5, 2018.

franking and MRA expenses for the annual Congressional Art Competition or travel for a Member's funeral service, as well as reminders of prohibited expenses.<sup>58</sup> The letters have explained the implication of new regulations, rulings, or decisions on MRA spending.<sup>59</sup> They also have summarized changes to the *Statement of Disbursements* and announced the publication of new quarterly information.<sup>60</sup>

## Categories of Spending

House spending is categorized by the standard budget object classes used for the federal government.<sup>61</sup> These may include

- personnel compensation;
- travel;
- rent, communications, and utilities;
- printing and reproduction;
- other services;
- supplies and materials;<sup>62</sup>
- transportation of things; and
- equipment.

The disbursement volumes also contain a category for franked mail.

Certain costs are not included in the MRA and will not be reflected in these totals. The costs include the salaries of Members<sup>63</sup> and certain benefits—including any government contributions toward health and life insurance and retirement—for both Members and staff. Additionally, the range of items that may be covered by an office has changed over time.<sup>64</sup> The MRA also does not reflect spending by House officers and legislative branch agencies in support of Member offices.

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<sup>58</sup> For example, Dear Colleague letter from the Sergeant at Arms related to travel for the funeral of a deceased Member of Congress, March 19, 2018; Dear Colleague letter from the Committee on House Administration, "2018 Conference and Caucus Retreats," January 8, 2018; "Non-Commercial Aircraft Travel," April 10, 2019; and "Joint House Administration-Ethics Guidance Regarding Redistricting," September 10, 2021.

<sup>59</sup> For example, Dear Colleague letters issued by the Committee on House Administration have included, "Using Your MRA for District Office Security Assessments and Upgrades," January 18, 2011; "Automated Calls to Mobile Devices," July 26, 2016; "Availability of Hand Sanitizer and Face Coverings for Member and Committee Offices," April 21, 2020; and "Updates to regulations issued by House Administration," June 23, 2022.

<sup>60</sup> For example, Dear Colleague Letter from the CAO [Chief Administrative Officer] of the House, "Increased Transparency in Statement of Disbursements," August 18, 2011; Dear Colleague Letter from the CAO of the House, "Statement of Disbursements to Publish Merchant Information for Purchase Card Transactions," CAO of the House, June 22, 2012; and Dear Colleague Letter from the CAO of the House, "First Quarter 2019 Statement of Disbursements," May 28, 2019.

<sup>61</sup> This classification system is based on U.S. Office of Management and Budget, *OMB Circular A-11*, 2022 edition, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/information-for-agencies/circulars/>.

<sup>62</sup> This may include, for example, office supplies, bottled water, and publication/reference material.

<sup>63</sup> Member pay is included in a permanent appropriation (P.L. 97-51; 95 Stat. 966; September 11, 1981).

<sup>64</sup> For example, in a "Dear Colleague" letter of April 20, 2009, the Committee on House Administration announced that effective June 1, 2009, the transit benefit program would be administered centrally and available to all qualifying House employees. Previously, Members could determine whether or not to provide the transit benefit to their employees from the MRA, and those who offered this benefit would record the expenditure under the personnel benefits category. For another example, certain security-related costs, including "the cost of ... District Office security (continued...)"



## Statements of Disbursements: Online Publication and CSV Availability

The *Statements of Disbursements* are published as House documents and were historically available in bound volumes. Beginning with the disbursements for the quarter ending September 30, 2009, the *Statements* have been posted on the House of Representatives website, House.gov.<sup>65</sup> Beginning with disbursements covering January-March 2016, this website provides SOD information in a sortable CSV (comma-separated values) format.

## The MRA in Historical Practice: An Analysis of Spending in Selected Years

This section examines the use of the MRA in practice in recent years.

### Methodology

Disbursement information for each authorization year may appear in *Statements* for 12 quarters, since, as discussed above, late-arriving bills may be paid for up to two years following the end of the MRA year (although unspent funds from one year cannot be obligated in any subsequent year). For example, while Members could only obligate 2021 MRA expenditures from January 3, 2021, until January 2, 2022, late-arriving receipts can be paid through the quarter ending December 31, 2023. While some bills, particularly from outside vendors, may be settled up to eight quarters after the end of the MRA year, the vast majority of billing occurs during the session or in the quarter immediately following the close of the MRA year. Billing for some categories—like personnel compensation—is almost entirely within the disbursements for the calendar year of study.<sup>66</sup> By examining volumes from subsequent quarters, in addition to those from the authorization year, it is possible to provide a more complete picture of spending patterns.

### Analysis

Numerous characteristics of individual congressional districts or Member preferences can influence spending priorities, which is reflected in the flexibility provided to Members in establishing and running their offices.<sup>67</sup> Despite some variations, the data, however, show a

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upgrades, maintenance, and monthly monitoring fees,” is now supported by the House Sergeant at Arms (“Dear Colleague” letter of July 28, 2017, issued by House Sergeant at Arms Paul D. Irving).

<sup>65</sup> The *Statements of Disbursements* are available at <https://www.house.gov/the-house-explained/open-government/statement-of-disbursements>.

<sup>66</sup> Since the MRA is available through January 2, but the *Statements* for the fourth quarter cover obligations through December 31, personnel compensation for January 1 and January 2 in an MRA year will usually appear in the volume for the subsequent calendar year (January 1-March 31), under a heading indicating that it is billed to the previous MRA year. For this report, at least 8 quarters of data were examined for each year, with the exception of 2022, which is based on 5 quarters of data.

<sup>67</sup> These may include, for example, the cost-of-living in the districts from which Members are elected; actual transportation costs to and from the district or around the district; geographical size of the district; number of people living in the district; or other characteristics of a district that may influence spending patterns, including varying expectations among constituents for different levels or types of contact.

relative consistency in the overall allocation of MRA resources by category of spending both across Members and over time.<sup>68</sup>

**Table 3** provides a distributional analysis of office-level data for certain categories of spending, while **Figure 4** demonstrates aggregate House spending in these years.

The office-level and aggregate data indicate that personnel compensation is by far the largest category of expense for Member offices, and it increased as a percentage of spending over this time period. Spending on travel and “Rent, Communications, and Utilities” remained relatively stable, while spending on franked mail decreased for the average and median Members and for the House overall.

**Table 4** shows spending as a proportion of the total individual authorization.

**Table 3. Distribution of Office-Level Spending on Select Categories: 2009-2022**  
(percentage of total expenditure in the individual MRA)

Category of Expense	Year	Min %	Ave. % (Mean)	Max %	Lower Quartile (25 <sup>th</sup> %)	Median (50 <sup>th</sup> %)	Upper Quartile (75 <sup>th</sup> %)
Franked Mail	2009	0	4	15	1	4	7
	2010	0	4	16	2	4	6
	2011	0	3	13	1	3	5
	2012	0	3	14	1	2	5
	2013	0	2	14	0	1	3
	2014	0	2	12	0	1	4
	2015	0	2	16	0	1	4
	2016	0	2	19	0	1	4
	2017	0	2	12	0	1	3
	2018	0	3	13	0	2	4
	2019	0	2	12	0	1	3
	2020	0	3	19	0	2	4
	2021	0	2	15	0	2	3
	2022	0	3	20	0	2	5
Personnel Compensation	2009	48	69	86	65	70	75
	2010	53	71	88	65	71	76
	2011	45	71	89	66	71	76
	2012	54	75	91	71	75	80
	2013	56	75	88	70	76	79
	2014	56	76	88	72	77	80
	2015	46	75	88	71	75	79

<sup>68</sup> See also information on average expenditures for FY2013 provided for the record during the House Appropriations Committee FY2015 hearings (U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on the Legislative Branch, *Legislative Branch Appropriations for 2015*, hearings, 113<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., March 6, 2014, pp. 292-293).



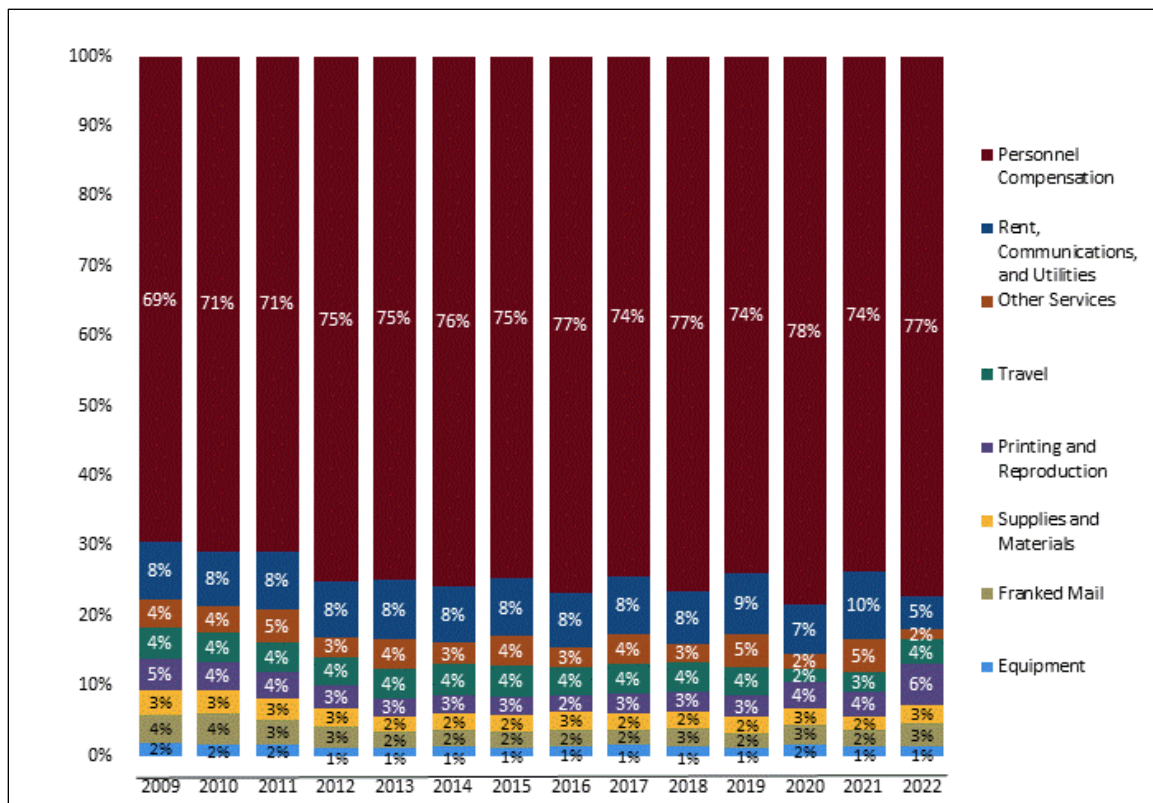
Category of Expense	Year	Min %	Ave. % (Mean)	Max %	Lower Quartile (25 <sup>th</sup> %)	Median (50 <sup>th</sup> %)	Upper Quartile (75 <sup>th</sup> %)
	2016	47	77	90	73	77	81
	2017	53	74	89	71	75	79
	2018	53	77	90	72	77	82
	2019	54	74	88	70	74	79
	2020	56	78	97	74	79	84
	2021	49	74	89	69	74	79
	2022	42	77	95	71	78	84
Travel	2009	0	4	11	3	4	6
	2010	0	4	15	3	4	5
	2011	0	4	11	3	4	6
	2012	0	4	12	2	4	5
	2013	0	4	13	3	4	5
	2014	0	4	15	3	4	6
	2015	0	4	15	3	4	6
	2016	0	4	13	3	4	5
	2017	0	4	14	3	4	5
	2018	0	4	16	3	4	5
	2019	0	4	15	3	4	5
	2020	0	2	10	1	2	3
	2021	0	3	13	1	2	4
	2022	0	4	14	2	3	5
Rent, Communications, and Utilities	2009	3	8	17	7	8	9
	2010	3	8	17	6	7	9
	2011	3	8	17	7	8	10
	2012	3	8	15	6	8	9
	2013	3	8	18	7	8	10
	2014	3	8	18	7	8	9
	2015	2	8	19	7	8	10
	2016	3	8	19	6	8	9
	2017	3	8	20	7	8	10
	2018	2	8	20	6	7	9
	2019	2	9	21	7	8	10
	2020	2	7	20	5	7	9
	2021	2	10	33	7	9	11
	2022	1	5	17	3	4	6
Equipment	2009	0	2	11	1	1	2

Category of Expense	Year	Min %	Ave. % (Mean)	Max %	Lower Quartile (25 <sup>th</sup> %)	Median (50 <sup>th</sup> %)	Upper Quartile (75 <sup>th</sup> %)
	2010	0	2	9	1	1	2
	2011	0	2	7	1	1	2
	2012	0	1	7	0	1	2
	2013	0	1	10	0	1	1
	2014	0	1	6	1	1	2
	2015	0	1	7	0	1	2
	2016	0	1	6	0	1	2
	2017	0	1	9	1	1	2
	2018	0	1	7	0	1	2
	2019	0	1	7	1	1	2
	2020	0	2	11	1	1	2
	2021	0	1	7	1	1	2
	2022	0	1	7	0	1	2
Printing and Reproduction	2009	0	5	23	1	4	7
	2010	0	4	14	1	3	6
	2011	0	4	15	1	3	6
	2012	0	3	18	0	3	5
	2013	0	3	16	0	2	4
	2014	0	3	14	0	2	4
	2015	0	3	23	0	2	4
	2016	0	2	24	0	2	4
	2017	0	3	17	0	2	4
	2018	0	3	23	0	2	5
	2019	0	3	22	0	2	5
	2020	0	4	21	0	3	6
	2021	0	4	19	1	2	5
	2022	0	6	34	1	5	8
Supplies and Materials	2009	1	3	9	3	3	4
	2010	0	3	11	2	3	4
	2011	1	3	10	2	3	4
	2012	0	3	10	1	2	3
	2013	0	2	8	1	2	3
	2014	0	2	8	1	2	3
	2015	0	2	7	1	2	3
	2016	0	3	9	2	2	3
	2017	0	2	9	1	2	3

Category of Expense	Year	Min %	Ave. % (Mean)	Max %	Lower Quartile (25 <sup>th</sup> %)	Median (50 <sup>th</sup> %)	Upper Quartile (75 <sup>th</sup> %)
	2018	0	2	9	1	2	3
	2019	0	2	6	1	2	3
	2020	0	3	7	2	2	3
	2021	0	2	6	1	2	2
	2022	0	3	15	2	3	4
<b>Other Services</b>	2009	1	4	11	3	4	5
	2010	0	4	10	3	4	5
	2011	2	5	13	4	5	6
	2012	1	3	9	2	3	3
	2013	2	4	9	3	4	6
	2014	2	3	8	2	3	4
	2015	1	4	8	3	4	5
	2016	1	3	8	2	3	4
	2017	1	4	9	3	4	6
	2018	1	3	12	2	2	3
	2019	2	5	11	3	4	6
	2020	0	2	8	1	2	3
	2021	2	5	12	3	5	6
	2022	0	2	20	0	1	2

**Source:** CRS calculations based on the *Statement of Disbursements* covering expenditures for 2009-2022.

**Notes:** Data exclude nonvoting Members, including the Delegates and Resident Commissioner. Members who were not in Congress for the entirety of the MRA year were also excluded, since spending for any portion may not be reflective of expenditures in an uninterrupted year.

**Figure 4. Expenditures by Category, as a Percentage of Aggregate MRA Spending**

**Source:** CRS calculations based on the *Statements of Disbursements*.

**Notes:** This figure only represents spending supported by the MRA. For example, this figure does not include government contributions for employee benefits (which are paid through another House account), Member salaries, the cost of DC office space, and various services provided by House support offices or legislative branch agencies. It also does not include categories of spending that occasionally appear in the *Statements of Disbursements*, but generally account for less than 0.00% of spending each year (e.g., “transportation of things”). Data exclude nonvoting Members, including the Delegates and Resident Commissioner. Members who were not in Congress for the entirety of the MRA year were also excluded.

**Table 4. Spending as a Percentage of Authorization: 2009-2022**

(based on Members who served the entire year)

Year	Percentage of Members								Percentage Spent	
	<70%	≥70-<75	≥75-<80	≥80-<85	≥85-<90	≥90-<95	≥95-<99	≥99%	Mean	Median
2009	0.5%	0.5%	1.4%	5.6%	13.8%	28.7%	35.4%	14.2%	93.7%	94.9%
2010	0.2%	0.7%	2.6%	4.9%	13.1%	20.1%	37.1%	21.3%	94.2%	96.0%
2011	0.7%	0.2%	1.9%	5.8%	12.8%	24.0%	34.7%	20.0%	94.0%	95.6%
2012	0.2%	0.7%	1.6%	3.1%	11.3%	21.6%	38.0%	23.5%	94.8%	96.8%
2013	0.2%	0.0%	0.7%	1.4%	4.4%	17.8%	40.9%	34.6%	96.5%	98.1%
2014	0.5%	0.2%	0.0%	3.5%	7.0%	21.4%	41.4%	26.0%	95.6%	97.2%
2015	0.5%	0.0%	0.2%	0.5%	5.6%	17.2%	45.7%	30.4%	96.5%	98.0%
2016	0.2%	0.0%	0.5%	3.2%	9.5%	18.1%	42.5%	26.0%	95.5%	97.2%
2017	0.5%	0.0%	1.2%	4.0%	9.4%	25.8%	43.4%	15.7%	94.7%	96.2%
2018	0.7%	0.5%	1.9%	4.7%	10.1%	22.4%	42.7%	17.0%	94.3%	96.3%
2019	0.0%	0.2%	0.7%	2.1%	6.5%	16.1%	59.1%	15.2%	96.0%	97.4%
2020	0.7%	1.6%	4.9%	7.1%	10.1%	23.3%	42.8%	9.4%	92.9%	95.4%
2021	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%	3.0%	7.0%	18.5%	50.0%	20.6%	95.7%	97.4%
2022	2.8%	3.3%	6.6%	11.4%	14.7%	23.2%	32.2%	5.7%	90.2%	93.0%

**Source:** CRS calculations based on the *Statement of Disbursements* covering expenditures for 2009-2022.**Notes:** Data exclude nonvoting Members, including the Delegates and Resident Commissioner. Members who were not in Congress for the entirety of the MRA year were also excluded, since spending for any portion may not be reflective of expenditures in an uninterrupted year.

## Appendix. Examples of Legislation Introduced Affecting the MRA by Type

**Table A-1. Examples of Legislation Introduced to Regulate, Prohibit, Authorize, Disclose, or Encourage the Use of the MRA for a Particular Purpose**

Legislation by Congress
118 <sup>th</sup> Congress
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>H.Res. 5, Adopting the Rules of the House of Representatives for the One Hundred Eighteenth Congress, and for other purposes;</li> <li>H.Res. 552, Transparency in Taxpayer-Funded Travel Act;</li> <li>H.R. 562, Improving Veterans Access to Congressional Services Act of 2023;</li> <li>H.R. 1876, To provide for a limitation on availability of funds for House of Representatives, Member's Representational Allowance for fiscal year 2024;</li> <li>H.R. 3003, Bipartisan Restoring Faith in Government Act;</li> <li>H.R. 5772, No Work, No Pay Act; and</li> <li>H.R. 5880, To provide that reimbursement of Members of Congress by the House of Representatives for expenses incurred in connection with official duties are not subject to tax.</li> </ul>
117 <sup>th</sup> Congress
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>H.Res. 8, Adopting the Rules of the House of Representatives for the One Hundred Seventeenth Congress, and for other purposes (related to Congressional Member Organizations);</li> <li>H.Res. 56, Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the amount of the Members' Representational Allowance should be increased in response to increasing threats against Members of the House;</li> <li>H.Res. 73, Providing the Sergeant-at-Arms with the authority to fine Members, Delegates, or the Resident Commissioner for failure to complete security screening for entrance to the House Chamber, and for other purposes;</li> <li>H.Res. 1211, Transparency in Taxpayer-Funded Travel Act;</li> <li>H.Res. 1331, Moving Our Democracy and Congressional Operations Towards Modernization Resolution of 2022;</li> <li>H.R. 1078, Prohibiting Perks and Privileges Act;</li> <li>H.Res. 1026, Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that any Member of the House who makes a public statement advocating for defunding the police should not be permitted to use Federal funds to contract with a private entity for security personnel support, and for other purposes;</li> <li>H.R. 4471, Improving Veterans Access to Congressional Services Act of 2021; and</li> <li>H.R. 7943, To permit Members of the House of Representatives to use the Members' Representational Allowance to continue to provide services for casework projects on behalf of former constituents who no longer reside in the Member's congressional district as the result of congressional redistricting.</li> </ul>
116 <sup>th</sup> Congress
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>H.Res. 6, Adopting the Rules of the House of Representatives for the One Hundred Sixteenth Congress, and for other purposes (related to Congressional Member Organizations);</li> <li>H.Res. 530, Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the amount of the Members' Representational Allowance should be increased in response to increasing threats against Members of the House;</li> <li>H.Res. 756, Moving Our Democracy and Congressional Operations Towards Modernization Resolution;</li> <li>H.R. 577, Prohibiting Perks and Privileges Act;</li> <li>H.R. 1626, To prevent the enrichment of certain Government officers and employees or their families through Federal funds or contracting, and for other purposes;</li> </ul>

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### **Legislation by Congress**

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- H.R. 2370, House Intern Pay Act of 2019; and
- H.R. 7251, Proxy Vote Windfall Prohibition Act.

#### **115<sup>th</sup> Congress**

- H.Res. 5, Adopting rules for the One Hundred Fifteenth Congress;
- H.Res. 411, Adjusting the amount of the Members' Representational Allowance;
- H.Res. 642, Prohibiting the use of the Members' Representational Allowance of a Member of the House of Representatives to pay awards, settlements, or other compensation in connection with allegations of sexual harassment or sexual misconduct by the Member or the employees of the Member's office, and for other purposes;
- H.Res. 724, Requiring each employing office of the House of Representatives to adopt an anti-harassment and anti-discrimination policy for the office's workplace, establishing the Office of Employee Advocacy to provide legal assistance and consultation to employees of the House regarding procedures and proceedings under the Congressional Accountability Act of 1995, and for other purposes;
- H.R. 839, Public Service Spending Integrity Act;
- H.R. 2951, To allow Members of Congress to carry a concealed handgun anywhere in the United States, with exceptions;
- H.R. 4497, To amend the Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 to prohibit the use of public funds to pay settlements and awards for workplace harassment and discrimination claims under the Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 which arise from acts committed personally by Members of Congress, and for other purposes;
- H.R. 4503, Empowering Victims of Sexual Misconduct Act;
- H.R. 4674, Stop Taxpayers Obligations to Perpetrators of Sexual Harassment Act;
- H.R. 4822, Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 Reform Act;
- H.R. 6640, Prohibiting Perks and Privileges Act;
- H.R. 6711, House Intern Pay Act of 2018;
- H.R. 6956, Intern Opportunity Act;
- S. 2236, Congressional Harassment Reform Act; and
- S. 2872, Congressional Accountability and Harassment Reform Act.

#### **114<sup>th</sup> Congress**

- H.R. 5993, CAN Act;
- H.R. 1381, Transparency in Government Act of 2015;
- H.R. 3077, Giveback Deficit Reduction Act;
- H.R. 3147, Constituent Services Disclosure Act of 2015;
- H.R. 5166, WINGMAN Act; and
- H.R. 5336, Taxpayer-Funded Travel Transparency Act of 2016.

#### **113<sup>th</sup> Congress**

- H.Res. 558, Prohibiting the use of the Members' Representational Allowance for the payment of the costs of first-class airline accommodations;
- H.Con.Res. 113, Amending the Rules of the House of Representatives to require any Member whose Members' Representational Allowance is used to pay for a flight on a private aircraft to report information on the flight not later than 30 days after the flight; and
- H.Amdt. 642 to H.R. 4487, to prohibit the CAO of the House of Representatives from making any payments from any Members' Representational Allowance for the leasing of a vehicle, excluding mobile district offices and short-term vehicle rentals.

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**Legislation by Congress**


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112<sup>th</sup> Congress

- H.R. 3774, Citizen Legislator Act of 2012;
- H.Res. 135, Holding Congress Accountable Act of 2011;
- H.Res. 482, Prohibiting the use of a Members' representational allowance to obtain advertising on any internet site other than an official site of the Member involved;
- H.Res. 580, To prohibit the use of the Members' Representational Allowance for air travel expenses of any individual unless the individual provides an itemized description of the expenses, including the specific flight number, and uses a credit card provided by the House of Representatives to pay for the expenses; and
- H.Amdt. 709 to H.R. 2551, An amendment numbered 10 printed in H.Rept. 112-173 to require all mail funded by the Members' representational allowance and from funds for official mail for committees and leadership offices of the House bear the official letterhead of the Member, committee, or office involved.

111<sup>th</sup> Congress

- H.R. 5151, Congressional Oversight and Spending Transparency (COST) Act of 2010; and
- H.Res. 1707, Holding Congress Accountable Resolution of 2010.

110<sup>th</sup> Congress

- H.R. 5598, To establish a program under which employing offices of the House of Representatives may agree to reimburse employees for child care expenses, and for other purposes;
- H.Res. 1186, Prohibiting the use of funds in a Members' Representational Allowance for the long-term lease of a vehicle; and
- H.R. 6, Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007.

109<sup>th</sup> Congress

- H.Res. 879, Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that Members of the House of Representatives should use alternative fuel vehicles in their professional and personal lives; and
- H.R. 5338, CLEAR Act.

108<sup>th</sup> Congress

- H.R. 2106, To permit Members of the House of Representatives to use funds provided in Member's Representational Allowances to obtain POW/MIA flags and distribute them to constituents.

105<sup>th</sup> Congress

- H.R. 1046, To allow each Member of the House of Representatives to hire one additional employee, if the employee is hired from the welfare rolls, and to provide that, if such employment is in the District of Columbia, the jurisdiction represented by the Member may count the employment toward its welfare participation rate requirement.
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**Source:** CRS examination of congress.gov.

**Table A-2. Examples of Legislation Introduced  
Regarding the Use of Unexpended Balances**  
(not including regular appropriations provisions)

Congress	Bills
116 <sup>th</sup> Congress	H.R. 1790; H.R. 1085
114 <sup>th</sup> Congress	H.R. 3077
113 <sup>th</sup> Congress	H.R. 106; H.R. 496
112 <sup>th</sup> Congress	H.R. 121; H.R. 262; H.R. 297
111 <sup>th</sup> Congress	H.R. 2656; H.R. 4825 <sup>a</sup>



Congress	Bills
110 <sup>th</sup> Congress	H.R. 272
109 <sup>th</sup> Congress	H.R. 267; H.R. 1273
108 <sup>th</sup> Congress	H.R. 297; H.R. 921; H.R. 2412
107 <sup>th</sup> Congress	H.R. 47; H.R. 2414
106 <sup>th</sup> Congress	H.R. 431; H.R. 2117; H.R. 2171
105 <sup>th</sup> Congress	H.R. 80; H.R. 866
104 <sup>th</sup> Congress	H.R. 26; H.R. 376; H.R. 572

**Source:** CRS examination of congress.gov.

**Notes:** Unless otherwise noted, bills were introduced and referred to committee, but no further action was taken.

- a. H.R. 4825 was agreed to in the House on March 17, 2010. The bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration and no further action was taken during the 111<sup>th</sup> Congress.

**Table A-3. Examples of Legislation Introduced to Limit the MRA**

Legislation by Congress
118 <sup>th</sup> Congress
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>H.R. 1876, To provide for a limitation on availability of funds for House of Representatives, Members' Representational Allowance for fiscal year 2024.</li> </ul>
112 <sup>th</sup> Congress
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>H.Res. 22, Reducing the amount authorized for salaries and expenses of Member, committee, and leadership offices in 2011 and 2012; and</li> <li>H.R. 1088, Reduction of Irresponsible MRA Growth Act.</li> </ul>
111 <sup>th</sup> Congress
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>H.R. 3189, Reduction of Irresponsible MRA Growth Act; and</li> <li>H.R. 4761, Congressional Belt-Tightening Act of 2010.</li> </ul>

**Source:** CRS examination of congress.gov.

**Notes:** Unless otherwise noted, legislation was introduced and referred to committee, but no further action was taken.

- a. H.Res. 22 (112<sup>th</sup> Congress) was agreed to in the House on January 6, 2011.

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