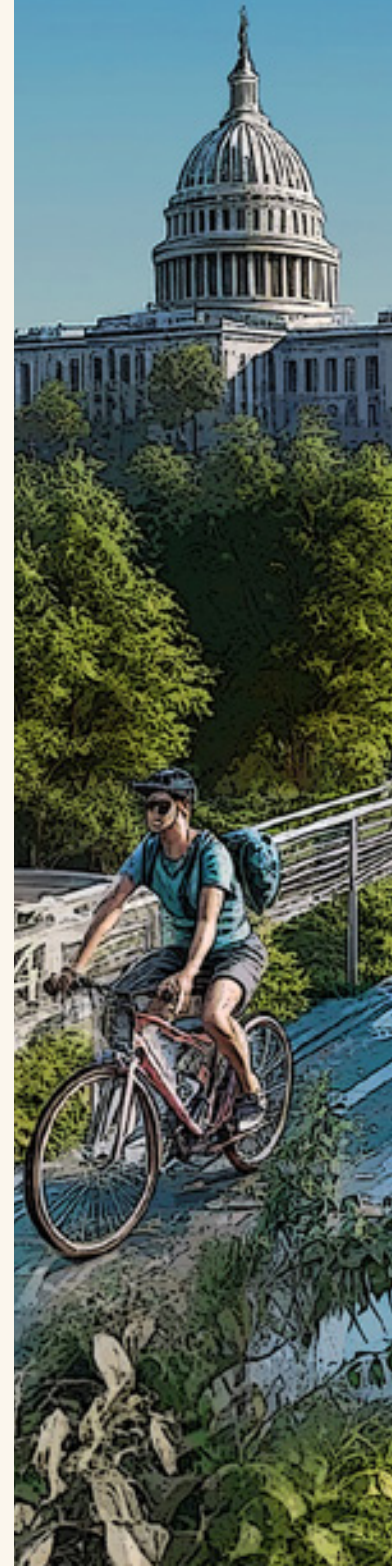


Envisioning a modernized  
workspace for an expanded  
House of Representatives

Where  
Will They  
All Sit?







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# Introduction

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The House of Representatives includes 435 voting members,<sup>1</sup> yet the number 435 never appears in the Constitution. The first House had fewer than 100 representatives, and historically, as the nation's population grew, so too did the House membership.

In fact, the House only reached 435 voting members in 1911, with a subsequent 1929 law freezing the size of the House at that number.<sup>2</sup> Yet for a variety of reasons, the tradition of increasing the size of The People's House to keep pace with a growing population has largely fallen into obscurity.

However, amid a period of political extremes and instability, scholars and reformers are renewing their attention toward the House of Representatives, which is now undergoing modernization efforts. Proposals have included increasing committee and support agency staff, modernizing infrastructure, and increasing the number of voting members

apportioned among the states.<sup>3</sup> Without taking a position on whether the House should revisit the question of its total membership, Protect Democracy and POPVOX Foundation undertook a critical related question: What physical changes to the Capitol Campus would be necessary or appropriate to accommodate a larger House of Representatives?

We assume such a proposal would add about 150 voting representatives (no additional non-voting members), along with a complementary increase in staff and other support, as well as the possibility of additional smaller increases in the future.<sup>4</sup> Put simply, if the House were to expand in this way, *where will they all sit?*

These questions closely relate to an ongoing struggle with the Capitol Campus today: While the Capitol remains a beautiful, impressive place, it falls short as a 21st century workspace in several ways. Members of Congress, staff, and related agencies (like the architect of the Capitol) have already begun identifying renovations necessary to meet the needs of Congress for today and the future.<sup>5</sup> The Capitol Campus has seen incremental improvements — from the creation of the Capitol Visitor Center in 2008 (which revitalized the public's visitor experience),<sup>6</sup> to the holistic, five-stage renovation (still underway) of the Cannon House Office Building.<sup>7</sup> Yet it very much remains a workspace built to mid-20th century standards.

Our research into potential changes to accommodate more representatives shows that many solutions necessary to accommodate a larger House are the very same solutions needed to modernize the House at its current size. Moreover, those changes are not only feasible, but can also solve many present problems in a way that can be beautiful and inspiring. To demonstrate this, we systematically analyzed information and data from over 30 interviews and conversations to identify the main concerns with today's Capitol Campus. We then used our findings to partner with a design firm to create architectural renderings of new and renovated spaces to address the biggest concerns.

By rendering what the improvements could look like, we hope to make their feasibility and impact more concrete. It is simple enough to say that a new House Office Building could be built — in this report, we show exactly where it could be situated on the Capitol Campus and what it might look like, both inside and out. Walking around the Capitol Campus, one can easily feel the pain points: Flexible meeting and gathering space is difficult to find; signage to assist visiting constituents is sparse, confusing, or inaccessible; green spaces are either completely absent or underutilized; and transitioning between the upper and lower House campus

requires crossing wide roads in the heat or rain, leading to the the lower campus being underutilized. In this report, we show an alternative vision. With these architectural renderings, we hope to strike a balance between a hopeful, futuristic vision and one rooted in tradition.

This report proceeds in two parts. Part one sets the context, describing how we arrived at the size of the House of Representatives today; how Congress's stasis has led to a severe capacity shortage; and how members have attempted to modernize the Capitol Campus to make Congress more effective and efficient. This part concludes by noting that modernization efforts have been only incrementally successful, and that if Congress were to expand, substantial renovations of the physical space would be necessary.

Rather than treating the need for substantial renovations as an impassable obstacle or hand-waving them away, part two provides specific renderings of the Capitol Campus of the future, which demonstrate that changes to accommodate more representatives can be both practicable and inspiring. This section zooms in on seven particular challenges the House workforce experiences and presents architectural renderings of changes that could help resolve them.

The House of Representatives is an evolving institution that has changed substantially since 1911, when it last increased its membership. If the House is to modernize, it should modernize with an eye toward how the institution will evolve in the future. That means taking into account that — as history makes clear — the size of the House may not remain frozen at 435 voting members. Those taking up the mantle of modernizing the House must think beyond adjustments to rooms and the House floor to more ambitious improvements to the space, including how to facilitate coworking and cross-partisan communication; how to ensure the Capitol Campus can remain accessible to visitors; and how to ensure the safety and security of the campus. Many of these changes speak to the precise problems Congress faces today in supporting its membership and staff. Accordingly, House expansion and House modernization are policy areas that are more closely linked than has been previously acknowledged.

# Addressing the challenges of the Capitol Campus



1 PAGE 18

**PROBLEM** Lack of overall space

**SOLUTION** Constructing a new House Office Building



2 PAGE 25

**PROBLEM** A limited House floor

**SOLUTION** Adding seating to the House chamber



3 PAGE 28

**PROBLEM** Underutilization of existing space

**SOLUTION** Improving functional outdoor spaces



4 PAGE 31

**PROBLEM** Lack of functional work space

**SOLUTION** Adding flexible coworking spaces



5 PAGE 34

**PROBLEM** Isolation of the lower campus

**SOLUTION** Building an east-west elevated pathway



6 PAGE 37

**PROBLEM** Inflexible office spaces

**SOLUTION** Designing more flexible office suites



7 PAGE 41

**PROBLEM** Difficulty navigating the Capitol

**SOLUTION** Improving wayfinding and accessibility

View the report and renderings  
online at [WhereWillTheyAllSit.org](http://WhereWillTheyAllSit.org).

# How We Got Here

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## Modernization efforts for the Capitol Campus must work for the long term, and that may include preparing for a future House of Representatives with more than 435 members. Over the past five years, calls for modernization have gotten louder.<sup>8</sup>

Many Congressional office spaces — some built over a century ago to meet the needs of a workforce a fraction of modern-day sizes<sup>9</sup> — are now overcrowded and deteriorating. Junior staffers often work in repurposed storage areas or even in hollowed-out walls that originally housed built-in cabinets. This is not surprising, given that the Cannon House Office Building (for example) was constructed in 1908 and remains in use today. As a result, the House of Representatives, in particular, has been experiencing an age of internal, organizational review, led by members who recognize the chamber's need to evolve to meet modern demands.<sup>10</sup>

Yet as these modernization efforts take shape to address current challenges, they must also recognize that the Constitution does not establish the size of the House of Representatives and, therefore, it is subject to change. The history of apportionment makes clear that the framers of the Constitution expected the size of

the House to be revisited every ten years, which is exactly what happened after every census until the 1920s. Then, in 1929, Congress passed a statute that froze the House size at 435 Representatives.<sup>11</sup>

The number 435 is arbitrary: It was the number of members Congress determined to be appropriate after the 1910 census, when the total U.S. population was about 92 million people, and there were about 210,000 people for every representative.<sup>12</sup> While the population has more than tripled since then, the House has remained at 435 members, bringing the average congressional district population to about 760,000 people today.<sup>13</sup>

Civil society and congressional reform circles have begun to discuss revisions to the 435-seat limit, suggesting that adding representatives could help address a number of problems in our politics.<sup>14</sup> Arguments in favor of increasing the number of House members include:

- Reducing the constituent-to-representative ratio, which is how many citizens each House member represents. (This ratio is currently around 760,000 to one.)
- Bringing representatives closer to their constituents, allowing them to have a closer degree of familiarity with constituent needs and interests.
- Fixing the imbalance between overpopulated and underpopulated districts. The current undersized House, combined with the rule guaranteeing every state at least one representative, creates significant disparities in representation. For example, Delaware's at-large district represents over one million residents, while districts in Rhode Island each have just over half a million.
- Addressing the numerical disparity in population per congressional seat across states, which would make the electoral college operate in a fairer manner.<sup>15</sup>

When the American Academy of Arts and Sciences launched its bipartisan Commission on the Practice of Democratic Citizenship in 2020, it recommended 31 ideas for strengthening American democracy.<sup>16</sup> Expanding the House of Representatives was the first recommendation.

In this report, we take seriously the possibility that the House will again increase in size, given the arguments in favor of the policy and the fact that it would only require a statutory change. And if the House might be larger in the future, modernization efforts should take that into account when designing revisions to the Capitol Campus.

## Frozen at 435

Although the Constitution does not mandate the size of the House of Representatives, the subject was extensively discussed when Article I was first drafted. As James Madison would later write in *The Federalist*, “Scarce any article, indeed, in the whole Constitution seems to be rendered more worthy of attention[.]”<sup>17</sup> During the Constitutional Convention, delegates suggested that the House should have roughly one member for every 40,000 persons. After lengthy debates, George Washington ultimately settled the matter himself by declaring that the target number should instead be one member

for every 30,000 persons.<sup>18</sup> This was the only time Washington weighed in on the design of the new Constitution for the entirety of the convention.<sup>19</sup> However, this did not result in a fixed ratio of persons to representatives, but only an upper limit intended to keep the House responsive to the people. If this ratio were maintained, there would be 11,200 voting representatives in the House today.

While the states considered ratifying the Constitution, Madison — along with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay — published a series of essays arguing in favor of ratification and explaining the reasoning behind the new Constitution. In *Federalist* 55 and 56, Madison addressed the number of members in the House of Representatives. In *Federalist* 55, Madison argued that the Constitution set no specific size for the House because “the number of representatives will be augmented from time to time[.]”<sup>20</sup> In *Federalist* 58, he further clarified that a major purpose of holding a census every 10 years was “to augment the number of representatives[.]”<sup>21</sup>

When Madison later proposed the Bill of Rights, there were a total of twelve proposed amendments. The very first amendment would have established an absolute minimum number of representatives in the House, to begin at one member per every 30,000 persons and eventually grow to a ratio of one member per every 50,000 persons.<sup>22</sup> Under the formula that James Madison sought to mandate, the

House of Representatives would have about 6,500 members today.<sup>23</sup>

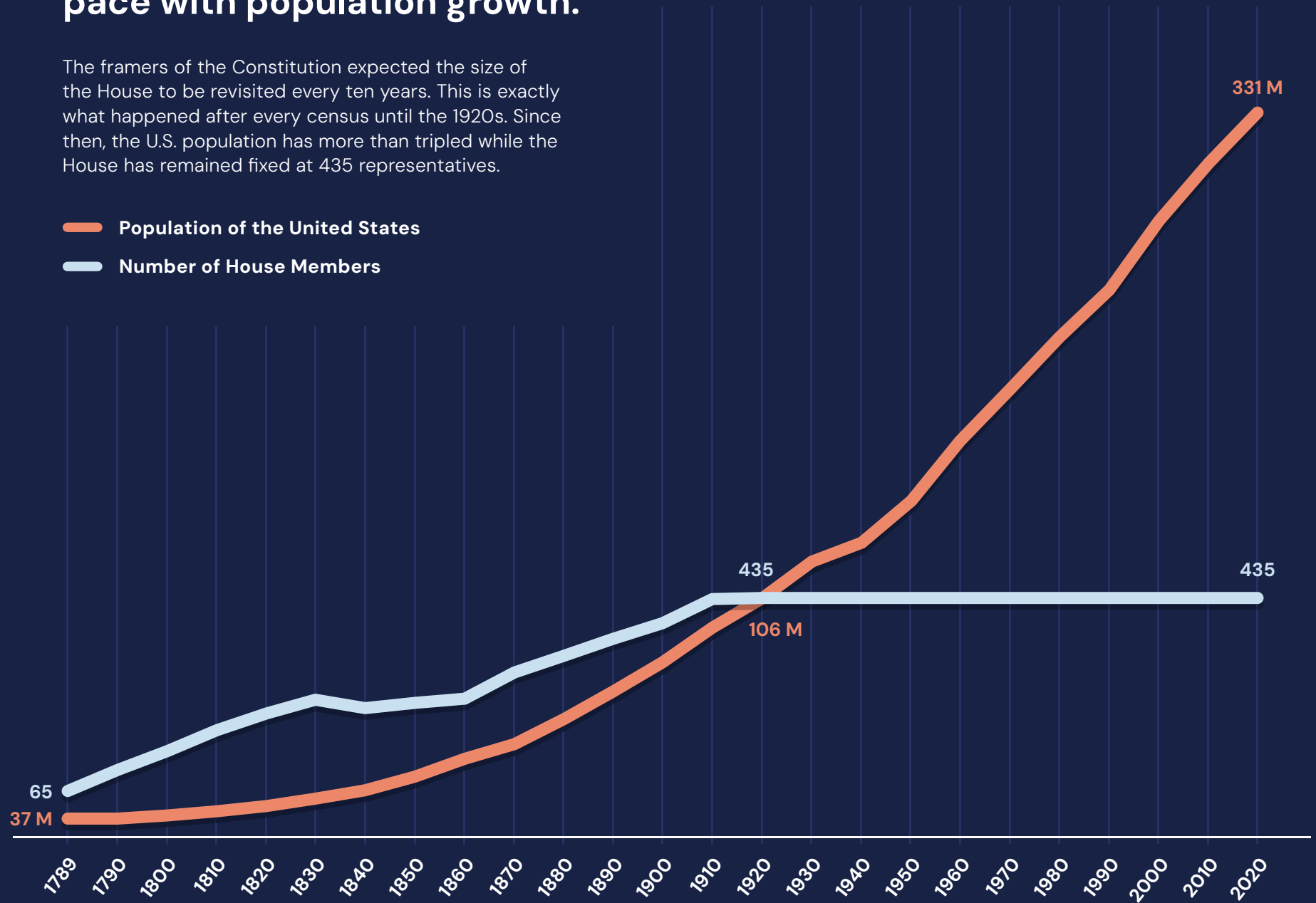
Madison’s original First Amendment was not ratified. Instead, the Congress passed an Apportionment Act after each census, which established both the number of members in the House, as well as their proportional apportionment among the states, as required by Article I.<sup>24</sup> The first such act, the Apportionment Act of 1792, expanded the House to 105 members. Ten years later, the Apportionment Act of 1802 increased it further to 142. This pattern continued (albeit with one contraction in the size of the House following the 1840 census)<sup>25</sup> until the Apportionment Act of 1911, which was the first to set the number of voting representatives at 435. Although over 123 years have passed, the House still remains at 435.<sup>26</sup>

Following the 1920 census, the 67th Congress failed to pass an Apportionment Act at all (disregarding the constitutional requirement that members be apportioned among the states “according to their respective numbers”).<sup>27</sup> The most commonly cited reason for the deadlock in 1921 is that the 1920 census was the first to show a majority of the population living in urban areas and thus, that adding members would have shifted power away from rural states and toward urbanized ones.<sup>28</sup> However, opposition to a 1921 bill to increase the size of the House to 483 members shows that many objections voiced were more mundane, including concerns that the House was becoming

# The House size has not kept pace with population growth.

The framers of the Constitution expected the size of the House to be revisited every ten years. This is exactly what happened after every census until the 1920s. Since then, the U.S. population has more than tripled while the House has remained fixed at 435 representatives.

- Population of the United States
- Number of House Members





“

**[T]he number of representatives will be augmented from time to time[.]”**

James Madison, *Federalist 55*

too big to operate efficiently in the physical spaces they used, echoing the very “Where will they all sit?” concern that this report addresses.<sup>29</sup> When it did reapportion seats in 1923, the House remained at 435 members.

Rather than face this same political challenge after the next census, Congress passed the Permanent Apportionment Act of 1929, which legislatively fixed the size of the House of Representatives at 435 members and established that reapportionment would happen automatically based on a formula, obviating the need for Congress to pass a regular Apportionment Act after each census.<sup>30</sup>

## The modern capacity crunch

Since 1929, there has been no change in the number of representatives in the House, but that has not stopped the country from changing. Congress does not only serve a growing population, but also plays an oversight role over a growing executive branch and administrative state. Federal spending in 1912 (when the House first had 435 members) consisted of about 2.5 percent of gross domestic product.<sup>31</sup> In 1929, total federal outlays were about \$3.1 billion.<sup>32</sup> In 2022, the federal government spent about \$6.3 trillion, about 23 percent of the country’s GDP.<sup>33</sup>

Rather than add members, Congress added to its capacity by adding staff — at least until the 1980s.<sup>34</sup> Leading up to the turn of the century, Congress suddenly began shedding staff, reducing its own capacity even as legislation was becoming more complex.<sup>35</sup> The trend was particularly pronounced on the House side. Today, the federal workforce — including contractors and grantees — is as many as nine million workers.<sup>36</sup> Congress’ current workforce — across the entire legislative branch — hovers around 31,000, or just 0.34 percent of the federal workforce.<sup>37</sup> Each representative can have a maximum of 18 full-time employees,<sup>38</sup> and they often have fewer due to budget constraints. Congress’s self-imposed limits on its size and reduction in its own staff capacity have led it to delegate some policy development and analysis to agency experts, special interests, and lobbyists.<sup>39</sup>

The increasing role for administrative agencies in particular was acknowledged by the courts, most notably in the doctrine of *Chevron* deference, which effectively sanctioned the ability of Congress to pass ambiguous legislation and then defer to agency expertise in interpreting its enabling statutes. That doctrine stood for 40 years, until the Supreme Court definitively overruled it in 2024.<sup>40</sup> It did so on statutory grounds, but Justice Clarence Thomas wrote separately arguing that *Chevron* violated the constitutional principle of separation of powers, by transferring legislative authority from Congress to administrative agencies.<sup>41</sup> The decision has been largely

viewed as a transfer of power from administrative agencies to courts,<sup>42</sup> but it is also a transfer of responsibility from agencies *back to Congress*, which can no longer rely on well-staffed agencies to fill gaps in the law and may instead finally have to face its own capacity issues.<sup>43</sup>

All of this informs the recent efforts for modernization. To meet modern needs, Congress needs to work more efficiently and increase its capacity.

## Efforts at modernization

Congressional capacity issues have recurred regularly over the past century. For example, in 1946, Senator Mike Monroney (D-OK) declared: “[Congress] is now in need of a complete overhaul to enable Congress to handle efficiently the expanding problems of the postwar world.”<sup>44</sup>

In the light of Congress’s capacity crunch, Congress has conducted several reviews — both official and unofficial — of the House of Representatives, its legislative operations, and its facilities and buildings. These reviews have involved several joint committees, various select committees, commissions, and various party caucuses and conferences. These efforts have had mixed success: Some were adopted at the time, some a few years later, and others frustrated entirely.



The Cannon House Office Building began a holistic renovation in 2014 which is approaching its final phase in 2025.



“

**[Congress] is now in need of a complete overhaul to enable Congress to handle efficiently the expanding problems of the postwar world.”**

Senator Mike Monroney (D-OK), 1946

Examples include:

- Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress and the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 79th Congress (1945–1946).<sup>45</sup>
- Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress and the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, 89th Congress (1965–1966) and 91st Congress (1969–1970)<sup>46</sup>
- House Commission on Information and Facilities (Brooks Commission), 94th Congress (1975–1976)<sup>47</sup>
- Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, 102nd and 103rd Congresses (1991–1994)<sup>48</sup>
- House Select Committee on the Modernization of Congress, 116th and 117th Congresses (2019–2022)<sup>49</sup>

None of these addressed the size of Congress but rather focused on inefficiencies in how Congress operated. For example, the 1977 Brooks Commission found that poor allocation of space squandered suitable areas for member and committee work, often turning them into storage.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, the Brooks Commission concluded that the layout of many member and committee offices were either haphazard or poorly conceived, and that equipment and furniture was bulky and mismatched.<sup>51</sup>

Likewise, the recent House Select Committee on the Modernization of Congress, which formally recommended over 200 improvements to House operations, surveyed congressional staff — who often handle office layouts, furniture orders, and meeting space reservations — and found that the most frequently cited issue was the severe shortage of drop-in meeting spaces to host constituent meetings, policy briefings, or staff collaborations.<sup>52</sup> In 2023, the Select Committee evolved into the Committee on House Administration Subcommittee on Modernization. In that form, members, led by Chair Stephanie Bice (R-OK) and Ranking Member Derek Kilmer (D-WA), have prioritized implementing prior recommendations, significantly improving the usability of the crowded Capitol Campus for members, staff, and visitors.<sup>53</sup> As of this writing, however, despite a bipartisan consensus around the recommendations, 10 relevant recommendations of the Select Committee for modernizing House Office Buildings remain open, and only two are in progress.<sup>54</sup>

Needless to say, there are challenges with upgrading the existing campus to better serve the needs of the current membership and their staff. An influx of representatives, if the House were to expand, would bring additional need for offices, staff, and all the tools and technologies that enable legislative work. If Congress were to take on this challenge — addressing its current renovation needs with an eye toward an expanded House of Representatives as well — what could that look like?

# The Capitol Campus of Tomorrow

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When the American Academy of Arts and Sciences studied the issue of House expansion, they recommended adding 150 new voting members.<sup>55</sup> If Congress adopted that proposal while maintaining staffing and support levels for each member — where would they all sit?

To answer these questions, we partnered with Firsthand, a team of designers and social scientists who specialize in identifying novel solutions to complex challenges, and architect Alexandre Khoury.<sup>56</sup> As outlined in greater detail below, we engaged a variety of experts and stakeholders on the Hill to explore how the Capitol Campus needs to be updated, both for the 21st century and for more representatives.

Below, we document our findings and present renderings of solutions to upgrade the Capitol Campus. These findings and renderings underscore the tight relationship between the solutions necessary for modernization and the infrastructure necessary to accommodate more representatives.





## Methodology

To determine the most essential upgrades to the Capitol Campus — both to address key pain points and to provide a pathway to more representatives in the future — we worked with Firsthand to establish a detailed three-step methodology.

**First**, we studied the modernization efforts to date; attitudes toward modernization and House expansion; and probed the feasibility of House expansion. This included literature reviews of existing scholarship and analysis, such as reports by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,<sup>57</sup> the American Enterprise Institute,<sup>58</sup> and the Select Committee on the Modernization of Congress,<sup>59</sup> to name three — as well as examination of previous architectural renderings of a future House of Representatives, particularly the innovative work by Harvard professor Danielle Allen and architect Michael Murphy.<sup>60</sup>

**Second**, POPVOX Foundation, Protect Democracy, and Firsthand conducted over 30 interviews and discussions with congressional staffers, members of Congress, academic experts, architects, former staffers at the Architect of the Capitol, and policy advocates. Firsthand, which focused on stakeholders working on the Hill, used a pre-set, in-depth interview structure where participants were asked a series of questions and walked through a variety of activities to:

1. Discern attitudes towards House modernization and expansion;
2. Explore pain points with the current ways space is used; and
3. Identify priorities for a modernized Capitol Campus. Each interview specifically probed the day-to-day challenges of working in the House Office Buildings and tested novel ideas for how to address them.

**Third**, Firsthand enlisted the expertise of architect Alexandre Khoury to produce renderings responsive to the top pain points identified through the quantitative analysis stage.<sup>61</sup> Using interviewee feedback, and expertise and input from former congressional staffers, Khoury developed visual concepts that combined modern and historical elements to upgrade the Capitol Campus for the 21st century. Specifically, Khoury's iterative design process produced architectural renderings to address the seven major pain points with the current Capitol Campus and explore how the Campus could be modernized for an expanded House.

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# The current Capitol Campus and its challenges

Before introducing the architectural renderings of a future House, it is worth outlining the current structure of the Capitol Campus and what our analysis identifies as the seven major issues with the existing space.

Today, the core workforce of Congress operates out of the Senate and House Office Buildings (SOBs and HOBs, respectively), which flank the Capitol building. For the House of Representatives, the campus consists of:

**Three upper-campus HOBs:**

- Cannon Building
- Longworth Building
- Rayburn Building

**Two lower-campus HOBs:**

- O'Neill Building
- Ford Building

Directly east of the Capitol Building sit the Library of Congress Jefferson Building and its supporting office space, the Madison Building. North of the Jefferson Building lies the Supreme Court.

The upper-campus House Office Buildings serve as the core business units for over 6,000 workers, including the representatives themselves, congressional staff, and institutional staff.<sup>62</sup> These buildings were constructed in 1908 (Cannon), 1933 (Longworth), and 1965 (Rayburn),<sup>63</sup> and they consist of a mix of member-asigned office suites, committee hearing rooms, staff offices, cafeterias, cafes, and mixed-use rooms that can be reserved

for events, briefings, or receptions.<sup>64</sup> Additionally, the House Office Buildings serve not only those who work there but also the American people writ large, who have the right to enter and petition their government. This open-door policy, which is fundamental to the purpose of the institution, has further brought to light challenges with the existing spaces' lack of modernization.

Our analysis unearthed seven broad issues with the current Capitol Campus, which would also serve as obstacles if the House were to expand its membership.

### **1. Lack of overall space**

On the Hill, space is scarce and is largely controlled by the party in power. Representatives' staffers struggle to find space to take calls, host meetings, or hold private conversations. Anyone fortunate enough to have private space frequently fields calls from those in need of an empty room. As a result, calls and meetings are taken on the go, in hallways, or even in public spaces like cafeterias.

### **2. A limited House floor**

The House floor can fit the full membership today, but it is insufficiently flexible to allow for growth without renovations. The floor needs flexibility not only for a larger House of Representatives, but also for visitors and observers, as well as for special events like joint sessions of Congress.

### **3. Underutilization of existing space**

A substantial amount of space is underutilized across the Capitol Campus, including hearing and committee rooms that often sit empty. Additionally, courtyards and nearby parks are underutilized, despite being well-maintained, often simply because they lack seating or protection from the elements.

### **4. Lack of functional work space**

Lack of space in a representative's suite can mean meetings with constituents are taken in the hallway; interns are pushed into corners next to refrigerators or in supply closets (which are sometimes on separate floors from the office itself); common spaces like cafeterias or eateries are chaotic and overcrowded; and there is minimal space for small group gatherings or to field a private phone call.

### **5. Isolation of the lower campus**

The upper and lower House Office Building campuses are currently disconnected. The tunnel network linking the upper campus with the Capitol cannot extend to the lower campus due to an underground highway, while above ground six lanes of Washington Avenue traffic divide the campuses. As new House entities, temporary committees, and building renovations have pushed more staff to the lower campus, occupancy and resources there — like the House Childcare Center and secure spaces — are growing. Seamless, secure access between campuses has become an increasingly urgent need.

### **6. Inflexible office spaces**

The three-room office suites used by representatives and their staff are limiting and inflexible, often resulting in overcrowding and a lack of privacy.

### **7. Difficulty navigating the Capitol**

The three main House Office Buildings have a series of similar-looking corridors, complex pathways between key areas, and limited signage, making it easy for constituents, visitors, or new staffers to get lost — a problem that is not only frustrating but also potentially dangerous during an evacuation or emergency.

To address these issues and accommodate an expanded House, on pages 18–42 we have identified seven plausible solutions and constructed architectural renderings to illustrate each one.

1

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## Constructing a new House Office Building

We begin with the most critical recommendation: Constructing a new House Office Building on the upper campus.

As membership and staff grow, the demand for office space will increase. Building a new office complex offers a straightforward solution, offering long-term flexibility and establishing a new standard for modern workspaces on the Capitol Campus.

The new office building does not strictly need to house the entire increase in membership and staff. Renovation of existing spaces can also provide room for more offices. For example, the Madison Building, part of the Library of Congress, lies directly east of the Cannon House Office Building. Our interviews indicated that Library of Congress staff have shifted to mostly remote work, meaning they have more office space than they use. Congress has the right to reacquire this building and convert it (at least partially) into a House Office Building. Congress did this for the O'Neill House Office Building in

2017, converting that building from Health and Human Services to an additional lower-campus House Office Building.<sup>65</sup> The Madison Building could likely serve as an interim solution for housing additional representatives and staff during construction of a new House Office Building, and then afterward could continue to provide short-term space for staff or committees.

Fortunately, there is already an ideal location for a new upper-campus House Office Building: Lot 1, directly south of the Cannon House Office Building. Prior to 2002, this lot held a House Office Building: the *original* O'Neill Building. It was a hotel Congress acquired in 1957 that continued to operate as a hotel (The Congressional Hotel), but also housed office space for representatives. In 2002, it was deemed structurally unsound and demolished.<sup>66</sup> Today, Lot 1 is just one of several parking lots in the area.

“

**I bought myself construction headphones to deal with cubicle noise on the days on I'm on the Hill.”**

Congressional Staffer



The proposed location for a new upper-campus House Office Building is Lot 1, where The Congressional Hotel (pictured above) stood until 2002. Today, Lot 1 is just one of several parking lots in the area.

As shown on the following pages, a new House Office Building could incorporate both traditional and modern elements, providing a familiar and also state-of-the-art working space. The artistic renderings show a traditional exterior with a courtyard, similar to other House Office Buildings, but with the addition of a striking tower, adding several stories of office space with beautiful views of the Campus (but still below the height of the Capitol).

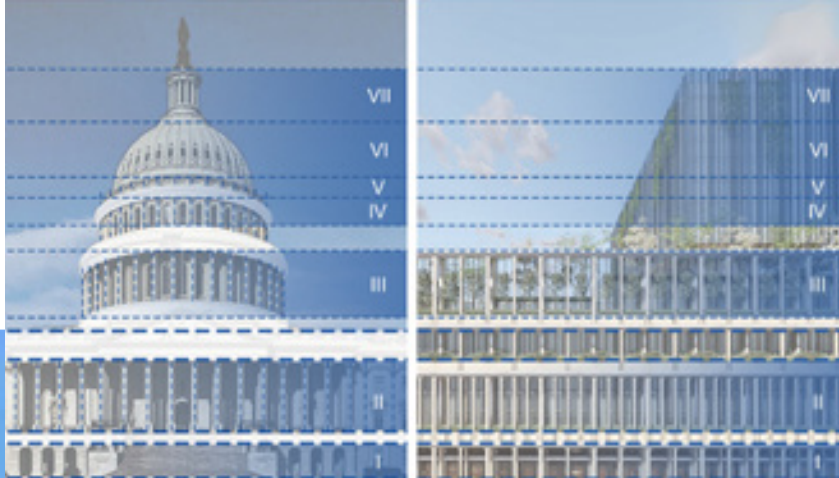
As the first rendering on page 22 shows, the addition of floors above the rest of the building creates an opportunity to use the rooftop as an additional green space.

This design would provide office suites for up to 200 additional members, as well as additional committee and staff offices. Altogether, the design assumes about 60 percent office spaces, 20 percent meeting room spaces, and 10 percent flexible spaces, with the rest consisting of cafeteria space, and miscellaneous rooms such as bathrooms and storage. As new construction, it would be the easiest place to incorporate lessons learned from our quantitative analysis, including collaborative, private working spaces; mixed-use cafeteria and working spaces; green spaces for working, press conferences, and visitors; better safety and security; and improved accessibility and energy efficiency.

The glass walls and large windows, reminiscent of the Hart Senate Office Building, make excellent use of natural light and surrounding views. However, it would also need to be coupled with security and privacy features; function comes first. For example, glass barriers between hallways and workspaces could be both frosted and bulletproof.

The artistic renderings show a traditional exterior with a courtyard, similar to other House Office Buildings, but with the addition of a striking tower, adding several stories of office space with beautiful views of the campus.





The first three floors would be level with its neighboring House Office Buildings, while the tower would be tall enough to offer beautiful views, while still being below the Capitol Dome.









**PREVIOUS PAGE** A central staircase, similar to the one found in the Hart Senate Office Building, would connect all seven stories, while offering views of the courtyard and surrounding Capitol area. The inner courtyard could connect directly to the D.C. Metro system, easing accessibility both to and from the new building.

**THIS PAGE** A new House Office Building could incorporate both traditional and modern elements, providing a familiar and also state-of-the-art working space. This design would provide office suites for up to 200 additional members, as well as additional committee and staff offices.



**LEFT** The glass walls and large windows, reminiscent of the Hart Senate Office Building, make excellent use of natural light and surrounding views.

**BELOW** The use of glass would also need to be coupled with security and privacy features; function comes first. For example, glass barriers between hallways and workspaces could be both frosted and bulletproof.



## 2

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# Adding seating to the House chamber

The House chamber can seat up to 450 representatives, with a gallery for visitors that seats an additional 400.<sup>67</sup> The addition of new members presents an opportunity to revisit this space.

A recent piece in *The Washington Post* showcases a few options for how the House floor could be altered to accommodate more representatives.<sup>68</sup>

Our recommended new layout involves replacing part of the current Visitors Gallery with a new elevated section. The upper section would only be necessary during the relatively rare times when every representative needs to be on the floor at once or during special events like joint sessions; at all other times, this structure would preserve the ability of a robust visitor gallery. However, for those

rare occasions, an upper section of seating for representatives would allow space for a significantly expanded House. To avoid a sense of separation between the two levels, we have incorporated two stairways into the room itself, allowing representatives and staff to easily move between levels without ever having to leave the House floor.

At the same time, changes to technology could make the new layout more workable, such as screens to make the House speaker or an active vote more visible.

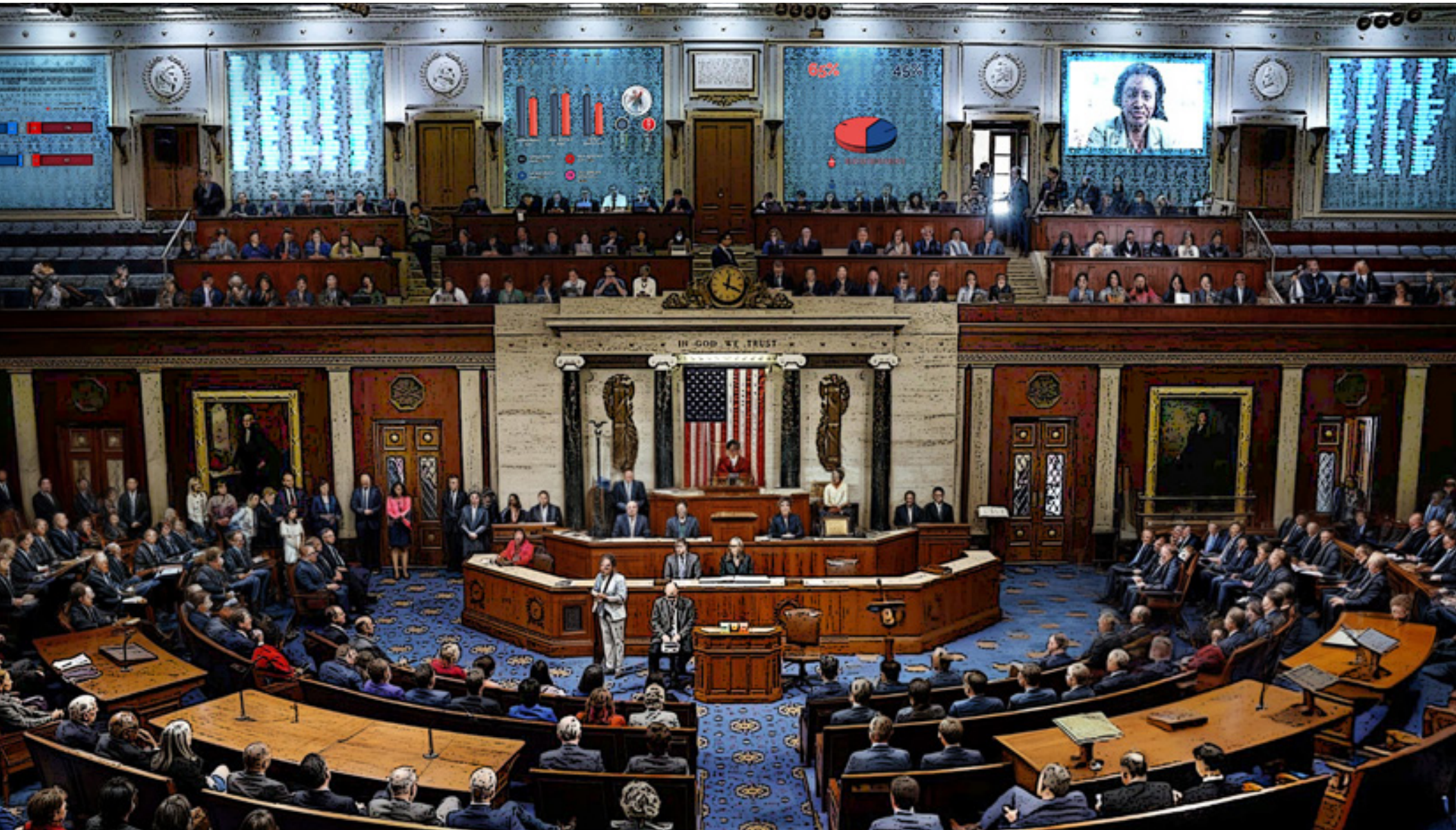


Two stairways allow easy movement between the two levels.

A mezzanine level would add 454 additional seats to the House chamber.

All chairs will be equipped with in-arm controls to allow easy voting from farther distances.

Pairing the expanded floor plan with new technology — like screens with voting charts and a speaker camera — will help make the new layout more workable for the larger number of members and staff.



3

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## Improving functional outdoor spaces

Adding an additional building is a straightforward way to increase working space, but it is not the only way. There is already a substantial amount of space that is underutilized across the Capitol Campus, particularly in courtyards and other green spaces.

Just south of the HOBs are two large publicly accessible parks: The Spirit of Justice Park (south of Rayburn HOB) and the Sharon Armesto Memorial Park (south of Longworth HOB). These are well-maintained spaces — with trees and fountains — but both fail to be functional spaces because they lack effective protection from the elements. For much of the year, they are too hot or too cold, and during the short periods of temperate climate they may be unusable due to rain.

These spaces can easily be equipped with structures to provide protection from the elements as well as privacy, encouraging the use of outdoor spaces for convenings and semiprivate meetings. This would prove highly useful if the House were to expand, as it would provide additional

flexible spaces to accommodate gatherings of staff and visitors without the need for costly renovations.

Renovating green spaces would not create any new office suites, and they would be outside of security, but it could free up space within office suites by providing new places to work, take phone calls, or even hold meetings. Functional outdoor spaces can offer a place to retreat for breaks while also reducing the strain on office suites, making them more effective for staff and members alike.

Within the House complex (and security), the Rayburn courtyard currently exists as an outdoor space for staff and visitor use. However, it lacks usable tables, benches, or chairs. Additionally, as an open-air

space between buildings, it is vulnerable to weather. This limits its functionality, leading to underutilization. A modernized version of this courtyard could rely on modern weather-proofing techniques to improve the area's functionality. A glass dome could be installed to allow sunlight to illuminate the space, while preventing rain, snowfall, or heavy winds from entering. Improvements to the environment of the courtyard — including increased greenery and an extension of the fountain — can also make the space more inviting to a variety of uses. These updates can be feasibly implemented to allow for greater privacy, and thus greater engagement with the space. The images below show the courtyard in its current state alongside a rendering of the same view with the dome added.



Added seating and shade would make the parks an attractive location for breaks for staff and visitors alike.

Shaded structures would facilitate multiple uses.





**ABOVE** The current Rayburn Courtyard is accessible and well maintained, but it is still underutilized due to weather for most of the year. Adding climate control to underutilized courtyards can relieve overcrowding elsewhere.

**RIGHT** Renovating green spaces could provide new places to work, take phone calls, or even hold meetings.





## 4

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# Adding flexible coworking spaces

Due to lack of space in members' suites, in-person meetings with constituents or other visitors must sometimes happen in a hallway, rather than at a conference table. Interns — who provide vital support for congressional operations — often work in cramped conditions.

They may be seated side-by-side at small desks in “leg shops” (see image on member offices below), squeezed next to refrigerators, or even relegated to storage closets — sometimes located on an entirely different floor from the office suite.

Even space for general public use is inadequate. There are two publicly accessible cafeterias (located in Longworth and Rayburn) and an additional, smaller eatery located in Cannon. These three cafeterias offer the only large public gathering areas where visitors can congregate between scheduled commitments. At the same time, they serve as the primary dining spaces for congressional staff, creating a dual-purpose strain. This overlap leaves the cafeterias overcrowded, chaotic, and worn down from constant overuse.

Beyond space to convene, there is a dire need for space that is more private — where a small group can converse or where an individual can take a phone call. The marble floors in House Office Buildings amplify sound, creating noisy, echoing spaces that are poorly suited for meetings and phone calls. Across the HOBs, there are no locations where individuals can gather for private meetings outside of spaces managed by a representative's personal office, a committee, or party leadership — all of which require pre-reservation.

In recognition of this need, the Committee on House Administration Subcommittee on Modernization has spearheaded initial efforts to convert unused or minimally used spaces to accommodate more private conversations

or a quiet place to take a phone call.<sup>69</sup> In 2024, the Committee announced the creation of bipartisan staff coworking spaces located in the Cannon House Office Building.<sup>70</sup> In Longworth, there is a small collection of phone booths that have been converted to private working nooks, but congressional staff report that they are claustrophobic and not soundproof. Similarly, the Rayburn HOB has a randomly placed assortment of utility closets that have been converted into single-person-use workspace. Unfortunately, due to the construction of these spaces, they often lack reliable WiFi and cellular access, greatly decreasing their functionality.



**ABOVE** In 2024, the Subcommittee announced the creation of bipartisan staff coworking spaces located in the Cannon House Office Building.

**RIGHT** New multipurpose spaces can be built with accessibility in mind.





Dedicated coworking spaces, particularly with options for private conversations and phone calls, would go a long way toward improving productivity and efficiency for those working on the Capitol Campus, particularly for a future House with more representatives and staff. These spaces could serve as coworking areas and break areas, offering collaborative tables, reservable private rooms, and privacy booths for calls or handling sensitive tasks.

5

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## Building an east–west elevated pathway

The two House Office Buildings on the lower campus provide essential space for staff but remain largely disconnected from the upper campus. Strengthening connectivity between these areas would improve communication, enhance functionality, and simplify movement across the Capitol Campus.

Currently, the lack of integrated pathways or tunnels makes navigating between the campuses inconvenient and inefficient, limiting their potential as a cohesive workspace.

A potential solution is building an elevated pathway. A pathway would encourage a seamless connectivity that could make the lower campus a far more integrated part of the overall workspace. This pathway could accommodate various modes of

transportation between campuses with a pedestrian footpath and bike lane. An integrated campus would reduce travel time and make it easier for those with mobility challenges to navigate the HOBs. Moreover, it could effectively connect the Capitol South Metro station (near the upper campus) to the L’Enfant Plaza Metro station (near the lower campus), making it easier to accommodate a larger number of commuters and visitors.

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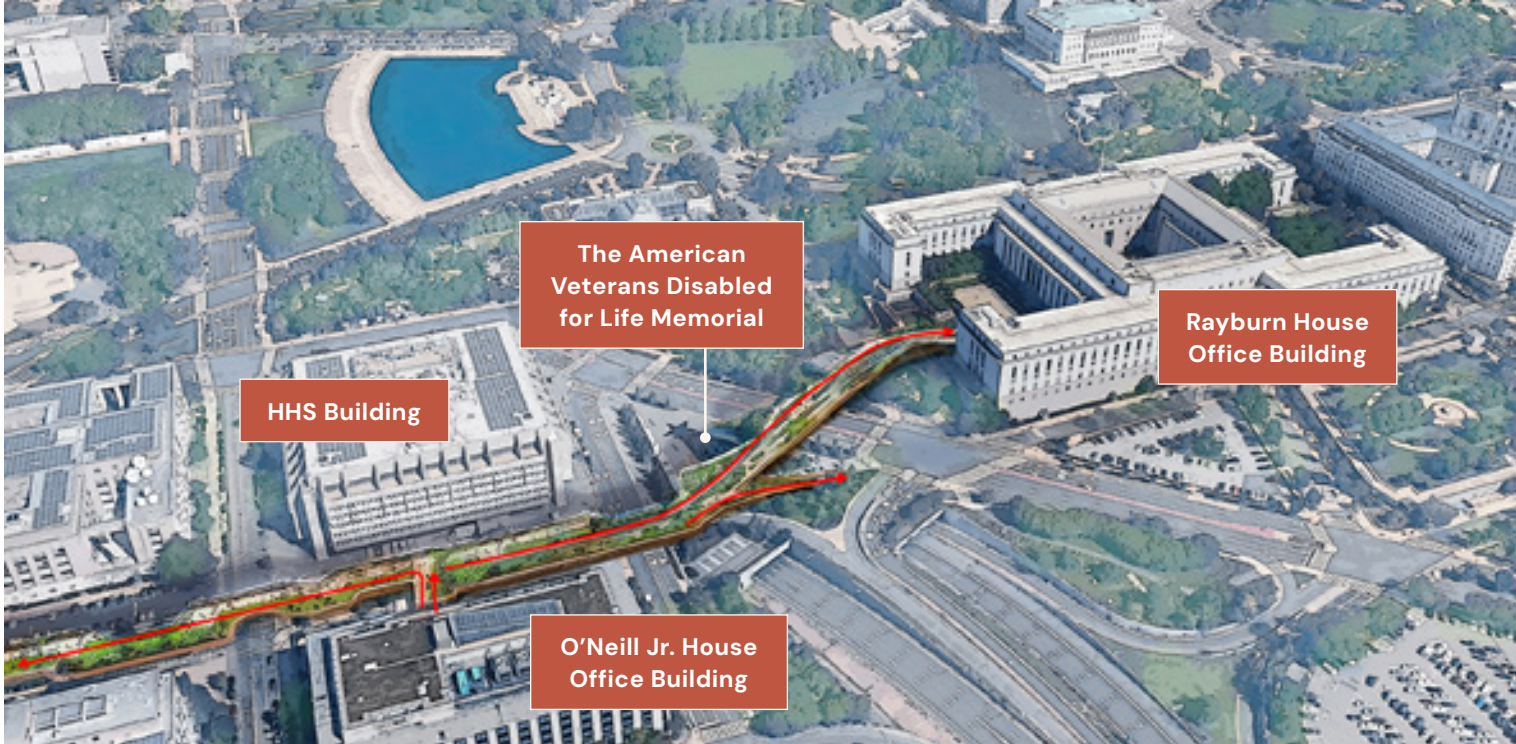
**You’re often running from one corner of the campus. It can take a while.”**

Congressional Staffer



The pathway could improve connectivity for lower campus staff while also serving as an attraction for visitors.





**LEFT** In connecting the upper and lower campuses, the pathway could also improve access to the American Veterans Disabled for Life Memorial between them.

**BELOW** Coverage and seating would make the pathway a useful place to meet and socialize.



6

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## Designing more flexible office suites

Member offices are the central hub of their DC-based staff's operations, including everything from pursuing the representative's legislative agenda to taking meetings, answering constituent phone calls, and managing press inquiries.

Every two years, all 435 representatives and six non-voting members participate in a room lottery, through which they choose a three-suite office as their DC-based headquarters.

Member offices are housed across the three HOBs, and although representatives retain the flexibility to organize their suites to their liking, many align with a standardized approach in the image on page 38.

The suite consists of three rooms. The room to the far right (as shown) houses the member's own office; the middle room includes the main entryway with a receptionist, as well as the chief of staff's office; and the room to the left, often called

the "leg shop," sits up to eight individuals, including the member's legislative director, legislative assistants, legislative correspondents, communications director, press secretary, and interns.

Current and former congressional staff outline a variety of problems with the current approach. Lack of space means that in-person meetings with constituents or special interest groups are often taken in the hallway. Regardless of whether an office is located in Cannon, Longworth, or Rayburn, adequate staff office and meeting space is a notable challenge.

As incumbent members win re-election and new members-elect are sworn in

every two years, each representative gets the opportunity to participate anew in the office lottery<sup>71</sup> and potentially move to a new office at the beginning of the congressional term. The majority of representatives jump at this opportunity, utilizing the move as a way to get a more preferred office location. This biennial office shuffle — during which all transferred offices are packed up, cleaned, repainted, and redecorated — costs taxpayers millions.<sup>72</sup> Although this move provides members with the ability to customize their space to a degree, the office moves and associated monetary investment does not address the underlying functionality issues of the chamber: The House is bursting at its seams.

While the existing office suites are fairly inflexible given the three-room structure, there is still a reasonable amount that can be changed with creative use of furniture. For example, the use of retractable screens in the “leg shop” room could allow a six-person table to double as either a conference table, or offices for staff and interns. Likewise, turning the member’s desk 90 degrees could make room for the couch, plus an additional space for a meeting table that could be folded up when not in use.

The three room structure cannot be entirely jettisoned, but reasonable changes could make the spaces more functional.



## Office staff

### Leadership

1. Member of Congress
2. Chief of Staff

### Office Administration

3. Scheduler
4. Office Manager
5. Staff Assistant

### Legislative Team

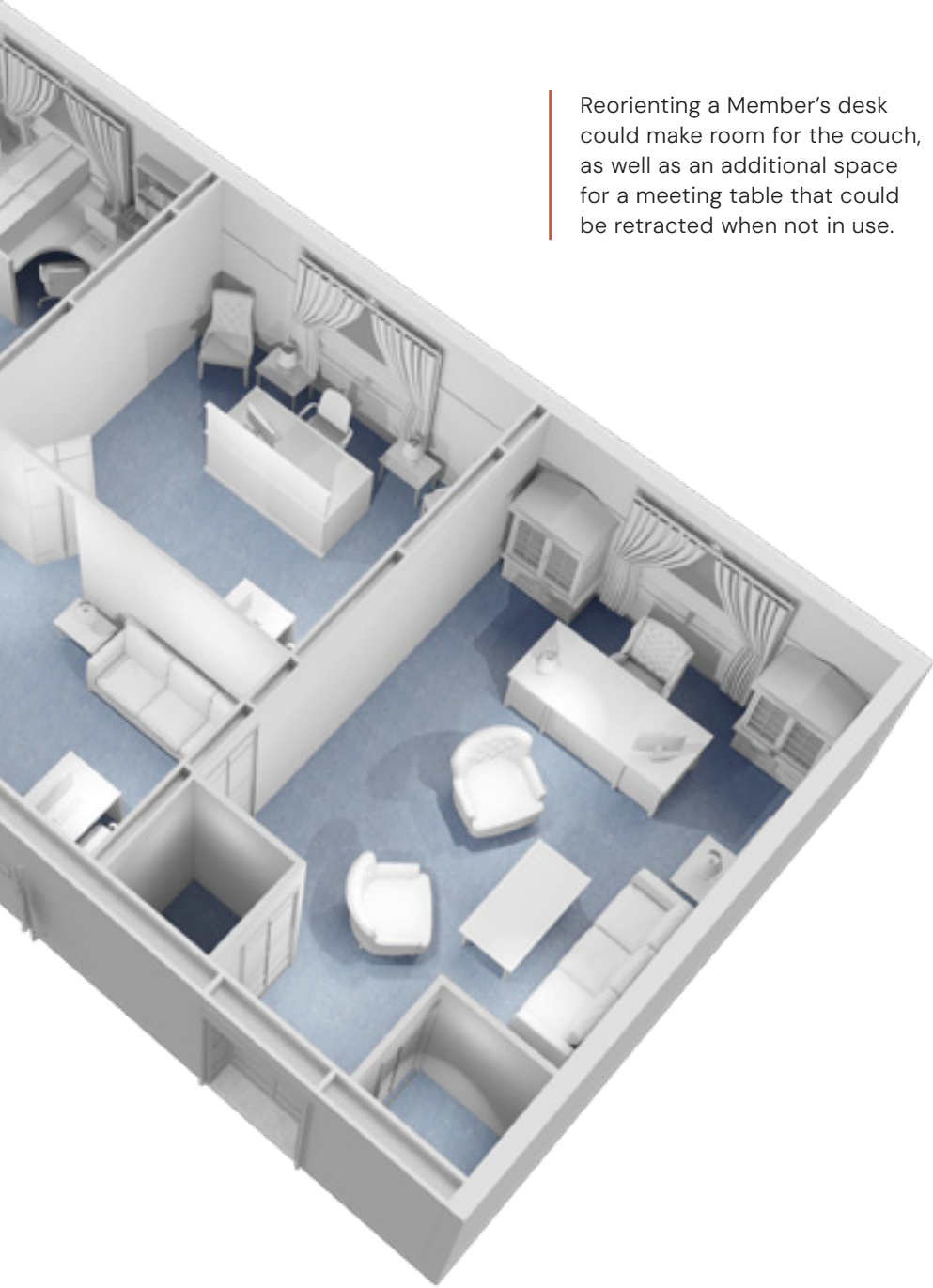
6. Legislative Director
7. Legislative Assistant
8. Legislative Correspondent

### Communications Team

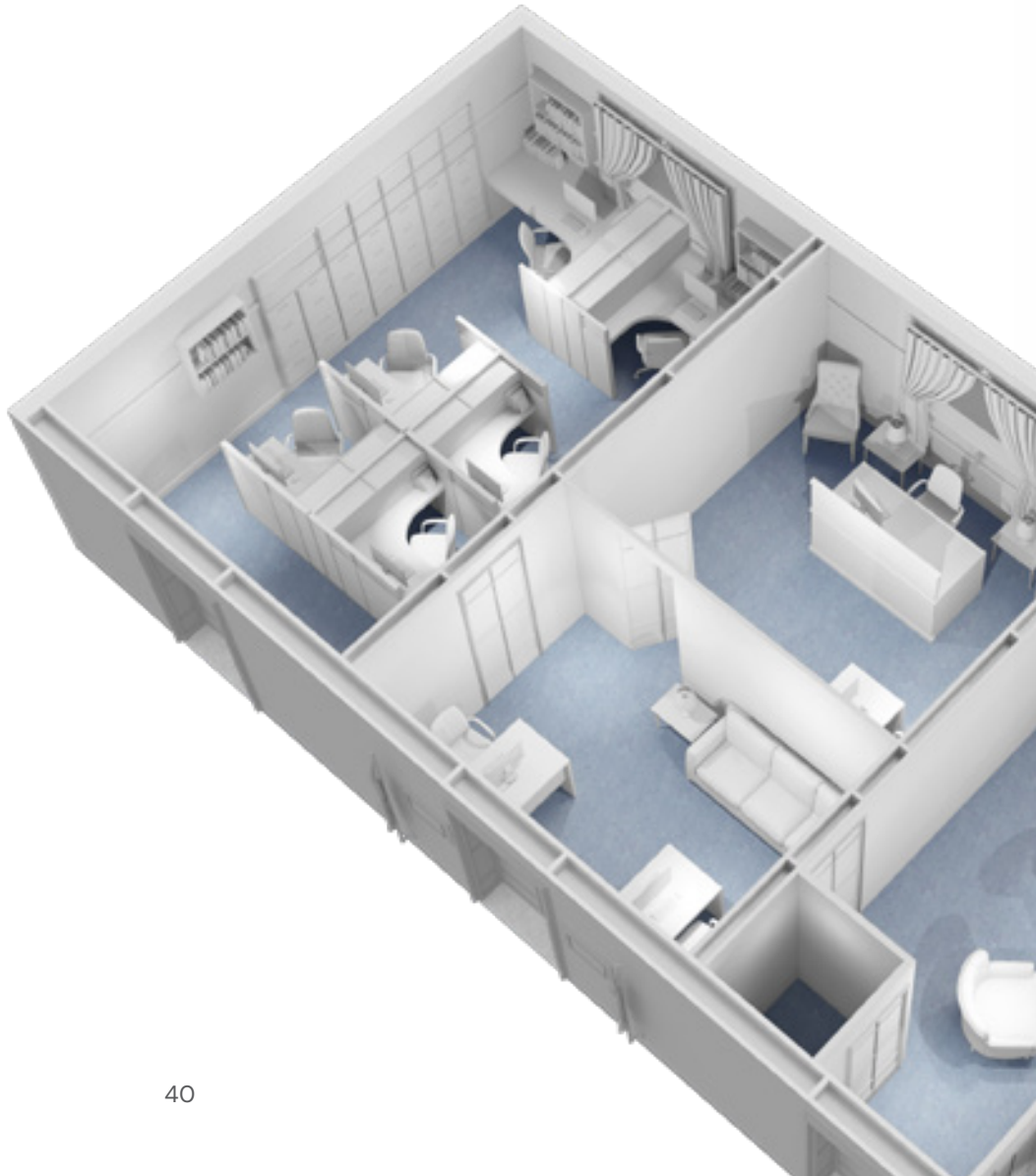
9. Communications Director
10. Press Secretary
11. Press Assistant



Reorienting a Member's desk could make room for the couch, as well as an additional space for a meeting table that could be retracted when not in use.



The use of retractable screens in the leg shop room could allow a six-person table to double as either a conference table or offices for staff and interns.



7

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## Improving wayfinding and accessibility

Both the House Office Buildings themselves and the tunnels that connect them would benefit from improved wayfinding or tools that help people in and around the Capitol Campus identify where they are, where they want to go, and how to get there.

Both HOBs have a series of similar-looking corridors, complex pathways between key areas, and limited signage, making it easy for visitors or new staffers to get lost.

Modern technology makes it possible to project maps onto walls and additional signage onto floors. These electronic signage systems offer the advantage of communicating more information — such as event schedules — and can even incorporate interactive elements.

Critically, they can also change form in case of emergencies in order to direct people to the nearest exit.



Office corridors often look similar to each other and lack clear signage for how to get to an office, food court, or other room, or even how to exit the building.



Modern technology makes it possible to project maps onto walls and additional signage onto floors. These electronic signage systems offer the advantage of communicating more information — such as event schedules — and can even incorporate interactive elements.



Critically, these signage systems can also change form in case of emergencies in order to direct people to the nearest exit.

# Conclusion

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## Advocates for adding representatives to the House have typically glossed over the issue of physical space: Quite literally, where will new representatives sit?

This disconnect obscures the significant overlap between the potential benefits of adding representatives to the House and the current need to modernize the Capitol Campus.

This report, in answering the question of how one could physically fit more representatives into the Capitol Campus, concludes that the same changes needed to expand the House are those that can modernize the Congress to meet the demands of today.

That overlap reveals potential efficiencies that could be more broadly explored. For example, members pushing for modernization could emphasize the democratic benefits of a larger House of Representatives, with that increase serving as a forcing function for

modernization. Or, conversely, those who want a larger House of Representatives could push for modernization on the grounds that the costs for modernization would overlap with — and thereby offset — many of the most significant costs of adding representatives to the House.

The suite of potential solutions presented in this report demonstrate that the challenges to the House Capitol Campus, both today and in the future, are surmountable:

1. Constructing a new House Office Building;
2. Adding seating to the house chamber;
3. Improving functional outdoor spaces;
4. Creating flexible coworking spaces;
5. Building an east-west elevated pathway;
6. Designing more flexible office suites; and
7. Improving wayfinding and accessibility

The report's architectural renderings show that not only are these solutions feasible, but they are also beautiful and inspiring. They represent a Congress of tomorrow that is modern and dynamic. This dynamism is critical, as the needs of the 2020s will not be the same as the needs of the 2030s, let alone the needs of the 2100s and even further into the future.

Although this report does not opine on the decision to expand the House or the ideal approach to Capitol Campus modernization, we hope our analysis and renderings inspire bold ideas and broaden the realm of possibilities.

# Notes

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- 1 The House also includes six non-voting members, from the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and four other territories of the United States: American Samoa, Guam, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and the Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands. *The Legislative Branch*, The White House, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/our-government/the-legislative-branch/> (last visited Nov. 14, 2024).
- 2 An Act For the apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the several States under the Thirteenth Census, Pub. L. No. 62-5, 37 Stat. 13 (1911); An Act To provide for the fifteenth and subsequent decennial censuses and to Provide for apportionment of Representatives in Congress, Pub. L. No. 71-13, 46 Stat. 21 (1929) (hereinafter *Permanent Apportionment Act of 1929*).
- 3 Derek Kilmer & William Timmons, *Final Report: Select Committee on the Modernization of Congress* 41-51, 172-193 (2022), <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRPT-117hrpt646/pdf/GPO-CRPT-117hrpt646.pdf#page=41>; see American Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Our Common Purpose: Reinventing American Democracy for the 21st Century* 22-24 (2020), [https://www.amacad.org/sites/default/files/publication/downloads/2020-Democratic-Citizenship\\_Our-Common-Purpose.pdf](https://www.amacad.org/sites/default/files/publication/downloads/2020-Democratic-Citizenship_Our-Common-Purpose.pdf).
- 4 Reformers interested in House expansion have suggested increases of various magnitudes; the report published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences evaluated several of these and recommended an increase of 150 members, with the potential for future increases. See Lee Drutman et al., *The Case for Enlarging the House of Representatives*, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, at 17 (2021).
- 5 See, e.g., Statement of J. Brett Blanton, Architect of the Capitol, *Making Congress Work Better for the American People: A Recommendation Status Report* (Jan. 20, 2022), [https://www.aoc.gov/sites/default/files/2022-01/AOC\\_Testimony\\_House\\_Modernization\\_Hearing-2022-01-20.pdf](https://www.aoc.gov/sites/default/files/2022-01/AOC_Testimony_House_Modernization_Hearing-2022-01-20.pdf) (describing Vision 2100, a strategic initiative of the Architect of the Capitol to revitalize the Capitol Campus over the next century).
- 6 Architect of the Capitol, U.S. Capitol Visitor Center, <https://www.aoc.gov/explore-capitol-campus/buildings-grounds/capitol-building/capitol-visitor-center> (last visited Oct. 11, 2024).
- 7 Architect of the Capitol, Cannon Renewal Project Overview, <https://www.aoc.gov/what-we-do/projects/cannon-renewal/project-overview> (last visited Oct. 11, 2024).
- 8 See Efforts at modernization *infra*.
- 9 The main House Office Buildings used today were built in 1908 (Cannon), 1953 (Longworth), and 1965 (Rayburn).
- 10 POPVOX Foundation, *Future-Proofing Congress*, <https://www.popvox.org/futureproofing> (last visited Sept. 20, 2024).
- 11 An Act To provide for the fifteenth and subsequent decennial censuses and to provide for apportionment of Representatives in Congress, Pub. L. No. 71-13, 46 Stat. 21 (1929) (hereinafter *Permanent Apportionment Act of 1929*).
- 12 Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910* (1915), <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1910/volume-1/volume-1-pl.pdf>.
- 13 U.S. Census Bureau, *2020 Census Apportionment Results* (2021), <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2020/dec/2020-apportionment-data.html>.
- 14 See Lee Drutman et al., *The Case for Enlarging the House of Representatives*, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2021.
- 15 For a simple graphic demonstrating the disparity in population per electoral vote by state, see Naema Ahmed, Axios, *The Electoral College by vote per capita*, <https://www.axios.com/2020/11/16/electoral-college-by-vote-per-capita> (last visited Sept. 19, 2024).
- 16 American Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Our Common Purpose: Reinventing American Democracy for the 21st Century* 6 (2020), [https://www.amacad.org/sites/default/files/publication/downloads/2020-Democratic-Citizenship\\_Our-Common-Purpose.pdf](https://www.amacad.org/sites/default/files/publication/downloads/2020-Democratic-Citizenship_Our-Common-Purpose.pdf).
- 17 *The Federalist No. 55* (James Madison).
- 18 2 *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* 644 (Max Farrand ed., 1911), <https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/l1/llscd/llfr002/llfr002.pdf>. If this ratio were in place today, the House of Representatives would have just over 11,000 members.
- 19 Drutman, *supra* note 3, at 7-8.
- 20 *The Federalist No. 55* (James Madison).
- 21 *The Federalist No. 58* (James Madison).
- 22 See Intro.6.7, *Proposed Amendments Not Ratified by the States, Constitution Annotated*, [https://www.constitution.congress.gov/browse/essay/intro.4/ALDE\\_00000026/](https://www.constitution.congress.gov/browse/essay/intro.4/ALDE_00000026/) (last visited Sept. 19, 2024).
- 23 See American Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Our Common Purpose: Reinventing American Democracy for the 21st Century* 8 (2020), [https://www.amacad.org/sites/default/files/publication/downloads/2020-Democratic-Citizenship\\_Our-Common-Purpose.pdf](https://www.amacad.org/sites/default/files/publication/downloads/2020-Democratic-Citizenship_Our-Common-Purpose.pdf). Some conceptualize the amendment as instituting a graduated formula, in which case the ratio as of the 2010 census would be one member for every 190,000 persons, for a total House size of 1,625.

- 24 U.S. Const. Art. I, § 2 (“Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers[.]”).
- 25 The 1842 Apportionment Act was passed by a new Whig majority, and they included other changes as well, such as the first requirement that states elect their congressional delegations exclusively from single-member districts. See Grant Tudor & Beau Tremiere, *Towards Proportional Representation: Amending the Uniform Congressional District Act*, Protect Democracy & Unite America, at 19 (March 2023).
- 26 Some of the historical growth accompanied the addition of new states and territories. Indeed, the total number of members today is actually 441, because each of five permanently populated territories and the District of Columbia send a non-voting member. Non-voting members (called either delegates, resident commissioners, or NVMs) have existed since before the ratification of the Constitution, and originally included delegates from territories that had not yet become states. These non-voting members have offices, and employ staff on the Capitol Campus and in their districts. They receive compensation, benefits, and franking privileges. They can speak, and introduce bills and resolutions on the floor of the House; offer amendments and most motions on the House floor; and speak and vote in House committees. They cannot vote on the House floor, however, and are not counted for quorum purposes in the House.
- 27 *Id.*
- 28 Drutman, *supra* note 5, at 9–10.
- 29 Bouk, *House Arrest*, 7, 18, 31.
- 30 See *Permanent Apportionment Act of 1929*, *supra* note 6.
- 31 Michael Schuyler, *A Short History of Government Taxing and Spending in the United States*, Tax Foundation (Feb. 2014), <https://files.taxfoundation.org/legacy/docs/FF415.pdf>.
- 32 Steven Horowitz, *Herbert Hoover: Father of the New Deal* 4 (2011), <https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/pdf/bp122.pdf>. This value is not adjusted for inflation.
- 33 FiscalData.Treasury.gov, *How much has the U.S. government spent this year?*, <https://fiscaldata.treasury.gov/americas-finance-guide/federal-spending/> (last accessed Oct. 10, 2024).
- 34 Kathy Goldschmidt & Bradley Joseph Sinkaus, *The Future of Citizen Engagement: Rebuilding the Democratic Dialogue* 7–11 (2021), [https://www.congressfoundation.org/storage/documents/CMF\\_Pubs/cmf\\_citizen\\_engagement\\_rebuilding\\_democratic\\_dialogue.pdf](https://www.congressfoundation.org/storage/documents/CMF_Pubs/cmf_citizen_engagement_rebuilding_democratic_dialogue.pdf).
- 35 Timothy M. LaPira, Lee Drutman & Kevin R. Kosar, *Congress Overwhelmed: The Decline in Congressional Capacity and Prospects for Reform* 2 (2020), <https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/C/bo50700299.html>.
- 36 Joe Davidson, *How big is the federal workforce? Much bigger than you think*, Wash. Post (Oct. 13, 2017), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2017/10/03/how-big-is-the-federal-workforce-much-bigger-than-you-think/>.
- 37 Federal Managers Association, *The Legislative Branch: Building Relationships Today for Results Tomorrow*, FMA, <https://www.fedmanagers.org/Legislative-Branch>, (last visited Sept. 20, 2024).
- 38 Kathy Goldschmidt & Bradley Joseph Sinkaus, *The Future of Citizen Engagement: Rebuilding the Democratic Dialogue* 9 (2021), [https://www.congressfoundation.org/storage/documents/CMF\\_Pubs/cmf\\_citizen\\_engagement\\_rebuilding\\_democratic\\_dialogue.pdf](https://www.congressfoundation.org/storage/documents/CMF_Pubs/cmf_citizen_engagement_rebuilding_democratic_dialogue.pdf).
- 39 See Lee Drutman & Steven M. Teles, *Why Congress Relies on Lobbyists Instead of Thinking for Itself*, *The Atlantic*, Mar. 10, 2015, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/03/when-congress-cant-think-for-itself-it-turns-to-lobbyists/387295/> (describing the simultaneous reduction in congressional capacity and rise in lobbying).
- 40 Loper Bright Enterprises v. Raimondo, 603 U.S. \_\_ (2024).
- 41 *Id.* at \_\_ (Thomas, J., concurring).
- 42 See, e.g., Amy Howe, *Supreme Court strikes down Chevron, curtailing power of federal agencies*, *SCOTUSblog*, June 28, 2024, <https://www.scotusblog.com/2024/06/supreme-court-strikes-down-chevron-curtailing-power-of-federal-agencies/> (emphasizing the transfer of interpretive power from agencies to courts).
- 43 See Kathryn Dunn Tenpas, *Life after Chevron: How will Congress and federal agencies adapt?*, Brookings, Sept. 16, 2024, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/life-after-chevron-how-will-congress-and-federal-agencies-adapt/> (“The panelists agreed on the need to increase congressional capacity, enhance internal expertise, and address structural challenges”).
- 44 Senator Mike Monroney, General Statement, *Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946*, <https://budgetcounsel.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/1946-07-22-prnt-comorgcong-on-leg-reorg-of-cong-1946.pdf>.
- 45 Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, *Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946: Report of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress*, H.R. Rep. No. 79-1675 (1946), <https://budgetcounsel.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/1946-07-22-prnt-comorgcong-on-leg-reorg-of-cong-1946.pdf>.
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- 48 H. Con. Res. 192, 102d Cong. (1992), <https://budgetcounsel.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/joint-committee-h-con-res-192-102nd-congress-establishing-organization-of-congress-committee.pdf>.
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- 50 Congressional Research Service, The Library of Congress, *Reorganization of the House of Representatives: Modern Reform Efforts* 41 (2003), [https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20031020\\_RL31835\\_871c33a8137c3ba0d3cbe25f2337dd292f6b156e0.pdf#page=41](https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20031020_RL31835_871c33a8137c3ba0d3cbe25f2337dd292f6b156e0.pdf#page=41).
- 51 *Id.*

- 52 Derek Kilmer & William Timmons, *Final Report: Select Committee on the Modernization of Congress* 108 (2022), <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRPT-117hrpt646/pdf/GPO-CRPT-117hrpt646.pdf#page=108>.
- 53 For example, Reps. Bice and Kilmer helped establish a staff collaboration space on the fourth floor of Cannon in 2024, and have been instrumental in the creation of the ADA pick-up and drop-off zones on First Street Southeast across from the Library of Congress. See POPVOX Foundation, *Staff now have dedicated coworking spaces for collaboration* (Aug. 8, 2024), <https://www.popvox.org/futureproofing-congress-accomplishments/coworking-spaces>; POPVOX Foundation, *The Capitol complex is more accessible with ADA transit zones* (Aug. 8, 2024), <https://www.popvox.org/futureproofing-congress-accomplishments/ada-transit-zones>.
- 54 Select Committee on the Modernization of Congress, *Recommendations 157-166*, Dec. 2022, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRPT-117hrpt646/pdf/GPO-CRPT-117hrpt646.pdf>.
- 55 *Supra* note 4 at 17.
- 56 Firsthand Home Page, <https://www.thinkfirsthand.com/> (last visited Oct. 1, 2024).
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- 58 See Yuval Levin et al., *The Case for Enlarging the House of Representatives*, American Enterprise Institute, 2021, <https://www.aei.org/research-products/report/the-case-for-enlarging-the-house-of-representatives/>.
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- 60 Danielle Allen, *Can the Capitol hold a much bigger House? Yes, here's how it would look*, Wash. Post. (May 2, 2023), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/interactive/2023/capitol-house-representatives-expansion-design/>.
- 61 Alexandre Khoury Architectural Studios Home Page, <https://www.ak-architecturestudio.com/work> (last visited Oct. 1, 2024).
- 62 Architect of the Capitol, *House Office Buildings*, <https://www.aoc.gov/explore-capitol-campus/buildings-grounds/house-office-buildings> (last visited Oct. 1, 2024).
- 63 *Id.*
- 64 Architect of the Capitol, *Cannon House Office Building*, <https://www.aoc.gov/explore-capitol-campus/buildings-grounds/house-office-buildings/cannon> (last visited Oct. 1, 2024); Architect of the Capitol, *Longworth House Office Building*, <https://www.aoc.gov/explore-capitol-campus/buildings-grounds/house-office-buildings/longworth> (last visited Oct. 1, 2024); Architect of the Capitol, *Rayburn House Office Building*, <https://www.aoc.gov/explore-capitol-campus/buildings-grounds/house-office-buildings/rayburn> (last visited Oct. 1, 2024).
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# About this report

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