

**Dilemmas of Representation:
The Home Styles of New York State Congressmembers in the 1990's**

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Chapter I: Introduction

This book is about congressional representation. That is, it focuses on the linkages between constituents, U.S. House Representatives, and the home styles they adopt in their districts. It addresses questions of how congresspeople communicate with constituents, how they balance local and national concerns, and how decisions about balancing vary across individual members of Congress. Through an extensive case study of the home styles of ten representatives from New York State, we hope to highlight the very real dilemmas modern day congresspeople face as they go about the business of representation.

The starting point for this study is, of course, Richard Fenno's (1978) seminal work *Home Style*. As congressional scholars well know, that work challenged many then conventional notions of representation. By examining constituency from the "over-the-shoulder" view of the representative as he or she examines the district, Fenno demonstrated the complexity of the representative process. Legislators must continually appreciate and balance the views of four, not one, sets of constituents. The conventional geographic constituency is only the beginning of the story. As they interact with their nested sets of constituencies (geographic, reelection, primary, intimate; see Chapter II), and as they consider their own opinions and experiences, representatives make complex choices about home style: the allocation of resources, presentation of self, and the explanation of voting records.

After exhaustively studying 18 representatives, Fenno's main conclusion was that representation starts at home. Within the district, visibility, allocation of resources to the district, presentation of self and continually winning and keeping constituent trust were important keys to success. Issue positions and Washington activity counted, but were filtered through explanatory behavior and presentational styles. Basically, representation in the 1970s was personal, local and an ongoing process.

Other legislative scholars have elaborated on this (now accepted) view of representation. The often-documented advantages accruing to incumbents, candidate centered politics, and reduced presidential coattails all give credence to Fenno's view of home style. For one, incumbents can be secure and safe in their districts because their congressional status gives them increased funds for trips home and expands the communication possibilities between themselves and their constituents (Mayhew 1973,1974; Jacobson 1997). Also, the fact that winning elections seems to be due to the efforts of individual candidates and their actions within their districts, rather than to their partisanship or their party's presidential success means that even more depends on the representative-constituent connection (Jacobson 1997; Mann & Wolfinger, 1981). In short, incumbents have been able to utilize a wide array of resources, the franking privilege, increased staff, committee activities, etc., to cement their relationships with constituents and to secure their congressional seats.

Yet, while many of these phenomena have continued to be influential in American politics over the past two decades, major aspects of politics and Congress have changed. As a result, representation in the 1990's may be a little less personal and local and more national, as politics has become more ideological and partisan. National factors, like congressional partisanship, ideology, and fund-raising, have been more important in recent elections. Also, the role of organized interests (which are in the background of

Fenno's work but are not highlighted) have continued to increase in importance and, simultaneously, drastically changed the nature of campaign financing. Add into this flux the ever-expanding role played by the media in congressional politics and it seems worthwhile to expect the representative-constituent relationship to have changed since the 1970's. Essentially, the representation of the 1990's, though still local and personal, may now have a more national and/or organized nature.

For all of these reasons, the politics of the late 1990's makes it efficacious to reexamine Fenno's conception of representation. Contemporary political trends are naturally going to have an impact on member home styles and could even radically change Fenno's conception of representation. Taken to the extreme, it is conceivable that this changing political environment has altered, possibly even weakened, the connection between the represented and representative. In other words, increasing nationalization and depersonalization can transform Fenno's conception of reelection based on access and trust. With increased partisanship, new campaign laws, and the proliferation of the media, the average citizen may feel more disconnected from politics than in the 1970's. In an era when public opinion about Congress is low, the ability of individual representatives to build up constituency trust is crucial. A re-examination of members' home styles will allow one to assess the ability of modern representatives to develop trusting relationships with their districts.

In essence, we posit that the politics of the 1990's may make it harder for members of Congress to develop strong personal relationships with their constituents. The development of party platforms, like the Contract with America, may mean that some representatives must balance local issues with national concerns. While this may help certain types of congresspeople (Southern conservatives), it may be difficult for others to engage in this balancing act. Increased partisanship and the elite focus of campaign finance laws may make it harder for a congressperson to balance his or her four constituencies. Members may have to focus more on the re-election and/or partisan constituency to the detriment of other groups. The weight of the primary constituency in the form of campaign contributors and groups may have increased, again de-focusing a congressperson's attention away from the average constituent. Increased use of media may exacerbate these trends. Basically, members of Congress may simply have a harder job being representatives in the 1990s than in the 1970s.

Furthermore, many facts of American political life have changed since the 1970s and these changes have the potential to fundamentally alter the type of representation citizens are receiving and the type of choices representatives make when developing their home styles. The ramifications of these changes are important because, taken together, they force more interconnections between the local and the national. Thus, laying out the changes in the political environment and uncovering how these changes have affected the home styles of ten New York State incumbents is the purpose of the rest of this work. ***Project Overview and Design.*** To this point, it has been argued that many important aspects of American politics have changed since Fenno wrote *Home Style*. In the next chapter, we both elaborate on the rich set of concepts intrinsic to Fenno's ideas about home style and expand on the reasons why the 1990s provide a good time to re-examine congressional home styles. As sketched out above, the argument to be developed will be that changes in the 1990s political landscape have produced a more national politics, a politics which will be manifest in the home styles of today's representatives. In other

words, where Fenno portrays representation largely from the perspective of local interests, it is argued here that congresspeople of the 1990s are faced with more of a need to balance both local and national concerns. Therefore, as House members develop their home styles, they must make difficult choices about how to balance local and national factors and must find better ways to interconnect the two.

In light of these modern pressures, when does a congressperson emphasize national elements as a key component of home style, or under what conditions does a legislator stay “local”? Why do some representatives choose to jump on the national party bandwagon, and others decide to pursue constituent interests? How do changing recruitment practices, alternate media availability and more diverse constituencies impact on home styles? Through an in depth examination of ten New York State representatives’ activities in their districts, subsequent chapters of this book are organized to highlight the dilemmas faced and choices made by members as they interact with constituents and make crucial day to day decisions.

From the outset, there are three aspects of our research design that are worth highlighting: the method, the focus on New York State, and the choice of representatives within the state.

Method. In order to develop the home styles of these representatives, we relied on a three-pronged approach. We examined a wide variety of publicly available material, conducted interviews with members of Congress or their staffs, and observed members at public meetings/forums. For our preliminary formulation of a congressperson’s home style, we used standard reference publications on Congress (Congressional Quarterly Weekly Reports, The Almanac of American Politics, Politics in America), accounts of local, regional, and national press, and Internet sources (including members’ web sites--all of the representatives had web sites--additional newspaper listings, and a variety of political sites).

From this, it becomes apparent that the method of analysis substantively diverts from Fenno’s soaking and poking in the 1970s. In his original study, Fenno quite rightly emphasized the importance of the “over the shoulder” view of the individual member and the necessity to capture member perceptions. What becomes apparent in this approach is that member perceptions can lead to substantially different insights than some “objective” viewpoint. For instance, two representatives (a sitting congressperson and his/her predecessor or two competing candidates in one election) can view the same district very differently and develop rather different home styles.

While unequivocally acknowledging the importance of member perceptions, we feel there are also real advantages to alternative designs, advantages worth reiterating. It will be argued throughout that an impressive array of publicly available material is at hand, and available to help piece together good approximations of a representative’s home style. While some of this material (the Internet) was, for obvious reasons, unavailable to Fenno, we have been quite amazed about how many clues to home styles we can glean from newspapers and standard reference publications. Viewed from the perspective of the interested layperson, wanting more information about Congress, this wealth of publicly accessible material has been one of the heartening findings of our study.

Second, what is less clear from Fenno’s approach is how a member’s constituency, the media, and the public at large perceive a member’s actions, positions, or, in general, his or her home style. Our approach tries to counter-balance the member’s perspective with

other sources. By relying more on publicly available sources, we are able first to construct a member's home style and then compare it to his/her understanding of that home style. In other words, we want to see how consistent a member's understanding of his or her home style is with the public or constituent perception of that home style.

In addition, we interviewed each of the representatives as a check on quality of our interpretations of member home styles. While this is a much more limited personal interaction with representatives than Fenno had, it does allow the interviewer to tap into the representative's perceptions. Yet, through the combined approach, it is possible to more thoroughly think through the relationships between public perceptions of a home style and the representative's own view of his/her home style. Finally, by examining the public record in so much detail, we probably obtain more information about issues than Fenno did. Since, as will be argued in chapter II, Fenno may have under-emphasized the role of issues and national factors, the approach used here may be a useful corrective.

Choosing New York State. Early on, it was decided to focus on one state. The logic behind this decision is that it both narrows the scope of the project and imposes some control on the context in which the representatives operate. In choosing to study House members from a single state, it was obviously possible to simplify choices (from a pool of 435 to 31 representatives). More importantly, by focusing on the state of New York, it was possible to impose some constraints on the context. By isolating interesting similarities, for example, analyzing members from two urban or multi-racial districts, it is possible to obtain a better understanding of the role of personal factors on home style or get a feel for the range of acceptable behavior within a certain kind of constituency. Yet, because New York State is so diverse, it is also possible to obtain substantial variation. An incredible variety of cultural and political conditions exist within New York State's congressional districts. It will become more than evident from the constituency descriptions in each of the congressional profiles, that the stereotypes and images of New York State diversity are more than borne out. For example, New York has some of the most rural and some of the most urban districts in the country, and has many large concentrations of different ethnic groups. The districts vary from 46 people per square mile (the 24th) to 58 thousand (the 11th), from 96 percent minority (the 16th) to over 95 percent white (the 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 27th, and 31st). There is also substantial variation in district education, income and poverty (Table 1).

A couple of facts about New York State need to be kept in mind to aid in appreciating the profiles. The declining economy which has been so much a factor in the state's politics will serve as the backdrop for the home styles of more than a few of these representatives. Too, political considerations should be noted. Traditionally, the Upstate/Downstate distinction is important in New York State politics. Democrats have dominated New York City and most surrounding areas, while Republicans have reigned in upstate New York. Of the 18 Downstate congressional districts, 14 are currently represented by a Democrat; and of the 13 Upstate districts, 8 are now Republican.

In sum, at the risk of sounding like a Chamber of Commerce advertisement or an "I love New York" commercial, we feel that our profiles of representatives and their districts will leave the reader appreciating the range of districts (and representational styles) within the Empire State. We also believe that, while this is by no means a random sample of House Representatives, our study does allow some extrapolation to the national level.

Choosing the Representatives. Within New York State, we chose to focus on ten representatives. At one level, any ten representatives could have been chosen and much could be learned from studying them in their districts. From our study of home styles, it has become apparent to each of us that any story of a representative in his or her district can yield valuable insight. Yet, to strengthen the study, several specific criteria were employed in choosing the representatives. Consistent with the focus on "change" and the impact of the 1990's, we developed three criteria to select our choice of members. First, we selected representatives from districts that have remained geographically and politically similar over time and ones, which have drastically changed. Secondly, the sample was chosen to reflect the diversity of the state, as the representatives and their relevant constituencies vary on a wide variety of demographic and political dimensions. Finally, we consulted lobbyists and legislative scholars in hopes of finding the most interesting constituent-representative relationships within the state. The resulting sample, included five republicans and five democrats, six men and four women, three senior (elected before 1990) and seven junior congresspeople. Four of the congresspeople represent urban areas, and the remaining six have more rural or suburban constituents. The members also reflect a range of ideological views, alternate degrees of "comity" and, as will be seen, a variety of home styles.

The presentation of the profiles has been organized so as to highlight the very real dilemmas faced by modern representatives and the resulting choices they make. In chapter 3, we profile 3 representatives (Maloney, Houghton, McHugh), two of whom have chosen to emphasize national factors as part of their home styles, and one of whom who has not. Chapter 4, dealing with national partisanship, demonstrates the tradeoffs made by three other congresspeople (Kelly, McNulty, McCarthy) as they balance party and constituency concerns. Chapter 5 deals with aspects of recruitment, considering how in the 1990s a representative's background impacts on their district oriented activities. The chapter profiles two representatives; (Velazquez and Engel) and demonstrates not only the importance of recruitment but emphasizes the new opportunities for the representation of minority interests given an increasingly multi-racial political environment. The last substantive chapter returns full circle to Fenno's work, focusing on the continued existence of tensions prevalent at the local level and a congressperson's efforts to balance the reelection and primary constituencies. (Hinchey and Quinn).

In sum, in the 1990s there are more ways in which national factors can impact on local districts. The political changes, which have occurred since Fenno wrote, pose new dilemmas and challenges for modern day representatives. We hope that, by engaging in the conceptualization and profiles to follow, the reader will be better able to think through concerns about the quality of the representative-constituency relationship in the United States today.

Chapter 3

Rethinking the Local/National Debate

Even as long ago as the era of the Founding Fathers, there has been debate about the role of the 'local' vs. the 'national' in American politics. The Federalists were concerned about the possible parochialism in small geographic units, and argued for the importance of a Senate and a strong national government as bodies capable of representing bigger picture concerns. The Anti-Federalists took the opposite view, contending that it was of primary importance for members of congress to reflect the "values, interests, opinions and feelings" of those who elected them. Only then could local concerns be adequately appreciated in a large political system. Thus, the Anti-Federalists visualized a "citizen" legislator who would not only reflect the fundamental values emanating from the constituency but would actually be so steeped in constituency life that he or she would truly have the same perspective as those being represented. Also, citizens themselves would be more likely to identify with such a legislator.

Versions of this debate extend to the modern day. Scholars such as David Mayhew have expressed concern that contemporary representatives, in their paramount concern for reelection, act as a group to generate particularistic and inefficient public policies. They may focus on short-term gain possibly at the expense of the long term good. Rightly or wrongly, members of Congress have been blamed for not being able to make some of the hard choices 1990's politics demand and thus have had difficulty controlling budget deficits, producing a tough energy or environmental policy (at the expense of oil and business interests) or developing adequate gun control legislation. In short, critics say, the needs of individual districts and the ways congresspeople have found to represent those districts combine to produce public policy stalemate.

In contrast, others view the congressional stalemate of the last few decades not as a reflection of pure parochialism but as indicators of the difficulty and level of controversy surrounding the issues. Particularism and the representation of local issues simply reflect the level of controversy in the larger society, controversy simply difficult to solve. The diversity of opinions among congressional districts is normal and natural; controversy should be expected especially when the issues get tough and the "local" plays a valuable role in the larger political system, a system founded on principles of Federalism, local creativity, and diversity.

What does all this mean to the home styles of New York State congresspeople in the 1990's? In an increasingly "nationalized" environment, how do they integrate the local and the national? Do they remain, as Fenno suggests, fundamentally local, focusing on district visibility, constituency service and individual contacts? If so, how can such a style be successful given the context of a different political backdrop? If not, how 'national' is it possible to be without losing the all-important trust of constituents? In short, how do members develop home styles in a modern era where it is simply more difficult to stay local?

The Meanings of Nationalization. It is easy to use the words 'local' and 'national' in a general sense because it is easy to have ideas about what they mean. For purposes of this book, nationalization implies at least three definitions. First, it means that there are more centralizing forces throughout the layers of national politics: partisanship, campaign financing and the media. Though congresspeople may be impacted differently

by these forces, all members of Congress must take them into account as part of their daily activities. They make decisions about how partisan to be, how to deal with minority constituents and how to use the media. Given a political landslide of one tilt or another, they decide whether to jump on the bandwagon and make any alterations to support that bandwagon or whether they can risk going against national tides and trends. In this sense, nationalization means appreciating that common forces and factors have local level impacts.

A second meaning underlying nationalization has to do with but may be broader than the well-known two congresses dichotomy (Davidson & Olezek), or, in Fenno's terms, the relationship between what congresspeople do in their districts and their Washington activity. Individual members of Congress develop issue expertise, become party leaders or spokespeople or become involved with concerns inside the Beltway. They vote on roll calls, take positions on issues not always related to their districts and care about the fortunes of the nation. They act as lawmakers, policymakers or party leaders. As such, they must go through some process of explaining this Washington activity to their constituents, or, more generally, integrating this activity into their home styles.

In Fenno's view this Washington activity may have electoral costs. Congresspeople actively pursuing such national activities perhaps do so at the risk of leaving the local behind. Thus, a seat on the International Relations (or, for that matter, any other) Committee may be stimulating and energizing to a member of Congress in Washington but such a focus takes energy away from the time (or desire) to deal with the folks at home. A call from the President about an important political matter may be a wonderful ego builder but may lead a member to choose a weekend in Washington over yet an additional trip back to the district. As a congressperson serves more time in office, he or she can become more enmeshed in the Washington scene more caught up in the duties of a career and perhaps a bit bored with their, heretofore successful, local routines. In short, Fenno sees a negative relationship between activity at home and life in Washington, and too much of a 'national' focus can be detrimental to solid district relationships.

Because of the increased nationalization of the 1990's, current members of Congress may be more likely to develop positive connections between the national and the local. They may be able to explain time spent on foreign trips, committee work or issues as important for public policy, prestigious for the district or good for the country. As Fenno himself knows, along with their reelection goal, members of Congress may have strong policy or power goals. Rather than a zero sum relationship between these goals, congresspeople may find positive ways to integrate their interests and needs. They may work on public policies of concern to their district. They may explain to their district that public policy concerns are too important to ignore. They may be partisan loyalists and desire to help their national party succeed in its fortunes. Such feelings may go over well if a congressperson's district is predominantly made up of his or her partisans. Even if not, opposite party constituents may come to appreciate the party loyalty of even a congressperson of the opposition. It simply may be easier in the 1990s to satisfy several goals simultaneously.

In addition, this aspect of 'national' is also somewhat broader than simply explaining what a representative does in Washington. Some members simply have policy, party, or

even other goals that are a defining part of their political interests and, therefore, their styles of representation. Some congresspeople simply have issues that they strongly care about and they use these issues to define themselves as legislators. Alternatively, others have strong party and/or local ties, personality traits, or beliefs about the meaning of public service that may transcend simple 'Washington activity.' Consequently, 'Washington activity' is a part of the 'national', but 'national' has broader aspects as well. Washington is a necessary but certainly not a sufficient condition for understanding the 'national'.

Finally, a third meaning of 'national' specifically harks back to the discussion at the beginning of this chapter. The local may mean a focus on 'parochial' interests of the district. National then indicates a focus on issues and concerns, which are less directly tied to district interests. In the extreme, this would involve a congressperson taking positions with the potential to cost his or her congressional seat. The stories in *John F. Kennedy's Profiles in Courage* would serve as evocative examples. Less dramatically, a congressperson may concentrate on policies or party work that has no obvious relation to the district.

Two points follow from all this. Part of what the 'national' means is a focus on issues. Fenno has pointed us to the importance of constituency service and trust. Part of the reason he did so was as a corrective to a political science literature, which had overemphasized Washington activity, roll call votes, and uniformity of behavior. Perhaps, especially given the 1990's context, we must recorrect Fenno's corrective and do a better job of integrating home and Washington, the local and the national.

Second, Fenno's work highlights the importance of variation. Members of Congress vary in their district visibility, the constituency services they provide and their trips home. Just as representatives must tailor their resources and home styles to their individual districts, so too one would expect them to find a variety of ways to integrate the local and the national. How each member of Congress works out this local/national balance depends on the same combination of district and personality factors that set the parameters for any decisions about home styles.

The argument of this chapter is that the interconnections between local and national are more extensive than Fenno might lead us to believe. Some politicians put 'national' at the center of their home styles. Others find creative ways to link the local and the national. Thus some are able to 'nationalize' the local or to 'localize' the national. There is not necessarily a zero sum or even a negative relationship between the two. Some politicians develop a largely local home style but by the very nature of the issues, the district, or the times that home style may be fraught with national implications. Finally, some politicians go the Fenno route and focus solely on the local. From this chapter, the reader should begin to get a sense of the variety of ways New York State politicians have used to integrate the local with the national. Though the strategies these politicians have used do not by any means exhaust the wide range of possibilities. Their experiences do demonstrate that the national can play an important role in home styles, and that there may be a good deal of complementarity between what a politician does nationally and locally.

The three politicians profiled below are quite diverse both in terms of their constituencies, backgrounds and home styles. Democrat Carolyn Maloney represents the "silk stocking" district in the heart of Manhattan. Her district is urban, relatively well off

and diverse. Though a North Carolina transplant, she translated a New York city council seat into the defeat of a popular incumbent to get to Congress. By contrast, Amo Houghton represents an Upstate rural district. He achieved his congressional seat after an unusually distinguished career as a nationally known business executive. Maloney, the Democrat and Houghton, the Republican combine the national and the local, although they do so in different ways. John McHugh, representing the rural "North Country", on the Canadian border, was born and has strong roots in his district. In contrast to the other two representatives, his home style is purposefully and extremely local. Interestingly, though their presentations of self are very different, his district has much in common with Houghton's. Thus, the juxtaposition of these three profiles begins to suggest differences in what it means to be national and allows us to put a human face on the controversy, which opened this chapter. It is left to the reader to think about which district you would prefer to reside in and which style of representation you would advocate.

***Getting Involved At Home and in Washington:
Carolyn Maloney in the 14th District***

As we have seen, Fenno has focused the attention of political scientists on local aspects of politics. Profiling Representative Maloney from New York's 14th congressional district is a good beginning to this book because Maloney's story highlights the interrelationship of local and national factors. Without doubt, local factors and the strengths of Maloney as a candidate and congresswoman matter—it takes political savvy to upset a popular incumbent, found the Congressional Hellenic Caucus and retain office with a politically active constituency. However, in any number of ways, the national context is an important part of the story as Maloney has for example, highlighted gender issues, capitalized on national partisanship and associated herself with important national figures including the Clintons. While one can link all her national activities back to district constituencies, it is clear that Maloney's use of the "national" goes well beyond what we might expect from Fenno's description of legislative behavior. In fact, in Maloney's case, it is hard to separate out what is "local" from what is "national".

Constituency. Residents of New York State's 14th Congressional District can legitimately claim to reside in one of the most historic areas of the nation. New York State's 14th Congressional District encompasses the East Side of Manhattan, a sliver of East Harlem, Astoria Queens, and until 1999, Greenpoint Brooklyn. It goes without saying that this area is an economic and cultural mecca for industry, tourism, and the arts, attracting interest and people from all parts of the globe. The district is home to world-renowned buildings and areas such as the Citicorp and AT&T buildings, the United Nations, the Chrysler Building, Grand Central Station, Rockefeller Center and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (PIA 1998). The 14th district also includes various large employers including Avon International Operations, Beth Israel Medical Center, Empire Blue Cross/Blue Shield, Helmsley Enterprises, Metro North Commuter Railroad Company, New York University/New York University Medical Center, and the United Nations (Washington Alert, p.8).

Known as the "silk stocking" district, "because it takes in some of the wealthiest areas in Manhattan" the 14th is one of the most urban, with a population density of 43,399 people per square mile (NYT 11/4/92). The 14th is also the best-educated and wealthiest

district in New York State with 52 percent college educated (highest in the state), 85 percent white collar (also highest in the state) and a median income of \$42,074 (ranks ninth). These rankings place the district among the top third richest in the country, and at least one source describes the district as being the richest: "Its residents have the highest average household income in America, \$74,780" (Almanac 1998, p. 1004).

For a large city, the district is more "white" (80%) than one might anticipate, however consistent with the City's history as a melting pot for immigrant groups, ethnic, religious and racial diversity nevertheless impact on City politics. Manhattan is home to active Jewish and Catholic communities. , The largest concentrations of minorities in Manhattan include African-Americans in the north end near Harlem and Hispanics in the Lower East Side. Astoria and Greenpoint have large Italian, Greek and Polish communities.

The 1992 redistricting had a considerable impact on the politics of the 14th district. Greenpoint and Astoria are not only geographically separated from Manhattan by the East River, but bring additional demographic and political diversity to the district. Though they make up only 1/5 of the district's population, the education and income levels in the portions of the district outside Manhattan are significantly lower than the Manhattan portion of the district (1992 House Races p.413). Ethnic identities are strong, and these portions of the district are consequently more heavily Democratic.

The split of the district's geography between Manhattan and the other boroughs anticipates district politics. The East Side of Manhattan has a Republican heritage. However, the 1960's saw an influx of Jews and young liberals into the district. As a result, part of the 14th Congressional District (the old 15th before 1992), called a "bastion of urban liberalism" (PIA 1998), is interesting in that voters have strongly supported Democratic candidates for President (including landslide losers such as Walter Mondale in 1984) (Washington Alert, CQ). Party registration figures indicate that Democrats have a slight edge in this part of the district, yet the old 15th had a tradition of sending liberals (regardless of party) to Congress (Republican John Lindsay in the 1960s, Democrat Edward Koch in the 1970s and Republican Bill Green 1978-1992).

The Brooklyn and Queens portions of the district are different. Because these parts of the district are not as educated or wealthy as their counterparts in Manhattan, they are more traditionally democratic. Consequently, the Democratic registration in these areas of the district is significantly greater than the district as a whole.

Background At her victory party after her 1992 upset of popular Republican incumbent Bill Green, newly elected representative Carolyn Maloney spoke about the election: "The message she said is that New Yorkers have voted for change and the goal is to achieve it and to see that our city is at the forefront of a progressive agenda that respects the aspirations of our people and provides the resources to achieve them" (NYT 11/4/92). "The delegation's going to be a lot better off with me because I am not going to vote against the City's interests" (New York Times, Nov. 5, 1992).

The themes of change, New Yorkers at the forefront, and the interests of the City reflect both the dynamics of the hard-fought 1992 campaign and elements of the home style Maloney would subsequently adopt as a congresswoman. The "change" piece evokes many of the ways in which national factors advantaged Maloney in the 1992 election. Billed as the "year of the woman," 1992 saw extraordinary efforts on behalf of women candidates and a doubling of the number of women actually entering Congress (Margolis-Mazvinsky, 1994). Maloney cited recent Supreme Court decisions relevant to

Roe V. Wade as one of her motivations to contest Bill Green's seat (NY Newsday 11/2/92). Though a bit misleading because both she and Congressman Green are quite economically well off, Maloney's campaign slogan "there are more millionaires in Congress than women" highlights her connection to important political trends of the 1990s (PIA 1998, p. 1004).

Other national factors too advantaged Maloney's candidacy. As we have seen, redistricting increased the Democratic edge in the district. In this more Democratic environment, it is not surprising that the anti-incumbent mood characterizing most of the nation would translate into strong popularity for candidate Clinton (he won the 14th district with 69% in 1992 and 70% in 1996). Thus, Maloney benefited from the increased democratic character of her district and the coattails of the would-be president. Unlike some of the other candidates we will be examining, national factors played a role not only in Maloney's initial election but in subsequent contests as well.

But local factors and the "interests of the City" were also relevant. Both Maloney and Green were experienced politicians who knew their way around the City. To adequately understand the 1992 House race we must appreciate the stature of Maloney's predecessor, Republican Bill Green, a liberal whose views were out of step with mainstream Republicans, (his party unity scores ranged only between 26 and 39). His views were nevertheless in keeping with the liberal traditions of the district, Green was described as "thoughtful" and "well respected" (NYT, November 5, 1992). From his initial win by 53% of the vote in 1978, Green had steadily increased his victory margins in this essentially Democratic constituency throughout the 1980s. In fact, the Democrats, unable to mount a viable 1990 campaign, actually ran a liberal party candidate. Green's popularity, seniority and policy views made him a strong frontrunner with the resources to greatly outspend Maloney by a ratio of more than 3 to 1.

Maloney brought her own strengths to the campaign. Though born and raised in North Carolina, She visited New York City as a young adult, loved it and "just stayed" (The Almanac of American Politics 1998 p. 1004). With her degree from Greensboro College, she held positions as a teacher and administrator for the New York City Board of Education. In the late 1970s, she worked as a senior staffer at the New York State Assembly and Senate. In 1982, she not only sought elective office but also was able to defeat an incumbent for a seat on the New York City Council. (www.house.gov/maloney).

It was on the City Council where Maloney developed the political base and skills that would later help her achieve a congressional seat. Her district first off was wholly within what would become the 14th congressional district. Moreover, Maloney was a vocal Council member whose activities must have shaken up traditional ways of doing business. She had focused on issues, championing concerns and causes which she would continue to espouse into her congressional career in the 1990's. A strong advocate against waste in government, she founded the Council's Subcommittee on City Contracts and wrote a series of laws setting up a computerized system to more efficiently monitor these contracts. She also authored the landmark New York City Campaign Finance Act. The first woman to give birth while serving as a City council member, Maloney became a champion of women's, family and children's issues, she also offered a comprehensive package of legislation to make day care more available and affordable (www.house.gov/maloney).

We get a sense too of the style Maloney would bring to her congressional work. “Maloney is often seen in the corridors of City Hall lobbying hard when she’s onto a particular issue. But her critics say that she can be flighty and self-absorbed” (NY Newsday 11/5/92). “Hard working, a little spacey but a pitbull with a cause, she describes herself as a boat-rocker” (Newsday 11/5/92).

Maloney would need this doggedness to conduct her uphill and grassroots campaign. Although Congressman Green outspent her more than three to one (including over \$500,000 on mail), Maloney conducted a strong grassroots campaign. “Ms. Maloney campaigned with puppy dog energy, shaking hands, pushing through crowds to introduce herself, always smiling,” (New York Times, November 10, 1992). She held “meet and greet” stops where she passed out leaflets (\$8 for 100) and increased her name recognition (New York Times, 8/25/92). Maloney also obtained significant endorsements and help from organized groups. Notable New York politicians like Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger and Council President Peter Vallone endorsed her candidacy. She depended on volunteers, targeted the areas of Brooklyn and Queens newly added to the 14th District and spent only \$98,000 on mail (1992 House Races, p. 413). A Maloney staffer commented: “We knew we couldn’t compete with Green’s mail so we went to the streets and outworked him” (1992 House races, p. 413).

In “the year of the woman”, local women’s groups such as NOW and the National Women’s Political Caucus got on board. As the candidacy took on credibility, their national counterparts followed suit (Margolis-Mazvinsky, 1994)

In the end, the 1992 race in the 14th district was a hard fought contest between two good candidates. Though many interpretations of the campaign are possible, when directly asked to explain why she had won, Maloney directly linked the local and the national, the “change” theme and the “New York City theme. She claimed that in addition to all the factors mentioned above, Green had too often voted against the interests of New York City. “Bill Green has done many fine things, but he did vote for the Reagan/Bush economic package that harmed New York and every other city in the United States” (NY Newsday 11/12/92).

Home Style. The above discussion begins to clarify the elements of Maloney’s home style. She knows her constituency, works to help individual constituents and deals with concerns relevant to one of the most important metropolitan areas in the world. At the same time, there are strong national elements to her presentation of self. Issues framed in very national terms are often in the forefront of Maloney’s home style, and she actively courts national media. Maloney also has important ties to key national political figures. Just as Maloney’s election victories have come about as a result of local and national factors, her home style combines both these elements, often placing great weight on the national.

Presentation of Self Not surprisingly given her 1992 grassroots campaign, Maloney’s home style places her in the district where she does one-on-one campaigning. In addition to the Manhattan office traditional in the 14th district, she opened two new district offices, one in Queens and one in Brooklyn. She explains that providing information to her constituents is an important part of her job, and expresses that constituents are “welcome to visit or call my offices at any time...” (www.house.gov/maloney). She updates her web page fairly frequently, and the current version even includes a KIDS page with links

to such web sites as the Kids Museum of Manhattan, PBS for kids and a Thomas site describing how laws are made (www.house.gov/maloney).

Maloney also takes a role in community affairs and attempts to be a presence in the district. In an area known for ethnic celebrations, she has participated in the annual St. Patrick's Day and the Greek Independence Day Parades. "Today, we all feel Greek", claimed Maloney in 1995 as the later parade's Grand Marshal (Newsday, 3/27/1995). In Congress, she co-founded the Congressional Caucus on Hellenic Issues. More than any of our other members, she has used the Congressional Record to commemorate the accomplishments of constituents, or community events. Thus, we learn about the 75th anniversary of the diamond cutters organization, the dedication of new facilities to assist the visually impaired, and various other activities relevant to the diverse set of ethnic and religious groups so central to the life of New York City (Congressional Record, 103rd Congress). Maloney has also been involved in district controversies, advocating in the course of a protracted debate to keep legalized gambling off Governor's Island (Press Release 1/6/98 www.house.gov/maloney), siding with a neighborhood group to keep a large Toys Are Us store out of a residential area (Congressional Record 9/12/95), lending her name in support of a proposed Women's Building and holding community forums to explain national childcare policies to her constituents (Press release 1/21/98 www.house.gov/maloney).

As the message Maloney sent to her Greenpoint constituents upon learning of the 1999 redistricting, placing them in the 12th district indicates, Maloney clearly perceives herself to be an accessible representative: "I will always have a special place in my heart for the people I worked with side by side and the neighborhood I visited over the years. Congresswoman Velazquez is fortunate to soon be able to call the residents of Greenpoint ... her constituents" (Web site, www.greenpointusa.com).

There is a partisan side to Maloney's activities, which is not as apparent in the styles of some of our other representatives. She sometimes performs the functions of a party leader. She has actively campaigned for Democratic City Council candidates and in 1998 even held a forum for Democratic primary candidates from all across the state (Village Voice 11/5/96 & NY Newsday 4/3/98). In a decade where many Democrats have downplayed their associations with President Clinton, Maloney proudly proclaims "I'm proud of the Democratic party," (NY Newsday 11/4/94). Both Mr. And Mrs. Clinton and Vice President Gore have appeared on several occasions with her in her district and she commemorates the events in the press releases and photos on her web site.

The ease with which associations to national party figures come to her mind can be illustrated by a somewhat amusing (amusing to the reader if not Maloney) story. At the podium for a celebration of a major community clean up in a Brooklyn area, Maloney promised to nominate the area for a national Reinventing Government award. The Parks Commissioner (a Republican) quickly reminded her that Mayor Giuliani and Governor Pataki might be even more interested in the community. Maloney responded: "That was an unfair snipe", to which the Commissioner accused her of being oversensitive to criticism (NY Newsday 5/16/97)

More recently, Maloney has claimed to have brought grants totaling over \$8,000,000 to New York organizations (web site 6/12/00), has advocated in Congress on behalf of a Second Avenue subway (press release from web site, 6/29/00) and has participated in public forums pertaining to a Con Edison (the local utility) repowering project (2/2/00).

Maloney's constituent work has even taken her to a Peruvian jail, where she visited Lori Berenson, a constituent who was sentenced to life in prison by a secret Peruvian military tribunal. Maloney and others have been trying to secure another trial for Berenson, and have contacted the Secretary of State for additional support.

Clearly engaging in these kinds of activities is a conscious choice, but it is a clear reminder of Fenno's description of representatives not feeling safe and hesitating to take even small details for granted. In 1994, while trying to secure signatures for a Liberal Party primary, Maloney stated, "There were two women in their eighties, who said that they don't get out much and don't open their door to strangers. They said they would not sign unless the congresswoman herself came to see them. So I did!" (The Village Voice, August 8, 1994). Asked why she was securing signatures for a Liberal primary when she had all but won reelection on the Democratic line, Maloney responded, "You never know. You never know. You never know." (The Village Voice, August 8, 1994).

To sum up, Congresswoman Maloney is obviously interacting with local constituents in traditional political ways. For purposes of thinking through the local/national distinction, it is also clear that her local activities are often linked to national concerns.

Issues and a National Focus. In addition to her local activities, many aspects of Congresswoman Maloney's home style are national. As we shall see, she advocates on issues, works to develop a media presence and networks with national politicians. As she describes her work, "Instead of standing on the side lines pointing fingers, I go to work. Instead of style, I've had substance" (New York Times, 10/4094, b5). In fact, the work she has made her Washington focus is a continuation of many of the issues she became interested while in the New York City Council.

Congresswoman Maloney is a self-described advocate to "eliminate waste and fraud in government" (www.house.gov/maloney). Most notably, She authored the Debt Collection improvement Act in 1995. This act calls for debts over 180 days old to be turned over to the Department of treasury for collection. Maloney says, "What I find most disturbing is the fact that the debt has increased from about 25 billion in 1985, to more than 50 billion in 1997. We've handed the government departments the tools to clamp down on people who owe them money – yet they continue to let the debt pile up. 50 billion dollars is twice this year's forecast for the national deficit! There is always a move to tighten purse strings...why are they not bringing in the money that is right under their noses!" (Web press release, January 12, 1997).

She has been active in addressing waste and fraud in a variety of other ways. To encourage increased efficiency in the Defense Department, she has developed The Best Business Practices for Defense Inventory Act (1997). In a more unusual area, she has sponsored legislation to eliminate the Civilian Marksmanship Program, a program "which was created to encourage shooting clubs and marksmanship competitions" (Washington Post, November 4, 1993). When asked how she got involved in this unusual issue she said she was looking to gain legislative experience. She looked at the legislative budget to find 'the stupidest thing there' to address (NY Newsday 4/21/94).

It is also easy to document Congresswoman Maloney's interest in issues pertaining to women, children and families. (The rather large number of examples below provides only a sample of her activity here.) She is currently (in the 106th Congress) the chair of the Congressional Caucus on women's issues. She attended the International Women's Conference in China and along with other women members of Congress, she has worked

with Mrs. Clinton to highlight women's issues. She is clearly a part of a national network advocating for women as she has participated in fundraisers held by women's groups and brought her daughter to Washington as part of the Ms. Foundation's "Take your daughter to work" program (Congressional Record 4/29/93).

As a firm believer in equal rights and opportunities, Maloney has appeared on national media discussing sexual harassment in the military, arguing that separation of the sexes "confines women and makes them unequal" Soldiers must fight as they train. Separation of the sexes during training will only delay difficulties associated with the integration of the field. A sexist who abuses women in training will still be a sexist in the field" (www.house.gov/maloney).

Legislatively, she has introduced many pieces of legislation including the most recent version of an Equal Rights Amendment, the Breast Cancer Early Detection Act, the Child Support Enforcement Improvements Act of 1996, the Omnibus Foster Care Reform Act, and the Family and Medical Leave Enhancement Act, allowing for 24 hours per calendar year to attend children's educational and extracurricular activities. As a result of a fatal fire in a Seton Hall University dormitory, she has publicized fire safety on college campuses (web site press release 3/2/00) and has worked on behalf of international family planning (web site press release 10/25/00).

Her efforts advocating for the right to breast-feed in the workplace exhibit the controversy, which can result when a women's concern is raised. She has argued that breast-feeding is necessary because it can make a significant impact on a child's cognitive ability (www.house.gov/maloney). Though supporting legislation was enacted (8/99) and she sponsored a "lactation celebration" to commemorate the event, she also received the "bored legislator of the year" from Insight Magazine 3/9/98, indicating that her efforts were not met with universal support from all quarters.

Representative Maloney is also willing to challenge the "old boy" establishment when she thinks it is necessary. She became so angry at a congressional debate on funding for the National Endowment of the Arts that she was asked to strike her remarks on "breasts" from the congressional Record. She responded: "While so many members of this House are quick to thunder their outrage over NEA funding of programs they perceive to be obscene, these same people are deafeningly silent when lewd, sexist comments are made about women" (Congressional Record 6/23/94).

Also consistent with her New York City council work, Maloney has pursued her interest in campaign finance reform. "During her first term she served as co-chair of the freshman task force on campaign finance reform" (www.Greenpointusa.com). In 1996, she proposed an amendment, which would require callers from political banks to identify the campaign paying for the call. In the 105th Congress, campaign finance reform was hotly debated, and Maloney was a player in this debate, sponsoring several bills and amendments. In the 105th Congress, she became involved in a bit of a controversy when she and the powerful representative John Dingall of Michigan proposed an independent commission for the purpose of studying campaign finance reform. Though the intent of their proposal was a "back-up in case more substantial reform bills failed", they subsequently recalled their proposal in the face of criticism that it was taking attention away from the main issues (The Dallas Morning News 6/8/98). Representative Maloney has appeared several times on national news programs discussing campaign finance reform to advocate for her views.

Congresswoman Maloney has other concerns as well. Though several follow from the interests of her constituents, many nevertheless highlight national themes. For example, in her role as ranking minority member on the Government Reform and Oversight Subcommittee on the Census she has co-founded the Congressional Caucus on the Census and has been very vocal in her support for statistical sampling in the 2000 Census. The Republican-led House has voted to prohibit sampling. Maloney responded by saying, "This is the Civil Rights issue of the 21st century...What's so horrible about counting everyone? In New York, there was an undercount of 244,000 (in 1990), and we can't afford to be undercounted. We have Republicans cutting back our funding dollars, but now they're trying to cook the books so you don't count all the people" (Newsday, October 20, 1997). In fact, a look at the press releases on Maloney's web site shows that between January and October of 2000, fully 22 relates to aspects of the census.

Other of her concerns follow from the character of her constituency. For example, referring to her district as "the banking capital of the world," Maloney has been described as a banking industry ally. She has been tough on the Federal Reserve Board, pushing for the opening of check processing operations to private competition and advocating efficiency in interstate banking. She has also advocated eliminating FDIC premiums for banks (American Banker, November 6, 1997). However, on the consumer side, Maloney has introduced the Credit Card Interest Rate Change Disclosure Act, which would require credit card issuers to give the user a 90-day notice before changing the Annual Percentage Rate of Interest (ibid.). She has also been a staunch supporter of key U.S. allies, and passed legislation cracking down on the Arab Boycott Of Israel and has championed the cause of justice in Ireland (www.house.gov/maloney).

While Maloney's party unity scores are generally very high, ranging from 91% to 93%, her presidential support scores (averaging around 80%) show that she is willing to oppose the President when she thinks it is right. She has made it very clear that she would vote her conscience and not be a mouthpiece for the president or the party. Shortly after taking office, in May of 1993, Maloney voted against President Clinton's initial budget package. She was the only New York Democrat to oppose the budget package and was personally lobbied by President Clinton, Vice President Gore and five cabinet members. Maloney felt that the President's plan called for two dollars in taxes for every dollar in cuts. She stated that she had promised, along with Clinton, to cut two dollars for every new dollar raised. When he amended his package, she refused to vote for it. In regards to being lobbied by the President, Vice President and members of Congress, Maloney replied "I did not run for Congress to succumb to threats. They will respect me more for it in the morning." (NYT, 5/29/93). "I was not elected to be a rubber stamp...Everywhere I go in my district, people say the same thing. Cut spending and reduce the deficit. They are willing to accept new taxes, but they want to make certain that these new tax increases are a last resort" (Associated Press, 5/28/93). While Maloney received considerable criticism from constituent groups, others viewed her May 1993 vote as a "profile in courage" (NY Newsday 6/5/93).

Conclusion. It is clear from the above that there are many national elements to Congresswoman Maloney's home style. She focuses on a variety of national issues, has visibility in the national media, and is recognized by national politicians. As we shall see, Maloney is a different type of congressperson than the two described later in this chapter, and, at least on the surface, she demonstrates a different home style than what

one thinks of when one thinks of Fenno's book. The ways Maloney has developed to present herself are national in scope and often involve a non-personal presentation to constituents. In these ways, we learn something new from her profile.

To take this argument to the extreme would be wrong. Maloney's presentation of self to constituents is at least partly, if to a lesser extent, based on traditional campaign methods: attending parades, personal interactions, and seeking publicity. Also, Maloney obviously comes from a constituency where a national political style not only works but may be expected; her three immediate congressional predecessors also combined a focus on national concerns with at least some degree of constituency service. In some sense, Maloney's style may reflect some of the ways which Fenno's original presentation understated the role of national factors. Maloney's story also highlights the importance of context, as redistricting and presidential fortunes played such a key role in her political career. In any case, an understanding of her profile debunks stereotypes that politics is only local.

Furthermore, Maloney's home style has been successful. She has steadily increased her election margins from her initial squeaker victory to 64% in 1994 (her toughest challenge), 72% in 1996 and 77% in 1998. She more than made up for her under financed campaign of 1992 to spend \$1,032,181 in 1994, \$599,406 in 1996, and \$592,788 in 1998. Given all this, it is perhaps not surprising that she briefly considered a run for the open seat being vacated by Senator Moinahan in the year 2000 (NY Newsday 6/3/99). The fact that she even considered such a Senate run indicates her ability to balance local and national concerns.

Public Service with a Business Slant: Amo Houghton and the 31stst District

To the extent that representatives are first and foremost locally oriented, we might expect them to be relatively like their constituents. We might particularly expect this to be true where the economy of an area is relatively depressed and where the needs of a district might otherwise go unheard if a member of Congress has a broader agenda. While as we shall see, these expectations are in fact partially borne out in the case of Amory (Amo) Houghton's representation in the 31stst district (he does share many fundamental values with constituents and he consistently expresses a very genuine commitment to his home area), Houghton's representational style is particularly interesting because of all the ways he is less "like" his constituents and because of the ways he uses national connections to enhance the status of the local area. Thus, it will become abundantly clear that this former C.E.O. of the world renown Corning Inc. comes from a background and set of life experiences substantially at odds with not only the average member of Congress but most particularly the average constituent of the somewhat economically depressed 31st district. That the national elements of Houghton's home style contrast with the local activities we might expect of a representative in such a district, and that Houghton's interest in national concerns (moderate partisanship, support for some liberal social programs and foreign policy) go well beyond our image of a member of Congress from rural New York State.

How then does an individual so atypical of his constituency nevertheless not only represent them but thrive with now seven terms in office? How does such an individual

win the trust of his constituents? How does a former chief executive of a Fortune 500 Company make the transition to being one of 435 equal members of Congress, and how does he translate his business background into the profitable home style we know he has developed?

The following profile demonstrates the interconnections between the local and the national. Houghton capitalizes on his national status to enhance the economic opportunities in his district. His constituents appear to appreciate a representative with so many national connections. However, at some level he shows how complex the local and national can be. In many surprising ways, he actually highlights his similarity to his constituents and his identification with their values. At the same time, he has strong beliefs, and he doesn't hesitate to make these opinions known.

Constituency. Houghton's 31st district, dubbed the Southerntier, is geographically dispersed including 6587 square miles of land (second largest to McHugh's). It encompasses all of seven counties and portions of three others. Its landscape of farms, small towns and villages is joined by several small manufacturing cities (Jamestown, Auburn, Elmira, and Olean), none of which exceeds 35,000 residents.

The district is rural (60%), overwhelmingly (96%) white and 74 percent with ancestry from Northern Europe. As its rural character would suggest, constituents are rather dispersed, 88 people per square mile. However, parts of the area defy stereotypes about the homogeneity of such rural districts. As the Almanac of American Politics describes it, the district consists of "forgotten stretches of territory yet it has an interesting and distinct history" (Almanac 1998). Thus the district includes a dozen colleges and universities, the largest grape growing area outside of California and the Chataquau Institute, formerly a Methodist training center and now the site of numerous educational and artistic activities. It includes Native American reservations, the renowned racecar track at Watkins Glenn, the Finger Lakes, and Mark Twain's burial place (Elmira). By far the largest employer is Corning Glass (upwards of 5,000 employees) but Dresser-Rand, Toshiba and Cummins Engineering Company are among other businesses with operations in the district. The educational centers and companies such as Corning bring cosmopolitan elements to the area and, as we shall see, suggest the makings for a socially moderate primary constituency.

Like much of the rest of upstate New York, the area has had more than its share of economic difficulties. With a median income of 25,124 dollars, a blue-collar percentage of 30 and a college graduation rate of 15%, the district ranks among the half dozen poorest in New York State and in the bottom third of congressional districts nationally (PIA 2000). Thus, any representative representing the 31st would do well to begin with a focus on economic concerns.

Politically, as is the case for McHugh's constituency described below, "The 31st district has been Republican country since the party was founded" (Almanac 1998). Any Republican, even one atypical of his constituents would start out advantaged in such a district. Houghton indeed won his initial election bid with 60% of the vote and in his subsequent elections has not received less than 70% of the vote. Prior to 1998, he had never faced a primary challenger from the more conservative wing of the party. Nevertheless, under certain circumstances, the Republican edge can be cracked as Clinton carried the district in 1996 (44% to 41% for Dole) and Democrat Stan Lundeen was Houghton's congressional predecessor.

Thus, though Houghton 's constituents are rural, Republican, and have undergone economic difficulties, the area is not completely homogeneous. All these characteristics set the boundaries and constraints on the home style a representative from the 31st district must adopt.

Background. Amory (Amo) Houghton's family has been a presence in the district since his great great grandfather (also Amory Houghton) opened Corning Inc. in 1851. Now one of the largest companies in the nation, Corning Inc. is one of the premier companies in glass manufacturing, producing all sorts of glass related products. For example, it holds "the lion's share of the market in manufacturing electric light bulbs" (San Diego Union Tribune, 8/7/88) and is a leader in "glass and ceramics technology including fiber optics and photonic components" (<http://www.house.gov/houghton>). The company includes Corning Ware products and Steuben Glass and has established a glass museum, which has become a major tourist attraction in Western New York. (Almanac 2000).

Born in Corning in 1926, Houghton himself (after a stint in the marines in the 1940s) continued the family tradition by pursuing an education at Harvard (his family has even endowed a rare book library there), (Almanac, 2000). After receiving a degree from the Harvard Business School, he joined the family business in the 1950s. Starting as an accountant in 1951 and rising to C.E.O. at age 38 in 1967, "He worked very, very hard, harder than anybody," says Truslow, a long time associate (Buffalo News 12/10/95). "Amo really put us on the map as an international company and a good part of our profits now come from optical fibers, and Amo pushed for that back in 1968 and stuck through it through 17 years of losses. I don't know many business people who would have the courage to do that" (ibid.).

In the course of his long career, Houghton has served on the boards of directors of some of the nation's premier companies (IBM, Citicorp, and Procter and Gamble), and he was a member of President Reagan's Grace Commission on civil service reform in the 1980s (ibid.). He even ended up in the Forbes Magazine Business Hall of Fame (Washington Post 3/18/93).

At the same time, a strong tradition of public service runs in the Houghton family. Allison Bigelow (Houghton's grandfather) himself served in the House of Representatives in the 1920s and later, as ambassador to both Great Britain and Germany (www.house.gov/houghton). Houghton's father also served as ambassador to France. Illustrating the tradition, Houghton displays family pictures on the walls of his Washington congressional office (Buffalo News 6/11/96) and unhesitatingly defends his family background in campaigns (Star Gazette 11/04/90). Upon his retirement from Corning in 1986, Houghton and his wife were planning to continue the family tradition of public service in an unusual way: they were intending to pursue missionary work and economic relief programs in Zimbabwe (PIA, 1992). But, upon former Representative Stan Lundine's nomination to lieutenant governor, a vacant seat attracted Houghton's attention. Concerned that Amo might actually do the unusual and go to Africa, Houghton's brother reportedly phoned then representative and Houghton friend Ray McGraph of Long Island: "Oh, if you could get him to run for Stan's seat, you would make the family very happy, because he wants to move to Africa and we really don't want him to do it" (Buffalo News 12/10/95). Obviously Houghton opted for the more

traditional form of public service. Though he and his wife continue to provide financial assistance to Zimbabwe (PIA, 1992).

As with other Congress members we will study, Houghton's initial campaign sets the stage for his ultimate home style. Though he had not been active in Republican politics in the district, Republicans embraced his nomination. "He is a man who has had tremendous success with everything he has done. We feel he is our best choice to win and represent us", said Allegany Republican Chairman William Heaney (Times Union, 6/6/86). Thus several Republicans were considering throwing their hats into the campaign ring. Once Houghton announced his run, opposition was discouraged and he easily achieved the party's nomination (ibid).

In turn, Houghton was equally happy with his choice and articulated campaign themes that would set the stage for his later in-office activity. "I don't know what to say. I'm very happy and intend to work hard at this". "I feel this can be a Republican seat, not just a district. I would work hard to do that, as I've worked hard all my life. I feel I can do things for this area in terms of jobs and other means of support because of what I've done in connection with my job experience" (ibid.). He has also stated, "one of the reasons I got into this race was that I felt we needed more businessmen down in Washington". "We don't have more people than a lot of these nations. We've just got an extraordinarily efficient and effective industrial arsenal, which is the reason for our power in this world" (Star Gazette, 1/11/87).

The Republican nature of the district gave Houghton, the amateur, a built-in advantage. He ran promising to use his stature, business know how and even international connections for the benefit of the area. His initial opponent, Cataraugus County district attorney Larry Hemlein, also making his first run for national political office, raised the obvious concerns about what would become Houghton's representational style: he charged that Houghton was an elitist who would be out-of-touch with the needs of his not-so-well off constituents and that a background in business did not in fact translate into political know-how. The symbol for the campaign became Houghton's "Amo Mobile", the recreational vehicle Houghton used to traverse the district. Apparently the "Amo Mobile", which later would become popular with supporters, was stocked with "liquor and cookies" and was caricatured in the Wall Street Journal. The fact that Houghton's other most common means for getting around the district was his private plane only added to the image.

Home Style. Perhaps though, Houghton's most important key to success is his ability to turn the potential liability of his unusual background into a very real asset: a genuine commitment to public service and his home area. Though he may be incredibly well traveled, he "grew up in this area. He worked here. He knows the people", claimed one editorial (Elmira Star Gazette 11/13/98). While Houghton may not be demographically typical of his neighbors, he certainly calls the area home. Thus his participation in a celebration of the 75th anniversary of a local restaurant The Texas Hots, (Buffalo News 6/25/96) his defense of the character of small town America (Buffalo News 11/8/97) reflect the bottom-line values Houghton shares with his constituents.

Similarly, Corning Inc. appears to have quite a good reputation and working relationship with the town of Corning and the surrounding areas. Not only was Houghton instrumental in helping the Corning area rebuild after flood devastation in the 1970s, but also financed "a new City Hall and an old town style downtown area that is now a tourist

attraction" (PIA 92). When, in the early 1980s, Houghton instituted an across-the-board 5% salary cut a Corning in lieu of actual layoffs, the mayor of Corning commented: "If they feel that pay cuts are necessary to continue in business, I think it is a good thing. They have explained the situation to their employees and have gone about it in a very nice way" (NYT, 3/23/82). At other times, when layoffs have been necessary, the company has provided assistance (NYT 9/14/75).

Thus, Houghton can legitimately use his stature as a member of the American business and political elite, to benefit the district in very real ways. He can turn his business background into a reputation as a "results oriented" representative (www.house.gov/houghton) able to get things done for constituents. He has presented himself as a business leader whose role had been to guide a company and employ people. He can use his business background and experience and his social connections to bring people together, and, use his stature to make things happen that otherwise would not. He can use his national and even international connections to bring economic development to the district and to enlarge the scope of opportunities for constituents.

Thus, Houghton can first off bring his enthusiasm to promote the district. He says, "Locally, I think this is one fantastic area for growth and we have to convince our young people to stay here. There's no reason for the district to lose its young population" (Elmira Star Gazette, 11/9/88). "If I can make people believe in working together we can take on anybody and we can be the best" (Elmira Star Gazette, 11/7/90). "It is no secret that I think the people in the Southern Tier are pretty special." "I can't build a product, produce a quart of milk, prune a grapevine, or set up a service, That's just not my job. But what I can do is help bring together the best of these activities to promote their value in the outside world and to protect them from the hammerlock of government by bureaucracy and regulation" (Times Union, 5/22/88).

Houghton has thus used his unique social position to promote the standing of the region through fostering economic development, educational opportunities and more general boosterism (Interview with Administrative Assistant Brian Fitzpatrick, on April 17, 1998). He and his staff have consistently sponsored conferences boosting opportunities for the district: on educating business leaders on obtaining government grants (1987, newsletter: Houghton reports), on trade (Buffalo News, 5/17/95) and on tourism (Buffalo News 5/10/96, 9/9/00). On several occasions, he led delegations of district business leaders abroad (to Mexico, Latin America and Africa) to promote opportunities. "Chile is a really hot country. It's not the biggest country in the world, but it has a big impact on the South American market, and Argentina is coming back from some of the political uncertainties there" (Buffalo News, 11/7/96). "If you're in business, you can't sit around and wait for people to come from Mexico to the Southern Tier" (Buffalo News, 7/8/94).

The Mexican trip proved so successful that it resulted in contracts for at least one company (Buffalo News, 10/12/94), and earned Houghton the notice of President Clinton and other officials. As the Undersecretary of Commerce and International Trade commented upon the district's selection as one of six cities to participate in a pilot project encouraging export assistance, "We would like to do more things in this district in a prototype way. This is a great place to expand our efforts" (Buffalo News, 5/20/1995). More recently, he has initiated "Working Together 2000", expanding his efforts to promote business opportunities in the Southern Tier (Buffalo News 12/10/95).

Similarly, Houghton has argued for New York's inclusion in the New England Dairy Compact and has held meetings to educate constituents to its value (Times Union, 2/16/98). Along with Representative Sander Levin (D Michigan), he has taken leadership and sponsored legislation increasing protections for the American steel industry in the face of increasing international competition (Journal of Commerce, 3/25/99). He has gotten involved in promoting rail service and better transportation throughout the terrain of his somewhat isolated district (Buffalo News June 4, 1998). Although the matter later became controversial when Houghton's 1998 opponent claimed that the incumbent was slow to get on the bandwagon, Houghton not only advocated for a part of Route 17 to be designated as part of the interstate highway system (I86) but enthusiastically participated in the dedication ceremonies as part of an I-86 victory tour (Buffalo News, Dec. 3, 1999). In addition, he has advocated for New York's fair share of transportation funds (buffalo News, 7/1/96) and has announced the awarding of \$50 million to road aid in the district (web site, March 25, 1998).

Houghton and his staff have also helped companies in the district obtain some significant federal grants. For instance, the Schweitzer Aircraft Company received \$13.5 million toward the development of a new style reconnaissance plane used in drug smuggling and terrorism (Buffalo News 10/22/98). The race car facility at Watkins Glenn received \$1 million to improve facilities (www.house.gov/houghton 10/21/99). Museums in the area have also gotten major grants (www.house.gov/houghton, 9/14/99), as has the Appalachian Regional Commission (Buffalo News, 9/13/94).

Houghton's activities however go well beyond the economic. He has used his stature within the community to make things happen that otherwise might not. For instance, he inaugurated a rather unique exchange program between the district's universities and colleges and Nicaraguan students. Originally the idea of Violetta Chamorro, then the President of Nicaragua, the intent was to introduce students to American universities and give them an alternative to an education in communist countries. The program involved no government funding but effectively took advantage of the district's substantial educational resources: "Here is a way to help a country rather than just posturing. Many times when congressmen go down there, they look at what's happened, they fly down on a military plane, they come back and have a press conference and that's all. Here is a way of saying 'we want to help' in a human way" (PIA 1990). Later, he capitalized on the Nicaraguan connection to ensure that New York State wine was the official American wine at a Nicaraguan presidential inauguration (Almanac 1988).

Similarly, Houghton can use his position to nudge constituents a bit on social issues. Thus, he has spoken out on the role each individual can play in fostering racial tolerance: "the person who runs a store, a schoolteacher, a student or someone like myself in Washington" can do something about racism (Buffalo News, 1/16/98). Indeed, he and Representative John Lewis (D.Ga.), in their capacities as co-chairs of the Faith and Politics Institute, have worked to educate other congressional members to the realities of racism by conducting a pilgrimage to historic Alabama sites marking the 1960s civil rights struggle (www.house.gov/houghton 12/6/99, www.house.gov/lewis).

Houghton has also helped moderate an interesting dispute between the Seneca Indians and the village of Salamanca, over noncompensation for land use. Where there were instances of the Seneca being paid as little as \$1 a year in return for the use of their land,

the bill Houghton introduced in Congress called for redress up to 60 million (Times Union, 9/14/90).

Finally, Houghton's wide ranging connections, in particular his association with Episcopalian groups across the nation, have even led to a Congressional first when a Massachusetts Bishop, the Reverend Thomas Shaw, became the first clergyman to assume the role (for a month) of a congressional staffer (www.house.gov/houghton, 1/19/00).

Not every member of Congress could be such an enthusiastic booster for district interests, highlight racism in a rural white constituency or be willing to work with a bishop from outside his district. But it should be clear that Houghton is a good person to fill the above roles. He is consistently referred to as a "nice guy" whose enthusiasm and gregariousness appear to be contagious. Described as a "warm man, quick to smile and slow to criticize" (The Houston Chronicle, 6/11/96), he is outgoing and enjoys a joke (Buffalo News, 12/10/95). He was even voted number 1 by house staffers for being "just plain nice" (Times Union, 6/26/98).

For instance, to spice up his 1988 campaign where he ran unopposed, he thought up the "work days" idea and carried out stints as a short order cook, disk jockey and man-on-the-street reporter. "I like it. I'm having fun," is how he enthusiastically described the experience (Elmira Star Gazette, 10/11/88). Later, in Washington, he has taken part as an actor in charity performances (Washington Post 3/15/94) and has played drum solos at parties, including one he organized for employees of the Office of Technology Assessment when efforts to preserve the office failed in 1995 (Buffalo News 12/10/95)

Amo's small town warm and outgoing manner made him personable and easy to befriend. (Interview with Houghton Campaign Chairman Bill Heaney, on April 17, 1998). He has made people feel like he is their friend or neighbor rather than a member of the American Establishment, and that comes from living in a small town, notwithstanding his family background. "Amo makes anyone he encounters feel important and at ease with him" (Ibid.). Heaney referred to a kind of "peopling skill" that Houghton has used all his life. It is one that emphasizes social, person-to-person relations too.

Despite his lack of prior political experience, Houghton appears to understand how to be an astute politician. During his first congressional term, he actually had seven district offices, a number, which by 1998 was down to the more traditional 3. But what better way to establish a visible presence in a large district made up of small towns but to establish offices in a number of these towns scattered across the district? In addition, Over his 14 years in office, he has allocated equal numbers of staff to the Washington and district offices (Interviews with Administrative Assistant, Brian Fitzpatrick and District Office Manager, Jackie O'Neill, on April 17, 1998). In fact when Houghton first arrived in Washington, most of the staff were brought from the district rather than hiring Capitol Hill insiders. "Amo emphasized to us that casework was the bottom line, particularly since people judge him by how they are received and helped by the staff." (Interview with Jackie O'Neill.).

Consistent with his focus on the bigger picture, Houghton may sometimes leave details to his staff. Nevertheless, he does his share of criss-crossing the district and interacting with individual constituents. For a period in 1995, he was making weekly visits home (Buffalo News, 3/24/95), holding town meetings and sending out newsletters

(sometimes ranking high on his use of the congressional franking privilege). Referring to Amo's level of franking press secretary Hyland stated: "Amo would be disappointed being on the low end of the scale; he'd rather be on the high end" (Buffalo News, 4/5/94). He has announced art contest winners at a local high school (www.house.gov/houghton, 5/15/98), has become one of a number of officials involved in sorting out the facts underlying the death of a National Guard member (www.house.gov/houghton, 1/14/99), has taken part in a tribute to a local sheriff (Buffalo News, 5/20/94), and has helped a local child with leukemia get his wish of attending a Washington Red Skins football game (Buffalo News, 1/4/93).

When describing his 1988 campaign where he had no opposition, he said: "I'm in the enviable position of not having to blow my own horn [but keep in the public eye]" (*Elmira Star Gazette* 10/11/88). Ten years later, in explaining why he spent so much money in his campaign, he said "As long as the money is out there, and as long as I have two opponents and I can't make deals with either of them, obviously I am going to do what I think is necessary in order to promote my own campaign" (*Buffalo News* 8/1/98)

The combination of elements that characterize Houghton's district style—a national focus, an emphasis on his expertise and interests and an effort to bring diverse groups together—apply as well to his Washington activity. As one former Committee member described him upon his appointment to the prestigious Budget Committee as a freshman member, "we are delighted to have Mr. Houghton on the committee, particularly because of his stature and background" (*Star Gazette* 1/10/87). Later, in the 103rd Congress, he obtained a seat on Ways and Means and currently chairs its subcommittee on Oversight.

In these capacities, he has brought his expertise to bear on some important national economic issues, issues the average citizen might tend to ignore. Thus, he has for instance paid attention to the concerns of small businesses. In 1993, he proposed a version of a health care reform bill encouraging small businesses to provide insurance for employees though he wanted to protect employers with a good record from undue hardship (PIA 1996). In 1999, he again weighed in on insurance liability for small businesses. Trying to develop proposals, which balance an employee's right to sue with the undue hardship of unlimited liability. (www.house.gov/houghton, 10/7/99).

In 1995, Speaker Gingrich appointed Houghton to head a special group responsible for drafting a budget for the District of Columbia, (Buffalo News 4/22/95) In the same year, he made an unsuccessful attempt to lobby against a key tax promise included in the Contract with America. -- a provision offering a \$500 per child tax rebate to every American family making under \$200,000. Arguing that the really rich didn't particularly need such a tax break, Houghton wanted the ceiling to be lowered to \$95,000 (Almanac 1996). He has also expressed concern for taxes in the international realm as he has advocated for simplifying the tax filing process for American businesses doing business overseas (Buffalo News, 7/13/95).

More recently, in the 106th congress, he sponsored the Tax Simplification and Burden Reduction Act. He explained: "The copy of the Internal Revenue Code on the bookshelf in my office is printed on the tissue thin paper. It covers over 2300 pages. The regulations springing from the code fill many volumes. The court cases would fill a library" (www.house.gov/houghton, 5/12/99). Interestingly, in developing this legislation, he reported that the legislation was in response to a "ground swell of casework" (ibid) and was based on input from citizens and experts from all across the country.

A few additional examples highlight both the influence of Houghton's background on his activity and the ways he connects business to the larger community. In general, he supports the concept of family leave but he was unhappy about the particulars of the 1993 Clinton Family and Medical Leave proposal, "I probably am one of the only people around here that has ever put in a family leave program; we did it with a paid family leave...but I did it with a company that had about 30,000 employees. I have worked in smaller companies and I have advised smaller companies. If a company does not have the money, it is not a good idea" (PIA 94).

As he has done in the district, Houghton has attempted to connect the business community with other groups in society. In 1993, for example, He co-sponsored the School-to-Work Opportunities Act, which encourages schools, businesses and the government to work together to increase the opportunities for teens without college education. "We are legislating in ways which will affect business for years to come. Over the years, we must build up an understanding of each other" (*Buffalo News* 8/13/93).

In the context of the welfare reform debate of 1995, he sponsored what some consider to be a pro-business measure, the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit Act, offering tax credits to employers hiring former welfare recipients (*Buffalo News* 5/10/95). He is also an active member of the John Quincy Adams Society, a group attempting to increase dialogue between government officials and business leaders.

It is not surprising, given Houghton's broader range of interests that his Washington activities extend well beyond economic concerns, and he has more than weighed in on particular foreign policy areas, on controversial debates about "extremist" partisanship in the House and on social issues. For most of the time he has been in Congress, he has been a member of the International Relations Committee, and is currently vice-chair of the subcommittee on African Affairs. In that capacity, he has traveled with or led congressional delegations to African nations (www.house.gov/houghton, 3/23/98, <http://www.house.gov/houghton>, 12/3/99) and has promoted the economic development of African nations by co-sponsoring (with Charles Rangle and Philip Crane) The African Growth and Opportunities Act (*Almanac* 2000) and by advocating for increased foreign aid to the African continent (PIA 1998). He has also attended international forums on terrorism (www.house.gov/houghton, 1/13/99) and Speaker Hastert appointed him to the World Trade Organization ministerial Congressional Advisory Group (www.house.gov/houghton, 10/20/99)

One of Houghton's heroes is Nelson Mandela, whose presidential inauguration he had attended. Houghton therefore spearheaded the successful effort culminating in awarding Mandela the Congressional Gold Medal in 1998 and, quite in character, served as master of ceremonies for the festivities held in the auspicious Capital Rotunda. Of Mandela, he stated, "He's a big man, he's a hero, he's somebody above the fray. He's somebody who pleads to us to bend to our better natures, and that lesson should not be lost on this country" (PIA 2000). "Forgiveness is what Mandela is all about. I mean this guy Mandela comes out of prison after 27 years, and the first thing he does is forgive his jailers" (*NY Times*, 9/24/98).

Despite his support for economic development, Houghton's position on United States relations with nations with whom we disagree is an interesting one. In 1988, he co-sponsored Super 301 of the United States trade law which requires the government office

of the United States Trade Representative to identify nations who have erected barriers with the United States and recommends economic sanctions against such nations (PIA 1998). However, he is leery of sanctions on nations due to religious persecution or human rights violations. "When you want to help someone, you've got to make sure that the people you plan to help want to be helped". "We are superimposing our standards" adding that it would "impose on the poorest countries of the world a higher standard than we would be imposing on any other country" (PIA 2000).

On the national front, Houghton is perhaps best known for his defense of moderate Republicanism. Without doubt, he is a loyal Republican supporter. He works for the Party in every way he can when he can. Calling them "no brainers" (Buffalo News 1/5/95). Houghton voted for many of the provisions of the Contract with America in the 104th congress, supporting balanced budgets, line item vetoes and regulatory reform (Star Gazette, 3/27/95). He has mentored younger members of the Ways and Means Committee (Almanac 1996) and has gone out of his way to praise the integrity of fellow Republicans he likes: "Jack Quinn is a very forceful, dynamic guy, he's just different. A lot of the people you meet here are just totally political; others are devious. But when Jack says something, you can count on it. With Jack, you never have to watch your back" (Buffalo News, 10/31/94).

At the same time, balancing party and his own views has been a juggling act for Houghton. At the height of the Republican Revolution, he expressed his dilemma: "If everyone goes his or her own way, then I think you destroy unity we created in the first place. I agonize over party loyalty, what's good for the district, country. There's something different happening here with our contract" (Star Gazette, 3/27/95). He thus was willing to support provisions of the Contract despite doubts about many provisions such as crime (the trend toward harsher penalties over prevention). He worried that tax cuts would produce higher deficits and was concerned that foreign policy legislation would limit the number of United States troops under United Nations command (ibid).

However, Houghton does not hesitate to espouse an unquestioning belief in moderate Republicanism and has indeed decried the increasing partisanship that has occurred during his tenure in office. For instance, After the 1992 Republican convention, he said, "harsher and more belligerent voices do not represent, at least for me, either an appealing or enduring base for growth in coming years" (Almanac, 1994). Later, he expressed dissatisfaction with majority party leaders Army and Delay: The "Texas contingent sees things clearly in black and white and imposes the Texas view on the rest of the country." "What I bristle at is when I go to a Republican caucus and they're shouting down the voices of reason. It's not the Republican Party I joined and it's not sustainable." (Houston Chronicle, 6/11/96). Similarly, he complained: "Screaming works, short term, but if you want to get something done, you have to perceive what the other person thinks. If you punish somebody or grab his tie, it doesn't help in the long run. People end up bearing grudges" (Washington Post, 4/2/96). He has thus been a leader in strengthening the "center" of the Republican Party. After the controversial vote to increase the minimum wage in 1996 against the wishes of the House leadership (see Quinn profile), Houghton jubilantly declared: "the center of the Republican Party is back" (Buffalo News 5/25/96). This quote became a rallying cry for moderate Republicans in the House. (However Houghton added: "The day after I made that rather pompous statement--the one about 'the center is back' -- I found myself voting alone". "But I still think you don't have to be

nasty to wage an effective campaign. This business about being nasty and driving up negatives-- NUTS!" (Buffalo News 6/23/96).

He has worked to promote moderate Republicanism, and "civility" in Congress. As he explained to constituents, "If we're going to tackle this entitlement problem, we must do it on a bipartisan basis. One party can't do it. And if you stick a finger in the eye (of Democrats) and kick them in the shins, they're not going to do it either" (Buffalo News 6/25/96).

In the early 1990s, his editorial in a nationally prominent journal announced the formation of a group: called ERR (Extremely Reasonable Republicans) (Christian Science Monitor 10/6/92). Later in the decade, he helped organize the Main Street Coalition, a think tank created for the purpose of restoring "the strength and vitality of the political center in America" (Almanac 1998) and to counter the Democratic Leadership Council. .

Even more, he was one of the organizers of a very unusual event in congressional history: the bipartisan "civility" retreats held in Hershey, Pennsylvania during the course of the 105th and 106th Congresses. In keeping with his philosophy of bringing people together, this unusual congressional event has been called the "largest gathering of members of Congress outside Congress (www.house.gov/houghton). It was premised on the theory that higher quality personal interactions among members would facilitate better public policy.

Houghton has also supported moderate Republican causes. For instance, His strong advocacy for the arts led him to become a leader in the 1995 fight to preserve the National Endowment for the Arts. Arguing that art programs are: "quintessential to the community in which you live" (PIA 98). His work on behalf of the agency included some unusual publicizing efforts: forming a coalition called, America for the NEA, with New York Democrat Gerald Nadler and bringing nationally known artists including Garth Brooks and Kenny G to Washington as lobbyists (Buffalo News 3/15/95). Houghton cited as a positive example of the NEA the benefits they brought to rural districts. Arguing that art programs are important to the local communities Houghton championed such programs. "Rural areas in particular benefit from the endowments", Houghton said (Buffalo news 3/5/95). For example, the Acting Company of New York performed in Olean, and the London Ballet Theatre came to the Corning area thanks to NEA grants (ibid.). "You see the NEA doesn't kowtow to the cultural elite. It is not about smut" (PIA 1996). Ever optimistic, he added, "One way or another, the NEA will live on" (PIA 2000).

Similarly, he worked unsuccessfully to protect the Office of Technology Assessment, which does scientific research for Congress, (*Buffalo News*, 6/17/95). Among his efforts included holding a press conference with Sally Ride the first female astronaut on speakerphone (ibid.).

Houghton disagrees with other mainstream Republican positions as well. Though he believes in the importance of balanced budgets. He doesn't think that a constitutional amendment is the only way to produce such a result (PIA 1992). He was one of three Republicans of 1993 who refused to promise: no new taxes (Almanac, 1994), 1 of 11 in 1995 to vote against the initial GOP tax cut proposals (PIA 1998), and 1 of 17 to vote against a constitutional amendment prohibiting flag burning (PIA 1992).

Although he has his limits (he doesn't always support federal funding for abortion or partial birth procedures), he is generally pro-choice (PIA 1996) and has supported aspects of gay rights (efforts in the District of Columbia to extend privileges to unmarried partners or gays) (ibid) - "Whether or not you agree with the concept of gay rights, who are we to be judgmental?" (PIA 2000). (In fact, his current chief of staff is a former representative, Stephen Gunderson, who is openly gay (Almanac 2000)). Finally, though a card-carrying member of the NRA, he has advocated for more restrictive gun legislation ([://www.house.gov/houghton](http://www.house.gov/houghton) 6/18/99).

Recently, his string of difficult votes included his staunch defense of President Clinton given the impeachment controversy. Not only was he one of only four Republicans to vote against all four articles of impeachment, but he took the lead in vocalizing opposition within the Republican Party. He wrote an editorial in the New York Times: Quoting General George Marshall, "Don't fight the problem; decide it" (NY Times, 12/9/98). "It can become oddly enjoyable raking over the details, lamenting the moral lapses. It helps sidestep the unadorned thinking required to decide tough issues" (ibid). "Of course there was conduct unbecoming, I deplore it. If a plant manager in the company I used to work for engaged in such conduct, we would have disciplined him immediately. Maybe even dismissed him. But we wouldn't have burned him at the stake" (ibid). "I cannot believe that with the morals that existed throughout the ages, particularly in the early days of our democracy, that this would have had anything to do with a personal problem" (PIA 2000). Hoping to forestall the impeachment votes, he also sponsored a censure resolution (*Buffalo News* 12/28/98). He even met with President Clinton shortly before the expected impeachment vote, showing his support by presenting him a biography of an Oxford don (Clinton had been an Oxford Rhodes scholar) (NY Times, 12/17/98).

Conclusion

This string of votes cycles us back to Houghton's district and constituent responses to him and his Washington activity. We have seen the advantages of Houghton's home style. He not only has a genuine commitment to the area but his stature, connections and experience bring clear benefits to his constituents.

By virtue of the positions he has taken, Houghton and the kind of politician he represents are open to very valid criticisms. His voting record may be more in tune with his more cosmopolitan constituency around Corning than with the district as a whole. His positions have attracted the obvious criticisms from Democrats but also those of the conservative Republicans who make up his reelection constituency. His impeachment votes and specifically Houghton's support of censure have already led to 1998 right-to-life opponent Reverend Jim Pierce to announce his intentions to challenge Houghton in the upcoming 2000 elections (*Buffalo News*, Dec. 15, 1998). Other constituents have similarly expressed the same sentiment. "When I'm out collecting petition signatures, they all seem to recognize that Amo Houghton is out alone in his voting. Everyone agrees he's not consistent with his statements about balancing the budget or protecting jobs in this country. The only way to cut the deficit is to cut spending, and Amo doesn't seem to recognize that" said Leroy Wilson, a Jamestown woodworker who was planning to challenge Houghton in the GOP primary (*Buffalo News* 6/23/96).

More generally, the notion of "moderate" politics has a potentially strong down side, especially in an era of strong viewpoints. In trying to stick to moderate politics, one runs

the risks of not truly understanding and appreciating alternative and more extreme positions and second off of alienating those extremes. In 1998, Houghton's two opponents the general election were Democrat Caleb Rossiter and right to-life candidate Pastor Jim Pierce. Rossiter, a former Vietnam antiwar activist and a strong advocate of liberal politics argued that Houghton simply talked a different language than he did. Pierce argued the same thing. In answering these critics, in the case of Pierce, Houghton responded by offering to pay for having the church painted and invited Pierce to a "we can work it out" discussion to be held not at a location comfortable to Reverend Pierce but at Houghton's "posh" headquarters at Corning Glass

At a more basic level, of course, while Houghton may successfully combat charges of "elitism", he is certainly open to them. More to the point perhaps are the related criticisms that, because of his background, Houghton simply doesn't "represent" or can't understand the life experiences of his constituents. As one constituent put it in a letter to the editor, "We need representatives in Congress who understand the problems of ordinary people" (Buffalo News, 10/16/98). Several of his electoral opponents have leveled these types of charges at him, but perhaps they were most tellingly made by high school teacher Democrat Bruce McBain in 1996 whose campaign material ran as follows: "He can't know what it's like to be worried about paying a mortgage. I'm not saying he's not a good person, but how could he possibly know that?" (Buffalo News 8/30/96). Similarly, in 1998, Democrat Caleb Rossiter argued that because of his privileged background, Houghton had simply not in actuality done enough to improve the economic status of the district. He claimed that unemployment was 40% above the national average. Houghton's response was first to argue that Rossiter's numbers were wrong but more importantly he argued, characteristically, that it was inappropriate to make rash and unrealistic promises (Post Journal 10/6/98; Buffalo News, 10/15/98). Also in 1998 a campaign issue became Houghton's failure to debate his opponents. He of course claimed that Congress was in session and so he was attending to national business, but opponents could portray his failure to debate as just another indication of his failure to be in touch with the district or to give top priority to local affairs. In a very indirect way, Houghton himself took a position sympathetic to this type of view. In the course of the campaign stints he performed with so much enjoyment as a reporter, a cook and a d.j. He said, "You never realize the stress a reporter is under. You're trying to get the essence f the story. And when you realize you could make this sound like a good thing or a bad thing." (*Elmira Star Gazette* Oct. 11/88).

These critiques certainly highlight the downside of Houghton's type of representation. At the same time, there is much to learn from Amo Houghton's brand of representing the 31st district, and presenting his home style from his point of view leads to an appreciation of how someone very demographically atypical of his constituents can nevertheless be a successful politician. His results-oriented style, ability to harness resources and bring various sides together and his unique experiences are summed up by the almanac of American Politics: "he may be more what the Founding Fathers had in mind than the politically adept youngsters who win in so many districts" (Almanac 2000).

***I Know The Process:
John McHugh and the 24th District***

By the time John McHugh won a congressional seat in 1992, he had worked in government virtually all of his adult life. He had risen through Republican ranks, as a state legislator had specialized in issues of concern to his district and with a degree in public administration had developed a solid grasp on key issues. It is therefore not surprising that his home style would be one of a professional politician, protecting constituent and partisan interests and showing a solid understanding of detail. In terms of the national/local distinction of this chapter, an examination of McHugh's activities illustrates two themes: the importance of the local even in a district where a representative might feel free to choose to "go national" and the ways that national factors of the 1990s nevertheless impact on a very local home style. Finally, given that McHugh is a long time professional politician who knows how to make the process work, an examination of his activities raises questions about the strengths and weaknesses of the style of a politician who, although he doesn't like the term, would be described by most people as a political insider.

Constituency. At first glance, it seems hard to fathom that the label "North Country" could convey any commonality about the 24th district. The first thing that becomes apparent to an outsider is the physical size of the constituency McHugh represents. With a land area of over twelve thousand square miles (www.house.gov/mchugh), the 24th district literally sprawls across the northern part of New York State. Stretching from the Canadian Border south through the Adirondack Mountains down to an area just north of metropolitan Albany, it comprises all or parts of 10 of New York's 62 counties and in land area is bigger than eight United States and 42 nations. Only 50 congressional districts are larger (www.house.gov/mchugh). An outsider can only begin to appreciate the physical difficulties associated with traversing such a district. As McHugh described traveling around his district, "you can't get there from here" (Watertown Daily Times, June 26, 1994).

Yet, there is a real sense of identity to this large area and a sense of commonality which sets very real boundaries for what a representative of this district is expected to do. To begin, the district is overwhelmingly rural; (65%) with a population density of just under 47 people per square mile, there are some small to medium (if a population of around 28 thousand can be called medium) sized cities (towns) (Watertown, population approximately 28,000 Plattsburgh, 19,000 and Oswego 19,000) (www.house.gov/mchugh), but there are also large distances among them. The norm though is even smaller towns and landscapes dotted with small farms. The fact that the district contains "the entire American section of the St. Lawrence Seaway and most of the 3.7 million acres of the Adirondack Park (www.house.gov/mchugh), parts of Lakes Ontario and Champlain, and many other smaller bodies of water enhance the rural character of the district.

Due to a struggling economy (the college graduation rate of 14% ranks 28/31 in New York State) and the median income of just over 25 thousand dollars (ranks 26 out of 31) and an unemployment level greater than the state or national average economic interests figure importantly in the District's politics (PIA 2000). Military bases, including Watertown's Fort Drum (12,400 employees) and the Plattsburgh Air Force base (now closed) figure importantly in district relationships with Washington, as do dairy farming, the St. Lawrence River, recreation and tourism. Thus, though as will become clear the

Republican constituency generally supports cutbacks in government services, they at the same time depend on government activity.

The district's geography significantly impacts its life/style and culture. Conditions as elemental as the weather matters since, in winter, severe climate including ice storms and microbursts are facts of normal life, while in summer, there are any number of opportunities for outdoor activities.

Not surprisingly given its rural character, the district is overwhelmingly Republican. As the Watertown Daily Times put it: "One would never know, from the level of activity, that the Pierrepont Manor congressman comes from a district in which a serious Democratic threat would exceed the spectacle of a volcanic eruption in the middle of the St. Lawrence River" (WDT's 11/29/97). Despite pockets of Democratic strength (principally in St. Lawrence and Franklin counties), and despite a Clinton win (50% 1996), there has not been a Democratic House member in the North Country since 1837! (WDT, 11/5/94). After his initial 1992 win with 61% of the vote, McHugh's subsequent three election margins have been 79% (1994), 71% (1996) and 79% (1998).

In short, McHugh's district is rural, geographically sprawling and homogeneous. Economically, people often depend on federal government programs to enhance their well being. As we shall see, the district's geographic homogeneity combined with its solidly Republican character would appear to impose strong constraints on a representative but also leave room for flexibility on issues of less direct concern to constituents.

Background. John McHugh has spent his entire adult life as a professional politician. Born and raised in Watertown, he was "bit bad" early by the political bug (WDT 11/1/92). Inspired by John Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign McHugh stated "I didn't know a Democrat from a Republican at that time," then "Here was this young guy, there was something different about him...He seemed so disadvantaged politically, being his age, his Irish background, his religious background...and I just got caught up into it" (ibid.). After graduating Utica College of Syracuse University at age 23, he was expecting to spend a summer taking a roofing job. Instead he achieved the highest score on a civil service exam and became a confidential assistant to the Watertown City Manager. He subsequently served as a staff aide to State Senator H. Douglas Barclay, focusing on research and relationships with local governments. From there, he worked his way up through the party ranks, succeeding Barclay as State Senator (1985 -1992). "When Doug Barclay took me out to dinner that night and said he wasn't running and would I consider, I felt like I was hit by a planet, I thought I'd found my niche" (ibid.) When Representative David O'B Martin (1980-1992) announced his retirement, McHugh was one of several politicians logically placed to succeed him.

Personally, he kept his focus on politics and government, receiving a master's degree in public administration from the State University of New York at Albany (1977). He joined a number of political organizations, including the American Society of Young Political Leaders, the Council of State Governments' Eastern Regional Conference Committee on Fiscal Affairs, and the U.S. Trade Representative's Intergovernmental Policy Advisory Committee on Trade (WDT, 9/13/92). He even married the daughter of a local official (WDT, 11/1/92) (they have since divorced).

McHugh attributed his 1992 victory to three interrelated factors, factors that contribute importantly to his home style: a great machine, legislative experience and the Watertown base of his Senate constituency (WDT, 11/4/92).

The “great machine” was an obvious reference to the work of the Republican Party on his behalf. Though he competed in a primary against Morrison Hosley, who would later run in the general election on the conservative and right-to-life lines, he received significant endorsements including that of Martin (WDT 8/24/92) and all 10 Republican chairs of the 10 counties of his district (WDT, 6/25/92). As the authors of the almanac of American Politics put it (1996), McHugh was chosen “almost without incident.”

It might however be noted that the “great machine” received a boost with the apparent weakness of the Democratic candidate, a retired math teacher. Similarly, none of McHugh’s subsequent challengers have been professional politicians, as his 1994, 1996 and 1998 challengers include an ex-marine who had worked at Fort Drum and the husband of the retired math teacher. In 2000, McHugh is running unopposed. Consequently, by outsider standards, his campaign was an incredibly easy one, especially for a candidate competing in an open seat. He didn’t actually open an official headquarters until August. Further, he raised an astoundingly low \$177,000 to win his congressional seat in 1992. In later campaigns he respectively spent \$53,187, \$172,883 and \$293,655 but there is no need for him to pump huge amounts of money into the campaign. How did he spend that money? In part, his expenses consisted of \$43,000 on radio and TV ads, \$25,000 on advocacy mailings, \$3,000 on palm cards and bumper stickers, and \$388 on pencils (House Races 1992).

On the experience side, he could point to significant accomplishments as a state Senator. With the Republicans as the majority party, McHugh rose to head committees, which impacted on his district and took part in controversies of importance to New York State throughout the 1980s. Thus the committees he chaired included The Joint Legislative Commission on Dairy Industry Development (Times Union 4/17/91), the Tourism Committee (Times Union, 7/4/88) and the Committee on Commerce, Economic Development and Small Business (Times Union, 3/15/92). As a string of citations indicates, he was particularly active on dairy issue, standing up for farmers and encouraging New York’s participation in the New England Dairy Compact (Times Union, 9/1/92; 4/17/91; 1/11/88; 4/26/88; 7/3/87). " I think it's amazing that we are not losing more farmers than we are. It's a tribute to their ingenuity and resiliency, New York's dairy farmers face a cycle of economic decline similar in dimension and more drastic in long term impact than in the days of the depression. Now, as then, the powers of State government are the only source of stability for the dairy farmers (Times Union, 4/17/91)." In particular, his work focused on making New York State a part of the Northeast Dairy Compact. Though McHugh showed himself to be a loyal Republican in the State Senate he also showed himself willing to work with Democrats (PIA 1994) and to move beyond his district interests in support of concerns he believes in. Perhaps typical the kind of solution someone with a public administration degree might propose to a problem is his 1989 bill creating an independent office of administrative hearing officers. These hearing officers adjudicate cases between citizens and state agencies over such concerns as liquor licensing and nursing home licenses. Concerns were raised that these hearing officers were beholden to the agencies so placing them under the control of

an independent agency would "result in the reality as well as the appearance of fairness," according to McHugh (Times Union, 7/1/89).

McHugh also promoted helmet requirements for youngsters in sports (Times Union, June 22, 1988), environmental impact of pesticide control (TU 1/6/88), foreshadowing what he was to focus on in Congress, he chaired a task force on defense spending (TU 1/8/92).

The "great machine," McHugh's experience and his resulting image as a political insider were in part the basis for Hosley's 1992 primary challenge. A cartoon entitled "Natural Selection in the North Country" probably best sums up his campaign (Watertown Daily Times, October 17, 1992). He charged that McHugh was too much of a political insider because he had "never held a real job"-there are no performance standards in politics (Watertown Daily Times, September 13, 1992). He said that McHugh could "be one of the good old boys for as long as you want" (ibid.). In turn, McHugh expressed anger at the cartoon and at Hosley's campaign. Getting to the heart of the matter and highlighting the professional and positive side of his experience, McHugh said that the endorsement of his party reflected "the effort put forth for 20 years on behalf of my party and people in the district I've had the honor to represent" (ibid).

Finally, consistent with what will become clear as the very local character of McHugh's home style, it is not surprising that the base of his Watertown State Senate district helped his name recognition and standing with a primary constituency.

"My Senate base was critical," he said of Oswego, Jefferson and parts of St. Lawrence counties. "If you include the media market that surrounds it in Louis and the northern part of St. Lawrence County, you're talking well over 60 percent of the population of the congressional district That's an enormous advantage I had." (WDT, 11/4/92).

Home Style. The elements of McHugh's home style can perhaps best be summed up by the obviously favorable endorsement he received from the Watertown Daily Times: 1994 "Rep. John McHugh has done a superb job representing the North country's 24th Congressional district during his first term in the U.S. House. The Republican's dedication as a member of Congress is worthy of note. Before voting on legislation, he reads the fine print carefully and makes informed judgments based on the issues. A clear thinker, who fairly represents New Northern New York, Rep. McHugh is responsive to the needs of the large geographic area he serves. He has shown able leadership in helping the North Country focus on explaining to Washington the value of Fort Drum to the nation's defense. His voting record reflects a belief in federal fiscal restraint, the National Taxpayer Union placed him in Congress's top 10 percent of members who endorse legislation to cut spending" (WDT, 11/3/94). The Times is right. At the heart of the editorial is that McHugh advocates for the interests, economic and otherwise, of his constituents. As he put it when he became co-chair of the Congressional Study Group on Canada, "Canada's close proximity to my 10 county district...makes border issues especially important to us and to our constituencies. In that regard, we will also focus on immigration, the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Seaway, environmental and job creation issues" (WDT 10/8/93).

Of course, as the Times noted, the primary way McHugh has worked on behalf of the interests of his district has been his on-going efforts on behalf of military bases in the district. Indeed, a look into his work in this area gives an outsider an appreciation for the continuing efforts it takes in an area like this. One of McHugh's earliest official acts was

to take the somewhat unusual step of hiring his congressional predecessor, Martin, as an actual congressional staffer charged with the duties of monitoring all activities on base closings and lobbying on behalf of district interests (Times Union, 7/7/93). When the Base Closure and Realignment Commission was appointed by President Clinton in 1993, McHugh went out of his way to praise the nominees. "They appear to be a good working group. I'm pleased that they will be keeping partisanship out of the process." (WDT 1/9/93). Throughout his first year in office, he put considerable effort into what turned out to be an unsuccessful effort to keep the Plattsburgh base open. He worked with a coalition of local and state officials, which intensely lobbied to keep Plattsburgh open, and McHugh took pride in presenting Plattsburgh's case to federal officials (Times Union, 5/19/93, WDT, 5/11/93). After the base closing commission recommended closing, he continued his activity. With Governor Cuomo and others he participated in the selection process for the legal team to continue looking at Plattsburgh's interests (WDT 8/7/93). Arguing that Plattsburgh was the only base recommended for closing by the commission without a Pentagon recommendation, he asked to see the Commission's files comparing the merits of the alternative bases selected for closing (Griffiths in Boehlert's district and Maguire in New Jersey) and spoke of being upset about the process. Later, he consulted with Interior Secretary Babbitt about the role Mohawk Indians might play in revitalizing the Plattsburgh base once it did close (Watertown Daily Times, January 4, 1994). When all this effort brought him into conflict with Representative Boehlert who in his turn was working on behalf of Griffiths Air Force Base, Boehlert's assessment sums up the effort: "He's doing his job to the best of his ability and I'm doing my job to the best of my ability" (Times Union, 6/16/93).

McHugh has similarly made it a priority to advocate for opportunities at Fort Drum. (After the closing of the Plattsburgh base, there was considerable apprehension as to the future of Drum and its 10th Mountain Division McHugh stated base closings became "absolutely necessary because of the Clinton defense budgets." "This isn't the Army's decision at all. We need to restore the defense budgets so the Army does not need to close bases to survive" (WDT, 4/27/94). Understandably, there was much criticism of the Base Closing Commission. McHugh for instance argued that the Commission had too much independence and that their decisions were not subject to any sort of appeal system. "This totally insulates the commission from any kind of challenge, no matter how blatantly it disregarded the guidelines by which it must act, the scope of the ruling is remarkable to the extent it reflects total ignorance of reality" (WDT 5/24/94). He called for a review process based on the judicial system and the Supreme Court (ibid.).

Over the next few years, the efforts of McHugh in conjunction with numerous local groups and leaders focused on more tangible goals: an impressive list of ways to expand opportunities at Drum. For instance, McHugh (and others) successfully lobbied for runway expansion to accommodate larger aircrafts (WDT 8/8/98), for a \$7.6 million rapid-deployment facility to be used as a troop embarkation point and a \$3.8 million range-control facility (WDT 5/19/96), two training Projects: a 17.5 million dollar gunnery range and a training and education center (WDT 6/5/97) and a hanger which "would be one of the largest structures in the north country" (WDT 6/16/99). In several instances, McHugh not only wanted new facilities but he specifically attempted to ensure that New York firms would have a part in the construction (WDT, 6/7/96).

One sees in all this the importance of having a Washington advocate in Congress. By simply keeping the issue on the agenda or speaking out at a meeting, it is possible to make a difference. Thus, in protecting the interests of Fort Drum, McHugh has stood up for the importance of army light divisions. "Heavy units need lighter forces to operate between and among them on terrain not suitable for heavy vehicles" (WDT 11/7/97). He praised then Governor Cuomo for using the forum of a meeting of New York's Congressional delegation to raise issues of support for Fort Drum (WDT 2/25/94), traveled abroad to visit soldiers (WDT 11/15/99) and has even had some fun and presented caps to top generals (WDT 12/17/94).

Similarly, as he did in the State legislature, McHugh has stood up for the interests of dairy farmers. In the 1990s, the central issue confronting such constituents has been the specter of deregulation of federal price supports. At the height of the push for balanced budgets in the 104th Congress, Speaker Gingrich and the Republican leadership backed plans, which would substantially alter the government's role in the dairy industry. Those plans were formalized into very specific policy proposals regarding milk, cheese and butter in the 1995 budget reconciliation bill. Following the lead of neighboring representative Gerald Solomon, "McHugh, worked night and day with the more-conservative Rep. Gerald Solomon...to ward off a dairy regulation plan that they thought would drive New York farmers out of business" (Buffalo News, 5/25/96). As McHugh himself described his commitment "to pursue the interest of our dairy farmers and their families. Our position in this regard has not wavered, nor will it" (WDT, 10/9/95). At the height of budget cutting fever, McHugh due to the dairy issue, was nevertheless one of a handful of Republicans who voted against the major budget reconciliation bill (WDT, 11/17/95).

In the course of what became a yearlong struggle, Speaker Gingrich was perhaps surprised to find dairy issues so difficult to deal with. He described them as "so contentious and so complex" (WDT, 11/13/95). An outsider reading through the details of dairy policy would have to agree. One comes away impressed by the level of detail Representative McHugh and others must absorb and discuss. Specific products (milk, butter, cheese), dollar levels of price supports and relationships between governmental structures (concerns about the role of New York in connection with the New England Dairy Compact) were among the concerns raised during the 104th Congress. Even if the level of specificity makes easier the potential for compromise, some understanding of that detail is necessary before the compromises can be made. Not every representative has to confront such specific issues.

In the end, in the 104th Congress, an agreement was reached. Protecting farmers while lowering levels of price supports and leaving room for much future negotiation (WDT, 3/24/96). That future negotiation of course led to revisiting the issues in later Congresses. For example, in 1999 New York representatives wanted an expanded role for New York in the New England Dairy compact and more favorable price supports. "They pledged to us that the needs of dairy farmers would be addressed to our satisfaction by the end of the session of Congress," said McHugh. "We received the leadership's solemn promise (Times Union, October 9, 1999)." Later in the session, McHugh got even more specific when he and Representative Tammy Baldwin (D.Wisconsin) proposed The cheese Quality Act of 2000. Which would, in part, prevent the Food and Drug Administration from permitting the use of dry ultrafiltered milk in the

making of cheese and would preclude the Department of Agriculture from changing the definition of milk used in "natural" cheese products. "Ultra-filtered milk is not whole milk. It would be misleading to let consumers believe that the cheese they are buying contains milk when in reality, it includes a milk substitute." "This legislating will protect consumers from this deception and ensure that demand for domestic dairy products is not depressed" (McHugh Reports, 6/15/00).

Due to weather conditions including microbursts and ice storms, federal disaster assistance is an ongoing concern in the district. McHugh has on numerous occasions articulated the viewpoint of the 24th district. For example, he expressed disappointment after FEMA, the Federal Emergency Management Agency failed to allocate money to help the district recover from severe ice storms. "For three years I have supported requests for funds to assist areas in California struck by fires and earthquakes and aid to areas in the Midwest hit by floods. It seems that every part of the country can reap the benefits of federal aid but the North Country. In our time of need, the [Clinton] administration has turned its back on the people of Northern New York" (Times Union, 9/23/95). Later, arguing that "In the North Country's extreme winter weather, the use of generators and the other items were certainly not luxuries they were critical commodities" he has thus advocated constituents be reimbursed for survival items (McHugh Reports, 1/28/98).

The district's proximity to Canada and numerous waterways have lead McHugh to focus on issues of immigration, recreation and even water levels. A few of many possible examples make the point. Immigration control is a problem in the district and proposals for better border control keep surfacing. When tough budget choices arose as to the potential for placing immigration officials at every check point or using a complex set of phone reporting requirements, (WDT's 9/8/96) McHugh wanted to make it as easy as possible for tourists to enter the nation. "At a time when, in the spirit of NAFTA and GATT we are attempting to harmonize the laws and regulations governing our countries and provide for freer trade and more open borders, it is ironic that the United States alone continues to impose burdensome requirements on our citizens and our business" (WDT, 9/8/96). He supported a pilot videophone program (WDT, 6/6/97). "From my perspective, the videophone reporting test is a matter of financial security for St. Lawrence River communities, which are every bit in jeopardy as others" (WDT's 6/11/97). He has supported legislation suggesting that "illegal aliens" pay a thousand-dollar fee (rather than being deported immediately) while immigration forms are being processed (WDT, 11/7/97).

Low water levels have recently become a concern in the district, and McHugh has attempted to publicize the issue. By arranging a tour of the area for appropriate officials (WDT 5/29/99), by working to get federal funding for a study of the problem (McHugh Reports, 6/30/2000) and by attending a summit meeting among local towns (WDT, 4/16/99).

What other concerns face rural and isolated constituents in the 24th district? McHugh has for example advocated for Essential Air Service, a "small but effective" subsidization program guaranteeing transportation to small and medium sized communities (WDT 8/11/93). Poor rural areas also need access to on site technical assistance to ensure quality drinking water. McHugh asserted: "In many communities throughout New York technical assistance allows water systems to help each other and assures a steady

improvement and, eventually, a long-term solution to small water system public health problems"(WDT 5/7/96). Questioning a proposed increase in postal rates for libraries which mail out books to people McHugh claimed: "These services are particularly important in rural areas, such as my district, where few alternative delivery mechanisms are available"(WDT 9/21/97). Even preservation of covered bridges to boost economies and preserve history (Times Union, 4/8/98) are a concern in the constituency.

McHugh, along with other members of Congress has recently become an advocate for cormorant control. The uncontrolled breeding of these birds has come to pose a problem first to the fishing industry and consequently to tourism. "Allowing the states impacted by cormorants to address the problem by permitting a hunting season is the only reasonable thing to do" (McHugh reports, 10/ 8/97). He and others have since testified before House committees on the issue and kept it on the political agenda (McHugh reports, 5/10/00).

Thus, McHugh's main constituency role seems to be as a defender of district interests. From his work, we can come to appreciate his ongoing effort on behalf of dominant interests. We also see a style. McHugh does his job as a political insider (appearing at hearings, conferring with government officials, staying on top of the latest developments). His efforts certainly begin with his connections to the larger community and groups in it. You don't advocate for a gunnery range in a vacuum. You work with local groups, and army and state officials. Further McHugh works as a political insider, writing letters, attending meetings, and, as the Watertown Daily Times observed, certainly staying on top of the detail.

McHugh interacts with constituents in more traditional ways as well. During his first 18 months in office, he returned to his district every weekend but one. Due to the physical size of the area, sometimes he and his then wife would appear at opposite ends of the district. "I learn more on a Saturday afternoon of questions and answers back home than in a month of Saturdays in Washington. It is a reality check, while in Washington they play to your ego. People won't tell you you are wrong". Back home "I'm not just talking at people, but talking with people" (WDT, 6/26/94). "I've seen in Washington as the biggest trap the failure to go home". "Too many representatives, in my opinion, stay in Washington week after week and lose touch with the people back home. They begin to believe all the nice things that people say about them" (WDT, 6/5/94).

There are specific illustrations of contacts McHugh has had with constituents. For example, interceding with the Army and persuading military officials to allow a skating park in Ogdensburg (WDT, 7/30/97). He has educated local officials as to federal grant opportunities from his office. He has helped constituents obtain information about appropriate federal grants (WDT 8/26/97). He engages in the usual personal interactions with constituents, honoring a postal worker for her 54 years of service with a statement in the congressional record: " With data whirling by us via E-mail, fax, interactive cable and other yet-to-be-developed super technologies, we must not lose sight of the basic service that Pat renders" (WDT 6/17/95), helping a veteran with a disability in a year long attempt to obtain medical benefits (WDT 10/28/93) and staying on top of government grant opportunities for constituents, either by finding out the reasons for delays in grant announcements: "the congressman said ...the phone calls he had received from local elected officials on the status of their applications 'have gone from eager curiosity to frustration and anger'" (WDT 12/8/93) and announcing many grant opportunities as to

Alexandria Bay for a new municipal building/fire station, to Watertown for revitalization of the downtown area and to Saranac for improvements in housing and an industrial park. When his web site became up and running, he expressed excitement, noting the importance of technological communication to a district where traveling a congressional office might be physically difficult (McHugh Reports, 10/23/97). Most recently he appeared at the grand opening of a new Wal-Mart distribution center bringing 700 jobs to Johnstown (Times Union; 4/20/00).

At the same time, McHugh seems to be more his constituents' man in Washington than someone who is seen continually interacting with individual constituents. Constituents can read about him regularly in the local press and his staff has participated in "listening posts"-sessions with constituents-across the district (McHugh report, 5/26/00). However, on balance, other of the representatives examined in this book appear to have more frequent contact with individual constituents and are easier to situate regularly at district events.

Using district interests as a base, McHugh has become a policy specialist in more national ways, particularly with regard to army concerns. For example, he co-chairs the congressional Army Caucus, and chairs the Morale, Recreation and Welfare Panel of the House National Security Committee. In addition to keeping in close contact as to the affairs of Fort Drum's 10th Mountain Division, he has used these posts to speak out on military concerns: advocacy for an "army museum" (WDT 6/22/95), concern for fair treatment of military personnel with HIV balanced by caution about infectious diseases in the armed forces, (WDT 4/26/96) and issues about cigarette pricing at PX posts (WDT 6/16/97). Since 1995, he has been his committee's representative on the West Point Board of Visitors, a body monitoring education and training programs at the facility (McHugh reports, 3/17/99).

In 1997 he obtained a seat on the International Relations Committee. Very satisfied with this assignment, he said this would: "round out my committee responsibilities." "Where (the) national security (committee) examines global military issues, the international relations committee explores global political interaction, the two form a good complement" (WDT, 11/26/96). As such, he has become interested in more global issues, attending conferences on Russian democracy and claiming Russian leaders are "absolutely committed to the democratic process, and to free and open elections" (WDT 4/17/96), attending ceremonies marking the transfer of power in Hong Kong (WDT 6/25/97), "From a military point of view to build a wall around China could have consequences that would be disastrous".

Thus McHugh can present himself to those constituents who are interested as a representative who has come to occupy some clout inside Washington. Additionally, the Republican takeover of the House provided him with the opportunity to head a subcommittee of the Government Reform and Oversight Committee: the subcommittee on the post office. Though the Almanac of American Politics has described the activities of this subcommittee as of little interest to the average member but of much interest to relevant groups (Almanac 2000). Focusing on postal reform, he has probably served as a more active chair than might have been expected. He has advocated that the Postal Service be given "the tools and incentives to adapt itself to the 21st century" (PIA 2000). In the face of increased competition from modern technology and other mail delivery services such as UPS and FedEx, he has focused on ways to increase the competitiveness

of the Postal Service. "Without postal reform now, we are going to have a train wreck" (WDT 9/20/97). Billed as the most significant piece of postal reform legislation since the 1970s, his proposals have included more flexible pricing policy on stamps: When the post office needs money, prices should be allowed to increase. When things are going well, there should be rewards and price decreases. He also wants fewer limits on first class mail so the Postal Service can better compete with alternate carriers and has advocated for a separate but associated corporation to sell long distance phone cards and nicnacs (ibid.). These ideas have proved controversial and getting the bill passed has been no easy challenge. For five years, he has modified and bargained over the details of his original proposal. Thus, when FedEx and UPS were concerned that McHugh's bill would give the postal service an unfair advantage, he modified the details of his bill (Journal of Commerce, 12/29/97). Newspapers were similarly concerned that they would be hurt by bulk mailing provisions. He has convened meetings of supporters (including unions and the Postmaster General) urging them to develop appropriate lobbying strategies (Washington Post, 4/26/00).

Though in 1998, a version of McHugh's bill passed his subcommittee and though the bill has been reintroduced in the 106th congress, McHugh will lose his chairmanship after the current legislative session. Though some observers think the bill is still too controversial to make it through the legislative labyrinth, others think a bill in some form will be passed out of deference to McHugh's hard work and efforts to bring all sides together (Washington Post, 5/25/00). Thus, the deputy postal director, General Michael S. Coughlin, may have summed up McHugh's style: "(He) stepped up to the challenge" of postal reform, "I think I speak for all of us here when I say that John McHugh has done an exceptional job leading the debate". "There's not a voice that wanted to be heard that has not been heard" (WDT 5/7/97).

McHugh's activities as chair have probably led him to understand aspects of postal life he hadn't given much thought to prior to 1995. For example, he has (thus far unsuccessfully) sponsored "The Prompt Payment Act of 1995 (Daily News, 9/6/95)," legislation whereby a consumer would be given credit for a bill payment based on the bill's post mark as opposed to its arrival date. At his sponsorship, legislation was passed creating an independent inspector general for the postal system. He commissioned a report by the General Accounting Office, which warned that labor management concerns were a source of underproductivity. Subsequent to the report, McHugh conducted congressional hearings and argued that an independent commission be set up to investigate (Washington Post, 10/2/97). Also arguing that a common practice in other nations is to allow private mail delivery services to have access to individual private mailboxes, he has advocated the practice be tested here (Washington Post, July 11, 1996). He proposed legislation allowing private delivery firms to have access to individual mailboxes. Also citing other nations as a model, he has been among those who have lobbied that special postal stamps be designated to raise funds for medical research (the breast cancer stamp is a successful example) (McHugh Reports, May 16, 2000).

Typical of a budget cutter, McHugh has been concerned about how the postal service spends its money, expressing a need to investigate for instance when a the chief postmaster in Atlanta, the only woman in such a position, engaged in an elaborate and expensive swearing in ceremony. He was also upset when the Postal Service bankrolled the cycling team including the now world famous Lance Armstrong in a race: "People

tend to notice those ads and tend to ask what's going on here" (Chicago Sun Times, 7/30/99).

McHugh's chairmanship has given him an area of specialization, albeit a narrow one, which allows him to take credit for Washington accomplishments. In this capacity, he has received outside the district attention and has been noted in, for instance, The San Francisco Chronicle (8/16/97). He can present himself to constituents as an experienced legislator. This activity has also generated campaign contributions from all across the nation (fully one-third of his campaign contributions in 1996) (WDT 2/1/96).

More generally, as might be expected of someone who "knows the process and the players," McHugh presents himself to constituents as a loyal partisan. Emotionally connected into the establishment of a Republican primary constituency, he clearly feels a bond to his "team." He was therefore understandably jubilant at the Republican takeover of the House in 1994, stating this is the "kind of thing dreams are made of. I have been saying if you don't get excited about this, you better think of another line of work" (WDT, 1/3/95). Also, he wanted the spirit of unity to spill over into the 1996 party convention to increase the chances of a Republican presidency. He was thus understandably concerned about Bob Dole's desire to retain an antiabortion plank included in the platform: "It is important to convey an open perspective". "The issues that unite us far outweigh those that divide us" (WDT 8/9/96).

McHugh has backed his enthusiasm up with concrete actions. He has served as a party whip for the New York Republican delegation and has participated in other party related groups (The Steering and Policy Committee and the Tuesday Group). He has hosted dinners for Republican candidates (WDT, 2/10/93), has on several occasions, given excess campaign money to Republican candidates at the local and national level (WDT 2/4/96), and has been included in meetings with presidential candidate George W. Bush during swings through the northeast (Times Union, 7/25/99). He has even participated in charity baseball games for the Republican side (WDT 7/27/93) and played electric guitar in a band of Congressional Republicans, the Amendments (WDT 10/12/96).

McHugh's voting record consistently reflects the Republican mainstream of the 1990s. Encouraging fiscal restraints, balanced budgets and increases in defense spending, on first coming into office in 1992, he supported President Clinton's budget cutting efforts (WDT, 1/22/93). Later, in 1996, he added, "We're finally on a path to balance the budget and cut out wasteful spending" (WDT, 11/3/96). In early 1997, when some Republicans were critical of Speaker Gingrich for not including concerns about tax cuts in balanced budget negotiations, McHugh defended Gingrich. "If you are at war on spending, opening a second front on tax cuts makes things more difficult" (WDT, 3/22/97). The National Taxpayer Union has repeatedly ranked him as a member whose votes have led to more savings than government spending. (WDT 9/4/94).

Similarly his conservative coalition scores are consistently above 80, and McHugh's party unity scores range from 82 to 94, indicating a general tendency toward party loyalty. He has advocated wherever possible for smaller bureaucracy and red tape. For instance, he expressed concern about government purchasing practices "the current 50s procurement system is unacceptable for the 20th century". (WDT 7/28/95). He lent unequivocal support to welfare reform proposals (WDT 7/24/96 and 8/2/96). "Our welfare system has deprived hope, diminished opportunity and destroyed the lives of our precious children. We've got to stop spending more and more money to solve a problem

that really needs people" (WDT 7/24/96). At the same time McHugh stated, "There will be problems in transition, but people won't walk away from the truly needy" (WDT/8/2/96).

However, McHugh understands that party loyalty can sometimes conflict with other pressures. As his advocacy for dairy farmers at the height of 1995 budget cutting fervor demonstrates, he shows tendencies to deviate beyond party when the need arises. In pressing for the interests of his district, he clearly needs to work across party lines. Thus his party unity scores have varied from 82 to 94 and his presidential support scores have ranged between 25 and 51. "I voted with Bill Clinton when I felt he was right and against Bill Clinton when he was wrong (WDT, 11/31/94)."

His issue positions also reflect this independent tendency when he thinks it is appropriate. McHugh voted against term limits, against GATT and against NAFTA. As he explained his NAFTA vote after holding meetings with constituent groups, "there is no question that over the long run, so-called free trade will be the reality of the future. America has to be a player in that process." However, McHugh was worried about "the potential short-term impact on the economy, particularly that of the 24th Congressional District (WDT 10/28/93)." He was one of only 40 Republicans to vote for the Family and Medical Leave Act, and 1 of 9 who opposed loan cuts to rural housing (WDT 7/21/95). He sided with the president on the issue of comp time (WDT 3/28/97) claiming the bill passed by the House on compensatory leave and overtime pay gives employers too much leverage over workers.

With characteristic loyalty, McHugh has, summed up the dilemmas he faces when voting: "From my own perspective I would give up the chairmanship (of the House Postal subcommittee) at any time if voting in the interests of my constituents" created a serious conflict with GOP leadership (WDT, 10/9/95). He added that a "true vote of conscience, one that is important to a member's district, those are things that are understood and are accommodated" (ibid).

Conclusion. Three themes stand out after reading this profile. First and most importantly, McHugh's home style focuses on the local. He has become knowledgeable and worked hard on a variety of concerns that strike at the heart of the interests of his district. His activities begin with a focus on military bases and dairy interests but extends to a wide array of concerns outsiders would perhaps never know about (cormorants, covered bridges, etc.). Also, in McHugh's case a local focus has not only meant keeping his district's needs on the congressional stage but has also meant becoming educated and immersed in the process along with policy detail. Particularly when compared to Representatives Maloney or Houghton, McHugh has stayed "local."

At the same time though, even in a district in remote Northern New York, the impact of national forces can be felt. By virtue of his Post Office subcommittee chairmanship, McHugh benefited notably from the Republican takeover of the House. He has followed the "responsible party" model and been a Republican team player and has gotten involved on a few key national issues. Though the local is the most important part of his story, national elements matter as well. Given this focus on the local, can it be said that McHugh is a true "Fennoian" politician? He certainly focuses on district interests and immerses himself in detail. He works as a political insider for the needs and concerns of his district. This style clearly has advantages. However, one could imagine other ways to represent his district. McHugh has chosen the role of policy expert and loyal local

partisan. Thus, absent from these pages have been McHugh connecting with individual constituents. Rather what we see a lot of is McHugh interacting with constituents expressing larger group interests. While he may do the latter, he doesn't appear to receive coverage for it and doesn't think of himself in those terms. Even more, in 1999 he inaugurated "listening posts" where members of his staff would set up office hours at rolling set of locations across the sprawling district (McHugh Reports, 5/26/00). While these may be helpful, it may be consistent with McHugh's home style that he himself does not feel a need to fully take part. He thus may somewhat minimize the role of "accessible" politician. Though he does his share in the district, McHugh sometimes perhaps eschews the importance of accessibility, electioneering and bringing things to the district and may simply enjoy a focus as his district's man in Washington.

Also, while it goes without saying that McHugh has strong roots in and ties with his district, it would be misleading to describe him as merely a delegate for district interests. After all, he has staked out a career as a professional politician and has spent much of his adult life commuting back and forth from Albany and Washington. He certainly knows the district and has innumerable friends and neighbors throughout the 24th constituency. However, it seems inappropriate to describe him as completely sharing the deeper values of constituents.

Finally, too, absent from these pages for the most part is a generalist across a wide variety of policy issues. Given McHugh's safe seat, it is important to note that McHugh defines his role as a specialist. Given the homogeneity of the district, he could probably carve out a broader role for himself if he so chose. As with Houghton and Maloney, constituency factors matter but so do the member's own preferences.

Conclusion.

The introduction to this chapter highlighted the tension between the local and the national, the parochial and the "public good." Two of the modern day representatives we have studied (Maloney and Houghton) lean toward the 'national' end of the spectrum while the third, McHugh, leans local. Moreover, the parochial/national dichotomy is not as clear-cut as it is sometimes presented. What we have presented here shows a more nuance version of what it means to be national, and by extension that the national and the local—at least in the 1990s—are more interrelated certainly than Fenno emphasized.

In terms first of the national/parochial distinction, different representatives in the 1990s handled these issues differently. Houghton clearly went 'national' in two senses. First, his emphasis on bipartisanship and standing up for social causes was in large part unrelated to the concerns of his constituency. He could easily be a successful politician in the 31st district without addressing many of the concerns he champions. Therefore, he is in part an example of nationalization in the third sense described earlier, a congressperson who can see the larger picture and advance his conception of the "public good." Houghton also illustrates our second description of 'national' in that as an essential part of his home style, he interrelates the local and the national. He has used his national connections to enhance the local while keeping the "local" on the Washington agenda.

In contrast, Maloney illustrates "national" in the second sense that we have used the term: by virtue of her location and constituency, the district concerns encompass a wide array of national matters. It is therefore, not surprising that her presentation of self has a

strong national component. How after all can you not take the national stage when you represent a district encompassing the hub of Manhattan?

Interestingly, it is worth noting that due to district constraints, though Maloney represents a safe district, Maloney may still have fewer options about style than Houghton. In her district, the “local” is the “national” and vice versa. She is truly interrelating the local and the national rather than focusing on a national concern outside the realm of her district.

Finally, in the best sense of the Anti-Federalists, McHugh seems to confirm the old adage that “all politics is local.” He does so in the best sense of the usage of that adage. It makes sense that he should fight for military bases and district jobs. It makes sense that he should advocate for the concerns of a relatively poor, rural, isolated constituency. The representative for such an isolated constituency is really someone who is like (if not identical in every sense of the word) the people he represents. While McHugh may not be a complete reflection of the people in his district (in fact we have seen he is not), he shares enough of their beliefs and values to make sure that their upstate New York concerns are really voiced at the national level and play a part in a debate where such concerns could easily go unheard.

It is also possible to say something about why these politicians have acted as they did. Fenno’s model suggests that home style arises from of a combination of constituency characteristics and individual preferences. To reiterate, the actions of all three representatives are very consistent with the needs of their districts. In part, Houghton has the leeway to focus on national concerns because he has done such a good job of meeting local needs and developing the trust of his constituents and because his constituents value him because of his national activity. For both Maloney and McHugh, though their home styles are quite different, one can see two things. First, one simply appreciates the diversity in congressional constituencies when we consider these two districts. Second, from these constituencies have developed home styles that are about as different as possible but yet work with their constituents and in large part arise from constituent needs.

Finally, in all three home styles, we see the impact of the role of individual personalities. Houghton’s long business career, family background and strongly held beliefs about party has unquestionably guided him in the development of a home style. Both McHugh and Maloney have had long political careers, had time to develop policy preferences and political styles; the profiles of them indicate how their prior experiences play out in their congressional presentations of self. Houghton and McHugh represent very similar districts—their constituents are rural, relatively poor to outside standards and Republican. Though there are correspondingly some similarities in their representational styles (both follow the Republican lead as often as they can and both have generally conservative voting records), these two members have chosen to represent such similar districts with a very different emphasis.

In conclusion, for very different reasons and even given very different home styles, all three of these representatives appear to be doing a good job. Thus, the reader can consider which type of representation is best. These three representatives teach us that it is possible to make either the local or a more national style work in light of all the considerations that in fact make up a successful home style.

