

Chapter 3: Campaign Finance in Congressional Elections

Table of Contents

Number	Title	Page
3-1	The Cost of Winning an Election, 1986-2018 (in nominal and 2018 dollars)	1
3-2	House Campaign Expenditures: Major Party General Election Candidates, 1974-2018 (full cycle), Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Dollars	3
3-3	House Campaign Expenditures: Incumbents and Challengers, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1974-2018 (full cycle), Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Dollars	7
3-4	House Campaign Expenditures: Open House Seats, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1984-2018 (full cycle), Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars	10
3-5	Senate Campaign Expenditures: Major Party General Election Candidates, 1974-2018 (full cycle, net dollars), Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars	13
3-6	Senate Campaign Expenditures: Incumbents and Challengers, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1980-2018 (full cycle), Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars	16
3-7	Senate Expenditures: Open Senate Seats, Major Party General Election Candidates, by Election Outcome, 1986-2018 (full cycle, mean net dollars), Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars	19
3-8	Campaign Funding Sources: House and Senate Major Party General Election Candidates, 1984-2018	22
3-9	Number Political Action Committees Making Contributions to Candidates, 1976-2018	31
3-10	PAC Contributions to Congressional Candidates 1978-2018 (in \$ millions), Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars	34
3-11	How PACs Distributed Their Contributions to Congressional Candidates, 1978-2018	36
3-12	Political Party Contributions, Coordinated and Independent Expenditures for Congressional Candidates, 1976-2018, Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars	41
3-13	Hard and Soft Money Raised by National Party Committees, 1992-2018 (in millions of dollars), Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Dollars	44
3-14	Non-Party Independent Expenditures in House and Senate Elections, 1978-2018, Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Dollars	46

The Cost of Winning an Election, 1986-2018 (in
 Table 3-1 nominal and 2018 dollars)

	House Winners		Senate Winners	
	Nominal Dollars	2018 Dollars	Nominal Dollars	2018 Dollars
2018	2,092,822	2,092,822	14,863,228 ^a	14,863,228
2016	1,516,021	1,586,135	10,464,068	10,948,017
2014	1,466,533	1,555,559	9,655,660	10,241,804
2012	1,596,953	1,746,588	10,351,556	11,321,499
2010	1,434,760	1,652,228	8,993,945	10,357,168
2008	1,362,239	1,588,774	7,101,029	8,281,901
2006	1,259,791	1,569,158	8,835,416	11,005,133
2004	1,038,391	1,380,345	7,183,825	9,549,543
2002	911,644	1,272,486	3,728,644	5,204,495
2000	845,907	1,233,526	7,198,423 ^b	10,496,947
1998	677,807	1,044,185	4,655,806	7,172,426
1996	686,198	1,098,210	3,921,653	6,276,319
1994	541,121	916,864	4,488,195	7,604,704
1992	556,475	995,971	3,353,115	6,001,359
1990	423,245	813,158	3,298,324	6,336,896
1988	400,386	849,871	3,746,225	7,951,845
1986	359,577	823,835	3,067,559	7,028,153

Note: Inflation adjustment based on average 2018 CPI.

<http://www.bls.gov/cpi/tables.htm>

a. Rick Scott (R-FL) spent \$83.8 million, more than double any other Senate winner. The average without Scott was \$12.8 million.

b. Jon Corzine (D-N.J.) spent \$63,209,506. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.) spent \$29,941,194. The remaining Senate winners in 2000 spent an average of \$4,737,365.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

Table 3-2

**House Campaign Expenditures: Major Party General Election Candidates, 1974-2018 (full cycle)
Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars**

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004
All Candidates	1,333,707,704 ^a	853,684,433	870,995,031	1,010,092,496	1,070,295,308	942,369,061	936,332,749	772,972,462 ^a
Total expenditures	1,696,829	1,180,753	1,159,780	1,288,383.19	1,339,543	1,249,826	1,240,176	1,027,889
Mean expenditure	(n=786)	(n=723)	(n=751)	(n=784)	(n=799)	(n=754)	(n=755)	(n=752)
Mean, Democrats	1,898,931	1,024,616	1,048,586	1,127,710.98	1,447,883	1,249,571	1,059,490	924,824
	(n=430)	(n=367)	(n=377)	(n=390)	(n=388)	(n=410)	(n=414)	(n=380)
Mean, Republicans	1,597,291	1,341,715	1,271,867	1,447,424.70	1,237,266	1,250,132	1,459,542	1,133,323
	(n=355)	(n=356)	(n=374)	(n=394)	(n=411)	(n=344)	(n=341)	(n=371)
Incumbents	1,880,909	1,756,748	1,534,041	1,811,448.59	1,788,269	1,554,956	1,571,361	1,364,658 ^a
Mean, all incumbents	(n=369)	(n=387)	(n=386)	(n=378)	(n=393)	(n=399)	(n=402)	(n=401)
Mean, Democrats	1,403,432	1,261,621	1,497,537	1,530,867.46	1,984,298	1,450,713	1,225,174	1,270,991
	(n=173)	(n=169)	(n=182)	(n=162)	(n=236)	(n=229)	(n=191)	(n=190)
Mean, Republicans	2,302,355	1,818,322	1,566,608	2,021,885.25	1,493,600	1,695,378	1,884,732	1,450,775
	(n=196)	(n=218)	(n=204)	(n=216)	(n=157)	(n=170)	(n=211)	(n=210)
Challengers	1,302,669 ^a	454,660	529,229	642,195.59	800,488	676,228	635,484	428,119
Mean, all challengers	(n=289)	(n=254)	(n=271)	(n=288)	(n=325)	(n=284)	(n=289)	(n=284)
Mean, Democrats	1,816,084	588,649	463,857	697,679.00	427,326	778,242	735,580	416,242
	(n=193)	(n=156)	(n=149)	(n=170)	(n=111)	(n=146)	(n=190)	(n=158)
Mean, Republicans	252,881	216,468	609,069	562,262.51	994,044	582,319	443,381	443,012
	(n=95)	(n=98)	(n=122)	(n=118)	(n=214)	(n=139)	(n=99)	(n=126)
Open seats	2,056,102	1,668,475	1,440,789	1,189,934.86	1,325,272	1,829,480	1,890,482	1,554,612
Mean, all open-seat candidates	(n=128)	(n=82)	(n=94)	(n=118)	(n=81)	(n=71)	(n=64)	(n=67)
Mean, Democrats	2,683,895	1,689,213	1,166,317	1,262,088.45	1,123,200	1,916,789	1,965,458	1,380,578
	(n=64)	(n=42)	(n=46)	(n=58)	(n=41)	(n=36)	(n=33)	(n=32)
Mean, Republicans	1,428,309	1,501,059	1,703,825	1,120,186.32	1,532,395	1,739,677	1,810,670	1,713,728
	(n=64)	(n=40)	(n=48)	(n=60)	(n=40)	(n=35)	(n=31)	(n=35)

2002	2000	1998	1996	1994	1992	1990	1988	1986	1984
734,179,021 ^a	750,686,708 ^a	611,933,708 ^a	676,439,632 ^a	##### ^a	##### ^a	##### ^a	477,834,291	498,463,357	427,492,989
1,029,704 (n=712)	1,014,442 (n=740)	851,089 (n=719)	826,943 (n=818)	745,332 (n=787)	726,063 (n=813)	617,981 (n=731)	643,982 (n=742)	677,260 (n=736)	583,209 (n=733)
1,022,374 (n=353)	977,312 (n=372)	778,727 (n=358)	755,654 (n=412)	821,734 (n=386)	819,711 (n=410)	673,497 (n=381)	669,475 (n=397)	691,816 (n=397)	574,554 (n=399)
1,037,197 (n=358)	1,054,084 (n=366)	923,031 (n=360)	897,782 (n=405)	670,887 (n=400)	629,790 (n=402)	556,009 (n=349)	614,389 (n=344)	664,636 (n=340)	593,548 (n=334)
1,221,044 ^a	1,209,064 ^a	1,007,720 ^a	1,081,098 ^a	946,933 ^a	1,056,699 ^a	800,528	829,538	829,622	674,398
(n=387)	(n=400)	(n=400)	(n=382)	(n=382)	(n=349)	(n=405)	(n=408)	(n=389)	(n=408)
1,168,272 (n=188)	1,101,562 (n=201)	910,355 (n=189)	939,459 (n=168)	1,049,480 (n=224)	1,102,365 (n=211)	805,804 (n=247)	795,143 (n=245)	801,705 (n=231)	674,782 (n=254)
1,272,641 (n=198)	1,324,263 (n=197)	1,096,264 (n=210)	1,190,809 (n=213)	800,084 (n=157)	986,552 (n=137)	792,278 (n=158)	881,235 (n=163)	870,436 (n=158)	673,762 (n=154)
474,765 (n=226)	550,239 (n=272)	511,599 (n=254)	464,185 (n=331)	406,665 (n=302)	297,831 (n=290)	258,244 ^a (n=270)	290,554 (n=283)	356,515 (n=262)	391,509 (n=273)
578,375 (n=115)	645,941 (n=136)	501,843 (n=136)	515,773 (n=191)	299,476 (n=110)	254,891 (n=111)	252,200 (n=104)	347,124 (n=126)	390,778 (n=123)	300,913 (n=119)
369,320 (n=111)	454,536 (n=136)	522,843 (n=118)	393,803 (n=140)	468,074 (n=192)	324,458 (n=179)	256,984 (n=165)	245,151 (n=157)	323,864 (n=139)	461,515 (n=154)
1,572,360 (n=99)	1,726,412 (n=68)	1,213,836 (n=65)	1,045,858 (n=105)	990,631 (n=103)	776,610 (n=174)	1,032,221 (n=56)	1,120,714 (n=51)	986,291 (n=86)	874,152 (n=52)
1,501,667 (n=50)	1,551,370 (n=35)	1,165,961 (n=33)	1,037,506 (n=53)	945,450 (n=52)	854,431 (n=88)	1,044,653 (n=30)	1,047,447 (n=26)	962,588 (n=43)	847,828 (n=26)
1,646,061 (n=49)	1,912,060 (n=33)	1,263,207 (n=32)	1,054,373 (n=52)	1,036,699 (n=51)	696,979 (n=86)	1,017,875 (n=26)	1,217,483 (n=24)	1,009,995 (n=43)	900,478 (n=26)

1982	1980	1978	1976	1974
455,172,015	351,129,933	331,712,228	264,990,728	224,372,127
593,445 <i>(n=767)</i>	466,928 <i>(n=752)</i>	421,490 <i>(n=787)</i>	323,553 <i>(n=819)</i>	271,909 <i>(n=810)</i>
555,217 <i>(n=411)</i>	436,624 <i>(n=396)</i>	419,742 <i>(n=416)</i>	329,056 <i>(n=429)</i>	275,011 <i>(n=434)</i>
637,578 <i>(n=356)</i>	500,635 <i>(n=356)</i>	423,628 <i>(n=371)</i>	317,503 <i>(n=390)</i>	279,299 <i>(n=376)</i>
689,571 <i>(n=383)</i>	503,070 <i>(n=391)</i>	428,110 <i>(n=377)</i>	350,394 <i>(n=382)</i>	287,978 <i>(n=382)</i>
644,221 <i>(n=216)</i>	481,522 <i>(n=248)</i>	398,686 <i>(n=249)</i>	323,579 <i>(n=254)</i>	197,335 <i>(n=218)</i>
748,229 <i>(n=167)</i>	540,444 <i>(n=143)</i>	485,353 <i>(n=128)</i>	403,607 <i>(n=128)</i>	409,203 <i>(n=163)</i>
394,790 <i>(n=270)</i>	371,026 <i>(n=277)</i>	288,088 <i>(n=299)</i>	224,165 <i>(n=335)</i>	203,814 <i>(n=323)</i>
367,917 <i>(n=137)</i>	284,363 <i>(n=105)</i>	273,244 <i>(n=109)</i>	204,460 <i>(n=122)</i>	301,868 <i>(n=162)</i>
422,469 <i>(n=133)</i>	423,929 <i>(n=172)</i>	296,599 <i>(n=190)</i>	235,449 <i>(n=213)</i>	105,149 <i>(n=161)</i>
740,248 <i>(n=114)</i>	614,938 <i>(n=84)</i>	774,307 <i>(n=111)</i>	549,461 <i>(n=102)</i>	460,580 <i>(n=106)</i>
666,160 <i>(n=58)</i>	549,486 <i>(n=43)</i>	815,986 <i>(n=58)</i>	642,097 <i>(n=53)</i>	508,036 <i>(n=54)</i>
818,497 <i>(n=56)</i>	682,974 <i>(n=41)</i>	728,692 <i>(n=53)</i>	449,265 <i>(n=49)</i>	411,301 <i>(n=52)</i>

Note: The data include primary and general election expenditures for major party general-election candidates only.

a. Includes one or more Independents. Independents are included only if they are incumbents or highly competitive non-incumbents.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

Table 3-3

**House Campaign Expenditures: Incumbents and Challengers, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1974-2018 (full cycle)
Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars**

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000
Incumbent won with 60% or more										
Incumbents	1,492,756 (n=237)	1,311,899 (n=294)	1,306,651 (n=296)	1,423,709 (n= 256)	1,341,222 (n= 251)	1,300,114 (n=305)	1,214,490 (n=300)	1,155,661 ^a (n=343)	1,075,841 ^a (n=336)	954,975 ^a (n=326)
Democrats	1,252,637 (n=147)	1,146,897 (n=140)	1,080,126 (n=118)	1,346,297 (n= 128)	1,346,415 (n= 109)	1,267,267 (n=197)	1,137,812 (n=180)	1,110,330 (n=166)	1,045,739 (n=159)	882,975 (n=167)
Republicans	1,437,859 (n=90)	1,461,900 (n=154)	1,456,819 (n=178)	1,501,121 (n= 128)	1,337,237 (n= 142)	1,360,030 (n=108)	1,329,507 (n=120)	1,198,863 (n=176)	1,103,880 (n=176)	1,035,326 (n=157)
Challengers	191,167 (n=159)	136,449 (n=163)	206,877 (n=182)	168,653 (n= 171)	196,840 (n=185)	283,494 (n=191)	183,189 (n=188)	244,822 (n=230)	272,566 (n=179)	222,728 (n=198)
Democrats	243,291 (n=89)	166,302 (n=94)	268,040 (n=122)	115,770 (n=83)	187,840 (n= 98)	252,985 (n=84)	143,835 (n=99)	218,901 (n=126)	309,173 (n=95)	243,498 (n=96)
Republicans	116,813 (n=70)	95,780 (n=69)	82,512 (n=60)	218,531 (n= 88)	206,979 (n= 87)	307,445 (n=107)	226,964 (n=89)	276,226 (n=104)	203,852 (n=86)	203,181 (n=102)
Incumbent won with <60%										
Incumbents	2,529,904 (n=103)	2,350,437 (n=85)	2,136,134 (n=77)	2,467,440 (n= 100) ^b	2,360,895 (n= 87)	2,289,015 (n=75)	2,380,086 (n=80)	2,505,622 (n=51)	2,062,430 (n=46)	2,110,629 (n=68)
Democrats	2,256,004 (n=26)	1,736,446 (n=27)	2,087,404 (n=53)	2,221,187 (n= 28)	2,225,508 (n= 74)	2,630,924 (n=27)	2,654,738 (n=11)	2,105,015 (n=19)	1,693,355 (n=26)	2,136,836 (n=32)
Republicans	2,622,389 (n=77)	2,636,260 (n=58)	2,243,746 (n=24)	2,563,206 (n= 72)	3,131,560 (n= 13)	2,096,692 (n=48)	2,336,300 (n=69)	2,743,482 (n=32)	2,542,227 (n=20)	2,087,332 (n=36)
Challengers	1,810,562 (n=101)	844,805 (n=79)	1,010,653 (n=76)	1,015,825 (n= 95) ^b	1,318,702 (n= 87)	1,284,620 (n=75)	1,251,818 (n=79)	1,105,619 (n=49)	1,186,936 (n=43)	1,271,959 (n=68)
Democrats	2,201,022 (n=75)	1,019,468 (n= 53)	1,248,870 (n=25)	829,738 (n= 69)	1,920,719 (n= 13)	1,179,882 (n=48)	1,089,837 (n=69)	1,119,738 (n=30)	1,684,982 (n=18)	1,358,734 (n=36)
Republicans	633,869 (n=25)	488,760 (n=26)	893,880 (n=51)	1,509,675 (n= 26)	1,212,943 (n= 74)	1,470,824 (n=27)	2,369,486 (n=10)	1,083,326 (n=19)	828,343 (n=25)	1,174,336 (n=32)
Incumbent was defeated										
Incumbents	4,277,036 (n=31)	3,015,348 (n=8)	3,145,287 (n=13)	3,401,038 (n= 32) ^b	2,922,635 (n= 55)	2,748,239 (n=19)	3,496,954 (n=22)	3,292,771 (n=7) ^b	2,580,245 (n=8) ^b	3,688,693 (n=6)
Democrats	8,882,454 (n=1)	2,882,203 (n=2)	3,133,132 (n=11)	2,756,567 (n= 12)	2,959,385 (n= 53)	2,305,372 (n=5)	#VALUE! (n=0)	3,435,619 (n=5)	2,502,723 (n=5)	1,943,570 (n=2)
Republicans	4,053,114 (n=30)	3,059,731 (n=6)	3,212,138 (n=2)	3,787,720 (n= 20)	1,948,754 (n= 2)	2,906,406 (n=14)	3,496,954 (n=22)	2,935,652 (n=2)	2,709,449 (n=3)	4,561,255 (n=4)
Challengers	5,647,403 (n=29)	2,862,113 (n=8)	2,227,675 (n=13)	2,709,518 (n= 22) ^b	1,982,114 (n= 55)	2,319,565 (n=19)	2,287,358 (n=22)	2,220,298 (n=5)	2,237,806 (n=4)	2,887,577 (n=6)
Democrats	5,647,403 (n=29)	3,034,981 (n=7)	2,595,995 (n=2)	2,874,706 (n= 18)	2,027,818 (n= 2)	2,552,735 (n=14)	2,287,358 (n=22)	2,296,314 (n=2)	2,759,914 (n=2)	3,615,468 (n=4)
Republicans	NA (n=0)	1,652,035 (n=1)	2,160,709 (n=11)	1,966,171 (n= 4)	1,980,389 (n= 53)	1,666,694 (n=5)	NA (n=0)	2,169,621 (n=3)	1,715,697 (n=2)	1,431,797 (n=2)

1998	1996	1994	1992	1990	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978	1976	1974
827,935 ^a (n=309)	835,336 ^a (n=262)	764,866 (n=263)	870,588 ^a (n=234)	687,418 (n=313)	732,386 (n=359)	668,724 (n=330)	562,762 (n=318)	520,871 (n=264)	383,706 (n=284)	357,003 (n=287)	280,799 (n=272)	208,449 (n=251)
690,142 (n=144)	758,697 (n=124)	761,979 (n=120)	876,011 (n=138)	705,843 (n=197)	714,490 (n=220)	672,408 (n=209)	530,505 (n=183)	537,785 (n=178)	358,903 (n=170)	328,996 (n=184)	251,270 (n=185)	179,014 (n=194)
948,998 (n=164)	899,790 (n=137)	767,289 (n=143)	861,020 (n=95)	656,129 (n=116)	760,710 (n=139)	662,361 (n=121)	606,487 (n=135)	485,865 (n=86)	420,696 (n=114)	407,036 (n=103)	343,584 (n=87)	308,627 (n=57)
205,119 (n=161)	167,149 (n=212)	193,063 (n=183)	155,221 (n=187)	115,807 (n=180)	167,688 (n=234)	211,782 (n=202)	173,822 (n=184)	214,346 (n=163)	144,828 (n=170)	131,454 (n=209)	112,499 (n=225)	83,390 (n=193)
173,138 (n=89)	156,723 (n=115)	224,671 (n=96)	136,063 (n=76)	82,723 (n=65)	185,435 (n=102)	166,723 (n=85)	178,445 (n=99)	95,311 (n=62)	134,452 (n=75)	138,802 (n=84)	117,416 (n=81)	131,874 (n=56)
244,654 (n=72)	179,507 (n=96)	158,184 (n=87)	168,338 (n=111)	134,505 (n=115)	153,976 (n=132)	244,518 (n=117)	168,435 (n=85)	287,417 (n=101)	153,020 (n=95)	126,516 (n=125)	109,732 (n=144)	63,571 (n=137)
1,586,211 (n=85)	1,588,525 (n=99)	1,217,395 ^a (n=85)	1,394,698 (n=91)	1,166,746 (n=77)	1,485,859 (n=44)	1,799,660 (n=52)	1,057,965 (n=74)	1,026,408 (n=90)	798,121 (n=76)	623,362 (n=71)	502,827 (n=98)	408,861 (n=90)
1,621,837 (n=44)	1,471,701 (n=41)	1,236,514 (n=70)	1,483,656 (n=57)	1,208,739 (n=44)	1,463,086 (n=23)	2,149,930 (n=20)	1,019,494 (n=58)	1,161,967 (n=35)	680,625 (n=50)	558,694 (n=51)	527,104 (n=62)	348,967 (n=20)
1,547,979 (n=41)	1,671,107 (n=58)	1,135,065 (n=14)	1,245,562 (n=34)	1,110,756 (n=33)	1,510,802 (n=21)	1,580,744 (n=32)	1,197,423 (n=16)	940,142 (n=55)	1,024,072 (n=26)	788,268 (n=20)	461,017 (n=36)	425,975 (n=70)
993,307 (n=86)	834,290 (n=98)	555,799 (n=85)	502,146 (n=84)	477,587 (n=75)	826,204 (n=44)	767,402 (n=46)	744,229 (n=72)	610,958 (n=84)	601,861 (n=76)	602,518 (n=71)	429,494 (n=98)	325,273 (n=90)
1,036,357 (n=42)	861,265 (n=58)	812,429 (n=14)	488,749 (n=29)	410,968 (n=31)	936,782 (n=21)	810,918 (n=28)	934,870 (n=16)	474,194 (n=53)	594,657 (n=26)	721,316 (n=20)	340,142 (n=36)	321,570 (n=70)
952,213 (n=44)	795,175 (n=40)	505,196 (n=71)	509,210 (n=55)	524,525 (n=44)	725,241 (n=23)	699,711 (n=18)	689,761 (n=56)	844,779 (n=31)	605,607 (n=50)	555,929 (n=51)	481,380 (n=62)	338,230 (n=20)
2,071,406 (n=6)	1,755,117 (n=21)	1,679,116 (n=34)	1,589,695 (n=24) ^b	1,280,794 (n=15)	2,029,405 (n=5)	1,334,916 (n=6)	1,119,154 (n=16)	1,179,966 (n=29)	873,264 (n=31)	772,605 (n=19)	683,038 (n=12)	514,958 (n=40)
1,315,966 (n=1)	1,136,953 (n=3)	1,679,116 (n=34)	1,696,315 (n=16)	1,132,973 (n=6)	1,985,707 (n=2)	1,209,944 (n=1)	1,167,814 (n=13)	919,080 (n=3)	870,451 (n=28)	731,730 (n=14)	431,931 (n=7)	326,954 (n=4)
2,222,494 (n=5)	1,873,303 (n=18)	NA (n=0)	1,376,457 (n=8)	1,379,342 (n=9)	2,058,538 (n=3)	1,359,909 (n=5)	908,297 (n=3)	1,210,068 (n=26)	899,505 (n=3)	887,051 (n=5)	1,034,592 (n=5)	535,846 (n=36)
1,770,041 (n=6)	1,741,705 (n=21)	1,183,505 (n=34)	798,119 (n=19)	870,788 ^a (n=15)	1,326,898 (n=5)	1,042,623 (n=11)	1,246,163 (n=16)	770,945 (n=23)	1,045,547 (n=31)	836,059 (n=19)	638,668 (n=12)	511,560 (n=40)
1,862,870 (n=5)	1,704,218 (n=18)	NA (n=0)	629,731 (n=6)	1,013,982 (n=8)	1,717,012 (n=3)	1,156,268 (n=9)	602,903 (n=3)	761,859 (n=22)	1,078,343 (n=4)	739,599 (n=5)	637,657 (n=5)	527,992 (n=36)
1,305,898 (n=1)	1,971,110 (n=3)	1,183,505 (n=34)	875,837 (n=13)	642,550 (n=6)	741,727 (n=2)	531,229 (n=2)	1,394,608 (n=13)	970,842 (n=1)	1,040,689 (n=27)	870,509 (n=14)	639,387 (n=7)	363,693 (n=4)

Note: The data include primary and general election expenditures for major party general-election candidates only.

a. Includes one or more Independents. Independents are included only if they are incumbents or winning non-incumbents.

b. The N for incumbents in "Incumbent was defeated" is greater than that of challengers because some races were incumbent v. incumbent races.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

Table 3-4

House Campaign Expenditures: Open House Seats, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1984-2018 (full cycle)
Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000	1998	1996
All Winners	2,638,797 (n=66)	1,753,612 (n=46)	1,968,515 (n=49)	1,661,827 (n=62)	1,610,916 (n=42)	2,224,441 (n=36)	2,348,736 (n=33)	1,998,911 (n=36)	1,801,219 (n=49)	1,990,099 (n=36)	1,531,257 (n=34)	1,229,238 (n=53)
Democrats	3,501,670 (n=33)	1,723,368 (n=18)	1,759,498 (n=15)	1,947,847 (n=31)	1,479,962 (n=7)	2,536,768 (n=19)	2,198,470 (n=20)	1,935,353 (n=15)	1,726,816 (n=18)	1,900,132 (n=10)	1,463,022 (n=18)	1,199,113 (n=24)
Republicans	1,775,925 (n=33)	1,773,055 (n=28)	2,060,729 (n=34)	1,375,808 (n=31)	1,637,106 (n=35)	1,875,370 (n=17)	2,579,913 (n=13)	2,044,309 (n=21)	1,844,421 (n=31)	2,024,701 (n=26)	1,608,021 (n=16)	1,254,169 (n=29)
Winners with 60% or more	1,539,907 (n=29)	1,642,458 (n=25)	1,540,208 (n=25)	1,571,718 (n=33)	1,350,900 (n=26)	2,060,870 (n=11)	1,457,994 (n=15)	1,719,968 (n=20)	1,596,472 (n=24)	1,570,154 (n=14)	1,162,887 (n=11)	1,042,238 (n=18)
Democrats	1,481,138 (n=15)	1,242,794 (n=9)	1,395,544 (n=10)	1,775,554 (n=19)	967,658 (n=4)	2,573,062 (n=6)	1,515,464 (n=11)	1,271,843 (n=8)	1,813,731 (n=8)	1,412,169 (n=4)	1,013,275 (n=8)	949,727 (n=8)
Republicans	1,602,874 (n=14)	1,867,269 (n=16)	1,636,649 (n=15)	1,295,083 (n=14)	1,420,580 (n=22)	1,446,239 (n=5)	1,299,952 (n=4)	2,018,717 (n=12)	1,487,843 (n=16)	1,633,348 (n=10)	1,561,853 (n=3)	1,116,248 (n=10)
Winners with <60%	3,500,090 (n=37)	1,885,939 (n=21)	2,414,669 (n=24)	1,764,366 (n=29)	1,969,683 (n=16)	2,296,412 (n=25)	3,091,020 (n=18)	2,347,590 (n=16)	1,997,777 (n=25)	2,257,335 (n=22)	1,707,434 (n=23)	1,325,410 (n=35)
Democrats	5,185,446 (n=18)	2,203,943 (n=9)	2,487,407 (n=5)	2,220,642 (n=12)	2,122,356 (n=3)	2,520,017 (n=13)	3,033,257 (n=9)	2,693,651 (n=7)	1,657,285 (n=10)	2,225,439 (n=6)	1,822,820 (n=10)	1,323,806 (n=16)
Republicans	1,903,436 (n=19)	1,647,436 (n=12)	2,395,527 (n=19)	1,442,288 (n=17)	1,934,451 (n=13)	2,054,175 (n=12)	3,148,783 (n=9)	2,078,432 (n=9)	2,224,772 (n=15)	2,269,297 (n=16)	1,618,676 (n=13)	1,326,759 (n=19)
All losers	1,435,814 (n=62)	1,399,087 (n=36)	866,155 (n=45)	667,483 (n=56)	1,004,746 (n=39)	1,423,234 (n=35)	1,402,664 (n=31)	1,038,652 (n=31)	1,333,762 (n=47)	1,429,763 (n=32)	865,695 (n=31)	858,954 (n=52)
Democrats	1,813,361 (n=31)	1,665,428 (n=24)	879,293 (n=31)	474,737 (n=27)	1,049,748 (n=34)	1,223,871 (n=17)	1,606,978 (n=13)	891,071 (n=17)	1,370,935 (n=31)	1,411,866 (n=25)	809,486 (n=15)	903,763 (n=29)
Republicans	1,058,267 (n=31)	866,403 (n=12)	837,060 (n=14)	846,935 (n=29)	799,416 (n=5)	1,611,522 (n=18)	1,255,105 (n=18)	1,217,856 (n=14)	1,261,738 (n=16)	1,493,681 (n=7)	918,392 (n=16)	802,456 (n=23)
Losers with >40%	2,199,357 (n=37)	2,325,430 (n=20)	1,300,476 (n=24)	1,180,760 (n=27)	1,643,237 (n=16)	1,808,696 (n=25)	2,097,831 (n=18)	1,825,772 (n=16)	1,705,032 (n=25)	2,144,148 (n=20)	1,174,036 (n=22)	1,043,995 (n=35)
Democrats	2,795,320 (n=19)	3,057,391 (n=12)	1,339,971 (n=17)	799,478 (n=14)	1,720,252 (n=13)	1,634,376 (n=12)	2,232,717 (n=9)	1,413,281 (n=9)	1,564,910 (n=15)	2,254,260 (n=15)	955,575 (n=12)	1,051,959 (n=19)
Republicans	1,570,284 (n=18)	1,227,489 (n=8)	1,204,559 (n=7)	1,591,371 (n=13)	1,309,502 (n=3)	1,969,608 (n=13)	1,962,944 (n=9)	2,356,119 (n=7)	1,915,215 (n=10)	1,813,809 (n=5)	1,436,192 (n=10)	1,034,538 (n=16)
Losers with 40% or less	305,770 (n=25)	241,157 (n=16)	369,786 (n=21)	189,604 (n=29)	582,467 (n=23)	459,579 (n=10)	440,126 (n=13)	199,056 (n=15)	872,872 (n=22)	239,123 (n=12)	111,974 (n=9)	477,984 (n=17)
Democrats	258,591 (n=12)	273,465 (n=12)	319,899 (n=14)	125,015 (n=13)	634,675 (n=21)	238,658 (n=5)	199,061 (n=4)	303,585 (n=8)	1,189,083 (n=16)	148,276 (n=10)	225,129 (n=3)	622,188 (n=10)
Republicans	349,319 (n=13)	144,231 (n=4)	469,561 (n=7)	242,082 (n=16)	34,286 (n=2)	680,499 (n=5)	547,266 (n=9)	79,594 (n=7)	172,611 (n=6)	693,360 (n=2)	55,396 (n=6)	271,978 (n=7)

1994	1992	1990	1988	1986	1984
1,020,032 (n=52)	960,968 (n=91)	1,188,685 (n=30)	1,287,234 (n=27)	1,199,996 (n=46)	1,065,602 (n=26)
1,146,141 (n=14)	904,826 (n=57)	1,129,317 (n=18)	1,170,152 (n=13)	1,181,234 (n=22)	1,035,402 (n=8)
973,570 (n=38)	1,055,088 (n=34)	1,277,741 (n=12)	1,395,955 (n=14)	1,217,195 (n=24)	1,079,028 (n=18)
1,047,386 (n=21)	923,628 (n=44)	1,187,623 (n=14)	1,154,572 (n=11)	1,244,955 (n=19)	901,445 (n=8)
995,133 (n=3)	707,311 (n=33)	1,006,211 (n=9)	831,826 (n=7)	1,231,597 (n=7)	702,551 (n=3)
1,056,095 (n=18)	1,572,585 (n=11)	1,514,166 (n=5)	1,719,378 (n=4)	1,252,747 (n=12)	1,020,780 (n=5)
1,001,500 (n=31)	995,925 (n=47)	1,189,615 (n=16)	1,378,439 (n=16)	1,168,358 (n=27)	1,138,561 (n=18)
1,187,324 (n=11)	1,176,414 (n=24)	1,252,423 (n=9)	1,564,866 (n=6)	1,157,732 (n=15)	1,235,111 (n=5)
899,299 (n=20)	807,589 (n=23)	1,108,865 (n=7)	1,266,585 (n=10)	1,181,644 (n=12)	1,101,429 (n=13)
960,655 (n=51)	574,516 (n=83)	851,683 (n=26)	933,379 (n=24)	741,678 (n=40)	682,702 (n=26)
871,511 (n=38)	761,765 (n=31)	917,661 (n=12)	924,745 (n=13)	733,528 (n=21)	764,460 (n=18)
1,221,229 (n=13)	462,830 (n=52)	795,131 (n=14)	967,622 (n=10)	748,271 (n=19)	498,741 (n=8)
1,157,696 (n=31)	804,806 (n=47)	894,854 (n=16)	1,199,672 (n=16)	827,045 (n=23)	853,041 (n=18)
1,010,458 (n=20)	844,840 (n=23)	836,444 (n=8)	1,073,220 (n=9)	674,419 (n=10)	950,441 (n=13)
1,425,402 (n=11)	766,440 (n=24)	953,261 (n=8)	1,472,096 (n=6)	944,446 (n=13)	599,805 (n=5)
655,242 (n=20)	273,778 (n=36)	782,612 (n=10)	400,793 (n=8)	444,006 (n=15)	299,434 (n=8)
717,127 (n=18)	522,927 (n=8)	1,080,092 (n=4)	590,677 (n=4)	524,527 (n=9)	280,911 (n=5)
98,282 (n=2)	202,593 (n=28)	584,294 (n=6)	210,911 (n=4)	323,225 (n=6)	330,301 (n=3)

Note: The data include primary and general election expenditures for major party general-election candidates only.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

Table 3-5

Senate Campaign Expenditures: Major Party General Election Candidates, 1974-2018 (full cycle, net dollars)
Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000	1998	1996
All candidates												
Total expenditures	886,554,685	580,219,675	589,455,572	642,583,910	654,315,300 ^c	454,095,806	641,390,929 ^a	488,541,560	392,963,316	560,821,914	383,877,318	368,770,395
Mean expenditure	12,833,433 ^a (n=69)	8,659,995 (n=67)	8,302,191 ^a (n=71)	10,199,745 (n=63)	9,215,708 (n=71)	6,880,239 (n=66)	9,867,552 (n=65)	7,184,434 (n=68)	6,338,118 (n=62)	8,497,302 (n=66)	5,816,324 (n=66)	5,673,383 (n=65)
Mean, Democrats	15,426,274 (n=34)	8,825,692 (n=34)	9,144,410 (n=34)	11,822,332 (n=28)	8,214,157 (n=32)	6,843,639 (n=34)	10,724,206 (n=31)	7,477,812 (n=34)	6,424,668 (n=30)	8,888,561 (n=33)	5,363,727 (n=34)	5,418,892 (n=32)
Mean, Republicans	10,635,921 (n=33)	8,489,277 (n=33)	7,569,365 (n=36)	9,257,574 (n=33)	9,889,235 (n=38)	6,919,128 (n=32)	8,763,122 (n=32)	6,891,058 (n=34)	6,256,977 (n=32)	8,106,043 (n=33)	6,297,206 (n=32)	5,920,162 (n=33)
Incumbents												
Mean, all incumbents	13,887,581 ^a (n=32)	10,615,841 (n=29)	11,559,361 (n=27)	11,703,639 ^a (n=22)	10,962,488 (n=23)	9,042,669 (n=30)	11,740,965 (n=29)	8,729,307 (n=26)	6,331,052 (n=27)	6,606,787 (n=29)	7,284,628 (n=29)	6,775,094 (n=20)
Mean, Democrats	15,005,053 (n=24)	9,278,642 (n=7)	14,062,065 (n=16)	12,327,424 (n=15)	14,510,914 (n=12)	7,404,951 (n=12)	11,907,689 (n=14)	9,860,925 (n=14)	8,573,648 (n=12)	5,356,038 (n=11)	7,025,945 (n=15)	8,334,387 (n=7)
Mean, Republicans	12,375,521 (n=6)	11,041,314 (n=22)	8,222,422 (n=12)	11,611,532 (n=6)	7,091,478 (n=11)	10,134,480 (n=18)	10,909,885 (n=14)	7,409,088 (n=12)	4,536,974 (n=15)	7,371,135 (n=18)	7,561,788 (n=14)	5,935,475 (n=13)
Challengers												
Mean, all challengers	11,392,015 (n=31)	6,021,631 (n=28)	5,328,791 (n=27)	7,903,208 (n=19)	6,057,329 (n=20)	4,423,059 (n=26)	7,049,633 (n=28)	3,223,711 (n=26)	4,027,392 (n=21)	4,598,472 (n=27)	4,843,814 (n=27)	4,977,216 (n=17)
Mean, Democrats	17,031,018 (n=7)	7,742,113 (n=21)	3,743,171 (n=10)	19,780,440 (n=3)	2,065,435 (n=7)	5,952,219 (n=17)	8,880,532 (n=14)	2,066,589 (n=12)	3,045,871 (n=11)	4,785,404 (n=17)	4,028,654 (n=14)	4,673,367 (n=11)
Mean, Republicans	9,747,306 (n=24)	860,181 (n=7)	6,274,823 (n=16)	5,676,227 (n=16)	8,206,810 (n=13)	1,534,648 (n=9)	5,218,736 ^b (n=14)	4,215,530 (n=14)	5,107,065 (n=10)	4,280,689 (n=10)	5,721,678 (n=13)	5,534,272 (n=6)
Open seats												
Mean, all Open	14,658,639 (n=6)	10,375,462 (n=10)	7,619,757 (n=16)	10,679,223 ^a (n=22)	10,036,840 (n=28)	6,781,621 (n=10)	12,939,150 ^a (n=8)	11,110,191 (n=16)	9,817,835 (n=14)	24,506,632 (n=10)	4,184,014 (n=10)	5,309,119 (n=28)
Mean, Democrats	15,051,638 (n=3)	12,089,775 (n=6)	6,060,648 (n=8)	8,677,263 (n=10)	5,712,617 (n=13)	8,527,315 (n=5)	13,805,097 (n=3)	11,424,196 (n=8)	8,050,241 (n=7)	30,610,842 (n=5)	4,115,283 (n=5)	4,546,912 (n=14)
Mean, Republicans	14,265,641 (n=3)	7,803,992 (n=4)	9,178,867 (n=8)	13,182,829 (n=11)	13,649,723 (n=14)	5,035,926 (n=5)	13,654,806 (n=4)	10,796,187 (n=8)	11,585,429 (n=7)	18,402,420 (n=5)	4,252,744 (n=5)	6,071,324 (n=14)

1994	1992	1990	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978	1976	1974
473,550,544	347,794,898	333,087,157	392,040,010	420,266,259	343,096,451	296,739,202	226,007,481	249,164,040	168,178,781	144,838,864
6,765,007 (n=70)	5,040,505 (n=69)	4,971,450 (n=67)	5,940,001 (n=66)	6,272,630 (n=67)	5,624,531 (n=61)	4,636,541 (n=64)	3,373,245 (n=67)	3,664,179 (n=68)	2,628,013 (n=64)	2,228,292 (n=65)
5,752,026 (n=35)	5,035,923 (n=35)	4,736,422 (n=34)	6,219,950 (n=33)	5,178,887 (n=33)	5,221,858 (n=31)	4,895,621 (n=32)	3,567,243 (n=34)	2,937,917 (n=35)	2,515,051 (n=33)	2,484,457 (n=34)
7,777,988 (n=35)	5,045,225 (n=34)	5,213,600 (n=33)	5,660,052 (n=33)	7,334,205 (n=34)	6,040,627 (n=30)	4,377,464 (n=32)	3,173,371 (n=33)	4,434,453 (n=33)	2,721,289 (n=30)	1,947,444 (n=31)
13,000,557 (n=26)	6,637,343 (n=27)	6,874,184 (n=32)	7,955,893 (n=27)	7,731,626 (n=28)	6,138,537 (n=28)	4,835,150 (n=29)	3,966,796 (n=25)	5,168,267 (n=22)	2,752,949 (n=25)	2,830,501 (n=25)
8,731,133 (n=16)	5,100,794 (n=15)	6,948,970 (n=17)	7,338,234 (n=15)	6,215,347 (n=9)	4,241,519 (n=12)	4,413,826 (n=18)	4,131,259 (n=19)	2,380,937 (n=11)	2,220,293 (n=17)	2,677,962 (n=15)
6,615,480 (n=10)	8,558,029 (n=12)	6,789,426 (n=15)	8,727,966 (n=12)	8,449,863 (n=19)	7,561,298 (n=16)	5,524,586 (n=11)	3,445,993 (n=6)	7,955,601 (n=11)	3,933,607 (n=7)	3,059,308 (n=10)
6,772,452 (n=26)	3,266,347 (n=26)	3,264,673 (n=29)	3,857,158 (n=27)	4,351,797 (n=27)	3,000,315 (n=25)	3,166,899 (n=29)	2,567,590 (n=24)	2,687,330 (n=21)	1,995,948 (n=23)	1,693,974 (n=22)
2,077,695 (n=10)	4,565,251 (n=12)	2,680,161 (n=14)	4,572,743 (n=12)	4,379,922 (n=18)	3,662,469 (n=15)	3,944,891 (n=11)	1,697,428 (n=6)	3,197,694 (n=11)	2,848,414 (n=8)	1,987,958 (n=10)
9,664,315 (n=16)	2,151,384 (n=14)	3,810,221 (n=15)	3,284,692 (n=15)	4,295,543 (n=9)	2,007,082 (n=10)	2,691,461 (n=18)	2,857,643 (n=18)	2,125,933 (n=10)	1,541,298 (n=15)	1,448,984 (n=12)
5,089,661 (n=18)	5,230,267 (n=16)	3,072,956 (n=6)	6,090,635 (n=12)	7,190,188 (n=12)	12,026,191 (n=8)	10,779,873 (n=6)	3,451,380 (n=18)	3,161,125 (n=25)	3,340,522 (n=16)	2,044,938 (n=18)
4,463,122 (n=9)	5,620,295 (n=8)	1,794,533 (n=3)	6,718,651 (n=6)	6,021,090 (n=6)	14,010,589 (n=4)	11,272,386 (n=3)	3,623,081 (n=9)	3,189,394 (n=13)	2,808,051 (n=8)	2,713,234 (n=9)
5,716,198 (n=9)	4,840,237 (n=8)	4,351,379 (n=3)	5,462,619 (n=6)	8,359,286 (n=6)	10,041,793 (n=4)	10,287,359 (n=3)	3,279,683 (n=9)	3,130,499 (n=12)	3,872,988 (n=8)	1,376,642 (n=9)

Note: The data include primary and general election expenditures for major party general-election candidates only.

a. Includes one or more Independents.

b. Alan Schlesinger (CT-Rep) is not included in the data. He raised \$221,019 and was third in the voting.

c. 2010 data includes Charlie Crist (FL) who started as a Republican and finished second as an Independent in the Florida Senate race. 2010 does not include Democrats McAdams (AK) and Meek (FL) who finished third in their respective races.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

Table 3-6

Senate Campaign Expenditures: Incumbents and Challengers, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1980-2018 (full cycle)
Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000	1998	1996	1994
Incumbent won with 60% or more													
Incumbents	6,555,575 ^a (n=15)	7,616,465 (n=18)	6,809,850 (n=13)	7,783,931 ^a (n=12)	8,299,287 (n=13)	5,840,019 (n=17)	8,322,390 (n=17)	6,261,655 (n=18)	4,588,537 (n=16)	4,989,950 (n=20)	4,068,123 (n=19)	3,870,554 (n=6)	6,117,615 (n=10)
Democrats	7,495,235 (n=9)	8,192,918 (n=6)	9,269,425 (n=3)	8,845,329 (n=8)	9,783,709 (n=5)	6,774,470 (n=10)	10,789,054 (n=11)	7,632,883 (n=10)	6,671,306 (n=6)	4,898,552 (n=10)	4,823,941 (n=9)	3,628,090 (n=2)	2,941,049 (n=3)
Republicans	5,212,081 (n=4)	7,328,239 (n=12)	6,071,978 (n=10)	6,581,680 (n=3)	7,371,523 (n=8)	4,505,088 (n=7)	3,800,173 (n=6)	4,547,621 (n=8)	3,338,875 (n=10)	5,081,348 (n=10)	3,387,888 (n=10)	3,991,787 (n=4)	7,479,000 (n=7)
Challengers	1,555,852 (n=16)	1,097,013 (n=17)	1,498,345 (n=12)	1,543,595 (n=10)	1,670,405 (n=10)	1,352,755 (n=13)	2,809,796 (n=16)	1,331,452 (n=18)	1,185,804 (n=10)	1,114,917 (n=18)	689,917 (n=17)	1,219,530 (n=3)	1,698,286 (n=10)
Democrats	2,259,866 (n=5)	1,532,677 (n=11)	1,939,859 (n=9)	460,206 (n=8)	2,153,332 (n=5)	1,852,345 (n=6)	496,813 (n=5)	281,576 (n=8)	1,269,972 (n=6)	708,727 (n=9)	450,988 (n=10)	767,870 (n=2)	2,313,931 (n=7)
Republicans	1,235,845 (n=11)	298,296 (n=6)	173,805 (n=3)	1,663,972 (n=9)	1,187,477 (n=5)	924,534 (n=7)	3,861,154 (n=11)	2,171,352 (n=10)	1,059,550 (n=4)	1,521,105 (n=9)	1,031,243 (n=7)	2,122,850 (n=1)	261,782 (n=3)
Incumbent won with <60%													
Incumbents	16,867,656 (n=14)	15,159,342 (n=10)	13,431,280 (n=12)	13,969,949 (n=9)	14,131,322 ^c (n=8)	12,762,782 (n=8)	15,668,655 ^a (n=6)	12,528,425 (n=7)	7,571,079 (n=8)	8,367,756 (n=3)	10,181,939 (n=7)	8,086,705 (n=13)	9,000,612 (n=14)
Democrats	15,943,378 (n=12)	15,792,981 (n=1)	13,485,591 (n=8)	16,306,960 (n=7)	18,803,302 (n=5)	10,557,355 (n=2)	16,009,353 (n=3)	11,723,630 (n=3)	8,242,767 (n=4)	0 (n=0)	10,198,059 (n=5)	10,216,907 (n=5)	10,200,786 (n=11)
Republicans	22,413,325 (n=2)	15,088,936 (n=9)	13,322,659 (n=4)	5,790,411 (n=2)	6,344,690 (n=3)	13,497,923 (n=6)	12,470,966 (n=2)	13,132,020 (n=4)	6,899,391 (n=4)	8,367,756 (n=3)	10,141,637 (n=2)	6,755,329 (n=8)	4,600,599 (n=3)
Challengers	13,411,077 (n=14)	13,053,341 (n=10)	5,293,145 ^a (n=12)	11,069,761 (n=8)	10,401,110 (n=8)	5,004,919 (n=8)	12,900,136 ^b (n=6)	5,766,061 (n=7)	3,587,355 (n=8)	4,021,209 (n=3)	7,598,638 (n=7)	5,859,071 (n=13)	9,397,625 (n=14)
Democrats	29,806,627 (n=3)	14,033,547 (n=9)	6,868,727 (n=3)	12,714,192 (n=1)	1,845,692 (n=2)	5,449,876 (n=6)	15,603,732 (n=3)	5,636,618 (n=4)	3,443,231 (n=4)	4,021,209 (n=3)	6,630,608 (n=2)	5,635,641 (n=8)	1,752,396 (n=3)
Republicans	8,939,564 (n=11)	4,231,491 (n=1)	4,607,884 (n=8)	10,834,841 (n=7)	13,252,917 (n=6)	3,670,049 (n=2)	10,196,540 (n=3)	5,938,651 (n=3)	3,731,479 (n=4)	0 (n=0)	7,985,851 (n=5)	6,216,556 (n=5)	11,482,688 (n=11)
Incumbent was defeated													
Incumbents	24,839,758 (n=5)	19,169,618 (n=1)	17,860,009 (n=5)	38,343,328 (n=1)	15,597,956 (n=2)	13,979,498 (n=5)	17,499,238 (n=6)	26,553,229 (n=1)	12,317,725 (n=3)	11,115,765 (n=6)	20,895,431 (n=3)	7,151,403 (n=1)	9,334,088 (n=2)
Democrats	27,532,156 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	17,860,009 (n=5)	0 (n=0)	15,597,956 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	NA (n=0)	26,553,229 (n=1)	14,942,440 (n=2)	9,930,906 (n=1)	10,983,408 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	9,334,088 (n=2)
Republicans	14,070,168 (n=1)	19,169,618 (n=1)	#VALUE! (n=0)	38,343,328 (n=1)	0 (n=0)	13,979,498 (n=5)	17,499,238 (n=6)	NA (n=0)	7,068,296 (n=1)	11,352,736 (n=5)	25,851,443 (n=2)	7,151,403 (n=1)	NA (n=0)
Challengers	30,685,592 (n=5)	19,423,018 (n=1)	12,602,534 (n=5)	46,166,919 (n=1)	10,616,824 (n=2)	11,474,878 (n=5)	12,505,364 (n=6)	19,487,933 (n=1)	6,558,010 (n=3)	15,337,775 (n=6)	21,954,638 (n=3)	4,786,163 (n=1)	13,767,063 (n=2)
Democrats	26,079,221 (n=1)	19,423,018 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	46,166,919 (n=1)	0 (n=0)	11,474,878 (n=5)	12,505,364 (n=6)	NA (n=0)	5,065,441 (n=1)	12,581,938 (n=5)	19,315,027 (n=2)	4,786,163 (n=1)	NA (n=0)
Republicans	31,837,185 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	12,602,534 (n=5)	0 (n=0)	10,616,824 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	NA (n=0)	19,487,933 (n=1)	7,304,295 (n=2)	29,116,952 (n=1)	27,233,861 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	13,767,063 (n=2)

1992	1990	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978	1976	1974
4,824,591 (n=13)	4,447,090 (n=19)	5,801,883 (n=15)	4,497,794 (n=14)	3,896,272 (n=18)	3,889,109 (n=13)	3,542,270 (n=10)	1,756,447 (n=7)	1,502,061 (n=11)	2,277,963 (n=11)
4,763,332 (n=9)	4,686,700 (n=10)	4,924,992 (n=10)	3,831,173 (n=8)	3,917,339 (n=7)	3,647,671 (n=12)	3,719,724 (n=6)	2,153,073 (n=4)	1,502,061 (n=11)	2,277,963 (n=11)
4,962,420 (n=4)	4,180,857 (n=9)	7,555,670 (n=5)	5,386,619 (n=6)	3,882,863 (n=11)	6,786,350 (n=1)	3,276,087 (n=4)	1,227,609 (n=3)	0 0	0 0
1,255,431 (n=12)	1,622,197 (n=16)	1,234,296 (n=15)	1,034,833 (n=13)	928,692 (n=15)	2,024,027 (n=13)	922,794 (n=9)	182,345 (n=6)	759,045 (n=9)	1,135,610 (n=8)
1,065,266 (n=4)	842,913 (n=8)	1,708,880 (n=5)	357,078 (n=5)	778,850 (n=10)	1,104,629 (n=1)	810,070 (n=4)	148,115 (n=3)	0 0	0 0
1,350,515 (n=8)	2,401,484 (n=8)	997,003 (n=10)	1,458,430 (n=8)	1,228,380 (n=5)	2,100,649 (n=12)	1,012,973 (n=5)	216,572 (n=3)	759,045 (n=9)	1,135,610 (n=8)
8,144,592 (n=10)	10,132,513 (n=12)	13,235,012 (n=8)	11,945,428 (n=7)	10,889,135 (n=7)	5,787,782 (n=14)	2,881,096 (n=6)	9,614,791 (n=8)	2,223,215 (n=5)	2,891,026 (n=14)
5,085,507 (n=4)	10,180,783 (n=7)	14,495,550 (n=4)	25,288,736 (n=1)	4,431,065 (n=4)	6,289,645 (n=5)	2,428,741 (n=4)	2,257,094 (n=2)	5,463,056 (n=1)	3,777,958 (n=4)
10,183,982 (n=6)	10,064,935 (n=5)	11,974,473 (n=4)	9,721,543 (n=6)	19,499,894 (n=3)	5,508,970 (n=9)	3,785,804 (n=2)	12,067,359 (n=6)	1,413,256 (n=4)	2,536,257 (n=10)
4,087,349 (n=10)	5,505,666 (n=12)	8,032,985 (n=8)	7,765,706 (n=7)	5,549,474 (n=7)	4,203,344 (n=14)	2,635,618 (n=6)	4,143,901 (n=8)	1,584,154 (n=5)	1,518,525 (n=14)
5,427,586 (n=6)	5,625,312 (n=5)	6,811,675 (n=4)	4,561,249 (n=6)	9,736,656 (n=3)	4,240,169 (n=9)	3,472,152 (n=2)	4,671,395 (n=6)	1,246,448 (n=4)	1,295,641 (n=10)
2,076,995 (n=4)	5,420,205 (n=7)	9,254,293 (n=4)	26,992,435 (n=1)	2,409,090 (n=4)	4,137,057 (n=5)	2,217,351 (n=4)	1,280,711 (n=2)	2,934,986 (n=1)	2,075,738 (n=4)
8,760,670 (n=4)	13,888,991 (n=1)	5,475,188 (n=4)	9,985,490 (n=7)	8,507,399 (n=3)	4,315,978 (n=2)	5,162,294 (n=9)	3,498,352 (n=7)	4,338,970 (n=9)	2,615,262 (n=2)
6,714,383 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	2,841,398 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	5,752,596 (n=1)	4,228,595 (n=1)	5,162,294 (n=9)	2,612,768 (n=5)	3,151,861 (n=5)	NA (n=0)
10,871,390 (n=2)	13,888,991 (n=1)	6,353,117 (n=3)	9,985,490 (n=7)	9,884,802 (n=2)	4,403,360 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	5,712,311 (n=2)	5,822,858 (n=4)	2,615,262 (n=2)
7,240,995 (n=4)	2,652,397 (n=1)	5,341,250 (n=4)	7,097,959 (n=7)	7,410,375 (n=3)	2,063,821 (n=2)	4,167,035 (n=9)	3,535,733 (n=7)	3,461,623 (n=9)	3,461,579 (n=2)
8,978,351 (n=2)	2,652,397 (n=1)	6,360,610 (n=3)	7,097,959 (n=7)	8,969,279 (n=2)	4,127,640 (n=1)	#VALUE! (n=0)	3,350,965 (n=2)	4,450,375 (n=4)	3,461,579 (n=2)
5,503,639 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	2,283,165 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	4,292,571 (n=1)	2,553,217 (n=1)	4,167,035 (n=9)	3,609,640 (n=5)	2,670,618 (n=5)	NA (n=0)

Notes: The data include primary and general-election expenditures for major party general-election candidates only. The Federal Election Commission included the following disclaimer along with its 1986 data, and Vital Statistics considers it appropriate for all years: "The small N's and unique nature of some Senate campaigns make all measures of central tendency like averages or medians problematic and, as a result, the Commission would not include tables such as these in its regular release of information."

a. Includes one or more Independents. Independents are included only if they are incumbents or winning non-incumbents.

b. Alan Schlesinger (CT-Rep) is not included in the data. He raised \$221,019 and was third in the voting.

c. The Incumbents and Challengers in the category "Incumbent won with < 60%" are unbalanced due to the Alaska race which featured a Republican Incumbent and Challenger. The Democrat (McAdams) finished third and is not included.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

Table 3-7

Senate Expenditures: Open Senate Seats, Major Party General Election Candidates, by Election Outcome, 1986-2018 (full cycle, mean net dollars)

Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000	1998	1996	1994
All winners	15,527,076 (n=3)	12,823,953 (n=5)	8,916,277 (n=8)	9,845,985 ^c (n=11)	10,074,305 (n=14)	9,479,566 (n=5)	13,161,167 ^c (n=4)	13,098,470 (n=8)	10,053,901 (n=7)	31,534,316 (n=5)	5,886,128 (n=5)	5,732,730 (n=14)	5,724,670 (n=9)
Democrats	24,735,382 (n=1)	15,659,661 (n=3)	10,914,180 (n=1)	10,434,981 (n=7)	6,329,981 (n=3)	12,916,237 (n=3)	11,020,402 (n=2)	16,124,159 (n=2)	4,084,486 (n=1)	37,370,718 (n=4)	5,420,484 (n=2)	7,254,664 (n=5)	0 (n=0)
Republicans	10,922,924 (n=2)	8,570,394 (n=2)	8,630,862 (n=7)	10,700,596 (n=3)	11,095,484 (n=11)	4,324,559 (n=2)	23,125,180 (n=1)	12,089,906 (n=6)	11,048,803 (n=6)	8,188,704 (n=1)	6,196,572 (n=3)	4,887,211 (n=9)	5,724,670 (n=9)
Winners with 60% or more	5,294,219 (n=1)	10,772,057 (n=3)	6,414,434 (n=4)	4,641,241 ^c (n=2)	8,380,901 (n=5)	9,326,770 (n=3)	9,356,901 ^c (n=2)	14,342,989 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	NA (n=0)	4,219,665 (n=2)	4,031,404 (n=2)	4,667,445 (n=4)
Democrats	NA (n=0)	13,547,319 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	6,123,305 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	11,870,663 (n=2)	11,235,119 (n=1)	19,106,007 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	NA (n=0)	6,030,227 (n=1)	4,372,384 (n=1)	NA (n=0)
Republicans	5,294,219 (n=1)	5,221,532 (n=1)	6,414,434 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	8,380,901 (n=5)	4,238,984 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	9,579,970 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	NA (n=0)	2,409,104 (n=1)	3,690,421 (n=1)	4,667,412 (n=4)
Winners with <60%	20,643,505 (n=2)	15,901,799 (n=2)	11,418,120 (n=4)	11,002,594 (n=9)	11,015,084 (n=9)	9,708,759 (n=2)	16,965,433 (n=2)	12,683,630 (n=6)	10,053,901 (n=7)	31,534,316 ^a (n=5)	6,997,104 (n=3)	6,016,285 (n=12)	6,555,202 (n=5)
Democrats	24,735,382 (n=1)	19,884,343 (n=1)	10,914,180 (n=1)	11,153,594 (n=6)	6,329,981 (n=3)	15,007,384 (n=1)	10,805,686 (n=1)	13,142,309 (n=1)	4,084,486 (n=1)	37,370,718 (n=4)	4,810,742 (n=1)	7,975,234 (n=4)	NA (n=0)
Republicans	16,551,628 (n=1)	11,919,256 (n=1)	11,586,099 (n=3)	10,700,596 (n=3)	13,357,637 (n=6)	4,410,133 (n=1)	23,125,180 (n=1)	12,591,894 (n=5)	11,048,803 (n=6)	8,188,704 (n=1)	8,090,287 (n=2)	5,036,810 (n=8)	6,555,202 (n=5)
All losers	13,790,002 (n=3)	7,926,970 (n=5)	6,323,239 (n=8)	11,512,462 (n=11)	9,999,374 ^c (n=14)	4,083,676 (n=5)	12,717,132 (n=4)	9,121,914 (n=8)	9,581,770 (n=7)	17,478,947 ^b (n=5)	2,481,898 (n=5)	4,885,507 (n=14)	4,463,122 (n=9)
Democrats	10,209,766 (n=2)	8,519,889 (n=3)	5,367,287 (n=7)	4,575,919 (n=3)	5,527,408 (n=10)	1,943,934 (n=2)	19,374,486 (n=1)	9,857,542 (n=6)	8,711,201 (n=6)	3,571,338 (n=1)	3,245,150 (n=3)	3,042,607 (n=9)	4,463,122 (n=9)
Republicans	20,951,076 (n=1)	7,037,589 (n=2)	13,014,898 (n=1)	14,113,665 (n=8)	23,015,265 (n=3)	5,510,170 (n=3)	10,498,015 (n=3)	6,915,029 (n=2)	14,805,184 (n=1)	20,955,850 (n=4)	1,337,023 (n=2)	8,202,726 (n=5)	NA (n=0)
>40%	20,205,076 (n=2)	13,347,979 (n=2)	10,713,487 (n=4)	13,205,631 (n=9)	13,140,500 (n=9)	5,316,802 (n=2)	14,804,832 (n=2)	10,520,079 (n=6)	9,579,069 (n=7)	17,478,947 (n=5)	3,682,438 (n=3)	5,504,470 (n=12)	4,748,498 (n=5)
Democrats	19,459,076 (n=1)	14,236,416 (n=1)	9,946,350 (n=3)	4,575,919 (n=3)	8,203,117 (n=6)	2,229,691 (n=1)	19,374,486 (n=1)	10,534,789 (n=5)	8,711,201 (n=6)	3,571,338 (n=1)	4,681,750 (n=2)	3,283,799 (n=8)	4,748,498 (n=5)
Republicans	20,951,076 (n=1)	12,459,540 (n=1)	13,014,898 (n=1)	17,520,487 (n=6)	23,015,265 (n=3)	8,403,913 (n=1)	10,235,176 (n=1)	10,446,527 (n=1)	14,805,184 (n=1)	20,955,850 (n=4)	1,683,814 (n=1)	9,945,811 (n=4)	NA (n=0)
Losers with 40% or less	960,455 (n=1)	4,312,963 (n=3)	1,932,990 (n=4)	3,893,199 (n=2)	4,345,348 ^c (n=5)	3,261,592 (n=3)	10,629,434 (n=2)	4,927,420 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	NA (n=0)	681,092 (n=2)	1,171,730 (n=2)	4,106,403 (n=4)
Democrats	960,455 (n=1)	5,661,626 (n=2)	1,932,990 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	1,513,845 (n=4)	1,658,176 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	6,471,309 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	NA (n=0)	371,951 (n=1)	1,113,068 (n=1)	4,106,403 (n=4)
Republicans	NA (n=0)	1,615,639 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	3,893,199 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	4,063,299 (n=2)	10,629,434 (n=2)	3,383,531 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	NA (n=0)	990,230 (n=1)	1,230,391 (n=1)	NA (n=0)

1992	1990	1988	1986
5,975,214 (n=8)	4,351,379 (n=3)	8,022,932 (n=6)	8,768,487 (n=7)
7,476,008 (n=5)	0 (n=0)	11,009,297 (n=2)	6,219,648 (n=4)
3,473,887 (n=3)	4,351,379 (n=3)	6,529,750 (n=4)	12,166,938 (n=3)
2,131,644 (n=1)	2,949,791 (n=2)	3,988,997 (n=2)	5,078,071 (n=2)
2,131,644 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	6,116,708 (n=1)	4,713,805 (n=1)
NA (n=0)	2,949,791 (n=2)	1,861,284 (n=1)	5,442,336 (n=1)
6,524,295 (n=7)	7,154,553 (n=1)	10,039,901 (n=4)	10,244,655 (n=5)
8,812,100 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	15,901,887 (n=1)	6,721,596 (n=3)
3,473,887 (n=3)	7,154,553 (n=1)	8,085,906 (n=3)	15,529,240 (n=2)
4,485,319 (n=8)	1,794,533 (n=3)	4,158,338 (n=6)	6,763,414 (n=7)
2,527,439 (n=3)	1,794,533 (n=3)	4,573,327 (n=4)	4,997,998 (n=3)
5,660,047 (n=5)	NA (n=0)	3,328,359 (n=2)	8,087,476 (n=4)
4,998,721 (n=7)	3,721,290 (n=1)	5,795,927 (n=4)	8,446,538 (n=5)
2,527,439 (n=3)	3,721,290 (n=1)	5,708,685 (n=3)	6,887,906 (n=2)
6,852,182 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	6,057,648 (n=1)	9,485,626 (n=3)
891,505 (n=1)	831,156 (n=2)	883,160 (n=2)	2,555,603 (n=2)
NA (n=0)	831,156 (n=2)	1,167,251 (n=1)	1,218,185 (n=1)
891,505 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	599,067 (n=1)	3,893,018 (n=1)

Notes: The data include primary and general-election expenditures for major party general-election candidates only. The Federal Election Commission included the following disclaimer along with its 1986 data, and Vital Statistics considers it appropriate for all years: "The small N's and unique nature of some Senate campaigns make all measures of central tendency like averages or medians problematic and, as a result, the Commission would not include tables such as these in its regular release of information."

a. Jon Corzine (D-NJ) spent \$63,209,506. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY) spent \$29,871,577. Excluding these candidates, the remaining winners (n=3) in open Senate seats spent an average of \$5,014,773. For Democrats the average would be \$4,714,403 (n=2). The Republican figure would be unchanged.

b. Rick Lazio spent \$40,576,273. Excluding him from the candidates who lost with more than 40%, the average for all candidates would be \$4,838,961 (n=4). The average for Republican candidates would be \$5,635,583 (n=3). The average for Democrats would be unchanged.

c. Includes one or more Independents.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

Table 3-8 Campaign Funding Sources: House and Senate Major Party General Election Candidates, 1984-2016

Party and Candidate Status	Number of candidates	Contributions plus party coordinated expenditures on behalf of candidates (\$ millions)	Percentage of funding from				
			Individuals	PAC's	Party (contributions plus coordinated expenditures)	Candidate to self (contributions plus loans)	Other
House, 2018							
All candidates	786	1,417.1	60%	27%	2%	6%	6%
All Democrats	430	835.5	66%	20%	1%	7%	5%
Incumbents	173	285.5	52%	45%	1%	0%	2%
Challengers	193	362.5	78%	7%	2%	7%	6%
Open Seats	64	187.6	65%	10%	2%	17%	6%
All Republicans	355	581.5	50%	36%	2%	5%	7%
Incumbents	196	457.7	48%	42%	2%	1%	7%
Challengers	95	25.1	63%	5%	4%	27%	2%
Open Seats	64	98.8	59%	16%	3%	16%	6%
Senate, 2018							
All candidates	69	953.3	64%	8%	6%	15%	6%
All Democrats	34	562.2	76%	9%	5%	3%	7%
Incumbents	24	383.7	74%	11%	3%	3%	9%
Challengers	7	130.4	88%	2%	9%	0%	2%
Open Seats	3	48.1	62%	7%	10%	16%	5%
All Republicans	33	375.6	46%	7%	8%	34%	6%
Incumbents	6	88.2	56%	14%	21%	0%	7%
Challengers	34	242.8	37%	4%	3%	52%	4%
Open Seats	3	44.5	72%	9%	6%	0%	14%
House, 2016							
All candidates	726	900.1	52%	39%	1%	5%	4%
All Democrats	370	413.9	56%	35%	1%	6%	2%
Incumbents	169	248.9	49%	48%	0%	1%	2%
Challengers	158	92.1	74%	16%	3%	7%	1%
Open Seats	43	72.2	60%	16%	2%	22%	0%
All Republicans	356	486.1	47%	41%	1%	4%	6%
Incumbents	218	403.9	46%	47%	1%	0%	7%
Challengers	98	20.9	59%	10%	2%	27%	2%
Open Seats	40	60.9	55%	17%	2%	25%	1%
Senate, 2016							
All candidates	67	551.4	68%	16%	5%	2%	10%
All Democrats	34	297.2	76%	10%	3%	3%	8%
Incumbents	7	67.3	69%	24%	0%	0%	6%
Challengers	21	164.9	78%	6%	3%	5%	8%
Open Seats	6	65.1	76%	7%	4%	2%	11%
All Republicans	33	254.2	59%	22%	7%	0%	12%
Incumbents	22	215.2	57%	24%	7%	0%	12%

Challengers	7	6.1	90%	3%	1%	3%	3%
Open Seats	4	32.9	66%	17%	6%	0%	11%

House, 2014

All candidates	756	901.8	53	37	1	5	3
All Democrats	379	400.4	56	37	1	3	2
Incumbents	182	281.6	50	46	1	1	2
Challengers	151	65.5	73	12	2	12	1
Open Seats	46	53.3	67	24	3	6	1
All Republicans	377	501.4	50	37	1	7	5
Incumbents	204	347.1	47	47	0	0	6
Challengers	125	73.9	58	12	3	24	3
Open Seats	48	80.4	58	17	1	21	2

Senate, 2014

All candidates	70	399.8	71	13	4	6	6
All Democrats	34	289.9	73	15	3	4	6
Incumbents	16	204.2	75	17	2	0	6
Challengers	10	36.1	59	3	2	33	2
Open Seats	8	49.6	73	12	7	1	8
All Republicans	36	109.9	66	10	7	9	8
Incumbents	12	87.5	56	31	2	2	8
Challengers	16	98.0	72	11	2	5	10
Open Seats	8	73.3	63	16	5	11	4

House, 2012

All candidates	784	970.9	56	35	1	5	3
All Democrats	390	414.4	57	35	1	5	2
Incumbents	162	231.3	49	48	1	1	2
Challengers	170	112.9	67	17	3	12	2
Open Seats	58	70.3	64	23	1	10	1
All Republicans	394	556.5	56	34	1	4	4
Incumbents	216	428.8	54	39	1	1	5
Challengers	118	62.9	63	12	3	21	1
Open Seats	60	64.9	62	22	2	11	3

Senate, 2012

All candidates	61	491.8	67	13	3	13	4
All Democrats	28	287.1	77	14	3	2	4
Incumbents	15	153.1	71	18	3	3	5
Challengers	3	53.3	91	5	2	1	2
Open Seats	10	80.7	80	12	4	0	3
All Republicans	33	204.7	57	11	3	25	4
Incumbents	6	59.1	69	22	1	0	8
Challengers	16	62.8	63	6	4	21	6
Open Seats	11	82.8	47	9	3	38	2

House, 2010

All candidates	799	949.3	57	33	2	6	2
All Democrats	388	469.9	54	40	2	2	2
Incumbents	236	385.7	51	45	2	1	2

Challengers	111	42.3	71	11	1	12	5
Open Seats	41	41.8	69	22	2	7	1
All Republicans	411	479.4	60	27	2	9	3
Incumbents	157	228.1	55	40	1	1	4
Challengers	214	195.1	64	12	4	18	2
Open Seats	40	56.2	65	23	2	9	2
Senate, 2010							
All candidates	72	597.6	61	13	6	13	7
All Democrats	34	242.3	70	15	6	3	7
Incumbents	12	147.5	71	17	5	1	6
Challengers	8	14.1	67	12	7	12	2
Open Seats	14	80.7	68	12	7	4	9
All Republicans	38	355.3	55	12	5	21	8
Incumbents	11	74.0	52	27	1	0	20
Challengers	13	102.4	64	4	7	19	6
Open Seats	14	178.9	51	10	6	30	3
House, 2008							
All candidates	754	845.2	54	36	1	5	4
All Democrats	410	476.7	53	39	1	5	2
Incumbents	227	316.0	48	49	0	0	3
Challengers	146	98.8	67	17	1	14	1
Open Seats	38	62.0	56	27	1	15	2
All Republicans	344	370.6	55	32	2	8	3
Incumbents	170	243.8	52	41	1	1	5
Challengers	137	66.8	66	11	3	19	1
Open Seats	37	60.0	55	18	3	24	0
Senate, 2008							
All candidates	66	399.2	63	19	2	3	12
All Democrats	34	210.5	65	16	2	1	16
Incumbents	12	83.7	53	25	1	2	19
Challengers	17	90.7	71	8	3	1	17
Open Seats	5	36.2	77	17	1	1	5
All Republicans	32	188.6	60	23	3	5	9
Incumbents	18	154.0	59	25	3	4	9
Challengers	9	12.5	68	6	4	16	6
Open Seats	5	22.2	66	19	2	3	10
House, 2006							
All candidates	815	777.8	54	35	1	5	5
All Democrats	427	375.5	58	33	1	4	4
Incumbents	191	205.9	49	45	1	1	5
Challengers	203	115.3	70	16	2	9	3
Open Seats	33	54.3	66	20	1	8	5
All Republicans	388	402.3	51	38	1	5	5
Incumbents	211	318.4	50	43	1	1	5
Challengers	144	36.2	56	10	2	27	5
Open Seats	33	47.7	52	23	3	16	6
Senate, 2006							
All candidates	65	530.9	67	13	3	13	5

All Democrats	31	275.5	70	11	2	13	3
Incumbents	14	141.3	76	15	2	4	3
Challengers	14	101.7	59	6	3	29	3
Open Seats	3	32.5	82	11	1	0	6
All Republicans	32	230.2	60	16	4	15	6
Incumbents	14	125.4	65	23	4	1	7
Challengers	14	61.2	54	5	4	34	3
Open Seats	4	43.6	55	10	3	26	5
House, 2004							
All candidates	812	609.5	55	35	2	4	4
All Democrats	403	274.1	56	34	2	5	3
Incumbents	193	190.5	55	41	1	0	4
Challengers	177	50.4	69	15	2	20	4
Open Seats	33	33.2	63	26	4	7	0
All Republicans	409	335.4	54	36	2	4	4
Incumbents	210	246.5	53	42	1	1	4
Challengers	163	41.5	67	13	6	11	4
Open Seats	36	47.4	50	25	6	14	5
Senate, 2004							
All candidates	69	367.0	69	16	5	3	7
All Democrats	35	194.7	73	14	5	2	5
Incumbents	14	103.3	73	18	5	0	5
Challengers	12	18.6	77	10	4	4	5
Open Seats	9	72.8	73	9	7	6	6
All Republicans	34	172.3	64	18	6	4	9
Incumbents	12	65.6	63	29	3	0	5
Challengers	14	45.3	69	7	5	14	5
Open Seats	8	61.4	61	14	8	2	14
House, 2002							
All candidates	807	556.7	49	36	2	9	4
All Democrats	400	273.2	46	36	2	12	5
Incumbents	193	170.1	48	45	1	0	5
Challengers	161	53.7	41	16	2	38	3
Open Seats	46	49.5	45	24	2	25	4
All Republicans	407	283.5	51	35	3	6	5
Incumbents	199	192.4	50	43	1	1	5
Challengers	162	33.1	58	12	7	20	3
Open Seats	46	58.1	49	25	5	17	4
Senate, 2002							
All candidates	69	300.5	63	19	5	8	6
All Democrats	33	139.9	68	17	2	8	6
Incumbents	12	72.8	71	22	1	< 1	6
Challengers	17	36.3	69	13	2	11	5
Open Seats	4	30.8	59	8	3	24	7
All Republicans	36	160.6	58	21	7	7	7
Incumbents	15	51.8	55	36	4	0	5
Challengers	17	68.5	55	13	8	15	9

Open Seats	4	40.3	68	14	10	3	6
House, 2000							
All candidates	820	550.0	51	34	2	7	5
All Democrats	416	271.6	50	36	2	8	6
Incumbents	206	170.5	48	45	1	< 1	7
Challengers	176	66.1	56	19	2	18	4
Open Seats	32	34.9	47	23	4	22	5
All Republicans	404	278.4	54	33	2	6	5
Incumbents	197	190.7	54	39	1	1	5
Challengers	175	45.9	58	15	5	18	4
Open Seats	32	76.9	49	29	4	14	3
Senate, 2000							
All candidates	70	387.3	53	13	4	24	6
All Democrats	34	210.2	40	9	3	43	6
Incumbents	11	46.5	56	20	6	12	5
Challengers	18	56.4	43	8	1	41	8
Open Seats	5	107.3	32	4	2	57	5
All Republicans	36	177.1	68	18	6	1	6
Incumbents	18	90.7	60	27	5	2	7
Challengers	13	20.9	70	9	8	3	10
Open Seats	5	65.5	79	10	8	0	3
House, 1998							
All candidates	782	436.1	51	35	3	6	4
All Democrats	390	199.6	49	38	3	6	4
Incumbents	194	130.6	47	46	2	0	5
Challengers	162	41.6	52	19	4	21	3
Open Seats	34	27.4	59	27	4	6	3
All Republicans	392	236.5	53	33	3	6	4
Incumbents	211	166.6	54	39	2	1	5
Challengers	149	42.3	54	15	8	17	5
Open Seats	32	27.6	45	28	5	18	3
Senate, 1998							
All candidates	70	265.9	58	18	7	11	7
All Democrats	35	126.1	58	16	8	9	9
Incumbents	15	71.9	65	22	7	0	6
Challengers	15	39.4	45	4	10	27	15
Open Seats	5	14.7	59	2	9	4	26
All Republicans	35	139.8	57	19	7	12	4
Incumbents	14	72.7	60	26	6	3	5
Challengers	16	52.7	52	9	8	29	3
Open Seats	5	14.3	59	25	8	0	8
House, 1996							
All candidates	873	460.8	53	33	4	6	4
All Democrats	435	211.6	48	35	4	9	4
Incumbents	171	108.8	47	46	2	1	5
Challengers	211	67.3	50	24	6	17	3
Open Seats	53	35.5	48	26	5	18	3

All Republicans	438	249.2	57	30	4	4	4
Incumbents	213	171.3	58	37	2	1	2
Challengers	174	40.0	64	11	9	13	3
Open Seats	51	35.0	53	23	8	12	3
Senate, 1996							
All candidates	68	242.1	58	17	9	12	4
All Democrats	34	116.2	59	13	8	16	4
Incumbents	7	36.4	74	13	4	5	4
Challengers	14	36.5	50	6	8	34	2
Open Seats	13	43.3	55	18	11	9	7
All Republicans	34	125.9	57	21	9	8	4
Incumbents	13	50.0	57	29	9	2	4
Challengers	8	25.6	70	14	10	3	3
Open Seats	13	50.3	50	18	9	18	5
House, 1994							
All candidates	824	371.3	49	34	5	8	4
All Democrats	403	196.7	43	43	5	5	4
Incumbents	226	142.4	34	50	3	1	12
Challengers	130	23.6	45	23	11	17	4
Open Seats	47	30.7	47	27	8	15	3
All Republicans	421	174.6	56	24	6	11	3
Incumbents	157	82.9	58	36	2	1	3
Challengers	217	58.6	56	10	10	20	4
Open Seats	47	33.1	50	19	8	19	4
Senate, 1994							
All candidates	70	291.7	54	15	8	19	4
All Democrats	35	124.9	55	18	10	12	5
Incumbents	16	86.4	54	18	8	14	6
Challengers	10	11.7	46	16	13	21	4
Open Seats	9	26.9	60	16	14	3	7
All Republicans	35	166.7	53	13	6	24	4
Incumbents	10	35.4	60	30	6	<1	4
Challengers	16	96.1	47	3	5	41	4
Open Seats	9	35.2	61	21	11	1	6
House, 1992							
All candidates	851	331.5	47	36	5	9	3
All Democrats	427	184.7	43	43	4	6	4
Incumbents	213	122.1	40	50	2	1	7
Challengers	140	25.1	48	26	10	13	3
Open Seats	74	37.5	49	30	4	17	<1
All Republicans	424	146.9	51	26	6	13	4
Incumbents	138	74.8	52	39	3	1	5
Challengers	216	44.5	47	9	10	22	12
Open Seats	70	27.5	57	21	7	14	1
Senate, 1992							
All candidates	71	214.2	58	21	13	5	3
All Democrats	35	108.5	60	23	11	2	4

Incumbents	15	43.9	52	35	6	2	5
Challengers	13	43.1	68	12	14	3	3
Open Seats	7	21.5	61	19	13	3	4
All Republicans	36	106.9	55	19	15	7	4
Incumbents	12	59.4	58	25	13	<1	4
Challengers	17	24.0	55	9	20	14	2
Open Seats	7	23.5	48	16	16	18	2
House, 1990							
All candidates	807	257.5	44	40	3	6	7
All Democrats	413	146.5	39	47	3	5	6
Incumbents	249	113.2	37	52	1	2	8
Challengers	132	16.0	44	27	9	16	4
Open Seats	32	17.3	42	33	4	17	4
All Republicans	394	108.8	51	32	4	7	6
Incumbents	159	70.7	50	41	2	1	6
Challengers	206	23.9	54	10	7	24	5
Open Seats	29	14.1	50	24	10	12	4
Senate, 1990							
All candidates	67	191.0	61	21	7	5	6
All Democrats	34	90.8	63	22	6	4	5
Incumbents	17	66.7	65	25	5	0	5
Challengers	14	21.0	58	12	9	15	6
Open Seats	3	3.1	50	18	11	21	<1
All Republicans	33	100.2	59	21	9	5	6
Incumbents	15	58.9	65	22	7	0	6
Challengers	15	33.4	51	16	12	15	6
Open Seats	3	7.9	43	36	7	0	14
House, 1988							
All candidates	813	249.0	46	40	4	5	5
All Democrats	429	140.0	40	47	3	5	5
Incumbents	238	103.8	39	51	2	1	7
Challengers	154	23.5	46	31	7	13	3
Open Seats	27	12.7	39	36	7	14	4
All Republicans	384	109.0	52	31	6	6	5
Incumbents	164	73.7	51	39	3	1	6
Challengers	194	21.6	55	10	13	19	3
Open Seats	26	13.7	54	21	13	12	<1
Senate, 1988							
All candidates	66	199.4	59	22	9	5	5
All Democrats	33	103.0	58	23	7	8	4
Incumbents	15	53.0	61	29	4	1	5
Challengers	12	29.1	66	16	11	3	4
Open Seats	6	20.9	37	16	8	35	4
All Republicans	33	96.3	61	22	11	2	4
Incumbents	12	50.8	62	26	8	<1	4
Challengers	15	27.7	63	11	18	6	2
Open Seats	6	17.8	54	26	13	1	6

House, 1986							
All candidates	810	234.2	48	36	4	6	6
All Democrats	427	125.7	44	42	2	6	6
Incumbents	235	84.1	42	49	1	2	6
Challengers	147	22.1	49	29	6	13	3
Open Seats	45	19.5	47	31	3	15	4
All Republicans	383	108.5	53	29	6	7	5
Incumbents	160	67.3	53	37	4	1	5
Challengers	182	21.4	54	11	10	22	3
Open Seats	41	19.8	53	24	10	10	3
Senate, 1986							
All candidates	68	208.6	60	21	9	6	4
All Democrats	34	90.2	56	22	8	9	5
Incumbents	9	28.2	62	26	7	2	3
Challengers	18	40.3	51	19	9	16	5
Open Seats	7	21.7	60	22	8	5	5
All Republicans	34	118.5	63	21	9	2	5
Incumbents	18	68.9	63	24	8	<1	5
Challengers	9	20.4	64	9	18	6	3
Open Seats	7	29.1	61	22	6	2	9
House, 1984							
All candidates	816	203.8	47	36	7	6	5
All Democrats	434	107.2	44	41	3	6	6
Incumbents	258	81.8	39	46	2	2	11
Challengers	152	16.3	43	29	6	18	5
Open Seats	24	9.1	45	22	6	24	3
All Republicans	382	96.6	49	30	11	6	5
Incumbents	154	52.1	51	37	6	1	5
Challengers	204	33.8	48	18	17	13	4
Open Seats	24	10.7	47	31	13	7	2
Senate, 1984							
All candidates	68	157.7	61	18	6	10	4
All Democrats	33	73.1	56	18	6	16	4
Incumbents	12	22.8	61	28	3	<1	8
Challengers	17	25.5	69	17	9	2	3
Open Seats	4	24.8	39	9	6	44	2
All Republicans	35	84.6	65	18	6	5	4
Incumbents	17	55.7	68	21	6	1	5
Challengers	13	10.0	55	15	20	8	2
Open Seats	5	19.0	60	10	9	17	8

a. In 2000, without Jon Corzine (D-NJ), the self-funding percentage for open seat Democrats would be only 2%, for all Democrats it would be 20%, and for all candidates it would be 10%.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

Table 3-9

Number Political Action Committees Making Contributions to Candidates, 1976-2018

Committee Type	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000	1998	1996	1994	1992	1990	1988	1986
Corporate	1,459	1,460	1,477	1,223	1,492	1,470	1,463	1,402	1,359	1,365	1,425	1,470	1,468	1,514	1,540	1,616	1,584
Labor	183	180	182	137	199	203	202	206	215	236	232	236	255	255	233	256	261
Trade/membership/health	926	879	898	700	907	794	734	722	697	662	664	650	633	633	609	633	598
Nonconnected	1,174	1,364	1,003	902	842	1,023	870	819	700	670	560	529	509	534	511	630	576
Cooperative	36	35	37	29	34	39	35	34	36	37	41	41	50	48	51	51	51
Corporation without stock	63	63	67	55	83	84	89	75	86	94	102	109	112	114	114	122	117
Total	3,841	3,981	3,664	3,046	3,557	3,613	3,393	3,258	3,093	3,064	3,024	3,035	3,027	3,098	3,058	3,308	3,187

1984	1982	1980	1978	1976
1,584	1,317	1,037	704	433
261	293	225	215	224
598	407	463	122	489
576	204	201	400	-
51	46	27	11	-
117	78	44	22	-
3,187	2,345	1,997	1,474	1146

a. For 1976, number of registered PACs is listed.
Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

Table 3-10

PAC Contributions to Congressional Candidates 1978-2018 (in \$ millions)
Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars

Type of PAC	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000	1998	1996	1994	1992	1990	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
Labor	54.5	48.7	53.8	57.6	70.9	71.1	70.9	66.9	72.4	73.2	66.9	74.4	69.0	71.1	64.6	72.0	68.5	59.9	52.8	40.2	38.1
Corporate	181.8	190.2	188.9	182.8	177.0	167.5	159.9	138.6	127.9	122.8	109.5	111.5	108.6	115.1	102.8	107.0	105.8	85.8	71.6	58.5	36.6
Trade/membership/health	143.9	128.5	126.4	128.1	145.3	123.7	122.6	104.0	99.8	99.6	90.9	89.9	84.9	92.0	81.7	82.6	75.4	64.5	57.0	48.5	43.1
Nonconnected	86.8	81.7	80.6	84.3	61.7	74.4	88.3	66.2	62.3	51.9	41.7	35.2	29.3	31.3	27.5	40.8	43.1	35.0	27.8	14.9	9.6
Other	12.6	12.8	12.7	12.6	13.5	13.3	10.9	8.6	9.1	10.4	9.6	10.9	11.2	11.8	11.3	11.5	11.2	9.2	8.3	6.1	3.9
Total	479.6	461.8	462.5	465.4	468.5	450.1	452.6	384.3	371.4	357.8	318.6	322.0	303.0	321.3	287.8	313.7	304.0	254.5	217.5	168.2	131.3

Note: The data are for contributions to all candidates up for election in the year indicated that were made during the two-year cycle.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

Table 3-11 How PACs Distributed Their Contributions to Congressional Candidates, 1978-2018

	Percentage distribution							Dollars to chamber (in millions)	Percentage distribution						Percent to Chamber	Dollars to chamber (in millions)	Total percent	Total dollars (in millions)
	Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat		Percent to Chamber		Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat					
	D	R	D	R	D	R			D	R	D	R	D	R				
House, 2018								Senate, 2018										
Corporate	28	52	0	1	1	2	84%	152.9	9	4	0	2	0	1	16%	28.5	100%	181.4
Association	28	48	2	1	2	4	85%	121.8	8	4	0	2	0	1	15%	21.7	100%	143.4
Labor	50	13	14	0	11	1	89%	48.0	9	0	1	0	1	0	11%	6.2	100%	54.2
Nonconnected	12	34	14	2	7	6	76%	65.4	12	4	1	5	1	1	24%	21.1	100%	86.5
Other PACs	31	46	1	1	10	2	90%	12.3	7	2	0	1	0	0	10%	1.4	100%	13.8
All PACs	28	43	5	1	4	3	84%	400.4	9	3	0	2	1	1	16%	78.9	100%	479.3
House, 2016								Senate, 2016										
Corporate	26	50	0	0	1	1	79%	144.5	4	13	1	0	1	2	21%	37.3	100%	181.8
Association	26	49	1	1	1	3	82%	100.6	3	12	1	0	1	2	18%	22.1	100%	122.8
Labor	53	12	14	1	8	6	88%	41.0	2	1	5	0	3	0	12%	5.6	100%	46.5
Nonconnected	16	36	7	2	4	5	70%	54.9	4	15	5	0	2	3	30%	23.1	100%	78.1
Other PACs	34	48	1	1	1	2	86%	10.5	3	8	1	0	1	1	14%	1.7	100%	12.2
All PACs	27	43	3	1	2	2	80%	351.5	4	12	2	0	1	2	20%	89.8	100%	441.3
House, 2014								Senate, 2014										
Corporate	27	47	0	1	1	2	78%	138.9	8	8	0	3	1	2	22%	39.1	100%	178.0
Association	28	46	1	2	2	4	82%	97.6	6	6	0	3	1	2	18%	21.7	100%	119.3
Labor	60	10	8	0	9	0	88%	44.5	8	0	1	0	2	0	12%	6.2	100%	50.7
Nonconnected	19	27	3	7	4	6	66%	50.4	12	8	1	6	3	4	34%	25.6	100%	76.0
Other PACs	34	45	0	2	1	3	86%	10.2	5	4	0	2	1	2	14%	1.7	100%	11.9
All PACs	30	39	2	2	3	3	78%	341.6	8	7	0	3	1	2	22%	94.3	100%	435.9
House, 2012								Senate, 2012										
Corporate	25	49	0	1	2	3	81%	131.0	7	6	0	1	1	4	19%	31.1	100%	162.1
Association	26	46	2	2	3	4	82%	101.4	6	4	0	2	2	4	18%	21.6	100%	123.0
Labor	49	8	16	0	14	0	88%	50.3	6	0	1	0	4	0	12%	6.9	100%	57.2
Nonconnected	20	24	8	5	6	5	68%	34.4	10	5	2	4	6	6	32%	16.4	100%	50.8
Other PACs	28	45	1	2	3	4	83%	9.8	6	3	1	2	2	4	17%	2.0	100%	11.8
All PACs	28	39	4	2	4	3	81%	326.9	7	4	1	2	2	3	19%	78.0	100%	404.8
House, 2010								Senate, 2010										
Corporate	39	31	<1	3	<1	3	77	111.0	7	8	<1	1	1	6	23	32.8	100	143.8
Association	41	28	<1	5	<1	4	80	95.3	6	6	<1	1	1	5	20	24.1	100	119.4
Labor	72	5	5	<1	7	<1	89	51.6	5	<1	1	<1	5	<1	11	6.6	100	58.1
Nonconnected	32	13	2	17	3	6	72	36.1	8	5	1	2	6	6	28	13.8	100	49.9
Other PACs	43	29	<1	6	1	4	83	9.2	6	4	<1	1	1	4	17	1.9	100	11.1
All PACs	44	24	1	5	2	3	79	303.2	7	5	<1	1	2	5	21	79.1	100	382.3

House, 2008									Senate, 2008									
Corporate	38	33	2	2	1	2	77	108.4	6	13	<1	1	1	1	23	33.3	100	141.7
Association	40	30	3	3	2	3	82	85.9	5	10	1	1	1	1	18	19.8	100	105.7
Labor	56	6	18	<1	8	<1	88	53.5	4	1	5	<1	2	<1	12	7.1	100	60.6
Nonconnected	23	21	12	7	5	3	71	44.3	6	12	5	2	2	2	28	17.8	100	62.1
Other PACs	41	33	3	3	2	2	83	9.4	5	7	1	2	1	1	17	1.9	100	11.3
All PACs	39	26	6	3	3	2	79	301.6	5	10	2	1	1	1	21	79.9	100	381.5
House, 2006									Senate, 2006									
Corporate	25	49	<1	<1	1	2	78	99.9	7	11.0492447	1	1	1	2	22	29	100	128.4
Association	28	46	2	1	2	3	83	81.3	5	8	1	1	1	1	17	17	100	98.3
Labor	51	10	18	<1	8	<1	87	49.4	6	1	4	<1	2	1	13	8	100	56.9
Nonconnected	14	36	10	4	4	6	75	52.9	6	9	4	2	2	3	25	18	100	70.9
Other PACs	31	39	2	1	2	3	77	7.1	6	7	1	1	2	7	23	2	100	9.3
All PACs	28	39	6	1	3	3	80	290.7	6	7.99684662	2	1	1	2	20	73	100	363.8
House, 2004									Senate, 2004									
Corporate	23	47	<1	1	1	3	76	79	7	10	<1	1	2	5	24	25	100	104.3
Association	26	45	1	2	2	5	81	63	6	7	<1	1	1	4	19	15	100	78.2
Labor	56	10	10	<1	8	1	85	43	7	1	2	<1	5	<1	15	8	100	50.3
Nonconnected	14	30	5	7	4	11	71	35	7	7	2	3	4	7	29	15	100	49.8
Other PACs	29	42	1	2	3	3	79	5	8	6	<1	1	2	3	21	1	100	6.5
All PACs	28	37	3	2	3	5	78	225	7	7	1	1	3	4	22	64	100	289.1
House, 2002									Senate, 2002									
Corporate	24	41	1	1	2	6	74	68.2	7	10	<1	4	<1	3	26	23.4	100	91.6
Association	27	39	1	2	3	8	80	57.2	6	8	1	4	<1	2	20	14.3	100	71.5
Labor	53	8	10	<1	14	1	85	44.4	7	1	5	<1	2	<1	15	7.5	100	51.9
Nonconnected	18	23	6	5	8	12	72	32.2	8	7	3	6	2	2	28	12.5	100	44.6
Other PACs	29	38	<1	1	2	6	76	4.9	9	8	<1	4	<1	2	24	1.5	100	6.5
All PACs	30	31	3	2	6	7	78	206.9	7	7	2	3	1	2	22	59.2	100	266.1
House, 2000									Senate, 2000									
Corporate	25	40	1	2	1	5	74	61.3	4	15	1	1	1	4	26	21.6	100	83
Association	29	39	2	3	2	6	81	54.1	3	10	1	1	1	3	19	13.0	100	67.1
Labor	55	7	16	<1	9	<1	87	42.6	4	1	5	<1	3	<1	13	6.1	100	48.7
Nonconnected	19	24	8	8	6	11	76	26.3	4	10	3	1	2	4	24	8.3	100	34.6
Other PACs	33	36	3	2	1	5	80	5.5	5	10	1	1	1	3	20	1.4	100	6.9
All PACs	32	31	5	3	3	5	79	189.9	4	10	2	1	2	3	21	50.5	100	240.3
House, 1998									Senate, 1998									
Corporate	21	41	0	2	1	5	70	50.3	8	14	0	3	2	3	29	20.9	100	71.1
Association	25	40	2	3	3	6	79	46.5	6	9	0	2	2	2	21	12.5	100	59.0
Labor	54	7	12	<1	13	<1	86	37.3	8	1	2	<1	2	<1	14	6.0	100	43.4
Nonconnected	18	24	5	11	5	11	74	20.0	9	9	1	3	2	2	26	7.1	100	27.1
Other PACs	31	35	1	3	2	3	76	4.7	10	9	1	2	1	1	24	1.5	100	6.2
All PACs	29	31	4	3	5	5	77	158.7	8	9	1	2	2	2	23	48.1	100	206.8

House, 1996									Senate, 1996									
Corporate	20	44	<1	2	2	5	74	51.3	2	11	<1	3	3	7	26	18.3	100	69.6
Association	21	40	3	3	4	6	79	44.0	2	8	1	2	3	6	22	12.0	100	56.0
Labor	41	5	25	<1	13	<1	85	39.4	3	1	3	<1	8	<1	15	6.9	100	46.3
Nonconnected	16	26	10	6	4	7	69	15.1	4	9	2	4	5	7	31	6.9	100	22.0
Other PACs	27	36	3	3	3	5	76	5.2	3	7	2	3	4	5	24	1.5	100	6.7
All PACs	25	30	8	3	5	5	76	155.0	3	7	2	2	5	5	24	45.6	100	200.6
House, 1994									Senate, 1994									
Corporate	34	22	1	4	2	5	68	43.4	9	9	<1	3	2	9	32	20.6	100	64.1
Association	37	22	2	5	5	6	77	38.6	7	6	1	2	2	5	23	11.3	100	50.0
Labor	55	3	10	<1	14	<1	82	33.3	9	<1	4	<1	5	<1	18	7.2	100	40.4
Nonconnected	31	11	4	7	7	6	66	11.6	11	7	1	3	5	5	33	5.6	100	17.3
Other PACs	43	18	2	4	4	4	74	4.0	11	5	1	1	3	4	26	1.8	100	6.6
All PACs	40	15	4	4	6	4	74	138.8	9	5	1	2	3	5	26	46.5	100	178.4
House, 1992									Senate, 1992									
Corporate	32	23	1	3	1	5	67	42.9	10	13	2	2	2	5	33	21.2	100	64.1
Association	35	22	3	3	7	6	76	38.7	8	8	2	1	2	2	24	12.4	100	51.1
Labor	48	3	11	<1	16	1	78	30.5	9	1	7	<1	5	<1	22	8.6	100	39.1
Nonconnected	25	11	5	5	9	1	60	10.3	12	10	6	2	6	3	40	6.9	100	17.2
Other PACs	43	19	1	2	4	3	72	4.2	11	9	2	<1	4	1	28	1.6	100	5.7
All PACs	36	17	4	2	8	4	71	127.0	9	8	3	1	3	3	29	51.1	100	178.1
House, 1990									Senate, 1990									
Corporate	32	25	1	2	2	4	66	35.4	13	11	<1	6	<1	3	34	18.0	100	53.5
Association	40	25	2	2	5	5	77	32.5	9	8	1	3	<1	2	33	10.0	100	42.5
Labor	54	5	9	<1	13	<1	82	27.6	11	1	5	<1	1	<1	18	6.0	100	33.6
Nonconnected	26	13	4	4	8	5	60	8.5	20	10	2	5	1	2	40	5.7	100	14.3
Other PACs	46	21	1	2	2	2	74	4.3	13	8	1	2	<1	2	26	1.5	100	5.8
All PACs	39	19	3	1	6	4	72	108.5	11	9	2	3	1	2	28	41.2	100	149.7
House, 1988									Senate, 1988									
Corporate	31	26	1	2	1	3	63	31.6	11	14	1	4	3	5	37	18.8	100	50.4
Association	37	26	2	1	3	4	73	28.6	9	9	1	2	2	3	27	10.4	100	38.9
Labor	50	6	15	<1	9	<1	79	26.8	9	1	6	<1	4	<1	21	7.1	100	33.9
Nonconnected	25	12	8	4	6	4	59	11.4	13	9	7	3	4	4	41	7.8	100	19.2
Other PACs	41	23	1	2	2	2	72	3.8	12	9	2	1	2	2	28	1.5	100	5.3
All PACs	36	19	6	1	4	3	69	102.2	10	9	3	2	3	3	31	45.7	100	147.8
House, 1986									Senate, 1986									
Corporate	26	24	1	2	1	4	58	26.4	5	20	3	3	2	9	42	19.0	100	45.3
Association	33	27	2	2	3	5	71	23.0	6	12	4	1	2	4	29	9.4	100	32.4
Labor	45	5	14	<1	10	<1	75	21.9	6	2	11	<1	6	<1	25	7.1	100	29.1
Nonconnected	21	12	8	5	7	6	59	10.7	6	11	10	2	7	5	41	7.5	100	18.2
Other PACs	36	23	1	2	2	2	67	3.2	6	15	6	1	2	3	33	1.6	100	4.8
All PACs	32	19	5	2	5	4	66	85.2	5	13	6	1	4	5	34	44.6	100	129.8

House, 1984									Senate, 1984									
Corporate	29	26	<1	7	<1	4	67	22.9	7	19	1	2	1	4	33	11.4	100	34.3
Association	36	28	2	5	2	4	77	19.8	6	11	2	1	1	1	23	6.0	100	25.8
Labor	57	4	14	<1	5	<1	80	18.7	6	1	9	<1	4	<1	20	4.6	100	23.3
Nonconnected	26	9	5	15	3	6	63	8.6	7	10	10	4	3	2	37	5.1	100	13.7
Other PACs	48	23	2	2	1	2	78	2.9	7	10	2	1	2	1	22	0.8	100	3.7
All PACs	38	18	4	6	2	3	72	72.9	6	11	4	2	2	2	28	27.9	100	100.8
House, 1982									Senate, 1982									
Corporate	22	31	1	6	2	6	69	18.1	8	13	<1	5	<1	4	31	8.3	100	26.4
Association	26	32	3	6	3	6	77	15.9	9	9	1	2	<1	2	23	4.9	100	20.8
Labor	40	3	21	<1	11	1	75	14.6	14	2	7	<1	2	<1	25	4.8	100	19.4
Nonconnected	20	13	11	12	5	7	69	6.9	9	6	5	7	2	2	31	3.2	100	10.0
Other PACs	40	25	3	1	4	3	78	2.4	11	5	2	<1	<1	3	22	0.7	100	3.1
All PACs	28	22	8	5	5	5	73	57.9	9	6	5	7	2	2	27	21.8	100	79.7
House, 1980									Senate, 1980									
Corporate	23	21	1	13	1	6	64	11.7	9	5	<1	17	1	4	36	6.4	100	18.1
Association	29	24	1	13	2	6	75	11.2	9	4	1	8	1	2	25	3.8	100	15.0
Labor	50	3	12	<1	7	<1	72	8.9	18	3	4	<1	3	<1	28	3.4	100	12.3
Nonconnected	13	9	3	26	2	8	62	2.8	8	2	<1	20	<1	5	37	1.7	100	4.5
Other PACs	40	19	2	2	3	4	72	1.4	16	4	1	5	2	2	28	0.5	100	1.9
All PACs	31	17	3	10	3	5	69	36.0	11	4	1	10	2	2	31	15.9	100	51.9
House, 1978									Senate, 1978									
Corporate	22	18	1	10	4	8	63	6.2	6	14	2	7	3	6	37	3.6	100	9.8
Association	27	20	2	11	7	9	76	8.6	5	8	2	4	2	3	24	2.8	100	11.3
Labor	43	2	12	<1	14	<1	72	7.5	10	2	9	<1	5	<1	28	2.8	100	10.3
Nonconnected	9	10	3	29	4	18	74	2.1	3	5	3	10	1	5	26	0.7	100	2.8
Other PACs	49	12	2	1	8	5	77	0.8	5	5	3	2	4	3	23	0.2	100	1.0
All PACs	30	14	5	9	8	7	71	25.0	6	8	4	4	3	3	29	10.2	100	35.2

Notes: The data are for general election candidates only. D indicates Democrat; R indicates Republican. Percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

Table 3-12 Political Party Contributions, Coordinated and Independent Expenditures for Congressional Candidates, 1976-2018
Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars

	Senate			House			Total
	Contributions	Expenditures		Contributions	Expenditures		
		Coordinated	Independent		Coordinated	Independent	
2018							
Democrats	341,800	10,405,500	29,638,888	510,607	6,853,756	84,606,289	132,356,840
Republicans	663,600	8,810,888	38,080,072	351,812	5,348,454	79,683,592	132,938,418
2016							
Democrats	636,538	8,693,275	63,216,340	422,486	3,780,096	84,096,034	160,844,767
Republicans	652,231	13,873,228	40,983,851	355,725	3,764,573	77,005,628	136,635,235
2014							
Democrats	286,590	8,045,019	63,487,342	690,687	4,459,449	73,172,811	150,141,897
Republicans	623,453	7,838,803	36,368,344	390,950	4,558,582	69,516,403	119,296,535
2012							
Democrats	707,077	5,850,022	57,784,876	640,212	5,850,022	68,559,600	139,391,808
Republicans	864,898	8,312,642	35,123,825	819,209	5,160,952	67,679,395	117,960,921
2010							
Democrats	901,346	20,163,091	47,786,147	337,462	7,768,558	75,710,479	152,667,083
Republicans	1,839,255	20,954,993	39,557,666	1,177,267	9,552,964	56,179,505	129,261,650
2008							
Democrats	651,493	4,458,658	85,172,759	1,197,940	1,929,296	95,218,056	188,628,201
Republicans	157,450	1,785,160	47,410,979	3,626,217	3,989,099	36,121,985	93,090,891
2006							
Democrats	743,356	7,219,332	53,095,519	3,026,635	3,001,717	79,892,448	146,979,009
Republicans	481,764	10,941,944	40,052,629	978,315	5,629,799	103,489,084	161,573,535
2004							
Democrats	1,438,831	13,498,394	28,860,627	1,071,578	3,829,571	42,587,016	91,286,018
Republicans	2,493,443	12,332,636	15,287,191	1,537,709	4,280,941	57,746,234	93,678,154
2002							
Democrats	689,326	2,910,718	576	1,244,544	3,811,359	349,319	9,005,843
Republicans	2,829,317	14,486,978	699,593	2,975,222	7,521,648	1,901,701	30,414,460
2000							
Democrats	520,031	7,509,447	376,106	1,425,696	4,848,913	2,962,277	17,642,469
Republicans	756,981	15,783,667	576,277	2,547,543	6,408,564	1,693,896	27,766,929
1998							
Democrats	465,978	14,403,910	2,249,409	2,375,984	7,080,878	45,535	26,621,694
Republicans	792,846	14,379,442	337,491	3,232,465	9,720,953	71,305	28,534,502
1996							
Democrats	1,020,647	13,782,713	2,324,631	2,221,316	10,862,033	51,076	30,262,415
Republicans	1,235,920	17,206,340	15,105,360	3,941,850	12,801,566	57,314	50,348,351
1994							
Democrats	1,082,061	22,373,107	-	2,543,636	14,326,095	-	40,324,899
Republicans	1,267,414	19,590,185	-	3,450,962	14,998,426	-	39,306,988
1992							
Democrats	1,234,868	21,326,874	-	2,209,586	10,530,526	-	35,301,853
Republicans	1,445,068	29,549,262	-	3,933,254	12,361,568	-	47,289,152
1990							
Democrats	990,080	10,009,701	-	1,811,995	6,535,274	-	19,347,051
Republicans	1,657,308	14,843,273	-	3,879,534	5,787,398	-	26,167,513
1988							
Democrats	1,065,086	13,992,930	-	2,672,288	6,136,843	-	23,867,147
Republicans	1,526,183	21,779,446	-	5,639,971	8,834,821	-	37,780,421
1986							
Democrats	1,422,402	15,250,365	-	2,219,898	4,206,988	-	23,099,654
Republicans	1,671,424	23,089,706	-	5,774,265	9,419,890	-	39,955,284
1984							
Democrats	1,066,944	9,540,933	-	3,095,146	4,288,521	-	17,991,543
Republicans	1,428,149	15,753,798	-	9,812,556	14,960,827	-	41,955,330
1982							
Democrats	1,507,519	5,894,371	-	2,738,201	1,806,724	-	11,946,815
Republicans	1,561,862	22,679,675	-	12,284,620	13,773,830	-	50,299,987
1980							
Democrats	1,464,173	3,452,453	-	3,126,614	781,193	-	8,824,433
Republicans	2,063,112	16,561,963	-	10,660,842	6,715,735	-	36,001,652
1978							
Democrats	1,797,352	882,795	-	4,861,532	280,731	-	7,822,411
Republicans	2,708,274	10,490,573	-	13,946,082	4,995,485	-	32,140,414
1976							

Democrats	2,068,852	19,237	-	6,468,009	2,207	-	8,558,305
Republicans	4,104,359	502,991	-	16,144,591	1,454,492	-	22,206,434

Notes: The table includes three different kinds of party support for candidates: direct contributions, coordinated expenditures and independent spending. Direct contributions: House candidates may receive a maximum of \$20,000 in primary and general election combined from national and state party committees. In 2012, Senate candidates could receive \$43,100 from national party committees and another \$10,000 from state parties. The National Party to Senate candidate amount is indexed for inflation.

Coordinated expenditures: For most House candidates, party committees may spend an inflation adjusted amount that in 2012 came to \$45,600. The limit is doubled (to \$91,200 in 2012) for states with only one congressional district. For Senate candidates, the limit goes up with a state's population as well as inflation. In the smallest states, this was \$91,200 in 2012. In the largest states (California) it was \$2.6 million. The median states (Kentucky and Louisiana) had party coordinated spending limits of \$305,000 and \$315,400 respectively.

Independent spending by the parties cannot be limited since the Supreme Court's decision in *Colorado Republican Federal Campaign Committee v. Federal Election Commission* 518 U.S. 604 (1996). Despite this ruling, the parties did not do a great deal of independent spending between 1996 and 2002 because such spending has to be funded entirely with money raised under federal contribution limits. The parties preferred to use "soft" money (no contribution limits) to help pay for communications that were designed to get around these restraints. After the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 prohibited national party soft money, the parties shifted more money into independent expenditures. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know how much soft money was spent to help congressional candidates in the elections through 2002. In 2012, party independent spending in House contests spread out to over 74 districts, with a maximum of \$5.0 million spent in one district. Senate independent spending focused on seventeen races, with \$14.4 million spent in Virginia.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

Table 3-13

Hard and Soft Money Raised by National Party Committees, 1992-2018 (in millions of dollars)
Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002			2000		
	Hard	Hard	Hard	Hard	Hard	Hard	Hard	Hard	Hard	Soft	Total	Hard	Soft	Total
Democratic														
National Committee	175.8	413.7	173.2	329.6	258.9	303.4	162.9	524.3	94.2	132.0	226.2	180.8	199.1	380.0
Senatorial	148.7	188.1	177.8	159.6	149.1	189.9	151.2	117.9	67.5	132.7	200.2	59.0	92.9	152.0
Congressional	296.4	231.1	219.4	201.0	188.7	205.5	174.3	123.9	64.8	78.8	143.6	70.6	82.7	153.3
Total	620.9	832.9	570.3	690.2	596.7	698.7	488.4	766.0	226.6	343.5	570.0	310.4	374.7	685.2
Republican														
National Committee	335.9	391.3	206.7	464.8	226.2	498.7	302.7	521.6	237.4	159.0	396.5	310.3	242.4	552.7
Senatorial	151.6	144.8	137.8	128.0	132.0	110.1	110.6	105.0	82.6	92.7	175.3	75.1	65.1	140.2
Congressional	205.8	178.5	162.8	170.3	154.1	138.0	223.6	246.9	196.8	97.3	294.1	141.9	69.0	210.9
Total	693.3	714.6	507.3	763.1	512.2	746.8	636.9	873.5	516.8	349.0	865.8	527.3	364.4	891.6

	1998			1996			1994			1992			
	Hard	Soft	Total	Hard	Soft	Total	Hard	Soft	Total	Hard	Soft	Total	
Democratic													
National Committee		99.8	87.8	187.6	173.4	163.1	336.5	70.9	74.4	145.3	117.8	56.1	173.9
Senatorial		54.9	39.9	94.8	49.3	22.7	72.0	44.8	0.6	45.4	45.6	1.0	46.6
Congressional		38.8	26.0	64.8	42.6	19.7	62.4	32.9	8.7	41.6	22.9	7.8	30.7
Total		193.5	153.6	347.1	265.3	205.5	470.9	148.6	49.1	232.3	186.2	36.3	251.2
Republican													
National Committee		160.3	115.2	275.5	308.9	181.1	490.0	148.1	76.0	224.1	152.9	64.3	217.3
Senatorial		82.3	58.3	140.6	103.3	47.0	150.3	110.7	9.5	120.2	132.1	16.2	148.3
Congressional		112.0	41.5	153.5	118.8	29.7	148.4	45.2	12.5	57.7	63.1	10.9	74.0
Total		354.6	202.8	557.4	531.0	221.2	752.2	304.0	52.5	356.5	348.2	49.8	398.0

Notes: (1) 2018, 2016 & 2012 RNC and DNC receipts reflect contributions from presidential joint fundraising committees that are attributed to the RNC and DNC, but not included in reported total receipts. (2) The national party committees were prohibited from raising soft money by the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002.

Soft money party totals are less than the sum of the individual committees as transfers between the committees are excluded.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

Table 3-14 **Non-Party Independent Expenditures in House and Senate Elections, 1978-2018**
Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars

	For Democrats	Against Democrats	For Republicans	Against Republicans	Total
2018					
House	95,895,390	169,405,042	66,029,919	169,717,843	501,048,194
Senate	78,293,203	195,988,141	56,157,952	218,255,198	548,694,494
2016					
House	23,557,543	53,888,636	31,738,807	57,162,083	166,347,069
Senate	53,577,894	242,592,885	54,972,100	182,683,864	533,826,743
2014					
House	16,190,159	43,061,442	41,840,468	50,969,054	152,061,124
Senate	38,818,120	127,979,693	87,791,959	156,193,002	410,782,774
2012					
House	25,607,310	84,402,069	37,275,930	69,173,681	216,458,991
Senate	19,977,389	111,063,038	46,587,790	105,969,444	283,597,661
2010					
House	23,706,970	42,663,134	16,824,202	29,508,478	112,702,785
Senate	15,557,923	49,974,474	25,948,100	20,502,432	111,982,929
2008					
House	9,883,668	2,369,182	9,781,769	8,237,536	30,272,155
Senate	6,318,233	2,153,901	6,421,891	5,837,295	20,731,320
2006					
House	8,023,322	961,029	7,950,112	15,052,590	31,987,053
Senate	3,642,628	380,233	7,100,540	1,836,589	12,959,990
2004					
House	1,789,263	88,656	5,182,242	724,728	7,784,889
Senate	552,158	413,579	10,288,903	484,625	11,739,264
2002					
House	3,719,457	365,594	3,520,859	752,076	8,357,987
Senate	7,363,327	252,968	4,951,635	1,638,401	14,206,330
2000					
House	5,996,340	341,571	4,219,875	2,429,052	12,986,838
Senate	2,160,951	886,325	6,384,159	3,979,607	13,411,042
1998					
House	2,753,610	397,883	5,820,646	927,364	9,899,504
Senate	1,339,018	225,787	2,218,484	1,558,365	5,341,654
1996					
House	1,087,189	204,384	4,200,940	2,242,360	7,734,873
Senate	465,899	1,331,813	4,596,947	1,333,489	7,728,147
1994					
House	851,631	827,669	1,844,088	86,100	3,609,487
Senate	346,013	735,271	2,218,912	910,781	4,210,976
1992					
House	2,659,207	771,222	2,838,631	810,669	7,079,730
Senate	2,035,561	294,166	1,547,258	376,732	4,253,717
1990					
House	1,362,725	251,097	1,286,709	143,025	3,043,557
Senate	1,500,171	511,494	2,759,973	1,122,833	5,894,471
1988					
House	3,110,827	591,625	1,952,668	315,646	5,970,766
Senate	1,764,040	1,309,802	5,963,562	304,472	9,341,877
1986					
House	5,465,896	520,740	3,009,568	275,008	9,271,212
Senate	2,264,504	1,448,933	7,658,741	797,324	12,169,502
1984					
House	1,355,173	285,597	1,531,405	64,884	3,237,059
Senate	787,956	991,928	4,369,554	5,032,308	11,181,746
1982					
House	628,267	2,244,751	1,281,307	172,512	4,326,836
Senate	331,646	8,282,591	776,506	1,258,788	10,649,531
1980					
House	580,883	115,872	1,250,897	137,536	2,085,188
Senate	388,183	3,908,654	797,441	37,879	5,132,158
1978					
House	110,630	119,522	272,293	20,404	522,849
Senate	394,793	141,409	100,385	7,645	644,232

Note: An independent expenditure is defined by the FEC as an expenditure for a communication "expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate that is not made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate, a candidate's authorized committee, or their agents, or a political party or its agents." 11 CFR 100.16(a).

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.