

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.