

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 <sup>a</sup> (n=15)	7,616,465 (n=18)	6,809,850 (n=13)	7,783,931 <sup>a</sup> (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 <sup>c</sup> (n=8)	12,762,782 (n=8)	15,668,655 <sup>a</sup> (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 <sup>a</sup> (n=12)	11,069,761 (n=8)	10,401,110 (n=8)	5,004,919 (n=8)	12,900,136 <sup>b</sup> (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.*