

Vital Statistics on Congress



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Table 1-1 Apportionment of Congressional Seats, by Region and State,
 1910-2010 (435 seats)

| Region and State | 1910 | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1990 | 2000 | 2010 |
|---------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| South | 104 | | 102 | 105 | 106 | 106 | 108 | 116 | 125 | 131 | 138 |
| Alabama | 10 | | 9 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Arkansas | 7 | | 7 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Florida | 4 | | 5 | 6 | 8 | 12 | 15 | 19 | 23 | 25 | 27 |
| Georgia | 12 | | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 13 | 14 |
| Louisiana | 8 | | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 6 |
| Mississippi | 8 | | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| North Carolina | 10 | | 11 | 12 | 12 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 13 |
| South Carolina | 7 | | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 |
| Tennessee | 10 | | 9 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| Texas | 18 | | 21 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 27 | 30 | 32 | 36 |
| Virginia | 10 | | 9 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| Border | 47 | | 43 | 42 | 38 | 36 | 35 | 34 | 32 | 31 | 30 |
| Kentucky | 11 | | 9 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Maryland | 6 | | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Missouri | 16 | | 13 | 13 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 8 |
| Oklahoma | 8 | | 9 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| West Virginia | 6 | | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| New England | 32 | | 29 | 28 | 28 | 25 | 25 | 24 | 23 | 22 | 21 |
| Connecticut | 5 | | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Maine | 4 | | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Massachusetts | 16 | | 15 | 14 | 14 | 12 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 9 |
| New Hampshire | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Rhode Island | 3 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Vermont | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Mid-Atlantic | 92 | | 94 | 93 | 88 | 84 | 80 | 72 | 66 | 62 | 58 |
| Delaware | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| New Jersey | 12 | | 14 | 14 | 14 | 15 | 15 | 14 | 13 | 13 | 12 |
| New York | 43 | | 45 | 45 | 43 | 41 | 39 | 34 | 31 | 29 | 27 |
| Pennsylvania | 36 | | 34 | 33 | 30 | 27 | 25 | 23 | 21 | 19 | 18 |
| Midwest | 86 | | 90 | 87 | 87 | 88 | 86 | 80 | 74 | 69 | 65 |
| Illinois | 27 | | 27 | 26 | 25 | 24 | 24 | 22 | 20 | 19 | 18 |
| Indiana | 13 | | 12 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 9 |
| Michigan | 13 | | 17 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 19 | 18 | 16 | 15 | 14 |
| Ohio | 22 | | 24 | 23 | 23 | 24 | 23 | 21 | 19 | 18 | 16 |
| Wisconsin | 11 | | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 |



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Table 1-1 Apportionment of Congressional Seats, by Region and State,
 1910-2010 (435 seats)

| Region and State | 1910 | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1990 | 2000 | 2010 |
|------------------|----------------|------|------|------|----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Plains | 41 | | 34 | 31 | 31 | 27 | 25 | 24 | 22 | 22 | 21 |
| Iowa | 11 | | 9 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Kansas | 8 | | 7 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Minnesota | 10 | | 9 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Nebraska | 6 | | 5 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| North Dakota | 3 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| South Dakota | 3 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Rocky Mountains | 14 | | 14 | 16 | 16 | 17 | 19 | 24 | 24 | 28 | 31 |
| Arizona | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 9 |
| Colorado | 4 | | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 7 |
| Idaho | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Montana | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Nevada | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| New Mexico | 1 ^a | | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Utah | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Wyoming | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Pacific Coast | 19 | | 29 | 33 | 43 | 52 | 57 | 61 | 69 | 70 | 71 |
| Alaska | | | | | 1 ^b | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| California | 11 | | 20 | 23 | 30 | 38 | 43 | 45 | 52 | 53 | 53 |
| Hawaii | | | | | 1 ^c | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Oregon | 3 | | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Washington | 5 | | 6 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 10 |

a. New Mexico became a state in 1912; in 1910 it had a nonvoting delegate in Congress.

b. Alaska became a state on January 3, 1959. In 1950 Alaska had a nonvoting delegate in Congress, making the total for that year 437; subsequent reapportionment reduced the total to 435.

c. Hawaii became a state on August 21, 1959. In 1950 Hawaii had a nonvoting delegate in Congress, making the total for that year 437; subsequent reapportionment reduced the total to 435.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various editions); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; U.S. Census data 2000, www.census.gov.



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Table 1-2 Democratic Party Strength in the House, by Region, 69th-113th Congresses, 1925-2014

| Congress | 69th (1925- 1926) | 75th (1937- 1938) | 81st (1949- 1950) | 87th (1961- 1962) | 93rd (1973- 1974) | 96th (1979- 1980) | 97th (1981- 1982) | 98th (1983- 1984) | 100th (1987- 1988) | 101st (1989- 1990) |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Region | | | | | | | | | | |
| South | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 97.1 | 98.0 | 98.1 | 93.4 | 68.2 | 71.3 | 63.9 | 71.2 | 66.4 | 67.0 |
| Seats | 104 | 101 | 105 | 106 | 107 ^c | 108 | 108 | 116 | 116 | 115 ^h |
| Border | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 58.7 | 95.2 | 88.1 | 84.2 | 77.1 | 77.1 | 68.6 | 76.4 | 67.6 | 67.6 |
| Seats | 46 | 42 | 42 | 38 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 34 | 34 | 34 |
| New England | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 12.5 | 44.8 | 39.3 | 50.0 | 60.0 | 72.0 | 64.0 | 66.6 | 62.5 | 58.3 |
| Seats | 32 | 29 | 28 | 28 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 24 | 24 | 24 |
| Mid-Atlantic | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 26.4 | 68.0 | 48.4 | 48.9 | 53.8 | 63.8 | 53.8 | 58.3 | 56.9 | 58.3 |
| Seats | 91 | 94 | 93 | 88 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 72 | 72 | 72 |
| Midwest | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 16.7 | 72.2 | 43.7 | 40.7 | 37.6 | 55.3 | 50.0 | 55.0 | 57.5 | 59.5 |
| Seats | 84 | 90 | 87 | 86 ^a | 85 ^d | 85 ^f | 86 | 80 | 80 | 79 ⁱ |
| Plains | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 14.6 | 38.2 | 16.1 | 19.4 | 36.0 | 40.0 | 36.0 | 54.2 | 45.8 | 50.0 |
| Seats | 41 | 34 | 31 | 31 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 24 | 24 | 24 |
| Rocky Mountains | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 28.6 | 93.3 | 75.0 | 68.8 | 42.1 | 47.4 | 36.8 | 33.3 | 37.5 | 37.5 |
| Seats | 14 | 15 | 16 | 16 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 24 | 24 | 24 |
| Pacific Coast | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 19.0 | 80.0 | 36.4 | 51.2 | 58.9 | 66.1 | 56.1 | 62.3 | 59.0 | 59.0 |
| Seats | 21 | 30 | 33 | 43 ^b | 56 ^e | 56 ^g | 57 | 61 | 61 | 61 |

Note: Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

- a. J. Edward Roush (D-IN) was not sworn in until June 14, 1961 due to a disputed election result.
- b. Alaska was admitted as a state in 1958 and Hawaii in 1959. There were 437 representatives elected in 1960, both included in the Pacific Coast row.
- c. Hale Boggs (D-LA) was elected posthumously.
- d. George Collins (D-IL) was elected in 1972 but died before being sworn into office.
- e. Nicholas Begich (D-AK) was elected posthumously.
- f. William Steiger (R-WI) was elected in 1978 but died before being sworn into office.
- g. Leo Ryan (D-CA) was elected in 1978 but died before being sworn into office.
- h. William Nichols (D-AL) was elected in 1988 but died before being sworn into office.
- i. Daniel Coats (R-IN) won reelection in 1988 but was appointed to Dan Quayle's Senate seat on December 12, 1988.

Sources: Congressional Directory, various editions; Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various editions).



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Table 1-2 Democratic Party Strength in the House, by Region, 69th-110th Congresses, 1925-2014

| Congress | 102nd (1991- 1992) | 103rd (1993- 1994) | 104th (1995- 1996) | 105th (1997- 1998) | 106th (1999- 2000) | 107th (2001- 2002) | 108th (2003- 2004) | 109th (2005- 2006) | 110th (2007- 2008) | 111th (2009- 2010) | 112th (2011- 2012) | 113th (2013- 2014) |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Region | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| South | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 66.4 | 61.6 | 48.8 | 43.2 | 43.5 | 42.4 | 41.9 | 37.4 | 41.2 | 45 | 28.2 | 29 |
| Seats | 116 | 125 | 125 | 125 | 124 ^j | 125 | 131 | 131 | 131 | 131 | 131 | 138 |
| Border | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 67.6 | 65.6 | 50.0 | 40.6 | 40.6 | 37.5 | 45.1 | 45.2 | 48.4 | 51.6 | 41.9 | 36.6 |
| Seats | 34 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 30 |
| New England | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 66.7 | 60.9 | 60.9 | 78.3 | 78.3 | 73.9 | 68.2 | 72.7 | 95.5 | 100 | 90.9 | 100 |
| Seats | 24 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 21 |
| Mid-Atlantic | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 56.9 | 54.5 | 50.0 | 53.0 | 54.5 | 54.5 | 53.2 | 54.8 | 66.1 | 74.2 | 59.7 | 60.3 |
| Seats | 72 | 66 | 66 | 66 | 66 | 66 | 62 | 62 | 62 | 62 ^m | 62 | 58 |
| Midwest | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 61.2 | 58.1 | 43.2 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 48.6 | 40.6 | 40.6 | 47.8 | 56.5 | 36.2 | 38.4 |
| Seats | 80 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 69 | 69 | 69 | 69 ⁿ | 69 | 65 |
| Plains | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 54.2 | 54.5 | 36.4 | 36.4 | 40.9 | 36.4 | 31.8 | 36.4 | 54.5 | 50 | 31.8 | 33.3 |
| Seats | 24 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 21 |
| Rocky Mountains | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 45.8 | 45.8 | 25.0 | 20.8 | 20.8 | 25.0 | 25.0 | 28.6 | 39.3 | 60.7 | 35.7 | 41.9 |
| Seats | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 ^o | 31 |
| Pacific Coast | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 60.6 | 63.8 | 49.3 | 55.1 | 56.5 | 63.2 | 64.3 | 63.8 | 65.7 | 65.7 | 64.3 | 70.4 |
| Seats | 61 | 69 | 69 | 69 | 69 | 68 ^k | 70 | 69 ^l | 70 | 70 | 70 | 71 |

Note: Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

j. Newt Gingrich (R-GA) was elected in 1998, but resigned from his seat before being sworn in.

k. Julian Dixon (D-CA) was elected in 2000 but died before being sworn into office.

l. Robert Matsui (D-CA) was elected in 2004 but died before being sworn into office.

m. Kirsten E. Gillibrand resigned to replace Hillary Clinton in the Senate on January 26, 2009, but was still present at the N. Rahm Emanuel resigned his seat to enter the Obama administration.

n. Nevada's Second District is vacant as August 21, 2012. It was formerly held by Dean Heller (R).

Sources: Congressional Directory, various editions; Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various editions).

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Table 1-3 Democratic and Republican Seats in the House, by Region, 69th-113th Congresses, 1925-2014

| Congress | 69th | | 75th | | 81st | | 87th | | 93rd | | 96th | | 97th | | 98th | | 101st | | 102nd | |
|-----------------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| | 1925-1926 | | 1937-1938 | | 1949-1950 | | 1961-1962 | | 1973-1974 | | 1979-1980 | | 1981-1982 | | 1983-1984 | | 1989-1990 | | 1991-1992 | |
| Region | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R |
| South | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 54.9 | 1.2 | 29.8 | 2.2 | 39.2 | 1.2 | 37.8 | 3.4 | 30.4 | 17.7 | 27.9 | 19.7 | 28.4 | 20.3 | 30.2 | 21.0 | 29.3 | 22.4 | 28.8 | 23.4 |
| Seats | 101 | 3 | 99 | 2 | 103 | 2 | 99 | 6 | 73 | 34 | 77 | 31 | 69 | 39 | 81 | 35 | 76 | 39 | 77 | 39 |
| Border | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 14.7 | 7.8 | 12.0 | 2.2 | 14.1 | 2.9 | 12.2 | 3.4 | 11.3 | 4.2 | 9.8 | 5.1 | 9.9 | 5.7 | 9.7 | 4.8 | 8.9 | 6.3 | 8.6 | 6.6 |
| Seats | 27 | 19 | 40 | 2 | 37 | 5 | 32 | 6 | 27 | 8 | 27 | 8 | 24 | 11 | 26 | 8 | 23 | 11 | 23 | 11 |
| New England | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 2.2 | 11.4 | 3.9 | 17.6 | 4.2 | 9.9 | 5.3 | 8.0 | 6.3 | 5.2 | 6.5 | 4.5 | 6.6 | 4.7 | 6.0 | 4.8 | 5.4 | 5.7 | 6.0 | 4.2 |
| Seats | 4 | 28 | 13 | 16 | 11 | 17 | 14 | 14 | 15 | 10 | 18 | 7 | 16 | 9 | 16 | 8 | 14 | 10 | 16 | 7 |
| Mid-Atlantic | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 13.0 | 26.9 | 19.3 | 33.0 | 17.1 | 27.5 | 16.4 | 25.9 | 17.9 | 19.3 | 18.5 | 18.5 | 17.7 | 19.3 | 16.0 | 17.4 | 16.2 | 17.2 | 15.4 | 18.6 |
| Seats | 24 | 66 | 64 | 30 | 45 | 47 | 43 | 45 | 43 | 37 | 51 | 29 | 43 | 37 | 43 | 29 | 42 | 30 | 41 | 31 |
| Midwest | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 7.6 | 28.2 | 19.6 | 19.8 | 14.4 | 28.7 | 13.4 | 29.3 | 13.3 | 27.6 | 17.0 | 24.2 | 17.7 | 22.4 | 16.4 | 21.6 | 18.1 | 18.4 | 18.4 | 18.6 |
| Seats | 14 | 69 | 65 | 18 | 38 | 49 | 35 | 51 | 32 | 53 | 47 | 38 | 43 | 43 | 44 | 36 | 47 | 32 | 49 | 31 |
| Plains | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 3.3 | 13.5 | 3.9 | 17.6 | 1.9 | 15.2 | 2.3 | 14.4 | 3.8 | 8.3 | 3.6 | 9.6 | 3.7 | 8.3 | 4.5 | 7.2 | 4.6 | 6.9 | 4.9 | 6.6 |
| Seats | 6 | 33 | 13 | 16 | 5 | 26 | 6 | 25 | 9 | 16 | 10 | 15 | 9 | 16 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 13 | 11 |
| Rocky Mountains | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 2.2 | 4.1 | 4.2 | 1.1 | 4.6 | 2.3 | 4.2 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 5.7 | 3.3 | 6.4 | 2.9 | 6.3 | 3.0 | 9.6 | 3.5 | 8.6 | 4.1 | 7.8 |
| Seats | 4 | 10 | 14 | 1 | 12 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 8 | 11 | 9 | 10 | 7 | 12 | 8 | 16 | 9 | 15 | 11 | 13 |
| Pacific Coast | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 2.2 | 6.9 | 7.2 | 6.6 | 4.6 | 12.3 | 8.4 | 12.1 | 13.8 | 12.0 | 13.4 | 12.1 | 13.2 | 13.0 | 14.2 | 13.8 | 13.9 | 14.4 | 13.9 | 14.4 |
| Seats | 4 | 17 | 24 | 6 | 12 | 21 | 22 | 21 | 33 | 23 | 37 | 19 | 32 | 25 | 38 | 23 | 36 | 25 | 37 | 24 |
| Total Seats | 184 | 245 | 332 | 91 | 263 | 171 | 262 | 174 | 240 | 192 | 276 | 157 | 243 | 192 | 268 | 167 | 259 | 174 | 267 | 167 |

Note: D indicates Democrats; R indicates Republicans. Third parties are omitted. Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

Sources: *Congressional Directory*, various editions; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various editions).



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Table 1-3 Democratic and Republican Seats in the House, by Region, 69th-113th Congresses, 1925-2014

| Congress | 103rd | | 104th | | 105th | | 106th | | 107th | | 108th | | 109th | | 110th | | 111th | | 112th | | 113th | |
|-----------------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| | 1993-1994 | | 1995-1996 | | 1997-1998 | | 1999-2000 | | 2001-2002 | | 2003-2004 | | 2005-2006 | | 2007-2008 | | 2009-2010 | | 2011-2012 | | 2013-2014 | |
| Region | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R |
| South | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 29.8 | 27.3 | 29.9 | 27.8 | 26.1 | 31.3 | 25.6 | 31.5 | 25.1 | 32.3 | 26.8 | 33.2 | 24.4 | 35.3 | 23.2 | 38.1 | 23.5 | 40.5 | 19.2 | 39.0 | 19.8 | 42 |
| Seats | 77 | 48 | 61 | 64 | 54 | 71 | 54 | 70 | 53 | 71 | 55 | 76 | 49 | 82 | 54 | 77 | 59 | 72 | 37 | 94 | 40 | 98 |
| Border | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 8.1 | 6.3 | 7.8 | 7.0 | 6.3 | 8.4 | 6.2 | 8.6 | 5.7 | 9.1 | 6.8 | 7.4 | 7.0 | 7.3 | 6.4 | 7.9 | 6.3 | 8.4 | 6.7 | 7.4 | 5.4 | 8.15 |
| Seats | 21 | 11 | 16 | 16 | 13 | 19 | 13 | 19 | 12 | 20 | 14 | 17 | 14 | 17 | 15 | 16 | 16 | 15 | 13 | 18 | 11 | 19 |
| New England | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 5.4 | 4.5 | 6.9 | 3.5 | 8.7 | 1.8 | 8.5 | 1.8 | 8.1 | 2.3 | 7.8 | 2.2 | 8.0 | 2.2 | 9.0 | 0.5 | 8.6 | 0.0 | 10.4 | 0.8 | 10.4 | 0 |
| Seats | 14 | 8 | 14 | 8 | 18 | 4 | 18 | 4 | 17 | 5 | 16 | 5 | 16 | 5 | 21 | 1 | 22 | 0 | 20 | 2 | 21 | 0 |
| Mid-Atlantic | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 14.0 | 17.0 | 16.2 | 14.3 | 16.9 | 13.7 | 17.1 | 13.5 | 17.1 | 13.6 | 16.1 | 12.7 | 16.9 | 12.1 | 17.6 | 10.4 | 18.0 | 9.0 | 18.7 | 10.7 | 17.3 | 9.9 |
| Seats | 36 | 30 | 33 | 33 | 35 | 31 | 36 | 30 | 36 | 30 | 33 | 29 | 34 | 28 | 41 | 21 | 46 | 16 | 36 | 26 | 35 | 23 |
| Midwest | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 16.7 | 17.6 | 15.7 | 18.3 | 17.9 | 16.3 | 17.5 | 16.7 | 17.5 | 16.8 | 13.7 | 17.9 | 13.9 | 17.7 | 14.2 | 17.8 | 15.2 | 9.0 | 15.2 | 16.3 | 12.4 | 17.2 |
| Seats | 43 | 31 | 32 | 42 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 28 | 41 | 28 | 41 | 33 | 36 | 39 | 16 | 39 | 29 | 25 | 40 |
| Plains | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 4.7 | 5.7 | 3.9 | 6.1 | 3.9 | 6.2 | 4.3 | 5.9 | 3.8 | 6.4 | 3.4 | 6.6 | 4.0 | 6.0 | 5.2 | 5.0 | 4.3 | 6.2 | 3.6 | 6.2 | 3.5 | 6 |
| Seats | 12 | 10 | 8 | 14 | 8 | 14 | 9 | 13 | 8 | 14 | 7 | 15 | 8 | 14 | 12 | 10 | 11 | 11 | 7 | 15 | 7 | 14 |
| Rocky Mountains | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 4.3 | 7.4 | 2.9 | 7.8 | 1.9 | 8.8 | 2.4 | 8.6 | 2.8 | 8.2 | 3.4 | 9.2 | 4.0 | 8.6 | 4.7 | 8.4 | 6.6 | 6.2 | 5.2 | 7.4 | 6.4 | 7.7 |
| Seats | 11 | 13 | 6 | 18 | 4 | 20 | 5 | 19 | 6 | 18 | 7 | 21 | 8 | 20 | 11 | 17 | 17 | 11 | 10 | 18 | 13 | 18 |
| Pacific Coast | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 17.1 | 14.2 | 16.7 | 15.2 | 18.4 | 13.7 | 18.5 | 13.5 | 19.9 | 11.4 | 22.0 | 10.9 | 21.9 | 10.8 | 19.7 | 11.9 | 18.0 | 13.5 | 23.3 | 10.3 | 24.8 | 9 |
| Seats | 44 | 25 | 34 | 35 | 38 | 31 | 39 | 30 | 42 | 25 | 45 | 25 | 44 | 25 | 46 | 24 | 46 | 24 | 45 | 25 | 50 | 21 |
| Total Seats | 258 | 176 | 204 | 230 | 207 | 227 | 211 | 222 | 211 | 220 | 205 | 229 | 201 | 232 | 233 | 202 | 256 | 178 | 193 | 242 | 202 | 233 |



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Table 1-4 Democratic Party Strength in the Senate, by Region, 69th-113th Congresses, 1925-2014

| Congress | 69th (1925-1926) | 75th (1937-1938) | 81st (1949-1950) | 87th (1961-1962) | 93rd (1973-1974) | 96th (1979-1980) | 97th (1981-1982) | 98th (1983-1984) | 100th (1987-1988) | 101st (1989-1990) | 102nd (1991-1992) |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Region | | | | | | | | | | | |
| South | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 63.6 | 50.0 | 54.4 | 50.0 | 72.7 | 68.2 | 68.2 |
| Seats | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 |
| Border | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 50.0 | 100.0 | 80.0 | 60.0 | 50.0 | 70.0 | 70.0 | 70.0 | 60.0 | 60.0 | 60.0 |
| Seats | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| New England | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 8.3 | 50.0 | 25.0 | 41.7 | 58.3 | 58.3 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 58.3 | 58.3 |
| Seats | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| Mid-Atlantic | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 37.5 | 75.0 | 37.5 | 25.0 | 25.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 |
| Seats | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Midwest | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 10.0 | 80.0 | 20.0 | 70.0 | 60.0 | 80.0 | 60.0 | 60.0 | 70.0 | 70.0 | 70.0 |
| Seats | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Plains | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 0.0 | 50.0 | 16.7 | 25.0 | 58.3 | 41.7 | 25.0 | 25.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 58.3 |
| Seats | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| Rocky Mountains | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 50.0 | 93.8 | 75.0 | 75.0 | 56.2 | 37.5 | 31.3 | 31.3 | 37.5 | 37.5 | 37.5 |
| Seats | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| Pacific Coast | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 16.7 | 50.0 | 33.3 | 80.0 | 60.0 | 60.0 | 40.0 | 40.0 | 40.0 | 40.0 | 40.0 |
| Seats | 6 | 6 | 6 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |

Note: Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

a. Excludes Richard Shelby (AL) who switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party on the day following the election and before the beginning of the 104th Congress (1995).

Sources: *Congressional Directory*, various editions; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; US Senate, <http://www.senate.gov>; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various editions).



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Table 1-4 Democratic Party Strength in the Senate, by Region, 69th-113th Congresses, 1925-2014

| Congress | 103rd (1993-1994) | 104th (1995-1996) | 105th (1997-1998) | 106th (1999-2000) | 107th (2001-2002) | 108th 2004 | (2003- 109th 2006) | (2005- 110th 2008) | (2007- 111th (2009-2010) | 112th (2011-2012) | 113th (2013-2014) |
|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Region | | | | | | | | | | | |
| South | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 59.1 | 36.4 ^a | 31.8 | 36.4 | 36.4 | 40.9 | 18.2 | 22.7 | 31.8 | 27.3 | 27.3 |
| Seats | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 |
| Border | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 60.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 40.0 | 50.0 | 40.0 | 40.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 |
| Seats | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| New England | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 58.3 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 58.3 | 50.0 | 66.6 |
| Seats | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| Mid-Atlantic | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 62.5 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 62.5 | 75.0 | 75.0 | 75.0 | 87.5 | 87.5 | 87.5 | 90 |
| Seats | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Midwest | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 80.0 | 60.0 | 60.0 | 50.0 | 60.0 | 60.0 | 70.0 | 80.0 | 70.0 | 50.0 | 60 |
| Seats | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Plains | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 58.3 | 58.3 | 58.3 | 58.3 | 66.7 | 58.3 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 | 41.7 |
| Seats | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| Rocky Mountains | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 37.5 | 37.5 | 25.0 | 25.0 | 25.0 | 18.8 | 25.0 | 31.3 | 43.8 | 43.8 | 43.8 |
| Seats | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| Pacific Coast | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 50.0 | 50.0 | 60.0 | 60.0 | 70.0 | 70.0 | 70.0 | 70.0 | 90.0 | 90.0 | 90.0 |
| Seats | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |

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Table 1-5 Democratic and Republican Seats in the Senate, by Region, 69th-113th Congresses, 1925-2014

| Region | Congress | 69th | | 75th | | 81st | | 87th | | 93rd | | 97th | | 101st | | 102nd | | 103rd | |
|-----------------|----------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| | | 1925-1926 | | 1937-1938 | | 1949-1950 | | 1961-1962 | | 1973-1974 | | 1981-1982 | | 1989-1990 | | 1991-1992 | | 1993-1994 | |
| | | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R |
| South | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 53.7 | 0.0 | 28.9 | 0.0 | 40.7 | 0.0 | 33.8 | 0.0 | 25.0 | 16.7 | 23.9 | 18.9 | 27.3 | 15.6 | 26.8 | 15.9 | 22.8 | 20.9 |
| Seats | | 22 | 0 | 22 | 0 | 22 | 0 | 22 | 0 | 14 | 7 | 11 | 10 | 15 | 7 | 15 | 7 | 13 | 9 |
| Border | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 12.2 | 9.3 | 13.2 | 0.0 | 14.8 | 4.8 | 9.2 | 11.4 | 8.9 | 11.9 | 15.2 | 5.7 | 10.9 | 8.9 | 10.7 | 9.1 | 10.5 | 9.3 |
| Seats | | 5 | 5 | 10 | 0 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 4 |
| New England | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 2.4 | 20.4 | 7.9 | 37.5 | 5.6 | 21.4 | 7.7 | 20.0 | 12.5 | 11.9 | 13.0 | 11.3 | 12.7 | 11.1 | 12.5 | 11.4 | 12.3 | 11.6 |
| Seats | | 1 | 11 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 |
| Mid-Atlantic | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 7.3 | 9.3 | 7.9 | 12.5 | 5.6 | 11.9 | 3.1 | 17.1 | 3.6 | 11.9 | 8.7 | 7.5 | 7.3 | 8.9 | 7.1 | 9.1 | 8.8 | 7.0 |
| Seats | | 3 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| Midwest | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 2.4 | 16.7 | 10.5 | 6.3 | 3.7 | 19.0 | 10.8 | 8.6 | 10.7 | 9.5 | 13.0 | 7.5 | 12.7 | 6.7 | 12.5 | 6.8 | 14.0 | 4.7 |
| Seats | | 1 | 9 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 8 | 2 |
| Plains | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 0.0 | 20.4 | 7.9 | 18.8 | 3.7 | 23.8 | 4.6 | 25.7 | 12.5 | 11.9 | 6.5 | 17.0 | 10.9 | 13.3 | 12.5 | 11.4 | 12.3 | 11.6 |
| Seats | | 0 | 11 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 10 | 3 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 |
| Rocky Mountains | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 19.5 | 14.8 | 19.7 | 6.3 | 22.2 | 9.5 | 18.5 | 11.4 | 16.1 | 16.7 | 10.9 | 20.8 | 10.9 | 22.2 | 10.7 | 22.7 | 10.5 | 23.3 |
| Seats | | 8 | 8 | 15 | 1 | 12 | 4 | 12 | 4 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 11 | 6 | 10 | 6 | 10 | 6 | 10 |
| Pacific Coast | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 2.4 | 9.3 | 3.9 | 18.8 | 3.7 | 9.5 | 12.3 | 5.7 | 10.7 | 9.5 | 8.7 | 11.3 | 7.3 | 13.3 | 7.1 | 13.6 | 8.8 | 11.6 |
| Seats | | 1 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Total Seats | | 41 | 54 | 76 | 16 | 54 | 42 | 65 | 35 | 56 | 42 | 46 | 53 | 55 | 45 | 56 | 44 | 57 | 43 |

Note: D indicates Democrats; R indicates Republicans. Third parties are omitted. Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

a. Includes Richard Shelby (AL) who switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party on the day following the election and before the beginning of the 104th Congress.

Sources: Congressional Directory, various editions; Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; US Senate, <http://www.senate.gov>; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various editions).



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Table 1-5 Democratic and Republican Seats in the Senate, by Region, 69th-113th Congresses, 1925-2014

| Region | Congress | 104th | | 105th | | 106th | | 107th | | 108th | | 109th | | 110th | | 111th | | 112th | | 113th | |
|-----------------|----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| | | 1995-1996 | | 1997-1998 | | 1999-2000 | | 2001-2002 | | 2003-2004 | | 2005-2006 | | 2007-2008 | | 2009-2010 | | 2011-2012 | | 2013-2014 | |
| | | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R | D | R |
| South | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 19.1 | 24.5 | 15.6 | 27.3 | 17.8 | 25.5 | 16.0 | 28.0 | 18.8 | 25.5 | 9.1 | 32.7 | 10.2 | 34.7 | 12.7 | 36.6 | 11.8 | 34.0 | 11.3 | 35.5 |
| Seats | | 9 | 13 ^a | 7 | 15 | 8 | 14 | 8 | 14 | 9 | 13 | 4 | 18 | 5 | 17 | 7 | 15 | 6 | 16 | 6 | 16 |
| Border | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 10.6 | 9.4 | 11.1 | 9.1 | 8.9 | 10.9 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 8.3 | 11.8 | 9.1 | 10.9 | 10.2 | 10.2 | 9.1 | 12.2 | 9.8 | 10.6 | 9.4 | 11.1 |
| Seats | | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| New England | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 12.8 | 11.3 | 13.3 | 10.9 | 13.3 | 10.9 | 12.0 | 12.0 | 12.5 | 9.8 | 13.6 | 9.1 | 12.2 | 8.2 | 12.7 | 7.3 | 11.8 | 8.5 | 15 | 4.4 |
| Seats | | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 8 | 2 |
| Mid-Atlantic | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 8.5 | 7.5 | 8.9 | 7.3 | 11.1 | 5.5 | 12.0 | 4.0 | 12.5 | 3.9 | 13.6 | 3.6 | 14.3 | 2.0 | 12.7 | 2.4 | 13.7 | 2.1 | 13.2 | 2.2 |
| Seats | | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 7 | 1 |
| Midwest | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 12.8 | 7.5 | 13.3 | 7.3 | 11.1 | 9.1 | 12.0 | 8.0 | 12.5 | 7.8 | 15.9 | 5.5 | 16.3 | 4.1 | 12.7 | 4.9 | 9.8 | 10.6 | 11.3 | 8.9 |
| Seats | | 6 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 4 |
| Plains | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 14.9 | 9.4 | 15.6 | 9.1 | 15.6 | 9.1 | 16.0 | 8.0 | 14.6 | 9.8 | 13.6 | 10.9 | 12.2 | 12.2 | 10.9 | 12.2 | 11.8 | 12.8 | 9.4 | 15.5 |
| Seats | | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 7 |
| Rocky Mountains | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 10.6 | 20.8 | 8.9 | 21.8 | 8.9 | 21.8 | 8.0 | 24.0 | 6.3 | 25.5 | 9.1 | 21.8 | 10.2 | 22.4 | 12.7 | 22.0 | 13.7 | 19.2 | 13.2 | 20 |
| Seats | | 5 | 11 | 4 | 12 | 4 | 12 | 4 | 12 | 3 | 13 | 4 | 12 | 5 | 11 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 9 |
| Pacific Coast | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | | 10.6 | 9.4 | 13.3 | 7.3 | 13.3 | 7.3 | 14.0 | 6.0 | 14.6 | 5.9 | 15.9 | 5.5 | 14.3 | 6.1 | 16.4 | 2.4 | 17.7 | 2.1 | 17 | 2.2 |
| Seats | | 5 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 9 | 1 |
| Total Seats | | 47 | 53 | 45 | 55 | 45 | 55 | 50 | 50 | 48 | 51 | 44 | 55 | 49 | 49 | 55 | 41 | 51 | 47 | 51 | 47 |



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Table 1-6 Seniority of Representatives, 1953 - 2014

| Congress | Percentage of representatives serving | | | | | | | Total | Mean term | Median term |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|---------|---------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|
| | 1 term | 2 terms | 3 terms | 1 - 3 terms | 4 - 6 terms | 7 - 9 terms | 10 + terms | | | |
| 83rd (1953) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 18.7 | 16.9 | 14.8 | 50.3 | 27.0 | 13.4 | 9.2 | | 4.5 | 3 |
| Seats | 81 | 73 | 64 | 218 | 117 | 58 | 40 | 433 ^a | | |
| 84th (1955) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 13.1 | 16.8 | 14.5 | 44.4 | 27.4 | 16.8 | 11.5 | | 5.0 | 4 |
| Seats | 57 | 73 | 63 | 193 | 119 | 73 | 50 | 435 | | |
| 85th (1957) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 10.6 | 11.5 | 15.2 | 37.4 | 32.8 | 15.2 | 14.5 | | 5.4 | 4 |
| Seats | 46 | 50 | 66 | 162 | 142 | 66 | 63 | 433 ^b | | |
| 86th (1959) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 18.8 | 10.3 | 11.2 | 40.4 | 31.2 | 14.7 | 13.1 | | 5.2 | 4 |
| Seats | 82 | 45 | 49 | 176 | 136 | 64 | 57 | 436 ^c | | |
| 87th (1961) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 14.2 | 14.9 | 8.2 | 37.3 | 30.0 | 17.4 | 15.3 | | 5.5 | 5 |
| Seats | 62 | 65 | 36 | 163 | 131 | 76 | 67 | 437 ^d | | |
| 88th (1963) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 15.4 | 14.3 | 12.2 | 41.9 | 24.4 | 18.0 | 15.7 | | 5.5 | 5 |
| Seats | 67 | 62 | 53 | 182 | 106 | 78 | 68 | 434 ^e | | |
| 89th (1965) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 20.9 | 13.3 | 11.3 | 45.5 | 22.3 | 16.8 | 15.4 | | 5.1 | 4 |
| Seats | 91 | 58 | 49 | 198 | 97 | 73 | 67 | 435 | | |
| 90th (1967) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 16.6 | 14.8 | 10.9 | 42.3 | 24.9 | 15.9 | 16.9 | | 5.3 | 4 |
| Seats | 72 | 64 | 47 | 183 | 108 | 69 | 73 | 433 ^f | | |
| 91st (1969) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 9.2 | 17.2 | 12.9 | 39.3 | 29.0 | 14.9 | 16.8 | | 5.6 | 5 |
| Seats | 40 | 75 | 56 | 171 | 126 | 65 | 73 | 435 | | |
| 92nd (1971) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 12.9 | 9.7 | 14.7 | 37.2 | 28.0 | 15.6 | 19.1 | | 5.8 | 5 |
| Seats | 56 | 42 | 64 | 162 | 122 | 68 | 83 | 435 | | |
| 93rd (1973) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 16.0 | 12.7 | 8.8 | 37.5 | 29.6 | 15.3 | 17.6 | | 5.5 | 5 |
| Seats | 69 | 55 | 38 | 162 | 128 | 66 | 76 | 432 ^g | | |
| 94th (1975) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 21.1 | 14.7 | 9.2 | 45.1 | 23.0 | 17.9 | 14.0 | | 5.2 | 4 |
| Seats | 92 | 64 | 40 | 196 | 100 | 78 | 61 | 435 | | |
| 95th (1977) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 15.4 | 21.6 | 13.3 | 50.3 | 20.0 | 16.1 | 13.6 | | 4.9 | 3 |
| Seats | 67 | 94 | 58 | 219 | 87 | 70 | 59 | 435 | | |

Vital Statistics on Congress
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Table 1-6 Seniority of Representatives, 1953 - 2014

| Congress | Percentage of representatives serving | | | | | | | Total | Mean term | Median term |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|---------|---------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|
| | 1 term | 2 terms | 3 terms | 1 - 3 terms | 4 - 6 terms | 7 - 9 terms | 10 + terms | | | |
| 96th (1979) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 17.8 | 14.8 | 18.0 | 50.6 | 21.9 | 15.0 | 12.5 | | 4.8 | 3 |
| Seats | 77 | 64 | 78 | 219 | 95 | 65 | 54 | 433 ^h | | |
| 97th (1981) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 17.0 | 17.5 | 13.6 | 48.0 | 27.8 | 12.9 | 11.3 | | 4.7 | 4 |
| Seats | 74 | 76 | 59 | 209 | 121 | 56 | 49 | 435 | | |
| 98th (1983) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 18.4 | 14.7 | 15.2 | 48.4 | 28.8 | 10.4 | 12.4 | | 4.7 | 4 |
| Seats | 80 | 64 | 66 | 210 | 125 | 45 | 54 | 434 ⁱ | | |
| 99th (1985) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 9.9 | 18.2 | 14.3 | 42.4 | 31.8 | 13.4 | 12.4 | | 5.1 | 4 |
| Seats | 43 | 79 | 62 | 184 | 138 | 58 | 54 | 434 ^j | | |
| 100th (1987) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 11.5 | 8.7 | 17.2 | 37.5 | 32.9 | 14.7 | 14.9 | | 5.5 | 5 |
| Seats | 50 | 38 | 75 | 163 | 143 | 64 | 65 | 435 | | |
| 101st (1989) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 7.6 | 12.5 | 7.6 | 27.7 | 38.6 | 19.9 | 13.9 | | 5.8 | 5 |
| Seats | 33 | 54 | 33 | 120 | 167 | 86 | 60 | 433 ^k | | |
| 102nd (1991) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 10.1 | 9.4 | 11.0 | 30.6 | 31.5 | 20.9 | 17.0 | | 6.1 | 5 |
| Seats | 44 | 41 | 48 | 133 | 137 | 91 | 74 | 435 | | |
| 103rd (1993) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 25.3 | 10.1 | 8.7 | 44.1 | 25.1 | 15.9 | 14.9 | | 5.2 | 4 |
| Seats | 110 | 44 | 38 | 192 | 109 | 69 | 65 | 435 | | |
| 104th (1995) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 19.8 | 22.3 | 8.5 | 50.6 | 17.9 | 17.9 | 13.6 | | 4.9 | 3 |
| Seats | 86 | 97 | 37 | 220 | 78 | 78 | 59 | 435 | | |
| 105th (1997) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 18.2 | 17.5 | 20.2 | 55.9 | 16.3 | 14.9 | 12.9 | | 4.8 | 3 |
| Seats | 79 | 76 | 88 | 243 | 71 | 65 | 56 | 435 | | |
| 106th (1999) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 9.4 | 17.2 | 15.9 | 42.5 | 29.2 | 13.3 | 14.9 | | 4.8 | 4 |
| Seats | 41 | 75 | 69 | 185 | 127 | 58 | 65 | 435 | | |
| 107th (2001) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 9.2 | 9.4 | 15.7 | 34.3 | 35.7 | 12.4 | 17.5 | | 5.6 | 5 |
| Seats | 40 | 41 | 68 | 149 | 155 | 54 | 76 | 434 ^l | | |

Vital Statistics on Congress
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Table 1-6 Seniority of Representatives, 1953 - 2014

| Congress | Percentage of representatives serving | | | | | | | Total | Mean term | Median term |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|---------|---------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|
| | 1 term | 2 terms | 3 terms | 1 - 3 terms | 4 - 6 terms | 7 - 9 terms | 10 + terms | | | |
| 108th (2003) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 14.3 | 9.4 | 10.6 | 34.3 | 36.3 | 13.8 | 15.6 | | 5.5 | 5 |
| Seats | 62 | 41 | 46 | 149 | 158 | 60 | 68 | 435 | | |
| 109th (2005) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 9.9 | 11.5 | 10.1 | 31.6 | 29.5 | 22.4 | 16.6 | | 5.9 | 5 |
| Seats | 43 | 50 | 44 | 137 | 128 | 97 | 72 | 434 ^m | | |
| 110th (2007) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 13.1 | 9.9 | 11.3 | 34.3 | 26.7 | 22.8 | 16.3 | | 6.0 | 5 |
| Seats | 57 | 43 | 49 | 149 | 116 | 99 | 71 | 435 | | |
| 111th (2009) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 12.4 | 13.4 | 8.1 | 33.9 | 23.5 | 24.4 | 18.2 | | 6.2 | 5 |
| Seats | 54 | 58 | 35 | 147 | 102 | 106 | 79 | 434 ⁿ | | |
| 112th (2011) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 20.5 | 9.7 | 9.0 | 39.2 | 22.4 | 15.9 | 22.4 | | 6.0 | 5 |
| Seats | 89 | 42 | 39 | 170 | 97 | 69 | 97 | 433 ^o | | |
| 113th (2013) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Percent | 16.5 | 19.5 | 9.0 | 45.1 | 20.9 | 16.6 | 17.0 | | 5.7 | 4 |
| Seats | 72 | 85 | 39 | 196 | 91 | 72 | 74 | 433 ^p | | |

Note: Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

- a. E.E. Cox (D-GA) and Adolph Sabath (D-IL) were elected in 1952 but died before being sworn into office.
- b. Antonio Fernandez (D-NM) and T. Millet Hand (R-NJ) were elected in 1956 but died before being sworn into office.
- c. Alaska was admitted as a state in 1958. The total figure includes the addition of Alaska's representative.
- d. Alaska was admitted as a state in 1958 and Hawaii in 1959. The total figure includes the addition of Alaska's and Hawaii's representatives. In 1963 the other states absorbed the proportionate loss in representatives necessary to give Alaska and Hawaii permanent representation under the 435-member figure established in 1911.
- e. Clement Miller (D-CA) was elected posthumously.
- f. John Fogarty (D-RI) was elected in 1966 but died before being sworn into office. Adam Powell (D-NY) was elected in 1966 but the results were contested and he was not sworn into office.
- g. Nicholas Begich (D-AK) and Hale Boggs (D-LA) were elected posthumously. George Collins (D-IL) was elected in 1972 but died before being sworn into office.
- h. Leo Ryan (D-CA) and William Steiger (R-WI) were elected in 1978 but died before being sworn into office.
- i. Jack Swigert (R-CO) was elected in 1982 but died before being sworn into office.
- j. Frank McCloskey's (D-IN) reelection in 1984 was disputed and he was not sworn into office until May 1, 1985.
- k. William Nichols (D-AL) was elected in 1988 but died before being sworn into office. Daniel Coats (R-IN) won reelection in 1988 but was appointed to Dan Quayle's Senate seat on December 12, 1988.
- l. Julian Dixon (D-CA) was elected in 2000 but died before being sworn into office.
- m. Robert Matsui (D-CA) was elected in 2004 but died before being sworn into office.
- n. The fifth district of Illinois, previously held by Rahm Emanuel, was vacant.
- o. California's 36th district seat and Nevada's second district seat were vacant and so are not included in the total count.
- p. South Carolina's first district seat and Illinois's second district seat were vacant and so are not included in the total count.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various editions); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; *Congressional Directory*, various editions; Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various editions).



Vital Statistics on Congress
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Table 1-7 Seniority of Senators, 1953 - 2014

| Congress | | Number of Senators serving | | | | Total | Mean years service | Median years service |
|----------|--------|----------------------------|--------------|---------------|------------------|-------|--------------------|----------------------|
| | | 6 years or less | 7 - 12 years | 13 - 18 years | 19 years or more | | | |
| 83rd | (1953) | 46 (16) | 29 | 14 | 7 | 96 | 8.5 | 7 |
| 84th | (1955) | 42 (14) | 37 | 8 | 9 | 96 | 8.4 | 7 |
| 85th | (1957) | 37 (10) | 36 | 13 | 10 | 96 | 9.6 | 9 |
| 86th | (1959) | 42 (20) | 30 | 14 | 12 | 98 | 9.4 | 8 |
| 87th | (1961) | 42 (7) | 25 | 22 | 11 | 100 | 9.7 | 9 |
| 88th | (1963) | 42 (12) | 26 | 18 | 14 | 100 | 9.9 | 7 |
| 89th | (1965) | 29 (8) | 36 | 16 | 19 | 100 | 11.1 | 9 |
| 90th | (1967) | 28 (7) | 34 | 19 | 19 | 100 | 11.6 | 9 |
| 91st | (1969) | 32 (14) | 32 | 17 | 19 | 100 | 11.2 | 11 |
| 92nd | (1971) | 25 (10) | 24 | 29 | 22 | 100 | 11.5 | 11 |
| 93rd | (1973) | 40 (13) | 20 | 20 | 20 | 100 | 11.2 | 9 |
| 94th | (1975) | 36 (12) ^a | 22 | 23 | 19 | 100 | 11.5 | 9 |
| 95th | (1977) | 42 (17) | 25 | 13 | 20 | 100 | 10.6 | 9 |
| 96th | (1979) | 48 (20) | 24 | 10 | 18 | 100 | 9.6 | 7 |
| 97th | (1981) | 55 (18) | 20 | 10 | 15 | 100 | 8.5 | 5 |
| 98th | (1983) | 43 (5) | 28 | 16 | 13 | 100 | 9.6 | 7 |
| 99th | (1985) | 32 (7) | 38 | 18 | 12 | 100 | 10.1 | 9 |
| 100th | (1987) | 26 (13) | 44 | 16 | 14 | 100 | 9.6 | 8 |
| 101st | (1989) | 31 (10) | 26 | 29 | 14 | 100 | 9.8 | 10 |
| 102nd | (1991) | 30 (5) | 23 | 28 | 19 | 100 | 11.1 | 11 |
| 103rd | (1993) | 30 (13) | 17 | 32 | 21 | 100 | 11.3 | 12 |
| 104th | (1995) | 29 (11) | 26 | 20 | 25 | 100 | 12.3 | 11 |
| 105th | (1997) | 40 (15) | 24 | 13 | 23 | 100 | 11.2 | 9 |
| 106th | (1999) | 43 (8) | 25 | 12 | 20 | 100 | 11.0 | 10 |
| 107th | (2001) | 45 (11) | 18 | 15 | 22 | 100 | 11.3 | 8 |
| 108th | (2003) | 30 (10) | 29 | 16 | 25 | 100 | 12.7 | 9.5 |
| 109th | (2005) | 36 (9) | 26 | 15 | 23 | 100 | 12.4 | 10 |
| 110th | (2007) | 36 (10) | 23 | 13 | 27 | 100 | 12.9 | 10 |
| 111th | (2009) | 32 (11) ^b | 19 | 20 | 29 | 100 | 14.0 | 11 |
| 112th | (2011) | 42 (13) | 17 | 14 | 27 | 100 | 12.3 | 9 |
| 113th | (2013) | 54 (13) | 17 | 11 | 18 | 100 | 9.9 | 6 |

Note: Figures in parentheses are the number of freshman senators. Senators who are currently in their first full term are listed under the "6 years or less" column. Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

a. Total includes John Durkin (D-NH). After a contested election in 1974, the Senate declared the seat vacant as of August 8, 1975. He was then elected by special election, September 16, 1975, to fill the vacancy.

b. Total includes Al Franken (D-MN), who was declared elected after a challenge in court to the vote count by his Republican challenger on June 30, 2009; and Roland Burris (D-IL) who was appointed to fill the seat vacated by Barack Obama on December 31, 2008. Total also includes Joe Biden (D-DE), who resigned his seat on January 15, 2009 and so was present on the first day of the session.

Sources: *Congressional Directory*, various editions; *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various editions); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; *National Journal*, various issues; US Senate, <http://www.senate.gov>; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various editions).



Vital Statistics on Congress
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Table 1-8 Prior Occupations of Representatives, 83rd - 113th Congresses, 1953 - 2014

| Occupation | 83rd 1953 | 84th 1955 | 86th 1959 | 89th 1965 | 90th 1967 | 91st 1969 | 92nd 1971 | 93rd 1973 | 94th 1975 | 95th 1977 | 96th 1979 | 97th 1981 | 98th 1983 |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Acting/entertainer | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aeronautics | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Agriculture | 53 | 51 | 45 | 44 | 39 | 34 | 36 | 38 | 31 | 16 | 19 | 28 | 26 |
| Business or banking | 131 | 127 | 130 | 156 | 161 | 159 | 145 | 155 | 140 | 118 | 127 | 134 | 138 |
| Clergy | | | | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 2 |
| Congressional aide | | | | | | | | | | 5 | 10 | 11 | 16 |
| Education | 46 | 47 | 41 | 68 | 57 | 59 | 61 | 59 | 64 | 70 | 57 | 59 | 43 |
| Engineering | 5 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 5 |
| Journalism | 36 | 33 | 35 | 43 | 39 | 39 | 30 | 23 | 24 | 27 | 11 | 21 | 22 |
| Labor leader | | | | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 2 |
| Law | 247 | 245 | 242 | 247 | 246 | 242 | 236 | 221 | 221 | 222 | 205 | 194 | 200 |
| Law enforcement | | | | | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Medicine | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Military | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Professional sports | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Public service/politics | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Real estate | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Veteran | 246 | 261 | 261 | 310 | 320 | 320 | 316 | 317 | 307 | 347 | 240 | 269 | 247 |
| New Occupations | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Artistic/Creative | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Healthcare | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Homemaker/Domestic | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Science | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Secreterial/clerical | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Technical/Trade | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Note: Blanks indicate years and occupations for which *Congressional Quarterly* did not compile data. Some members say they have more than one occupation.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various editions); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>; Military Officers Association of America; Veterans in Congress, The Veterans of Foreign Wars National Legislative Service, "Representatives with Military Service, 108th Congress;" Veterans' Information: Veteran's in Congress, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs.



Vital Statistics on Congress
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Table 1-8 Prior Occupations of Representatives, 83rd - 113th Congresses, 1953 - 2014

| Occupation | 99th 1985 | 100th 1987 | 101st 1989 | 102nd 1991 | 103rd 1993 | 104th 1995 | 105th 1997 | 106th 1999 | 107th 2001 | 108th 2003 | 109th 2005 | 110th 2007 | 111th 2009 | 112th 2011 | 113th 2013 |
|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Acting/entertainer | | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Aeronautics | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| Agriculture | 29 | 20 | 19 | 20 | 19 | 20 | 22 | 22 | 25 | 26 | 29 | 23 | 27 | 25 | 26 |
| Business or banking | 147 | 142 | 138 | 157 | 131 | 162 | 181 | 159 | 159 | 165 | 205 | 166 | 225 | 189 | 187 |
| Clergy | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 6 |
| Congressional aide | 16 | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| Education | 37 | 38 | 42 | 57 | 66 | 75 | 74 | 84 | 92 | 88 | 91 | 88 | 84 | 73 | 77 |
| Engineering | 6 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 7 |
| Journalism | 20 | 20 | 17 | 25 | 24 | 15 | 12 | 9 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 7 | 9 | 9 | 12 |
| Labor leader | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 9 | 13 | 14 | 14 | 17 |
| Law | 190 | 184 | 184 | 183 | 181 | 171 | 172 | 163 | 156 | 161 | 178 | 162 | 179 | 152 | 156 |
| Law enforcement | 8 | 7 | 8 | 5 | 10 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 9 | 5 |
| Medicine | 5 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 10 | 12 | 15 | 14 | 16 | 16 | 13 | 17 | 19 | 20 |
| Military | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 8 |
| Professional sports | 3 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| Public service/politics | | 94 | 94 | 61 | 87 | 102 | 100 | 106 | 126 | 145 | 209 | 174 | 248 | 178 | 184 |
| Real estate | | | | | | | | 20 | 24 | 30 | 31 | 36 | 37 | 39 | 32 |
| Veteran | 230 | 218 | 210 | 209 | 177 | 161 | 138 | 135 | 130 | 121 | 110 | 99 | 95 | 94 | 88 |
| New Occupations | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Artistic/Creative | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Healthcare | | | | | | | | | | 5 | 6 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 13 |
| Homemaker/Domestic | | | | | | | | | | 4 | 4 | 7 | 12 | 13 | 16 |
| Science | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 5 |
| Secreterial/clerical | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 4 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 14 |
| Technical/Trade | | | | | | | | | | 4 | 3 | 2 | 11 | 10 | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |



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Table 1-9

Prior Occupations of Democratic Representatives, 83rd - 113th Congresses, 1953 - 2014

| Occupation | 83rd 1953 | 84th 1955 | 86th 1959 | 89th 1965 | 90th 1967 | 91st 1969 | 92nd 1971 | 93rd 1973 | 94th 1975 | 95th 1977 | 96th 1979 | 97th 1981 | 98th 1983 |
|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Acting/entertainer | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aeronautics | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Agriculture | 21 | 22 | 28 | 26 | 17 | 14 | 19 | 14 | 13 | 6 | 10 | 11 | 13 |
| Business or banking | 55 | 59 | 71 | 98 | 82 | 76 | 70 | 72 | 84 | 69 | 71 | 58 | 73 |
| Clergy | | | | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| Congressional aide | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 7 | 9 | 10 |
| Education | 18 | 26 | 30 | 54 | 43 | 40 | 39 | 41 | 51 | 56 | 44 | 39 | 29 |
| Engineering | 3 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Journalism | 18 | 16 | 21 | 27 | 22 | 22 | 17 | 16 | 19 | 15 | 6 | 9 | 13 |
| Labor leader | | | | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 2 |
| Law | 130 | 136 | 168 | 171 | 150 | 150 | 150 | 137 | 158 | 154 | 135 | 121 | 132 |
| Law enforcement | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 2 |
| Medicine | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Military | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Professional sports | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Public service/politics | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Real estate | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Veteran | 118 | 131 | 175 | 210 | 183 | 181 | 185 | 175 | 198 | | | | |
| New Occupations Included | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Artistic/Creative | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Healthcare | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Homemaker/Domestic | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Science | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Secreterial/Clerical | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Technical/Trade | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Note: Blanks indicate years and occupations or occupational fields for which *Congressional Quarterly* did not compile data. Some members say they have more than one occupation.

Sources: Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various editions); Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>; Military Officers Association of America; Veterans in Congress, The Veterans of Foreign Wars National Legislative Service, "Representatives with Military Service, 108th Congress;" Veterans' Information: Veteran's in Congress, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs.



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Table 1-9

Prior Occupations of Democratic Representatives, 83rd - 112th Congresses, 1953 - 2012

| Occupation | 99th 1985 | 100th 1987 | 101st 1989 | 102nd 1991 | 103rd 1993 | 104th 1995 | 105th 1997 | 106th 1999 | 107th 2001 | 108th 2003 | 109th 2005 | 110th 2007 | 111th 2009 | 112th 2011 |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Acting/entertainer | | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| Aeronautics | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Agriculture | 13 | 10 | 8 | 11 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 12 | 6 |
| Business or banking | 72 | 66 | 66 | 77 | 56 | 46 | 55 | 53 | 56 | 56 | 65 | 70 | 112 | 65 |
| Clergy | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Congressional aide | 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Education | 24 | 24 | 25 | 37 | 45 | 39 | 40 | 49 | 53 | 50 | 51 | 55 | 59 | 46 |
| Engineering | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| Journalism | 10 | 11 | 9 | 14 | 11 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 3 |
| Labor leader | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 9 | 7 |
| Law | 122 | 122 | 122 | 126 | 122 | 93 | 87 | 87 | 84 | 86 | 90 | 94 | 115 | 77 |
| Law enforcement | 6 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 3 |
| Medicine | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 2 |
| Military | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Professional sports | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Public service/politics | | 59 | 58 | 41 | 51 | 53 | 54 | 57 | 70 | 77 | 116 | 106 | 168 | 102 |
| Real estate | | | | | | | | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 10 | 4 |
| Veteran | | | | | | | | | 51 | 49 | 40 | 43 | 47 | 45 |
| New Occupations Included | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Artistic/Creative | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Healthcare | | | | | | | | | | 4 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 4 |
| Homemaker/Domestic | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 3 | 8 | 7 |
| Science | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 2 |
| Secreterial/Clerical | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 4 | 7 | 5 |
| Technical/Trade | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |



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Table 1-10

Prior Occupations of Republican Representatives, 83rd - 112th Congresses, 1953 - 2012

| Occupation | 83rd 1953 | 84th 1955 | 86th 1959 | 89th 1965 | 90th 1967 | 91st 1969 | 92nd 1971 | 93rd 1973 | 94th 1975 | 95th 1977 | 96th 1979 | 97th 1981 | 98th 1983 |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Acting/entertainer | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aeronautics | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Agriculture | 32 | 29 | 17 | 18 | 22 | 20 | 17 | 24 | 18 | 10 | 9 | 17 | 13 |
| Business or banking | 76 | 68 | 59 | 58 | 79 | 83 | 75 | 83 | 56 | 49 | 56 | 76 | 65 |
| Clergy | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Congressional aide | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 3 | 2 | 6 |
| Education | 28 | 21 | 11 | 14 | 14 | 19 | 22 | 18 | 13 | 14 | 13 | 20 | 14 |
| Engineering | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Journalism | 18 | 17 | 14 | 16 | 17 | 17 | 13 | 7 | 5 | 12 | 5 | 12 | 9 |
| Labor leader | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Law | 117 | 109 | 74 | 76 | 96 | 92 | 86 | 84 | 63 | 68 | 70 | 73 | 68 |
| Law enforcement | | | | | | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Medicine | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Military | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Professional sports | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Public service/politics | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Real estate | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Veteran | 128 | 130 | 86 | 100 | 137 | 139 | 131 | 142 | 109 | | | | |
| New Occupations | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Artistic/Creative | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Healthcare | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Homemaker/Domestic | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Science | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Secreterial/Clerical | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Technical/Trade | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Notes: Blanks indicate years and occupations or occupational fields for which *Congressional Quarterly* did not compile data. Some members say they have more than one occupation.

Sources: Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various editions); Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>; Military Officers Association of America; Veterans in Congress, The Veterans of Foreign Wars National Legislative Service, "Representatives with Military Service, 108th Congress;" Veterans' Information: Veteran's in Congress, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs.



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Table 1-10

Prior Occupations of Republican Representatives, 83rd - 110th Congresses, 1953 - 2012

| Occupation | 99th 1985 | 100th 1987 | 101st 1989 | 102nd 1991 | 103rd 1993 | 104th 1995 | 105th 1997 | 106th 1999 | 107th 2001 | 108th 2003 | 109th 2005 | 110th 2007 | 111th 2009 | 112th 2011 |
|-------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Acting/entertainer | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Aeronautics | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | |
| Agriculture | 16 | 10 | 11 | 9 | 12 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 17 | 18 | 20 | 15 | 15 | 19 |
| Business or banking | 75 | 76 | 72 | 80 | 75 | 116 | 126 | 106 | 103 | 109 | 140 | 96 | 113 | 124 |
| Clergy | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Congressional aide | 6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Education | 13 | 14 | 17 | 19 | 20 | 35 | 33 | 34 | 38 | 37 | 39 | 33 | 25 | 27 |
| Engineering | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Journalism | 10 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 6 |
| Labor leader | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 7 |
| Law | 68 | 62 | 62 | 57 | 59 | 78 | 85 | 76 | 71 | 75 | 88 | 68 | 64 | 75 |
| Law enforcement | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Medicine | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 8 | 11 | 12 | 10 | 12 | 17 |
| Military | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 7 |
| Professional sports | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Public service/politics | | 35 | 36 | 20 | 36 | 49 | 46 | 49 | 56 | 68 | 93 | 68 | 80 | 76 |
| Real estate | | | | | | | | 17 | 22 | 27 | 28 | 32 | 27 | 35 |
| Veteran | | | | | | | | | 78 | 72 | 70 | 56 | 48 | 49 |
| New Occupations | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Artistic/Creative | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Healthcare | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Homemaker/Domestic | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 6 |
| Science | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 2 |
| Secreterial/Clerical | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| Technical/Trade | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | 88 | 130 |



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Table 1-11

Prior Occupations of Senators, 83rd - 113th Congresses, 1953 - 2014

| Occupation | 83rd 1953 | 84th 1955 | 86th 1959 | 89th 1965 | 90th 1967 | 91st 1969 | 92nd 1971 | 93rd 1973 | 94th 1975 | 95th 1977 | 96th 1979 | 97th 1981 | 98th 1983 |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Acting/entertainer | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aeronautics | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Agriculture | 22 | 21 | 17 | 18 | 18 | 16 | 13 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 6 | 9 | 9 |
| Business or banking | 28 | 28 | 28 | 25 | 23 | 25 | 27 | 22 | 22 | 24 | 29 | 28 | 29 |
| Clergy | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Congressional aide | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Education | 17 | 17 | 16 | 16 | 15 | 14 | 11 | 10 | 8 | 13 | 7 | 10 | 12 |
| Engineering | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Journalism | 10 | 10 | 13 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 7 | 7 |
| Labor leader | | | | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Law | 59 | 60 | 61 | 67 | 68 | 68 | 65 | 68 | 67 | 68 | 65 | 59 | 61 |
| Law enforcement | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Medicine | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Military | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Professional sports | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Public service/politics | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Real estate | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Veteran | 63 | 62 | 61 | 63 | 65 | 69 | 73 | 73 | 73 | 65 | 58 | 73 | 76 |
| New Occupations | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Artistic/Creative | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Healthcare | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Homemaker/Domestic | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Science | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Secretarial/Clerical | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Technical/Trade | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Note: Blanks indicate years and occupations or occupational fields for which *Congressional Quarterly* did not compile data. Some members say they have more than one occupation.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various editions); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; US Senate, <http://www.senate.gov>; Military Officers Association of America; Veterans in Congress, The Veterans of Foreign Wars National Legislative Service, "Senators with Military Service, 108th Congress," Veterans' Information: Veteran's in Congress.



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Table 1-11

Prior Occupations of Senators, 83rd - 113th Congresses, 1953 - 2014

| Occupation | 99th 1985 | 100th 1987 | 101st 1989 | 102nd 1991 | 103rd 1993 | 104th 1995 | 105th 1997 | 106th 1999 | 107th 2001 | 108th 2003 | 109th 2005 | 110th 2007 | 111th 2009 | 112th 2011 | 113th 2013 |
|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Acting/entertainer | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| Aeronautics | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Agriculture | 10 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Business or banking | 31 | 28 | 28 | 32 | 24 | 24 | 33 | 24 | 24 | 25 | 40 | 27 | 36 | 29 | 27 |
| Clergy | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Congressional aide | 0 | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Education | 12 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 11 | 10 | 13 | 13 | 16 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 20 | 15 | 15 |
| Engineering | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Journalism | 8 | 8 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 6 | 4 |
| Labor leader | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Law | 61 | 62 | 63 | 61 | 58 | 54 | 53 | 55 | 53 | 60 | 64 | 59 | 63 | 54 | 55 |
| Law enforcement | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Medicine | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Military | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Professional sports | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| Public service/politics | | 20 | 20 | 5 | 10 | 12 | 26 | 18 | 28 | 30 | 45 | 32 | 48 | 38 | 42 |
| Real estate | | | | | | | | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Veteran | 75 | 69 | 69 | 68 | 59 | 56 | 48 | 43 | 38 | 35 | 31 | 30 | 25 | 26 | 18 |
| New Occupations | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Artistic/Creative | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Healthcare | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Homemaker/Domestic | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| Science | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Secretarial/Clerical | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Technical/Trade | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | 29 | 35 | 1 |



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Table 1-12 Prior Occupations of Democratic Senators, 83rd - 110th Congresses, 1953 - 2012

| Occupation | 83rd 1953 | 84th 1955 | 86th 1959 | 89th 1965 | 90th 1967 | 91st 1969 | 92nd 1971 | 93rd 1973 | 94th 1975 | 95th 1977 | 96th 1979 | 97th 1981 | 98th 1983 |
|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Acting/entertainer | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aeronautics | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Agriculture | 8 | 7 | 7 | 10 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Business or banking | 11 | 10 | 14 | 14 | 12 | 12 | 15 | 12 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 13 | 14 |
| Clergy | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Congressional aide | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Education | 11 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 10 | 9 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Engineering | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Journalism | 5 | 6 | 10 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 5 |
| Labor leader | | | | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Law | 34 | 27 | 43 | 48 | 48 | 42 | 41 | 42 | 45 | 46 | 43 | 33 | 32 |
| Law enforcement | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Medicine | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Military | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Professional sports | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Public service/politics | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Real estate | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Veteran | 31 | 32 | 40 | 44 | 43 | 41 | 41 | 42 | 45 | | | | |
| New Occupations | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Artistic/Creative | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Healthcare | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Homemaker/Domestic | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Science | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Secretarial/Clerical | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Technical/Trade | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Note: Blanks indicate years and occupations or occupational fields for which *Congressional Quarterly* did not compile data. Some members say they have more than one occupation.

Sources: Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various editions); Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; US Senate, <http://www.senate.gov>; Military Officers Association of America; Veterans in Congress, The Veterans of Foreign Wars National Legislative Service, "Senators with Military Service, 108th Congress," Veterans' Information: Veteran's in Congress.



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Table 1-12 Prior Occupations of Democratic Senators, 83rd - 112th Congresses, 1953 - 2012

| Occupation | 99th 1985 | 100th 1987 | 101st 1989 | 102nd 1991 | 103rd 1993 | 104th 1995 | 105th 1997 | 106th 1999 | 107th 2001 | 108th 2003 | 109th 2005 | 110th 2007 | 111th 2009 | 112th 2011 |
|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Acting/entertainer | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Aeronautics | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Agriculture | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Business or banking | 12 | 13 | 13 | 15 | 12 | 11 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 14 | 9 | 16 | 12 |
| Clergy | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Congressional aide | 0 | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 |
| Education | 4 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 12 | 9 |
| Engineering | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Journalism | 6 | 6 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 |
| Labor leader | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | | 2 | 1 |
| Law | 32 | 35 | 36 | 35 | 33 | 26 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 29 | 31 | 36 | 29 |
| Law enforcement | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Medicine | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Military | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Professional sports | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Public service/politics | | 13 | 14 | 4 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 18 | 17 | 23 | 19 | 32 | 24 |
| Real estate | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Veteran | | | | | | | | | 16 | 16 | 13 | 14 | 13 | 14 |
| New Occupations | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Artistic/Creative | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 3 |
| Healthcare | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 |
| Homemaker/Domestic | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Science | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 |
| Secretarial/Clerical | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 |
| Technical/Trade | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | 12 | 15 |



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Table 1-13

Prior Occupations of Republican Senators, 83rd - 112th Congresses, 1953 - 2012

| Occupation | 83rd 1953 | 84th 1955 | 86th 1959 | 89th 1965 | 90th 1967 | 91st 1969 | 92rd 1971 | 93rd 1973 | 94th 1975 | 95th 1977 | 96th 1979 | 97th 1981 | 98th 1983 |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Acting/entertainer | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Aeronautics | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Agriculture | 14 | 14 | 10 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 7 |
| Business or banking | 17 | 18 | 14 | 11 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 14 | 15 | 15 |
| Clergy | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Congressional aide | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Education | 6 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 7 |
| Engineering | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Journalism | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| Labor leader | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Law | 25 | 33 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 26 | 24 | 26 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 26 | 29 |
| Law enforcement | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Medicine | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Military | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Professional sports | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Public service/politics | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Real estate | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Veteran | 32 | 30 | 21 | 19 | 22 | 28 | 32 | 31 | 28 | | | | |
| New Occupations | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Artistic/Creative | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Healthcare | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Homemaker/Domestic | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Science | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Secretarial/Clerical | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Technical/Trade | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Note: Blanks indicate years and occupations or occupational fields for which *Congressional Quarterly* did not compile data. Some members say they have more than one occupation.

Sources: Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various editions); Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; US Senate, <http://www.senate.gov>; Military Officers Association of America; Veterans in Congress, The Veterans of Foreign Wars National Legislative Service, "Senators with Military Service, 108th Congress," Veterans' Information: Veteran's in Congress.



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Table 1-13

Prior Occupations of Republican Senators, 83rd - 112th Congresses, 1953 - 2012

| Occupation | 99th 1985 | 100th 1987 | 101st 1989 | 102nd 1991 | 103rd 1993 | 104th 1995 | 105th 1997 | 106th 1999 | 107th 2001 | 108th 2003 | 109th 2005 | 110th 2007 | 111th 2009 | 112th 2011 |
|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Acting/entertainer | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Aeronautics | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Agriculture | 7 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Business or banking | 19 | 15 | 15 | 17 | 12 | 13 | 25 | 18 | 16 | 16 | 26 | 18 | 20 | 17 |
| Clergy | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Congressional aide | 0 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | 0 | 0 |
| Education | 8 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 6 |
| Engineering | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Journalism | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| Labor leader | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Law | 29 | 27 | 27 | 26 | 25 | 28 | 27 | 28 | 25 | 30 | 34 | 27 | 26 | 25 |
| Law enforcement | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Medicine | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 |
| Military | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Professional sports | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Public service/politics | | 7 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 17 | 8 | 10 | 13 | 22 | 13 | 15 | 14 |
| Real estate | | | | | | | | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 5 |
| Veteran | | | | | | | | | 22 | 18 | 17 | 16 | 12 | 12 |
| New Occupations | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Artistic/Creative | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 |
| Healthcare | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 |
| Homemaker/Domestic | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 |
| Science | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 |
| Secretarial/Clerical | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 |
| Technical/Trade | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 |
| Other | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 |



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Table 1-14 Religious Affiliations of Representatives, 89th - 113th Congresses, 1965 - 2014

| | 89th (1965) | | | 90th (1967) | | | 92nd (1971) | | | 93rd (1973) | | | 94th (1975) | | | 95th (1977) | | | 96th (1979) | | |
|-------------------|-------------|-----|-------|-------------|-----|------------------|-------------|-----|-------|-------------|-----|------------------|-------------|-----|-------|-------------|-----|-------|-------------|-----|------------------|
| | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total |
| Catholic | 81 | 13 | 94 | 73 | 22 | 95 | 77 | 24 | 101 | 67 | 30 | 97 | 88 | 22 | 110 | 95 | 24 | 119 | 92 | 23 | 115 |
| Jewish | 14 | 1 | 15 | 14 | 2 | 16 | 10 | 2 | 12 | 10 | 2 | 12 | 17 | 3 | 20 | 20 | 3 | 23 | 18 | 5 | 23 |
| Protestant | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Baptist | 33 | 9 | 42 | 30 | 12 | 42 | 32 | 10 | 42 | 33 | 12 | 45 | 37 | 10 | 47 | 36 | 10 | 46 | 33 | 10 | 43 |
| Episcopalian | 29 | 25 | 54 | 25 | 25 | 50 | 27 | 22 | 49 | 25 | 25 | 50 | 29 | 21 | 50 | 26 | 22 | 48 | 29 | 21 | 50 |
| Methodist | 46 | 23 | 69 | 36 | 32 | 68 | 33 | 32 | 65 | 30 | 33 | 63 | 40 | 23 | 63 | 36 | 24 | 60 | 32 | 26 | 58 |
| Presbyterian | 30 | 26 | 56 | 26 | 37 | 63 | 26 | 41 | 67 | 25 | 35 | 60 | 25 | 25 | 50 | 23 | 22 | 45 | 25 | 27 | 52 |
| Mormon | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lutheran | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Protestant- other | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| All other | 62 | 43 | 105 | 42 | 57 | 99 | 50 | 49 | 98 | 50 | 55 | 105 | 55 | 40 | 95 | 56 | 38 | 94 | 47 | 45 | 92 |
| Total | 295 | 140 | 435 | 249 | 184 | 433 ^a | 255 | 180 | 435 | 240 | 192 | 432 ^b | 291 | 144 | 435 | 292 | 143 | 435 | 276 | 157 | 433 ^c |

Notes: D indicates Democrats; R indicates Republicans. Third parties are omitted unless otherwise noted. Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

a. John Fogarty (D-RI) was elected in 1966 but died before being sworn into office. Adam Powell (D-NY) was elected in 1966 but the results were contested and he was not sworn into office.

b. Nicholas Begich (D-AK) and Hale Boggs (D-LA) were elected posthumously. George Collins (D-IL) was elected in 1972 but died before being sworn into office.

c. Leo Ryan (D-CA) and William Steiger (R-WI) were elected in 1978 but died before being sworn into office.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various editions); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues.



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Table 1-14 Religious Affiliations of Representatives, 89th - 113th Congresses, 1965 - 2014

| | 97th (1981) | | | 99th (1985) | | | 101st (1989) | | | 102nd (1991) | | | 103rd (1993) | | | 104th (1995) | | | 105th (1997) | | |
|-------------------|-------------|-----|-------|-------------|-----|-------|--------------|-----|------------------|--------------|-----|-----------------|--------------|-----|-----------------|--------------|-----|-----------------|--------------|-----|-----------------|
| | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total |
| Catholic | 81 | 38 | 119 | 82 | 43 | 125 | 81 | 39 | 120 | 85 | 37 | 122 | 77 | 41 | 118 | 71 | 54 | 125 | 76 | 51 | 127 |
| Jewish | 21 | 6 | 27 | 24 | 6 | 30 | 26 | 5 | 31 | 26 | 6 | 33 ^e | 26 | 5 | 32 ^e | 20 | 4 | 25 ^e | 21 | 3 | 25 ^e |
| Protestant | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Baptist | 28 | 13 | 41 | 27 | 9 | 36 | 33 | 10 | 43 | 35 | 12 | 47 | 38 | 13 | 51 | 30 | 27 | 57 | 31 | 27 | 58 |
| Episcopalian | 25 | 27 | 52 | 22 | 22 | 44 | 22 | 21 | 43 | 24 | 17 | 41 | 18 | 17 | 35 | 13 | 21 | 34 | 10 | 21 | 31 |
| Methodist | 26 | 30 | 56 | 35 | 27 | 62 | 37 | 25 | 62 | 38 | 24 | 62 | 31 | 23 | 54 | 21 | 29 | 50 | 17 | 29 | 46 |
| Presbyterian | 18 | 28 | 46 | 22 | 25 | 47 | 16 | 25 | 41 | 15 | 27 | 42 | 20 | 26 | 46 | 17 | 30 | 47 | 15 | 28 | 43 |
| Mormon | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lutheran | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Protestant- other | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| All other | 4 | 50 | 94 | 41 | 50 | 91 | 44 | 49 | 93 | 44 | 44 | 88 | 49 | 50 | 99 | 32 | 65 | 97 | 37 | 68 | 105 |
| Total | 243 | 192 | 435 | 253 | 182 | 435 | 259 | 174 | 433 ^d | 267 | 167 | 435 | 258 | 176 | 435 | 204 | 230 | 435 | 207 | 227 | 435 |

d. William Nichols (D-AL) was elected in 1988 but died before being sworn into office. Daniel Coats (R-IN) won reelection in 1988 but was appointed to Dan Quayle's Senate seat on December 12, 1988.

e. Total includes Bernard Sanders (I-VT).

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Table 1-14 Religious Affiliations of Representatives, 89th - 113th Congresses, 1965 - 2014

| | 106th (1999) | | | 107th (2001) | | | 108th (2003) | | | 109th (2005) | | | 110th (2007) | | | 111th (2009) | | | 112th (2011) | | | 113th (2013) | | |
|-------------------|--------------|-----|-----------------|--------------|-----|------------------|--------------|-----|-----------------|--------------|-----|-----------------|--------------|-----|-------|--------------|-----|-------|--------------|-----|-------|--------------|-----|-------|
| | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total |
| Catholic | 76 | 50 | 126 | 76 | 49 | 125 | 71 | 53 | 124 | 72 | 57 | 129 | 87 | 41 | 128 | 96 | 37 | 133 | 69 | 63 | 132 | 75 | 61 | 136 |
| Jewish | 21 | 1 | 23 ^e | 24 | 2 | 27 ^e | 24 | 1 | 26 ^e | 24 | 1 | 26 ^e | 29 | 1 | 30 | 30 | 1 | 31 | 26 | 1 | 27 | 21 | 1 | 22 |
| Protestant | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Baptist | 34 | 28 | 62 | 33 | 30 | 64 ^f | 33 | 33 | 66 | 29 | 36 | 65 | 28 | 32 | 60 | 29 | 28 | 57 | 24 | 36 | 60 | 24 | 40 | 64 |
| Episcopalian | 9 | 21 | 30 | 7 | 23 | 30 | 10 | 24 | 34 | 9 | 23 | 32 | 8 | 20 | 28 | 13 | 18 | 31 | 13 | 21 | 34 | 14 | 21 | 35 |
| Methodist | 16 | 34 | 50 | 16 | 34 | 50 | 16 | 34 | 50 | 19 | 32 | 51 | 23 | 28 | 51 | 23 | 23 | 46 | 12 | 25 | 37 | 13 | 25 | 38 |
| Presbyterian | 15 | 26 | 41 | 15 | 23 | 38 | 11 | 26 | 37 | 11 | 25 | 36 | 13 | 21 | 34 | 15 | 16 | 31 | 11 | 20 | 31 | 8 | 20 | 28 |
| Mormon | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 10 | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| Lutheran | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 11 | 9 | 20 | 8 | 13 | 21 | 8 | 10 | 18 |
| Protestant- other | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 12 | 26 | 38 | 11 | 45 | 56 | 14 | 36 | 50 |
| All other | 40 | 62 | 102 | 40 | 60 | 100 | 40 | 58 | 98 | 38 | 58 | 96 | 45 | 59 | 104 | 28 | 16 | 44 | 18 | 7 | 25 | 22 | 12 | 34 |
| Total | 211 | 222 | 435 | 211 | 221 | 434 ^g | 205 | 229 | 435 | 202 | 231 | 435 | 233 | 202 | 435 | 258 | 181 | 439 | 193 | 240 | 433 | 200 | 233 | 433 |

e. Total includes Bernard Sanders (I-VT).

f. Total includes Virgil H. Goode, Jr. (I-VA).

g. Julian Dixon (D-CA) was elected in 2000 but died before being sworn into office.

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Table 1-15 Religious Affiliations of Senators, 89th - 113th Congresses, 1965 - 2014

| | 89th (1965) | | | 90th (1967) | | | 92nd (1971) | | | 93rd (1973) | | | 94th (1975) | | | 95th (1977) | | | 96th (1979) | | |
|-------------------|-------------|----|-------|-------------|----|-------|-------------|----|-------|-------------|----|-------|-----------------|----|-----------------|-------------|----|-------|-------------|----|-------|
| | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total |
| Catholic | 12 | 2 | 14 | 11 | 2 | 13 | 9 | 3 | 12 | 10 | 4 | 14 | 12 ^a | 3 | 16 ^b | 10 | 3 | 13 | 9 | 4 | 13 |
| Jewish | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| Protestant | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Baptist | 9 | 3 | 12 | 7 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 6 | 3 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| Episcopalian | 8 | 7 | 15 | 8 | 7 | 15 | 4 | 13 | 17 | 6 | 11 | 17 | 5 | 9 | 15 ^c | 6 | 11 | 17 | 5 | 12 | 17 |
| Methodist | 15 | 7 | 22 | 15 | 8 | 23 | 13 | 7 | 20 | 13 | 5 | 18 | 11 | 5 | 16 | 13 | 7 | 20 | 13 | 6 | 19 |
| Presbyterian | 8 | 3 | 11 | 8 | 4 | 12 | 10 | 6 | 16 | 8 | 6 | 14 | 10 | 7 | 17 | 9 | 5 | 14 | 10 | 2 | 12 |
| Mormon | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lutheran | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Protestant- other | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| All other | 15 | 9 | 24 | 14 | 10 | 24 | 13 | 12 | 25 | 15 | 12 | 27 | 15 | 9 | 24 | 14 | 8 | 22 | 11 | 10 | 21 |
| Total | 68 | 32 | 100 | 64 | 36 | 100 | 55 | 45 | 100 | 58 | 42 | 100 | 61 | 37 | 100 | 62 | 38 | 100 | 59 | 41 | 100 |

Notes: D indicates Democrats; R indicates Republicans. Third parties are omitted unless otherwise noted. Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

a. Total includes John Durkin (D-NH) who was elected by special election to fill a disputed seat vacancy on September 16, 1975.

b. Total includes James Buckley (Conservative-NY)

c. Total includes Harry Byrd (I-VA)

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues and January 31, 2005, 241. *The Almanac of American Politics 2004, 2006* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, 2003, 2005).



Vital Statistics on Congress
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Table 1-15 Religious Affiliations of Senators, 89th - 113th Congresses, 1965 - 2014

| | 97th (1981) | | | 99th (1985) | | | 101st (1989) | | | 102nd (1991) | | | 103rd (1993) | | | 104th (1995) | | | 105th (1997) | | |
|-------------------|-------------|----|-------|-------------|----|-------|--------------|----|-------|--------------|----|-------|--------------|----|-------|--------------|----|-------|--------------|----|-------|
| | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total |
| Catholic | 9 | 8 | 17 | 11 | 8 | 19 | 12 | 7 | 19 | 12 | 8 | 20 | 15 | 8 | 23 | 12 | 8 | 20 | 15 | 9 | 24 |
| Jewish | 3 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 9 | 1 | 10 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 1 | 10 |
| Protestant | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Baptist | 3 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 7 | 11 | 4 | 8 | 12 | 4 | 8 | 12 | 4 | 7 | 11 | 3 | 7 | 10 | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| Episcopalian | 5 | 15 | 20 | 4 | 17 | 21 | 7 | 13 | 20 | 6 | 12 | 18 | 4 | 11 | 15 | 4 | 10 | 14 | 2 | 9 | 11 |
| Methodist | 9 | 9 | 18 | 9 | 7 | 16 | 9 | 4 | 13 | 9 | 4 | 13 | 7 | 5 | 12 | 5 | 6 | 11 | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| Presbyterian | 8 | 2 | 10 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 9 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 8 | 10 |
| Mormon | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Lutheran | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Protestant- other | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| All other | 10 | 10 | 20 | 7 | 9 | 16 | 11 | 8 | 19 | 11 | 9 | 20 | 13 | 8 | 21 | 11 | 17 | 28 | 10 | 13 | 23 |
| Total | 47 | 53 | 100 | 47 | 53 | 100 | 55 | 45 | 100 | 55 | 45 | 100 | 57 | 43 | 100 | 47 | 53 | 100 | 45 | 55 | 100 |



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Table 1-15 Religious Affiliations of Senators, 89th - 113th Congresses, 1965 - 2014

| | 106th (1999) | | | 107th (2001) | | | 108th (2003) | | | 109th (2005) | | | 110th (2007) | | | 111th (2009) | | | 112th (2011) | | | 113th (2013) | | |
|-------------------|--------------|----|-------|--------------|----|-------|-----------------|----|-------|-----------------|----|-------|-----------------|----|-------|--------------|----|-------|--------------|----|-------|--------------|----|-------|
| | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total | D | R | Total |
| Catholic | 14 | 11 | 25 | 14 | 10 | 24 | 14 | 11 | 25 | 13 | 11 | 24 | 16 | 9 | 25 | 17 | 9 | 26 | 15 | 9 | 24 | 18 | 9 | 27 |
| Jewish | 10 | 1 | 11 | 9 | 1 | 10 | 9 | 2 | 11 | 9 | 2 | 11 | 11 ^e | 2 | 13 | 11 | 1 | 12 | 12 | 0 | 12 | 11 | 0 | 11 |
| Protestant | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 |
| Baptist | 1 | 7 | 8 | 2 | 7 | 9 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 6 | 7 | 0 | 8 | 8 | 0 | 9 | 9 |
| Episcopalian | 4 | 9 | 13 | 3 | 7 | 10 | 3 | 7 | 10 | 3 | 7 | 10 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Methodist | 5 | 7 | 12 | 10 | 6 | 16 | 7 | 5 | 12 | 5 | 7 | 12 | 5 | 7 | 12 | 5 | 5 | 10 | 4 | 7 | 11 | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| Presbyterian | 1 | 6 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 10 | 3 | 10 | 13 | 3 | 11 | 14 | 2 | 8 | 10 | 4 | 8 | 12 | 5 | 9 | 14 | 6 | 9 | 15 |
| Mormon | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Lutheran | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 4 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Protestant- other | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 7 | 3 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 10 | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| All other | 10 | 14 | 24 | 9 | 12 | 21 | 12 ^d | 11 | 23 | 11 ^d | 11 | 22 | 12 | 11 | 23 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 11 | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| Total | 45 | 55 | 100 | 50 | 50 | 100 | 49 | 51 | 100 | 45 | 55 | 100 | 51 | 49 | 100 | 58 | 41 | 99 | 54 | 49 | 103 | 55 | 45 | 100 |

d. Total includes James Jeffords (I-VT).

e. Total includes Bernie Sanders (I-VT) and Joseph Lieberman (I-CT).



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Table 1-16 African Americans in Congress, 41st - 113th Congresses, 1869 - 2014

| Congress | | House | | Senate | | Congress | | House | | Senate | |
|----------|---------------------|-------|---|--------|---|--------------------|--------|-------|---|--------|---|
| | | D | R | D | R | | | D | R | D | R |
| 41st | (1869) | | 2 | | 1 | 85th | (1957) | 3 | | | |
| 42nd | (1871) | | 5 | | | 86th | (1959) | 3 | | | |
| 43rd | (1873) | | 7 | | | 87th | (1961) | 3 | | | |
| 44th | (1875) | | 7 | | 1 | 88th | (1963) | 4 | | | |
| 45th | (1877) | | 3 | | 1 | 89th | (1965) | 5 | | | |
| 46th | (1879) | | | | 1 | 90th | (1967) | 5 | | | 1 |
| 47th | (1881) | | 2 | | | 91st | (1969) | 9 | | | 1 |
| 48th | (1883) | | 2 | | | 92nd | (1971) | 13 | | | 1 |
| 49th | (1885) | | 2 | | | 93rd | (1973) | 16 | | | 1 |
| 50th | (1887) | | | | | 94th | (1975) | 16 | | | 1 |
| 51st | (1889) | | 3 | | | 95th | (1977) | 15 | | | 1 |
| 52nd | (1891) | | 1 | | | 96th | (1979) | 15 | | | |
| 53rd | (1893) | | 1 | | | 97th | (1981) | 17 | | | |
| 54th | (1895) | | 1 | | | 98th | (1983) | 20 | | | |
| 55th | (1897) | | 1 | | | 99th | (1985) | 20 | | | |
| 56th | (1899) ^a | | 1 | | | 100th | (1987) | 22 | | | |
| 71st | (1929) | | 1 | | | 101st | (1989) | 23 | | | |
| 72nd | (1931) | | 1 | | | 102nd | (1991) | 25 | 1 | | |
| 73rd | (1933) | | 1 | | | 103rd | (1993) | 38 | 1 | | 1 |
| 74th | (1935) | 1 | | | | 104th | (1995) | 37 | 2 | | 1 |
| 75th | (1937) | 1 | | | | 105th | (1997) | 36 | 1 | | 1 |
| 76th | (1939) | 1 | | | | 106th | (1999) | 36 | 1 | | |
| 77th | (1941) | 1 | | | | 107th | (2001) | 35 | 1 | | |
| 78th | (1943) | 1 | | | | 108th | (2003) | 37 | | | |
| 79th | (1945) | 2 | | | | 109th | (2005) | 40 | | | 1 |
| 80th | (1947) | 2 | | | | 110th | (2007) | 40 | | | 1 |
| 81st | (1949) | 2 | | | | 111th ^b | (2009) | 39 | | | |
| 82nd | (1951) | 2 | | | | 112th | (2011) | 40 | 2 | | |
| 83rd | (1953) | 2 | | | | 113th ^c | (2013) | 41 | | | 1 |
| 84th | (1955) | 3 | | | | | | | | | |

Notes: The data do not include nonvoting delegates or commissioners. Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

a. After the 56th Congress, there were no African American members in either the House or Senate until the 71st Congress.

b. Roland Burris was not seated on the first day of the 111th session.

c. Tim Scott, who was appointed on December 17th to replace outgoing Senator Jim DeMint, is included in the Senate totals.

Sources: *Black Americans in Congress, 1870-1977*, H. Doc. 95-258, 95th Cong., 1st sess., 1977; *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various editions); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>.



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Table 1-17 Asian Americans in Congress, 58th - 113th Congresses, 1903-2014

| Congress | House | | Senate | | Congress | House | | Senate | |
|----------|-------|---|--------|---|----------|-------|---|--------|---|
| | D | R | D | R | | D | R | D | R |
| 58th | | | | | 86th | 2 | | | 1 |
| 59th | | | | | 87th | 2 | | | 1 |
| 60th | | | | | 88th | 1 | | 1 | 1 |
| 61st | | | | | 89th | 2 | | 1 | 1 |
| 62nd | | | | | 90th | 2 | | 1 | 1 |
| 63rd | | | | | 91st | 2 | | 1 | 1 |
| 64th | | | | | 92nd | 2 | | 1 | 1 |
| 65th | | | | | 93rd | 2 | | 1 | 1 |
| 66th | | | | | 94th | 3 | | 1 | 1 |
| 67th | | | | | 95th | 2 | | 2 | 1 |
| 68th | | | | | 96th | 3 | | 2 | 1 |
| 69th | | | | | 97th | 3 | | 2 | 1 |
| 70th | | | | | 98th | 3 | | 2 | |
| 71st | | | | | 99th | 3 | | 2 | |
| 72nd | | | | | 100th | 3 | 1 | 2 | |
| 73rd | | | | | 101st | 3 | 1 | 3 | |
| 74th | | | | | 102nd | 3 | | 2 | |
| 75th | | | | | 103rd | 4 | 1 | 2 | |
| 76th | | | | | 104th | 4 | 1 | 2 | |
| 77th | | | | | 105th | 4 | 1 | 2 | |
| 78th | | | | | 106th | 4 | | 2 | |
| 79th | | | | | 107th | 5 | | 2 | |
| 80th | | | | | 108th | 4 | | 2 | |
| 81st | | | | | 109th | 4 | 1 | 2 | |
| 82nd | | | | | 110th | 5 | 1 | 2 | |
| 83rd | | | | | 111th | 4 | 1 | 2 | |
| 84th | | | | | 112th | 7 | 1 | 2 | |
| 85th | | 1 | | | 113th | 10 | | 1 | |

Notes: The data do not include nonvoting delegates or commissioners. Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

Sources: Asian Pacific Americans in the United States Congress, *Congressional Research Service*.



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Table 1-17 Hispanic Americans in Congress, 41st - 113th Congresses, 1869 - 2014

| Congress | House | | Senate | | Congress | House | | Senate | |
|-------------|-------|---|--------|---|--------------|-------|---|--------|---|
| | D | R | D | R | | D | R | D | R |
| 41st (1869) | | | | | 87th (1961) | 2 | | 1 | |
| 42nd (1871) | | | | | 88th (1963) | 3 | | 1 | |
| 43rd (1873) | | | | | 89th (1965) | 3 | | 1 | |
| 63rd (1913) | 1 | | | | 90th (1967) | 3 | | 1 | |
| 64th (1915) | 1 | 1 | | | 91st (1969) | 3 | 1 | 1 | |
| 65th (1917) | 1 | | | | 92nd (1971) | 4 | 1 | 1 | |
| 66th (1919) | 1 | 1 | | | 93rd (1973) | 4 | 1 | 1 | |
| 67th (1921) | 1 | 1 | | | 94th (1975) | 4 | 1 | 1 | |
| 68th (1923) | 1 | | | | 95th (1977) | 4 | 1 | | |
| 69th (1925) | 1 | | | | 96th (1979) | 5 | 1 | | |
| 70th (1927) | 1 | | | 1 | 97th (1981) | 6 | 1 | | |
| 71st (1929) | | | | | 98th (1983) | 9 | 1 | | |
| 72nd (1931) | 2 | | | | 99th (1985) | 10 | 1 | | |
| 73rd (1933) | 2 | | | | 100th (1987) | 10 | 1 | | |
| 74th (1935) | 1 | | 1 | | 101st (1989) | 9 | 1 | | |
| 75th (1937) | 1 | | 1 | | 102nd (1991) | 10 | 1 | | |
| 76th (1939) | 1 | | 1 | | 103rd (1993) | 14 | 3 | | |
| 77th (1941) | | | 1 | | 104th (1995) | 14 | 3 | | |
| 78th (1943) | 1 | | 1 | | 105th (1997) | 14 | 3 | | |
| 79th (1945) | 1 | | 1 | | 106th (1999) | 16 | 3 | | |
| 80th (1947) | 1 | | 1 | | 107th (2001) | 16 | 3 | | |
| 81st (1949) | 1 | | 1 | | 108th (2003) | 18 | 4 | | |
| 82nd (1951) | 1 | | 1 | | 109th (2005) | 19 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| 83rd (1953) | 1 | | 1 | | 110th (2007) | 20 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 84th (1955) | 1 | | 1 | | 111th (2009) | 21 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| 85th (1957) | 1 | | 1 | | 112th (2011) | 19 | 8 | 1 | 1 |
| 86th (1959) | 1 | | 1 | | 113th (2013) | 23 | 5 | 1 | 2 |

Notes: The data do not include nonvoting delegates or commissioners. Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

Sources: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774-1989*; *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various editions); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>;



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Table 1-18 Women in Congress, 65th - 113th Congresses, 1917 - 2014

| Congress | House | | Senate | | Congress | House | | Senate | |
|-------------|-------|---|--------|---|--------------|-------|----|--------|---|
| | D | R | D | R | | D | R | D | R |
| 65th (1917) | | 1 | | | 90th (1967) | 5 | 5 | | 1 |
| 66th (1919) | | | | | 91st (1969) | 6 | 4 | | 1 |
| 67th (1921) | | 2 | | 1 | 92nd (1971) | 10 | 3 | | 1 |
| 68th (1923) | | 1 | | | 93rd (1973) | 14 | 2 | 1 | |
| 69th (1925) | 1 | 2 | | | 94th (1975) | 14 | 5 | | |
| 70th (1927) | 2 | 3 | | | 95th (1977) | 13 | 5 | | |
| 71st (1929) | 4 | 5 | | | 96th (1979) | 11 | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| 72nd (1931) | 4 | 3 | 1 | | 97th (1981) | 10 | 9 | | 2 |
| 73rd (1933) | 4 | 3 | 1 | | 98th (1983) | 13 | 9 | | 2 |
| 74th (1935) | 4 | 2 | 2 | | 99th (1985) | 13 | 9 | | 2 |
| 75th (1937) | 4 | 1 | 2 | | 100th (1987) | 12 | 11 | 1 | 1 |
| 76th (1939) | 4 | 4 | 1 | | 101st (1989) | 14 | 11 | 1 | 1 |
| 77th (1941) | 4 | 5 | 1 | | 102nd (1991) | 19 | 9 | 1 | 1 |
| 78th (1943) | 2 | 6 | 1 | | 103rd (1993) | 36 | 12 | 5 | 1 |
| 79th (1945) | 6 | 5 | | | 104th (1995) | 31 | 17 | 5 | 3 |
| 80th (1947) | 3 | 4 | | 1 | 105th (1997) | 35 | 16 | 6 | 3 |
| 81st (1949) | 5 | 4 | | 1 | 106th (1999) | 40 | 16 | 6 | 3 |
| 82nd (1951) | 4 | 6 | | 1 | 107th (2001) | 41 | 18 | 10 | 3 |
| 83rd (1953) | 5 | 7 | | 1 | 108th (2003) | 38 | 21 | 9 | 5 |
| 84th (1955) | 10 | 7 | | 1 | 109th (2005) | 42 | 23 | 9 | 5 |
| 85th (1957) | 9 | 6 | | 1 | 110th (2007) | 50 | 21 | 11 | 5 |
| 86th (1959) | 9 | 8 | | 1 | 111th (2009) | 57 | 17 | 13 | 4 |
| 87th (1961) | 11 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 112th (2011) | 52 | 24 | 12 | 5 |
| 88th (1963) | 6 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 113th (2013) | 56 | 20 | 16 | 4 |
| 89th (1965) | 7 | 4 | 1 | 1 | | | | | |

Notes: The data include only women who were sworn in as members and served more than one day. Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

Sources: *Women in Congress*, H. Rept. 94-1732, 94th Cong., 2nd sess., 1976; *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various editions); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>; US Senate, <http://www.senate.gov>.



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Table 1-19 Political Parties of Senators and Representatives, 34th - 113th Congresses, 1855 - 2014

| Congress | | Senate | | | | | House of Representatives | | | | |
|----------|---------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|--------|---------------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|--------|
| | | Number of senators | Democrats | Republicans | Other parties | Vacant | Number of representatives | Democrats | Republicans | Other parties | Vacant |
| 34th | (1855 - 1857) | 62 | 42 | 15 | 5 | | 234 | 83 | 108 | 43 | |
| 35th | (1857 - 1859) | 64 | 39 | 20 | 5 | | 237 | 131 | 92 | 14 | |
| 36th | (1859 - 1861) | 66 | 38 | 26 | 2 | | 237 | 101 | 113 | 23 | |
| 37th | (1861 - 1863) | 50 | 11 | 31 | 7 | 1 | 178 | 42 | 106 | 28 | 2 |
| 38th | (1863 - 1865) | 51 | 12 | 39 | | | 183 | 80 | 103 | | |
| 39th | (1865 - 1867) | 52 | 10 | 42 | | | 191 | 46 | 145 | | |
| 40th | (1867 - 1869) | 53 | 11 | 42 | | | 193 | 49 | 143 | | 1 |
| 41st | (1869 - 1871) | 74 | 11 | 61 | | 2 | 243 | 73 | 170 | | |
| 42nd | (1871 - 1873) | 74 | 17 | 57 | | | 243 | 104 | 139 | | |
| 43rd | (1873 - 1875) | 74 | 19 | 54 | | 1 | 293 | 88 | 203 | | 2 |
| 44th | (1875 - 1877) | 76 | 29 | 46 | | 1 | 293 | 181 | 107 | 3 | 2 |
| 45th | (1877 - 1879) | 76 | 36 | 39 | 1 | | 293 | 156 | 137 | | |
| 46th | (1879 - 1881) | 76 | 43 | 33 | | | 293 | 150 | 128 | 14 | 1 |
| 47th | (1881 - 1883) | 76 | 37 | 37 | 2 | | 293 | 130 | 152 | 11 | |
| 48th | (1883 - 1885) | 76 | 36 | 40 | | | 325 | 200 | 119 | 6 | |
| 49th | (1885 - 1887) | 76 | 34 | 41 | | 1 | 325 | 182 | 140 | 2 | 1 |
| 50th | (1887 - 1889) | 76 | 37 | 39 | | | 325 | 170 | 151 | 4 | |
| 51st | (1889 - 1891) | 84 | 37 | 47 | | | 330 | 156 | 173 | 1 | |
| 52nd | (1891 - 1893) | 88 | 39 | 47 | 2 | | 333 | 231 | 88 | 14 | |
| 53rd | (1893 - 1895) | 88 | 44 | 38 | 3 | 3 | 356 | 220 | 126 | 10 | |
| 54th | (1895 - 1897) | 88 | 39 | 44 | 5 | | 357 | 104 | 246 | 7 | |
| 55th | (1897 - 1899) | 90 | 34 | 46 | 10 | | 357 | 134 | 206 | 16 | 1 |
| 56th | (1899 - 1901) | 90 | 26 | 53 | 11 | | 357 | 163 | 185 | 9 | |
| 57th | (1901 - 1903) | 90 | 29 | 56 | 3 | 2 | 357 | 153 | 198 | 5 | 1 |
| 58th | (1903 - 1905) | 90 | 32 | 58 | | | 386 | 178 | 207 | | 1 |
| 59th | (1905 - 1907) | 90 | 32 | 58 | | | 386 | 136 | 250 | | |
| 60th | (1907 - 1909) | 92 | 29 | 61 | | 2 | 386 | 164 | 222 | | |
| 61st | (1909 - 1911) | 92 | 32 | 59 | | 1 | 391 | 172 | 219 | | |
| 62nd | (1911 - 1913) | 92 | 42 | 49 | | 1 | 391 | 228 | 162 | 1 | |
| 63rd | (1913 - 1915) | 96 | 51 | 44 | 1 | | 435 | 290 | 127 | 18 | |
| 64th | (1915 - 1917) | 96 | 56 | 39 | 1 | | 435 | 231 | 193 | 8 | 3 |
| 65th | (1917 - 1919) | 96 | 53 | 42 | 1 | | 435 | 210 ^a | 216 | 9 | |
| 66th | (1919 - 1921) | 96 | 47 | 48 | 1 | | 435 | 191 | 237 | 7 | |
| 67th | (1921 - 1923) | 96 | 37 | 59 | | | 435 | 132 | 300 | 1 | 2 |
| 68th | (1923 - 1925) | 96 | 43 | 51 | 2 | | 435 | 207 | 225 | 3 | |
| 69th | (1925 - 1927) | 96 | 40 | 54 | 1 | 1 | 435 | 183 | 247 | 5 | |
| 70th | (1927 - 1929) | 96 | 47 | 48 | 1 | | 435 | 195 | 237 | 3 | |
| 71st | (1929 - 1931) | 96 | 39 | 56 | 1 | | 435 | 163 | 267 | 1 | 4 |
| 72nd | (1931 - 1933) | 96 | 47 | 48 | 1 | | 435 | 216 ^b | 218 | 1 | |
| 73rd | (1933 - 1935) | 96 | 59 | 36 | 1 | | 435 | 313 | 117 | 5 | |
| 74th | (1935 - 1937) | 96 | 69 | 25 | 2 | | 435 | 322 | 103 | 10 | |
| 75th | (1937 - 1939) | 96 | 75 | 17 | 4 | | 435 | 333 | 89 | 13 | |
| 76th | (1939 - 1941) | 96 | 69 | 23 | 4 | | 435 | 262 | 169 | 4 | |
| 77th | (1941 - 1943) | 96 | 66 | 28 | 2 | | 435 | 267 | 162 | 6 | |
| 78th | (1943 - 1945) | 96 | 57 | 38 | 1 | | 435 | 222 | 209 | 4 | |
| 79th | (1945 - 1947) | 96 | 57 | 38 | 1 | | 435 | 243 | 190 | 2 | |
| 80th | (1947 - 1949) | 96 | 45 | 51 | | | 435 | 188 | 246 | 1 | |
| 81st | (1949 - 1951) | 96 | 54 | 42 | | | 435 | 263 | 171 | 1 | |
| 82nd | (1951 - 1953) | 96 | 48 | 47 | 1 | | 435 | 234 | 199 | 2 | |
| 83rd | (1953 - 1955) | 96 | 46 | 48 | 2 | | 435 | 213 | 221 | 1 | |
| 84th | (1955 - 1957) | 96 | 48 | 47 | 1 | | 435 | 232 | 203 | | |
| 85th | (1957 - 1959) | 96 | 49 | 47 | | | 435 | 234 | 201 | | |

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Table 1-19 Political Parties of Senators and Representatives, 34th - 113th Congresses, 1855 - 2014

| Congress | Senate | | | | | House of Representatives | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|--------|---------------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|--------|
| | Number of senators | Democrats | Republicans | Other parties | Vacant | Number of representatives | Democrats | Republicans | Other parties | Vacant |
| 86th (1959 - 1961) | 98 | 64 | 34 | | | 436 ^c | 283 | 153 | | |
| 87th (1961 - 1963) | 100 | 64 | 36 | | | 437 ^d | 262 | 175 | | |
| 88th (1963 - 1965) | 100 | 67 | 33 | | | 435 | 258 | 176 | | 1 |
| 89th (1965 - 1967) | 100 | 68 | 32 | | | 435 | 295 | 140 | | |
| 90th (1967 - 1969) | 100 | 64 | 36 | | | 435 | 246 | 187 | | 2 |
| 91st (1969 - 1971) | 100 | 58 | 42 | | | 435 | 243 | 192 | | |
| 92nd (1971 - 1973) | 100 | 54 | 44 | 2 | | 435 | 255 | 180 | | |
| 93rd (1973 - 1975) | 100 | 56 | 42 | 2 | | 435 | 239 | 192 | 1 | 3 |
| 94th (1975 - 1977) | 100 | 61 | 37 | 2 | | 435 | 291 | 144 | | |
| 95th (1977 - 1979) | 100 | 61 | 38 | 1 | | 435 | 292 | 143 | | |
| 96th (1979 - 1981) | 100 | 58 | 41 | 1 | | 435 | 276 | 157 | | 2 |
| 97th (1981 - 1983) | 100 | 46 | 53 | 1 | | 435 | 243 | 192 | | |
| 98th (1983 - 1985) | 100 | 46 | 54 | | | 435 | 268 | 166 | | 1 |
| 99th (1985 - 1987) | 100 | 47 | 53 | | | 435 | 252 | 182 | | 1 |
| 100th (1987 - 1989) | 100 | 55 | 45 | | | 435 | 258 | 177 | | |
| 101st (1989 - 1991) | 100 | 55 | 45 | | | 435 | 259 | 174 | | 2 |
| 102nd (1991 - 1993) | 100 | 56 | 44 | | | 435 | 267 | 167 | 1 | |
| 103rd (1993 - 1995) | 100 | 57 | 43 | | | 435 | 258 | 176 | 1 | |
| 104th (1995 - 1997) | 100 | 47 | 53 | | | 435 | 204 | 230 | 1 | |
| 105th (1997 - 1999) | 100 | 45 | 55 | | | 435 | 207 | 227 | 1 | |
| 106th (1999 - 2001) | 100 | 45 | 55 | | | 435 | 211 | 223 | 1 | |
| 107th (2001 - 2003) | 100 | 50 | 50 | | | 435 | 211 | 221 | 2 | 1 |
| 108th (2003 - 2005) | 100 | 48 | 51 | 1 | | 435 | 205 | 229 | 1 | |
| 109th (2005 - 2007) | 100 | 44 | 55 | 1 | | 435 | 201 | 232 | 1 | 1 |
| 110th (2007 - 2009) | 100 | 49 | 49 | 2 | | 435 | 233 | 202 | | |
| 111th (2009 - 2011) | 100 | 55 | 41 | 2 | 1 | 435 | 256 | 178 | | 1 |
| 112th (2011 - 2013) | 100 | 51 | 47 | 2 | | 435 | 193 | 242 | | |
| 113th (2013 - 2015) | 100 | 53 | 45 | 2 | | 435 | 200 | 233 | | 2 |

Note: Figures represent the makeup of Congress on the first day of the session.

- a. Democrats organized House with help of other parties.
- b. Democrats organized House because of Republican deaths.
- c. Alaska was admitted as a state in 1958. The total figure includes the addition of Alaska's representative.
- d. Alaska was admitted as a state in 1958 and Hawaii in 1959. The total figure includes the addition of Alaska's and Hawaii's representatives.

Sources: *Congressional Directory*, various editions; *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>; US Senate, <http://www.senate.gov>; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various editions).

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Table 2-1 Turnout in Presidential and House Elections, 1930 - 2012 (percentage of voting age population)

| Year | Presidential elections | House elections | Year | Presidential elections | House elections |
|------|------------------------|-----------------|------|------------------------|-----------------|
| 1930 | | 33.7 | 1972 | 56.6 | 51.4 |
| 1932 | 56.3 | 49.7 | 1974 | | 40.0 |
| 1934 | | 41.4 | 1976 | 55.1 | 50.3 |
| 1936 | 62.2 | 53.5 | 1978 | | 39.5 |
| 1938 | | 44.0 | 1980 | 54.7 | 49.3 |
| 1940 | 65.2 | 55.4 | 1982 | | 42.2 |
| 1942 | | 32.5 | 1984 | 56.0 | 50.2 |
| 1944 | 58.4 | 52.7 | 1986 | | 38.2 |
| 1946 | | 37.1 | 1988 | 53.1 | 47.6 |
| 1948 | 53.3 | 48.1 | 1990 | | 38.1 |
| 1950 | | 41.1 | 1992 | 58.1 | 53.6 |
| 1952 | 63.4 | 57.6 | 1994 | | 40.5 |
| 1954 | | 41.7 | 1996 | 51.5 | 48.2 |
| 1956 | 61.2 | 55.9 | 1998 | | 37.6 |
| 1958 | | 43.0 | 2000 | 54.3 | 50.2 |
| 1960 | 64.9 | 58.5 | 2002 | | 37.2 |
| 1962 | | 49.2 | 2004 | 60.7 | 55.3 |
| 1964 | 62.8 | 59.0 | 2006 | | 40.4 |
| 1966 | | 49.3 | 2008 | 61.6 | 57.6 |
| 1968 | 61.9 | 56.3 | 2010 | | 40.1 |
| 1970 | | 48.4 | 2012 | 58.2 | 55.3 |

Note: For all presidential elections and House elections 1962-2004, turnout is computed using the number of citizens eligible to vote in the United States. For House elections before 1962, it is computed using the voting age population (including non-citizens). For the 2006 elections and future editions of *Vital Statistics on Congress*, turnout is of voting-eligible population (VEP.) The voting-eligible population is the population that is eligible to vote. Counted among the voting-age population are persons who are ineligible to vote, such as non-citizens, felons (depending on state law), and mentally incapacitated persons. Not counted are persons in the military or civilians living overseas.

Sources: For House elections 1930-60, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office). For presidential elections and House elections 1962-2004, numbers were provided by Curtis Gans of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate at American University. From 2006 to 2010, the VEP was calculated by Michael McDonald found at http://elections.gmu.edu/voter_turnout.htm and calculated against the Federal Election Commission voting data found at <http://www.fec.gov>.



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Table 2-2 Popular Vote and House Seats Won by Party, 1946 - 2012

| Year | Democratic candidates | | Republican candidates | | Change from last election ^a | | Difference between Democratic percentage of seats and votes won |
|------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| | Percentage of all votes ^b | Percentage of seats won ^c | Percentage of all votes ^b | Percentage of seats won ^c | Percentage of major party votes | Percentage of seats won ^c | |
| 1946 | 44.3 | 43.3 | 53.5 | 56.7 | 6.4R | 12.8R | -1.0 |
| 1948 | 51.6 | 60.6 | 45.4 | 39.4 | 7.9D | 17.3D | 9.0 |
| 1950 | 48.9 | 54.0 | 48.9 | 46.0 | 3.2R | 6.6R | 5.1 |
| 1952 | 49.2 | 49.1 | 49.3 | 50.9 | 0.1R | 4.9R | -0.1 |
| 1954 | 52.1 | 53.3 | 47.0 | 46.7 | 2.6D | 4.2D | 1.2 |
| 1956 | 50.7 | 53.8 | 48.7 | 46.2 | 1.5R | 0.5D | 3.1 |
| 1958 | 55.5 | 64.9 | 43.6 | 35.1 | 5.0D | 11.1D | 9.4 |
| 1960 | 54.4 | 60.0 | 44.8 | 40.0 | 1.2R | 4.9R | 5.6 |
| 1962 | 52.1 | 59.4 | 47.1 | 40.6 | 2.3R | 0.6R | 7.3 |
| 1964 | 56.9 | 67.8 | 42.4 | 32.2 | 4.8D | 8.4D | 10.9 |
| 1966 | 50.5 | 57.0 | 48.0 | 43.0 | 6.0R | 10.8R | 6.5 |
| 1968 | 50.0 | 55.9 | 48.2 | 44.1 | 0.3R | 1.1R | 5.9 |
| 1970 | 53.0 | 58.6 | 44.5 | 41.4 | 3.4D | 2.7D | 5.6 |
| 1972 | 51.7 | 55.8 | 46.4 | 44.2 | 1.7R | 2.8R | 4.1 |
| 1974 | 57.1 | 66.9 | 40.5 | 33.1 | 5.8D | 11.1D | 9.8 |
| 1976 | 56.2 | 67.1 | 42.1 | 32.9 | 1.3R | 0.2D | 10.9 |
| 1978 | 53.4 | 63.7 | 44.7 | 36.3 | 2.8R | 3.4R | 10.3 |
| 1980 | 50.4 | 55.9 | 48.0 | 44.1 | 3.2R | 7.8R | 5.5 |
| 1982 | 55.2 | 61.8 | 43.3 | 38.2 | 5.2D | 5.9D | 6.6 |
| 1984 | 52.1 | 58.2 | 47.0 | 41.8 | 4.1R | 3.6R | 6.1 |
| 1986 | 54.5 | 59.3 | 44.6 | 40.7 | 2.4D | 1.1D | 4.8 |
| 1988 | 53.3 | 59.8 | 45.5 | 40.2 | 1.1R | 0.5D | 6.5 |
| 1990 | 52.9 | 61.4 | 45.0 | 38.4 | 0.1D | 1.6D | 8.5 |
| 1992 | 50.8 | 59.3 | 45.6 | 40.5 | 1.4R | 2.1R | 8.5 |
| 1994 | 45.4 | 46.9 | 52.4 | 52.9 | 6.3R | 12.4R | 1.5 |
| 1996 | 48.5 | 47.6 | 48.9 | 52.0 | 3.4D | 0.7D | -0.9 |
| 1998 | 47.1 | 48.5 | 48.0 | 51.3 | 0.3R | 0.9D | 1.4 |
| 2000 | 47.0 | 48.7 | 47.3 | 50.8 | 0.3D | 0.2D | 1.7 |
| 2002 | 45.0 | 47.0 | 49.6 | 52.8 | 2.3R | 2.0R | 2.0 |
| 2004 | 46.6 | 46.4 | 49.2 | 53.4 | 1.1D | 0.6R | -0.2 |
| 2006 | 52.0 | 53.6 | 45.6 | 46.4 | 5.4D | 7.2D | 1.6 |
| 2008 | 52.9 | 59.1 | 42.3 | 40.9 | 1.4D | 5.5D | 6.2 |
| 2010 | 44.8 | 44.4 | 51.4 | 55.6 | 9.0R | 14.7R | -0.4 |
| 2012 | 48.5 | 46.2 | 47.8 | 53.8 | 2.9D | 1.8D | -2.3 |

- a. The data show the percentage-point increase over previous election in votes or seats won by Republicans (R) or Democrats (D).
b. Republican and Democratic percentages of all votes excludes districts in which candidates ran unopposed and no vote was recorded.
c. Total percentage of seats won does not equal 100% due to the election of independents and/or rounding.

Sources: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *National Journal*, various issues; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years); Federal Election Commission, <http://www.fec.gov>.



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Table 2-3 Net Party Gains in House and Senate Seats, General and Special Elections, 1946 - 2012

| Year | General elections ^a | | Special elections ^b | | Year | General elections ^a | | Special elections ^b | |
|------|--------------------------------|--------|--------------------------------|--------|------|--------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| | House | Senate | House | Senate | | House | Senate | House | Senate |
| 1946 | 56R | 13R | 2R (13) | 3R (8) | 1980 | 34R | 12R | 1R (6) | 0 (0) |
| 1948 | 75D | 9D | 0 (16) | 0 (3) | 1982 | 26D | 1R | 1D (8) | 0 (0) |
| 1950 | 28R | 5R | 0 (10) | 2R (6) | 1984 | 14R | 2D | 1R (7) | 1R (1) |
| 1952 | 22R | 1R | 3R (13) | 2R (4) | 1986 | 5D | 8D | 0 (4) | 1D (1) |
| 1954 | 19D | 2D | 2D (8) | 0 (9) | 1988 | 2D | 0 | 1R (6) | 0 (0) |
| 1956 | 2D | 1D | 0 (2) | 2R (3) | 1990 | 9D | 1D | 1D (11) | 0 (1) |
| 1958 | 49D | 15D | 0 (10) | 1D (4) | 1992 | 10R | 0 | 1D (6) | 2D (3) ^c |
| 1960 | 22R | 2R | 1R (7) | 1D (3) | 1994 | 52R | 8R ^d | 2R (7) | 1R (2) |
| 1962 | 1R | 3D | 0 (12) | 0 (6) | 1996 | 3D ^e | 2R | 1R (5) | 1D (1) |
| 1964 | 37D | 1D | 2R (9) | 0 (2) | 1998 | 5D | 0 | 0 (8) | 0 |
| 1966 | 47R | 4R | 0 (8) | 1R (3) | 2000 | 2D | 4D | 0 (3) | 0 |
| 1968 | 5R | 6R | 1R (5) | 0 (0) | 2002 | 8R | 1R | 1R (9) ^f | 0 |
| 1970 | 12D | 2R | 3D (9) | 0 (2) | 2004 | 3R | 4R | 1D (3) ^g | 0 |
| 1972 | 12R | 2D | 0 (9) | 0 (2) | 2006 | 31D | 6D | 0 (3) | 0 |
| 1974 | 49D | 4D | 4D (10) | 0 (0) | 2008 | 21D | 8D | 3D (13) ^h | 0 (0) |
| 1976 | 1D | 0 | 0 (6) | 1D (1) | 2010 | 63R | 6R | 1R (11) | 1R (1) |
| 1978 | 15R | 3R | 4R (6) | 1R (2) | 2012 | 8D | 2D | 0 (6) | 0 (0) |

Note: D indicates Democrats; R indicates Republicans.

a. The general election figure is the difference between the number of seats won by the party gaining seats in that election and the number of seats won by that party in the preceding general election.

b. The special election figure is the net shift in seats held by the major parties as a result of special elections held between the two general elections. The figure does not include special elections held on the day of the general election. The number of special elections appears in parentheses.

c. The total number of special elections (3) includes the special election of Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) to fill the seat to which John Seymour was temporarily appointed. The special election was held at the same time as the general election (November 3, 1992).

d. Sen. Richard Shelby (AL) switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party the day after the election and brought the total Republican gain to nine.

e. Between the two elections, six Representatives switched parties. When we consider those switches and special election Republican gains, the total 1996 Democratic gain was nine seats.

f. Includes Ed Case (D-HI) who was elected November 30, 2002 after sine die adjournment of the House of Representatives, to fill Patsy Mink's chair (D-HI) in the 107th Congress.

g. Includes Ed Case (D-HI) who was elected in a special election on January 4, 2003 to fill Patsy Mink's (D-HI) chair for the 108th Congress.

h. Includes Marcia L. Fudge (D-OH) who was elected in a special election on November 18, 2008, to fill the remainder during the 110th Congress of the term of Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-OH) who died in office. Fudge was also elected in the general election on November 4, 2008, to serve in the 111th Congress.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; *National Journal*, various issues; Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>; Clerk of the U.S. Senate, <http://clerk.senate.gov>.



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Table 2-4 Losses by the President's Party in Midterm Elections, 1862 - 2010

| Year | Party holding presidency | President's party gain/loss of seats in House | President's party gain/loss of seats in Senate | Year | Party holding presidency | President's party gain/loss of seats in House | President's party gain/loss of seats in Senate |
|------|--------------------------|---|--|------|--------------------------|---|--|
| 1862 | R | -3 | 8 | 1938 | D | -72 | -7 |
| 1866 | R | -2 | 0 | 1942 | D | -44 | -9 |
| 1870 | R | -31 | -4 | 1946 | D | -55 | -12 |
| 1874 | R | -96 | -8 | 1950 | D | -28 | -5 |
| 1878 | R | -9 | -6 | 1954 | R | -18 | -1 |
| 1882 | R | -33 | 3 | 1958 | R | -48 | -12 |
| 1886 | D | -15 | 3 | 1962 | D | -4 | 2 |
| 1890 | R | -85 | 0 | 1966 | D | -48 | -4 |
| 1894 | D | -125 | -4 | 1970 | R | -12 | 1 |
| 1898 | R | -19 | 9 | 1974 | R | -48 | -4 |
| 1902 | R | 9 ^a | 2 | 1978 | D | -15 | -3 |
| 1906 | R | -28 | 3 | 1982 | R | -26 | 1 |
| 1910 | R | -57 | -8 | 1986 | R | -5 | -8 |
| 1914 | D | -61 | 5 | 1990 | R | -8 | -1 |
| 1918 | D | -22 | -6 | 1994 | D | -54 | -8 ^b |
| 1922 | R | -77 | -6 | 1998 | D | 5 | 0 |
| 1926 | R | -9 | -6 | 2002 | R | 8 | 1 |
| 1930 | R | -52 | -8 | 2006 | R | -30 | -6 |
| 1934 | D | 9 | 10 | 2010 | D | -63 | -6 |

Notes: D indicates Democrats; R indicates Republicans.

Each entry is the difference between the number of seats won by the president's party in that midterm election and the number of seats won by that party in the preceding general election. Because of changes in the overall number of seats in the Senate and House, in the number of seats won by third parties, and in the number of vacancies, a Republican loss is not always matched precisely by a Democratic gain, or vice versa. Data reflects immediate election results.

a. Although the Republicans gained nine seats in the 1902 elections, they actually lost ground to the Democrats, who gained twenty-five seats after the increase in the overall number of Representatives after the 1900 census.

b. Sen. Richard Shelby (AL) switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party the day following the election, so that the total loss was nine seats.

Sources: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *National Journal*, various issues; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years); Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>; Clerk of the U.S. Senate, <http://clerk.senate.gov>.



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Table 2-5 House Seats That Changed Party, 1954 - 2012

| Year | Total changes | Incumbent defeated | | Open seat | |
|------|---------------|--------------------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | | D → R | R → D | D → R | R → D |
| 1954 | 26 | 3 | 18 | 2 | 3 |
| 1956 | 20 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 4 |
| 1958 | 49 | 1 | 34 | 0 | 14 |
| 1960 | 37 | 23 | 2 | 6 | 6 |
| 1962 | 19 | 9 | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| 1964 | 55 | 5 | 39 | 3 | 8 |
| 1966 | 47 | 38 | 2 | 5 | 2 |
| 1968 | 11 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 4 |
| 1970 | 25 | 2 | 9 | 6 | 8 |
| 1972 | 21 | 8 | 3 | 6 | 4 |
| 1974 | 55 | 4 | 36 | 2 | 13 |
| 1976 | 22 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 7 |
| 1978 | 32 | 15 | 5 | 7 | 5 |
| 1980 | 41 | 28 | 3 | 9 | 1 |
| 1982 | 31 | 1 | 23 | 3 | 4 |
| 1984 | 22 | 13 | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| 1986 | 22 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 6 |
| 1988 | 9 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| 1990 | 20 | 6 | 8 | 0 | 6 |
| 1992 | 43 | 19 | 12 | 10 | 2 |
| 1994 | 60 | 35 | 0 | 21 | 4 |
| 1996 | 31 | 3 | 16 | 9 | 3 |
| 1998 | 18 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 7 |
| 2000 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 6 |
| 2002 | 15 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 5 |
| 2004 | 13 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| 2006 | 31 | 0 | 22 | 0 | 9 |
| 2008 | 31 | 5 | 14 | 0 | 12 |
| 2010 | 69 | 52 | 2 | 14 | 1 |
| 2012 | 29 | 4 | 15 | 7 | 3 |

This table reflects shifts in party control of seats from immediately before to immediately after the November elections. It does not include party gains resulting from the creation of new districts and does not account for situations in which two districts were reduced to one, thus forcing incumbents to run against each other.

Party gains that resulted from an incumbent being defeated in either a primary or general election are classified as incumbent defeats. In situations where the incumbent declined to run again, ran for another political office, or died or resigned before the end of the term are classified as open seats.

Sources: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *National Journal*, various issues; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years); The Green Papers, <http://thegreenpapers.com>; Election 2012 Data: The Impact on the House (The Brookings Institution).



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Table 2-6 Senate Seats That Changed Party, 1954 - 2012

| Year | Total changes | Incumbent defeated | | Open seat | |
|------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------|-------|
| | | D → R | R → D | D → R | R → D |
| 1954 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| 1956 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| 1958 | 13 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 3 |
| 1960 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 1962 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 2 |
| 1964 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 1966 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 1968 | 9 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 1970 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 1972 | 10 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| 1974 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 1 ^a | 3 |
| 1976 | 14 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| 1978 | 13 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| 1980 | 12 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1982 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 1984 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| 1986 | 10 | 0 | 7 | 1 | 2 |
| 1988 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 1990 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1992 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 1994 | 8 ^b | 2 | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 1996 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 1998 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 2000 | 8 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| 2002 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 ^c | 0 |
| 2004 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 2 |
| 2006 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 2008 | 7 | 0 | 4 ^d | 0 | 3 |
| 2010 | 6 ^e | 2 ^f | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 2012 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |

Notes: D indicates Democrat; R indicates Republican.

This table reflects shifts in party control of seats from immediately before to immediately after the November election

Party gains that resulted from an incumbent being defeated in either a primary or general election are classified as incumbent defeats. In situations where the incumbent declined to run again, ran for another political office, or died or resigned before the end of the term are classified as open seats.

a. Includes John Durkin (D-NH). After a contested election in which incumbent Sen. Norris Cotton did not run, the Senate declared the seat vacant as of August 8, 1975. Sen. Durkin was then elected by special election, September 16, 1975, to fill the vacancy.

b. Sen. Richard Shelby (AL) switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party the day after the election and brought the total change to nine.

c. Includes Norm Coleman (R-MN) who beat Walter Mondale (D-MN) after the death of Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-MN).

d. Does not include Al Franken (D-MN), who was declared on 30 June 2009 to have won the US Senate contest defeating Incumbent Senator Norm Coleman (R-MN). This brings the R→D Incumbent Defeat up to 5, and the Total Changes up to 8.

e. Does not include Incumbent Senator Lisa Murkowski (R-AK), who lost her primary to Joe Miller (R-AK) but won the general election as a Republican write-in candidate.

f. Includes Pat Toomey (R-PA), who defeated Senator Arlen Specter (D-PA). Specter had changed his affiliation from Republican to Democrat in office on April 30, 2009.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; *National Journal*, various issues; The Green Papers, <http://thegreenpapers.com>.



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Table 2-7 House Incumbents Retired, Defeated, or Reelected, 1946 - 2012

| Year | Retired ^a | Total seeking reelection | Defeated in primaries | Defeated in general election | Total reelected | Percentage of those seeking reelection | Reelected as percentage of House membership |
|------|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|------------------|--|---|
| 1946 | 32 | 398 | 18 | 52 | 328 | 82.4 | 75.4 |
| 1948 | 29 | 400 | 15 | 68 | 317 | 79.3 | 72.9 |
| 1950 | 29 | 400 | 6 | 32 | 362 | 90.5 | 83.2 |
| 1952 | 42 | 389 | 9 | 26 | 354 | 91.0 | 81.4 |
| 1954 | 24 | 407 | 6 | 22 | 379 | 93.1 | 87.1 |
| 1956 | 21 | 411 | 6 | 16 | 389 | 94.6 | 89.4 |
| 1958 | 33 | 396 | 3 | 37 | 356 | 89.9 | 81.8 |
| 1960 | 26 | 405 | 5 | 25 | 375 | 92.6 | 86.2 |
| 1962 | 24 | 402 | 12 | 22 | 368 | 91.5 | 84.6 |
| 1964 | 33 | 397 | 8 | 45 | 344 | 86.6 | 79.1 |
| 1966 | 22 | 411 | 8 | 41 | 362 | 88.1 | 83.2 |
| 1968 | 23 | 409 | 4 | 9 | 396 | 96.8 | 91.0 |
| 1970 | 29 | 401 | 10 | 12 | 379 | 94.5 | 87.1 |
| 1972 | 40 | 393 | 11 | 13 | 365 | 93.6 | 83.9 |
| 1974 | 43 | 391 | 8 | 40 | 343 | 87.7 | 78.9 |
| 1976 | 47 | 384 | 3 | 13 | 368 | 95.8 | 84.6 |
| 1978 | 49 | 382 | 5 | 19 | 358 | 93.7 | 82.3 |
| 1980 | 34 | 398 | 6 | 31 | 361 | 90.7 | 83.0 |
| 1982 | 40 | 393 | 10 | 29 | 354 | 90.1 | 81.4 |
| 1984 | 22 | 411 | 3 | 16 | 392 | 95.4 | 90.1 |
| 1986 | 40 | 394 | 3 | 6 | 385 | 97.7 | 88.5 |
| 1988 | 23 | 409 | 1 | 6 | 402 | 98.3 | 92.4 |
| 1990 | 27 | 406 | 1 | 15 | 390 | 96.0 | 89.7 |
| 1992 | 65 | 368 | 19 | 24 | 325 | 88.3 | 74.7 |
| 1994 | 48 | 387 | 4 | 34 | 349 | 90.2 | 80.0 |
| 1996 | 49 | 384 | 2 | 21 | 361 | 94.0 | 83.0 |
| 1998 | 33 | 402 | 1 | 6 | 395 | 98.3 | 90.1 |
| 2000 | 30 | 403 | 3 | 6 | 394 | 97.8 | 90.1 |
| 2002 | 35 | 398 ^b | 8 | 8 | 383 ^c | 96.2 | 88.0 |
| 2004 | 29 | 404 | 2 | 7 | 395 | 92.9 | 90.8 |
| 2006 | 28 | 403 | 2 | 22 | 379 | 94.0 | 87.1 |
| 2008 | 27 | 399 | 4 ^d | 19 | 376 | 94.2 | 86.4 |
| 2010 | 32 | 397 | 4 | 54 | 339 | 85.4 | 91.3 |
| 2012 | 25 | 391 | 13 | 27 | 351 | 89.9 | 80.7 |

- a. This entry does not include persons who died or resigned before the election.
b. Includes Jim Traficant (D- OH), who ran as an Independent in the election despite being expelled from the House of Representatives in July 2002.
c. Includes Patsy Mink (D-HI) who died shortly before the election yet remained on the ballot.
d. Includes Albert R. Wynn (D-MD) who lost his primary on February 13, 2008, and promptly resigned his seat effective May 31, 2008. Donna Edwards (D-MD) who won the primary and then won the special election to fill Wynn's seat for the remainder of the term is not counted as an incumbent in this table.

Sources: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *National Journal*, various issues; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years); Center for Responsive Politics, <http://opensecrets.org>.



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Table 2-8 Senate Incumbents Retired, Defeated, or Reelected, 1946 - 2012

| Year | Not seeking reelection ^a | Total seeking reelection | Defeated in primaries | Defeated in general election | Total reelected | Reelected as percentage of those seeking reelection |
|------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|---|
| 1946 | 9 | 30 | 6 | 7 | 17 | 56.7 |
| 1948 | 8 | 25 | 2 | 8 | 15 | 60.0 |
| 1950 | 4 | 32 | 5 | 5 | 22 | 68.8 |
| 1952 | 4 | 29 | 1 | 10 | 18 | 62.1 |
| 1954 | 6 | 32 | 2 | 5 | 25 | 78.1 |
| 1956 | 5 | 30 | 0 | 4 | 26 | 86.7 |
| 1958 | 6 | 27 | 0 | 10 | 17 | 63.0 |
| 1960 | 5 | 29 | 0 | 2 | 27 | 93.1 |
| 1962 | 4 | 35 | 1 | 5 | 29 | 82.9 |
| 1964 | 3 | 32 | 0 | 4 | 28 | 87.5 |
| 1966 | 3 | 32 | 3 | 1 | 28 | 87.5 |
| 1968 | 7 | 27 | 4 | 4 | 19 | 70.4 |
| 1970 | 4 | 31 | 1 | 6 | 24 | 77.4 |
| 1972 | 6 | 27 | 2 | 5 | 20 | 74.1 |
| 1974 | 7 | 27 | 2 | 2 | 23 | 85.2 |
| 1976 | 8 | 25 | 0 | 9 | 16 | 64.0 |
| 1978 | 10 | 25 | 3 | 7 | 15 | 60.0 |
| 1980 | 5 | 29 | 4 | 9 | 16 | 55.2 |
| 1982 | 3 | 30 | 0 | 2 | 28 | 93.3 |
| 1984 | 4 | 29 | 0 | 3 | 26 | 89.7 |
| 1986 | 6 | 28 | 0 | 7 | 21 | 75.0 |
| 1988 | 6 | 27 | 0 | 4 | 23 | 85.2 |
| 1990 | 4 | 32 | 0 | 1 | 31 | 96.9 |
| 1992 | 9 | 28 | 1 | 4 | 23 | 82.1 |
| 1994 | 9 | 26 | 0 | 2 | 24 | 92.3 |
| 1996 | 13 | 21 | 1 ^b | 1 | 19 | 90.5 |
| 1998 | 5 | 29 | 0 | 3 | 26 | 89.7 |
| 2000 | 5 | 29 | 0 | 6 | 23 | 79.3 |
| 2002 | 7 | 27 | 1 | 2 | 24 | 88.9 |
| 2004 | 8 | 26 | 0 | 1 | 25 | 96.2 |
| 2006 | 5 | 28 | 1 ^c | 6 | 22 | 78.6 |
| 2008 | 5 | 30 | 0 | 5 | 25 | 83.3 |
| 2010 | 12 | 25 | 3 ^d | 2 | 21 | 84.0 |
| 2012 | 10 | 23 | 1 | 1 | 21 ^e | 91.3 |

Note: Table includes all Senate contests in a given year, whether for full or partial terms.

- a. This entry includes Senators who died or resigned before the election and those retiring at the end of their terms.
- b. Sheila Frahm, appointed to fill Robert Dole's term, is counted as an incumbent in Kansas's "B" seat.
- c. Sen. Joe Lieberman (CT) lost in the Democratic primary, but ran in the general election as an independent and won reelection.
- d. Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R-AK) lost her primary to Joe Miller (R-AK), but ran in the general election as a Republican write-in candidate and won reelection.
- e. Total includes Dean Heller (R-NV), who was appointed on May 9, 2011 and won reelection.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; *National Journal*, various issues; Center for Responsive Politics, <http://opensecrets.org>.



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Table 2-9 House and Senate Retirements by Party, 1930 - 2012

| Year | House | | Senate | | Year | House | | Senate | |
|------|-------|----|--------|---|------|-------|----|----------------|----------------|
| | D | R | D | R | | D | R | D | R |
| 1930 | 8 | 15 | 2 | 5 | 1972 | 20 | 20 | 3 | 3 |
| 1932 | 16 | 23 | 1 | 1 | 1974 | 23 | 21 | 3 | 4 |
| 1934 | 29 | 9 | 3 | 1 | 1976 | 31 | 16 | 4 | 4 |
| 1936 | 29 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 1978 | 31 | 18 | 4 | 5 |
| 1938 | 21 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 1980 | 21 | 13 | 2 | 3 |
| 1940 | 16 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 1982 | 19 | 21 | 1 | 2 |
| 1942 | 20 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 1984 | 9 | 13 | 2 | 2 |
| 1944 | 17 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 1986 | 20 | 20 | 3 | 3 |
| 1946 | 17 | 15 | 4 | 3 | 1988 | 10 | 13 | 3 | 3 |
| 1948 | 17 | 12 | 3 | 4 | 1990 | 10 | 17 | 0 | 3 |
| 1950 | 12 | 17 | 3 | 1 | 1992 | 41 | 24 | 4 | 3 |
| 1952 | 25 | 17 | 2 | 1 | 1994 | 28 | 20 | 6 | 3 |
| 1954 | 11 | 13 | 1 | 1 | 1996 | 28 | 21 | 8 | 5 |
| 1956 | 7 | 13 | 4 | 1 | 1998 | 17 | 16 | 3 | 2 |
| 1958 | 6 | 27 | 0 | 6 | 2000 | 7 | 23 | 4 | 1 |
| 1960 | 11 | 15 | 3 | 1 | 2002 | 13 | 22 | 1 | 5 ^a |
| 1962 | 10 | 14 | 2 | 2 | 2004 | 12 | 17 | 5 | 3 |
| 1964 | 17 | 16 | 1 | 1 | 2006 | 9 | 17 | 2 | 1 |
| 1966 | 14 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 2008 | 3 | 24 | 0 | 5 |
| 1968 | 13 | 10 | 4 | 3 | 2010 | 17 | 15 | 6 | 6 |
| 1970 | 11 | 19 | 3 | 1 | 2012 | 20 | 18 | 7 ^b | 3 |

Notes: D indicates Democrat; R indicates Republican.

These figures include members who did not run again for the office they held and members who sought other offices; the figures do not include members who died or resigned before the end of the particular Congress.

- a. Includes Frank Murkowski (R-AK) who ran for governor, won and appointed Lisa Murkoswki to finish the last two years of his term.
- b. This total includes Sen. Joe Lieberman (I-CT), who caucused with Democrats.

Sources: Mildred L. Amer, "Information on the Number of House Retirees, 1930–1992," (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, Staff Report, May 19, 1992); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues; *National Journal*, various issues; Center for Responsive Politics, <http://opensecrets.org>; *Roll Call*, Casualty List: 112th Congress.



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Table 2-10 Defeated House Incumbents, 1946 - 2012

| Election | Party | Incumbents lost | Average terms | Consecutive terms served | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------------|---|----|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 - 3 | 4 - 6 | 7 - 9 | 10+ |
| 1946 | Democrat | 62 | 2.7 | 35 | 5 | 4 | 44 | 11 | 5 | 2 |
| | Republican | 7 | 3.6 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| | Total | 69 | 2.8 | 37 | 5 | 5 | 47 | 14 | 6 | 2 |
| 1948 | Democrat ^a | 9 | 2.7 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 73 | 2.2 | 41 | 3 | 12 | 56 | 14 | 2 | 1 |
| | Total | 82 | 2.3 | 45 | 4 | 13 | 62 | 17 | 2 | 1 |
| 1958 | Democrat ^b | 6 | 5.0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| | Republican | 34 | 4.3 | 9 | 0 | 4 | 13 | 14 | 6 | 1 |
| | Total | 40 | 4.4 | 10 | 1 | 4 | 15 | 16 | 7 | 2 |
| 1966 | Democrat | 43 | 3.3 | 26 | 6 | 0 | 32 | 4 | 1 | 6 |
| | Republican | 2 | 11.0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Total | 45 | 3.6 | 27 | 6 | 0 | 33 | 4 | 1 | 7 |
| 1974 | Democrat | 9 | 4.7 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| | Republican | 39 | 3.8 | 11 | 2 | 6 | 19 | 15 | 2 | 3 |
| | Total | 48 | 4.0 | 12 | 3 | 7 | 22 | 18 | 4 | 4 |
| 1978 | Democrat | 19 | 4.0 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 13 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| | Republican | 5 | 5.4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| | Total | 24 | 4.3 | 5 | 8 | 2 | 15 | 4 | 1 | 4 |
| 1980 | Democrat | 32 | 5.2 | 5 | 2 | 10 | 17 | 5 | 4 | 6 |
| | Republican | 5 | 5.3 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | Total | 37 | 5.2 | 6 | 2 | 11 | 19 | 6 | 5 | 7 |
| 1982 | Democrat | 4 | 2.9 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican ^c | 23 | 3.0 | 12 | 3 | 2 | 17 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| | Total | 27 | 3.0 | 13 | 3 | 3 | 19 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| 1984 | Democrat | 16 | 4.1 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| | Republican | 3 | 3.7 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 19 | 4.0 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 1 | 2 |
| 1986 | Democrat | 3 | 1.8 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 6 | 1.5 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 9 | 1.6 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 0 |



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Table 2-10 Defeated House Incumbents, 1946 - 2012

| Election | Party | Incumbents lost | Average terms | Consecutive terms served | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------------|---|---|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 - 3 | 4 - 6 | 7 - 9 | 10+ |
| 1988 | Democrat | 2 | 12.0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | Republican | 5 | 1.6 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 7 | 4.6 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 1990 | Democrat | 6 | 6.3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| | Republican ^d | 10 | 3.6 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| | Total | 16 | 4.6 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 7 | 2 | 1 |
| 1992 | Democrat | 30 | 5.6 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 12 | 10 | 1 |
| | Republican | 13 | 6.8 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 2 |
| | Total | 43 | 6.0 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 11 | 13 | 16 | 3 |
| 1994 | Democrat | 37 | 4.2 | 16 | 3 | 5 | 24 | 7 | 2 | 4 |
| | Republican | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 37 | 4.2 | 16 | 3 | 5 | 24 | 7 | 2 | 4 |
| 1996 | Democrat ^e | 3 | 4.7 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Republican | 18 | 1.8 | 12 | 4 | 1 | 17 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | Total | 21 | 2.2 | 13 | 4 | 2 | 19 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 1998 | Democrat | 1 | 1.0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 6 | 1.7 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 7 | 1.6 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2000 | Democrat | 4 | 6.5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | Republican | 5 | 2.4 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 9 | 4.2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2002 | Democrat ^f | 12 | 4.6 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 0 |
| | Republican | 5 | 4.8 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | Total | 17 | 4.7 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 1 |
| 2004 | Democrat ^g | 5 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 2 | 9 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Total | 7 | 4.7 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 1 |



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Table 2-10 Defeated House Incumbents, 1946 - 2012

| Election | Party | Incumbents lost | Average terms | Consecutive terms served | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------------|----|---|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 - 3 | 4 - 6 | 7 - 9 | 10+ |
| 2006 | Democrat | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 22 | 5.9 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 9 | 3 | 4 |
| | Total | 22 | 5.9 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 9 | 3 | 4 |
| 2008 | Democrat ^h | 6 | 3.2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | Republican | 17 | 4.4 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| | Total | 23 | 4.1 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 13 | 5 | 4 | 1 |
| 2010 | Democrat | 54 | 3.8 | 23 | 15 | 3 | 41 | 1 | 4 | 7 |
| | Republican ⁱ | 4 | 1.5 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 58 | 3.6 | 26 | 15 | 4 | 45 | 1 | 4 | 7 |
| 2012 | Democrat | 10 | 6.2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| | Republican | 17 | 2.5 | 12 | 0 | 1 | 13 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| | Total | 27 | 3.9 | 14 | 2 | 2 | 18 | 3 | 3 | 3 |

Note: The 1966 and 1982 numbers do not include races where incumbents ran against incumbents due to redistricting. We counted incumbents who lost in the primary as their party's incumbent but then ran in the general election as a write-in or third-party candidate as an incumbent loss.

- a. This includes Leo Isacson (NY), who was a member of the American Labor Party.
- b. This includes Vincent Dellay (NJ), who was elected as a Republican but switched to a Democrat. He ran for reelection as an Independent.
- c. This includes Eugene Atkinson (PA), who began his House service January 3, 1979, as a Democrat. He became a Republican on October 14, 1981.
- d. This includes Donald Lukens (OH) who was defeated in the primary and then resigned on October 24, 1990 and Bill Grant (Fla.) who began his House service January 6, 1987, as a Democrat, but later switched parties. The Republican Conference let his seniority count from 1987.
- e. One Democratic incumbent, who served more than ten terms in office, was defeated.
- f. Includes Jim Traficant (OH) who ran as an Independent after being expelled from the House.
- g. Excludes two 13-term representatives, Charles Stenholm (TX) and Martin Frost (TX), that ran against incumbents as a result of redistricting.
- h. Includes Albert R. Wynn (D-MD) who lost his primary on February 13, 2008, and promptly resigned his seat effective May 31, 2008.
- i. Includes Parker Griffith (AL) who began his House service January 3, 2009, as a Democrat but switched to a Republican on December 22, 2009.

Sources: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774-2012, <http://bioguide.congress.gov>; *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *National Journal*, various issues; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years); *Roll Call*, Casualty List: 112th Congress.



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Table 2-11 Defeated Senate Incumbents, 1946 - 2012

| Election | Party | Incumbents lost | Average terms | Consecutive terms served | | | | | |
|----------|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|----|
| | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6+ |
| 1946 | Democrat | 11 | 1.6 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 2 | 4.0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 13 | 2.0 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 1948 | Democrat | 2 | 1.5 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 8 | 1.0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 10 | 1.1 | 9 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1958 | Republican | 10 | 1.4 | 6 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 10 | 1.4 | 6 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1966 | Democrat | 4 | 2.0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 4 | 2.0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1974 | Democrat | 2 | 3.0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | Republican | 2 | 1.5 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 4 | 2.2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 1978 | Democrat | 7 | 0.9 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 3 | 2.7 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 10 | 1.4 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1980 | Democrat | 12 | 2.4 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| | Republican | 1 | 4.0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 13 | 2.6 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 1 |
| 1982 | Democrat | 1 | 4.0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 1 | 1.0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 2 | 2.5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1984 | Democrat | 1 | 2.0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 2 | 2.0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 3 | 2.0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1986 | Republican ^a | 7 | 0.9 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 7 | 0.9 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1988 | Democrat | 1 | 2.0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 3 | 1.4 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 4 | 1.6 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1990 | Republican | 1 | 2.0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 1 | 2.0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |



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Table 2-11 Defeated Senate Incumbents, 1946 - 2012

| Election | Party | Incumbents lost | Average terms | Consecutive terms served | | | | | |
|----------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|----|
| | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6+ |
| 1992 | Democrat | 3 | 1.3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 2 | 1.2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 5 | 1.3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1994 | Democrat | 2 | 1.8 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 2 | 1.8 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1996 | Republican | 2 | 2.0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 2 | 2.0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1998 | Democrat | 1 | 1.0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 2 | 2.0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 3 | 1.7 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2000 | Democrat | 1 | 2.0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 5 | 2.0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | Total | 6 | 2.0 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2002 | Democrat ^b | 2 | 1.0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 2 | 1.5 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 4 | 1.3 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2004 | Democrat | 1 | 3.0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Republican | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 1 | 3.0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2006 | Republican | 5 | 1.8 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 5 | 1.8 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2008 | Republican | 5 | 2.2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | Total | 5 | 2.2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 2010 | Democrat | 3 | 3.3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | Republican | 1 | 3.0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 4 | 3.3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2012 | Republican | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

a. This includes James Broyhill (R-NC) who was appointed on July 14, 1986, until November 14, 1986. He lost to Terry Sanford (D-NC) who took over the seat on November 5, 1986.

b. Includes Jean Carnahan (D-MO) who was appointed to fill her husband's seat in 2001.

Sources: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *National Journal*, various issues; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years).



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Table 2-12 House Elections Won with 60 Percent of Major Party Vote, 1956 - 2012

| Year | Number of incumbents running in general election | Percentage of incumbents reelected with at least 60 percent of the major party vote |
|------|--|---|
| 1956 | 403 | 59.1 |
| 1958 | 390 | 63.1 |
| 1960 | 400 | 58.9 |
| 1962 | 376 | 63.6 |
| 1964 | 388 | 58.5 |
| 1966 | 401 | 67.7 |
| 1968 | 397 | 72.2 |
| 1970 | 389 | 77.3 |
| 1972 | 373 | 77.8 |
| 1974 | 383 | 66.4 |
| 1976 | 381 | 71.9 |
| 1978 | 377 | 78.0 |
| 1980 | 392 | 72.9 |
| 1982 | 383 | 68.9 |
| 1984 | 406 | 74.6 |
| 1986 | 391 | 86.4 |
| 1988 | 407 | 88.5 |
| 1990 | 406 | 76.4 |
| 1992 | 349 | 65.6 |
| 1994 | 383 | 64.5 |
| 1996 | 383 | 73.6 |
| 1998 | 401 | 75.6 |
| 2000 | 400 | 77.3 |
| 2002 | 391 ^a | 85.4 |
| 2004 | 402 | 81.6 |
| 2006 | 403 | 80.9 |
| 2008 | 399 | 78.4 |
| 2010 | 390 | 70.8 |
| 2012 | 378 | 68.8 |

a. Includes Jim Traficant (D-OH) who ran as an Independent after being expelled from the House of Representatives.

Sources: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *National Journal*, various issues; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years); *Election 2012 Data: The Impact on the House* (The Brookings Institution).



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Table 2-13 Senate Elections Won with 60 Percent of Major Party Vote, 1944 - 2008

| Election Period | Number of incumbents running in general election | Percentage of incumbents reelected with at least 60 percent of the major party vote ^a | | |
|--------------------------|--|--|-------|------------|
| | | South | North | Total U.S. |
| 1944 - 1948 | 61 | 100.0 | 22.9 | 39.3 |
| 1950 - 1954 | 76 | 100.0 | 18.3 | 35.5 |
| 1956 - 1960 | 84 | 95.5 | 24.2 | 42.9 |
| 1962 - 1966 | 86 | 70.0 | 36.4 | 44.2 |
| 1968 - 1972 | 74 | 71.4 | 38.3 | 44.6 |
| 1974 - 1978 | 70 | 57.1 | 37.5 | 41.4 |
| 1980 - 1984 ^b | 84 | 63.3 | 51.9 | 54.1 |
| 1986 - 1990 | 87 | 68.2 | 53.9 | 57.5 |
| 1992 - 1996 | 72 | 50.0 | 32.1 | 36.6 |
| 1998 - 2002 | 85 | 51.5 | 62.3 | 57.6 |
| 2004 - 2008 | 83 | 61.5 | 69 | 68.5 |

a. For the purposes of this table, Senators appointed to the Senate are not considered incumbents in the elections just after appointment.

b. Includes two Democratic incumbents from Louisiana, who by winning more than 50 percent of the vote in that state's all-party primary, avoided a general election contest. In 1980, Russell Long won 59.8 percent of the vote, and in 1984, J. Bennett Johnston won 86 percent of the vote.

Sources: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *National Journal*, various issues; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years).



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Table 2-14 Marginal Races Among Members of the 113th Congress, 2012

| Chamber | Members who won the congressional election by 60 percent or less | | Members who won the congressional election by 55 percent or less | |
|---------|--|------------|--|------------|
| | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| House | 169 | 38.9 | 78 | 17.9 |
| Senate | 56 | 56 | 32 | 32 |

Sources: *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *National Journal*, various issues; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years); Election 2012 Data: The Impact on the House (The Brookings Institution).



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Table 2-15a

Conditions of Initial Election for Members of the 112th Congress, 2011

| Condition | House | | | | Senate | | |
|------------------------------|------------|-------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| | Democrats | Republicans | Total | Percentage of entire house | Democrats | Republicans | Total |
| Defeated incumbent | | | | | | | |
| In primary | 13 | 9 | 22 | 5.1 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| In general election | 41 | 67 | 108 | 24.8 | 23 | 10 | 33 |
| Succeeded retiring incumbent | | | | | | | |
| Of same party | 74 | 87 | 161 | 37.0 | 20 | 19 | 39 |
| Of other party | 32 | 46 | 78 | 17.9 | 7 | 12 | 19 |
| Succeeded deceased incumbent | | | | | | | |
| Of same party | 15 | 8 | 23 | 5.3 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Of other party | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1.1 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| New districts | 17 | 20 | 37 | 8.5 | -- | -- | -- |
| Total | 193 | 241 | 434^b | 100.0 | 52 | 46 | 98 |

Note: Percentages of seats won do not equal 100% due to the election of independents and/or rounding.

a. This total does not include Rahm Emanuel (D-IL)'s seat or Maryland's first district, where the incumbent, Wayne Gilchrist lost the Republican primary to Andy Harris. Harris lost in the general election to Frank Kratovil (D).

b. This total does not include Maryland's first district where the incumbent, Frank Kratovil (D) defeated the Republican challenger, Andy Harris, who himself won in a primary challenge against the prior incumbent, Wayne Gilchrist.



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Table 2-15b

Conditions of Initial Election for Members of the 113th Congress, 2013

| Condition | House | | | Percentage of entire House | Senate | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|-------------------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| | Democrats | Republicans | Total | | Democrats | Republicans | Total |
| Defeated incumbent | | | | | | | |
| In primary | 12 | 11 | 23 | 5.3 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| In general election | 53 | 58 | 111 | 25.5 | 20 | 8 | 28 |
| Succeeded retiring incumbent | | | | | | | |
| Of same party | 79 | 82 ^a | 79 | 37.0 | 23 | 23 | 46 |
| Of other party | 25 ^b | 48 | 48 | 16.8 | 9 | 9 | 18 |
| Succeeded deceased incumbent | | | | | | | |
| Of same party | 11 | 7 | 18 | 4.1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Of other party | 0 | 4 | 4 | 0.9 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| New districts | 22 | 23 | 45 | 10.3 | -- | -- | -- |
| Total | 202 | 233 | 435 | 100.0 | 54 | 44 | 98 |

Note: Percentage of seats won do not equal 100% due to 2010 totals.

a. Total includes Christopher Murphy (D-CT). Murphy succeeded Independent Joseph Lieberman, who caucused with Democrats.

b. Total includes Angus King (I-ME), who is expected to caucus with Democrats. King succeeded Republican Olympia Snowe.

Sources: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years).



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Table 2-16 Ticket Splitting between Presidential and House Candidates, 1900-2012

| Year | Districts ^b | Districts with split results ^a | |
|------|------------------------|---|------------|
| | | Number | Percentage |
| 1900 | 295 | 10 | 3.4 |
| 1904 | 310 | 5 | 1.6 |
| 1908 | 314 | 21 | 6.7 |
| 1912 | 333 | 84 | 25.2 |
| 1916 | 333 | 35 | 10.5 |
| 1920 | 344 | 11 | 3.2 |
| 1924 | 356 | 42 | 11.8 |
| 1928 | 359 | 68 | 18.9 |
| 1932 | 355 | 50 | 14.1 |
| 1936 | 361 | 51 | 14.1 |
| 1940 | 362 | 53 | 14.6 |
| 1944 | 367 | 41 | 11.2 |
| 1948 | 422 | 90 | 21.3 |
| 1952 | 435 | 84 | 19.3 |
| 1956 | 435 | 130 | 29.9 |
| 1960 | 437 | 114 | 26.1 |
| 1964 | 435 | 145 | 33.3 |
| 1968 | 435 | 139 | 32.0 |
| 1972 | 435 | 192 | 44.1 |
| 1976 | 435 | 124 | 28.5 |
| 1980 | 435 | 143 | 32.8 |
| 1984 | 435 | 190 | 43.7 |
| 1988 | 435 | 148 | 34.0 |
| 1992 | 435 | 100 | 23.0 |
| 1996 | 435 | 110 | 25.3 |
| 2000 | 435 | 86 | 19.8 |
| 2004 | 435 | 59 | 13.6 |
| 2008 | 435 | 83 | 19.1 |
| 2012 | 424 | 25 ^c | 5.7 |

a. These are congressional districts carried by a presidential candidate of one party and a House candidate of another party.

b. Before 1952 complete data are not available on every congressional district.

c. Total as of February 28, 2013 does not include the 11 districts affected by Hurricane Sandy where the Presidential vote totals are not yet available.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *National Journal*, various issues; *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years); Presidential Results by Congressional Districts (Daily Kos Elections).



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Table 2-17 District Voting for President and Representative, 1952 - 2012

| Year | Number of districts carried by president ^a | President's vote compared with vote for his party's successful House candidates | |
|------|---|---|----------------------|
| | | President ran ahead | President ran behind |
| 1952 | 297 | n.a. | n.a. |
| 1956 | 329 | 155 | 43 |
| 1960 | 204 | 22 | 243 |
| 1964 | 375 | 134 ^b | 158 ^b |
| 1972 | 377 | 104 | 88 |
| 1976 | 220 | 22 | 270 |
| 1980 | 309 | 38 ^c | 150 ^c |
| 1984 | 372 | 59 | 123 |
| 1988 | 299 | 26 | 149 |
| 1992 | 257 | 4 ^{b, d} | 247 ^{b, d} |
| 1996 | 280 | 27 ^e | 174 ^e |
| 2000 | 228 | 26 | 195 |
| 2004 | 255 | 39 | 154 |
| 2008 | 242 | 37 | 220 |
| 2012 | 201 ^f | 58 | 134 |

n.a. = not available.

a. This refers to the winning presidential candidate.

b. This does not include districts where the percentage of the total district vote won by House members equaled the percentage of the total district vote won by the president.

c. We computed this on the basis of the actual presidential vote with John Anderson and others included. If it is recomputed on the basis of President Reagan's percentage of the major party vote, the president ran ahead in 59 districts and behind in 129 districts.

d. We computed this on the basis of the actual presidential vote with Ross Perot included. If we recomputed this on the basis of President Clinton's percentage of the major party vote, the president ran ahead in 72 districts and behind in 179 districts.

e. We computed this on the basis of the actual presidential vote with Ross Perot included. If we recomputed this on the basis of President Clinton's percentage of the major party vote, the president ran ahead in 98 districts and behind in 97 districts.

f. Total as of February 28, 2013 does not include the 11 districts affected by Hurricane Sandy, where President Obama's total vote is not yet available.

Sources: Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years). For 2000, Gregory Giroux, *Congressional Quarterly*; Presidential Results by Congressional Districts (Daily Kos Elections); Election 2012 Data: The Impact on the House (The Brookings Institution).



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Table 2-18 Shifts in Democratic Major Party Vote in Congressional Districts, 1956 - 2010

| Period | Change in democratic percentage nationally | Change in Democratic percentage in congressional districts | | |
|-----------|--|--|---------------|-----------------------|
| | | Greatest loss | Greatest gain | Variance ^a |
| 1956-58 | 5.0 | -9.5 | 27.3 | 30.3 |
| 1958-60 | -1.2 | -22.1 | 14.4 | 31.4 |
| 1972-74 | 5.8 | -18.8 | 36.2 | 92.2 |
| 1974-76 | -1.3 | -30.7 | 31.6 | 81.0 |
| 1976-78 | -2.8 | -37.6 | 39.6 | 106.1 |
| 1978-80 | -3.2 | -27.8 | 37.0 | 85.0 |
| 1982-84 | -4.1 | -40.6 | 16.5 | 68.8 |
| 1984-86 | 2.4 | -46.1 | 22.5 | 63.6 |
| 1986-88 | -1.1 | -23.5 | 36.1 | 65.9 |
| 1988-90 | 0.1 | -29.1 | 36.4 | 92.6 |
| 1992-94 | -6.3 | -38.0 | 28.0 | 67.2 |
| 1994-96 | 3.4 | -31.2 | 21.5 | 51.1 |
| 1996-98 | -0.7 | -16.3 | 21.0 | 46.0 |
| 1998-2000 | 0.7 | -28.7 | 27.0 | 41.2 |
| 2002-04 | 1.4 | -28.0 | 22.8 | 36.7 |
| 2006-08 | 1.5 | -41.1 | 30.8 | 48.0 |
| 2008-10 | -9.0 | -27.7 | 40.7 | 49.4 |

Note: Includes only those districts in which two major party candidates competed in both elections and in which the boundaries remained unchanged for both elections. Because of massive redrawing of district lines after each decennial census, no figures are computed for 1970-1972, 1980-1982, 1990-1992, 2000-2002 and 2010-2012.

a. Variance, the square of the standard deviation, measures the extent to which the changes in local returns differ from the change in national returns.

Source: For 2000-2004, computed by Gary Jacobson, University of California, San Diego. Data from Gregory Giroux, *Congressional Quarterly*.



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Table 2-19 Party-Line Voting in Presidential and Congressional Elections, 1956 - 2010 (as a percentage of all voters)

| Year | Presidential election | | | Senate elections | | | House elections | | |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | Party-line voters ^a | Defectors ^b | Pure independents ^c | Party-line voters ^a | Defectors ^b | Pure independents ^c | Party-line voters ^a | Defectors ^b | Pure independents ^c |
| 1956 | 76 | 15 | 9 | 79 | 12 | 9 | 82 | 9 | 9 |
| 1958 | | | | 85 | 9 | 5 | 84 | 11 | 5 |
| 1960 | 79 | 13 | 8 | 77 | 15 | 8 | 80 | 12 | 8 |
| 1962 | | | | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 83 | 12 | 6 |
| 1964 | 79 | 15 | 5 | 78 | 16 | 6 | 79 | 15 | 5 |
| 1966 | | | | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 76 | 16 | 8 |
| 1968 | 69 | 23 | 9 | 74 | 19 | 7 | 74 | 19 | 7 |
| 1970 | | | | 78 | 12 | 10 | 76 | 16 | 8 |
| 1972 | 67 | 25 | 8 | 69 | 22 | 9 | 75 | 17 | 8 |
| 1974 | | | | 73 | 19 | 8 | 74 | 18 | 8 |
| 1976 | 74 | 15 | 11 | 70 | 19 | 11 | 72 | 19 | 9 |
| 1978 | | | | 71 | 20 | 9 | 69 | 22 | 9 |
| 1980 | 70 | 22 | 8 | 71 | 21 | 8 | 69 | 23 | 8 |
| 1982 | | | | 77 | 17 | 6 | 76 | 17 | 6 |
| 1984 | 81 | 12 | 7 | 72 | 19 | 8 | 70 | 23 | 7 |
| 1986 | | | | 76 | 20 | 4 | 72 | 22 | 6 |
| 1988 | 81 | 12 | 7 | 72 | 20 | 7 | 74 | 20 | 7 |
| 1990 | | | | 75 | 20 | 5 | 72 | 22 | 5 |
| 1992 | 68 | 24 | 9 | 73 | 20 | 7 | 70 | 22 | 8 |
| 1994 | | | | 76 | 18 | 5 | 77 | 17 | 6 |
| 1996 | 80 | 15 | 5 | 77 | 16 | 7 | 77 | 17 | 6 |
| 1998 | | | | 77 | 15 | 8 | 74 | 20 | 6 |
| 2000 | 81 | 11 | 7 | 80 | 13 | 7 | 76 | 17 | 6 |
| 2002 | | | | 82 | 14 | 4 | 78 | 18 | 4 |
| 2004 | 85 | 10 | 6 | 81 | 14 | 5 | 80 | 15 | 6 |
| 2006 | | | | 83 | 8 | 9 | 80 | 11 | 9 |
| 2008 | 85 | 9 | 10 | 81 | 12 | 7 | 81 | 13 | 6 |
| 2010 | | | | 86 | 9 | 5 | 84 | 10 | 7 |

n.a. = not available

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

Note: As of March 7th, 2013, 2012 results are not available.

a. These are party identifiers who voted for the candidate of their party.

b. These are party identifiers who vote for the candidate of the other party.

c. The SRC/CPS National Election Surveys use a seven-point scale to define party identification, including three categories of Independents--those who "lean" to one or the other party and those who are "pure" Independents. The "leaners" are included here among the party-line voters. Party identification here means self-identification as determined by surveys.

Source: For 2000-2004, Gary Jacobson, University of California, San Diego. Data from Gregory Giroux, *Congressional Quarterly*. Data for 2006 and 2010 were compiled from the Cooperative Congressional Election Study, while the remainder of the data come from the American National Election Studies.



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Chapter 3: Campaign Finance in Congressional Elections

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Table 3-1 The Cost of Winning an Election, 1986-2012 (in nominal and 2012 dollars)

| | House Winners | | Senate Winners | |
|------|-----------------|--------------|------------------------|--------------|
| | Nominal Dollars | 2012 Dollars | Nominal Dollars | 2012 Dollars |
| 2012 | 1,596,953 | 1,596,953 | 10,351,556 | 10,351,556 |
| 2010 | 1,434,760 | 1,511,799 | 8,993,945 | 8,276,415 |
| 2008 | 1,362,239 | 1,452,718 | 7,500,052 | 7,998,198 |
| 2006 | 1,259,791 | 1,434,762 | 8,835,416 | 10,062,557 |
| 2004 | 1,038,391 | 1,262,120 | 7,183,825 | 8,731,637 |
| 2002 | 911,644 | 1,163,499 | 3,728,644 | 4,758,737 |
| 2000 | 845,907 | 1,127,876 | 7,198,423 ^a | 9,597,897 |
| 1998 | 677,807 | 954,751 | 4,655,806 | 6,558,117 |
| 1996 | 686,198 | 1,004,150 | 3,921,653 | 5,738,761 |
| 1994 | 541,121 | 838,336 | 4,488,195 | 6,953,371 |
| 1992 | 556,475 | 910,668 | 3,353,115 | 5,487,350 |
| 1990 | 423,245 | 743,512 | 3,298,324 | 5,794,148 |
| 1988 | 400,386 | 777,081 | 3,746,225 | 7,270,780 |
| 1986 | 359,577 | 753,274 | 3,067,559 | 6,426,200 |

Note: Inflation adjustment based on average 2012 CPI.
<ftp://ftp.bls.gov/pub/special.requests/cpi/cpiiai.txt>

a. 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.

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Table 3-2 House Campaign Expenditures: Major Party General Election Candidates, 1974-2012 (full cycle, net dollars)

| | 2012 | 2010 | 2008 | 2006 | 2004 | 2002 | 2000 | 1998 | 1996 |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| All Candidates | | | | | | | | | |
| Total expenditures | 923,555,204 | 929,421,775 | 808,001,712 | 751,730,068 | 581,483,185 ^a | 525,986,157 ^a | 514,793,499 ^a | 397,221,879 ^a | 422,661,966 ^a |
| Mean expenditure | 1,178,004 (n=784) | 1,163,231 (n=799) | 1,071,620 (n=754) | 995,669 (n=755) | 773,249 (n=752) | 737,708 (n=712) | 695,667 (n=740) | 552,464 (n=719) | 516,702 (n=818) |
| Mean, Democrats | 1,031,097 (n=390) | 1,257,311 (n=388) | 1,071,401 (n=410) | 850,606 (n=414) | 695,716 (n=380) | 732,457 (n=353) | 670,205 (n=372) | 505,492 (n=358) | 472,158 (n=412) |
| Mean, Republicans | 1,323,420 (n=394) | 1,074,416 (n=411) | 1,071,882 (n=344) | 1,171,786 (n=341) | 852,563 (n=371) | 743,077 (n=358) | 722,852 (n=366) | 599,163 (n=360) | 560,964 (n=405) |
| Incumbents | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean, all incumbents | 1,656,257 (n=378) | 1,552,895 (n=393) | 1,333,243 (n=399) | 1,261,559 (n=402) | 1,026,589 ^a (n=401) | 874,790 ^a (n=387) | 829,132 ^a (n=400) | 654,137 ^a (n=400) | 675,506 ^a (n=382) |
| Mean, Democrats | 1,399,714 (n=162) | 1,723,122 (n=236) | 1,243,864 (n=229) | 983,625 (n=191) | 956,127 (n=190) | 836,982 (n=188) | 755,411 (n=201) | 590,935 (n=189) | 587,005 (n=168) |
| Mean, Republicans | 1,848,665 (n=216) | 1,297,011 (n=157) | 1,453,643 (n=170) | 1,513,148 (n=211) | 1,091,373 (n=210) | 911,755 (n=198) | 908,131 (n=197) | 711,613 (n=210) | 744,057 (n=213) |
| Challengers | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean, all challengers | 587,177 (n=288) | 695,127 (n=325) | 579,808 (n=284) | 510,195 (n=289) | 322,061 (n=284) | 340,135 (n=226) | 377,334 (n=272) | 332,092 (n=254) | 290,038 (n=331) |
| Mean, Democrats | 637,907 (n=170) | 371,081 (n=111) | 667,277 (n=146) | 590,557 (n=190) | 313,126 (n=158) | 414,364 (n=115) | 442,963 (n=136) | 325,759 (n=136) | 322,272 (n=191) |
| Mean, Republicans | 514,092 (n=118) | 863,207 (n=214) | 499,289 (n=139) | 355,966 (n=99) | 333,264 (n=126) | 264,591 (n=111) | 311,704 (n=136) | 339,391 (n=118) | 246,061 (n=140) |
| Open seats | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean, all open-seat candidates | 1,087,990 (n=118) | 1,150,838 (n=81) | 1,568,624 (n=71) | 1,517,764 (n=64) | 1,169,486 (n=67) | 1,126,482 (n=99) | 1,183,910 (n=68) | 787,932 (n=65) | 653,487 (n=105) |
| Mean, Democrats | 1,153,962 (n=58) | 975,363 (n=41) | 1,643,484 (n=36) | 1,577,958 (n=33) | 1,038,566 (n=32) | 1,075,836 (n=50) | 1,063,873 (n=35) | 756,855 (n=33) | 648,268 (n=53) |
| Mean, Republicans | 1,024,217 (n=60) | 1,330,699 (n=40) | 1,491,626 (n=35) | 1,453,687 (n=31) | 1,289,184 (n=35) | 1,179,284 (n=49) | 1,311,221 (n=33) | 819,980 (n=32) | 658,807 (n=52) |

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.

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

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Table 3-2

| | 1994 | 1992 | 1990 | 1988 | 1986 | 1984 | 1982 | 1980 | 1978 | 1976 | 1974 |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| All Candidates | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total expenditures | 346,189,285 ^a | 329,809,707 ^a | 235,130,542 ^a | 225,114,380 | 217,562,967 | 176,882,849 | 174,921,844 | 115,222,222 | 86,129,169 | 60,046,006 | 44,051,125 |
| Mean expenditure | 439,885 (n=787) | 405,670 (n=813) | 321,656 (n=731) | 303,389 (n=742) | 295,602 (n=736) | 241,313 (n=733) | 228,060 (n=767) | 153,221 (n=752) | 109,440 (n=787) | 73,316 (n=819) | 53,384 (n=810) |
| Mean, Democrats | 484,976 (n=386) | 457,994 (n=410) | 350,552 (n=381) | 315,399 (n=397) | 301,955 (n=397) | 237,732 (n=399) | 213,369 (n=411) | 143,277 (n=396) | 108,986 (n=416) | 74,563 (n=429) | 53,993 (n=434) |
| Mean, Republicans | 395,949 (n=400) | 351,880 (n=402) | 289,400 (n=349) | 289,447 (n=344) | 290,092 (n=340) | 245,591 (n=334) | 245,020 (n=356) | 164,282 (n=356) | 109,995 (n=371) | 71,945 (n=390) | 54,835 (n=376) |
| Incumbents | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean, all incumbents | 558,867 ^a (n=382) | 590,405 ^a (n=349) | 416,671 (n=405) | 390,807 (n=408) | 362,103 (n=389) | 279,044 (n=408) | 265,001 (n=383) | 165,081 (n=391) | 111,159 (n=377) | 79,398 (n=382) | 56,539 (n=382) |
| Mean, Democrats | 619,389 (n=224) | 615,920 (n=211) | 419,417 (n=247) | 374,603 (n=245) | 349,918 (n=231) | 279,203 (n=254) | 247,573 (n=216) | 158,010 (n=248) | 103,519 (n=249) | 73,322 (n=254) | 38,743 (n=218) |
| Mean, Republicans | 472,199 (n=157) | 551,212 (n=137) | 412,377 (n=158) | 415,162 (n=163) | 379,917 (n=158) | 278,781 (n=154) | 287,543 (n=167) | 177,345 (n=143) | 126,022 (n=128) | 91,456 (n=128) | 80,339 (n=163) |
| Challengers | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean, all challengers | 240,008 (n=302) | 166,406 (n=290) | 134,415 ^a (n=270) | 136,884 (n=283) | 155,607 (n=262) | 161,994 (n=273) | 151,717 (n=270) | 121,751 (n=277) | 74,802 (n=299) | 50,795 (n=335) | 40,015 (n=323) |
| Mean, Democrats | 176,747 (n=110) | 142,414 (n=111) | 131,269 (n=104) | 163,535 (n=126) | 170,562 (n=123) | 124,508 (n=119) | 141,390 (n=137) | 93,313 (n=105) | 70,948 (n=109) | 46,330 (n=122) | 59,266 (n=162) |
| Mean, Republicans | 276,251 (n=192) | 181,283 (n=179) | 133,759 (n=165) | 115,494 (n=157) | 141,356 (n=139) | 190,960 (n=154) | 162,354 (n=133) | 139,111 (n=172) | 77,012 (n=190) | 53,352 (n=213) | 20,644 (n=161) |
| Open seats | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean, all open-seat candidates | 584,657 (n=103) | 433,912 (n=174) | 537,266 (n=56) | 527,984 (n=51) | 430,484 (n=86) | 361,696 (n=52) | 284,476 (n=114) | 201,790 (n=84) | 201,049 (n=111) | 124,506 (n=102) | 90,426 (n=106) |
| Mean, Democrats | 557,992 (n=52) | 477,393 (n=88) | 543,737 (n=30) | 493,467 (n=26) | 420,138 (n=43) | 350,804 (n=26) | 256,004 (n=58) | 180,312 (n=43) | 211,871 (n=58) | 145,497 (n=53) | 99,743 (n=54) |
| Mean, Republicans | 611,846 (n=51) | 389,420 (n=86) | 529,799 (n=26) | 573,573 (n=24) | 440,830 (n=43) | 372,589 (n=26) | 314,547 (n=56) | 224,116 (n=41) | 189,205 (n=53) | 101,802 (n=49) | 80,751 (n=52) |

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Table 3-3 House Campaign Expenditures: Incumbents and Challengers, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1974-2012 (full cycle, mean net dollars)

| | 2012 | 2010 | 2008 | 2006 | 2004 | 2002 | 2000 | 1998 | 1996 | 1994 | 1992 |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Incumbent won with 60% or more | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Incumbents</i> | 1,301,736 (n= 256) | 1,164,689 (n= 251) | 1,114,738 (n=305) | 975,047 (n=300) | 869,368 ^a (n=343) | 770,762 ^a (n=336) | 654,887 ^a (n=326) | 537,434 ^a (n=309) | 521,946 ^a (n=262) | 451,414 (n=263) | 486,420 ^a (n=234) |
| Democrats | 1,230,956 (n= 128) | 1,169,198 (n= 109) | 1,086,574 (n=197) | 913,487 (n=180) | 835,267 (n=166) | 749,196 (n=159) | 605,512 (n=167) | 447,989 (n=144) | 474,059 (n=124) | 449,710 (n=120) | 489,450 (n=138) |
| Republicans | 1,372,516 (n= 128) | 1,161,228 (n= 142) | 1,166,111 (n=108) | 1,067,388 (n=120) | 901,868 (n=176) | 790,850 (n=176) | 709,989 (n=157) | 616,019 (n=164) | 562,219 (n=137) | 452,844 (n=143) | 481,074 (n=95) |
| <i>Challengers</i> | 154,204 (n= 171) | 170,932 (n=185) | 243,072 (n=191) | 147,072 (n=188) | 184,172 (n=230) | 195,274 (n=179) | 152,739 (n=198) | 133,148 (n=161) | 104,440 (n=212) | 113,943 (n=183) | 86,726 (n=187) |
| Democrats | 105,852 (n=83) | 163,116 (n= 98) | 216,913 (n=84) | 115,477 (n=99) | 164,672 (n=126) | 221,500 (n=95) | 166,982 (n=96) | 112,388 (n=89) | 97,926 (n=115) | 132,598 (n=96) | 76,022 (n=76) |
| Republicans | 199,809 (n= 88) | 179,736 (n= 87) | 263,608 (n=107) | 182,217 (n=89) | 207,796 (n=104) | 146,045 (n=86) | 139,334 (n=102) | 158,811 (n=72) | 112,162 (n=96) | 93,358 (n=87) | 94,055 (n=111) |
| Incumbent won with <60% | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Incumbents</i> | 2,256,048 (n= 100) ^b | 2,050,151 (n= 87) | 1,962,637 (n=75) | 1,910,840 (n=80) | 1,884,901 (n=51) | 1,477,582 (n=46) | 1,447,392 (n=68) | 1,029,650 (n=85) | 992,563 (n=99) | 718,490 ^a (n=85) | 779,254 (n=91) |
| Democrats | 2,030,892 (n= 28) | 1,932,584 (n= 74) | 2,255,795 (n=27) | 2,131,343 (n=11) | 1,583,537 (n=19) | 1,213,166 (n=26) | 1,465,364 (n=32) | 1,052,776 (n=44) | 919,568 (n=41) | 729,774 (n=70) | 828,957 (n=57) |
| Republicans | 2,343,609 (n= 72) | 2,719,380 (n= 13) | 1,797,736 (n=48) | 1,875,687 (n=69) | 2,063,836 (n=32) | 1,821,322 (n=20) | 1,431,416 (n=36) | 1,004,833 (n=41) | 1,044,163 (n=58) | 669,900 (n=14) | 695,928 (n=34) |
| <i>Challengers</i> | 928,797 (n= 95) ^b | 1,145,133 (n= 87) | 1,101,453 (n=75) | 1,005,016 (n=79) | 831,723 (n=49) | 850,354 (n=43) | 872,263 (n=68) | 644,781 (n=86) | 521,292 (n=98) | 328,025 (n=85) | 280,562 (n=84) |
| Democrats | 758,652 (n= 69) | 1,667,912 (n= 13) | 1,011,649 (n=48) | 874,970 (n=69) | 842,344 (n=30) | 1,207,168 (n=18) | 931,770 (n=36) | 672,726 (n=42) | 538,147 (n=58) | 479,485 (n=14) | 273,077 (n=29) |
| Republicans | 1,380,337 (n= 26) | 1,053,294 (n= 74) | 1,261,107 (n=27) | 1,902,330 (n=10) | 814,953 (n=19) | 593,448 (n=25) | 805,317 (n=32) | 618,106 (n=44) | 496,852 (n=40) | 298,160 (n=71) | 284,509 (n=55) |
| Incumbent was defeated | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Incumbents</i> | 3,109,662 (n= 32) ^b | 2,537,954 (n= 55) | 2,356,382 (n=19) | 2,807,512 (n=22) | 2,477,049 (n=7) ^b | 1,848,559 (n=8) ^b | 2,529,571 (n=6) | 1,344,603 (n=6) | 1,096,655 (n=21) | 990,992 (n=34) | 888,204 (n=24) ^b |
| Democrats | 2,520,405 (n= 12) | 2,569,867 (n= 53) | 1,976,661 (n=5) | NA (n=0) | 2,584,509 (n=5) | 1,793,020 (n=5) | 1,332,829 (n=2) | 854,227 (n=1) | 710,406 (n=3) | 990,992 (n=34) | 947,775 (n=16) |
| Republicans | 3,463,216 (n= 20) | 1,692,257 (n= 2) | 2,491,997 (n=14) | 2,807,512 (n=22) | 2,208,400 (n=2) | 1,941,124 (n=3) | 3,127,942 (n=4) | 1,442,678 (n=5) | 1,170,502 (n=18) | NA (n=0) | 769,062 (n=8) |
| <i>Challengers</i> | 2,477,386 (n= 22) ^b | 1,721,226 (n= 55) | 1,988,831 (n=19) | 1,836,394 (n=22) | 1,670,261 (n=5) | 1,603,226 (n=4) | 1,980,195 (n=6) | 1,148,979 (n=6) | 1,088,275 (n=21) | 698,489 (n=34) | 445,930 (n=19) |
| Democrats | 2,628,422 (n= 18) | 1,760,914 (n= 2) | 2,188,754 (n=14) | 1,836,394 (n=22) | 1,727,446 (n=2) | 1,977,279 (n=2) | 2,479,356 (n=4) | 1,209,237 (n=5) | 1,064,852 (n=18) | NA (n=0) | 351,847 (n=6) |
| Republicans | 1,797,724 (n= 4) | 1,719,728 (n= 53) | 1,429,049 (n=5) | NA (n=0) | 1,632,138 (n=3) | 1,229,173 (n=2) | 981,874 (n=2) | 847,692 (n=1) | 1,231,615 (n=3) | 698,489 (n=34) | 489,353 (n=13) |

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.

Vital Statistics on Congress
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Table 3-3

| | 1990 | 1988 | 1986 | 1984 | 1982 | 1980 | 1978 | 1976 | 1974 |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Incumbent won with 60% or more | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Incumbents</i> | 357,798 (n=313) | 345,037 (n=359) | 291,876 (n=330) | 232,853 (n=318) | 200,170 (n=264) | 125,912 (n=284) | 92,696 (n=287) | 63,628 (n=272) | 40,925 (n=251) |
| Democrats | 367,388 (n=197) | 336,606 (n=220) | 293,484 (n=209) | 219,506 (n=183) | 206,670 (n=178) | 117,773 (n=170) | 85,424 (n=184) | 56,937 (n=185) | 35,146 (n=194) |
| Republicans | 341,512 (n=116) | 358,381 (n=139) | 289,099 (n=121) | 250,945 (n=135) | 186,717 (n=86) | 138,050 (n=114) | 105,687 (n=103) | 77,855 (n=87) | 60,593 (n=57) |
| <i>Challengers</i> | 60,277 (n=180) | 79,000 (n=234) | 92,436 (n=202) | 71,922 (n=184) | 82,373 (n=163) | 47,525 (n=170) | 34,132 (n=209) | 25,492 (n=225) | 16,372 (n=193) |
| Democrats | 43,057 (n=65) | 87,361 (n=102) | 72,769 (n=85) | 73,835 (n=99) | 36,628 (n=62) | 44,120 (n=75) | 36,040 (n=84) | 26,606 (n=81) | 25,891 (n=56) |
| Republicans | 70,009 (n=115) | 72,540 (n=132) | 106,724 (n=117) | 69,693 (n=85) | 110,454 (n=101) | 50,213 (n=95) | 32,850 (n=125) | 24,865 (n=144) | 12,481 (n=137) |
| Incumbent won with <60% | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Incumbents</i> | 607,286 (n=77) | 700,009 (n=44) | 785,493 (n=52) | 437,752 (n=74) | 394,447 (n=90) | 261,901 (n=76) | 161,856 (n=71) | 113,939 (n=98) | 80,272 (n=90) |
| Democrats | 629,143 (n=44) | 689,280 (n=23) | 938,374 (n=20) | 421,834 (n=58) | 446,542 (n=35) | 223,345 (n=50) | 145,065 (n=51) | 119,440 (n=62) | 68,513 (n=20) |
| Republicans | 578,143 (n=33) | 711,760 (n=21) | 689,943 (n=32) | 495,455 (n=16) | 361,295 (n=55) | 336,046 (n=26) | 204,674 (n=20) | 104,465 (n=36) | 83,632 (n=70) |
| <i>Challengers</i> | 248,582 (n=75) | 389,236 (n=44) | 334,946 (n=46) | 307,938 (n=72) | 234,790 (n=84) | 197,499 (n=76) | 156,444 (n=71) | 97,322 (n=98) | 63,861 (n=90) |
| Democrats | 213,907 (n=31) | 441,331 (n=21) | 353,939 (n=28) | 386,819 (n=16) | 182,232 (n=53) | 195,135 (n=26) | 187,290 (n=20) | 77,075 (n=36) | 63,134 (n=70) |
| Republicans | 273,013 (n=44) | 341,671 (n=23) | 305,401 (n=18) | 285,401 (n=56) | 324,647 (n=31) | 198,728 (n=50) | 144,347 (n=51) | 109,079 (n=62) | 66,405 (n=20) |
| Incumbent was defeated | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Incumbents</i> | 666,647 (n=15) | 956,081 (n=5) | 582,647 (n=6) | 463,070 (n=16) | 453,459 (n=29) | 286,559 (n=31) | 200,607 (n=19) | 154,774 (n=12) | 101,102 (n=40) |
| Democrats | 589,707 (n=6) | 935,494 (n=2) | 528,101 (n=1) | 483,204 (n=13) | 353,201 (n=3) | 285,636 (n=28) | 189,994 (n=14) | 97,874 (n=7) | 64,191 (n=4) |
| Republicans | 717,941 (n=9) | 969,806 (n=3) | 593,556 (n=5) | 375,824 (n=3) | 465,027 (n=26) | 295,170 (n=3) | 230,323 (n=5) | 234,435 (n=5) | 105,203 (n=36) |
| <i>Challengers</i> | 453,241 ^a (n=15) | 625,120 (n=5) | 455,071 (n=11) | 515,622 (n=16) | 296,273 (n=23) | 343,093 (n=31) | 217,083 (n=19) | 144,720 (n=12) | 100,435 (n=40) |
| Democrats | 527,773 (n=8) | 808,908 (n=3) | 504,673 (n=9) | 249,462 (n=3) | 292,781 (n=22) | 353,855 (n=4) | 192,037 (n=5) | 144,491 (n=5) | 103,661 (n=36) |
| Republicans | 334,444 (n=6) | 349,438 (n=2) | 231,864 (n=2) | 577,044 (n=13) | 373,093 (n=1) | 341,499 (n=27) | 226,028 (n=14) | 144,883 (n=7) | 71,404 (n=4) |

Vital Statistics on Congress
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Table 3-4 House Campaign Expenditures: Open House Seats, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1984-2012 (full cycle, mean net dollars)

| | 2012 | 2010 | 2008 | 2006 | 2004 | 2002 | 2000 | 1998 | 1996 | 1994 | 1992 | 1990 | 1988 | 1986 | 1984 |
|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| All Winners | 1,519,454 (n=62) | 1,398,885 (n=42) | 1,907,270 (n=36) | 1,885,671 (n=33) | 1,503,719 (n=36) | 1,290,443 (n=49) | 1,364,737 (n=36) | 993,978 (n=34) | 768,069 (n=53) | 602,009 (n=52) | 536,918 (n=91) | 618,705 (n=30) | 606,434 (n=27) | 523,759 (n=46) | 440,912 (n=26) |
| Democrats | 1,780,970 (n=31) | 1,285,168 (n=7) | 2,175,064 (n=19) | 1,765,031 (n=20) | 1,455,906 (n=15) | 1,237,139 (n=18) | 1,303,041 (n=10) | 949,685 (n=18) | 749,246 (n=24) | 676,437 (n=14) | 505,550 (n=57) | 587,804 (n=18) | 551,275 (n=13) | 515,570 (n=22) | 428,416 (n=8) |
| Republicans | 1,257,939 (n=31) | 1,421,628 (n=35) | 1,607,971 (n=17) | 2,071,270 (n=13) | 1,537,870 (n=21) | 1,321,394 (n=31) | 1,388,466 (n=26) | 1,043,808 (n=16) | 783,646 (n=29) | 574,588 (n=38) | 589,505 (n=34) | 665,058 (n=12) | 657,654 (n=14) | 531,266 (n=24) | 446,467 (n=18) |
| Winners with 60% or more | 1,437,065 (n=33) | 1,173,093 (n=26) | 1,767,021 (n=11) | 1,170,543 (n=15) | 1,293,878 (n=20) | 1,143,757 (n=24) | 1,076,754 (n=14) | 754,860 (n=11) | 651,225 (n=18) | 618,153 (n=21) | 516,055 (n=44) | 618,152 (n=14) | 543,935 (n=11) | 543,382 (n=19) | 372,989 (n=8) |
| Democrats | 1,623,438 (n=19) | 840,294 (n=4) | 2,206,183 (n=6) | 1,216,683 (n=11) | 956,768 (n=8) | 1,299,407 (n=8) | 968,414 (n=4) | 657,743 (n=8) | 593,421 (n=8) | 587,314 (n=3) | 395,193 (n=33) | 523,728 (n=9) | 391,885 (n=7) | 537,552 (n=7) | 290,693 (n=3) |
| Republicans | 1,184,130 (n=14) | 1,233,602 (n=22) | 1,240,028 (n=5) | 1,043,660 (n=4) | 1,518,618 (n=12) | 1,065,932 (n=16) | 1,120,090 (n=10) | 1,013,839 (n=3) | 697,469 (n=10) | 623,293 (n=18) | 878,644 (n=11) | 788,116 (n=5) | 810,023 (n=4) | 546,783 (n=12) | 422,366 (n=5) |
| Winners with <60% | 1,613,208 (n=29) | 1,710,431 (n=16) | 1,968,979 (n=25) | 2,481,610 (n=18) | 1,766,019 (n=16) | 1,431,263 (n=25) | 1,547,998 (n=22) | 1,108,339 (n=23) | 828,160 (n=35) | 591,072 (n=31) | 556,449 (n=47) | 619,189 (n=16) | 649,402 (n=16) | 509,950 (n=27) | 471,100 (n=18) |
| Democrats | 2,030,394 (n=12) | 1,843,009 (n=3) | 2,160,701 (n=13) | 2,435,235 (n=9) | 2,026,350 (n=7) | 1,187,325 (n=10) | 1,526,125 (n=6) | 1,183,239 (n=10) | 827,158 (n=16) | 700,743 (n=11) | 657,293 (n=24) | 651,880 (n=9) | 737,230 (n=6) | 505,312 (n=15) | 511,049 (n=5) |
| Republicans | 1,318,723 (n=17) | 1,679,836 (n=13) | 1,761,281 (n=12) | 2,527,985 (n=9) | 1,563,540 (n=9) | 1,593,888 (n=15) | 1,556,201 (n=16) | 1,050,724 (n=13) | 829,003 (n=19) | 530,754 (n=20) | 451,221 (n=23) | 577,159 (n=7) | 596,706 (n=10) | 515,749 (n=12) | 455,736 (n=13) |
| All losers | 610,298 (n=56) | 872,500 (n=39) | 1,220,303 (n=35) | 1,126,122 (n=31) | 781,345 (n=31) | 955,544 (n=47) | 980,479 (n=32) | 561,945 (n=31) | 536,703 (n=52) | 566,966 (n=51) | 320,997 (n=83) | 443,297 (n=26) | 439,728 (n=24) | 323,718 (n=40) | 282,480 (n=26) |
| Democrats | 434,065 (n=27) | 911,579 (n=34) | 1,049,366 (n=17) | 1,290,154 (n=13) | 670,325 (n=17) | 982,176 (n=31) | 968,206 (n=25) | 525,458 (n=15) | 564,701 (n=29) | 514,354 (n=38) | 425,618 (n=31) | 477,638 (n=12) | 435,660 (n=13) | 320,161 (n=21) | 316,309 (n=18) |
| Republicans | 774,376 (n=29) | 694,196 (n=5) | 1,381,744 (n=18) | 1,007,655 (n=18) | 916,156 (n=14) | 903,944 (n=16) | 1,024,312 (n=7) | 596,152 (n=16) | 501,401 (n=23) | 720,753 (n=13) | 258,595 (n=52) | 413,862 (n=14) | 455,860 (n=10) | 326,596 (n=19) | 206,363 (n=8) |
| Losers with >40% | 1,079,601 (n=27) | 1,426,952 (n=16) | 1,550,804 (n=25) | 1,684,233 (n=18) | 1,373,472 (n=16) | 1,221,532 (n=25) | 1,470,378 (n=20) | 762,097 (n=22) | 652,323 (n=35) | 683,257 (n=31) | 449,666 (n=47) | 465,767 (n=16) | 565,182 (n=16) | 360,978 (n=23) | 352,961 (n=18) |
| Democrats | 730,985 (n=14) | 1,493,830 (n=13) | 1,401,339 (n=12) | 1,792,526 (n=9) | 1,063,167 (n=9) | 1,121,145 (n=15) | 1,545,889 (n=15) | 620,288 (n=12) | 657,299 (n=19) | 596,359 (n=20) | 472,034 (n=23) | 435,365 (n=8) | 505,609 (n=9) | 294,362 (n=10) | 393,262 (n=13) |
| Republicans | 1,455,034 (n=13) | 1,137,144 (n=3) | 1,688,772 (n=13) | 1,575,940 (n=9) | 1,772,435 (n=7) | 1,372,113 (n=10) | 1,243,844 (n=5) | 932,269 (n=10) | 646,414 (n=16) | 841,253 (n=11) | 428,230 (n=24) | 496,168 (n=8) | 693,525 (n=6) | 412,220 (n=13) | 248,180 (n=5) |
| Losers with 40% or less | 173,360 (n=29) | 505,802 (n=23) | 394,050 (n=10) | 353,353 (n=13) | 149,744 (n=15) | 625,350 (n=22) | 163,982 (n=12) | 72,685 (n=9) | 298,660 (n=17) | 386,715 (n=20) | 152,967 (n=36) | 407,346 (n=10) | 188,819 (n=8) | 193,794 (n=15) | 123,896 (n=8) |
| Democrats | 114,305 (n=13) | 551,138 (n=21) | 204,629 (n=5) | 159,815 (n=4) | 228,378 (n=8) | 851,892 (n=16) | 101,682 (n=10) | 146,137 (n=3) | 388,764 (n=10) | 423,239 (n=18) | 292,173 (n=8) | 562,183 (n=4) | 278,276 (n=4) | 228,939 (n=9) | 116,232 (n=5) |
| Republicans | 221,342 (n=16) | 29,773 (n=2) | 583,470 (n=5) | 439,370 (n=9) | 59,876 (n=7) | 123,663 (n=6) | 475,481 (n=2) | 35,959 (n=6) | 169,941 (n=7) | 58,005 (n=2) | 113,194 (n=28) | 304,122 (n=6) | 99,363 (n=4) | 141,077 (n=6) | 136,668 (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.

Vital Statistics on Congress
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Table 3-5 Senate Campaign Expenditures: Major Party General Election Candidates, 1974-2012 (full cycle, net dollars)

| | 2012 | 2010 | 2008 | 2006 | 2004 | 2002 | 2000 | 1998 | 1996 | 1994 |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| All candidates | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total expenditures | 587,532,049 | 568,193,547 ^c | 389,348,721 | 514,937,502 ^a | 367,514,648 | 281,529,788 | 384,591,165 | 249,184,622 | 230,420,000 | 279,483,211 |
| Mean expenditure | 9,325,906 (n=63) | 8,002,726 (n=71) | 5,899,223 (n=66) | 7,922,115 (n=65) | 5,404,627 (n=68) | 4,540,803 (n=62) | 5,827,139 (n=66) | 3,775,525 (n=66) | 3,544,918 (n=65) | 3,992,617 (n=70) |
| Mean, Democrats | 10,809,482 (n=28) | 7,133,000 (n=32) | 5,867,841 (n=34) | 8,609,875 (n=31) | 5,625,326 (n=34) | 4,602,810 (n=30) | 6,095,450 (n=33) | 3,481,733 (n=34) | 3,385,904 (n=32) | 3,394,769 (n=35) |
| Mean, Republicans | 8,464,453 (n=33) | 8,587,602 (n=38) | 5,932,567 (n=32) | 7,035,429 (n=32) | 5,183,929 (n=34) | 4,482,671 (n=32) | 5,558,828 (n=33) | 4,087,678 (n=32) | 3,699,114 (n=33) | 4,590,465 (n=35) |
| Incumbents | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean, all incumbents | 10,700,957 ^a (n=22) | 9,519,592 (n=23) | 7,753,323 (n=30) | 9,426,175 (n=29) | 6,566,787 (n=26) | 4,535,740 (n=27) | 4,530,693 (n=29) | 4,728,639 (n=29) | 4,233,304 (n=20) | 7,672,755 (n=26) |
| Mean, Democrats | 11,271,301 (n=15) | 12,600,970 (n=12) | 6,349,119 (n=12) | 9,560,029 (n=14) | 7,418,068 (n=14) | 6,142,399 (n=12) | 3,672,975 (n=11) | 4,560,721 (n=15) | 5,207,602 (n=7) | 5,152,998 (n=16) |
| Mean, Republicans | 10,616,741 (n=6) | 6,158,089 (n=11) | 8,689,459 (n=18) | 8,758,947 (n=14) | 5,573,627 (n=12) | 3,250,414 (n=15) | 5,054,855 (n=18) | 4,908,551 (n=14) | 3,708,682 (n=13) | 3,904,368 (n=10) |
| Challengers | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean, all challengers | 7,226,119 (n=19) | 5,260,056 (n=20) | 3,792,399 (n=26) | 5,659,763 (n=28) | 2,425,098 (n=26) | 2,885,335 (n=21) | 3,153,464 (n=27) | 3,144,244 (n=27) | 3,109,930 (n=17) | 3,997,011 (n=26) |
| Mean, Democrats | 18,085,797 (n=3) | 1,793,580 (n=7) | 5,103,524 (n=17) | 7,129,691 (n=14) | 1,554,631 (n=12) | 2,182,146 (n=11) | 3,281,655 (n=17) | 2,615,103 (n=14) | 2,920,075 (n=11) | 1,226,228 (n=10) |
| Mean, Republicans | 5,189,930 (n=16) | 7,126,620 (n=13) | 1,315,831 (n=9) | 4,189,836 ^b (n=14) | 3,171,212 (n=14) | 3,658,843 (n=10) | 2,935,540 (n=10) | 3,714,088 (n=13) | 3,457,997 (n=6) | 5,703,750 (n=16) |
| Open seats | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean, all Open | 9,764,306 ^a (n=22) | 8,715,779 (n=28) | 5,814,666 (n=10) | 10,388,132 ^a (n=8) | 8,357,852 (n=16) | 7,033,769 (n=14) | 16,805,752 (n=10) | 2,715,951 (n=10) | 3,317,314 (n=28) | 3,003,850 (n=18) |
| Mean, Democrats | 7,933,859 (n=10) | 4,960,716 (n=13) | 7,311,451 (n=5) | 11,083,353 (n=3) | 8,594,068 (n=8) | 5,767,416 (n=7) | 20,991,796 (n=5) | 2,671,336 (n=5) | 2,841,062 (n=14) | 2,634,075 (n=9) |
| Mean, Republicans | 12,053,421 (n=11) | 11,853,130 (n=14) | 4,317,880 (n=5) | 10,962,693 (n=4) | 8,121,636 (n=8) | 8,300,122 (n=7) | 12,619,707 (n=5) | 2,760,565 (n=5) | 3,793,565 (n=14) | 3,373,624 (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.

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Table 3-5

| | 1992 | 1990 | 1988 | 1986 | 1984 | 1982 | 1980 | 1978 | 1976 | 1974 |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| All candidates | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total expenditures | 194,322,039 | 173,370,282 | 184,695,501 | 183,432,489 | 141,962,276 | 114,036,379 | 74,163,669 | 64,695,510 | 38,108,745 | 28,436,308 |
| Mean expenditure | 2,816,261 (n=69) | 2,587,616 (n=67) | 2,798,417 (n=66) | 2,737,798 (n=67) | 2,327,250 (n=61) | 1,781,815 (n=64) | 1,106,920 (n=67) | 951,405 (n=68) | 595,499 (n=64) | 437,482 (n=65) |
| Mean, Democrats | 2,813,701 (n=35) | 2,465,285 (n=34) | 2,930,305 (n=33) | 2,260,415 (n=33) | 2,160,637 (n=31) | 1,881,379 (n=32) | 1,170,580 (n=34) | 762,831 (n=35) | 569,902 (n=33) | 487,775 (n=34) |
| Mean, Republicans | 2,818,898 (n=34) | 2,713,654 (n=33) | 2,666,529 (n=33) | 3,201,141 (n=34) | 2,499,417 (n=30) | 1,682,252 (n=32) | 1,041,332 (n=33) | 1,151,407 (n=33) | 616,635 (n=30) | 382,343 (n=31) |
| Incumbents | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean, all incumbents | 3,708,456 (n=27) | 3,577,980 (n=32) | 3,748,132 (n=27) | 3,374,602 (n=28) | 2,539,929 (n=28) | 1,858,140 (n=29) | 1,301,692 (n=25) | 1,341,942 (n=22) | 623,809 (n=25) | 555,714 (n=25) |
| Mean, Democrats | 2,849,946 (n=15) | 3,616,906 (n=17) | 3,457,144 (n=15) | 2,712,796 (n=9) | 1,755,004 (n=12) | 1,696,226 (n=18) | 1,355,660 (n=19) | 618,211 (n=11) | 503,111 (n=17) | 525,766 (n=15) |
| Mean, Republicans | 4,781,593 (n=12) | 3,533,864 (n=15) | 4,111,866 (n=12) | 3,688,089 (n=19) | 3,128,622 (n=16) | 2,123,089 (n=11) | 1,130,792 (n=6) | 2,065,674 (n=11) | 891,342 (n=7) | 600,636 (n=10) |
| Challengers | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean, all challengers | 1,824,993 (n=26) | 1,699,247 (n=29) | 1,817,161 (n=27) | 1,899,417 (n=27) | 1,241,434 (n=25) | 1,217,034 (n=29) | 842,547 (n=24) | 697,766 (n=21) | 452,275 (n=23) | 332,579 (n=22) |
| Mean, Democrats | 2,550,724 (n=12) | 1,395,011 (n=14) | 2,154,283 (n=12) | 1,911,693 (n=18) | 1,515,412 (n=15) | 1,516,015 (n=11) | 557,006 (n=6) | 830,282 (n=11) | 645,441 (n=8) | 390,297 (n=10) |
| Mean, Republicans | 1,202,034 (n=14) | 1,983,202 (n=15) | 1,547,464 (n=15) | 1,874,864 (n=9) | 830,466 (n=10) | 1,034,324 (n=18) | 937,727 (n=18) | 551,999 (n=10) | 349,253 (n=15) | 284,480 (n=12) |
| Open seats | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mean, all Open | 2,922,286 (n=16) | 1,599,459 (n=6) | 2,869,383 (n=12) | 3,138,282 (n=12) | 4,976,051 (n=8) | 4,142,687 (n=6) | 1,132,560 (n=18) | 820,787 (n=25) | 756,951 (n=16) | 401,484 (n=18) |
| Mean, Democrats | 3,140,205 (n=8) | 934,046 (n=3) | 3,165,250 (n=6) | 2,628,009 (n=6) | 5,797,131 (n=4) | 4,331,959 (n=3) | 1,188,903 (n=9) | 828,127 (n=13) | 636,295 (n=8) | 532,691 (n=9) |
| Mean, Republicans | 2,704,366 (n=8) | 2,264,872 (n=3) | 2,573,516 (n=6) | 3,648,555 (n=6) | 4,154,971 (n=4) | 3,953,415 (n=3) | 1,076,218 (n=9) | 812,835 (n=12) | 877,606 (n=8) | 270,277 (n=9) |

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Table 3-6 Senate Campaign Expenditures: Incumbents and Challengers, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1980-2012 (full cycle, mean net dollars)

| | 2012 | 2010 | 2008 | 2006 | 2004 | 2002 | 2000 | 1998 | 1996 | 1994 | 1992 | 1990 | 1988 | 1986 | 1984 |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Incumbent won with 60% or more | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Incumbents</i> | 7,117,061 ^a (n=12) | 7,206,925 (n=13) | 5,007,322 (n=17) | 6,681,589 (n=17) | 4,710,449 (n=18) | 3,287,355 (n=16) | 3,421,925 (n=20) | 2,640,723 (n=19) | 2,418,451 (n=6) | 3,610,535 (n=10) | 2,695,624 (n=13) | 2,314,689 (n=19) | 2,733,348 (n=15) | 1,963,140 (n=15) | 1,612,152 (n=18) |
| Democrats | 8,087,526 (n=8) | 8,495,966 (n=5) | 5,808,535 (n=10) | 8,661,938 (n=11) | 5,741,981 (n=10) | 4,779,508 (n=6) | 3,359,248 (n=10) | 3,131,344 (n=9) | 2,266,951 (n=2) | 1,735,768 (n=3) | 2,661,397 (n=9) | 2,439,405 (n=10) | 2,320,232 (n=10) | 1,672,182 (n=8) | 1,620,869 (n=7) |
| Republicans | 6,017,810 (n=3) | 6,401,274 (n=8) | 3,862,732 (n=7) | 3,050,950 (n=6) | 3,421,034 (n=8) | 2,392,063 (n=10) | 3,484,603 (n=10) | 2,199,165 (n=10) | 2,494,201 (n=4) | 4,414,006 (n=7) | 2,772,633 (n=4) | 2,176,116 (n=9) | 3,559,581 (n=5) | 2,351,083 (n=6) | 1,606,604 (n=11) |
| <i>Challengers</i> | 1,411,351 (n=10) | 1,450,544 (n=10) | 1,159,873 (n=13) | 2,255,831 (n=16) | 1,001,610 (n=18) | 849,543 (n=10) | 764,569 (n=18) | 447,843 (n=17) | 762,003 (n=3) | 1,002,306 (n=10) | 701,442 (n=12) | 844,346 (n=16) | 581,494 (n=15) | 451,671 (n=13) | 384,263 (n=15) |
| Democrats | 420,779 (n=1) | 1,869,908 (n=5) | 1,588,229 (n=6) | 398,864 (n=5) | 211,821 (n=8) | 909,843 (n=6) | 486,019 (n=9) | 292,748 (n=10) | 479,791 (n=2) | 1,365,651 (n=7) | 595,192 (n=4) | 438,732 (n=8) | 805,077 (n=5) | 155,853 (n=5) | 322,263 (n=10) |
| Republicans | 1,521,415 (n=9) | 1,031,180 (n=5) | 792,710 (n=7) | 3,099,908 (n=11) | 1,633,441 (n=10) | 759,091 (n=4) | 1,043,118 (n=9) | 669,406 (n=7) | 1,326,427 (n=1) | 154,500 (n=3) | 754,568 (n=8) | 1,249,961 (n=8) | 469,702 (n=10) | 636,557 (n=8) | 508,264 (n=5) |
| Incumbent won with <60% | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Incumbents</i> | 12,773,107 (n=9) | 12,271,341 ^c (n=8) | 10,943,005 (n=8) | 12,579,501 ^a (n=6) | 9,424,745 (n=7) | 5,424,130 (n=8) | 5,738,301 (n=3) | 6,609,358 (n=7) | 5,052,842 (n=13) | 5,312,041 (n=14) | 4,550,595 (n=10) | 5,273,925 (n=12) | 6,235,198 (n=8) | 5,213,789 (n=7) | 4,505,574 (n=7) |
| Democrats | 14,909,900 (n=7) | 16,328,389 (n=5) | 9,052,039 (n=2) | 12,853,029 (n=3) | 8,819,323 (n=3) | 5,905,346 (n=4) | - (n=0) | 6,619,822 (n=5) | 6,383,863 (n=5) | 6,020,368 (n=11) | 2,841,405 (n=4) | 5,299,049 (n=7) | 6,829,055 (n=4) | 11,037,707 (n=1) | 1,833,432 (n=4) |
| Republicans | 5,294,331 (n=2) | 5,509,594 (n=3) | 11,573,327 (n=6) | 10,012,253 (n=2) | 9,878,811 (n=4) | 4,942,914 (n=4) | 5,738,301 (n=3) | 6,583,197 (n=2) | 4,220,954 (n=8) | 2,715,212 (n=3) | 5,690,055 (n=6) | 5,238,751 (n=5) | 5,641,341 (n=4) | 4,243,136 (n=6) | 8,068,429 (n=3) |
| <i>Challengers</i> | 10,121,385 (n=8) | 9,032,104 (n=8) | 4,291,294 (n=8) | 10,356,810 ^b (n=6) | 4,337,629 (n=7) | 2,570,080 (n=8) | 2,757,598 (n=3) | 4,932,471 (n=7) | 3,660,942 (n=13) | 5,546,353 (n=14) | 2,283,708 (n=10) | 2,865,673 (n=12) | 3,784,451 (n=8) | 3,389,477 (n=7) | 2,296,194 (n=7) |
| Democrats | 11,624,934 (n=1) | 1,602,760 (n=2) | 4,672,807 (n=6) | 12,527,378 (n=3) | 4,240,253 (n=4) | 2,466,826 (n=4) | 2,757,598 (n=3) | 4,304,098 (n=2) | 3,521,336 (n=8) | 1,034,241 (n=3) | 3,032,533 (n=6) | 2,927,948 (n=5) | 3,209,075 (n=4) | 1,990,836 (n=6) | 4,028,715 (n=3) |
| Republicans | 9,906,592 (n=7) | 11,508,552 (n=6) | 3,146,756 (n=2) | 8,186,241 (n=3) | 4,467,463 (n=3) | 2,673,335 (n=4) | - (n=0) | 5,183,821 (n=5) | 3,884,311 (n=5) | 6,776,929 (n=11) | 1,160,471 (n=4) | 2,821,191 (n=7) | 4,359,826 (n=4) | 11,781,316 (n=1) | 996,804 (n=4) |
| Incumbent was defeated | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Incumbents</i> | 35,058,354 (n=1) | 13,544,935 (n=2) | 11,986,236 (n=5) | 14,049,176 (n=6) | 19,975,170 (n=1) | 8,824,759 (n=3) | 7,622,785 (n=6) | 13,563,761 (n=3) | 4,468,434 (n=1) | 5,508,854 (n=2) | 4,894,814 (n=4) | 7,229,154 (n=1) | 2,579,437 (n=4) | 4,358,340 (n=7) | 3,520,088 (n=3) |
| Democrats | 0 (n=0) | 13,544,935 (n=2) | - (n=0) | - (n=0) | 19,975,170 (n=1) | 10,705,177 (n=2) | 681,0252 (n=1) | 7,129,612 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | 5,508,854 (n=2) | 3,751,500 (n=2) | NA (n=0) | 1,338,622 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | 2,380,239 (n=1) |
| Republicans | 35,058,354 (n=1) | 0 (n=0) | 11,986,236 (n=5) | 14,049,176 (n=6) | - (n=0) | 5,063,923 (n=1) | 7,785,291 (n=5) | 16,780,836 (n=2) | 4,468,434 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | 6,074,128 (n=2) | 7,229,154 (n=1) | 2,993,042 (n=3) | 4,358,340 (n=7) | 4,090,013 (n=2) |
| <i>Challengers</i> | 42,211,677 (n=1) | 9,219,425 (n=2) | 9,838,737 (n=5) | 10,039,869 (n=6) | 14,660,167 (n=1) | 4,698,340 (n=3) | 10,518,085 (n=6) | 14,251,319 (n=3) | 2,990,554 (n=1) | 8,125,137 (n=2) | 4,045,732 (n=4) | 1,380,560 (n=1) | 2,516,337 (n=4) | 3,098,027 (n=7) | 3,066,175 (n=3) |
| Democrats | 42,211,677 (n=1) | 0 (n=0) | 9,838,737 (n=5) | 10,039,869 (n=6) | NA (n=0) | 3,629,022 (n=1) | 8,628,233 (n=5) | 12,537,880 (n=2) | 2,990,554 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | 5,016,438 (n=2) | 1,380,560 (n=1) | 2,996,572 (n=3) | 3,098,027 (n=7) | 3,711,199 (n=2) |
| Republicans | 0 (n=0) | 9,219,425 (n=2) | NA (n=0) | NA (n=0) | 14,660,167 (n=1) | 5,232,999 (n=2) | 19,967,341 (n=1) | 17,678,198 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | 8,125,137 (n=2) | 3,075,026 (n=2) | NA (n=0) | 1,075,631 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | 1,776,128 (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. 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 3-6

| | 1982 | 1980 | 1978 | 1976 | 1974 |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Incumbent won with 60% or more | | | | | |
| <i>Incumbents</i> | 1,494,578 (n=13) | 1,162,385 (n=10) | 456,062 (n=7) | 340,362 (n=11) | 447,234 (n=11) |
| Democrats | 1,401,794 (n=12) | 1,220,616 (n=6) | 559,046 (n=4) | 340,362 (n=11) | 447,234 (n=11) |
| Republicans | 2,607,983 (n=1) | 1,075,038 (n=4) | 318,749 (n=3) | - | - |
| <i>Challengers</i> | 777,830 (n=13) | 302,812 (n=9) | 47,346 (n=6) | 171,997 (n=9) | 222,955 (n=8) |
| Democrats | 424,507 (n=1) | 265,822 (n=4) | 38,458 (n=3) | - | - |
| Republicans | 807,276 (n=12) | 332,404 (n=5) | 56,233 (n=3) | 171,997 (n=9) | 222,955 (n=8) |
| Incumbent won with <60% | | | | | |
| <i>Incumbents</i> | 2,224,235 (n=14) | 945,423 (n=6) | 2,496,483 (n=8) | 503,773 (n=5) | 567,597 (n=14) |
| Democrats | 2,417,100 (n=5) | 796,984 (n=4) | 586,055 (n=2) | 1,237,910 (n=1) | 741,729 (n=4) |
| Republicans | 2,117,088 (n=9) | 1,242,300 (n=2) | 3,133,293 (n=6) | 320,239 (n=4) | 497,945 (n=10) |
| <i>Challengers</i> | 1,615,338 (n=14) | 864,870 (n=6) | 1,075,965 (n=8) | 358,964 (n=5) | 298,133 (n=14) |
| Democrats | 1,629,490 (n=9) | 1,139,376 (n=2) | 1,212,929 (n=6) | 282,441 (n=4) | 254,374 (n=10) |
| Republicans | 1,589,864 (n=5) | 727,617 (n=4) | 332,537 (n=2) | 665,058 (n=1) | 407,531 (n=4) |
| Incumbent was defeated | | | | | |
| <i>Incumbents</i> | 1,658,623 (n=2) | 1,693,991 (n=9) | 908,348 (n=7) | 983,196 (n=9) | 513,456 (n=2) |
| Democrats | 1,625,042 (n=1) | 1,693,991 (n=9) | 678,406 (n=5) | 714,201 (n=5) | NA (n=0) |
| Republicans | 1,692,204 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | 1,483,203 (n=2) | 1,319,440 (n=4) | 513,456 (n=2) |
| <i>Challengers</i> | 793,123 (n=2) | 1,367,400 (n=9) | 918,054 (n=7) | 784,392 (n=9) | 679,614 (n=2) |
| Democrats | 1,586,245 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | 870,079 (n=2) | 1,008,440 (n=4) | 679,614 (n=2) |
| Republicans | 981,197 (n=1) | 1,367,400 (n=9) | 937,244 (n=5) | 605,153 (n=5) | NA (n=0) |

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Table 3-7 Senate Expenditures: Open Senate Seats, Major Party General Election Candidates, by Election Outcome, 1986-2012 (full cycle, mean net dollars)

| | 2012 | 2010 | 2008 | 2006 | 2004 | 2002 | 2000 | 1998 | 1996 |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| All winners | 9,002,453 ^c (n=11) | 8,748,313 (n=14) | 8,127,925 (n=5) | 10,566,377 ^c (n=4) | 9,853,572 (n=8) | 7,202,893 (n=7) | 21,625,081 (n=5) | 3,820,837 (n=5) | 3,582,000 (n=14) |
| Democrats | 9,540,989 (n=7) | 5,496,821 (n=3) | 11,074,580 (n=3) | 8,847,675 (n=2) | 12,129,704 (n=2) | 2,926,239 (n=1) | 25,627,472 (n=4) | 3,518,576 (n=2) | 4,532,955 (n=5) |
| Republicans | 9,783,848 (n=3) | 9,635,083 (n=11) | 3,707,943 (n=2) | 18,565,935 (n=1) | 9,094,861 (n=6) | 7,915,668 (n=6) | 5,615,514 (n=1) | 4,022,354 (n=3) | 3,053,692 (n=9) |
| Winners with 60% or more | 4,243,614 ^c (n=2) | 7,277,797 (n=5) | 7,996,916 (n=3) | 7,512,141 ^c (n=2) | 10,789,785 (n=2) | NA (n=0) | NA (n=0) | 2,739,093 (n=2) | 2,518,955 (n=2) |
| Democrats | 5,598,705 (n=1) | 0 (n=0) | 10,178,089 (n=2) | 9,020,059 (n=1) | 14,372,856 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | NA (n=0) | 3,914,375 (n=1) | 2,732,011 (n=1) |
| Republicans | n/a (n=0) | 7,277,797 (n=5) | 3,634,570 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | 7,206,714 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | NA (n=0) | 1,563,811 (n=1) | 2,305,898 (n=1) |
| Winners with <60% | 10,059,973 (n=9) | 9,565,266 (n=9) | 8,324,439 (n=2) | 13,620,613 (n=2) | 9,541,501 (n=6) | 7,202,893 (n=7) | 21,625,081 ^a (n=5) | 4,542,000 (n=3) | 3,759,175 (n=12) |
| Democrats | 10,198,036 (n=6) | 5,496,821 (n=3) | 12,867,562 (n=1) | 8,675,291 (n=1) | 9,886,551 (n=1) | 2,926,239 (n=1) | 25,627,472 (n=4) | 3,122,776 (n=1) | 4,983,191 (n=4) |
| Republicans | 9,783,848 (n=3) | 11,599,489 (n=6) | 3,781,316 (n=1) | 18,565,935 (n=1) | 9,472,491 (n=5) | 7,915,668 (n=6) | 5,615,514 (n=1) | 5,251,613 (n=2) | 3,147,166 (n=8) |
| All losers | 10,526,159 (n=11) | 8,683,245 ^c (n=14) | 3,501,406 (n=5) | 10,209,886 (n=4) | 6,862,133 (n=8) | 6,864,645 (n=7) | 11,986,423 ^b (n=5) | 1,611,064 (n=5) | 3,052,627 (n=14) |
| Democrats | 4,183,888 (n=3) | 4,799,884 (n=10) | 1,666,759 (n=2) | 15,554,709 (n=1) | 7,415,523 (n=6) | 6,240,945 (n=6) | 2,449,093 (n=1) | 2,106,510 (n=3) | 1,901,122 (n=9) |
| Republicans | 12,904,510 (n=8) | 19,985,969 (n=3) | 4,724,505 (n=3) | 8,428,279 (n=3) | 5,201,962 (n=2) | 10,606,843 (n=1) | 14,370,756 (n=4) | 867,896 (n=2) | 5,125,336 (n=5) |
| Losers with >40% | 12,074,270 (n=9) | 11,410,932 (n=9) | 4,558,708 (n=2) | 11,885,985 (n=2) | 7,913,929 (n=6) | 6,862,710 (n=7) | 11,986,423 (n=5) | 2,390,365 (n=3) | 3,439,376 (n=12) |
| Democrats | 4,183,888 (n=3) | 7,123,413 (n=6) | 1,911,771 (n=1) | 15,554,709 (n=1) | 7,924,995 (n=5) | 6,240,945 (n=6) | 2,449,093 (n=1) | 3,039,044 (n=2) | 2,051,827 (n=8) |
| Republicans | 16,019,461 (n=6) | 19,985,969 (n=3) | 7,205,644 (n=1) | 8,217,260 (n=1) | 7,858,598 (n=1) | 10,606,843 (n=1) | 14,370,756 (n=4) | 1,093,007 (n=1) | 6,214,473 (n=4) |
| Losers with 40% or less | 3,559,658 (n=2) | 3,773,408 ^c (n=5) | 2,796,539 (n=3) | 8,533,788 (n=2) | 3,706,745 (n=2) | NA (n=0) | NA (n=0) | 442,114 (n=2) | 732,136 (n=2) |
| Democrats | n/a (n=0) | 1,314,591 (n=4) | 1,421,746 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | 4,868,165 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | NA (n=0) | 241,443 (n=1) | 695,482 (n=1) |
| Republicans | 3,559,658 (n=2) | NA (n=0) | 3,483,935 (n=2) | 8,533,788 (n=2) | 2,545,325 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | NA (n=0) | 642,784 (n=1) | 768,789 (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 3-7

| | 1994 | 1992 | 1990 | 1988 | 1986 |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| All winners | 3,378,624 (n=9) | 3,338,507 (n=8) | 2,264,872 (n=3) | 3,779,715 (n=6) | 3,827,158 (n=7) |
| Democrats | 0 (n=0) | 4,177,040 (n=5) | 0 (n=0) | 5,186,633 (n=2) | 2,714,673 (n=4) |
| Republicans | 3,378,624 (n=9) | 1,940,951 (n=3) | 2,264,872 (n=3) | 3,076,256 (n=4) | 5,310,471 (n=3) |
| Winners with 60% or more | 2,754,664 (n=4) | 1,191,005 (n=1) | 1,535,352 (n=2) | 1,879,272 (n=2) | 2,216,412 (n=2) |
| Democrats | NA (n=0) | 1,191,005 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | 2,881,666 (n=1) | 2,057,422 (n=1) |
| Republicans | 2,754,644 (n=4) | NA (n=0) | 1,535,352 (n=2) | 876,877 (n=1) | 2,375,402 (n=1) |
| Winners with <60% | 3,868,793 (n=5) | 3,645,293 (n=7) | 3,723,911 (n=1) | 4,729,937 (n=4) | 4,471,457 (n=5) |
| Democrats | NA (n=0) | 4,923,549 (n=4) | NA (n=0) | 7,491,600 (n=1) | 2,933,757 (n=3) |
| Republicans | 3,868,793 (n=5) | 1,940,951 (n=3) | 3,723,911 (n=1) | 3,809,383 (n=3) | 6,778,006 (n=2) |
| All losers | 2,634,075 (n=9) | 2,506,064 (n=8) | 934,046 (n=3) | 1,959,051 (n=6) | 2,952,009 (n=7) |
| Democrats | 2,634,075 (n=9) | 1,412,146 (n=3) | 934,046 (n=3) | 2,154,558 (n=4) | 2,181,463 (n=3) |
| Republicans | NA (n=0) | 3,162,415 (n=5) | NA (n=0) | 1,568,036 (n=2) | 3,529,919 (n=4) |
| Losers with >40% | 2,802,500 (n=5) | 2,792,915 (n=7) | 1,936,914 (n=1) | 2,730,542 (n=4) | 3,686,638 (n=5) |
| Democrats | 2,802,500 (n=5) | 1,412,146 (n=3) | 1,936,914 (n=1) | 2,689,441 (n=3) | 3,006,346 (n=2) |
| Republicans | NA (n=0) | 3,828,492 (n=4) | NA (n=0) | 2,853,842 (n=1) | 4,140,166 (n=3) |
| Losers with 40% or less | 2,423,544 (n=4) | 498,107 (n=1) | 432,613 (n=2) | 416,069 (n=2) | 1,115,437 (n=2) |
| Democrats | 2,423,544 (n=4) | NA (n=0) | 432,613 (n=2) | 549,908 (n=1) | 531,698 (n=1) |
| Republicans | NA (n=0) | 498,107 (n=1) | NA (n=0) | 282,229 (n=1) | 1,699,175 (n=1) |

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Table 3-8 Campaign Funding Sources: House and Senate Major Party General Election Candidates, 1984-2012

| 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, 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 |

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Table 3-8 Campaign Funding Sources: House and Senate Major Party General Election Candidates, 1984-2012

| 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, 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 |

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Table 3-8 Campaign Funding Sources: House and Senate Major Party General Election Candidates, 1984-2012

| 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, 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 |

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Table 3-8 Campaign Funding Sources: House and Senate Major Party General Election Candidates, 1984-2012

| 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, 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 |

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Table 3-8 Campaign Funding Sources: House and Senate Major Party General Election Candidates, 1984-2012

| 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, 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.

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Table 3-9 Number Political Action Committees Making Contribution to Candidates, 1976-2012

| Committee Type | 2012 | 2010 | 2008 | 2006 | 2004 | 2002 | 2000 | 1998 | 1996 | 1994 | 1992 | 1990 | 1988 | 1986 | 1984 | 1982 | 1980 | 1978 | 1976 |
|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| Corporate | 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 | 1,584 | 1,317 | 1,037 | 704 | 433 |
| Labor | 137 | 199 | 203 | 202 | 206 | 215 | 236 | 232 | 236 | 255 | 255 | 233 | 256 | 261 | 261 | 293 | 225 | 215 | 224 |
| Trade/membership/health | 700 | 907 | 794 | 734 | 722 | 697 | 662 | 664 | 650 | 633 | 633 | 609 | 633 | 598 | 598 | 407 | 463 | 122 | 489 |
| Nonconnected | 902 | 842 | 1,023 | 870 | 819 | 700 | 670 | 560 | 529 | 509 | 534 | 511 | 630 | 576 | 576 | 204 | 201 | 400 | - |
| Cooperative | 29 | 34 | 39 | 35 | 34 | 36 | 37 | 41 | 41 | 50 | 48 | 51 | 51 | 51 | 51 | 46 | 27 | 11 | - |
| Corporation without stock | 55 | 83 | 84 | 89 | 75 | 86 | 94 | 102 | 109 | 112 | 114 | 114 | 122 | 117 | 117 | 78 | 44 | 22 | - |
| Total | 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 | 3,187 | 2,345 | 1,997 | 1,474 | 1146 |

a. For 1976, the number of registered PACs is listed.

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

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Table 3-10 PAC Contributions to Congressional Candidates 1978-2012 (in \$ millions)

| Type of PAC | 2012 | 2010 | 2008 | 2006 | 2004 | 2002 | 2000 | 1998 | 1996 | 1994 | 1992 | 1990 | 1988 | 1986 | 1984 | 1982 | 1980 | 1978 |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Labor | 52.7 | 61.6 | 61 | 56.9 | 50.3 | 51.9 | 50.2 | 43.4 | 46.5 | 40.7 | 39.7 | 33.6 | 33.9 | 29.9 | 24.8 | 20.3 | 13.2 | 9.9 |
| Corporate | 167.1 | 153.7 | 143.6 | 128.4 | 104.3 | 91.6 | 84.2 | 71.1 | 69.7 | 64.1 | 64.3 | 53.5 | 50.4 | 46.2 | 35.5 | 27.5 | 19.2 | 9.5 |
| Trade/membership/health | 117.1 | 126.2 | 106.1 | 98.4 | 78.2 | 71.5 | 68.3 | 59.0 | 56.2 | 50.1 | 51.4 | 42.5 | 38.9 | 32.9 | 26.7 | 21.9 | 15.9 | 11.2 |
| Nonconnected | 77.1 | 53.6 | 63.8 | 70.9 | 49.8 | 44.6 | 35.6 | 27.1 | 22.0 | 17.3 | 17.5 | 14.3 | 19.2 | 18.8 | 14.5 | 10.7 | 4.9 | 2.5 |
| Other | 11.5 | 11.7 | 11.4 | 8.74 | 6.5 | 6.5 | 7.1 | 6.2 | 6.8 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 5.9 | 5.4 | 4.9 | 3.8 | 3.2 | 2.0 | 1.0 |
| Total | 425.5 | 406.8 | 385.9 | 363.3 | 289.1 | 266.1 | 245.4 | 206.8 | 201.2 | 178.8 | 179.4 | 149.7 | 147.8 | 132.7 | 105.3 | 83.6 | 55.2 | 34.1 |

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.

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Table 3-11 How PACs Distributed Their Contributions to Congressional Candidates, 1978-2012

| | Percentage distribution | | | | | | Percent to Chamber | 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 | | | | Incumbent | | Challenger | | Open seat | | | | | |
| | D | R | D | R | D | R | | D | R | D | R | D | R | | | | | |
| | 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 | 11.1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 22 | 28.5 | 100% | 128.4 |
| Association | 28 | 46 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 83 | 81.3 | 5 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 17 | 17.0 | 100% | 98.3 |
| Labor | 51 | 10 | 18 | <1 | 8 | <1 | 87 | 49.4 | 6 | 1 | 4 | <1 | 2 | 1 | 13 | 7.5 | 100% | 56.9 |
| Nonconnected | 14 | 36 | 10 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 75 | 52.9 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 25 | 18.0 | 100% | 70.9 |
| Other PACs | 31 | 39 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 77 | 7.1 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 23 | 2.2 | 100% | 9.3 |
| All PACs | 28 | 39 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 80 | 290.7 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 20 | 73.1 | 100% | 363.8 |
| | House, 2004 | | | | | | | Senate, 2004 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Corporate | 23 | 47 | <1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 76 | 79.1 | 7 | 10 | <1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 24 | 25.2 | 100% | 104.3 |
| Association | 26 | 45 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 81 | 63.2 | 6 | 7 | <1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 19 | 15.0 | 100% | 78.2 |
| Labor | 56 | 10 | 10 | <1 | 8 | 1 | 85 | 42.8 | 7 | 1 | 2 | <1 | 5 | <1 | 15 | 7.6 | 100% | 50.3 |
| Nonconnected | 14 | 30 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 11 | 71 | 35.2 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 29 | 14.6 | 100% | 49.8 |
| Other PACs | 29 | 42 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 79 | 5.1 | 8 | 6 | <1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 21 | 1.4 | 100% | 6.5 |
| All PACs | 28 | 37 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 78 | 225.4 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 22 | 63.7 | 100% | 289.1 |

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Table 3-11 How PACs Distributed Their Contributions to Congressional Candidates, 1978-2012

| | Percentage distribution | | | | | | Percent to Chamber | Dollars to chamber (in millions) | Percentage distribution | | | | | | Percent to Chamber | Dollars to chamber (in millions) | Total percent | Total dollars (in millions) |
|--------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| | Incumbent D | Incumbent R | Challenger D | Challenger R | Open seat D | Open seat R | | | Incumbent D | Incumbent R | Challenger D | Challenger R | Open seat D | Open seat R | | | | |
| | 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 |

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Table 3-11 How PACs Distributed Their Contributions to Congressional Candidates, 1978-2012

| | Percentage distribution | | | | | | | Dollars to chamber (in millions) | Percentage distribution | | | | | | | Total percent | Total dollars (in millions) | |
|--------------|-------------------------|----|------------|----|-----------|----|--------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|----|------------|----|-----------|----|--------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Incumbent | | Challenger | | Open seat | | Percent to Chamber | | Incumbent | | Challenger | | Open seat | | Percent to Chamber | | | Dollars to chamber (in millions) |
| | D | R | D | R | D | R | | | D | R | D | R | D | R | | | | |
| | 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 |

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Table 3-11 How PACs Distributed Their Contributions to Congressional Candidates, 1978-2012

| | Percentage distribution | | | | | | Percent to Chamber | Dollars to chamber (in millions) | Percentage distribution | | | | | | Total percent | Total dollars (in millions) | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|----|------------|----|-----------|----|--------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|----|------------|----|-----------|----|---------------|-----------------------------|------|------|
| | Incumbent | | Challenger | | Open seat | | | | Incumbent | | Challenger | | Open seat | | | | | |
| | D | R | D | R | D | R | | D | R | D | R | D | R | | | | | |
| | 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.

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Table 3-12 Political Party Contributions, Coordinated and Independent Expenditures for Congressional Candidates, 1976-2012 (in dollars)

| | Senate | | | House | | | Total |
|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Contributions | Expenditures | | Contributions | Expenditures | | |
| | | Coordinated | Independent | | Coordinated | Independent | |
| 2012 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 646,500 | 5,348,835 | 52,834,293 | 585,363 | 5,348,835 | 62,685,918 | 127,449,744 |
| Republicans | 790,800 | 7,600,476 | 32,114,674 | 749,025 | 4,718,800 | 61,881,122 | 107,854,897 |
| 2010 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 782,710 | 17,509,201 | 41,496,478 | 293,045 | 6,746,051 | 65,745,376 | 132,572,861 |
| Republicans | 1,597,170 | 18,196,872 | 34,351,039 | 1,022,314 | 8,295,592 | 48,785,092 | 112,248,079 |
| 2008 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 558,600 | 3,822,922 | 73,028,432 | 1,027,132 | 1,654,208 | 81,641,424 | 161,732,718 |
| Republicans | 135,000 | 1,530,624 | 40,650,902 | 3,109,174 | 3,420,315 | 30,971,545 | 79,817,560 |
| 2006 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 596,800 | 5,796,005 | 42,627,472 | 2,429,919 | 2,409,914 | 64,141,253 | 118,001,363 |
| Republicans | 386,782 | 8,784,685 | 32,156,053 | 785,435 | 4,519,856 | 83,085,694 | 129,718,505 |
| 2004 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 1,082,388 | 10,154,423 | 21,710,954 | 806,115 | 2,880,867 | 32,036,890 | 68,671,637 |
| Republicans | 1,875,740 | 9,277,459 | 11,500,079 | 1,156,771 | 3,220,419 | 43,440,699 | 70,471,167 |
| 2002 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 493,852 | 2,085,319 | 413 | 891,626 | 2,730,563 | 250,262 | 6,452,035 |
| Republicans | 2,027,001 | 10,378,872 | 501,208 | 2,131,531 | 5,388,717 | 1,362,431 | 21,789,760 |
| 2000 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 356,618 | 5,149,704 | 257,920 | 977,690 | 3,325,207 | 2,031,421 | 12,098,560 |
| Republicans | 519,110 | 10,823,862 | 395,190 | 1,747,012 | 4,394,759 | 1,161,612 | 19,041,545 |
| 1998 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 302,478 | 9,349,948 | 1,460,149 | 1,542,312 | 4,596,380 | 29,558 | 17,280,825 |
| Republicans | 514,657 | 9,334,065 | 219,074 | 2,098,276 | 6,310,120 | 46,286 | 18,522,478 |
| 1996 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 637,734 | 8,611,897 | 1,452,507 | 1,387,952 | 6,786,959 | 31,914 | 18,908,963 |
| Republicans | 772,244 | 10,751,093 | 9,438,331 | 2,462,999 | 7,998,844 | 35,812 | 31,459,323 |
| 1994 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 638,618 | 13,204,309 | | 1,501,220 | 8,455,070 | | 23,799,217 |
| Republicans | 748,011 | 11,561,866 | | 2,036,712 | 8,851,871 | | 23,198,460 |
| 1992 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 689,953 | 11,915,878 | | 1,234,553 | 5,883,678 | | 19,724,062 |
| Republicans | 807,397 | 16,509,940 | | 2,197,611 | 6,906,729 | | 26,421,677 |
| 1990 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 515,332 | 5,210,002 | | 943,135 | 3,401,579 | | 10,070,048 |
| Republicans | 862,621 | 7,725,853 | | 2,019,279 | 3,012,313 | | 13,620,066 |
| 1988 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 501,777 | 6,592,264 | | 1,258,952 | 2,891,152 | | 11,244,145 |
| Republicans | 719,006 | 10,260,600 | | 2,657,069 | 4,162,207 | | 17,798,882 |
| 1986 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 620,832 | 6,656,286 | | 968,913 | 1,836,213 | | 10,082,244 |
| Republicans | 729,522 | 10,077,902 | | 2,520,278 | 4,111,474 | | 17,439,176 |
| 1984 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 441,467 | 3,947,731 | | 1,280,672 | 1,774,452 | | 7,444,322 |
| Republicans | 590,922 | 6,518,415 | | 4,060,120 | 6,190,309 | | 17,359,766 |
| 1982 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 579,337 | 2,265,197 | | 1,052,286 | 694,321 | | 4,591,141 |
| Republicans | 600,221 | 8,715,761 | | 4,720,959 | 5,293,260 | | 19,330,201 |

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Table 3-12 Political Party Contributions, Coordinated and Independent Expenditures for Congressional Candidates, 1976-2012 (in dollars)

| | Senate | | | House | | Total | |
|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|------------|-------------|
| | Contributions | Expenditures | | Contributions | Expenditures | | |
| | | Coordinated | Independent | | Coordinated | | Independent |
| 1980 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 480,464 | 1,132,912 | 1,025,989 | 256,346 | | 2,895,711 | |
| Republicans | 677,004 | 5,434,758 | 3,498,323 | 2,203,748 | | 11,813,833 | |
| 1978 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 466,683 | 229,218 | 1,262,298 | 72,892 | | 2,031,091 | |
| Republicans | 703,204 | 2,723,880 | 3,621,104 | 1,297,079 | | 8,345,267 | |
| 1976 | | | | | | | |
| Democrats | 468,795 | 4,359 | 1,465,629 | 500 | | 1,939,283 | |
| Republicans | 930,034 | 113,976 | 3,658,310 | 329,583 | | 5,031,903 | |

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.

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Table 3-13 Hard and Soft Money Raised by National Party Committees, 1992-2012 (in millions of dollars)

| | 2012 | 2010 | 2008 | 2006 | 2004 | 2002 | | | 2000 | | | 1998 | | | 1996 | | | 1994 | | | 1992 | | |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| | Hard | Hard | Hard | Hard | Hard | Hard | Soft | Total | Hard | Soft | Total | Hard | Soft | Total |
| Democratic | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| National Committee | 301.4 | 224.8 | 260.1 | 130.8 | 394.4 | 67.5 | 97.0 | 164.5 | 124.0 | 135.3 | 259.3 | 64.8 | 57.4 | 122.2 | 108.4 | 100.5 | 208.9 | 41.8 | 45.1 | 86.9 | 65.8 | 28.4 | 94.2 |
| Senatorial | 145.9 | 129.5 | 162.8 | 121.4 | 88.7 | 48.4 | 96.9 | 145.3 | 40.5 | 63.3 | 103.8 | 35.7 | 25.9 | 61.5 | 30.8 | 14.1 | 44.9 | 26.4 | 0.4 | 26.9 | 25.5 | 0.5 | 26.0 |
| Congressional | 183.8 | 163.9 | 176.2 | 139.9 | 93.2 | 46.4 | 56.8 | 103.2 | 48.4 | 58.0 | 106.4 | 25.2 | 16.6 | 41.8 | 26.6 | 11.8 | 38.4 | 19.4 | 5.1 | 24.6 | 12.8 | 4.0 | 16.8 |
| Total | 631.1 | 518.3 | 599.1 | 392.1 | 576.2 | 162.3 | 250.7 | 413.0 | 212.9 | 256.6 | 469.5 | 125.6 | 99.9 | 225.5 | 165.8 | 126.4 | 292.2 | 87.7 | 50.7 | 138.4 | 104.1 | 32.9 | 137.0 |
| Republican | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| National Committee | 425.0 | 196.4 | 427.6 | 243.0 | 392.4 | 170.1 | 118.7 | 288.8 | 212.8 | 163.5 | 376.3 | 104.1 | 74.3 | 178.4 | 193.0 | 114.4 | 307.4 | 87.4 | 42.4 | 129.8 | 85.5 | 33.6 | 119.1 |
| Senatorial | 117.0 | 114.6 | 94.4 | 88.8 | 79.0 | 59.2 | 66.9 | 126.1 | 51.5 | 44.6 | 96.1 | 53.4 | 37.3 | 90.7 | 64.5 | 29.4 | 93.9 | 65.3 | 6.5 | 71.9 | 73.8 | 7.7 | 81.5 |
| Congressional | 155.7 | 133.8 | 118.3 | 179.5 | 185.7 | 123.6 | 73.3 | 196.9 | 97.3 | 52.9 | 150.2 | 72.7 | 24.1 | 96.8 | 74.2 | 28.8 | 103.0 | 26.7 | 4.8 | 31.5 | 35.3 | 6.2 | 41.5 |
| Total | 697.7 | 444.7 | 640.3 | 511.3 | 657.1 | 352.9 | 258.9 | 611.8 | 361.6 | 261.1 | 622.7 | 230.2 | 135.7 | 365.9 | 331.8 | 172.5 | 504.3 | 179.4 | 53.7 | 233.1 | 194.5 | 47.5 | 242.0 |

included in reported total receipts. (2) The national party committees were prohibited from raising soft money by the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002.

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

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Table 3-14 Non-Party Independent Expenditures in House and Senate Elections, 1978-2012 (in dollars)

| | For Democrats | Against Democrats | For Republicans | Against Republicans | Total |
|--------|------------------|----------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| 2012 | | | | | |
| House | 23,413,464 | 77,171,121 | 34,082,403 | 63,247,389 | 197,914,377 |
| Senate | 18,265,873 | 101,547,974 | 42,596,491 | 96,890,762 | 259,301,100 |
| 2010 | | | | | |
| House | 20,586,631 | 37,047,762 | 14,609,781 | 25,624,537 | 97,868,711 |
| Senate | 13,510,171 | 43,396,775 | 22,532,780 | 17,803,878 | 97,243,604 |
| 2008 | | | | | |
| House | 8,474,409 | 2,031,373 | 8,387,039 | 7,062,990 | 25,955,811 |
| Senate | 5,417,350 | 1,846,788 | 5,506,228 | 5,004,986 | 17,775,352 |
| 2006 | | | | | |
| House | 6,441,484 | 771,557 | 6,382,708 | 12,084,897 | 25,680,646 |
| Senate | 2,924,466 | 305,268 | 5,700,633 | 1,474,496 | 10,404,863 |
| 2004 | | | | | |
| House | 1,346,007 | 66,693 | 3,898,440 | 545,190 | 5,856,330 |
| Senate | 415,371 | 311,123 | 7,740,022 | 364,568 | 8,831,084 |
| 2002 | | | | | |
| House | 2,664,722 | 261,922 | 2,522,441 | 538,808 | 5,987,893 |
| Senate | 5,275,291 | 181,233 | 3,547,488 | 1,173,796 | 10,177,808 |
| 2000 | | | | | |
| House | 4,112,071 | 234,237 | 2,893,836 | 1,665,755 | 8,905,899 |
| Senate | 1,481,901 | 607,809 | 4,378,023 | 2,729,069 | 9,196,802 |
| 1998 | | | | | |
| House | 1,787,439 | 258,276 | 3,778,331 | 601,976 | 6,426,022 |
| Senate | 869,191 | 146,564 | 1,440,075 | 1,011,575 | 3,467,405 |
| 1996 | | | | | |
| House | 679,312 | 127,706 | 2,624,887 | 1,401,101 | 4,833,006 |
| Senate | 291,109 | 832,161 | 2,872,325 | 833,208 | 4,828,803 |
| 1994 | | | | | |
| House | 502,621 | 488,479 | 1,088,356 | 50,815 | 2,130,271 |
| Senate | 204,212 | 433,947 | 1,309,572 | 537,531 | 2,485,262 |
| 1992 | | | | | |
| House | 1,485,768 | 430,902 | 1,586,017 | 452,942 | 3,955,629 |
| Senate | 1,137,321 | 164,358 | 864,493 | 210,490 | 2,376,662 |
| 1990 | | | | | |
| House | 709,292 | 130,695 | 669,726 | 74,444 | 1,584,157 |
| Senate | 780,832 | 266,230 | 1,436,553 | 584,429 | 3,068,044 |
| 1988 | | | | | |
| House | 1,465,554 | 278,723 | 919,929 | 148,705 | 2,812,911 |
| Senate | 831,064 | 617,066 | 2,809,517 | 143,441 | 4,401,088 |
| 1986 | | | | | |
| House | 2,385,685 | 227,286 | 1,313,578 | 120,032 | 4,046,581 |
| Senate | 988,382 | 632,412 | 3,342,790 | 348,006 | 5,311,590 |
| 1984 | | | | | |
| House | 560,727 | 118,171 | 633,646 | 26,847 | 1,339,391 |
| Senate | 326,031 | 410,428 | 1,807,981 | 2,082,207 | 4,626,647 |
| 1982 | | | | | |
| House | 241,442 | 862,654 | 492,404 | 66,296 | 1,662,796 |
| Senate | 127,451 | 3,182,986 | 298,410 | 483,750 | 4,092,597 |
| 1980 | | | | | |
| House | 190,615 | 38,023 | 410,478 | 45,132 | 684,248 |
| Senate | 127,381 | 1,282,613 | 261,678 | 12,430 | 1,684,102 |
| 1978 | | | | | |
| House | 28,725 | 31,034 | 70,701 | 5,298 | 135,758 |
| Senate | 102,508 | 36,717 | 26,065 | 1,985 | 167,275 |

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.

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Chapter 4: Congressional Committee Data
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Table 4-1 Number of Committees in the Senate and House, 84th - 113th Congresses, 1955 - 2014

| Congress | Senate | House | Total ^a |
|---------------------|--------|-------|--------------------|
| 84th (1955 - 1956) | 133 | 130 | 242 |
| 90th (1967 - 1968) | 155 | 185 | 315 |
| 92nd (1971 - 1972) | 181 | 175 | 333 |
| 94th (1975 - 1976) | 205 | 204 | 385 |
| 96th (1979 - 1980) | 130 | 193 | 314 |
| 97th (1981 - 1982) | 136 | 174 | 300 |
| 98th (1983 - 1984) | 137 | 172 | 299 |
| 99th (1985 - 1986) | 120 | 191 | 301 |
| 100th (1987 - 1988) | 118 | 192 | 298 |
| 101st (1989 - 1990) | 118 | 189 | 295 |
| 102nd (1991 - 1992) | 119 | 185 | 284 |
| 103rd (1993 - 1994) | 111 | 146 | 252 |
| 104th (1995 - 1996) | 92 | 110 | 198 |
| 105th (1997 - 1998) | 92 | 112 | 200 |
| 106th (1999 - 2000) | 94 | 111 | 201 |
| 107th (2001 - 2002) | 91 | 116 | 203 |
| 108th (2003 - 2004) | 92 | 122 | 210 |
| 109th (2005 - 2006) | 92 | 120 | 212 |
| 110th (2007 - 2008) | 96 | 126 | 218 |
| 111th (2009 - 2010) | 98 | 128 | 222 |
| 112th (2011 - 2012) | 98 | 130 | 223 |
| 113th (2013 - 2014) | 92 | 122 | 210 |

Note: "Committees" include standing committees, subcommittees of standing committees, select and special committees, subcommittees of select and special committees, joint committees, and subcommittees of joint committees.

a. The total is less than for the Senate and House combined because joint panels count only once.

Sources: *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various editions); U.S. House of Representatives, <http://www.house.gov>; U.S. Senate, <http://www.senate.gov>.



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Table 4-2 Number and Type of House Committees, 84th - 113th Congresses, 1955 - 2014

| Congress | Standing committees | Subcommittees of standing committees | Select and special committees | Subcommittees | | Joint committees | Subcommittees of joint committees |
|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | | | | of select and special committees | of select and special committees | | |
| 84th (1955 - 1956) | 19 | 83 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 10 | 11 |
| 90th (1967 - 1968) | 20 | 133 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 10 | 15 |
| 92nd (1971 - 1972) | 21 | 120 | 3 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 15 |
| 94th (1975 - 1976) | 22 | 151 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 17 |
| 96th (1979 - 1980) | 22 | 149 ^a | 5 | 8 | 8 | 4 | 5 |
| 97th (1981 - 1982) | 22 | 132 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 6 |
| 98th (1983 - 1984) | 22 | 130 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 6 |
| 99th (1985 - 1986) | 22 | 142 | 5 | 12 | 12 | 4 | 6 |
| 100th (1987 - 1988) | 22 | 140 ^b | 6 | 12 | 12 | 4 | 8 |
| 101st (1989 - 1990) | 22 | 138 ^b | 5 | 12 | 12 | 4 | 8 |
| 102nd (1991 - 1992) | 22 | 135 ^b | 5 | 11 | 11 | 4 | 8 |
| 103rd (1993 - 1994) | 22 | 115 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 0 |
| 104th (1995 - 1996) | 19 | 84 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| 105th (1997 - 1998) | 19 | 86 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| 106th (1999 - 2000) | 19 | 85 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| 107th (2001 - 2002) | 19 | 89 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| 108th (2003 - 2004) | 19 | 88 | 2 | 9 | 9 | 4 | 0 |
| 109th (2005 - 2006) | 20 | 92 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| 110th (2007 - 2008) | 20 | 97 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| 111th (2009 - 2010) | 20 | 98 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| 112th (2011 - 2012) | 20 | 101 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 0 |
| 113th (2013 - 2014) | 20 | 94 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 0 |

a. This number includes nine budget task forces and the Welfare and Pension Plans Task Force (of the Subcommittee on Labor Management Relations of the Education and Labor Committee).

b. This number includes panels and task forces only if the committee has no subcommittees.

Sources: Nelson, Garrison, *Committees in the U.S. Congress 1947-1992, Committee Jurisdictions and Member Rosters* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1993); Congressional Quarterly Committee Guide, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; U.S. House of Representatives, <http://www.house.gov>.



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Table 4-3 Number and Type of Senate Committees, 84th - 113th Congresses, 1955 - 2014

| Congress | Standing committees | Subcommittees of standing committees | Select and special committees | Subcommittees of select and special committees | Joint committees | Subcommittees of joint committees |
|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 84th (1955 - 1956) | 15 | 88 | 3 | 6 | 10 | 11 |
| 90th (1967 - 1968) | 16 | 99 | 3 | 12 | 10 | 15 |
| 92nd (1971 - 1972) | 17 | 123 | 5 | 13 | 8 | 15 |
| 94th (1975 - 1976) | 18 | 140 | 6 | 17 | 7 | 17 |
| 96th (1979 - 1980) | 15 | 91 | 5 | 10 | 4 | 5 |
| 97th (1981 - 1982) | 15 | 94 | 5 | 12 | 4 | 6 |
| 98th (1983 - 1984) | 16 | 103 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 6 |
| 99th (1985 - 1986) | 16 | 90 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 6 |
| 100th (1987 - 1988) | 16 | 85 | 5 | 0 | 4 | 8 |
| 101st (1989 - 1990) | 16 | 86 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 8 |
| 102nd (1991 - 1992) | 16 | 87 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 8 |
| 103rd (1993 - 1994) | 17 | 86 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 104th (1995 - 1996) | 17 | 68 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 105th (1997 - 1998) | 17 | 68 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 106th (1999 - 2000) | 17 | 68 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 107th (2001 - 2002) | 16 | 68 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 108th (2003 - 2004) | 17 | 68 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 109th (2005 - 2006) | 17 | 72 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 110th (2007 - 2008) | 17 | 72 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 111th (2009 - 2010) | 16 | 74 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 112th (2011 - 2012) | 16 | 73 | 4 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 113th (2013 - 2014) | 16 | 72 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 |

Sources: Nelson, Garrison, *Committees in the U.S. Congress 1947-1992, Committee Jurisdictions and Member Rosters* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1993); Congressional Quarterly Committee Guide, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; U.S. Senate, <http://www.senate.gov>.



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Table 4-4 Committee Assignments for Representatives, 84th - 113th Congresses, 1955 - 2014

| Congress | Mean no. of standing committee assignments | Mean no. of subcommittees of standing committee assignments | Mean no. of other committee assignments ^a | Total |
|---------------------|--|---|--|-------|
| 84th (1955 - 1956) | 1.2 | 1.6 | 0.2 | 3.0 |
| 92nd (1971 - 1972) | 1.5 | 3.2 | 0.4 | 5.1 |
| 94th (1975 - 1976) | 1.8 | 4.0 | 0.4 | 6.2 |
| 96th (1979 - 1980) | 1.7 | 3.6 | 0.5 | 5.8 |
| 97th (1981 - 1982) | 1.7 | 3.4 | 0.4 | 5.5 |
| 98th (1983 - 1984) | 1.7 | 3.6 | 0.5 | 5.8 |
| 99th (1985 - 1986) | 1.8 | 4.0 | 0.8 | 6.6 |
| 100th (1987 - 1988) | 1.7 | 3.8 | 1.0 ^b | 6.5 |
| 101st (1989 - 1990) | 1.8 | 3.9 | 1.1 ^b | 6.8 |
| 102nd (1991 - 1992) | 1.9 | 4.0 | 0.9 ^b | 6.8 |
| 103rd (1993 - 1994) | 2.0 | 3.7 | 0.2 | 5.9 |
| 104th (1995 - 1996) | 1.8 | 2.9 | 0.1 | 4.8 |
| 105th (1997 - 1998) | 1.8 | 3.2 | 0.1 | 5.1 |
| 106th (1999 - 2000) | 1.9 | 3.2 | 0.1 | 5.2 |
| 107th (2001 - 2002) | 1.9 | 3.6 | 0.1 | 5.6 |
| 108th (2003 - 2004) | 1.9 | 3.5 | 0.2 | 5.6 |
| 109th (2005 - 2006) | 2 | 2.9 | 0.2 | 5.1 |
| 110th (2007 - 2008) | 1.9 | 2.8 | 0.2 | 4.9 |
| 111th (2009 - 2010) | 1.9 | 3.8 | 0.2 | 5.9 |
| 112th (2011 - 2012) | 1.7 | 3.4 | 0.2 | 5.3 |
| 113th (2013 - 2014) | 1.8 | 3.4 | 0.2 | 5.3 |

a. Other committees include select and special committees, subcommittees of select and special committees, joint committees, and subcommittees of joint committees.

b. This number includes task forces when the committee has no other subcommittees.

Sources: Nelson, Garrison, *Committees in the U.S. Congress 1947-1992, Committee Jurisdictions and Member Rosters* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1993); Congressional Quarterly Committee Guide, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; U.S. House of Representatives, <http://www.house.gov>.



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Table 4-5 Committee Assignments for Senators, 84th - 113th Congresses, 1955 - 2014

| Congress | Mean no. of standing committee assignments | Mean no. of subcommittees of standing committee assignments | Mean no. of other committee assignments ^a | Total |
|----------------------------------|--|---|--|-------|
| 84th (1955 - 1956) | 2.2 | 4.8 | 0.9 | 7.9 |
| 92nd (1971 - 1972) | 2.5 | 9.5 | 3.3 | 15.3 |
| 94th (1975 - 1976) | 2.5 | 11.0 | 4.1 | 17.6 |
| 96th (1979 - 1980) | 2.3 | 6.6 | 1.5 | 10.4 |
| 97th (1981 - 1982) | 2.5 | 6.7 | 1.5 | 10.7 |
| 98th (1983 - 1984) | 2.9 | 7.5 | 1.2 | 11.6 |
| 99th (1985 - 1986) | 2.8 | 6.9 | 0.9 | 10.6 |
| 100th (1987 - 1988) | 2.9 | 7.0 | 1.2 | 11.1 |
| 101st (1989 - 1990) | 3.0 | 7.0 | 1.1 | 11.1 |
| 102nd (1991 - 1992) | 2.9 | 7.4 | 1.1 | 11.4 |
| 103rd (1993 - 1994) | 3.2 | 7.8 | 0.8 | 11.8 |
| 104th (1995 - 1996) | 3.1 | 6.2 | 0.7 | 10.0 |
| 105th (1997 - 1998) | 3.1 | 6.5 | 0.7 | 10.3 |
| 106th (1999 - 2000) | 3.2 | 6.8 | 0.7 | 10.7 |
| 107th (2001 - 2002) ^b | 3.2 | 8.5 | 0.7 | 12.4 |
| 108th (2003 - 2004) | 3.5 | 8 | 0.7 | 12.2 |
| 109th (2005 - 2006) | 3.3 | 9.3 | 0.7 | 13.3 |
| 110th (2007 - 2008) | 3.4 | 7.7 | 0.6 | 11.7 |
| 111th (2009 - 2010) | 3.5 | 8.9 | 0.8 | 13.2 |
| 112th (2011 - 2012) | 3.4 | 8.6 | 0.9 | 12.9 |
| 113th (2013 - 2014) | 3 | 7 | 0.8 | 10.8 |

a. Other committees include select and special committees, subcommittees of select and special committees, joint committees, and subcommittees of joint committees.

b. These numbers are correct as of the start of the 107th Congress and do not reflect changes in committee assignments that occurred after Jim Jeffords (VT) left the Republican Party to become an Independent, shifting control of the Senate to the Democrats.

Sources: Nelson, Garrison, *Committees in the U.S. Congress 1947-1992, Committee Jurisdictions and Member Rosters* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1993); Congressional Quarterly Committee Guide, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; U.S. Senate, <http://www.senate.gov>.



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Table 4-6 Majority Party Chairmanships of House Committees and Subcommittees, 84th - 113th Congresses, 1955 - 2014

| Congress | Party in majority | Standing Committees and subcommittees | | | | All committees and subcommittees | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|--|
| | | No. of majority party members in the House | No. chairing standing committees and subcommittees | No. with two or more chairmanships | % chairing standing committees and subcommittees | No. chairing all committees and subcommittees ^a | No. with two or more chairmanships | % chairing all committees and subcommittees ^a | |
| 84th (1955 - 1956) | D | 232 | 63 | 18 | 27.2 | 75 | 22 | 32.3 | |
| 90th (1967 - 1968) | D | 247 | 111 | 32 | 44.9 | 117 | 38 | 47.4 | |
| 92nd (1971 - 1972) | D | 254 | 120 | 25 | 47.2 | 131 | 31 | 51.6 | |
| 94th (1975 - 1976) | D | 289 | 142 | 24 | 49.1 | 150 | 28 | 51.9 | |
| 96th (1979 - 1980) | D | 276 | 144 | 19 | 52.2 | 149 | 28 | 54.0 | |
| 97th (1981 - 1982) | D | 243 | 121 | 16 | 49.8 | 125 | 26 | 51.4 | |
| 98th (1983 - 1984) | D | 267 | 124 | 23 | 46.4 | 127 | 33 | 47.6 | |
| 99th (1985 - 1986) | D | 253 | 129 | 27 | 51.0 | 131 | 37 | 51.8 | |
| 100th (1987 - 1988) | D | 258 | 128 | 28 | 49.6 | 132 ^b | 42 | 51.2 | |
| 101st (1989 - 1990) | D | 260 | 134 | 26 | 51.5 | 137 | 38 | 52.7 | |
| 102nd (1991 - 1992) | D | 267 | 130 | 25 | 48.7 | 135 ^b | 37 | 50.6 | |
| 103rd (1993 - 1994) | D | 258 | 113 | 19 | 43.8 | 116 | 22 | 45.0 | |
| 104th (1995 - 1996) | R | 230 | 102 | 1 | 44.3 | 103 | 4 | 44.8 | |
| 105th (1997 - 1998) | R | 227 | 101 | 4 | 44.5 | 102 | 9 | 44.9 | |
| 106th (1999 - 2000) | R | 223 | 100 | 2 | 44.8 | 101 | 6 | 45.3 | |
| 107th (2001 - 2002) | R | 221 | 108 | 1 | 48.4 | 111 | 2 | 49.3 | |
| 108th (2003 - 2004) | R | 229 | 104 | 2 | 45.4 | 112 | 6 | 48.9 | |
| 109th (2005 - 2006) | R | 231 | 109 | 3 | 47.2 | 114 | 6 | 49.4 | |
| 110th (2007 - 2008) | D | 233 | 112 | 4 | 48.1 | 117 | 7 | 50.2 | |
| 111th (2009 - 2010) | D | 256 | 115 | 2 | 44.9 | 121 | 5 | 47.3 | |
| 112th (2011 - 2012) | R | 241 | 121 | 1 | 50.2 | 123 | 4 | 51.0 | |
| 113th (2013 - 2014) | R | 232 | 111 | 4 | 47.8 | 114 | 6 | 49.1 | |

a. This number includes standing committees, subcommittees of standing committees, select and special committees, subcommittees of select and special committees, joint committees, and subcommittees of joint committees.

b. This number includes task forces when the committee has no other subcommittees.

Sources: Nelson, Garrison, *Committees in the U.S. Congress 1947-1992, Committee Jurisdictions and Member Rosters* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1993); Congressional Quarterly Committee Guide, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; U.S. House of Representatives, <http://www.house.gov>.



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Table 4-7 Majority Party Chairmanships of Senate Committees and Subcommittees, 84th - 113th Congresses, 1955 - 2014

| Congress | Party in majority | No. of majority party members in Senate | No. chairing standing committees and subcommittees | % chairing standing committees and subcommittees | Average no. of standing committees and subcommittees chaired by majority members | No. chairing all committees and subcommittees ^a | % chairing all committees and subcommittees ^a | Average no. of all committees and subcommittees chaired by majority members |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|---|--|--|--|--|--|---|
| 84th (1955 - 1956) | D | 48 | 42 | 87.5 | 1.8 | 42 | 87.5 | 2.0 |
| 90th (1967 - 1968) | D | 64 | 55 | 85.9 | 1.8 | 58 | 90.6 | 2.1 |
| 92nd (1971 - 1972) | D | 55 ^b | 51 | 92.7 | 2.6 | 52 | 94.5 | 2.9 |
| 94th (1975 - 1976) | D | 62 ^b | 57 | 91.9 | 2.4 | 57 | 91.9 | 2.9 |
| 96th (1979 - 1980) | D | 59 ^b | 58 | 98.3 | 1.8 | 58 | 98.3 | 2.1 |
| 97th (1981 - 1982) | R | 53 | 51 | 96.2 | 1.9 | 52 | 98.1 | 2.3 |
| 98th (1983 - 1984) | R | 54 | 52 | 96.3 | 1.9 | 52 | 96.3 | 2.5 |
| 99th (1985 - 1986) | R | 53 | 49 | 92.5 | 1.9 | 49 | 92.5 | 2.0 |
| 100th (1987 - 1988) | D | 54 | 47 | 87.0 | 1.8 | 47 | 87.0 | 2.0 |
| 101st (1989 - 1990) | D | 55 | 46 | 83.6 | 1.9 | 46 | 83.6 | 1.9 |
| 102nd (1991 - 1992) | D | 56 | 50 | 89.3 | 1.8 | 50 | 89.3 | 2.0 |
| 103rd (1993 - 1994) | D | 57 | 46 | 80.7 | 1.8 | 46 | 80.7 | 1.9 |
| 104th (1995 - 1996) | R | 54 | 44 | 81.5 | 1.8 | 44 | 81.5 | 1.9 |
| 105th (1997 - 1998) | R | 55 | 48 | 87.3 | 1.7 | 48 | 87.3 | 1.9 |
| 106th (1999 - 2000) | R | 55 | 53 | 96.4 | 1.6 | 53 | 96.4 | 1.7 |
| 107th (2001 - 2002) ^c | R | 50 | 49 | 98.0 | 1.7 | 49 | 98.0 | 1.8 |
| 108th (2003 - 2004) | R | 51 | 51 | 100.0 | 1.7 | 51 | 100.0 | 1.8 |
| 109th (2005 - 2006) | R | 55 | 52 | 94.5 | 1.6 | 53 | 96.4 | 1.7 |
| 110th (2007 - 2008) | D | 51 ^d | 40 | 78.4 | 1.6 | 40 | 78.4 | 1.7 |
| 111th (2009 - 2010) | D | 60 ^d | 48 | 80.0 | 1.5 | 48 | 80.0 | 1.7 |
| 112th (2011 - 2012) | D | 53 ^d | 48 | 90.6 | 1.6 | 49 | 92.4 | 1.7 |
| 113th (2013 - 2014) | D | 53 ^e | 46 | 86.8 | 1.6 | 47 | 88.7 | 1.7 |

a. This number includes standing committees, subcommittees of standing committees, select and special committees, subcommittees of select and special committees, joint committees, and subcommittees of joint committees.

b. This number includes Harry Byrd, Jr., who was elected as an Independent.

c. These numbers are correct as of the start of the 107th Congress and do not reflect changes in committee assignments that occurred after Jim Jeffords (VT) left the Republican Party to become an Independent, shifting control of the Senate to the Democrats.

d. This number includes Joe Lieberman and Bernard Sanders, who were elected as Independents.

e. This number includes Bernard Sanders and Angus King, who were elected as Independents.

Sources: Nelson, Garrison, *Committees in the U.S. Congress 1947-1992, Committee Jurisdictions and Member Rosters* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1993); Congressional Quarterly Committee Guide, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; U.S. Senate, <http://www.senate.gov>.



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Table 4-8 Southern Chairmanships of House and Senate Standing Committees, 84th - 113th Congresses, 1955 - 2014

| Year | House | | | | | Senate | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|--|---|------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|--|---|------------------------------------|
| | Party Control | Number of southern chairmen | % of chairmanships held by southerners | % of exclusive committees chaired by southerners ^a | % of majority party from the South | Party Control | Number of southern chairmen | % of chairmanships held by southerners | % of exclusive committees chaired by southerners ^a | % of majority party from the South |
| 84th (1955 - 1956) | D | 12 | 63 | 67 | 43 | D | 8 | 53 | 50 | 46 |
| 90th (1967 - 1968) | D | 10 | 50 | 100 | 35 | D | 9 | 56 | 100 | 28 |
| 92nd (1971 - 1972) | D | 8 | 38 | 100 | 31 | D | 9 | 53 | 100 | 30 |
| 94th (1975 - 1976) | D | 9 | 41 | 33 | 28 | D | 6 | 33 | 100 | 27 |
| 96th (1979 - 1980) | D | 5 | 23 | 33 | 28 | D | 4 | 27 | 50 | 28 |
| 97th (1981 - 1982) | D | 6 | 27 | 33 | 29 | R | 3 | 20 | 25 | 19 |
| 98th (1983 - 1984) | D | 7 | 32 | 67 | 30 | R | 3 | 19 | 25 | 20 |
| 99th (1985 - 1986) | D | 8 | 36 | 67 | 29 | R | 2 | 13 | 0 | 19 |
| 100th (1987 - 1988) | D | 7 | 31 | 67 | 29 | D | 7 | 44 | 75 | 30 |
| 101st (1989 - 1990) | D | 8 | 36 | 67 | 29 | D | 6 | 38 | 50 | 27 |
| 102nd (1991 - 1992) | D | 8 | 36 | 33 | 29 | D | 6 | 38 | 50 | 27 |
| 103rd (1993 - 1994) | D | 6 | 27 | 33 | 33 | D | 6 | 35 | 25 | 26 |
| 104th (1995 - 1996) | R | 4 | 21 | 67 | 25 | R | 2 | 12 | 50 | 25 |
| 105th (1997 - 1998) | R | 3 | 17 | 67 | 31 | R | 4 | 24 | 50 | 29 |
| 106th (1999 - 2000) | R | 6 | 32 | 67 | 32 | R | 4 | 24 | 50 | 25 |
| 107th (2001 - 2002) | R | 3 | 16 | 33 | 32 | R ^b | 4 | 25 | 50 | 26 |
| 108th (2003 - 2004) | R | 4 | 21 | 33 | 33 | R | 4 | 24 | 25 | 26 |
| 109th (2005 - 2006) | R | 4 | 21 | 0 | 33 | R | 4 | 24 | 50 | 26 |
| 110th (2007 - 2008) | D | 3 | 15 | 0 | 26 | D | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| 111th (2009 - 2010) | D | 2 | 10 | 0 | 21.1 | D | 2 | 12.5 | 0 | 11.7 |
| 112th (2011 - 2012) | R | 7 | 35 | 0 | 39.2 | D | 1 | 6.3 | 0 | 11.8 |
| 113th (2013 - 2014) | R | 3 | 15 | 1 | 31.5 | D | 2 | 12.5 | 0 | 13.2 |

a. In the House these include Ways and Means, Rules, and Appropriations; in the Senate these include Appropriations, Finance, Foreign Relations, and Armed

b. These numbers are correct as of the start of the 107th Congress and do not reflect changes in committee assignments that occurred after Jim Jeffords (VT) left the Republican Party to become an Independent, shifting control of the Senate to the Democrats.

Sources: Nelson, Garrison, *Committees in the U.S. Congress 1947-1992, Committee Jurisdictions and Member Rosters* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1993); Congressional Quarterly Committee Guide, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; U.S. House of Representatives, <http://www.house.gov>; U.S. Senate, <http://www.senate.gov>.



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Chapter 5: Congressional Staff and Operating Expenses
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Note about data contained in this chapter: Calculating the size of Congressional staff over time is difficult. *Vital Statistics* has used, for many years, the first quarter report in the *Statement of Disbursements of the House* and a semi-annual *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, to estimate annual totals for full-time employees. These figures have been subject to inevitable error and volatility. The Congressional Research Service, by contrast, conducts a hand-count of House and Senate telephone directories to estimate the size of congressional staff. We are exploring adopting CRS's methodology, and looking for other alternatives, for this chapter. Please contact us at vitalstatistics@brookings.edu with questions and comments.



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Table 5-1 Congressional Staff, 1979 - 2011

| | 1979 | 1981 | 1983 | 1985 | 1987 | 1989 | 1991 | 1993 | 1995 | 1997 | 1979 | 1981 | 1985 | 1987 | 1989 | 1991 | 1993 | 1995 | 1997 |
|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| House | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Committee staff ^a | 2,027 | 1,917 | 2,068 | 2,146 | 2,136 | 2,267 | 2,321 | 2,147 ^b | 1,266 | 1,276 | 2,027 | 1,917 | 2,146 | 2,136 | 2,267 | 2,321 | 2,147 ^b | 1,266 | 1,276 |
| Personal staff | 7,067 | 7,487 | 7,606 | 7,528 | 7,584 | 7,569 | 7,278 | 7,400 | 7,186 | 7,282 | 7,067 | 7,487 | 7,528 | 7,584 | 7,569 | 7,278 | 7,400 | 7,186 | 7,282 |
| Leadership staff ^c | 162 | 127 | 135 | 144 | 138 | 133 | 149 | 132 | 134 | 126 | 162 | 127 | 144 | 138 | 133 | 149 | 132 | 134 | 126 |
| Officers of the House, staff ^d | 1,487 | 1,686 | 1,728 | 1,818 | 1,845 | 1,215 | 1,293 | 1,194 | 1,327 | 1,146 | 1,487 | 1,686 | 1,818 | 1,845 | 1,215 | 1,293 | 1,194 | 1,327 | 1,146 |
| Subtotal, House | 10,743 | 11,217 | 11,537 | 11,636 | 11,703 | 11,184 | 11,041 | 10,878 | 9,913 | 9,830 | 10,743 | 11,217 | 11,636 | 11,703 | 11,184 | 11,041 | 10,873 | 9,913 | 9,830 |
| Senate | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Committee staff ^a | 1,410 | 1,150 | 1,176 | 1,178 | 1,207 | 1,116 | 1,154 | 994 | 796 | 1,216 | 1,410 | 1,150 | 1,178 | 1,207 | 1,116 | 1,154 | 994 | 796 | 1,216 |
| Personal staff | 3,593 | 3,945 | 4,059 | 4,097 | 4,075 | 3,837 | 4,294 | 4,138 | 4,247 | 4,410 | 3,593 | 3,945 | 4,097 | 4,075 | 3,837 | 4,294 | 4,138 | 4,247 | 4,410 |
| Leadership staff ^c | 91 | 106 | 120 | 118 | 103 | 105 | 125 | 132 | 126 | 148 | 91 | 106 | 118 | 103 | 105 | 125 | 132 | 126 | 148 |
| Officers of the Senate, staff ^d | 828 | 878 | 948 | 976 | 904 | 926 | 1,092 | 1,165 | 994 | 958 | 828 | 878 | 976 | 904 | 926 | 1,092 | 1,165 | 994 | 958 |
| Subtotal, Senate | 5,922 | 6,079 | 6,303 | 6,369 | 6,289 | 5,984 | 6,665 | 6,429 | 6,163 | 6,732 | 5,922 | 6,079 | 6,369 | 6,289 | 5,984 | 6,665 | 6,429 | 6,163 | 6,732 |
| Joint committee staffs | 138 | 126 | 123 | 131 | 132 | 138 | 145 | 145 | 108 | 120 | 138 | 126 | 131 | 132 | 138 | 145 | 145 | 108 | 120 |
| Support agencies | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| General Accountability Office | 5,303 | 5,182 | 4,960 | 5,042 | 5,016 | 5,063 | 5,054 | 4,958 | 4,342 | 3,500 | 5,303 | 5,182 | 5,042 | 5,016 | 5,063 | 5,054 | 4,958 | 4,342 | 3,500 |
| Congressional Research Service | 847 | 849 | 853 | 860 | 860 | 860 | 831 | 835 | 746 | 726 | 847 | 849 | 860 | 860 | 831 | 835 | 746 | 726 | |
| Congressional Budget Office | 207 | 218 | 211 | 222 | 226 | 226 | 226 | 230 | 214 | 232 | 204 | 218 | 222 | 226 | 226 | 226 | 230 | 214 | 232 |
| Office of Technology Assessment | 145 | 130 | 130 | 143 | 143 | 143 | 143 | 143 | n.a. ^f | n.a. | 145 | 130 | 143 | 143 | 143 | 143 | 143 | n.a. ^f | n.a. |
| Subtotal, Support agencies | 6,502 | 6,379 | 6,154 | 6,267 | 6,245 | 6,292 | 6,254 | 6,166 | 5,302 | 4,458 | 6,499 | 6,379 | 6,267 | 6,245 | 6,292 | 6,254 | 6,166 | 5,302 | 4,458 |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Architect | 2,296 | 1,986 | 2,061 | 2,073 | 2,412 | 2,088 | 2,099 | 2,060 | 2,151 | 1,854 | 2,296 | 1,986 | 2,073 | 2,412 | 2,088 | 2,099 | 2,060 | 2,151 | 1,854 |
| Capitol Police ^g | 1,167 | 1,163 | 1,148 | 1,227 | 1,250 | 1,259 | 1,265 | 1,159 | 1,076 | 1,076 | 1,167 | 1,163 | 1,227 | 1,250 | 1,259 | 1,265 | 1,159 | 1,076 | 1,076 |
| Subtotal, Miscellaneous | 3,463 | 3,149 | 3,209 | 3,300 | 3,662 | 3,347 | 3,364 | 3,219 | 3,227 | 2,930 | 3,463 | 3,149 | 3,300 | 3,662 | 3,347 | 3,364 | 3,219 | 3,227 | 2,930 |
| Total | 26,768 | 26,950 | 27,326 | 27,703 | 28,031 | 26,945 | 27,469 | 26,837 | 24,713 | 24,070 | 26,765 | 26,950 | 27,703 | 28,031 | 26,945 | 27,469 | 26,832 | 24,713 | 24,070 |

n.a. = not available

Note: The totals reflect the number of full-time paid employees.

a. This includes select and special committee staffs. Therefore, the figures do not agree with those in table 5-5.

b. In addition to the staffs (twenty-nine members) of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, which retained twenty-nine staff members, three other select committees were in operation in 1993: the Select Committee on Aging, the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, and the Special and Select Committee on Funerals. The 104th Congress did not reauthorize those committees, but the committees stayed on for a few months to complete previous business. Although the committees did little business in 1993, they did retain small staffs during that time.

c. This includes legislative counsels' offices.

d. These include doorkeepers, parliamentarians, sergeants-at-arms, the clerk of the House, Senate majority and minority secretaries, and postmasters.

e. This does not include the Joint Committee on the Library.

f. The Office of Technology Assessment was eliminated in 1995.

g. This includes sworn officers only.

Sources: *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, various editions; *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, various

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Table 5-1

| | 1999 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 |
|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------|-------|
| House | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Committee staff ^a | 1,267 | 1,201 | 1,255 | 1,231 | 1,280 | 1,272 | 1,225 | 1,014 | 1,362 | 1,324 | 1,469 | 1,316 |
| Personal staff | 7,216 | 7,209 | 7,263 | 7,048 | 6,742 | 6,804 | 7,117 | 6,735 | 6,903 | 6,907 | 7,330 | |
| Leadership staff ^c | 179 | 166 | 158 | 160 | 161 | 176 | 179 | 148 | 195 | 171 | 231 | 202 |
| Officers of the House, staff ^d | 974 | 892 | 1,023 | 1,099 | 453 | 490 | 358 | 394 | 421 | 451 | 465 | 463 |
| Subtotal, House | 9,636 | 9,468 | 9,699 | 9,538 | 8,636 | 8,742 | 8,879 | 8,291 | 8,881 | 8,853 | | |
| Senate | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Committee staff ^a | 910 | 889 | 961 | 924 | 903 | 957 | 929 | 874 | 919 | 913 | | |
| Personal staff | 4,272 | 3,994 | 4,024 | 3,998 | 3,687 | 3,934 | 3,944 | 3,753 | 3,908 | 3,884 | 4,067 | |
| Leadership staff ^c | 219 | 221 | 201 | 227 | 245 | 189 | 225 | 236 | 199 | 214 | | |
| Officers of the Senate, staff ^d | 990 | 950 | 940 | 940 | 995 | 1,114 | 1,077 | 1,085 | 1,089 | 1,086 | | |
| Subtotal, Senate | 6,391 | 6,054 | 6,126 | 6,089 | 5,830 | 6,194 | 6,175 | 5,948 | 6,115 | 6,097 | | |
| Joint committee staffs | 104 | 94 | 104 | 103 | 107 | 98 | 90 | 91 | 101 | 96 | | |
| Support agencies | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| General Accountability Office | 3,275 | 3,155 | 3,275 | 3,269 | 3,252 | 3,215 | 2,388 | 3,172 | 3,137 | 3,191 | 3,350 | 3,134 |
| Congressional Research Service | 703 | 722 | 681 | 692 | 729 | 700 | 669 | 658 | 705 | 675 | 679 | 658 |
| Congressional Budget Office | 232 | 228 | 232 | 236 | 236 | 235 | 235 | 232 | 233 | 238 | 254 | 248 |
| Office of Technology Assessment | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Subtotal, Support agencies | 4,210 | 4,105 | 4,188 | 4,197 | 4,217 | 4,150 | 3,292 | 4,062 | 4,075 | 4,104 | 4,283 | 4,040 |
| Miscellaneous | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Architect | 2,012 | 2,012 | 2,081 | 2,133 | 2,183 | 1,533 | 2,158 | 2,150 | 2,212 | 2,212 | | |
| Capitol Police ^g | 1,251 | 1,215 | 1,570 | 1,771 | 1,592 | 1,730 | | | | | | |
| Subtotal, Miscellaneous | 3,263 | 3,227 | 3,651 | 3,904 | 3,775 | 3,263 | 2,158 | 2,150 | 2,212 | 2,212 | | |
| Total | 23,604 | 22,948 | 23,768 | 23,831 | 22,565 | 22,447 | 20,594 | 20,542 | 21,384 | 21,362 | | |

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Table 5-2 Staffs of Members of the House and Senate, 1891 - 2010

| Year | Employees in House | Employees in Senate |
|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1891 | n.a. | 39 |
| 1914 | n.a. | 72 |
| 1930 | 870 | 280 |
| 1935 | 870 | 424 |
| 1947 | 1,440 | 590 |
| 1957 | 2,441 | 1,115 |
| 1967 | 4,055 | 1,749 |
| 1972 | 5,280 | 2,426 |
| 1976 | 6,939 | 3,251 |
| 1977 | 6,942 | 3,554 |
| 1978 | 6,944 | 3,268 |
| 1979 | 7,067 | 3,593 |
| 1980 | 7,371 | 3,746 |
| 1981 | 7,487 | 3,945 |
| 1982 | 7,511 | 4,041 |
| 1983 | 7,606 | 4,059 |
| 1984 | 7,385 | 3,949 |
| 1985 | 7,528 | 4,097 |
| 1986 ^a | 7,920 | 3,774 |
| 1987 | 7,584 | 4,075 |
| 1988 | 7,564 | 3,977 |
| 1989 | 7,569 | 3,837 |
| 1990 | 7,496 | 4,162 |
| 1991 | 7,278 | 4,294 |
| 1992 | 7,597 | 4,249 |
| 1993 | 7,400 | 4,138 |
| 1994 | 7,390 | 4,200 |
| 1995 | 7,186 | 4,247 |
| 1996 | 7,288 | 4,151 |
| 1997 | 7,282 | 4,410 |
| 1998 | 7,269 | 4,281 |
| 1999 | 7,216 | 4,272 |
| 2000 | 7,226 | 4,087 |
| 2001 | 7,209 | 3,994 |
| 2002 | 7,263 | 4,024 |
| 2003 | 7,048 | 3,998 |
| 2004 | 6,742 | 3,687 |
| 2005 | 6,804 | 3,934 |
| 2006 | 7,117 | 3,944 |
| 2007 | 6,735 | 3,753 |
| 2008 | 6,903 | 3,908 |
| 2009 | 6,907 | 3,884 |
| 2010 | 7,330 | 4,067 |

n.a. = not available

Note: The totals reflect the number of full-time paid employees.

a. Senate figures reflect the period immediately after Gramm-Rudman mandated staffing cuts. House figures are for the entire fiscal year, thus averaging post-Gramm-Rudman staffing levels with previous, higher levels.

Sources: *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, various editions; *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, various editions.



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Table 5-3 House Staff Based in District Offices, 1970 - 2010

| Year | Employees | Percentage of total personal staffs in district offices |
|------|-----------|--|
| 1970 | 1,035 | n.a. |
| 1971 | 1,121 | n.a. |
| 1972 | 1,189 | 22.5 |
| 1973 | 1,347 | n.a. |
| 1974 | 1,519 | n.a. |
| 1975 | 1,732 | n.a. |
| 1976 | 1,943 | 28.0 |
| 1977 | 2,058 | 29.6 |
| 1978 | 2,317 | 33.4 |
| 1979 | 2,445 | 34.6 |
| 1980 | 2,534 | 34.4 |
| 1981 | 2,702 | 36.1 |
| 1982 | 2,694 | 35.8 |
| 1983 | 2,785 | 36.6 |
| 1984 | 2,872 | 38.9 |
| 1985 | 2,871 | 38.1 |
| 1986 | 2,940 | 43.6 |
| 1987 | 2,503 | 33.0 |
| 1988 | 2,954 | 39.6 |
| 1989 | 2,916 | 38.5 |
| 1990 | 3,027 | 40.4 |
| 1991 | 3,022 | 41.5 |
| 1992 | 3,128 | 41.2 |
| 1993 | 3,130 | 42.3 |
| 1994 | 3,335 | 45.1 |
| 1995 | 3,459 | 48.1 |
| 1996 | 3,144 | 43.1 |
| 1997 | 3,209 | 44.1 |
| 1998 | 3,214 | 44.2 |
| 1999 | 3,192 | 44.2 |
| 2000 | 3,216 | 44.5 |
| 2001 | 3,004 | 41.7 |
| 2002 | 3,302 | 45.5 |
| 2003 | 3,241 | 45.9 |
| 2004 | 3,392 | 50.3 |
| 2005 | 3,450 | 50.7 |
| 2006 | 3,506 | 49.3 |
| 2007 | 3,314 | 49.2 |
| 2008 | 3,418 | 49.5 |
| 2009 | 3,377 | 48.9 |
| 2010 | 3,581 | 48.9 |

n.a. = not available

Note: The totals reflect the number of full-time paid employees.

Sources: *Congressional Staff Directory*; *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, various editions.



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Table 5-4 Senate Staff Based in State Offices, 1972 - 2010

| Year | Employees | Percentage of total personal staffs in district offices |
|------|-----------|--|
| 1972 | 303 | 12.5 |
| 1978 | 816 | 25.0 |
| 1979 | 879 | 24.4 |
| 1980 | 953 | 25.4 |
| 1981 | 937 | 25.8 |
| 1982 | 1,053 | 26.1 |
| 1983 | 1,132 | 27.9 |
| 1984 | 1,140 | 28.9 |
| 1985 | 1,180 | 28.8 |
| 1986 | 1,249 | 33.1 |
| 1987 | 1,152 | 28.3 |
| 1988 | 1,217 | 30.6 |
| 1989 | 1,200 | 31.3 |
| 1990 | 1,293 | 31.1 |
| 1991 | 1,316 | 30.6 |
| 1992 | 1,368 | 32.2 |
| 1993 | 1,335 | 32.3 |
| 1994 | 1,345 | 32.0 |
| 1995 | 1,278 | 30.1 |
| 1996 | 1,290 | 31.1 |
| 1997 | 1,366 | 31.0 |
| 1998 | 1,381 | 32.3 |
| 1999 | 1,414 | 33.2 |
| 2000 | 1,405 | 34.4 |
| 2001 | 1,228 | 30.7 |
| 2002 | 1,456 | 36.2 |
| 2003 | 1,440 | 36.0 |
| 2004 | 1,468 | 39.8 |
| 2005 | 1,534 | 39.0 |
| 2006 | 1,562 | 39.6 |
| 2007 | 1,495 | 39.8 |
| 2008 | 1,590 | 40.7 |
| 2009 | 1,589 | 40.9 |
| 2010 | 1,668 | 41 |

Note: The totals reflect the number of full-time paid employees.

Sources: *Congressional Staff Directory*; *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, various editions.



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Table 5-5 Staffs of House and Senate Standing Committees, 1891 - 2009

| Year | Employees in House | Employees in Senate | Year | Employees in House | Employees in Senate |
|------|-----------------------|------------------------|------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1891 | 62 | 41 | 1986 | 1,954 | 1,075 |
| 1914 | 105 | 198 | 1987 | 2,024 | 1,074 |
| 1930 | 112 | 163 | 1988 | 1,976 | 970 |
| 1935 | 122 | 172 | 1989 | 1,986 | 1,013 |
| 1947 | 167 | 232 | 1990 | 1,993 | 1,090 |
| 1950 | 246 | 300 | 1991 | 2,201 | 1,030 |
| 1955 | 329 | 386 | 1992 | 2,178 | 1,008 |
| 1960 | 440 | 470 | 1993 | 2,118 | 897 |
| 1965 | 571 | 509 | 1994 | 2,046 | 958 |
| 1970 | 702 | 635 | 1995 | 1,246 | 732 |
| 1971 | 729 | 711 | 1996 | 1,177 | 793 |
| 1972 | 817 | 844 | 1997 | 1,250 | 1,002 |
| 1973 | 878 | 873 | 1998 | 1,305 | 747 |
| 1974 | 1,107 | 948 | 1999 | 1,238 | 805 |
| 1975 | 1,460 | 1,277 | 2000 | 1,176 | 762 |
| 1976 | 1,680 | 1,201 | 2001 | 1,177 | 805 |
| 1977 | 1,776 | 1,028 | 2002 | 1,222 | 869 |
| 1978 | 1,844 | 1,151 | 2003 | 1,193 | 857 |
| 1979 | 1,909 | 1,269 | 2004 | 1,249 | 838 |
| 1980 | 1,917 | 1,191 | 2005 | 1,272 | 887 |
| 1981 | 1,843 | 1,022 | 2006 | 1,225 | 929 |
| 1982 | 1,839 | 1,047 | 2007 | 1,014 | 874 |
| 1983 | 1,970 | 1,075 | 2008 | 1,362 | 919 |
| 1984 | 1,944 | 1,095 | 2009 | 1,324 | 913 |
| 1985 | 2,009 | 1,080 | | | |

Notes: The totals reflect the number of full-time paid employees.

Figures for 1947-1986 are for the statutory and investigative staffs of standing committees. They do not include select committee staffs, which varied between 31 and 238 in the House and between 62 and 172 in the Senate during the 1970s. For that reason, the numbers do not agree with those in table 5-1. In an attempt to provide further accuracy, we have counted certain individuals as .5 of a staff member on the basis of the length of employment and salary received. Rounding of those numbers then means that figures in this table do not necessarily equal those of the individual committees in tables 5-6 and 5-7.

Source: *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, various editions.



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Table 5-6 Staffs of House Standing Committees, 1947 - 2009

| Committee | 1947 | 1960 | 1970 | 1975 | 1981 | 1985 | 1987 | 1989 | 1991 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 |
|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Appropriations | 29 | 59 | 71 | 98 | 127 | 182 | 188 | 196 | 218 | 227 | 202 | 126 | 143 |
| Government Reform and Oversight (Government Operations) | 9 | 54 | 60 | 68 | 84 | 86 | 80 | 82 | 90 | 86 | 82 | 75 | 100 |
| Commerce (Energy and Commerce) | 10 | 45 | 42 | 112 | 151 | 162 | 153 | 138 | 155 | 140 | 139 | 67 | 93 |
| Ways and Means | 12 | 22 | 24 | 63 | 91 | 99 | 108 | 94 | 94 | 142 | 122 | 60 | 67 |
| International Relations (Foreign Affairs) | 10 | 14 | 21 | 54 | 84 | 97 | 101 | 98 | 104 | 96 | 98 | 62 | 69 |
| Transportation and Infrastructure (Public Works) | 6 | 32 | 40 | 88 | 86 | 84 | 83 | 83 | 97 | 89 | 87 | 70 | 74 |
| Judiciary | 7 | 27 | 35 | 69 | 75 | 81 | 81 | 80 | 71 | 75 | 74 | 47 | 61 |
| Resources (Natural Resources) ^b | 4 | 10 | 14 | 57 | 70 | 73 | 71 | 67 | 85 | 71 | 66 | 56 | 62 |
| Banking and Financial Services (Banking) | 4 | 14 | 50 | 85 | 87 | 90 | 78 | 108 | 112 | 100 | 98 | 46 | 56 |
| Science (Science, Space and Technology) | — ^a | 17 | 26 | 47 | 74 | 78 | 70 | 79 | 84 | 87 | 86 | 48 | 56 |
| National Security (Armed Services) | 10 | 15 | 37 | 38 | 49 | 64 | 69 | 66 | 82 | 76 | 78 | 44 | 70 |
| Budget | — ^a | — ^a | — ^a | 67 | 93 | 109 | 124 | 96 | 101 | 98 | 98 | 61 | 67 |
| Agriculture | 9 | 10 | 17 | 48 | 62 | 67 | 228 | 69 | 69 | 70 | 66 | 48 | 50 |
| House Oversight (House Administration) ^c | 7 | 4 | 25 | 217 | 252 | 275 | 43 | 275 | 317 | 317 | 316 | 270 | 33 |
| Rules | 4 | 2 | 7 | 18 | 43 | 45 | 62 | 41 | 49 | 48 | 47 | 37 | 36 |
| Veterans' Affairs | 7 | 18 | 18 | 26 | 34 | 32 | 11 | 41 | 44 | 46 | 45 | 28 | 28 |
| Small Business | — ^a | — ^a | — ^a | 27 | 54 | 53 | 44 | 54 | 53 | 45 | 40 | 24 | 28 |
| Standards of Official Conduct | — ^a | — ^a | 5 | 5 | 9 | 9 | 85 | 8 | 11 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 |
| Post Office and Civil Service ^d | 6 | 9 | 46 | 61 | 74 | 83 | 77 | 83 | 87 | 76 | 70 | 6 | |
| Merchant Marine and Fisheries ^d | 6 | 9 | 21 | 28 | 82 | 79 | 42 | 74 | 76 | 75 | 75 | 6 | |
| District of Columbia ^d | 7 | 8 | 15 | 43 | 41 | 42 | 42 | 39 | 40 | 34 | 36 | 6 | |
| Education and the Workforce | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Homeland Security | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Notes: The totals reflect the number of full-time paid employees. Many of the committee names and jurisdictions changed in the 104th Congress. For continuity, we have included the old committee names in parentheses. The committees are ranked in order of their staff size in 2001.

a. Not a standing committee

Committee. The staff figures for 1947-1991 are actually those of the Interior Committee.

c. After 1972, the figures include employees of House Information Systems, the House of Representatives' central computer facility.

d. These three committees were eliminated in the first few weeks of the 104th Congress. The jurisdictions of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and the District of Columbia Committee became part of the Government Reform and Oversight Committee. The jurisdiction of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee was divided among several other committees.

Source: *Statement of Disbursements of the House*, various editions.

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Table 5-6

| Committee | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Appropriations | 156 | 152 | 158 | 147 | 148 | 158 | 156 | 162 | 164 | 156 | 157 | 190 | 207 |
| Government Reform and Oversight (Government Operations) | 120 | 161 | 129 | 116 | 107 | 111 | 96 | 111 | 108 | 102 | 66 | 101 | 52 |
| Commerce (Energy and Commerce) | 94 | 91 | 90 | 87 | 87 | 97 | 96 | 90 | 94 | 87 | 67 | 102 | 71 |
| Ways and Means | 65 | 67 | 66 | 67 | 69 | 73 | 73 | 71 | 73 | 67 | 59 | 72 | 68 |
| International Relations (Foreign Affairs) | 73 | 66 | 68 | 64 | 68 | 68 | 73 | 72 | 75 | 76 | 58 | 122 | 75 |
| Transportation and Infrastructure (Public Works) | 84 | 75 | 80 | 70 | 80 | 75 | 70 | 72 | 65 | 72 | 66 | 76 | 85 |
| Judiciary | 85 | 74 | 70 | 73 | 73 | 75 | 69 | 73 | 73 | 74 | 58 | 68 | 70 |
| Resources (Natural Resources) ^b | 71 | 66 | 69 | 64 | 57 | 68 | 67 | 68 | 64 | 59 | 53 | 61 | 59 |
| Banking and Financial Services (Banking) | 64 | 52 | 59 | 54 | 57 | 66 | 63 | 64 | 62 | 62 | 58 | 80 | 65 |
| Science (Science, Space and Technology) | 63 | 57 | 59 | 58 | 62 | 65 | 59 | 61 | 60 | 51 | 44 | 59 | 54 |
| National Security (Armed Services) | 60 | 58 | 57 | 55 | 53 | 46 | 54 | 54 | 58 | 57 | 52 | 65 | 68 |
| Budget | 61 | 67 | 68 | 60 | 50 | 57 | 47 | 45 | 43 | 41 | 32 | 38 | 39 |
| Agriculture | 62 | 53 | 48 | 44 | 47 | 49 | 46 | 46 | 42 | 43 | 27 | 46 | 42 |
| House Oversight (House Administration) ^c | 36 | 41 | 35 | 34 | 40 | 40 | 43 | 42 | 41 | 37 | 27 | 40 | 40 |
| Rules | 41 | 36 | 35 | 35 | 37 | 33 | 35 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 23 | 29 | 30 |
| Veterans' Affairs | 27 | 25 | 30 | 30 | 26 | 30 | 32 | 28 | 28 | 67 | 25 | 31 | 32 |
| Small Business | 40 | 32 | 30 | 30 | 27 | 26 | 31 | 28 | 31 | 30 | 19 | 28 | 26 |
| Standards of Official Conduct | 11 | 12 | 13 | 13 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 11 | 16 | 4 |
| Post Office and Civil Service ^d | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Merchant Marine and Fisheries ^d | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| District of Columbia ^d | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Education and the Workforce | | | | | | | 72 | 73 | 59 | 59 | 73 | 77 | |
| Homeland Security | | | | | | | 46 | 41 | 39 | 53 | 65 | 64 | |

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Table 5-7 Staffs of Senate Standing Committees, 1947 - 2009

| Committee | 1947 | 1960 | 1970 | 1975 | 1979 | 1981 | 1985 | 1989 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Appropriations | 23 | 31 | 42 | 72 | 80 | 79 | 82 | 80 | 72 | 70 | 60 | 59 | 76 | 70 | 79 | 80 | 91 |
| Judiciary | 19 | 137 | 190 | 251 | 223 | 134 | 141 | 127 | 108 | 110 | 74 | 100 | 141 | 90 | 122 | 86 | 89 |
| Governmental Affairs (and Homeland Security) | 29 | 47 | 55 | 144 | 179 | 153 | 131 | 111 | 96 | 95 | 66 | 63 | 147 | 70 | 75 | 73 | 73 |
| Labor and Human Resources | 9 | 28 | 69 | 150 | 155 | 119 | 127 | 122 | 108 | 117 | 80 | 83 | 94 | 76 | 73 | 74 | 78 |
| Finance | 6 | 6 | 16 | 26 | 67 | 50 | 54 | 55 | 46 | 54 | 46 | 49 | 51 | 41 | 44 | 43 | 65 |
| Environment and Public Works | 10 | 11 | 34 | 70 | 74 | 56 | 56 | 50 | 40 | 44 | 37 | 34 | 39 | 35 | 36 | 41 | 50 |
| Commerce, Science, and Transportation | 8 | 52 | 53 | 111 | 96 | 78 | 93 | 76 | 68 | 70 | 56 | 65 | 68 | 53 | 56 | 54 | 49 |
| Armed Services | 10 | 23 | 19 | 30 | 31 | 36 | 48 | 51 | 50 | 45 | 43 | 49 | 49 | 45 | 48 | 49 | 49 |
| Budget | ^a | ^a | ^a | 90 | 91 | 82 | 81 | 66 | 58 | 66 | 46 | 46 | 48 | 41 | 42 | 46 | 46 |
| Foreign Relations | 8 | 25 | 31 | 62 | 75 | 59 | 61 | 58 | 54 | 58 | 42 | 50 | 54 | 47 | 50 | 46 | 49 |
| Energy and Natural Resources (Interior) | 7 | 26 | 22 | 53 | 55 | 50 | 57 | 50 | 46 | 47 | 39 | 37 | 39 | 36 | 41 | 39 | 38 |
| Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs | 9 | 22 | 23 | 55 | 48 | 39 | 38 | 51 | 51 | 58 | 44 | 47 | 51 | 45 | 29 | 43 | 43 |
| Agriculture | 3 | 10 | 7 | 22 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 42 | 29 | 35 | 28 | 33 | 47 | 27 | 28 | 33 | 28 |
| Small Business | ^a | ^a | ^a | ^a | ^a | ^a | 24 | 22 | 24 | 26 | 20 | 20 | 27 | 21 | 22 | 19 | 24 |
| Indian Affairs | ^a | 22 | 15 | 16 | 23 | 12 | 16 | 16 | 20 |
| Rules and Veterans' Affairs | 41 | 15 | 13 | 29 | 37 | 31 | 28 | 27 | 24 | 24 | 20 | 25 | 27 | 16 | 23 | 19 | 17 |
| | ^a | ^a | ^a | 32 | 24 | 22 | 25 | 25 | 24 | 14 | 14 | 17 | 21 | 22 | 21 | 17 | 16 |

Notes: The totals reflect the number of full-time paid employees. Committees are ranked in the order of their staff size in 2001.

a. The committee did not yet exist or it existed only as a special committee.

Source: *Report of the Secretary of the Senate*, various editions.



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Table 5-7

| Committee | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Appropriations | 96 | 105 | 112 | 111 | 114 | 112 | 104 | 100 |
| Judiciary | 99 | 98 | 76 | 91 | 95 | 82 | 97 | 92 |
| Governmental Affairs (and Homeland Security) | 83 | 81 | 77 | 79 | 100 | 96 | 91 | 102 |
| Labor and Human Resources | 93 | 64 | 81 | 70 | 81 | 66 | 77 | 71 |
| Finance | 59 | 62 | 55 | 50 | 68 | 65 | 74 | 78 |
| Environment and Public Works | 44 | 50 | 45 | 43 | 44 | 43 | 40 | 47 |
| Commerce, Science, and Transportation | 56 | 62 | 57 | 58 | 57 | 58 | 59 | 58 |
| Armed Services | 53 | 52 | 46 | 53 | 53 | 54 | 56 | 53 |
| Budget | 40 | 50 | 39 | 50 | 52 | 49 | 51 | 44 |
| Foreign Relations | 50 | 49 | 58 | 58 | 60 | 53 | 65 | 60 |
| Energy and Natural Resources (Interior) | 44 | 40 | 39 | 44 | 42 | 42 | 44 | 45 |
| Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs | 49 | 39 | 44 | 50 | 41 | 40 | 33 | 37 |
| Agriculture | 36 | 33 | 31 | 32 | 30 | 33 | 31 | 31 |
| Small Business | 26 | 25 | 25 | 27 | 31 | 28 | 32 | 31 |
| Indian Affairs | 17 | 17 | 17 | 16 | 21 | 15 | 19 | 16 |
| Rules and Veterans' Affairs | 19 | 16 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 14 | 21 | 21 |
| | 22 | 17 | 20 | 34 | 22 | 24 | 25 | 27 |



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Table 5-8 Staffs of Congressional Support Agencies, FY1946 - FY2011

| Year | Library of Congress | Congressional Research Service only | General Accountability Office | Congressional Budget Office | Office of Technology Assessment |
|------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1946 | | | 14,219 | | |
| 1947 | 1,898 | 160 | 10,695 | | |
| 1950 | 1,973 | 161 | 7,876 | | |
| 1955 | 2,459 | 166 | 5,776 | | |
| 1960 | 2,779 | 183 | 5,074 | | |
| 1965 | 3,390 | 231 | 4,278 | | |
| 1970 | 3,848 | 332 | 4,704 | | |
| 1971 | 3,963 | 386 | 4,718 | | |
| 1972 | 4,135 | 479 | 4,742 | | |
| 1973 | 4,375 | 596 | 4,908 | | |
| 1974 | 4,504 | 687 | 5,270 | | 10 |
| 1975 | 4,649 | 741 | 4,905 | 193 | 54 |
| 1976 | 4,880 | 806 | 5,391 | 203 | 103 |
| 1977 | 5,075 | 789 | 5,315 | 201 | 139 |
| 1978 | 5,231 | 818 | 5,476 | 203 | 164 |
| 1979 | 5,390 | 847 | 5,303 | 207 | 145 |
| 1980 | 5,047 | 868 | 5,196 | 218 | 122 |
| 1981 | 4,799 | 849 | 5,182 | 218 | 130 |
| 1982 | 4,803 | 849 | 5,027 | 218 | 130 |
| 1983 | 4,815 | 853 | 4,960 | 211 | 130 |
| 1984 | 4,802 | 858 | 4,985 | 210 | 139 |
| 1985 | 4,809 | 860 | 5,042 | 222 | 143 |
| 1986 | 4,806 | 860 | 5,019 | 222 | 143 |
| 1987 | 4,983 | 860 | 5,016 | 226 | 143 |
| 1988 | 4,874 | 825 | 5,042 | 211 | 143 |
| 1989 | 4,793 | 860 | 5,063 | 226 | 143 |
| 1990 | 4,659 | 797 | 5,066 | 226 | 143 |
| 1991 | 5,043 | 831 | 5,054 | 226 | 143 |
| 1992 | 5,050 | 838 | 5,062 | 218 | 143 |
| 1993 | 5,033 | 835 | 4,958 | 230 | 143 |
| 1994 | 4,701 | 835 | 4,572 | 218 | 143 |
| 1995 | 4,572 | 746 | 4,572 | 214 | 143 |
| 1996 | 4,399 | 729 | 3,677 | 232 | |
| 1997 | 4,299 | 726 | 3,341 | 232 | |
| 1998 | 4,275 | 708 | 3,245 | 219 | |
| 1999 | 4,317 | 703 | 3,275 | 232 | |
| 2000 | 3,920 | 696 | 3,192 | 223 | |
| 2001 | 4,099 | 722 | 3,155 | 228 | |
| 2002 | 4,251 | 681 | 3,275 | 232 | |
| 2003 | 4,200 | 692 | 3,269 | 236 | |
| 2004 | 4,334 | 729 | 3,252 | 236 | |
| 2005 | 4,292 | 700 | 3,215 | 235 | |
| 2006 | 3,994 | 669 | 2,388 | 235 | |
| 2007 | 3,910 | 658 | 3,172 | 232 | |
| 2008 | 3,849 | 705 | 3,137 | 233 | |
| 2009 | 3,871 | 675 | 3,191 | 238 | |
| 2010 | 3,635 | 679 | 3,350 | 254 | |
| 2011 | 3,551 | 658 | 3,134 | 248 | |

Note: The totals reflect the number of full-time paid employees.

Sources: *Legislative Branch Appropriations*, various years. *Employment and Trends* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Personnel Management, November 2002, 2003, and 2004).



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Table 5-9 Legislative Branch Appropriations and the Consumer Price Index, 1946 - 2011

| Year | Appropriation (dollars) | Increase (percent) | Consumer price index ^a | Increase (percent) |
|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1946 | 54,065,614 | n.a | 19.5 | 8.3 |
| 1947 | 61,825,020 | 14.4 | 22.3 | 14.4 |
| 1948 | 62,119,714 | 0.5 | 24.1 | 8.1 |
| 1949 | 62,057,678 | -0.1 | 23.8 | -1.2 |
| 1950 | 64,313,460 | 3.6 | 24.1 | 1.3 |
| 1951 | 71,888,244 | 11.8 | 26.0 | 7.9 |
| 1952 | 75,673,896 | 5.3 | 26.5 | 1.9 |
| 1953 | 77,670,076 | 2.6 | 26.7 | 0.8 |
| 1954 | 70,925,361 | -8.7 | 26.9 | 0.7 |
| 1955 | 86,304,923 | 21.7 | 26.8 | -0.4 |
| 1956 | 94,827,986 | 9.9 | 27.2 | 1.5 |
| 1957 | 120,775,798 | 27.4 | 28.1 | 3.3 |
| 1958 | 107,785,560 | -10.8 | 28.9 | 2.8 |
| 1959 | 136,153,580 | 26.3 | 29.1 | 0.7 |
| 1960 | 131,055,385 | -3.7 | 29.6 | 1.7 |
| 1961 | 140,930,781 | 7.5 | 29.9 | 1.0 |
| 1962 | 136,686,715 | -3.0 | 30.2 | 1.0 |
| 1963 | 150,426,185 | 10.1 | 30.6 | 1.3 |
| 1964 | 168,467,869 | 12.0 | 31.0 | 1.3 |
| 1965 | 221,904,318 | 31.7 | 31.5 | 1.6 |
| 1966 | 197,965,307 | -10.8 | 32.4 | 2.9 |
| 1967 | 221,715,643 | 12.0 | 33.4 | 3.1 |
| 1968 | 282,003,322 | 27.2 | 34.8 | 4.2 |
| 1969 | 311,542,399 | 10.5 | 36.7 | 5.5 |
| 1970 | 361,024,327 | 15.9 | 38.8 | 5.7 |
| 1971 | 443,104,319 | 22.7 | 40.5 | 4.4 |
| 1972 | 564,107,992 | 27.3 | 41.8 | 3.2 |
| 1973 | 645,127,365 | 14.4 | 44.4 | 6.2 |
| 1974 | 662,180,668 | 2.6 | 49.3 | 11.0 |
| 1975 | 785,618,833 | 18.6 | 53.8 | 9.1 |
| 1976 ^b | 947,185,778 | 20.6 | 56.9 | 5.8 |
| 1977 | 963,921,185 | 1.8 | 60.6 | 6.5 |
| 1978 | 1,009,225,350 | 4.7 | 65.2 | 7.6 |
| 1979 | 1,124,766,400 | 11.4 | 72.6 | 11.3 |
| 1980 | 1,199,061,463 | 6.6 | 82.4 | 13.5 |
| 1981 | 1,285,943,826 | 7.2 | 90.9 | 10.3 |



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Table 5-9 Legislative Branch Appropriations and the Consumer Price Index, 1946 - 2011

| Year | Appropriation (dollars) | Increase (percent) | Consumer price index ^a | Increase (percent) |
|-----------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1982 | 1,365,272,433 | 6.2 | 96.5 | 6.2 |
| 1983 | 1,467,318,263 | 7.5 | 99.6 | 3.2 |
| 1984 | 1,644,160,600 | 12.0 | 103.9 | 4.3 |
| 1985 | 1,599,977,138 | -2.7 | 107.6 | 3.6 |
| 1986 | 1,783,255,000 | 11.4 | 109.6 | 1.9 |
| 1987 | 1,635,190,214 | -8.3 | 113.6 | 3.6 |
| 1988 | 1,745,201,500 | 6.7 | 118.3 | 4.1 |
| 1989 | 1,804,624,000 | 3.4 | 124.0 | 4.8 |
| 1990 | 1,968,441,000 | 9.1 | 130.7 | 5.4 |
| 1991 | 2,161,367,000 | 9.8 | 136.2 | 4.2 |
| 1992 | 2,303,844,000 | 6.6 | 140.3 | 3.0 |
| 1993 | 2,302,924,000 | -0.1 | 144.5 | 3.0 |
| 1994 | 2,269,558,000 | -1.4 | 148.2 | 2.6 |
| 1995 | 2,390,600,000 | 5.3 | 152.4 | 2.8 |
| 1996 | 2,125,000,000 | -11.1 | 156.9 | 3.0 |
| 1997 | 2,165,400,000 | 1.9 | 160.5 | 2.3 |
| 1998 | 2,288,000,000 | 5.7 | 163.0 | 1.6 |
| 1999 | 2,581,000,000 | 12.8 | 166.6 | 2.2 |
| 2000 | 2,486,000,000 | -3.7 | 172.2 | 3.4 |
| 2001 | 2,730,000,000 | 9.8 | 177.1 | 2.8 |
| 2002 | 3,227,000,000 | 18.2 | 179.9 | 1.6 |
| 2003 | 3,461,000,000 | 7.3 | 184.0 | 2.3 |
| 2004 | 3,570,000,000 | 3.2 | 189.0 | 2.7 |
| 2005 | 3,639,892,000 | 2.0 | 195.3 | 3.4 |
| 2006 | 3,765,398,000 | 3.4 | 201.6 | 3.2 |
| 2007 | 3,852,184,000 | 2.3 | 207.3 | 2.8 |
| 2008 | 3,970,415,000 | 3.1 | 215.3 | 3.9 |
| 2009 | 4,402,000,000 | 10.9 | 214.5 | -0.4 |
| 2010 | 4,656,000,000 | 5.8 | 218.1 | 1.6 |
| 2011 | 4,540,000,000 | -2.5 | 224.9 | 3.2 |
| 2012 | | | | |
| 2013 | | | | |
| 1946-2011 | - | 8297.20 | - | 1053.5 |

Notes: Appropriations include supplementals, except for 1986. Appropriations are for fiscal years, but the consumer price index is the year average for calendar years.

a. The CPI base is 1982-84 = 100.

b. From fiscal year 1946 through fiscal year 1976, the fiscal year began on July 1. Beginning with fiscal year 1977, the start of the fiscal year was shifted to October 1. During the transition quarter of July 1 - September 30, 1976, the amount appropriated for legislative branch operations was \$207,391,365. We have not included that amount.

Sources: Paul E. Dwyer, *Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, RL30512: Appropriations for FY2001: Legislative Branch*; Legislative Branch Appropriations Bills, various years; U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.



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Table 5-10

Legislative Branch Appropriations, by Category, Fiscal Years 1984 - 2011 (in thousands of dollars)

| | 1984 | 1985 | 1986 ^a | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 |
|---|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Senate | \$255,856 | \$285,930 | \$308,834 | \$307,658 | \$337,314 | \$340,677 | \$373,761 | \$437,223 | \$449,568 | \$451,451 |
| House of Representatives | \$419,784 | \$439,398 | \$455,431 | \$463,907 | \$513,786 | \$506,068 | \$537,207 | \$647,675 | \$693,970 | \$699,109 |
| Joint Items ^b | \$128,933 | \$96,415 | \$155,804 | \$103,136 | \$94,981 | \$120,983 | \$170,454 | \$114,187 | \$80,716 | \$80,476 |
| Architect of the Capitol ^d | \$82,021 | \$85,181 | \$112,191 | \$101,633 | \$107,306 | \$103,640 | \$116,221 | \$139,806 | \$151,633 | \$149,613 |
| Botanic Garden | \$2,158 | \$2,080 | \$2,197 | \$2,062 | \$2,221 | \$2,521 | \$2,638 | \$3,519 | \$2,862 | \$4,906 |
| Congressional Budget Office | \$16,723 | \$17,541 | \$18,455 | \$17,251 | \$17,886 | \$18,361 | \$19,580 | \$21,183 | \$22,542 | \$22,542 |
| Congressional Research Service | \$36,700 | \$39,833 | \$38,963 | \$39,602 | \$43,022 | \$44,684 | \$46,895 | \$52,743 | \$56,583 | \$57,291 |
| Copyright Royalty Commission ^f | \$210 | \$217 | \$227 | \$123 | \$129 | \$123 | \$101 | \$127 | \$130 | \$130 |
| General Accountability Office | \$271,710 | \$299,704 | \$339,639 | \$304,910 | \$329,847 | \$347,339 | \$364,720 | \$419,130 | \$442,647 | \$435,167 |
| Government Printing Office ^d | \$125,700 | \$122,704 | \$122,268 | \$94,956 | \$89,521 | \$85,731 | \$98,018 | \$79,615 | \$91,591 | \$89,591 |
| Library of Congress | \$228,715 | \$228,242 | \$242,829 | \$183,670 | \$191,998 | \$199,650 | \$211,100 | \$239,924 | \$248,308 | \$252,808 |
| Office of Technology Assessment | \$14,831 | \$15,692 | \$17,000 | \$15,532 | \$16,901 | \$17,937 | \$18,900 | \$19,557 | \$21,025 | \$21,025 |
| Office of Compliance | | | | | | | | | | |

Notes: The figures include supplemental appropriations, except for 1986. Appropriations for legislative

- a. The figures for 1986 are before Gramm-Rudman-Hollings sequestration.
- b. This category includes such items as joint committees and the Capitol Police. Before 1991, official mail costs were also included in this category.
- c. This includes \$106,782,000 for emergency security enhancements funded under the Capitol Police Board's general expenses account, as well as \$2 million for the Trade Deficit Review Commission.
- d. The figures for the Architect of the Capitol and the Government Printing Office include appropriations for legislative activities only.
- e. This includes \$100 million for construction of a Capitol Visitors' Center.
- f. The commission was abolished after fiscal year 1994. Its duties have been taken over by a Copyright Office panel; therefore, there is no further appropriation.

Sources: Paul E. Dwyer, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, RL30512: Appropriations for FY2001: Legislative Branch; Legislative Branch Appropriations Bills, various years.



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Table 5-10

| | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 1984 | 1985 |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Senate | \$443,315 | \$460,600 | \$426,900 | \$441,200 | \$461,100 | \$474,891 | \$487,370 | \$522,023 | \$255,856 | \$285,930 |
| House of Representatives | \$684,696 | \$728,700 | \$671,600 | \$684,000 | \$708,700 | \$740,481 | \$757,993 | \$830,449 | \$419,784 | \$439,398 |
| Joint Items ^d | \$78,750 | \$86,200 | \$86,800 | \$85,300 | \$86,700 | 204916 ^c | \$100,626 | \$121,860 | \$128,933 | \$96,415 |
| Architect of the Capitol ^d | \$150,223 | \$159,700 | \$143,000 | \$139,800 | \$164,700 | 289746 ^e | \$213,474 | \$194,813 | \$82,021 | \$85,181 |
| Botanic Garden | \$3,008 | \$3,200 | \$3,100 | \$2,900 | \$3,000 | \$3,052 | \$3,438 | \$3,321 | \$2,158 | \$2,080 |
| Congressional Budget Office | \$22,317 | \$23,200 | \$24,300 | \$24,500 | \$24,800 | \$25,671 | \$26,121 | \$28,430 | \$16,723 | \$17,541 |
| Congressional Research Service | \$56,718 | \$60,100 | \$60,100 | \$62,600 | \$64,600 | \$67,124 | \$70,973 | \$73,430 | \$36,700 | \$39,833 |
| Copyright Royalty Commission ^f | \$128 | | | | | | | | \$210 | \$217 |
| General Accountability Office | \$430,815 | \$449,400 | \$374,000 | \$332,500 | \$339,500 | \$359,268 | \$377,561 | \$384,020 | \$271,710 | \$299,704 |
| Government Printing Office ^d | \$29,082 | \$32,200 | \$30,307 | \$29,077 | \$29,077 | \$29,264 | \$73,297 | \$81,205 | \$125,700 | \$122,704 |
| Library of Congress | \$250,813 | \$263,100 | \$264,600 | \$269,100 | \$281,800 | \$296,516 | \$323,380 | \$438,297 | \$228,715 | \$228,242 |
| Office of Technology Assessment | \$21,315 | \$22,000 | | | | | | | \$14,831 | \$15,692 |
| Office of Compliance | | | | \$2,600 | \$2,500 | \$2,086 | \$1,992 | \$1,851 | | |



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Table 5-10

| | 1986 ^a | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 |
|---|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Senate | \$308,834 | \$307,658 | \$337,314 | \$340,677 | \$373,761 | \$437,223 | \$449,568 | \$451,451 | \$443,315 | \$460,600 |
| House of Representatives | \$455,431 | \$463,907 | \$513,786 | \$506,068 | \$537,207 | \$647,675 | \$663,970 | \$699,109 | \$684,696 | \$728,700 |
| Joint Items ^b | \$155,804 | \$103,136 | \$94,981 | \$120,983 | \$170,454 | \$114,187 | \$80,716 | \$80,476 | \$78,750 | \$86,200 |
| Architect of the Capitol ^d | \$112,191 | \$101,633 | \$107,306 | \$103,640 | \$116,221 | \$139,806 | \$151,633 | \$149,613 | \$150,223 | \$159,700 |
| Botanic Garden | \$2,197 | \$2,062 | \$2,221 | \$2,521 | \$2,638 | \$3,519 | \$2,862 | \$4,906 | \$3,008 | \$3,200 |
| Congressional Budget Office | \$18,455 | \$17,251 | \$17,886 | \$18,361 | \$19,580 | \$21,183 | \$22,542 | \$22,542 | \$22,317 | \$23,200 |
| Congressional Research Service | \$38,963 | \$39,602 | \$43,022 | \$44,684 | \$46,895 | \$52,743 | \$56,583 | \$57,291 | \$56,718 | \$60,100 |
| Copyright Royalty Commission ^f | \$227 | \$123 | \$129 | \$123 | \$101 | \$127 | \$130 | \$130 | \$128 | |
| General Accountability Office | \$339,639 | \$304,910 | \$329,847 | \$347,339 | \$364,720 | \$419,130 | \$442,647 | \$435,167 | \$430,815 | \$449,400 |
| Government Printing Office ^d | \$122,268 | \$94,956 | \$89,521 | \$85,731 | \$98,018 | \$79,615 | \$91,591 | \$89,591 | \$29,082 | \$32,200 |
| Library of Congress | \$242,829 | \$183,670 | \$191,998 | \$199,650 | \$211,100 | \$239,924 | \$248,308 | \$252,808 | \$250,813 | \$263,100 |
| Office of Technology Assessment | \$17,000 | \$15,532 | \$16,901 | \$17,937 | \$18,900 | \$19,557 | \$21,025 | \$21,025 | \$21,315 | \$22,000 |
| Office of Compliance | | | | | | | | | | |



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Table 5-10

| | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Senate | \$426,900 | \$441,200 | \$461,100 | \$474,891 | \$487,370 | \$663,404 | \$726,067 | \$720,194 | \$777,605 | \$803,514 |
| House of Representatives | \$671,600 | \$684,000 | \$708,700 | \$740,481 | \$757,993 | \$960,871 | \$1,048,581 | \$1,079,516 | \$1,089,898 | \$1,114,486 |
| Joint Items ^d | \$86,800 | \$85,300 | \$86,700 | 204,916 ^c | \$100,854 | \$257,505 | \$18,974 | \$260,356 | \$19,617 | \$24,155 |
| Architect of the Capitol ^d | \$143,000 | \$139,800 | \$164,700 | 289,746 ^e | \$213,474 | \$456,782 | \$308,042 | \$362,200 | \$424,193 | \$449,917 |
| Botanic Garden | \$3,100 | \$2,900 | \$3,000 | \$3,052 | \$3,438 | \$6,063 | \$5,932 | \$6,275 | \$7,557 | \$7,697 |
| Congressional Budget Office | \$24,300 | \$24,500 | \$24,800 | \$25,671 | \$26,121 | \$31,892 | \$34,790 | \$34,640 | \$35,096 | \$35,204 |
| Congressional Research Service | \$60,100 | \$62,600 | \$64,600 | \$67,124 | \$70,973 | \$88,250 | \$96,385 | \$96,118 | \$99,907 | \$100,786 |
| Copyright Royalty Commission ^f | | | | | | | \$53,518 | - | - | |
| General Accountability Office | \$374,000 | \$332,500 | \$339,500 | \$359,268 | \$377,561 | \$453,051 | \$473,500 | \$467,205 | \$477,571 | \$481,070 |
| Government Printing Office ^d | \$30,307 | \$29,077 | \$29,077 | \$29,264 | \$29,872 | \$119,025 | \$88,800 | \$119,787 | \$122,193 | \$122,050 |
| Library of Congress | \$264,600 | \$269,100 | \$281,800 | \$296,516 | \$323,380 | \$414,925 | \$544,092 | \$545,362 | \$554,893 | \$508,760 |
| Office of Technology Assessment | | | | | | | | \$10,470 | - | |
| Office of Compliance | | \$2,600 | \$2,500 | \$2,086 | \$1,992 | \$2,157 | \$2,421 | \$2,402 | \$3,081 | \$3,103 |



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Table 5-10

| | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Senate | \$831,757 | \$895,030 | \$926,160 | \$914,153 |
| House of Representatives | \$1,182,835 | \$1,301,267 | \$1,369,025 | \$1,311,396 |
| Joint Items ^d | \$23,001 | \$29,220 | \$21,323 | \$19,794 |
| Architect of the Capitol ^d | \$413,471 | \$529,586 | \$601,586 | \$585,782 |
| Botanic Garden | \$8,786 | \$10,906 | \$11,390 | \$11,367 |
| Congressional Budget Office | \$37,306 | \$44,082 | \$45,165 | \$46,711 |
| Congressional Research Service | \$102,344 | \$107,323 | \$112,490 | \$111,018 |
| Copyright Royalty Commission ^f | - | - | - | - |
| General Accountability Office | \$499,748 | \$531,000 | \$556,849 | \$546,254 |
| Government Printing Office ^d | \$124,688 | \$174,354 | \$147,461 | \$135,067 |
| Library of Congress | \$563,049 | \$607,096 | \$643,337 | \$628,677 |
| Office of Technology Assessment | - | - | - | - |
| Office of Compliance | \$3,342 | \$4,072 | \$4,377 | \$4,077 |



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Table 5-11 Allowances for Representatives, 1977 - 2011

| | Members' representational allowance ^a |
|------|--|
| 1977 | \$298,491 |
| 1981 | \$402,584 - 584,985 |
| 1983 | \$425,498 - 646,118 |
| 1985 | \$500,193 - 701,189 |
| 1987 | \$512,173 - 713,069 |
| 1989 | \$540,160 - 738,260 |
| 1991 | \$610,000 - 792,000 |
| 1993 | \$709,528 - 859,408 |
| 1995 | \$720,688 - 903,189 |
| 1997 | \$814,090 - 1,233,780 |
| 1999 | \$858,707 - 1,311,594 |
| 2001 | \$980,699 - 1,469,930 |
| 2003 | \$1,087,407 - 1,636,750 |
| 2004 | \$1,198,149 |
| 2005 | \$1,246,228 |
| 2006 | \$1,227,837 |
| 2007 | \$1,275,209 |
| 2008 | \$1,332,294 |
| 2009 | \$1,400,000 |
| 2010 | \$1,517,241 |
| 2011 | \$1,409,315 |

a. As of January 3, 1978, previous individual allowances for travel, office equipment lease, district office lease, stationery, telecommunications, mass mailings, postage, computer services, and other official expenses were consolidated in a single allowance category--the official expenses allowance. Members may budget funds for each category as they see fit. The average allowance for 1995 was \$193,000. On September 1, 1995, members' three former expense allowances (clerk-hire, official expenses, and official mail allowances) were consolidated into one members' representational allowance (MRA). Although the MRA is calculated on the basis of those three components, members may spend the MRA as they see fit. Within the MRA, each member's expenditures for franked mail may not exceed the total amount allocated by the Committee on House Oversight for official mail expenses, plus an additional \$25,000, transferable within the MRA at the member's discretion according to the procedures under the previous allowance structure. The 1997 mean MRA was \$901,771. This data has been simplified to display the total allowance for a member of Congress. For details on the previous breakdown of allowances, see *Vital Statistics on Congress 2007-2008*.

Sources: Committee on House Administration, House of Representatives; Legislative Branch Appropriations Bills, various years.



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Table 5-12 Allowances for Senators, 1977 - 2011

| Category | 1977 | 1979 | 1981 | 1983 | 1985 | 1987 | 1989 | 1991 | 1993 | 1995 | 1997 |
|--|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Clerk-hire ^a | \$311,577-588,145 | \$508,221-1,021,167 | \$592,608-1,190,724 | \$645,897-1,297,795 | \$695,244-1,396,947 | \$716,102-1,438,856 | \$754,000-1,636,000 | \$814,000-1,760,000 | \$1,540,000-1,914,000 | \$1,660,000-1,935,000 | \$1,087,597-1,974,051 |
| Legislative assistance ^b | n.a. | \$157,626 | \$183,801 | \$200,328 | \$215,634 | \$243,543 | \$248,000 | \$269,000 | \$374,000 | \$377,400 | \$385,050 |
| Postage | \$1215-1520 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Stationery | 3600-5000 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Travel (round trips) | 20-22 | | | | | | | | | | |
| District and state offices rental ^d | n.a. | 4,800-8,000 sq. ft. | 4,800-8,000 sq. ft. | 4,800-8,000 sq. ft. |
| Furnishings, state offices ^e | n.a. | \$22,550-31,350 | \$22,550-31,350 | \$22,550-31,350 | \$22,550-31,350 | \$30,000-41,744 | \$30,000-41,744 | \$30,000-41,744 | \$30,000-41,744 | \$30,000-41,744 | \$30,000-41,744 |
| Official office expense account ^f | n.a. | \$33,000-143,000 | \$33,000-143,000 | \$36,000-156,000 | \$36,000-156,000 | \$36,000-156,000 | \$33,000-156,000 | \$47,000-122,000 | \$44,000-200,000 | \$90,000-250,000 | \$95,825-245,000 |

n.a. = not available

- a. There is no limit on the number of employees a senator may hire. He or she must, however, use only the clerk-hire or legislative assistance allowance to
- b. In addition to clerk-hire, each senator has a legislative assistance allowance worth \$385,050 in 1997. That allowance is reduced for any committee chairman or ranking minority member of a committee. It is also reduced for any other senator authorized by a committee chairman to recommend or approve
- c. This allowance is one of the allocations of the consolidated office expense allowance. Before January 1, 1973, senators were authorized individually controlled allowances for six expense categories as follows: transportation expenses for the senator and his staff; stationery; air mail and special delivery postage; long-distance telephone calls; telegram charges; and home state expenses, which include home state office expenses; telephone service charges incurred outside Washington, DC; subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and clipping or similar services; and home state office rent (repealed effective July 1, 1974). Effective January 1, 1973, the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1973, provided for the consolidation of those same allowances to home state of a senator. There is no limit on the number of offices that a senator may establish in his home state, but the designated square footage may not be exceeded. The cost of office space in the home state is not chargeable to the official office expense account.
- e. An aggregate furniture and furnishings allowance is provided through the General Services Administration for one or more state offices in either federal or privately owned buildings. Before 1987, the \$22,550 minimum allowance for office space not greater than 4,800 square feet was increased by \$550 for each authorized increase of 200 square feet of space. From 1987 through 1999, the \$30,000 minimum allowance for office space not greater than 4,800 square
- f. The expense account may be used for the following expenses (2 U.S.C. 58[a], as amended):
- (1) official telegrams and long-distance phone calls and related services;
 - (2) stationery and other office supplies purchased through the stationery room for official business;
 - (3) costs incurred in the mailing or delivery of matters relating to official business;
 - (4) official office expenses in home state, other than equipment or furniture (purchase of office equipment beyond stated allocations may be made through
 - (5) official telephone charges incurred outside Washington, D.C.;
 - (6) subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, periodicals, or clipping or similar services;
 - (7) travel expenses incurred by a senator or staff member, subject to certain limitations;
 - (8) expenses incurred by individuals selected by a senator to serve on panels or other bodies making recommendations for nominees to service academies or federal judgeships; and
 - (9) other official expenses as the senator determines are necessary, including (a) additional office equipment for Washington, D.C., or state offices; (b) actual transportation expenses incurred by the senator and employees for official business in the Washington metropolitan area (this is also allowed to employees assigned to a state office for actual transportation expenses in the general vicinity of the office to which assigned but is not available for a change of assignment within the state or for commuting between home and office).

The total reimbursement expense for the calendar year may not exceed 10 percent of the total official office expense account. Beginning with FY1981, each senator was also allowed to transfer funds from the administrative, clerical, and legislative assistance allowances to the official office expense account.

Sources: Paul E. Dwyer, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, RL30512: Appropriations for FY2001: Legislative Branch; Legislative Branch

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Table 5-12

| Category | 1999 | 2001 | 1979 | 1981 | 1983 | 1985 | 1987 | 1989 | 1991 | 1993 | 1995 |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Clerk-hire ^a | \$1,210,467- | \$1,347,851- | \$508,221- | \$592,608- | \$645,897- | \$695,244- | \$716,102- | \$754,000- | \$814,000- | \$1,540,000- | \$1,660,000- |
| | 2,157,222 | 2,360,512 | 1,021,167 | 1,190,724 | 1,297,795 | 1,396,947 | 1,438,856 | 1,636,000 | 1,760,000 | 1,914,000 | 1,935,000 |
| Legislative assistance ^b | \$396,477 | \$410,277 | \$157,626 | \$183,801 | \$200,328 | \$215,634 | \$243,543 | \$248,000 | \$269,000 | \$374,000 | \$377,400 |
| Postage | | | ^c |
| Stationery | | | ^c |
| Travel (round trips) | | | ^c |
| District and state offices rental ^d | 4,800-8,000 | 5,000-8,200 | 4,800-8,000 | 4,800-8,000 | 4,800-8,000 | 4,800-8,000 | 4,800-8,000 | 4,800-8,000 | 4,800-8,000 | 4,800-8,000 | 4,800-8,000 |
| | sq. ft. |
| Furnishings, state offices ^e | \$30,000- | \$40,000- | \$22,550- | \$22,550- | \$22,550- | \$22,550- | \$30,000- | \$30,000- | \$30,000- | \$30,000- | \$30,000- |
| | 41,744 | 56,000 | 31,350 | 31,350 | 31,350 | 31,350 | 41,744 | 41,744 | 41,744 | 41,744 | 41,744 |
| Official office expense account ^f | \$127,384- | \$128,178- | \$33,000 - | \$33,000- | \$36,000- | \$36,000- | \$36,000- | \$33,000- | \$47,000- | \$44,000- | \$90,000- |
| | 470,272 | 474,282 | 143,000 | 143,000 | 156,000 | 156,000 | 156,000 | 156,000 | 122,000 | 200,000 | 250,000 |

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Table 5-12

| Category | 1997 | 1999 | 2001 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Clerk-hire ^a | \$1,087,597- | \$1,210,467- | \$1,347,851- | \$1,568,333- | \$1,809,792- | \$1,926,936- | \$1,926,936 - | \$2,147,165 - | \$2,147,665 - | \$2,453,206 - | \$2,512,574 - | \$2,361,820 - |
| | 1,974,051 | 2,157,222 | 2,360,512 | 2,669,720 | 3,008,969 | 3,170,602 | \$3,170,602 | \$3,467,575 | \$3,467,575 | \$3,898,853 | \$3,993,206 | \$3,753,614 |
| Legislative assistance ^b | \$385,050 | \$396,477 | \$410,277 | \$436,377 | \$460,677 | \$472,677 | \$472,677 | \$481,977 | \$481,977 | \$508,377 | \$508,377 | \$477,874 |
| Postage | ^c | ^c | ^c | ^c | \$300,000 | \$300,000 | \$300,000 | \$300,000 | \$300,000 | \$300,000 | \$300,000 | \$300,000 |
| Stationery | ^c | ^c | ^c | ^c | | | | | | | | |
| Travel (round trips) | ^c | ^c | ^c | ^c | | | | | | | | |
| District and state offices rental ^d | 4,800-8,000 | 4,800-8,000 | 5,000-8,200 | 5,000-8,200 | 5,000-8,200 | 5,000-8,200 | 5,000 - 8,200 | 5,000 - 8,200 | 5,000 - 8,200 | 5,000 - 8,200 | 5,000 - 8,200 | 5,000 - 8,200 |
| | sq. ft. | sq. ft. | sq. ft. | sq. ft. | sq. ft. | sq. ft. |
| Furnishings, state offices ^e | \$30,000- | \$30,000- | \$40,000- | \$40,000- | | | \$40,000 - | \$40,000 - | \$40,000 - | \$40,000 - | \$40,000 - | \$40,000 - |
| | 41,744 | 41,744 | 56,000 | 56,000 | | | \$56,000 | \$56,000 | \$56,000 | \$56,000 | \$56,000 | \$56,000 |
| Official office expense account ^f | \$95,825- | \$127,384- | \$128,178- | \$128,525- | \$128,553- | \$128,580- | \$128,580 - | \$128,601 - | \$128,601 - | \$128,585 - | \$128,585 - | \$121,032 - |
| | 245,000 | 470,272 | 474,282 | 468,377 | 466,908 | 468,102 | \$468,102 | \$467,441 | \$467,441 | \$465,919 | \$465,922 | \$453,791 |

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Chapter 6: Legislative Productivity in Congress and Workload

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Table 6-1 House Workload, 80th-113th Congresses, 1947-2013

| Congress | Bills introduced ^a | Average no. of bills introduced per member | Bills passed | Ratio of bills passed to bills introduced | Recorded votes ^b | Time in session: Days | Time in Session: Hours ^e | Hours per day in session | Committee, subcommittee meetings ^c |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|--------------|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| 80th (1947-1948) | 7,611 | 17.5 | 1,739 | 0.228 | 285 | 254 | 1,224 | 4.8 | n.a. |
| 81st (1949-1950) | 10,502 | 24.1 | 2,482 | 0.236 | 543 | 345 | 1,501 | 4.4 | n.a. |
| 82nd (1951-1952) | 9,065 | 20.8 | 2,008 | 0.222 | 364 | 274 | 1,163 | 4.2 | n.a. |
| 83rd (1953-1954) | 10,875 | 25.0 | 2,129 | 0.196 | 271 | 240 | 1,033 | 4.3 | n.a. |
| 84th (1955-1956) | 13,169 | 30.3 | 2,360 | 0.179 | 279 | 230 | 937 | 4.1 | 3,210 |
| 85th (1957-1958) | 14,580 | 33.5 | 2,064 | 0.142 | 415 | 276 | 1,148 | 4.2 | 3,750 |
| 86th (1959-1960) ^d | 14,112 | 32.3 | 1,636 | 0.116 | 382 | 265 | 1,039 | 3.9 | 3,059 |
| 87th (1961-1962) ^d | 14,328 | 32.8 | 1,927 | 0.134 | 524 | 304 | 1,227 | 4.0 | 3,402 |
| 88th (1963-1964) | 14,022 | 32.2 | 1,267 | 0.090 | 528 | 334 | 1,251 | 3.7 | 3,596 |
| 89th (1965-1966) | 19,874 | 45.7 | 1,565 | 0.079 | 782 | 336 | 1,548 | 4.6 | 4,367 |
| 90th (1967-1968) | 22,060 | 50.7 | 1,213 | 0.055 | 875 | 328 | 1,595 | 4.9 | 4,386 |
| 91st (1969-1971) | 21,436 | 49.3 | 1,130 | 0.053 | 812 | 350 | 1,613 | 4.6 | 5,066 |
| 92nd (1971-1972) | 18,561 | 42.7 | 970 | 0.052 | 934 | 298 | 1,429 | 4.8 | 5,114 |
| 93rd (1973-1974) | 18,872 | 43.4 | 923 | 0.049 | 1,453 | 334 | 1,603 | 4.8 | 5,888 |
| 94th (1975-1976) | 16,982 | 39.0 | 968 | 0.057 | 1,692 | 311 | 1,788 | 5.7 | 6,975 |
| 95th (1977-1978) | 15,587 | 35.8 | 1,027 | 0.066 | 1,724 | 323 | 1,898 | 5.9 | 7,896 |
| 96th (1979-1980) | 9,103 | 20.9 | 929 | 0.102 | 1,439 | 326 | 1,876 | 5.8 | 7,033 |
| 97th (1981-1982) | 8,094 | 18.6 | 704 | 0.087 | 859 | 303 | 1,420 | 4.7 | 6,078 |
| 98th (1983-1984) | 7,105 | 16.3 | 978 | 0.138 | 996 | 266 | 1,705 | 6.4 | 5,661 |
| 99th (1985-1986) | 6,499 | 14.9 | 973 | 0.150 | 970 | 281 | 1,794 | 6.4 | 5,272 |
| 100th (1987-1988) | 6,263 | 14.4 | 1,061 | 0.169 | 976 | 298 | 1,659 | 5.6 | 5,388 |
| 101st (1989-1990) | 6,664 | 15.3 | 968 | 0.145 | 915 | 281 | 1,688 | 6.0 | 5,305 |
| 102nd (1991-1992) | 6,775 | 15.6 | 932 | 0.138 | 932 | 277 | 1,796 | 6.5 | 5,152 |
| 103rd (1993-1994) | 5,739 | 13.2 | 749 | 0.131 | 1,122 | 265 | 1,887 | 7.1 | 4,304 |
| 104th (1995-1996) | 4,542 | 10.4 | 611 | 0.135 | 1,340 | 290 | 2,445 | 8.4 | 3,796 |
| 105th (1997-1998) | 5,014 | 11.5 | 710 | 0.142 | 1,187 | 251 | 2,002 | 8.0 | 3,624 |
| 106th (1999-2000) | 5,815 | 13.4 | 957 | 0.165 | 1,214 | 272 | 2,179 | 8.0 | 3,347 |
| 107th (2001-2002) | 5,892 | 13.5 | 677 | 0.115 | 996 | 265 | 1,694 | 6.4 | 2,254 |
| 108th (2003-2004) | 5,547 | 12.8 | 801 | 0.144 | 1,221 | 243 | 1,894 | 7.8 | 2,135 |
| 109th (2005-2006) | 6,540 | 15.0 | 770 | 0.118 | 1,212 | 241 | 1,918 | 8.0 | 2,492 |
| 110th (2007-2008) | 7,441 | 17.1 | 1,101 | 0.148 | 1,876 | 283 | 2,138 | 7.6 | 2,949 |
| 111th (2009-2010) | 6,677 | 15.3 | 861 | 0.129 | 1,655 | 286 | 2,127 | 7.4 | 1,384 |
| 112th (2011-2012) | 6,845 | 15.7 | 561 | 0.082 | 1,607 | 327 | 1,718 | 5.3 | n.a. |
| 113th (2013-2014) ^f | 3,809 | 8.8 | 223 | 0.059 | 341 | 160 | 768 | 4.8 | n.a. |

n.a. = not available

a. This number includes all bills and joint resolutions introduced.

b. This number includes all quorum calls, yea and nay votes, and recorded votes.

c. Figures do not include the House Appropriations Committee for the 84th to 88th Congresses. House Appropriations Committee meetings included in subsequent Congresses numbered 584 in the 89th Congress, 705 in the 90th Congress, 709 in the 91st Congress, 854 in the 99nd Congress, and 892 in the 93rd Congress.

d. The House of Representatives included 437 congressmen to reflect the addition of Alaska and Hawaii.

e. Rounded to nearest hour.

f. The data for the 113th Congress only include the first session.

Sources: *Congressional Record* (thomas.loc.gov); Office of the Clerk, US House of Representatives; "Resume of Congressional Activity,"



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Table 6-2 Senate Workload, 80th-113th Congresses, 1947-2013

| Congress | Bills introduced ^a | Average no. | Ratio of bills | | Recorded votes ^b | Time in session: Days | Time in session: Hours | Hours per day in session | Committee, subcommittee meetings ^c |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| | | of bills introduced per member | Bills passed | passed to bills introduced | | | | | |
| 80th (1947-1948) | 3,186 | 33.2 | 1,670 | 0.524 | 248 | 257 | 1,462 | 5.7 | n.a. |
| 81st (1949-1950) | 4,486 | 46.7 | 2,362 | 0.527 | 455 | 389 | 2,410 | 6.2 | n.a. |
| 82nd (1951-1952) | 3,665 | 38.2 | 1,849 | 0.505 | 331 | 287 | 1,648 | 5.7 | n.a. |
| 83rd (1953-1954) | 4,077 | 42.5 | 2,231 | 0.547 | 270 | 294 | 1,962 | 6.7 | n.a. |
| 84th (1955-1956) | 4,518 | 47.1 | 2,550 | 0.564 | 224 | 224 | 1,362 | 6.1 | 2,607 |
| 85th (1957-1958) | 4,532 | 47.2 | 2,202 | 0.486 | 313 | 271 | 1,876 | 6.9 | 2,748 |
| 86th (1959-1960) | 4,149 | 41.5 | 1,680 | 0.405 | 422 | 280 | 2,199 | 7.9 | 2,271 |
| 87th (1961-1962) | 4,048 | 40.5 | 1,953 | 0.482 | 434 | 323 | 2,164 | 6.7 | 2,532 |
| 88th (1963-1964) | 3,457 | 34.6 | 1,341 | 0.388 | 541 | 375 | 2,395 | 6.4 | 2,493 |
| 89th (1965-1966) | 4,129 | 41.3 | 1,636 | 0.396 | 497 | 345 | 1,814 | 5.3 | 2,889 |
| 90th (1967-1968) | 4,400 | 44.0 | 1,376 | 0.313 | 595 ^d | 358 | 1,961 | 5.5 | 2,892 |
| 91st (1969-1971) | 4,867 | 48.7 | 1,271 | 0.261 | 667 | 384 | 2,352 | 6.1 | 3,264 |
| 92nd (1971-1972) | 4,408 | 44.1 | 1,035 | 0.235 | 955 | 348 | 2,295 | 6.6 | 3,559 |
| 93rd (1973-1974) | 4,524 | 45.2 | 1,115 | 0.246 | 1,138 | 352 | 2,152 | 6.1 | 4,067 |
| 94th (1975-1976) | 4,115 | 41.2 | 1,038 | 0.252 | 1,311 | 320 | 2,210 | 6.9 | 4,265 |
| 95th (1977-1978) | 3,800 | 38.0 | 1,070 | 0.282 | 1,156 | 337 | 2,510 | 7.4 | 3,960 |
| 96th (1979-1980) | 3,480 | 34.8 | 976 | 0.280 | 1,055 | 333 | 2,324 | 7.0 | 3,790 |
| 97th (1981-1982) | 3,396 | 34.0 | 786 | 0.231 | 966 | 312 | 2,160 | 6.9 | 3,236 |
| 98th (1983-1984) | 3,454 | 34.5 | 936 | 0.271 | 673 | 281 | 1,951 | 6.9 | 2,471 |
| 99th (1985-1986) | 3,386 | 33.9 | 940 | 0.278 | 740 | 313 | 2,531 | 8.1 | 2,373 |
| 100th (1987-1988) | 3,325 | 33.3 | 1,002 | 0.301 | 799 | 307 | 2,342 | 7.6 | 2,493 |
| 101st (1989-1990) | 3,669 | 36.7 | 980 | 0.267 | 638 | 274 | 2,254 | 8.2 | 2,340 ^e |
| 102nd (1991-1992) | 3,738 | 37.4 | 947 | 0.253 | 550 | 287 | 2,292 | 8.0 | 2,039 |
| 103rd (1993-1994) | 2,805 | 28.1 | 682 | 0.243 | 724 | 291 | 2,514 | 8.6 | 2,043 |
| 104th (1995-1996) | 2,266 | 22.7 | 518 | 0.229 | 919 | 343 | 2,876 | 8.4 | 1,601 |
| 105th (1997-1998) | 2,718 | 27.2 | 586 | 0.216 | 612 | 296 | 2,188 | 7.4 | 1,954 |
| 106th (1999-2000) | 3,343 | 33.4 | 819 | 0.245 | 672 | 303 | 2,202 | 7.3 | 1,862 |
| 107th (2001-2002) | 3,242 | 32.4 | 554 | 0.171 | 633 | 322 | 2,280 | 7.1 | 1,605 |
| 108th (2003-2004) | 3,078 | 30.8 | 759 | 0.247 | 675 | 300 | 2,486 | 8.3 | 1,506 |
| 109th (2005-2006) | 4,163 | 41.6 | 684 | 0.164 | 645 | 297 | 2,250 | 7.6 | 1,513 |
| 110th (2007-2008) | 3,738 | 37.4 | 556 | 0.149 | 666 | 374 | 2,364 | 6.3 | 2,458 |
| 111th (2009-2010) | 4,101 | 41.0 | 176 | 0.043 | 707 | 349 | 2,495 | 7.1 | 2,374 |
| 112th (2011-2012) | 3,767 | 37.7 | 364 | 0.097 | 486 | 323 | 2,032 | 6.3 | n.a. |
| 113th (2013-2014) ^f | 1,894 | 18.9 | 356 | 0.188 | 291 | 156 | 1,095 | 7.0 | n.a. |

n.a. = not available

- a. This number includes all bills and joint resolutions introduced.
- b. This number includes all yeas and nay votes.
- c. Figure includes all hearings and business meetings.
- d. This number does not include one yeas and nay vote that was ruled invalid for lack of a quorum.
- e. Where final legislative calendars were not available, we compiled figures from Congressional Information Service Abstracts and the Congressional Record.
- f. The data for the 113th Congress only include the first session.

Sources: Congressional Record (thomas.loc.gov); Office of the Secretary, US Senate; Senate Daily Digest; "Resume of Congressional Activity," Congressional Record, 80th Congress - 113th Congress. *Congressional Record* (thomas.loc.gov); End of Session Committee Reports; Committee Websites.



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Table 6-3 Recorded Votes in the House and the Senate, 80th-113th Congresses, 1947-2013

| Year | House | Senate | Year | House | Senate |
|------|-------|------------------|------|-------|--------|
| 1947 | 153 | 138 | 1980 | 681 | 546 |
| 1948 | 132 | 110 | 1981 | 371 | 497 |
| 1949 | 236 | 226 | 1982 | 488 | 469 |
| 1950 | 307 | 229 | 1983 | 533 | 381 |
| 1951 | 217 | 202 | 1984 | 463 | 292 |
| 1952 | 147 | 129 | 1985 | 482 | 381 |
| 1953 | 123 | 89 | 1986 | 488 | 359 |
| 1954 | 148 | 181 | 1987 | 511 | 420 |
| 1955 | 147 | 88 | 1988 | 465 | 379 |
| 1956 | 132 | 136 | 1989 | 379 | 312 |
| 1957 | 220 | 111 | 1990 | 536 | 326 |
| 1958 | 195 | 202 | 1991 | 444 | 280 |
| 1959 | 176 | 215 | 1992 | 488 | 270 |
| 1960 | 206 | 207 | 1993 | 615 | 395 |
| 1961 | 231 | 207 | 1994 | 507 | 329 |
| 1962 | 293 | 227 | 1995 | 885 | 613 |
| 1963 | 256 | 229 | 1996 | 455 | 306 |
| 1964 | 272 | 312 | 1997 | 640 | 298 |
| 1965 | 383 | 259 | 1998 | 547 | 314 |
| 1966 | 399 | 238 | 1999 | 611 | 374 |
| 1967 | 447 | 315 | 2000 | 603 | 298 |
| 1968 | 428 | 280 ^a | 2001 | 512 | 380 |
| 1969 | 353 | 245 | 2002 | 484 | 253 |
| 1970 | 459 | 422 | 2003 | 677 | 459 |
| 1971 | 472 | 423 | 2004 | 544 | 216 |
| 1972 | 462 | 532 | 2005 | 671 | 366 |
| 1973 | 726 | 594 | 2006 | 541 | 279 |
| 1974 | 727 | 544 | 2007 | 1186 | 442 |
| 1975 | 828 | 611 | 2008 | 690 | 215 |
| 1976 | 864 | 700 | 2009 | 991 | 397 |
| 1977 | 782 | 636 | 2010 | 664 | 299 |
| 1978 | 942 | 520 | 2011 | 949 | 235 |
| 1979 | 758 | 509 | 2012 | 658 | 251 |
| | | | 2013 | 641 | 291 |

Note: House figures include the total number of quorum calls, yea and nay votes, and recorded votes, while Senate figures include only yea and nay votes.

a. This figure does not include one yea and nay vote that was ruled invalid for lack of a quorum.

Sources: "Resume of Congressional Activity," Congressional Record, 80th Congress - 113th Congress.



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Table 6-4

Congressional Workload, 80th-113th Congresses, 1947-2013

| <i>Congress</i> | <i>Public Bills</i> | | | <i>Private bills</i> | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | <i>No. of bills enacted</i> | <i>Total pages of statutes</i> | <i>Average pages per statute</i> | <i>No. of bills enacted</i> | <i>Total pages of statutes</i> | <i>Average pages per statute</i> |
| 80th (1947-1948) | 906 | 2,236 | 2.5 | 458 | 182 | 0.40 |
| 81st (1949-1950) | 921 | 2,314 | 2.5 | 1,103 | 417 | 0.38 |
| 82nd (1951-1952) | 594 | 1,585 | 2.7 | 1,023 | 360 | 0.35 |
| 83rd (1953-1954) | 781 | 1,899 | 2.4 | 1,002 | 365 | 0.36 |
| 84th (1955-1956) | 1,028 | 1,848 | 1.8 | 893 | 364 | 0.41 |
| 85th (1957-1958) | 936 | 2,435 | 2.6 | 784 | 349 | 0.45 |
| 86th (1959-1960) | 800 | 1,774 | 2.2 | 492 | 201 | 0.41 |
| 87th (1961-1962) | 885 | 2,078 | 2.3 | 684 | 255 | 0.37 |
| 88th (1963-1964) | 666 | 1,975 | 3.0 | 360 | 144 | 0.40 |
| 89th (1965-1966) | 810 | 2,912 | 3.6 | 473 | 188 | 0.40 |
| 90th (1967-1968) | 640 | 2,304 | 3.6 | 362 | 128 | 0.35 |
| 91st (1969-1971) | 695 | 2,927 | 4.2 | 246 | 104 | 0.42 |
| 92nd (1971-1972) | 607 | 2,330 | 3.8 | 161 | 67 | 0.42 |
| 93rd (1973-1974) | 649 | 3,443 | 5.3 | 123 | 48 | 0.39 |
| 94th (1975-1976) | 588 | 4,121 | 7.0 | 141 | 75 | 0.53 |
| 95th (1977-1978) | 634 | 5,403 | 8.5 | 170 | 60 | 0.35 |
| 96th (1979-1980) | 613 | 4,947 | 8.1 | 123 | 63 | 0.51 |
| 97th (1981-1982) | 473 | 4,343 | 9.2 | 56 | 25 | 0.45 |
| 98th (1983-1984) | 623 | 4,893 | 7.9 | 52 | 26 | 0.50 |
| 99th (1985-1986) | 664 | 7,198 | 10.8 | 24 | 13 | 0.54 |
| 100th (1987-1988) | 713 | 4,839 | 6.8 | 48 | 29 | 0.60 |
| 101st (1989-1990) | 650 | 5,767 | 8.9 | 16 | 9 | 0.56 |
| 102nd (1991-1992) | 590 | 7,544 | 12.8 | 20 | 11 | 0.55 |
| 103rd (1993-1994) | 465 | 7,553 | 16.2 | 8 | 9 | 1.13 |
| 104th (1995-1996) | 333 | 6,369 | 19.1 | 4 | 4 | 1.00 |
| 105th (1997-1998) | 394 | 7,269 | 18.4 | 10 | 11 | 1.10 |
| 106th (1999-2000) | 580 | 5,045 | 8.7 | 24 | 35 | 1.46 |
| 107th (2001-2002) | 377 | 5,584 | 14.8 | 6 | 8 | 1.33 |
| 108th (2003-2004) | 498 | 6,923 | 13.9 | 6 | 11 | 1.83 |
| 109th (2005-2006) | 482 | 7,323 | 15.2 | 1 | 1 | 1.00 |
| 110th (2007-2008) | 460 | 7,689 | 16.72 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 111th (2009-2010) | 383 | 7,617 | 19.89 | 2 | 6 | 3.00 |
| 112th (2011-2012) | 283 | 2,495 | 8.82 | 1 | 2 | 2.00 |
| 113th (2013-2014) ^a | 72 | 1,208 | 16.78 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 |

a. The data for the 113th Congress only include the first session.

Sources: *Federal Register*, Statutes Branch; The Library of Congress -- THOMAS, (<http://thomas.loc.gov>); United States Statutes at Large, Government Printing Office.



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Table 6-5 Pages in the *Federal Register*, 1936-2013

| Year | Pages | Year | Pages |
|------|--------|-------------------|--------|
| 1936 | 2,355 | 1990 | 53,618 |
| 1946 | 14,736 | 1991 | 67,715 |
| 1956 | 10,528 | 1992 | 62,919 |
| 1966 | 16,850 | 1993 | 69,684 |
| 1969 | 20,464 | 1994 | 68,107 |
| 1971 | 25,442 | 1995 | 68,108 |
| 1972 | 28,920 | 1996 | 69,368 |
| 1973 | 35,586 | 1997 | 68,530 |
| 1974 | 45,422 | 1998 | 72,356 |
| 1975 | 60,221 | 1999 | 73,880 |
| 1976 | 57,072 | 2000 ^a | 83,093 |
| 1977 | 63,629 | 2001 | 67,703 |
| 1978 | 61,261 | 2002 | 80,333 |
| 1979 | 77,497 | 2003 | 75,796 |
| 1980 | 87,012 | 2004 | 78,852 |
| 1981 | 63,554 | 2005 | 77,752 |
| 1982 | 58,493 | 2006 | 78,724 |
| 1983 | 57,703 | 2007 | 74,408 |
| 1984 | 50,997 | 2008 | 80,700 |
| 1985 | 53,479 | 2009 | 69,676 |
| 1986 | 47,418 | 2010 | 82,589 |
| 1987 | 49,654 | 2011 | 82,419 |
| 1988 | 53,376 | 2012 | 77,249 |
| 1989 | 53,821 | 2013 | 80,462 |

a. Although the number of pages is correctly given as 83,093, a page-numbering error on May 22, 2000 resulted in a 201-page "jump." Thus, the pages are (incorrectly) numbered up to 83,294.

Source: *Federal Register*.



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Table 6-6

Vetoes and Overrides, 80th-113th Congresses, 1947-2013

| Congress | Total no. of presidential vetoes | No. of regular vetoes | No. of pocket vetoes | Vetoes overridden | | House attempts to override vetoes | Senate attempts to override vetoes |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | | | | Total | Percentage of regular vetoes | | |
| 80th (1947-1948) | 75 | 42 | 33 | 6 | 14.3 | 8 | 8 |
| 81st (1949-1950) | 79 | 70 | 9 | 3 | 4.3 | 5 | 5 |
| 82nd (1951-1952) | 22 | 14 | 8 | 3 | 21.4 | 4 | 4 |
| 83rd (1953-1954) | 52 | 21 | 31 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0 |
| 84th (1955-1956) | 34 | 12 | 22 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 1 |
| 85th (1957-1958) | 51 | 18 | 33 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 1 |
| 86th (1959-1960) | 44 | 22 | 22 | 2 | 9.1 | 5 | 6 |
| 87th (1961-1962) | 20 | 11 | 9 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0 |
| 88th (1963-1964) | 9 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0 |
| 89th (1965-1966) | 14 | 10 | 4 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0 |
| 90th (1967-1968) | 8 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0 |
| 91st (1969-1971) | 11 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 28.6 | 4 | 4 |
| 92nd (1971-1972) | 20 | 6 | 14 | 2 | 33.3 | 3 | 4 |
| 93rd (1973-1974) | 39 | 27 | 12 | 5 | 18.5 | 12 | 10 |
| 94th (1975-1976) | 37 | 32 | 5 | 8 | 25.0 | 17 | 15 |
| 95th (1977-1978) | 19 | 6 | 13 | 0 | 0.0 | 2 | 0 |
| 96th (1979-1980) | 12 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 28.6 | 2 | 2 |
| 97th (1981-1982) | 15 | 9 | 6 | 2 | 22.2 | 4 | 3 |
| 98th (1983-1984) | 24 | 9 | 15 | 2 | 22.2 | 2 | 2 |
| 99th (1985-1986) | 20 | 13 | 7 | 2 | 15.4 | 3 | 3 |
| 100th (1987-1988) | 19 | 8 | 11 | 3 | 37.5 | 5 | 4 |
| 101st (1989-1990) | 21 | 16 | 5 | 0 | 0.0 | 9 | 5 |
| 102nd (1991-1992) ^a | 25 | 15 | 10 | 1 | 6.7 | 3 | 3 |
| 103rd (1993-1994) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | — | 0 | 0 |
| 104th (1995-1996) | 17 | 17 | 0 | 1 | 5.9 | 6 | 1 |
| 105th (1997-1998) | 8 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 1 |
| 106th (1999-2000) | 12 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 0.0 | 3 | 1 |
| 107th (2000-2002) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | — | 0 | 0 |
| 108th (2003-2004) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | — | 0 | 0 |
| 109th (2005-2006) | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 0 |
| 110th (2007-2008) ^a | 11 | 11 | 0 | 4 | 36.4 | 9 | 4 |
| 111th (2009-2010) | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0.0 | 2 | 0 |
| 112th (2011-2012) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 113th (2013-2014) ^b | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Note: This table does not include line-item vetoes. After President Clinton excised several Pentagon programs from the 1998 budget, both houses of Congress, under the line-item veto law, passed legislation restoring some of the programs (H.R. 2631). President Clinton subsequently vetoed that bill, and both houses of Congress passed legislation overriding his veto. Subsequently, the Supreme Court declared the line-item veto unconstitutional.

- a. On some occasions the President has issued a protective return veto, where the bill was returned, unsigned, while Congress was in an intermin adjournment. The President has considered the bills to have been pocket vetoed while Congress considered them to have been regular vetoed. Vital Statistics counts these as regular vetoes.
- b. The data for the 113th Congress only include the first session.

Sources: "Resume of Congressional Activity," Congressional Record, 80th Congress - 113th Congress.
<http://www.senate.gov/reference/Legislation/Vetoes/vetoCounts.htm>



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Table 6-7 Attempted and Successful Cloture Votes, 66th - 113th Congress, 1919-2013

| Congress | 1st session | | 2nd session | | Total | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------|-----------|------------|
| | attempted | successful | attempted | successful | attempted | successful |
| 66th (1919-1920) | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 67th (1921-1922) | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 68th (1923-1924) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 69th (1925-1926) | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 70th (1927-1928) | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 2 |
| 71st (1929-1930) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 72nd (1931-1932) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 73rd (1933-1934) | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 74th (1935-1936) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 75th (1937-1938) | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 76th (1939-1940) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 77th (1941-1942) | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 78th (1943-1944) | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 79th (1945-1946) | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 80th (1947-1948) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 81st (1949-1950) | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 82nd (1951-1952) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 83rd (1953-1954) | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 84th (1955-1956) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 85th (1957-1958) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 86th (1959-1960) | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 87th (1961-1962) | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| 88th (1963-1964) | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| 89th (1965-1966) | 2 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 7 | 1 |
| 90th (1967-1968) | 1 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 1 |
| 91st (1969-1971) | 2 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 92nd (1971-1972) | 10 | 2 | 10 | 2 | 20 | 4 |
| 93rd (1973-1974) | 10 | 2 | 21 | 7 | 31 | 9 |
| 94th (1975-1976) | 23 | 13 | 4 | 4 | 27 | 17 |
| 95th (1977-1978) | 5 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 13 | 3 |
| 96th (1979-1980) | 4 | 1 | 17 | 9 | 21 | 10 |
| 97th (1981-1982) | 7 | 2 | 20 | 7 | 27 | 9 |
| 98th (1983-1984) | 7 | 2 | 12 | 9 | 19 | 11 |
| 99th (1985-1986) | 9 | 1 | 14 | 9 | 23 | 10 |
| 100th (1987-1988) | 23 | 5 | 20 | 6 | 43 | 11 |
| 101st (1989-1990) | 9 | 6 | 15 | 5 | 24 | 11 |
| 102nd (1991-1992) | 20 | 9 | 27 | 13 | 47 | 22 |
| 103rd (1993-1994) ^a | 24 | 4 | 22 | 10 | 46 | 14 |
| 104th (1995-1996) | 21 | 4 | 29 | 5 | 50 | 9 |
| 105th (1997-1998) | 24 | 7 | 29 | 11 | 53 | 18 |
| 106th (1999-2000) | 36 | 11 | 22 | 17 | 58 | 28 |
| 107th (2001-2002) | 22 | 12 | 39 | 22 | 61 | 34 |
| 108th (2003-2004) | 23 | 1 | 26 | 11 | 49 | 12 |
| 109th (2005-2006) | 20 | 13 | 34 | 21 | 54 | 34 |
| 110th (2007-2008) | 62 | 31 | 50 | 30 | 112 | 61 |
| 111th (2009-2010) | 39 | 35 | 52 | 28 | 91 | 63 |
| 112th (2011-2012) | 36 | 20 | 38 | 21 | 74 | 41 |
| 113th (2013-2014) ^b | 121 | 51 | | | | |

n.a. = not available

Note 1: The number of votes required to invoke cloture was changed on March 7, 1975, from two-thirds of those present and voting to three-fifths of the total Senate membership, as Rule XXII of the standing rules of the Senate was amended.

Note 2: Unanimous Consent and "No Vote" are not counted as attempts.

Note 3: Two votes on the same bill was counted as two attempts.

a. On November 3, 1993, one vote was taken to break filibusters on five separate presidential nominees. *Vital Statistics* counts this as five attempted cloture votes.

b. The data for the 113th Congress only include the first session.

Sources: "Indicators of congressional workload and activity," Congressional Research Service; US Senate website (http://www.senate.gov/pagelayout/reference/cloture_motions/clotureCounts.htm)



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Table 7-1 House Votes on Adoption of Budget Resolutions, by Party, FY1976-FY2014

| Fiscal Year | Resolution | Total | | Democrats | | Republicans | |
|-------------|-----------------------|-------|-----|-----------|-----|-------------|-----|
| | | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| 1976 | First | 200 | 196 | 197 | 68 | 3 | 128 |
| | Second | 225 | 191 | 214 | 67 | 11 | 124 |
| 1977 | First | 221 | 155 | 208 | 44 | 13 | 111 |
| | Second | 227 | 151 | 215 | 38 | 12 | 113 |
| | Third | 239 | 169 | 225 | 50 | 14 | 119 |
| 1978 | First (first round) | 84 | 320 | 82 | 185 | 2 | 135 |
| | First (second round) | 213 | 179 | 206 | 58 | 7 | 121 |
| | Second | 199 | 188 | 195 | 59 | 4 | 129 |
| 1979 | First | 201 | 197 | 198 | 61 | 3 | 136 |
| | Second | 217 | 178 | 215 | 42 | 2 | 136 |
| 1980 | First | 220 | 184 | 211 | 50 | 9 | 134 |
| | Second (first round) | 192 | 213 | 188 | 67 | 4 | 146 |
| | Second (second round) | 212 | 206 | 212 | 52 | 0 | 154 |
| | Third ^a | 241 | 174 | 218 | 45 | 23 | 129 |
| 1981 | First | 225 | 193 | 203 | 62 | 22 | 131 |
| | Second | 203 | 191 | 201 | 45 | 2 | 146 |
| 1982 | First | 270 | 154 | 84 | 153 | 186 | 1 |
| | Second | 206 | 200 | 70 | 150 | 136 | 50 |
| 1983 | First | 219 | 206 | 63 | 174 | 156 | 32 |
| 1984 | First | 229 | 196 | 225 | 36 | 4 | 160 |
| 1985 | First | 250 | 168 | 229 | 29 | 21 | 139 |
| 1986 | First | 258 | 170 | 234 | 15 | 24 | 155 |
| 1987 | First | 245 | 179 | 228 | 19 | 17 | 160 |
| 1988 | First | 215 | 201 | 212 | 34 | 3 | 167 |
| 1989 | First | 319 | 102 | 227 | 24 | 92 | 78 |
| 1990 | First | 263 | 157 | 157 | 96 | 106 | 61 |
| 1991 | First | 218 | 208 | 218 | 34 | 0 | 174 |
| 1992 | First | 239 | 181 | 231 | 25 | 8 | 155 |
| 1993 | First | 209 | 207 | 209 | 47 | 0 | 159 |
| 1994 | First | 243 | 183 | 242 | 11 | 0 | 172 |
| 1995 | First | 223 | 175 | 222 | 11 | 0 | 164 |
| 1996 | First | 238 | 194 | 8 | 191 | 230 | 1 |
| 1997 | First | 216 | 211 | 4 | 191 | 212 | 19 |
| 1998 | First | 333 | 99 | 132 | 72 | 201 | 26 |
| 1999 | First ^b | 216 | 204 | 3 | 194 | 213 | 9 |
| 2000 | First | 221 | 205 | 3 | 204 | 218 | 0 |
| 2001 | First | 220 | 208 | 6 | 202 | 213 | 5 |
| 2002 | First | 222 | 205 | 3 | 202 | 218 | 2 |
| 2003 | First | 221 | 209 | 1 | 206 | 219 | 2 |
| 2004 | First | 215 | 212 | 1 | 199 | 214 | 12 |
| 2005 | First | 215 | 212 | 0 | 201 | 215 | 10 |
| 2006 | First | 218 | 214 | 0 | 201 | 218 | 12 |
| 2007 | First | 218 | 210 | 0 | 197 | 218 | 12 |
| 2008 | First | 216 | 210 | 216 | 12 | 0 | 198 |
| 2009 | First | 212 | 207 | 212 | 16 | 0 | 191 |
| 2010 | First | 233 | 196 | 233 | 20 | 0 | 176 |
| 2011 | First ^c | 215 | 210 | 215 | 38 | 0 | 172 |
| 2012 | First | 235 | 193 | 0 | 189 | 235 | 4 |
| 2013 | First | 228 | 191 | 0 | 181 | 228 | 10 |
| 2014 | First | 221 | 207 | 0 | 197 | 221 | 10 |

Note: These votes are on passage of the resolutions in the House, not on adoption of the conference report. Beginning with the FY1983, Congress has adopted only one budget resolution each year, rather than the two originally prescribed by the Congressional Budget Act.

- a. The third resolution for FY1980 was part of the first resolution for the FY1981, but it was voted on separately in the House.
- b. Although both chambers passed a FY1999 budget resolution, the two different versions were so far apart that Congress never seriously attempted to reconcile the two bills, so that FY1999 was the first year under the Congressional Budget Act that Congress did not pass a budget resolution.
- c. The house passed a "budget enforcement resolution" in FY2011 to substitute for a traditional budget resolution.

Sources: Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues.



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Table 7-2 Senate Votes on Adoption of Budget Resolutions, by Party, FY1976-FY2014

| Fiscal Year | Resolution | Total | | Democrats | | Republicans | |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------|----|-----------|----|-----------------|----|
| | | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| 1976 | First | 69 | 22 | 50 | 4 | 19 | 18 |
| | Second | 69 | 23 | 50 | 8 | 19 | 15 |
| 1977 | First | 62 | 22 | 45 | 6 | 17 | 16 |
| | Second | 55 | 23 | 41 | 5 | 14 | 18 |
| | Third | 72 | 20 | 55 | 3 | 17 | 17 |
| 1978 | First | 56 | 31 | 41 | 14 | 15 | 17 |
| | Second | 63 | 21 | 46 | 8 | 17 | 13 |
| 1979 | First | 64 | 27 | 48 | 8 | 16 | 19 |
| | Second | 56 | 18 | 42 | 6 | 14 | 12 |
| 1980 | First | 64 | 20 | 44 | 5 | 20 | 15 |
| | Second | 62 | 36 | 45 | 14 | 17 | 22 |
| 1981 | First | 68 | 28 | 49 | 6 | 19 | 22 |
| | Second | 48 | 46 | 33 | 21 | 15 | 25 |
| 1982 | First | 78 | 20 | 28 | 18 | 50 | 2 |
| | Second | 49 | 48 | 2 | 44 | 47 | 4 |
| 1983 | First | 49 | 43 | 3 | 41 | 46 | 2 |
| 1984 | First | 50 | 49 | 29 | 17 | 21 | 32 |
| 1985 | First | 41 | 34 | 1 | 31 | 40 | 3 |
| 1986 | First | 50 | 49 | 1 | 45 | 49 ^a | 4 |
| 1987 | First | 70 | 25 | 38 | 6 | 32 | 19 |
| 1988 | First | 53 | 46 | 50 | 3 | 3 | 43 |
| 1989 | First | 69 | 26 | 44 | 6 | 25 | 20 |
| 1990 | First | 68 | 31 | 38 | 17 | 30 | 14 |
| 1991 | First ^b | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 1992 | First | 57 | 41 | 49 | 7 | 8 | 34 |
| 1993 | First | 52 | 41 | 36 | 16 | 16 | 25 |
| 1994 | First | 54 | 45 | 54 | 2 | 0 | 43 |
| 1995 | First | 57 | 40 | 55 | 0 | 2 | 40 |
| 1996 | First | 57 | 42 | 3 | 42 | 54 | 0 |
| 1997 | First | 53 | 46 | 0 | 46 | 53 | 0 |
| 1998 | First | 78 | 22 | 37 | 8 | 41 | 14 |
| 1999 | First ^c | 57 | 41 | 3 | 44 | 54 | 0 |
| 2000 | First | 54 | 44 | 0 | 44 | 54 | 0 |
| 2001 | First | 50 | 48 | 0 | 44 | 50 | 4 |
| 2001 | First | 50 | 48 | 0 | 44 | 50 | 4 |
| 2002 | First | 65 | 35 | 15 | 35 | 50 | 0 |
| 2003 ^d | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2004 | First | 56 | 44 | 6 | 42 | 50 | 1 |
| 2005 | First | 51 | 45 | 1 | 43 | 50 | 1 |
| 2006 | First | 51 | 49 | 0 | 44 | 51 | 4 |
| 2007 | First | 51 | 49 | 1 | 43 | 50 | 5 |
| 2008 | First | 52 | 47 | 48 | 0 | 2 | 47 |
| 2009 | First | 51 | 44 | 47 | 1 | 2 | 43 |
| 2010 | First | 55 | 43 | 53 | 2 | 0 | 41 |
| 2011 ^d | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2012 ^d | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2013 ^d | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2014 | First | 50 | 49 | 48 | 4 | 0 | 45 |

Note: These votes are on passage of the resolutions in the Senate, not on adoption of the conference report. Beginning with the FY1983, Congress has adopted only one budget resolution each year, rather than the two originally prescribed by the Congressional Budget Act.

a. Vice President George Bush cast the deciding vote for the Republicans.

b. The Senate Budget Resolution (S. Con. Res. 110) was approved by voice vote on June 14, 1990.

c. Although both chambers passed a FY1999 budget resolution, the two different versions were so far apart that Congress never seriously attempted to reconcile the two bills, so that FY1999 was the first year under the Congressional Budget Act that Congress did not pass a budget resolution.

d. The Senate did not pass a budget resolution.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues.



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Table 7-3 Budgeted and Actual Revenues, Budget Authority, Outlays, and Deficits, FY1976-FY2012 (billions of dollars)

| <i>Fiscal Year</i> | <i>Revenues</i> | <i>Budget authority</i> | <i>Budget outlays</i> | <i>Budget deficit/surplus</i> |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1976 | | | | |
| President's budget | 297.7 | 385.8 | 349.4 | -51.7 |
| First budget resolution | 298.2 | 395.8 | 367.0 | -68.8 |
| Second budget resolution | 300.8 | 408.0 | 374.9 | -74.1 |
| Second budget resolution | 300.0 | 415.3 | 366.4 | -66.4 |
| 1977 | | | | |
| President's budget | 351.3 | 433.4 | 394.2 | -42.9 |
| First budget resolution | 362.5 | 454.2 | 413.3 | -50.8 |
| Second budget resolution | 362.5 | 451.6 | 413.1 | -50.6 |
| Third budget resolution | 347.7 | 472.9 | 417.5 | -69.8 |
| Fourth budget resolution | 356.6 | 470.2 | 409.2 | -52.6 |
| Actual | 357.8 | 464.4 | 402.7 | -44.9 |
| 1978 | | | | |
| Ford budget | 393.0 | 480.4 | 440.0 | -47.0 |
| Carter budget | 401.6 | 507.3 | 459.4 | -57.8 |
| First budget resolution | 396.3 | 503.5 | 461.0 | -64.7 |
| Second budget resolution | 397.0 | 500.1 | 458.3 | -61.3 |
| Actual | 402.0 | 500.4 | 450.8 | -48.8 |
| 1979 | | | | |
| President's budget | 439.6 | 568.2 | 500.2 | -60.6 |
| First budget resolution | 447.9 | 568.9 | 498.8 | -50.9 |
| Second budget resolution | 448.7 | 555.7 | 487.5 | -38.8 |
| Third budget resolution | 461.0 | 559.2 | 494.5 | -33.5 |
| Actual | 465.9 | 556.7 | 493.6 | -27.7 |
| 1980 | | | | |
| President's budget | 502.6 | 615.5 | 531.6 | -29.0 |
| First budget resolution | 509.0 | 604.4 | 532.0 | -23.0 |
| Second budget resolution | 517.8 | 638.0 | 547.6 | -29.8 |
| Third budget resolution | 525.7 | 658.9 | 572.7 | -47.0 |
| Actual | 520.0 | 658.8 | 579.6 | -59.6 |
| 1981 | | | | |
| President's budget | 600.0 | 696.1 | 615.8 | -15.8 |
| Revised budget | 628.0 | 691.3 | 611.5 | 16.5 |
| First budget resolution | 613.8 | 697.2 | 613.6 | 0.2 |
| Second budget resolution | 605.0 | 694.6 | 632.4 | -27.4 |
| Third budget resolution | 603.3 | 717.5 | 661.4 | -58.1 |
| Actual | 599.3 | 718.4 | 657.2 | -57.9 |



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Budgeted and Actual Revenues, Budget
 Authority, Outlays, and Deficits, FY1976-FY2012
 (billions of dollars)

Table 7-3

| <i>Fiscal Year</i> | <i>Revenues</i> | <i>Budget authority</i> | <i>Budget outlays</i> | <i>Budget deficit/surplus</i> |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1982 | | | | |
| Carter budget | 711.8 | 809.8 | 739.3 | -27.5 |
| Reagan budget | 650.3 | 772.4 | 695.3 | -45.0 |
| Budget resolution | 657.8 | 770.9 | 695.5 | -37.7 |
| Revised resolution | 628.4 | 777.7 | 734.1 | -105.7 |
| Actual | 617.8 | 779.9 | 728.4 | -110.6 |
| 1983 | | | | |
| President's budget | 666.1 | 801.9 | 757.6 | -91.5 |
| Budget resolution | 665.9 | 822.4 | 769.8 | -103.9 |
| Actual | 600.6 | 866.7 | 796.0 | -195.4 |
| 1984 | | | | |
| President's budget | 659.7 | 900.1 | 848.5 | -188.8 |
| Budget resolution ^a | 679.6 | 919.5 | 849.5 | -169.9 |
| | | 928.7 | 858.9 | -858.9 |
| Revised resolution | 672.9 | 918.9 | 845.6 | -172.7 |
| Actual | 666.5 | 949.8 | 851.8 | -185.3 |
| 1985 | | | | |
| President's budget | 745.1 | 1,006.5 | 925.5 | -180.4 |
| Budget resolution | 750.9 | 1,021.4 | 932.1 | -181.2 |
| Actual | 734.1 | 1,074.1 | 946.3 | -212.2 |
| 1986 | | | | |
| President's budget | 793.7 | 1,060.0 | 973.7 | -180.0 |
| Budget resolution | 795.7 | 1,069.7 | 967.6 | -171.9 |
| Actual | 769.1 | 1,072.8 | 989.8 | -220.7 |
| 1987 | | | | |
| President's budget | 850.4 | 1,102.0 | 994.0 | -143.6 |
| Budget resolution | 852.4 | 1,093.4 | 995.0 | -142.6 |
| Actual | 854.1 | 1,099.9 | 1,003.8 | -149.7 |
| 1988 | | | | |
| President's budget | 916.6 | 1,142.2 | 1,024.4 | -107.8 |
| Budget resolution | 921.6 | 1,153.2 | 1,055.5 | -133.9 |
| Actual | 909.0 | 1,185.5 | 1,064.0 | -155.0 |
| 1989 | | | | |
| President's budget | 964.7 | 1,222.1 | 1,094.2 | -129.5 |
| Budget resolution | 964.3 | 1,232.0 | 1,098.2 | -133.9 |
| Actual | 990.7 | 1,309.9 | 1,144.1 | -153.4 |
| 1990 | | | | |
| President's budget | 1,059.3 | 1,331.2 | 1,151.8 | -92.5 |
| Budget resolution | 1,065.5 | 1,350.9 | 1,165.3 | -99.8 |
| Actual | 1,031.3 | 1,368.5 | 1,251.7 | -220.4 |
| 1991 | | | | |
| President's budget | 1,170.2 | 1,396.5 | 1,233.3 | -63.1 |
| Budget resolution | 1,172.9 | 1,485.6 | 1,236.9 | -64.0 |
| Actual | 1,054.3 | 1,398.2 | 1,323.0 | -268.7 |



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Table 7-3 Budgeted and Actual Revenues, Budget Authority, Outlays, and Deficits, FY1976-FY2012 (billions of dollars)

| <i>Fiscal Year</i> | <i>Revenues</i> | <i>Budget authority</i> | <i>Budget outlays</i> | <i>Budget deficit/surplus</i> |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1992 | | | | |
| President's budget | 1,172.2 | 1,579.3 | 1,442.2 | -270.0 |
| Budget resolution | 1,169.2 | 1,590.1 | 1,448.0 | -278.8 |
| Actual | 1,091.7 | 1,469.2 | 1,381.9 | -290.2 |
| 1993 | | | | |
| President's budget | 1,171.2 | 1,516.8 | 1,503.0 | -331.8 |
| Budget resolution | 1,173.4 | 1,516.4 | 1,500.0 | -326.6 |
| Actual | 1,153.5 | 1,473.6 | 1,408.7 | -255.2 |
| 1994 | | | | |
| President's budget | 1,242.1 | 1,512.6 | 1,500.6 | -258.5 |
| Budget resolution | 1,241.8 | 1,507.1 | 1,495.6 | -253.8 |
| Actual | 1,257.7 | 1,528.4 | 1,460.9 | -203.2 |
| 1995 | | | | |
| President's budget | 1,353.8 | 1,537.0 | 1,518.9 | -165.1 |
| Budget resolution | 1,338.2 | 1,540.7 | 1,513.6 | -175.4 |
| Actual | 1,351.8 | 1,543.3 | 1,515.7 | -163.9 |
| 1996 | | | | |
| President's budget | 1,415.5 | 1,613.8 | 1,612.1 | -196.6 |
| Budget resolution | 1,417.2 | 1,591.7 | 1,587.5 | -170.3 |
| Actual | 1,453.1 | 1,581.1 | 1,560.3 | -107.2 |
| 1997 | | | | |
| President's budget | 1,495.2 | 1,638.4 | 1,635.3 | -140.1 |
| Budget resolution | 1,469.0 | 1,633.0 | 1,622.0 | -153.0 |
| Actual | 1,579.3 | 1,642.9 | 1,601.2 | -21.9 |
| 1998 | | | | |
| President's budget | 1,566.8 | 1,709.6 | 1,687.5 | -120.7 |
| Budget resolution | 1,602.0 | 1,703.8 | 1,692.0 | -90.0 |
| Actual | 1,721.8 | 1,692.3 | 1,652.6 | 69.2 |
| 1999 | | | | |
| President's budget ^c | 1,742.7 | 1,751.0 | 1,733.2 | 9.5 |
| Budget resolution ^d | 1,318.0 | 1,408.9 | 1,401.0 | -83.0 |
| Actual | 1,827.5 | 1,766.7 | 1,702.9 | 124.6 |
| 2000 | | | | |
| President's budget ^c | 1,883.0 | 1,781.1 | 1,765.7 | 117.3 |
| Budget resolution | 1,408.1 | 1,426.7 | 1,408.1 | 0.0 |
| Actual | 2,025.2 | 1,825.0 | 1,788.8 | 236.4 |

^b



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Budgeted and Actual Revenues, Budget
 Authority, Outlays, and Deficits, FY1976-FY2012
 (billions of dollars)

Table 7-3

| <i>Fiscal Year</i> | <i>Revenues</i> | <i>Budget authority</i> | <i>Budget outlays</i> | <i>Budget deficit/surplus</i> |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 2001 | | | | |
| President's budget | 2,136.9 | 1,893.5 | 1,835.0 | 301.9 |
| Budget resolution | 1,503.2 | 1,467.2 | 1,446.0 | 57.2 |
| Actual | 1,991.2 | 1,960.0 | 1,863.0 | 128.2 |
| 2002 | | | | |
| President's budget | 2,191.7 | 2,004.6 | 1,960.6 | 231.1 |
| Budget resolution | 1,638.2 | 1,510.9 | 1,476.8 | 161.4 |
| Actual | 1,853.2 | 2,090.0 | 2,011.0 | -157.8 |
| 2003 | | | | |
| President's budget | 1,836.0 | 2,154.0 | 2,140.0 | -304.0 |
| Budget resolution ^e | | | | |
| Actual | 1,782.3 | 2,266.1 | 2,159.9 | -377.6 |
| 2004 | | | | |
| President's budget | 1,922.0 | 2,243.0 | 2,229.0 | -307.0 |
| Budget Resolution | 1,325.5 | 1,861.0 | 1,883.8 | -558.3 |
| Actual | 1,880.3 | 2,293.0 | 2,292.2 | -411.9 |
| 2005 | | | | |
| President's Budget | 2,036.0 | 2,349.0 | 2,400.0 | -364.0 |
| Budget Resolution | 1,454.6 | 2,005.1 | 1,996.0 | -541.4 |
| Actual | 2,153.9 | 2,582.9 | 2,472.2 | -318.3 |
| 2006 | | | | |
| President's Budget | 2,178.0 | 2,547.5 | 2,567.0 | -389.0 |
| Budget Resolution | 1,589.9 | 2,144.4 | 2,161.4 | -571.5 |
| Actual | 2,407.3 | 2,841.7 | 2,655.4 | -248.1 |
| 2007 | | | | |
| President's Budget | 2,416.0 | 2,739.4 | 2,770.0 | -354.0 |
| Budget Resolution | 1,780.7 | 2,283.0 | 2,326.0 | -545.3 |
| Actual | 2,568.0 | 2,863.0 | 2,729.0 | -160.7 |
| 2008 | | | | |
| President's Budget | 2,662.0 | 2,941.0 | 2,902.0 | -239.0 |
| Budget Resolution | 2,015.0 | 2,496.0 | 2,469.0 | -453.8 |
| Actual | 2,524.0 | 3,326.0 | 2,983.0 | -458.6 |



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Table 7-3 Budgeted and Actual Revenues, Budget Authority, Outlays, and Deficits, FY1976-FY2012 (billions of dollars)

| <i>Fiscal Year</i> | <i>Revenues</i> | <i>Budget authority</i> | <i>Budget outlays</i> | <i>Budget deficit/surplus</i> |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 2009 | | | | |
| President's Budget | 2,700.0 | 3,026.0 | 3,107.0 | -407.0 |
| Budget Resolution | 2,029.0 | 2,530.0 | 2,566.0 | -536.3 |
| Actual | 2,105.0 | 4,077.5 | 3,517.7 | -1,412.7 |
| 2010 | | | | |
| President's Budget | 2,333.0 | 3,425.0 | 3,591.0 | -1,258.0 |
| Budget Resolution | 1,653.7 | 2,888.7 | 3,001.3 | -347.6 |
| Actual | 2,162.7 | 3,484.6 | 3,456.2 | -1,293.5 |
| 2011 | | | | |
| President's Budget | 2,567.0 | 3,690.5 | 3,834.0 | -1,267.0 |
| Budget Resolution ^e | - | - | - | - |
| Actual | 2,303.5 | 3,510.0 | 3,603.1 | -1,299.6 |
| 2012 | | | | |
| President's Budget | 2,627.0 | | 3,729.0 | -1,101.0 |
| Budget Resolution ^e | - | - | - | - |
| Actual ^h | | | | |
| 2013 | | | | |
| President's Budget | 3,003.0 | | 3,771.0 | -768.0 |
| Budget Resolution ^e | - | - | - | - |
| Actual ^h | | | | |
| 2014 | | | | |
| President's Budget | 3,333.0 | | 3,977.0 | -645.0 |
| Budget Resolution ^e | | | | |
| Actual ^h | | | | |

a. Larger figures for authority, outlays, and deficit assumed enactment of programs in a reserve fund.

b. This figure assumed enactment of the president's health care reforms.

c. President Clinton indicated in his FY1999 and FY2000 budget proposals that the surplus would be reserved for the Social Security trust fund, pending a legislative solution. Thus, while the budget did not call the remainder a surplus, it is treated as such in this table.

d. Although both chambers passed a FY1999 budget resolution, the two different versions were so far apart that Congress never seriously attempted to reconcile the two bills, so that FY1999 was the first year under the Congressional Budget Act that Congress did not pass a budget resolution. The figures given here are from the version of the bill resolved by the House and received in the Senate.

e. Congress did not pass a budget resolution.

h. These numbers will be included in the White House's budget for FY 2014, which has not been released as of March 15, 2013.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *President's Budget, Fiscal Years 2001-2008*, US Government Printing Office (<http://www.gpoaccess.gov>).



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Table 7-4 Relatively Uncontrollable Federal Outlays under Present Law, FY1967-FY2011 (billions of dollars)

| <i>Fiscal year</i> | <i>Social Security and other retirement</i> | <i>Medical care</i> | <i>Other direct payments to individuals</i> | <i>Net interest</i> | <i>All other uncontrollables</i> | <i>Total uncontrollables</i> | <i>Total Outlays</i> | <i>Percent budget uncontrollable</i> |
|--------------------|---|---------------------|---|---------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1967 | 26.3 | 6.1 | 10.7 | 10.3 | 37.0 | 90.4 | 157.5 | 57.4 |
| 1968 | 29.1 | 9.0 | 11.4 | 11.1 | 42.3 | 102.9 | 178.1 | 57.8 |
| 1969 | 33.1 | 10.9 | 12.9 | 12.7 | 41.9 | 111.5 | 183.6 | 60.7 |
| 1970 | 36.9 | 12.1 | 15.4 | 14.4 | 41.5 | 120.3 | 195.6 | 61.5 |
| 1971 | 44.1 | 13.5 | 22.3 | 14.8 | 40.2 | 134.9 | 210.2 | 64.2 |
| 1972 | 49.7 | 16.2 | 25.8 | 15.5 | 39.2 | 146.4 | 230.7 | 63.5 |
| 1973 | 60.6 | 17.4 | 18.3 | 17.3 | 41.4 | 155.0 | 245.7 | 63.1 |
| 1974 | 69.4 | 20.4 | 21.4 | 21.4 | 46.0 | 178.6 | 269.4 | 66.3 |
| 1975 | 82.6 | 25.8 | 34.3 | 23.2 | 53.3 | 219.2 | 332.3 | 66.0 |
| 1976 | 92.6 | 31.6 | 43.5 | 26.7 | 53.7 | 248.1 | 371.8 | 66.7 |
| 1977 | 106.4 | 36.6 | 39.6 | 29.9 | 58.8 | 271.3 | 409.2 | 66.3 |
| 1978 | 117.1 | 41.3 | 36.9 | 35.5 | 76.9 | 307.7 | 458.7 | 67.1 |
| 1979 | 131.1 | 47.0 | 46.5 | 42.6 | 85.3 | 352.5 | 504.0 | 69.9 |
| 1980 | 150.2 | 55.3 | 47.0 | 52.5 | 103.2 | 408.2 | 590.9 | 69.1 |
| 1981 | 176.3 | 66.0 | 51.5 | 68.8 | 108.6 | 471.2 | 678.2 | 69.5 |
| 1982 | 195.9 | 74.0 | 53.2 | 85.0 | 121.5 | 529.6 | 745.7 | 71.0 |
| 1983 | 212.8 | 81.2 | 61.2 | 89.8 | 128.7 | 573.7 | 808.4 | 71.0 |
| 1984 | 221.7 | 88.0 | 49.2 | 111.1 | 145.3 | 615.3 | 851.9 | 72.2 |
| 1985 | 232.9 | 99.4 | 49.7 | 129.5 | 162.2 | 673.7 | 946.4 | 71.2 |
| 1986 | 245.5 | 106.1 | 52.0 | 136.0 | 181.3 | 720.9 | 990.4 | 72.8 |
| 1987 | 256.7 | 115.1 | 52.1 | 138.6 | 185.2 | 747.7 | 1,004.1 | 74.5 |
| 1988 | 271.6 | 123.4 | 53.7 | 151.8 | 186.8 | 787.3 | 1,064.5 | 74.0 |
| 1989 | 287.4 | 133.4 | 52.3 | 169.0 | 210.4 | 852.5 | 1,143.8 | 74.5 |
| 1990 | 305.8 | 155.8 | 57.4 | 184.3 | 231.6 | 934.9 | 1,253.1 | 74.6 |
| 1991 | 330.1 | 175.7 | 69.9 | 194.4 | 233.8 | 1,003.9 | 1,324.3 | 75.8 |
| 1992 | 350.7 | 208.5 | 84.7 | 199.3 | 233.8 | 1,077.0 | 1,381.6 | 78.0 |
| 1993 | 369.0 | 230.0 | 87.8 | 198.7 | 236.7 | 1,122.2 | 1,409.5 | 79.6 |
| 1994 | 387.8 | 251.9 | 75.0 | 202.9 | 228.2 | 1,145.8 | 1,461.9 | 78.4 |
| 1995 | 406.8 | 275.3 | 77.9 | 232.1 | 233.2 | 1,225.3 | 1,515.9 | 80.8 |
| 1996 | 423.0 | 293.6 | 76.9 | 241.1 | 227.9 | 1,262.5 | 1,560.6 | 80.9 |
| 1997 | 441.5 | 313.9 | 75.9 | 244.0 | 228.8 | 1,304.1 | 1,601.3 | 81.4 |
| 1998 | 457.3 | 324.3 | 77.0 | 241.1 | 228.0 | 1,327.7 | 1,652.7 | 80.3 |
| 1999 | 467.0 | 331.5 | 79.9 | 229.7 | 240.2 | 1,348.3 | 1,702.0 | 79.2 |
| 2000 | 491.8 | 351.6 | 76.8 | 222.9 | 253.6 | 1,396.8 | 1,789.2 | 78.1 |
| 2001 | 519.7 | 389.7 | 87.4 | 206.2 | 292.6 | 1,495.6 | 1,863.2 | 80.3 |
| 2002 | 545.1 | 427.4 | 123.8 | 170.9 | 312.5 | 1,579.8 | 2,011.2 | 78.5 |
| 2003 | 566.9 | 469.0 | 139.6 | 153.1 | 345.2 | 1,673.8 | 2,160.1 | 77.5 |
| 2004 | 590.9 | 509.5 | 132.9 | 160.2 | 368.5 | 1,762.1 | 2,293.0 | 76.8 |
| 2005 | 623.6 | 549.3 | 133.0 | 184.0 | 392.3 | 1,882.1 | 2,472.2 | 76.1 |
| 2006 | 651.4 | 582.6 | 148.2 | 226.6 | 425.0 | 2,033.8 | 2,655.4 | 76.6 |
| 2007 | 697.9 | 641.8 | 128.9 | 237.1 | -17.9 | 1,687.8 | 2,728.7 | 61.9 |
| 2008 | 734.9 | 671.4 | 137.0 | 252.8 | 51.7 | 1,847.8 | 2,982.6 | 62.0 |
| 2009 | 809.3 | 764.4 | 295.2 | 186.9 | 224.1 | 2,279.9 | 3,517.7 | 64.8 |
| 2010 | 833.2 | 820.7 | 287.9 | 196.2 | -29.0 | 2,109.0 | 3,001.3 | 70.3 |
| 2011 | 862.0 | 858.2 | 221.8 | 223.0 | 90.9 | 2,255.9 | 3,603.1 | 62.6 |

Note: Occasionally, the Office of Management and Budget reclassifies or redefines uncontrollables. Thus, the figures in this table may not be consistent with those published in some budget documents.

Note: The figures for FY 2012 will be included in the White House budget for FY 2014, which has not been released as of March 14, 2013.

Source: *President's Budget, Fiscal Year 2011, Historical Tables*.



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Table 7-5 Supplemental Appropriations, FY1970-FY2013

| Fiscal year | Number of supplemental bills ^a | Amount of budget authority (millions of dollars) | Fiscal year | Number of supplemental bills ^a | Amount of budget authority (millions of dollars) |
|-------------|---|--|-------------|---|--|
| 1970 | 2 | 5,993 | 1992 | 3 | 20,815 |
| 1971 | 4 | 9,870 | 1993 | 4 ^b | 9,519 |
| 1972 | 7 | 11,599 | 1994 | 7 | 13,613 |
| 1973 | 5 | 11,371 | 1995 | 0 | - ^c |
| 1974 | 5 | 14,796 | 1996 | 4 | 903 |
| 1975 | 7 | 27,587 | 1997 | 1 | 9,163 |
| 1976 | 7 | 24,638 | 1998 | 1 | 6,006 |
| 1977 | 11 | 49,835 | 1999 | 2 | 13,367 |
| 1978 | 10 | 16,052 | 2000 | 2 | 17,387 |
| 1979 | 3 | 13,845 | 2001 | 2 | 28,979 |
| 1980 | 6 | 19,683 | 2002 | 2 | 46,554 |
| 1981 | 2 | 21,217 | 2003 | 3 | 81,110 |
| 1982 | 4 | 27,100 | 2004 | 3 ^d | 99,858 |
| 1983 | 2 | 22,732 | 2005 | 6 ^e | 177,190 |
| 1984 | 4 | 16,682 | 2006 | 3 | 128,456 |
| 1985 | 3 | 15,545 | 2007 | 1 | 120,918 |
| 1986 | 3 | 15,245 | 2008 | 2 | 138,972 |
| 1987 | 2 | 9,970 | 2009 | 2 | 196,760 |
| 1988 | 3 | 1,322 | 2010 | 3 | 43,017 |
| 1989 | 4 | 5,663 | 2011 | 0 | |
| 1990 | 2 | 6,374 | 2012 | 0 | |
| 1991 | 3 | 48,472 | 2013 | 1 | 50,507 |

- a. The number of supplemental bills includes all appropriations bills in which supplemental budget authority was provided.
- b. Excludes \$4B in mandatory supplemental appropriations for unemployment insurance because that additional funding was offset by the same amount of mandatory offsetting receipts.
- c. All FY1995 supplemental spending was offset.
- d. Includes \$10.275B from Public Law 108-324, enacted on October 13, 2004, but retroactive to FY2004.
- e. Includes Public Law 108-287, enacted on August 5, 2004. The President requested the funds for FY2005.

Source: Congressional Budget Office (<http://www.cbo.gov>).



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Table 7-6 Continuing Appropriations, FY1977-FY2013

| Fiscal Year | Regular appropriation bills enacted by start of fiscal year ^a | Continuing resolutions enacted for fiscal year | Fiscal Year | Regular appropriation bills enacted by start of fiscal year ^a | Continuing resolutions enacted for fiscal year |
|-------------|--|--|-------------|--|--|
| 1977 | 13 | 2 ^b | 1995 | 13 | 0 |
| 1978 | 9 | 3 | 1996 | 0 | 13 |
| 1979 | 5 | 1 | 1997 | 8 ^d | 0 |
| 1980 | 3 | 2 | 1998 | 1 | 6 |
| 1981 | 1 | 2 | 1999 | 1 | 6 |
| 1982 | 0 | 4 | 2000 | 4 | 7 |
| 1983 | 1 | 2 | 2001 | 2 | 21 |
| 1984 | 4 | 2 | 2002 | 0 | 8 |
| 1985 | 4 | 5 | 2003 | 0 | 8 |
| 1986 | 0 | 5 | 2004 | 3 | 5 |
| 1987 | 0 | 5 | 2005 | 1 | 3 |
| 1988 | 0 | 5 | 2006 | 2 | 3 |
| 1989 | 13 ^c | 0 | 2007 | 1 | 4 |
| 1990 | 1 | 3 | 2008 | 0 | 4 |
| 1991 | 0 | 5 | 2009 | 0 | 1 |
| 1992 | 3 | 4 | 2010 | 1 | 2 |
| 1993 | 1 | 1 | 2011 | 0 | 8 |
| 1994 | 2 | 3 | 2012 | 0 | 5 |
| | | | 2013 | 0 | 2 |

a. There are 13 regular appropriations bills.

b. Although all 13 regular appropriations became law before the start of FY1977, the 2 CRs provided funding for activities the had not been included in the regular appropriation acts.

c. Congress cleared and sent all bills to the president by the beginning of FY1989, but he did not sign all the bills until the following day.

d. All of the appropriations bills were enacted by the beginning of FY1997, but not as 13 separate acts.

Sources: Streeter, Sandy. "Continuing Appropriations Acts: Brief Overview of Recent Practices," *Congressional Research Service*, 30 November 2004; "Status of Appropriations Legislation" THOMAS.

Tollestrup, Jessica. "Continuing Resolutions: Overview of Components and Practices." *Congressional Research Service*. 12 August 2012.

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Table 7-7 Budget-Related Roll Call Votes in the House, Selected Years, 1955-2013

| Measure | 1955 | 1960 | 1965 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1981 | 1983 | 1985 | 1987 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Authorizations | 27 | 28 | 78 | 77 | 147 | 105 | 70 | 129 | 95 | 118 | 68 | 116 | 83 | 38 | 94 | 94 | 57 |
| Appropriations | 6 | 16 | 21 | 39 | 94 | 111 | 85 | 112 | 82 | 86 | 95 | 110 | 101 | 129 | 176 | 121 | 294 |
| Tax legislation | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 48 | 14 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 21 | 6 | 6 | 20 |
| Budget resolutions | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 30 | 13 | 4 | 10 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 8 | 9 | 23 |
| Reconciliation bills | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 12 | 2 | 10 | 6 | 14 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 9 |
| Debt ceilings | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 11 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 11 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 13 |
| Miscellaneous | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 4 | 16 | 12 | 34 | 65 |
| Total budget-related roll calls | 37 | 50 | 104 | 121 | 320 | 277 | 196 | 262 | 220 | 227 | 187 | 253 | 208 | 214 | 305 | 265 | 481 |
| Total roll calls | 147 | 206 | 383 | 459 | 828 | 681 | 371 | 533 | 482 | 511 | 379 | 536 | 444 | 488 | 615 | 507 | 885 |
| Percentage budget-related | 25.2 | 24.3 | 27.2 | 26.4 | 38.6 | 40.7 | 52.8 | 49.2 | 45.6 | 44.4 | 49.3 | 47.2 | 46.8 | 43.9 | 49.6 | 52.3 | 54.4 |

| Measure | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Authorizations | 40 | 82 | 51 | 39 | 37 | 44 | 31 | 47 | 17 | 48 | 22 | 91 | 159 | 149 | 126 | 24 | 17 |
| Appropriations | 146 | 147 | 119 | 153 | 165 | 127 | 61 | 155 | 127 | 171 | 49 | 353 | 27 | 255 | 36 | 60 | 21 |
| Tax legislation | 18 | 9 | 15 | 10 | 48 | 25 | 26 | 73 | 28 | 11 | 13 | 29 | 34 | 11 | 39 | 12 | 17 |
| Budget resolutions | 8 | 10 | 4 | 15 | 12 | 11 | 5 | 9 | 13 | 12 | 7 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 0 | 3 | 7 |
| Reconciliation bills | 8 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 13 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Debt ceilings | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Miscellaneous | 11 | 9 | 23 | 13 | 16 | 9 | 2 | 14 | 8 | 0 | 47 | 0 | 19 | 0 | 28 | 12 | 22 |
| Total budget-related roll calls | 241 | 269 | 212 | 230 | 278 | 222 | 127 | 298 | 196 | 246 | 151 | 498 | 251 | 429 | 234 | 115 | 91 |
| Total roll calls | 455 | 640 | 547 | 611 | 603 | 512 | 484 | 677 | 544 | 671 | 541 | 1186 | 690 | 991 | 664 | 949 | 659 |
| Percentage budget-related | 53.0 | 42.0 | 38.8 | 37.6 | 46.1 | 43.4 | 26.2 | 44.0 | 36.0 | 36.7 | 27.9 | 42.0 | 36.4 | 43.3 | 35.2 | 12.1 | 13.8 |

| Measure | 2013 |
|---------------------------------|------|
| Authorizations | 14 |
| Appropriations | 73 |
| Tax legislation | 1 |
| Budget resolutions | 3 |
| Reconciliation bills | 0 |
| Debt ceilings | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 18 |
| Total budget-related roll calls | 114 |
| Total roll calls | 641 |
| Percentage budget-related | 17.8 |

Source: *Congressional Quarterly Roll Call Vote Index*.
Office of the Clerk, US House of Representatives, Roll Call Votes



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Table 7-8 Budget-Related Roll Call Votes in the Senate, Selected Years, 1955-2013

| Measure | 1955 | 1960 | 1965 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | 1981 | 1983 | 1985 | 1987 | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Authorizations | 22 | 48 | 87 | 83 | 96 | 82 | 55 | 58 | 67 | 84 | 42 | 81 | 73 | 20 | 27 | 68 | 38 |
| Appropriations | 12 | 28 | 27 | 77 | 87 | 128 | 130 | 107 | 59 | 66 | 75 | 58 | 66 | 64 | 114 | 108 | 113 |
| Tax legislation | 2 | 10 | 10 | 6 | 48 | 10 | 56 | 13 | 7 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 41 | 27 | 3 | 27 |
| Budget resolutions | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 50 | 26 | 34 | 39 | 17 | 8 | 1 | 12 | 14 | 46 | 15 | 56 |
| Reconciliation bills | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 63 | 2 | 23 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 48 |
| Debt ceilings | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 12 | 15 | 29 | 17 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Miscellaneous | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 10 | 3 | 9 | 16 | 9 | 58 |
| Total budget-related roll calls | 37 | 88 | 125 | 170 | 246 | 283 | 344 | 238 | 230 | 195 | 138 | 157 | 159 | 148 | 236 | 203 | 344 |
| Total roll calls | 88 | 207 | 259 | 422 | 611 | 546 | 497 | 381 | 381 | 420 | 312 | 326 | 280 | 270 | 395 | 329 | 613 |
| Percentage budget-related | 42.0 | 42.5 | 48.3 | 40.3 | 40.3 | 51.8 | 69.2 | 62.5 | 60.4 | 46.4 | 44.2 | 48.2 | 56.8 | 54.8 | 59.7 | 61.7 | 56.1 |

| Measure | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 |
|---------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Authorizations | 33 | 33 | 38 | 18 | 26 | 55 | 5 | 10 | 9 | 8 | 2 | 64 | 56 | 26 | 11 | 4 | 1 |
| Appropriations | 80 | 82 | 81 | 83 | 89 | 76 | 12 | 129 | 11 | 116 | 10 | 77 | 8 | 127 | 19 | 21 | 6 |
| Tax legislation | 10 | 18 | 37 | 9 | 47 | 10 | 8 | 52 | 24 | 12 | 10 | 28 | 23 | 12 | 70 | 9 | 9 |
| Budget resolutions | 42 | 22 | 34 | 12 | 31 | 23 | 1 | 13 | 11 | 38 | 11 | 26 | 50 | 30 | 0 | 4 | 5 |
| Reconciliation bills | 31 | 51 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 55 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 33 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 43 | 1 | 0 |
| Debt ceilings | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 12 | 2 | 22 |
| Miscellaneous | 15 | 3 | 6 | 10 | 13 | 6 | 0 | 30 | 11 | 0 | 21 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 16 | 28 | 21 |
| Total budget-related roll calls | 213 | 209 | 196 | 132 | 206 | 225 | 27 | 234 | 68 | 207 | 70 | 196 | 142 | 196 | 171 | 69 | 64 |
| Total roll calls | 306 | 298 | 314 | 374 | 298 | 380 | 253 | 459 | 216 | 366 | 279 | 442 | 215 | 397 | 299 | 235 | 251 |
| Percentage budget-related | 69.6 | 70.1 | 62.4 | 35.3 | 69.1 | 59.2 | 10.7 | 51.0 | 31.5 | 56.6 | 25.1 | 44.3 | 66.0 | 49.4 | 57.2 | 29.4 | 25.5 |

| Measure | 2013 |
|---------------------------------|------|
| Authorizations | 0 |
| Appropriations | 7 |
| Tax legislation | 13 |
| Budget resolutions | 2 |
| Reconciliation bills | 3 |
| Debt ceilings | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 31 |
| Total budget-related roll calls | 59 |
| Total roll calls | 291 |
| Percentage budget-related | 20.3 |

Source: *Congressional Quarterly Roll Call Vote Index*.
[United States Senate, Roll Call Tables](#)



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Chapter 8: Political Polarization in Congress and Changing Voting Alignments

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Table 8-1 Presidential Victories on Votes in Congress, 1953-2013

| President and year | House and Senate (%) | House (%) | No. of Votes | Senate (%) | No. of Votes | President and year | House and Senate (%) | House (%) | No. of Votes | Senate (%) | No. of Votes |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| Eisenhower | | | | | | Reagan | | | | | |
| 1953 | 89.2 | 91.2 | 34 | 87.8 | 49 | 1981 | 82.4 | 72.4 | 76 | 88.3 | 128 |
| 1954 | 78.3 | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 1982 | 72.4 | 55.8 | 77 | 83.2 | 119 |
| 1955 | 75.3 | 63.4 | 41 | 84.6 | 52 | 1983 | 67.1 | 47.6 | 82 | 85.9 | 85 |
| 1956 | 69.7 | 73.5 | 34 | 67.7 | 65 | 1984 | 65.8 | 52.2 | 113 | 85.7 | 77 |
| 1957 | 68.4 | 58.3 | 60 | 78.9 | 57 | 1985 | 59.9 | 45.0 | 80 | 71.6 | 102 |
| 1958 | 75.7 | 74.0 | 50 | 76.5 | 98 | 1986 | 56.1 | 34.1 | 88 | 81.2 | 80 |
| 1959 | 52.0 | 55.5 | 54 | 50.4 | 121 | 1987 | 43.5 | 33.3 | 99 | 56.4 | 78 |
| 1960 | 65.1 | 65.0 | 43 | 65.1 | 86 | 1988 | 47.4 | 32.7 | 104 | 64.8 | 88 |
| Average | 71.7 | | | | | Average | 61.8 | | | | |
| Kennedy | | | | | | Bush | | | | | |
| 1961 | 81.4 | 83.1 | 65 | 80.6 | 124 | 1989 | 62.6 | 50.0 | 86 | 73.3 | 101 |
| 1962 | 85.4 | 85.0 | 60 | 85.6 | 125 | 1990 | 46.8 | 32.4 | 108 | 63.4 | 93 |
| 1963 | 87.1 | 83.1 | 71 | 89.6 | 115 | 1991 | 54.2 | 43.0 | 111 | 69.0 | 81 |
| Average | 84.6 | | | | | 1992 | 43.0 | 37.0 | 105 | 53.0 | 60 |
| Johnson | | | | | | Clinton | | | | | |
| 1964 | 87.9 | 88.5 | 52 | 87.6 | 97 | 1993 | 86.4 | 87.2 | 102 | 85.4 | 89 |
| 1965 | 93.1 | 93.8 | 112 | 92.6 | 162 | 1994 | 86.4 | 87.2 | 78 | 85.5 | 62 |
| 1966 | 78.9 | 91.3 | 103 | 68.8 | 125 | 1995 | 36.2 | 26.3 | 133 | 49.0 | 102 |
| 1967 | 78.8 | 75.6 | 127 | 81.2 | 165 | 1996 | 55.1 | 53.2 | 79 | 57.6 | 59 |
| 1968 | 74.5 | 83.5 | 103 | 68.9 | 164 | 1997 | 53.6 | 38.7 | 75 | 71.4 | 63 |
| Average | 82.6 | | | | | 1998 | 50.6 | 36.6 | 82 | 67.0 | 72 |
| Nixon | | | | | | Bush | | | | | |
| 1969 | 73.9 | 72.3 | 47 | 76.4 | 72 | 1999 | 37.8 | 35.4 | 82 | 42.2 | 45 |
| 1970 | 76.9 | 84.6 | 65 | 71.4 | 91 | 2000 | 55.0 | 49.3 | 69 | 65.0 | 40 |
| 1971 | 74.8 | 82.5 | 57 | 69.5 | 82 | Average | 57.6 | | | | |
| 1972 | 66.3 | 81.1 | 37 | 54.3 | 46 | Bush | | | | | |
| 1973 | 50.6 | 48.0 | 125 | 52.4 | 185 | 2001 | 86.7 | 83.7 | 43 | 88.3 | 77 |
| 1974 | 59.6 | 67.9 | 53 | 54.2 | 83 | 2002 | 87.8 | 82.5 | 40 | 91.4 | 58 |
| Average | 67.0 | | | | | 2003 | 78.7 | 87.3 | 48 | 74.8 | 89 |
| Ford | | | | | | Obama | | | | | |
| 1974 | 58.2 | 59.3 | 54 | 57.4 | 68 | 2004 | 72.6 | 70.6 | 24 | 74.0 | 37 |
| 1975 | 61.0 | 50.6 | 89 | 71.0 | 93 | 2005 | 78.0 | 78.3 | 46 | 77.8 | 45 |
| 1976 | 53.8 | 43.1 | 51 | 64.2 | 53 | 2006 | 80.9 | 85.0 | 40 | 78.6 | 70 |
| Average | 57.7 | | | | | 2007 | 38.3 | 15.4 | 117 | 66.0 | 97 |
| Carter | | | | | | Obama | | | | | |
| 1977 | 75.4 | 74.7 | 79 | 76.1 | 88 | 2008 | 26.3 | 33.8 | 80 | 68.5 | 54 |
| 1978 | 78.3 | 69.6 | 112 | 84.8 | 151 | Obama | | | | | |
| 1979 | 76.8 | 71.7 | 145 | 81.4 | 161 | 2009 | 96.7 | 94.4 | 72 | 98.8 | 79 |
| 1980 | 75.1 | 76.9 | 117 | 73.3 | 116 | 2010 | 85.8 | 88.1 | 42 | 84.4 | 64 |
| Average | 76.4 | | | | | 2011 | 57.1 | 31.6 | 95 | 84.3 | 89 |
| | | | | | | 2012 | 53.6 | 19.7 | 61 | 79.7 | 79 |
| | | | | | | 2013 | 56.7 | 20.9 | 86 | 85.2 | 108 |
| | | | | | | Average | 70.0 | | | | |

n.a. = not available

Notes: Percentages indicate the number of congressional votes supporting the president divided by the total number of votes on which the president had taken a clear position. The percentages are normalized to eliminate the effects of absences as follows: support = (support)/(support + opposition).

Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues.



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Table 8-2 Congressional Voting in Support of the President's Position, 1954-2013 (percent)

| President and year | House | | | Senate | | |
|--------------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|
| | All Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans | All Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans |
| Eisenhower | | | | | | |
| 1954 | 54 | n.a. | n.a. | 45 | n.a. | 82 |
| 1955 | 58 | n.a. | 67 | 65 | n.a. | 85 |
| 1956 | 58 | n.a. | 79 | 44 | n.a. | 80 |
| 1957 | 54 | n.a. | 60 | 60 | n.a. | 80 |
| 1958 | 63 | n.a. | 65 | 51 | n.a. | 77 |
| 1959 | 44 | n.a. | 76 | 44 | n.a. | 80 |
| 1960 | 49 | n.a. | 63 | 52 | n.a. | 76 |
| Kennedy | | | | | | |
| 1961 | 81 | n.a. | 41 | 73 | n.a. | 42 |
| 1962 | 83 | 71 | 47 | 76 | 63 | 48 |
| 1963 | 84 | 71 | 36 | 77 | 65 | 52 |
| Johnson | | | | | | |
| 1964 | 84 | 70 | 42 | 73 | 63 | 52 |
| 1965 | 83 | 65 | 46 | 75 | 60 | 55 |
| 1966 | 81 | 64 | 45 | 71 | 59 | 53 |
| 1967 | 80 | 65 | 51 | 73 | 69 | 63 |
| 1968 | 77 | 63 | 59 | 64 | 50 | 57 |
| Nixon | | | | | | |
| 1969 | 56 | 55 | 65 | 55 | 56 | 74 |
| 1970 | 64 | 64 | 79 | 56 | 62 | 74 |
| 1971 | 53 | 69 | 79 | 48 | 59 | 76 |
| 1972 | 56 | 59 | 74 | 52 | 71 | 77 |
| 1973 | 39 | 49 | 67 | 42 | 55 | 70 |
| 1974 | 52 | 64 | 71 | 44 | 60 | 65 |
| Ford | | | | | | |
| 1974 | 48 | 52 | 59 | 45 | 55 | 67 |
| 1975 | 40 | 48 | 67 | 53 | 67 | 76 |
| 1976 | 36 | 52 | 70 | 47 | 61 | 73 |
| Carter | | | | | | |
| 1977 | 69 | 58 | 46 | 77 | 71 | 58 |
| 1978 | 67 | 54 | 40 | 74 | 61 | 47 |
| 1979 | 70 | 58 | 37 | 75 | 66 | 51 |
| 1980 | 71 | 63 | 44 | 71 | 69 | 50 |



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Table 8-2 Congressional Voting in Support of the President's Position, 1954-2013 (percent)

| President and year | House | | | Senate | | |
|--------------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|
| | All Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans | All Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans |
| Reagan | | | | | | |
| 1981 | 46 | 60 | 72 | 52 | 63 | 84 |
| 1982 | 43 | 55 | 70 | 46 | 57 | 77 |
| 1983 | 30 | 45 | 74 | 45 | 46 | 77 |
| 1984 | 37 | 47 | 64 | 45 | 58 | 81 |
| 1985 | 31 | 43 | 69 | 36 | 46 | 80 |
| 1986 | 26 | 37 | 69 | 39 | 56 | 90 |
| 1987 | 26 | 36 | 64 | 38 | 42 | 67 |
| 1988 | 27 | 34 | 61 | 51 | 58 | 73 |
| Bush | | | | | | |
| 1989 | 38 | 49 | 72 | 56 | 66 | 84 |
| 1990 | 26 | 35 | 65 | 39 | 49 | 72 |
| 1991 | 35 | 43 | 74 | 42 | 53 | 83 |
| 1992 | 27 | 38 | 75 | 33 | 41 | 75 |
| Clinton | | | | | | |
| 1993 | 80 | 81 | 39 | 87 | 84 | 30 |
| 1994 | 78 | 68 | 49 | 88 | 88 | 44 |
| 1995 | 75 | 69 | 22 | 81 | 78 | 29 |
| 1996 | 74 | 70 | 38 | 83 | 75 | 37 |
| 1997 | 73 | 68 | 31 | 87 | 84 | 61 |
| 1998 | 78 | 72 | 27 | 86 | 84 | 42 |
| 1999 | 75 | 70 | 24 | 86 | 84 | 35 |
| 2000 | 76 | 68 | 28 | 92 | 88 | 47 |
| Bush | | | | | | |
| 2001 | 32 | 38 | 92 | 67 | 71 | 96 |
| 2002 | 33 | 40 | 85 | 73 | 81 | 95 |
| 2003 | 27 | 36 | 92 | 52 | 60 | 96 |
| 2004 | 31 | 42 | 83 | 63 | 70 | 93 |
| 2005 | 24 | 33 | 81 | 38 | 54 | 86 |
| 2006 | 31 | 45 | 85 | 51 | 62 | 85 |
| 2007 | 7 | n.a. | 72 | 37 | n.a. | 78 |
| 2008 | 16 | n.a. | 64 | 34 | n.a. | 70 |
| Obama | | | | | | |
| 2009 | 92 | n.a. | 27 | 96 | n.a. | 51 |
| 2010 | 87 | n.a. | 30 | 97 | n.a. | 43 |
| 2011 | 80 | n.a. | 22 | 92 | n.a. | 53 |
| 2012 | 77 | n.a. | 17 | 93 | n.a. | 47 |
| 2013 | 83 | n.a. | 12 | 96 | n.a. | 40 |

n.a.= not available

Note: Percentages indicate the number of congressional votes supporting the president divided by the total number of votes on which the president had taken a clear position. The percentages are normalized to eliminate the effects of absences as follows: support = (support)/(support + opposition).

Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues.



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Table 8-3 Party Unity Votes in Congress, 1953-2013 (percentage of all votes)

| Year | House | Senate | Year | House | Senate |
|------|-------|--------|------|-------|--------|
| 1953 | 52.1 | 51.7 | 1983 | 55.6 | 43.7 |
| 1954 | 38.2 | 48.0 | 1984 | 47.1 | 40.0 |
| 1955 | 40.8 | 29.9 | 1985 | 61.0 | 49.6 |
| 1956 | 43.8 | 53.1 | 1986 | 56.5 | 52.3 |
| 1957 | 59.0 | 35.5 | 1987 | 63.7 | 40.7 |
| 1958 | 39.8 | 43.5 | 1988 | 47.0 | 42.5 |
| 1959 | 55.2 | 47.9 | 1989 | 56.3 | 35.3 |
| 1960 | 52.7 | 36.7 | 1990 | 49.1 | 54.3 |
| 1961 | 50.0 | 62.3 | 1991 | 55.1 | 49.3 |
| 1962 | 46.0 | 41.1 | 1992 | 64.5 | 53.0 |
| 1963 | 48.7 | 47.2 | 1993 | 65.5 | 67.1 |
| 1964 | 54.9 | 35.7 | 1994 | 61.8 | 51.7 |
| 1965 | 52.2 | 41.9 | 1995 | 73.2 | 68.8 |
| 1966 | 41.5 | 50.2 | 1996 | 56.4 | 62.4 |
| 1967 | 36.3 | 34.6 | 1997 | 50.4 | 50.3 |
| 1968 | 35.2 | 32.0 | 1998 | 55.5 | 55.7 |
| 1969 | 31.1 | 36.3 | 1999 | 47.3 | 62.8 |
| 1970 | 27.1 | 35.2 | 2000 | 43.2 | 48.7 |
| 1971 | 37.8 | 41.6 | 2001 | 40.2 | 55.3 |
| 1972 | 27.1 | 36.5 | 2002 | 43.3 | 45.5 |
| 1973 | 41.8 | 29.9 | 2003 | 51.7 | 66.7 |
| 1974 | 29.4 | 44.3 | 2004 | 47.0 | 52.3 |
| 1975 | 48.4 | 47.8 | 2005 | 49.0 | 62.6 |
| 1976 | 35.9 | 37.2 | 2006 | 54.5 | 57.3 |
| 1977 | 42.2 | 42.4 | 2007 | 62.0 | 60.0 |
| 1978 | 33.2 | 45.2 | 2008 | 53.3 | 51.6 |
| 1979 | 47.3 | 46.7 | 2009 | 50.9 | 72.0 |
| 1980 | 37.6 | 45.8 | 2010 | 40.0 | 78.6 |
| 1981 | 37.4 | 47.8 | 2011 | 75.8 | 51.1 |
| 1982 | 36.4 | 43.4 | 2012 | 72.8 | 59.8 |
| | | | 2013 | 68.6 | 69.8 |

Note: Data indicate the percentage of all roll call votes on which a majority of voting

Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues.



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Table 8-4 Party Unity Scores in Congressional Voting, 1954-2012 (percent)

| Year | House | | | Senate | | |
|------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|
| | All Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans | All Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans |
| 1954 | 80 | n.a. | 84 | 77 | n.a. | 89 |
| 1955 | 84 | 68 | 78 | 82 | 78 | 82 |
| 1956 | 80 | 79 | 78 | 80 | 75 | 80 |
| 1957 | 79 | 71 | 75 | 79 | 81 | 81 |
| 1958 | 77 | 67 | 73 | 82 | 76 | 74 |
| 1959 | 85 | 77 | 85 | 76 | 63 | 80 |
| 1960 | 75 | 62 | 77 | 73 | 60 | 74 |
| 1961 | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| 1962 | 81 | n.a. | 80 | 80 | n.a. | 81 |
| 1963 | 85 | n.a. | 84 | 79 | n.a. | 79 |
| 1964 | 82 | n.a. | 81 | 73 | n.a. | 75 |
| 1965 | 80 | 55 | 81 | 75 | 55 | 78 |
| 1966 | 78 | 55 | 82 | 73 | 52 | 78 |
| 1967 | 77 | 53 | 82 | 75 | 59 | 73 |
| 1968 | 73 | 48 | 76 | 71 | 57 | 74 |
| 1969 | 71 | 47 | 71 | 74 | 53 | 72 |
| 1970 | 71 | 52 | 72 | 71 | 49 | 71 |
| 1971 | 72 | 48 | 76 | 74 | 56 | 75 |
| 1972 | 70 | 44 | 76 | 72 | 43 | 73 |
| 1973 | 75 | 55 | 74 | 79 | 52 | 74 |
| 1974 | 72 | 51 | 71 | 72 | 41 | 68 |
| 1975 | 75 | 53 | 78 | 76 | 48 | 71 |
| 1976 | 75 | 52 | 75 | 74 | 46 | 72 |
| 1977 | 74 | 55 | 77 | 72 | 48 | 75 |
| 1978 | 71 | 53 | 77 | 75 | 54 | 66 |
| 1979 | 75 | 60 | 79 | 76 | 62 | 73 |
| 1980 | 78 | 64 | 79 | 76 | 64 | 74 |
| 1981 | 75 | 57 | 80 | 77 | 64 | 85 |
| 1982 | 77 | 62 | 76 | 76 | 62 | 80 |
| 1983 | 82 | 67 | 80 | 76 | 70 | 79 |
| 1984 | 81 | 68 | 77 | 75 | 61 | 83 |
| 1985 | 86 | 76 | 80 | 79 | 68 | 81 |
| 1986 | 86 | 76 | 76 | 74 | 59 | 80 |
| 1987 | 88 | 78 | 79 | 85 | 80 | 78 |
| 1988 | 88 | 81 | 80 | 85 | 78 | 74 |
| 1989 | 86 | 77 | 76 | 79 | 69 | 79 |
| 1990 | 86 | 78 | 78 | 82 | 75 | 77 |
| 1991 | 86 | 78 | 81 | 83 | 73 | 83 |
| 1992 | 86 | 79 | 84 | 82 | 70 | 83 |



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Table 8-4 Party Unity Scores in Congressional Voting, 1954-2012 (percent)

| Year | House | | | Senate | | |
|------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|
| | All Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans | All Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans |
| 1993 | 89 | 83 | 87 | 87 | 78 | 86 |
| 1994 | 88 | 83 | 87 | 86 | 77 | 81 |
| 1995 | 84 | 75 | 93 | 84 | 76 | 91 |
| 1996 | 84 | 76 | 90 | 86 | 75 | 91 |
| 1997 | 85 | 79 | 91 | 86 | 76 | 88 |
| 1998 | 86 | 79 | 89 | 90 | 85 | 88 |
| 1999 | 86 | 77 | 88 | 91 | 86 | 90 |
| 2000 | 86 | 80 | 90 | 90 | 80 | 91 |
| 2001 | 86 | 77 | 94 | 90 | 79 | 90 |
| 2002 | 90 | 82 | 93 | 85 | 69 | 88 |
| 2003 | 91 | 85 | 95 | 89 | 76 | 95 |
| 2004 | 91 | 83 | 93 | 88 | 76 | 93 |
| 2005 | 91 | 84 | 93 | 90 | 81 | 90 |
| 2006 | 86 | 77 | 88 | 86 | 79 | 86 |
| 2007 | 92 | n.a. | 85 | 87 | n.a. | 81 |
| 2008 | 92 | n.a. | 87 | 87 | n.a. | 83 |
| 2009 | 91 | n.a. | 87 | 91 | n.a. | 85 |
| 2010 | 89 | n.a. | 88 | 91 | n.a. | 86 |
| 2011 | 87 | n.a. | 91 | 92 | n.a. | 86 |
| 2012 | 87 | n.a. | 90 | 92 | n.a. | 80 |
| 2013 | 88 | n.a. | 92 | 94 | n.a. | 86 |

n.a. = not available

Note: Data show the percentage of members voting with a majority of their party on party unity votes. Party unity votes are those roll calls on which a majority of a party votes on one side of the issue and a majority of the other party votes on the other side. The percentages are normalized to eliminate the effects of absences as follows: party unity = (unity)/(unity+opposition).

Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues.



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Table 8-5 Conservative Coalition Votes and Victories in Congress, 1957-2000 (percent)

| Year | House | | Senate | |
|------|-------|-----------|--------|-----------|
| | Votes | Victories | Votes | Victories |
| 1957 | 16 | 81 | 11 | 100 |
| 1958 | 15 | 64 | 19 | 86 |
| 1959 | 13 | 91 | 19 | 65 |
| 1960 | 20 | 35 | 22 | 67 |
| 1961 | 30 | 74 | 32 | 48 |
| 1962 | 13 | 44 | 15 | 71 |
| 1963 | 13 | 67 | 19 | 44 |
| 1964 | 11 | 67 | 17 | 47 |
| 1965 | 25 | 25 | 24 | 39 |
| 1966 | 19 | 32 | 30 | 51 |
| 1967 | 22 | 73 | 18 | 54 |
| 1968 | 22 | 63 | 25 | 80 |
| 1969 | 25 | 71 | 28 | 67 |
| 1970 | 17 | 70 | 26 | 64 |
| 1971 | 31 | 79 | 28 | 86 |
| 1972 | 25 | 79 | 29 | 63 |
| 1973 | 25 | 67 | 21 | 54 |
| 1974 | 22 | 67 | 30 | 54 |
| 1975 | 28 | 52 | 28 | 48 |
| 1976 | 17 | 59 | 26 | 58 |
| 1977 | 22 | 60 | 29 | 74 |
| 1978 | 20 | 57 | 23 | 46 |
| 1979 | 21 | 73 | 18 | 65 |
| 1980 | 16 | 67 | 20 | 75 |
| 1981 | 21 | 88 | 21 | 95 |
| 1982 | 16 | 78 | 20 | 90 |
| 1983 | 18 | 71 | 12 | 89 |
| 1984 | 14 | 75 | 17 | 94 |
| 1985 | 13 | 84 | 16 | 93 |
| 1986 | 11 | 78 | 20 | 93 |
| 1987 | 9 | 88 | 8 | 100 |
| 1988 | 8 | 82 | 10 | 97 |
| 1989 | 11 | 80 | 12 | 95 |
| 1990 | 10 | 74 | 11 | 95 |
| 1991 | 9 | 86 | 14 | 95 |
| 1992 | 10 | 88 | 14 | 87 |
| 1993 | 7 | 98 | 10 | 90 |
| 1994 | 7 | 92 | 10 | 72 |
| 1995 | 13 | 100 | 9 | 95 |
| 1996 | 11 | 100 | 12 | 97 |
| 1997 | 9 | 100 | 8 | 92 |
| 1998 | 8 | 95 | 3 | 100 |
| 2000 | 4 | 41 | 4 | 31 |

**Congressional Quarterly* stopped compiling this data after 2000. The ideological scores developed by Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal (voteview.com) are used in tables 8-7, 8-8, 8-9, and 8-10.

Note: "Votes" is the percentage of all roll call votes on which a majority of voting southern Democrats and a majority of voting Republicans - the conservative coalition - opposed the stand taken by a majority of voting northern Democrats. "Victories" is the percentage of conservative coalition votes won by the

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues.



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Table 8-6 Votes in Support of the Conservative Coalition, 1959-2000 (percent)

| Year | House | | | Senate | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| | Northern Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans | Northern Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans |
| 1959 | 17 | 85 | 87 | 23 | 69 | 80 |
| 1960 | 8 | 66 | 77 | 21 | 77 | 74 |
| 1961 | 15 | 69 | 83 | 15 | 74 | 75 |
| 1962 | 14 | 65 | 75 | 29 | 77 | 79 |
| 1963 | 13 | 70 | 78 | 20 | 73 | 76 |
| 1964 | 13 | 72 | 76 | 20 | 78 | 72 |
| 1965 | 10 | 69 | 81 | 19 | 71 | 81 |
| 1966 | 13 | 69 | 82 | 17 | 75 | 80 |
| 1967 | 15 | 75 | 81 | 24 | 76 | 72 |
| 1968 | 16 | 77 | 75 | 31 | 77 | 74 |
| 1969 | 21 | 79 | 75 | 24 | 77 | 73 |
| 1970 | 19 | 79 | 78 | 21 | 74 | 72 |
| 1971 | 25 | 76 | 80 | 38 | 80 | 79 |
| 1972 | 24 | 75 | 79 | 20 | 78 | 74 |
| 1973 | 22 | 69 | 77 | 17 | 74 | 76 |
| 1974 | 24 | 72 | 69 | 19 | 79 | 69 |
| 1975 | 22 | 69 | 81 | 19 | 79 | 69 |
| 1976 | 25 | 72 | 80 | 21 | 73 | 76 |
| 1977 | 25 | 68 | 82 | 26 | 75 | 80 |
| 1978 | 26 | 68 | 79 | 24 | 70 | 69 |
| 1979 | 29 | 70 | 85 | 29 | 75 | 74 |
| 1980 | 27 | 69 | 81 | 26 | 72 | 74 |
| 1981 | 30 | 75 | 82 | 29 | 76 | 84 |
| 1982 | 27 | 73 | 81 | 30 | 76 | 81 |
| 1983 | 22 | 68 | 81 | 30 | 69 | 81 |
| 1984 | 23 | 68 | 84 | 27 | 74 | 85 |
| 1985 | 23 | 67 | 84 | 30 | 72 | 82 |
| 1986 | 27 | 70 | 83 | 26 | 70 | 83 |
| 1987 | 27 | 71 | 87 | 30 | 70 | 79 |
| 1988 | 27 | 67 | 88 | 29 | 72 | 80 |
| 1989 | 27 | 68 | 87 | 31 | 69 | 84 |
| 1990 | 27 | 69 | 85 | 29 | 70 | 83 |
| 1991 | 30 | 69 | 90 | 33 | 71 | 84 |
| 1992 | 31 | 67 | 87 | 27 | 67 | 79 |
| 1993 | 31 | 63 | 87 | 31 | 70 | 84 |
| 1994 | 39 | 58 | 89 | 30 | 69 | 81 |
| 1995 | 28 | 57 | 90 | 24 | 68 | 87 |
| 1996 | 31 | 63 | 85 | 30 | 66 | 88 |
| 1997 | 34 | 65 | 90 | 32 | 73 | 88 |
| 1998 | 32 | 63 | 90 | 36 | 76 | 87 |
| 2000 | 49 | 45 | 49 | 31 | 58 | 70 |

**Congressional Quarterly* stopped compiling this data after 2000. The ideological scores developed by Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal (voteview.com) are used in tables 8-7, 8-8, 8-9, and 8-10.

Note: Data indicate the percentage of conservative coalition votes on which members voted in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition. Conservative coalition votes are those on which a majority of northern Democrats voted against a majority of southern Democrats and Republicans—the conservative coalition. The percentages are normalized to eliminate the effects of not voting as follows: conservative coalition support = (support)/(support + opposition).

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, various issues.



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Table 8-7

Average Ideological Positions of House Committees, 80th-112th Congresses

| Committee | | 80th 1947 | 81st 1949 | 82nd 1951 | 83rd 1953 | 84th 1955 | 85th 1957 | 86th 1959 | 87th 1961 | 88th 1963 | 89th 1965 |
|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Agriculture | All members | 0.188 | 0.034 | 0.092 | 0.166 | 0.077 | 0.079 | 0.030 | 0.065 | 0.049 | -0.002 |
| | Democrats | -0.084 | -0.123 | -0.071 | -0.031 | -0.141 | -0.140 | -0.134 | -0.124 | -0.158 | -0.161 |
| | Republicans | 0.375 | 0.301 | 0.304 | 0.338 | 0.352 | 0.357 | 0.315 | 0.348 | 0.361 | 0.345 |
| Appropriations | All members | 0.144 | 0.019 | 0.025 | 0.164 | 0.012 | 0.029 | 0.019 | 0.011 | -0.004 | -0.062 |
| | Democrats | -0.170 | -0.196 | -0.206 | -0.162 | -0.217 | -0.195 | -0.201 | -0.210 | -0.218 | -0.225 |
| | Republicans | 0.370 | 0.342 | 0.371 | 0.382 | 0.356 | 0.352 | 0.348 | 0.330 | 0.316 | 0.286 |
| Armed Services | All members | 0.131 | 0.019 | 0.050 | 0.098 | 0.020 | 0.014 | -0.018 | 0.024 | 0.045 | -0.030 |
| | Democrats | -0.105 | -0.189 | -0.172 | -0.132 | -0.169 | -0.172 | -0.185 | -0.153 | -0.148 | -0.178 |
| | Republicans | 0.306 | 0.323 | 0.313 | 0.305 | 0.243 | 0.232 | 0.256 | 0.257 | 0.285 | 0.278 |
| Budget | All members | n.a. |
| | Democrats | n.a. |
| | Republicans | n.a. |
| District of Columbia | All members | 0.125 | 0.024 | 0.055 | 0.075 | 0.034 | 0.029 | -0.005 | 0.010 | -0.004 | -0.048 |
| | Democrats | -0.119 | -0.166 | -0.129 | -0.129 | -0.136 | -0.142 | -0.158 | -0.095 | -0.134 | -0.159 |
| | Republicans | 0.317 | 0.308 | 0.271 | 0.264 | 0.250 | 0.246 | 0.269 | 0.167 | 0.191 | 0.188 |
| Education & the Workforce | All members | 0.123 | -0.088 | 0.016 | 0.014 | -0.083 | -0.112 | -0.151 | -0.066 | -0.113 | -0.189 |
| | Democrats | -0.305 | -0.345 | -0.280 | -0.365 | -0.441 | -0.440 | -0.400 | -0.354 | -0.397 | -0.415 |
| | Republicans | 0.408 | 0.369 | 0.393 | 0.365 | 0.386 | 0.317 | 0.348 | 0.390 | 0.338 | 0.285 |



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Table 8-7

Average Ideological Positions of House Committees, 80th-112th Congresses

| Committee | | 80th 1947 | 81st 1949 | 82nd 1951 | 83rd 1953 | 84th 1955 | 85th 1957 | 86th 1959 | 87th 1961 | 88th 1963 | 89th 1965 |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Energy and Commerce | All members | 0.065 | -0.087 | 0.000 | 0.042 | -0.001 | 0.028 | -0.006 | -0.003 | -0.021 | -0.065 |
| | Democrats | -0.235 | -0.321 | -0.226 | -0.244 | -0.211 | -0.179 | -0.176 | -0.181 | -0.201 | -0.224 |
| | Republicans | 0.271 | 0.253 | 0.260 | 0.261 | 0.254 | 0.277 | 0.292 | 0.270 | 0.255 | 0.284 |
| Financial Services | All members | 0.106 | -0.061 | -0.027 | 0.010 | -0.051 | -0.058 | -0.139 | -0.119 | -0.124 | -0.149 |
| | Democrats | -0.270 | -0.366 | -0.325 | -0.374 | -0.354 | -0.356 | -0.366 | -0.369 | -0.369 | -0.327 |
| | Republicans | 0.365 | 0.382 | 0.321 | 0.342 | 0.344 | 0.332 | 0.253 | 0.255 | 0.215 | 0.206 |
| Oversight & Government Reform | All members | 0.123 | -0.156 | -0.036 | 0.003 | -0.035 | -0.025 | -0.082 | -0.088 | -0.129 | -0.151 |
| | Democrats | -0.248 | -0.380 | -0.310 | -0.366 | -0.342 | -0.310 | -0.296 | -0.294 | -0.337 | -0.352 |
| | Republicans | 0.355 | 0.420 | 0.362 | 0.325 | 0.367 | 0.347 | 0.288 | 0.269 | 0.200 | 0.268 |
| Homeland Security | All members | n.a. |
| | Democrats | n.a. |
| | Republicans | n.a. |
| House Administration | All members | 0.172 | -0.097 | -0.012 | 0.106 | 0.004 | 0.016 | -0.014 | 0.025 | 0.013 | -0.042 |
| | Democrats | -0.062 | -0.183 | -0.179 | -0.182 | -0.196 | -0.189 | -0.183 | -0.193 | -0.170 | -0.220 |
| | Republicans | 0.356 | 0.340 | 0.300 | 0.312 | 0.258 | 0.277 | 0.286 | 0.353 | 0.288 | 0.337 |
| Foreign Affairs | All members | -0.032 | -0.071 | -0.053 | 0.019 | 0.015 | -0.019 | -0.152 | -0.110 | -0.066 | -0.126 |
| | Democrats | -0.320 | -0.297 | -0.279 | -0.236 | -0.199 | -0.261 | -0.353 | -0.294 | -0.308 | -0.340 |
| | Republicans | 0.213 | 0.196 | 0.212 | 0.227 | 0.257 | 0.256 | 0.230 | 0.172 | 0.306 | 0.302 |



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Table 8-7

Average Ideological Positions of House Committees, 80th-112th Congresses

| Committee | | 80th 1947 | 81st 1949 | 82nd 1951 | 83rd 1953 | 84th 1955 | 85th 1957 | 86th 1959 | 87th 1961 | 88th 1963 | 89th 1965 |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Judiciary | All members | 0.080 | -0.006 | 0.028 | 0.072 | 0.008 | 0.005 | -0.048 | -0.005 | -0.038 | -0.115 |
| | Democrats | -0.208 | -0.190 | -0.176 | -0.159 | -0.198 | -0.196 | -0.222 | -0.198 | -0.233 | -0.278 |
| | Republicans | 0.310 | 0.306 | 0.316 | 0.260 | 0.272 | 0.262 | 0.283 | 0.271 | 0.240 | 0.239 |
| Merchant Marine and Fisheries | All members | 0.039 | -0.011 | -0.020 | 0.031 | -0.049 | -0.008 | -0.039 | -0.019 | -0.052 | -0.105 |
| | Democrats | -0.256 | -0.199 | -0.251 | -0.194 | -0.296 | -0.233 | -0.242 | -0.236 | -0.221 | -0.253 |
| | Republicans | 0.272 | 0.271 | 0.267 | 0.255 | 0.256 | 0.264 | 0.332 | 0.324 | 0.217 | 0.207 |
| Post Office and Civil Service | All members | 0.135 | -0.018 | -0.009 | 0.101 | 0.060 | 0.037 | -0.020 | 0.088 | 0.026 | -0.086 |
| | Democrats | -0.145 | -0.204 | -0.249 | -0.111 | -0.170 | -0.206 | -0.258 | -0.143 | -0.284 | -0.301 |
| | Republicans | 0.322 | 0.261 | 0.263 | 0.281 | 0.352 | 0.348 | 0.363 | 0.382 | 0.393 | 0.371 |
| Natural Resources | All members | 0.107 | 0.020 | 0.041 | 0.119 | -0.012 | -0.006 | -0.060 | -0.007 | 0.001 | -0.070 |
| | Democrats | -0.181 | -0.172 | -0.231 | -0.113 | -0.293 | -0.281 | -0.293 | -0.218 | -0.232 | -0.253 |
| | Republicans | 0.300 | 0.289 | 0.381 | 0.317 | 0.334 | 0.328 | 0.290 | 0.285 | 0.318 | 0.295 |
| Rules | All members | 0.245 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.190 | -0.028 | -0.049 | -0.004 | -0.040 | -0.023 | -0.047 |
| | Democrats | -0.121 | -0.168 | -0.176 | -0.046 | -0.222 | -0.221 | -0.220 | -0.247 | -0.246 | -0.250 |
| | Republicans | 0.429 | 0.341 | 0.357 | 0.308 | 0.359 | 0.295 | 0.429 | 0.478 | 0.424 | 0.359 |
| Science, Space & Technology | All members | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | -0.095 | -0.075 | -0.040 | -0.081 |
| | Democrats | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | -0.266 | -0.254 | -0.239 | -0.233 |
| | Republicans | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 0.209 | 0.211 | 0.235 | 0.238 |



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Table 8-7

Average Ideological Positions of House Committees, 80th-112th Congresses

| Committee | | 80th 1947 | 81st 1949 | 82nd 1951 | 83rd 1953 | 84th 1955 | 85th 1957 | 86th 1959 | 87th 1961 | 88th 1963 | 89th 1965 |
|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Small Business | All members | n.a. |
| | Democrats | n.a. |
| | Republicans | n.a. |
| Ethics | All members | n.a. |
| | Democrats | n.a. |
| | Republicans | n.a. |
| Transportation & Infrastructure | All members | 0.132 | -0.002 | 0.018 | 0.057 | 0.027 | 0.011 | -0.082 | -0.042 | -0.061 | -0.087 |
| | Democrats | -0.150 | -0.210 | -0.219 | -0.285 | -0.197 | -0.208 | -0.273 | -0.272 | -0.279 | -0.267 |
| | Republicans | 0.319 | 0.301 | 0.314 | 0.334 | 0.321 | 0.289 | 0.269 | 0.286 | 0.251 | 0.291 |
| Veterans Affairs | All members | 0.090 | -0.024 | 0.040 | 0.031 | -0.019 | 0.001 | -0.081 | -0.004 | -0.014 | -0.060 |
| | Democrats | -0.148 | -0.193 | -0.098 | -0.127 | -0.192 | -0.150 | -0.222 | -0.137 | -0.151 | -0.172 |
| | Republicans | 0.254 | 0.261 | 0.219 | 0.179 | 0.241 | 0.227 | 0.183 | 0.195 | 0.214 | 0.178 |
| Ways & Means | All members | 0.174 | 0.001 | 0.017 | 0.107 | -0.025 | -0.031 | -0.006 | 0.004 | -0.016 | -0.065 |
| | Democrats | -0.193 | -0.276 | -0.251 | -0.299 | -0.278 | -0.288 | -0.293 | -0.281 | -0.309 | -0.285 |
| | Republicans | 0.418 | 0.418 | 0.419 | 0.377 | 0.356 | 0.354 | 0.471 | 0.479 | 0.424 | 0.402 |
| Chamber average | All members | 0.100 | -0.020 | 0.033 | 0.054 | 0.023 | 0.016 | -0.057 | -0.018 | -0.026 | -0.086 |
| | Democrats | -0.189 | -0.235 | -0.211 | -0.209 | -0.229 | -0.228 | -0.250 | -0.229 | -0.249 | -0.264 |
| | Republicans | 0.328 | 0.313 | 0.315 | 0.309 | 0.309 | 0.297 | 0.299 | 0.300 | 0.294 | 0.286 |

n.a. = not available

Note: In 1995, the new Republican majority abolished the District of Columbia, Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and Post Office and Civil Service Committees. It also renamed several committees. For the changes, please see chapter 4. The committee titles here reflect the current names.

Source: Keith Poole, Professor of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego, and Harold Rosenthal, Professor of Politics at Princeton University, developed ideological scores based on members' voting records. The Poole-Rosenthal scores can be viewed at voteview.com. A positive score denotes conservative ideology, while a negative score denotes a liberal one. Scores closest to zero reflect the centrist ideologies, while more extreme scores reflect stronger conservative or liberal ideologies. Data represent a statistical analysis of committee members' voting records performed by Charles Stewart Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



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Table 8-7

| Committee | | 90th 1967 | 91st 1969 | 92nd 1971 | 93rd 1973 | 94th 1975 | 95th 1977 | 96th 1979 | 97th 1981 | 98th 1983 | 99th 1985 | 100th 1987 | 101st 1989 |
|---------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| Agriculture | All members | 0.121 | 0.102 | 0.034 | 0.033 | -0.085 | -0.065 | -0.040 | 0.019 | 0.008 | -0.002 | 0.008 | 0.020 |
| | Democrats | -0.034 | -0.060 | -0.150 | -0.190 | -0.248 | -0.228 | -0.213 | -0.211 | -0.187 | -0.211 | -0.211 | -0.196 |
| | Republicans | 0.327 | 0.297 | 0.323 | 0.311 | 0.267 | 0.260 | 0.271 | 0.309 | 0.333 | 0.318 | 0.343 | 0.362 |
| Appropriations | All members | -0.012 | -0.028 | -0.048 | -0.058 | -0.114 | -0.126 | -0.145 | -0.102 | -0.128 | -0.122 | -0.113 | -0.118 |
| | Democrats | -0.211 | -0.218 | -0.255 | -0.270 | -0.289 | -0.307 | -0.337 | -0.340 | -0.346 | -0.361 | -0.360 | -0.364 |
| | Republicans | 0.288 | 0.273 | 0.277 | 0.274 | 0.247 | 0.247 | 0.238 | 0.254 | 0.247 | 0.258 | 0.279 | 0.275 |
| Armed Services | All members | 0.021 | 0.039 | 0.040 | 0.064 | 0.005 | 0.010 | 0.024 | 0.068 | 0.081 | 0.064 | 0.035 | 0.022 |
| | Democrats | -0.167 | -0.145 | -0.125 | -0.148 | -0.139 | -0.129 | -0.117 | -0.094 | -0.127 | -0.153 | -0.182 | -0.209 |
| | Republicans | 0.274 | 0.304 | 0.298 | 0.331 | 0.291 | 0.299 | 0.278 | 0.292 | 0.411 | 0.372 | 0.371 | 0.353 |
| Budget | All members | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | -0.096 | -0.105 | -0.138 | -0.150 | -0.015 | -0.077 | -0.036 | -0.047 | -0.058 |
| | Democrats | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | -0.380 | -0.322 | -0.368 | -0.378 | -0.303 | -0.339 | -0.325 | -0.338 | -0.326 |
| | Republicans | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 0.347 | 0.358 | 0.352 | 0.335 | 0.394 | 0.400 | 0.408 | 0.388 | 0.345 |
| District of Columbia | All members | -0.012 | 0.000 | -0.012 | -0.059 | -0.189 | -0.179 | -0.164 | -0.278 | -0.254 | -0.241 | -0.237 | -0.211 |
| | Democrats | -0.161 | -0.160 | -0.180 | -0.380 | -0.288 | -0.295 | -0.397 | -0.520 | -0.539 | -0.540 | -0.531 | -0.579 |
| | Republicans | 0.177 | 0.202 | 0.241 | 0.321 | 0.036 | 0.037 | 0.209 | 0.206 | 0.245 | 0.282 | 0.279 | 0.433 |
| Education & the Workforce | All members | -0.125 | -0.126 | -0.140 | -0.112 | -0.197 | -0.173 | -0.153 | -0.101 | -0.161 | -0.090 | -0.114 | -0.155 |
| | Democrats | -0.427 | -0.459 | -0.429 | -0.436 | -0.393 | -0.381 | -0.403 | -0.405 | -0.400 | -0.414 | -0.377 | -0.437 |
| | Republicans | 0.285 | 0.318 | 0.285 | 0.320 | 0.228 | 0.242 | 0.327 | 0.312 | 0.295 | 0.327 | 0.312 | 0.321 |



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Table 8-7

| Committee | | 90th 1967 | 91st 1969 | 92nd 1971 | 93rd 1973 | 94th 1975 | 95th 1977 | 96th 1979 | 97th 1981 | 98th 1983 | 99th 1985 | 100th 1987 | 101st 1989 |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| Energy and Commerce | All members | -0.021 | -0.043 | -0.028 | -0.029 | -0.114 | -0.120 | -0.069 | -0.021 | -0.031 | -0.045 | -0.019 | -0.026 |
| | Democrats | -0.249 | -0.284 | -0.289 | -0.285 | -0.305 | -0.310 | -0.300 | -0.289 | -0.296 | -0.303 | -0.303 | -0.307 |
| | Republicans | 0.288 | 0.272 | 0.335 | 0.294 | 0.270 | 0.273 | 0.331 | 0.323 | 0.360 | 0.373 | 0.399 | 0.402 |
| Financial Services | All members | -0.105 | -0.073 | -0.085 | -0.118 | -0.122 | -0.128 | -0.080 | -0.052 | -0.041 | -0.058 | -0.045 | -0.055 |
| | Democrats | -0.354 | -0.292 | -0.331 | -0.401 | -0.341 | -0.301 | -0.307 | -0.324 | -0.299 | -0.298 | -0.289 | -0.321 |
| | Republicans | 0.233 | 0.218 | 0.277 | 0.273 | 0.318 | 0.229 | 0.304 | 0.311 | 0.360 | 0.314 | 0.320 | 0.344 |
| Oversight & Government Reform | All members | -0.113 | -0.147 | -0.142 | -0.118 | -0.180 | -0.144 | -0.105 | -0.050 | -0.139 | -0.046 | -0.084 | -0.103 |
| | Democrats | -0.338 | -0.360 | -0.382 | -0.384 | -0.374 | -0.349 | -0.324 | -0.317 | -0.343 | -0.366 | -0.358 | -0.396 |
| | Republicans | 0.185 | 0.156 | 0.205 | 0.221 | 0.223 | 0.279 | 0.285 | 0.295 | 0.304 | 0.387 | 0.387 | 0.367 |
| Homeland Security | All members | n.a. | n.a. |
| | Democrats | n.a. | n.a. |
| | Republicans | n.a. | n.a. |
| House Administration | All members | 0.048 | -0.027 | -0.019 | -0.075 | -0.123 | -0.122 | -0.099 | -0.050 | -0.075 | -0.071 | -0.069 | -0.086 |
| | Democrats | -0.155 | -0.281 | -0.308 | -0.367 | -0.345 | -0.352 | -0.372 | -0.354 | -0.342 | -0.367 | -0.366 | -0.355 |
| | Republicans | 0.306 | 0.295 | 0.414 | 0.349 | 0.347 | 0.367 | 0.385 | 0.368 | 0.383 | 0.436 | 0.439 | 0.350 |
| Foreign Affairs | All members | -0.072 | -0.072 | -0.077 | -0.062 | -0.192 | -0.195 | -0.140 | -0.102 | -0.177 | -0.101 | -0.117 | -0.137 |
| | Democrats | -0.346 | -0.381 | -0.340 | -0.326 | -0.371 | -0.382 | -0.343 | -0.351 | -0.394 | -0.391 | -0.376 | -0.415 |
| | Republicans | 0.310 | 0.310 | 0.249 | 0.233 | 0.152 | 0.178 | 0.216 | 0.230 | 0.258 | 0.325 | 0.321 | 0.287 |



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Table 8-7

| Committee | | 90th 1967 | 91st 1969 | 92nd 1971 | 93rd 1973 | 94th 1975 | 95th 1977 | 96th 1979 | 97th 1981 | 98th 1983 | 99th 1985 | 100th 1987 | 101st 1989 |
|-------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| Judiciary | All members | -0.059 | -0.093 | -0.121 | -0.117 | -0.167 | -0.130 | -0.112 | -0.062 | -0.132 | -0.037 | -0.072 | -0.065 |
| | Democrats | -0.277 | -0.347 | -0.408 | -0.436 | -0.395 | -0.327 | -0.351 | -0.358 | -0.372 | -0.387 | -0.403 | -0.395 |
| | Republicans | 0.232 | 0.245 | 0.257 | 0.278 | 0.308 | 0.281 | 0.323 | 0.332 | 0.348 | 0.429 | 0.424 | 0.429 |
| Merchant Marine and Fisheries | All members | -0.058 | -0.049 | -0.049 | -0.057 | -0.124 | -0.128 | -0.095 | -0.038 | -0.036 | -0.024 | -0.021 | -0.019 |
| | Democrats | -0.282 | -0.259 | -0.227 | -0.278 | -0.283 | -0.307 | -0.287 | -0.218 | -0.248 | -0.242 | -0.239 | -0.242 |
| | Republicans | 0.227 | 0.227 | 0.213 | 0.228 | 0.192 | 0.246 | 0.247 | 0.217 | 0.290 | 0.296 | 0.300 | 0.323 |
| Post Office and Civil Service | All members | -0.045 | -0.047 | 0.009 | -0.032 | -0.126 | -0.151 | -0.088 | -0.129 | -0.085 | -0.163 | -0.196 | -0.185 |
| | Democrats | -0.312 | -0.331 | -0.279 | -0.366 | -0.357 | -0.392 | -0.335 | -0.458 | -0.432 | -0.445 | -0.451 | -0.442 |
| | Republicans | 0.318 | 0.340 | 0.442 | 0.427 | 0.361 | 0.360 | 0.350 | 0.363 | 0.400 | 0.296 | 0.219 | 0.214 |
| Natural Resources | All members | -0.069 | -0.060 | -0.084 | -0.055 | -0.089 | -0.091 | -0.083 | -0.040 | -0.052 | -0.017 | -0.031 | -0.065 |
| | Democrats | -0.318 | -0.326 | -0.339 | -0.331 | -0.314 | -0.293 | -0.300 | -0.330 | -0.289 | -0.325 | -0.318 | -0.347 |
| | Republicans | 0.269 | 0.301 | 0.308 | 0.268 | 0.329 | 0.327 | 0.321 | 0.378 | 0.388 | 0.434 | 0.439 | 0.434 |
| Rules | All members | -0.088 | -0.088 | -0.088 | -0.122 | -0.157 | -0.161 | -0.166 | -0.168 | -0.083 | -0.093 | -0.135 | -0.130 |
| | Democrats | -0.308 | -0.303 | -0.299 | -0.359 | -0.380 | -0.386 | -0.388 | -0.398 | -0.385 | -0.401 | -0.395 | -0.370 |
| | Republicans | 0.351 | 0.342 | 0.333 | 0.352 | 0.333 | 0.336 | 0.321 | 0.337 | 0.400 | 0.399 | 0.385 | 0.351 |
| Science, Space & Technology | All members | -0.036 | -0.040 | -0.055 | 0.000 | -0.094 | -0.060 | -0.052 | -0.030 | -0.086 | 0.014 | 0.009 | -0.032 |
| | Democrats | -0.256 | -0.251 | -0.259 | -0.206 | -0.257 | -0.223 | -0.238 | -0.249 | -0.310 | -0.228 | -0.228 | -0.244 |
| | Republicans | 0.268 | 0.254 | 0.249 | 0.270 | 0.278 | 0.278 | 0.283 | 0.267 | 0.347 | 0.356 | 0.332 | 0.301 |



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Table 8-7

| Committee | | 90th 1967 | 91st 1969 | 92nd 1971 | 93rd 1973 | 94th 1975 | 95th 1977 | 96th 1979 | 97th 1981 | 98th 1983 | 99th 1985 | 100th 1987 | 101st 1989 |
|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| Small Business | All members | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | -0.172 | -0.164 | -0.118 | -0.050 | -0.050 | -0.033 | -0.057 | -0.047 |
| | Democrats | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | -0.350 | -0.344 | -0.304 | -0.296 | -0.257 | -0.268 | -0.294 | -0.302 |
| | Republicans | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 0.184 | 0.180 | 0.194 | 0.267 | 0.296 | 0.335 | 0.319 | 0.359 |
| Ethics | All members | 0.049 | 0.084 | 0.088 | 0.082 | 0.081 | 0.061 | 0.030 | 0.039 | 0.002 | -0.036 | -0.001 | 0.011 |
| | Democrats | -0.166 | -0.131 | -0.124 | -0.160 | -0.100 | -0.085 | -0.242 | -0.340 | -0.417 | -0.374 | -0.373 | -0.364 |
| | Republicans | 0.263 | 0.298 | 0.300 | 0.324 | 0.261 | 0.206 | 0.301 | 0.418 | 0.421 | 0.303 | 0.371 | 0.386 |
| Transportation & Infrastructure | All members | -0.029 | -0.029 | -0.103 | -0.057 | -0.096 | -0.070 | -0.037 | -0.005 | -0.074 | -0.063 | -0.036 | -0.021 |
| | Democrats | -0.270 | -0.279 | -0.335 | -0.294 | -0.281 | -0.244 | -0.220 | -0.258 | -0.335 | -0.333 | -0.336 | -0.302 |
| | Republicans | 0.276 | 0.287 | 0.276 | 0.284 | 0.274 | 0.277 | 0.298 | 0.314 | 0.292 | 0.321 | 0.343 | 0.400 |
| Veterans Affairs | All members | -0.011 | -0.019 | -0.023 | -0.002 | -0.066 | -0.031 | 0.014 | 0.072 | -0.035 | -0.011 | 0.012 | 0.031 |
| | Democrats | -0.136 | -0.191 | -0.177 | -0.154 | -0.202 | -0.154 | -0.129 | -0.139 | -0.199 | -0.224 | -0.224 | -0.209 |
| | Republicans | 0.148 | 0.199 | 0.223 | 0.207 | 0.223 | 0.227 | 0.274 | 0.314 | 0.341 | 0.293 | 0.394 | 0.374 |
| Ways & Means | All members | -0.026 | -0.046 | -0.052 | -0.024 | -0.076 | -0.076 | -0.099 | -0.062 | -0.064 | -0.065 | -0.074 | -0.083 |
| | Democrats | -0.297 | -0.284 | -0.278 | -0.263 | -0.286 | -0.288 | -0.339 | -0.304 | -0.288 | -0.304 | -0.324 | -0.327 |
| | Republicans | 0.382 | 0.350 | 0.325 | 0.335 | 0.400 | 0.365 | 0.382 | 0.382 | 0.364 | 0.357 | 0.368 | 0.349 |
| Chamber average | All members | -0.026 | -0.031 | -0.050 | -0.039 | -0.113 | -0.107 | -0.079 | -0.028 | -0.052 | -0.060 | -0.073 | -0.076 |
| | Democrats | -0.255 | -0.270 | -0.281 | -0.296 | -0.301 | -0.293 | -0.295 | -0.296 | -0.297 | -0.313 | -0.317 | -0.324 |
| | Republicans | 0.277 | 0.278 | 0.284 | 0.282 | 0.267 | 0.266 | 0.290 | 0.308 | 0.334 | 0.332 | 0.337 | 0.338 |

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Table 8-7

| Committee | | 102nd 1991 | 103rd 1993 | 104th 1995 | 105th 1997 | 106th 1999 | 107th 2001 | 108th 2003 | 109th 2005 | 110th 2007 | 111th 2009 | 112th 2011 |
|---------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Agriculture | All members | 0.027 | 0.052 | 0.121 | 0.155 | 0.141 | 0.165 | 0.152 | 0.208 | 0.124 | 0.112 | 0.145 |
| | Democrats | -0.210 | -0.237 | -0.305 | -0.251 | -0.239 | -0.257 | -0.243 | -0.216 | -0.211 | -0.195 | -0.320 |
| | Republicans | 0.403 | 0.438 | 0.468 | 0.471 | 0.464 | 0.462 | 0.473 | 0.563 | 0.543 | 0.590 | 0.485 |
| Appropriations | All members | -0.120 | -0.101 | 0.038 | 0.028 | 0.035 | 0.052 | 0.047 | 0.110 | -0.031 | -0.054 | 0.056 |
| | Democrats | -0.373 | -0.386 | -0.404 | -0.428 | -0.410 | -0.412 | -0.395 | -0.388 | -0.423 | -0.401 | -0.465 |
| | Republicans | 0.306 | 0.344 | 0.365 | 0.388 | 0.389 | 0.403 | 0.403 | 0.511 | 0.471 | 0.528 | 0.419 |
| Armed Services | All members | 0.003 | 0.025 | 0.137 | 0.168 | 0.119 | 0.114 | 0.144 | 0.165 | 0.080 | 0.070 | 0.110 |
| | Democrats | -0.231 | -0.229 | -0.261 | -0.281 | -0.303 | -0.324 | -0.289 | -0.309 | -0.320 | -0.262 | -0.364 |
| | Republicans | 0.370 | 0.395 | 0.456 | 0.466 | 0.462 | 0.470 | 0.485 | 0.541 | 0.551 | 0.549 | 0.462 |
| Budget | All members | -0.074 | -0.083 | 0.094 | 0.094 | 0.096 | 0.130 | 0.127 | 0.210 | 0.043 | -0.006 | 0.183 |
| | Democrats | -0.316 | -0.323 | -0.356 | -0.360 | -0.375 | -0.413 | -0.381 | -0.332 | -0.406 | -0.389 | -0.434 |
| | Republicans | 0.324 | 0.346 | 0.446 | 0.466 | 0.484 | 0.500 | 0.529 | 0.629 | 0.625 | 0.649 | 0.624 |
| District of Columbia | All members | -0.205 | -0.161 | n.a. |
| | Democrats | -0.577 | -0.553 | n.a. |
| | Republicans | 0.446 | 0.427 | n.a. |
| Education & the Workforce | All members | -0.164 | -0.119 | 0.027 | 0.022 | 0.071 | 0.038 | 0.052 | 0.113 | -0.040 | -0.008 | 0.071 |
| | Democrats | -0.454 | -0.426 | -0.456 | -0.447 | -0.455 | -0.460 | -0.465 | -0.428 | -0.480 | -0.439 | -0.465 |
| | Republicans | 0.350 | 0.400 | 0.404 | 0.467 | 0.496 | 0.459 | 0.459 | 0.590 | 0.553 | 0.629 | 0.445 |



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Table 8-7

| Committee | | 102nd 1991 | 103rd 1993 | 104th 1995 | 105th 1997 | 106th 1999 | 107th 2001 | 108th 2003 | 109th 2005 | 110th 2007 | 111th 2009 | 112th 2011 |
|-------------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Energy and Commerce | All members | -0.048 | -0.044 | 0.071 | 0.069 | 0.067 | 0.080 | 0.074 | 0.140 | 0.043 | 0.033 | 0.083 |
| | Democrats | -0.306 | -0.324 | -0.344 | -0.380 | -0.386 | -0.399 | -0.396 | -0.399 | -0.403 | -0.361 | -0.425 |
| | Republicans | 0.418 | 0.402 | 0.419 | 0.432 | 0.442 | 0.447 | 0.452 | 0.593 | 0.574 | 0.634 | 0.443 |
| Financial Services | All members | -0.061 | -0.110 | -0.004 | -0.009 | 0.027 | 0.091 | 0.072 | 0.106 | 0.076 | 0.061 | 0.079 |
| | Democrats | -0.311 | -0.413 | -0.462 | -0.477 | -0.430 | -0.454 | -0.393 | -0.389 | -0.389 | -0.340 | -0.437 |
| | Republicans | 0.373 | 0.365 | 0.390 | 0.412 | 0.432 | 0.445 | 0.479 | 0.559 | 0.583 | 0.641 | 0.489 |
| Oversight & Government Reform | All members | -0.121 | -0.139 | 0.029 | 0.091 | 0.023 | -0.019 | 0.036 | 0.128 | 0.005 | 0.023 | 0.107 |
| | Democrats | -0.355 | -0.423 | -0.377 | -0.390 | -0.433 | -0.470 | -0.457 | -0.437 | -0.461 | -0.407 | -0.451 |
| | Republicans | 0.296 | 0.330 | 0.365 | 0.418 | 0.404 | 0.392 | 0.431 | 0.545 | 0.608 | 0.669 | 0.539 |
| Homeland Security | All members | n.a. | 0.1613 | -0.003 | 0.037 | 0.107 |
| | Democrats | n.a. | -0.404 | -0.409 | -0.354 | -0.443 |
| | Republicans | n.a. | 0.518 | 0.490 | 0.607 | 0.484 |
| House Administration | All members | -0.098 | -0.114 | 0.031 | 0.064 | 0.278 | 0.000 | 0.134 | 0.206 | -0.097 | -0.047 | 0.193 |
| | Democrats | -0.369 | -0.383 | -0.428 | -0.453 | -0.342 | -0.334 | -0.448 | -0.421 | -0.422 | -0.389 | -0.437 |
| | Republicans | 0.354 | 0.424 | 0.360 | 0.374 | 0.381 | 0.334 | 0.425 | 0.520 | 0.553 | 0.637 | 0.507 |
| Foreign Affairs | All members | -0.134 | -0.103 | 0.055 | 0.052 | 0.074 | 0.098 | 0.069 | 0.180 | 0.064 | 0.062 | 0.145 |
| | Democrats | -0.397 | -0.406 | -0.401 | -0.415 | -0.419 | -0.470 | -0.449 | -0.406 | -0.425 | -0.384 | -0.360 |
| | Republicans | 0.276 | 0.336 | 0.427 | 0.406 | 0.415 | 0.491 | 0.507 | 0.636 | 0.670 | 0.697 | 0.489 |



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Table 8-7

| Committee | | 102nd 1991 | 103rd 1993 | 104th 1995 | 105th 1997 | 106th 1999 | 107th 2001 | 108th 2003 | 109th 2005 | 110th 2007 | 111th 2009 | 112th 2011 |
|-------------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Judiciary | All members | -0.112 | -0.108 | 0.042 | 0.054 | 0.040 | 0.088 | 0.112 | 0.200 | -0.003 | 0.020 | 0.132 |
| | Democrats | -0.401 | -0.440 | -0.486 | -0.489 | -0.506 | -0.508 | -0.506 | -0.444 | -0.504 | -0.444 | -0.512 |
| | Republicans | 0.356 | 0.389 | 0.437 | 0.461 | 0.477 | 0.542 | 0.582 | 0.675 | 0.675 | 0.687 | 0.570 |
| Merchant Marine and Fisheries | All members | -0.026 | -0.037 | n.a. |
| | Democrats | -0.255 | -0.285 | n.a. |
| | Republicans | 0.352 | 0.349 | n.a. |
| Post Office and Civil Service | All members | -0.181 | -0.170 | n.a. |
| | Democrats | -0.422 | -0.431 | n.a. |
| | Republicans | 0.212 | 0.237 | n.a. |
| Natural Resources | All members | -0.025 | -0.046 | 0.130 | 0.119 | 0.133 | 0.130 | 0.156 | 0.172 | 0.046 | 0.096 | 0.164 |
| | Democrats | -0.333 | -0.336 | -0.359 | -0.400 | -0.381 | -0.403 | -0.406 | -0.362 | -0.440 | -0.408 | -0.431 |
| | Republicans | 0.456 | 0.452 | 0.477 | 0.508 | 0.499 | 0.491 | 0.497 | 0.578 | 0.602 | 0.700 | 0.529 |
| Rules | All members | -0.119 | -0.123 | 0.162 | 0.186 | 0.196 | 0.198 | 0.161 | 0.243 | -0.171 | -0.098 | 0.218 |
| | Democrats | -0.369 | -0.368 | -0.351 | -0.374 | -0.381 | -0.388 | -0.522 | -0.516 | -0.493 | -0.427 | -0.515 |
| | Republicans | 0.446 | 0.428 | 0.390 | 0.434 | 0.453 | 0.458 | 0.465 | 0.580 | 0.556 | 0.643 | 0.585 |
| Science, Space & Technology | All members | -0.032 | 0.037 | 0.131 | 0.062 | 0.065 | 0.081 | 0.083 | 0.149 | 0.113 | 0.088 | 0.175 |
| | Democrats | -0.248 | -0.214 | -0.266 | -0.291 | -0.344 | -0.358 | -0.349 | -0.335 | -0.311 | -0.311 | -0.460 |
| | Republicans | 0.333 | 0.420 | 0.470 | 0.414 | 0.438 | 0.465 | 0.464 | 0.552 | 0.628 | 0.698 | 0.521 |

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Table 8-7

| Committee | | 102nd 1991 | 103rd 1993 | 104th 1995 | 105th 1997 | 106th 1999 | 107th 2001 | 108th 2003 | 109th 2005 | 110th 2007 | 111th 2009 | 112th 2011 |
|---------------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Small Business | All members | -0.046 | -0.061 | 0.054 | 0.085 | 0.070 | 0.067 | 0.140 | 0.203 | 0.038 | 0.128 | 0.115 |
| | Democrats | -0.302 | -0.374 | -0.411 | -0.322 | -0.391 | -0.410 | -0.401 | -0.348 | -0.368 | -0.221 | -0.420 |
| | Republicans | 0.388 | 0.390 | 0.455 | 0.469 | 0.474 | 0.491 | 0.538 | 0.570 | 0.601 | 0.621 | 0.507 |
| Ethics | All members | -0.034 | -0.052 | -0.081 | -0.002 | -0.329 | 0.150 | 0.058 | 0.078 | 0.085 | 0.073 | 0.020 |
| | Democrats | -0.450 | -0.445 | -0.477 | -0.483 | -0.479 | -0.409 | -0.335 | -0.406 | -0.434 | -0.406 | -0.487 |
| | Republicans | 0.381 | 0.340 | 0.315 | 0.479 | 0.420 | 0.708 | 0.451 | 0.562 | 0.604 | 0.553 | 0.426 |
| Transportation & Infrastructure | All members | -0.016 | -0.054 | 0.042 | 0.034 | 0.044 | 0.047 | 0.055 | 0.109 | 0.021 | 0.025 | 0.063 |
| | Democrats | -0.266 | -0.296 | -0.304 | -0.333 | -0.328 | -0.358 | -0.387 | -0.358 | -0.365 | -0.337 | -0.404 |
| | Republicans | 0.389 | 0.353 | 0.344 | 0.356 | 0.376 | 0.381 | 0.410 | 0.516 | 0.475 | 0.556 | 0.428 |
| Veterans Affairs | All members | 0.015 | -0.053 | 0.085 | 0.082 | 0.093 | 0.068 | 0.063 | 0.128 | 0.095 | 0.101 | 0.103 |
| | Democrats | -0.212 | -0.314 | -0.356 | -0.380 | -0.362 | -0.365 | -0.414 | -0.362 | -0.291 | -0.222 | -0.355 |
| | Republicans | 0.383 | 0.404 | 0.453 | 0.457 | 0.450 | 0.423 | 0.428 | 0.553 | 0.569 | 0.630 | 0.464 |
| Ways & Means | All members | -0.098 | -0.101 | 0.066 | 0.060 | 0.060 | 0.065 | 0.074 | 0.146 | -0.035 | -0.035 | 0.060 |
| | Democrats | -0.348 | -0.382 | -0.425 | -0.455 | -0.467 | -0.463 | -0.463 | -0.447 | -0.464 | -0.423 | -0.482 |
| | Republicans | 0.344 | 0.417 | 0.435 | 0.435 | 0.426 | 0.440 | 0.455 | 0.558 | 0.544 | 0.636 | 0.448 |
| Chamber average | All members | -0.091 | -0.083 | -0.071 | 0.039 | 0.033 | 0.034 | 0.054 | 0.129 | 0.036 | 0.027 | 0.084 |
| | Democrats | -0.321 | -0.329 | -0.368 | -0.387 | -0.392 | -0.399 | -0.403 | -0.383 | -0.391 | -0.354 | -0.429 |
| | Republicans | 0.339 | 0.365 | 0.380 | 0.428 | 0.434 | 0.445 | 0.462 | 0.571 | 0.566 | 0.620 | 0.478 |



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Table 8-8

Average Ideological Positions of Senate Committees, 80th-112th Congresses

| Committee | | 80th 1947 | 81st 1949 | 82nd 1951 | 83rd 1953 | 84th 1955 | 85th 1957 | 86th 1959 | 87th 1961 | 88th 1963 | 89th 1965 | 90th 1967 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Agriculture, Nutrition, & Forestry | All members | 0.081 | 0.036 | 0.072 | 0.152 | 0.067 | 0.082 | -0.006 | -0.083 | -0.050 | -0.056 | -0.040 |
| | Democrats | -0.168 | -0.103 | -0.097 | -0.052 | -0.139 | -0.114 | -0.200 | -0.239 | -0.211 | -0.177 | -0.125 |
| | Republicans | 0.294 | 0.258 | 0.268 | 0.331 | 0.302 | 0.306 | 0.350 | 0.201 | 0.245 | 0.160 | 0.129 |
| Appropriations | All members | 0.133 | 0.056 | 0.093 | 0.106 | 0.081 | 0.079 | -0.017 | 0.008 | -0.058 | -0.048 | -0.078 |
| | Democrats | -0.095 | -0.102 | -0.109 | -0.098 | -0.101 | -0.087 | -0.167 | -0.164 | -0.191 | -0.176 | -0.200 |
| | Republicans | 0.305 | 0.314 | 0.316 | 0.293 | 0.279 | 0.278 | 0.283 | 0.301 | 0.207 | 0.206 | 0.153 |
| Armed Services | All members | 0.083 | 0.060 | 0.087 | 0.044 | 0.063 | 0.067 | 0.000 | 0.009 | -0.051 | -0.013 | -0.021 |
| | Democrats | -0.108 | -0.059 | -0.052 | -0.095 | -0.106 | -0.107 | -0.140 | -0.130 | -0.150 | -0.158 | -0.192 |
| | Republicans | 0.275 | 0.228 | 0.255 | 0.166 | 0.255 | 0.266 | 0.234 | 0.240 | 0.167 | 0.334 | 0.319 |
| Banking, Housing, & Urban Affairs | All members | 0.023 | -0.066 | 0.112 | 0.070 | -0.057 | 0.011 | -0.131 | -0.174 | -0.143 | -0.143 | -0.124 |
| | Democrats | -0.316 | -0.284 | -0.127 | -0.206 | -0.258 | -0.204 | -0.312 | -0.353 | -0.403 | -0.393 | -0.329 |
| | Republicans | 0.313 | 0.284 | 0.392 | 0.312 | 0.260 | 0.257 | 0.229 | 0.184 | 0.377 | 0.484 | 0.246 |
| Budget | All members | n.a. |
| | Democrats | n.a. |
| | Republicans | n.a. |
| Commerce, Science, & Transportation | All members | 0.094 | -0.018 | 0.089 | 0.048 | 0.058 | 0.097 | -0.095 | -0.093 | -0.156 | -0.146 | -0.115 |
| | Democrats | -0.206 | -0.234 | -0.173 | -0.179 | -0.149 | -0.164 | -0.291 | -0.289 | -0.320 | -0.342 | -0.283 |
| | Republicans | 0.351 | 0.328 | 0.395 | 0.246 | 0.266 | 0.321 | 0.232 | 0.234 | 0.204 | 0.247 | 0.222 |

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Table 8-8

Average Ideological Positions of Senate Committees, 80th-112th Congresses

| Committee | | 80th 1947 | 81st 1949 | 82nd 1951 | 83rd 1953 | 84th 1955 | 85th 1957 | 86th 1959 | 87th 1961 | 88th 1963 | 89th 1965 | 90th 1967 |
|--|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Energy & Natural Resources | All members | 0.144 | 0.036 | 0.022 | 0.087 | -0.004 | -0.059 | -0.205 | -0.159 | -0.127 | -0.169 | -0.170 |
| | Democrats | -0.289 | -0.276 | -0.294 | -0.204 | -0.318 | -0.405 | -0.448 | -0.417 | -0.419 | -0.418 | -0.416 |
| | Republicans | 0.415 | 0.400 | 0.391 | 0.342 | 0.354 | 0.335 | 0.280 | 0.316 | 0.409 | 0.379 | 0.281 |
| Environment & Public Works | All members | 0.190 | 0.110 | 0.147 | 0.061 | -0.026 | -0.059 | -0.238 | -0.236 | -0.259 | -0.254 | -0.156 |
| | Democrats | -0.004 | -0.097 | -0.086 | -0.120 | -0.386 | -0.410 | -0.444 | -0.440 | -0.440 | -0.430 | -0.384 |
| | Republicans | 0.357 | 0.441 | 0.381 | 0.242 | 0.334 | 0.351 | 0.175 | 0.140 | 0.175 | 0.170 | 0.223 |
| Finance | All members | 0.180 | 0.159 | 0.218 | 0.226 | 0.140 | 0.127 | 0.047 | 0.005 | -0.022 | -0.031 | -0.064 |
| | Democrats | -0.100 | -0.065 | 0.037 | 0.035 | -0.065 | -0.149 | -0.182 | -0.234 | -0.270 | -0.283 | -0.336 |
| | Republicans | 0.419 | 0.421 | 0.430 | 0.394 | 0.375 | 0.442 | 0.468 | 0.442 | 0.431 | 0.432 | 0.433 |
| Foreign Relations | All members | -0.022 | -0.089 | -0.058 | -0.004 | -0.095 | -0.110 | -0.157 | -0.113 | -0.125 | -0.161 | -0.175 |
| | Democrats | -0.268 | -0.243 | -0.166 | -0.221 | -0.279 | -0.381 | -0.335 | -0.339 | -0.324 | -0.354 | -0.411 |
| | Republicans | 0.189 | 0.157 | 0.093 | 0.185 | 0.199 | 0.200 | 0.169 | 0.300 | 0.355 | 0.257 | 0.231 |
| Health, Education, Labor, & Pensions | All members | -0.029 | -0.214 | -0.211 | -0.092 | -0.183 | -0.165 | -0.245 | -0.268 | -0.226 | -0.287 | -0.235 |
| | Democrats | -0.347 | -0.405 | -0.449 | -0.477 | -0.514 | -0.537 | -0.499 | -0.477 | -0.492 | -0.523 | -0.519 |
| | Republicans | 0.198 | 0.169 | 0.123 | 0.237 | 0.204 | 0.208 | 0.137 | 0.150 | 0.307 | 0.231 | 0.239 |
| Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs | All members | 0.074 | -0.015 | 0.048 | 0.064 | 0.005 | 0.061 | -0.054 | -0.118 | -0.125 | -0.156 | -0.138 |
| | Democrats | -0.124 | -0.209 | -0.162 | -0.234 | -0.234 | -0.198 | -0.288 | -0.289 | -0.311 | -0.354 | -0.355 |
| | Republicans | 0.245 | 0.211 | 0.292 | 0.319 | 0.244 | 0.320 | 0.415 | 0.225 | 0.248 | 0.339 | 0.295 |

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Table 8-8

Average Ideological Positions of Senate Committees, 80th-112th Congresses

| Committee | | 80th 1947 | 81st 1949 | 82nd 1951 | 83rd 1953 | 84th 1955 | 85th 1957 | 86th 1959 | 87th 1961 | 88th 1963 | 89th 1965 | 90th 1967 |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Judiciary | All members | 0.041 | -0.044 | 0.058 | 0.112 | 0.072 | 0.054 | -0.102 | -0.050 | -0.110 | -0.128 | -0.082 |
| | Democrats | -0.207 | -0.270 | -0.139 | -0.153 | -0.181 | -0.205 | -0.274 | -0.211 | -0.266 | -0.270 | -0.256 |
| | Republicans | 0.254 | 0.273 | 0.287 | 0.344 | 0.361 | 0.351 | 0.241 | 0.272 | 0.201 | 0.155 | 0.301 |
| Rules & Administration | All members | 0.092 | -0.015 | -0.040 | 0.057 | 0.033 | -0.115 | -0.113 | -0.059 | -0.119 | -0.119 | -0.119 |
| | Democrats | -0.279 | -0.183 | -0.291 | -0.244 | -0.335 | -0.252 | -0.262 | -0.246 | -0.293 | -0.296 | -0.299 |
| | Republicans | 0.324 | 0.256 | 0.252 | 0.297 | 0.493 | 0.114 | 0.186 | 0.315 | 0.229 | 0.235 | 0.242 |
| Small Business & Entrepreneurship | All members | n.a. |
| | Democrats | n.a. |
| | Republicans | n.a. |
| Veterans Affairs | All members | n.a. |
| | Democrats | n.a. |
| | Republicans | n.a. |
| Chamber average | All members | 0.082 | 0.018 | 0.064 | 0.048 | 0.023 | 0.014 | -0.100 | -0.096 | -0.113 | -0.125 | -0.110 |
| | Democrats | -0.173 | -0.194 | -0.162 | -0.171 | -0.226 | -0.245 | -0.290 | -0.291 | -0.310 | -0.321 | -0.311 |
| | Republicans | 0.307 | 0.287 | 0.306 | 0.280 | 0.291 | 0.278 | 0.248 | 0.260 | 0.279 | 0.284 | 0.248 |

n.a. = not available

Source: Keith Poole, Professor of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego, and Howard Rosenthal, Professor of Politics at Princeton University, developed ideological scores based on members' voting records. The Poole-Rosenthal scores can be viewed at voteview.com. A positive score denotes a conservative ideology, while a negative score denotes a liberal one. Scores closest to zero reflect the most centrist ideologies, while more extreme scores reflect stronger conservative or liberal ideologies. Data above represent a statistical analysis of committee members' voting records performed by Charles Stewart, Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

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Table 8-8

| Committee | | 91st 1969 | 92nd 1971 | 93rd 1973 | 94th 1975 | 95th 1977 | 96th 1979 | 97th 1981 | 98th 1983 | 99th 1985 | 100th 1987 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Agriculture, Nutrition, & Forestry | All members | 0.089 | 0.046 | -0.011 | -0.015 | -0.020 | 0.022 | 0.081 | 0.100 | 0.059 | 0.038 |
| | Democrats | -0.042 | -0.126 | -0.278 | -0.244 | -0.269 | -0.228 | -0.189 | -0.193 | -0.234 | -0.315 |
| | Republicans | 0.243 | 0.275 | 0.345 | 0.396 | 0.394 | 0.335 | 0.322 | 0.335 | 0.319 | 0.351 |
| Appropriations | All members | -0.024 | -0.052 | -0.123 | -0.148 | -0.195 | -0.099 | -0.014 | -0.031 | -0.042 | -0.083 |
| | Democrats | -0.183 | -0.224 | -0.266 | -0.260 | -0.270 | -0.298 | -0.272 | -0.272 | -0.297 | -0.302 |
| | Republicans | 0.199 | 0.151 | 0.071 | 0.032 | -0.045 | 0.209 | 0.226 | 0.194 | 0.197 | 0.187 |
| Armed Services | All members | 0.018 | 0.030 | 0.082 | 0.033 | 0.031 | 0.048 | 0.147 | 0.084 | 0.081 | 0.049 |
| | Democrats | -0.173 | -0.227 | -0.220 | -0.297 | -0.323 | -0.263 | -0.240 | -0.297 | -0.292 | -0.263 |
| | Republicans | 0.255 | 0.299 | 0.463 | 0.494 | 0.525 | 0.416 | 0.431 | 0.389 | 0.416 | 0.431 |
| Banking, Housing, & Urban Affairs | All members | -0.192 | -0.066 | -0.107 | -0.092 | -0.089 | -0.100 | -0.039 | -0.001 | -0.005 | -0.033 |
| | Democrats | -0.380 | -0.335 | -0.350 | -0.333 | -0.354 | -0.394 | -0.412 | -0.397 | -0.387 | -0.321 |
| | Republicans | 0.090 | 0.242 | 0.205 | 0.292 | 0.309 | 0.340 | 0.287 | 0.350 | 0.377 | 0.328 |
| Budget | All members | n.a. | n.a. | -0.138 | -0.107 | -0.137 | -0.110 | 0.025 | 0.025 | 0.009 | -0.009 |
| | Democrats | n.a. | n.a. | -0.408 | -0.371 | -0.381 | -0.345 | -0.337 | -0.340 | -0.348 | -0.319 |
| | Republicans | n.a. | n.a. | 0.268 | 0.295 | 0.268 | 0.243 | 0.326 | 0.329 | 0.307 | 0.301 |
| Commerce, Science, & Transportation | All members | -0.102 | -0.094 | -0.105 | -0.151 | -0.148 | -0.049 | 0.011 | -0.002 | -0.010 | -0.077 |
| | Democrats | -0.319 | -0.306 | -0.324 | -0.321 | -0.275 | -0.251 | -0.225 | -0.255 | -0.283 | -0.327 |
| | Republicans | 0.197 | 0.172 | 0.208 | 0.120 | 0.232 | 0.239 | 0.221 | 0.223 | 0.232 | 0.229 |

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Table 8-8

| Committee | | 91st 1969 | 92nd 1971 | 93rd 1973 | 94th 1975 | 95th 1977 | 96th 1979 | 97th 1981 | 98th 1983 | 99th 1985 | 100th 1987 |
|--|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Energy & Natural Resources | All members | -0.112 | -0.077 | -0.003 | -0.074 | -0.098 | -0.135 | -0.007 | -0.028 | 0.009 | -0.011 |
| | Democrats | -0.403 | -0.373 | -0.384 | -0.356 | -0.376 | -0.355 | -0.352 | -0.362 | -0.347 | -0.357 |
| | Republicans | 0.304 | 0.304 | 0.427 | 0.436 | 0.411 | 0.212 | 0.275 | 0.245 | 0.294 | 0.300 |
| Environment & Public Works | All members | -0.136 | -0.080 | -0.048 | -0.095 | -0.128 | -0.142 | 0.004 | 0.006 | -0.025 | -0.102 |
| | Democrats | -0.357 | -0.307 | -0.355 | -0.316 | -0.305 | -0.347 | -0.327 | -0.328 | -0.359 | -0.344 |
| | Republicans | 0.195 | 0.163 | 0.330 | 0.251 | 0.192 | 0.132 | 0.262 | 0.266 | 0.267 | 0.210 |
| Finance | All members | 0.019 | 0.032 | -0.004 | -0.029 | -0.013 | -0.080 | 0.042 | 0.017 | 0.019 | -0.088 |
| | Democrats | -0.299 | -0.341 | -0.345 | -0.348 | -0.280 | -0.272 | -0.270 | -0.273 | -0.280 | -0.342 |
| | Republicans | 0.474 | 0.436 | 0.404 | 0.388 | 0.342 | 0.138 | 0.245 | 0.254 | 0.263 | 0.223 |
| Foreign Relations | All members | -0.163 | -0.187 | -0.237 | -0.229 | -0.239 | -0.119 | -0.063 | -0.052 | -0.040 | -0.071 |
| | Democrats | -0.355 | -0.341 | -0.394 | -0.396 | -0.371 | -0.361 | -0.380 | -0.378 | -0.381 | -0.435 |
| | Republicans | 0.125 | 0.012 | -0.012 | 0.010 | -0.042 | 0.244 | 0.219 | 0.238 | 0.263 | 0.334 |
| Health, Education, Labor, & Pensions | All members | -0.225 | -0.243 | -0.269 | -0.234 | -0.258 | -0.173 | -0.021 | -0.032 | -0.046 | -0.151 |
| | Democrats | -0.473 | -0.461 | -0.458 | -0.453 | -0.422 | -0.459 | -0.449 | -0.443 | -0.479 | -0.493 |
| | Republicans | 0.128 | 0.069 | 0.048 | 0.095 | 0.070 | 0.256 | 0.311 | 0.287 | 0.292 | 0.289 |
| Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs | All members | -0.105 | -0.075 | -0.065 | -0.114 | -0.171 | -0.151 | -0.097 | -0.065 | -0.106 | -0.143 |
| | Democrats | -0.264 | -0.243 | -0.194 | -0.218 | -0.227 | -0.299 | -0.287 | -0.296 | -0.306 | -0.306 |
| | Republicans | 0.134 | 0.135 | 0.149 | 0.072 | 0.141 | 0.015 | 0.072 | 0.121 | 0.066 | 0.074 |

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Table 8-8

| Committee | | 91st 1969 | 92nd 1971 | 93rd 1973 | 94th 1975 | 95th 1977 | 96th 1979 | 97th 1981 | 98th 1983 | 99th 1985 | 100th 1987 |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Judiciary | All members | -0.064 | -0.045 | -0.044 | -0.088 | -0.156 | -0.097 | 0.020 | -0.002 | -0.013 | -0.064 |
| | Democrats | -0.253 | -0.249 | -0.248 | -0.339 | -0.333 | -0.384 | -0.350 | -0.350 | -0.372 | -0.375 |
| | Republicans | 0.205 | 0.217 | 0.218 | 0.288 | 0.162 | 0.313 | 0.316 | 0.276 | 0.274 | 0.351 |
| Rules & Administration | All members | 0.046 | -0.018 | -0.073 | -0.090 | -0.104 | -0.096 | 0.025 | 0.032 | 0.024 | -0.041 |
| | Democrats | -0.164 | -0.161 | -0.232 | -0.227 | -0.287 | -0.292 | -0.318 | -0.304 | -0.307 | -0.364 |
| | Republicans | 0.308 | 0.161 | 0.124 | 0.140 | 0.262 | 0.198 | 0.270 | 0.272 | 0.261 | 0.374 |
| Small Business & Entrepreneurship | All members | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | -0.062 | -0.073 | -0.059 | -0.096 |
| | Democrats | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | -0.321 | -0.289 | -0.317 | -0.330 |
| | Republicans | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | 0.168 | 0.143 | 0.199 | 0.196 |
| Veterans Affairs | All members | n.a. | -0.066 | -0.035 | 0.027 | -0.052 | -0.034 | 0.054 | 0.017 | 0.039 | -0.095 |
| | Democrats | n.a. | -0.362 | -0.367 | -0.274 | -0.272 | -0.294 | -0.329 | -0.335 | -0.367 | -0.371 |
| | Republicans | n.a. | 0.303 | 0.380 | 0.403 | 0.315 | 0.357 | 0.328 | 0.268 | 0.271 | 0.235 |
| Chamber average | All members | -0.077 | -0.061 | -0.080 | -0.097 | -0.101 | -0.080 | 0.011 | 0.012 | 0.002 | -0.047 |
| | Democrats | -0.298 | -0.302 | -0.331 | -0.323 | -0.318 | -0.315 | -0.304 | -0.309 | -0.324 | -0.332 |
| | Republicans | 0.217 | 0.210 | 0.239 | 0.246 | 0.234 | 0.244 | 0.279 | 0.284 | 0.292 | 0.293 |

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Table 8-8

| Committee | | 101st 1989 | 102nd 1991 | 103rd 1993 | 104th 1995 | 105th 1997 | 106th 1999 | 107th 2001 | 108th 2003 | 109th 2005 | 110th 2007 | 111th 2009 | 112th 2011 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Agriculture, Nutrition, & Forestry | All members | 0.024 | 0.042 | -0.006 | 0.063 | 0.096 | 0.081 | 0.077 | 0.044 | 0.065 | 0.018 | -0.004 | 0.019 |
| | Democrats | -0.309 | -0.313 | -0.355 | -0.327 | -0.345 | -0.339 | -0.300 | -0.297 | -0.341 | -0.375 | -0.341 | -0.301 |
| | Republicans | 0.357 | 0.397 | 0.429 | 0.410 | 0.448 | 0.417 | 0.454 | 0.355 | 0.398 | 0.412 | 0.446 | 0.370 |
| Appropriations | All members | -0.080 | -0.103 | -0.065 | -0.022 | -0.001 | -0.002 | -0.026 | -0.008 | 0.015 | -0.023 | -0.098 | -0.005 |
| | Democrats | -0.350 | -0.354 | -0.355 | -0.373 | -0.411 | -0.406 | -0.382 | -0.383 | -0.396 | -0.414 | -0.386 | -0.322 |
| | Republicans | 0.253 | 0.231 | 0.293 | 0.282 | 0.354 | 0.348 | 0.330 | 0.342 | 0.371 | 0.397 | 0.335 | 0.357 |
| Armed Services | All members | -0.010 | -0.004 | 0.044 | 0.067 | 0.069 | 0.072 | 0.040 | 0.016 | 0.012 | 0.012 | -0.002 | 0.033 |
| | Democrats | -0.286 | -0.287 | -0.278 | -0.319 | -0.360 | -0.371 | -0.370 | -0.392 | -0.386 | -0.386 | -0.348 | -0.280 |
| | Republicans | 0.370 | 0.386 | 0.437 | 0.418 | 0.412 | 0.435 | 0.449 | 0.392 | 0.443 | 0.443 | 0.460 | 0.397 |
| Banking, Housing, & Urban Affairs | All members | -0.035 | -0.036 | -0.056 | 0.049 | 0.063 | 0.080 | 0.054 | 0.041 | 0.078 | 0.003 | 0.009 | 0.019 |
| | Democrats | -0.346 | -0.346 | -0.376 | -0.441 | -0.455 | -0.408 | -0.371 | -0.371 | -0.407 | -0.437 | -0.381 | -0.342 |
| | Republicans | 0.307 | 0.305 | 0.384 | 0.431 | 0.477 | 0.479 | 0.478 | 0.416 | 0.475 | 0.486 | 0.515 | 0.453 |
| Budget | All members | -0.005 | 0.013 | -0.047 | 0.023 | -0.021 | -0.017 | -0.019 | 0.042 | 0.078 | -0.027 | -0.009 | 0.051 |
| | Democrats | -0.325 | -0.341 | -0.395 | -0.396 | -0.472 | -0.473 | -0.426 | -0.436 | -0.435 | -0.537 | -0.425 | -0.357 |
| | Republicans | 0.344 | 0.403 | 0.419 | 0.373 | 0.355 | 0.363 | 0.387 | 0.480 | 0.506 | 0.530 | 0.532 | 0.495 |
| Commerce, Science, & Transportation | All members | -0.049 | -0.046 | -0.014 | 0.023 | 0.044 | 0.046 | -0.014 | -0.009 | 0.060 | -0.017 | 0.008 | 0.054 |
| | Democrats | -0.280 | -0.282 | -0.294 | -0.300 | -0.327 | -0.325 | -0.348 | -0.378 | -0.370 | -0.422 | -0.363 | -0.316 |
| | Republicans | 0.269 | 0.278 | 0.296 | 0.314 | 0.347 | 0.350 | 0.320 | 0.330 | 0.418 | 0.425 | 0.481 | 0.454 |

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Table 8-8

| Committee | | 101st 1989 | 102nd 1991 | 103rd 1993 | 104th 1995 | 105th 1997 | 106th 1999 | 107th 2001 | 108th 2003 | 109th 2005 | 110th 2007 | 111th 2009 | 112th 2011 |
|--|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Energy & Natural Resources | All members | 0.013 | -0.007 | -0.012 | 0.035 | 0.072 | 0.070 | 0.035 | 0.051 | 0.050 | 0.008 | 0.016 | 0.049 |
| | Democrats | -0.323 | -0.331 | -0.323 | -0.375 | -0.341 | -0.323 | -0.352 | -0.354 | -0.373 | -0.419 | -0.346 | -0.333 |
| | Republicans | 0.386 | 0.388 | 0.369 | 0.364 | 0.409 | 0.392 | 0.422 | 0.423 | 0.403 | 0.475 | 0.486 | 0.506 |
| Environment & Public Works | All members | -0.066 | -0.145 | -0.081 | 0.100 | 0.090 | 0.051 | -0.027 | 0.027 | 0.062 | -0.020 | -0.104 | -0.013 |
| | Democrats | -0.318 | -0.368 | -0.396 | -0.364 | -0.378 | -0.384 | -0.392 | -0.369 | -0.391 | -0.469 | -0.440 | -0.393 |
| | Republicans | 0.257 | 0.190 | 0.369 | 0.461 | 0.464 | 0.399 | 0.337 | 0.381 | 0.425 | 0.480 | 0.473 | 0.461 |
| Finance | All members | -0.085 | -0.088 | -0.061 | 0.003 | 0.036 | 0.057 | 0.045 | 0.081 | 0.076 | -0.004 | 0.016 | 0.038 |
| | Democrats | -0.347 | -0.329 | -0.347 | -0.343 | -0.313 | -0.296 | -0.301 | -0.300 | -0.353 | -0.389 | -0.351 | -0.313 |
| | Republicans | 0.234 | 0.205 | 0.257 | 0.286 | 0.322 | 0.347 | 0.390 | 0.430 | 0.426 | 0.419 | 0.493 | 0.453 |
| Foreign Relations | All members | -0.014 | -0.037 | -0.105 | 0.034 | 0.032 | 0.018 | -0.066 | -0.064 | -0.055 | -0.074 | -0.018 | 0.061 |
| | Democrats | -0.405 | -0.411 | -0.440 | -0.445 | -0.489 | -0.527 | -0.510 | -0.506 | -0.473 | -0.521 | -0.425 | -0.374 |
| | Republicans | 0.420 | 0.430 | 0.354 | 0.416 | 0.448 | 0.454 | 0.378 | 0.334 | 0.280 | 0.417 | 0.542 | 0.546 |
| Health, Education, Labor, & Pensions | All members | -0.185 | -0.209 | -0.194 | -0.067 | -0.050 | -0.032 | -0.076 | -0.011 | 0.046 | -0.034 | -0.047 | -0.011 |
| | Democrats | -0.497 | -0.508 | -0.498 | -0.526 | -0.506 | -0.507 | -0.493 | -0.457 | -0.449 | -0.528 | -0.453 | -0.381 |
| | Republicans | 0.217 | 0.219 | 0.241 | 0.291 | 0.315 | 0.349 | 0.340 | 0.383 | 0.451 | 0.510 | 0.481 | 0.434 |
| Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs | All members | -0.113 | -0.129 | -0.130 | 0.009 | -0.006 | -0.028 | -0.035 | -0.061 | -0.010 | -0.044 | -0.045 | 0.090 |
| | Democrats | -0.295 | -0.320 | -0.347 | -0.353 | -0.387 | -0.390 | -0.367 | -0.433 | -0.399 | -0.378 | -0.360 | -0.270 |
| | Republicans | 0.129 | 0.126 | 0.217 | 0.326 | 0.291 | 0.253 | 0.297 | 0.270 | 0.293 | 0.333 | 0.405 | 0.496 |

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Table 8-8

| Committee | | 101st 1989 | 102nd 1991 | 103rd 1993 | 104th 1995 | 105th 1997 | 106th 1999 | 107th 2001 | 108th 2003 | 109th 2005 | 110th 2007 | 111th 2009 | 112th 2011 |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Judiciary | All members | -0.063 | -0.074 | -0.085 | 0.010 | 0.009 | 0.034 | -0.047 | -0.017 | -0.048 | -0.048 | -0.071 | 0.043 |
| | Democrats | -0.372 | -0.376 | -0.388 | -0.418 | -0.459 | -0.450 | -0.476 | -0.476 | -0.540 | -0.540 | -0.441 | -0.367 |
| | Republicans | 0.350 | 0.329 | 0.293 | 0.353 | 0.384 | 0.421 | 0.382 | 0.396 | 0.499 | 0.499 | 0.562 | 0.555 |
| Rules & Administration | All members | -0.035 | -0.075 | -0.049 | 0.042 | 0.089 | 0.082 | 0.043 | 0.032 | 0.058 | -0.014 | -0.039 | 0.002 |
| | Democrats | -0.366 | -0.368 | -0.335 | -0.359 | -0.338 | -0.363 | -0.351 | -0.376 | -0.383 | -0.392 | -0.392 | -0.303 |
| | Republicans | 0.390 | 0.364 | 0.319 | 0.354 | 0.421 | 0.429 | 0.436 | 0.400 | 0.410 | 0.405 | 0.446 | 0.384 |
| Small Business & Entrepreneurship | All members | -0.037 | -0.079 | -0.056 | 0.013 | 0.029 | 0.001 | -0.038 | 0.006 | 0.071 | -0.017 | -0.013 | 0.058 |
| | Democrats | -0.315 | -0.367 | -0.393 | -0.395 | -0.427 | -0.428 | -0.430 | -0.372 | -0.362 | -0.400 | -0.352 | -0.306 |
| | Republicans | 0.345 | 0.374 | 0.394 | 0.347 | 0.394 | 0.344 | 0.354 | 0.345 | 0.417 | 0.408 | 0.453 | 0.463 |
| Veterans Affairs | All members | -0.108 | -0.131 | -0.118 | 0.033 | -0.034 | -0.033 | -0.021 | 0.059 | 0.083 | -0.060 | -0.096 | -0.018 |
| | Democrats | -0.377 | -0.380 | -0.332 | -0.336 | -0.477 | -0.487 | -0.341 | -0.268 | -0.401 | -0.499 | -0.419 | -0.364 |
| | Republicans | 0.213 | 0.219 | 0.182 | 0.296 | 0.283 | 0.291 | 0.300 | 0.354 | 0.446 | 0.441 | 0.441 | 0.377 |
| Chamber average | All members | -0.045 | -0.060 | -0.059 | -0.040 | 0.029 | 0.028 | -0.005 | -0.002 | 0.060 | -0.010 | -0.033 | 0.031 |
| | Democrats | -0.336 | -0.340 | -0.349 | -0.358 | -0.396 | -0.394 | -0.388 | -0.388 | -0.424 | -0.441 | -0.368 | -0.328 |
| | Republicans | 0.310 | 0.306 | 0.308 | 0.304 | 0.389 | 0.387 | 0.386 | 0.369 | 0.456 | 0.440 | 0.425 | 0.445 |

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Table 8-9 Average Ideological Positions of House Party Coalitions, 80th-113th Congresses, 1947-2013

| Congress | Entire chamber | Democrats | Republicans | Nonsouthern Democrats | Southern Democrats |
|---------------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 80th (1947) | 0.079 | -0.148 | 0.261 | -0.305 | -0.046 |
| 81st (1949) | -0.02 | -0.197 | 0.254 | -0.312 | -0.053 |
| 82nd (1951) | 0.02 | -0.183 | 0.252 | -0.316 | -0.046 |
| 83rd (1953) | 0.033 | -0.186 | 0.247 | -0.337 | -0.044 |
| 84th (1955) | 0 | -0.214 | 0.247 | -0.353 | -0.055 |
| 85th (1957) | -0.009 | -0.219 | 0.235 | -0.357 | -0.062 |
| 86th (1959) | -0.072 | -0.243 | 0.235 | -0.353 | -0.068 |
| 87th (1961) | -0.048 | -0.229 | 0.234 | -0.344 | -0.072 |
| 88th (1963) | -0.056 | -0.252 | 0.226 | -0.368 | -0.081 |
| 89th (1965) | -0.11 | -0.264 | 0.215 | -0.358 | -0.087 |
| 90th (1967) | -0.058 | -0.26 | 0.208 | -0.373 | -0.067 |
| 91st (1969) | -0.06 | -0.277 | 0.217 | -0.384 | -0.084 |
| 92nd (1971) | -0.076 | -0.284 | 0.214 | -0.385 | -0.093 |
| 93rd (1973) | -0.072 | -0.301 | 0.215 | -0.386 | -0.136 |
| 94th (1975) | -0.13 | -0.299 | 0.205 | -0.368 | -0.148 |
| 95th (1977) | -0.126 | -0.291 | 0.202 | -0.356 | -0.146 |
| 96th (1979) | -0.1 | -0.288 | 0.23 | -0.351 | -0.147 |
| 97th (1981) | -0.047 | -0.287 | 0.256 | -0.358 | -0.14 |
| 98th (1983) | -0.07 | -0.291 | 0.285 | -0.361 | -0.153 |
| 99th (1985) | -0.05 | -0.303 | 0.304 | -0.361 | -0.184 |
| 100th (1987) | -0.049 | -0.303 | 0.317 | -0.355 | -0.197 |
| 101st (1989) | -0.048 | -0.306 | 0.329 | -0.353 | -0.208 |
| 102nd (1991) | -0.052 | -0.307 | 0.358 | -0.351 | -0.212 |
| 103rd (1993) | -0.026 | -0.322 | 0.407 | -0.356 | -0.252 |
| 104th (1995) | 0.085 | -0.348 | 0.47 | -0.381 | -0.272 |
| 105th (1997) | 0.089 | -0.356 | 0.498 | -0.38 | -0.289 |
| 106th (1999) | 0.093 | -0.356 | 0.522 | -0.383 | -0.278 |
| 107th (2001) | 0.112 | -0.361 | 0.551 | -0.386 | -0.286 |
| 108th (2003) | 0.135 | -0.36 | 0.581 | -0.396 | -0.27 |
| 109th (2005) | 0.153 | -0.371 | 0.604 | -0.398 | -0.289 |
| 110th (2007) | 0.104 | -0.353 | 0.639 | -0.379 | -0.273 |
| 111th (2009) | 0.076 | -0.34 | 0.673 | -0.362 | -0.272 |
| 112th (2011) | 0.208 | -0.39 | 0.7 | -0.405 | -0.332 |
| 113th (2013) ^a | 0.207 | -0.385 | 0.718 | -0.392 | -0.357 |

a. The data for the 113th Congress only include the first session.

Source: Keith Poole, Professor of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego, and Howard Rosenthal, Professor of Politics at Princeton University, developed ideological scores based on members' voting records. The Poole-Rosenthal scores can be viewed at voteview.com. A positive score denotes a conservative ideology, while a negative score denotes a liberal one. Scores closest to zero reflect the most centrist ideologies, while more extreme scores reflect stronger conservative or liberal ideologies.



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Table 8-10 Average Ideological Positions of Senate Party Coalitions, 80th-113th Congresses, 1947-2013

| Congress | Entire chamber | | Nonsouthern | | Southern |
|---------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| | Democrats | Republicans | Democrats | Democrats | Democrats |
| 80th (1947) | 0.096 | -0.053 | 0.23 | -0.178 | 0.052 |
| 81st (1949) | 0.027 | -0.119 | 0.212 | -0.212 | -0.009 |
| 82nd (1951) | 0.067 | -0.087 | 0.23 | -0.192 | 0.011 |
| 83rd (1953) | 0.071 | -0.093 | 0.245 | -0.205 | 0.002 |
| 84th (1955) | 0.038 | -0.154 | 0.258 | -0.287 | -0.044 |
| 85th (1957) | 0.028 | -0.186 | 0.254 | -0.317 | -0.049 |
| 86th (1959) | -0.063 | -0.232 | 0.244 | -0.334 | -0.05 |
| 87th (1961) | -0.054 | -0.249 | 0.269 | -0.37 | -0.038 |
| 88th (1963) | -0.097 | -0.27 | 0.275 | -0.378 | -0.057 |
| 89th (1965) | -0.103 | -0.283 | 0.278 | -0.383 | -0.077 |
| 90th (1967) | -0.098 | -0.289 | 0.237 | -0.366 | -0.129 |
| 91st (1969) | -0.057 | -0.284 | 0.235 | -0.365 | -0.118 |
| 92nd (1971) | -0.04 | -0.277 | 0.227 | -0.354 | -0.117 |
| 93rd (1973) | -0.057 | -0.311 | 0.255 | -0.379 | -0.121 |
| 94th (1975) | -0.083 | -0.304 | 0.252 | -0.374 | -0.123 |
| 95th (1977) | -0.102 | -0.301 | 0.234 | -0.375 | -0.13 |
| 96th (1979) | -0.075 | -0.297 | 0.243 | -0.347 | -0.18 |
| 97th (1981) | 0.021 | -0.284 | 0.272 | -0.328 | -0.186 |
| 98th (1983) | 0.02 | -0.289 | 0.274 | -0.331 | -0.192 |
| 99th (1985) | 0.014 | -0.302 | 0.285 | -0.343 | -0.206 |
| 100th (1987) | -0.033 | -0.311 | 0.286 | -0.357 | -0.217 |
| 101st (1989) | -0.036 | -0.311 | 0.299 | -0.346 | -0.229 |
| 102nd (1991) | -0.045 | -0.32 | 0.309 | -0.354 | -0.236 |
| 103rd (1993) | -0.046 | -0.33 | 0.329 | -0.365 | -0.231 |
| 104th (1995) | 0.023 | -0.343 | 0.349 | -0.366 | -0.252 |
| 105th (1997) | 0.045 | -0.358 | 0.381 | -0.375 | -0.273 |
| 106th (1999) | 0.045 | -0.346 | 0.374 | -0.375 | -0.225 |
| 107th (2001) | 0.022 | -0.345 | 0.388 | -0.371 | -0.224 |
| 108th (2003) | 0.03 | -0.342 | 0.382 | -0.37 | -0.224 |
| 109th (2005) | 0.068 | -0.359 | 0.419 | -0.37 | -0.245 |
| 110th (2007) | 0.047 | -0.352 | 0.445 | -0.365 | -0.23 |
| 111th (2009) | -0.028 | -0.361 | 0.463 | -0.377 | -0.23 |
| 112th (2011) | 0.054 | -0.357 | 0.523 | -0.372 | -0.238 |
| 113th (2013) ^a | 0.026 | -0.387 | 0.55 | -0.403 | -0.252 |

a. The data for the 113th Congress only include the first session.

Source: Keith Poole, Professor of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego, and Howard Rosenthal, Professor of Politics at Princeton University, developed ideological scores based on members' voting records. The Poole-Rosenthal scores can be viewed at voteview.com. A positive score denotes a conservative ideology, while a negative score denotes a liberal one. Scores closest to zero reflect the most centrist ideologies, while more extreme scores reflect stronger conservative or liberal ideologies.

