

Table 3-11 How PACs Distributed Their Contributions to Congressional Candidates, 1978-2016

	Percentage distribution							Dollars to chamber (in millions)	Percentage distribution							Dollars to chamber (in millions)	Total percent	Total dollars (in million)
	Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat		Percent to Chamber		Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat		Percent to Chamber			
	D	R	D	R	D	R			D	R	D	R	D	R				
<b>House, 2016</b>								<b>Senate, 2016</b>										
Corporate	26	50	0	0	1	1	79%	144.5	4	13	1	0	1	2	21%	37.3	100%	181.8
Association	26	49	1	1	1	3	82%	100.6	3	12	1	0	1	2	18%	22.1	100%	122.8
Labor	53	12	14	1	8	6	88%	41.0	2	1	5	0	3	0	12%	5.6	100%	46.5
Nonconnected	16	36	7	2	4	5	70%	54.9	4	15	5	0	2	3	30%	23.1	100%	78.1
Other PACs	34	48	1	1	1	2	86%	10.5	3	8	1	0	1	1	14%	1.7	100%	12.2
All PACs	27	43	3	1	2	2	80%	351.5	4	12	2	0	1	2	20%	89.8	100%	441.3
<b>House, 2014</b>								<b>Senate, 2014</b>										
Corporate	27	47	0	1	1	2	78%	138.9	8	8	0	3	1	2	22%	39.1	100%	178.0
Association	28	46	1	2	2	4	82%	97.6	6	6	0	3	1	2	18%	21.7	100%	119.3
Labor	60	10	8	0	9	0	88%	44.5	8	0	1	0	2	0	12%	6.2	100%	50.7
Nonconnected	19	27	3	7	4	6	66%	50.4	12	8	1	6	3	4	34%	25.6	100%	76.0
Other PACs	34	45	0	2	1	3	86%	10.2	5	4	0	2	1	2	14%	1.7	100%	11.9
All PACs	30	39	2	2	3	3	78%	341.6	8	7	0	3	1	2	22%	94.3	100%	435.9
<b>House, 2012</b>								<b>Senate, 2012</b>										
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
<b>House, 2010</b>								<b>Senate, 2010</b>										
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
<b>House, 2008</b>								<b>Senate, 2008</b>										
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
<b>House, 2006</b>								<b>Senate, 2006</b>										
Corporate	25	49	<1	<1	1	2	78	99.9	7	11.04924465	1	1	1	2	22	29	100	128.4

Association	28	46	2	1	2	3	83	81.3	5	8	1	1	1	1	17	17	100	98.3
Labor	51	10	18	<1	8	<1	87	49.4	6	1	4	<1	2	1	13	8	100	56.9
Nonconnected	14	36	10	4	4	6	75	52.9	6	9	4	2	2	3	25	18	100	70.9
Other PACs	31	39	2	1	2	3	77	7.1	6	7	1	1	2	7	23	2	100	9.3
All PACs	28	39	6	1	3	3	80	290.7	6	7.996846621	2	1	1	2	20	73	100	363.8
<b>House, 2004</b>									<b>Senate, 2004</b>									
Corporate	23	47	<1	1	1	3	76	79	7	10	<1	1	2	5	24	25	100	104.3
Association	26	45	1	2	2	5	81	63	6	7	<1	1	1	4	19	15	100	78.2
Labor	56	10	10	<1	8	1	85	43	7	1	2	<1	5	<1	15	8	100	50.3
Nonconnected	14	30	5	7	4	11	71	35	7	7	2	3	4	7	29	15	100	49.8
Other PACs	29	42	1	2	3	3	79	5	8	6	<1	1	2	3	21	1	100	6.5
All PACs	28	37	3	2	3	5	78	225	7	7	1	1	3	4	22	64	100	289.1
<b>House, 2002</b>									<b>Senate, 2002</b>									
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
<b>House, 2000</b>									<b>Senate, 2000</b>									
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
<b>House, 1998</b>									<b>Senate, 1998</b>									
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
<b>House, 1996</b>									<b>Senate, 1996</b>									
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
<b>House, 1994</b>									<b>Senate, 1994</b>									
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
<b>House, 1992</b>									<b>Senate, 1992</b>									
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
<b>House, 1990</b>									<b>Senate, 1990</b>									
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
<b>House, 1988</b>									<b>Senate, 1988</b>									
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
<b>House, 1986</b>									<b>Senate, 1986</b>									
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
<b>House, 1984</b>									<b>Senate, 1984</b>									
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
<b>House, 1982</b>									<b>Senate, 1982</b>									
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
	<b>House, 1980</b>									<b>Senate, 1980</b>								
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
	<b>House, 1978</b>									<b>Senate, 1978</b>								
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.