

House Campaign Expenditures: Incumbents and Challengers, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1974-2016 (full cycle), Adjusted for Inflation, 2016 Dollars

Table 3-3

	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000	1998
Incumbent won with 60% or more										
Incumbents	1,253,907 (n=294)	1,248,892 (n=296)	1,360,775 (n=256)	1,281,935 (n=251)	1,242,644 (n=305)	1,160,804 (n=300)	1,104,575 ^a (n=343)	1,028,284 ^a (n=336)	912,761 ^a (n=326)	791,337 ^a (n=309)
Democrats	1,096,199 (n=140)	1,032,380 (n=118)	1,286,785 (n=128)	1,286,897 (n=109)	1,211,248 (n=197)	1,087,516 (n=180)	1,061,249 (n=166)	999,512 (n=159)	843,944 (n=167)	659,635 (n=144)
Republicans	1,397,278 (n=154)	1,392,421 (n=178)	1,434,765 (n=128)	1,278,125 (n=142)	1,299,911 (n=108)	1,270,737 (n=120)	1,145,868 (n=176)	1,055,084 (n=176)	989,561 (n=157)	907,048 (n=164)
Challengers	130,417 (n=163)	197,732 (n=182)	161,198 (n=171)	188,139 (n=185)	270,962 (n=191)	175,091 (n=188)	233,999 (n=230)	260,518 (n=179)	212,883 (n=198)	196,052 (n=161)
Democrats	158,951 (n=94)	256,192 (n=122)	110,653 (n=83)	179,536 (n=98)	241,802 (n=84)	137,477 (n=99)	209,225 (n=126)	295,506 (n=95)	232,734 (n=96)	165,484 (n=89)
Republicans	91,546 (n=69)	78,865 (n=60)	208,871 (n=88)	197,829 (n=87)	293,855 (n=107)	216,931 (n=89)	264,015 (n=104)	194,841 (n=86)	194,199 (n=102)	233,839 (n=72)
Incumbent won with <60%										
Incumbents	2,246,538 (n=85)	2,041,708 (n=77)	2,358,369 (n=100) ^b	2,256,533 (n=87)	2,187,831 (n=75)	2,274,876 (n=80)	2,394,862 (n=51)	1,971,262 (n=46)	2,017,330 (n=68)	1,516,093 (n=85)
Democrats	1,659,688 (n=27)	1,995,132 (n=53)	2,123,001 (n=28)	2,127,131 (n=74)	2,514,626 (n=27)	2,537,387 (n=11)	2,011,964 (n=19)	1,618,501 (n=26)	2,042,379 (n=32)	1,550,145 (n=44)
Republicans	2,519,726 (n=58)	2,144,563 (n=24)	2,449,901 (n=72)	2,993,131 (n=13)	2,004,009 (n=48)	2,233,026 (n=69)	2,622,208 (n=32)	2,429,850 (n=20)	1,995,063 (n=36)	1,479,552 (n=41)
Challengers	807,461 (n=79)	965,978 (n=76)	970,922 (n=95) ^b	1,260,410 (n=87)	1,227,834 (n=75)	1,196,483 (n=79)	1,056,746 (n=49)	1,134,469 (n=43)	1,215,733 (n=68)	949,398 (n=86)
Democrats	974,403 (n=53)	1,193,664 (n=25)	793,060 (n=69)	1,835,815 (n=13)	1,127,726 (n=48)	1,041,661 (n=69)	1,070,241 (n=30)	1,610,499 (n=18)	1,298,672 (n=36)	990,546 (n=42)
Republicans	467,155 (n=26)	854,367 (n=51)	1,442,941 (n=26)	1,159,326 (n=74)	1,405,807 (n=27)	2,264,745 (n=10)	1,035,439 (n=19)	791,727 (n=25)	1,122,426 (n=32)	910,121 (n=44)
Incumbent was defeated										
Incumbents	2,882,057 (n=8)	3,006,252 (n=13)	3,250,698 (n=32) ^b	2,793,442 (n=55)	2,626,755 (n=19)	3,342,374 (n=22)	3,147,217 (n=7) ^b	2,466,187 (n=8) ^b	3,525,637 (n=6)	1,979,841 (n=6)
Democrats	2,754,797 (n=2)	2,994,634 (n=11)	2,634,715 (n=12)	2,828,567 (n=53)	2,203,464 (n=5)	NA	3,283,750 (n=5)	2,392,092 (n=5)	1,857,656 (n=2)	1,257,794 (n=1)
Republicans	2,924,478 (n=6)	3,070,147 (n=2)	3,620,287 (n=20)	1,862,611 (n=2)	2,777,930 (n=14)	3,342,374 (n=22)	2,805,883 (n=2)	2,589,680 (n=3)	4,359,628 (n=4)	2,124,250 (n=5)
Challengers	2,735,595 (n=8)	2,129,202 (n=13)	2,589,745 (n=22) ^b	1,894,496 (n=55)	2,217,031 (n=19)	2,186,247 (n=22)	2,122,152 (n=5)	2,138,885 (n=4)	2,759,934 (n=6)	1,691,798 (n=6)
Democrats	2,900,822 (n=7)	2,481,241 (n=2)	2,747,631 (n=18)	1,938,180 (n=2)	2,439,893 (n=14)	2,186,247 (n=22)	2,194,807 (n=2)	2,637,914 (n=2)	3,455,649 (n=4)	1,780,524 (n=5)
Republicans	1,579,008 (n=1)	2,065,196 (n=11)	1,879,258 (n=4)	1,892,848 (n=53)	1,593,019 (n=5)	NA	2,073,714 (n=3)	1,639,856 (n=2)	1,368,505 (n=2)	1,248,172 (n=1)

1996	1994	1992	1990	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978	1976	1974
798,411 ^a (n=262)	731,056 (n=263)	832,104 ^a (n=234)	657,032 (n=313)	700,011 (n=359)	639,163 (n=330)	537,886 (n=318)	497,847 (n=264)	366,745 (n=284)	341,222 (n=287)	268,386 (n=272)	172,624 (n=251)
725,159 (n=124)	728,297 (n=120)	837,287 (n=138)	674,642 (n=197)	682,906 (n=220)	642,684 (n=209)	507,055 (n=183)	514,013 (n=178)	343,038 (n=170)	314,453 (n=184)	240,163 (n=185)	148,248 (n=194)
860,016 (n=137)	733,372 (n=143)	822,959 (n=95)	627,125 (n=116)	727,083 (n=139)	633,082 (n=121)	579,678 (n=135)	464,387 (n=86)	402,099 (n=114)	389,043 (n=103)	328,396 (n=87)	255,584 (n=57)
159,760 (n=212)	184,528 (n=183)	148,360 (n=187)	110,688 (n=180)	160,275 (n=234)	202,421 (n=202)	166,138 (n=184)	204,871 (n=163)	138,426 (n=170)	125,643 (n=209)	107,527 (n=225)	69,058 (n=193)
149,796 (n=115)	214,740 (n=96)	130,049 (n=76)	79,066 (n=65)	177,238 (n=102)	159,353 (n=85)	170,557 (n=99)	91,098 (n=62)	128,509 (n=75)	132,666 (n=84)	112,225 (n=81)	109,210 (n=56)
171,572 (n=96)	151,191 (n=87)	160,897 (n=111)	128,559 (n=115)	147,169 (n=132)	233,709 (n=117)	160,989 (n=85)	274,712 (n=101)	146,256 (n=95)	120,924 (n=125)	104,882 (n=144)	52,645 (n=137)
1,518,305 (n=99)	1,163,580 ^a (n=85)	1,333,046 (n=91)	1,115,171 (n=77)	1,420,178 (n=44)	1,720,108 (n=52)	1,011,199 (n=74)	981,037 (n=90)	762,841 (n=76)	595,806 (n=71)	480,600 (n=98)	338,591 (n=90)
1,406,646 (n=41)	1,181,855 (n=70)	1,418,072 (n=57)	1,155,308 (n=44)	1,398,411 (n=23)	2,054,894 (n=20)	974,428 (n=58)	1,110,603 (n=35)	650,538 (n=50)	533,997 (n=51)	503,804 (n=62)	288,991 (n=20)
1,597,237 (n=58)	1,084,890 (n=14)	1,190,503 (n=34)	1,061,655 (n=33)	1,444,018 (n=21)	1,510,868 (n=32)	1,144,492 (n=16)	898,584 (n=55)	978,803 (n=26)	753,423 (n=20)	440,639 (n=36)	352,764 (n=70)
797,411 (n=98)	531,230 (n=85)	479,949 (n=84)	456,476 (n=75)	789,682 (n=44)	733,480 (n=46)	711,331 (n=72)	583,951 (n=84)	575,257 (n=76)	575,884 (n=71)	410,509 (n=98)	269,369 (n=90)
823,193 (n=58)	776,517 (n=14)	467,145 (n=29)	392,802 (n=31)	895,372 (n=21)	775,072 (n=28)	893,544 (n=16)	453,233 (n=53)	568,371 (n=26)	689,431 (n=20)	325,106 (n=36)	266,302 (n=70)
760,025 (n=40)	482,864 (n=71)	486,701 (n=55)	501,339 (n=44)	693,182 (n=23)	668,781 (n=18)	659,271 (n=56)	807,436 (n=31)	578,836 (n=50)	531,354 (n=51)	460,101 (n=62)	280,100 (n=20)
1,677,533 (n=21)	1,604,892 (n=34)	1,519,424 ^b (n=24)	1,224,177 (n=15)	1,939,697 (n=5)	1,275,907 (n=6)	1,069,683 (n=16)	1,127,807 (n=29)	834,662 (n=31)	738,452 (n=19)	652,844 (n=12)	426,453 (n=40)
1,086,695 (n=3)	1,604,892 (n=34)	1,621,330 (n=16)	1,082,891 (n=6)	1,897,930 (n=2)	1,156,459 (n=1)	1,116,192 (n=13)	878,453 (n=3)	831,974 (n=28)	699,385 (n=14)	412,837 (n=7)	270,761 (n=4)
1,790,495 (n=18)	NA (n=0)	1,315,611 (n=8)	1,318,369 (n=9)	1,967,542 (n=3)	1,299,796 (n=5)	868,146 (n=3)	1,156,578 (n=26)	859,744 (n=3)	847,839 (n=5)	988,858 (n=5)	443,751 (n=36)
1,664,714 (n=21)	1,131,189 (n=34)	762,839 (n=19)	832,295 ^a (n=15)	1,268,243 (n=5)	996,535 (n=11)	1,191,077 (n=16)	736,866 (n=23)	999,329 (n=31)	799,102 (n=19)	610,436 (n=12)	423,640 (n=40)
1,628,884 (n=18)	NA (n=0)	601,894 (n=6)	969,160 (n=8)	1,641,112 (n=3)	1,105,156 (n=9)	576,252 (n=3)	728,181 (n=22)	1,030,676 (n=4)	706,905 (n=5)	609,470 (n=5)	437,247 (n=36)
1,883,978 (n=3)	1,131,189 (n=34)	837,121 (n=13)	614,146 (n=6)	708,940 (n=2)	507,746 (n=2)	1,332,961 (n=13)	927,927 (n=1)	994,686 (n=27)	832,029 (n=14)	611,124 (n=7)	301,186 (n=4)

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

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

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

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