

Table 3-4

House Campaign Expenditures: Open House Seats, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1984-2018 (full cycle)
Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000	1998	1996
All Winners	2,638,797 (n=66)	1,753,612 (n=46)	1,968,515 (n=49)	1,661,827 (n=62)	1,610,916 (n=42)	2,224,441 (n=36)	2,348,736 (n=33)	1,998,911 (n=36)	1,801,219 (n=49)	1,990,099 (n=36)	1,531,257 (n=34)	1,229,238 (n=53)
Democrats	3,501,670 (n=33)	1,723,368 (n=18)	1,759,498 (n=15)	1,947,847 (n=31)	1,479,962 (n=7)	2,536,768 (n=19)	2,198,470 (n=20)	1,935,353 (n=15)	1,726,816 (n=18)	1,900,132 (n=10)	1,463,022 (n=18)	1,199,113 (n=24)
Republicans	1,775,925 (n=33)	1,773,055 (n=28)	2,060,729 (n=34)	1,375,808 (n=31)	1,637,106 (n=35)	1,875,370 (n=17)	2,579,913 (n=13)	2,044,309 (n=21)	1,844,421 (n=31)	2,024,701 (n=26)	1,608,021 (n=16)	1,254,169 (n=29)
Winners with 60% or more	1,539,907 (n=29)	1,642,458 (n=25)	1,540,208 (n=25)	1,571,718 (n=33)	1,350,900 (n=26)	2,060,870 (n=11)	1,457,994 (n=15)	1,719,968 (n=20)	1,596,472 (n=24)	1,570,154 (n=14)	1,162,887 (n=11)	1,042,238 (n=18)
Democrats	1,481,138 (n=15)	1,242,794 (n=9)	1,395,544 (n=10)	1,775,554 (n=19)	967,658 (n=4)	2,573,062 (n=6)	1,515,464 (n=11)	1,271,843 (n=8)	1,813,731 (n=8)	1,412,169 (n=4)	1,013,275 (n=8)	949,727 (n=8)
Republicans	1,602,874 (n=14)	1,867,269 (n=16)	1,636,649 (n=15)	1,295,083 (n=14)	1,420,580 (n=22)	1,446,239 (n=5)	1,299,952 (n=4)	2,018,717 (n=12)	1,487,843 (n=16)	1,633,348 (n=10)	1,561,853 (n=3)	1,116,248 (n=10)
Winners with <60%	3,500,090 (n=37)	1,885,939 (n=21)	2,414,669 (n=24)	1,764,366 (n=29)	1,969,683 (n=16)	2,296,412 (n=25)	3,091,020 (n=18)	2,347,590 (n=16)	1,997,777 (n=25)	2,257,335 (n=22)	1,707,434 (n=23)	1,325,410 (n=35)
Democrats	5,185,446 (n=18)	2,203,943 (n=9)	2,487,407 (n=5)	2,220,642 (n=12)	2,122,356 (n=3)	2,520,017 (n=13)	3,033,257 (n=9)	2,693,651 (n=7)	1,657,285 (n=10)	2,225,439 (n=6)	1,822,820 (n=10)	1,323,806 (n=16)
Republicans	1,903,436 (n=19)	1,647,436 (n=12)	2,395,527 (n=19)	1,442,288 (n=17)	1,934,451 (n=13)	2,054,175 (n=12)	3,148,783 (n=9)	2,078,432 (n=9)	2,224,772 (n=15)	2,269,297 (n=16)	1,618,676 (n=13)	1,326,759 (n=19)
All losers	1,435,814 (n=62)	1,399,087 (n=36)	866,155 (n=45)	667,483 (n=56)	1,004,746 (n=39)	1,423,234 (n=35)	1,402,664 (n=31)	1,038,652 (n=31)	1,333,762 (n=47)	1,429,763 (n=32)	865,695 (n=31)	858,954 (n=52)
Democrats	1,813,361 (n=31)	1,665,428 (n=24)	879,293 (n=31)	474,737 (n=27)	1,049,748 (n=34)	1,223,871 (n=17)	1,606,978 (n=13)	891,071 (n=17)	1,370,935 (n=31)	1,411,866 (n=25)	809,486 (n=15)	903,763 (n=29)
Republicans	1,058,267 (n=31)	866,403 (n=12)	837,060 (n=14)	846,935 (n=29)	799,416 (n=5)	1,611,522 (n=18)	1,255,105 (n=18)	1,217,856 (n=14)	1,261,738 (n=16)	1,493,681 (n=7)	918,392 (n=16)	802,456 (n=23)
Losers with >40%	2,199,357 (n=37)	2,325,430 (n=20)	1,300,476 (n=24)	1,180,760 (n=27)	1,643,237 (n=16)	1,808,696 (n=25)	2,097,831 (n=18)	1,825,772 (n=16)	1,705,032 (n=25)	2,144,148 (n=20)	1,174,036 (n=22)	1,043,995 (n=35)
Democrats	2,795,320 (n=19)	3,057,391 (n=12)	1,339,971 (n=17)	799,478 (n=14)	1,720,252 (n=13)	1,634,376 (n=12)	2,232,717 (n=9)	1,413,281 (n=9)	1,564,910 (n=15)	2,254,260 (n=15)	955,575 (n=12)	1,051,959 (n=19)
Republicans	1,570,284 (n=18)	1,227,489 (n=8)	1,204,559 (n=7)	1,591,371 (n=13)	1,309,502 (n=3)	1,969,608 (n=13)	1,962,944 (n=9)	2,356,119 (n=7)	1,915,215 (n=10)	1,813,809 (n=5)	1,436,192 (n=10)	1,034,538 (n=16)
Losers with 40% or less	305,770 (n=25)	241,157 (n=16)	369,786 (n=21)	189,604 (n=29)	582,467 (n=23)	459,579 (n=10)	440,126 (n=13)	199,056 (n=15)	872,872 (n=22)	239,123 (n=12)	111,974 (n=9)	477,984 (n=17)
Democrats	258,591 (n=12)	273,465 (n=12)	319,899 (n=14)	125,015 (n=13)	634,675 (n=21)	238,658 (n=5)	199,061 (n=4)	303,585 (n=8)	1,189,083 (n=16)	148,276 (n=10)	225,129 (n=3)	622,188 (n=10)
Republicans	349,319 (n=13)	144,231 (n=4)	469,561 (n=7)	242,082 (n=16)	34,286 (n=2)	680,499 (n=5)	547,266 (n=9)	79,594 (n=7)	172,611 (n=6)	693,360 (n=2)	55,396 (n=6)	271,978 (n=7)

1994	1992	1990	1988	1986	1984
1,020,032 (n=52)	960,968 (n=91)	1,188,685 (n=30)	1,287,234 (n=27)	1,199,996 (n=46)	1,065,602 (n=26)
1,146,141 (n=14)	904,826 (n=57)	1,129,317 (n=18)	1,170,152 (n=13)	1,181,234 (n=22)	1,035,402 (n=8)
973,570 (n=38)	1,055,088 (n=34)	1,277,741 (n=12)	1,395,955 (n=14)	1,217,195 (n=24)	1,079,028 (n=18)
1,047,386 (n=21)	923,628 (n=44)	1,187,623 (n=14)	1,154,572 (n=11)	1,244,955 (n=19)	901,445 (n=8)
995,133 (n=3)	707,311 (n=33)	1,006,211 (n=9)	831,826 (n=7)	1,231,597 (n=7)	702,551 (n=3)
1,056,095 (n=18)	1,572,585 (n=11)	1,514,166 (n=5)	1,719,378 (n=4)	1,252,747 (n=12)	1,020,780 (n=5)
1,001,500 (n=31)	995,925 (n=47)	1,189,615 (n=16)	1,378,439 (n=16)	1,168,358 (n=27)	1,138,561 (n=18)
1,187,324 (n=11)	1,176,414 (n=24)	1,252,423 (n=9)	1,564,866 (n=6)	1,157,732 (n=15)	1,235,111 (n=5)
899,299 (n=20)	807,589 (n=23)	1,108,865 (n=7)	1,266,585 (n=10)	1,181,644 (n=12)	1,101,429 (n=13)
960,655 (n=51)	574,516 (n=83)	851,683 (n=26)	933,379 (n=24)	741,678 (n=40)	682,702 (n=26)
871,511 (n=38)	761,765 (n=31)	917,661 (n=12)	924,745 (n=13)	733,528 (n=21)	764,460 (n=18)
1,221,229 (n=13)	462,830 (n=52)	795,131 (n=14)	967,622 (n=10)	748,271 (n=19)	498,741 (n=8)
1,157,696 (n=31)	804,806 (n=47)	894,854 (n=16)	1,199,672 (n=16)	827,045 (n=23)	853,041 (n=18)
1,010,458 (n=20)	844,840 (n=23)	836,444 (n=8)	1,073,220 (n=9)	674,419 (n=10)	950,441 (n=13)
1,425,402 (n=11)	766,440 (n=24)	953,261 (n=8)	1,472,096 (n=6)	944,446 (n=13)	599,805 (n=5)
655,242 (n=20)	273,778 (n=36)	782,612 (n=10)	400,793 (n=8)	444,006 (n=15)	299,434 (n=8)
717,127 (n=18)	522,927 (n=8)	1,080,092 (n=4)	590,677 (n=4)	524,527 (n=9)	280,911 (n=5)
98,282 (n=2)	202,593 (n=28)	584,294 (n=6)	210,911 (n=4)	323,225 (n=6)	330,301 (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.