

Table 3-5

**Senate Campaign Expenditures: Major Party General Election Candidates, 1974-2018 (full cycle, net dollars)**  
*Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars*

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000	1998	1996
<b>All candidates</b>												
Total expenditures	886,554,685	580,219,675	589,455,572	642,583,910	654,315,300 <sup>c</sup>	454,095,806	641,390,929 <sup>a</sup>	488,541,560	392,963,316	560,821,914	383,877,318	368,770,395
Mean expenditure	12,833,433 <sup>a</sup> (n=69)	8,659,995 (n=67)	8,302,191 <sup>a</sup> (n=71)	10,199,745 (n=63)	9,215,708 (n=71)	6,880,239 (n=66)	9,867,552 (n=65)	7,184,434 (n=68)	6,338,118 (n=62)	8,497,302 (n=66)	5,816,324 (n=66)	5,673,383 (n=65)
Mean, Democrats	15,426,274 (n=34)	8,825,692 (n=34)	9,144,410 (n=34)	11,822,332 (n=28)	8,214,157 (n=32)	6,843,639 (n=34)	10,724,206 (n=31)	7,477,812 (n=34)	6,424,668 (n=30)	8,888,561 (n=33)	5,363,727 (n=34)	5,418,892 (n=32)
Mean, Republicans	10,635,921 (n=33)	8,489,277 (n=33)	7,569,365 (n=36)	9,257,574 (n=33)	9,889,235 (n=38)	6,919,128 (n=32)	8,763,122 (n=32)	6,891,058 (n=34)	6,256,977 (n=32)	8,106,043 (n=33)	6,297,206 (n=32)	5,920,162 (n=33)
<b>Incumbents</b>												
Mean, all incumbents	13,887,581 <sup>a</sup> (n=32)	10,615,841 (n=29)	11,559,361 (n=27)	11,703,639 <sup>a</sup> (n=22)	10,962,488 (n=23)	9,042,669 (n=30)	11,740,965 (n=29)	8,729,307 (n=26)	6,331,052 (n=27)	6,606,787 (n=29)	7,284,628 (n=29)	6,775,094 (n=20)
Mean, Democrats	15,005,053 (n=24)	9,278,642 (n=7)	14,062,065 (n=16)	12,327,424 (n=15)	14,510,914 (n=12)	7,404,951 (n=12)	11,907,689 (n=14)	9,860,925 (n=14)	8,573,648 (n=12)	5,356,038 (n=11)	7,025,945 (n=15)	8,334,387 (n=7)
Mean, Republicans	12,375,521 (n=6)	11,041,314 (n=22)	8,222,422 (n=12)	11,611,532 (n=6)	7,091,478 (n=11)	10,134,480 (n=18)	10,909,885 (n=14)	7,409,088 (n=12)	4,536,974 (n=15)	7,371,135 (n=18)	7,561,788 (n=14)	5,935,475 (n=13)
<b>Challengers</b>												
Mean, all challengers	11,392,015 (n=31)	6,021,631 (n=28)	5,328,791 (n=27)	7,903,208 (n=19)	6,057,329 (n=20)	4,423,059 (n=26)	7,049,633 (n=28)	3,223,711 (n=26)	4,027,392 (n=21)	4,598,472 (n=27)	4,843,814 (n=27)	4,977,216 (n=17)
Mean, Democrats	17,031,018 (n=7)	7,742,113 (n=21)	3,743,171 (n=10)	19,780,440 (n=3)	2,065,435 (n=7)	5,952,219 (n=17)	8,880,532 (n=14)	2,066,589 (n=12)	3,045,871 (n=11)	4,785,404 (n=17)	4,028,654 (n=14)	4,673,367 (n=11)
Mean, Republicans	9,747,306 (n=24)	860,181 (n=7)	6,274,823 (n=16)	5,676,227 (n=16)	8,206,810 (n=13)	1,534,648 (n=9)	5,218,736 <sup>b</sup> (n=14)	4,215,530 (n=14)	5,107,065 (n=10)	4,280,689 (n=10)	5,721,678 (n=13)	5,534,272 (n=6)
<b>Open seats</b>												
Mean, all Open	14,658,639 (n=6)	10,375,462 (n=10)	7,619,757 (n=16)	10,679,223 <sup>a</sup> (n=22)	10,036,840 (n=28)	6,781,621 (n=10)	12,939,150 <sup>a</sup> (n=8)	11,110,191 (n=16)	9,817,835 (n=14)	24,506,632 (n=10)	4,184,014 (n=10)	5,309,119 (n=28)
Mean, Democrats	15,051,638 (n=3)	12,089,775 (n=6)	6,060,648 (n=8)	8,677,263 (n=10)	5,712,617 (n=13)	8,527,315 (n=5)	13,805,097 (n=3)	11,424,196 (n=8)	8,050,241 (n=7)	30,610,842 (n=5)	4,115,283 (n=5)	4,546,912 (n=14)
Mean, Republicans	14,265,641 (n=3)	7,803,992 (n=4)	9,178,867 (n=8)	13,182,829 (n=11)	13,649,723 (n=14)	5,035,926 (n=5)	13,654,806 (n=4)	10,796,187 (n=8)	11,585,429 (n=7)	18,402,420 (n=5)	4,252,744 (n=5)	6,071,324 (n=14)

1994	1992	1990	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978	1976	1974
473,550,544	347,794,898	333,087,157	392,040,010	420,266,259	343,096,451	296,739,202	226,007,481	249,164,040	168,178,781	144,838,864
6,765,007 (n=70)	5,040,505 (n=69)	4,971,450 (n=67)	5,940,001 (n=66)	6,272,630 (n=67)	5,624,531 (n=61)	4,636,541 (n=64)	3,373,245 (n=67)	3,664,179 (n=68)	2,628,013 (n=64)	2,228,292 (n=65)
5,752,026 (n=35)	5,035,923 (n=35)	4,736,422 (n=34)	6,219,950 (n=33)	5,178,887 (n=33)	5,221,858 (n=31)	4,895,621 (n=32)	3,567,243 (n=34)	2,937,917 (n=35)	2,515,051 (n=33)	2,484,457 (n=34)
7,777,988 (n=35)	5,045,225 (n=34)	5,213,600 (n=33)	5,660,052 (n=33)	7,334,205 (n=34)	6,040,627 (n=30)	4,377,464 (n=32)	3,173,371 (n=33)	4,434,453 (n=33)	2,721,289 (n=30)	1,947,444 (n=31)
13,000,557 (n=26)	6,637,343 (n=27)	6,874,184 (n=32)	7,955,893 (n=27)	7,731,626 (n=28)	6,138,537 (n=28)	4,835,150 (n=29)	3,966,796 (n=25)	5,168,267 (n=22)	2,752,949 (n=25)	2,830,501 (n=25)
8,731,133 (n=16)	5,100,794 (n=15)	6,948,970 (n=17)	7,338,234 (n=15)	6,215,347 (n=9)	4,241,519 (n=12)	4,413,826 (n=18)	4,131,259 (n=19)	2,380,937 (n=11)	2,220,293 (n=17)	2,677,962 (n=15)
6,615,480 (n=10)	8,558,029 (n=12)	6,789,426 (n=15)	8,727,966 (n=12)	8,449,863 (n=19)	7,561,298 (n=16)	5,524,586 (n=11)	3,445,993 (n=6)	7,955,601 (n=11)	3,933,607 (n=7)	3,059,308 (n=10)
6,772,452 (n=26)	3,266,347 (n=26)	3,264,673 (n=29)	3,857,158 (n=27)	4,351,797 (n=27)	3,000,315 (n=25)	3,166,899 (n=29)	2,567,590 (n=24)	2,687,330 (n=21)	1,995,948 (n=23)	1,693,974 (n=22)
2,077,695 (n=10)	4,565,251 (n=12)	2,680,161 (n=14)	4,572,743 (n=12)	4,379,922 (n=18)	3,662,469 (n=15)	3,944,891 (n=11)	1,697,428 (n=6)	3,197,694 (n=11)	2,848,414 (n=8)	1,987,958 (n=10)
9,664,315 (n=16)	2,151,384 (n=14)	3,810,221 (n=15)	3,284,692 (n=15)	4,295,543 (n=9)	2,007,082 (n=10)	2,691,461 (n=18)	2,857,643 (n=18)	2,125,933 (n=10)	1,541,298 (n=15)	1,448,984 (n=12)
5,089,661 (n=18)	5,230,267 (n=16)	3,072,956 (n=6)	6,090,635 (n=12)	7,190,188 (n=12)	12,026,191 (n=8)	10,779,873 (n=6)	3,451,380 (n=18)	3,161,125 (n=25)	3,340,522 (n=16)	2,044,938 (n=18)
4,463,122 (n=9)	5,620,295 (n=8)	1,794,533 (n=3)	6,718,651 (n=6)	6,021,090 (n=6)	14,010,589 (n=4)	11,272,386 (n=3)	3,623,081 (n=9)	3,189,394 (n=13)	2,808,051 (n=8)	2,713,234 (n=9)
5,716,198 (n=9)	4,840,237 (n=8)	4,351,379 (n=3)	5,462,619 (n=6)	8,359,286 (n=6)	10,041,793 (n=4)	10,287,359 (n=3)	3,279,683 (n=9)	3,130,499 (n=12)	3,872,988 (n=8)	1,376,642 (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.*