

Senate Campaign Expenditures: Incumbents and Challengers, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1980-2016 (full cycle), Adjusted for Inflation, 2016 Mean Net Dollars

Table 3-6

	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000	1998	1996	1994
Incumbent won with 60% or more												
Incumbents	7,279,785 (n=18)	6,508,825 (n=13)	7,439,848 ^a (n=12)	7,932,423 (n=13)	5,581,865 (n=17)	7,954,505 (n=17)	5,984,864 (n=18)	4,385,704 (n=16)	4,769,373 (n=20)	3,888,295 (n=19)	3,699,459 (n=6)	5,847,191 (n=10)
Democrats	7,830,756 (n=6)	8,859,676 (n=3)	8,454,327 (n=8)	9,351,228 (n=5)	6,475,010 (n=10)	10,312,132 (n=11)	7,295,477 (n=10)	6,376,405 (n=6)	4,682,015 (n=10)	4,610,702 (n=9)	3,467,713 (n=2)	2,811,042 (n=3)
Republicans	7,004,300 (n=12)	5,803,571 (n=10)	6,290,742 (n=3)	7,045,670 (n=8)	4,305,944 (n=7)	3,632,189 (n=6)	4,346,597 (n=8)	3,191,283 (n=10)	4,856,731 (n=10)	3,238,129 (n=10)	3,815,333 (n=4)	7,148,396 (n=7)
Challengers	1,048,520 (n=17)	1,432,112 (n=12)	1,475,361 (n=10)	1,596,566 (n=10)	1,292,958 (n=13)	2,685,591 (n=16)	1,272,596 (n=18)	1,133,386 (n=10)	1,065,632 (n=18)	659,420 (n=17)	1,165,622 (n=3)	1,623,215 (n=10)
Democrats	1,464,926 (n=11)	1,854,109 (n=9)	439,863 (n=1)	2,058,146 (n=5)	1,770,463 (n=6)	474,852 (n=5)	269,129 (n=8)	1,213,834 (n=6)	677,398 (n=9)	431,053 (n=10)	733,927 (n=2)	2,211,645 (n=7)
Republicans	285,110 (n=6)	166,122 (n=3)	1,590,417 (n=9)	1,134,986 (n=5)	883,666 (n=7)	3,690,474 (n=11)	2,075,369 (n=10)	1,012,714 (n=4)	1,453,865 (n=9)	985,657 (n=7)	2,029,011 (n=1)	250,210 (n=3)
Incumbent won with <60%												
Incumbents	14,489,234 (n=10)	12,837,560 (n=12)	13,352,418 (n=9)	13,506,658 ^c (n=8)	12,198,612 (n=8)	14,976,033 ^a (n=6)	11,974,615 (n=7)	7,236,405 (n=8)	7,997,865 (n=3)	9,731,854 (n=7)	7,729,238 (n=13)	8,602,746 (n=14)
Democrats	15,094,864 (n=1)	12,889,471 (n=8)	15,586,123 (n=7)	17,972,116 (n=5)	10,090,675 (n=2)	15,301,671 (n=3)	11,205,396 (n=3)	7,878,402 (n=4)	0 (n=0)	9,747,261 (n=5)	9,765,276 (n=5)	9,749,868 (n=11)
Republicans	14,421,941 (n=9)	12,733,740 (n=4)	5,534,450 (n=2)	6,064,227 (n=3)	12,901,258 (n=6)	11,919,696 (n=2)	12,551,529 (n=4)	6,594,408 (n=4)	7,997,865 (n=3)	9,693,334 (n=2)	6,456,715 (n=8)	4,397,233 (n=3)
Challengers	12,476,328 (n=10)	5,059,165 ^a (n=12)	10,580,430 (n=8)	9,941,337 (n=8)	4,783,680 (n=8)	12,329,895 ^b (n=6)	5,511,177 (n=7)	3,428,779 (n=8)	3,843,454 (n=3)	7,262,746 (n=7)	5,600,075 (n=13)	8,982,210 (n=14)
Democrats	13,413,204 (n=9)	6,565,100 (n=3)	12,152,171 (n=1)	1,764,105 (n=2)	5,208,968 (n=6)	14,913,980 (n=3)	5,387,456 (n=4)	3,291,025 (n=4)	3,843,454 (n=3)	6,337,507 (n=2)	5,386,522 (n=8)	1,674,933 (n=3)
Republicans	4,044,441 (n=1)	4,404,196 (n=8)	10,355,895 (n=7)	12,667,081 (n=6)	3,507,817 (n=2)	9,745,809 (n=3)	5,676,138 (n=3)	3,566,532 (n=4)	0 (n=0)	7,632,842 (n=5)	5,941,758 (n=5)	10,975,104 (n=11)
Incumbent was defeated												
Incumbents	18,322,239 (n=1)	17,070,520 (n=5)	36,648,390 (n=1)	14,908,460 (n=2)	13,361,544 (n=5)	16,725,697 (n=6)	25,379,463 (n=1)	11,773,229 (n=3)	10,624,400 (n=6)	19,971,764 (n=3)	6,835,280 (n=1)	8,921,481 (n=2)
Democrats	NA (n=0)	17,070,520 (n=5)	0 (n=0)	14,908,460 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	NA (n=0)	25,379,463 (n=1)	14,281,920 (n=2)	9,491,917 (n=1)	10,497,894 (n=1)	#VALUE! (n=0)	8,921,481 (n=2)
Republicans	18,322,239 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	36,648,390 (n=1)	0 (n=0)	13,361,544 (n=5)	16,725,697 (n=6)	NA (n=0)	6,755,848 (n=1)	10,850,896 (n=5)	24,708,699 (n=2)	6,835,280 (n=1)	NA (n=0)
Challengers	18,564,438 (n=1)	12,045,449 (n=5)	44,126,144 (n=1)	10,147,515 (n=2)	10,967,640 (n=5)	11,952,574 (n=6)	18,626,483 (n=1)	6,268,118 (n=3)	14,659,779 (n=6)	20,984,150 (n=3)	4,574,595 (n=1)	13,158,500 (n=2)
Democrats	18,564,438 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	44,126,144 (n=1)	0 (n=0)	10,967,640 (n=5)	11,952,574 (n=6)	NA (n=0)	4,841,527 (n=1)	12,025,763 (n=5)	18,461,221 (n=2)	4,574,595 (n=1)	NA (n=0)
Republicans	NA (n=0)	12,045,449 (n=5)	0 (n=0)	10,147,515 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	NA (n=0)	18,626,483 (n=1)	6,981,414 (n=2)	27,829,858 (n=1)	26,030,008 (n=1)	#VALUE! (n=0)	13,158,500 (n=2)

1992	1990	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978	1976	1974
4,611,323 (n=13)	4,250,509 (n=19)	5,545,415 (n=15)	4,298,972 (n=14)	3,724,040 (n=18)	3,717,194 (n=13)	3,385,686 (n=10)	1,678,805 (n=7)	1,435,664 (n=11)	2,177,268 (n=11)
4,552,772 (n=9)	4,479,528 (n=10)	4,707,286 (n=10)	3,661,819 (n=8)	3,744,176 (n=7)	3,486,429 (n=12)	3,555,296 (n=6)	2,057,898 (n=4)	1,435,664 (n=11)	2,177,268 (n=11)
4,743,060 (n=4)	3,996,045 (n=9)	7,221,677 (n=5)	5,148,507 (n=6)	3,711,224 (n=11)	6,486,365 (n=1)	3,131,270 (n=4)	1,173,343 (n=3)	0 0	0 0
1,199,936 (n=12)	1,550,489 (n=16)	1,179,735 (n=15)	989,089 (n=13)	887,640 (n=15)	1,934,556 (n=13)	882,002 (n=9)	174,285 (n=6)	725,492 (n=9)	1,085,411 (n=8)
1,018,177 (n=4)	805,652 (n=8)	1,633,340 (n=5)	341,294 (n=5)	744,421 (n=10)	1,055,799 (n=1)	774,261 (n=4)	141,567 (n=3)	0 0	0 0
1,290,817 (n=8)	2,295,328 (n=8)	952,931 (n=10)	1,393,961 (n=8)	1,174,080 (n=5)	2,007,792 (n=12)	968,195 (n=5)	206,999 (n=3)	725,492 (n=9)	1,085,411 (n=8)
7,784,566 (n=10)	9,684,613 (n=12)	12,649,968 (n=8)	11,417,389 (n=7)	10,407,789 (n=7)	5,531,938 (n=14)	2,753,740 (n=6)	9,189,776 (n=8)	2,124,939 (n=5)	2,763,230 (n=14)
4,860,706 (n=4)	9,730,749 (n=7)	13,854,784 (n=4)	24,170,866 (n=1)	4,235,193 (n=4)	6,011,616 (n=5)	2,321,380 (n=4)	2,157,321 (n=2)	5,221,565 (n=1)	3,610,956 (n=4)
9,733,806 (n=6)	9,620,022 (n=5)	11,445,151 (n=4)	9,291,810 (n=6)	18,637,916 (n=3)	5,265,450 (n=9)	3,618,455 (n=2)	11,533,930 (n=6)	1,350,784 (n=4)	2,424,144 (n=10)
3,906,671 (n=10)	5,262,292 (n=12)	7,677,893 (n=8)	7,422,429 (n=7)	5,304,164 (n=7)	4,017,538 (n=14)	2,519,112 (n=6)	3,960,723 (n=8)	1,514,128 (n=5)	1,451,400 (n=14)
5,187,663 (n=6)	5,376,649 (n=5)	6,510,570 (n=4)	4,359,622 (n=6)	9,306,254 (n=3)	4,052,736 (n=9)	3,318,668 (n=2)	4,464,900 (n=6)	1,191,350 (n=4)	1,238,368 (n=10)
1,985,183 (n=4)	5,180,609 (n=7)	8,845,214 (n=4)	25,799,255 (n=1)	2,302,598 (n=4)	3,954,181 (n=5)	2,119,335 (n=4)	1,224,098 (n=2)	2,805,247 (n=1)	1,983,982 (n=4)
8,373,411 (n=4)	13,275,039 (n=1)	5,233,161 (n=4)	9,544,089 (n=7)	8,131,336 (n=3)	4,125,193 (n=2)	4,934,098 (n=9)	3,343,710 (n=7)	4,147,169 (n=9)	2,499,656 (n=2)
6,417,578 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	2,715,796 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	5,498,306 (n=1)	4,041,673 (n=1)	4,934,098 (n=9)	2,497,273 (n=5)	3,012,535 (n=5)	NA (n=0)
10,390,829 (n=2)	13,275,039 (n=1)	6,072,283 (n=3)	9,544,089 (n=7)	9,447,851 (n=2)	4,208,713 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	5,459,802 (n=2)	5,565,463 (n=4)	2,499,656 (n=2)
6,920,912 (n=4)	2,535,150 (n=1)	5,105,144 (n=4)	6,784,199 (n=7)	7,082,805 (n=3)	1,972,591 (n=2)	3,982,835 (n=9)	3,379,438 (n=7)	3,308,604 (n=9)	3,308,562 (n=2)
8,581,470 (n=2)	2,535,150 (n=1)	6,079,444 (n=3)	6,784,199 (n=7)	8,572,798 (n=2)	3,945,180 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	3,202,838 (n=2)	4,253,650 (n=4)	3,308,562 (n=2)
5,260,355 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	2,182,240 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	4,102,821 (n=1)	2,440,354 (n=1)	3,982,835 (n=9)	3,450,079 (n=5)	2,552,565 (n=5)	NA (n=0)

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.