



CFI's GUIDE TO MONEY IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS

ESSAYS AND TABLES COVERING
THE ELECTIONS OF 1974-2018

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January 2020





The Campaign Finance Institute is a division of the National Institute on Money in Politics (NIMP). NIMP is a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization that promotes an accountable democracy by compiling comprehensive campaign-donor, lobbyist, and other information from government disclosure agencies nationwide and making it freely available at FollowTheMoney.org.



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CFI's GUIDE TO MONEY IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS, 1974-2018

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INTRODUCTION

Every two years, press coverage on the role of money in politics seems to proclaim that something unprecedented is going on. There is either said to be more money than ever, or more money from certain kinds of sources, or more lopsided distributions affecting election results or public policy. Sometimes, the claims are true. They withstand public scrutiny and, years later, we can continue to look back at a particular election and describe something about it as being unprecedented. But, just as often, we look back to see what we had thought of as a precedent was little more than a blip on the screen. The Supreme Court's landmark decision in *Citizens United v. FEC*, and related cases show us examples on both sides. The case did indeed increase the importance of independent expenditures. However, the much-predicted explosion in spending by large, publicly traded corporations just has not happened. This is consistent with what political scientists have known for years about the way most corporations prefer to engage in electoral politics.

Of course, it is not possible to know in advance what will be labelled “unprecedented” in future elections. Whatever it may be, informed citizens would be well advised to have a handbook of *consistent* information available to guide them through what the precedents have been. That is the main point behind *CFI's Guide to Money in Federal Elections*.

The Campaign Finance Institute (CFI) has been publishing regular reports on money in federal elections since 1999. Many of the tables about congressional elections have been compiled by CFI's director since the mid-1970s, long before CFI. The congressional tables began appearing in the first editions of [Vital Statistics on Congress](#) – then published in book form, and

now distributed in [web format](#) by the Brookings Institution. Some of the presidential tables also date back to the mid-1970s.

Other tables are of newer vintage. For example, CFI did not begin aggregating the contributions from individual donors until after 2000. This process has let us be more accurate about the role of small and large donors in federal elections. CFI's presidential data of this sort go back to 2004; similar party data goes back to 2000. The goal of all of these tables is to use consistent data and methodology to help readers get beyond the headlines to see how the current election compares to historical counterparts.

This report covers four subjects:

- Presidential elections
- Congressional elections
- Political parties
- Independent expenditures.

The first section of the report is an essay interpreting what the statistics tell us about each of the four subjects. The essay's sections include graphs, and are sprinkled liberally with references to CFI's data tables. The tables themselves appear after the essay, covering the same subjects, in the same order. We decided to locate the tables after the essay because there were so many that we thought interspersing them would make it impossible to read the essay. Readers who want to find a particular table are advised to look at the detailed list of tables, which appears both at the front of this volume and between each major subject heading.

One final note about the data: at the bottom of every table is a link for downloading the information in spreadsheet form. There is a side-benefit to this for the many tables that present dollar figures adjusted for inflation. For these tables, the report's version shows all past years' dollars converted into the equivalent of 2018 dollars. When this occurs, the readers can find the nominal dollars by downloading the spreadsheet, which will include one tab with the original dollar figures before adjustment and another with inflation-adjusted dollars.

PART I: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1976-2016

Presidential campaign finance for the past few elections has become far removed from what it was before. To appreciate just how substantial the change has been, the following discussion of money in presidential elections come in three parts: (1) Historical Background, 1976-2008; (2) General Election Candidates and Campaigns, 2008-2016; and (3) Pre-nomination campaigns, 2008-2016.

Historical Background, 1976-2008

The Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974 (FECA) introduced for the first time in American national politics a public financing system to support presidential candidates. Under this two-staged system, qualified candidates received dollar-for-dollar matching funds during the pre-nomination phase of the election for each of the first \$250 they raised from individual donors. As a condition for accepting this money, candidates had to adhere to a spending limit. After the nomination, the two major parties' candidates were eligible to receive a flat grant that was to constitute their full spending (with certain exceptions) for the general election. The spending limits enacted in 1974 were \$10 million for the pre-nomination stage and \$20 million for the general election. These base limits have never been increased, but they are adjusted for inflation. In 2016, the limits (after adjustment) were \$48.1 million for pre-nomination spending and \$96.1 million for the general election (see Table 1-10). By the most recent elections, however, the leading candidates were rejecting public money and spending many times these amounts (see Tables 1-1 and 1-5). The mismatch between decades-old spending limits and contemporary campaign practices is the major reason candidates began opting out of the public financing system.

From 1976 through 1996, however, every major party presidential nominee accepted both partial public financing for the primary season and full public financing for the general election. They accepted the limits because the limits allowed for what was then a realistic campaign. At the same time, the system helped promote meaningful competition among candidates and choices for voters. Campaigns from Jimmy Carter's and Ronald Reagan's in 1976, George H.W. Bush's in 1980, and many others through John McCain's in 2000, would have been futile without public money. (See CFI's 2005 report, [So the Voters May Choose: Reviving the Presidential Matching Fund System](#). For additional CFI's reports on the system's history, see these published in [2003](#) and [2015](#), as well this book chapter published in [2010](#).)

For the first four elections (1976-1988) only one serious, major party candidate opted out of public financing. John Connally – the former Democratic Governor of Texas who had

served as Richard Nixon’s Secretary of the Treasury and later became a Republican – decided to reject the system when he ran against Ronald Reagan in 1980. Connally raised and spent \$11 million to win exactly one delegate from South Carolina who was known, naturally enough, as the “\$11 million delegate”. In some ways, Connally’s lack of success seemed to reinforce support for the system among potential candidates, for a time.

This was to change. While most of the major candidates through the 1990s accepted public financing, there were two important exceptions. In 1992, H. Ross Perot spent \$66 million on his Independent campaign for the presidency, \$60.9 million of which was self-financing. (Perot received 19% of the popular vote.) And in 1996, Steve Forbes spent \$43 million in the GOP primaries, mostly self-financed (see Table 1-9). The eventual nominee, Bob Dole, had to use most of his pre-nomination money to beat Forbes. Because of the pre-nomination spending limit, Dole was unable to spend money for advertising in the months between his securing the nomination as a matter of political fact and becoming the official nominee in law at his party’s national convention. As a result, the incumbent President Clinton, unopposed in the primaries, had the advertising field to himself for months.

In 2000, George W. Bush pointed to Forbes and Dole when he announced that he would not accept public financing for the primaries. Bush was the only major candidate to opt out in 2000, but he was joined in 2004 by the two leading Democrats, John Kerry and Howard Dean. Interestingly, the candidates still were accepting public financing for the general election while rejecting it for the primaries. In part, that was because the spending limit was less constraining for the general election. During the primaries, the candidates could not turn to their parties, or to other outsiders, for significant financial help in those years. However, for the general election, the parties’ official nominees had been supplementing their limited spending since the 1980s by raising money for the political parties to help their campaigns.

In 2008 Barack Obama became the first major party nominee to reject public financing for both phases of the election season. Spending levels soared – so much so that we present the data for 2008-16 separately from the tables for 1976-2004.

Then, in 2010, the Supreme Court’s decision in *Citizens United v. FEC* took the first major step to unleash independent expenditures (IEs) by saying that corporations had the right to make unlimited IEs, paid directly out of their treasuries. A few months after *Citizens United*, the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Columbia ruled in *SpeechNow.org v. FEC* that this meant that if an organization only made IEs, it could accept unlimited contributions. The effect was amplified by the Federal Election Commission’s slack enforcement of the boundaries between “independent” and “coordinated” spending. After these three separate legal developments (*Citizens United* + *SpeechNow* + FEC enforcement), the candidates’ campaigns have felt free to encourage their former aides (or relatives) to form “independent” committees to make IEs on

their behalf. The candidates have helped raise money for the committees by appearing at their events, with some even referring to the committees unofficially as being “theirs”.

As a result of these changes, we need to understand the presidential campaigns as involving three different financial rubrics. First is the candidate committee, which raises private funds governed by contribution limits but without any spending limits. Second is political party money, which includes the money raised by candidates and parties together through joint fundraising committees. Contribution limits govern party fundraising, but they are higher than the limits for candidate committees. The third rubric includes the single-candidate entities (mostly Super PACs) which make IEs and may accept unlimited contributions. These are legally independent and therefore cannot coordinate their spending too closely with the candidates’ campaign committees. In 2008, the candidate committees dominated the pre-nomination period, supplemented by the parties during the general election. In 2012 and 2016, the candidates were joined by “independent” entities during the pre-nomination phase, with the parties again joining the general election.

Pre-Nomination Campaigns, 2008-2016

The first campaigns after FECA in which the parties’ eventual standard bearers rejected public financing for the primaries were those of 2000 and 2004. The George W. Bush campaign of 2000 spent about twice as much as it could have under the limits, while the campaigns of both Bush and John Kerry in 2004 went above \$200 million – more than quadruple the spending limit (see Tables 1-1 and 1-2). By 2008, most major candidates were refusing public funding for the primaries. Hillary Clinton’s losing campaign for the nomination in 2008 spent almost as much as Bush’s or Kerry’s in 2004, while the eventual nominee, Barack Obama, raised nearly one-and-a-half times as much as Clinton, reporting \$317.5 million (Table 1-3) in a year when the pre-nomination limit for publicly financed candidates was \$50.5 million (Table 1-2).

The numbers continued to go up in 2012, but with a new wrinkle. Barack Obama raised roughly the same amount for his uncontested primaries in 2012 as in 2008. Mitt Romney, the eventual Republican nominee, raised “only” \$154.5 million through his candidate committee, but this was the first presidential election after *Citizens United*. A former Romney campaign lawyer, after well reported consultations with those who eventually became the campaign committee’s top staff, set up a single-candidate Super PAC that raised and spent another \$82 million on Romney’s behalf. The campaign committee and Super PACs combined raised nearly five times as much as Romney’s closest GOP rivals (Table 1-3).

DOES MONEY BUY LOVE? So by 2016, it was understandable if some observers seemed to equate money with political success. However, the equation

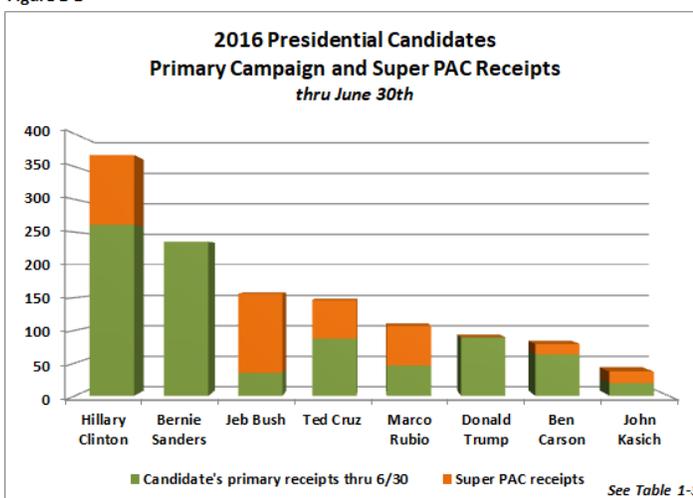
Money doesn’t win by itself. If the voters don’t like what they hear, telling them more of the same won’t change their minds. But without money or media, the voters won’t hear you at all.

never has been accurate; 2016 stands as a clear example for why that is so. Except for some rare cases of illegal bribery, money never buys votes directly. Money is used to pay for communications, staff, and vendors. These in turn will be used to persuade or mobilize voters. Without money (or free media) the campaign effectively is silenced. So money clearly is important, and a candidate will feel better about having more of it rather than less. But money never wins by itself. If the voters don't like what they hear, telling them more of the same won't change their minds.

This was never more evident than in 2016. Table 1-3 shows how much the candidates raised for their own campaign committees through June 30, 2016 and 2012, along with how much was raised by the single-candidate entities supporting them. We chose June 30 because June is the month with the last set of primaries before the nominating conventions. Contributions after this date tend to be going to the presumed nominees and are given with eyes toward the general election. The table only gives candidate information for 2008 because this was the last election before Super PACs became relevant forces in presidential elections.

Strikingly, three of the defeated Republican candidates in 2016 – Jeb Bush, Ted Cruz, and Marco Rubio – spent more (or had more spent on their behalf) than the winner, Donald Trump. (See Figure 1-1 and Table 1-3.) Of course, if one purpose of campaign money is to purchase the ability to deliver a message to voters, it is worth noting that Donald Trump was unusually well suited, with his Twitter account, prior celebrity, and statements at public events, to generate free media news coverage and dominate the new cycle in a multi-candidate field. According to the [New York Times](#), the free coverage was valued by SMG Delta (a firm that tracks television advertising) as having been worth the equivalent of \$2 billion in advertising through February 2016 (Confessore and Yourish 2016).

Figure 1-1



It is also worth noting that three of the four candidates with more combined money than Trump depended very heavily on spending by Super PACs. However convenient it may be for a Super PAC to raise million-dollar contributions, Super PAC spending is not as efficient as spending controlled by the candidate's campaign committee directly.

LARGE DONORS, SMALL DONORS: The candidate summaries for 2008-2016 (Table 1-3) are followed by three tables (1-4A, 1-4B, and 1-4C) showing the sources of the candidates' funds. (Super PACs' funding sources are discussed later.) These tables aggregate all of the contributions that came from the same donor to a candidate and then show the amounts in various giving ranges. The column for donors who gave "\$200 or less" includes: (a) itemized contributions from candidates who provide disclosure information (not required by law) for donors who give \$200 or less, and (b) an adjusted sum for unitemized contributions, with the adjustments made for the following reasons: Unitemized contributions are reported separately in each report but not cumulatively. To avoid double-counting, the unitemized sum from the reports is reduced by subtracting the contributions from donors whose initial contributions were not itemized, but who later crossed the disclosure threshold by giving more than \$200 in the aggregate. The totals for each candidate are shown both in raw dollars and as the percentage of the candidates' money that came from the donors in each of the ranges.

Five of the Republican candidates in 2016 raised the bulk of their money from donors who gave the then-maximum legal amount of \$2,700 (Jeb Bush, Chris Christie, Lindsey Graham, Bobby Jindal, Rick Perry and George Pataki). Hillary Clinton raised more than 40% of her primary money from donors who maxed out at \$2,700, as did John Kasich. Trump raised most of his contributions from small donors, but the bulk of his primary campaign was self-financed.

The two major exceptions during the primary season were Ben Carson and Bernie Sanders. Half of Carson's \$61 million came from donors who gave \$200 or less, but there were [questions raised](#) during the campaign cycle about politically self-serving and misleading practices being following by his direct-mail fundraising vendors that ran up the totals while doing little to help the Carson campaign (Graham 2016).

Bernie Sanders' campaign was more of a surprise. He managed to run a campaign fueled by small donors who gave him enough to mount a serious challenge to a well-financed frontrunner. Sanders raised more than \$200 million, about \$100 million of which came from donors who gave \$200 or less. This was about 44% of his total funds. In addition, much of Sanders' money from those who gave \$201-\$999 came from repeat donors who gave modest amounts more than once. Sanders' fundraising methods also were innovative. Unlike President Obama's then-innovative small-donor fundraising in 2008 and 2012, a significant portion of Sanders' money came not through his own website directly, but [through intermediary bundlers](#) (such as ActBlue) which specialize in making it easier for small donors and candidates to get together – "reducing the friction," as web specialists might say (Goldmacher 2016). This makes it more likely that similarly-minded candidates could follow a parallel path in future elections.

Most candidates raised the bulk of their primary money from large donors. The exceptions in 2016 were Bernie Sanders, Ben Carson and the largely self-financed Donald Trump.

INVISIBLE PRIMARY: The final series of pre-nomination tables focuses on the “invisible primary” season, which we define here as the odd-numbered year before the election. Political scientists for some time have drawn attention to this period. One important book as early as 1976 described it as being crucial to victory (Hadley 1976). Another saw it as the time when party establishment leaders would signal each other (and donors) to get behind the eventual nominee (Cohen, *et al.*, 2008).

The “invisible primary” tables (1-5A, 1-5B and 1-5C) show that the eventual nominees were usually well-situated by the end of the odd-numbered year, but not necessarily at the top. Barack Obama had not quite caught up to Clinton by Dec. 31, 2007, while John McCain was well behind Romney, Rudolph Giuliani, and others. Romney in 2012 and Clinton in 2016 were financial front-runners, but Trump was only fifth among the Republicans in 2016. Tables 1-6A, 1-6B and 1-6C show the sources of the candidates’ funds at the end of the odd-numbered year. The methodology for these tables was the same as for Tables 1-4A, 1-4B and 1-4C, which showed the sources through the end of the (visible) primaries.

General Election Nominees and the Layers of Campaigning, 2008-2016

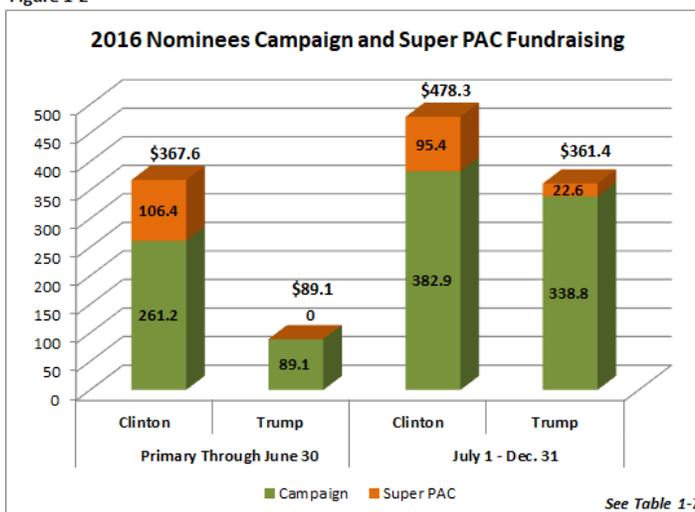
During the general election, with the parties in full swing, all three facets of fundraising came into play. The candidates raised money for their own campaigns; they helped the political parties raise money through joint fundraising committees; and (starting in 2012) Super PACs allied with the candidates raised unlimited contributions to help the campaigns.

CANDIDATE COMMITTEE TOTALS:

Donald Trump’s relatively low fundraising during the primaries led to one common misconception about presidential campaign finance in 2016. One often saw statements to the effect that Hillary Clinton raised much more than her opponent, Donald Trump. While this is true if you compare the money they raised during the full two-year election cycles, both of the candidates essentially spent what they raised during their contested primaries

and then had to start over to raise money for the general election once the nominations were clinched. At this point the picture changed. The Trump campaign, after raising relatively little during the primaries, pretty well kept up with the Clinton campaign’s fundraising from after

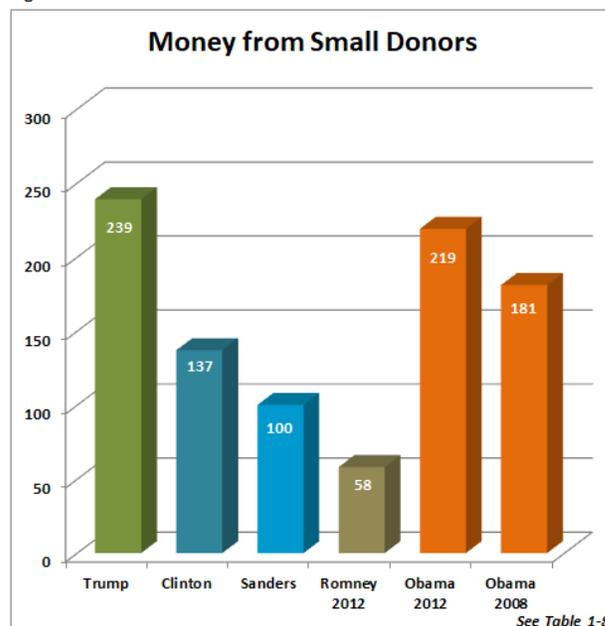
Figure 1-2



June 30 (see Figure 1-2 and Table 1-7). During the second half of the calendar year, Hillary Clinton's campaign committee raised \$383 million, while Trump's raised \$339 million.

SMALL DONORS: One of the remarkable aspects of the Trump campaign was the extent to which it was fueled financially by small donors. Nearly \$239 million of Trump's contributions came from donors who gave an aggregate amount of \$200 or less (see Figure 1-3 and Table 1-8). This was 69% of the campaign's individual contributions and 58% its total receipts. As one [CFI study](#) pointed out, it was as much as the Sanders and Clinton campaigns combined. Senator Bernie Sanders' much-noted small donors gave his campaign \$99.7 million (44 percent of his individual contributions), while Hillary Clinton's gave \$136.8 million (22 percent). Combining Sanders and Clinton's small donors would put them just short of Trump's \$238.6 million (see Tables 1-8 and 1-4A). The previous frontrunner was Barack Obama, who raised \$218.8 million in 2012 (28%) and \$181.3 million in 2008 (24%) from donors who gave \$200 or less (see Table 1-8). Mitt Romney, the Republican nominee in 2012, raised \$57.5 million (12%) from small donors (Table 1-8).

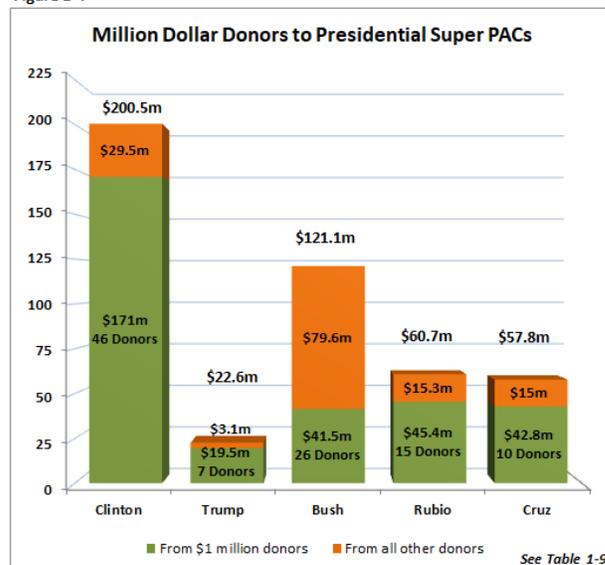
Figure 1-3



SINGLE-CANDIDATE SUPER PACS AND THEIR

MEGA-DONORS: At the same time, Super PACs began working the other side of the financial spectrum after *Citizens United*. Hillary Clinton's Super PAC raised \$171 million from only 46 donors, each of whom gave at least \$1 million. These million-dollar mega-donors were responsible for 85% of the money raised by her Super PAC in 2016 (see Figure 1-4). Nor was she alone. Million-dollar donors supplied the bulk of the money raised by the Super PACs associated with Marco Rubio (75%), Ted Cruz (74%), and Scott Walker (68%) (see Table 1-9A). In 2012, the million-dollar donors were responsible for the bulk of the money in the Super PACs commonly identified with Obama (65%), Romney (51%), Gingrich (87%), and Santorum (64%) (Table 1-9B).

Figure 1-4



JOINT FUNDRAISING WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES: The final lever in the general election campaign fundraising toolkit came from the political parties. Another section of this report will look at party finances in general. In this section, we focus on money that the candidates, national parties, and state parties raised and distributed cooperatively through joint fundraising committees. Under federal law, donors are permitted to give *limited* contributions to candidates, national parties and state parties. In 2012, an individual donor could give \$2,500 per election to a candidate, \$30,800 per year to a major national political party committee, \$10,000 to a state or local party and \$5,000 to a PAC. The law also said individuals could give no more than a combined two-year total of \$117,000 to all candidates, parties and PACs combined. To simplify the process for both donors and recipients, the parties and candidates could sign joint fundraising agreements. Under these, a donor could write a single check to a joint fundraising committee, which would then be distributed to the participating committees in accordance with the relevant contribution limits.

On April 2, 2014, the Supreme Court struck down the aggregate limits in *McCutcheon v. Federal Election Commission*. It was originally thought that this decision – combined with other 2014 changes to the law described later in this report, in the section on political parties – would result in substantially more money going to the parties through joint fundraising committees. As it happened, the joint fundraising committees raised more or less the same total amount in 2016 as 2012. However, the distribution was quite different. Table 1-10 shows that for all his anti-establishment rhetoric, Trump owed his campaign’s financial success during the general election to the Republican National Committee: 64% of his campaign’s general election money came through joint fundraising, using the party’s campaign lists and infrastructure. The percentage for Clinton was less than 50%. Comparable figures for 2012 and 2008 are also in Table 1-10.

For all his campaign’s anti-establishment rhetoric, Trump owed his campaign’s financial success during the general election to the Republican National Committee.

In past years, the joint fundraising committees have also been used to raise money for state parties in battleground states. However, after being liberated by *McCutcheon* to ask donors to give money to each of the fifty states, Democratic joint fundraising committees distributed \$112 million to the state parties in 2016 compared to \$29 million in 2012. Many of these were not battleground states. These state parties often transferred the same money back to the national parties, sometimes in the same amount on the same day (see [Biersack 2017.](#)) CFI’s details for the presidential joint fundraising committees may be found in Table 1-10.

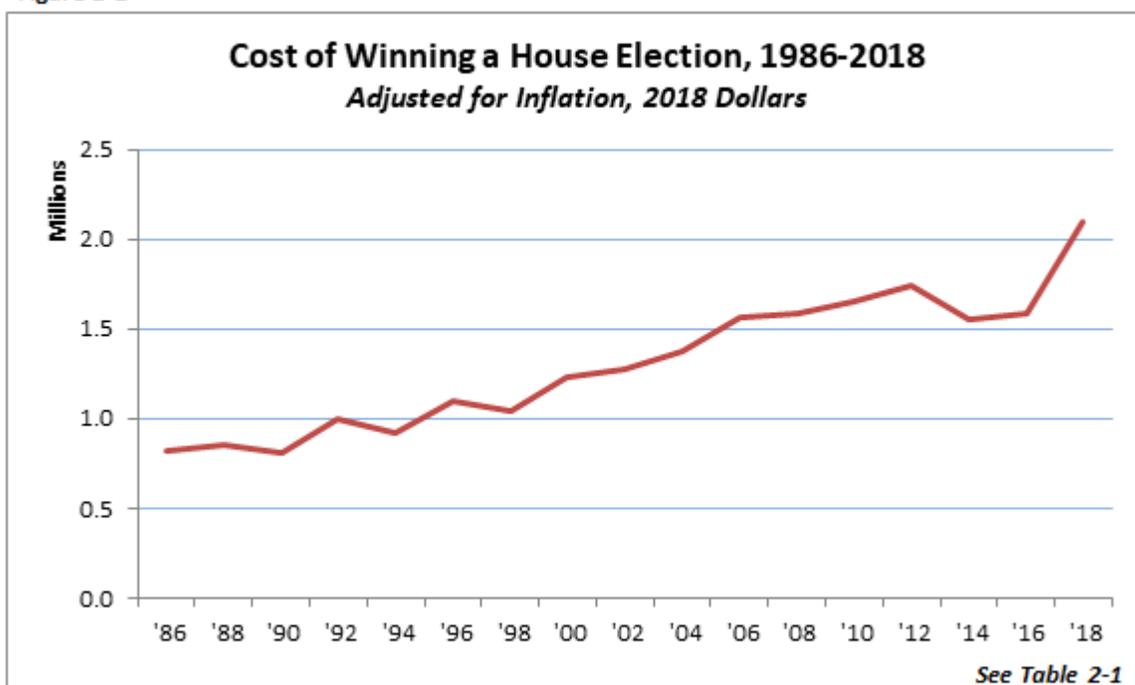
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION TABLES BEGIN ON PAGE 26.

PART II: CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS, 1974-2018

The congressional spending data CFI publishes have developed out of a series that first appeared in the early 1980s. During most of these years, there was a steady drum beat of reporting about the escalating cost of congressional elections. The story in recent elections is more complicated.

CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN SPENDING: Congressional campaign spending did skyrocket for a long time, and has continued to do so in the most competitive Senate and House elections when party and other independent spending is included. We shall see later that candidates' money is a shrinking portion of the whole in these most competitive races. But steady escalation is not the right word when looking only at the candidates' funds. After three decades (1974-2006) during which the growth of spending quadrupled the pace of inflation, the amounts raised and spent by the candidates held more or less steady through 2016. Then they spiked upward again in 2018 (see the top rows in Tables 2-2 and 2-5). In inflation-adjusted dollars, the cost of winning a House seat in 2016 was \$1.5 million (which is about the same as in 2006) but then jumped to more than \$2 million in 2018 (see Figure 2-1 and Table 2-1). For Senate races, the cost of winning was about \$14.8 million. This was a 24% increase in inflation-adjusted dollars over the cost in winning in 2012, when the same seats were last up for election. In contrast, the cost in 2012 was almost identical to 2006. (Table 2-1).

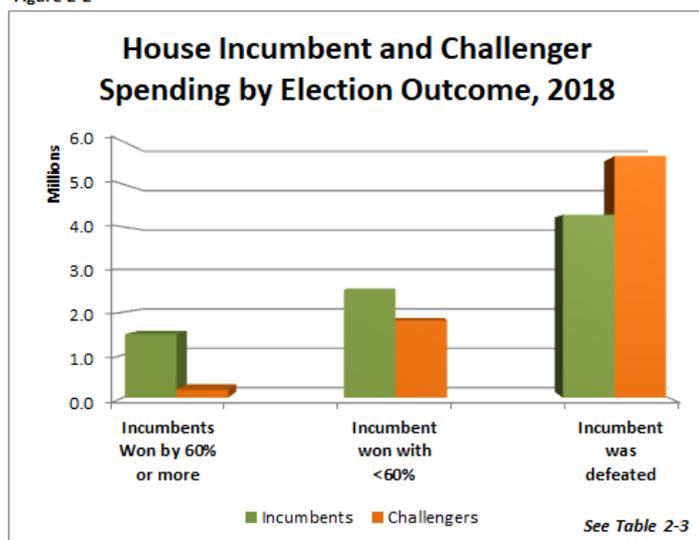
Figure 2-1



SPENDING AND COMPETITION: The candidates who drove the overall 2018 spending increase in House elections were the Democratic challengers and open-seat candidates who won competitive races during a midterm election wave that favored their party. A “wave” election is one in which the overwhelming preponderance of seats that shift parties do so in the same political direction – either from Democratic to Republican, as in the election of 2010, or vice versa, as in 2018. In both 2010 and 2018, unusually high numbers of quality challengers from the favored party decided to run at a time when the background political circumstances told them they might have a good chance. Passions were high among Republican activists in 2010 and Democratic activists in 2018. This helped credible non-incumbents raise enough money to win. But many of the overall relationships between spending and competition held steady, even though the political contexts and fundraising technologies were changing.

The presidential section of this report has already discussed the fallacy of claiming that more money equates to better election outcomes. To make better sense of the relationships between money and winning, it is useful to go back to some of the differences between incumbents, challengers, and open-seat candidates. Most House incumbents are safe bets for reelection, winning with 60% of the vote or more (see Table 2-3). However, as political scientist Gary Jacobson pointed out years ago, they do not win *because* they spend more than their challengers (Jacobson 1978 and 1980). In fact, safe incumbents raise and spend less than incumbents in competitive races. What makes these races stand out is the low level of money that the challengers raise. These challengers do not do badly *because* they lack money. It is not as if most of them would win if you gave them the money. The causal lines typically run in the opposite direction. They fail to attract money because they are not promising candidates in potentially promising districts. Potential donors see these challengers as being almost sure to lose; therefore, they don’t give.

Figure 2-2



In 2018, safe incumbents in the House reported spending nearly eight times as much as the 159 challengers with 40% of the vote or less who reported their finances to the FEC (see Figure 2-2 and Table 2-3). But even this understates the situation. James Campbell has [shown](#) that if we include seats in which an incumbent did not even have a major-party opponent, the ratios would be much higher (Campbell 2003). There were 78 such races in 2018. Adding these to the 159 who reported means that more than half of the House seats in 2018 (237 of

435) were retained by incumbents who ran effectively without challenge in the general election.

At the other end of the competition spectrum in House elections, successful challengers typically do not have to spend more than their opponents to win. On the contrary, successful challengers in most years spend *less* than defeated incumbents. However, they generally spend a substantial fraction of what the defeated incumbents do. Since 2006, winning challengers have always spent at least 65% as much as the defeated incumbents. The election of 2018 was an exception to this normal pattern. The 29 successful Democratic challengers in 2018 spent an average of \$5.6 million, compared to \$4.1 million the the Republican incumbents they defeated. The defeated incumbents obviously were not fundraising slouches, raising one-third more than the defeated incumbents of 2016. But the competitive Democratic challengers did even better, spending about twice as much as their counterparts in 2016.

Finally, the data for House open seats are in Table 2-4. With most open seats competitive in either the primary or general election, spending on the average is higher than in the typical incumbent-challenger race. But here too, the story in 2018 followed the partisan election wave. Republic and Democratic candidates who earned more than 60% spent roughly the same amount as each other. This was also true for the candidates of both parties who won less than 40% of the votes. In both parties, the spending was less than 20% of what the winners spent. But the competitive races of 2018 told a different story, with Democratic candidates who earned more than 40% of the vote outspending their GOP counterparts on average by considerable margins.

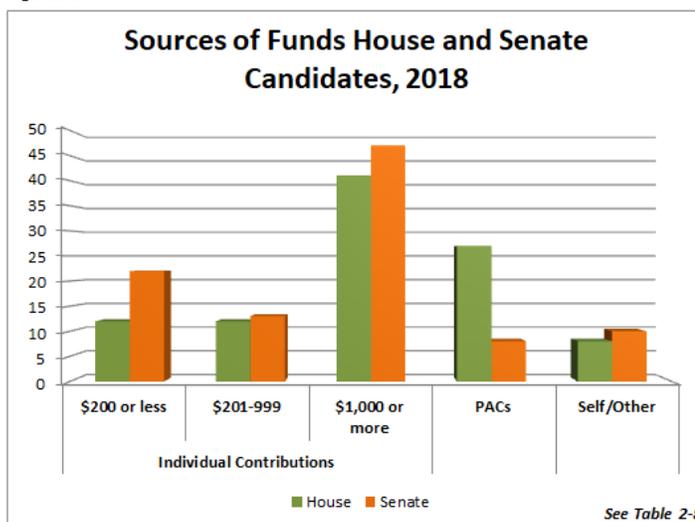
The broad competition story for the Senate is consistent with that for the House. Senate incumbents in competitive races generally spend more than incumbents in safe races. Challengers running against safe incumbents in 2018 spent about one-fourth as much as safe incumbents, but unlike the House, almost all incumbents were contested. Finally, the successful Senate challengers in both 2016 and 2018 spent more on average than the incumbents they defeated. This has been true in eight of the twenty-three Senate elections since 1974 (see Table 2-6. Open seats are in Table 2-7.)

SOURCES OF FUNDS: Concerns about money in congressional elections typically relate less to the pure amount of money being spent than to the potential relationships between donors and office holders. Congressional candidates do not raise the bulk of their funds from a cross-section of their constituents. Rather, their money comes from those who have spare money to give. And because it is easier for most candidates to raise money in larger rather than smaller chunks, they typically receive the bulk of their money from individual donors who gave \$1,000 or more and from political action committees (PACs).

PACs generally have been more important for House than Senate candidates. However, there was a noticeable decline the proportional role of PACs in 2018, from 39% to 27% for House candidates (Table 2-8) and from 16% to only 8% for the Senate (Table 2-9). Interestingly the percentage did not change much for incumbent members of the House. However, it did drop substantially for non-incumbents in both chambers as well as for incumbent Senators. As will be seen in Table 2-11, the House incumbents' dependence on PAC contributions is the flip side of a decades-long contribution strategy pursued by business-oriented interest groups seeking access to office holders.

Individual donors who gave \$1,000 or more were responsible for 41% of all money given to House candidates in 2018 (Figure 2-3 and Table 2-8), and 47% for Senate candidates (Figure 2-3 and Table 2-9). The percentages increased for all types of congressional candidates after 2002, when the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act increased individual contribution limits from \$1,000 per election (a level that had not been adjusted to reflect changes in the cost of living since 1974) to \$2,000 in 2003, adjusted every two years for inflation. In 2018, the contribution limit for individual donors was \$2,700 per election, or \$5,400 for a normal two-year election cycle.

Figure 2-3



Small donors (donors whose contributions to a candidate aggregated to \$200 or less) traditionally have not played a major role in House and most Senate elections. This has remained true for the Senate but the story was different for House elections in 2018. Overall, small donors were responsible for 12% of the money raised by House candidates in 2018. This doubled the 6% percentage of 2016 but the overall percentage was not so remarkable historically. What was remarkable was the sheer amount of small-donor money raised by the non-incumbents, [mostly by Democrats in competitive races](#). Non-incumbents (challengers and open-seat candidates) raised five times as much from small donors in 2018 as their counterparts in 2016 (\$114.7 million to \$20.7 million). As a percentage of non-incumbents' receipts, the proportional role of small donors went up from 9% to 16%. The percentage did not go up as steeply as the raw dollar figures because non-incumbent Democrats were raising much more from all sources in 2018 than in years past (see Table 2-8).

Senate candidates raised nearly double the percentage of money from small donors in 2018 as in 2016 (see Table 2-9). Unfortunately, even though the Senate's small donor numbers

may be compared to each other over the years, they are not fully comparable to ones elsewhere in this volume. Until the end of 2018, Senate candidate committees were the only ones reporting to the Federal Election Commission that do not have to file their reports electronically. As a result, we could not (before the election of 2020) calculate how much of the money reported as being “unitemized” in Senate elections came from donors who gave more than once and ended up totaling \$201 or more. Even discounting the double-counting that may come from this reporting, however, Senate candidates typically have raised proportionally more from small donors over the years than House candidates. This was partly because the Senate candidates’ higher levels of national name recognition facilitate fundraising through Internet-based intermediaries who bundle the contributions and pass them on. It was also because majority control of the Senate has been at stake in the past several elections, thus raising the level of partisan interest among all donors to give to geographically distant candidates. These small donors do not give to maintain lobbying access to safe incumbents (as most business PACs do) but to influence marginal races that may determine which party controls the legislative agenda. These are the same considerations explaining the small-donor role for Democratic non-incumbents in competitive House races in 2018.

Most of the money for congressional elections still comes from donors who can give \$1,000 or more, business PACs giving to incumbents, and self-financing non-incumbents. However, small donors are becoming increasingly important in competitive races.

Finally, self-financing is important for non-incumbents. In most years, wealthy Senate candidates gave themselves about one in every six total dollars raised by challengers and open-seat candidates (Table 2-9). The percentages typically have been lower for House candidates, but the two chambers were roughly equal in 2018 (Table 2-8). In many years, this has made self-financing the second most important source of candidate funding for House and Senate challengers and open seat candidates, behind only the \$1,000-or-more contributions from individual donors.

When these facts are brought together with PAC contributions for incumbents, the broad conclusion is inescapable. The money for congressional elections comes overwhelmingly from individual donors wealthy enough to give \$1,000 or more, business PACs who give to incumbents for lobbying access, and non-incumbent candidates who are rich enough to pay for their own campaigns. In 2018, however, money from small donors became a significant factor in competitive elections. While not displacing large donors, they had become a force to be reckoned with.

PAC CONTRIBUTIONS: The final two tables in this section focus on PAC contributions to congressional candidates. These contributions have remained remarkably steady over the past decade. In 2017-18, they totaled \$480 million (Table 2-10). More than two-thirds (68%) came from corporate or association PACs, another 18% from non-connected PACs (mostly issue and

ideological PACs) and 11% from labor. Labor's decline has been substantial. In 1995-96, labor unions accounted for an inflation-adjusted \$71 million in contributions to congressional candidates, or 23% of the PAC total.

PACs overwhelmingly give their contributions to incumbents, most of whom are safe bets for reelection (Table 2-11). In 2018, 83% of all PAC contributions went to incumbents. The proportions were even higher for corporate (93%) and association PACs (88%). These business contributions went to Republican and Democratic incumbents alike – with a bonus in most elections to the party with majority control over the House or Senate. Non-connected PACs – mostly issue and ideological groups – gave higher proportions to non-incumbents that did the business groups (36%). So did labor unions (28%). Only the labor sector had an strongly partisan tilt, with 86% of its contributions going to Democrats.

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION TABLES BEGIN ON PAGE 47.

PART III: POLITICAL PARTIES, 1992-2018

National political party organizations did not play a major role in federal election campaigns for most of American history. From the rise of modern, post-Martin Van Buren parties in the late-1820s, the most important party organizations were state and local entities, with the national parties essentially being alliances built up from their more powerful local foundations. By the middle of the twentieth century, the power of the state and local organizations had become weaker for a variety of reasons. By the 1960s, the decade before the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974 (FECA), individual, self-promoting candidates had become the most prominent actors in American political campaigning.

This was the situation in the 1970s, when FECA imposed limits on the amount that any one donor could give to a federal candidate or political committee, including the national political parties. The national party committees were relatively weak, but entrepreneurial professionals saw the new legal regime as opening opportunities for them to develop the parties into what political scientist John Aldrich called “service organizations” that would become increasingly useful for their candidates’ campaigns. The new service-oriented parties could recruit candidates, help them raise money, and provide any number of campaign services at costs below those of direct vendors. Many of these services – such as registration, get-out-the-vote, generic polling, and generic party advertising – could even be described as being helpful to their candidates without directly campaigning for them (Aldrich, 2011). By the late 1980s, the parties had persuaded the Federal Election Commission to consider some of these service activities to be something other than federal election campaign activities, and therefore not subject to limits on the sources amounts of these contributions for “non-federal” purposes. These unlimited contributions from corporations, labor unions, and other sources, became known as “soft money”. By the mid-1990s, the “non-campaign” activity funded by this soft money was paying for candidate-specific “issue advertising”. These issue ads were not considered campaigning because they did not explicitly advocate the election or defeat of a candidate. By the year election of 2000, soft money accounted for nearly half (44%) of the national parties’ receipts.

By 2000, soft money accounted for nearly half (44%) of the national parties’ receipts.

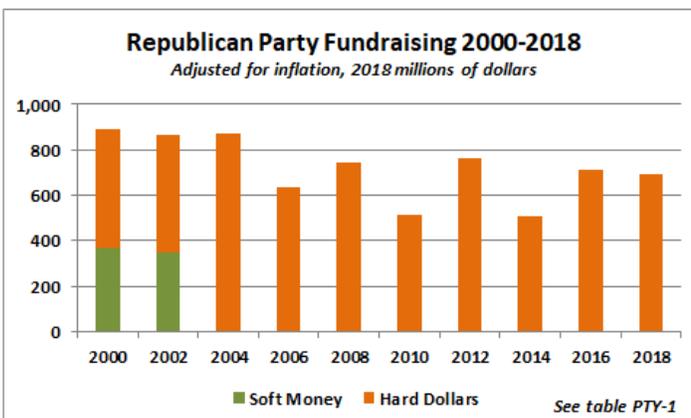
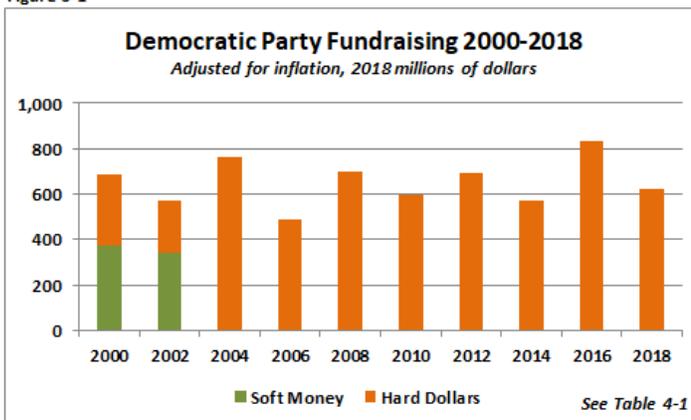
The Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA) banned all national party soft money by requiring the parties to abide by contribution limits for all of their receipts, no matter how those receipts might be spent. As a result, almost everyone expected the parties to lose money once BCRA went into effect. What happened turned out to be more complicated.

Table 3-1 shows national party receipts since 1992, in dollars adjusted for inflation. (Figure 1-1 graphically summarizes the information since 2000.) In 2003-2004, Democrats

raised more hard money (contribution-limited money) than soft and hard money combined in any of the previous election cycles. Republicans raised only slightly less in 2004 (hard money only) than in 2000 (hard + soft) and slightly more than in 2002 (hard+ soft). Comparing presidential years to each other, and midterm election years to each other, the Democrats continued to hold their own after BCRA, with their inflation-adjusted hard money totals more than replacing soft money. The years 2016 and 2018 were the best yet for the three Democratic national party committees.

The Republicans have not fared as well, however. GOP receipts went down from 2004-2016 when comparing presidential and midterm years to each other. Presidential cycle receipts went down by about 6% in inflation-adjusted terms between 2012 and 2016, but the House and Senate campaign committees held their own. The midterm election cycle of 2018 showed a substantial rebound for all three GOP committees. The RNC benefited from the fact that joint fundraising committees were raising money for the party and for President Trump's reelection during the midterm, well in advance of past timetables. The congressional committees, and especially the RNCC for the House, raised more because control of the chamber was at stake.

Figure 3-1



SOURCES OF FUNDS

Earlier paragraphs in this section on political parties discussed unlimited contributions, (otherwise known as soft money) in the years before BCRA. The next paragraphs describe recent changes to the limits on “hard money” contributions, and the effects of those changes.

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 and Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 placed limits on how much a donor could give to a federal election candidate or political committee. The limit on contributions from individuals to a national party committee went up in 2002 from \$20,000 per year (unindexed) to \$25,000 (indexed for inflation). As of March 2014, individuals could give no more than \$32,400 per year to a major national political party committee and another \$10,000 (unindexed) to a state or local party. The law also said individuals could give no more than a combined two-year total of \$123,200 (in 2013-14) to all candidates, parties and PACs combined, no more than \$74,600 of which could go to parties.

On April 2, 2014, the Supreme Court struck down the aggregate limits in *McCutcheon v. Federal Election Commission* (134 S. Ct. 1434 [2014]). After *McCutcheon*, an individual was free to give the maximum legal contribution to as many candidates, political party committees and PACs as she or he wished¹. Then the top contributions were allowed to go even higher after the federal budget enacted at the end of 2014 in an omnibus Continuing Resolution (nicknamed “CRomnibus”). Combining *McCutcheon* with the special accounts and inflation adjustments meant that an individual could give Republican or Democratic Party committees up to a combined two year total 2.6 million in 2015-16. (In theory a donor could contribute to both parties but most of the individual major donors to the parties give to one side.) The \$2.6 million total was 35 times the \$74,600 aggregate limit for contributions to parties before *McCutcheon*².

After McCutcheon and “CRomnibus”, an individual could give a party up to \$2.6 million. This was 35 times the aggregate limit for parties before McCutcheon.

With such a steep increase in the top contribution level, we might have expected to see a major shift in the parties’ sources of funds. The story in fact is more complicated. The next three tables show the sources for each of the six major party committees since 2000. The tables include one each for the national committees (Table 3-2), House campaign committees (Table 3-3) and Senate campaign committees (Table 3-4).

In the final two cycles before BCRA, soft money was responsible for more than half of the money raised by the three Democratic committees. The Republican percentages were slightly lower, with the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) at about 50%; the Republican National Committee (RNC) in the low 40s, and the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) in the mid-30s. During those years, the parties raised only small percentages from donors who gave \$20,000 or more because they preferred to bump these deep-pocketed donors up to higher levels with soft money contributions. As for small donors, all three Republican committees were more successful than their Democratic counterparts at raising contributions from donors who gave \$200 or less.

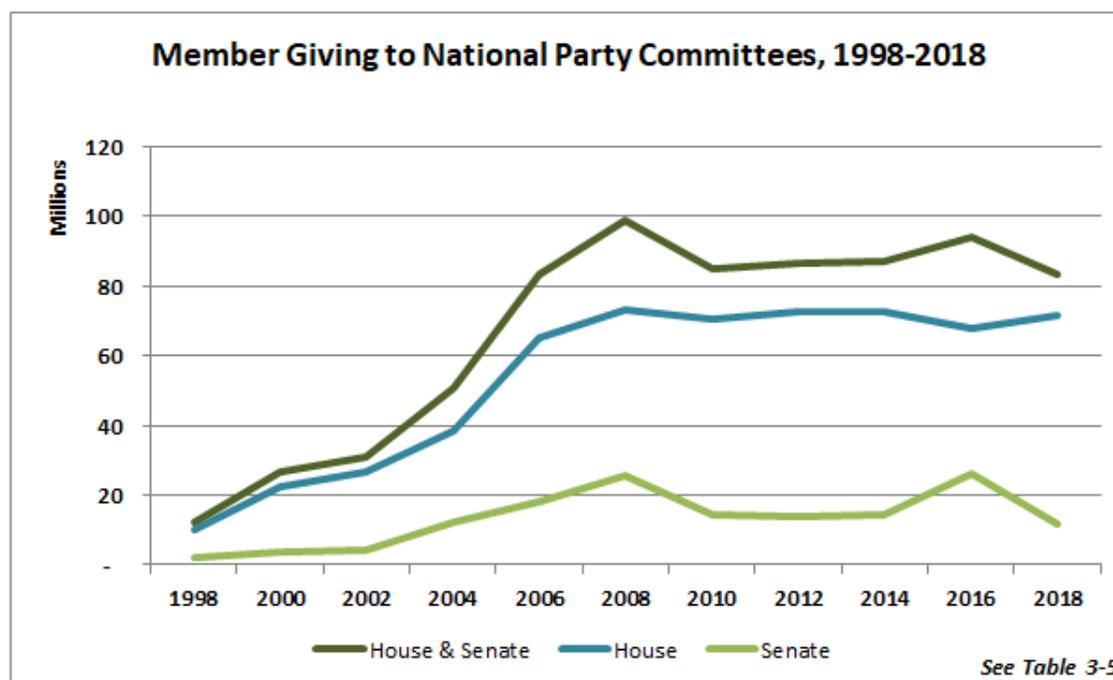
¹ This would mean parties and presidential candidates could ask for a single contribution to a joint fundraising committee that could include \$32,400 per year (indexed to \$33,900 for 2017-18 and \$35,500 for 2019-20) for each the national party committees and \$10,000 (unindexed) for each of the fifty state party committees. These party limits are all annual limits, doubled for the two-year cycle. Thus, the combined *post-McCutcheon* total for 2015-16 theoretically could be \$597,200 per year, or \$1,194,400 for a two year election cycle. Indexed for 2019-20 this will be \$1,213,000 for all Democratic or Republican parties combined.

² The law was known awkwardly as “CRomnibus” because it combined a continuing appropriations resolution or CR with an omnibus budget reconciliation package. It let each of the six national party committees set up two special accounts for legal fees and building funds plus one additional account each for the national committees for the national party conventions. Thus, individuals could give \$100,200 per year in 2016 (indexed) to seven Democratic or Republican fourteen accounts, for a combined annual maximum of \$701,400 (or \$1.4 million for two years) for the special accounts alone. Adding this to the numbers in the previous footnote gives a grand total of \$2,597,200.

After BCRA, each of the three Democratic committees increased their Internet-based receipts from small dollar donors. The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) and Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) now had more money from small donors than their GOP counterparts. The NRSC's small-dollar numbers stayed flat after BCRA, while the NRCC's surged for the first election after BCRA but later fell downward. In contrast, the RNC continues to do better among small donors than the DNC, both in raw dollars and the percentage of total funds raised.

The changes brought into effect by *McCutcheon* and CROmnibus would likely be most visible in the contributions from donors who give \$20,000 or more. There was an upward bump for a few committees in 2016, but 2018 seems to have settled back down to historical levels. For the two national committees, the increase in money from those who gave \$200 or less has been more impressive than the increase from those above \$20,000. We suspect that the reason has to do with a parallel outgrowth from another Supreme Court decision. *Citizens Union* spurred a huge increase in IEs, as we have noted. A large piece of this came from a handful of committees very closely associated with the four congressional party leaders. We suspect that with party control of the two chambers at stake, donors who could afford to give millions to the parties found it strategically more valuable to give to a closely related committee that put all of its money into IEs rather than following a more circuitous path through special accounts and state party committees.

Figure 3-2



The congressional campaign committees also have been raising significant amounts from incumbent members' campaign committees (see Figure 3-2 and Table 3-5). Senators gave less in 2018, but contributions from House members went up. Candidates' campaign

committees are allowed to make unlimited contributions to political parties. When the limits on contributions to the candidates doubled after BCRA – and with majority control of the chamber at stake in most election years – the leaders asked for “dues” payments from their members to support the party campaign committees. These contributions in 2018 made up 16% of the NRCC’s total receipts and 12% of the DCCC’s. The Senate’s percentages were lower: 5% for the DSCC and only 3% for the NRSC.

The final tables in this section show the various forms of direct, reportable party disbursements to support candidates for the House (Table 3-6) and Senate (Table 3-7). In the early years of FECA, party money came primarily in the form of coordinated expenditures. Parties were allowed to make unlimited independent expenditures after the 1996 Supreme Court decision in *Colorado Republican Federal Campaign Committee v. Federal Election Commission* (518 U.S. 604). However, they did not use this spending method much until BCRA banned soft money. Party IEs then grew rapidly and have held steady. From 2004 through 2010, they were the most significant voices in many of the country’s most tightly contested races. In the next section, on independent spending before and after *Citizens United*, we compare the IEs by party and - non-party organizations, separating out the “non-party” and single-candidate entities most closely associated with the candidates and congressional party leaders.

POLITICAL PARTIES TABLES BEGIN ON PAGE 70.

PART IV: INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES, 1978-2018

The most substantial changes to the world of campaign finance since 2010 have come in the realm of independent expenditures (IEs). Independent spending has been seen as protected free speech by the U.S. Supreme Court since *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976). Despite this fact, non-party IEs made up only a small portion of federal campaign spending from 1974 through 2010. This received a major jolt when the Supreme Court decided in *Citizens United v. FEC* (2010) that corporations had the right to make unlimited IEs, paid directly out of their Treasuries (see Figure 4-1). A few months after *Citizens United*, the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Columbia in *SpeechNow.org v. FEC* said that this meant that if an organization only made IEs, it could accept unlimited contributions. As noted in the presidential section of this report, the effect of both of these decisions was amplified by the Federal Election Commission's slack enforcement of the boundaries between "independent" and "coordinated" spending. After these three separate legal developments, non-party IEs of three different types have been surging. One has been IEs by multi-candidate organizations, many of which are allied with either ongoing or *ad hoc* issue or ideological groups. Second are a small number of quasi-party entities closely allied with the four congressional party leaders. Third are the single-candidate entities. The largest set of these have been associated with presidential candidates, but others have been associated with congressional candidates, especially with Senate incumbents.

Spending on IEs in the most competitive House and Senate elections has rivalled or exceeded spending by the candidates.

Figure 4-1

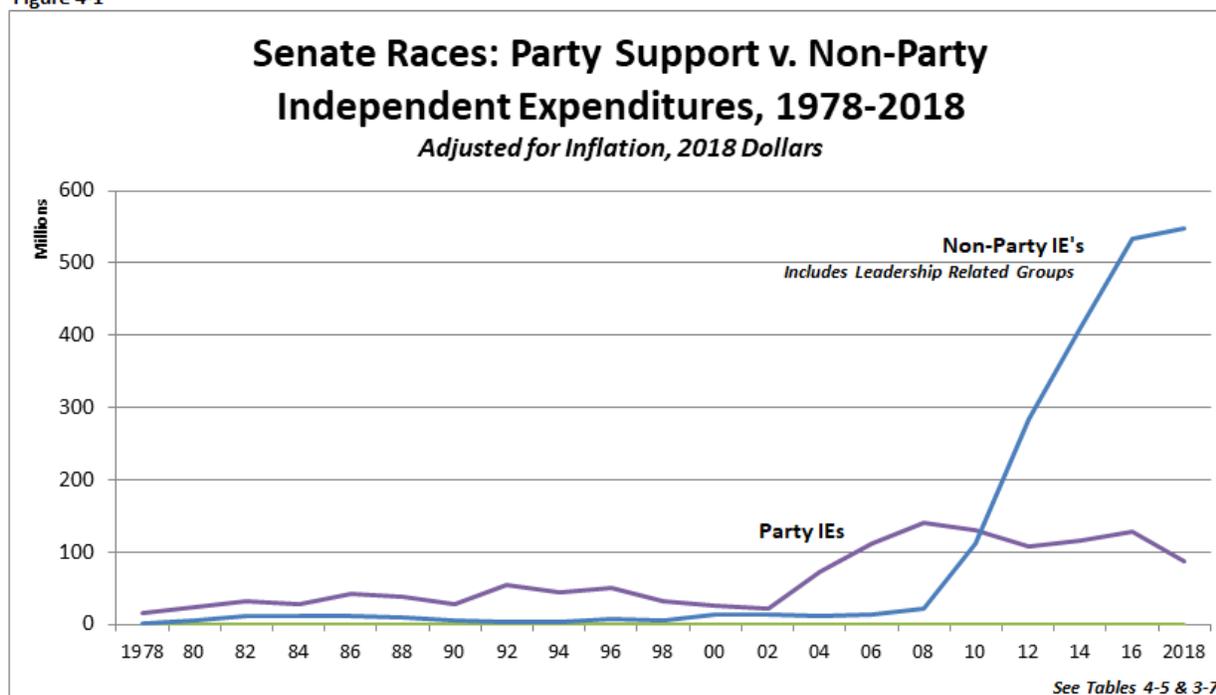
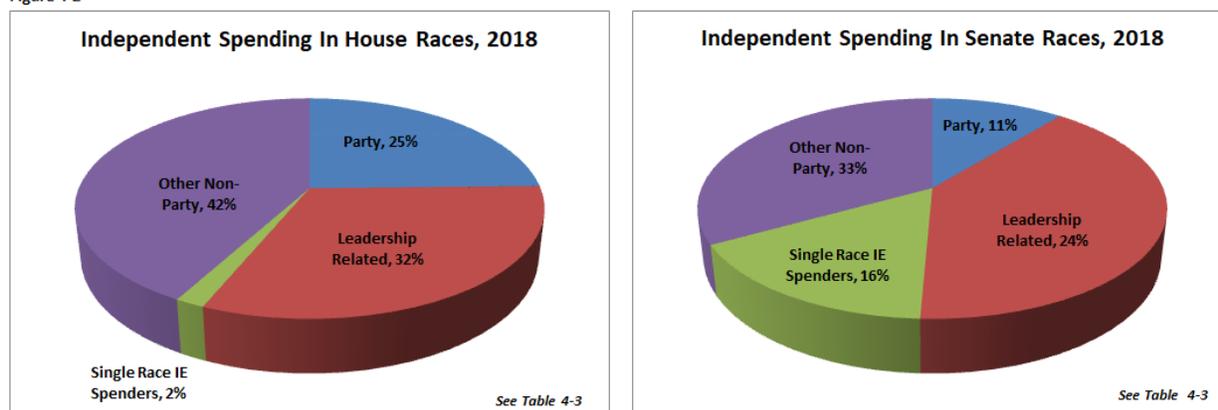


Figure 4-2



Non-party congressional election IEs (1978-2018) are summarized in Table 4-1. (IEs made by the political parties in congressional elections may be found in Table 3-6.) More than \$1 billion was spent on congressional IEs in 2018. This nearly doubles the level of 2016 and was more than *twenty times* as much as in 2008. Over the same years, the level of spending by the candidates and political parties was relatively flat. There can be no question, therefore, that this spending sector is far more important than before *Citizens United*. In fact, IEs in the most competitive House and Senate elections in 2018 rivalled or exceeded the spending by candidates. (For the details, see these post-election slides presented by CFI at a talk sponsored by the Federal Election Commission.)

It would be a mistake, however, to treat all of these IEs as if they should equally be described by the words “outside spending”. Table 4-3 separates all of the federal IEs (2008-2018) by type of spender. This table shows that more than half of all presidential IEs in 2016 were made by single-candidate Super PACs closely allied with the candidates. In House elections, more than 40% of all of the supposedly non-party IEs were made by Super PACs and other entities closely allied with the four party leaders. The leadership-related entities, combined with IEs made by the formal party committees, made up 56% of all of the IEs in House elections in 2018 (see Figure 4-2). In the Senate, the formal party committees plus leadership-related entities made up 51% of all of the IEs. Adding the single-candidate Super PACs brings the “insider” component of this supposedly “outside” spending to 67% of the Senate’s and 58% of the House’s IE totals in 2018. Thus, while the formal party organizations and candidate committees play less of a role proportionally than they did before *Citizens United*, the new actors include many with very close ties to the parties and candidates. Others who were active included traditional issue and ideological groups, anti-establishment factional organizations,

We need to be looking at the IEs in more sophisticated ways if we wish to understand their systemic impact. They are not all “outside” groups.

and idiosyncratic individuals pursuing their own issue agendas. One lesson seems clear: we need to be looking at the IEs in more sophisticated ways if we wish to understand their role more fully.

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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION TABLES

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Table 1-1: Major Presidential Candidates' Pre-Nomination Receipts, Individual Contributions and Matching Funds, 1976-2004

	(\$ millions)		
	Primary* Receipts	Contributions from Individuals	Primary Matching Funds
2004			
Republicans			
George W. Bush	269.6	257.4	0.0**
Democrats			
John Kerry	234.6	215.5	0.0**
Howard Dean	51.1	51.1	0.0**
John Edwards	31.7	21.6	6.7
Wesley Clark	28.4	17.3	7.6
Richard Gephardt	21.2	14.3	4.1
Joseph Lieberman	18.5	14.0	4.3
Dennis Kucinich	12.4	7.9	3.3
Robert Graham	5.0	4.4	0.0
Al Sharpton	0.7	0.5	0.1
Carol Moseley Braun	0.6	0.5	0.0
2000			
Republicans			
George W. Bush	103.4	99.5	0.0**
John McCain	45.2	28.1	14.6
Gary Bauer	12.7	7.5	4.9
Alan Keyes	12.4	7.6	4.8
Dan Quayle	6.3	4.0	2.1
Democrats			
Al Gore	49.4	33.8	15.4
Bill Bradley	42.1	29.1	12.4
LaRouche	4.7	3.3	1.4
1996***			
Republicans			
Robert Dole	44.6	29.6	13.5
Steve Forbes	43.1	4.3	0.0**
Patrick Buchanan	25.6	14.6	11.0
Phil Gramm	28.7	15.9	7.4
Lamar Alexander	17.6	12.6	4.6
Richard Lugar	7.7	4.8	2.7
Pete Wilson	7.0	5.3	1.7
Alan Keyes	5.1	3.4	1.7
Democrats			
Bill Clinton	42.4	28.2	13.4
LaRouche	3.6	3.0	0.6

[Download Excel version of table](#)

(Table continued from previous page)

CFI**Table 1-1: Major Presidential Candidates' Pre-Nomination Receipts,
Individual Contributions and Matching Funds, 1976-2004**

	(\$ millions)		
	Primary* Receipts	Contributions from Individuals	Primary Matching Funds
1992***			
Republicans			
George H.W. Bush	38.0	27.0	10.6
Patrick Buchanan	12.3	7.1	5.2
Democrats			
Bill Clinton	37.6	25.1	12.5
Jerry Brown	9.4	5.2	4.2
Paul Tsongas	8.0	5.0	3.0
John Kerrey	6.5	3.9	2.2
Tom Harkin	5.7	3.0	2.1
Douglas Wilder	0.8	0.5	0.3
1988			
Republicans			
George H.W. Bush	33.1	22.6	8.3
Robert Dole	28.0	17.4	7.6
Pat Robertson	32.0	20.3	10.4
Jack Kemp	16.5	10.3	6.0
Pete Dupont	8.0	5.5	2.5
Alexander Haig	1.9	1.4	0.5
Democrats			
Michael Dukakis	30.8	19.3	9.0
Al Gore	13.0	8.0	3.8
Jesse Jackson	14.0	9.0	6.2
Richard Gephardt	10.2	6.1	3.3
Paul Simon	9.6	6.0	3.7
Gary Hart	4.4	3.0	1.1
Bruce Babbitt	3.2	2.2	1.0
1984			
Republicans			
Ronald Reagan	27.1	16.4	10.1
Democrats			
Walter Mondale	26.7	17.2	9.5
Gary Hart	14.5	8.5	5.3
John Glenn	12.1	6.5	3.3
Jesse Jackson	8.0	5.0	3.0
Alan Cranston	5.8	3.3	2.1
Reuben Askew	2.7	1.7	1.0
Ernest (Fritz) Hollings	2.5	1.4	0.8
George McGovern	1.4	0.8	0.6

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(Table continued from previous page)

CFI**Table 1-1: Major Presidential Candidates' Pre-Nomination Receipts, Individual Contributions and Matching Funds, 1976-2004**

	(\$ millions)		
	Primary* Receipts	Contributions from Individuals	Primary Matching Funds
1980			
Republicans			
Ronald Reagan	21.4	13.8	7.3
George H.W. Bush	16.7	10.9	5.7
John Connally	12.7	11.6	0.0**
Howard Baker	7.1	4.2	2.6
John Anderson	6.6	3.9	2.7
Phil Crane	5.4	3.5	1.9
Robert Dole	1.4	0.9	0.5
Democrats			
Jimmy Carter	18.6	12.9	5.0
Ted Kennedy	12.3	7.8	4.1
Jerry Brown	2.7	1.7	0.9
1976			
Republicans			
Gerald Ford	13.5	8.5	4.6
Ronald Reagan	12.6	7.5	5.0
Democrats			
Jimmy Carter	12.4	8.0	3.6
George Wallace	10.5	7.0	3.3
Henry Jackson	6.2	4.0	2.0
Morris Udall	4.7	2.7	1.9
Lloyd Bentsen	2.7	2.0	0.5
Jerry Brown	1.9	1.2	0.6
Fred Harris	1.6	1.0	0.6
Frank Church	1.5	0.9	0.6
Birch Bayh	1.3	0.8	0.5
Sargent Shriver	1.0	0.6	0.3
Milton Shapp	0.9	0.6	0.3
Terry Sanford	0.6	0.3	0.2
Ellen McCormack	0.5	0.3	0.2

*Primary receipts are net receipts to the campaign thru the end of the primary season plus matching funds received subsequently. Matching funds are the total funds certified to the candidate by the FEC based on individual donations raised during the primary campaign.

** = did not accept public financing, and therefore not bound by spending limits.

*** H. Ross Perot spent \$66 million in his Independent campaign for the presidency in 1992. \$60.9 million was self-financed. This was all general election campaign spending. In 1996, Perot ran as a Reform Party candidate. He raised \$1.1 million in individual contributions, contributed \$10 million to his own campaign, and received \$29.1 million in federal funding.

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Table 1-2: Pre-Nomination and General Election Spending Limits Mandated as a Condition for Candidates Who Accept Voluntary Public Financing, 1976-2016

(\$ millions)

	<i>Pre-Nomination</i>				<i>General Election</i>
	<i>Base Limit</i>	<i>Fundraising</i>	<i>Legal, Accounting and Compliance</i>	<i>Overall Limit</i>	<i>(Equals the full public financing flat grant)</i>
1974 base	10.0	2.0	*	12.0	20.0
1976	10.9	2.2	*	13.1	21.8
1980	14.7	2.9	*	17.7	28.4
1984	20.2	4	*	24.2	40.4
1988	23.1	4.6	*	27.7	46.1
1992	27.6	5.5	*	33.1	55.2**
1996	30.9	6.2	*	37.7	61.8
2000	33.8	6.8	*	45.7	67.6
2004	36.6	7.3	*	49.4	74.6
2008	42.1	8.4	*	50.5	84.1***
2012	45.6	9.1	*	54.7	91.2***
2016	48.1	9.6	*	57.7	96.1***

* = Not limited. "The campaign finance law exempts the payment of some expenses from the spending limits. Certain fundraising expenses (up to 20 percent of the expenditure limit) and legal and accounting expenses incurred solely to ensure the campaign's compliance with the law do not count against the expenditure limits." - <https://transition.fec.gov/pages/brochures/pubfund.shtml>

** H. Ross Perot spent \$66 million in his Independent campaign for the presidency in 1992. \$60.9 million was self-financed. This was all general election campaign spending. In 1996, Perot ran as a Reform Party candidate. He raised \$1.1 million in individual contributions, contributed \$10 million to his own campaign, and received \$29.1 million in federal funding.

*** Barack Obama (in 2008) was the first major party presidential nominee to reject public financing for the general election since the program was started in 1974. Neither major party nominee used public financing in 2012 or 2016.

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**Table 1-3: Pre-Nomination -- Presidential Candidates and Super PACs
through June 30, 2008-2016**

(\$ Millions)

Candidate	Party	Candidate		Total
		(Primary receipts)	Super PAC Receipts	
2016				
Hillary Clinton	D	261.2	106.4	367.6
Bernie Sanders	D	235.4	0.0	235.4
Martin O'Malley	D	6.3	0.8	7.1
Jeb Bush	R	34.9	121.1	156.0
Ted Cruz	R	87.5	58.7	146.2
Marco Rubio	R	46.1	60.7	106.8
Donald Trump*	R	89.1	0.0	89.1
Ben Carson	R	63.4	16.0	79.4
John Kasich	R	19.4	17.7	37.1
Scott Walker	R	8.3	24.1	32.4
Chris Christie	R	8.7	20.3	29.0
Carly Fiorina	R	12.1	14.1	26.2
Rand Paul	R	11.6	10.0	21.6
Rick Perry	R	1.4	14.1	15.5
Lindsey Graham	R	5.4	4.2	9.6
Mike Huckabee	R	4.3	5.0	9.3
Bobby Jindal	R	1.4	4.5	5.9
George Pataki	R	0.5	1.5	2.0
Rick Santorum	R	1.4	0.4	1.8
2012				
Barack Obama	D	317.5	20.8	338.3
Mitt Romney	R	154.5	82.2	236.7
Newt Gingrich	R	23.7	23.9	47.6
Ron Paul	R	39.8	5.3	45.1
Rick Santorum	R	22.3	8.6	30.9
Rick Perry	R	20.0	5.6	25.6
Herman Cain	R	16.0	0.6	16.6
Jon Huntsman	R	8.9	3.2	12.1
Michelle Bachmann	R	7.4	0.0	7.4
Charles ("Buddy") Roemer	R	0.4	0.0	0.4

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(Table continued from previous page)

CFI**Table 1-3: Pre-Nomination -- Presidential Candidates and Super PACs
through June 30, 2008-2016**

(\$ Millions)

Candidate	Party	Candidate		Total
		(Primary receipts)	Super PAC Receipts	
2008				
Barack Obama	D	323.4	NA	323.4
Hillary Clinton	D	218.5	NA	218.5
John Edwards	D	54.8	NA	54.8
Bill Richardson	D	23.5	NA	23.5
Chrisitopher Dodd	D	16.9	NA	16.9
Joseph Biden	D	11.6	NA	11.6
Dennis Kucinich	D	2.8	NA	2.8
John McCain	R	144.0	NA	144.0
Mitt Romney	R	110.7	NA	110.7
Rudolph Giuliani	R	65.9	NA	65.9
Ron Paul	R	35.1	NA	35.1
Fred Thompson	R	24.1	NA	24.1
Mike Huckabee	R	16.4	NA	16.4
Tom Tancredo	R	5.8	NA	5.8
Sam Brownback	R	4.5	NA	4.5
Duncan Hunter	R	2.7	NA	2.7

NOTE: Donald Trump's 2016 receipts included a \$43.5 million self-loan.

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Table 1-4A: Individual Contributions to 2016 Presidential Candidates, Aggregated by Donors
Cumulative through June 30, 2016

Primary Contributions only

Contributions by Individual Donors, Aggregated

Candidates	Total # Itemized Individual Donors	Total Net Individual Contributions (\$ millions)	\$200 or less		\$201-\$999		\$1,000-\$2,699		\$2,700 or more		\$1,000 or more	
			Amount (\$ millions)	Percent	\$ Amount (millions)	Percent	\$ Amount (millions)	Percent	\$ Amount (millions)	Percent	\$ Amount (millions)	Percent
<u>Democrats</u>												
Hillary Clinton	218,703	269.7	63.6	24%	57.8	21%	41.0	15%	107.4	40%	148.4	55%
Bernie Sanders	247,020	226.1	99.7	44%	86.2	38%	31.5	14%	8.6	4%	40.1	18%
Martin O'Malley	3,170	4.5	0.5	11%	0.6	14%	1.0	22%	2.4	54%	3.3	74%
Lawrence Lessig	729	0.9	0.4	44%	0.2	21%	0.1	15%	0.1	16%	0.3	30%
Jim Webb	545	0.8	0.3	39%	0.2	19%	0.2	26%	0.1	15%	0.3	41%
Lincoln Chafee	30	0.0	0.0	46%	0.0	12%	0.0	24%	0.0	18%	0.0	42%
<i>Dem Subtotal</i>	<i>470,197</i>	<i>502.0</i>	<i>164.5</i>	<i>33%</i>	<i>144.9</i>	<i>29%</i>	<i>73.8</i>	<i>15%</i>	<i>118.7</i>	<i>24%</i>	<i>192.4</i>	<i>38%</i>
<u>Republicans</u>												
Donald Trump	25,659	36.9	23.1	63%	7.0	19%	3.5	9%	3.5	10%	7.0	19%
Ted Cruz	94,032	86.7	25.9	30%	31.3	36%	16.1	19%	14.6	17%	30.6	35%
Ben Carson	59,406	62.1	30.8	50%	19.4	31%	8.2	13%	3.1	5%	11.2	18%
Donald Trump	9,170	16.8	12.0	72%	2.6	15%	1.0	6%	1.3	8%	2.3	14%
Marco Rubio	34,657	42.0	8.9	21%	8.4	20%	9.1	22%	16.2	38%	25.2	60%
Jeb Bush	17,798	32.9	1.7	5%	2.0	6%	4.9	15%	23.7	72%	28.7	87%
John Kasich	13,746	18.5	3.7	20%	3.0	16%	3.7	20%	7.9	43%	11.6	63%
Rand Paul	9,558	10.9	4.6	42%	2.9	26%	1.7	16%	1.8	16%	3.5	32%
Carly Fiorina	9,459	11.7	5.1	44%	2.8	24%	2.0	17%	2.0	17%	4.0	34%
Chris Christie	4,349	8.2	0.4	5%	0.4	5%	1.5	18%	6.0	73%	7.4	91%
Scott Walker	4,889	7.9	2.8	35%	1.1	14%	1.1	14%	2.9	37%	4.0	51%
Lindsey Graham	2,090	3.2	0.2	7%	0.3	9%	1.1	35%	1.6	50%	2.7	85%
Mike Huckabee	2,735	4.4	1.7	39%	0.7	16%	0.8	19%	1.0	24%	1.9	42%
Bobby Jindal	663	1.4	0.1	11%	0.1	5%	0.1	10%	1.1	75%	1.2	85%
Rick Perry	733	1.2	0.1	11%	0.1	9%	0.2	15%	0.8	65%	1.0	80%
Rick Santorum	836	1.3	0.3	21%	0.2	13%	0.3	20%	0.6	46%	0.9	66%
George Pataki	306	0.5	0.0	5%	0.0	7%	0.1	23%	0.3	63%	0.4	87%
<i>Rep Subtotal</i>	<i>264,427</i>	<i>346.7</i>	<i>121.6</i>	<i>35%</i>	<i>82.2</i>	<i>24%</i>	<i>55.2</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>88.3</i>	<i>25%</i>	<i>143.5</i>	<i>41%</i>
2016	734,624	848.7	286.1	34%	227.1	27%	129.1	15%	207.0	24%	336.0	40%

NOTES: (a) For this table, each donor's contributions to a candidate have been aggregated to a cumulative total.

(b) The percentages shown are the percentage of net individual primary contributions given by donors in each category. Net individual primary contributions takes into account, refunds, transfers, and general election funds.

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Table 1-4B: Individual Contributions to 2012 Presidential Candidates, Aggregated by Donors
Cumulative through June 30, 2012
Primary Contributions only

Candidates	Total # Itemized Individual Donors	Total Net Individual Contributions (\$ millions)	Contributions by Individual Donors, Aggregated									
			\$200 or less		\$201-\$999		\$1,000-\$2499		\$2,500		\$1,000 or more	
			\$ Amount (millions)	Percent	\$ Amount (millions)	Percent	\$ Amount (millions)	Percent	\$ Amount (millions)	Percent	\$ Amount (millions)	Percent
Democrats												
Barack Obama ¹	282,656	287.9	112.0	39%	89.1	31%	40.7	14%	47.0	16%	87.7	30%
<i>Dem Subtotal</i>	282,656	287.9	112.0	39%	89.1	31%	40.7	14%	47.0	16%	87.7	30%
Republicans												
Mitt Romney	107,616	151.0	22.4	15%	20.6	14%	24.5	16%	82.9	55%	107.4	71%
Ron Paul	41,534	39.8	13.6	34%	13.7	34%	8.0	20%	4.5	11%	12.5	31%
Newt Gingrich	20,834	23.5	9.9	42%	6.4	27%	3.3	14%	3.9	17%	7.2	31%
Rick Santorum	20,305	21.8	9.9	45%	6.2	29%	3.0	14%	2.7	12%	5.7	26%
Rick Perry	11,072	19.7	1.0	5%	1.1	6%	2.4	12%	15.1	76%	17.5	89%
Herman Cain	12,632	15.9	8.3	52%	3.8	24%	2.0	13%	1.8	11%	3.9	24%
Michelle Bachmann	6,010	7.3	4.3	59%	1.9	26%	0.6	9%	0.4	6%	1.1	15%
Jon Huntsman	2,862	3.7	0.5	13%	0.5	14%	0.9	25%	1.8	48%	2.7	73%
Charles (Buddy) Roemer	3	0.4	0.4	100%	0.0	0%	0.0	0%	0.0	0%	0.0	0%
<i>Rep Subtotal</i>	222,868	283.1	70.2	25%	54.2	19%	44.8	16%	113.1	40%	157.9	56%
Total 2012	505,524	571.0	182.2	32%	143.3	25%	85.5	15%	160.1	28%	245.6	43%

NOTES: (a) For this table, each donor's contributions to a candidate have been aggregated to a cumulative total.

(b) The percentages shown are the percentage of net individual primary contributions given by donors in each category.

Most of the early general election contributions come in \$2,500 amounts from donors who have already given the legal maximum for the primaries.

As of June 30, 2012, President Obama had raised \$29.7 million for the general election. Mitt Romney had raised \$3.6 million.

1. President Obama's amounts include gross itemizations from the joint fundraising committee, Obama Victory Fund 2012, that add \$14.6 million dollars to his reported total.

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Table 1-4C: Individual Contributions to 2008 Presidential Candidates, Aggregated by Donors

Cumulative through June 30, 2008

Primary Contributions only

Candidates	Total # Itemized Individual Donors	Total Net Individual Contributions (\$ millions)	Contributions by Individual Donors, Aggregated									
			\$200 or less		\$201-\$999		\$1,000-\$2299		\$2,300		\$1,000 or more	
			Amount (\$ millions)	Percent	Amount (\$ millions)	Percent	Amount (\$ millions)	Percent	Amount (\$ millions)	Percent	Amount (\$ millions)	Percent
Democrats												
Barack Obama	304,867	323.4	93.6	29%	88.7	27%	53.8	17%	87.3	27%	141.1	44%
Hillary Clinton	164,388	182.6	34.3	19%	42.3	23%	39.0	21%	67.1	37%	106.1	58%
John Edwards	32,721	31.9	5.2	16%	8.5	27%	8.1	25%	10.2	32%	18.3	57%
Bill Richardson	17,859	20.8	2.7	13%	3.9	19%	4.6	22%	9.6	46%	14.2	68%
Christopher Dodd	6,152	8.0	0.3	3%	0.8	10%	2.4	30%	4.5	57%	6.9	87%
Joseph Biden	5,626	6.4	0.4	6%	1.1	16%	2.1	32%	2.9	45%	5.0	78%
Dennis Kucinich	3,513	2.7	0.7	27%	1.1	42%	0.5	17%	0.4	13%	0.8	31%
Mike Gravel	379	0.3	0.1	35%	0.1	31%	0.1	21%	0.0	13%	0.1	34%
<i>Dem Subtotal</i>	<i>535,505</i>	<i>576.2</i>	<i>137.3</i>	<i>24%</i>	<i>146.5</i>	<i>25%</i>	<i>110.5</i>	<i>19%</i>	<i>182.0</i>	<i>32%</i>	<i>292.5</i>	<i>51%</i>
Republicans												
John McCain	99,249	124.0	25.9	21%	21.8	18%	15.5	12%	60.8	49%	88.6	71%
Mitt Romney	43,929	59.8	8.9	15%	7.9	13%	15.5	26%	27.4	46%	42.9	72%
Rudolph Giuliani	38,613	55.0	9.7	18%	5.6	10%	14.2	26%	25.6	47%	39.8	72%
Ron Paul	29,638	34.3	13.7	40%	9.3	27%	6.4	19%	4.9	14%	11.3	33%
Fred Thompson	16,935	23.2	8.8	38%	4.2	18%	3.7	16%	6.6	28%	10.3	44%
Mike Huckabee	13,651	16.0	4.6	29%	3.7	23%	3.2	20%	4.5	28%	7.7	48%
Tom Tancredo	2,589	3.4	2.0	59%	0.8	25%	0.3	9%	0.2	7%	0.6	16%
Sam Brownback	2,978	3.5	1.2	34%	0.8	22%	0.8	23%	0.7	21%	1.5	43%
Duncan Hunter	1,659	2.3	1.1	47%	0.4	19%	0.4	17%	0.4	17%	0.8	34%
<i>Rep Subtotal</i>	<i>249,241</i>	<i>321.6</i>	<i>75.9</i>	<i>24%</i>	<i>54.6</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>60.0</i>	<i>19%</i>	<i>131.1</i>	<i>41%</i>	<i>203.5</i>	<i>63%</i>
Total 2008	784,746	897.9	213.2	24%	201.1	22%	170.5	19%	313.1	35%	495.9	55%

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CFI**Table 1-5A: 2016 Presidential Fundraising Receipts, Debts and Cash on Hand as of December 31, 2015**

(\$ millions)

Candidates	Total Receipts	Total Receipts	Net Individual Receipts	Debts Owed	Cash on Hand
	<i>Primary and General</i>	<i>Primary only</i>	<i>Primary only</i>		<i>Primary only</i>
Democrats					
Hillary Clinton	115.6	113.1	110.4	2.2	35.5
Bernie Sanders	75.0	75.0	72.8	0.0	28.3
Martin O'Malley	4.8	4.8	4.1	0.7	0.2
Jim Webb	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.2
Lincoln Chafee	0.4	0.4	0.0	1.1	0.0
<i>Dem Subtotal</i>	195.4	192.9	187.3	2.9	64.0
Republicans					
Ben Carson	54.0	53.4	53.1	0.1	6.0
Ted Cruz	47.1	44.0	43.7	1.5	15.7
Jeb Bush	31.9	31.4	30.7	1.0	7.1
Marco Rubio	29.7	27.5	25.5	0.1	8.2
Donald Trump	19.4	19.4	6.5	16.2	6.9
Rand Paul	11.5	11.1	10.1	1.3	0.8
Carly Fiorina	11.3	11.3	11.2	0.0	4.5
Scott Walker	8.0	7.7	7.2	1.4	-0.1
John Kasich	7.6	7.4	7.1	0.0	2.4
Chris Christie	7.2	7.2	7.0	0.3	1.1
Lindsey Graham	5.6	5.2	3.2	0.0	0.2
Mike Huckabee	4.0	4.0	3.9	0.2	0.1
Rick Perry	1.4	1.4	1.4	0.0	0.0
Bobby Jindal	1.4	1.4	1.4	0.0	0.0
Rick Santorum	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.4	0.0
George Pataki	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
<i>Rep Subtotal</i>	242.0	234.2	213.5	22.4	52.7
Total 2015	437.4	427.1	400.8	25.3	116.8

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Table 1-5B: 2012 Presidential Fundraising Receipts, Debts and Cash on Hand as of December 31, 2011
 (\$ Millions)

Candidates	Total Receipts	Total Receipts	Net Individual Receipts	Debts Owed	Cash on Hand
	<i>Primary and General</i>	<i>Primary only</i>	<i>Primary only</i>		<i>Primary only</i>
Democrats					
Barack Obama ¹	131.9	118.8	118.8	3.0	68.6
<i>Dem Subtotal</i>	131.9	118.8	118.8	3.0	68.6
Republicans²					
Mitt Romney	56.7	56.7	56.3	0.0	19.9
Ron Paul	26.0	26.0	25.5	0.0	1.9
Rick Perry	20.1	19.8	19.5	0.1	3.5
Herman Cain	16.8	16.7	15.9	0.6	0.9
Newt Gingrich	12.7	12.4	12.4	1.2	1.8
Michelle Bachmann	9.3	9.2	7.2	1.1	0.3
Jon Huntsman	5.9	5.8	3.3	3.8	0.1
Rick Santorum	2.2	2.1	2.1	0.2	0.2
Gary Johnson	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.0
Charles (Buddy) Roeme	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0
<i>Rep Subtotal</i>	150.6	149.8	143.0	7.1	28.7
Total 2012	282.5	268.5	261.8	10.2	97.3

1. President Obama's amounts include gross itemizations from the joint fundraising committee, Obama Victory Fund 2012, that add dropped out of the Republican primary race.

[Download Excel version of table](#)

CFI**Table 1-5C: 2008 Presidential Fundraising Receipts, Debts and Cash on Hand as of December 31, 2007**

(\$ Millions)

Candidates	Total Receipts	Total Receipts	Individual Receipts	Debts Owed	Cash on Hand
	<i>Primary and General</i>	<i>Primary only</i>	<i>Primary only</i>		
Democrats					
Hillary Clinton	118.3	98.4	83.7	5.0	18.0
Barack Obama	103.8	98.5	96.8	0.8	13.3
John Edwards	44.3	41.1	31.5	9.1	4.6
Bill Richardson	23.7	22.8	21.2	1.2	1.0
Christopher Dodd	16.5	15.0	8.3	1.3	1.0
Joseph Biden	11.4	10.2	6.9	2.2	0.7
Dennis Kucinich	3.9	3.9	3.9	0.0	0.3
Mike Gravel	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.0
<i>Dem Subtotal</i>	322.4	290.3	252.6	19.7	38.8
Republicans					
Mitt Romney	90.1	90.1	52.5	35.4	2.4
Rudolph Giuliani	61.6	56.0	52.5	1.2	7.2
John McCain	42.1	39.9	34.4	4.5	0.8
Ron Paul	28.3	28.1	27.9	0.0	7.7
Fred Thompson	21.8	21.8	21.4	0.4	2.1
Sam Brownback	9.0	9.0	8.9	0.1	1.9
Tom Tancredo	6.3	6.3	4.0	2.0	0.3
Mike Huckabee	4.4	4.4	3.5	0.0	0.0
Duncan Hunter	2.5	2.5	2.3	0.1	0.2
<i>Rep Subtotal</i>	266.0	258.1	207.5	43.7	22.7
Total 2008	588.4	548.4	460.1	63.4	61.5

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**Table 1-6A: Individual Contributions to 2016 Presidential Candidates, Aggregated by Donors
Cumulative through December 31, 2015**

(Primary Contributions only)

Contributions by Individual Donors, Aggregated

Candidates	Total # Itemized Individual Donors	Net Primary Individual Contributions	\$200 or less		\$201-\$999		\$1,000-\$2699		\$2,700		subtotal	
			Amount (\$ millions)	Percent								
Democrats												
Hillary Clinton	68,493	110.4	20.5	19%	12.6	11%	13.7	12%	63.8	58%	77.5	70%
Bernie Sanders	60,595	72.8	46.9	64%	19.7	27%	4.8	7%	1.4	2%	6.2	9%
Martin O'Malley	2,825	4.1	0.4	10%	0.5	13%	0.9	21%	2.3	56%	3.2	76%
Lawrence Lessig	946	0.9	0.4	41%	0.3	29%	0.2	18%	0.1	12%	0.3	30%
Jim Webb	543	0.8	0.3	39%	0.1	20%	0.2	26%	0.1	15%	0.3	41%
Lincoln Chafee	30	0.0	0.0	46%	0.0	12%	0.0	24%	0.0	18%	0.0	42%
<i>Dem Subtotal</i>	<i>133,402</i>	<i>188.9</i>	<i>68.5</i>	<i>36%</i>	<i>33.2</i>	<i>18%</i>	<i>19.7</i>	<i>10%</i>	<i>67.7</i>	<i>36%</i>	<i>87.4</i>	<i>46%</i>
Republicans												
Ben Carson	45,931	53.1	28.5	54%	14.6	28%	6.6	12%	3.3	6%	9.9	19%
Ted Cruz	41,994	43.7	16.6	38%	13.1	30%	6.3	15%	7.6	17%	14.0	32%
Jeb Bush	16,118	30.7	1.5	5%	1.6	5%	4.4	14%	23.2	75%	27.5	90%
Marco Rubio	20,257	25.5	4.9	19%	4.4	17%	5.8	23%	10.6	42%	16.4	64%
Donald Trump	3,143	6.4	4.8	74%	0.9	14%	0.3	5%	0.5	8%	0.9	13%
Rand Paul	8,600	10.1	4.5	45%	2.5	25%	1.6	16%	1.6	16%	3.1	31%
Carly Fiorina	8,536	11.2	4.9	44%	2.5	22%	1.9	17%	2.0	18%	3.8	34%
Scott Walker	4,658	7.2	2.7	38%	1.0	14%	1.0	14%	2.4	33%	3.4	48%
John Kasich	4,297	7.1	0.7	10%	0.6	8%	1.3	19%	4.5	63%	5.8	82%
Chris Christie	3,593	7.0	0.3	4%	0.3	5%	1.2	17%	5.2	74%	6.4	91%
Lindsey Graham	2,028	3.2	0.2	7%	0.3	9%	1.1	35%	1.5	48%	2.6	83%
Mike Huckabee	2,419	3.9	1.5	39%	0.6	15%	0.8	20%	1.0	26%	1.8	46%
Bobby Jindal	663	1.4	0.1	11%	0.1	5%	0.1	10%	1.1	75%	1.2	85%
Rick Perry	733	1.2	0.1	11%	0.1	9%	0.2	15%	0.8	65%	1.0	80%
Rick Santorum	744	1.2	0.2	20%	0.1	12%	0.2	21%	0.6	46%	0.8	67%
George Pataki	304	0.5	0.0	5%	0.0	7%	0.1	23%	0.3	64%	0.4	87%
<i>Rep Subtotal</i>	<i>164,018</i>	<i>213.4</i>	<i>71.7</i>	<i>34%</i>	<i>42.7</i>	<i>20%</i>	<i>33.0</i>	<i>15%</i>	<i>66.0</i>	<i>31%</i>	<i>99.0</i>	<i>46%</i>
2015	297,420	402.3	140.2	35%	76.0	19%	52.7	13%	133.7	33%	186.4	46%

NOTES: (a) For this table, each donor's contributions to a candidate have been aggregated to a cumulative total, including transfers, and general election funds.

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**Table 1-6B: Individual Contributions to 2012 Presidential Candidates, Aggregated by Donors
Cumulative through December 31, 2011**

(Primary Contributions only)

Contributions by Individual Donors, Aggregated

Candidates	Total # Itemized Individual Donors	Net Primary Individual Contributi	\$200 or less		\$201-\$999		\$1,000-\$2499		\$2,500		subtotal	
			Amount (\$ millions)	Percent								
Democrats												
Barack Obama ¹	96,605	118.8	56.7	48%	28.6	24%	14.4	12%	19.0	16%	33.4	28%
<i>Dem Subtotal</i>	<i>96,605</i>	<i>118.8</i>	<i>56.7</i>	<i>48%</i>	<i>28.6</i>	<i>24%</i>	<i>14.4</i>	<i>12%</i>	<i>19.0</i>	<i>16%</i>	<i>33.4</i>	<i>28%</i>
Republicans												
Mitt Romney	34,993	56.3	4.8	9%	5.2	9%	8.6	15%	37.6	67%	46.2	82%
Ron Paul	21,849	25.5	12.1	48%	6.6	26%	4.0	16%	2.7	11%	6.7	26%
Rick Perry	10,859	19.5	1.0	5%	1.1	5%	2.4	12%	15.0	77%	17.3	89%
Herman Cain	12,568	15.9	8.3	52%	3.8	24%	2.0	13%	1.8	11%	3.8	24%
Newt Gingrich	9,216	12.4	6.0	49%	2.6	21%	1.5	12%	2.1	17%	3.7	30%
Michelle Bachmann	5,817	7.2	4.3	60%	1.8	26%	0.6	9%	0.4	6%	1.0	15%
Jon Huntsman	2,510	3.3	0.3	10%	0.4	13%	0.8	25%	1.7	52%	2.5	77%
Rick Santorum	1,607	2.1	0.7	32%	0.4	19%	0.3	16%	0.7	33%	1.0	49%
Gary Johnson	450	0.6	0.2	27%	0.1	20%	0.1	20%	0.2	34%	0.3	54%
Charles (Buddy) Roemer	2	0.3	0.3	100%	0.0	0%	0.0	0%	0.0	0%	0.0	0%
<i>Rep Subtotal</i>	<i>99,871</i>	<i>143.0</i>	<i>38.1</i>	<i>27%</i>	<i>22.0</i>	<i>18%</i>	<i>20.4</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>62.2</i>	<i>40%</i>	<i>82.7</i>	<i>61%</i>
Total 2012	196,476	261.8	94.8	36%	50.6	19%	34.8	13%	81.2	31%	116.0	44%

NOTES: (a) For this table, each donor's contributions to a candidate have been aggregated to a cumulative total.

(b) The percentages shown are the percentage of net individual primary contributions given by donors in each category.

Most of the early general election contributions come in \$2,500 amounts from donors who have already given the legal maximum for the primaries.

As of December 31, 2011, President Obama had raised \$13.1 million for the general election. The next highest current candidate is Newt Gingrich, with \$260,000.

1. President Obama's amounts include gross itemizations from the joint fundraising committee, Obama Victory Fund 2012, that add \$5.3 million dollars to his reported total.

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**Table 1-6C: Individual Contributions to 2008 Presidential Candidates, Aggregated by Donors
Cumulative through December 31, 2007**

(Primary Contributions only)

Contributions by Individual Donors, Aggregated

Candidates	Total # Itemized Individual Donors	Net Primary Individual Contributions	\$200 or less		\$201-\$999		\$1,000-\$2299		\$2,300		subtotal	
			Amount (\$ millions)	Percent								
Democrats												
Obama, B.	77,389	96.8	21.5	22%	17.7	18%	18.9	20%	38.7	40%	57.6	60%
Clinton, H.	59,647	83.7	8.2	10%	9.4	11%	18.9	23%	47.2	56%	66.1	79%
Edwards, J.	28,208	31.5	7.1	22%	6.9	22%	7.7	24%	9.9	31%	17.6	56%
Richardson, B.	17,502	21.2	3.3	16%	3.8	18%	4.5	21%	9.5	45%	14.0	66%
Dodd, C.	6,067	8.3	0.6	7%	0.8	9%	2.4	29%	4.5	55%	6.9	84%
Biden, J.	5,529	6.9	0.9	13%	1.0	15%	2.1	30%	2.9	42%	5.0	73%
Kucinich, D.	1,394	3.9	3.0	78%	0.4	11%	0.2	6%	0.2	5%	0.4	11%
Gravel, M.	228	0.4	0.3	70%	0.1	14%	0.1	13%	0.0	3%	0.1	16%
<i>Dem Subtotal</i>	<i>195,964</i>	<i>252.6</i>	<i>44.8</i>	<i>18%</i>	<i>40.1</i>	<i>16%</i>	<i>54.8</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>112.9</i>	<i>45%</i>	<i>167.7</i>	<i>66%</i>
Republicans												
Romney, M.	36,743	52.5	4.5	9%	5.9	11%	14.3	27%	27.8	53%	42.1	80%
Giuliani, R.	36,669	52.5	3.5	7%	5.2	10%	13.6	26%	30.1	57%	43.8	83%
McCain, J.	28,409	34.4	4.2	12%	6.3	18%	8.7	25%	15.1	44%	23.9	69%
Paul, R.	22,061	27.9	12.1	43%	6.8	24%	5.1	18%	4.0	14%	9.1	32%
Thompson, F.	14,657	21.4	8.0	37%	3.4	16%	3.4	16%	6.6	31%	10.0	47%
Huckabee, M.	7,054	8.9	2.5	28%	1.8	20%	1.7	19%	3.0	33%	4.7	52%
Tancredo, T.	2,587	4.0	2.6	65%	0.8	21%	0.3	8%	0.2	6%	0.6	14%
Brownback, S.	2,818	3.5	1.4	39%	0.7	21%	0.7	21%	0.7	19%	1.4	40%
Hunter, D.	1,565	2.3	1.1	47%	0.4	18%	0.4	17%	0.4	18%	0.8	35%
<i>Rep Subtotal</i>	<i>152,563</i>	<i>207.5</i>	<i>39.8</i>	<i>19%</i>	<i>31.4</i>	<i>15%</i>	<i>48.4</i>	<i>23%</i>	<i>87.9</i>	<i>42%</i>	<i>136.3</i>	<i>66%</i>
Total 2008	348,527	460.1	84.6	18%	71.4	16%	103.1	22%	200.9	44%	304.0	66%

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Table 1-7: General Election Candidates for President, 2008-2016 -- Campaign Committees' and Super PACs' Receipts <i>(millions of dollars)</i>			
Candidates	Candidate Committee	Super PAC	Total
2016			
<u>Democrat</u>			
Hillary Clinton			
Through June 30*	261.2	106.4	367.6
July 1 - Dec. 31	382.9	95.4	478.3
24-month Total	644.1	201.8	845.9
<u>Republican</u>			
Donald Trump			
Through June 30*	89.1	0.0	89.1
July 1 - Dec. 31	338.8	22.6	361.4
24-month Total	427.9	22.6	450.5
2012			
<u>Democrat</u>			
Barack Obama			
Through June 30*	317.5	20.8	338.3
July 1 - Dec. 31	466.8	58.3	525.1
24-month Total	784.3	79.1	863.4
<u>Republican</u>			
Mitt Romney			
Through June 30*	154.5	82.2	236.7
July 1 - Dec. 31	341.4	72.4	413.8
24-month Total	495.9	154.6	650.5
2008			
<u>Democrat</u>			
Barack Obama			
Through June 30*	317.5	NA	317.5
July 1 - Dec. 31	436.0	NA	436.0
24-month Total	753.5	NA	753.5
<u>Republican</u>			
John McCain			
Through June 30*	144.0	NA	144.0
July 1 - Dec. 31**	66.0	NA	66.0
24-month Total	210.0	NA	210.0
<p>*The candidate committees' receipts include gross itemizations from their joint fundraising committees. The candidates' receipts through June 30 only include receipts designated for use in the pre-nomination campaign.</p> <p>** In 2008, John McCain accepted public financing for the general election. The primary committee did take in some receipts in the general election period, but it was redesignated to his General Election Legal and Accounting Committee (GELAC) and is not counted here.</p>			

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CFI												
Table 1-8: Individual Contributions to General Election Presidential Candidates, Aggregated by Donors, Full Two-Year Cycles, 2008-2016												
Contributions by Individual Donors, Aggregated												
Candidates	Net Receipts (\$ millions)	Net Individual Contributions (\$ millions)	\$200 or less		\$201-\$999		\$1000 to just below per election maximum*		Per election maximum* or more		\$1,000 or more subtotal	
			Amount (\$ millions)	Percent	Amount (\$ millions)	Percent	Amount (\$ millions)	Percent	Amount (\$ millions)	Percent	Amount (\$ millions)	Percent
2016												
Hillary Clinton	622.2	618.8	136.8	22%	159.0	26%	109.3	18%	215.9	35%	325.2	53%
Donald Trump	408.9	344.1	238.6	69%	44.7	13%	28.9	8%	31.9	9%	60.8	18%
2012												
Barack Obama	784.3	783.8	218.8	28%	263.1	34%	131.9	17%	170.1	22%	302.0	39%
Mitt Romney	495.9	470.0	57.5	12%	101.7	22%	82.4	18%	228.6	49%	311.0	66%
2008												
Barack Obama	753.5	746.1	181.3	24%	207.9	28%	121.2	16%	235.6	32%	356.8	48%
John McCain**	210.0	203.5	42.2	21%	40.2	20%	41.7	21%	79.5	39%	121.2	60%

NOTES: (a) For this table, each donor's contributions to a candidate have been aggregated to a cumulative total.

(b) The percentages shown are the percentage of net individual primary contributions given by donors in each category. Net individual primary contributions takes into account, refunds, transfers, and general election funds.

(c) Amounts include all contributions given directly to the candidate's campaign committees, as well as, those contributions attributable to the candidates that were given to their joint fundraising committees.

** The maximum that an individual donor could give to a candidate was \$2,300 in 2008, \$2,500 in 2012, and \$2,700 in 2016. A donor could give up to this amount for the pre-nomination contest and again for the general election.

** John McCain's receipts in 2008 are for the pre-nomination period only. He accepted full public financing for the general election.

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Table 1-9A: Sources of Funds for Presidential Super PACs in 2016

Dollar amounts in millions.

Candidate Supported	Super-PACs	Total Super PAC Receipts, Aggregated by Supported Candidate																			
		Total Super PAC Receipts			\$200 or less			\$201-\$5,400			\$5,401-\$99,999			\$100,000-\$499,999			\$500,000-\$999,999			\$1,000,000 or more	
		Amount	%	Donors (n)	Amount	%	Donors (n)	Amount	%	Donors (n)	Amount	%	Donors (n)	Amount	%	Donors (n)	Amount	%	Donors (n)	Amount	%
Democrats																					
Clinton	Priorities USA Action, Correct the Record	200.5	0.1	0%	456	0.6	0%	137	3.6	2%	65	12.1	6%	17	9.6	5%	46	171.0	85%		
O'Malley	Generation Forward PAC	0.8	0.0	0%	20	0.1	7%	21	0.5	65%	2	0.2	27%	0	0.0	0%	0	0.0	0%		
<i>Dem Subtotal</i>		201.3	0.1	0%	476	0.7	0%	158	4.1	2%	67	12.3	6%	17	9.6	5%	46	171.0	85%		
Republicans																					
Bush	Right to Rise USA	121.1	0.3	0%	2,605	5.1	4%	1,085	27.0	22%	258	33.6	28%	22	11.7	10%	26	41.5	34%		
Rubio	Conservative Solutions PAC, Baby Got PAC	60.7	0.0	0%	126	0.3	1%	148	4.1	7%	41	6.7	11%	8	4.2	7%	15	45.4	75%		
Cruz	Keep the Promise ¹	57.8	0.7	1%	394	0.4	1%	90	2.5	4%	38	7.6	13%	7	3.9	7%	10	42.8	74%		
Walker	Unintimidated PAC Inc.	24.1	0.0	0%	130	0.3	1%	109	2.9	12%	25	3.2	13%	2	1.0	4%	5	16.4	68%		
Trump	Rebuilding America Now	22.6	2.2	10%	105	0.1	1%	28	0.6	3%	12	2.3	10%	0	0.0	0%	7	19.5	86%		
Christie	America Leads	20.3	0.0	0%	55	0.2	1%	111	2.6	13%	42	6.6	32%	3	1.7	8%	5	9.3	46%		
Kasich	New Day for America, New Day Independent Media	16.6	0.0	0%	155	0.3	2%	137	4.0	24%	41	6.6	40%	10	5.4	32%	7	8.8	53%		
Carson	2016 Committee, 2016 Draft Committee, One Vote	14.5	6.5	45%	8,388	4.9	34%	120	1.7	11%	3	0.4	3%	0	0.0	0%	0	0.0	0%		
Fiorina	Conservative, Authentic, Responsive Leadership For You And For America	14.1	1.6	11%	1,940	1.3	9%	90	1.9	13%	12	1.8	13%	1	0.5	4%	2	6.6	46%		
Perry	Opportunity and Freedom (Multiple legal names ²)	13.0	0.0	0%	11	0.0	0%	29	0.8	6%	7	1.2	9%	0	0.0	0%	3	11.0	84%		
Paul	Concerned American Voters, America's Liberty PAC, Forever Free PAC, Human Action Super PAC	10.0	0.0	0%	73	0.1	1%	29	0.8	8%	15	2.6	26%	2	1.1	11%	3	5.2	52%		
Huckabee	Pursuing America's Greatness	5.0	0.0	0%	13	0.0	1%	9	0.2	5%	2	0.3	5%	2	1.4	28%	1	3.0	60%		
Jindal	Believe Again	4.5	0.0	0%	66	0.2	4%	48	1.2	28%	15	2.0	46%	0	0.0	0%	1	1.0	22%		
Graham	Security Is Strength PAC, West Main St. Values PAC	4.0	0.0	0%	14	0.1	1%	35	0.9	22%	8	1.4	35%	3	1.9	47%	0	0.0	0%		
Pataki	We the People, Not Washington	1.5	0.0	0%	125	0.2	12%	49	1.1	70%	2	0.3	18%	0	0.0	0%	0	0.0	0%		
Santorum	Working Again PAC	0.4	0.0	0%	3	0.0	3%	7	0.2	69%	1	0.1	28%	0	0.0	0%	0	0.0	0%		
<i>Rep Subtotal</i>		390.2	11.5	3%	14,203	13.6	3%	2,124	52.5	13%	522	76.5	20%	60	32.8	8%	85	210.4	54%		
Total 2016		591.5	11.6	2%	14,679	14.3	2%	2,282	56.6	10%	589	88.8	15%	77	42.4	7%	131	381.4	64%		

NOTES: (a) For this table, each donor's contributions to a Super PAC have been aggregated and include contributions from both individuals and organizations.

(b) Number of donors \$200 or less is not disclosed to Federal Election Commission.

(c) Contributions to Super PACs are unlimited, unlike candidate committees which were limited to \$2,700/per election from individuals in 2012.

¹ Keep the Promise was the primary Cruz Super PAC and also operated under multiple legal entities including Keep the Promise PAC, Keep the Promise I, Keep the Promise II & Keep the Promise III). Also includes: Stand For Truth, Inc., Make America Number 1, COURAGEOUS CONSERVATIVES PAC, and Stand for Principle PAC

² Operated as Opportunity and Freedom PAC, Opportunity and Freedom I & Opportunity and Freedom II.

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Table 1-9B: Sources of Funds for Presidential Super PACs in 2012

Dollar amounts in millions.

Candidate Supported	Super-PAC Committees	Total Super PAC Receipts	Total Super PAC Receipts, Aggregated by Supported Candidate																	
			\$200 or less		\$201-\$5,400			\$5,401-\$99,999			\$100,000-\$499,999			\$500,000-\$999,999			\$1,000,000 or more			
			Amount	%	Donors (n)	Amount	%	Donors (n)	Amount	%	Donors (n)	Amount	%	Donors (n)	Amount	%	Donors (n)	Amount	%	
Democrats																				
Obama	Priorities USA Action	79.1	0.3	0%	1,685	1.7	2%	176	4.8	6%	61	9.7	12%	19	10.0	13%	35	52.6	67%	
<i>Dem Subtotal</i>		79.1	0.3	0%	1,685	1.7	2%	176	4.8	6%	61	9.7	12%	19	10.0	13%	35	52.6	67%	
Republicans																				
Romney	Restore Our Future, Citizens for a Working America	154.6	0.0	0%	442	0.8	1%	470	14.5	9%	230	39.8	26%	36	21.1	14%	31	78.4	51%	
Gingrich	Winning Our Future, Strong America Now	24.2	0.1	0%	147	0.1	0%	5	0.1	0%	7	1.3	5%	3	1.5	6%	3	21.1	87%	
Santorum	Leaders for Families Super PAC, Inc./Red White and Blue Fund	8.7	0.0	0%	51	0.1	1%	44	1.0	12%	9	1.5	17%	1	0.5	6%	3	5.6	64%	
Paul	Endorse Liberty, Revolution PAC, Santa Rita Super PAC	5.6	0.4	7%	527	0.4	7%	33	0.8	14%	4	0.7	13%	0	0.0	0%	1	2.6	46%	
Perry	Make Us Great Again	5.6	0.0	0%	9	0.0	1%	23	0.7	13%	26	3.9	69%	1	0.7	12%	1	1.0	18%	
Huntsman	Our Destiny PAC	3.2	0.0	0%	6	0.0	1%	12	0.4	12%	4	0.6	17%	0	0.0	0%	1	2.2	70%	
Cain	9-9-9 FUND	0.6	0.5	79%	237	0.1	21%	0	0.0	0%	0	0.0	0%	0	0.0	0%	0	0.0	0%	
<i>Rep Subtotal</i>		202.6	1.0	1%	1,419	1.6	1%	587	17.4	9%	280	47.8	24%	41	23.8	12%	40	110.8	55%	
Total 2012		281.6	1.3	0%	3,104	3.3	1%	763	22.3	8%	341	57.5	20%	60	33.8	12%	75	163.4	58%	

NOTES: (a) For this table, each donor's contributions to a Super PAC have been aggregated and include contributions from both individuals and organizations.

(b) Number of donors \$200 or less is not disclosed to Federal Election Commission.

(c) Contributions to Super PACs are unlimited, unlike candidate committees which were limited to \$2,500/per election from individuals in 2012.

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Table 1-10: Presidential Joint Fundraising Committees, Funds Raised and Disbursed, 2008-2016

	Total Raised	Total Spent	Distributed to Campaigns	Distributed to National Party Committees	Distributed to State Party Committees
2016					
Clinton Campaign & Democratic Party					
Hillary Victory Fund	529,943,913	529,524,143	158,200,000	107,533,318	112,361,372
Hillary Action Fund	46,575,709	44,061,995	2,560,000	36,651,492	-
<i>Dem Total</i>	<i>576,519,622</i>	<i>573,586,138</i>	<i>160,760,000</i>	<i>144,184,810</i>	<i>112,361,372</i>
Trump Campaign & Republican Party					
Trump Make American Great Again Committee	263,736,052	258,488,089	121,242,734	37,599,727	-
Trump Victory	108,424,871	105,261,232	13,586,852	51,060,088	29,719,299
<i>Rep Total</i>	<i>372,160,923</i>	<i>363,749,321</i>	<i>134,829,586</i>	<i>88,659,815</i>	<i>29,719,299</i>
Combined Total	948,680,545	937,335,459	295,589,586	232,844,625	142,080,671
2012					
Obama Campaign & Democratic Party					
Obama Victory Fund 2012	456,014,290	454,685,461	181,700,000	126,165,000	29,329,156
Romney Campaign & Republican Party					
Romney Victory Inc.	492,850,712	489,192,497	146,516,072	156,651,622	36,321,297
Combined Total	948,865,002	943,877,958	328,216,072	282,816,622	65,650,453
2008					
Obama Campaign & Democratic Party					
Obama Victory Fund	198,191,354	196,495,419	87,557,733	88,100,000	-
Democratic White House Victory Fund	9,857,484	9,857,484	148,779	9,477,007	-
<i>Dem Total</i>	<i>208,048,838</i>	<i>206,352,903</i>	<i>87,706,512</i>	<i>97,577,007</i>	<i>-</i>
McCain Campaign & Republican Party					
McCain Victory 2008	100,930,002	93,699,555	1,144,197	70,002,986	4,129,742
MCCAIN VICTORY CALIFORNIA	77,245,761	74,500,311	23,784,029	33,429,059	9,509,070
MCCAIN VICTORY CALIFORNIA	15,518,975	15,211,195	5,280,711	3,763,127	4,110,957
MCCAIN VICTORY CALIFORNIA	11,875,926	11,809,016	991,842	10,191,098	-
MCCAIN VICTORY CALIFORNIA	5,267,306	5,146,420	23,707	915,823	2,931,649
MCCAIN VICTORY CALIFORNIA	4,549,690	4,188,551	2,004,909	612,451	980,388
MCCAIN VICTORY COMMITTEE	3,182,704	3,054,450	514,237	1,077,076	735,437
MCCAIN VICTORY COMMITTEE	649,169	649,169	198,337	-	360,357
<i>Rep Total</i>	<i>219,219,533</i>	<i>208,258,667</i>	<i>33,941,969</i>	<i>119,991,620</i>	<i>22,757,600</i>
Combined Total	427,268,371	414,611,570	121,648,481	217,568,627	22,757,600

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PART II

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION TABLES

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Table 2-1: The Cost of Winning an Election, 1986-2018*(in nominal and 2018 dollars)*

	House Winners		Senate Winners	
	Nominal Dollars	2018 Dollars	Nominal Dollars	2018 Dollars
2018	2,092,822	2,092,822	14,863,228 ^a	14,863,228
2016	1,516,021	1,586,135	10,464,068	10,948,017
2014	1,466,533	1,555,559	9,655,660	10,241,804
2012	1,596,953	1,746,588	10,351,556	11,321,499
2010	1,434,760	1,652,228	8,993,945	10,357,168
2008	1,362,239	1,588,774	7,101,029	8,281,901
2006	1,259,791	1,569,158	8,835,416	11,005,133
2004	1,038,391	1,380,345	7,183,825	9,549,543
2002	911,644	1,272,486	3,728,644	5,204,495
2000	845,907	1,233,526	7,198,423 ^b	10,496,947
1998	677,807	1,044,185	4,655,806	7,172,426
1996	686,198	1,098,210	3,921,653	6,276,319
1994	541,121	916,864	4,488,195	7,604,704
1992	556,475	995,971	3,353,115	6,001,359
1990	423,245	813,158	3,298,324	6,336,896
1988	400,386	849,871	3,746,225	7,951,845
1986	359,577	823,835	3,067,559	7,028,153

Note: Inflation adjustment based on average 2018 CPI.

a. Rick Scott (R-FL) spent \$83.8 million, more than double any other Senate winner. The

b. Jon Corzine (D-N.J.) spent \$63,209,506. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.) spent \$29,941,194.

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

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Table 2-2: House Campaign Expenditures: Major Party General Election Candidates, 1974-2018 (full cycle)

Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004
All Candidates								
Total expenditures	1,333,707,704 ^a	853,684,433	870,995,031	1,010,092,496	1,070,295,308	942,369,061	936,332,749	772,972,462
Mean expenditure	1,696,829 (n=786)	1,180,753 (n=723)	1,159,780 (n=751)	1,288,383.19 (n=784)	1,339,543 (n=799)	1,249,826 (n=754)	1,240,176 (n=755)	1,027,889 (n=752)
Mean, Democrats	1,898,931 (n=430)	1,024,616 (n=367)	1,048,586 (n=377)	1,127,710.98 (n=390)	1,447,883 (n=388)	1,249,571 (n=410)	1,059,490 (n=414)	924,824 (n=380)
Mean, Republicans	1,597,291 (n=355)	1,341,715 (n=356)	1,271,867 (n=374)	1,447,424.70 (n=394)	1,237,266 (n=411)	1,250,132 (n=344)	1,459,542 (n=341)	1,133,323 (n=371)
Incumbents								
Mean, all incumbents	1,880,909 (n=369)	1,756,748 (n=387)	1,534,041 (n=386)	1,811,448.59 (n=378)	1,788,269 (n=393)	1,554,956 (n=399)	1,571,361 (n=402)	1,364,658 (n=401)
Mean, Democrats	1,403,432 (n=173)	1,261,621 (n=169)	1,497,537 (n=182)	1,530,867.46 (n=162)	1,984,298 (n=236)	1,450,713 (n=229)	1,225,174 (n=191)	1,270,991 (n=190)
Mean, Republicans	2,302,355 (n=196)	1,818,322 (n=218)	1,566,608 (n=204)	2,021,885.25 (n=216)	1,493,600 (n=157)	1,695,378 (n=170)	1,884,732 (n=211)	1,450,775 (n=210)
Challengers								
Mean, all challengers	1,302,669 ^a (n=289)	454,660 (n=254)	529,229 (n=271)	642,195.59 (n=288)	800,488 (n=325)	676,228 (n=284)	635,484 (n=289)	428,119 (n=284)
Mean, Democrats	1,816,084 (n=193)	588,649 (n=156)	463,857 (n=149)	697,679.00 (n=170)	427,326 (n=111)	778,242 (n=146)	735,580 (n=190)	416,242 (n=158)
Mean, Republicans	252,881 (n=95)	216,468 (n=98)	609,069 (n=122)	562,262.51 (n=118)	994,044 (n=214)	582,319 (n=139)	443,381 (n=99)	443,012 (n=126)
Open seats								
Mean, all open-seat	2,056,102 (n=128)	1,668,475 (n=82)	1,440,789 (n=94)	1,189,934.86 (n=118)	1,325,272 (n=81)	1,829,480 (n=71)	1,890,482 (n=64)	1,554,612 (n=67)
Mean, Democrats	2,683,895 (n=64)	1,689,213 (n=42)	1,166,317 (n=46)	1,262,088.45 (n=58)	1,123,200 (n=41)	1,916,789 (n=36)	1,965,458 (n=33)	1,380,578 (n=32)
Mean, Republicans	1,428,309 (n=64)	1,501,059 (n=40)	1,703,825 (n=48)	1,120,186.32 (n=60)	1,532,395 (n=40)	1,739,677 (n=35)	1,810,670 (n=31)	1,713,728 (n=35)

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.

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

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(Table continued from previous page)

CFI**Table 2-2: House Campaign Expenditures: Major Party General Election Candidates, 1974-2018 (full cycle)***Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars*

	2002	2000	1998	1996	1994	1992	1990	1988
All Candidates								
Total expenditures	734,179,021 ^a	750,686,708 ^a	611,933,708 ^a	676,439,632 ^a	586,575,930 ^a	590,288,853 ^a	451,743,879 ^a	477,834,291
Mean expenditure	1,029,704 (n=712)	1,014,442 (n=740)	851,089 (n=719)	826,943 (n=818)	745,332 (n=787)	726,063 (n=813)	617,981 (n=731)	643,982 (n=742)
Mean, Democrats	1,022,374 (n=353)	977,312 (n=372)	778,727 (n=358)	755,654 (n=412)	821,734 (n=386)	819,711 (n=410)	673,497 (n=381)	669,475 (n=397)
Mean, Republicans	1,037,197 (n=358)	1,054,084 (n=366)	923,031 (n=360)	897,782 (n=405)	670,887 (n=400)	629,790 (n=402)	556,009 (n=349)	614,389 (n=344)
Incumbents								
Mean, all incumbents	1,221,044 ^a (n=387)	1,209,064 ^a (n=400)	1,007,720 ^a (n=400)	1,081,098 ^a (n=382)	946,933 ^a (n=382)	1,056,699 ^a (n=349)	800,528 (n=405)	829,538 (n=408)
Mean, Democrats	1,168,272 (n=188)	1,101,562 (n=201)	910,355 (n=189)	939,459 (n=168)	1,049,480 (n=224)	1,102,365 (n=211)	805,804 (n=247)	795,143 (n=245)
Mean, Republicans	1,272,641 (n=198)	1,324,263 (n=197)	1,096,264 (n=210)	1,190,809 (n=213)	800,084 (n=157)	986,552 (n=137)	792,278 (n=158)	881,235 (n=163)
Challengers								
Mean, all challengers	474,765 (n=226)	550,239 (n=272)	511,599 (n=254)	464,185 (n=331)	406,665 (n=302)	297,831 (n=290)	258,244 ^a (n=270)	290,554 (n=283)
Mean, Democrats	578,375 (n=115)	645,941 (n=136)	501,843 (n=136)	515,773 (n=191)	299,476 (n=110)	254,891 (n=111)	252,200 (n=104)	347,124 (n=126)
Mean, Republicans	369,320 (n=111)	454,536 (n=136)	522,843 (n=118)	393,803 (n=140)	468,074 (n=192)	324,458 (n=179)	256,984 (n=165)	245,151 (n=157)
Open seats								
Mean, all open-seat	1,572,360 (n=99)	1,726,412 (n=68)	1,213,836 (n=65)	1,045,858 (n=105)	990,631 (n=103)	776,610 (n=174)	1,032,221 (n=56)	1,120,714 (n=51)
Mean, Democrats	1,501,667 (n=50)	1,551,370 (n=35)	1,165,961 (n=33)	1,037,506 (n=53)	945,450 (n=52)	854,431 (n=88)	1,044,653 (n=30)	1,047,447 (n=26)
Mean, Republicans	1,646,061 (n=49)	1,912,060 (n=33)	1,263,207 (n=32)	1,054,373 (n=52)	1,036,699 (n=51)	696,979 (n=86)	1,017,875 (n=26)	1,217,483 (n=24)

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.

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

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(Table continued from previous page)

CFI

Table 2-2: House Campaign Expenditures: Major Party General Election Candidates, 1974-2018 (full cycle)
Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars

	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978	1976	1974
All Candidates							
Total expenditures	498,463,357	427,492,989	455,172,015	351,129,933	331,712,228	264,990,728	224,372,127
Mean expenditure	677,260 (n=736)	583,209 (n=733)	593,445 (n=767)	466,928 (n=752)	421,490 (n=787)	323,553 (n=819)	271,909 (n=810)
Mean, Democrats	691,816 (n=397)	574,554 (n=399)	555,217 (n=411)	436,624 (n=396)	419,742 (n=416)	329,056 (n=429)	275,011 (n=434)
Mean, Republicans	664,636 (n=340)	593,548 (n=334)	637,578 (n=356)	500,635 (n=356)	423,628 (n=371)	317,503 (n=390)	279,299 (n=376)
Incumbents							
Mean, all incumbents	829,622 (n=389)	674,398 (n=408)	689,571 (n=383)	503,070 (n=391)	428,110 (n=377)	350,394 (n=382)	287,978 (n=382)
Mean, Democrats	801,705 (n=231)	674,782 (n=254)	644,221 (n=216)	481,522 (n=248)	398,686 (n=249)	323,579 (n=254)	197,335 (n=218)
Mean, Republicans	870,436 (n=158)	673,762 (n=154)	748,229 (n=167)	540,444 (n=143)	485,353 (n=128)	403,607 (n=128)	409,203 (n=163)
Challengers							
Mean, all challengers	356,515 (n=262)	391,509 (n=273)	394,790 (n=270)	371,026 (n=277)	288,088 (n=299)	224,165 (n=335)	203,814 (n=323)
Mean, Democrats	390,778 (n=123)	300,913 (n=119)	367,917 (n=137)	284,363 (n=105)	273,244 (n=109)	204,460 (n=122)	301,868 (n=162)
Mean, Republicans	323,864 (n=139)	461,515 (n=154)	422,469 (n=133)	423,929 (n=172)	296,599 (n=190)	235,449 (n=213)	105,149 (n=161)
Open seats							
Mean, all open-seat	986,291 (n=86)	874,152 (n=52)	740,248 (n=114)	614,938 (n=84)	774,307 (n=111)	549,461 (n=102)	460,580 (n=106)
Mean, Democrats	962,588 (n=43)	847,828 (n=26)	666,160 (n=58)	549,486 (n=43)	815,986 (n=58)	642,097 (n=53)	508,036 (n=54)
Mean, Republicans	1,009,995 (n=43)	900,478 (n=26)	818,497 (n=56)	682,974 (n=41)	728,692 (n=53)	449,265 (n=49)	411,301 (n=52)

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.

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

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(Table continued from previous page)

CFI

**Table 2-3: House Campaign Expenditures: Incumbents and Challengers,
Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1974-2018 (full cycle)**

Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004
Incumbent won with 60% or more								
Incumbents	1,492,756 (n=237)	1,311,899 (n=294)	1,306,651 (n=296)	1,423,709 (n=256)	1,341,222 (n=251)	1,300,114 (n=305)	1,214,490 (n=300)	1,155,661 ^a (n=343)
Democrats	1,252,637 (n=147)	1,146,897 (n=140)	1,080,126 (n=118)	1,346,297 (n=128)	1,346,415 (n=109)	1,267,267 (n=197)	1,137,812 (n=180)	1,110,330 (n=166)
Republicans	1,437,859 (n=90)	1,461,900 (n=154)	1,456,819 (n=178)	1,501,121 (n=128)	1,337,237 (n=142)	1,360,030 (n=108)	1,329,507 (n=120)	1,198,863 (n=176)
Challengers	191,167 (n=159)	136,449 (n=163)	206,877 (n=182)	168,653 (n=171)	196,840 (n=185)	283,494 (n=191)	183,189 (n=188)	244,822 (n=230)
Democrats	243,291 (n=89)	166,302 (n=94)	268,040 (n=122)	115,770 (n=83)	187,840 (n=98)	252,985 (n=84)	143,835 (n=99)	218,901 (n=126)
Republicans	116,813 (n=70)	95,780 (n=69)	82,512 (n=60)	218,531 (n=88)	206,979 (n=87)	307,445 (n=107)	226,964 (n=89)	276,226 (n=104)
Incumbent won with <60%								
Incumbents	2,529,904 (n=103)	2,350,437 (n=85)	2,136,134 (n=77)	2,467,440 (n=100) ^b	2,360,895 (n=87)	2,289,015 (n=75)	2,380,086 (n=80)	2,505,622 (n=51)
Democrats	2,256,004 (n=26)	1,736,446 (n=27)	2,087,404 (n=53)	2,221,187 (n=28)	2,225,508 (n=74)	2,630,924 (n=27)	2,654,738 (n=11)	2,105,015 (n=19)
Republicans	2,622,389 (n=77)	2,636,260 (n=58)	2,243,746 (n=24)	2,563,206 (n=72)	3,131,560 (n=13)	2,096,692 (n=48)	2,336,300 (n=69)	2,743,482 (n=32)
Challengers	1,810,562 (n=101)	844,805 (n=79)	1,010,653 (n=76)	1,015,825 (n=95) ^b	1,318,702 (n=87)	1,284,620 (n=75)	1,251,818 (n=79)	1,105,619 (n=49)
Democrats	2,201,022 (n=75)	1,019,468 (n=53)	1,248,870 (n=25)	829,738 (n=69)	1,920,719 (n=13)	1,179,882 (n=48)	1,089,837 (n=69)	1,119,738 (n=30)
Republicans	633,869 (n=25)	488,760 (n=26)	893,880 (n=51)	1,509,675 (n=26)	1,212,943 (n=74)	1,470,824 (n=27)	2,369,486 (n=10)	1,083,326 (n=19)
Incumbent was defeated								
Incumbents	4,277,036 (n=31)	3,015,348 (n=8)	3,145,287 (n=13)	3,401,038 (n=32) ^b	2,922,635 (n=55)	2,748,239 (n=19)	3,496,954 (n=22)	3,292,771 (n=7) ^b
Democrats	8,882,454 (n=1)	2,882,203 (n=2)	3,133,132 (n=11)	2,756,567 (n=12)	2,959,385 (n=53)	2,305,372 (n=5)	#VALUE! (n=0)	3,435,619 (n=5)
Republicans	4,053,114 (n=30)	3,059,731 (n=6)	3,212,138 (n=2)	3,787,720 (n=20)	1,948,754 (n=2)	2,906,406 (n=14)	3,496,954 (n=22)	2,935,652 (n=2)
Challengers	5,647,403 (n=29)	2,862,113 (n=8)	2,227,675 (n=13)	2,709,518 (n=22) ^b	1,982,114 (n=55)	2,319,565 (n=19)	2,287,358 (n=22)	2,220,298 (n=5)
Democrats	5,647,403 (n=29)	3,034,981 (n=7)	2,595,995 (n=2)	2,874,706 (n=18)	2,027,818 (n=2)	2,552,735 (n=14)	2,287,358 (n=22)	2,296,314 (n=2)
Republicans	NA (n=0)	1,652,035 (n=1)	2,160,709 (n=11)	1,966,171 (n=4)	1,980,389 (n=53)	1,666,694 (n=5)	NA (n=0)	2,169,621 (n=3)

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.

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(Table continued from previous page)

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**Table 2-3: House Campaign Expenditures: Incumbents and Challengers,
Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1974-2018 (full cycle)**

Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars

	2002	2000	1998	1996	1994	1992	1990	1988
Incumbent won with 60% or more								
Incumbents	1,075,841 ^a (n=336)	954,975 ^a (n=326)	827,935 ^a (n=309)	835,336 ^a (n=262)	764,866 (n=263)	870,588 ^a (n=234)	687,418 (n=313)	732,386 (n=359)
Democrats	1,045,739 (n=159)	882,975 (n=167)	690,142 (n=144)	758,697 (n=124)	761,979 (n=120)	876,011 (n=138)	705,843 (n=197)	714,490 (n=220)
Republicans	1,103,880 (n=176)	1,035,326 (n=157)	948,998 (n=164)	899,790 (n=137)	767,289 (n=143)	861,020 (n=95)	656,129 (n=116)	760,710 (n=139)
Challengers	272,566 (n=179)	222,728 (n=198)	205,119 (n=161)	167,149 (n=212)	193,063 (n=183)	155,221 (n=187)	115,807 (n=180)	167,688 (n=234)
Democrats	309,173 (n=95)	243,498 (n=96)	173,138 (n=89)	156,723 (n=115)	224,671 (n=96)	136,063 (n=76)	82,723 (n=65)	185,435 (n=102)
Republicans	203,852 (n=86)	203,181 (n=102)	244,654 (n=72)	179,507 (n=96)	158,184 (n=87)	168,338 (n=111)	134,505 (n=115)	153,976 (n=132)
Incumbent won with <60%								
Incumbents	2,062,430 (n=46)	2,110,629 (n=68)	1,586,211 (n=85)	1,588,525 (n=99)	1,217,395 ^a (n=85)	1,394,698 (n=91)	1,166,746 (n=77)	1,485,859 (n=44)
Democrats	1,693,355 (n=26)	2,136,836 (n=32)	1,621,837 (n=44)	1,471,701 (n=41)	1,236,514 (n=70)	1,483,656 (n=57)	1,208,739 (n=44)	1,463,086 (n=23)
Republicans	2,542,227 (n=20)	2,087,332 (n=36)	1,547,979 (n=41)	1,671,107 (n=58)	1,135,065 (n=14)	1,245,562 (n=34)	1,110,756 (n=33)	1,510,802 (n=21)
Challengers	1,186,936 (n=43)	1,271,959 (n=68)	993,307 (n=86)	834,290 (n=98)	555,799 (n=85)	502,146 (n=84)	477,587 (n=75)	826,204 (n=44)
Democrats	1,684,982 (n=18)	1,358,734 (n=36)	1,036,357 (n=42)	861,265 (n=58)	812,429 (n=14)	488,749 (n=29)	410,968 (n=31)	936,782 (n=21)
Republicans	828,343 (n=25)	1,174,336 (n=32)	952,213 (n=44)	795,175 (n=40)	505,196 (n=71)	509,210 (n=55)	524,525 (n=44)	725,241 (n=23)
Incumbent was defeated								
Incumbents	2,580,245 (n=8) ^b	3,688,693 (n=6)	2,071,406 (n=6)	1,755,117 (n=21)	1,679,116 (n=34)	1,589,695 (n=24) ^b	1,280,794 (n=15)	2,029,405 (n=5)
Democrats	2,502,723 (n=5)	1,943,570 (n=2)	1,315,966 (n=1)	1,136,953 (n=3)	1,679,116 (n=34)	1,696,315 (n=16)	1,132,973 (n=6)	1,985,707 (n=2)
Republicans	2,709,449 (n=3)	4,561,255 (n=4)	2,222,494 (n=5)	1,873,303 (n=18)	NA (n=0)	1,376,457 (n=8)	1,379,342 (n=9)	2,058,538 (n=3)
Challengers	2,237,806 (n=4)	2,887,577 (n=6)	1,770,041 (n=6)	1,741,705 (n=21)	1,183,505 (n=34)	798,119 (n=19)	870,788 ^a (n=15)	1,326,898 (n=5)
Democrats	2,759,914 (n=2)	3,615,468 (n=4)	1,862,870 (n=5)	1,704,218 (n=18)	NA (n=0)	629,731 (n=6)	1,013,982 (n=8)	1,717,012 (n=3)
Republicans	1,715,697 (n=2)	1,431,797 (n=2)	1,305,898 (n=1)	1,971,110 (n=3)	1,183,505 (n=34)	875,837 (n=13)	642,550 (n=6)	741,727 (n=2)

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.

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(Table continued from previous page)

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**Table 2-3: House Campaign Expenditures: Incumbents and Challengers,
Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1974-2018 (full cycle)**

Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars

	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978	1976	1974
Incumbent won with 60% or more							
Incumbents	668,724 (n=330)	562,762 (n=318)	520,871 (n=264)	383,706 (n=284)	357,003 (n=287)	280,799 (n=272)	208,449 (n=251)
Democrats	672,408 (n=209)	530,505 (n=183)	537,785 (n=178)	358,903 (n=170)	328,996 (n=184)	251,270 (n=185)	179,014 (n=194)
Republicans	662,361 (n=121)	606,487 (n=135)	485,865 (n=86)	420,696 (n=114)	407,036 (n=103)	343,584 (n=87)	308,627 (n=57)
Challengers	211,782 (n=202)	173,822 (n=184)	214,346 (n=163)	144,828 (n=170)	131,454 (n=209)	112,499 (n=225)	83,390 (n=193)
Democrats	166,723 (n=85)	178,445 (n=99)	95,311 (n=62)	134,452 (n=75)	138,802 (n=84)	117,416 (n=81)	131,874 (n=56)
Republicans	244,518 (n=117)	168,435 (n=85)	287,417 (n=101)	153,020 (n=95)	126,516 (n=125)	109,732 (n=144)	63,571 (n=137)
Incumbent won with <60%							
Incumbents	1,799,660 (n=52)	1,057,965 (n=74)	1,026,408 (n=90)	798,121 (n=76)	623,362 (n=71)	502,827 (n=98)	408,861 (n=90)
Democrats	2,149,930 (n=20)	1,019,494 (n=58)	1,161,967 (n=35)	680,625 (n=50)	558,694 (n=51)	527,104 (n=62)	348,967 (n=20)
Republicans	1,580,744 (n=32)	1,197,423 (n=16)	940,142 (n=55)	1,024,072 (n=26)	788,268 (n=20)	461,017 (n=36)	425,975 (n=70)
Challengers	767,402 (n=46)	744,229 (n=72)	610,958 (n=84)	601,861 (n=76)	602,518 (n=71)	429,494 (n=98)	325,273 (n=90)
Democrats	810,918 (n=28)	934,870 (n=16)	474,194 (n=53)	594,657 (n=26)	721,316 (n=20)	340,142 (n=36)	321,570 (n=70)
Republicans	699,711 (n=18)	689,761 (n=56)	844,779 (n=31)	605,607 (n=50)	555,929 (n=51)	481,380 (n=62)	338,230 (n=20)
Incumbent was defeated							
Incumbents	1,334,916 (n=6)	1,119,154 (n=16)	1,179,966 (n=29)	873,264 (n=31)	772,605 (n=19)	683,038 (n=12)	514,958 (n=40)
Democrats	1,209,944 (n=1)	1,167,814 (n=13)	919,080 (n=3)	870,451 (n=28)	731,730 (n=14)	431,931 (n=7)	326,954 (n=4)
Republicans	1,359,909 (n=5)	908,297 (n=3)	1,210,068 (n=26)	899,505 (n=3)	887,051 (n=5)	1,034,592 (n=5)	535,846 (n=36)
Challengers	1,042,623 (n=11)	1,246,163 (n=16)	770,945 (n=23)	1,045,547 (n=31)	836,059 (n=19)	638,668 (n=12)	511,560 (n=40)
Democrats	1,156,268 (n=9)	602,903 (n=3)	761,859 (n=22)	1,078,343 (n=4)	739,599 (n=5)	637,657 (n=5)	527,992 (n=36)
Republicans	531,229 (n=2)	1,394,608 (n=13)	970,842 (n=1)	1,040,689 (n=27)	870,509 (n=14)	639,387 (n=7)	363,693 (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.

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Table 2-4: House Campaign Expenditures: Open House Seats, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1984-2018 (full cycle)

Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Dollars

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)
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)

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.

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(Table continued from previous page)

CFI**Table 2-4: House Campaign Expenditures: Open House Seats, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1984-2018 (full cycle)***Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Dollars*

	1998	1996	1994	1992	1990	1988	1986	1984
All Winners	1,531,257 (n=34)	1,229,238 (n=53)	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)
Democrats	1,463,022 (n=18)	1,199,113 (n=24)	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)
Republicans	1,608,021 (n=16)	1,254,169 (n=29)	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)
Winners with 60% or more	1,162,887 (n=11)	1,042,238 (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)
Democrats	1,013,275 (n=8)	949,727 (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)
Republicans	1,561,853 (n=3)	1,116,248 (n=10)	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)
Winners with <60%	1,707,434 (n=23)	1,325,410 (n=35)	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)
Democrats	1,822,820 (n=10)	1,323,806 (n=16)	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)
Republicans	1,618,676 (n=13)	1,326,759 (n=19)	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)
All losers	865,695 (n=31)	858,954 (n=52)	960,655 (n=51)	574,516 (n=83)	851,683 (n=26)	933,379 (n=24)	741,678 (n=40)	682,702 (n=26)
Democrats	809,486 (n=15)	903,763 (n=29)	871,511 (n=38)	761,765 (n=31)	917,661 (n=12)	924,745 (n=13)	733,528 (n=21)	764,460 (n=18)
Republicans	918,392 (n=16)	802,456 (n=23)	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)
Losers with >40%	1,174,036 (n=22)	1,043,995 (n=35)	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)
Democrats	955,575 (n=12)	1,051,959 (n=19)	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)
Republicans	1,436,192 (n=10)	1,034,538 (n=16)	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)
Losers with 40% or less	111,974 (n=9)	477,984 (n=17)	655,242 (n=20)	273,778 (n=36)	782,612 (n=10)	400,793 (n=8)	444,006 (n=15)	299,434 (n=8)
Democrats	225,129 (n=3)	622,188 (n=10)	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)
Republicans	55,396 (n=6)	271,978 (n=7)	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.

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Table 2-5: Senate Campaign Expenditures: Major Party General Election Candidates, 1974-2018 (full cycle)

Nominal Dollars

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004
All candidates								
Total expenditures	886,554,685	554,571,492	555,720,686	587,532,049	568,193,547 ^c	389,348,721	514,937,502 ^a	367,514,648
Mean expenditure	12,833,433 ^a (n=69)	8,277,186 (n=67)	7,827,052 ^a (n=71)	9,325,906 (n=63)	8,002,726 (n=71)	5,899,223 (n=66)	7,922,115 (n=65)	5,404,627 (n=68)
Mean, Democrats	15,426,274 (n=34)	8,435,559 (n=34)	8,621,070 (n=34)	10,809,482 (n=28)	7,133,000 (n=32)	5,867,841 (n=34)	8,609,875 (n=31)	5,625,326 (n=34)
Mean, Republicans	10,635,921 (n=33)	8,114,015 (n=33)	7,136,166 (n=36)	8,464,453 (n=33)	8,587,602 (n=38)	5,932,567 (n=32)	7,035,429 (n=32)	5,183,929 (n=34)
Incumbents								
Mean, all incumbents	13,887,581 ^a (n=32)	10,146,576 (n=29)	10,897,812 (n=27)	10,700,957 ^a (n=22)	9,519,592 (n=23)	7,753,323 (n=30)	9,426,175 (n=29)	6,566,787 (n=26)
Mean, Democrats	15,005,053 (n=24)	8,868,486 (n=7)	13,257,285 (n=16)	11,271,301 (n=15)	12,600,970 (n=12)	6,349,119 (n=12)	9,560,029 (n=14)	7,418,068 (n=14)
Mean, Republicans	12,375,521 (n=6)	10,553,241 (n=22)	7,751,848 (n=12)	10,616,741 (n=6)	6,158,089 (n=11)	8,689,459 (n=18)	8,758,947 (n=14)	5,573,627 (n=12)
Challengers								
Mean, all challengers	11,392,015 (n=31)	5,755,449 (n=28)	5,023,821 (n=27)	7,226,119 (n=19)	5,260,056 (n=20)	3,792,399 (n=26)	5,659,763 (n=28)	2,425,098 (n=26)
Mean, Democrats	17,031,018 (n=7)	7,399,879 (n=21)	3,528,947 (n=10)	18,085,797 (n=3)	1,793,580 (n=7)	5,103,524 (n=17)	7,129,691 (n=14)	1,554,631 (n=12)
Mean, Republicans	9,747,306 (n=24)	822,157 (n=7)	5,915,711 (n=16)	5,189,930 (n=16)	7,126,620 (n=13)	1,315,831 (n=9)	4,189,836 ^b (n=14)	3,171,212 (n=14)
Open seats								
Mean, all Open	14,658,639 (n=6)	9,916,822 (n=10)	7,183,674 (n=16)	9,764,306 ^a (n=22)	8,715,779 (n=28)	5,814,666 (n=10)	10,388,132 ^a (n=8)	8,357,852 (n=16)
Mean, Democrats	15,051,638 (n=3)	11,555,355 (n=6)	5,713,794 (n=8)	7,933,859 (n=10)	4,960,716 (n=13)	7,311,451 (n=5)	11,083,353 (n=3)	8,594,068 (n=8)
Mean, Republicans	14,265,641 (n=3)	7,459,022 (n=4)	8,653,555 (n=8)	12,053,421 (n=11)	11,853,130 (n=14)	4,317,880 (n=5)	10,962,693 (n=4)	8,121,636 (n=8)

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.

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

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(Table continued from previous page)

CFI**Table 2-5: Senate Campaign Expenditures: Major Party General Election Candidates, 1974-2018 (full cycle)***Nominal Dollars*

	2002	2000	1998	1996	1994	1992	1990	1988
All candidates								
Total expenditures	281,529,788	384,591,165	249,184,622	230,420,000	279,483,211	194,322,039	173,370,282	184,695,501
Mean expenditure	4,540,803 (n=62)	5,827,139 (n=66)	3,775,525 (n=66)	3,544,918 (n=65)	3,992,617 (n=70)	2,816,261 (n=69)	2,587,616 (n=67)	2,798,417 (n=66)
Mean, Democrats	4,602,810 (n=30)	6,095,450 (n=33)	3,481,733 (n=34)	3,385,904 (n=32)	3,394,769 (n=35)	2,813,701 (n=35)	2,465,285 (n=34)	2,930,305 (n=33)
Mean, Republicans	4,482,671 (n=32)	5,558,828 (n=33)	4,087,678 (n=32)	3,699,114 (n=33)	4,590,465 (n=35)	2,818,898 (n=34)	2,713,654 (n=33)	2,666,529 (n=33)
Incumbents								
Mean, all incumbents	4,535,740 (n=27)	4,530,693 (n=29)	4,728,639 (n=29)	4,233,304 (n=20)	7,672,755 (n=26)	3,708,456 (n=27)	3,577,980 (n=32)	3,748,132 (n=27)
Mean, Democrats	6,142,399 (n=12)	3,672,975 (n=11)	4,560,721 (n=15)	5,207,602 (n=7)	5,152,998 (n=16)	2,849,946 (n=15)	3,616,906 (n=17)	3,457,144 (n=15)
Mean, Republicans	3,250,414 (n=15)	5,054,855 (n=18)	4,908,551 (n=14)	3,708,682 (n=13)	3,904,368 (n=10)	4,781,593 (n=12)	3,533,864 (n=15)	4,111,866 (n=12)
Challengers								
Mean, all challengers	2,885,335 (n=21)	3,153,464 (n=27)	3,144,244 (n=27)	3,109,930 (n=17)	3,997,011 (n=26)	1,824,993 (n=26)	1,699,247 (n=29)	1,817,161 (n=27)
Mean, Democrats	2,182,146 (n=11)	3,281,655 (n=17)	2,615,103 (n=14)	2,920,075 (n=11)	1,226,228 (n=10)	2,550,724 (n=12)	1,395,011 (n=14)	2,154,283 (n=12)
Mean, Republicans	3,658,843 (n=10)	2,935,540 (n=10)	3,714,088 (n=13)	3,457,997 (n=6)	5,703,750 (n=16)	1,202,034 (n=14)	1,983,202 (n=15)	1,547,464 (n=15)
Open seats								
Mean, all Open	7,033,769 (n=14)	16,805,752 (n=10)	2,715,951 (n=10)	3,317,314 (n=28)	3,003,850 (n=18)	2,922,286 (n=16)	1,599,459 (n=6)	2,869,383 (n=12)
Mean, Democrats	5,767,416 (n=7)	20,991,796 (n=5)	2,671,336 (n=5)	2,841,062 (n=14)	2,634,075 (n=9)	3,140,205 (n=8)	934,046 (n=3)	3,165,250 (n=6)
Mean, Republicans	8,300,122 (n=7)	12,619,707 (n=5)	2,760,565 (n=5)	3,793,565 (n=14)	3,373,624 (n=9)	2,704,366 (n=8)	2,264,872 (n=3)	2,573,516 (n=6)

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.

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

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(Table continued from previous page)

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Table 2-5: Senate Campaign Expenditures: Major Party General Election Candidates, 1974-2018 (full cycle)

Nominal Dollars

	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978	1976	1974
All candidates							
Total expenditures	183,432,489	141,962,276	114,036,379	74,163,669	64,695,510	38,108,745	28,436,308
Mean expenditure	2,737,798 (n=67)	2,327,250 (n=61)	1,781,815 (n=64)	1,106,920 (n=67)	951,405 (n=68)	595,499 (n=64)	437,482 (n=65)
Mean, Democrats	2,260,415 (n=33)	2,160,637 (n=31)	1,881,379 (n=32)	1,170,580 (n=34)	762,831 (n=35)	569,902 (n=33)	487,775 (n=34)
Mean, Republicans	3,201,141 (n=34)	2,499,417 (n=30)	1,682,252 (n=32)	1,041,332 (n=33)	1,151,407 (n=33)	616,635 (n=30)	382,343 (n=31)
Incumbents							
Mean, all incumbents	3,374,602 (n=28)	2,539,929 (n=28)	1,858,140 (n=29)	1,301,692 (n=25)	1,341,942 (n=22)	623,809 (n=25)	555,714 (n=25)
Mean, Democrats	2,712,796 (n=9)	1,755,004 (n=12)	1,696,226 (n=18)	1,355,660 (n=19)	618,211 (n=11)	503,111 (n=17)	525,766 (n=15)
Mean, Republicans	3,688,089 (n=19)	3,128,622 (n=16)	2,123,089 (n=11)	1,130,792 (n=6)	2,065,674 (n=11)	891,342 (n=7)	600,636 (n=10)
Challengers							
Mean, all challengers	1,899,417 (n=27)	1,241,434 (n=25)	1,217,034 (n=29)	842,547 (n=24)	697,766 (n=21)	452,275 (n=23)	332,579 (n=22)
Mean, Democrats	1,911,693 (n=18)	1,515,412 (n=15)	1,516,015 (n=11)	557,006 (n=6)	830,282 (n=11)	645,441 (n=8)	390,297 (n=10)
Mean, Republicans	1,874,864 (n=9)	830,466 (n=10)	1,034,324 (n=18)	937,727 (n=18)	551,999 (n=10)	349,253 (n=15)	284,480 (n=12)
Open seats							
Mean, all Open	3,138,282 (n=12)	4,976,051 (n=8)	4,142,687 (n=6)	1,132,560 (n=18)	820,787 (n=25)	756,951 (n=16)	401,484 (n=18)
Mean, Democrats	2,628,009 (n=6)	5,797,131 (n=4)	4,331,959 (n=3)	1,188,903 (n=9)	828,127 (n=13)	636,295 (n=8)	532,691 (n=9)
Mean, Republicans	3,648,555 (n=6)	4,154,971 (n=4)	3,953,415 (n=3)	1,076,218 (n=9)	812,835 (n=12)	877,606 (n=8)	270,277 (n=9)

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.

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

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Table 2-6: Senate Campaign Expenditures: Incumbents and Challengers, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1974-2018 (full cycle)

Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000
Incumbent won with 60% or more										
Incumbents	6,555,575 ^a (n=15)	7,616,465 (n=18)	6,809,850 (n=13)	7,783,931 ^a (n=12)	8,299,287 (n=13)	5,840,019 (n=17)	8,322,390 (n=17)	6,261,655 (n=18)	4,588,537 (n=16)	4,989,950 (n=20)
Democrats	7,495,235 (n=9)	8,192,918 (n=6)	9,269,425 (n=3)	8,845,329 (n=8)	9,783,709 (n=5)	6,774,470 (n=10)	10,789,054 (n=11)	7,632,883 (n=10)	6,671,306 (n=6)	4,898,552 (n=10)
Republicans	5,212,081 (n=4)	7,328,239 (n=12)	6,071,978 (n=10)	6,581,680 (n=3)	7,371,523 (n=8)	4,505,088 (n=7)	3,800,173 (n=6)	4,547,621 (n=8)	3,338,875 (n=10)	5,081,348 (n=10)
Challengers	1,555,852 (n=16)	1,097,013 (n=17)	1,498,345 (n=12)	1,543,595 (n=10)	1,670,405 (n=10)	1,352,755 (n=13)	2,809,796 (n=16)	1,331,452 (n=18)	1,185,804 (n=10)	1,114,917 (n=18)
Democrats	2,259,866 (n=5)	1,532,677 (n=11)	1,939,859 (n=9)	460,206 (n=1)	2,153,332 (n=5)	1,852,345 (n=6)	496,813 (n=5)	281,576 (n=8)	1,269,972 (n=6)	708,727 (n=9)
Republicans	1,235,845 (n=11)	298,296 (n=6)	173,805 (n=3)	1,663,972 (n=9)	1,187,477 (n=5)	924,534 (n=7)	3,861,154 (n=11)	2,171,352 (n=10)	1,059,550 (n=4)	1,521,105 (n=9)
Incumbent won with <60%										
Incumbents	16,867,656 (n=14)	15,159,342 (n=10)	13,431,280 (n=12)	13,969,949 (n=9)	14,131,322 ^c (n=8)	12,762,782 (n=8)	15,668,655 ^a (n=6)	12,528,425 (n=7)	7,571,079 (n=8)	8,367,756 (n=3)
Democrats	15,943,378 (n=12)	15,792,981 (n=1)	13,485,591 (n=8)	16,306,960 (n=7)	18,803,302 (n=5)	10,557,355 (n=2)	16,009,353 (n=3)	11,723,630 (n=3)	8,242,767 (n=4)	0 (n=0)
Republicans	22,413,325 (n=2)	15,088,936 (n=9)	13,322,659 (n=4)	5,790,411 (n=2)	6,344,690 (n=3)	13,497,923 (n=6)	12,470,966 (n=2)	13,132,020 (n=4)	6,899,391 (n=4)	8,367,756 (n=3)
Challengers	13,411,077 (n=14)	13,053,341 (n=10)	5,293,145 ^a (n=12)	11,069,761 (n=8)	10,401,110 (n=8)	5,004,919 (n=8)	12,900,136 ^b (n=6)	5,766,061 (n=7)	3,587,355 (n=8)	4,021,209 (n=3)
Democrats	29,806,627 (n=3)	14,033,547 (n=9)	6,868,727 (n=3)	12,714,192 (n=1)	1,845,692 (n=2)	5,449,876 (n=6)	15,603,732 (n=3)	5,636,618 (n=4)	3,443,231 (n=4)	4,021,209 (n=3)
Republicans	8,939,564 (n=11)	4,231,491 (n=1)	4,607,884 (n=8)	10,834,841 (n=7)	13,252,917 (n=6)	3,670,049 (n=2)	10,196,540 (n=3)	5,938,651 (n=3)	3,731,479 (n=4)	0 (n=0)
Incumbent was defeated										
Incumbents	24,839,758 (n=5)	19,169,618 (n=1)	17,860,009 (n=5)	38,343,328 (n=1)	15,597,956 (n=2)	13,979,498 (n=5)	17,499,238 (n=6)	26,553,229 (n=1)	12,317,725 (n=3)	11,115,765 (n=6)
Democrats	27,532,156 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	17,860,009 (n=5)	0 (n=0)	15,597,956 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	NA (n=0)	26,553,229 (n=1)	14,942,440 (n=2)	9,930,906 (n=1)
Republicans	14,070,168 (n=1)	19,169,618 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	38,343,328 (n=1)	0 (n=0)	13,979,498 (n=5)	17,499,238 (n=6)	NA (n=0)	7,068,296 (n=1)	11,352,736 (n=5)
Challengers	30,685,592 (n=5)	19,423,018 (n=1)	12,602,534 (n=5)	46,166,919 (n=1)	10,616,824 (n=2)	11,474,878 (n=5)	12,505,364 (n=6)	19,487,933 (n=1)	6,558,010 (n=3)	15,337,775 (n=6)
Democrats	26,079,221 (n=1)	19,423,018 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	46,166,919 (n=1)	0 (n=0)	11,474,878 (n=5)	12,505,364 (n=6)	NA (n=0)	5,065,441 (n=1)	12,581,938 (n=5)
Republicans	31,837,185 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	12,602,534 (n=5)	0 (n=0)	10,616,824 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	NA (n=0)	19,487,933 (n=1)	7,304,295 (n=2)	29,116,952 (n=1)

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 categories in "Incumbent won with < 60%" are unbalanced due to the Alaska race which featured a Republican Incumbent and Challenger. The Democrat finished third and is not included.

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

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(Table continued from previous page)

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Table 2-6: Senate Campaign Expenditures: Incumbents and Challengers, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1974-2018 (full cycle)

Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars

	1998	1996	1994	1992	1990	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978	1976	1974
Incumbent won with 60% or more													
Incumbents	4,068,123 (n=19)	3,870,554 (n=6)	6,117,615 (n=10)	4,824,591 (n=13)	4,447,090 (n=19)	5,801,883 (n=15)	4,497,794 (n=14)	3,896,272 (n=18)	3,889,109 (n=13)	3,542,270 (n=10)	1,756,447 (n=7)	1,502,061 (n=11)	2,277,963 (n=11)
Democrats	4,823,941 (n=9)	3,628,090 (n=2)	2,941,049 (n=3)	4,763,332 (n=9)	4,686,700 (n=10)	4,924,992 (n=10)	3,831,173 (n=8)	3,917,339 (n=7)	3,647,671 (n=12)	3,719,724 (n=6)	2,153,073 (n=4)	1,502,061 (n=11)	2,277,963 (n=11)
Republicans	3,387,888 (n=10)	3,991,787 (n=4)	7,479,000 (n=7)	4,962,420 (n=4)	4,180,857 (n=9)	7,555,670 (n=5)	5,386,619 (n=6)	3,882,863 (n=11)	6,786,350 (n=1)	3,276,087 (n=4)	1,227,609 (n=3)	0 (n=3)	0 (n=3)
Challengers	689,917 (n=17)	1,219,530 (n=3)	1,698,286 (n=10)	1,255,431 (n=12)	1,622,197 (n=16)	1,234,296 (n=15)	1,034,833 (n=13)	928,692 (n=15)	2,024,027 (n=13)	922,794 (n=9)	182,345 (n=6)	759,045 (n=9)	1,135,610 (n=8)
Democrats	450,988 (n=10)	767,870 (n=2)	2,313,931 (n=7)	1,065,266 (n=4)	842,913 (n=8)	1,708,880 (n=5)	357,078 (n=5)	778,850 (n=10)	1,104,629 (n=1)	810,070 (n=4)	148,115 (n=3)	0 (n=3)	0 (n=3)
Republicans	1,031,243 (n=7)	2,122,850 (n=1)	261,782 (n=3)	1,350,515 (n=8)	2,401,484 (n=8)	997,003 (n=10)	1,458,430 (n=8)	1,228,380 (n=5)	2,100,649 (n=12)	1,012,973 (n=5)	216,572 (n=3)	759,045 (n=9)	1,135,610 (n=8)
Incumbent won with <60%													
Incumbents	10,181,939 (n=7)	8,086,705 (n=13)	9,000,612 (n=14)	8,144,592 (n=10)	10,132,513 (n=12)	13,235,012 (n=8)	11,945,428 (n=7)	10,889,135 (n=7)	5,787,782 (n=14)	2,881,096 (n=6)	9,614,791 (n=8)	2,223,215 (n=5)	2,891,026 (n=14)
Democrats	10,198,059 (n=5)	10,216,907 (n=5)	10,200,786 (n=11)	5,085,507 (n=4)	10,180,783 (n=7)	14,495,550 (n=4)	25,288,736 (n=1)	4,431,065 (n=4)	6,289,645 (n=5)	2,428,741 (n=4)	2,257,094 (n=2)	5,463,056 (n=1)	3,777,958 (n=4)
Republicans	10,141,637 (n=2)	6,755,329 (n=8)	4,600,599 (n=3)	10,183,982 (n=6)	10,064,935 (n=5)	11,974,473 (n=4)	9,721,543 (n=6)	19,499,894 (n=3)	5,508,970 (n=9)	3,785,804 (n=2)	12,067,359 (n=6)	1,413,256 (n=4)	2,536,257 (n=10)
Challengers	7,598,638 (n=7)	5,859,071 (n=13)	9,397,625 (n=14)	4,087,349 (n=10)	5,505,666 (n=12)	8,032,985 (n=8)	7,765,706 (n=7)	5,549,474 (n=7)	4,203,344 (n=14)	2,635,618 (n=6)	4,143,901 (n=8)	1,584,154 (n=5)	1,518,525 (n=14)
Democrats	6,630,608 (n=2)	5,635,641 (n=8)	1,752,396 (n=3)	5,427,586 (n=6)	5,625,312 (n=5)	6,811,675 (n=4)	4,561,249 (n=6)	9,736,656 (n=3)	4,240,169 (n=9)	3,472,152 (n=2)	4,671,395 (n=6)	1,246,448 (n=4)	1,295,641 (n=10)
Republicans	7,985,851 (n=5)	6,216,556 (n=5)	11,482,688 (n=11)	2,076,995 (n=4)	5,420,205 (n=7)	9,254,293 (n=4)	26,992,435 (n=1)	2,409,090 (n=4)	4,137,057 (n=5)	2,217,351 (n=4)	1,280,711 (n=2)	2,934,986 (n=1)	2,075,738 (n=4)
Incumbent was defeated													
Incumbents	20,895,431 (n=3)	7,151,403 (n=1)	9,334,088 (n=2)	8,760,670 (n=4)	13,888,991 (n=1)	5,475,188 (n=4)	9,985,490 (n=7)	8,507,399 (n=3)	4,315,978 (n=2)	5,162,294 (n=9)	3,498,352 (n=7)	4,338,970 (n=9)	2,615,262 (n=2)
Democrats	10,983,408 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	9,334,088 (n=2)	6,714,383 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	2,841,398 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	5,752,596 (n=1)	4,228,595 (n=1)	5,162,294 (n=9)	2,612,768 (n=5)	3,151,861 (n=5)	NA (n=0)
Republicans	25,851,443 (n=2)	7,151,403 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	10,871,390 (n=2)	13,888,991 (n=1)	6,353,117 (n=3)	9,985,490 (n=7)	9,884,802 (n=2)	4,403,360 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	5,712,311 (n=2)	5,822,858 (n=4)	2,615,262 (n=2)
Challengers	21,954,638 (n=3)	4,786,163 (n=1)	13,767,063 (n=2)	7,240,995 (n=4)	2,652,397 (n=1)	5,341,250 (n=4)	7,097,959 (n=7)	7,410,375 (n=3)	2,063,821 (n=2)	4,167,035 (n=9)	3,535,733 (n=7)	3,461,623 (n=9)	3,461,579 (n=2)
Democrats	19,315,027 (n=2)	4,786,163 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	8,978,351 (n=2)	2,652,397 (n=1)	6,360,610 (n=3)	7,097,959 (n=7)	8,969,279 (n=2)	4,127,640 (n=1)	#VALUE! (n=0)	3,350,965 (n=2)	4,450,375 (n=4)	3,461,579 (n=2)
Republicans	27,233,861 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	13,767,063 (n=2)	5,503,639 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	2,283,165 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	4,292,571 (n=1)	2,553,217 (n=1)	4,167,035 (n=9)	3,609,640 (n=5)	2,670,618 (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 categories in "Incumbent won with < 60%" are unbalanced due to the Alaska race which featured a Republican Incumbent and Challenger. The Democrat finished third and is not included.

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

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Table 2-7: Senate Campaign Expenditures: Open Senate 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
All Winners	15,527,076 (n=3)	12,823,953 (n=5)	8,916,277 (n=8)	9,845,985 ^c (n=11)	10,074,305 (n=14)	9,479,566 (n=5)	13,161,167 ^c (n=4)	13,098,470 (n=8)	10,053,901 (n=7)
Democrats	24,735,382 (n=1)	15,659,661 (n=3)	10,914,180 (n=1)	10,434,981 (n=7)	6,329,981 (n=3)	12,916,237 (n=3)	11,020,402 (n=2)	16,124,159 (n=2)	4,084,486 (n=1)
Republicans	10,922,924 (n=2)	8,570,394 (n=2)	8,630,862 (n=7)	10,700,596 (n=3)	11,095,484 (n=11)	4,324,559 (n=2)	23,125,180 (n=1)	12,089,906 (n=6)	11,048,803 (n=6)
Winners with 60% or more	5,294,219 (n=1)	10,772,057 (n=3)	6,414,434 (n=4)	4,641,241 ^c (n=2)	8,380,901 (n=5)	9,326,770 (n=3)	9,356,901 ^c (n=2)	14,342,989 (n=2)	NA (n=0)
Democrats	NA (n=0)	13,547,319 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	6,123,305 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	11,870,663 (n=2)	11,235,119 (n=1)	19,106,007 (n=1)	NA (n=0)
Republicans	5,294,219 (n=1)	5,221,532 (n=1)	6,414,434 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	8,380,901 (n=5)	4,238,984 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	9,579,970 (n=1)	NA (n=0)
Winners with <60%	20,643,505 (n=2)	15,901,799 (n=2)	11,418,120 (n=4)	11,002,594 (n=9)	11,015,084 (n=9)	9,708,759 (n=2)	16,965,433 (n=2)	12,683,630 (n=6)	10,053,901 (n=7)
Democrats	24,735,382 (n=1)	19,884,343 (n=1)	10,914,180 (n=1)	11,153,594 (n=6)	6,329,981 (n=3)	15,007,384 (n=1)	10,805,686 (n=1)	13,142,309 (n=1)	4,084,486 (n=1)
Republicans	16,551,628 (n=1)	11,919,256 (n=1)	11,586,099 (n=3)	10,700,596 (n=3)	13,357,637 (n=6)	4,410,133 (n=1)	23,125,180 (n=1)	12,591,894 (n=5)	11,048,803 (n=6)
All losers	13,790,002 (n=3)	7,926,970 (n=5)	6,323,239 (n=8)	11,512,462 (n=11)	9,999,374 ^c (n=14)	4,083,676 (n=5)	12,717,132 (n=4)	9,121,914 (n=8)	9,581,770 (n=7)
Democrats	10,209,766 (n=2)	8,519,889 (n=3)	5,367,287 (n=7)	4,575,919 (n=3)	5,527,408 (n=10)	1,943,934 (n=2)	19,374,486 (n=1)	9,857,542 (n=6)	8,711,201 (n=6)
Republicans	20,951,076 (n=1)	7,037,589 (n=2)	13,014,898 (n=1)	14,113,665 (n=8)	23,015,265 (n=3)	5,510,170 (n=3)	10,498,015 (n=3)	6,915,029 (n=2)	14,805,184 (n=1)
Losers with >40%	20,205,076 (n=2)	13,347,979 (n=2)	10,713,487 (n=4)	13,205,631 (n=9)	13,140,500 (n=9)	5,316,802 (n=2)	14,804,832 (n=2)	10,520,079 (n=6)	9,579,069 (n=7)
Democrats	19,459,076 (n=1)	14,236,416 (n=1)	9,946,350 (n=3)	4,575,919 (n=3)	8,203,117 (n=6)	2,229,691 (n=1)	19,374,486 (n=1)	10,534,789 (n=5)	8,711,201 (n=6)
Republicans	20,951,076 (n=1)	12,459,540 (n=1)	13,014,898 (n=1)	17,520,487 (n=6)	23,015,265 (n=3)	8,403,913 (n=1)	10,235,176 (n=1)	10,446,527 (n=1)	14,805,184 (n=1)
Losers with 40% or less	960,455 (n=1)	4,312,963 (n=3)	1,932,990 (n=4)	3,893,199 (n=2)	4,345,348 ^c (n=5)	3,261,592 (n=3)	10,629,434 (n=2)	4,927,420 (n=2)	NA (n=0)
Democrats	960,455 (n=1)	5,661,626 (n=2)	1,932,990 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	1,513,845 (n=4)	1,658,176 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	6,471,309 (n=1)	NA (n=0)
Republicans	NA (n=0)	1,615,639 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	3,893,199 (n=2)	NA (n=0)	4,063,299 (n=2)	10,629,434 (n=2)	3,383,531 (n=1)	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 campaign 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. Jon Corzine (D-NJ) spent \$63,209,506. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY) spent \$29,871,577. Excluding these candidates, the remaining winners (n=3) in open Senate seats spent an average of \$5,014,773. For Democrats the average would be \$4,714,403 (n=2). The Republican figure would be unchanged.

b. Rick Lazio spent \$40,576,273. Excluding him from the candidates who lost with more than 40%, the average for all candidates would be \$4,838,961 (n=4). The average for Republican candidates would be \$5,635,583 (n=3). The average for Democrats would be unchanged.

c. Includes one or more Independents.

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

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(Table continued from previous page)

CFI**Table 2-7: Senate Campaign Expenditures: Open Senate Seats, Major Party General Election Candidates by Election Outcome, 1984-2018 (full cycle)***Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars*

	2000	1998	1996	1994	1992	1990	1988	1986
All Winners	31,534,316 (n=5)	5,886,128 (n=5)	5,732,730 (n=14)	5,724,670 (n=9)	5,975,214 (n=8)	4,351,379 (n=3)	8,022,932 (n=6)	8,768,487 (n=7)
Democrats	37,370,718 (n=4)	5,420,484 (n=2)	7,254,664 (n=5)	0 (n=0)	7,476,008 (n=5)	0 (n=0)	11,009,297 (n=2)	6,219,648 (n=4)
Republicans	8,188,704 (n=1)	6,196,572 (n=3)	4,887,211 (n=9)	5,724,670 (n=9)	3,473,887 (n=3)	4,351,379 (n=3)	6,529,750 (n=4)	12,166,938 (n=3)
Winners with 60% or more	NA (n=0)	4,219,665 (n=2)	4,031,404 (n=2)	4,667,445 (n=4)	2,131,644 (n=1)	2,949,791 (n=2)	3,988,997 (n=2)	5,078,071 (n=2)
Democrats	NA (n=0)	6,030,227 (n=1)	4,372,384 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	2,131,644 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	6,116,708 (n=1)	4,713,805 (n=1)
Republicans	NA (n=0)	2,409,104 (n=1)	3,690,421 (n=1)	4,667,412 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	2,949,791 (n=2)	1,861,284 (n=1)	5,442,336 (n=1)
Winners with <60%	31,534,316 ^a (n=5)	6,997,104 (n=3)	6,016,285 (n=12)	6,555,202 (n=5)	6,524,295 (n=7)	7,154,553 (n=1)	10,039,901 (n=4)	10,244,655 (n=5)
Democrats	37,370,718 (n=4)	4,810,742 (n=1)	7,975,234 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	8,812,100 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	15,901,887 (n=1)	6,721,596 (n=3)
Republicans	8,188,704 (n=1)	8,090,287 (n=2)	5,036,810 (n=8)	6,555,202 (n=5)	3,473,887 (n=3)	7,154,553 (n=1)	8,085,906 (n=3)	15,529,240 (n=2)
All losers	17,478,947 ^b (n=5)	2,481,898 (n=5)	4,885,507 (n=14)	4,463,122 (n=9)	4,485,319 (n=8)	1,794,533 (n=3)	4,158,338 (n=6)	6,763,414 (n=7)
Democrats	3,571,338 (n=1)	3,245,150 (n=3)	3,042,607 (n=9)	4,463,122 (n=9)	2,527,439 (n=3)	1,794,533 (n=3)	4,573,327 (n=4)	4,997,998 (n=3)
Republicans	20,955,850 (n=4)	1,337,023 (n=2)	8,202,726 (n=5)	NA (n=0)	5,660,047 (n=5)	NA (n=0)	3,328,359 (n=2)	8,087,476 (n=4)
Losers with >40%	17,478,947 (n=5)	3,682,438 (n=3)	5,504,470 (n=12)	4,748,498 (n=5)	4,998,721 (n=7)	3,721,290 (n=1)	5,795,927 (n=4)	8,446,538 (n=5)
Democrats	3,571,338 (n=1)	4,681,750 (n=2)	3,283,799 (n=8)	4,748,498 (n=5)	2,527,439 (n=3)	3,721,290 (n=1)	5,708,685 (n=3)	6,887,906 (n=2)
Republicans	20,955,850 (n=4)	1,683,814 (n=1)	9,945,811 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	6,852,182 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	6,057,648 (n=1)	9,485,626 (n=3)
Losers with 40% or less	NA (n=0)	681,092 (n=2)	1,171,730 (n=2)	4,106,403 (n=4)	891,505 (n=1)	831,156 (n=2)	883,160 (n=2)	2,555,603 (n=2)
Democrats	NA (n=0)	371,951 (n=1)	1,113,068 (n=1)	4,106,403 (n=4)	NA (n=0)	831,156 (n=2)	1,167,251 (n=1)	1,218,185 (n=1)
Republicans	NA (n=0)	990,230 (n=1)	1,230,391 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	891,505 (n=1)	NA (n=0)	599,067 (n=1)	3,893,018 (n=1)

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. Jon Corzine (D-NJ) spent \$63,209,506. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY) spent \$29,871,577. Excluding these candidates, the remaining winners (n=3) in open Senate seats spent an average of \$5,014,773. For Democrats the average would be \$4,714,403 (n=2). The Republican figure would be unchanged.

b. Rick Lazio spent \$40,576,273. Excluding him from the candidates who lost with more than 40%, the average for all candidates would be \$4,838,961 (n=4). The average for Republican candidates would be \$5,635,583 (n=3). The average for Democrats would be unchanged.

c. Includes one or more Independents.

Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Fec

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**Table 2-8: House Receipts from Individuals, PACs, and Others,
All General Election Candidates, 1999-2018**

	Total Receipts	Individual Donors						PACs		Other (inc. self-financing)	
		Donors Aggregating to \$200 or less		Donors Aggregating to \$201-999		Donors Aggregating to \$1,000 or more		millio n	% of Total	millio n	% of Total
		millio n	% of Total	millio n	% of Total	millio n	% of Total				
	\$ million										
All Cands											
2017-2018	1,392.2	161.4	12%	166.6	12%	572.3	41%	379.7	27%	112.3	8%
2015-2016	891.0	50.2	6%	88.1	10%	334.3	38%	347.4	39%	70.9	8%
2013-2014	893.3	61.7	7%	94.2	11%	335.5	38%	334.0	37%	67.9	8%
2011-2012	960.4	93.8	10%	115.8	12%	347.5	36%	335.8	35%	67.5	7%
2009-2010	932.9	95.1	10%	115.1	12%	355.1	38%	315.1	34%	52.5	6%
2007-2008	853.6	72.1	9%	94.6	11%	295.5	35%	307.7	36%	83.7	10%
2005-2006	779.5	71.0	7%	89.2	11%	265.3	34%	287.8	37%	66.3	9%
2003-2004	626.3	62.7	8%	80.8	13%	207.0	33%	229.4	37%	46.5	7%
2001-2002	555.3	66.5	13%	63.0	11%	142.1	26%	207.1	37%	76.6	14%
1999-2000	538.4	82.1	15%	66.3	12%	131.7	24%	193.2	36%	65.1	12%
Incumbents											
2017-2018	732.5	56.7	8%	68.0	9%	274.2	37%	319.0	44%	14.7	2%
2015-2016	649.8	29.5	5%	57.8	9%	234.2	36%	309.0	48%	19.3	3%
2013-2014	625.4	34.2	5%	58.6	9%	224.6	36%	290.6	46%	17.3	3%
2011-2012	655.9	57.2	9%	71.4	11%	231.3	35%	279.2	43%	16.8	3%
2009-2010	607.4	52.2	9%	68.9	11%	202.6	33%	265.5	44%	18.2	3%
2007-2008	575.3	36.6	6%	57.2	10%	194.8	34%	257.3	45%	29.4	5%
2005-2006	527.2	33.2	6%	53.5	10%	176.2	33%	237.1	45%	27.1	5%
2003-2004	454.0	39.1	9%	56.8	13%	149.9	33%	191.7	42%	16.5	4%
2001-2002	367.4	42.3	12%	42.4	12%	96.3	26%	164.3	45%	22.1	6%
1999-2000	357.6	53.3	15%	42.4	12%	86.4	24%	150.3	42%	25.1	7%
Challengers											
2017-2018	379.7	69.1	18%	65.4	17%	179.0	47%	26.1	7%	40.0	11%
2015-2016	110.4	11.7	11%	17.0	15%	47.9	43%	16.3	15%	17.5	16%
2013-2014	136.4	14.7	11%	19.1	14%	57.1	42%	16.7	12%	28.7	21%
2011-2012	171.3	24.8	14%	26.1	15%	63.1	37%	26.1	15%	31.2	18%
2009-2010	229.3	35.0	15%	33.1	14%	88.3	39%	27.3	12%	45.6	20%
2007-2008	165.4	25.5	15%	23.8	14%	59.6	36%	23.8	14%	32.6	20%
2005-2006	151.6	25.7	17%	23.1	15%	53.4	35%	26.1	17%	23.4	15%
2003-2004	91.0	16.0	18%	13.7	15%	29.1	32%	15.7	17%	16.5	18%
2001-2002	77.5	12.1	16%	8.0	10%	16.6	21%	11.5	15%	29.3	38%
1999-2000	100.9	17.9	18%	13.7	14%	26.8	27%	19.0	19%	23.4	23%
Open Seat											
2017-2018	280.0	35.6	13%	33.1	12%	119.1	43%	34.5	12%	57.7	21%
2015-2016	130.8	9.0	7%	13.3	10%	52.3	40%	22.1	17%	34.1	26%
2013-2014	131.5	12.7	10%	16.4	12%	53.8	41%	26.7	20%	21.9	17%
2011-2012	133.2	11.8	9%	18.3	14%	53.1	40%	30.5	23%	19.5	15%
2009-2010	96.3	7.9	8%	13.2	14%	44.2	46%	22.2	23%	8.8	9%
2007-2008	112.9	10.0	9%	13.5	12%	41.1	36%	26.5	23%	21.7	19%
2005-2006	100.7	12.1	12%	12.5	12%	35.7	35%	24.6	24%	15.7	16%
2003-2004	81.3	7.6	9%	10.2	13%	28.0	34%	22.0	27%	13.4	17%
2001-2002	110.4	12.2	11%	12.6	11%	29.1	26%	31.2	28%	25.2	23%
1999-2000	79.9	10.9	14%	10.2	13%	18.5	23%	23.9	30%	16.5	21%

SOURCE: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of FEC records.

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Table 2-9: Senate Receipts from Individuals, PACs, and Others, All General Election Candidates, 1999-2018

	Individual Donors										
	Total Receipts	Reported Unitemized (2008-18)/All \$200 or less (2000-2006)		Donors Aggregating to \$201-999 ¹		Donors Aggregating to \$1,000 or more		PACs		Other (inc. self-financing)	
		\$ million	\$ million	% of Total	\$ million	% of Total	\$ million	% of Total	\$ million	% of Total	\$ million
All Cands											
2017-2018	885.3	195.1	22%	111.8	13%	418.8	47%	74.4	8%	85.1	10%
2015-2016 ²	526.6	66.0	13%	57.6	11%	249.8	47%	87.0	17%	66.2	13%
2013-2014	540.2	64.9	12%	84.7	16%	219.2	41%	92.7	17%	78.8	15%
2011-2012	585.5	98.0	17%	80.7	14%	227.5	39%	76.2	13%	102.9	18%
2009-2010	596.4	90.7	15%	73.5	12%	224.3	38%	78.9	13%	128.9	22%
2007-2008	390.6	45.5	12%	46.6	12%	158.2	41%	77.7	20%	62.6	16%
2005-2006	517.0	84.9	16%	46.5	9%	218.3	42%	69.9	14%	97.5	19%
2003-2004	371.2	62.9	17%	39.4	11%	163.5	44%	64.5	17%	40.9	11%
2001-2002	288.3	49.1	17%	34.2	12%	102.3	35%	57.1	20%	45.6	16%
1999-2000	367.7	64.0	17%	36.1	10%	102.5	28%	50.7	14%	114.3	31%
Incumbents											
2017-2018	443.1	107.3	24%	65.6	15%	202.1	46%	56.2	13%	11.8	3%
2015-2016	267.1	19.8	7%	24.9	8%	134.2	50%	66.7	25%	21.6	8%
2013-2014	286.0	36.1	13%	47.6	17%	113.7	40%	62.8	22%	25.8	9%
2011-2012	231.8	33.3	14%	33.3	14%	101.7	44%	44.6	19%	18.9	8%
2009-2010	220.1	28.4	13%	29.8	14%	89.9	41%	44.8	20%	27.2	12%
2007-2008	232.8	15.6	7%	24.7	11%	94.6	41%	59.4	26%	38.6	17%
2005-2006	278.0	43.2	16%	25.1	9%	133.4	48%	50.6	18%	25.7	9%
2003-2004	171.1	29.0	17%	17.2	10%	75.6	44%	38.9	23%	10.4	6%
2001-2002	122.5	20.9	17%	15.5	13%	43.1	35%	33.3	27%	9.8	8%
1999-2000	128.8	24.7	19%	15.0	12%	40.0	31%	32.6	25%	16.5	13%
Challengers											
2017-2018	356.9	71.9	20%	36.5	10%	173.1	48%	11.1	3%	64.4	18%
2015-2016	165.9	36.3	22%	22.9	14%	71.9	43%	10.2	6%	24.6	15%
2013-2014	137.3	16.1	12%	16.7	12%	57.4	42%	12.1	9%	34.9	25%
2011-2012	136.5	35.0	26%	21.5	16%	47.4	35%	8.0	6%	24.6	18%
2009-2010	109.0	28.9	27%	15.3	14%	30.8	28%	5.8	5%	28.2	26%
2007-2008	100.0	22.0	22%	14.7	15%	36.7	37%	7.9	8%	19.1	19%
2005-2006	158.3	28.9	18%	13.6	9%	50.4	32%	10.0	6%	55.4	35%
2003-2004	64.4	17.2	27%	6.9	11%	23.3	36%	5.9	9%	11.1	17%
2001-2002	61.5	12.3	20%	8.0	13%	21.7	35%	9.6	16%	9.8	16%
1999-2000	75.2	10.3	14%	7.4	10%	20.7	27%	7.0	9%	29.9	40%
Open Seat											
2017-2018	85.3	15.9	19%	9.7	11%	43.6	51%	7.1	8%	8.9	10%
2015-2016	93.6	9.8	11%	9.8	10%	43.8	47%	10.1	11%	20.0	21%
2013-2014	116.9	17.8	15%	20.5	18%	48.0	41%	17.8	15%	12.9	11%
2011-2012	217.2	29.8	14%	25.9	12%	78.5	36%	23.6	11%	59.4	27%
2009-2010	267.4	33.5	13%	28.0	10%	103.6	39%	28.3	11%	73.5	27%
2007-2008	57.9	7.9	14%	7.8	14%	27.0	46%	10.4	18%	4.9	9%
2005-2006	80.8	12.7	16%	7.8	10%	34.6	43%	9.4	12%	16.3	20%
2003-2004	135.7	16.7	12%	15.3	11%	64.6	48%	19.6	14%	19.4	14%
2001-2002	104.3	15.9	15%	10.8	10%	37.4	36%	14.2	14%	26.0	25%
1999-2000	163.7	29.0	18%	13.7	8%	41.9	26%	11.1	7%	67.9	41%

SOURCE: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of FEC records.

¹ This category includes itemized contributions less than \$200, which by being itemized means the individual donors gave more than \$200 in aggregate.

² The Q3 2016 report of contributions to Patrick Murphy (FL) is not available from the FEC and is not included in any of the totals.

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Table 2-10: PAC Contributions to Congressional Candidates 1978-2018 (in \$ millions)
Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Mean Net Dollars

Type of PAC	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000	1998
Labor	54.5	48.7	53.8	57.6	70.9	71.1	70.9	66.9	72.4	73.2	66.9
Corporate	181.8	190.2	188.9	182.8	177.0	167.5	159.9	138.6	127.9	122.8	109.5
Trade/membership/health	143.9	128.5	126.4	128.1	145.3	123.7	122.6	104.0	99.8	99.6	90.9
Nonconnected	86.8	81.7	80.6	84.3	61.7	74.4	88.3	66.2	62.3	51.9	41.7
Other	12.6	12.8	12.7	12.6	13.5	13.3	10.9	8.6	9.1	10.4	9.6
Total	479.6	461.8	462.5	465.4	468.5	450.1	452.6	384.3	371.4	357.8	318.6

Type of PAC	1996	1994	1992	1990	1988	1986	1984	1982	1980	1978
Labor	74.4	69.0	71.1	64.6	72.0	68.5	59.9	52.8	40.2	38.1
Corporate	111.5	108.6	115.1	102.8	107.0	105.8	85.8	71.6	58.5	36.6
Trade/membership/health	89.9	84.9	92.0	81.7	82.6	75.4	64.5	57.0	48.5	43.1
Nonconnected	35.2	29.3	31.3	27.5	40.8	43.1	35.0	27.8	14.9	9.6
Other	10.9	11.2	11.8	11.3	11.5	11.2	9.2	8.3	6.1	3.9
Total	322.0	303.0	321.3	287.8	313.7	304.0	254.5	217.5	168.2	131.3

Note: The data are for contributions to all candidates up for election in the year indicated that were made during the two-year cycle.
Source: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of Federal Election Commission data.

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Table 2-11: How PACs Distributed Their Contributions to Congressional Candidates, 1978-2018

	Percentage distribution						% to Chamber	\$ to chamber (millions)	Percentage distribution						% to Chamber	\$ to chamber (millions)	Total percent	Total dollars (millions)
	Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat				Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat					
	D	R	D	R	D	R			D	R	D	R	D	R				
	House, 2018								Senate, 2018									
Corporate	28	52	0	1	1	2	84%	152.9	9	4	0	2	0	1	16%	28.5	100%	181.4
Association	28	48	2	1	2	4	85%	121.8	8	4	0	2	0	1	15%	21.7	100%	143.4
Labor	50	13	14	0	11	1	89%	48.0	9	0	1	0	1	0	11%	6.2	100%	54.2
Nonconnected	12	34	14	2	7	6	76%	65.4	12	4	1	5	1	1	24%	21.1	100%	86.5
Other PACs	31	46	1	1	10	2	90%	12.3	7	2	0	1	0	0	10%	1.4	100%	13.8
All PACs	28	43	5	1	4	3	84%	400.4	9	3	0	2	1	1	16%	78.9	100%	479.3
	House, 2016								Senate, 2016									
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
	House, 2014								Senate, 2014									
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
	House, 2012								Senate, 2012									
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
	House, 2010								Senate, 2010									
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
	House, 2008								Senate, 2008									
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
	House, 2006								Senate, 2006									
Corporate	25	49	<1	<1	1	2	78	99.9	7	11	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	8	2	1	1	2	20	73	100	363.8
	House, 2004								Senate, 2004									
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

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(Table continued from previous page)

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Table 2-11: How PACs Distributed Their Contributions to Congressional Candidates, 1978-2018

	Percentage distribution						% to Chamber	\$ to chamber (millions)	Percentage distribution						% to Chamber	\$ to chamber (millions)	Total percent	Total dollars (millions)
	Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat				Incumbent	Challenger		Open seat						
	D	R	D	R	D	R		D	R	D	R	D	R					
House, 2000																		
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
Senate, 2000																		
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
House, 1998																		
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
Senate, 1998																		
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
House, 1996																		
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
Senate, 1996																		
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
House, 1994																		
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
Senate, 1994																		
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
House, 1992																		
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
Senate, 1992																		
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
House, 1990																		
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
Senate, 1990																		
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
House, 1988																		
Corporate	31	26	1	2	1	3	63	31.6	11	14	1	4	3					

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Table 2-11: How PACs Distributed Their Contributions to Congressional Candidates, 1978-2016

	Percentage distribution						% to Chamber	\$ to chamber (millions)	Percentage distribution						% to Chamber	\$ to chamber (millions)	Total percent	Total dollars (millions)
	Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat				Incumbent		Challenger		Open seat					
	D	R	D	R	D	R			D	R	D	R	D	R				
House, 1986																		
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
Senate, 1986																		
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
House, 1984																		
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
Senate, 1982																		
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
House, 1980																		
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
Senate, 1980																		
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
House, 1978																		
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
Senate, 1978																		
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.

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PART III

POLITICAL PARTY TABLES

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Table 3-1: Hard and Soft Money Raised by National Party Committees, 1992-2018 (in millions of dollars)

Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004		2002		2000		
	Hard	Soft	Total	Hard	Soft	Total								
Democratic														
National Committee	175.8	395.4	165.6	315.1	247.4	289.9	155.7	501.1	90.1	126.2	216.2	172.8	190.3	363.2
Senatorial	148.7	179.8	169.9	152.5	142.5	181.5	144.5	112.6	64.6	126.8	191.4	56.4	88.8	145.2
Congressional	296.4	220.9	209.7	192.1	180.4	196.4	166.6	118.4	62.0	75.3	137.3	67.5	79.0	146.5
Total	620.9	796.1	545.1	659.7	570.4	667.8	466.8	732.1	216.6	328.3	544.8	296.7	358.2	654.9
Republican														
National Committee	335.9	374.0	197.6	444.3	216.2	476.7	289.3	498.6	226.9	152.0	378.9	296.6	231.7	528.2
Senatorial	151.6	138.4	131.7	122.3	126.1	105.2	105.7	100.3	78.9	88.6	167.5	71.8	62.2	134.0
Congressional	205.8	170.6	155.6	162.8	147.3	131.9	213.7	236.0	188.1	93.0	281.1	135.6	65.9	201.5
Total	693.3	683.0	484.9	729.3	489.6	713.8	608.7	834.9	494.0	333.6	827.5	504.0	348.2	852.2

	1998			1996			1994			1992			
	Hard	Soft	Total	Hard	Soft	Total	Hard	Soft	Total	Hard	Soft	Total	
Democratic													
National Committee		95.4	83.9	179.3	165.8	155.9	321.7	67.8	71.1	138.9	112.6	53.6	166.2
Senatorial		52.5	38.1	90.6	47.1	21.7	68.8	42.8	0.6	43.4	43.5	1.0	44.5
Congressional		37.1	24.8	61.9	40.7	18.9	59.6	31.5	8.3	39.7	21.9	7.5	29.4
Total		185.0	146.8	331.8	253.6	196.4	450.0	142.0	49.1	222.0	178.0	36.3	240.1
Republican													
National Committee		153.2	110.1	263.4	295.3	173.0	468.3	141.5	72.7	214.2	146.2	61.5	207.7
Senatorial		78.7	55.8	134.4	98.7	45.0	143.7	105.8	9.0	114.8	126.3	15.5	141.8
Congressional		107.1	39.6	146.7	113.5	28.3	141.9	43.2	11.9	55.2	60.3	10.4	70.7
Total		338.9	193.8	532.7	507.5	211.4	718.9	290.6	52.5	343.1	332.8	49.8	382.6

Notes: (1) 2016 & 2012 RNC and DNC receipts reflect contributions from presidential joint fundraising committees that are attributed to the RNC and DNC, but not included in reported total receipts. (2) The national party committees were prohibited from raising soft money by the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002.

Soft money party totals are less than the sum of the individual committees as transfers between the committees are excluded.

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

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Table 3-2: National Party Committees' Sources of Funds, 1999-2018

	Total Receipts \$ mill.	Individual Contributions (by Donors' Aggregate Contributions)								Transfers from State Parties, PACs, loans, other)		Soft Money	
		\$200 or less		\$201-999		\$1,000 - 19,999		\$20,000 or more		\$ mill.	%	\$ mill.	%
		\$ mill.	%	\$ mill.	%	\$ mill.	%	\$ mill.	%				
DNC													
2018	175.8	59.7	34%	23.6	13%	27.2	15%	30.5	17%	18.5	11%	NA	NA
2016	392.9	46.1	12%	18.6	5%	61.4	16%	162.6	41%	104.1	26%	NA	NA
2014	163.3	60.1	37%	25.5	16%	34.6	21%	34.6	21%	8.5	5%	NA	NA
2012	301.4	65.9	22%	24.8	8%	60.3	20%	129.9	43%	20.5	7%	NA	NA
2010	224.8	88.3	39%	38.9	17%	37.3	17%	33.9	15%	26.5	12%	NA	NA
2008	260.1	69.8	27%	23.9	9%	50.0	19%	85.9	33%	30.4	12%	NA	NA
2006	130.8	63.4	48%	23.9	18%	20.9	16%	9.8	8%	12.8	10%	NA	NA
2004	404.4	128.0	32%	56.3	14%	83.5	21%	66.7	16%	69.4	17%	NA	NA
2002	162.1	34.3	21%	10.2	6%	9.9	6%	1.2	1%	11.8	7%	94.6	58%
2000	260.6	41.3	16%	12.4	5%	43.0	17%	15.4	6%	11.8	5%	136.6	52%
RNC													
2018	335.9	109.2	32%	56.1	17%	43.0	13%	85.7	26%	30.6	9%	NA	NA
2016	375.8	99.3	26%	38.3	10%	45.7	12%	134.1	36%	58.4	16%	NA	NA
2014	194.9	76.5	39%	30.4	16%	30.9	16%	48.0	25%	9.1	5%	NA	NA
2012	425.0	109.3	26%	44.3	10%	82.3	19%	180.3	42%	8.8	2%	NA	NA
2010	196.4	101.7	52%	33.6	17%	25.5	13%	5.9	3%	29.7	15%	NA	NA
2008	427.6	116.8	27%	84.2	20%	114.9	27%	88.0	21%	23.6	6%	NA	NA
2006	243.0	98.7	41%	36.8	15%	37.8	16%	40.1	17%	29.4	12%	NA	NA
2004	392.4	129.2	33%	68.3	17%	77.5	20%	75.4	19%	41.9	11%	NA	NA
2002	284.0	85.7	30%	31.4	11%	31.3	11%	6.0	2%	12.3	4%	113.9	40%
2000	379.0	91.1	24%	34.0	9%	49.2	13%	19.0	5%	19.5	5%	166.2	44%

SOURCE: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of FEC records.

RNC/DNC includes gross itemizations from joint fundraising committees associated with the presidential elections.

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Table 3-3: House Party Committees' Sources of Funds, 1999-2018

	Total Receipts	Individual Contributions (by Donors' Aggregate Contributions)								Members' Campaign Committees		Other (inc. PACs, loans, other)		Soft Money	
		\$200 or less		\$201-999		\$1,000 - 19,999		\$20,000 or more							
		\$ mill.	%	\$ mill.	%	\$ mill.	%	\$ mill.	%						
CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES															
DCCC															
2018	297.1	74.0	25%	45.1	15%	55.3	19%	48.4	16%	33.2	11%	41.2	14%	NA	NA
2016	221.0	52.8	24%	31.7	14%	37.4	17%	30.5	14%	29.9	14%	38.7	17%	NA	NA
2014	206.8	66.7	32%	31.0	15%	43.1	21%	27.0	13%	25.9	13%	13.1	6%	NA	NA
2012	183.8	59.8	33%	27.4	15%	28.7	16%	17.5	10%	25.4	14%	25.0	14%	NA	NA
2010	163.9	32.9	20%	12.6	8%	20.8	13%	23.2	14%	36.3	22%	38.1	23%	NA	NA
2008	176.2	27.8	16%	9.4	5%	22.8	13%	30.8	17%	47.0	27%	38.4	22%	NA	NA
2006	139.9	30.0	21%	8.7	6%	19.4	14%	25.2	18%	33.1	24%	23.5	17%	NA	NA
2004	93.2	22.9	25%	5.6	6%	16.6	14%	9.6	10%	18.3	20%	20.2	22%	NA	NA
2002	102.9	10.3	10%	2.0	2%	5.5	5%	1.5	1%	12.1	12%	15.0	15%	56.4	55%
2000	105.1	9.9	9%	2.4	2%	7.9	8%	1.6	2%	7.6	7%	19.0	18%	56.7	54%
NRCC															
2018	224.9	23.0	10%	12.7	6%	26.1	12%	80.1	36%	31.8	14%	51.2	23%	NA	NA
2016	179.3	14.5	8%	7.6	4%	20.3	11%	60.4	34%	35.7	20%	40.9	23%	NA	NA
2014	153.5	22.9	15%	7.5	5%	22.1	14%	33.8	22%	42.6	28%	24.6	16%	NA	NA
2012	155.7	22.8	15%	7.2	5%	28.1	18%	26.6	17%	43.8	28%	27.2	17%	NA	NA
2010	133.8	31.3	23%	11.0	8%	17.7	13%	14.5	11%	32.2	24%	27.1	20%	NA	NA
2008	118.3	27.3	23%	16.1	14%	22.2	19%	9.2	8%	24.2	20%	19.3	16%	NA	NA
2006	179.5	36.6	20%	28.8	16%	35.8	20%	10.9	6%	30.4	17%	37.1	21%	NA	NA
2004	185.7	52.7	28%	39.0	21%	49.2	26%	5.0	3%	19.4	10%	20.4	11%	NA	NA
2002	193.3	23.9	12%	26.0	13%	27.8	14%	1.6	1%	13.9	7%	30.4	16%	69.7	36%
2000	144.6	34.7	24%	19.4	13%	12.0	8%	0.9	1%	14.5	10%	15.8	11%	47.3	33%

SOURCE: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of FEC records.

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Table 3-4: Senate Party Committees' Receipts, 1999-2018

	Individual Contributions (by Donors' Aggregate Contributions)										Members' Campaign Committees		Other (inc. PACs, loans, other)		Soft Money	
	Total Receipts		Reported Unitemized		\$201-999 ¹		\$1,000 - 19,999		\$20,000 or more							
	\$ mill.	%	\$ mill.	%	\$ mill.	%	\$ mill.	%	\$ mill.	%						
SENATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES																
DSCC																
2018	149.3	38.2	26%	13.2	9%	22.2	15%	32.7	22%	3.4	2%	39.6	27%	NA	NA	
2016	180.4	44.1	24%	15.9	9%	31.0	17%	34.0	19%	19	11%	36.4	20%	NA	NA	
2014	167.6	50.2	30%	25.2	15%	18.1	11%	23.6	14%	8.2	5%	42.4	25%	NA	NA	
2012	145.9	49.6	34%	20.3	14%	17.1	12%	17.2	12%	10.5	7%	31.2	21%	NA	NA	
2010	129.5	34.2	26%	11.3	9%	19.8	15%	17.2	13%	8.8	7%	38.2	29%	NA	NA	
2008	162.8	24.6	15%	8.1	5%	27.5	17%	44.8	28%	15.0	9%	42.8	26%	NA	NA	
2006	121.0	24.5	20%	9.7	8%	23.4	19%	29.6	24%	11.4	9%	22.4	18%	NA	NA	
2004	88.8	19.3	22%	5.7	6%	15.6	18%	17.2	19%	8.1	9%	22.9	26%	NA	NA	
2002	143.4	9.7	7%	1.2	1%	6.4	4%	2.8	2%	1.6	1%	26.6	19%	95.0	66%	
2000	104.2	8.4	8%	0.9	1%	5.8	6%	2.4	2%	1.2	1%	21.8	21%	63.7	61%	
NRSC																
2016	152.5	30.7	20%	10.7	7%	16.7	11%	26.9	18%	2.3	2%	65.1	43%	NA	NA	
2016	139.3	24.9	18%	10.4	7%	14.8	11%	41.3	30%	3.6	3%	44.4	32%	NA	NA	
2014	129.9	27.5	21%	18.3	14%	16.2	12%	29.8	23%	4.1	3%	34.1	26%	NA	NA	
2012	117.0	26.3	22%	9.9	8%	14.8	13%	25.3	22%	1.3	1%	39.4	34%	NA	NA	
2010	114.6	33.9	30%	9.4	8%	14.8	13%	20.9	18%	3.2	3%	32.4	28%	NA	NA	
2008	94.4	28.9	31%	7.4	8%	14.2	15%	20.6	22%	2.8	3%	20.5	22%	NA	NA	
2006	88.8	24.6	28%	6.8	8%	16.3	18%	17.6	20%	4.6	5%	19.0	21%	NA	NA	
2004	95.9	25.5	27%	8.0	8%	17.2	18%	10.2	11%	3.2	3%	31.9	33%	NA	NA	
2002	125.6	19.4	15%	2.3	2%	17.4	14%	2.4	2%	1.9	2%	15.8	13%	66.4	53%	
2000	96.1	19.3	20%	1.4	1%	12.1	13%	1.0	1%	2.6	3%	15.1	16%	44.7	47%	

SOURCE: Campaign Finance Institute analysis of FEC records.

¹This category includes itemized contributions less than \$200, which by being itemized means the individual donors gave more than \$200 in aggregate.

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Table 3-5: Contributions from Members' PACs & PCCs to Their National Party Committees 1998-2018

	2018	2016	2014	2012	2010	2008	2006	2004	2002	2000	1998
Total PAC & PCC	83,584,791	94,098,082	87,140,428	86,530,385	84,814,153	98,961,016	83,234,395	50,969,027	30,844,589	26,448,120	12,163,966
House - All	71,728,341	67,824,230	72,856,868	72,472,985	70,593,808	73,434,761	65,264,433	38,572,199	26,591,268	22,550,353	9,982,966
Rep	35,241,171	36,030,129	45,512,597	45,964,108	33,553,165	25,444,386	31,583,748	19,912,881	14,286,261	14,673,170	7,192,984
Dem	36,487,170	31,794,101	27,344,271	26,508,877	37,040,643	47,990,375	33,680,685	18,659,318	12,305,007	7,877,183	2,835,982
Senate - All	11,856,450	26,273,852	14,283,560	14,057,400	14,220,345	25,526,255	17,969,962	12,396,828	4,253,321	3,897,767	2,181,000
Rep	4,248,500	5,285,675	5,038,500	2,460,600	4,107,600	3,744,655	5,768,129	3,813,040	2,296,321	2,659,500	1,281,000
Dem	7,607,950	20,988,177	9,245,060	11,596,800	10,112,745	21,781,600	12,201,833	8,583,788	1,957,000	1,238,267	900,000
FROM PCCs											
All PCCs	70,917,972	85,432,999	80,765,567	81,101,816	80,511,563	94,641,633	79,371,512	48,870,374	29,454,248	25,737,953	11,995,966
House - All	64,961,022	62,878,147	68,489,007	69,255,316	68,539,363	71,261,361	63,401,124	37,650,467	25,997,927	22,087,453	9,925,466
Rep	31,796,802	33,193,315	42,586,054	43,842,734	32,235,420	24,229,191	30,350,039	19,367,870	13,913,438	14,455,270	7,135,484
Dem	33,164,220	29,684,832	25,902,953	25,412,582	36,303,943	47,032,170	33,051,085	18,282,597	12,084,489	7,632,183	2,789,982
Senate - All	5,956,950	22,554,852	12,276,560	11,846,500	11,972,200	23,380,272	15,970,388	11,219,907	3,456,321	3,650,500	2,070,500
Rep	2,288,500	3,560,075	4,113,000	1,340,500	3,177,200	2,784,172	4,622,000	3,166,119	1,886,321	2,554,500	1,185,500
Dem	3,668,450	18,994,777	8,163,560	10,506,000	8,795,000	20,596,100	11,348,388	8,053,788	1,570,000	1,096,000	885,000
PACs											
All PACs	12,666,819	8,665,083	6,374,861	5,428,569	4,302,590	4,319,383	3,862,883	2,098,653	1,390,341	710,167	214,000
House - All	6,767,319	4,946,083	4,367,861	3,217,669	2,054,445	2,173,400	1,863,309	921,732	593,341	462,900	103,500
Rep	3,444,369	2,836,814	2,926,543	2,121,374	1,317,745	1,215,195	1,233,709	545,011	372,823	217,900	57,500
Dem	3,322,950	2,109,269	1,441,318	1,096,295	736,700	958,205	629,600	376,721	220,518	245,000	46,000
Senate - All	5,899,500	3,719,000	2,007,000	2,210,900	2,248,145	2,145,983	1,999,574	1,176,921	797,000	247,267	110,500
Rep	1,960,000	1,725,600	925,500	1,120,100	930,400	960,483	1,146,129	646,921	410,000	105,000	95,500
Dem	3,939,500	1,993,400	1,081,500	1,090,800	1,317,745	1,185,500	853,445	530,000	387,000	142,267	15,000

Source: CFI analysis of FEC data.

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Table 3-6: Political Party Contributions, Coordinated and Independent Expenditures for Congressional Candidates, 1976-2018

Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Dollars

	Senate		House		Total		
	Contributions	Expenditures		Contributions		Expenditures	
		Coordinated	Independent			Coordinated	Independent
2018							
Democrats	341,800	10,405,500	29,638,888	510,607	6,853,756	84,606,289	132,356,840
Republicans	663,600	8,810,888	38,080,072	351,812	5,348,454	79,683,592	132,938,418
2016							
Democrats	636,538	8,693,275	63,216,340	422,486	3,780,096	84,096,034	160,844,767
Republicans	652,231	13,873,228	40,983,851	355,725	3,764,573	77,005,628	136,635,235
2014							
Democrats	286,590	8,045,019	63,487,342	690,687	4,459,449	73,172,811	150,141,897
Republicans	623,453	7,838,803	36,368,344	390,950	4,558,582	69,516,403	119,296,535
2012							
Democrats	707,077	5,850,022	57,784,876	640,212	5,850,022	68,559,600	139,391,808
Republicans	864,898	8,312,642	35,123,825	819,209	5,160,952	67,679,395	117,960,921
2010							
Democrats	901,346	20,163,091	47,786,147	337,462	7,768,558	75,710,479	152,667,083
Republicans	1,839,255	20,954,993	39,557,666	1,177,267	9,552,964	56,179,505	129,261,650
2008							
Democrats	651,493	4,458,658	85,172,759	1,197,940	1,929,296	95,218,056	188,628,201
Republicans	157,450	1,785,160	47,410,979	3,626,217	3,989,099	36,121,985	93,090,891
2006							
Democrats	743,356	7,219,332	53,095,519	3,026,635	3,001,717	79,892,448	146,979,009
Republicans	481,764	10,941,944	40,052,629	978,315	5,629,799	103,489,084	161,573,535
2004							
Democrats	1,438,831	13,498,394	28,860,627	1,071,578	3,829,571	42,587,016	91,286,018
Republicans	2,493,443	12,332,636	15,287,191	1,537,709	4,280,941	57,746,234	93,678,154
2002							
Democrats	689,326	2,910,718	576	1,244,544	3,811,359	349,319	9,005,843
Republicans	2,829,317	14,486,978	699,593	2,975,222	7,521,648	1,901,701	30,414,460
2000							
Democrats	520,031	7,509,447	376,106	1,425,696	4,848,913	2,962,277	17,642,469
Republicans	756,981	15,783,667	576,277	2,547,543	6,408,564	1,693,896	27,766,929
1998							
Democrats	465,978	14,403,910	2,249,409	2,375,984	7,080,878	45,535	26,621,694
Republicans	792,846	14,379,442	337,491	3,232,465	9,720,953	71,305	28,534,502

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(Table continued from previous page)

CFI**Table 3-6: Political Party Contributions, Coordinated and Independent Expenditures for Congressional Candidates, 1976-2018***Adjusted for Inflation, 2018 Dollars*

	Senate			House			Total
	Contributions	Expenditures		Contributions	Expenditures		
		Coordinated	Independent		Coordinated	Independent	
1996							
Democrats	1,020,647	13,782,713	2,324,631	2,221,316	10,862,033	51,076	30,262,415
Republicans	1,235,920	17,206,340	15,105,360	3,941,850	12,801,566	57,314	50,348,351
1994							
Democrats	1,082,061	22,373,107	-	2,543,636	14,326,095	-	40,324,899
Republicans	1,267,414	19,590,185	-	3,450,962	14,998,426	-	39,306,988
1992							
Democrats	1,234,868	21,326,874	-	2,209,586	10,530,526	-	35,301,853
Republicans	1,445,068	29,549,262	-	3,933,254	12,361,568	-	47,289,152
1990							
Democrats	990,080	10,009,701	-	1,811,995	6,535,274	-	19,347,051
Republicans	1,657,308	14,843,273	-	3,879,534	5,787,398	-	26,167,513
1988							
Democrats	1,065,086	13,992,930	-	2,672,288	6,136,843	-	23,867,147
Republicans	1,526,183	21,779,446	-	5,639,971	8,834,821	-	37,780,421
1986							
Democrats	1,422,402	15,250,365	-	2,219,898	4,206,988	-	23,099,654
Republicans	1,671,424	23,089,706	-	5,774,265	9,419,890	-	39,955,284
1984							
Democrats	1,066,944	9,540,933	-	3,095,146	4,288,521	-	17,991,543
Republicans	1,428,149	15,753,798	-	9,812,556	14,960,827	-	41,955,330
1982							
Democrats	1,507,519	5,894,371	-	2,738,201	1,806,724	-	11,946,815
Republicans	1,561,862	22,679,675	-	12,284,620	13,773,830	-	50,299,987
1980							
Democrats	1,464,173	3,452,453	-	3,126,614	781,193	-	8,824,433
Republicans	2,063,112	16,561,963	-	10,660,842	6,715,735	-	36,001,652
1978							
Democrats	1,797,352	882,795	-	4,861,532	280,731	-	7,822,411
Republicans	2,708,274	10,490,573	-	13,946,082	4,995,485	-	32,140,414
1976							
Democrats	2,068,852	19,237	-	6,468,009	2,207	-	8,558,305
Republicans	4,104,359	502,991	-	16,144,591	1,454,492	-	22,206,434

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

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Table 3-7: National Party Contributions, Coordinated and Independent expenditures in Presidential Elections, 1988-2016

	Contributions	Coordinated Expenditures	Independent Expenditures
2016			
Dem	20,039	22,816,861	6,819,079
Rep	9,303	20,314,896	321,531
2012			
Dem	8,610	20,929,764	-
Rep	10,138	21,533,007	42,394,347
2008			
Dem	1,150	6,399,511	1,104,113
Rep	15,847	19,493,248	53,459,386
2004			
Dem	63,154	16,031,562	120,333,466
Rep	28,017	16,082,130	18,268,870
2000			
Dem	-	13,532,426	-
Rep	21,846	13,518,366	-
1996			
Dem	1,861	6,653,794	-
Rep	133,059	11,704,932	-
1992			
Dem	11,373	10,160,172	-
Rep	12,575	10,353,623	-
1988			
Dem	2,700	8,107,044	-
Rep	2,880	8,289,173	-
			-

Source: CFI analysis of FEC data.

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PART IV
INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE TABLES

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Table 4-1: Non-Party Independent Expenditures in House and Senate Elections, 1978-2018
Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars

	For Democrats	Against Democrats	For Republicans	Against Republicans	Total
2018					
House	95,895,390	169,405,042	66,029,919	169,717,843	501,048,194
Senate	78,293,203	195,988,141	56,157,952	218,255,198	548,694,494
2016					
House	23,557,543	53,888,636	31,738,807	57,162,083	166,347,069
Senate	53,577,894	242,592,885	54,972,100	182,683,864	533,826,743
2014					
House	16,190,159	43,061,442	41,840,468	50,969,054	152,061,124
Senate	38,818,120	127,979,693	87,791,959	156,193,002	410,782,774
2012					
House	25,607,310	84,402,069	37,275,930	69,173,681	216,458,991
Senate	19,977,389	111,063,038	46,587,790	105,969,444	283,597,661
2010					
House	23,706,970	42,663,134	16,824,202	29,508,478	112,702,785
Senate	15,557,923	49,974,474	25,948,100	20,502,432	111,982,929
2008					
House	9,883,668	2,369,182	9,781,769	8,237,536	30,272,155
Senate	6,318,233	2,153,901	6,421,891	5,837,295	20,731,320
2006					
House	8,023,322	961,029	7,950,112	15,052,590	31,987,053
Senate	3,642,628	380,233	7,100,540	1,836,589	12,959,990
2004					
House	1,789,263	88,656	5,182,242	724,728	7,784,889
Senate	552,158	413,579	10,288,903	484,625	11,739,264
2002					
House	3,719,457	365,594	3,520,859	752,076	8,357,987
Senate	7,363,327	252,968	4,951,635	1,638,401	14,206,330
2000					
House	5,996,340	341,571	4,219,875	2,429,052	12,986,838
Senate	2,160,951	886,325	6,384,159	3,979,607	13,411,042
1998					
House	2,753,610	397,883	5,820,646	927,364	9,899,504
Senate	1,339,018	225,787	2,218,484	1,558,365	5,341,654
1996					
House	1,087,189	204,384	4,200,940	2,242,360	7,734,873
Senate	465,899	1,331,813	4,596,947	1,333,489	7,728,147
1994					
House	851,631	827,669	1,844,088	86,100	3,609,487
Senate	346,013	735,271	2,218,912	910,781	4,210,976
1992					
House	2,659,207	771,222	2,838,631	810,669	7,079,730
Senate	2,035,561	294,166	1,547,258	376,732	4,253,717
1990					
House	1,362,725	251,097	1,286,709	143,025	3,043,557
Senate	1,500,171	511,494	2,759,973	1,122,833	5,894,471

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(Table continued from previous page)

CFI**Table 4-1: Non-Party Independent Expenditures in House and Senate Elections, 1978-2018**
Adjusted for inflation, 2018 Dollars

	For Democrats	Against Democrats	For Republicans	Against Republicans	Total
1988					
House	3,110,827	591,625	1,952,668	315,646	5,970,766
Senate	1,764,040	1,309,802	5,963,562	304,472	9,341,877
1986					
House	5,465,896	520,740	3,009,568	275,008	9,271,212
Senate	2,264,504	1,448,933	7,658,741	797,324	12,169,502
1984					
House	1,355,173	285,597	1,531,405	64,884	3,237,059
Senate	787,956	991,928	4,369,554	5,032,308	11,181,746
1982					
House	628,267	2,244,751	1,281,307	172,512	4,326,836
Senate	331,646	8,282,591	776,506	1,258,788	10,649,531
1980					
House	580,883	115,872	1,250,897	137,536	2,085,188
Senate	388,183	3,908,654	797,441	37,879	5,132,158
1978					
House	110,630	119,522	272,293	20,404	522,849
Senate	394,793	141,409	100,385	7,645	644,232

Note: An independent expenditure is defined by the FEC as an expenditure for a communication "expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate that is not made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate, a candidate's authorized committee, or their agents, or a political party or its agents." 11 CFR 100.16(a).

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

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Table 4-2: Non-Party Independent Expenditures in Presidential Elections, 1978-2016*Adjusted for inflation, 2016 dollars*

	For Democrats	Against Democrats	For Republicans	Against Republicans	Total	Amount of total from Candidate Super PACs (2012 & 2016 Only)
2016	59,319,728	90,292,008	252,021,974	267,297,547	668,931,257	377,977,506
2012	21,078,843	289,060,382	93,978,749	134,870,489	538,988,463	244,050,569
2008	69,721,274	35,659,069	7,706,495	15,880,902	128,967,740	
2004	32,136,030	3,584,535	7,037,561	6,131,255	48,889,381	
2000	4,663,404	521,793	7,485,771	1,447,955	14,118,923	
1996	101,718	765,015	405,356	73,507	1,345,596	
1992	567,499	561,279	3,034,038	163,125	4,325,941	
1988	570,967	3,352,145	10,212,146	156,862	14,292,120	
1984	797,813	486,998	10,212,146	156,862	11,653,819	
1980	92,235	687,510	12,209,196	48,476	13,037,417	
1976	403,183	490	714,535	454	1,118,662	

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Table 4-3: Federal Independent Expenditures 2008-2018 by Type of Spender

	All Party Committees		Non-Party				Total Non-Party	Total IE Spending
	Democrat	Republican	Leadership Super PACs/C's		Single Race IE Spenders	Other IE Spenders		
			Pro-Democrat	Pro-Republican				
Presidential								
2018	-	-	-	-	-	11.8	11.8	11.8
2016	6.8	0.3	2.7	2.1	484.9	389.9	879.6	886.7
2014	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2012	0.0	42.4	0.0	0.0	244.1	299.7	543.8	586.2
2010	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2008	1.1	53.5	-	-	-	129.0	129.0	183.6
House								
2018	84.5	79.8	72.0	138.1	11.5	279.6	501.2	665.5
2016	73.6	73.6	44.5	40.1	10.8	78.4	173.8	321.0
2014	68.8	65.3	29.3	9.9	7.8	96.5	143.4	277.5
2012	61.7	64.7	30.6	9.4	10.4	147.9	198.3	324.8
2010	65.7	46.2	0.4	0.0	2.2	96.1	98.6	210.6
2008	81.6	30.9	-	-	-	25.6	25.6	138.1
Senate								
2018	29.6	38.1	151.8	95.1	100.7	205.4	552.9	620.7
2016	58.6	39.2	74.0	86.0	57.4	342.4	559.8	657.6
2014	54.6	40.3	46.6	42.1	51.7	256.5	396.9	491.8
2012	53.3	33.2	37.1	51.4	19.6	155.1	263.2	349.6
2010	41.5	25.9	2.9	31.3	4.0	60.6	98.8	166.2
2008	72.6	39.0	-	-	-	17.3	17.3	128.9

Leadership IE Spenders: The Congressional Leadership Fund and Senate Leadership Fund (Republican); Senate Majority PAC and House Majority PAC (Democratic); American Crossroads/Crossroads GPS (Republican). Crossroads spending is only for Senate races, 2010-14.
Other Spenders: Other Super PACs; Traditional PACs, and Non-Profit "C" groups.

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