

# Congressional Campaign Spending: A Roper Center Review of the Federal Election Commission Data

All data on pages 153-158 were obtained from Federal Election Commission (FEC) reports. Where averages are reported herein it is important to consider that in some cases the number of candidates may have been small, particularly in the Senate, and thus measures of central tendency, including means, may be distorted. As this publication went to press, complete 1997-98 general election figures were not available. Instead, for 1997-98, the data are through November 23, 1998.

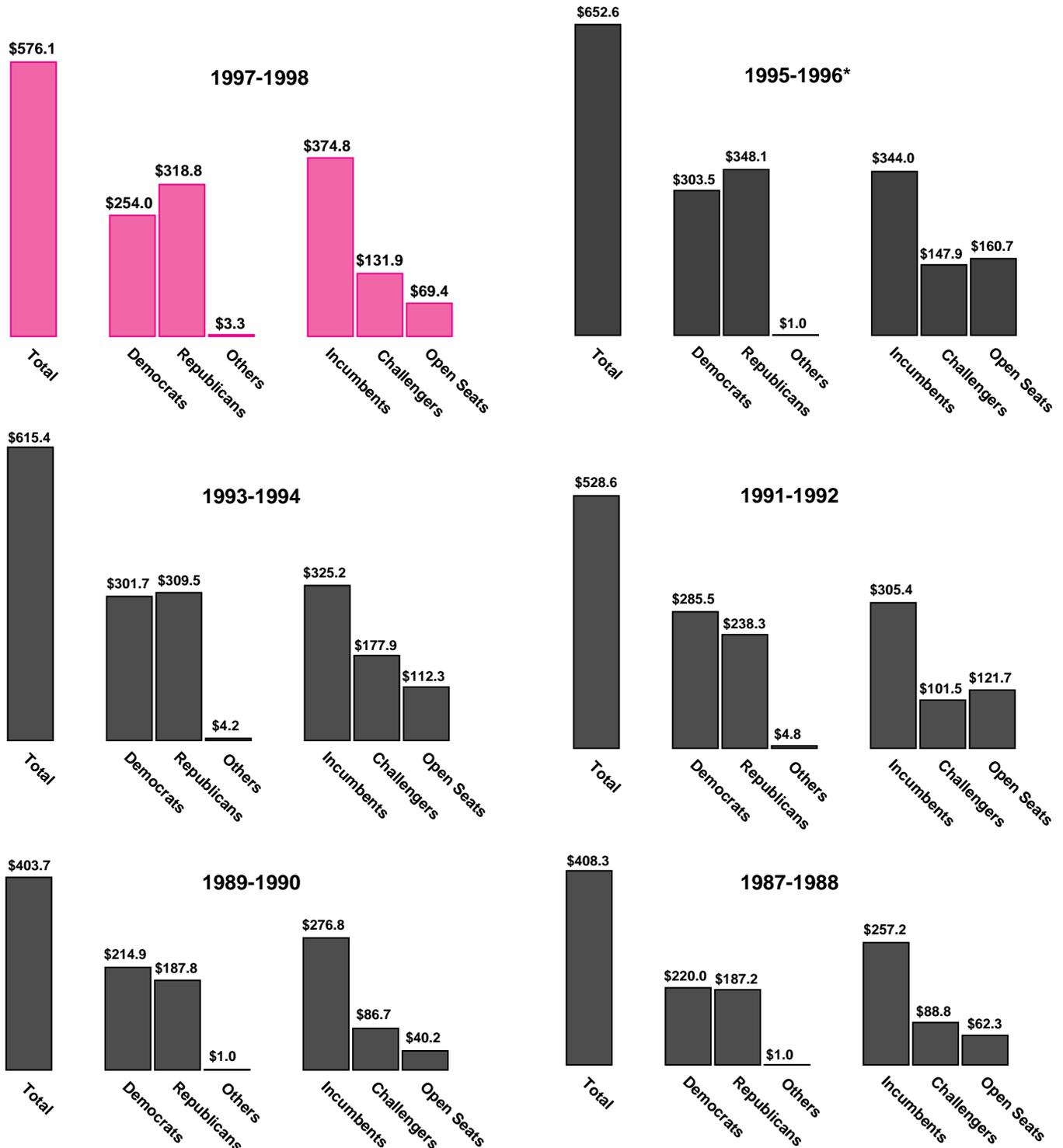
For the data contained herein we have used the following definitions regarding challenger and open-seat elections. Cases in which an incumbent lost in the primary have been classified as open-seat elections. In FEC publications, only if the incumbent does not run are the seats classified as open. The FEC classifies elections where an incumbent loses in the primary as challenger seats in the general election. Here challengers are only those running against an incumbent in the general election.

The Roper Center would like to express appreciation to the American Enterprise Institute for much of the 1988-94 FEC data, published in AEI's *Vital Statistics on Congress 1995-1996*, Norman J. Ornstein, Thomas E. Mann, and Michael J. Malbin, editors. Special thanks to Larry Makinson, executive director of the Center for Responsive Politics, for his assistance in gathering and calculating the 1998 congressional figures.

<b><i>Campaign Expenditures for Congressional Candidates</i></b>	<b><i>pp. 153-154</i></b>
<b><i>Money Spent Compared with Election Outcome</i></b>	<b><i>pp. 155-156</i></b>
<b><i>Where Campaign Contributions Came From</i></b>	<b><i>pp. 157-158</i></b>

# In 1997-98, For the Third Election Cycle Running, Republican Congressional Candidates Outspent Their Democratic Opponents

(in millions of dollars)



\*Reflects campaign expenditures for major party candidates and independent Bernard Sanders (VT).

Note: Includes expenditures for the primary and general election by general election candidates.

## Incumbent House and Senate Candidates Continue to Outspend Challengers By Wide Margins

(net dollars)

<b>House:</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1994</b>	<b>1992</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>1988</b>
<b>All House Candidates</b>						
Total expenditure	\$372,854,822 <sup>a</sup>	\$421,750,905 <sup>a</sup>	\$343,268,389	\$332,689,465	\$231,309,131	\$223,067,265
Average expenditure <sup>b</sup>	509,487 <sup>c</sup>	516,219 <sup>c</sup>	441,632 <sup>c</sup>	408,240 <sup>c</sup>	325,145	305,665
Democratic average	455,820	472,313	487,493	462,897	355,862	319,389
Republican average	564,049	559,914	396,799	352,351	290,910	289,798
<b>Incumbents</b>						
Incumbent average <sup>b</sup>	610,798 <sup>c</sup>	678,556 <sup>c</sup>	561,441 <sup>c</sup>	594,699 <sup>c</sup>	422,124	394,779
Democratic average	544,844	590,814	622,937	621,890	427,178	380,386
Republican average	671,872	746,474	473,281	552,952	414,222	416,413
<b>Challengers</b>						
Challenger average <sup>b</sup>	291,865	286,582	240,183	167,411	134,465 <sup>c</sup>	136,851
Democratic average	279,721	319,472	177,136	143,935	131,194	164,483
Republican average	308,189	241,389	276,493	275,867	133,889	114,815
<b>Open Seats</b>						
Open-seat average <sup>b</sup>	727,236	647,336	585,991	588,722	443,129	532,817
Democratic average	662,616	647,490	560,569	561,258	547,541	495,513
Republican average	795,894	647,179	611,911	616,724	538,037	581,844
<b>Senate:</b>						
<b>All Senate Candidates</b>						
Total expenditure	202,917,064 <sup>b</sup>	230,806,273 <sup>b</sup>	272,120,863	195,901,342	172,394,972	185,208,933
Average expenditure <sup>b</sup>	3,498,570	3,550,866	4,000,274	2,876,627	2,592,163	2,814,650
Democratic average	2,906,722	3,402,098	3,395,629	2,815,826	2,468,527	2,951,549
Republican average	4,132,693	3,695,126	4,604,919	2,939,218	2,719,546	2,677,752
<b>Incumbents</b>						
Incumbent average <sup>b</sup>	4,695,673	4,236,694	4,691,617	3,852,428	3,582,136	3,772,558
Democratic average	4,589,999	5,205,263	5,154,744	2,851,102	3,618,244	3,480,898
Republican average	4,809,475	3,715,156	3,950,616	5,104,086	3,541,212	4,137,133
<b>Challengers</b>						
Challenger average <sup>b</sup>	2,378,936	3,139,479	3,997,104	1,824,993	1,705,098	1,822,852
Democratic average	1,128,733	2,958,889	1,266,445	2,551,654	1,401,259	2,166,874
Republican average	3,742,793	3,470,562	5,703,766	1,202,141	1,988,680	1,547,635
<b>Open Seats</b>						
Open-seat average <sup>b</sup>	2,677,297	3,310,759	3,006,247	2,938,871	1,599,792	2,890,904
Democratic average	2,349,219	2,848,751	2,634,075	3,145,940	934,046	3,197,528
Republican average	3,005,375	3,772,767	3,378,419	2,731,801	2,265,538	2,584,280

<sup>a</sup>Reflects campaign expenditures for major party candidates and independent Bernard Sanders (VT).

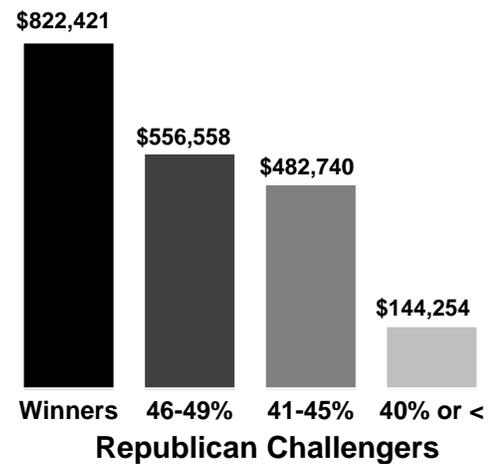
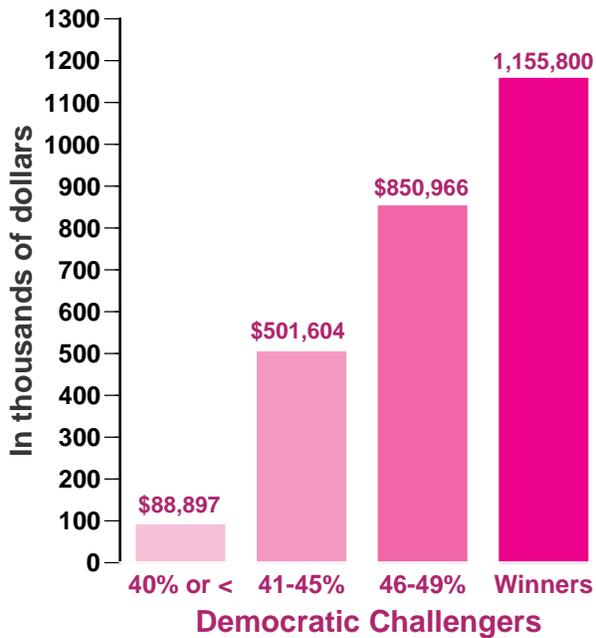
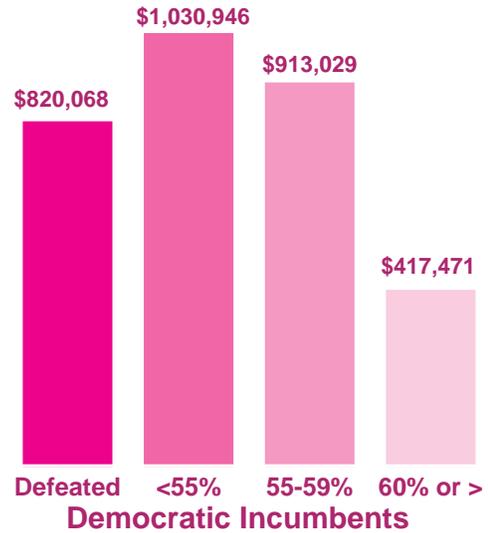
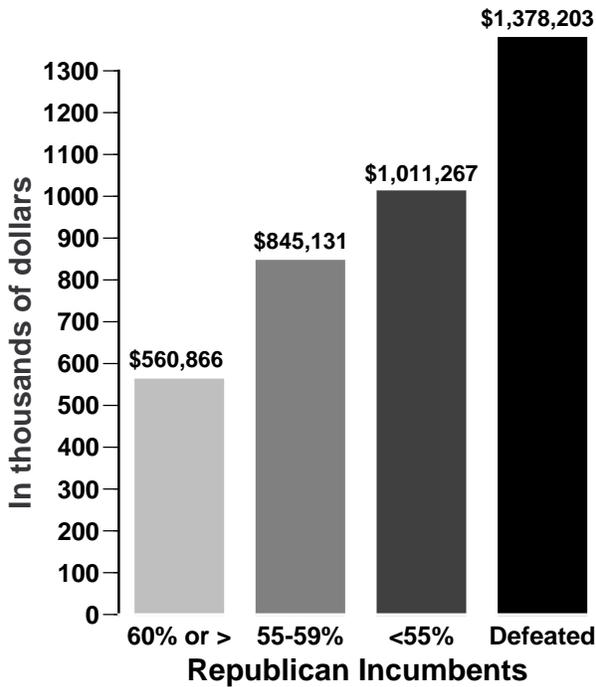
<sup>b</sup>Major party candidates only.

<sup>c</sup>Includes independent Bernard Sanders (VT).

**Note:** Averages calculated using a mean. Includes expenditures for the primary and general election by general election candidates.

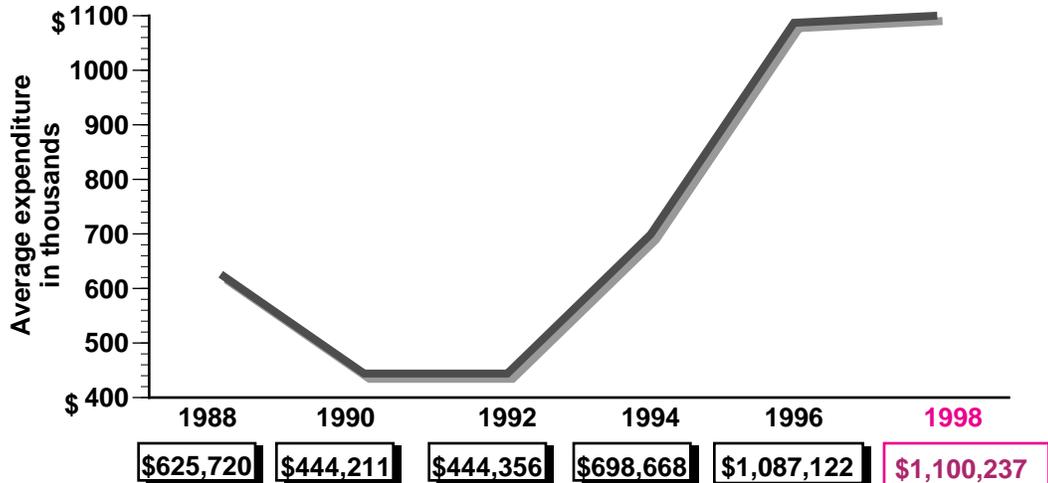
# 1998 House Candidate Expenditures

## By the Proportion of the Vote They Received (average net dollars)



Note: Averages calculated using a mean. Includes expenditures for the primary and general election by general election candidates.

## Expenditures of House Challengers Who Won, 1988-1998 (average net dollars)



**Note:** Averages calculated using a mean. Includes expenditures for the primary and general election by general election candidates.

## Number of Candidates Spending \$1 Million or More On House Campaigns

	Incumbents	Challengers	Open Seats	Total
1981-82	2	1	2	5
1983-84	2	2	0	4
1985-86	10	2	6	18
1987-88	13	4	5	22
1989-90	9	1	4	14
1991-92	44	3	7	54
1993-94	34	10	4	48
1995-96	72	17	13	102
1997-98	55	14	18	87

**Note:** Includes expenditures for the primary and general elections by general election candidates.

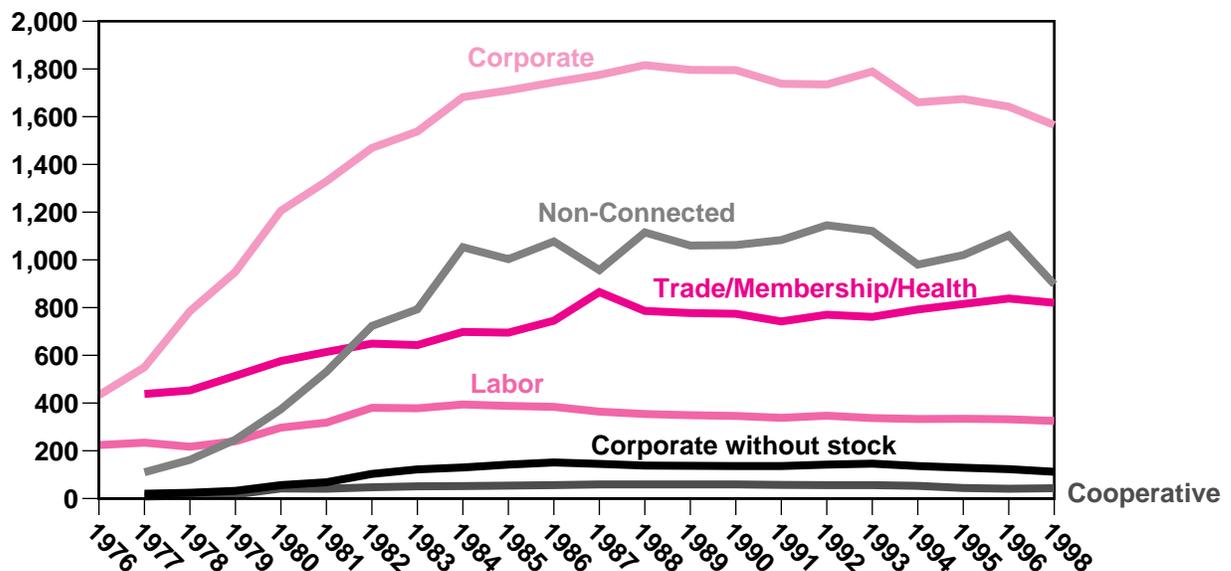
## Where the Money Comes From

	Net Receipts (in millions)		Individual Contributions		PAC/Other Committee Contributions		Candidate Loans and Contributions	
	1998	1994	1998	1994	1998	1994	1998	1994
<b>House:</b>	<b>\$420.2</b>	<b>\$344.8</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>8%</b>
<b>Democratic</b>	<b>192.8</b>	<b>185.2</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
Incumbents	129.0	137.2	48	43	47	51	0	1
Challengers	39.6	20.4	54	50	20	25	23	20
Open Seats	24.2	27.6	62	51	30	31	5	15
<b>Republican</b>	<b>227.4</b>	<b>159.6</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10</b>
Incumbents	164.4	80.5	55	59	40	36	0	1
Challengers	36.8	51.1	61	62	19	11	14	22
Open Seats	26.2	28.0	48	58	31	22	18	16
<b>Senate:</b>	<b>200.2</b>	<b>263.1</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Democratic</b>	<b>86.1</b>	<b>111.7</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>15</b>
Incumbents	62.9	78.5	71	59	23	20	0	14
Challengers	13.6	10.2	46	45	5	15	46	36
Open Seats	9.6	23.1	66	68	26	20	1	3
<b>Republican</b>	<b>114.1</b>	<b>151.4</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>25</b>
Incumbents	61.4	33.0	64	67	27	27	3	0
Challengers	41.6	87.4	59	51	11	3	29	44
Open Seats	11.2	30.9	69	69	26	24	0	1

**Note:** Major party candidates only. The percentages do not sum to 100 because not all receipts are listed. Missing receipts include such items as contributions from parties, transfers from other candidate committees, interest earned on campaign funds and deposits on items, including phone banks, where deposits are returned to the candidate when services are canceled. Data are through 20 days after the general election.

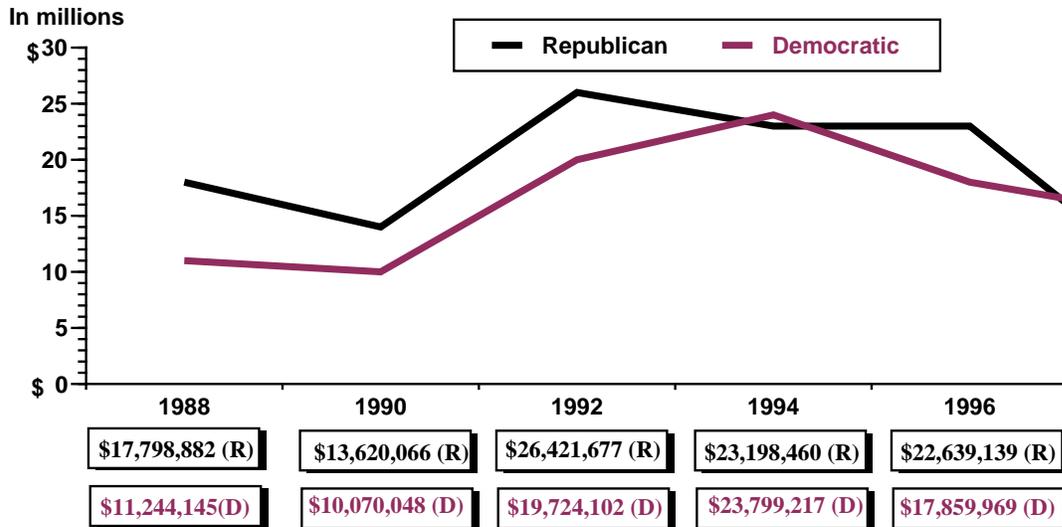
## Since the Early 1980s the Number of PACs Has Remained Steady

Number of PACs



## The Political Parties' Support for Congressional Candidates

### Contributions and Coordinated Expenditures



**Note:** Data shown are direct support (contributions and coordinated expenditures) for congressional candidates only. The 1998 data available when this book went to press show \$8.8 million in direct support by the Republicans and \$14.6 million in direct support by the Democrats. But these numbers are misleading. First, party contributions, especially coordinated expenditures, typically are made very late in the campaign cycle and have not yet been recorded by the FEC. Beyond this, the lower 1998 totals probably reflect the party's decision to help candidates through independent issue ads rather than the more traditional coordinated expenditures.

## Party Receipts Reported to the Federal Election Commission

(through 20 days after the general election)

(in millions of dollars)

	1998	1996	1994
<b>Democrats</b>			
Hard Money	\$158.7	\$210.0	\$121.1
Soft Money	79.5	122.3	49.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>238.2</b>	<b>332.3</b>	<b>170.2</b>
<b>Republicans</b>			
Hard Money	285.6	407.5	223.7
Soft Money	115.6	141.2	52.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>401.2</b>	<b>548.7</b>	<b>276.2</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$ 639.4</b>	<b>\$ 881.0</b>	<b>\$ 446.4</b>