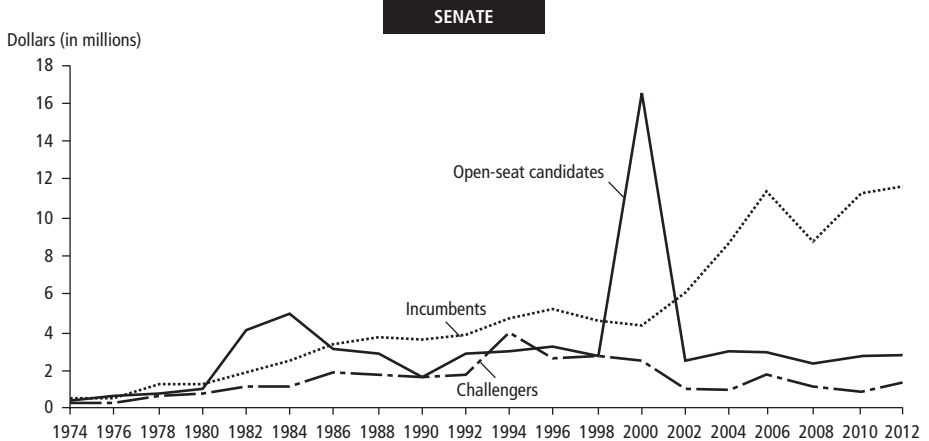
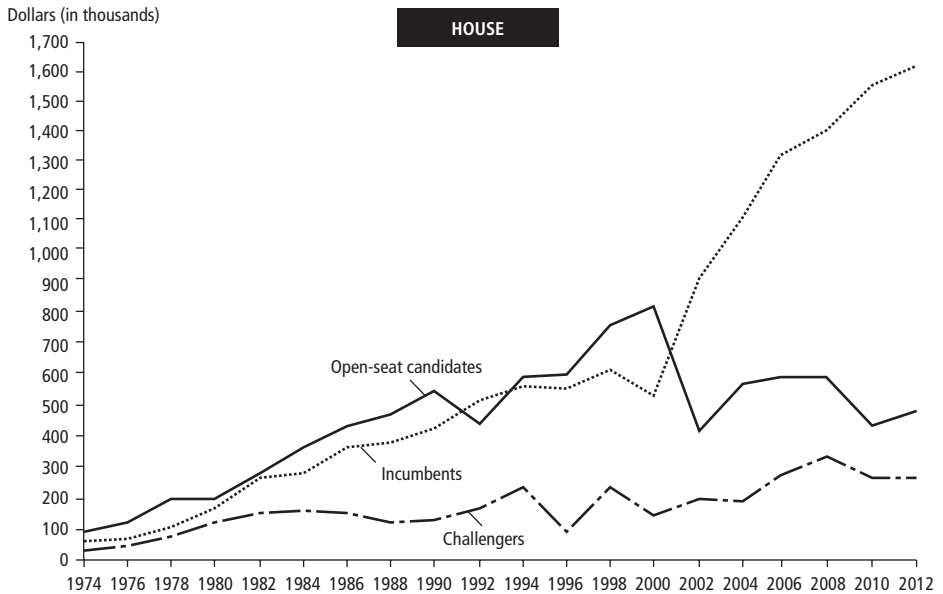


**FIGURE 4-2 Average Campaign Expenditures for Incumbents, Challengers, and Open-Seat Candidates: House and Senate, 1974–2012**



Sources: Federal Election Commission (FEC) figures for campaigns through 2000 are compiled in Norman J. Ornstein, Thomas E. Mann, and Michael J. Malbin, *Vital Statistics on Congress 2001–2002* (Washington, DC: AEI Press, 2002), 87–98. Figures through 2012, also derived from the FEC, are found at Center for Responsive Politics, “Election Overview, Incumbent Advantage,” [www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org).