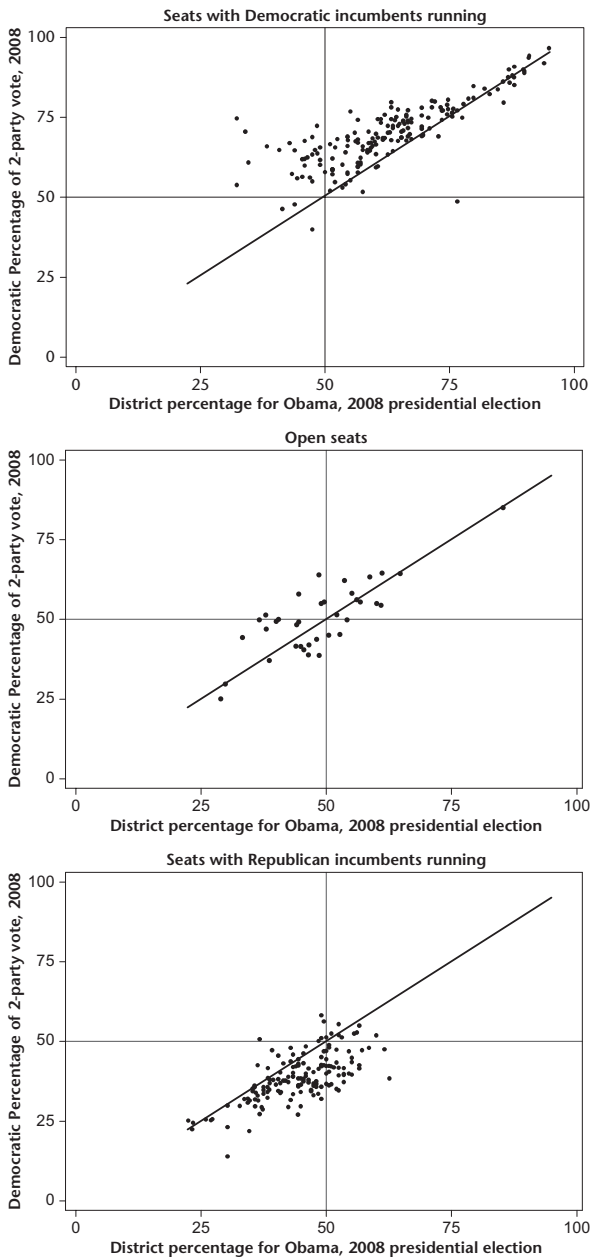


**Figure 4-3** The Incumbency Advantage in the House, 2008



Source: Compiled by authors.

Note: Dots above the diagonal line indicate that the district House vote for the Democratic candidate in 2008 exceeded the vote for Obama in the district in 2008. Dots below the diagonal line indicate that the district House vote for the Democratic candidate in 2008 ran behind the vote for Obama. Dots above the horizontal line at 50 percent indicate a Democratic victory; dots below this line a Republican victory.