

## Chapter 2: Congressional Elections

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Table 2-1 Turnout in Presidential and House Elections, 1930 - 2016 (percentage of voting age population)

Year	Presidential elections	House elections	Year	Presidential elections	House elections
1930		33.7	1974		40.0
1932	56.3	49.7	1976	55.1	50.3
1934		41.4	1978		39.5
1936	62.2	53.5	1980	54.7	49.3
1938		44.0	1982		42.2
1940	65.2	55.4	1984	56.0	50.2
1942		32.5	1986		38.2
1944	58.4	52.7	1988	53.1	47.6
1946		37.1	1990		38.1
1948	53.3	48.1	1992	58.1	53.6
1950		41.1	1994		40.5
1952	63.4	57.6	1996	51.5	48.2
1954		41.7	1998		37.6
1956	61.2	55.9	2000	54.3	50.2
1958		43.0	2002		37.2
1960	64.9	58.5	2004	60.7	55.3
1962		49.2	2006		38.7
1964	62.8	59.0	2008	61.6	57.6
1966		49.3	2010		40.1
1968	61.9	56.3	2012	58	56.1
1970		48.4	2014		34.9
1972	56.6	51.4	2016	59.3	57.1

Note: For all presidential elections and House elections 1962-2004, turnout is computed using the number of citizens eligible to vote in the United States. For House elections before 1962, it is computed using the voting age population (including non-citizens). For the 2006 elections and future editions of Vital Statistics on Congress, turnout is of voting-eligible population (VEP.) The voting-eligible population is the population that is eligible to vote. Counted among the voting-age population are persons who are ineligible to vote, such as non-citizens, felons (depending on state law), and mentally incapacitated persons. Not counted are persons in the military or civilians living overseas.

Some data from earlier years/previous versions of Vital Statistics have been updated. See errata for more detail.

Source: For House elections 1930-60, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office). For presidential elections and House elections 1962-2004, numbers were provided by Curtis Gans of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate at American University. From 2006 to 2014, the VEP was calculated by Michael McDonald found at <http://www.electproject.org/> and calculated against the Federal Election Commission voting data found at <http://www.fec.gov>.

Table 2-2 Popular Vote and House Seats Won by Party, 1946 - 2016

Year	Democratic candidates		Republican candidates		Change from last election <sup>a</sup>		Difference between Democratic percentage of seats and votes won
	Percentage of all votes <sup>b</sup>	Percentage of seats won <sup>c</sup>	Percentage of all votes <sup>b</sup>	Percentage of seats won <sup>c</sup>	Percentage of major party votes	Percentage of seats won <sup>c</sup>	
1946	44.3	43.3	53.5	56.7	6.4R	12.8R	-1.0
1948	51.6	60.6	45.4	39.4	7.9D	17.3D	9.0
1950	48.9	54.0	48.9	46.0	3.2R	6.6R	5.1
1952	49.2	49.1	49.3	50.9	0.1R	4.9R	-0.1
1954	52.1	53.3	47.0	46.7	2.6D	4.2D	1.2
1956	50.7	53.8	48.7	46.2	1.5R	0.5D	3.1
1958	55.5	64.9	43.6	35.1	5.0D	11.1D	9.4
1960	54.4	60.0	44.8	40.0	1.2R	4.9R	5.6
1962	52.1	59.4	47.1	40.6	2.3R	0.6R	7.3
1964	56.9	67.8	42.4	32.2	4.8D	8.4D	10.9
1966	50.5	57.0	48.0	43.0	6.0R	10.8R	6.5
1968	50.0	55.9	48.2	44.1	0.3R	1.1R	5.9
1970	53.0	58.6	44.5	41.4	3.4D	2.7D	5.6
1972	51.7	55.8	46.4	44.2	1.7R	2.8R	4.1
1974	57.1	66.9	40.5	33.1	5.8D	11.1D	9.8
1976	56.2	67.1	42.1	32.9	1.3R	0.2D	10.9
1978	53.4	63.7	44.7	36.3	2.8R	3.4R	10.3
1980	50.4	55.9	48.0	44.1	3.2R	7.8R	5.5
1982	55.2	61.8	43.3	38.2	5.2D	5.9D	6.6
1984	52.1	58.2	47.0	41.8	4.1R	3.6R	6.1
1986	54.5	59.3	44.6	40.7	2.4D	1.1D	4.8
1988	53.3	59.8	45.5	40.2	1.1R	0.5D	6.5
1990	52.9	61.4	45.0	38.4	0.1D	1.6D	8.5
1992	50.8	59.3	45.6	40.5	1.4R	2.1R	8.5
1994	45.4	46.9	52.4	52.9	6.3R	12.4R	1.5
1996	48.5	47.6	48.9	52.0	3.4D	0.7D	-0.9
1998	47.1	48.5	48.0	51.3	0.3R	0.9D	1.4
2000	47.0	48.7	47.3	50.8	0.3D	0.2D	1.7
2002	45.0	47.0	49.6	52.8	2.3R	2.0R	2.0
2004	46.6	46.4	49.2	53.4	1.1D	0.6R	-0.2
2006	52.0	53.6	45.6	46.4	5.4D	7.2D	1.6
2008	52.9	59.1	42.3	40.9	1.4D	5.5D	6.2
2010	44.8	44.4	51.4	55.6	9.0R	14.7R	-0.4
2012	48.3	46.2	46.9	53.8	4.1D	1.8D	-2.1
2014	45.5	43.2	50.6	56.8	3.4R	3.0R	-2.3

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2016	47.3	44.6	48.2	55.4	2.2D	1.4D	-2.7
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Note: Some data from earlier years/previous versions of Vital Statistics have been updated. See errata for more detail.

- a. The data show the percentage-point increase over previous election in votes or seats won by Republicans (R) or Democrats (D).
- b. Republican and Democratic percentages of all votes excludes districts in which candidates ran unopposed and no vote was recorded.
- c. Total percentage of seats won does not equal 100% due to the election of independents and/or rounding.

Source: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years)

Most recent update source: Tabulations of data from Federal Election Commission, <http://www.fec.gov>

Table 2-3 Net Party Gains in House and Senate Seats, General and Special Elections, 1946 - 2016

Year	General elections <sup>a</sup>		Special elections <sup>b</sup>		Year	General elections <sup>a</sup>		Special elections <sup>b</sup>	
	House	Senate	House	Senate		House	Senate	House	Senate
1946	56R	13R	2R (13)	3R (8)	1982	26D	1R		
1948	75D	9D	0 (16)	0 (3)	1984	14R	2D	1R (7)	1R (1)
1950	28R	5R	0 (10)	2R (6)	1986	5D	8D	0 (4)	1D (1)
1952	22R	1R	3R (13)	2R (4)	1988	2D	0	1R (6)	0 (0)
1954	19D	2D	2D (8)	0 (9)	1990	9D	1D	1D (11)	0 (1)
1956	2D	1D	0 (2)	2R (3)	1992	10R	0	1D (6)	2D (3) <sup>c</sup>
1958	49D	15D	0 (10)	1D (4)	1994	52R	8R <sup>d</sup>	2R (7)	1R (2)
1960	22R	2R	1R (7)	1D (3)	1996	3D <sup>e</sup>	2R	1R (5)	1D (1)
1962	1R	3D	0 (12)	0 (6)	1998	5D	0	0 (8)	0
1964	37D	1D	2R (9)	0 (2)	2000	2D	4D	0 (3)	0
1966	47R	4R	0 (8)	1R (3)	2002	8R	1R	1R (9) <sup>f</sup>	0
1968	5R	6R	1R (5)	0 (0)	2004	3R	4R	1D (3) <sup>g</sup>	0
1970	12D	2R	3D (9)	0 (2)	2006	31D	6D	0 (3)	0
1972	12R	2D	0 (9)	0 (2)	2008	21D	8D	3D (13) <sup>h</sup>	0 (0)
1974	49D	4D	4D (10)	0 (0)	2010	63R	6R	1R (11)	1R (1)
1976	1D	0	0 (6)	1D (1)	2012	8D	2D	0 (6)	0 (0)
1978	15R	3R	4R (6)	1R (2)	2014	13R	9R	0(5)	0(2)
1980	34R	12R	1R (6)	0 (0)	2016	6D	2D	0(4)	0(0)
			1D (8)	0 (0)				1D (7)	1D (1)

Note: D indicates Democrats; R indicates Republicans.

- a. The general election figure is the difference between the number of seats won by the party gaining seats in that election and the number of seats won by that party in the preceding general election.
- b. The special election figure is the net shift in seats held by the major parties as a result of special elections held between the two general elections. The figure does not include special elections held on the day of the general election. The number of special elections appears in parentheses.
- c. The total number of special elections (3) includes the special election of Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) to fill the seat to which John Seymour was temporarily appointed. The special election was held at the same time as the general election (November 3, 1992).
- d. Sen. Richard Shelby (AL) switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party the day after the election and brought the total Republican gain to nine.
- e. Between the two elections, six Representatives switched parties. When we consider those switches and special election Republican gains, the total 1996 Democratic gain was nine seats.
- f. Includes Ed Case (D-HI) who was elected November 30, 2002 after sine die adjournment of the House of Representatives, to fill Patsy Mink's chair (D-HI) in the 107th Congress.
- g. Includes Ed Case (D-HI) who was elected in a special election on January 4, 2003 to fill Patsy Mink's (D-HI) chair for the 108th Congress.
- h. Includes Marcia L. Fudge (D-OH) who was elected in a special election on November 18, 2008, to fill the remainder during the 110th Congress of the term of Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-OH) who died in office. Fudge was also elected in the general election on November 4, 2008, to serve in the 111th Congress.

Source: Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; National Journal, various issues, Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>; Clerk of the U.S. Senate, <http://clerk.senate.gov>.



Table 2-4 Losses by the President's Party in Midterm Elections, 1862 - 2014

Year	Party holding presidency	President's party gain/loss of seats in House	President's party gain/loss of seats in Senate	Year	Party holding presidency	President's party gain/loss of seats in House	President's party gain/loss of seats in Senate
1862	R	-3	8	1942	D	-44	-9
1866	R	-2	0	1946	D	-55	-12
1870	R	-31	-4	1950	D	-28	-5
1874	R	-96	-8	1954	R	-18	-1
1878	R	-9	-6	1958	R	-48	-12
1882	R	-33	3	1962	D	-4	2
1886	D	-15	3	1966	D	-48	-4
1890	R	-85	0	1970	R	-12	1
1894	D	-125	-4	1974	R	-48	-4
1898	R	-19	9	1978	D	-15	-3
1902	R	9 <sup>a</sup>	2	1982	R	-26	1
1906	R	-28	3	1986	R	-5	-8
1910	R	-57	-8	1990	R	-8	-1
1914	D	-61	5	1994	D	-54	-8 <sup>b</sup>
1918	D	-22	-6	1998	D	5	0
1922	R	-77	-6	2002	R	8	1
1926	R	-9	-6	2006	R	-30	-6
1930	R	-52	-8	2010	D	-63	-6
1934	D	9	10	2014	D	-13	-9
1938	D	-72	-7				

Note: D indicates Democrats; R indicates Republicans.

Each entry is the difference between the number of seats won by the president's party in that midterm election and the number of seats won by that party in the preceding general election. Because of changes in the overall number of seats in the Senate and House, in the number of seats won by third parties, and in the number of vacancies, a Republican loss is not always matched precisely by a Democratic gain, or vice versa. Data reflects immediate election results.

a. Although the Republicans gained nine seats in the 1902 elections, they actually lost ground to the Democrats, who gained twenty-five seats after the increase in the overall number of Representatives after the 1900 census.

b. Sen. Richard Shelby (AL) switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party the day following the election, so that the total loss was nine seats.

Source: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years), Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives, <http://clerk.house.gov>; Clerk of the U.S. Senate, <http://clerk.senate.gov>.

Table 2-5 House Seats That Changed Party, 1954 - 2016

Year	Total changes	Incumbent defeated		Open seat	
		D → R	R → D	D → R	R → D
1954	26	3	18	2	3
1956	20	7	7	2	4
1958	49	1	34	0	14
1960	37	23	2	6	6
1962	19	9	5	2	3
1964	55	5	39	3	8
1966	47	38	2	5	2
1968	11	5	0	2	4
1970	25	2	9	6	8
1972	21	8	3	6	4
1974	55	4	36	2	13
1976	22	7	5	3	7
1978	32	15	5	7	5
1980	41	28	3	9	1
1982	31	1	23	3	4
1984	22	13	3	5	1
1986	22	2	7	7	6
1988	9	2	4	1	2
1990	20	6	8	0	6
1992	43	19	12	10	2
1994	60	35	0	21	4
1996	31	3	16	9	3
1998	18	1	5	5	7
2000	18	2	4	6	6
2002	15	2	2	6	5
2004	13	6	2	2	3
2006	31	0	22	0	9
2008	31	5	14	0	12
2010	69	52	2	14	1
2012	29	4	15	7	3
2014	19	11	2	5	1
2016	13	1	6	2	3

Note: This table reflects shifts in party control of seats from immediately before to immediately after the November elections. It does not include party gains resulting from the creation of new districts and does not account for situations in which two districts were reduced to one, thus forcing incumbents to run against each other.

Party gains that resulted from an incumbent being defeated in either a primary or general election are classified as incumbent defeats. In situations where the incumbent declined to run again, ran for another political office, or died or resigned before the end of the term are classified as open seats.

Source: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years); Election 2012 Data: The Impact on the House (The Brookings Institution)., The Green Papers, <http://thegreenpapers.com>

Table 2-6 Senate Seats That Changed Party, 1954 - 2016

Year	Total changes	Incumbent defeated		Open seat	
		D → R	R → D	D → R	R → D
1954	6	2	3	1	0
1956	8	1	3	3	1
1958	13	0	10	0	3
1960	3	1	1	1	0
1962	8	2	4	0	2
1964	4	1	3	0	0
1966	3	2	0	1	0
1968	9	5	1	2	1
1970	6	3	2	1	0
1972	10	2	4	2	2
1974	6	0	2	1 <sup>a</sup>	3
1976	14	5	4	2	3
1978	13	5	3	3	2
1980	12	12	0	0	0
1982	3	1	1	0	1
1984	4	1	2	0	1
1986	10	0	7	1	2
1988	7	1	3	2	1
1990	1	0	1	0	0
1992	4	1	3	0	0
1994	8 <sup>b</sup>	2	0	6	0
1996	3	0	1	2	0
1998	6	1	2	2	1
2000	8	1	5	1	1
2002	3	1	1	1 <sup>c</sup>	0
2004	8	1	0	5	2
2006	6	0	6	0	0
2008	7	0	4 <sup>d</sup>	0	3
2010	6 <sup>e</sup>	2 <sup>f</sup>	0	4	0
2012	1	0	1	0	0
2014	9	5	0	4 <sup>g</sup>	0
2016	2	0	2	0	0

Note: D indicates Democrat; R indicates Republican.  
This table reflects shifts in party control of seats from immediately before to immediately after the November election.

Party gains that resulted from an incumbent being defeated in either a primary or general election are classified as incumbent defeats. In situations where the incumbent declined to run again, ran for another political office, or died or resigned before the end of the term are classified as open seats.

a. Includes John Durkin (D-NH). After a contested election in which incumbent Sen. Norris Cotton did not run, the Senate declared the seat vacant as of August 8, 1975. Sen. Durkin was then elected by special election, September 16, 1975, to fill the vacancy.

b. Sen. Richard Shelby (AL) switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party the day after the election and brought the total change to nine.

c. Includes Norm Coleman (R-MN) who beat Walter Mondale (D-MN) after the death of Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-MN).

d. Does not include Al Franken (D-MN), who was declared on 30 June 2009 to have won the US Senate contest defeating Incumbent Senator Norm Coleman (R-MN). This brings the R→D Incumbent Defeat up to 5, and the Total Changes up to 8.

e. Does not include Incumbent Senator Lisa Murkowski (R-AK), who lost her primary to Joe Miller (R-AK) but won the general election as a Republican write-in candidate.

f. Includes Pat Toomey (R-PA), who defeated Senator Arlen Specter (D-PA). Specter had changed his affiliation from Republican to Democrat in office on April 30, 2009.

g. Includes Montana Senate race, in which incumbent John Walsh withdrew from race after winning Democratic primary and was replaced at party convention.

Source: Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; National Journal, various issues, The Green Papers, <http://thegreenpapers.com>.

Table 2-7 House Incumbents Retired, Defeated, or Reelected, 1946 - 2016

Year	Retired <sup>a</sup>	Total seeking reelection	Defeated in primaries	Defeated in general election	Total reelected	Percentage of those seeking reelection	Reelected as percentage of House membership
1946	32	398	18	52	328	82.4	75.4
1948	29	400	15	68	317	79.3	72.9
1950	29	400	6	32	362	90.5	83.2
1952	42	389	9	26	354	91.0	81.4
1954	24	407	6	22	379	93.1	87.1
1956	21	411	6	16	389	94.6	89.4
1958	33	396	3	37	356	89.9	81.8
1960	26	405	5	25	375	92.6	86.2
1962	24	402	12	22	368	91.5	84.6
1964	33	397	8	45	344	86.6	79.1
1966	22	411	8	41	362	88.1	83.2
1968	23	409	4	9	396	96.8	91.0
1970	29	401	10	12	379	94.5	87.1
1972	40	393	11	13	365	92.9	83.9
1974	43	391	8	40	343	87.7	78.9
1976	47	384	3	13	368	95.8	84.6
1978	49	382	5	19	358	93.7	82.3
1980	34	398	6	31	361	90.7	83.0
1982	40	393	10	29	354	90.1	81.4
1984	22	411	3	16	392	95.4	90.1
1986	40	394	3	6	385	97.7	88.5
1988	23	409	1	6	402	98.3	92.4
1990	27	406	1	15	390	96.1	89.7
1992	65	368	19	24	325	88.3	74.7
1994	48	387	4	34	349	90.2	80.0
1996	49	384	2	21	361	94.0	83.0
1998	33	402	1	6	395	98.3	90.8
2000	30	403	3	6	394	97.8	90.6
2002	35	398 <sup>b</sup>	8	8	383 <sup>c</sup>	96.2	88.0
2004	29	404	2	7	395	97.8	90.8
2006	28	403	2	22	379	94.0	87.1
2008	25	400	4 <sup>d</sup>	18	377	94.3	86.7
2010	32	397	4	54	339	85.4	77.9
2012	25	391	13	27	351	89.8	80.7
2014	24	392	5	13	374	95.4	86.0
2016	41	392	4	8	380	96.9	87.4

Note: Some data from previous versions of Vital Statistics have been updated. See errata for more detail.

a. This entry does not include persons who died or resigned before the election.

b. Includes Jim Traficant (D- OH), who ran as an Independent in the election despite being expelled from the House of Representatives in July 2002.

c. Includes Patsy Mink (D-HI) who died shortly before the election yet remained on the ballot.

d. Includes Albert R. Wynn (D-MD) who lost his primary on February 13, 2008, and promptly resigned his seat effective May 31, 2008. Donna Edwards (D-MD) who won the primary and then won the special election to fill Wynn's seat for the remainder of the term is not counted as an incumbent in this table.

Source: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years), Center for Responsive Politics, <http://opensecrets.org>.

Most recent update source: Tabulations of data from Federal Election Commission, <http://www.fec.gov>



Table 2-8 Senate Incumbents Retired, Defeated, or Reelected, 1946 - 2016

Year	Not seeking reelection	Total seeking reelection <sup>a</sup>	Defeated in primaries	Defeated in general election	Total reelected	Reelected as percentage of those seeking reelection
1946	9	30	6	7	17	56.7
1948	8	25	2	8	15	60.0
1950	4	32	5	5	22	68.8
1952	4	29	1	10	18	62.1
1954	6	32	2	5	25	78.1
1956	5	30	0	4	26	86.7
1958	6	27	0	10	17	63.0
1960	5	29	0	2	27	93.1
1962	4	35	1	5	29	82.9
1964	3	32	0	4	28	87.5
1966	3	32	3	1	28	87.5
1968	7	27	4	4	19	70.4
1970	4	31	1	6	24	77.4
1972	6	27	2	5	20	74.1
1974	7	27	2	2	23	85.2
1976	8	25	0	9	16	64.0
1978	10	25	3	7	15	60.0
1980	5	29	4	9	16	55.2
1982	3	30	0	2	28	93.3
1984	4	29	0	3	26	89.7
1986	6	28	0	7	21	75.0
1988	6	27	0	4	23	85.2
1990	4	32	0	1	31	96.9
1992	9	28	1	4	23	82.1
1994	9	26	0	2	24	92.3
1996	13	21	1 <sup>b</sup>	1	19	90.5
1998	5	29	0	3	26	89.7
2000	5	29	0	6	23	79.3
2002	7	27	1	2	24	88.9
2004	8	26	0	1	25	96.2
2006	5	28	1 <sup>c</sup>	6	22	78.6
2008	5	30	0	5	25	83.3
2010	12	25	3 <sup>d</sup>	2	21	84.0
2012	10	23	1	1	21 <sup>e</sup>	91.3
2014	7 <sup>f</sup>	29	0	5	23 <sup>g</sup>	79.3
2016	5	29	0	2	27	93.1

Note: Table includes all Senate contests in a given year, whether for full or partial terms.

- a. This entry includes Senators who died or resigned before the election and those retiring at the end of their terms.
- b. Sheila Frahm, appointed to fill Robert Dole's term, is counted as an incumbent in Kansas's "B" seat.
- c. Sen. Joe Lieberman (CT) lost in the Democratic primary, but ran in the general election as an independent and won reelection.
- d. Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R-AK) lost her primary to Joe Miller (R-AK), but ran in the general election as a Republican write-in candidate and won reelection.
- e. Total includes Dean Heller (R-NV), who was appointed on May 9, 2011 and won reelection.
- f. Includes the resignation of Tom Coburn (R-OK) and the resulting special election to finish his term.
- g. John Walsh (D-MT) withdrew from race after primary and was replaced on the ballot at a party convention.

Source: Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; National Journal, various issues, Center for Responsive Politics, <http://opensecrets.org>.

Most recent update source: Tabulations of data from Federal Election Commission, <http://www.fec.gov>

Table 2-9 House and Senate Retirements by Party, 1930 - 2016

Year	House		Senate		Year	House		Senate	
	D	R	D	R		D	R	D	R
1930	8	15	2	5	1974	23	21	3	4
1932	16	23	1	1	1976	31	16	4	4
1934	29	9	3	1	1978	31	18	4	5
1936	29	3	4	2	1980	21	13	2	3
1938	21	5	3	1	1982	19	21	1	2
1940	16	6	1	2	1984	9	13	2	2
1942	20	12	0	0	1986	20	20	3	3
1944	17	5	3	2	1988	10	13	3	3
1946	17	15	4	3	1990	10	17	0	3
1948	17	12	3	4	1992	41	24	4	3
1950	12	17	3	1	1994	28	20	6	3
1952	25	17	2	1	1996	28	21	8	5
1954	11	13	1	1	1998	17	16	3	2
1956	7	13	4	1	2000	7	23	4	1
1958	6	27	0	6	2002	13	22	1	5 <sup>a</sup>
1960	11	15	3	1	2004	12	17	5	3
1962	10	14	2	2	2006	9	17	2	1
1964	17	16	1	1	2008	3	24	0	5
1966	14	8	1	2	2010	17	15	6	6
1968	13	10	4	3	2012	20	18	7 <sup>b</sup>	3
1970	11	19	3	1	2014	10	14	4	3
1972	20	20	3	3	2016	16	25	3	2

Note: D indicates Democrat; R indicates Republican.

These figures include members who did not run again for the office they held and members who sought other offices; the figures do not include members who died or resigned before the end of the particular Congress.

a. Includes Frank Murkowski (R-AK) who ran for governor, won and appointed Lisa Murkoswki to finish the last two years of his term.

b. This total includes Sen. Joe Lieberman (I-CT), who caucused with Democrats.

Source: Mildred L. Amer, "Information on the Number of House Retirees, 1930–1992," (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, Staff Report, May 19, 1992); Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, various issues; National Journal, various issues; Roll Call, Casualty List: 112th Congress., Center for Responsive Politics, <http://opensecrets.org>

Table 2-10 Defeated House Incumbents, 1946 - 2016

Election	Party	Incumbents lost	Average terms	Consecutive terms served						
				1	2	3	1 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	10+
1946	Democrat	62	2.7	35	5	4	44	11	5	2
	Republican	7	3.6	2	0	1	3	3	1	0
	Total	69	2.8	37	5	5	47	14	6	2
1948	Democrat <sup>a</sup>	9	2.7	4	1	1	6	3	0	0
	Republican	73	2.2	41	3	12	56	14	2	1
	Total	82	2.3	45	4	13	62	17	2	1
1958	Democrat <sup>b</sup>	6	5.0	1	1	0	2	2	1	1
	Republican	34	4.3	9	0	4	13	14	6	1
	Total	40	4.4	10	1	4	15	16	7	2
1966	Democrat	43	3.3	26	6	0	32	4	1	6
	Republican	2	11.0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Total	45	3.6	27	6	0	33	4	1	7
1974	Democrat	9	4.7	1	1	1	3	3	2	1
	Republican	39	3.8	11	2	6	19	15	2	3
	Total	48	4.0	12	3	7	22	18	4	4
1978	Democrat	19	4.0	3	8	2	13	2	1	3
	Republican	5	5.4	2	0	0	2	2	0	1
	Total	24	4.3	5	8	2	15	4	1	4
1980	Democrat	32	5.2	5	2	10	17	5	4	6
	Republican	5	5.3	1	0	1	2	1	1	1
	Total	37	5.2	6	2	11	19	6	5	7
1982	Democrat	4	2.9	1	0	1	2	2	0	0
	Republican <sup>c</sup>	23	3.0	12	3	2	17	2	2	2
	Total	27	3.0	13	3	3	19	4	2	2
1984	Democrat	16	4.1	6	1	2	9	4	1	2
	Republican	3	3.7	0	0	2	2	1	0	0
	Total	19	4.0	6	1	4	11	5	1	2
1986	Democrat	3	1.8	2	0	0	2	1	0	0
	Republican	6	1.5	4	1	1	6	0	0	0
	Total	9	1.6	6	1	1	8	1	0	0

Table 2-10 Defeated House Incumbents, 1946 - 2016

Election	Party	Incumbents lost	Average terms	Consecutive terms served						
				1	2	3	1 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	10+
1988	Democrat	2	12.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Republican	5	1.6	2	3	0	5	0	0	0
	Total	7	4.6	2	3	0	5	0	0	2
1990	Democrat	6	6.3	0	1	0	1	3	1	1
	Republican <sup>d</sup>	10	3.6	2	3	0	5	4	1	0
	Total	16	4.6	2	4	0	6	7	2	1
1992	Democrat	30	5.6	2	1	4	7	12	10	1
	Republican	13	6.8	2	0	2	4	1	6	2
	Total	43	6.0	4	1	6	11	13	16	3
1994	Democrat	37	4.2	16	3	5	24	7	2	4
	Republican	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	37	4.2	16	3	5	24	7	2	4
1996	Democrat <sup>e</sup>	3	4.7	1	0	1	2	0	0	1
	Republican	18	1.8	12	4	1	17	0	1	0
	Total	21	2.2	13	4	2	19	0	1	1
1998	Democrat	1	1.0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Republican	6	1.7	3	2	1	6	0	0	0
	Total	7	1.6	4	2	1	7	0	0	0
2000	Democrat	4	6.5	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
	Republican	5	2.4	1	2	1	4	1	0	0
	Total	9	4.2	1	2	2	5	1	1	1
2002	Democrat <sup>f</sup>	12	4.6	0	2	2	4	5	3	0
	Republican	5	4.8	2	0	0	2	1	1	1
	Total	17	4.7	2	2	2	6	6	4	1
2004	Democrat <sup>g</sup>	5	3	1	0	2	3	2	0	0
	Republican	2	9	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
	Total	7	4.7	2	0	2	4	2	0	1

Table 2-10 Defeated House Incumbents, 1946 - 2016

Election	Party	Incumbents lost	Average terms	Consecutive terms served						
				1	2	3	1 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	10+
2006	Democrat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Republican	22	5.9	2	2	2	6	9	3	4
	Total	22	5.9	2	2	2	6	9	3	4
2008	Democrat <sup>h</sup>	6	3.2	4	0	0	4	1	1	0
	Republican	17	4.4	3	2	4	6	4	3	1
	Total	23	4.1	7	2	4	13	5	4	1
2010	Democrat	54	3.8	23	15	3	41	1	4	7
	Republican <sup>i</sup>	4	1.5	3	0	1	4	0	0	0
	Total	58	3.6	26	15	4	45	1	4	7
2012	Democrat	10	6.2	2	2	1	5	2	1	2
	Republican	17	2.5	12	0	1	13	1	2	1
	Total	27	3.9	14	2	2	18	3	3	3
2014	Democrat	12	4.3	7	1	0	8	2	1	1
	Republican	6	6	2	1	0	3	0	2	1
	Total	18 <sup>j</sup>	4.8	9	2	0	11	2	3	2
2016	Democrat	3	7	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
	Republican	9	4.2	3	1	2	6	0	2	1
	Total	12	4.9	4	0	0	7	0	3	2

Note: The 1966 and 1982 numbers do not include races where incumbents ran against incumbents due to redistricting. We counted incumbents who lost in the primary as their party's incumbent but then ran in the general election as a write-in or third-party candidate as an incumbent loss.

- a. This includes Leo Isacson (NY), who was a member of the American Labor Party.
- b. This includes Vincent Dellay (NJ), who was elected as a Republican but switched to a Democrat. He ran for reelection as an Independent.
- c. This includes Eugene Atkinson (PA), who began his House service January 3, 1979, as a Democrat. He became a Republican on October 14, 1981.
- d. This includes Donald Lukens (OH) who was defeated in the primary and then resigned on October 24, 1990 and Bill Grant (Fla.) who began his House service January 6, 1987, as a Democrat, but later switched parties. The Republican Conference let his seniority count from 1987.
- e. One Democratic incumbent, who served more than ten terms in office, was defeated.
- f. Includes Jim Traficant (OH) who ran as an Independent after being expelled from the House.
- g. Excludes two 13-term representatives, Charles Stenholm (TX) and Martin Frost (TX), that ran against incumbents as a result of redistricting.
- h. Includes Albert R. Wynn (D-MD) who lost his primary on February 13, 2008, and promptly resigned his seat effective May 31, 2008.
- i. Includes Parker Griffith (AL) who began his House service January 3, 2009, as a Democrat but switched to a Republican on December 22, 2009.
- j. Excludes the defeat of Eni Faleomavaega (D-Samoa) seeking 14th term as a non-voting delegate.

Source: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774-2012, <http://bioguide.congress.gov>; Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years); Roll Call, Casualty List: 112th Congress, Center for Responsive Politics, <http://opensecrets.org>



Table 2-11 Defeated Senate Incumbents, 1946 - 2016

Election	Party	Incumbents lost	Average terms	Consecutive terms served					
				1	2	3	4	5	6+
1946	Democrat	11	1.6	7	2	1	1	0	0
	Republican	2	4.0	0	0	0	2	0	0
	Total	13	2.0	7	2	1	3	0	0
1948	Democrat	2	1.5	1	1	0	0	0	0
	Republican	8	1.0	8	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	10	1.1	9	1	0	0	0	0
1958	Republican	10	1.4	6	4	0	0	0	0
	Total	10	1.4	6	4	0	0	0	0
1966	Democrat	4	2.0	2	0	2	0	0	0
	Total	4	2.0	2	0	2	0	0	0
1974	Democrat	2	3.0	1	0	0	0	1	0
	Republican	2	1.5	1	1	0	0	0	0
	Total	4	2.2	2	1	0	0	1	0
1978	Democrat	7	0.9	6	0	1	0	0	0
	Republican	3	2.7	0	2	0	1	0	0
	Total	10	1.4	6	2	1	1	0	0
1980	Democrat	12	2.4	5	1	3	2	0	1
	Republican	1	4.0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Total	13	2.6	5	1	3	3	0	1
1982	Democrat	1	4.0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Republican	1	1.0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	2	2.5	1	0	0	1	0	0
1984	Democrat	1	2.0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Republican	2	2.0	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Total	3	2.0	1	1	1	0	0	0
1986	Republican <sup>a</sup>	7	0.9	7	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	7	0.9	7	0	0	0	0	0
1988	Democrat	1	2.0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Republican	3	1.4	2	0	1	0	0	0
	Total	4	1.6	2	1	1	0	0	0
1990	Republican	1	2.0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Total	1	2.0	0	1	0	0	0	0

Table 2-11 Defeated Senate Incumbents, 1946 - 2016

Election	Party	Incumbents lost	Average terms	Consecutive terms served					
				1	2	3	4	5	6+
1992	Democrat	3	1.3	2	1	0	0	0	0
	Republican	2	1.2	1	1	0	0	0	0
	Total	5	1.3	3	2	0	0	0	0
1994	Democrat	2	1.8	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Total	2	1.8	1	0	1	0	0	0
1996	Republican <sup>c</sup>	2	1.5	1	0	1	0	0	0
	Total	2	1.5	1	0	1	0	0	0
1998	Democrat	1	1.0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Republican	2	2.0	1	1	0	0	0	0
	Total	3	1.7	2	1	0	0	0	0
2000	Democrat	1	2.0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Republican	5	2.0	3	1	0	0	1	0
	Total	6	2.0	3	2	0	0	1	0
2002	Democrat <sup>d</sup>	2	0.7	2	0	0	0	0	0
	Republican	2	1.5	1	1	0	0	0	0
	Total	4	1.3	3	1	0	0	0	0
2004	Democrat	1	3.0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Republican	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	1	3.0	0	0	1	0	0	0
2006	Republican	5	1.8	2	2	1	0	0	0
	Total	5	1.8	2	2	1	0	0	0
2008	Republican	5	2.2	3	1	0	0	0	1
	Total	5	2.2	3	1	0	0	0	1
2010	Democrat	3	3.3	0	1	1	0	1	0
	Republican	1	3.0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Total	4	3.3	0	1	2	0	1	0
2012	Republican	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
2014	Democrat <sup>e</sup>	5	2.0	3	0	1	1	0	0
	Republican	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	5	2.0	3	0	1	1	0	0
2016	Republican	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0

Note: Some data from previous versions of Vital Statistics have been updated. See errata for more detail.

a. This includes James Broyhill (R-NC) who was appointed on July 14, 1986, until November 14, 1986. He lost to Terry Sanford (D-NC) who took over the seat on November 5, 1986.

b. Includes John Seymour (R-CA) who was appointed on January 7, 1991, until November 3, 1992.

c. Includes Sheila Frahm (R-KS) who was appointed on June 11, 1996 until November 7, 1996.

d. Includes Jean Carnahan (D-MO) who was appointed to fill her husband's seat in 2001.

e. Does not include John Walsh (D-MT) who withdrew from the race after the primary and was replaced on the ballot.

Source: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years).

Most recent update source: Tabulations of data from Federal Election Commission, <http://www.fec.gov>

House Elections Won with 60 Percent of Major  
 Table 2-12 Party Vote, 1956 - 2016

Year	Number of incumbents running in general election	Percentage of incumbents reelected with at least 60 percent of the major party vote
1956	403	59.1
1958	390	63.1
1960	400	58.9
1962	376	63.6
1964	388	58.5
1966	401	67.7
1968	397	72.2
1970	389	77.3
1972	373	77.8
1974	383	66.4
1976	381	71.9
1978	377	78.0
1980	392	72.9
1982	383	68.9
1984	406	74.6
1986	391	86.4
1988	407	88.5
1990	406	76.4
1992	349	65.6
1994	383	64.5
1996	383	73.6
1998	401	75.6
2000	400	77.3
2002	391 <sup>a</sup>	85.4
2004	402	81.6
2006	403	80.9
2008	399	78.4
2010	390	70.8
2012	378	68.8
2014	387	77.3
2016	388	76.8

a. Includes Jim Traficant (D-OH) who ran as an Independent after being expelled from the House of Representatives.

Source: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years); Election 2012 Data: The Impact on the House (The Brookings Institution).

Most recent update source:  
Tabulations of data from Federal Election Commission,  
<http://www.fec.gov>

Table 2-13 Senate Elections Won with 60 Percent of Major Party Vote,  
1944 - 2016

Election Period	Number of incumbents running in general election	<b>Percentage of incumbents reelected with at least 60 percent of the major party vote<sup>a</sup></b>		
		South	North	Total U.S.
1944 - 1948	61	100.0	22.9	39.3
1950 - 1954	76	100.0	18.3	35.5
1956 - 1960	84	95.5	24.2	42.9
1962 - 1966	86	70.0	36.4	44.2
1968 - 1972	74	71.4	38.3	44.6
1974 - 1978	70	57.1	37.5	41.4
1980 - 1984 <sup>b</sup>	84	63.3	51.9	54.1
1986 - 1990	87	68.2	53.9	57.5
1992 - 1996	72	50.0	32.1	36.6
1998 - 2002	85	51.5	62.3	57.6
2004 - 2008	83	61.5	69	68.5
2010 - 2014	72	40.9	56	51.4
2016	29	42.9	66.7	60.7

a. For the purposes of this table, Senators appointed to the Senate are not considered incumbents in the elections just after appointment. Southern senators are from AL, AR, FL, GA, LA, MS, NC, SC, TN, TX, and VA; all other senators are counted under northern.

b. Includes two Democratic incumbents from Louisiana, who by winning more than 50 percent of the vote in that state's all-party primary, avoided a general election contest. In 1980, Russell Long won 59.8 percent of the vote, and in 1984, J. Bennett Johnston won 86 percent of the vote.

Source: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years).

Most recent update source: Tabulations of data from Federal Election Commission, <http://www.fec.gov>

Table 2-14 Marginal Races Among Members of the 115th Congress, 2016

Chamber	Members who won the congressional election by 60 percent or less		Members who won the congressional election by 55 percent or less	
	Number	Percentage <sup>a</sup>	Number	Percentage
House	112	25.7	33	7.6
Senate	52	52	28	28



Note: Members winning with fewer than 55% are included among those winning with fewer than 60%. Vote shares used in calculations are of two-party vote.

a. Includes all campaigns (including special elections after resignations). Excludes appointments without election. Thus, numbers do not total to 100 and 435, respectively.

Source: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years); Election 2012 Data: The Impact on the House (The Brookings Institution); Federal Election Commission.

Most recent update source: Tabulations of data from Federal Election Commission, <http://www.fec.gov>

Table 2-15

## Conditions of Initial Election for Members of the 115th Congress, 2017

Condition	House				Senate		
	Democrats	Republicans	Total	Percentage of entire House	Democrats	Republicans	Total
Defeated incumbent							
In primary	12	14	26	6.0	0	1	1
In general election	32	46	78	17.9	16	12	28
Succeeded retiring incumbent							
Of same party	107	125	232	53.3	22	26	48
Of other party	23	43	66	15.2	8	12	20
Succeeded deceased incumbent							
Of same party	11	4	15	3.4	2	1	3
Of other party	0	2	2	0.5	0	0	0
New districts	9	7	16	3.7	-	-	-
Total	194	241	435		48	52	100

Source: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989); Congressional Quarterly Almanac (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years).

Table 2-16 Ticket Splitting between Presidential and House Candidates, 1900-2016

Year	Districts <sup>b</sup>	Districts with split results <sup>a</sup>	
		Number	Percentage
1900	295	10	3.4
1904	310	5	1.6
1908	314	21	6.7
1912	333	84	25.2
1916	333	35	10.5
1920	344	11	3.2
1924	356	42	11.8
1928	359	68	18.9
1932	355	50	14.1
1936	361	51	14.1
1940	362	53	14.6
1944	367	41	11.2
1948	422	90	21.3
1952	435	84	19.3
1956	435	130	29.9
1960	437	114	26.1
1964	435	145	33.3
1968	435	139	32.0
1972	435	192	44.1
1976	435	124	28.5
1980	435	143	32.8
1984	435	190	43.7
1988	435	148	34.0
1992	435	110	24.1
1996	435	109	25.1
2000	435	86	19.8
2004	435	58	13.6
2008	435	83	19.1
2012	435	26	6.0
2016	435	35	8.0

- a. These are congressional districts carried by a presidential candidate of one party and a House candidate of another party.
- b. Before 1952 complete data are not available on every congressional district.

Source: Congressional Quarterly Almanac and CQ Voting and Elections Collection (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years). For 2000, Gregory Giroux, Congressional Quarterly; Presidential Results by Congressional Districts (Daily Kos Elections); Election 2012 Data: The Impact on the House (The Brookings Institution).

Most recent update source: Presidential Results by Congressional Districts (Daily Kos Elections)

Table 2-17 District Voting for President and Representative,  
1952 - 2016

Year	Number of districts carried by president <sup>a</sup>	President's vote compared with vote for his party's successful House candidates	
		President ran ahead	President ran behind
1952	297	n.a.	n.a.
1956	329	155	43
1960	204	22	243
1964	375	134 <sup>b</sup>	158 <sup>b</sup>
1972	377	104	88
1976	220	22	270
1980	309	38 <sup>c</sup>	150 <sup>c</sup>
1984	372	59	123
1988	299	26	149
1992	254	5 <sup>d</sup>	253 <sup>d</sup>
1996	281	45 <sup>e</sup>	162 <sup>e</sup>
2000	228	26	195
2004	256	39	192
2008	242	36 <sup>b</sup>	207 <sup>b</sup>
2012	209	61	137
2016	230	26	203

Note: Some data from earlier years/previous versions of Vital Statistics have been updated. See errata for more detail.

a. This refers to the winning presidential candidate. "President ran ahead" and "president ran behind" include districts where the congressional candidate of the presidents' party wins and the president loses the district.

b. This does not include districts where the percentage of the total district vote won by House members equaled the percentage of the total district vote won by the president.

c. We computed this on the basis of the actual presidential vote with John Anderson and others included. If it is recomputed on the basis of President Reagan's percentage of the major party vote, the president ran ahead in 59 districts and behind in 129 districts.

d. We computed this on the basis of the actual presidential vote with Ross Perot included. If we recomputed this on the basis of President Clinton's percentage of the major party vote, the president ran ahead in 61 districts and behind in 197 districts.

e. We computed this on the basis of the actual presidential vote with Ross Perot included. If we recomputed this on the basis of President Clinton's percentage of the major party vote, the president ran ahead in 102 districts and behind in 105 districts.

Source: Congressional Quarterly Almanac and CQ Voting and Elections Collection (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); National Journal, various issues; The Almanac of American Politics (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, various years). For 2000, Gregory Giroux, Congressional Quarterly; Presidential Results by Congressional Districts (Daily Kos Elections); Election 2012 Data: The Impact on the House (The Brookings Institution).

Most recent update source: Presidential Results by Congressional Districts (Daily Kos Elections)

Table 2-18 Shifts in Democratic Major Party Vote in Congressional Districts, 1956 - 2016

Period	Change in democratic percentage nationally	Change in Democratic percentage in congressional districts		
		Greatest loss	Greatest gain	Variance <sup>a</sup>
1956-58	5.0	-9.5	27.3	30.3
1958-60	-1.2	-22.1	14.4	31.4
1972-74	5.8	-18.8	36.2	92.2
1974-76	-1.3	-30.7	31.6	81.0
1976-78	-2.8	-37.6	39.6	106.1
1978-80	-3.2	-27.8	37.0	85.0
1982-84	-4.1	-40.6	16.5	68.8
1984-86	2.4	-46.1	22.5	63.6
1986-88	-1.1	-23.5	36.1	65.9
1988-90	0.1	-29.1	36.4	92.6
1992-94	-6.3	-38.0	28.0	67.2
1994-96	3.4	-31.2	21.5	51.1
1996-98	-0.3	-16.3	21.0	46.0
1998-2000	0.3	-28.7	27.0	41.2
2002-04	1.1	-28.0	22.8	36.7
2006-08	1.4	-41.1	30.8	48.0
2008-10	-9.0	-27.7	40.7	49.4
2012-14	-3.4	-20.3	18.0	18.4
2014-16	2.2	-25	22.6	25.4



Note: Includes only those districts in which two major party candidates competed in both elections and in which the boundaries remained unchanged for both elections. Because of massive redrawing of district lines after each decennial census, no figures are computed for 1970-1972, 1980-1982, 1990-1992, 2000-2002 and 2010-2012.

Some data from earlier years/previous versions of Vital Statistics have been updated. See errata for more detail.

a. Variance, the square of the standard deviation, measures the extent to which the changes in local returns differ from the change in national returns.

Source: For 2000-2004, computed by Gary Jacobson, University of California, San Diego. Other data from Gregory Giroux, Congressional Quarterly.

Most recent update source: CQ Voting and Elections Collection and the Federal Election Commission, <http://www.fec.gov>.

Table 2-19 Party-Line Voting in Presidential and Congressional Elections, 1956 - 2016 (as a percentage of all voters)

Year	Presidential election			Senate elections			House elections		
	Party-line voters <sup>a</sup>	Defectors <sup>b</sup>	Pure independents <sup>c</sup>	Party-line voters <sup>a</sup>	Defectors <sup>b</sup>	Pure independents <sup>c</sup>	Party-line voters <sup>a</sup>	Defectors <sup>b</sup>	Pure independents <sup>c</sup>
1956	76	15	9	79	12	9	82	9	9
1958				85	9	5	84	11	5
1960	79	13	8	77	15	8	80	12	8
1962				n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	83	12	6
1964	79	15	5	78	16	6	79	15	5
1966				n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	76	16	8
1968	69	23	9	74	19	7	74	19	7
1970				78	12	10	76	16	8
1972	67	25	8	69	22	9	75	17	8
1974				73	19	8	74	18	8
1976	74	15	11	70	19	11	72	19	9
1978				71	20	9	69	22	9
1980	70	22	8	71	21	8	69	23	8
1982				77	17	6	76	17	6
1984	81	12	7	72	19	8	70	23	7
1986				76	20	4	72	22	6
1988	81	12	7	72	20	7	74	20	7
1990				75	20	5	72	22	5
1992	68	24	9	73	20	7	70	22	8
1994				76	18	5	77	17	6
1996	80	15	5	77	16	7	77	17	6
1998				77	15	8	74	20	6
2000	81	11	7	80	13	7	76	17	6
2002				82	14	4	78	18	4
2004	85	10	6	81	14	5	80	15	6
2006				83	8	9	80	11	9
2008	85	9	10	81	12	7	81	13	6
2010				86	9	5	84	10	7
2012	84	7	9	82	9	9	84	9	8
2014				83	11	6	81	10	8
2016	83	8	9	79	13	8	78	14	8

Note: Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

- a. These are party identifiers who voted for the candidate of their party.
- b. These are party identifiers who vote for the candidate of the other party.
- c. The SRC/CPS National Election Surveys use a seven-point scale to define party identification, including three categories of Independents--those who "lean" to one or the other party and those who are "pure" Independents. The "leaners" are included here among the party-line voters. Party identification here means self-identification as determined by surveys.

Source: For 2000-2004, Gary Jacobson, University of California, San Diego. Data from Gregory Giroux, Congressional Quarterly. Data for 2006, 2010 and 2014 were compiled from the Cooperative Congressional Election Study, while the remainder of the data come from the American National Election Studies.

Most recent update source: American National Election Study (for 2016) and Cooperative Congressional Election Study (for 2014)