

# Gubernatorial Elections, Campaigns and Winning Governors

By Thad Beyle

*Governors continue to be at the forefront of governmental activity in the 21st century. They are in the middle of addressing the problems facing the country's weak economy. The demands on governors to propose state budgets and keep them in balance have continued to increase greatly since the recession began as severe revenue shortfalls hit the states. This places severe limits on the states' abilities to address many growing needs of people and businesses trying to live through such tough times. The varying political viewpoints on what and how state government should work on this continuing set of problems only makes it harder for elected leaders to achieve agreements over policy needs and governmental responsibilities.*

## 2013 Gubernatorial Politics

Two states—New Jersey and Virginia—hold gubernatorial elections in the first year of a presidential term. In New Jersey, incumbent Republican Gov. Chris Christie won his second term and he also has been busy working on his bid to be the Republican candidate for the 2016 presidential election. In Virginia, Democrat Terry McAuliffe won the gubernatorial election in a state where each election is for an open seat, as the winner is term-limited and serves only a single term. One other change took place in 2013 as Rhode Island Gov. Lincoln Chafee changed his party affiliation from Independent to Democrat.

Thus the partisan control of governor's seats changed from the 2012 post-election setting of 30 Republicans, 19 Democrats and one Independent to the 2013 post-election setting of 29 Republicans and 21 Democrats serving as governors.

## Gubernatorial Elections

As seen in Table A, incumbents were eligible to seek another term in 446 of the 590 gubernatorial contests—75.6 percent—held between 1970 and 2013. In those contests, 349 sought re-election (78.25 percent), and 267 succeeded (76.5 percent). Those who were defeated were more likely to lose in the general election than in their own party primary by a 3-to-1 ratio. Since 2000, four incumbent governors lost their bid in a party primary—in 2004, Missouri Gov. Bob Holden, a Democrat, and Utah Gov. Olene Walker, a Republican; in 2006 Alaska Gov. Frank Murkowski, a Republican; and in 2010, Nevada Gov. Jim Gibbons, a Republican. In three of these losses, the winning Republican candidate in the party primary also won the general election: In 2004, Jon Huntsman (Utah); in 2006, Sarah Palin (Alaska); and in 2010 Brian Sandoval

(Nevada). Only one of these losses was tied to that party's loss in the general election: In 2004, Missouri switched parties when Republican Matt Blunt defeated Democratic Gov. Bob Holden.

Democratic candidates held an edge in 317 of these 590 elections (53.7 percent) occurring between 1970 and 2013. In 223 of these races (37.7 percent), the results led to a party shift. Party shifts have evened out over the years so that neither of the two major parties has had an edge during the past four decades of gubernatorial elections.

Between 1970 and 1992, Democrats won 200 of the 324 races for governor (62 percent). From 1993 to 2003, the Republicans leveled the playing field by winning 85 of the 145 races for governor (59 percent). From 2004 to 2013, there was a virtual tie in the 120 races, with the Republicans winning 60 (50 percent), the Democrats winning 59 (49.2 percent) and an Independent winning a single race (0.8 percent).

In the first decade of the 21st century, many new faces filled the governor's mansions. From 2000 to 2009, new governors won in 61 of the 118 elections (51.7 percent). Nine new governors took office after the incumbent vacated the office from 2000 to 2009.<sup>1</sup> During the previous decade, 70 new governors were sworn into office.

In the first four years of the current decade, the considerable turnover among governors continued. In 2010, 26 new governors were elected in 37 races, and two other governors succeeded to the office upon the resignation of the incumbent to take over as one of the state's new U.S. senators.<sup>2</sup>

Of the four gubernatorial elections held in 2011, one new governor was elected—Mississippi's Phil Bryant, a Republican. West Virginia's successor, Democratic Gov. Earl Ray Tomblin, won a special

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**Table A: Gubernatorial Elections: 1970–2013**

Year	Number of races	Number of incumbent governors											
		Democratic winner		Eligible to run		Actually ran		Won		Lost			
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	In primary	In general election
1970	35	22	63%	29	83%	24	83%	16	64%	8	36%	1 (a)	7 (b)
1971	3	3	100	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1972	18	11	61	15	83	11	73	7	64	4	36	2 (c)	2 (d)
1973	2	1	50	1	50	1	100	...	...	1	100	1 (e)	...
1974	35	27 (f)	77	29	83	22	76	17	77	5	24	1 (g)	4 (h)
1975	3	3	100	2	66	2	100	2	100	...	...	...	...
1976	14	9	64	12	86	8	67	5	63	3	33	1 (i)	2 (j)
1977	2	1	50	1	50	1	100	1	100	...	...	...	...
1978	36	21	58	29	81	23	79	16	73	7	30	2 (k)	5 (l)
1979	3	2	67	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1980	13	6	46	12	92	12	100	7	58	5	42	2 (m)	3 (n)
1981	2	1	50	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1982	36	27	75	33	92	25	76	19	76	6	24	1 (o)	5 (p)
1983	3	3	100	1	33	1	100	...	...	1	100	1 (q)	...
1984	13	5	38	9	69	6	67	4	67	2	33	...	2 (r)
1985	2	1	50	1	50	1	100	1	100	...	...	...	...
1986	36	19	53	24	67	18	75	15	83	3	18	1 (s)	2 (t)
1987	3	3	100	2	67	1	50	...	...	1	100	1 (u)	...
1988	12	5	42	9	75	9	100	8	89	1	11	...	1 (v)
1989	2	2	100	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1990	36	19 (w)	53	33	92	23	70	17	74	6	26	...	6 (x)
1991	3	2	67	2	67	2	100	...	...	2	100	1 (y)	1 (z)
1992	12	8	67	9	75	4	44	4	100	...	...	...	...
1993	2	0	0	1	50	1	100	...	...	1	100	...	1 (aa)
1994	36	11 (bb)	31	30	83	23	77	17	74	6	26	2 (cc)	4 (dd)
1995	3	1	33	2	67	1	50	1	100	...	...	...	...
1996	11	7	64	9	82	7	78	7	100	...	...	...	...
1997	2	0	0	1	50	1	100	1	100	...	...	...	...
1998	36	11 (ee)	31	27	75	25	93	23	92	2	8	...	2 (ff)
1999	3	2	67	2	67	2	100	2	100	...	...	...	...
2000	11	8	73	7	88	6	86	5	83	1	17	...	1 (gg)
2001	2	2	100	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2002	36	14	39	22	61	16	73	12	75	4	25	...	4 (hh)
2003	4 (ii)	1	25	2	50	2	100	...	...	2	100	...	2 (jj)
2004	11	6	55	11	100	8	73	4	50	4	50	2 (kk)	2 (ll)
2005	2	2	100	1	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2006	36	20	56	31	86	27	87	25	93	2	7	1 (mm)	1 (nn)
2007	3	1	33	3	100	2	67	1	50	1	50	...	1 (oo)
2008	11	7	64	9	82	8	89	8	100	...	...	...	...
2009	2	0	0	1	50	1	100	...	...	1	100	...	1 (pp)
2010	37	13	35	22	60	14	64	11	79	3	21	1 (qq)	2 (rr)
2011	4	2	50	3	75	3	100	3	100	0	0	0	0
2012	12	7	58	8	67	7	88	7	100	...	...	...	...
2013	2	1	50	1	50	1	50	1	50	0	0	0	0
<b>Totals:</b>													
Number	590	317		446		349		267		82		21	61
Percent	100	53.7		75.6		78.25		76.5		23.6		25.6	74.4

Source: The Council of State Governments, *The Book of the States, 2012*, (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments, 2012), 204, updated.

**Key:**

- (a) Albert Brewer, D-Ala.
- (b) Keith Miller, R-Alaska; Winthrop Rockefeller, R-Ark.; Claude Kirk, R-Fla.; Don Samuelson, R-Idaho; Norbert Tieman, R-Neb.; Dewey Bartlett, R-Okla.; Frank Farrar, R-S.D.
- (c) Walter Peterson, R-N.H.; Preston Smith, D-Texas.
- (d) Russell Peterson, R-Del.; Richard Ogilvie, R-Ill.
- (e) William Cahill, R-N.J.
- (f) One independent candidate won: James Longley of Maine.
- (g) David Hall, D-Okla.
- (h) John Vanderhoof, R-Colo.; Francis Sargent, R-Mass.; Malcolm Wilson, R-N.Y.; John Gilligan, D-Ohio.

- (i) Dan Walker, D-Ill.
- (j) Sherman Tribbitt, D-Del.; Christopher 'Kit' Bond, R-Mo.
- (k) Michael Dukakis, D-Mass.; Dolph Briscoe, D-Texas.
- (l) Robert F. Bennett, R-Kan.; Rudolph G. Perpich, D-Minn.; Meldrim Thompson, R-N.H.; Robert Straub, D-Ore.; Martin J. Schreiber, D-Wis.
- (m) Thomas L. Judge, D-Mont.; Dixy Lee Ray, D-Wash.
- (n) Bill Clinton, D-Ark.; Joseph P. Teasdale, D-Mo.; Arthur A. Link, D-N.D.
- (o) Edward J. King, D-Mass.
- (p) Frank D. White, R-Ark.; Charles Thone, R-Neb.; Robert F. List, R-Nev.; Hugh J. Gallen, D-N.H.; William P. Clements, R-Texas.
- (q) David Treen, R-La.

Footnotes are continued on the next page.

**Table A: Gubernatorial Elections: 1970–2013, Footnotes Continued**

<p>(r) Allen I. Olson, R-N.D.; John D. Spellman, R-Wash.  (s) Bill Sheffield, D-Alaska.  (t) Mark White, D-Texas; Anthony S. Earl, D-Wis.  (u) Edwin Edwards, D-La.  (v) Arch A. Moore, R-W.Va.  (w) Two Independent candidates won: Walter Hickel (Alaska) and Lowell Weiker (Conn.). Both were former statewide Republican office holders.  (x) Bob Martinez, R-Fla.; Mike Hayden, R-Kan.; James Blanchard, D-Mich.; Rudy Perpich, DFL-Minn.; Kay Orr, R-Neb.; Edward DiPrete, R-R.I.  (y) Buddy Roemer, R-La.  (z) Ray Mabus, D-Miss.  (aa) James Florio, D-N.J.  (bb) One Independent candidate won: Angus King of Maine.  (cc) Bruce Sundlun, D-R.I.; Walter Dean Miller, R-S.D.  (dd) James E. Folsom Jr., D-Ala.; Bruce King, D-N.M.; Mario Cuomo, D-N.Y.; Ann Richards, D-Texas.</p>	<p>(ee) Two Independent candidates won: Angus King of Maine and Jesse Ventura of Minnesota.  (ff) Fob James, R-Ala.; David Beasley, R-S.C.  (gg) Cecil Underwood, R-W.Va.  (hh) Don Siegelman, D-Ala.; Roy Barnes, D-Ga.; Jim Hodges, D-S.C.; and Scott McCallum, R-Wis.  (ii) The California recall election and replacement vote of 2003 is included in the 2003 election totals and as a general election for the last column.  (jj) Gray Davis, D-Calif.; Ronnie Musgrove, D-Miss.  (kk) Bob Holden, D-Mo.; Olene Walker, R-Utah, lost in the pre-primary convention.  (ll) Joe Kernan, D-Ind.; Craig Benson, R-N.H.  (mm) Frank Murkowski, R-Alaska.  (nn) Robert Ehrlich, R-Md.  (oo) Ernie Fletcher, R-Ky.  (pp) Jon Corzine, D-N.J.  (qq) Jim Gibbons, R-Nev.  (rr) Chet Culver, D-Iowa; Ted Strickland, D-Ohio.</p>
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election by a narrow 2.3-point margin to fill out former Gov. Joe Manchin's remaining term. In the two other 2011 gubernatorial elections, both incumbents won their second terms.<sup>3</sup> In 2012, five new governors were elected.<sup>4</sup>

In sum, in the 55 gubernatorial elections of 2010–13, 33 new governors were elected (60 percent), while 22 governors won re-election (40 percent).

### The New Governors

During the 2010–13 gubernatorial elections and resignations, new governors took several routes to the office. Eighteen new governors had previously held elected non-statewide offices. These include:

- Seven former members of Congress: Hawaii Gov. Neal Abercrombie and Washington Gov. Jay Inslee, both Democrats, and Georgia Gov. Nathan Deal, Indiana Gov. Mike Pence, Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal, Ohio Gov. John Kasich and Oklahoma Gov. Mary Fallin, all Republicans.
- Five mayors or former mayors: Colorado Gov. John Hickenlooper, Denver, and Connecticut Gov. Dannel Malloy, Stamford—both Democrats; and Maine Gov. Paul LePage, Waterville; North Carolina Gov. Pat McCrory, Charlotte; and Tennessee Gov. Bill Haslam, Knoxville—all Republicans.
- Four state legislators: South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley, a Republican state representative; New Hampshire Gov. Maggie Wood Hassan, a Democratic senate majority leader; plus Vermont Gov. Peter Shumlin and West Virginia Gov. Earl Ray Tomblin, both Democratic state senate leaders.

- Two county officials: New Mexico Gov. Susana Martinez, district attorney; and Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker, county CEO—both Republicans.

Seven new governors followed a unique path to the governorship. These include:

- Three former federal attorneys or judges: New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie, a former U.S. attorney; Nevada Gov. Brian Sandoval, a former federal district court judge; and Wyoming Gov. Matt Mead, a former U.S. attorney—all Republicans.
- Three businessmen: Florida Gov. Rick Scott, a health care company executive, and Michigan Gov. Rick Snyder, a venture capitalist in computers—both Republicans; and Virginia Gov. Terry McAuliffe, a diverse businessman and a Democrat.
- One doctor: Alabama Gov. Robert Bentley, a dermatologist and a Republican.

Two new governors have a family heritage tied to the office, as their fathers also served as the state's top executive. New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo is the son of Mario Cuomo, who was elected in 1982, 1986 and 1990. Rhode Island Gov. Lincoln Chafee is the son of John Chafee, who was elected in 1962, 1964 and 1966. All are Democrats.

In the past 480 gubernatorial races between 1977 and 2013, candidates held a variety of political office prior to seeking the governor's office. Among the candidates were 118 lieutenant governors (33 won), 105 attorneys general (30 won), 35 secretaries of state (eight won), 29 state treasurers (eight won) and 19 state auditors or comptrollers (three won). Looking at these numbers from a bettor's point

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**Table B: Total Cost of Gubernatorial Elections: 1977–2013 (in thousands of dollars)**

Year	Number of races	Total campaign costs		Average cost per state (2013\$)(b)
		Actual \$	2013\$ (a)	
1977	2	\$12,312	\$47,336	\$23,668
1978	36 (c)	102,342	365,638	10,157
1979	3	32,744	105,050	35,017
1980	13	35,634	100,746	7,750
1981	2	24,648	63,168	31,584
1982	36	181,832	438,890	12,191
1983	3	39,966	93,466	31,155
1984	13	47,156	105,731	8,133
1985	2	18,859	40,829	20,415
1986	36	270,605	575,143	15,976
1987	3	40,212	82,452	27,484
1988	12 (d)	52,208	102,812	8,568
1989	2	47,902	89,991	44,995
1990	36	345,493	615,742	17,104
1991	3	34,564	59,114	19,705
1992	12	60,278	100,080	8,340
1993	2	36,195	58,351	29,175
1994	36	417,873	656,826	18,245
1995	3	35,693	54,560	18,187
1996	11 (e)	68,610	101,871	9,261
1997	2	44,823	65,055	32,528
1998	36	470,326	672,182	18,672
1999	3	16,276	22,757	7,586
2000	11	97,098	131,125	11,920
2001	3	70,400	92,607	30,869
2002	36	841,427	1,089,649	30,268
2003	4 (f)	69,939	88,564	22,141
2004	11	112,625	138,889	12,626
2005	2	131,996	157,438	78,719
2006	36	727,552	840,712	23,353
2007	3	93,803	105,385	35,128
2008	11	118,912	128,651	11,696
2009	2	92,911	100,001	50,000
2010	37 (g)	920,735	983,586	26,583
2011	4 (h)	45,934	47,570	11,893
2012	12 (i)	144,044	146,149	12,179
2013	2	84,746	84,746	42,373

Source: Thad Beyle.

Key:

N.A. — Not available.

(a) Developed from the table "Historic Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers (CPI-U)," created by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the U.S. Department of Labor. Each year's expenditures are converted into the 2013\$ value of the dollar by dividing those \$ expenditures by the percent of that year's CPI-U value to control for the effect of inflation or recession over the period.

(b) Average cost per state is the result of dividing the 2013\$ total campaign expenditures by the number of elections held that year.

(c) The expenditure data of 1978 are a particular problem as the two sources compiling data on this year's elections did so in differing ways that excluded some candidates. The result is that the numbers for 1978 under-represent the actual costs of these elections by some unknown amount. The sources are: Rhodes Cook and Stacy West, "1978 Advantage," *CQ Weekly Report*, (1979): 1757–1758, and *The Great Louisiana Spendathon* (Baton Rouge: Public Affairs Research Council, March 1980).

(d) As of the 1986 election, Arkansas switched to a four-year term for the governor, hence the drop from 13 to 12 for this off-year.

(e) As of the 1994 election, Rhode Island switched to a four-year term for the governor, hence the drop from 12 to 11 for this off-year.

(f) In 2003, there was a special recall and replacement election held in California in which voters elected to recall incumbent Gov. Gray Davis (D) from office and replace him with Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger (R), hence the fourth election in this off-year instead of the normal three.

(g) In 2010, Utah held a special election to elect Gov. Gary Herbert (R) to the position which he had been appointed to in 2009. In 2009, then-Lt. Gov. Herbert succeeded to the office of governor after Jon Huntsman (R) left to become U.S. ambassador to China. Under Utah law, voters must agree that a succeeding governor can hold the role until the next regularly scheduled election.

(h) In 2011, West Virginia held a special election to elect Gov. Earl Ray Tomblin (D) to the position he had been appointed in 2010. Tomblin was appointed governor upon the resignation of Gov. Joe Manchin (D), who won a seat in the U.S. Senate. West Virginia law requires a special election must be held in the case of a gubernatorial succession.

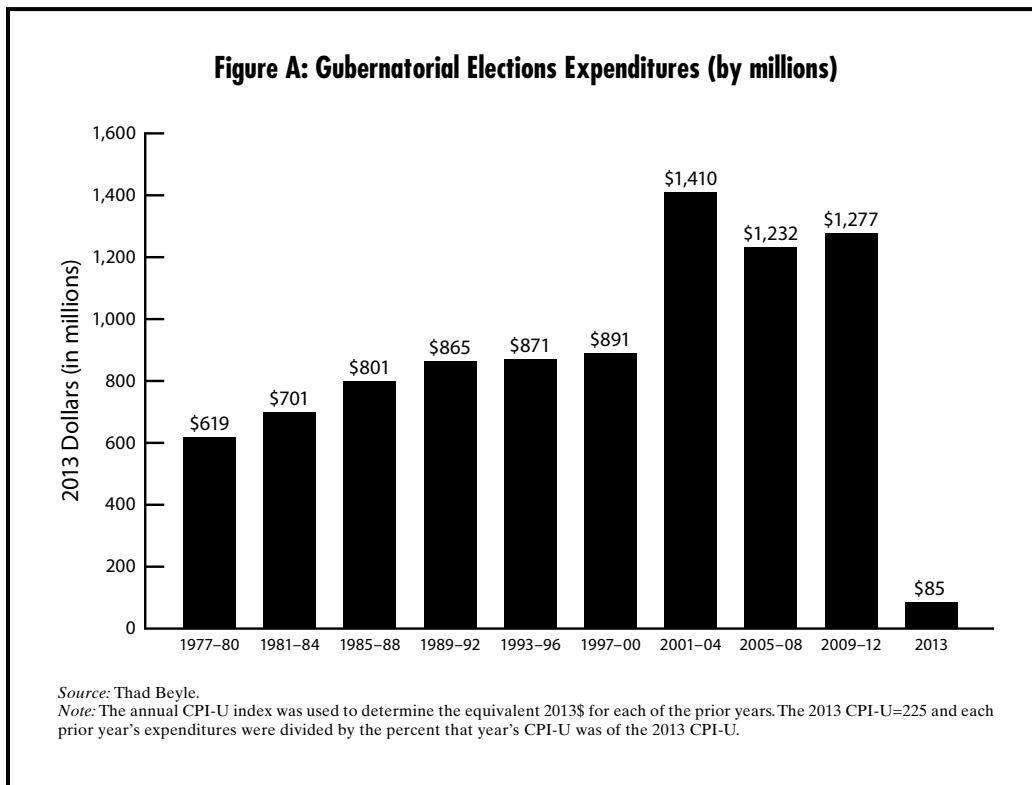
(i) In 2012, Wisconsin held a special recall and replacement election focused on Gov. Scott Walker (R). Walker received 53 percent of the vote and was not recalled. In North Dakota, the law has been changed so that candidates no longer have to report the amount of \$ expenditures made in the campaign.

of view, the odds of a lieutenant governor being elected governor stand at 3.6–1; an attorney general at 3.5–1; a secretary of state at 4.1–1; a state treasurer at 3.6–1; and a state auditor or comptroller at 6.3–1.

One other unique aspect about the current governors are the five women serving in 2014, just one less than were serving in 2010–12. This decrease was due to two women leaving the office at the end of their terms in 2012 and only one female governor

being elected in 2012.<sup>5</sup> Three of these women were elected in 2010 to their first term.<sup>6</sup> And in Arizona in 2009, Lt. Gov. Jan Brewer succeeded to the office when incumbent Gov. Janet Napolitano resigned to join newly elected President Barack Obama's cabinet as U.S. secretary of Homeland Security. Six other women were major party candidates in the 2010 races, but they did not win.<sup>7</sup>

Looking at Table D, three distinct phases can be seen. The first phase prior to 1920 saw no female



governors. The second phase from 1924 to 1966 saw three wives or former first ladies elected to office. The third phase, 1970 to 2013, provides a list of 33 women who have succeeded or been elected to serve as governors in 24 different states. Women became more of a part of the gubernatorial scene from 2004 to 2013. Thirty women ran for governor either as a major party candidate or an incumbent seeking another term, with 15 of them winning (50 percent).

### Cost of Gubernatorial Elections

Table B presents data on the total cost of gubernatorial elections from 1977 to 2013 and reveals two very clear patterns. The first pattern is the rhythm of gubernatorial elections in each four-year cycle. In the odd year following a presidential election year, only two states—New Jersey and Virginia—elect their governors. In the midyear between presidential elections, 36 states hold their elections. In the year before presidential elections, only three states—Kentucky, Louisiana and Mississippi—hold their elections. And during a presidential election year, 11 states hold their elections.

The second pattern is the consistent growth in the amount of money spent in gubernatorial campaigns during the four-decade period considered, with only a few drops between comparable years in the cycles. These declines in spending usually were tied to relatively uncontested races when an incumbent was successful in his or her re-election bid.

- Spending dropped from \$132 million in 2005, to \$93 million in 2009, and to \$84.7 million in 2013. This probably signaled the impact of the recession on the amount of money available or needed over these three years. Other reasons could account for this slight drop. In 2005, both elections in New Jersey and Virginia were open seat races in which Democrats won. In 2009, the Virginia race was for an open seat race and the New Jersey race saw an incumbent lose a bid for second term; Republicans won both races. In 2013, one race was for an open seat and the other saw an incumbent win a second term—a split party outcome with a Republican in New Jersey and a Democrat in Virginia. And in 2005, 22 candidates ran in these two elections; then in 2009 and 2013, 13 candidates ran in these elections.

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**Table C: Cost of Governatorial Campaigns, Most Recent Elections, 2010–2013**

State	Year	Winner	Point margin	Total campaign expenditures				
				All candidates (2012\$)	Cost per vote (2012\$)	Winner		
						Spent (2012\$)	Percent of all expenditures	Vote percent
Alabama.....	2010	R#	+15.7	\$30,955,749	\$20.38	\$8,746,700	28.7%	57.6%
Alaska.....	2010	R★	+21.4	2,929,003	11.43	540,906	18.5	59.1
Arizona.....	2010	R★	+11.86	8,242,606	4.77	1,916,399	23.3	54.3
Arkansas.....	2010	D★	+30.79	6,364,233	8.15	5,713,237	89.8	64.4
California.....	2010	D#	+12.9	231,444,527	22.93	38,228,377	16.5	53.8
Colorado.....	2010	D#	+14.67	9,985,484	5.59	4,128,814	41.4	51.1
Connecticut.....	2010	D#	+0.56	35,859,957	31.30	9,227,154	25.7	49.5
Delaware.....	2012	D★	+40.64	1,899,520	4.77	1,656,189	96.5	69.3
Florida.....	2010	R#	+1.15	23,375,623	4.36	2,432,630	10.4	48.9
Georgia.....	2010	R#	+10	29,305,484	11.38	8,782,317	30.0	53.0
Hawaii.....	2010	D#	+17.1	12,517,188	32.72	4,845,327	38.7	58.2
Idaho.....	2010	R★	+26.2	3,378,637	7.47	1,893,116	56.0	59.1
Illinois.....	2010	D★	+0.85	34,551,144	9.26	2,113,721	6.1	46.8
Indiana.....	2012	R#	+2.89	19,913,422	7.73	13,085,571	65.7	49.5
Iowa.....	2010	R★★★	+9.6	18,593,519	16.60	8,955,649	48.2	52.9
Kansas.....	2010	R#	+31.1	3,555,463	4.24	2,826,808	79.5	63.3
Kentucky.....	2011	D★	+20.4	15,044,700	18.06	12,081,847	80.3	55.7
Louisiana.....	2011	R★	+47.9	8,776,715	8.58	8,675,274	98.8	65.8
Maine.....	2010	R#	+1.7	13,586,753	23.72	1,269,795	9.4	38.1
Maryland.....	2010	D★	+12.45	19,483,070	10.49	11,482,037	58.9	56.2
Massachusetts.....	2010	D★	+6.4	18,582,113	8.09	4,998,003	26.9	48.4
Michigan.....	2010	R#	+18.2	49,854,415	15.45	38,215,005	76.7	58.1
Minnesota.....	2010	D#	+0.42	17,411,969	8.26	4,994,669	28.7	43.6
Mississippi.....	2011	R#	+22.1	11,846,112	13.26	7,856,360	66.3	61.1
Missouri.....	2012	D★	+12.1	26,199,758	9.60	15,512,314	59.2	54.7
Montana.....	2012	D#	+1.56	4,656,165	9.63	1,708,031	36.7	48.9
Nebraska.....	2010	R★	+47.8	1,463,612	3.00	1,143,358	78.1	73.9
Nevada.....	2010	R★★	+11.75	10,392,423	14.50	4,562,779	43.9	53.4
New Hampshire.....	2012	D#	+12.9	4,177,296	6.02	1,638,113	39.2	54.6
New Jersey.....	2013	R★	+22.1	26,220,928	10.32	19,820,437	75.6	60.3
New Mexico.....	2010	R#	+6.8	17,741,126	29.48	7,104,329	40.0	53.3
New York.....	2010	D#	+25.85	40,279,717	7.73	24,491,177	60.8	61.6
North Carolina.....	2012	R#	+11.49	16,871,895	3.78	11,161,800	66.2	54.7
North Dakota.....	2012	R★	+28.79	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
Ohio.....	2010	R★★★	+2	33,561,586	8.71	17,076,234	50.9	49.0
Oklahoma.....	2010	R#	+20.9	11,169,713	10.79	4,270,461	38.2	60.5
Oregon.....	2010	D#	+1.53	20,238,020	13.92	7,792,504	38.5	49.3
Pennsylvania.....	2010	R#	+9	71,475,931	17.92	25,523,855	35.7	54.5
Rhode Island.....	2010	IN#	+2.5	6,492,155	18.97	2,615,813	40.3	36.1
South Carolina.....	2010	R#	+4.46	13,078,626	9.73	4,151,974	31.8	51.4
South Dakota.....	2010	R#	+23.02	4,959,939	15.64	2,017,198	40.7	61.5
Tennessee.....	2010	R#	+31.9	25,104,380	15.68	17,533,601	69.8	65.0
Texas.....	2010	R★	+12.68	102,557,875	20.59	43,194,984	42.1	55.0
Utah.....	2012	R★	+40.5	2,671,851	2.92	2,150,305	80.5	68.3
Vermont.....	2012	D★	+20.2	1,184,995	4.01	337,874	28.5	57.8
Virginia.....	2013	D#	+2.52	58,525,304	26.12	32,417,401	53.4	47.8
Washington.....	2012	D#	+3.4	23,815,973	7.79	11,484,573	48.2	51.5
West Virginia.....	2012	D★	+4.85	6,688,848	10.05	3,376,110	50.5	50.5
Wisconsin.....	2012	R★	+6.8	35,963,955	14.29	27,721,071	77.1	53.1
Wyoming.....	2010	R#	+42.8	4,118,264	21.85	2,025,036	49.2	65.7

Source: Thad Beyle, [www.unc.edu/~beyle](http://www.unc.edu/~beyle).

Note: All dollar figures are in equivalent 2012\$. Using the CPI-U Index which was 224.939 in 2012 of the 1982–84 CPI-U Index=1.00, the 2010 actual \$ expenditures were based on a 218.056 CPI-U Index value or .9694 of the 2012 CPI-U Index value; the 2011 actual \$ expenditures were based on a 224.93 CPI-U Index value or .9999 of the 2012 CPI-U Index value. And the 2012 actual \$ expenditures were the actual \$ spent that election year. The actual expenditures of each state's governor's race in the 2010–2013 elections were divided by the .9 value for that year to get the equivalent 2012 \$ value of those expenditures.

Key:

D — Democrat  
I — Independent  
R — Republican  
# — Open seat

★ — Incumbent ran and won.

★★ — Incumbent ran and lost in party primary.

★★★ — Incumbent ran and lost in general election.

(a) Data unavailable due to a change in North Dakota's campaign contribution reporting requirements. They are no longer required to file the \$ expenditures by candidates, but must file data on contributions of \$200 or more received by candidates.

Table D: Women Governors in the States

Governor	State	Year elected or succeeded to office	How woman became governor	Tenure of service	Previous offices held	Last elected position held before governorship
<b>Phase I—From initial statehood to adoption of the 19th Amendment to U.S. Constitution (1920)</b>						
No women elected or served as governor						
<b>Phase II—Wives of former governors elected governor, 1924–1966</b>						
Nellie Tayloe Ross (D)	Wyoming	1924	E	1/1925–1/1927	F	...
Miriam "Ma" Ferguson (D)	Texas	1924	E	1/1925–1/1927	F	...
				1/1933–1/1935		
Lurleen Wallace (D)	Alabama	1966	E	1/1967–5/1968	F	...
<b>Phase III—Women who became governor on their own merit, 1970 to date</b>						
Ella Grasso (D)	Connecticut	1974	E	1/1975–12/1980	SH, SOS, (a)	(a)
Dixy Lee Ray (D)	Washington	1976	E	1/1977–1/1981	(b)	...
Vesta M. Roy (R)	New Hampshire	1982	S (c)	12/1982–1/1983	(d)	(d)
Martha Layne Collins (D)	Kentucky	1983	E	12/1983–12/1987	(e), LG	LG
Madeleine M. Kunin (D)	Vermont	1984	E	1/1985–1/1991	SH, LG	LG
Kay A. Orr (R)	Nebraska	1986	E	1/1987–1/1991	T	T
Rose Mofford (D)	Arizona	1988	S (f)	4/1988–1/1991	SOS	SOS
Joan Finney (D)	Kansas	1990	E	1/1991–1/1995	T	T
Barbara Roberts (D)	Oregon	1990	E	1/1991–1/1995	(g), C, SH, SOS	SOS
Ann Richards (D)	Texas	1990	E	1/1991–1/1995	C, T	T
Christy Whitman (R)	New Jersey	1993	E	1/1994–1/2001	(h)	(h)
Jeanne Shaheen (D)	New Hampshire	1996	E	1/1997–1/2003	(d)	(d)
Jane Dee Hull (R)	Arizona	1997	S (i)	9/1997–1/2003	(j), SOS	SOS
Nancy P. Hollister (R)	Ohio	1998	S (k)	12/1998–1/1999	LG	LG
Ruth Ann Minner (D)	Delaware	2000	E	1/2001–1/2009	SH, SS, LG	LG
Judy Martz (R)	Montana	2000	E	1/2001–1/2005	LG	LG
Sila Calderón (Pop D)	Puerto Rico	2000	E	1/2001–1/2005	M	M
Jane Swift (R)	Massachusetts	2001	S (l)	4/2001–1/2003	SS, LG	LG
Janet Napolitano (D)	Arizona	2002	E	1/2003–1/2009	(m), AG	AG
Linda Lingle (R)	Hawaii	2002	E	12/2002–12/2010	C, M (n)	M
Kathleen Sebelius (D)	Kansas	2002	E	1/2003–4/2009	SH, (o)	(o)
Jennifer Granholm (D)	Michigan	2002	E	1/2003–1/2011	(p), AG	AG
Olene Walker (R)	Utah	2003	S (q)	11/2003–1/2005	SH, LG	LG
Kathleen Blanco (D)	Louisiana	2003	E	1/2004–1/2008	SH, LG	LG
M. Jodi Rell (R)	Connecticut	2004	S (r)	7/2004–1/2011	SH, LG	LG
Christine Gregoire (D)	Washington	2004	E	1/2005–1/2013	AG	AG
Sarah Palin (R)	Alaska	2006	E	1/2007–7/2009	M (s)	M
Beverly Perdue (D)	North Carolina	2008	E	1/2009–1/2013	SH, SS, LG	LG
Jan Brewer (R)	Arizona	2009	S (t)	1/2009–	C, SH, SS, SOS	SOS
Susana Martinez (R)	New Mexico	2010	E	1/2011–	(u)	(u)
Mary Fallin (R)	Oklahoma	2010	E	1/2011–	(a)	(a)
Nikki Haley (R)	South Carolina	2010	E	1/2011–	SH	SH
Maggie Wood Hassan (D)	New Hampshire	2012	E	1/2013–	SS	SS

Sources: National Governors Association website, [www.nga.org](http://www.nga.org), and individual state government websites.

## Key:

S — Succeeded to office upon death, resignation or removal of the incumbent governor.

AG — Attorney general M — Mayor

C — City council or county commission SH — State House member

E — Elected governor SOS — Secretary of state

F — Former first lady SS — State Senate member

LG — Lieutenant governor T — State treasurer

(a) Congresswoman.

(b) Ray served on the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission from 1972 to 1975 and was chair of the AEC from 1973 to 1975.

(c) Roy as state Senate president succeeded to office upon the death of Gov. Hugh Gallen.

(d) State Senate president.

(e) State Supreme Court clerk.

(f) Mofford as secretary of state became acting governor in February 1988 and governor in April 1988 upon the impeachment and removal of Gov. Evan Mecham.

(g) Local school board member.

(h) Whitman was a former state utilities official.

(i) Hull as secretary of state became acting governor when Gov. Fife Symington resigned. Elected to full term in 1998.

(j) Speaker of the state House.

(k) Hollister as lieutenant governor became governor when Gov. George Voinovich stepped down to serve in the U.S. Senate.

(l) Swift as lieutenant governor succeeded Gov. Paul Celluci who resigned after being appointed ambassador to Canada. Was the first governor to give birth while serving in office.

(m) U.S. attorney.

(n) Lingle was mayor of Maui for two terms, elected in 1990 and 1996.

(o) Insurance commissioner.

(p) Federal prosecutor.

(q) Walker as lieutenant governor succeeded to the governorship upon the resignation of Gov. Mike Leavitt in 2003.

(r) Rell as lieutenant governor succeeded to the governorship upon the resignation of Gov. John Rowland in 2004.

(s) Palin was a two-term Mayor of Wasilla, Alaska, and had unsuccessfully sought the lieutenant governor's office in 2002. In 2008, Palin was nominated to be the vice presidential candidate on the Republican ticket with U.S. Sen. John McCain.

(t) Brewer as secretary of state succeeded to the governorship upon the resignation of Gov. Janet Napolitano in January 2009 after her confirmation as head of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Brewer then won a full term in the 2010 election.

(u) District Attorney—Dona Ana County, N.M.

**GOVERNORS**

**Table E: 2010–2013 Governors’ Race Winners by Party and Margin**

<i>Democratic winners</i>				<i>Republican winners</i>				<i>Independent winners</i>			
<i>State</i>	<i>Election Year</i>	<i>Percent of win</i>	<i>Point margin</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Election Year</i>	<i>Percent of win</i>	<i>Point margin</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Election Year</i>	<i>Percent of win</i>	<i>Point margin</i>
Delaware.....	2012	69.3%	+40.7	Nebraska.....	2010	74.9%	+47.8	Rhode Island.....	2010	36.1%	+2.5
Arkansas.....	2010	64.4	+30.8	Utah.....	2012	68.4	+40.6				
New York.....	2010	61.6	+27.0	Louisiana.....	2011	65.8	+47.9				
Hawaii.....	2010	58.2	+17.1	Wyoming.....	2010	65.7	+42.8				
Vermont.....	2012	57.8	+20.2	Tennessee.....	2010	65.0	+31.9				
Maryland.....	2010	56.2	+14.4	Utah.....	2010	64.2	+32.4				
Kentucky.....	2011	55.7	+20.4	Kansas.....	2010	63.3	+31.1				
Missouri.....	2012	54.8	+12.3	North Dakota.....	2012	63.1	+28.8				
New Hampshire...	2012	54.6	+12.1	South Dakota.....	2010	61.5	+23.0				
California.....	2010	53.8	+12.9	Mississippi.....	2011	61.1	+22.1				
New Hampshire...	2010	52.6	+7.6	Oklahoma.....	2010	60.4	+20.9				
Washington.....	2012	51.5	+3.0	New Jersey.....	2013	60.3	+22.1				
West Virginia.....	2012	50.4	+4.7	Idaho.....	2010	59.1	+26.2				
Colorado.....	2010	50.0	+14.6	Alaska.....	2010	59.1	+21.4				
West Virginia.....	2011	49.5	+2.3	Michigan.....	2010	58.1	+18.2				
Vermont.....	2010	49.5	+1.8	Alabama.....	2010	57.6	+15.7				
Connecticut.....	2010	49.5	+0.56	Texas.....	2010	55.0	+12.7				
Oregon.....	2010	49.3	+1.5	North Carolina....	2012	54.7	+11.5				
Montana.....	2012	48.8	+1.6	Pennsylvania.....	2010	54.5	+9.0				
Massachusetts.....	2010	48.4	+0.85	Arizona.....	2010	54.3	+11.7				
Virginia.....	2013	47.8	+2.5	Nevada.....	2010	53.4	+11.8				
Illinois.....	2010	46.8	+0.8	New Mexico.....	2010	53.3	+6.8				
Minnesota.....	2010	43.6	+0.42	Wisconsin.....	2012	53.1	+6.8				
				Georgia.....	2010	53.0	+10.0				
				Iowa.....	2010	52.9	+9.6				
				Wisconsin.....	2010	52.3	+5.8				
				South Carolina....	2010	51.4	+4.5				
				Ohio.....	2010	49.0	+2.0				
				Florida.....	2010	48.9	+1.15				
				Maine.....	2010	38.1	+1.7				

Source: Thad Beyle.

**Overall Results by Victory Point Margin: Party and Region**

<i>Point margin</i>	<i>Number of states</i>	<i>Number of Republicans</i>	<i>Number of Democrats</i>	<i>Number of Independents</i>	<i>East</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Midwest</i>	<i>West</i>
10+ points	32	21	11	0	6	11	5	10
5–10 points	6	5	1	0	2	0	3	1
0–5 points	16	4	11	1	5	5	3	3
<b>Totals:</b>	54	30	23	1	13	16	11	14

Source: Thad Beyle.

- The amount of money spent in the most recent mid-presidential term races has increased dramatically. In 2002, the amount spent in the 36 races was slightly more than \$841 million. In 2006, the total amount spent in the 36 races was down to \$727.6 million. In 2010, the total amount spent in the 37 races rose to more than \$920 million.
- The amount spent in presidential election year races also has been increasing over the past few cycles. In 2004, the amount spent in the 11 races was \$112.6 million; in 2008 it rose to \$118.9 million. In 2012, there was a bigger bump to \$144 million. The expensive Wisconsin special recall and replacement election was included in the 2012 figures, in which \$35.06 million was spent.



**Table F: New Governors Elected Each 4-Year Period, 1970–2013 (a)**

Year	Number of gubernatorial elections	New Governors		Incumbents Running			
		Won	Percent	Number	Won	Lost	Percent Lost
1970	35	19	54%	24	16	8	36%
1971	3	3	100	...	...	...	...
1972	18	11	61	11	7	4	36
1973	2	2	100	1	...	1	100
1974	35	18	51	22	17	5	24
1975	3	1	33	2	2	...	...
1976	14	9	64	8	5	3	33
1977	2	1	50	1	1	...	...
1978	36	20	56	23	16	7	30
1979	3	3	100	...	...	...	...
1980	13	6	46	12	7	5	42
1981	2	2	100	...	...	...	...
1982	36	17	47	25	19	6	24
1983	3	3	100	1	...	1	100
1984	13	9	69	6	4	2	33
1985	2	1	50	1	1	...	...
1986	36	21	58	18	15	3	18
1987	3	3	100	1	...	1	100
1988	12	4	33	9	8	1	11
1989	2	2	100	...	...	...	...
1990	36	19	53	23	17	6	26
1991	3	3	100	2	...	2	100
1992	12	8	67	4	4	...	...
1993	2	1	50	1	...	1	100
1994	36	19	53	23	17	6	26
1995	3	2	67	1	1	...	...
1996	11	4	36	7	7	...	...
1997	2	1	50	1	1	...	...
1998	36	13	36	25	23	2	8
1999	3	1	33	2	2	...	...
2000	11	6	55	6	5	1	17
2001	2	2	100	...	...	...	...
2002	36	24	67	16	12	4	25
2003 (b)	4	4	100	2	...	2	100
2004	11	7	64	8	4	4	50
2005	2	2	100	...	...	...	...
2006	36	9	25	27	25	2	7
2007	3	2	67	2	1	1	50
2008	11	3	24	8	8	...	...
2009	2	2	100	1	...	1	100
2010	37	26	70	14	11	3	21
2011	4	1	25	3	3	...	...
2012 (c)	12	5	42	7	7	...	...
2013	2	1	50	1	1	...	...
<b>Totals:</b>	590	322	55	349	267	82	24

Source: Thad Beyle.

Key:

(a) Table A: Gubernatorial Elections: 1970–2010, *The Book of the States, 2011* (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments, 2011), 128.

(b) In 2003, there was a recall and replacement election vote

in California in which the incumbent Gov. Gray Davis (D) was recalled and Republican Arnold Schwarzenegger was elected as his replacement.

(c) In June 2012, a recall and replacement election was held in Wisconsin. Gov. Scott Walker (R) won 53 percent of the votes cast and was not recalled.

- In the 2010 California gubernatorial election that saw Jerry Brown return as governor, the amount spent by the candidates hit a record high of \$219.8 million. This was due in large part to the Republican candidacy of Meg Whitman, the former CEO of eBay, who spent \$159 million in her unsuccessful

race against Brown. Whitman's spending accounted for 72.3 percent of the total spent by candidates in that race. Brown spent \$36.3 million, which was 16.5 percent of total. Between the two of them, 88.8 percent of the money spent in this most expensive race was by their campaigns.

## GOVERNORS

### The 2013–16 Cycle Results

The second year of this next four-year cycle—2014—includes 36 gubernatorial elections. Three current governors are in their second terms and cannot seek another as they are term-limited: Democrats Mike Beebe of Arkansas and Martin O'Malley of Maryland, and Republican Dave Heineman of Nebraska. Two other governors have decided not to seek another term: Democrat Deval Patrick of Massachusetts and Republican Rick Perry of Texas. Thus there will be five open seat races and 31 races with an incumbent seeking another term.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Five of these new governors succeeded governors who resigned upon moving on to a new responsibility before the end of their elected term: Alaska (2009), Arizona (2009), Kansas (2009), Nebraska (2005), Texas (2000); four others succeeded due to the incumbents being removed from office in California (2003) and Illinois (2009), or the incumbent governor resigned to avoid efforts to remove them due to certain activities they had performed while governor in New Jersey (2010) and New York (2008).

<sup>2</sup> In North Dakota, Lt. Gov. Jack Dalrymple (R) succeeded outgoing Gov. John Hoeven (R) who was elected to the U.S. Senate in the 2010 election. In West Virginia, state Senate President Earl Ray Tomblin (D) succeeded outgoing Gov. Joe Manchin (D), who was elected to fill the remaining years of deceased U.S. Sen. Robert Byrd's seat.

<sup>3</sup> Steve Beshear (D) in Kentucky and Bobby Jindal (R) in Louisiana.

<sup>4</sup> 2012 new governors elected in Indiana—Mike Pence (R); Montana—Steve Bullock (D); New Hampshire—Maggie Wood Hassan (D); North Carolina—Pat McCrory (R) and Washington—Jay Inslee (D).

<sup>5</sup> The two women leaving office were Washington Gov. Christine Gregoire (D), term-limited after winning in 2004 and 2008, and North Carolina Gov. Beverly Perdue (D), deciding not to seek a second term after winning in 2008. New Hampshire Gov. Maggie Wood Hassan (D) was elected in 2012.

<sup>6</sup> They were: New Mexico Gov. Susana Martinez, Oklahoma Gov. Mary Fallon and South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley—all Republicans.

<sup>7</sup> In California, Meg Whitman (R); in Florida, Alex Sink (D); in Maine, Libby Mitchell (D); in New Mexico, Diane Denish (D); in Oklahoma, Jari Adkins (D); and in Wyoming, Leslie Peterson (D).

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### About the Author

**Thad Beyle** is a professor emeritus of political science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

After being an undergraduate and master's student at Syracuse University, he received his doctorate at the University of Illinois. He spent a year in the North Carolina governor's office in the mid-1960s, followed by two years with Terry Sanford's "A Study of American States" project at Duke University. He also has worked with the National Governors Association in several capacities on gubernatorial transitions.