

# Gubernatorial Elections, Campaign Costs and Winning Governors

By Thad Beyle

*Governors continue to be in 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 during the ongoing recession as severe revenue shortfalls have hit the states. This places severe limits on the states' abilities to address the 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.*

## 2012 Gubernatorial Politics

Eleven states hold gubernatorial elections in the final year of a four-year presidential term.<sup>1</sup> In 2012, they were joined by a 12th state—Wisconsin—which held a special recall and replacement election for Gov. Scott Walker. A total of 900,939 registered voters signed petitions to hold a recall election for Walker, who was first elected in 2010.

The 2012 gubernatorial elections kicked off May 8 with the Wisconsin Republican primary, which Walker won by slightly more than 97 percent of the votes cast. The Democratic primary election was captured by former Milwaukee Mayor Tom Barrett, who won 58.1 percent of the votes cast as he defeated four other Democratic candidates. In the June 5 recall and replacement election, Walker won by getting 53.08 percent of the votes cast—a 6.8-point margin of victory over Barrett.

In the other 11 gubernatorial elections held in 2012, six were won by the incumbents: Delaware's Jack Markell, Missouri's Jay Nixon, North Dakota's Jack Dalrymple, Utah's Gary Herbert, Vermont's Peter Shumlin and West Virginia's Earl Ray Tomblin. Although she was eligible to seek a second term, North Carolina Gov. Beverly Perdue decided not to seek a second term. That election was won by Republican Pat McCrory, resulting in a party shift in North Carolina. In the other four open races, although a new governor was elected, no party changes occurred. Montana, New Hampshire and Washington remained Democratic and Indiana remained Republican.

The partisan control of governors' seats changed from the post-2011 election setting of 29 Republicans/20 Democrats/one Independent, to the

post-2012 election setting of 30 Republicans/19 Democrats/one Independent serving as governors.

## Gubernatorial Elections

As seen in Table A, incumbents were eligible to seek another term in 445 of the 588 gubernatorial contests—76 percent—held between 1970 and 2012. In those contests, 348 incumbents sought re-election (78.2 percent), and 266 succeeded (76.4 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, there have been four incumbent governors who lost their bid for another term in a party primary—in 2004, Missouri Gov. Bob Holden (D) and Utah Gov. Olene Walker (R); in 2006, Alaska Gov. Frank Murkowski (R); and in 2010, Nevada Gov. Jim Gibbons (R). 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 primary losses was tied to that party's loss in the general election: in 2004—Missouri went from Gov. Bob Holden (D) to Matt Blunt (R) who won and this led to a party switch.

Democratic candidates held a winning edge in 316 of the 588 elections (53.7 percent) occurring between 1970 and 2012. In 223 of these races (37.9 percent), the results led to a party shift; in 2012, the shift occurred in North Carolina from Democratic to Republican. Party shifts have evened out over the years so that neither of the two major parties has an edge in the past four decades of gubernatorial elections.

**Table A: Gubernatorial Elections: 1970–2012**

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	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	...	...	...	...		
<b>Totals:</b>															
Number	588	315		445		348		266		82		21	61		
Percent	100	53.6		76.0		87.2		76.4		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-Ne.; 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: 1970–2012, 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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Between 1970 and 1992, Democrats won 200 of the 324 races for governor (62 percent). From 1993 to 2003, Republicans leveled the playing field by winning 85 of the 145 races for governor (59 percent). From 2004 to 2012, there was a virtual tie between which party won the 118 races, with the Republicans winning 59 (50 percent), Democrats winning 58 (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 governor's mansions. From 2000 to 2009, new governors were voted in in 118 elections (51.7 percent). Nine new governors took office upon the incumbent vacating the office from 2000 to 2009.<sup>2</sup> During the previous decade, 70 new governors were sworn into office.

In the first three years of the current decade, 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>3</sup>

Of the four gubernatorial elections held in 2011, one new governor was elected—Mississippi's Phil Bryant. West Virginia's successor Gov. Earl Ray Tomblin won a special 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>4</sup> In 2012, five new governors were elected.<sup>5</sup>

In sum, in the 53 governors' elections of 2010–12, 32 new governors were elected (60.4 percent), while 21 incumbent governors won re-election (39.6 percent).

## The New Governors

During the 2009–12 gubernatorial elections and resignations, new governors took several routes to the office. Twenty-one previously had held an elective office. These include:

- Seven lieutenant governors: Alaska Gov. Sean Parnell, Mississippi Gov. Phil Bryant, North Dakota Gov. Jack Dalrymple, South Dakota Gov. Dennis Daugaard and Utah Gov. Gary Herbert, all Republicans; and Illinois Gov. Pat Quinn and Kentucky Gov. Steve Beshear, who served as lieutenant governor from 1983 to 1987, both Democrats;
- Six attorneys general: California Gov. Jerry Brown, who also was elected as governor in 1974 and 1978, Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon, Montana Gov. Steve Bullock and New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo—all Democrats; and Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Corbett and Virginia Gov. Robert McDonald—both Republicans;
- Two former governors in addition to Jerry Brown: Oregon Gov. John Kitzhaber, a Democrat, elected in 1994 and 1998, and Iowa Gov. Terry Branstad, a Republican, elected in 1982, 1986, 1990 and 1994;
- One secretary of state: Arizona Gov. Jan Brewer, a Republican, who succeeded to office upon the resignation of Gov. Janet Napolitano in 2009;
- Three U.S. senators: Kansas Gov. Sam Brownback, a Republican, Minnesota Gov. Mark Dayton, a Democrat, and Rhode Island Gov. Lincoln Chafee, an Independent; and
- One state treasurer: Delaware Gov. Jack Markell, Democrat.

## GOVERNORS

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

Six new governors followed a unique path to the governorship:

- Three former federal attorneys or judges: New Jersey Gov. Christopher 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;
- Two businessmen: Florida Gov. Rick Scott, a health care company executive, and Michigan Gov. Rick Snyder, a venture capitalist in computers—both Republicans; and
- One doctor: Alabama Gov. Robert Bentley, a dermatologist, Republican.

Two of these 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 former Gov. Mario Cuomo, elected in 1982, 1986 and 1990. Rhode Island Gov. Lincoln Chafee is the son of former Gov. John Chafee, who was elected in 1962, 1964 and 1966.

In the 478 gubernatorial races between 1977 and 2012—the last elected political step taken prior to this gubernatorial election—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 of view, the odds of a lieutenant governor being elected governor stand at 3.6-to-1; an attorney general at 3.5-to-1; a secretary of state at 4.4-to-1; a state treasurer at 3.6-to-1; and a state auditor or comptroller stands at 6.3-to-1.

One other unique aspect about the current governors are the five women serving in 2013, just one less than were serving in 2010–12. This decrease was due to two women leaving office at the end of their terms in 2012 and only one new female governor being elected in 2012.<sup>6</sup> Three of these women were elected governors in 2010 to their first term.<sup>7</sup> As noted above, a fourth was elected to her first term in 2012.<sup>8</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. Six other women were major party candidates in the 2010 races, but they did not win.<sup>9</sup>

Looking at Table D, three distinct phases can be seen. The first phase prior to 1920 saw no women governors. The second phase from 1924 to 1966 saw three wives or former first ladies elected to office. The third phase, 1970 to 2012, provides a list of 33 women who have succeeded or been elected to serve as governors in 22 different states. Women became more of a part of the gubernatorial scene from 2004 to 2012. 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 2012 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 hold their elections—New Jersey and Virginia. In the mid-year between presidential elections, 36 states hold their elections. In the year before a presidential election, only three states hold their elections—Kentucky, Louisiana and Mississippi. 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, with only a few drops between comparable years in the cycles. These drops usually were tied to relatively uncontested races when an incumbent was successful in his or her re-election bid.

**Table B: Total Cost of Gubernatorial Elections: 1977–2012 (in thousands of dollars)**

Year	Number of races	Total campaign costs		Average cost per state (2012\$)(b)
		Actual \$	2012\$ (a)	
1977	2	12,312	46,654	23,370
1978	36 (c)	102,342	360,535	10,015
1979	3	32,744	103,555	34,518
1980	13	35,634	99,287	7,637
1981	2	24,648	62,258	31,129
1982	36	181,832	432,624	12,017
1983	3	39,966	92,130	30,710
1984	13	47,156	104,212	8,016
1985	2	18,859	40,237	20,118
1986	36	270,605	566,831	15,745
1987	3	40,212	81,269	27,090
1988	12 (d)	52,208	101,316	8,443
1989	2	47,902	88,691	44,345
1990	36	345,493	606,873	16,858
1991	3	34,564	58,267	19,422
1992	12	60,278	98,639	8,220
1993	2	36,195	57,507	28,754
1994	36	417,873	648,627	18,007
1995	3	35,693	53,771	17,924
1996	11 (e)	68,610	100,395	9,127
1997	2	44,823	64,115	32,058
1998	36	470,326	662,524	18,403
1999	3	16,276	22,431	7,477
2000	11	97,098	129,378	11,762
2001	2	70,400	91,263	45,631
2002	36	841,427	1,073,797	29,828
2003	4 (f)	69,939	87,271	21,818
2004	11	112,625	136,880	12,444
2005	2	131,996	155,180	77,590
2006	36	727,552	828,553	23,015
2007	3	93,803	103,868	34,623
2008	11	118,912	126,799	11,527
2009	2	92,911	98,906	49,452
2010	37 (g)	920,735	969,501	26,203
2011	4 (h)	45,934	46,886	11,721
2012	12 (i)	144,044	144,044	13,095

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 2012\$ 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 2012\$ 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.

- The recent drop in the amount spent between the 2005 and 2009 races in New Jersey and Virginia probably signaled the impact of the Great Recession on how much money was available for these elections. Other reasons could account for this slight drop. In 2005, both elections were open seat races in which Democrats won. In 2009, one election was an open seat race and the other saw an incumbent lose a bid for a second term; Republicans won both races.
- The amount of money spent in the most recent mid-presidential term races increased dramatically. In 2002, the total amount spent was slightly more than \$841 million. In 2006, the total amount spent was down to \$727.7 million. In 2010, it rose to more than \$920 million.
- The amounts spent in presidential election year governors' races also have been increasing over the past few cycles. In 2004, the total amount spent was \$112.8 million and in 2008, it rose to \$118.9 million. In 2012, there was a bigger bump up to \$144 million. Included in the 2012 figure was the expensive Wisconsin special recall and replacement election, in which \$35.06 million was spent.

**Table C: Cost of Gubernatorial Campaigns, Most Recent Elections, 2009–2012**

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	15,356,356	18.43	12,332,190	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.....	2009	R★★★	+3.6	57,034,835	23.53	17,775,111	31.2	48.5
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.....	2009	R#	+17.35	57,070,045	28.75	25,456,406	44.6	58.6
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 2009 actual \$ expenditures were based on a 214.537 CPI-U Index value or .9538 of the 2012 CPI-U Index value; 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 .9797 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 2009–2012 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

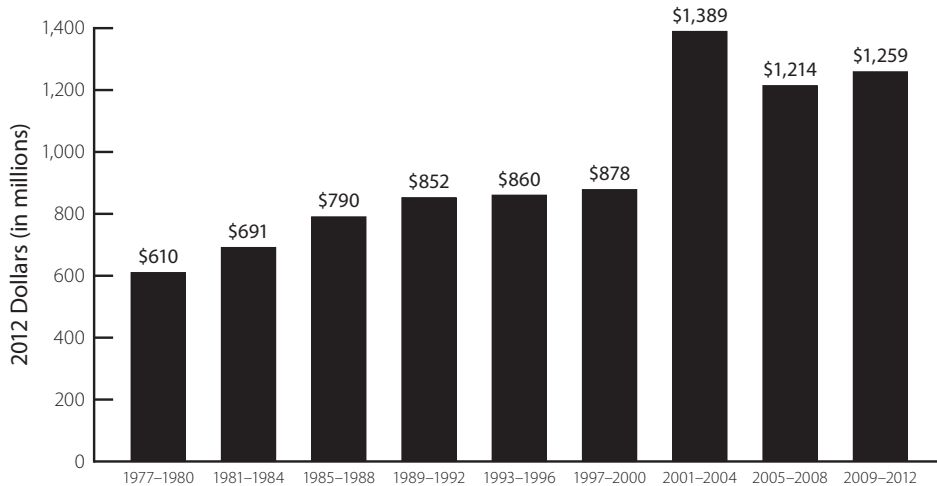
# — Open seat

★ — 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.

**Figure A: Gubernatorial Elections Expenditures (by millions)**

Source: Thad Beyle.

Note: The annual CPI-U index was used to determine the equivalent 2012\$ for each of the prior years. The 2012 CPI-U=225 and each prior year's expenditures were divided by the percent that year's CPI-U was of the 2012 CPI-U.

- In the 2010 California 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 all candidates in that race. Brown spent \$36.3 million, which was 16.5 percent of the total spent. Between the two of them, 88.8 percent of the money spent in this most expensive race was by their campaigns.

### The 2009–12 Cycle Results

We are now finished through the recent four-year cycle. In the 55 races held from 2009 to 2012, we saw 34 states elect new governors and five other states gain successor governors: North Dakota Gov. John Hoeven and West Virginia Gov. Joe Manchin both were elected to U.S. Senate seats; Kansas Gov. Kathleen Sebelius and Arizona Gov. Janet Napolitano were appointed by President Obama to cabinet positions; and Illinois Gov. Rod Blagojevich was impeached.

In 2013, two states—New Jersey and Virginia—will hold gubernatorial elections; both currently have Republican governors. Virginia Gov. Bob McDonnell is term-limited and unable to run for re-election. New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie has been involved in presidential politics, aiming at the 2016 Presidential race. So, there will be at least one new governor elected in the 2013 elections.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>These 11 states with regular gubernatorial elections in the final year of a presidential term are: Delaware, Indiana, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Washington and West Virginia.

<sup>2</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 problems the incumbents had, and were 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 governors in New Jersey (2010) and New York (2008).

<sup>3</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

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	...
Lurleen Wallace (D)	Alabama	1966	E	1/1933–1/1935 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  
C — City council or county commission

E — Elected governor  
F — Former first lady  
LG — Lieutenant governor

(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 Cellucci 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.



**Table E: 2009–2012 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	Louisiana.....	2011	65.8	+47.9				
New York.....	2010	61.6	+27.0	Utah.....	2012	68.4	+40.6				
Hawaii.....	2010	58.2	+17.1	Wyoming.....	2010	65.7	+42.8				
Vermont.....	2012	57.8	+20.2	Tennessee.....	2010	65.0	+31.9				
Kentucky.....	2011	55.7	+20.4	Utah.....	2010	64.2	+32.4				
Maryland.....	2010	56.2	+14.45	Kansas.....	2010	63.3	+31.1				
California.....	2010	53.8	+12.9	North Dakota.....	2012	63.1	+28.8				
Missouri.....	2012	54.8	+12.3	South Dakota.....	2010	61.5	+23.0				
New Hampshire...	2012	54.6	+12.1	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	Idaho.....	2010	59.1	+26.2				
West Virginia.....	2012	50.4	+4.7	Alaska.....	2010	59.1	+21.4				
Colorado.....	2010	50.0	+14.6	Virginia.....	2009	58.6	+17.4				
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				
Illinois.....	2010	46.8	+0.8	Nevada.....	2010	53.4	+11.8				
Minnesota.....	2010	43.6	+0.42	New Mexico.....	2010	53.3	+6.8				
				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				
				New Jersey.....	2009	48.5	+3.6				
				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	5	12	5	10
5/-10 points	6	5	1	0	2	0	3	1
0/-5 points	16	5	10	1	6	4	3	3
<b>Totals:</b>	54	31	22	1	13	16	11	14

Source: Thad Beyle.

**Table F: New Governors Elected Each 4-Year Period, 1970–2012 (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	...	...
<b>Totals:</b>	588	321	55	348	266	82	24

**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.

President Earl Ray Tomblin-D succeeded outgoing Gov. Joe Manchin-D, who appointed himself to fill the remaining years of deceased U.S. Sen. Robert Byrd's term.

<sup>4</sup>Steve Beshear-D in Kentucky and Bobby Jindal-R in Louisiana.

<sup>5</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>6</sup>The two women governors 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.

<sup>7</sup>New Mexico Gov. Susana Martinez, Oklahoma Gov.

Mary Fallon and South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley—all Republicans.

<sup>8</sup>New Hampshire Gov. Maggie Hassan was elected to the office in 2012.

<sup>9</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 Petersen-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. A Syracuse University A.B. and A.M., he received his Ph.D. 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, and has worked with the National Governors Association in several capacities on gubernatorial transitions.