

Gubernatorial Elections, Campaign Costs and Powers

By Thad Beyle

Governors remain in the forefront of activity in the 21st century. While the governorship was not the stepping stone to the presidency for President Barack Obama as it was for our two previous presidents, Democratic Gov. Bill Clinton from Arkansas (1993–2001) and Republican Gov. George W. Bush from Texas (2001–2009), governors continue to be in the middle of addressing the problems facing our country's weak economy. The demands on governors to propose state budgets and then keep them in balance have increased greatly during the current recession. Proposed and adopted budgets have fallen victim to severe revenue shortfalls in the states, which has placed severe limits on the states to address the many growing needs of people trying to live through these very tough times. Politically, this has led to political fallout from unhappy voters as they vent their anger and frustration toward elected leaders on election days.

2010 Gubernatorial Politics

The 2010 state gubernatorial elections were of considerable significance in our political system. There have been 36 gubernatorial races in the even mid-year of a presidential term eight times since 1978. Utah needed to have a special election to let its succeeding Gov. Gary Herbert fill out the remainder of his succession term. Herbert became governor in August 2009 when former Gov. Jon Huntsman was appointed as U.S. ambassador to China. This meant 37 races were held in 2010, the most gubernatorial races ever in a single year.

Twenty-three seats were open; 15 tied to term limits on incumbent governors,¹ while in eight states, incumbents decided not to seek another term, although they were eligible to do so.² Incumbent governors sought another term in 14 states; 11 governors won a new term,³ while those in three states lost their re-election bids.⁴

The party candidates winning in these 37 races were 23 Republicans (62.2 percent),⁵ 13 Democrats (35.1 percent),⁶ and one Independent (2.7 percent).⁷ Democrats won six of the nine races in the Northeast, while Republicans won only two and an Independent only one. Republicans, however, dominated the remaining regions, winning seven in each of them while the Democrats won only one in the South, two in the Midwest, and four in the West.

Victory in the most recent presidential election can have a negative effect on a party's gubernatorial races in the elections in the two following years. After the election of Democrat Barack Obama as president in 2008, Democrats won only 13 of the 39 races in 2009 and 2010 (33.3 percent). This compares to the 28.9 percent Democratic

wins in the two election years following the election of Democrat Bill Clinton in 1992, and the 28.9 percent Democratic wins in the two election years following the re-election of President Clinton in 1996. This also compares to the 42.1 percent Republican wins in the two election years following Republican George W. Bush's re-election win in 2004. However, the initial election of Republican George W. Bush in 2000 did not hurt his party's candidates in the next two years, as they won 57.9 percent of those races.

The political makeup from 2010—with 26 Democratic and 24 Republican governors—shifted in 2011 to 29 Republicans, 20 Democrats and one Independent serving as governors.⁸

These 2010 races ranged from those in which the winner won by 10 or more points—21 states (57 percent), Republicans in 15 states, Democrats in six states;⁹ to those in which the winner won by between five and 10 points—six states (16 percent), Republicans in four states, Democrats in two states;¹⁰ to those who won by less than five points—10 states (27 percent), Republicans in four states, Democrats in five states, and an Independent in one state.¹¹

Gubernatorial Elections

As seen in Table A, incumbents were eligible to seek another term in 434 of the 572 gubernatorial contests held between 1970 and 2010 (75.9 percent). In those contests, 338 eligible incumbents sought re-election (77.9 percent), and 256 of them succeeded (75.7 percent). Those who were defeated were more likely to lose in the general elec-

Table A: Gubernatorial Elections: 1970–2010

Year	Number of incumbent governors															
	Democratic winner			Eligible to run				Actually ran				Won			Lost	
	Number of races	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	36	1(a)	7(b)	
1971	3	3	100	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1972	18	11	61	15	83	11	73	7	64	4	36	2	36	2(c)	2(d)	
1973	2	1	50	1	50	1	100	...	...	1	100	1	100	1(e)	...
1974	35	27	77	29	83	22	76	17	77	5	24	1	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	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	30	2(k)	5(l)	
1979	3	2	67	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1980	13	6	46	12	92	12	100	7	58	5	42	2	42	2(m)	3(n)	
1981	2	1	50	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1982	36	27	75	33	92	25	76	19	76	6	24	1	24	1(o)	5(p)	
1983	3	3	100	1	33	1	100	...	...	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	18	1(s)	2(t)	
1987	3	3	100	2	67	1	50	...	...	1	100	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	53	33	92	23	70	17	74	6	26	...	...	6(x)	...
1991	3	2	67	2	67	2	100	...	...	2	100	1	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	31	30	83	23	77	17	74	6	26	2	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	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	1	25	2	50	2	100	...	...	2	100	...	...	2(jj)	...
2004	11	6	55	11	100	8	73	4	50	4	50	2	50	2(kk)	2(ll)	
2005	2	2	100	1	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2006	36	20	56	31	86	27	87	25	93	2	7	1	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	21	1(qq)	2(rr)	
Totals:																
Number	572	306		434		338		256		82		21		61		
Percent	100	53.5		75.9		77.9		75.7		24.3		25.6		74.4		

See footnotes on the next page.

tion than in their own party primary by a 3-to-1 ratio. In the 2010, Gov. Jim Gibbons, R-Nevada, was defeated in his primary, the first such situation for an incumbent seeking re-election since 1994.

Democratic candidates held a winning edge in the 572 elections held between 1970 and 2010 (53.5 percent). In 222 of the races (38.8 percent), the results led to a party shift. But these party shifts have evened out over the years so that neither of the two major parties has an edge in the four decades of gubernatorial elections.

Between 1970 and 1992, Democrats won 200 of the 324 races for governor (62 percent). Then beginning in 1993 to 2003, Republicans leveled the playing field by winning 85 of the 145 races for governor (59 percent). From 2004 to 2010, there has been a virtual tie in which party has won these 102 governor's races as Republicans won 52 races (51 percent), Democrats won 49 races (48 percent), and an Independent won a single race (1 percent).

Another factor in determining how many governors have served in the states is the number of

Table A: Gubernatorial Elections: 1970–2010, Footnotes

Source: The Council of State Governments, *The Book of the States, 2010*, (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments, 2010), 170, 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.
- (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 Hickey (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.

(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.

newly elected governors who are truly new to the office and the number who are returning after complying with constitutional term limits or after holding other positions. Of new governors taking office over a decade, states dropped from a rate of 2.3 new governors per state in the 1950s to 1.9 in the 1970s and to 1.1 in the 1980s. In the 1990s, the rate began to move up a bit to 1.4 new governors per state.

In the first decade of the 21st century, 2000–2009, there were many new faces in the governor's offices. New governors were elected in 61 of the 118 elections held between 2000 and 2009 (51.7 percent). And nine new governors succeeded to office upon the incumbent vacating the office during this period.¹² So during the first few years of the previous decade, 70 new governors were sworn into office, continuing the 1.4 rate per state. In the 2010 elections, the first year of the second decade of the 21st century, 26 new governors were elected in the 37 races, and two other new governors succeeded to the chair upon the resignation of the governor in mid-November as they left to be sworn in as one of the state's new U.S. senators.¹³ So, the rate of change in who sits in the governor's chairs

continues to be high as 28 new governors took office in 2011 on the basis of the 2010 elections (56 percent of all state governors).

The New Governors

Over the 2007–2010 set of gubernatorial elections and resignations, new governors took several different routes to office. Twenty-one new governors had previously held an elected statewide office. These include:

- Eight lieutenant governors: Alaska Gov. Sean Parnell, North Dakota Gov. Jack Dalrymple, South Dakota Gov. Dennis Daugaard and Utah Gov. Gary Herbert, all Republicans, and Illinois Gov. Pat Quinn, Kentucky Gov. Steve Beshear, (who served as lieutenant governor from 1983–1987), New York Gov. David Paterson and North Carolina Gov. Beverly Perdue, all Democrats;
- Five attorneys general: California Gov. Jerry Brown (who also previously served as governor from 1975–1983), Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon and New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo, Democrats, and Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Corbett, and Virginia Gov. Robert McDonald, Republicans;

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- Two former governors in addition to Jerry Brown: Oregon Gov. John Kitzhaber, elected in 1994 and 1998, a Democrat, 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 the previous governor 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;
- One state treasurer: Delaware Gov. Jack Markell, Democrat.

Fourteen new governors had previously held elected or appointed sub-state office. These include:

- Five former members of Congress: Hawaii Gov. Neil Abercrombie, a Democrat, and Georgia Gov. Nathan Deal, Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal, Ohio Gov. John Kasich, and Oklahoma Gov. Mary Fallin, all Republicans;
- Four mayors or former mayors: Colorado Gov. John Hickenlooper, Denver, and Connecticut Gov. Dannel Malloy, Stamford, both Democrats, and Maine Gov. Paul LePage, Waterville, and Tennessee Gov. Bill Haslam, Knoxville, both Republicans;
- Three state legislators: South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley, a Republican state representative, and Vermont Gov. Peter Shumlin and West Virginia Gov. Earl Ray Tomlin, both Democratic state senate presidents;
- 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;
 - One medical doctor: Alabama Gov. Robert Bentley, a dermatologist, Republican.

Two of these new governors have a family heritage tied to the office as their fathers had served as governors there: New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo

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

In the 462 gubernatorial races between 1977 and 2010, among the candidates were 116 lieutenant governors (32 won), 102 attorneys general (29 won), 34 secretaries of state (eight won), 29 state treasurers (eight won), and 18 state auditors or comptrollers (three won). Looking at these numbers from a bettor's point of view, the odds of a lieutenant governor winning were 3.6–1, an attorney general winning were 3.5–1, a secretary of state winning were 4.2–1, a state treasurer winning were 4.1–1, and a state auditor or comptroller winning were 6–1.

One other unique aspect about the current governors is that six women will be serving in 2011—the same number as were serving in 2010. Three of these women were elected in 2010 to their first term,¹⁴ while three others will continue their terms won or succeeded to earlier.¹⁵ Six other women were major party candidates in the 2010 races, but were not able to win.¹⁶

Women are becoming more of a part of the gubernatorial scene as between 2004 and 2010, 28 women ran for governor either as incumbents seeking another term or as a major party candidate. And 14 of them won (50 percent). There will undoubtedly be more soon. One of the incumbent women governors, Washington Gov. Christine Gregoire, has just been selected to be chair of the National Governors Association for the next year.

Cost of Gubernatorial Elections

Table B presents data on the total cost of gubernatorial elections from 1977 to 2009 and reveals two very clear patterns. First is the very rhythm of gubernatorial elections in each four-year cycle. In the odd year following a presidential election, only two states hold their elections; in the mid-year between presidential elections, 36 states hold their elections; in the year before a presidential election, three states hold their elections; and during a presidential election year 13—and now 11—states hold their elections.¹⁷

The second pattern is consistent growth in the amount of money spent in these gubernatorial elections over the four-decade period with only a few drops between comparable years in a cycle. These drops were usually tied to uncontested races when an incumbent was successful in his re-election bid. The recent drop in the money

Table B: Total Cost of Gubernatorial Elections: 1977–2009
(in thousands of dollars)

Year	Number of races	Total campaign costs		Average cost per state (2009\$)	Percent change in similar elections (b)
		Actual \$	2009\$ (a)		
1977	2	12,312	43,505	21,753	N.A.
1978	36	102,342	336,651	9,351	N.A. (c)
1979	3	32,744	96,876	32,292	N.A.
1980	13	35,634	92,797	7,138	N.A.
1981	2	24,648	58,132	29,066	+34
1982	36	181,832	404,071	11,224	+20 (d)
1983	3	39,966	86,134	28,711	-11
1984	13	47,156	97,430	7,495	+5
1985	2	18,859	37,568	18,784	-35
1986	36	270,605	529,560	14,710	+31
1987	3	40,212	75,872	25,291	-12
1988	12 (e)	52,208	94,580	7,882	+5
1989	2	47,902	82,875	41,438	+121
1990	36	345,493	567,312	15,759	+7
1991	3	34,564	64,432	18,144	-28
1992	12	60,278	92,168	7,681	-3
1993	2	36,195	53,702	26,851	-35
1994	36	417,873	604,737	16,798	+7
1995	3	35,693	50,272	16,757	-8
1996	11 (f)	68,610	93,858	8,533	+11
1997	2	44,823	59,924	29,962	+12
1998	36	470,326	618,850	17,190	+2
1999	3	16,276	20,947	6,982	-58
2000	11	97,098	120,919	10,993	+29
2001	2	70,400	85,230	42,615	+42
2002	36	841,427	1,002,893	27,858	+62
2003	3	69,939	81,514	27,171	+289
2004	11	112,625	127,838	11,622	+6
2005	2	131,996	145,051	72,525	+70
2006	36	727,552	773,991	21,500	-23
2007	3	93,803	97,104	32,368	+19
2008	11	118,912	118,438	10,767	-7
2009	2	106,619	106,619	53,310	-26.5

Source: Thad Beyle.

Key:

N.A. — Not available.

(a) Developed from the Table, "Historical Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers (CPI-U)," Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. Each year's actual expenditures are converted to the 2009\$ value of the dollar to control for the effect of inflation over the period.

(b) This represents the percent increase or decrease in 2009\$ over the last bank of similar elections, i.e., 1977 v. 1981, 1978 v. 1982, 1979 v. 1983, etc.

(c) The data for 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) This particular comparison with 1978 is not what it would appear to be for the reasons given in note (c). The amount spent in 1978 was more than indicated here so the increase is really not as great as it appears.

(e) 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.

(f) 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.

spent between the 2005 and 2009 races in New Jersey and Virginia may signal the impact of our economy's current recession on how much money is available for these elections. When the spending data on these 37 gubernatorial elections becomes

available next year, we could see a confirmation of this impact on political spending.

Table C presents data on the costs of the most recent elections from 2006 through 2009. There is a great range in how much these races cost, from the

Table C: Cost of Gubernatorial Campaigns, Most Recent Elections, 2005–2009

State	Year	Winner	Point margin	Total campaign expenditures				
				All candidates (2009\$)	Cost per vote (2009\$)	Winner		
						Spent (2009\$)	Percent of all expenditures	Vote percent
Alabama.....	2006	R★	+15.8	\$19,732,443	\$15.78	\$12,842,382	65.1	57.4
Alaska.....	2006	R★★	+7.4	5,396,065	22.74	1,412,000	26.2	48.3
Arizona.....	2006	D★	+27.2	3,947,642	2.57	1,717,098	43.5	62.6
Arkansas.....	2006	D#	+14.4	10,591,801	14.12	6,888,933	65.0	55.4
California.....	2006	R★	+16.9	137,305,975	15.82	48,836,830	35.6	55.9
Colorado.....	2006	D#	+16.8	8,276,021	5.31	4,547,161	54.9	57.0
Connecticut.....	2006	R★	+27.8	15,182,617	13.51	4,451,470	29.3	63.2
Delaware.....	2008	D#	+35.5	10,244,478	25.92	7,951,685	77.6	67.5
Florida.....	2006	R#	+7.1	44,639,532	9.24	21,159,799	47.4	52.2
Georgia.....	2006	R★	+19.7	30,934,282	14.58	13,779,247	44.5	57.9
Hawaii.....	2006	R★	+27.1	7,409,497	21.52	6,909,290	93.2	62.5
Idaho.....	2006	R#	+8.6	3,846,647	8.53	2,077,242	54.0	52.7
Illinois.....	2006	D★	+10.6	51,570,692	14.79	27,957,849	54.2	49.8
Indiana.....	2008	R★	+17.8	36,049,543	13.33	27,615,551	76.6	57.8
Iowa.....	2006	D#	+9.5	17,721,679	16.91	8,038,471	45.4	54.0
Kansas.....	2006	D★	+17.5	6,826,022	8.03	5,060,386	74.1	57.9
Kentucky.....	2007	D★★★	+17.4	34,845,590	33.02	9,745,707	28.0	58.7
Louisiana.....	2007	R#	+36.4	43,612,094	33.60	11,669,041	26.6	53.9
Maine.....	2006	D★	+7.9	5,307,721	9.64	1,284,487	24.2	38.1
Maryland.....	2006	D★★★	+6.5	30,796,529	17.25	14,980,160	48.6	52.7
Massachusetts.....	2006	D#	+20	45,028,958	20.07	9,453,675	21.0	55.6
Michigan.....	2006	D★	+14	56,205,424	14.79	11,921,950	21.2	56.3
Minnesota.....	2006	R★	+0.96	9,226,370	4.19	4,182,647	45.3	46.7
Mississippi.....	2007	R★	+15.8	18,600,309	25.00	13,401,522	72.5	57.9
Missouri.....	2008	D#	+18.9	1,173,068	0.41	842,492	71.8	58.4
Montana.....	2008	D★	+33.0	1,522,643	3.13	783,926	51.5	65.5
Nebraska.....	2006	R★	+48.9	5,540,246	9.36	3,079,985	55.6	73.4
Nevada.....	2006	R★	+4	15,811,213	27.16	6,042,684	38.2	47.9
New Hampshire.....	2008	D★	+42.6	1,323,536	1.95	1,206,437	91.2	70.2
New Jersey.....	2009	R★★★	+3.6	53,293,350	21.99	16,609,064	31.2	48.5
New Mexico.....	2006	D★	+37.6	8,968,962	16.06	8,298,479	92.5	68.8
New York.....	2006	D#	+40.9	49,066,665	11.75	35,521,639	72.4	69.0
North Carolina.....	2008	D#	+3.3	36,150,486	8.47	15,737,308	43.7	50.3
North Dakota.....	2008	R★	+50.9	2,164,325	6.86	1,825,639	84.4	74.4
Ohio.....	2006	D#	+23.9	31,237,576	8.18	16,809,413	53.8	60.4
Oklahoma.....	2006	D★	+33	7,795,569	8.41	4,248,791	54.5	66.5
Oregon.....	2006	D★	+8	15,078,607	10.96	4,559,052	30.2	50.8
Pennsylvania.....	2006	D★	+20.8	43,624,089	10.87	32,580,547	74.7	60.4
Rhode Island.....	2006	R★	+2	4,755,504	12.29	2,434,931	51.2	51.0
South Carolina.....	2006	R★	+10.0	13,381,055	12.25	7,722,403	57.7	55.1
South Dakota.....	2006	R★	+25.6	1,378,859	4.11	314,830	22.8	61.7
Tennessee.....	2006	D★	+38.9	7,492,799	4.14	5,802,862	77.4	68.6
Texas.....	2006	R★	+9.2	36,764,813	8.36	24,269,719	66.0	39.0
Utah.....	2008	R★	+58.0	914,338	0.97	822,747	90.0	77.7
Vermont.....	2008	R★	+31.6	1,609,465	5.30	967,042	60.1	53.4
Virginia.....	2009	R#	+17.35	53,326,250	26.87	23,786,466	44.6	58.6
Washington.....	2008	D★	+5.5	25,200,328	8.39	13,613,104	54.0	53.2
West Virginia.....	2008	D#	+49.1	2,267,686	3.21	2,209,384	97.4	69.8
Wisconsin.....	2006	D★	+7.4	17,694,396	8.19	9,839,373	55.6	52.8
Wyoming.....	2006	D★	+39.9	1,473,551	7.60	1,046,283	71.0	69.9

Source: Thad Beyle, www.unc.edu/~beyle.

Note: All dollar figures are in equivalent 2009\$. Using the 2009 CPI Index which was 2.14537 of the 1982–84 Index = 1.00, the actual 2006 expenditures were based on a 2.016 index value or .9397 of the 2009\$ index, the actual 2007 expenditures were based on a 2.073 index value or .96646 of the 2009\$ index, the 2008 expenditures were based on a 2.153 index value or 1.00357 of the 2009\$ index, and the 2009 expenditures were the exact dollars spent in that election year. Then the actual expenditures of each state's governor's race were divided by the .9 value for that year to get the equivalent 2009\$ value of those expenditures.

Key:

D — Democrat

I — Independent

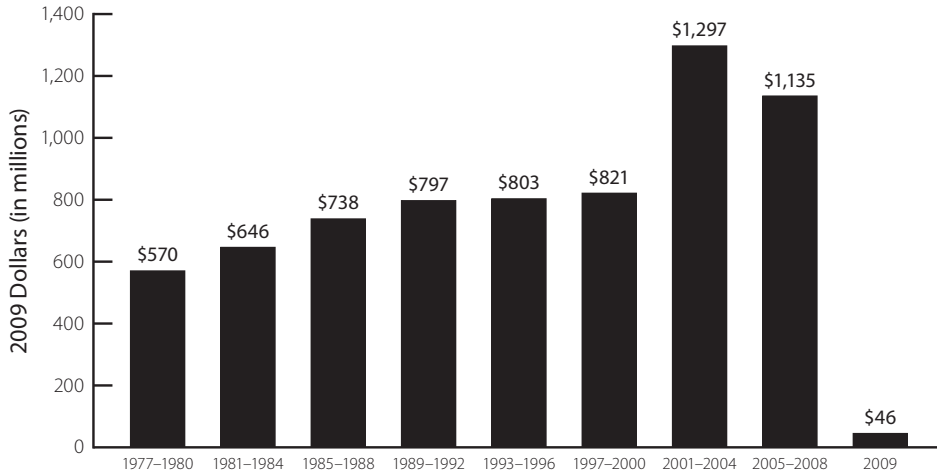
R — Republican

— Open seat

★ — Incumbent ran and won.

★★ — Incumbent ran and lost in party primary.

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

Figure A: Gubernatorial Elections Expenditures (by millions)

Source: Thad Beyle.

Note: The 2009\$ values in this figure are slightly lower than the equivalent 2008\$ in the 2010 figure due to the impact of the current economic recession. The value of the 2008\$ used to create the equivalent 2008\$ for all the years involved was slightly higher than the value of the 2009\$ used for this equivalent 2009\$. 2009\$ = 2.14537, 2008\$ = 2.153. Both are based on the value of the 1982-84 index = 1.00.

2006 race in California (\$137,305,975 in 2009 dollars) to the low-cost 2008 race in Utah (\$ 917,000). Both races saw an incumbent Republican governor win re-election—Arnold Schwarzenegger in California and Jon Huntsman Jr. in Utah.

The most money spent by the winning candidates in these elections were in California (just under \$49 million in 2009 dollars) by Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger; in New York (\$35.5 million) by newly elected Gov. Eliot Spitzer; in Pennsylvania (\$32.6 million) by Gov. Edward Rendell; in Illinois (\$29 million) by Gov. Rod Blagojevich; and in Indiana (\$27.6 million) by Gov. Mitch Daniels. The least money spent by winning candidates in these elections was in South Dakota (\$314,830) by Gov. Michael Rounds; in Montana (\$783,926) by Gov. Brian Schweitzer; in Utah (\$822,747) by Gov. Jon Huntsman; and in Missouri (842,492) by newly elected Gov. Jay Nixon.

But looking at the amount of money spent by the candidates per general election vote, a slightly different picture evolves. In 2008, the most expen-

sive races per vote occurred in Louisiana at \$33.60 per vote and in Kentucky at \$33.02 per vote. The Louisiana race was for an open seat, while the Kentucky race saw an incumbent defeated in the general election. The least expensive races per vote were held in 2008 in Missouri at 41 cents per vote and in Utah at 97 cents per vote. The Missouri race was for an open seat, while in the Utah race, an incumbent won his second term.

In Figure A, by converting the actual dollars spent each year into equivalent 2009 dollars, the cost of these elections has increased over time—with a slight decrease in the most recent years. Since 1981, the costs of each four-year cycle of elections can be compared with the previous and subsequent cycles of elections.

In 54 gubernatorial elections held from 1977 to 1980, total expenditures were \$570 million in equivalent 2009 dollars. In the 52 elections 2005 to 2008—nearly three decades later—total expenditures were \$1.1 billion in 2009 dollars, an increase of 99 percent.

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
Phase I—From initial statehood to adoption of the 19th Amendment to U.S. Constitution (1920)						
No women elected or served as governor						
Phase II—Wives of former governors elected governor, 1924–1966						
Nellie Tayloe Ross (D)	Wyoming	1924	E	1/1925–1/1927	F	...
Miriam “Ma” Ferguson (D)	Texas	1924	E	1/1925–1/1927 1/1933–1/1935	F	...
Lurleen Wallace (D)	Alabama	1966	E	1/1967–5/1968	F	...
Phase III—Women who became governor on their own merit, 1970 to date						
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–	AG	AG
Sarah Palin (R)	Alaska	2006	E	1/2007–7/2009	M (s)	M
Beverly Perdue (D)	North Carolina	2008	E	1/2009–	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

Sources: National Governors Association website, www.nga.org, and individual state government Web sites.

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 terms 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.

Table E: 2010 Governors' Race Winners by Party and Margin

<i>Democratic winners</i>			<i>Republican winners</i>			<i>Independent winners</i>		
<i>State</i>	<i>Percentage of win</i>	<i>Point margin</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Percentage of win</i>	<i>Point margin</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Percentage of win</i>	<i>Point margin</i>
Arkansas.....	64.4%	+30.8	Nebraska	74.9%	+47.8	Rhode Island.....	36.1%	+2.5
New York.....	61.6	+27.0	Wyoming	65.7	+42.8			
Hawaii	58.2	+17.1	Tennessee	65.0	+31.9			
Maryland	56.2	+14.4	Utah.....	64.2	+32.4			
California	53.8	+12.9	Kansas	63.3	+31.1			
New Hampshire ...	52.6	+7.6	South Dakota	61.5	+23.0			
Colorado.....	50.0	+14.6	Oklahoma.....	60.4	+20.9			
Vermont.....	49.5	+1.8	Idaho.....	59.1	+26.2			
Connecticut	49.5	+0.56	Alaska.....	59.1	+20.9			
Oregon.....	43.3	+1.5	Michigan.....	58.1	+18.2			
Massachusetts	48.4	+0.85	Alabama	57.6	+15.7			
Illinois.....	46.8	+0.8	Texas.....	55.0	+12.7			
Minnesota.....	43.6	+0.42	Pennsylvania	54.5	+9.0			
			Arizona.....	54.3	+11.8			
			Nevada.....	53.4	+11.8			
			New Mexico	53.3	+6.8			
			Georgia.....	53.0	+10.0			
			Iowa	52.9	+9.6			
			Wisconsin	52.3	+5.8			
			South Carolina.....	51.4	+4.4			
			Ohio.....	49.0	+2.0			
			Florida	48.9	+1.15			
			Maine.....	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>Northeast</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Midwest</i>	<i>West</i>
10+ points	21	15	6	0	2	6	4	9
5/-10 points	5	4	1	0	2	0	2	1
0/-5 points	11	4	6	1	5	2	3	1
Totals:	37	23	13	1	9	8	9	11

Source: Thad Beyle.

The 2009–2012 Four-Year Cycle in Process

We are now halfway through the current four-year gubernatorial election cycle and know the results of the 2009 and 2010 election years. In these 39 races, we saw 28 states elect new governors to the office and two other states gain new leaders as their governors won a U.S. Senate seat and left office to serve there. In the upcoming two-year elections, there will be 14 gubernatorial elections, three in 2011 and 11 in 2012. At this point, we know

at least three new governors will be elected in these 14 races as the current ones are term-limited in three states.¹⁸ And in other states, incumbents may decide not to seek another term or to go on to some other position of interest. The level of change these next two election years bring is unclear, but any change in the governor's office will only add to this current cycle's high level in new governors serving in the states.

Table F: New Governors Elected Each 4-Year Period, 1970–2010 (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
Totals:	572	315	55	338	256	82	24

Key:

(a) Table A: Gubernatorial Elections: 1970–2009, *The Book of the States, 2010* (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments, 2010): 186.

(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.

Notes

¹ Governors were term limited in AL, CA, GA, HI, ME, MI, NM, OK, OR, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN and WY.

² Governors not seeking another term although they were eligible to do so were in CO, CT, FL, KS, MN, NY, VT and WI.

³ Governors winning another term were in AK, AZ, AR, ID, IL, MD, MA, NE, NH, TX and UT, where the succeeding governor won the ability to serve out that term.

⁴ Governors losing their bids for another term were in IA, NV and OH.

⁵ Republicans won in AL, AK, AZ, FL, GA, ID, IA, KS, ME, MI, NE, NV, NM, OH, OK, PA, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, WI and WY.

⁶ Democrats won in AR, CA, CO, CT, HI, IL, MD, MA, MN, NH, NY, OR and VT.

⁷ An Independent won in RI.

⁸ The additional governors serving in 2011 to those listed as winning in the 2010 elections are Republicans currently

serving IN, LA, MS, NJ, ND and VA and Democrats serving currently DE, KY, MO, MT, NC, WA and WV.

⁹State winners by 10 or more points: R—AL, AK, AZ, GA, ID, KS, MI, NE, NV, OK, SD, TN, TX, UT and WY; D—AR, CA, CO, HI, MD and NY.

¹⁰State winners by between 5 and 10 points: R—IA, NM, PA and WI; D—MA and NH.

¹¹State winners by less than 5 points: R—FL, ME, OH and SC; D—CT, IL, MN, OR and VT; I—RI.

¹²Five of these new governors succeeded governors who resigned upon moving on to a new responsibility before the end of their elected terms in Alaska, Arizona, Kansas, Nebraska, Texas; four others succeeded due to problems the incumbents had and were removed from office in California and Illinois, or the incumbent resigned to avoid efforts to remove them due to certain activities they had performed while governor in New Jersey and New York.

¹³In 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, and in West Virginia State Senate President Earl Ray Tomlin (D) succeeded outgoing Gov. Joe Manchin (D) who also was elected to the U.S. Senate in the 2010 election.

¹⁴New Mexico Gov. Susana Martinez (R), Oklahoma Gov. Mary Fallin (R) and South Carolina Gov. Nikki Haley (R).

¹⁵Arizona Gov. Jan Brewer (R), North Carolina Gov. Beverly Perdue (D) and Washington Gov. Christine Gregoire (D).

¹⁶In 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).

¹⁷In this four-decade set of election cycles, two states changed the length of their gubernatorial terms from two years to four years. This eliminated the gubernatorial elections being held during presidential election years beginning in 1988 in Arkansas and in 1996 in Rhode Island.

¹⁸2011—MS; 2012—IN and MT.

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.