

Gubernatorial Elections, Campaign Costs and Powers

By Thad Beyle

The 11 gubernatorial elections that took place in 2008 increased the Democratic to Republican governors' ratio to 29-to-21, but returned to the previous 28-22 ratio when former Arizona Gov. Janet Napolitano resigned in January after she was confirmed as the new secretary of Homeland Security in President Obama's cabinet. The cost of running for governor continues to be expensive. After several years of no forced gubernatorial exits from office, in March 2008 then-New York Gov. Eliot Spitzer resigned from office after he was linked to a prostitution ring. Then in January 2009 former Illinois Gov. Rod Blagojevich was impeached, convicted and removed from office.

Governors continue to be in the forefront of activity into the 21st century. With Republican governors across the country serving as his major supporters and guides, Texas Gov. George W. Bush sought and won the presidency in the 2000 election. He became the fourth of five presidents who had served as governor just prior to seeking and winning the presidency since the mid-1970s.¹

But in 2008, another pattern re-emerged as first-term U.S. Sen. Barack Obama of Illinois won the Democratic nomination and then the general election for president. In selecting his cabinet, Obama turned to several governors to join him in major roles in Washington. Former Arizona Gov. Janet Napolitano was selected to become secretary of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, and New Mexico Gov. Bill Richardson was selected to become the Secretary of the U.S. Department of Commerce. Napolitano was confirmed as Homeland Security secretary Jan. 21, and she resigned as governor and moved to Washington to take on this role. In early January, Richardson withdrew his name as a nominee as details surfaced surrounding a federal investigation into a state-level decision made to hire a particular consulting firm whose leader had made considerable contributions to his political campaigns. Richardson will remain as governor rather than move to Obama's administration. Another governor, Virginia Gov. Tim Kaine, was selected as national chairman of the Democratic Party, a role he can fill while serving out the last year of his single term allowed by Virginia law. Finally, on March 2, Obama selected Kansas Gov. Kathleen Sebelius to serve as his secretary of Health and Human Services. She was confirmed April 28, 2009 and resigned the governorship. Fellow Democrat, Lt. Gov. Mark Parkinson was immediately sworn in.

However, the demands on the governors to propose state budgets and then keep them in balance during recent recessions—and in the current eco-

nomie downturn—have made the governor's chair a hot seat in more ways than one. With no clear projections on just how long and deep the current recession will be, the 2009 and 2010 fiscal years look to be very difficult for state leaders. They face increasing demands for program services and support from those hurt by the economic decline, yet also face the continuing slide in tax and other revenues due to the economic decline.

2008 Gubernatorial Politics

The election cycle for governors has settled into a regular pattern. Over the past few decades, many states moved their elections to the off-presidential years in order to decouple the state and national campaigns. Now, only 11 states hold their gubernatorial elections in the same year as a presidential election. Two of these states—New Hampshire and Vermont—still have two-year terms for their governors, which means their elections alternate between presidential and non-presidential years.

Table A shows that in the year following a presidential election only two states have gubernatorial elections.² In the even years between presidential elections, 36 states hold their gubernatorial elections. In the year before a presidential election, three Southern states hold their gubernatorial elections.³

In the 2008 gubernatorial elections, eight incumbent governors sought re-election while three incumbents did not. All the incumbent governors seeking re-election won another term. Two of the three—former Delaware Gov. Ruth Ann Minner and former North Carolina Gov. Michael Easley—did not seek re-election because both were term-limited and had served the allowed two terms. Missouri Gov. Matt Blunt decided not to seek a second term following indications he would not be successful. For example, his positive job approval ratings in state-level polls in the early months of 2008 were in the low 40 per-

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Table A: Gubernatorial Elections: 1970–2008

Number of incumbent governors

Year	Democratic winner			Number of incumbent governors				Won		Lost		In general election	
	Number of races	Number	Percent	Eligible to run	Number	Percent	Actually ran	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		
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	...	...	...	...
Totals:													
Number	533	293		411		323		245		78		20	58
Percent	100	55.0		77.1		78.6		75.9		24.1		25.6	74.4

Source: The Council of State Governments, *The Book of the States, 2008*, (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments, 2008), 166, 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-Oreg.; 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 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.
- (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.

cent range, and the poll just prior to the 2008 election saw his approval rating at 37 percent.

The party affiliations of the eight successful incumbents seeking another term were split evenly between the two major parties. The Democratic winners and their percent of the total vote were: Montana Gov. Brian Schweitzer (66.7 percent), New Hampshire Gov. John Lynch (70.2 percent), Washington Gov. Christine Gregoire (53.2 percent) and West Virginia Gov. Joe Manchin (73 percent). While three of these incumbent Democrats won easily, Gregoire's win was a rematch of her 2004 race with Republican Dino Rossi that she narrowly won by only 133 votes. This time around, she won by 194,014 votes.

The incumbent Republican winners were: Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels (59.1 percent), North Dakota Gov. John Hoeven (76 percent), Utah Gov. Jon Huntsman (79.8 percent) and Vermont Gov. James Douglas (71.1 percent). Each won handily with Daniels receiving the lowest winning percentage of the vote.

Three new governors were elected in 2008: Delaware Gov. Jack Markell (67.5 percent), Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon (59.6 percent) and North Carolina Gov. Beverly Perdue, (50.3 percent). Perdue's win was the tightest contest in the 2008 elections. Overall, Democrats won seven and Republicans won four of the 11 elections in 2008. Thus, the ratio of Democratic to Republican governors shifted from 28 to 22 prior to the election to 29 to 21 post-election. But this ratio soon would change for several reasons, explained later under The New Governors and Gubernatorial Forced Exits sections.

Gubernatorial Elections

As can be seen in Table A, incumbents were eligible to seek another term in 411 (77.1 percent) of the 533 gubernatorial contests held between 1970 and 2008. In those contests, 323 eligible incumbents sought reelection (78.6 percent), and 245 of them succeeded (75.9 percent). Those who were defeated were more likely to lose in the general election than in their own party primary by a 2.9-to-1 ratio, although two of the four incumbent losses in 2004, and one of their losses in 2006, were tied to party primaries. Not since 1994 had an incumbent governor been defeated in his or her own party's primary.

Democratic candidates held a winning edge in the elections held from 1970 to 2008 (55 percent). In 204 of the races (38.3 percent), the results led to a party shift in which a candidate from a party other than the incumbent's party won. But these party shifts have evened out over the years so that neither of the two major parties has an edge in these party shifts.

In three of the six party shifts in the 2006 elections, Democrats took over after lengthy absences from the governor's office. Democrats won seats for the first time since the 1986 elections in Massachusetts and Ohio, and for the first time since 1990 in New York. But there have been some interesting patterns in these shifts over the past 38 years 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). Despite this Republican trend, Democrats won eight of the 11 gubernatorial races in 2000, when then-Gov. George W. Bush won the presidency in a very close race. Democrats later won six of the 11 when Bush won his second term in 2004. From 2004 to 2008 Democrats have won 36 of the 63 contests (57 percent).

Another factor in determining how many governors have served in the states is the number of 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, the average number of new governors elected in the states dropped from 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.

Into the first decade of the 21st century, there are new faces in the governors' offices. New governors were elected in 61 of the 116 elections held from 2000 to 2008 (54.6 percent). And two other governors succeeded to the office during 2004 and one each in 2005, 2006 and 2008. So, in 2009, 18 of the incumbent governors will be serving their first term (36 percent), while 26 will be serving their second term (52 percent). The beginning of the 21st century certainly proved to be a time of change in the governors' offices across the 50 states.

The New Governors

Over the 2004–2008 cycle of gubernatorial elections and resignations, there were several different routes to the governor's chair by the elected governors and by those governors who have ascended to the office. Fifteen new governors had previously held statewide office. These include:

- Seven lieutenant governors: Connecticut Gov. M. Jodi Rell, Nebraska Gov. Dave Heineman, Virginia Gov. Tim Kaine, former Idaho Gov. James

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**Table B: Total Cost of Gubernatorial Elections: 1977–2007
(in thousands of dollars)**

Year	Number of races	Total campaign costs		Average cost per state (2007\$)	Percent change in similar elections (b)
		Actual \$	2007\$ (a)		
1977	2	12,312	42,166	21,083	N.A.
1978	36	102,342	324,894	9,025	N.A. (c)
1979	3	32,744	93,553	31,184	N.A.
1980	13	35,634	89,758	6,904	N.A.
1981	2	24,648	56,274	28,137	+33
1982	36	181,832	390,198	10,839	+20 (d)
1983	3	39,966	83,262	27,754	-11
1984	13	47,156	94,123	7,240	+5
1985	2	18,859	36,336	18,168	-35
1986	36	270,605	511,541	14,209	+31
1987	3	40,212	73,379	24,460	-12
1988	12 (e)	52,208	91,433	7,619	-3
1989	2	47,902	80,104	40,052	+120
1990	36	345,493	548,402	15,233	+7
1991	3	34,564	52,529	17,510	-28
1992	12	60,278	89,037	7,420	-3
1993	2	36,195	51,930	25,965	-35
1994	36	417,873	584,437	16,234	+7
1995	3	35,693	48,562	16,187	-8
1996	11 (f)	68,610	90,634	8,239	+2
1997	2	44,823	57,911	28,955	+12
1998	36	470,326	598,379	16,622	+2
1999	3	16,276	20,243	6,748	-58
2000	11	97,098	116,845	10,622	+29
2001	2	70,400	82,436	41,218	+42
2002	36	841,427	969,386	26,927	+62
2003	3	69,939	78,760	26,253	+289
2004	11	112,625	123,628	11,239	+6
2005	2	131,996	140,123	70,061	+70
2006	36	727,552	747,741	20,771	-23
2007	3	93,803	93,803	31,268	+19

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 2007\$ value of the dollar to control for the effect of inflation over the period.

(b) This represents the percent increase or decrease in 2007\$ 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.

Risch, Kentucky Gov. Steve Beshear, New York Gov. David Paterson and North Carolina Gov. Beverly Perdue;

- Five attorneys general: Washington Gov. Christine Gregoire, Arkansas Gov. Mike Beebe, Florida Gov. Charlie Crist, former New York Gov. Eliot Spitzer and Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon;
- Two secretaries of state: West Virginia Gov. Joe Manchin and Iowa Gov. Chet Culver; and

- One state treasurer: Delaware Gov. Jack Markell.

Five governors were members or former members of Congress who returned to work within their state. These included U.S. Sen. Jon Corzine, who became governor in New Jersey, and U.S. congressmen: Idaho Gov. L.C. "Butch" Otter, Nevada Gov. Jim Gibbons, Ohio Gov. Ted Strickland and Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal. Montana Gov. Brian Schweitzer unsuccessfully sought a U.S. Senate seat in 2000 as

the Democratic candidate and turned that around to win the governorship in 2004.

New Hampshire Gov. John Lynch and Utah Gov. Jon Huntsman were the two governors that came from the business sector. Two mayors or former mayors were elected in 2006: Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin was the former mayor of Wasilla, Alaska, and Maryland Gov. Martin O'Malley was the former mayor of Baltimore, Md.

Finally, three new governors followed a unique path compared to their counterparts: Mitch Daniels, former head of the Federal Office of Management and Budget, became the governor in Indiana; Bill Ritter, former Denver district attorney, became the governor in Colorado; and Deval Patrick, head of the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice in the Clinton Administration, became the governor of Massachusetts.

In the 423 gubernatorial races between 1977 and 2008, among the candidates were 110 lieutenant governors (31 won), 91 attorneys general (25 won), 30 secretaries of state (eight won), 27 state treasurers (seven won), and 16 auditors or comptrollers (three won). Looking at these numbers from a bettor's point of view, the odds of a lieutenant governor winning were 3.5 to 1, an attorney general winning was 3.6 to 1, a secretary of state winning was 3.8 to 1, a state treasurer winning was 3.9 to 1 and a state auditor or comptroller winning was 5.3 to 1.

One other unique aspect about the current governors is that eight women will be serving as governor into 2009—one less than in the last half of 2004, which was the all-time high for women governors serving at one time. Seven women were elected in their own right: Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin, former Arizona Gov. Janet Napolitano, Hawaii Gov. Linda Lingle, Kansas Gov. Kathleen Sebelius, Michigan Gov. Jennifer Granholm, North Carolina Gov. Beverly Perdue and Washington Gov. Christine Gregoire. The last one is Connecticut Gov. M. Jodi Rell, who as lieutenant governor became governor after the resignation of former Gov. John Rowland in 2004, and then was elected in her own bid to continue serving as governor in 2006.

In January 2009, when former Arizona Gov. Janet Napolitano was confirmed as secretary of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and she resigned her governorship, she was succeeded by another woman as governor, Secretary of State Jan Brewer. Thus the number of women governors in the states will stay at eight. But because Napolitano, a Democrat, was succeeded by Brewer, a Republican, this succession will also change the Democratic-Rep-

lican gubernatorial ratio back to 28-to-22. When Kansas Gov. Kathleen Sebelius resigned after her confirmation as the secretary of Health and Human Services, her successor was Lt. Gov. Mark Parkinson, reducing the number of women governors serving to seven—but the ratio of Democratic to Republican governors remained the same at 28-to-22.

Women continue to hold their own in gubernatorial races. From 2004 to 2008, 10 of the 18 women running either as the incumbent or as the candidate of a major party won—a 55.6 percent success rate. There will be more soon.⁴

Cost of Gubernatorial Elections

Table C presents data on the costs of the most recent elections from 2004 through 2007. There is a great range in how much these races cost, from the 2006 race in California (\$132.6 million in 2007 dollars), to the low-cost 2006 race in South Dakota (\$1.3 million in 2007 dollars). Both races saw an incumbent Republican governor win re-election.

But looking at how much was spent by the candidates per general election vote, a slightly different picture evolves. In 2005, the New Jersey gubernatorial race was the most expensive at \$39.42 per vote, followed by the 2003 Louisiana race at \$32.48 per vote. Both races were for an open seat. The least expensive gubernatorial race per vote in the 2004–2007 election cycle was in the 2006 Arizona race when the candidates spent \$2.49 per vote in 2007 dollars. Close behind the Arizona race was the 2006 race in South Dakota when the candidates spent only \$3.97 per vote and also the 2006 race in Tennessee when the candidates spent only \$4 per vote. These races were won by an incumbent seeking a second term.

In Figure A, by converting the actual dollars spent each year into the equivalent 2007 dollars, we can see the cost of these elections has increased over time. Since 1981, the costs of each four-year cycle of elections can be compared with the previous and subsequent cycle of elections.

In the 54 gubernatorial elections held from 1977 to 1980, total expenditures were \$550 million in equivalent 2007 dollars. In the 52 elections held from 2004 to 2007—just over two and a half decades later—total expenditures were slightly more than \$1.1 billion in 2007 dollars, an increase of 101 percent. Comparing the 1977–1980 election cycle expenditures to the 2001–2004 election cycle reveals a considerably greater increase (128 percent) as was reported in the last two editions of *The Book of the States*. The reason for this difference has to do with

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Table C: Cost of Gubernatorial Campaigns, Most Recent Elections, 2004–2007

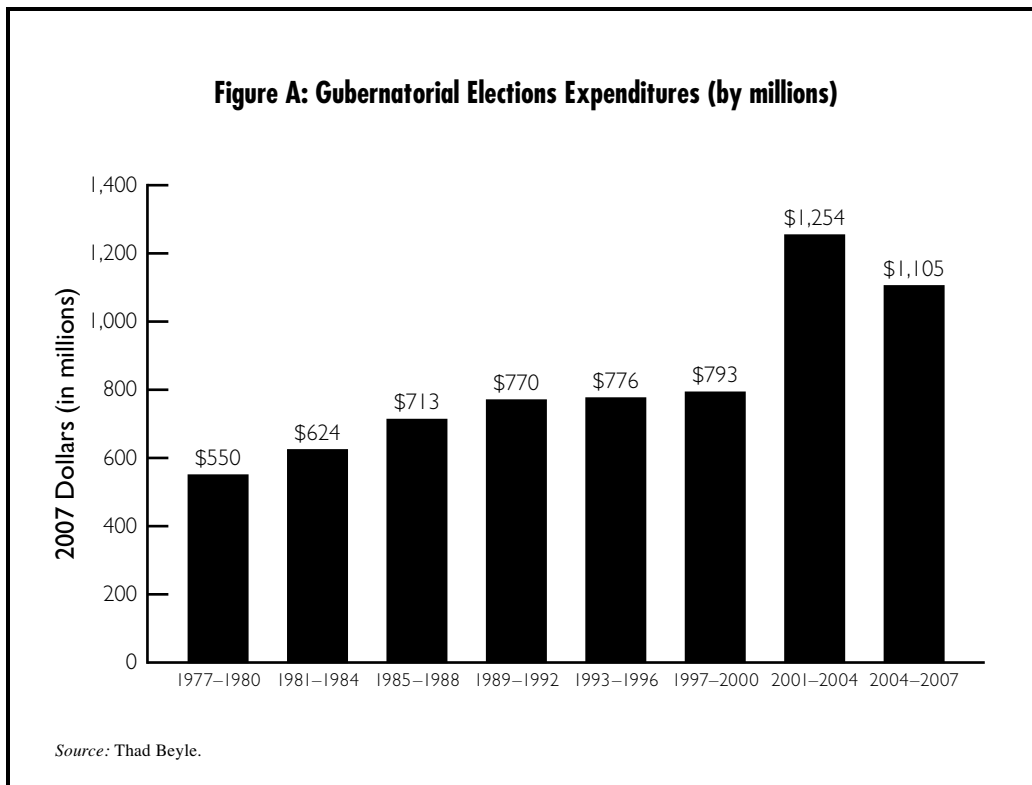
State	Year	Winner	Point margin	Total campaign expenditures				
				All candidates (2007\$)	Cost per vote (2007\$)	Winner		
						Spent (2007\$)	Percent of all expenditures	Vote percent
Alabama	2006	R★	+15.8	\$19,057,119	\$15.24	\$12,402,864	65.1	57.4
Alaska	2006	R★★	+7.4	5,211,390	21.87	1,364,641	26.2	48.3
Arizona	2006	D★	+27.2	3,812,538	2.49	1,658,332	43.5	62.6
Arkansas	2006	D#	+14.4	10,229,307	13.64	6,653,165	65.0	55.4
California	2006	R★	+16.9	132,606,809	15.28	47,165,436	35.6	55.9
Colorado	2006	D#	+16.8	7,992,782	5.13	4,391,539	54.9	57.0
Connecticut	2006	R★	+27.8	14,663,006	13.05	4,299,122	29.3	63.2
Delaware	2004	D★	+5.1	2,904,244	7.96	1,936,977	66.7	50.9
Florida	2006	R#	+7.1	43,111,786	8.93	20,435,625	47.4	52.2
Georgia	2006	R★	+19.7	29,875,586	14.08	13,307,665	44.5	57.9
Hawaii	2006	R★	+27.1	7,155,914	20.78	6,672,826	93.2	62.5
Idaho	2006	R#	+8.6	3,714,999	8.24	2,006,150	54.0	52.7
Illinois	2006	D★	+10.6	49,805,734	14.29	27,001,018	54.2	49.8
Indiana	2004	R★★★	+5.3	35,157,001	14.36	18,473,207	52.5	50.8
Iowa	2006	D#	+9.5	17,115,172	16.33	7,763,362	45.4	54.0
Kansas	2006	D★	+17.5	6,592,408	7.76	4,887,199	74.1	57.9
Kentucky	2007	D★★★	+17.4	33,676,869	31.91	9,418,836	28.0	58.7
Louisiana	2007	R#	+36.4	42,149,344	32.48	11,227,661	26.6	53.9
Maine	2006	D★	+7.9	5,126,069	9.30	1,240,526	24.2	38.1
Maryland	2006	D★★★	+6.5	29,742,547	16.63	14,467,478	48.6	52.7
Massachusetts	2006	D#	+20	43,487,885	19.38	9,130,132	21.0	55.0
Michigan	2006	D★	+14	54,281,847	14.28	11,513,932	21.2	56.3
Minnesota	2006	R★	+0.96	8,910,606	4.05	4,039,499	45.3	46.7
Mississippi	2007	R★	+15.8	17,976,455	24.16	12,952,035	72.0	57.9
Missouri	2004	R★★	+2.9	17,043,604	6.27	5,299,374	31.1	50.8
Montana	2004	D#	+4.4	4,150,139	9.30	1,895,665	45.7	50.4
Nebraska	2006	R★	+48.9	5,350,636	9.01	2,794,576	55.6	73.4
Nevada	2006	R#	+4	15,270,089	26.23	5,835,879	38.2	47.9
New Hampshire	2006	D★	+48.1	2,288,668	5.66	1,702,390	74.4	74.0
New Jersey	2005	D#	+10.5	90,272,548	39.42	47,333,191	52.4	53.5
New Mexico	2006	D★	+37.6	8,662,008	15.49	8,014,472	92.5	68.8
New York	2006	D#	+40.9	47,387,405	10.68	34,305,945	72.4	69.6
North Carolina	2004	D★	+12.7	19,954,458	5.72	9,031,351	45.3	55.6
North Dakota	2004	R★	+43.9	1,532,147	4.94	990,636	64.7	71.3
Ohio	2006	D#	+23.9	30,168,499	7.50	16,234,126	53.8	60.5
Oklahoma	2006	D★	+33	7,528,773	8.13	4,103,380	54.5	66.5
Oregon	2006	D★	+8	14,562,556	10.55	4,402,997	30.2	50.7
Pennsylvania	2006	D★	+20.8	42,131,096	10.30	31,465,509	74.7	60.4
Rhode Island	2006	R★	+2	4,592,752	11.87	2,351,598	51.2	51.0
South Carolina	2006	R★	+10.3	12,923,101	11.84	7,458,111	57.7	55.1
South Dakota	2006	R★	+25.6	1,331,669	3.97	304,055	22.8	61.7
Tennessee	2006	D★	+38.9	7,236,365	4.00	5,604,264	77.4	68.6
Texas	2006	R★	+9.2	35,506,572	8.07	23,439,111	66.0	39.0
Utah	2004	R★★	+16.4	6,913,606	7.52	3,596,371	52.0	57.7
Vermont	2006	R★	+15.2	1,795,893	6.84	1,155,724	64.4	56.3
Virginia	2005	D#	+5.7	49,850,389	25.13	21,970,325	44.1	51.7
Washington	2004	D#	+0.005	15,991,554	5.69	6,986,481	43.7	48.9
West Virginia	2004	D#	+29.5	12,681,979	17.04	3,886,629	30.6	63.5
Wisconsin	2006	D★	+7.4	17,088,822	7.90	9,502,630	55.6	52.7
Wyoming	2006	D★	+39.9	1,423,120	7.34	1,010,475	71.0	69.9

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

Note: Using the 2007 CPI Index which was 2.073 of the 1982–84 Index = 1,000, the actual 2004 expenditures were based on a 1.889 value or .911 of the 2007\$ index, the actual 2005 expenditures were based on a 1.953 index value or .942 of the 2007\$ index, the 2006 expenditures were based on a 2.016 index value or .973 of the 2007\$ index, and the 2007 expenditures were 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 2007\$ 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.



the 36 races in the 2002 elections and how they compared with the 36 races in the 2006 elections.

In 2002, there were 20 open-seat races compared to only nine in the 2006 elections. Open-seat races with no incumbent seeking another term generally attract more candidates who are willing to spend a lot of money to win the governorship as they usually have so few opportunities to win the office. Also, in the 2002 elections, four incumbent governors lost their re-election bids compared to only two incumbents who lost in 2006. In total, 24 new governors were elected in 2002 compared to only 11 in 2006.

The net of all this is that there was nearly a \$222 million decline in the total expenditures between the 2002 and 2006 gubernatorial races. This reversed the general trend of increasingly expensive gubernatorial races over the 1977 to 2006 election period. But, the three 2007 races at \$93.8 million moved up just over 19 percent over the three 2003 races—so that continuing growth in expenditures may still be in place. Now, forecasts indicate that when the 2010 races come around, there could be a lot of money spent in these races—as of now there will be 17 open-seat races, plus some additional open-seat races in

which an incumbent decides not to seek re-election, and those races in which an incumbent governor is defeated. A caveat to this is the current condition of the economy and how that might affect the amount of money put into political races by both candidates and donors.

The rising costs of elections continue to reflect the new style of campaigning for governor, with the candidates developing their own personal party by using outside consultants, opinion polls, media ads and buys, and extensive fundraising efforts to pay for all this. This style reaches into almost every state now, and air-war campaigns now replace the older style of ground-war campaigns across the states.

Gubernatorial Forced Exits

California's 2003 gubernatorial recall and replacement votes highlighted the fact that some elected governors faced situations in which they could lose their office in ways other than being beaten by a challenger at the ballot box or becoming ill or dying. In 2004, two governors resigned from office, former Connecticut Gov. John Rowland, facing the threat of

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Table D: Women Governors in the States

<i>Governor</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Year elected or succeeded to office</i>	<i>How woman became governor</i>	<i>Tenure of service</i>	<i>Previous offices held</i>	<i>Last elected position held before governorship</i>
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	F	...
				1/1933–1/1935		
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–	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–	(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–	SH, LG	LG
Christine Gregoire (D)	Washington	2004	E	1/2005–	AG	AG
Sarah Palin (R)	Alaska	2006	E	1/2007–	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

Sources: National Governors Association Web site, 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
- 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 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.
- (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.

a potential impeachment move, and former New Jersey Gov. Jim McGreevey due to personal reasons.

From 2005 to 2007, such situations were rather quiet and no governor was driven out or recalled from office. Some governors faced difficult times

in terms of things that may have happened while in office, as well as low job approval ratings in state-level polls, indicating that many residents were not happy with their governor's performance.

In early 2008, New York Gov. Eliot Spitzer, a Democrat, under siege after he was linked to a prostitution ring, ultimately resigned on March 12, midway through his term. Democratic Lt. Gov. David Paterson became New York's new governor, and was sworn into office March 17. Paterson became the second African-American governor serving in 2008, along with Democratic Gov. Deval Patrick of Massachusetts.

Later in 2008, word leaked that Democratic Gov. Rod Blagojevich of Illinois was under federal investigation for potential criminal actions committed while in office. He was arrested on criminal charges and then was released to return to work. This suddenly took on very high visibility when newly elected President Barack Obama resigned his U.S. Senate seat in preparation of becoming the 44th president. As governor, Blagojevich had the right and power to appoint Obama's replacement. But the governor used some questionable tactics, including allegedly putting the Senate seat up for bids.

The year closed with both an increase in the intensity of the federal investigation and action by the Illinois State Legislature to impeach the governor for his unethical, and probable criminal actions, in this nomination process. The Illinois House voted 114 to 1 to impeach the governor Jan. 9. The Senate conducted the conviction and removal trial, then voted 59 to zero after a four-day trial Jan. 30 to remove the governor—and then to have the new governor sworn in immediately.⁵ Democratic Lt. Gov. Patrick Quinn was sworn in as governor the same day and Illinois state government began its recovery process. Blagojevich only appeared on the last day of the trial to plead his defense.

Gubernatorial Powers⁶

One way to view changes occurring in gubernatorial powers is to look at the "Index of Formal Powers of the Governorship." The index was first developed by Joseph Schlesinger in the 1960s,⁷ which this author continued to update.⁸ The index used here consists of six different indices of gubernatorial power as seen in 1960 and 2009. These indices include the number and importance of separately elected branch officials, the tenure potential of governors, the appointment powers of governors for administrative and board positions in the executive branch, the governor's budgetary power, the governor's veto power and the governor's party control in the legislature. Each of the individual indices is set in a five-point scale, with five being the most power and one being the least.

During nearly five decades from 1960 to 2009, the overall institutional powers of the nation's governors increased by 0.8 percent, according to the index. The greatest increase among the individual gubernatorial institutional powers was an 80 percent increase in their veto power as more governors gained an item veto. In 1996, North Carolina voters approved by a 3-to-1 margin a constitutional amendment finally giving their governor veto power.

The indices measuring the governor's tenure potential—or length of term and ability to seek an additional term or terms—showed a 28 percent increase in power, as it did vis-à-vis the number of separately elected executive branch officials. However, the governor's appointment power over specific functional area executive officials increased by only 7 percent.

In addition, the states continue to adhere to the concept of multiple executives in terms of the number of statewide elected officials. In 2006, there were 308 separately elected executive officials covering 12 major offices in the states.⁹ Compare that to the 306 elected officials in 1972. Ten states also had multimember boards, commissions or councils with members selected by statewide or district election.

The gubernatorial budgetary power actually decreased by 22 percent. However, during this same time period, state legislatures were undergoing considerable reform, and gaining more power to work on the governor's proposed budget was one of the reforms sought. Hence, the increased legislative budgetary power more than balanced out any increases in gubernatorial budgetary power.

There has also been a 34 percent drop in the gubernatorial party control in the state legislatures over the period. Much of this can be attributed to the major partisan shifts occurring in the Southern states as the region moved from one-party dominance to a very competitive two-party system.¹⁰ In 1960, 13 of the 14 governors were Democrats, and all 28 state legislative chambers were under Democratic control. In 2009, Republicans and Democrats each control seven governorships, and also split the control of the 28 houses of the state legislatures holding control of 14 each.

Three Republican Southern governors face a legislature completely controlled by Democrats,¹¹ while two Democratic governors face a legislature completely controlled by Republicans.¹² Two Democratic governors face a legislature with split partisan control.¹³ Only three Democratic governors have legislative chambers controlled by their own party,¹⁴ and only four Republican governors have legislative chambers controlled by their own party.¹⁵

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Table E: Impeachments and Removals of Governors

<i>Name, party and state</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Process of impeachment and outcome</i>		
Charles Robinson (R-Kan.)	1862	Impeached	Acquitted	
Harrison Reed (R-Fla.)	1868	Impeached	Acquitted	
William Holden (R-N.C.)	1871	Impeached	Convicted	Removed
Powell Clayton (R-Ark.)	1871	Impeached	Acquitted	
David Butler (R-Neb.)	1871	Impeached	Convicted	Removed
Henry Warmouth (R-La.)	1872	Impeached		Term ended
Harrison Reed (R-Fla.)	1872	Impeached	Acquitted	
Adelbert Ames (R-Miss.)	1876	Impeached		Resigned
William P. Kellogg (R-La.)	1876	Impeached	Acquitted	
William Sulzer (D-N.Y.)	1913	Impeached	Convicted	Removed
James "Pa" Ferguson (D-Texas)	1917	Impeached	Convicted	Resigned
John C. Walton (D-Okla.)	1923	Impeached	Convicted	Removed
Henry S. Johnston (D-Okla.)	1928	Impeached	Acquitted	
Henry S. Johnston (D-Okla.)	1929	Impeached	Convicted	Removed
Huey P. Long (D-La.)	1929	Impeached	Acquitted	
Henry Horton (D-Tenn.)	1931	Impeached	Acquitted	
Richard Leche (D-La.)	1939	Threatened		Resigned
Evan Mecham (R-Ariz.)	1988	Impeached	Convicted	Removed
John Rowland (R-Conn.)	2004	Threatened		Resigned
Rod R. Blagojevich (D-Ill.)	2009	Impeached	Convicted	Removed
<i>Other removals of incumbent governors</i>				
John A. Quitman (D-Miss.)	1851	Resigned after federal criminal indictment.		
Rufus Brown (R-Ga.)	1871	Resigned while under criminal investigation.		
Lynn J. Frazier (R-N.D.)	1921	Recalled by voters during third term.		
Warren T. McCray (R-Ind.)	1924	Resigned after federal criminal conviction.		
William Langer (I-N.D.)	1934	Removed by North Dakota Supreme Court.		
Thomas L. Moodie (D-N.D.)	1935	Removed by North Dakota Supreme Court.		
J. Howard Pyle (R-Ariz.)	1955	Recall petition certified, but term ended before date set for recall election.		
Marvin Mandel (D-Md.)	1977	Removed after federal criminal conviction.		
Ray Blanton (D-Tenn.)	1979	Term shortened in bipartisan agreement (a).		
Evan Mecham (R-Ariz.)	1987	Recall petition certified, but impeached, convicted and removed from office before the date set for the recall election.		
H. Guy Hunt (R-Ala.)	1993	Removed after state criminal conviction.		
Jim Guy Tucker Jr. (D-Ark.)	1996	Resigned after federal criminal conviction.		
J. Fife Symington (R-Ariz.)	1997	Resigned after federal criminal conviction.		
Gray Davis (D-Calif.)	2003	Recalled by voters during second term.		
James McGreevey (D-N.J.)	2004	Resigned due to personal reasons.		
Eliot Spitzer (D-N.Y.)	2008	Resigned after being linked to a prostitution ring.		

Sources: Thad Beyle and The Council of State Governments, National Governors Association database, and Eric Kelderman, "Spitzer, 22nd disgraced gov to leave office," *www.stateline.org* (March 12, 2008).

Key:

(a) See Lamar Alexander, *Steps Along the War: A Governor's Scrapbook* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1986), 21–9 for a discussion of this unique transition between governors.

Notes

¹The former governors winning the presidency over the past four decades were Jimmy Carter (D-Ga., 1971–1975) in 1976, Ronald Reagan (R-Calif., 1967–1975) in 1980 and 1984, Bill Clinton (D-Ark., 1979–1981 and 1983–1992) in 1992 and 1996, and George W. Bush (R-Texas, 1995–2001) in 2000 and 2004.

²New Jersey and Virginia.

³Kentucky, Louisiana and Mississippi.

⁴For more detail on these races since 1977, visit my Web site at *www.unc.edu/~beyle*.

⁵Since the 1960s, three other Illinois governors have ended up in prison after their terms were up: Democrat Otto

Kerner Jr. served 1961–1968 and was in prison 1974–1975; Democrat Dan Walker served 1973–1977 and was in prison 1988–1989; and Republican George Ryan served 1999–2003 and has been in prison since 2007.

⁶For more detail on this topic, check Thad Beyle and Margaret Ferguson, “Governors and the Executive Branch,” in Virginia Gray and Russell L. Hanson, eds., *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis* 9th ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2008), 192–228.

⁷Joseph A. Schlesinger, “The Politics of the Executive,” *Politics in the American States*, 1st and 2nd ed., Herbert Jacob and Kenneth N. Vines, eds., (Boston: Little Brown, 1965 and 1971).

⁸Thad L. Beyle and Margaret Ferguson, *op. cit.* Earlier versions of this index by the author appeared in the 4th edition (1983), the 5th edition (1990), the 6th edition (1996), the 7th edition (1999), and the 8th edition (2003).

⁹Kendra Hovey and Harold Hovey, “D-12: Number of Statewide Elected Officials, 2007,” *CQ’s State Fact Finder*, 2007 (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2007): 113.

¹⁰The following states are included in this definition of the South: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia.

¹¹They are Bob Riley in Alabama, Bobby Jindal in Louisiana and Haley Barber in Mississippi.

¹²They are Brad Henry in Oklahoma and Phil Bredesen in Tennessee.

¹³They are Steven Beshear in Kentucky and Tim Kaine in Virginia.

¹⁴They are Mike Beebe in Arkansas, Beverly Perdue in North Carolina and Joe Manchin in West Virginia.

¹⁵They are Charlie Crist in Florida, Sonny Perdue in Georgia, Mark Sanford in South Carolina and Rick Perry in Texas.

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.