

Gubernatorial Elections, Campaign Costs and Powers

By Thad Beyle

The three gubernatorial elections that took place in 2007 maintained the 28 Democratic governors to 22 Republican governors split that developed following the 2006 gubernatorial elections. The cost of running for governor continues to be expensive, and after several years of no forced gubernatorial exits from office, in March 2008 we watched the governor of New York resign from office due to a personal situation.

Governors continue to be in the forefront of activity as we move 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 the last five presidents who had served as governor just prior to seeking and winning the presidency.¹ Twelve years earlier, his father, George H.W. Bush, a non-governor, won the 1988 presidential election by beating then-Gov. Michael Dukakis (D-Mass., 1975–1979 and 1983–1991). Clearly, presidential politics in the three decades following the Watergate scandal finds governors as major actors. But in 2008, we are not seeing that trend at work.

Additionally, the demands on the governors to propose state budgets and then to keep them in balance during the two recessions of the early 1990s and in the early 2000s have made the governor's chair a hot seat in more ways than one.² In the most recent downturn, governors moved from the half-decade of economic boom of the late 1990s, in which they could propose tax cuts and program increases, to an economic downturn period in which there is increasing demand for program support while state tax revenues had fallen off significantly. Proposed and adopted budgets fell victim to severe revenue shortfalls in most states. Easy times had switched to hard times again. After a short period of good times, now as we enter 2008, some economic problems are returning and will increase some of the budgetary problems governors will be facing.

2007 Gubernatorial Politics

The three Southern states that normally hold their off-year gubernatorial elections in the year before a presidential election found different messages flowing from their politics and outcomes. Two of the states, Louisiana and Mississippi, were heavily damaged by Hurricane Katrina, and there were varying perspectives on just how well their first-term governors had led their state in coping with the damage. Republican Gov. Haley Barbour of Mississippi was

given good marks by many and he was able to build that into a very successful run for a second term. Democratic Gov. Kathleen Blanco of Louisiana was faced with considerably more hurricane damage to her state and also to a wide range of criticism as to just how well she had led her state during the Katrina crisis. So, Blanco decided not to seek re-election and Republican Congressman Bobby Jindal was elected by a considerable margin. He promised to make some basic changes to how Louisiana operated.

In Kentucky, Republican Gov. Ernie Fletcher experienced considerable problems during his administration and his popularity dropped, according to public opinion polls asking how respondents rated Fletcher's performance as governor. In his bid for a second term, Fletcher was beaten by Democratic former Lt. Gov. Steve Beshear by more than 17 percentage points. The 2007 switch in Kentucky and Louisiana left the country with 28 Democrats and 22 Republicans in governors' offices.

Gubernatorial Elections

As can be seen in Table A, incumbents were eligible to seek another term in 402 (77 percent) of the 522 gubernatorial contests held between 1970 and 2007. In those contests, 315 eligible incumbents sought re-election (78.4 percent) and 237 of them succeeded (75.7 percent). Those who were defeated for re-election 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 between 1970 and 2007 (55 percent). In 203 races (39 percent) the results led to a party shift in which a candidate from a party other than the incumbent's party won. Yet 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 won

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Table A: Gubernatorial Elections: 1970–2007

Year	Number of races	Number of incumbent governors											
		Democratic winner		Eligible to run		Actually ran		Won		Lost		In general election	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	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	36	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)
Totals:													
Number	522	287		402		315		237		78		20	58
Percent	100	55.0		77.0		78.4		75.2		24.8		25.6	74.4

Source: The Council of State Governments, *The Book of the States, 2007*, (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments, 2006), 155, 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 Trean, 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.

the seat for the first time since the 1986 elections in Massachusetts and Ohio, and for the first time since 1990 in the New York election. But there have been some interesting patterns in these shifts over the past 36 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, Democratic candidates did win eight of the 11 gubernatorial races in 2000, when then-Gov. Bush won the presidency in a very close race, and later Democrats won six of the 11 when Bush won his second term in 2004. From 2004 to 2007 the Democrats have won 29 of the 52 most recent races (56 percent).

Another factor in determining how many governors have served in the states is how many of the newly elected governors are truly new to the office and how many are returning after complying with constitutional term limits or holding other positions. Of actual 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.

As we move through the first decade of the 21st century, we continue to find new faces in the governors' offices. New governors were elected in 58 of 105 elections held between 2000 and 2007 (55 percent). And two other governors succeeded to the office during 2004 and one each in 2005, 2006 and 2008. So, in 2008, 27 of the incumbent governors will be serving their first term (54 percent). The beginning of the 21st century has certainly proved to be a time of change in the governors' offices across the 50 states.

The New Governors

Over the 2003–2007 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. Twelve new governors had previously held statewide office. These include: six lieutenant governors—M. Jodi Rell (R-Conn.), Kathleen Blanco (D-La.), Dave Heineman (R-Neb.), Timothy Kaine (D-Va.), James Risch (R-Idaho) and Steve Beshear (D-Ky.); four attorneys general—Christine Gregoire (D-Wash.), Mike Beebe (D-Ark.), Charlie Crist (R-Fla.) and Eliot Spitzer (D-N.Y.); and three secretaries of state—Matt Blunt (R-Mo.), Joe Manchin (D-W.Va.) and Chet Culver (D-Iowa).

Six governors were members or former members of Congress who returned to work within their state. These included U.S. Sen. Jon Corzine (D-N.J.), and U.S. Congressmen Ernie Fletcher (R-Ky.), L.C. “Butch” Otter (R-Idaho), Jim Gibbons (R-Nev.), Ted Strickland (D-Ohio) and Bobby Jindal (R-La.). Brian Schweitzer (D-Mont.), who had unsuccessfully sought a U.S. Senate seat in 2000 as the Democratic candidate, turned that around to win the governorship in 2004.

Two governors came from the business sector: John Lynch (D-N.H.) and Jon Huntsman Jr. (R-Utah). Two mayors or former mayors were elected in 2006: Sarah Palin (R-Wasilla, Alaska) and Mike O'Malley (D-Baltimore, Md.).

Finally, five new governors followed a unique path compared to their counterparts: actor-businessman Arnold Schwarzenegger (R-Calif.), former head of the Federal Office of Management and Budget Mitch Daniels (R-Ind.), former Republican Party National Chairman Haley Barbour (R-Miss.), former Denver District Attorney Bill Ritter (D-Colo.) and the former head of the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice in the Clinton administration, Deval Patrick (D-Mass.).

In the 412 gubernatorial races between 1977 and 2007, among the candidates were 108 lieutenant governors (30 won), 90 attorneys general (24 won), 30 secretaries of state (eight won), 24 state treasurers (six won) and 16 state auditors, auditors general 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-to-1, an attorney general 3.8-to-1, a secretary of state 3.8-to-1, a state treasurer 4.0-to-1 and a state auditor 5.3-to-1.

One other unique aspect about the current governors is that eight women will serve as governor in 2008—one less than 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: Sarah Palin (R-Alaska), Janet Napolitano (D-Ariz.), Ruth Ann Minner (D-Del.), Linda Lingle (R-Hawaii), Kathleen Sebelius (D-Kan.), Jennifer Granholm (D-Mich.) and Christine Gregoire (D-Wash.). The last one is Connecticut Gov. M. Jodi Rell, who became governor after the resignation of Gov. John Rowland in 2004 and was elected in her own bid to continue serving as governor in 2006.

Women are continuing to hold their own in gubernatorial races. In the 2003–2007 gubernatorial races, nine of the 15 women running either as the incumbent or as the candidate of a major party won—a 60 percent success rate. There will be more soon.

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**Table B: Total Cost of Gubernatorial Elections: 1977–2006
(in thousands of dollars)**

Year	Number of races	Total campaign costs		Average cost per state (2006\$)	Percent change in similar elections (b)
		Actual \$	2006\$ (a)		
1977	2	12,312	40,905	20,452	N.A.
1978	36	102,342	316,847	8,801	N.A. (c)
1979	3	32,744	90,955	30,318	N.A.
1980	13	35,634	87,124	6,702	N.A.
1981	2	24,648	54,652	27,326	+34
1982	36	181,832	379,608	10,545	+20 (d)
1983	3	39,966	80,902	26,967	-11
1984	13	47,156	91,565	7,043	+5
1985	2	18,859	35,316	17,658	-35
1986	36	270,605	497,436	13,818	+31
1987	3	40,212	71,424	23,808	-12
1988	12 (e)	52,208	88,941	7,412	-3
1989	2	47,902	77,890	38,945	+121
1990	36	345,493	533,168	14,810	+7
1991	3	34,564	51,130	17,043	-28
1992	12	60,278	86,358	7,197	-3
1993	2	36,195	50,341	25,170	-35
1994	36	417,873	568,534	15,793	+7
1995	3	35,693	47,213	15,738	-8
1996	11 (f)	68,610	88,188	8,017	+2
1997	2	44,823	56,310	28,155	+12
1998	36	470,326	581,367	16,149	+2
1999	3	16,276	19,704	6,568	-58
2000	11	97,098	113,698	10,336	+29
2001	2	70,400	80,182	40,091	+42
2002	36	841,427	943,304	26,203	+62
2003	3	69,939	76,604	25,535	+289
2004	11	112,625	120,197	10,927	+6
2005	2	131,996	136,219	68,109	+70
2006	36	727,552	727,552	20,210	-23

Source: Thad Beyle.

Key:

(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 2006\$ value of the dollar to control for the effect of inflation over the period.

(b) This represents the percent increase or decrease in 2006\$ 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.

Timing of Gubernatorial Elections

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 level 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 governor, meaning their elections alternate between presidential and even non-presidential years.

Table A also depicts that in the year following a presidential election only two states had gubernatorial elections.³ In the even years between presidential elections, 36 states held their gubernatorial elections. In the year before a presidential election, three Southern states held their gubernatorial elections.⁴

Cost of Gubernatorial Elections

Table C presents data on the costs of the most recent elections from 2003 through 2006. There is a great range in how much these races cost, from the 2006

race in California (\$129 million in 2006 dollars) to the low-cost 2006 race in South Dakota (\$1.3 million in 2006 dollars). Both races saw an incumbent Republican governor win re-election.

But if we look at how much was spent by all the candidates per general-election vote, a slightly different picture evolves. In 2005, the New Jersey governor's race was the most expensive at \$38.32 per vote, followed by the 2003 Louisiana race at \$30.35 per vote. Both races were for an open seat. The least expensive governor's race per vote in the 2003–2006 cycle was in the 2006 Arizona race when the candidates spent \$2.42 per vote in 2006 dollars. Close behind the Arizona race was the 2006 race in South Dakota when the candidates spent only \$3.86 per vote and also the 2006 race in Tennessee when the candidates spent only \$3.89 per vote. All of these races were won by an incumbent seeking a second term.

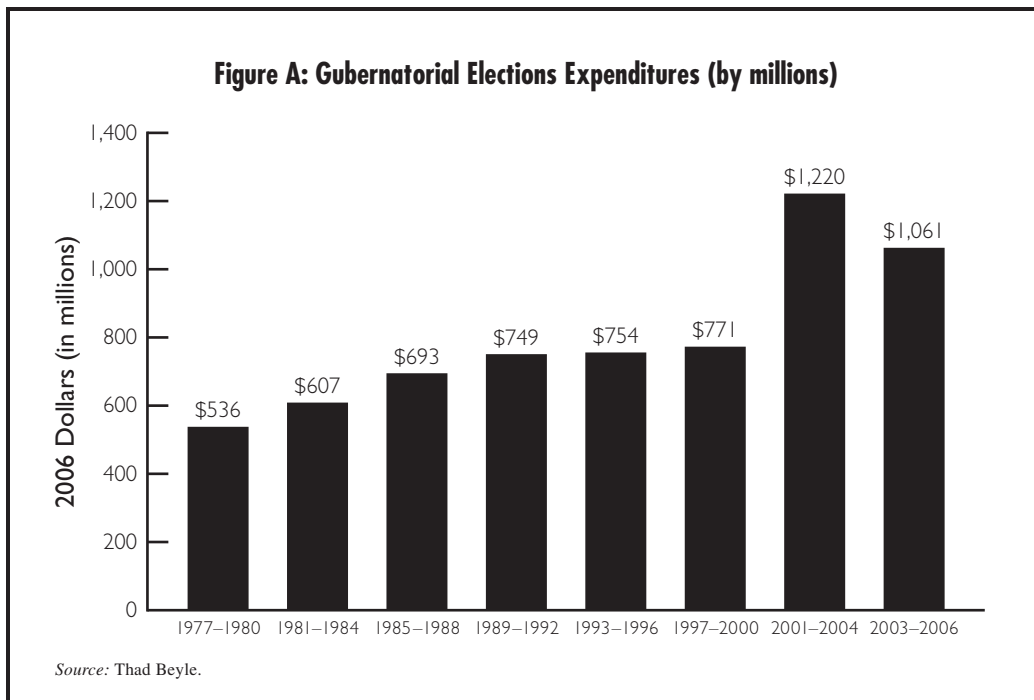
In Figure A, by converting the actual dollars spent each year into the equivalent 2006 dollars, we see how the cost of these elections has increased over time. Since 1981, we have been able to compare the costs of each four-year cycle of elections with the previous cycle of elections.

In the 54 elections held between 1977 and 1980, the total expenditures were \$536 million in equivalent 2006 dollars. In the 52 elections held between

2003 and 2006—just over two and a half decades later—the total expenditures were slightly more than \$1.06 billion in 2006 dollars, an increase of 98 percent. Comparing the 1977–1980 expenditures to the expenditures from the 2002–2005 cycle reveals a considerably greater increase (138 percent) as was reported last year. The reason for this difference has to do with 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 an additional term generally attract more candidates who are willing to spend a lot of money in seeking to win the governorship as they usually have so few opportunities to win the governorship. Also in the 2002 elections, four incumbent governors lost in their re-election bids compared to only two incumbents who lost in 2006. In sum, 24 new governors were elected in 2002 compared to only 11 in 2006.

The net of all this is that there was nearly a \$216 million decline in the total expenditures between the 2002 and 2006 governors' races. This reversed a generally increasing set of gubernatorial races over the 1977 to 2006 elections. But, the guess is that when the 2010 races come around, there will be a lot more



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Table C: Cost of Gubernatorial Campaigns, Most Recent Elections, 2003–2006

State	Year	Winner	Point margin	Total campaign expenditures				
				All candidates (2006\$)	Cost per vote (2006\$)	Winner		
						Spent (2006\$)	Percent of all expenditures	Vote percent
Alabama	2006	R★	+15.8	\$18,542,577	14.83	\$12,067,987	65.1	57.4
Alaska	2006	R★★	+7.4	5,070,682	21.28	1,327,796	26.2	48.3
Arizona	2006	D★	+27.2	3,709,599	2.42	1,613,557	43.5	62.6
Arkansas	2006	D#	+14.4	9,953,116	13.27	6,473,530	65.0	55.4
California	2006	R★	+16.9	129,026,425	14.87	45,891,969	35.6	55.9
Colorado	2006	D#	+16.8	7,776,977	4.99	4,272,967	54.9	57.0
Connecticut	2006	R★	+27.8	14,267,105	12.70	4,183,046	29.3	63.2
Delaware	2004	D★	+5.1	2,823,656	7.74	1,883,229	66.7	50.9
Florida	2006	R#	+7.1	41,947,768	8.69	19,883,863	47.4	52.2
Georgia	2006	R★	+19.7	29,068,945	13.70	12,948,358	44.5	57.9
Hawaii	2006	R★	+27.1	6,962,704	20.22	6,492,660	93.2	62.5
Idaho	2006	R#	+8.6	3,614,694	8.02	1,951,984	54.0	52.7
Illinois	2006	D★	+10.6	48,460,979	13.90	26,271,991	54.2	49.8
Indiana	2004	R★★★	+5.3	34,181,460	13.96	17,960,610	52.5	50.8
Iowa	2006	D#	+9.5	16,653,062	15.89	7,553,751	45.4	54.0
Kansas	2006	D★	+17.5	6,414,413	7.55	4,755,245	74.1	57.9
Kentucky	2003	R#	+10	12,523,059	11.56	6,241,322	49.8	55.0
Louisiana	2003	D#	+3.8	42,641,080	30.35	7,248,060	17.0	51.9
Maine	2006	D★	+7.9	4,987,665	9.05	1,207,032	24.2	38.1
Maryland	2006	D★★★	+6.5	28,939,498	16.18	14,076,856	48.6	52.7
Massachusetts	2006	D#	+20	42,313,712	18.86	8,883,618	21.0	55.0
Michigan	2006	D★	+14	52,816,237	13.89	11,203,056	21.2	56.3
Minnesota	2006	R★	+0.96	8,670,020	3.94	3,930,433	45.3	46.7
Mississippi	2003	R★★★	+6.8	21,439,435	23.96	12,363,005	57.7	52.6
Missouri	2004	R★★	+2.9	16,570,676	6.09	5,152,327	31.1	50.8
Montana	2004	D#	+4.4	4,045,787	9.07	1,843,064	45.6	50.4
Nebraska	2006	R★	+48.9	5,206,169	8.77	2,894,262	55.6	73.4
Nevada	2006	R#	+4	14,857,797	25.52	5,678,310	38.2	47.9
New Hampshire	2006	D★	+48.1	2,226,874	5.51	1,656,425	74.4	74.0
New Jersey	2005	D#	+10.5	87,757,214	38.32	46,014,310	52.4	53.5
New Mexico	2006	D★	+37.6	8,428,134	15.07	7,798,081	92.5	68.8
New York	2006	D#	+40.9	46,107,945	10.39	33,379,684	72.4	69.6
North Carolina	2004	D★	+12.7	19,400,759	5.56	8,780,748	45.3	55.6
North Dakota	2004	R★	+43.9	1,489,633	4.80	963,147	64.7	71.3
Ohio	2006	D#	+23.9	29,353,950	7.30	15,795,805	53.8	60.5
Oklahoma	2006	D★	+33	7,325,496	7.91	3,992,589	54.5	66.5
Oregon	2006	D★	+8	14,169,367	10.27	4,284,116	30.2	50.7
Pennsylvania	2006	D★	+20.8	40,993,556	10.02	30,615,940	74.7	60.4
Rhode Island	2006	R★	+2	4,468,747	11.55	2,288,105	51.2	51.0
South Carolina	2006	R★	+10.3	12,574,177	11.52	7,256,742	57.7	55.1
South Dakota	2006	R★	+25.6	1,295,714	3.86	295,846	22.8	61.7
Tennessee	2006	D★	+38.9	7,040,983	3.89	5,452,949	77.4	68.6
Texas	2006	R★	+9.2	34,547,895	7.85	22,806,255	66.0	39.0
Utah	2004	R★★	+16.4	6,721,766	7.31	3,496,578	52.0	57.7
Vermont	2006	R★	+15.2	1,747,404	6.66	1,124,519	64.4	56.3
Virginia	2005	D#	+5.7	48,461,368	24.43	21,358,149	44.1	51.7
Washington	2004	D#	+0.005	15,230,240	5.42	6,627,766	43.5	48.9
West Virginia	2004	D#	+29.5	12,330,078	16.56	3,778,782	30.6	63.5
Wisconsin	2006	D★	+7.1	16,627,424	7.69	9,246,059	55.6	52.7
Wyoming	2006	D★	+39.9	1,384,696	7.14	983,192	71.0	69.9

Source: Thad Beyle.

Note: 2006\$ — Using the November 2006 CPI Index which was 2.016 of the 1982–84 Index = 1,000, the actual 2003 expenditures were based on a 1.840 value or .913 of the 2006\$ index, the actual 2004 expenditures were based on a 1.889 index value or .937 of the 2006\$ index, the actual 2005 expenditures were based on a 1.953 index value or .969 of the 2006\$ index, and the 2006 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 2006\$ 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.

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	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–	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–	(m), AG	AG
Linda Lingle (R)	Hawaii	2002	E	12/2002–	C, M (n)	M
Kathleen Sebelius (D)	Kansas	2002	E	1/2003–	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

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. 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.

LG — Lieutenant governor. T — State treasurer.

(a) Congresswoman.

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

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

(d) State senate president.

(e) State supreme court clerk.

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

(g) Local school board member.

(h) Whitman was a former state utilities official.

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

(j) Speaker of the state house.

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

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

(m) U.S. attorney.

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

(o) Insurance commissioner.

(p) Federal prosecutor.

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

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

(s) Palin was a two-term Mayor of Wasilla, Alaska, and had unsuccessfully sought the lieutenant governor's office in 2002.

money spent in these races—as of now there will be 17 open-seat races, plus those who decide not to seek re-election and those who seek re-election but are defeated.⁵

These increases reflect the new style of campaigning for governor—with the candidates developing their own personal party by using outside consul-

tants, opinion polls, media ads and buys, and extensive fundraising efforts to pay for all of this. This style has now reached into most every state. Few states will be surprised by a high-price, high-tech campaign; they are commonplace now. The air-war campaigns have replaced the ground-war campaigns across the states.

GOVERNORS

The increasing number of candidates who are either wealthy or who have access to wealth and are willing to spend some of this money to become governor has been another factor. For some, spending a lot of money leads to winning the governor's chair. In 2002, Gov. Gray Davis spent just less than \$72 million in 2006 dollars in his successful bid for re-election in California, while Gov. George Pataki spent just more than \$49.5 million in 2006 dollars to win his third term in New York. However, the fact that Davis spent that amount of money to win re-election did not deter those wanting to recall him from office less than a year later.

But spending a lot doesn't always lead to a win. For example, in the 2002 New York election, Thomas Golisano spent \$85.5 million in 2006 dollars in his unsuccessful campaign for governor as an Independent candidate. And in Texas in 2002, Tony Sanchez also spent \$85.5 million in 2006 dollars as the unsuccessful Democratic candidate. In California's 1998 gubernatorial election, three candidates combined to spend \$133.6 million in 2006 dollars in their campaigns. Two of the candidates won their party's nomination and faced off in November, with Democrat Gray Davis winning and spending \$46.5 million in 2006 dollars over Republican candidate Dan Lundgren, who spent just less than \$39 million in 2006 dollars. The largest spender at \$48.1 million in 2006 dollars, Al Checchi, wasn't even able to win the Democratic nomination.

Gubernatorial Forced Exits⁶

California's 2003 gubernatorial recall and replacement votes highlighted the fact that some elected governors faced situations in which they could lose their office without being beaten by a challenger at the ballot box, becoming ill or dying. In 2004, two other governors resigned from office, John Rowland (R-Conn.), facing the threat of a potential impeachment move, and Jim McGreevey (D-N.J.), due to personal reasons.

In that type of situation, however, 2005, 2006 and 2007 have been rather quiet and no governor has been driven or recalled from office. But, several governors faced difficult times in terms of things that have happened while in office as well as job approval ratings in state-level polls, which indicated that many residents were not happy with their governor's performance.

In early 2008, we watched New York Democratic Gov. Eliot Spitzer under siege for some personal revelations that ultimately led to his resignation on March 12, midway through his term. Democratic Lt.

Gov. David Paterson became New York's new governor, being sworn into office on March 17. Paterson became the second African-American governor now serving in 2008, along with Democratic Gov. Deval Patrick of Massachusetts.

Gubernatorial Powers⁷

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,⁸ which this author has continued to update.⁹ The index used here consists of six different indices of gubernatorial power as seen in 1960 and 2007. These indices include the number and importance of separately elected executive 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 the nearly five decades between 1960 and 2008, the overall institutional powers of the nation's governors decreased by 2.8 percent, according to the index. The greatest increase among the individual gubernatorial powers was an 80 percent increase in their veto power as more governors gained an item veto, and in 1996, North Carolina voters were finally able to vote on a constitutional amendment giving their governor veto power. It was approved by a 3-to-1 margin.

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

In addition, the states continue to hold to the concept of the multiple executive 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.¹⁰ Compare that to the 306 elected officials in 1972. Ten states also have multimember boards, commissions or councils with members selected by statewide or district election.

The gubernatorial budgetary power actually decreased by 22 percent. However, we must remember that during this same time period, state legislatures were also 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 32 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 moves from one-party dominance to a very competitive two-party system.¹¹ In 1960, 13 of the 14 governors were Democrats, and all 28 state legislative chambers were under Democratic control. In 2008, Republicans and Democrats each control seven governorships, while the Democrats hold a 15-to-11 edge in control of the legislative chambers, with two state Senates with partisan ties.¹²

Three Republican Southern governors face a legislature completely controlled by the Democrats,¹³ while four Democratic governors face a legislature with split partisan control.¹⁴ Three Democratic governors have legislative chambers controlled by their own party,¹⁵ and four Republican governors also have legislative chambers controlled by their own party.¹⁶

Notes

¹The former governors winning the presidency over the past three 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.

²For an analysis of governors trying to handle the impact of the early 1990s economic downturn, see Thad Beyle, ed., *Governors in Hard Times* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1994).

³New Jersey and Virginia.

⁴Kentucky, Louisiana and Mississippi.

⁵See the author's article, "Race to Spend Money: Gubernatorial Elections Attract Candidates Willing to Fund Costly Campaigns," *State News* v. 51 no. 1 (January 2008) 10, 13–4, for more detail on this.

⁶For more detail on this topic, check "Table E: Impeachments and Removals of Governors" and accompanying text "Gubernatorial Forced Exits" in *The Book of the States*, 2005 (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments, 2005): 198–200.

⁷For 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).

⁸Joseph 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).

⁹Thad L. Beyle, "The Governors," *Politics in the American States* 9th ed., Virginia Gray and Russell L. Hanson,

eds., (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2008). 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).

¹⁰Kendra 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.

¹¹The 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.

¹²Oklahoma's State Senate has 24 Democrats and 24 Republicans, and Tennessee's State Senate has 16 Democrats, 16 Republicans and one Independent.

¹³They are Republicans Bob Riley in Alabama, Bobby Jindal in Louisiana, and Haley Barbour in Mississippi.

¹⁴They are Steven Beshear in Kentucky, Brad Henry in Oklahoma, Phil Bredesen in Tennessee, and Tim Kaine in Virginia.

¹⁵They are Mike Beebe in Arkansas, Mike Easley in North Carolina, and Joe Manchin in West Virginia.

¹⁶They are Charlie Crist in Florida, Sonny Perdue in Georgia, Mark Sanford in South Carolina, and Rick Perry in Texas.

About the Author

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