

## Governors: Elections, Campaign Costs and Powers

By Thad Beyle

*The 2004 gubernatorial elections and resignations continued the recent trend of changes in the governorships across the states. In addition to the 11 gubernatorial races, two governors resigned before their terms were up. In 2005, 37 of the incumbent governors will be serving in their first term. As in the past, there was a great range in gubernatorial election costs. During the four and a half decades, the overall institutional powers of governors continued to increase, especially in their veto power.*

The governors continue to be in the forefront of activity as we move into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. With Republican governors across the states 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.<sup>1</sup> When George H. W. Bush, a non-governor, won the 1988 presidential election, he beat a governor, 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.

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 now in the early 2000s has made that governor's chair a "hot seat" in more ways than one.<sup>2</sup> In the current downturn, governors have 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 fell off significantly. Proposed and adopted budgets fell victim to severe revenue shortfalls in most all of the states. Easy times had switched to hard times again. Now as we enter 2005, there are signs of an upturn in the economy easing some of the budgetary problems that governors have been facing.

### 2004 Gubernatorial Politics

The 2004 gubernatorial elections and resignations continued the recent trend of changes in the governorships across the states. In addition to the 11 gubernatorial races, two governors resigned their positions and left office before their terms were up.

In the 2004 gubernatorial elections, all 11 incumbent governors were eligible to seek re-election. However, three of the incumbents decided not to seek another term—Judy Martz (R-Mont.), Gary Locke

(D-Wash.) and Bob Wise (D-W. Va.). Locke was finishing up his second term as governor while Martz and Wise were in their first and only terms. While the reasons for not seeking re-election varied, one common factor was apparent. In state level polls, each of the three had low job approval ratings. Their most recent ratings in 2003 - Martz 20 percent positive, Locke 33 percent positive, Wise 39 percent positive - were well below the average positive ratings of 55 percent for the 40 other governors for whom ratings were available. This meant that there was a considerable majority of potential voters who had a negative view on how well they had been performing as governor—hardly the strength that many incumbent governors have on their side in seeking re-election.

The other eight incumbents did seek re-election to another term, but only four of them were successful—Ruth Ann Minner (D-Del.), Michael Easley (D-N.C.), John Hoeven (R-N.D.) and Jim Douglas (R-Vt.)—a 50 percent success rate. Two of the other incumbents seeking another term were defeated in their own party's nomination process. Bob Holden (D-Mo.) was defeated in the Democratic Primary by State Auditor Clair McCaskill. Olene Walker (R-Utah) failed to gain the Republican Party's convention authorization to be one of the two candidates to be on the party's primary ballot—she came in fourth on that pre-primary vote. As lieutenant governor, Walker became an "accidental governor" when Republican Gov. Mike Leavitt resigned to accept an appointment in the Bush Administration as head of the Environmental Protection Agency in November 2003.

Two other incumbents seeking re-election were defeated in the November general election—Craig Benson (R-N.H.) was defeated by a 2-point margin by Democrat John Lynch, and Joe Kernan (D-Ind.) was defeated by an 8-point margin by Republican Mitch Daniels. Kernan was the other "accidental governor" who sought to win the seat for a full term

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**Table A: Gubernatorial Elections: 1970-2004**

| Year           | Number of races | Number of incumbent governors |         |                 |         |              |         |        |         |        |         |            |                     |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------|-----------------|---------|--------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|------------|---------------------|
|                |                 | Democratic Winner             |         | Eligible to run |         | Actually ran |         | Won    |         | Lost   |         |            |                     |
|                |                 | Number                        | Percent | Number          | Percent | Number       | Percent | Number | Percent | Number | Percent | In primary | In general election |
| 1970           | 35              | 22                            | 63%     | 29              | 83%     | 24           | 83%     | 16     | 64%     | 8      | 36%     | 1 (a)      | 7 (b)               |
| 1971           | 3               | 3                             | 100     | 0               | ...     | ...          | ...     | ...    | ...     | ...    | ...     | ...        | ...                 |
| 1972           | 18              | 11                            | 61      | 15              | 83      | 11           | 73      | 7      | 64      | 4      | 36      | 2 (c)      | 2 (d)               |
| 1973           | 2               | 1                             | 50      | 1               | 50      | 1            | 100     | ...    | ...     | 1      | 100     | 1 (e)      | ...                 |
| 1974           | 35              | 27 (f)                        | 77      | 29              | 83      | 22           | 76      | 17     | 77      | 5      | 24      | 1 (g)      | 4 (h)               |
| 1975           | 3               | 3                             | 100     | 2               | 66      | 2            | 100     | 2      | 100     | ...    | ...     | ...        | ...                 |
| 1976           | 14              | 9                             | 64      | 12              | 86      | 8            | 67      | 5      | 63      | 3      | 33      | 1 (i)      | 2(j)                |
| 1977           | 2               | 1                             | 50      | 1               | 50      | 1            | 100     | 1      | 100     | ...    | ...     | ...        | ...                 |
| 1978           | 36              | 21                            | 58      | 29              | 81      | 23           | 79      | 16     | 73      | 7      | 30      | 2 (k)      | 5 (l)               |
| 1979           | 3               | 2                             | 67      | 0               | ...     | ...          | ...     | ...    | ...     | ...    | ...     | ...        | ...                 |
| 1980           | 13              | 6                             | 46      | 12              | 92      | 12           | 100     | 7      | 58      | 5      | 42      | 2 (m)      | 3 (n)               |
| 1981           | 2               | 1                             | 50      | 0               | ...     | ...          | ...     | ...    | ...     | ...    | ...     | ...        | ...                 |
| 1982           | 36              | 27                            | 75      | 33              | 92      | 25           | 76      | 19     | 76      | 6      | 24      | 1 (o)      | 5 (p)               |
| 1983           | 3               | 3                             | 100     | 1               | 33      | 1            | 100     | ...    | ...     | 1      | 100     | 1 (q)      | ...                 |
| 1984           | 13              | 5                             | 38      | 9               | 69      | 6            | 67      | 4      | 67      | 2      | 33      | ...        | 2 (r)               |
| 1985           | 2               | 1                             | 50      | 1               | 50      | 1            | 100     | 1      | 100     | ...    | ...     | ...        | ...                 |
| 1986           | 36              | 19                            | 53      | 24              | 67      | 18           | 75      | 15     | 83      | 3      | 18      | 1 (s)      | 2 (t)               |
| 1987           | 3               | 3                             | 100     | 2               | 67      | 1            | 50      | ...    | ...     | 1      | 100     | 1 (u)      | ...                 |
| 1988           | 12              | 5                             | 42      | 9               | 75      | 9            | 100     | 8      | 89      | 1      | 11      | ...        | 1 (v)               |
| 1989           | 2               | 2                             | 100     | 0               | ...     | ...          | ...     | ...    | ...     | ...    | ...     | ...        | ...                 |
| 1990           | 36              | 19 (w)                        | 53      | 33              | 92      | 23           | 70      | 17     | 74      | 6      | 26      | ...        | 6 (x)               |
| 1991           | 3               | 2                             | 67      | 2               | 67      | 2            | 100     | ...    | ...     | 2      | 100     | 1 (y)      | 1 (z)               |
| 1992           | 12              | 8                             | 67      | 9               | 75      | 4            | 44      | 4      | 100     | ...    | ...     | ...        | ...                 |
| 1993           | 2               | 0                             | 0       | 1               | 50      | 1            | 100     | ...    | ...     | 1      | 100     | ...        | 1 (aa)              |
| 1994           | 36              | 11 (bb)                       | 31      | 30              | 83      | 23           | 77      | 17     | 74      | 6      | 26      | 2 (cc)     | 4 (dd)              |
| 1995           | 3               | 1                             | 33      | 2               | 67      | 1            | 50      | 1      | 100     | ...    | ...     | ...        | ...                 |
| 1996           | 11              | 7                             | 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)              |
| <b>Totals:</b> |                 |                               |         |                 |         |              |         |        |         |        |         |            |                     |
| Number         | 481             | 264                           |         | 367             |         | 286          |         | 211    |         | 75     |         | 19         | 56                  |
| Percent        | 100             | 54.9                          |         | 76.3            |         | 77.9         |         | 73.8   |         | 26.2   |         | 25.3       | 74.7                |

Source: *The Book of the States, 2004*, (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments, 2004), 146, updated.

Key:

- (a) Albert Brewer, D-Alabama.
- (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-Ark.; 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.

but failed. As lieutenant governor, he became governor in September 2003 when incumbent Democratic Gov. Frank O'Bannon died.

Thus the results of the 2004 elections brought seven new governors into office. They were split between the two parties—four Democrats and three Republicans—leaving the Republicans holding a 28 to 22 edge among the governors of the 50 states.

The two governors who resigned their positions and left office in 2004 were John Rowland (R-Conn.) and Jim McGreevey (D-N.J.). Rowland was facing a potential impeachment process over some unethical if not criminal steps taken during his tenure in office and McGreevey admitted to being gay and having had an affair with another man while serving as governor. In a December 2004 plea bargain, Rowland pled guilty to a charge of corruption. Both were succeeded in office by a member of their own party. In Connecticut, Lt. Gov. M. Jodi Rell assumed the governorship on July 1<sup>st</sup> after Rowland had resigned on June 30<sup>th</sup>. In New Jersey, Senate President Richard Codey became acting governor on November 16<sup>th</sup> after McGreevey resigned on November 15<sup>th</sup>. In New Jersey's unique succession arrangement, Codey had to retain his Senate post in addition to becoming acting governor as that was the basis of his succeeding to the office of governor.

### Gubernatorial Elections

As can be seen in Table A, in the 481 gubernatorial elections held between 1970 and 2004, incumbents were eligible to seek another term in 367 (76 percent) of the contests. Two hundred eighty-six eligible incumbents sought re-election (78 percent) and 211 of them succeeded (74 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 as noted two of the incumbent losses in 2004 were tied to party primaries. Not since 1994 had an incumbent governor been defeated in their own party's primary.

Democratic candidates held a winning edge in these elections held between 1970 and 2004 (55 percent). And in 195 races (41 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 five party shifts in the 2004 elections, a Democrat won the seat for the first time since the 1980 elections (Montana), and two Republicans won the seat for the first time since the 1984 elections (Indiana and Missouri). But there have been

some interesting patterns in these shifts over the past 35 years of gubernatorial elections.

Between 1970 and 1992, Democrats won 200 of the 324 races for governor (62 percent). Then beginning in 1993 to date, Republicans leveled the playing field by winning 94 of the 157 races for governor (60 percent). Despite this Republican trend, Democratic candidates did win eight of the 11 gubernatorial races in 2000, when Gov. Bush won the presidency in a very close race. But, since the 1994 elections there have been more Republicans than Democrats serving as governor each year.

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. Looking at the number 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 21<sup>st</sup> century, we continue to find new faces in the governors' offices. New governors were elected in 43 of 64 elections held between 2000 and 2004 (67 percent). And as noted, two other governors succeeded to the office during 2004. So, in 2005, 37 of the incumbent governors will be serving in their first term (74 percent). The beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has certainly proved to be a time of change in the governors' offices across the 50 states.

### The New Governors

Over the 2001-2004 cycle of gubernatorial elections and resignations, there were several different routes to the governor's chair by the 37 elected governors and the two governors who have succeeded to the office. First were the 10 new governors who had previously held statewide office. These include: four attorneys general—Janet Napolitano (D-Ariz.), Jennifer Granholm (D-Mich.), Christine Gregoire (D-Wash.) and Jim Doyle (R-Wis.); two secretaries of state—Matt Blunt (R-Mo.) and Joe Manchin (D-W.Va.); two lieutenant governors—M. Jodi Rell (R-Conn.) and Kathleen Blanco (D-La.); one state insurance commissioner—Kathleen Sebelius (D-Kan.) and one state treasurer—Jim Douglas (R-Vt.).

Second were the eight members or former members of Congress who returned to work within their state. These included U.S. Senator Frank Murkowski (R-Alaska) and U.S. Congressmen Bob Riley (R-

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**Table B: Total Costs of Gubernatorial Elections: 1977-2003  
(in thousands of dollars)**

| Year | Number of races | Total campaign costs |            | Average cost per state (2004\$) | Percent change in similar elections (b) |
|------|-----------------|----------------------|------------|---------------------------------|---|
|      |                 | Actual \$            | 2004\$ (a) |                                 |   |
| 1977 | 2               | \$12,312             | \$38,840   | \$19,420                        | N.A.                                    |
| 1978 | 36              | 102,342              | 300,125    | 8,337                           | N.A. (c)                                |
| 1979 | 3               | 32,744               | 86,167     | 28,722                          | N.A.                                    |
| 1980 | 13              | 35,634               | 82,677     | 6,360                           | N.A.                                    |
| 1981 | 2               | 24,648               | 51,782     | 25,891                          | +33                                     |
| 1982 | 36              | 181,832              | 360,064    | 10,002                          | +20 (d)                                 |
| 1983 | 3               | 39,966               | 76,710     | 25,570                          | -11                                     |
| 1984 | 13              | 47,156               | 86,683     | 6,668                           | +5                                      |
| 1985 | 2               | 18,859               | 33,497     | 16,748                          | -35                                     |
| 1986 | 36              | 270,605              | 471,438    | 13,095                          | +31                                     |
| 1987 | 3               | 40,212               | 67,583     | 22,528                          | -12                                     |
| 1988 | 12 (e)          | 52,208               | 84,343     | 7,029                           | -3                                      |
| 1989 | 2               | 47,902               | 73,809     | 36,905                          | +120                                    |
| 1990 | 36              | 345,493              | 505,107    | 14,031                          | +7                                      |
| 1991 | 3               | 34,564               | 48,477     | 16,159                          | -28                                     |
| 1992 | 12              | 60,278               | 82,011     | 6,834                           | -3                                      |
| 1993 | 2               | 36,195               | 47,814     | 23,907                          | -35                                     |
| 1994 | 36              | 417,873              | 538,496    | 14,958                          | +7                                      |
| 1995 | 3               | 35,693               | 44,728     | 14,909                          | -8                                      |
| 1996 | 11 (f)          | 68,610               | 85,019     | 7,729                           | +4                                      |
| 1997 | 2               | 44,823               | 53,045     | 26,522                          | +11                                     |
| 1998 | 36              | 470,326              | 548,166    | 15,227                          | +2                                      |
| 1999 | 3               | 16,277               | 18,666     | 6,222                           | -58                                     |
| 2000 | 11              | 97,098               | 107,647    | 9,786                           | +27                                     |
| 2001 | 2               | 70,400               | 75,944     | 37,972                          | +43                                     |
| 2002 | 36              | 839,650              | 891,348    | 24,760                          | +63                                     |
| 2003 | 3               | 69,939               | 72,626     | 24,209                          | +289                                    |

Source: Thad Beyle.

(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 2004\$ value of the dollar to control for the effect of inflation over the period.

(b) This represents the percent increase or decrease in 2004\$ over the last batch 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 for 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.

Ala.), Rod Blagojevich (D-Ill.), Ernie Fletcher (R-Ky.), John Baldacci (D-Maine), Robert Ehrlich (R-Md.), and Mark Sanford (R-S.C.). Former Congressman Bill Richardson (D-N.M.) had also served as an administrator in the Clinton administration.

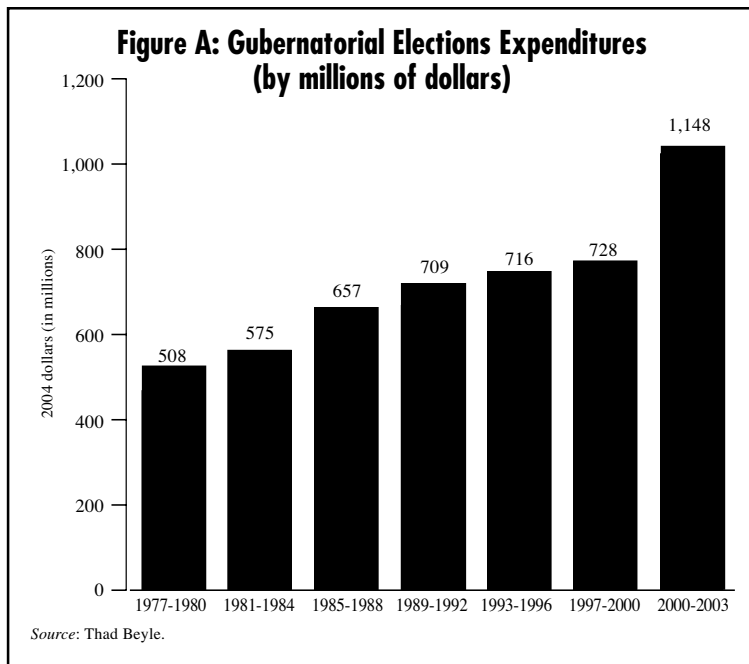
Third were six from the business sector: Craig Benson (R-N.H.), John Lynch (D-N.H.), John Hoeven (R-N.D.), Don Carcieri (R-R.I.), Jon Huntsman, Jr. (R-Utah) and Mark Warner (D-Va.).

Fourth were the five legislators or former legislators who moved up from a district to a statewide office. These included Sonny Perdue (R-from the Ga. Senate),

Tim Pawlenty (R-from the Minn. House), Brad Henry (D-from the Okla. Senate), and Mike Rounds (R-from the S.D. Senate). Also, under New Jersey's unique succession law, the current Senate President Richard Codey-D is now serving as acting governor after incumbent Jim McGreevey's resignation.

Fifth were the four mayors or former mayors: Linda Lingle (R-Maui, Hawaii), Jim McGreevey (D-Woodbridge, N.J.), Ed Rendell (D-Philadelphia, Pa.) and Phil Bredesen (D-Nashville, Tenn.).

Finally, were the six new governors who 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 2000 Winter Olympics Chairman Mitt Romney (R-Mass.), former Republican Party National Chairman Haley Barbour (R-Miss.), former State Supreme Court Justice Ted Kulongoski (D-Ore.) and former U.S. Attorney Dave Freudenthal (D-Wyo.).

In the 371 gubernatorial races between 1977 and 2004, among the candidates were 100 lieutenant governors (28 won), 83 attorneys general (21 won), 27 secretaries of state (seven won), 22 state treasurers (six won) and 14 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 4.0-to-1, a secretary of state 3.9-to-1, a state treasurer 3.7-to-1 and a state auditor 4.7-to-1.

One other unique aspect about the current governors is that there will be eight women serving as governor in 2005 – one less than the nine women serving as governor in the last half of 2004 which was the all-time high for women serving at one time in the office. Seven are women were elected in their own right: Janet Napolitano (D-Ariz.), Ruth Ann Minner (D-Del.), Linda Lingle (R-Hawaii), Kathleen Sebelius (D-Kan.), Kathleen Blanco (D-La.), Jennifer Granholm (D-Mich.) and Christine Gregoire

(D-Wash.), and one is the “accidental governor” of Connecticut, M. Jodi Rell who became governor upon the resignation of Gov. John Rowland. While gubernatorial politics continues to be volatile, women are also continuing to hold their own in these races. In the 2001-2004 gubernatorial races, seven out of the 12 women running either as the incumbent or as the candidate of a major party won – a 58 percent success rate. There will be more soon.

### Timing of Gubernatorial Elections

The election cycle for governors has settled into a regular pattern. Over the

past few decades, many states have 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 so their elections alternate between presidential and non-presidential years.

As can be seen in Table A, the year following a presidential election has only two states with gubernatorial elections.<sup>3</sup> Then in the even years between presidential elections, 36 states hold their gubernatorial elections, and in the year before a presidential election, three Southern states hold their gubernatorial elections.<sup>4</sup>

### Cost of Gubernatorial Elections

Table C presents data on the costs of the most recent elections. There is a great range in how much these races cost, from the all-time most expensive race recorded in New York in 2002 (\$155.8 million in 2004 dollars) to the 2002 race in Nebraska (\$1,697,424 in 2004 dollars). Both the New York and the Nebraska races saw an incumbent successfully 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 2003, the Louisiana

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**Table C: Costs of Governatorial Campaigns, Most Recent Elections 2000–2003**

| State          | Year | Winner | Point margin | Total campaign expenditures |                        |                |                             |              |
|----------------|------|--------|--------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
|                |      |        |              | All Candidates (2004\$)     | Cost Per Vote (2004\$) | Winner         |                             |              |
|                |      |        |              |                             |                        | Spent (2004\$) | Percent of all expenditures | Vote percent |
| Alabama        | 2002 | R★★★   | +0.3         | \$33,512,464                | 24.51                  | \$14,700,611   | 43.9                        | 49.2         |
| Alaska         | 2002 | R#     | +15          | 5,672,033                   | 25.01                  | 1,835,582      | 32.4                        | 55.9         |
| Arizona        | 2002 | D#     | +1           | 8,085,414                   | 6.59                   | 2,439,470      | 30.2                        | 46.2         |
| Arkansas       | 2002 | R★     | +6           | 4,790,362                   | 5.94                   | 2,898,362      | 60.5                        | 53.0         |
| California     | 2002 | D★     | +4.9         | 116,314,901                 | 15.56                  | 68,169,007     | 58.6                        | 47.3         |
| Colorado       | 2002 | R★     | +29          | 6,426,516                   | 4.55                   | 5,116,110      | 79.6                        | 62.6         |
| Connecticut    | 2002 | R★     | +12          | 8,353,753                   | 8.17                   | 6,493,702      | 77.7                        | 56.1         |
| Delaware       | 2000 | D#     | +19          | 3,437,090                   | 10.62                  | 1,483,384      | 43.2                        | 59.2         |
| Florida        | 2002 | R#     | +13          | 18,216,101                  | 3.57                   | 8,094,338      | 44.4                        | 56.0         |
| Georgia        | 2002 | R★★★   | +5           | 25,752,306                  | 12.70                  | 3,880,257      | 15.1                        | 51.4         |
| Hawaii         | 2002 | R#     | +4           | 10,041,642                  | 26.28                  | 5,741,536      | 57.2                        | 51.1         |
| Idaho          | 2002 | R★     | +14          | 2,374,205                   | 5.77                   | 1,181,847      | 49.8                        | 56.3         |
| Illinois       | 2002 | D#     | +8           | 51,768,316                  | 14.63                  | 23,789,347     | 46.0                        | 52.2         |
| Indiana        | 2000 | D★     | +14          | 20,017,471                  | 9.19                   | 10,707,268     | 53.5                        | 56.6         |
| Iowa           | 2002 | D★     | +8           | 13,958,685                  | 13.61                  | 6,424,202      | 46.0                        | 52.7         |
| Kansas         | 2002 | D#     | +8           | 16,201,626                  | 19.39                  | 4,631,042      | 28.6                        | 52.9         |
| Kentucky       | 2003 | R#     | +10          | 11,872,641                  | 10.96                  | 5,917,266      | 49.8                        | 55.0         |
| Louisiana      | 2003 | D#     | +3.8         | 40,427,109                  | 28.72                  | 6,871,733      | 17.0                        | 51.9         |
| Maine          | 2002 | D#     | +5.6         | 4,595,672                   | 9.10                   | 1,681,932      | 36.6                        | 47.1         |
| Maryland       | 2002 | R#     | +3.9         | 5,452,542                   | 3.20                   | 2,689,846      | 49.3                        | 51.6         |
| Massachusetts  | 2002 | R#     | +5           | 32,486,102                  | 14.63                  | 9,937,370      | 30.6                        | 49.8         |
| Michigan       | 2002 | D★★★   | +4           | 15,341,679                  | 4.83                   | 9,435,558      | 61.5                        | 51.4         |
| Minnesota      | 2002 | R#     | +8           | 6,334,174                   | 2.81                   | 2,681,285      | 42.3                        | 44.4         |
| Mississippi    | 2003 | R★★★   | +7           | 20,326,276                  | 22.72                  | 11,721,105     | 57.7                        | 52.6         |
| Missouri       | 2000 | D#     | +1           | 20,765,277                  | 9.09                   | 11,055,690     | 53.2                        | 50.5         |
| Montana        | 2000 | R#     | +4           | 5,109,476                   | 12.46                  | 1,069,605      | 20.9                        | 51.0         |
| Nebraska       | 2002 | R★     | +41          | 1,697,424                   | 3.53                   | 1,287,850      | 75.9                        | 68.7         |
| Nevada         | 2002 | R★     | +46          | 2,883,964                   | 5.72                   | 2,806,829      | 97.3                        | 68.1         |
| New Hampshire  | 2002 | R#     | +21          | 20,113,947                  | 45.41                  | 11,851,771     | 58.9                        | 58.6         |
| New Jersey     | 2001 | D#     | +15          | 39,452,688                  | 17.71                  | 16,414,420     | 41.6                        | 56.4         |
| New Mexico     | 2002 | D#     | +15          | 10,639,323                  | 21.97                  | 7,777,598      | 73.1                        | 55.5         |
| New York       | 2002 | R★     | +16          | 155,787,222                 | 33.21                  | 46,909,872     | 30.1                        | 48.2         |
| North Carolina | 2000 | D#     | +6           | 31,241,242                  | 10.62                  | 12,217,327     | 39.1                        | 52.0         |
| North Dakota   | 2000 | R#     | +10          | 2,560,649                   | 8.82                   | 1,245,918      | 48.7                        | 55.0         |
| Ohio           | 2002 | R★     | +20          | 15,362,890                  | 4.76                   | 13,623,911     | 88.7                        | 57.8         |
| Oklahoma       | 2002 | D#     | +0.7         | 11,912,260                  | 11.50                  | 3,430,690      | 28.8                        | 43.3         |
| Oregon         | 2002 | D#     | +2.8         | 16,041,053                  | 12.73                  | 4,424,201      | 27.6                        | 49.0         |
| Pennsylvania   | 2002 | D#     | +9           | 69,151,599                  | 19.31                  | 41,574,906     | 60.1                        | 53.4         |
| Rhode Island   | 2002 | R#     | +10          | 7,350,029                   | 22.15                  | 2,592,029      | 35.3                        | 54.8         |
| South Carolina | 2002 | R★★★   | +6           | 31,432,056                  | 28.58                  | 7,597,776      | 24.2                        | 52.8         |
| South Dakota   | 2002 | R#     | +15          | 9,833,246                   | 29.39                  | 1,724,149      | 17.5                        | 56.8         |
| Tennessee      | 2002 | D#     | +3           | 18,255,080                  | 11.04                  | 10,364,483     | 56.8                        | 50.6         |
| Texas          | 2002 | R★     | +18          | 112,055,236                 | 24.61                  | 29,617,542     | 26.4                        | 57.8         |
| Utah           | 2000 | R★     | +14          | 2,416,186                   | 3.17                   | 2,161,125      | 89.5                        | 55.8         |
| Vermont        | 2002 | R#     | +2.5         | 2,250,068                   | 9.78                   | 1,193,757      | 53.1                        | 44.9         |
| Virginia       | 2001 | D#     | +5           | 36,491,411                  | 19.34                  | 21,555,447     | 59.1                        | 52.2         |
| Washington     | 2000 | D★     | +19          | 7,277,630                   | 2.95                   | 4,194,591      | 57.6                        | 58.4         |
| West Virginia  | 2000 | D★★★   | +3           | 7,234,887                   | 11.16                  | 3,120,473      | 43.1                        | 50.1         |
| Wisconsin      | 2002 | D★★★   | +3.7         | 18,158,028                  | 10.23                  | 5,866,573      | 32.3                        | 45.1         |
| Wyoming        | 2002 | D#     | +2.1         | 2,735,552                   | 14.75                  | 781,845        | 29.0                        | 50.0         |

Source: Thad Beyle.

Note: 2004\$—Using the November 2004 CPI Index which was 1.910 of the 1982-84 Index = 1,000, the actual 2000 expenditures were based on a 1.722 value or .901 of the 2004\$ index, the actual 2001 expenditures were based on a 1.771 index value or .927 of the 2004\$ index, the actual 2002 expenditures were based on a 1.799 index value or .942 of the 2004\$ index, and the 2003 expenditures were based on a 1.840 index value or .963 of the 2004\$ index. Then the actual expenditures of each state's governor's race were divided by the .9 value for that year to get the equivalent 2004\$ value of those expenditures.

Key:

★—Incumbent ran and won.

D—Democrat

★★—Incumbent ran and lost in party primary.

I—Independent

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

R—Republican

# —Open seat.

**Table D: Women Governors**

| Governor   | State         | Year elected or succeeded to office | How woman became governor | Tenure of service | Previous offices held | Last elected position held before governorship |
|--|---------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|--|
| <b>Phase I - From initial statehood to adoption of the 19th Amendment to U.S. Constitution</b> |               |                                     |                           |                   |                       |  |
| No women elected or served as governor   |               |                                     |                           |                   |                       |  |
| <b>Phase II - Wives of former governors elected governor, 1924-1966</b>                        |               |                                     |                           |                   |                       |  |
| Nellie Tayloe Ross (D)   | Wyoming       | 1924                                | E                         | 1/1925-1/1927     | F                     | ...  |
| Miriam "Ma" Ferguson (D)   | Texas         | 1924                                | E                         | 1/1925-1/1927     | F                     | ...  |
|  |               |                                     |                           | 1/1933-1/1935     |                       |  |
| Lurleen Wallace (D)  | Alabama       | 1966                                | E                         | 1/1967-5/1968     | F                     | ...  |
| <b>Phase III - Women who became governor on their own merit, 1970 to date</b>                  |               |                                     |                           |                   |                       |  |
| Ella Grasso (D)  | Connecticut   | 1974                                | E                         | 1/1975-12/1980    | SH, SOS, (a)          | (a)  |
| Dixy Lee Ray (D)   | Washington    | 1976                                | E                         | 1/1977-1/1981     | (b)                   | ...  |
| Vesta M. Roy (R)   | New Hampshire | 1982                                | S (c)                     | 12/1982-1/1983    | (d)                   | (d)  |
| Martha Layne Collins (D)   | Kentucky      | 1983                                | E                         | 12/1983-12/1987   | (e), LG               | LG   |
| Madeleine M. Kunin (D)   | Vermont       | 1984                                | E                         | 1/1985-1/1991     | SH, LG                | LG   |
| Kay A. Orr (R)   | Nebraska      | 1986                                | E                         | 1/1987-1/1991     | T                     | T  |
| Rose Mofford (D)   | Arizona       | 1988                                | S (f)                     | 4/1988-1/1991     | SOS                   | SOS  |
| Joan Finney (D)  | Kansas        | 1990                                | E                         | 1/1991-1/1995     | T                     | T  |
| Barbara Roberts (D)  | Oregon        | 1990                                | E                         | 1/1991-1/1995     | (g), C, SH, SOS       | SOS  |
| Ann Richards (D)   | Texas         | 1990                                | E                         | 1/1991-1/1995     | C, T                  | T  |
| Christy Whitman (R)  | New Jersey    | 1993                                | E                         | 1/1994-1/2001     | (h)                   | (h)  |
| Jeanne Shaheen (D)   | New Hampshire | 1996                                | E                         | 1/1997-1/2003     | (d)                   | (d)  |
| Jane Dee Hull (R)  | Arizona       | 1997                                | S (i)                     | 9/1997-1/2003     | (j), SOS              | SOS  |
| Nancy P. Hollister (R)   | Ohio          | 1998                                | S (k)                     | 12/1998-1/1999    | LG                    | LG   |
| Ruth Ann Minner (D)  | Delaware      | 2000                                | E                         | 1/2001-           | SH, SS, LG            | LG   |
| Judy Martz (R)   | Montana       | 2000                                | E                         | 1/2001-1/2005     | LG                    | LG   |
| Sila Calderon (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-           | 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   |

*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.  
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.  
M—Mayor.  
(a) Congresswoman.  
(b) Ray served on the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission from 1972-1975 and was chair of the AEC from 1973-1975.  
(c) Roy as state senate president succeeded to office upon the death of Gov. Hugh Gallen.  
(d) State senate president.  
(e) State supreme court clerk.  
(f) Mofford as secretary of state became acting governor in February 1988 and governor in April 1988 upon the impeachment and removal of Gov. Evan Mecham.  
(g) Local school board member.  
(h) Whitman was a former state utilities official.  
(i) Hull as secretary of state became acting governor when Gov. Fife Symington resigned. Elected to full term in 1998.  
(j) Speaker of the state house.  
(k) Hollister as lieutenant governor became governor when Gov. George Voinovich stepped down to serve in the U.S. Senate.  
(l) Swift as lieutenant governor succeeded Gov. Paul Cellucci who resigned after being appointed ambassador to Canada. Was the first governor to give birth while serving in office.  
(m) U.S. attorney.  
(n) Lingle was mayor of Maui for two terms, elected in 1990 and 1996.  
(o) Insurance commissioner.  
(p) Federal prosecutor.  
(q) Walker as lieutenant governor succeeded to the governorship upon the resignation of Gov. Mike Leavitt in 2003, who had been appointed administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.  
(r) Rell as lieutenant governor succeeded to the governorship upon the resignation of Gov. John Rowland in 2004.

governor's race was the most expensive at \$28.72 per vote, followed by the Mississippi race at \$22.72 per vote, and the Kentucky race at \$10.96 per vote. The Kentucky and Louisiana races were for an open seat, while the Mississippi race saw an incumbent governor defeated in his bid for reelection to a second term. The most expensive governor's race per vote in the 2000-2003 cycle was in the New Hampshire 2002 race when the candidates spent \$45.41 per vote in 2004 dollars. The least expensive race during the same

cycle was in the Minnesota 2002 race when the candidates spent only \$2.81 per vote.

In Figure A, by converting the actual dollars spent each year into the equivalent 2004 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 \$507.8 million in

## GOVERNORS

**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.)  | 1870        | 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   |
| <b><i>Other removals of incumbent governors</i></b>                      |             |  |           |            |
| John A. Quitman (D-Miss.)  | 1851        | Resigned after federal criminal indictment.  |           |            |
| 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 bi-partisan 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.  |           |            |
| <i>Sources:</i> Thad Beyle and The Council of State Governments.         |             | <i>book</i> (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1986), 21-9 for a discussion of this unique transition between governors.     |           |            |
| <i>Key:</i>  |             |  |           |            |
| (a) See Lamar Alexander, <i>Steps Along the War: A Governor's Scrap-</i> |             |  |           |            |

equivalent 2004 dollars. In the 53 elections held between 2000 and 2003—just over two decades later—the total expenditures were over \$1,148 million in 2004 dollars, an increase of 126 percent. The greatest increases in expenditures were between the 1977–1980 and the 1987–1990 cycles, when there was a 43.9 percent increase, and between the 1992–1995 and the 2000–2003 cycles when there was a 60.9 percent increase.

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

ants, 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.

Another factor has been 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. For some, spending a lot of money leads to winning the governor’s chair.



In 2002, Gov. Gray Davis spent \$68.2 million in 2004 dollars in his successful bid for reelection in California, while Gov. George Pataki spent \$46.9 million in 2004 dollars to win his third term. However, spending that amount of money and winning reelection did not deter those wanting to have Gov. Davis recalled 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 \$81 million in 2004 dollars in his unsuccessful campaign for governor as an Independent candidate. And in Texas, Tony Sanchez also spent \$81 million in 2004 dollars as the unsuccessful Democratic candidate. In California's 1998 gubernatorial election, three candidates spent \$126 million in 2004 dollars in their campaigns. Two of these candidates won their party's nomination and faced off in November, with Gray Davis (D) at \$43.9 million in 2004 dollars the winner over Republican candidate Dan Lundgren at \$36.8 million in 2004 dollars. The largest spender at \$45.4 million in 2004 dollars, Al Checchi (D), wasn't even able to win the Democratic nomination.

### A Shift Toward More Women Governors

As already noted, a unique aspect about the current governors is that there are eight women serving as governor in 2005. A little history helps to put this into perspective. There have been three phases in this history. In the first phase, which lasted until 1924, no woman was ever elected governor of any state. Remember, the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution providing nationwide suffrage to women was only ratified in August 1920. (see Table D)

The second phase began in 1924, when the first two women were elected governors in the states of Texas and Wyoming—and both were the wives of former governors. Although both were elected on the same day, Wyoming's Nellie Tayloe Ross became the first woman governor to be sworn in—one week before "Ma" Ferguson in Texas took office. It wouldn't be until 1966 when outgoing Gov. George Wallace was instrumental in getting his wife Lurleen elected to succeed him that another woman was elected governor. The key to these wins was that they were wives of former and well-known governors.

The third phase began in the 1970s when women politicians began to move up the political ladder and win the governor's chair in their own right. This began with Ella Grasso of Connecticut (1974) as she moved up from serving several terms as secretary of state and then as a U.S. congresswoman. In effect, she was the first woman governor to win the office on her own merit. There was one other woman elected

governor in the 1970s on her own merit—Dixy Lee Ray of Washington, then came three in the 1980s and four in the 1990s. Four other women became governor in the 1980–1999 period when as number two in the line of succession they succeeded to the office upon the death, resignation or removal of the incumbent governor.

In the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we have seen 12 women become governor in the 50 states and Puerto Rico. In the 2000 elections, three women were elected governor—Ruth Ann Minner (D-Del.), Judy Martz (R-Mont.) and Sila Calderon (Pop. D-PR). In the 2002 elections, four women were elected governor—Janet Napolitano (D-Ariz.), Linda Lingle, (R-Hawaii), Kathleen Sebelius (D-Kan.) and Jennifer Granholm (D-Mich.). In the 2003 elections, Kathleen Blanco (D-La.) was elected governor and two other women moved up from lieutenant governor to governor when President Bush appointed their state's governor to a position in the Bush administration—Jane Swift (R-Mass.) in 2001 and Olene Walker (R-Utah) in 2003. In 2004, another woman Christine Gregoire (D-Washington) was elected governor and another woman lieutenant governor moved up to become governor upon the resignation of the incumbent governor—M. Jodi Rell (R-Conn.).

The last stepping stone to the governorship was as lieutenant governor for six of them, as attorney general for three others, mayor of a major city for two others, and as insurance commissioner for one other. And each had held other elected and appointed offices en route.

### Gubernatorial Forced Exits

The California 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. (see Table E)

Between 1851 and 2004, 30 governors have faced the prospect of having to leave office through impeachment, removal or resignation due to a criminal conviction or actions that brought them into serious trouble. Sixteen governors have been impeached by the state house and while eight were acquitted of the charges by the state senate, seven were convicted by their state senates. Of these seven losers in the fight, six were then removed from office and one resigned upon his conviction.<sup>5</sup> Harrison Reed (R-Fla.) was impeached twice but acquitted both times in 1868 and 1873. Henry Johnson (D-Okla.) was also impeached twice and while he beat

## GOVERNORS

**Table F: Governors' Institutional Powers, 1960 v. 2005**

| Specific power                                      | Scores      |             | Percent change |
|---|-------------|-------------|----------------|
|   | 1960        | 2005        |                |
| Separately elected executive branch officials (SEP) | 2.3         | 2.9         | 28%            |
| Tenure potential (TP)                               | 3.2         | 4.1         | 28             |
| Appointment powers (AP)                             | 2.9         | 3.1         | 7              |
| Budget power (BP)                                   | 3.6         | 3.1         | -14            |
| Veto power (VP)                                     | 2.8         | 4.5         | 61             |
| Gubernatorial party control (PC)                    | 3.6         | 3.0         | -17            |
| <b>Totals</b>                                       | <b>18.4</b> | <b>20.7</b> | <b>12.5</b>    |

*Notes:*

SEP - Separately elected executive branch officials: 5 = only governor or governor/lieutenant governor team elected; 4.5 = governor or governor/lieutenant governor team with one other elected official; 4 = governor/lieutenant governor team with some process officials (attorney general, secretary of state, treasurer, auditor) elected; 3 = governor/lieutenant governor team with process officials, and some major and minor policy officials elected; 2.5 = governor (no team) with six or fewer officials elected, but none are major policy officials; 2 = governor (no team) with six or fewer officials elected, including one major policy official; 1.5 = governor (no team) with six or fewer officials elected, but two are major policy officials; 1 = governor (no team) with seven or more process and several major policy officials elected. [Source: CSG, *The Book of the States, 1960-1961* (1960): 124-125 and (2004): 175-180].

TP - Tenure potential of governors: 5 = 4-year term, no restraint on reelection; 4.5 = 4-year term, only three terms permitted; 4 = 4-year term, only two terms permitted; 3 = 4-year term, no consecutive election permitted; 2 = 2-year term, no restraint on reelection; 1 = 2-year term, only two terms permitted. [Source: Joseph A. Schlesinger, "The Politics of the Executive," in *Politics in the American States*, edited by Herbert Jacob and Kenneth N. Vines (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965) and CSG, *The Book of the States, 2004* (2004): 157-158].

AP - Governor's appointment powers in six major functional areas: corrections, K-12 education, health, highways/transportation, public utilities regulation, and welfare. The six individual office scores are totaled and then averaged and rounded to the nearest .5 for the state score. 5 = governor appoints, no other approval needed; 4 = governor appoints, a board, council or legislature approves; 3 = someone else appoints, governor approves or shares appointment; 2 = someone else appoints, governor and others approve; 1 = someone else appoints, no approval or confirmation needed. [Source: Schlesinger (1965), and CSG, *The Book of the States, 2004* (2004): 175-180].

BP - Governor's budget power: 5 = governor has full responsibility, legislature may not increase executive budget; 4 = governor has full responsibility, legislature can increase by special majority vote or subject to item veto; 3 = governor has full responsibility, legislature has unlimited power to change executive budget; 2 = governor shares responsibility, legislature has unlimited power to change executive budget; 1 = governor shares responsibility with other elected official, legislature has unlimited power to change executive budget. [Source: Schlesinger (1965) and CSG, *The Book of the States, 2004* (2004): 162-163 and NCSL, "Limits on Authority of Legislature to Change Budget" (1998)].

VP - Governor's veto power: 5 = has item veto and a special majority vote of the legislature is needed to override a veto (3/5's of legislators elected or 2/3's of legislators present); 4 = has item veto with a majority of the legislators elected needed to override; 3 = has item veto with only a majority of the legislators present needed to override; 2 = no item veto, with a special legislative majority needed to override it; 1 = no item veto, only a simple legislative majority needed to override. (Source: Schlesinger (1965); and CSG, *The Book of the States, 2004* (2004): 113-115, 162-163).

PC - Gubernatorial party control: 5 = has a substantial majority (75% or more) in both houses of the legislature; 4 = has a simple majority in both houses (less than 75%), or a substantial majority in one house and a simple majority in the other; 3 = split party control in the legislature or a nonpartisan legislature; 2 = has a substantial minority in both houses (25% or more), or a simple minority (25% or less) in one and a substantial minority in the other; 1 = has a simple minority in both houses. (Source: National Conference of State Legislatures web page, various dates).

Total - sum of the scores on the six individual indices. Score - total divided by six to keep 5-point scale.

peached governor resigned before there could be a trial by the senate.<sup>7</sup> And two other governors resigned in the face of a threatened impeachment effort.<sup>8</sup>

Thirteen governors faced other means of being forced to leave office. Five were convicted of criminal charges with three resigning after the conviction<sup>9</sup> and two being removed after their conviction.<sup>10</sup> One other governor resigned after a criminal indictment was made.<sup>11</sup> Two North Dakota governors were removed by the state Supreme Court as one was charged with conspiracy in raising money for his political party by trying to get 5 percent of the wages of the people he had appointed for a subscription to a new party newspaper—the court suspended him from office.<sup>12</sup> The other was disqualified from office as he had voted in Minnesota in 1930 which was within the last five years prior to his election as governor which was not allowed under the state's laws.<sup>13</sup> Four others have faced a recall initiative and while Gov. Lynn Frazier (R-N.D., 1921) and Gov. Gray Davis (D-Calif., 2003) were recalled by the voters, Gov. Evan Mecham (R-Ariz., 1988) was impeached, convicted and removed from office by the state legislature before the scheduled recall vote could be held, and Gov. Howard Pyle (R-Ariz., 1955) saw his term end before a recall vote could be held. In an interesting twist on how an incumbent's tenure was shortened, Gov. Ray Blanton (D-Tenn., 1979) found his term shortened and the locks to his gubernatorial office changed to keep him out in a bi-partisan agreement tied to illegal actions he was taking at the end of his term.<sup>14</sup>

Much of this gubernatorial turmoil occurred to 18 governors in nine different southern states. The leading individual states in experiencing the removal of the incumbent efforts were Arizona and Louisiana with four such actions each, North Dakota and Oklahoma with three such actions each, and Arkansas, Florida, Mis-

issippi and Tennessee with two such actions each. With nearly one-third of these actions occurring within the last three decades, there is heightened awareness of these options of gaining a new governor.

the charges in the 1928 effort, he lost the fight and was removed in the 1929 effort. Another impeached governor escaped conviction as his term ended before the senate could take action<sup>6</sup> while another im-

### Gubernatorial Powers

One way to view the changes that have been occurring in gubernatorial powers is to look at the *Index of Formal Powers of the Governorship* first developed by Joseph Schlesinger in the 1960s,<sup>15</sup> which this author has continued to update.<sup>16</sup> The index used here consists of six different indices of gubernatorial power as seen in 1960 and 2005. 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. (See Table F for details on how each of these indices and the overall index were developed.)

During the four and a half decades between 1960 and 2005, the overall institutional powers of the of the nation's governors increased by 12.5 percent. The greatest increase among the individual gubernatorial powers was in their veto power (plus 61 percent) 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 ratio.

The indices measuring the governor's tenure potential (length of term and ability to seek an additional term or terms) and the number of separately elected executive branch officials showed identical 28 percent increases in favor of the governor. The governors' 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 how many statewide elected officials there are. In 2004, there were 308 separately elected executive officials covering 12 major offices in the states.<sup>17</sup> This compares to 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 declined over the period (minus 14 percent). However, we must remember that during this same period, state legislatures were also undergoing considerable reform, and gaining more power to work on the governor's proposed budget was one of those reforms sought. Hence, the increased legislative budgetary power more than balanced out any increases in gubernatorial budgetary power.

There has also been a drop in the gubernatorial party control in the state legislatures over the period (mi-

nus 17 percent). Much of this can be attributed to the major partisan shifts occurring in the Southern states as the region has been moving from one-party dominance to a very competitive two-party system.<sup>18</sup> In 1960, 13 of the 14 governors were Democrats, and all 28 state legislative chambers were under Democratic control. In 2005, Republicans control eight governorships to the Democrats six, while the Democrats hold a 15-to-13 edge in control of the legislative chambers. Four Southern governors face a legislature completely controlled by the opposite party,<sup>19</sup> while three others face a legislature with split partisan control.<sup>20</sup>

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The 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.

<sup>2</sup> For 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).

<sup>3</sup> New Jersey and Virginia.

<sup>4</sup> Kentucky, Louisiana and Mississippi.

<sup>5</sup> James "Pa" Ferguson of Texas in 1917.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Warmouth (R-La.), 1872

<sup>7</sup> Adelbert Ames (R-Ms.), 1876.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Leche (D-La.), 1939 and John Rowland (R-Conn.), 2004.

<sup>9</sup> Warren McCray (R-Ind.), 1924, Jim Guy Tucker, Jr. (D-Ark.), 1993 and J. Fife Symington (R-Ariz.), 1997.

<sup>10</sup> Marvin Mandel (D-Md.), 1977 and H. Guy Hunt (R-Ala.), 1993.

<sup>11</sup> John A. Quitman (D-Miss.), 1851.

<sup>12</sup> William Langer (D-ND), 1934.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Moodie (D-ND), 1935.

<sup>14</sup> See Lamar Alexander, *Steps Along the Way: A Governor's Scrapbook* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1986), 21-29 for a discussion of this unique transition between governors.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph A. Schlesinger, "The Politics of the Executive," *Politics in the American States*, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, Herbert Jacob and Kenneth N. Vines, eds., (Boston: Little Brown, 1965 and 1971).

<sup>16</sup> Thad L. Beyle, "The Governors," *Politics in the American States* 8<sup>th</sup> ed., Virginia Gray and Russell L. Hanson, eds., (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2003). Earlier versions of this index by the author appeared in the 4<sup>th</sup> edition (1983), the 5<sup>th</sup> edition (1990), the 6<sup>th</sup> edition (1996), and the 7<sup>th</sup> edition (1999).

<sup>17</sup> Kendra Hovey and Harold Hovey, "D-12 - Number of Statewide Elected Officials, 2004," *CQ's State Fact Finder, 2005* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2005): 113.

<sup>18</sup> The following states are included in this definition of the South: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky,

## **GOVERNORS**

Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia.

<sup>19</sup> Republicans Bob Riley in Ala., Mike Huckabee in Ark. and Haley Barbour in Miss., and Democrat Mark Warner in Va.

<sup>20</sup> Republican Ernie Fletcher in Ky., and Democrats Brad Henry in Okla. and Phil Bredesen in Tenn.

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### **About the Author**

**Thad Beyle** is Pearsall Professor of Political Science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. A Syracuse University AB and AM, 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 and has worked with the National Governors Association in several capacities on gubernatorial transitions.