

Governors: Elections, Campaign Costs, Profiles, Forced Exits and Powers

By Thad Beyle

The year 2003 will be etched in the future news reports and analyses as a year of major change occurring to governors. The most startling event was the recall of Gov. Gray Davis of California. The California gubernatorial recall and replacement votes highlight 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. One other unique aspect about the current governors is that there are eight women serving as governor in 2004 – the highest number of women serving at one time in the office. As we move through the first decade of the 21st century, we continue to find new faces in governors' offices.

The governors continue to be in the forefront of activity as we move into 21st 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.¹ 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 the governor's chair a "hot seat" in more ways than one.² 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.

2003 Gubernatorial Politics

The year 2003 will be etched in the future news reports and analyses as a year of major change occurring to governors. The most startling political event was the recall of incumbent Gov. Gray Davis (D-1999-2003) in California. This "grassroots" initiative effort began shortly after Davis had won his second term in the 2002 election with 3,469,025 votes

(47.4 percent). Eleven months later, he was faced with a recall election, and although he received nearly 537,000 more votes supporting his right to continue as governor than he received in his 2002 reelection bid, those wanting him recalled cast nearly 5 million votes.³ Davis became the second governor ever removed from office through a recall initiative. The first, Gov. Lynn J. Frazier (R-N.D.), was recalled in 1921 during his third term in office.

The second question facing the California voters on October 7, 2003, was "If Davis is recalled, who should replace him?" Once the recall effort was certified on July 23, 2003, it was time for "gubernatorial wannabes" to file for the office. Over 140 filed for this contest, and 135 were certified to run on the ballot.⁴ They included 49 Democrats, 42 Republicans, 33 Independents and 11 candidates from six minor parties. While initial attention focused on the wide and in some cases strange variety of individuals seeking the governorship, attention soon focused on those candidates given a chance to win. They included former Los Angeles Mayor Bill Simon (R) who lost in the 2002 gubernatorial race to Gov. Davis, Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante (D), state Sen. Tom McClintock (R), and actor, bodybuilder and businessman Arnold Schwarzenegger (R).

Both major parties faced a large dilemma in this short election period. For the Democrats, it was trying to win enough votes to retain Davis in office while hedging this bet by supporting Bustamante in the replacement vote should the recall succeed – a mixed message sent to the voters. For the Republicans, it was making sure that Davis was recalled and trying to focus the replacement vote on one major candidate, the well-known Schwarzenegger – and rejecting the candidacies of other solid Republicans. Also,

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Table A: Gubernatorial Elections: 1970-2003

Year	Number of incumbent governors												
	Democratic Winner		Eligible to run		Actually ran		Won		Lost				
	Number of races	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	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	28 (f)	82	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)
Totals:													
Number	470	259		356		278		207		71		17	54
Percent	100	55.1		75.7		78.1		74.5		25.5		23.9	76.1

Source: The Council of State Governments, *The Book of the States*, 2003, (Lexington, KY: The Council of State Governments, 2003), 176, updated.

(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-N.H.; Richard Ogilvie, R-Ill.
 (e) William Cahill, R-N.J.
 (f) One independent candidate won: James Longley of Maine.
 (g) David Hall, D-Okla.
 (h) John Vanderhoof, R-Colo.; Francis Sargent, R-Mass.; Malcolm Wilson, R-N.Y.; John Gilligan, D-Ohio.
 (i) Dan Walker, D-Ill.
 (j) Sherman Tribbitt, D-Del.; Christopher 'Kit' Bond, R-Mo.
 (k) Michael Dukakis, D-Mass.; Dolph Briscoe, D-Texas.
 (l) Robert F. Bennett, R-Kan.; Rudolph G. Perpich, D-Minn.; Meldrim Thompson, R-N.H.; Robert Straub, D-Oreg.; Martin J. Schreiber, D-Wis.
 (m) Thomas L. Judge, D-Mont.; Dixy Lee Ray, D-Wash.
 (n) Bill Clinton, D-Ark.; Joseph P. Teasdale, D-Mo.; Arthur A. Link, D-N.D.
 (o) Edward J. King, D-Mass.
 (p) Frank D. White, R-Ark.; Charles Thone, R-Neb.; Robert F. List, R-Nev.; Hugh J. Gallen, D-N.H.; William P. Clements, R-Texas.
 (q) David Treen, R-La.

(r) Allen I. Olson, R-N.D.; John D. Spellman, R-Wash.
 (s) Bill Sheffield, D-Alaska
 (t) Mark White, D-Texas; Anthony S. Earl, D-Wis.
 (u) Edwin Edwards, D-La.
 (v) Arch A. Moore, R-W. Va.
 (w) Two Independent candidates won: Walter Hickel (Alaska) and Lowell Weiker (Conn.). Both were former statewide Republican office holders.
 (x) Bob Martinez, R-Fla.; Mike Hayden, R-Kan.; James Blanchard, D-Mich.; Rudy Perpich, DFL-Minn.; Kay Orr, R-Neb.; Edward DiPrete, R-R.I.
 (y) Buddy Roemer, R-La.
 (z) Ray Mabus, D-Miss.
 (aa) James Florio, D-N.J.
 (bb) One Independent candidate won: Angus King of Maine.
 (cc) Bruce Sundlun, D-R.I.; Walter Dean Miller, R-S.D.
 (dd) James E. Folsom, Jr., D-Ala.; Bruce King, D-N.M.; Mario Cuomo, D-N.Y.; Ann Richards, D-Texas.
 (ee) Two Independent candidates won: Angus King of Maine and Jesse Ventura of Minnesota.
 (ff) Fob James, R-Ala.; David Beasley, R-S.C.
 (gg) Cecil Underwood, R-W. Va.
 (hh) Don Siegelman, D-Ala.; Roy Barnes, D-Ga.; Jim Hodges, D-S.C.; and Scott McCallum, R-Wis.
 (ii) The California recall election and replacement vote of 2003 is included in the 2003 election totals and as a general election for the last column.
 (jj) Gray Davis, D-Calif.; Ronnie Musgrove, D-Miss.

many observers worried that with such a large number of candidates in the race, the winner might become governor with a small percentage of the total votes cast on the second question – considerably fewer votes than Davis received in his 2002 reelection bid.

Despite some unsettling late campaign charges against Schwarzenegger, he was able to win the replacement election rather easily with 48.6 percent of the vote. Bustamante came in second with 31.5 percent of the vote, while McClintock at 13.5 percent to receive over 1 million votes.⁵ In fact, these three candidates received nearly 94 percent of the total votes cast. And, Schwarzenegger received nearly 735,000 more votes in the replacement election than Davis had received in his 2002 reelection, so the fear of a new governor without a great political mandate from the voters was overcome. There was a 630,524 vote drop off from the number of voters on the recall question to the number of voters on the replacement question indicating that it was easier for some voters to cast their yes/no votes on the recall question than it was to figure out just which of the 135 candidates they wanted as governor.

The three Southern states that normally hold their off-year gubernatorial elections in the year before a presidential election also found change flowing from the outcome of their elections. In Kentucky, an open seat race found Republican Congressman Ernie Fletcher the winner, the first Republican gubernatorial victory there in over three and a half decades. In Louisiana, Democratic Lt. Gov. Kathleen Blanco won an open seat race, while in Mississippi former Republican Party National Chairman Haley Barbour defeated Democratic incumbent Gov. Ronnie Musgrove. As in California, each of these states saw a partisan shift in who would become the next governor.

There were also changes in two other governorships during 2003. Gov. Frank O'Bannon (D-Ind.) died after a short illness in September and was succeeded by Lt. Gov. Joe Kernan (D). This situation highlighted the problems that can occur when a governor is incapacitated but is still alive. Indiana did have a process in place that allowed the lieutenant governor to become “acting governor” until the governor resigns or dies.⁶ President Bush reached into the ranks of Republican governors again in selecting Mike Leavitt (R-Utah) as the new administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. Upon confirmation by the U.S. Senate, Leavitt resigned as governor and was succeeded by Lt. Gov. Olene Walker (R) in November.

Gubernatorial Elections

As can be seen in Table A, in the 470 gubernatorial elections held between 1970 and 2003, incumbents were eligible to seek another term in 356 (76 percent) of the contests; 278 eligible incumbents sought re-election (78 percent) and 207 of them succeeded (75 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 3.2-to-1 ratio (see Table A).

Democratic candidates held a winning edge in these elections (55 percent). And in 191 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 the two major parties tie in the number of party shift races they have won.⁷ But there have been some interesting patterns in these shifts over the past 34 years of gubernatorial elections.

Between 1970 and 1992, Democrats won 200 of the 324 races for governor (62 percent). Then starting in 1993, and continuing on between 1994 (when Republicans won races up and down the ballots across the states) and 1998, Republicans won 57 of 90 races (63 percent). Between 1999 and 2001, Democrats moved back into the lead by winning 12 of the 16 races (75 percent). Democratic candidates even won eight of the 11 races in 2000, when Gov. Bush won the presidency in a very close race. In the 2002-2003 races, the Republicans regained the mid-1990s momentum by winning 25 of the 40 races (63 percent). So, over the past 11 years of gubernatorial elections, the Republicans have held a 98-to-60 winning advantage (62 percent). In 2004, there is a Republican 28-to-22 seat margin in the governors' chairs.

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 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 36 of 52 elections held between 2000 and 2003 (69 percent). And as noted, two other governors succeeded to the office during 2003. So, in 2004, 38 of the governors will be serving in their first term (76 percent).

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**Table B: Total Costs of Gubernatorial Elections: 1977-2002
(in thousands of dollars)**

Year	Number of races	Total campaign costs		Average cost per state (2002\$)	Percent change in similar elections (b)
		Actual \$	2002\$ (a)		
1977	2	12,312	36,535	18,268	N.A.
1978	36	102,342	282,711	7,853	N.A. (c)
1979	3	32,744	81,049	27,016	N.A.
1980	13	35,634	77,803	5,985	N.A.
1981	2	24,648	48,808	24,404	+34
1982	36	181,832	339,239	9,423	+20 (d)
1983	3	39,966	72,140	24,047	-11
1984	13	47,156	81,584	6,276	+5
1985	2	18,859	31,536	15,768	-35
1986	36	270,605	444,343	12,343	+31
1987	3	40,212	63,727	21,242	-12
1988	12 (e)	52,208	79,344	6,612	-3
1989	2	47,902	69,524	34,762	+120
1990	36	345,493	475,231	13,201	+7
1991	3	34,564	45,659	15,220	-28
1992	12	60,278	77,280	6,440	-3
1993	2	36,195	45,075	22,537	-35
1994	36	417,873	507,127	14,087	+7
1995	3	35,693	42,140	14,047	-8
1996	11 (f)	68,610	80,058	7,278	+4
1997	2	44,823	49,970	24,985	+11
1998	36	470,326	516,275	14,341	+2
1999	3	16,277	17,578	5,859	-58
2000	11	97,098	101,461	9,224	+27
2001	2	70,400	71,545	35,772	+43
2002	36	839,650	839,650	23,324	+63

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 2002\$ value of the dollar to control for the effect of inflation over the period.

(b) This represents the percent increase or decrease in 2002\$ 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).

(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 1996 election, Rhode Island switched to a four-year term for the governor, hence the drop from 12 to 11 for this off-year.

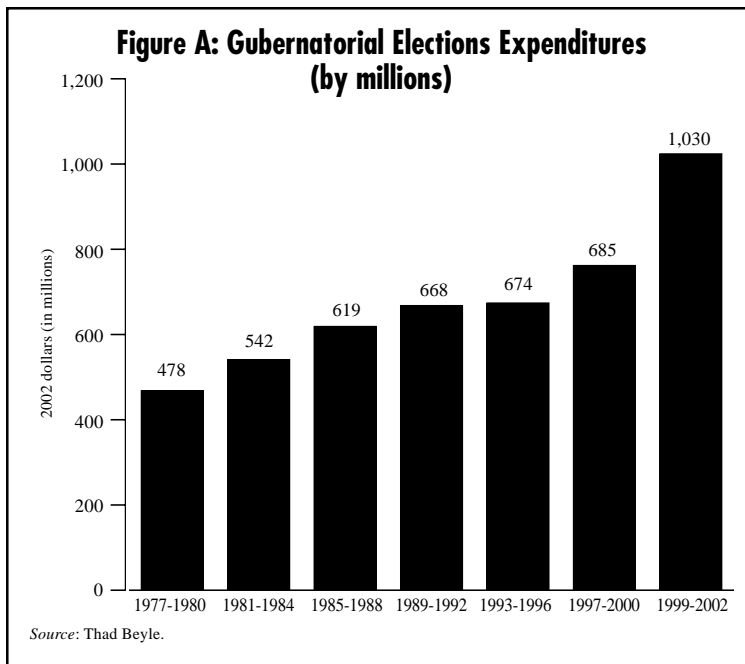
The beginning of this century has certainly proven to be a time of change in the governors' offices across the 50 states.

The New Governors

From 1998-2003, the 50 newly elected governors took several different routes to the governor's chair. Sixteen new governors had previously held statewide office. These included six lieutenant governors – Don Siegelman (D-Ala.), Gray Davis (D-Calif.), Ruth Ann Minner (D-Del.), Kathleen Blanco (D-La.), Ronnie Musgrove (D-Miss.) and Judy Martz (R-Mont.); five

attorneys general – Janet Napolitano (D-Ariz.), Jennifer Granholm (D-Mich.), Mike Easley (D-N.C.), Bob Taft (R-Ohio) and Jim Doyle (R-Wis.); three state treasurers – Bill Owens (R-Colo.), Bob Holden (D-Mo.) and James Douglas (R-Vt.); one secretary of state – George Ryan (R-Ill.), and one state insurance commissioner, Kathleen Sebelius (D-Kan.).

Ten of the new governors were members or former members of Congress who returned to work in the state. These included U.S. Senators Frank Murkowski (R-Alaska) and Dirk Kempthorne (R-Idaho) and U.S. Congressmen Bob Riley (R-Ala.), Rod Blagojevich



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

Seven legislators or former legislators moved up from a district to a statewide office. These included Roy Barnes (D-from the Ga. House) followed by Sonny Perdue (R-from the Ga. Senate), Tom Vilsack (D-from the Iowa Senate), Tim Pawlenty (R-from the Minn. House), Brad Henry (D-from the Okla. Senate), Jim Hodges (D-from the S.C. House) and Mike Rounds (R-from the S.D. Senate).

Six new governors were from the business sector: Jeb Bush (R-Fla.), Kenny Guinn (R-Nev.), Craig Benson (R-N.H.), John Hoeven (R-N.D.), Don Carcieri (R-R.I.) and Mark Warner (D-Va.).

Six new governors were mayors or former mayors. These included Linda Lingle (R-Maui, Hawaii), Jesse Ventura (Ref.-Brooklyn Park, Minn.), Mike Johanns (R-Lincoln, Neb.), Jim McGreevey (D-Woodbridge, N.J.), Ed Rendell (D-Philadelphia, Pa.) and Phil Bredesen (D-Nashville, Tenn.).

Finally, four new governors followed a unique path compared to their counterparts: actor-businessman Arnold Schwarzenegger (R-Calif.), former 2000 Winter Olympics Chairman Mitt Romney (R-Mass.), former State Supreme Court Justice Ted Kulongoski (D-Ore.) and former U.S. Attorney Dave Freudenthal

(D-Wyo.).

In the 360 gubernatorial races between 1977 and 2003, among the candidates were 98 lieutenant governors (27 won), 80 attorneys general (20 won), 24 secretaries of state (five won), 22 state treasurers (six won) and 13 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-to-1, a secretary of state 4.8-to-1, a state treasurer 3.7-to-1 and a state auditor 4.3-to-1.

One other unique aspect about the current governors is that there will be eight women serving as

governor in 2004 - the highest number of women serving at one time in the office. This will be discussed in more detail later in this article.

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.⁸ 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.⁹

Cost of Gubernatorial Elections¹⁰

Table C presents data on the costs of the most recent election. There is a great range in how much these races cost, from the all-time most expensive race recorded in New York in 2002 (\$146.8 million) to the

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Table C: Costs of Gubernatorial Campaigns, Most Recent Elections

State	Year	Winner	Point margin	Total campaign expenditures				
				All Candidates (2002\$)	Cost Per Vote (2002\$)	Winner		
						Spent (2002\$)	Percent of all expenditures	Vote percent
Alabama	2002	R★★★	+0.3	\$31,568,741	23.09	\$13,847,976	43.9	49.2
Alaska	2002	R#	+15	5,343,055	23.56	1,729,118	32.4	56.0
Arizona	2002	D#	+1	7,616,460	6.21	2,297,981	30.2	46.0
Arkansas	2002	R★	+6	4,512,521	5.60	2,730,257	60.5	53.0
California	2002	D★	+4.9	109,568,637	14.66	64,215,205	58.6	47.3
Colorado	2002	R★	+29	6,053,778	4.29	4,819,376	79.6	63.0
Connecticut	2002	R★	+12	7,869,235	7.69	6,117,067	77.7	56.0
Delaware	2000	D#	+19	3,239,556	10.01	1,393,763	43.2	59.0
Florida	2002	R#	+13	17,159,567	3.36	7,624,866	44.4	56.0
Georgia	2002	R★★★	+5	24,258,672	11.96	3,655,202	15.1	51.0
Hawaii	2002	R#	+4	9,459,227	24.76	5,408,527	57.2	51.1
Idaho	2002	R★	+14	2,236,501	5.44	1,113,300	49.8	56.0
Illinois	2002	D#	+8	48,765,754	13.78	22,409,565	46.0	53.0
Indiana	2000	D★	+14	18,867,041	8.66	10,091,908	53.5	57.0
Iowa	2002	D★	+8	13,149,081	12.82	6,051,598	46.0	52.7
Kansas	2002	D#	+8	15,261,932	18.26	4,362,442	28.6	52.9
Kentucky	1999	D★	+39	1,456,908	2.53	1,380,641	94.9	61.0
Louisiana	1999	R★	+32	7,233,356	5.58	3,845,332	53.2	62.0
Maine	2002	D	+6	4,329,123	8.57	1,584,380	36.6	47.0
Maryland	2002	R#	+4	5,136,295	3.01	2,533,835	49.3	51.6
Massachusetts	2002	R#	+5	30,601,908	13.78	9,361,003	30.6	49.8
Michigan	2002	D★★★	+4	14,451,862	4.55	8,888,296	61.5	51.4
Minnesota	2002	R#	+8	5,966,792	2.65	2,525,770	42.3	44.4
Mississippi	1999	D#	+1	8,887,524	11.63	2,972,093	33.4	49.6
Missouri	2000	D#	+1	19,571,870	8.57	10,420,305	53.2	50.5
Montana	2000	R#	+4	4,815,828	11.74	1,008,134	20.9	51.0
Nebraska	2002	R★	+41	1,598,973	3.32	1,213,155	75.9	68.7
Nevada	2002	R★	+46	2,716,694	5.39	2,644,033	97.3	68.0
New Hampshire	2002	R#	+21	18,947,338	42.77	11,164,368	58.9	59.0
New Jersey	2001	D#	+15	37,167,319	16.69	15,463,584	41.6	56.0
New Mexico	2002	D#	+15	10,022,242	20.70	7,326,497	73.1	55.0
New York	2002	R★	+16	146,751,563	31.28	44,189,099	30.1	48.2
North Carolina	2000	D#	+6	29,445,768	10.01	11,515,181	39.1	52.0
North Dakota	2000	R#	+10	2,413,485	8.31	1,174,313	48.7	55.0
Ohio	2002	R★	+20	14,471,842	4.48	12,833,724	88.7	58.0
Oklahoma	2002	D#	+0.7	11,221,349	10.84	3,231,710	28.8	43.3
Oregon	2002	D#	+2.8	15,110,672	11.99	4,167,597	27.6	49.0
Pennsylvania	2002	D	+9	65,140,806	18.19	39,163,561	60.1	53.0
Rhode Island	2002	R#	+10	6,923,727	20.87	2,441,691	35.3	55.0
South Carolina	2002	R★★★	+6	29,608,997	26.92	7,157,105	24.2	53.0
South Dakota	2002	R#	+15	9,262,918	27.69	1,624,148	17.5	56.8
Tennessee	2002	D#	+3	17,196,285	10.40	9,763,343	56.8	50.6
Texas	2002	R★	+18	105,556,032	23.18	27,899,725	26.4	57.8
Utah	2000	R★	+14	2,277,325	2.99	2,036,923	89.5	56.0
Vermont	2002	R#	+2.5	2,119,564	9.22	1,124,519	53.1	44.9
Virginia	2001	D#	+5	34,377,579	18.22	20,306,807	59.1	52.0
Washington	2000	D★	+19	6,859,375	2.78	3,953,522	57.6	58.0
West Virginia	2000	D★★★	+3	6,819,089	10.52	2,941,136	43.1	50.1
Wisconsin	2002	D★★★	+3.7	17,104,862	9.63	5,526,312	32.3	45.1
Wyoming	2002	D#	+2.1	2,576,890	13.89	748,226	29.0	50.0

Source: Thad Beyle.

Key:

D - Democrat

I - Independent

R - Republican

★ - Incumbent ran and won.

★★ - Incumbent ran and lost in party primary.

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

- 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
Phase I - From initial statehood to adoption of the 19th Amendment to U.S. Constitution						
No women elected or served as governor						
Phase II - Wives of former governors elected governor, 1924-1926						
Nellie Tayloe Ross (D)	Wyoming	1924	E	1/1925-1/1927	F	...
Miriam "Ma" Ferguson (D)	Texas	1924	E	1/1925-1/1927 1/1933-1/1935	F	...
Lurleen Wallace (D)	Alabama	1966	E	1/1967-5/1968	F	...
Phase III - Women who became governor on their own merit, 1970 to date						
Ella Grasso (D)	Connecticut	1974	E	1/1975-12/1980	SH, SOS, (a)	(a)
Dixy Lee Ray (D)	Washington	1976	E	1/1977-1/1981	(b)	...
Vesta M. Roy (R)	New Hampshire	1982	S (c)	12/1982-1/1983	(d)	(d)
Martha Layne Collins (D)	Kentucky	1983	E	12/1983-12/1987	(e), LG	LG
Madeleine M. Kunim (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-	LG	LG
Sila Calderon (Pop D)	Puerto Rico	2000	E	1/2001-	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 Sebeliu (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-	SH, LG	LG
Kathleen Blanco (D)	Louisiana	2003	E	1/2004-	SH, LG	LG

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

Key:
AG – Attorney general.
C – City council or county commission.
E – Elected governor.
F – Former first lady.
LG – Lieutenant governor.
M – Mayor.
S – Succeeded to office upon death, resignation or removal of the incumbent governor.
SH – State house member.
SOS – Secretary of state
SS – State senate.
T – State treasurer.
(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 terms in 1998.
(j) Speaker of the state house.
(k) Hollister as lieutenant governor became governor when Gov. George Voinovich stepped down to serve in the U.S. Senate.
(l) Swift as lieutenant governor succeeded Gov. Paul Celluci who resigned after being appointed ambassador to Canada. Was the first governor to give birth while serving in office.
(m) U.S. attorney.
(n) Lingle as 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.

low-cost 1998 race in Wyoming (\$833,181 in 2002 dollars). Both the New York and the Wyoming 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 2002, the New Hampshire governor's race was the most expensive at \$42.77 per vote, followed by New York at \$31.28 per vote, South Dakota at \$27.69 per vote, South Carolina at \$26.92 per vote, Hawaii at \$24.76 per vote, Texas at \$23.18

per vote, Alabama and Alaska both at \$23.09 per vote, Rhode Island at \$20.87 per vote and New Mexico at \$20.70 per vote. The New Hampshire, South Dakota, Hawaii, Alaska, Rhode Island and New Mexico races were for open seats. As noted, in New York an incumbent successfully won re-election, while in Texas, an "accidental governor" won the office in his own right.¹¹ The Alabama and South Carolina races saw an incumbent defeated in his bid for re-election.

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Table E: Impeachments and Removals of Governors

<i>Name, party and state</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Process of impeachment and outcome</i>		
Charles Robinson (R-Kan.)	1862	Impeached	Acquitted	
Harrison Reed (R-Fla.)	1868	Impeached	Acquitted	
William Holden (R-N.C.)	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
Other removals of incumbent governors				
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.		

Sources: Thad Beyle and The Council of State Governments.

Key:

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

In Figure A, by converting the actual dollars spent each year into the equivalent 2002 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 4-year cycle of elections with the previous cycle of elections.

In the 54 elections held between 1977 and 1980, the total expenditures were \$478.1 million in equivalent 2002 dollars. In the 52 elections held between 1999 and 2002 - just over two decades later - the total expenditures were over \$1,030 million, an increase of 115 percent. The greatest increases in ex-

penditures 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 1999-2002 cycles when there was a 53.4 percent increase.

These increases reflect the new style of campaigning for governor - with the candidates developing their own personal party by using outside consultants, opinion polls, media ads and buys, and extensive fundraising efforts to pay for all 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 \$64.2 million in his successful bid for reelection in California, while Gov. George Pataki spent \$44.2 million 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 \$76.3 million in his unsuccessful campaign for governor as an Independent candidate. And in Texas, Tony Sanchez also spent \$76.3 million as the unsuccessful Democratic candidate. In California’s 1998 gubernatorial election, three candidates spent more than \$34 million each in 2002 dollars in their campaigns. Two of these candidates won their party’s nomination and faced off in November, with Gray Davis (D) at \$41.3 million the winner over Republican candidate Dan Lundgren at \$34.6 million. The largest spender at \$42.7 million, Al Checchi (D), wasn’t even able to win the Democratic nomination.

A Shift Toward Women Governors

One other unique aspect about the current governors is that there are eight women serving as governor in 2004 - the highest number of women serving at one time in the office. 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 in any state. Remember, the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution providing nationwide suffrage to women was only ratified in August 1920.

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 three in the 1980s and four in the 1990s. Four other women became governor in the 1980-1999 period when as the number 2 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 21st century we have seen 10 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.

The last stepping stone to the governorship was as lieutenant governor for five of them, as attorney general for two 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 highlight 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 2003, 29 governors have faced the prospect of having to leave office through impeachment, removal, or resignation due to a criminal conviction. Seventeen governors have been impeached by the state house and while eight of them were acquitted of the charges by the state senate, nine of them were convicted by their state senates. Of these nine losers in the fight, six were then removed from office and three others resigned upon their conviction. Henry Johnson (D-Okla.) was impeached twice and while he beat the charges in the 1928 effort, he lost the fight and was removed

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Table F: Governors' Institutional Powers, 1960 v. 2004

Specific power	Scores		Percent change
	1960	2003	
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
Totals	18.4	20.7	12.5

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 (2003): 201-206].

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, 2003* (2003): 183-184].

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, 2003* (2003): 201-206].

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, 2003* (2003): 188-189, 392-393 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, 2003* (2003): 145-147, 188-189).

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.

Twelve governors faced other means of being forced to leave office. Eight were convicted of criminal charges, with four of them being removed from office and four others resigning upon being convicted. 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.¹⁴

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 governor efforts were Arizona and Louisiana with four such actions each, North Dakota and Oklahoma with three such actions each, and Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi and Tennessee with two such actions each. With over a quarter of these actions occurring within the last three decades, there is heightened awareness of these options of gaining a new governor.

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,¹⁵ which this author has continued to update.¹⁶ The index used here consists of six different indices of gubernatorial power as seen in 1960 and 2004. 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

in the 1929 effort. Another impeached governor escaped conviction as his term ended before the senate could take action.¹² And one governor resigned in the face of a threatened impeachment effort.¹³

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-plus decades between 1960 and 2004, 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 governors' 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 2003, there were 297 separately elected executive officials covering 12 major offices in the states.¹⁷ 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. 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 (minus 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.¹⁸ In 1960, 13 of the 14 governors were Democrats, and all 28 state legislative chambers were under Democratic control. In 2004, Republicans control eight governorships to the Democrats six, while the Democrats hold a 17-to-10 edge in control of the legislative chambers. In the North Carolina House, a coalition of all the Democrats and a few Republicans control the chamber with dual Democratic-Republican speakers as leaders. Four Southern governors face a legisla-

ture completely controlled by the opposite party,¹⁹ while three others - including the North Carolina governor - face a legislature with split partisan control.²⁰

Notes

¹ 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.

² 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).

³ The actual number of recall votes was: Total – 8,978,545; Yes – 4,972,524 (55.4 percent), No – 4,006,021 (44.6 percent).

⁴ The list of 135 candidates was certified on August 13, three weeks after the recall initiative was certified.

⁵ The actual number of replacement votes was: Total – 8,348,021; Schwarzenegger – 4,203,596; Bustamante – 2,723,768; McClintock – 1,160,182.

⁶ Brian J. Gaines, "An Accident Waiting to Happen? Legal Provisions on Incapacity of American Governors," *Policy Forum* 17:1, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Institute of Government and Public Affairs), 2004.

⁷ For more detail on this see Beyle, "The 2002 Gubernatorial Elections," *Spectrum: The Journal of State Government* (Winter 2003), 12-14.

⁸ New Jersey and Virginia.

⁹ Kentucky, Louisiana and Mississippi.

¹⁰ The data reported in this section and in Tables B and C, and Figure A reflect some changes from the data reported in recent issues of *The Book of the States*. The reason for this is that there were some errors in the data set that had been created. These errors have now been corrected. See www.unc.edu/~beyle.

¹¹ Lt. Gov. Rick Perry became governor upon the resignation of Gov. George W. Bush to assume the presidency after the 2000 election.

¹² Henry Warmouth (R-La.), 1872.

¹³ Richard Leche (D-La.), 1939.

¹⁴ See Lamar Alexander, *Steps Along the Way: A Governor's Scrapbook* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1986), 21-9 for a discussion of this unique transition between governors.

¹⁵ Joseph 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).

¹⁶ Thad L. Beyle, "The Governors," *Politics in the American States* 8th 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 4th edition (1983), the 5th edition (1990), the 6th edition (1996), and the 7th edition (1999).

¹⁷ Kendra Hovey and Harold Hovey, "D-12 - Number of Statewide Elected Officials, 2003," *CQ's State Fact Finder, 2004* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2004): forthcoming.

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¹⁸ The 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.

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

²⁰ Republicans Sonny Perdue in Ga., Ernie Fletcher in Ky., and Democrat Mike Easley in N.C.

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.

â€Governors: Election, Campaign Cost, Profiles, Forced Exits and Pow-ers The Book of the States The Council of State Governments. Beyle. Thad. Beyle, Thad, 2004. â€Governors: Election, Campaign Cost, Profiles, Forced Exits and Pow-ers.â€ I show that while Bonaventure's concern is reasonable, he addresses it at the unacceptable cost of denying important aspects of the Incarnation's purpose in the actual world. However, Bonaventure accepts that the Incarnation and Passion are â€œnecessaryâ€ for human redemption in a way that is consistent with divine freedom, an intuition which Aquinas brings to particularly clear expression by analyzing the Incarnation as necessary in the sense of being the most fitting means of salvation.