



## **Who Runs the States?**

*An in-depth look at historical state partisan control and quality of life indices*

*Part 1: Partisanship of the 50 states between 1992-2013*

By Geoff Pallay  
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## Table of Contents

Executive Summary .....	4
State Partisanship Analysis.....	5
Partisan Control of Governorships.....	5
Partisan Control of State Legislatures.....	7
Partisan Control of State Senates .....	9
Partisan Control of State Houses of Representatives.....	11
State Government Trifectas .....	12
Overall Partisan Control: Bright, Medium and Soft states .....	19
1992-2002.....	21
2003-2013.....	21
Dramatic changes in partisanship from the first 11 years to the last 11 years .....	21
Swing of 40 percent or more .....	21
Swings of 20-40%.....	22
Year-to-Year Changes in State Partisan Control .....	23
Trifectas and Presidential Election Patterns.....	24
Conclusion .....	28
Methodology .....	30
Partisanship.....	30
Appendices .....	31
Appendix A: Partisanship Tables .....	31
Partisan Control of Governorships, 1992-2013 .....	31
Partisan Control of State Legislatures, 1992-2013 .....	32
State Trifecta Breakdown, 1992-2012 .....	33
Changes in Partisan Control of State Governments, 1992-2013 .....	34
Appendix B: Legislative Ties, Power Sharing, and Coalitions .....	35
Acknowledgements .....	38

## Index of Figures and Images

Figure 1: Line graph depicting partisan control of governorships from 1992-2013.....	6
Figure 2: Map depicting the percentage of times a party held a state's governorship. ....	7
Figure 3: Line graph depicting partisan control of state legislatures from 1992-2013.....	8

Figure 4: Map depicting the percentage of time a political party controlled a state legislature from 1992-2013.....	9
Figure 5: Map depicting the percentage of time a political party controlled a state senate from 1992-2013.....	10
Figure 6: Map of state senates under single-party control from 1992-2013 .....	10
Figure 7: Map depicting the percentage of time a political party controlled a state house from 1992-2013.....	11
Figure 8: Map of state houses under single-party control from 1992-2013 .....	12
Figure 9: Percentage breakdown of trifectas and divided government from 1992-2013.....	13
Figure 10: Visualization of Trifectas from 1992-2013 -- Alabama-Missouri .....	14
Figure 11: Visualization of Trifectas from 1992-2013 -- Montana-Wyoming.....	15
Figure 12: Line graph of trifecta changes from 1992-2013 .....	16
Figure 13: Trifectas vs. Divided governments, broken down by five sections of years. Note the growing trend of trifecta government. ....	17
Figure 14: Breakdown of the most common composition of government by state, 1992-2013...	18
Figure 15: Map depicting the percentage of time a political party controlled state government from 1992-2013.....	19
Figure 16: Map of 5 states with most/least trifectas from 1992-2013 .....	20
Figure 17: Map showing the states that experienced the greatest percentage partisan swing between the first and second half of the study.....	23
Figure 18: Map showing the states with the most and least number of changes in control from 1992-2013.....	24
Figure 19: Visualization of State Partisanship (with Presidential voting) from 1992-2013 -- Alabama-Missouri .....	25
Figure 20: Visualization of State Partisanship (with Presidential voting) from 1992-2013 -- Montana-Wyoming.....	26
Figure 21: Map showing presidential voting over the past seven elections .....	27
Figure 22: Map displaying the states that did not vary its presidential vote from 1988-2012.....	28

## Executive Summary

Some states are characterized as “red” and others as “blue”. This characterization is typically based on how the state’s electorate voted in the most recent presidential election. This paper proposes an alternative method of identifying the partisan dispositions of states. We do this by looking for “partisan trifectas”: instances where a state elects the same party to the Office of Governor as it does to control of its two legislative chambers.

The “partisan trifecta” analysis puts seven states in a different partisan column than the presidential vote analysis does: In 2012 voters in six states with Republican trifectas cast their ballot for President Obama. West Virginia on the other hand voted Republican for president while maintaining a Democratic trifecta for its state government.

We also studied the partisan breakdown of the executive and legislative branches of state government from 1992 to 2013. The trifecta analysis over this period shows a notable trend toward one-party control of state governments. At the outset of the study period (1992), 18 states with had trifectas while 31 states had divided governments. In 2013, only 13 states have divided governments, while single-party trifectas hold sway in 36 states, the most in the 22 years we studied. The number of states with trifectas doubled between 1992 and 2013.

The trifecta analysis also allowed us to identify seven states that have experienced dramatic changes in partisan state government control from the first 11 years of the study to the last 11 years of the study. Studying the partisan composition of state governments as we do also allows a clean way to assess whether a state is “moving red” or “moving blue”.

Finally, our review of partisan control of state governments from 1992 through 2013 provides a superior way of assessing just how “red” or “blue” a state is. Is a state “bright blue”, “medium blue” or “soft blue”? Is a state “bright red”, “medium red” or “soft red”? To the extent that pundits, journalists or members of the voting public want to praise or blame political parties for the real-world economic, educational, health or other quality-of-life outcomes in a particular state, the degree of “redness” or “blueness” of that state’s partisan composition may be relevant.

This report is Part One of a three-part study. Part Two aggregates a variety of state ranking indices to create a quality of life index for the 50 states. Part Three overlays the partisanship data with the quality of life index.

## State Partisanship Analysis

State governments exert enormous influence over the quality of life and well-being of citizens. And while political debate in America usually focuses on Congress and Washington DC alone, there has been increasing attention of late given to governance in the states. As James Madison wrote in Federalist 45: “The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the federal government are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the State governments are numerous and indefinite.” Because new legislation, whether preferred by liberals or conservatives, is easier to pass in one state than in Congress, states have been called the “laboratories of democracy.” The 50 state governments spent more than \$1.5 trillion in fiscal year 2012.

This section of our three-part report first investigates the partisan breakdown of governors, then the state legislatures (considered both as whole entities and by chamber) and finally trifectas and overall partisan control of state governments.

Over the past 22 years, the Democratic Party has controlled governorships, state senates, and state houses of representatives 49.6 percent of the time, compared to 48.6 percent for the GOP. Republicans have held more governorships than Democrats, 53.1 percent to 45 percent. Democrats controlled the 98 partisan legislative chambers more than Republicans, 51.9 to 46.4 percent, but Republicans have been increasing their share of legislative control. During the first 11 years (1992-2002), the Democrats controlled legislative chambers 54.3 percent of the time, while Republicans were in control 43.6 percent of time. However during the second half of the study period (2003-2013), Democrats and Republicans controlled legislatures for nearly equal periods of time, 49.4 and 49.2 percent, respectively.

### Partisan Control of Governorships

From 1992 to 2013, 46 states had at least one governor from each of the two major parties. Only Oregon and Washington did not have a Republican governor, and only Utah and South Dakota did not have a Democratic governor. On average, states spent 11.7 of the 22 years (53.3 percent) under Republican governors, 9.9 years (44.8 percent) under Democrats,

and 0.4 years (1.9 percent) under governors with other partisan affiliations.

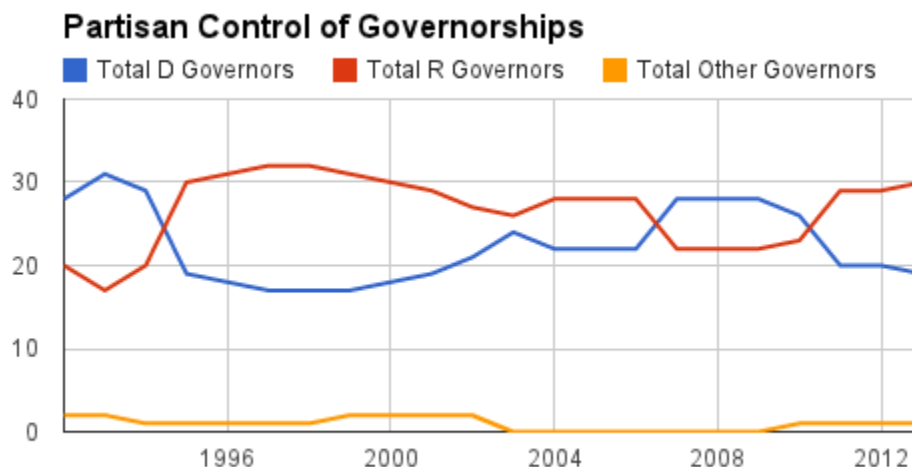


Figure 1: Line graph depicting partisan control of governorships from 1992-2013.

Among the 48 states which had at least one Democratic governor during this period, 15 states had Democratic governors more often than they had Republican governors. Seven states had Democratic governors more than 80 percent of the time. Aside from Washington and Oregon, Delaware had Democratic governors for 21 years (95 percent), and North Carolina had Democratic governors for 20 years (91 percent). The Democratic Party controlled its highest number of governorships (31) in 1993 and its lowest number (17) from 1997 to 1999.

As for the 48 states which had at least one Republican governor during this period, 26 states had Republican governors for more years than they had Democratic governors. Eight states had Republican governors more than 80 percent of time. In addition to 100-percent Republican gubernatorial streaks of Utah and South Dakota, Republicans held North Dakota's governorship for 21 years (95 percent), with Democratic Governor George A. Sinner's final year (1992) as the only exception. The other five states were Idaho, Mississippi, Ohio, South Carolina, and Texas. In 1997 and 1998, the Republican Party controlled the most governorships (32) of any of this study's years. The United States had the fewest Republican governors, only 17, in 1993.

Eight states' governorships were occupied by Democrats and Republicans for equal amounts of time, 11 years for each party. Maine's governorship was Democratic for eight years, independent for eight years, and Republican for six years.

## Political Party Holding the Governorship for the Most Years, 1992-2013

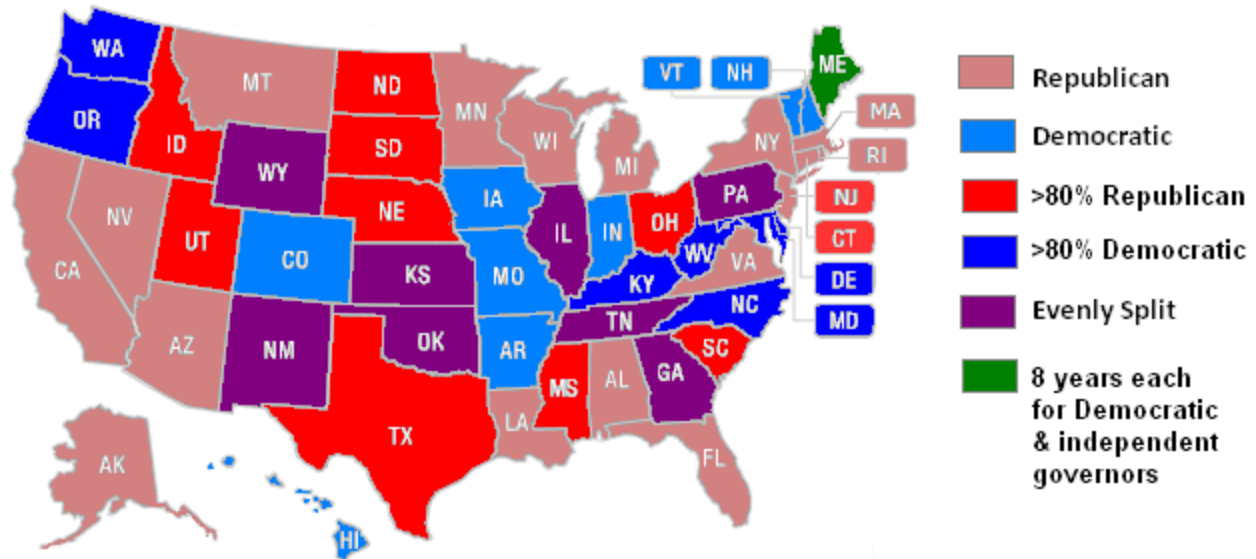


Figure 2: Map depicting the percentage of times a party held a state's governorship.

Only seven states had a governor outside of the two major parties. No state had more than one. The states with non-major party governors were Alaska (Wally Hickel, Alaskan Independence Party), Connecticut (Lowell P. Weicker, A Connecticut Party), Florida (Charlie Crist, no party affiliation), Maine (Angus King, independent), Minnesota (Jesse Ventura, Reform Party and then Independence Party), and Rhode Island (Lincoln Chafee, independent). With King's two gubernatorial terms, Maine's governorship was in non-major-party hands for eight years (36 percent of the time), more than any other state. The United States never had more than two non-major-party governors in the same year, which happened in 1992 and 1993, and again from 1999 through 2002. From 2003 through 2009, there were no non-major-party governors.

### Partisan Control of State Legislatures

A bit more than half as many states had periods of both Democratic and Republican legislative control as had both Democratic and Republican governors from 1992 to 2013. Although 46 states had at least one governor from each major party, only 25 state legislatures were controlled for at least one year by each party.<sup>1</sup> We classified a state legislature as being under a political party's control when that party had majorities or at least functional control (due a tie-breaking lieutenant governor or coalitions with allied legislators outside of the party) in both legislative chambers. If different parties controlled a state's senate and its house of representatives, or if one chamber was tied or governed according to a power sharing agreement, that legislature was classified as being under split control. For information about ties and power sharing, see Appendix B.

<sup>1</sup> Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin.

On average across the 22 years surveyed, the United States had 37.6 legislatures under single-party control (20.1 Democratic and 17.5 Republican) and 11.4 legislatures under split partisan control, and 1 nonpartisan legislature. Nebraska is the only state in the nation to have a unicameral (single-chamber) legislature and also the only state to have a nonpartisan legislature that is neither elected nor formally organized along party lines. The remainder of this analysis of the partisan control of state legislatures and trifectas excludes Nebraska and deals only with the 49 states which have partisan legislatures. The average partisan state legislature was under Democratic control for 9 of 22 years (41.1 percent), under Republican control for 7.8 years (35.6 percent), and under split partisan control for 5.1 years (23.3 percent). During the 22 years, 21 state legislatures were under Democratic control more frequently than they were under Republican or split partisan control, 19 were most often under Republican control, and 8 were typically under split control. New Jersey's legislature was Republican for 10 years, Democratic for 10 years, and split for 2 years.

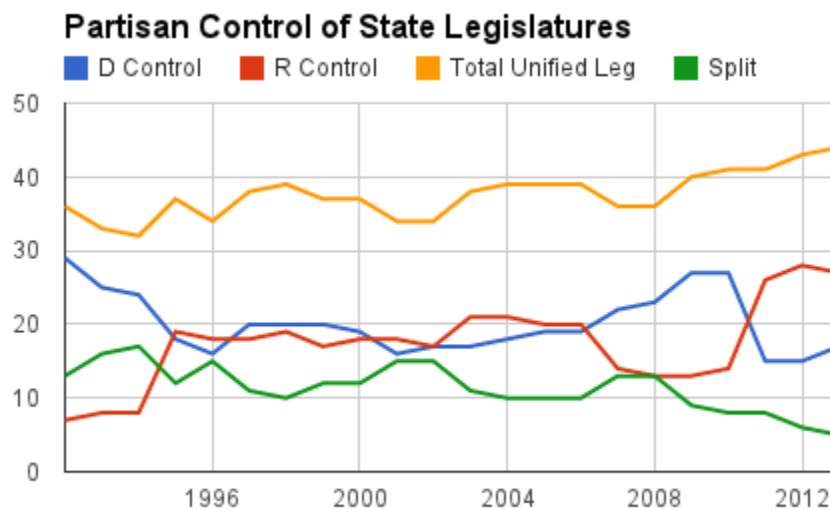


Figure 3: Line graph depicting partisan control of state legislatures from 1992-2013

Over the past 22 years, state legislatures have come increasingly under single-party control. In 1994, the year with the lowest level of single-party legislative control in our study, 32 legislatures were under single-party control. During the first 11 years (1992-2002), the 49 partisan state legislatures were under single-party control 72.5 percent of the time. About 57 percent of the single-party state legislatures were under Democratic control, while Republicans controlled 43 percent. In the final 11 years (2003-2013), partisan state legislatures were under single-party control 81 percent of the time. Of the single-party state legislatures, 50.2 percent were controlled by Democrats and 49.8 percent by Republicans. In 2009, the number of legislatures with single-party control reached 40 for the first time in our study and stayed the same or increased in each year through 2013, when 44 of 49 partisan state legislatures are under single-party control.

In comparing the two 11-year periods, we found that the proportion of the 49 partisan legislatures under single-party control increased by 8 percent, from 73 to 81 percent. This trend



of increasing single-party control of state legislatures has continued despite several recent national swings of control between the major parties, holding true after Democratic gains in 2008, the Republican landslide in 2010, and Democratic gains in 2012.

Thirteen states did not have a Republican legislature for even one year. Six of these legislatures (Connecticut, Delaware, Kentucky, Nevada, New York, and Vermont) had a combination of Democratic and split control, and the other seven (California, Hawaii, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Mexico, Rhode Island, and West Virginia) were under Democratic control for the entire period. Of the 21 states which had Democratic legislatures more often than Republican or split ones, 12 had Democratic legislatures more than 80 percent of the time. The Democrats controlled their greatest number of state legislatures in 1992 with 29, the highest number recorded by either party. They approached this figure in 2009 and 2010 when they controlled 27 legislatures but thereafter controlled their lowest number of legislatures in 2011 and 2012 with only 15.

Eleven state legislatures were not under Democratic control for even one year. Eight (Alaska, Arizona, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, North Dakota, Ohio, and South Dakota) had a combination of Republican and split control, and the other three (Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming) were entirely under Republican control.

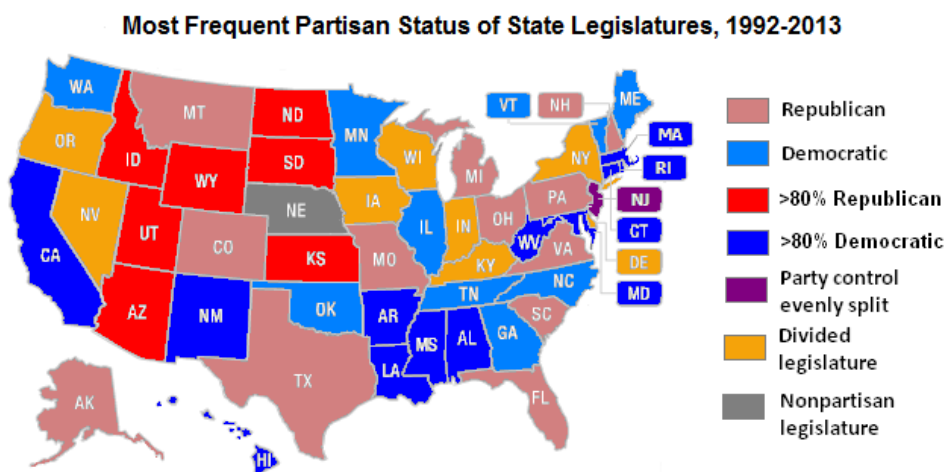


Figure 4: Map depicting the percentage of time a political party controlled a state legislature from 1992-2013

Of the 19 states which had Republican legislatures more often than Democratic or split ones, 7 had Republican legislatures more than 80 percent of the time. Republicans controlled only seven legislatures in 1992, the fewest within this time frame. In 2012, they controlled their greatest number of state legislatures with 28.

All 49 partisan state legislatures had some years of single-party control. The New York legislature was the closest of any state legislature to having permanent split partisan control, with split control for 20 of the 22 (91 percent) years studied. No state legislature was under independent or minor-party control during this period. The last time a state legislature was under even plurality control of a minor party was in 1938, the fourth and final year of the Progressive Party's dominance in Wisconsin politics.

### Partisan Control of State Senates

Over the 22-year period of the study, Democrats held a greater share of the 49 partisan state senates than the Republicans. The Democrats controlled the state senates 50.2 percent

### Most Frequent Partisan Status of State Senates, 1992-2013

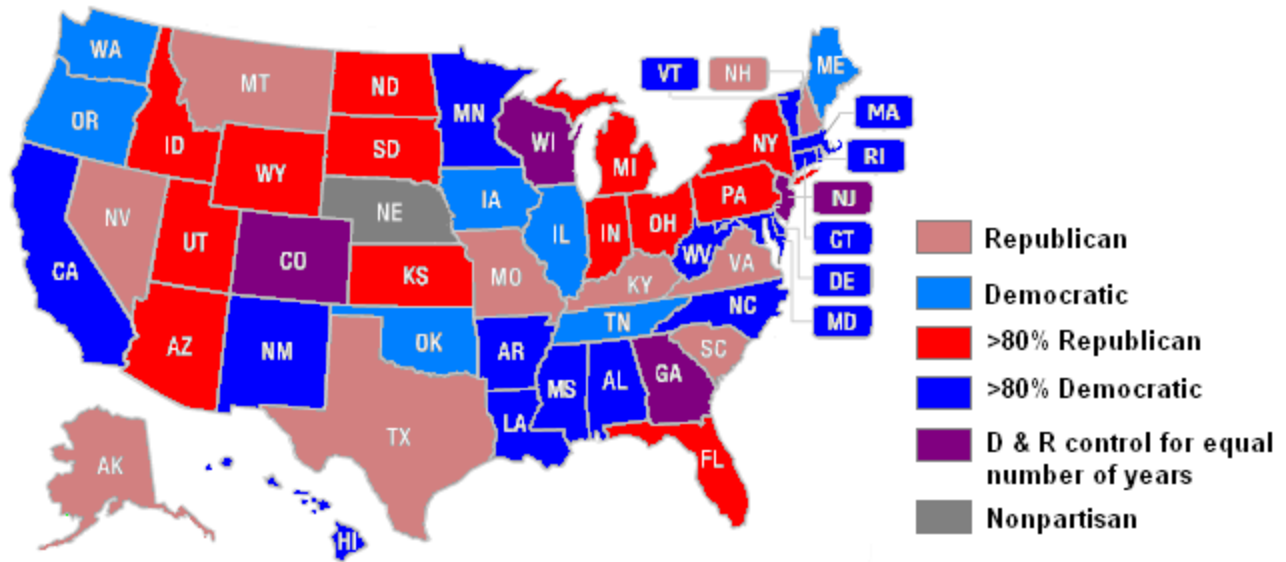


Figure 5: Map depicting the percentage of time a political party controlled a state senate from 1992-2013

of the time, while Republicans held the upper chambers 48 percent of the time. Senates were tied without a lieutenant governor’s vote as a tie breaker or run by power-sharing agreements between the two parties less than 2 percent of the time. On average, state senates were controlled by Democrats for 11 years and by Republicans for 10.6 years. The Democrats controlled 23 senates for more years than the Republicans did, and the Republicans had majorities more often in 22 states. Among these, Democrats and Republicans controlled 16 and 13 state senates, respectively, for than 80 percent of the time. In four state senates, the Democrats and Republicans held control for the same number of years.

More state senates have come under Republican control in recent years. During the first 11 years (1992-2002), Democrats held state senate majorities 283 of 539 possible times (52.5 percent), with each year in control of a state senate counting as one time. The Republicans held state senate majorities 245 times (45.5 percent). However, in the second half of the study (2003-2013), the GOP took the lead, controlling state senates 272 times (50.5 percent). The Democrats held senate majorities 258 times (47.9 percent). In 1992, the Democrats controlled their greatest number of state senates (34), and the Republicans held majorities in only 14 senates, their lowest during the 22-year period. In 2013, the Republicans

### State Senates under Continuous Single-Party Control, 1992-2013

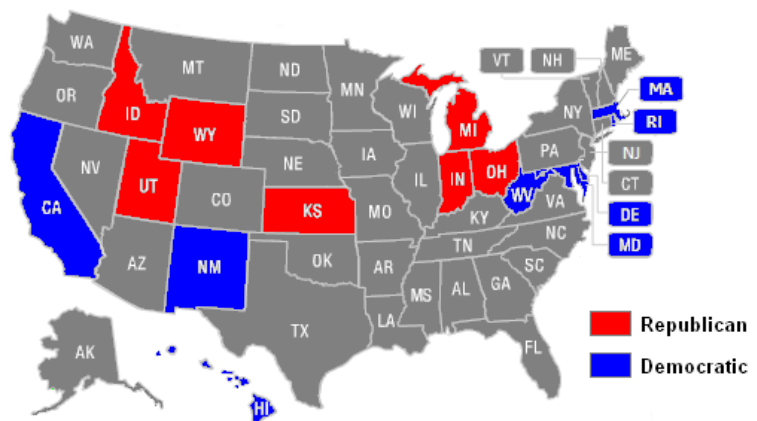


Figure 6: Map of state senates under single-party control from 1992-2013

control 31 state senates, their highest, while the Democrats hold majorities in 18 senates, their lowest.

Most state senates were under control by the same party for more than 80 percent of the years studied. The Democratic Party and the Republican Party ran 16 and 13 state senates, respectively, for more than 80 percent of the time. From 1992 to 2002, the Democrats were in charge of 20 senates more than 80 percent of the time, while the Republicans held 16. However, during the past 11 years, the GOP was in the majority more than 80 percent of the time in 18 states. In that same time, the Democratic Party was in the majority more than 80 percent of the time in 17 states. So, over the past 11 years, 35 state senates saw one party in power more than 80 percent of the time, 1 fewer than the number of states with this situation in the first 11 years.

Only 15 state senates were run by one party for all 22 years. The Democrats were in charge of eight state senates for the entire period. Seven state senates were exclusively controlled by the Republicans. The other 34 partisan state senates had at least one year of control by each major party.

### Partisan Control of State Houses of Representatives

Over the 22-year period of the study, Democrats also held a greater share of the state houses of representatives than Republicans. Overall, Democrats controlled state houses for 53.5 percent of the time, while Republicans held the lower chambers 44.8 percent of the time. State houses were controlled by Democrats, on average, for 11.8 years and by Republicans for 9.9 years. The Democrats had majorities in 26 state houses for more years than the Republicans did, and the Republicans had majorities more often in 21 states. Among these, Democrats and Republicans controlled 18 and 9 state houses, respectively, for more than 80 percent of the time. The Missouri and Texas Houses of Representatives were controlled by each party for 11 consecutive years, with the Democrats in the majority through 2002 and the Republicans taking over in 2003. Nebraska does not have a house of representatives.

**Most Frequent Partisan Status of State Houses of Representatives, 1992-2013**

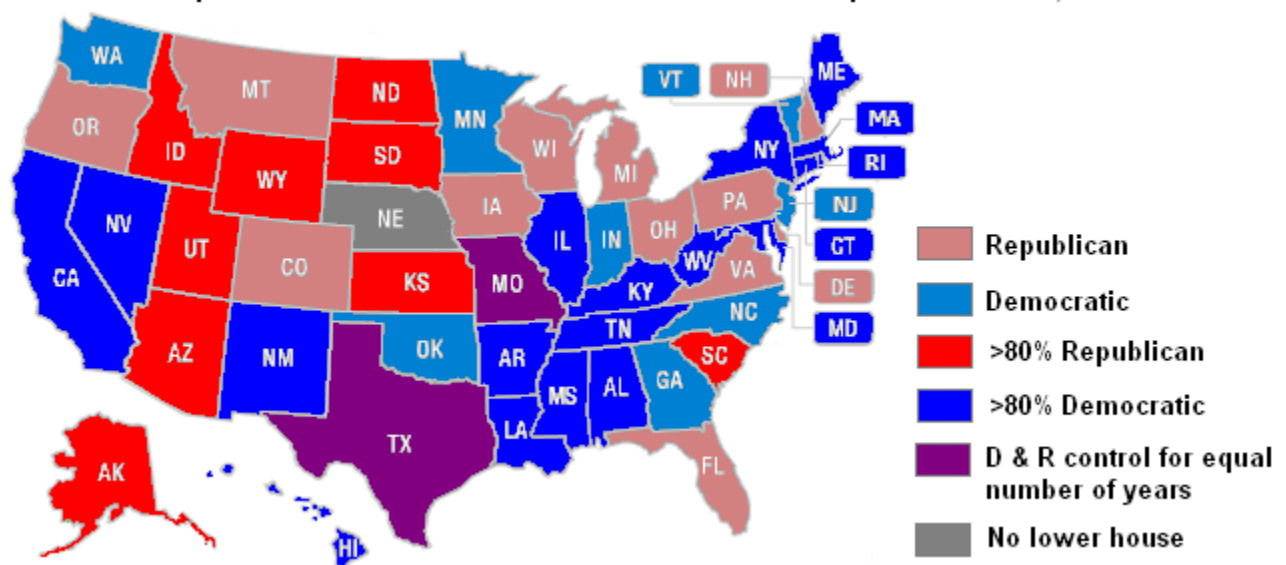


Figure 7: Map depicting the percentage of time a political party controlled a state house from 1992-2013

Although the Democratic Party exercised greater control than the GOP over American state houses from 1992 through 2013, Republicans have gained ground in recent years. During the first 11 years of this period, Democrats were in the majority 302 of a possible 539 times (56 percent), with each year for each of the 49 state houses counting as one time. Republicans held state house majorities 225 times (41.7 percent). However, in the second half of the study (2003-2013), the GOP narrowed the gap, holding state houses 258 times (47.9 percent). The Democratic Party saw its share fall to 275 times, down to 51 percent. The Democrats controlled the most state houses (37) in 1992 and the fewest (17) in 2012. Conversely, the Republicans controlled the fewest state houses (12) in 1992 and the most (31) in 2012.

As with state senates, most state houses of representatives were predominantly under single-party control. In 18 states, the Democratic Party controlled the state house for more than 80 percent of the study period. The GOP was the majority party for more than 80 percent of the time in 9 states. From 1992 to 2002, the Democrats and Republicans controlled 22 and 14 state houses, respectively, for more than 80 percent of the time. During the past 11 years, the Democrats and Republicans controlled 18 and 17 state houses, respectively, for more than 80 percent of the time. Over the past 11 years, 35 state houses had one party in power more than 80 percent of the time, one state fewer than during the first 11 years.

Fewer state houses than state senates were under single-party control for all 22 years. The Democrats controlled nine state houses. Six state houses were exclusively under Republican control. The Democrats were the majority in the Nevada Assembly for the entire time except for 1995 and 1996 when the chamber was tied. The remaining 33 partisan state houses were under each major party's control for at least one year.

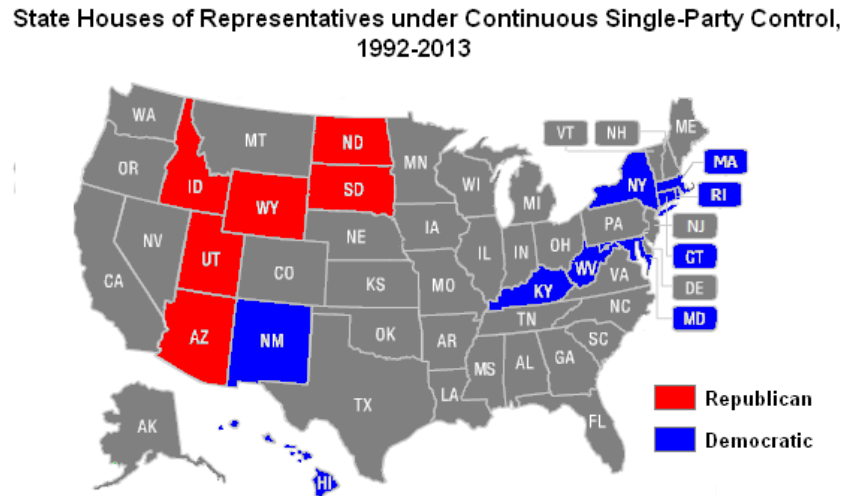


Figure 8: Map of state houses under single-party control from 1992-2013

### State Government Trifectas

A “trifecta” occurs when the same political party controls the state’s lower legislative chamber (i.e., the House of Representatives), senate, and governorship. The governor, senate leadership, and house leadership typically play decisive roles in the legislative process. In theory, a trifecta signifies that a political party has functional control over a state’s government, but the dominant party’s actual ability to implement its plans depends on the size of its legislative majorities, the relationships among its legislators and between the legislative leadership and the governor, and that state’s laws, including any rules requiring supermajorities

to pass certain kinds of legislation. When the same party does not control both legislative chambers and the governorship, that state is under divided government.

We identified the partisan breakdown of each state's government for each year from 1992 to 2013, a total of 1,078 state governments -- one for each of the 49 states with partisan legislatures for each of 22 years. For each year, we classified each state as having a Democratic trifecta, a Republican trifecta, or divided government.

Over the past 22 years, states had 569 divided governments and 509 trifectas. Of these 509 trifectas, 47 percent (241) were Democratic while 53 percent (268) were Republican. An average state would have had 11.6 years of divided governments, 5.5 years of Republican control, and 4.9 years of Democratic control.

During this 22-year period, Utah had both the greatest total number of trifecta governments and the greatest number of Republican trifectas at 22. There was not a single year in this period where Utah was not run by a Republican trifecta. Maryland and West Virginia tied with 18 Democratic trifectas, the most in our study.

The five states with the most trifectas leaned heavily Republican. After Utah (22 trifectas), Georgia (20), South Dakota (20), Idaho (19), and North Dakota (19) round out the top five. These states had a combined total of 100 years of trifecta governments out of the possible 110. Of these 100 trifectas, 11 were Democratic and 89 were Republican. Of the top five, only Georgia had Democratic trifectas more often than Republican ones, with 11 Democratic and 9 Republican trifectas.

### State Government Trifectas, 1992-2013

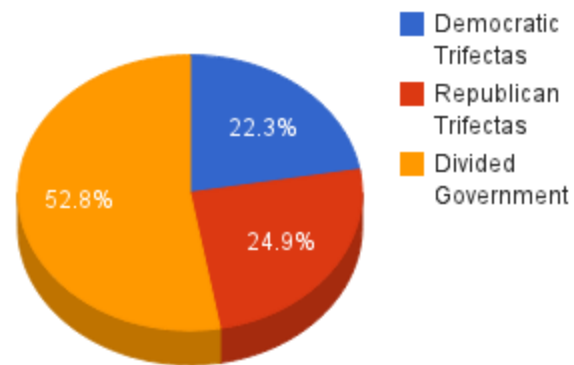


Figure 9: Percentage breakdown of trifectas and divided government from 1992-2013

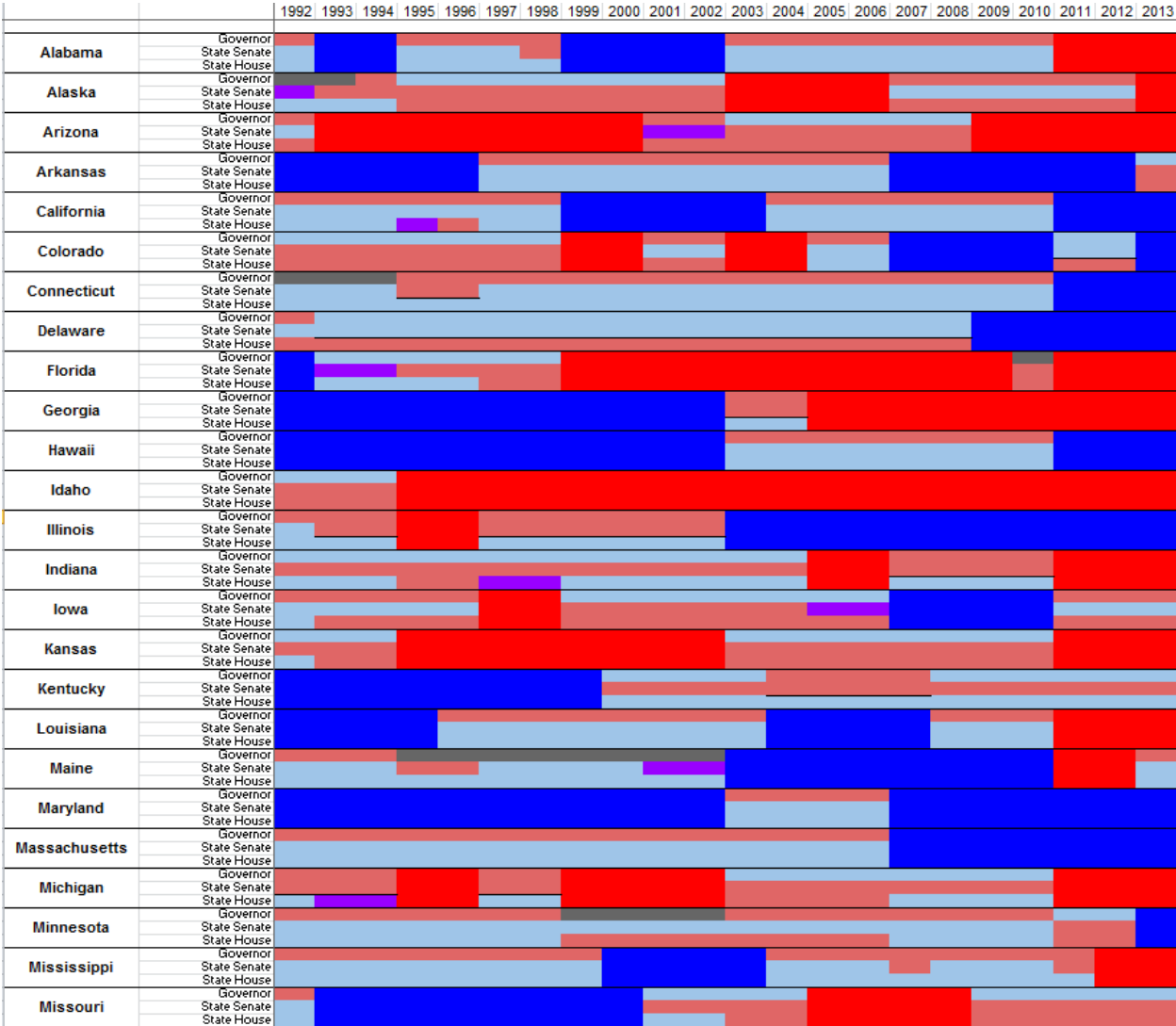


Figure 10: Visualization of Trifectas from 1992-2013 -- Alabama-Missouri





Because of Democratic gains in the 2012 legislative elections, Minnesota currently has its first trifecta in the years covered by this study. Nevada also had only a lone year of trifecta governance, a Democratic trifecta in 1992. The only state not to have had at least one trifecta during the entire 22-year period was Nebraska. Because neither party could officially control the nonpartisan legislature, we have not included the Cornhusker State in our trifecta analysis.

Overall, 32 states had at least one Republican trifecta, and 36 had at least one Democratic trifecta. Only 19 states had at least one Republican and one Democratic trifecta.<sup>2</sup> Every state except Utah had at least one year of divided government. Divided governments were more common than trifectas in 24 states, trifectas were more common in 17 states, and 8 states had trifectas and divided governments for an equal number of years. If we consider Republican trifectas, Democratic trifectas, and divided governments as three separate categories, eight<sup>3</sup> states had Republican trifectas as their most common government, while six<sup>4</sup> had Democratic trifectas as their most common government.

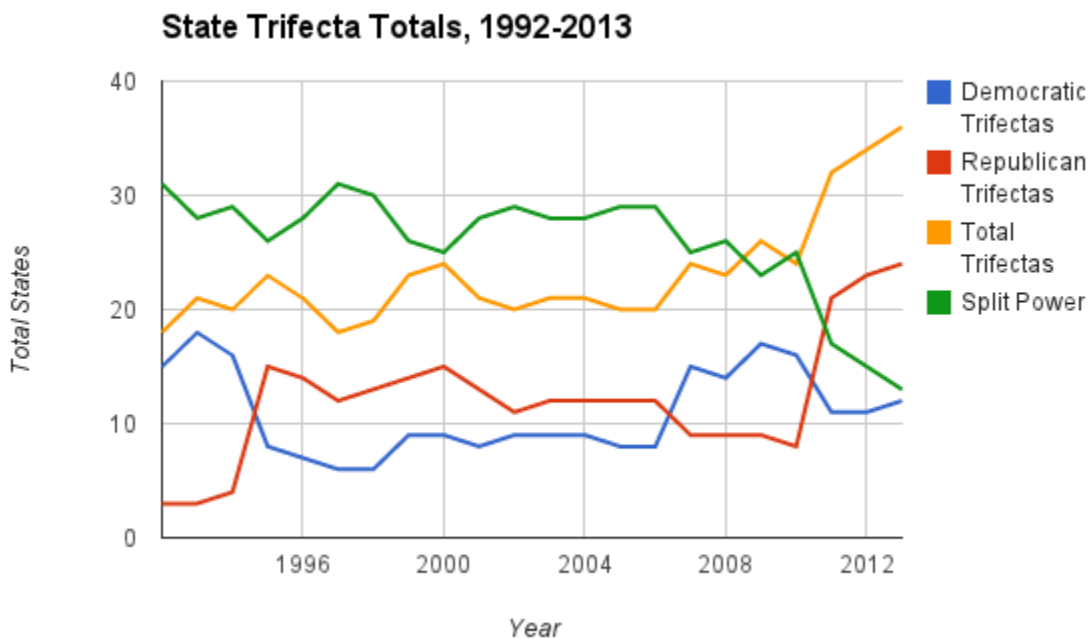


Figure 12: Line graph of trifecta changes from 1992-2013

Of this entire 22-year period, there have only been four years, all within the last five years (2009, 2011-2013), with more states with trifecta governments than divided governments.

<sup>2</sup> Alabama, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin

<sup>3</sup> Arizona, Florida, Idaho, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Texas, and Utah

<sup>4</sup> Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Maryland, North Carolina, and West Virginia



The massive shift in types of government control is even more evident if the 22-year period is broken out into five separate batches of data, as evidenced below.

In the first five years, from 1992 to 1996, there were 142 divided governments (58 percent) and 103 trifecta governments (42 percent), more of which were Democratic than Republican. Among the trifecta governments, 64 were Democratic (62.1 percent of the 103 trifectas), and 39 were Republican (37.9 percent).

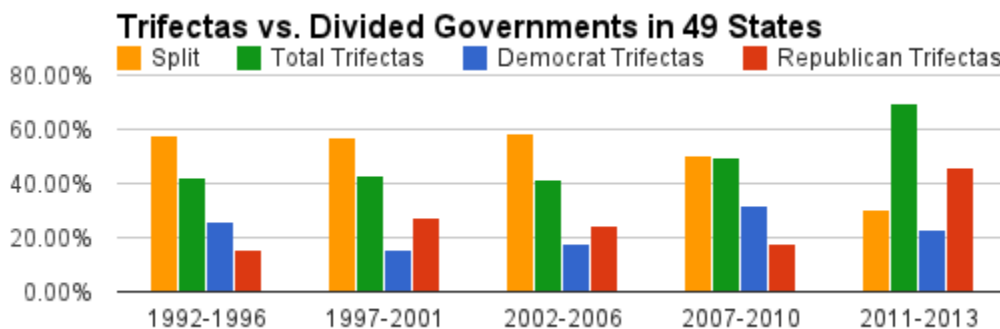


Figure 13: Trifectas vs. Divided governments, broken down by five sections of years. Note the growing trend of trifecta government.

In the second five-year period, from 1997 to 2001, the United States had 140 divided governments (57.1 percent) and 105 trifecta governments (42.9 percent). There were more Republican trifectas, 67 (63.8 percent of the 105 trifectas), than Democratic trifectas, 38 (36.2 percent), during this period.

From 2002 to 2006, there were 143 divided governments (58.4 percent) and 102 trifecta governments (41.6 percent). Of these 102, 43 (42.2 percent) were Democratic and 59 (57.8 percent) were Republican, continuing the trend toward a greater number of Republican than Democratic trifecta governments.

From 2007 to 2010, the trend of Republican control reversed, and Democrats had a greater number of trifectas than Republicans after their 2006 and 2008 electoral victories. There were 99 divided governments (50.5 percent) and 97 trifecta governments (49.5 percent). Of the trifectas, 62 (63.9 percent) were Democratic, and 35 (36.1 percent) were Republican.

In the past three years, from 2011 to 2013, there have been 102 total trifectas (69.4 percent) and only 45 divided governments (30.6 percent). Of the trifectas, 34 (33.3 percent) were Democratic and 68 (66.7 percent) were Republican. Following the substantial Republican gains in 2010, the balance of state power swung back to the Republican Party while the number of trifecta governments continued to increase. In 2013, following Democratic gains in 2012, the number of trifectas increased by two -- a net gain of one by each party. However, had the Republicans not allied with dissident Democrats to deny the Democrats control of both the Washington and New York Senates, those two states would have also been Democratic trifectas, bringing the national trifecta total to 38.

There were no minor party trifectas during the past 22 years. The last party other than the Republicans and Democrats to have an effective trifecta was Wisconsin's Progressive Party, which held the governorship and significant pluralities in both legislative chambers from 1935 to 1939.

Among the 569 divided governments, the most common combination was the pairing of a Republican governor with a Democratic legislature. This happened 192 times, a third of all divided governments and 18 percent of all 1078 state governments that had partisan legislatures. The next most common combination, a Democratic governor with a split legislature, occurred 130 times, followed by a Democratic governor with a Republican legislature (115) and a Republican governor with a split legislature (111). Excluding the 15 years when Republicans held Nebraska's governorship, Republican governors had Republican legislatures 268 out of 571 times (46.9 percent), Democratic legislatures 192 times (33.6 percent), and split legislatures 111 times (19.4 percent). Excluding the 7 years when Democrats held Nebraska's governorship, Democratic governors were slightly more likely to have legislatures of their own party than the Republican governors were, with Democratic legislatures 241 out of 486 times (49.6 percent), split legislatures 130 times (26.7 percent), and Republican legislatures 115 times (23.7 percent).

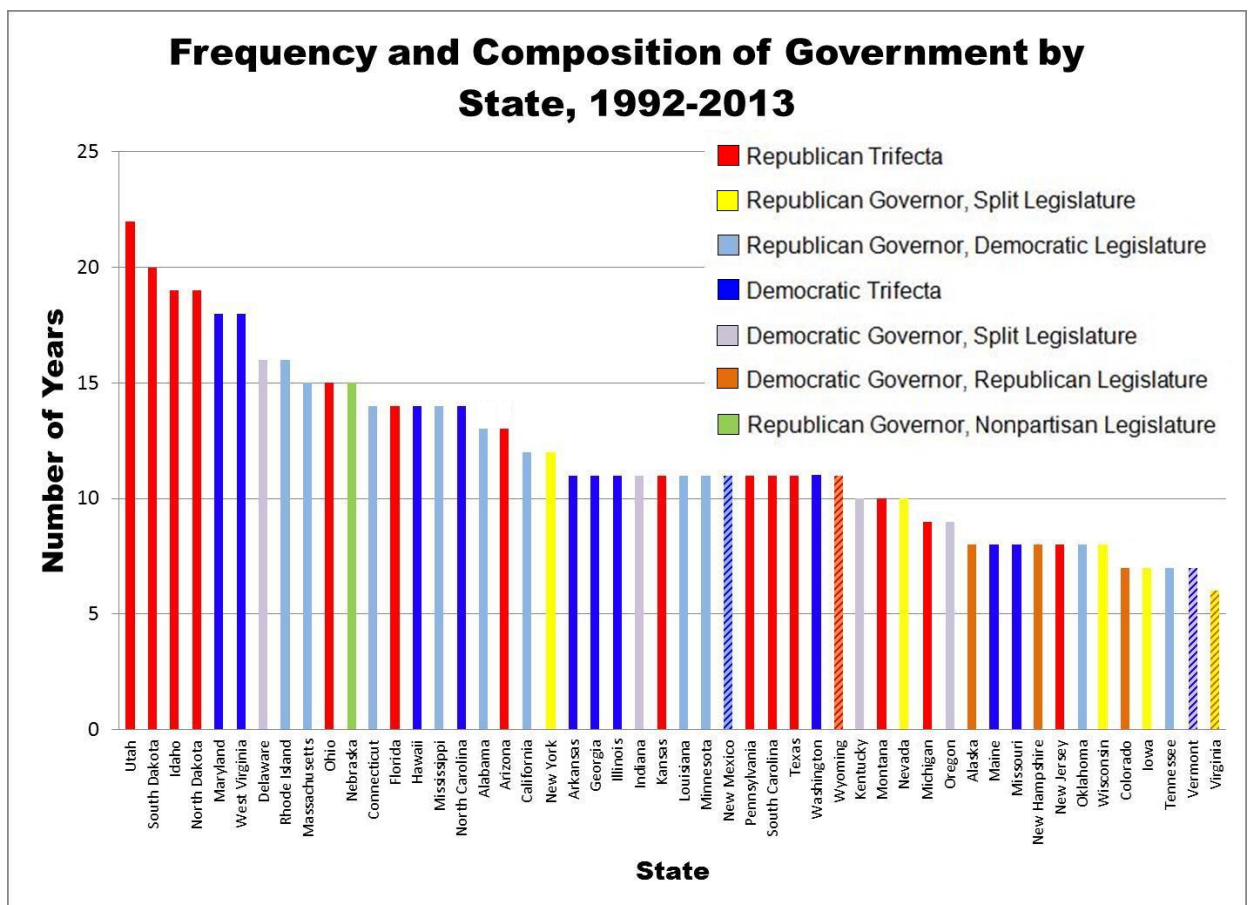


Figure 14: Breakdown of the most common composition of government by state, 1992-2013

## Overall Partisan Control: Bright, Medium and Soft states

In order to dig deeper into the results, we wanted to identify the states that are most partisan. We tracked party control of each state's governorship, state senate, and state house for each year, a total of 66 instances of party control for each state for the entire 22-year period. We calculated each state's percentage of control by each party for the duration of the study (22 years) and then classified the states into the following three categories of partisanship using these percentages:

- Bright blue and red states: Greater than 80 percent control by one party
- Medium blue and red: 60 percent-80 percent control by one party
- Soft states: Neither party reached 60 percent control

For example, Illinois had 43 instances of Democratic control (11 in the governorship, 12 in the state senate, and 20 in the state house) and 23 instances of Republican control (11 in the governorship, 10 in the state senate, and 2 in the state house). Because the Illinois government was more than 65 percent under Democratic control, we classified Illinois as a medium blue state. Additionally, we broke the data up into three groups: a) Full 22 years; b) First 11 years (1992-2002); and c) Last 11 years (2003-2013). This allowed the evaluation of trends and changes in partisan control.

### Overall Partisan Control of Governorship, House, & Senate, 1992-2013

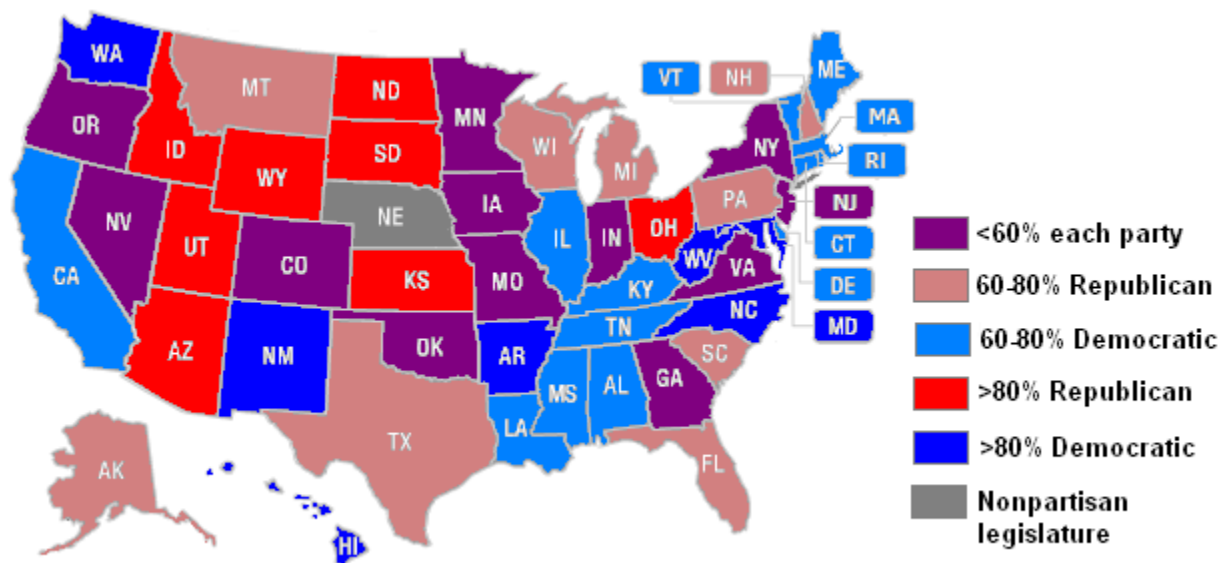


Figure 15: Map depicting the percentage of time a political party controlled state government from 1992-2013

Over the duration of the years studied, there were more states under Democratic control than Republican. Of the 49 states with partisan legislatures, 27 had a higher percentage of Democratic control than Republican control, and 21 had a higher Republican percentage. In New Jersey, Democrats and Republicans were tied with 32 instances of control (48.5 percent). Republicans held Nebraska's governorship for more years than Democrats.

More than two thirds of the states had governments more than 60 percent under one party's control. Among the 20 blue states, 7 were more than 80 percent under Democratic

control (bright blue), and 13 were between 60 and 80 percent under Democratic control (medium blue). Maryland and West Virginia had the two most Democratic state governments. With 93.9 percent Democratic governments, each state was fully under Democratic control except for four years under a Republican governor. Among the 17 red states, 8 were more than 80 percent under Republican control (bright red), and 9 were between 60 and 80 percent under Republican control. Utah's governorship and legislature were fully under Republican control. The state with the next most Republican government, at 97 percent, was South Dakota. With eight years of independent Angus King's governorship and a tied state senate for two years, Maine had the highest percentage (15.2 percent) of non-major-party control.

To examine shifts in partisanship, we divided the data into two 11-year sections -- 1992-2002 and 2003-2013. During each 11-year section, there are 33 instances of government partisan control per state -- control of the governorship, state senate, and state house each year. We calculated each state's percentage breakdown of party control by adding up all outcomes during each section of time. For example, during the first 11 years, Illinois had 10 instances of Democratic control and 23 Republican. This meant the state was Democratic 30.3 percent of the time and Republican for 69.7 percent, making Illinois a medium red state. During the second 11 years, Illinois had 33 instances of Democratic control and 0 Republican, making Illinois a bright blue state.

Despite the recent increases in single-party legislatures and state government trifectas, the number of bright red and blue states decreased from 20 to 12 between the two periods. During the first 11 years, the Democrats held the governorships and legislative chambers for more than 80 percent of the time in 9 states. The Republicans controlled 11 states' governorships and legislative chambers more than 80 percent of the time. During the second 11 years, there were only four bright blue states and eight bright red states. For the full breakdown of Bright/Medium/Soft states, see the [full dataset](#).

The Democratic Party exercised more control over American state governments since 1992 than the Republicans. The Democrats were in charge in 1,612 (49.5 percent) of 3,256 total instances.<sup>5</sup> Republicans had 1,560 total instances of control (47.9 percent). Of the 1,628 instances of partisan control in the first 11 years, the Democratic Party held 50.6 percent (823) while the Republican Party held 47.2 percent (768). In the second half of the study, Democrats saw a slight dropoff from 50.6 percent to 48.6 percent (792) while Republicans saw an increase to 50.2 percent (817).

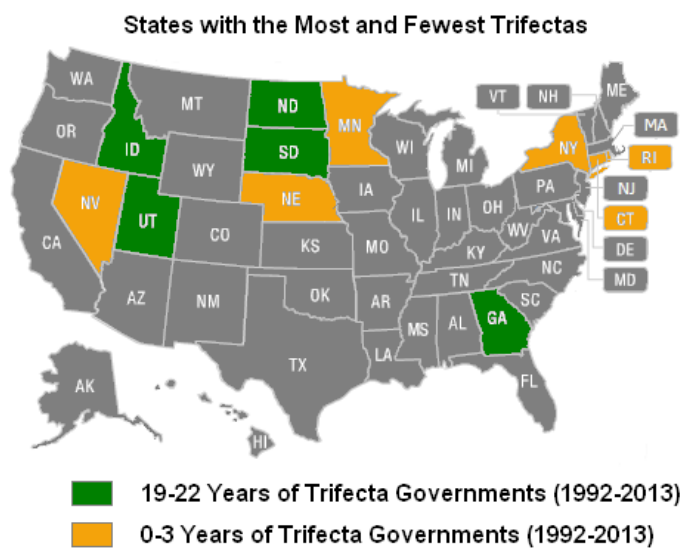


Figure 16: Map of 5 states with most/least trifectas from 1992-2013

<sup>5</sup> 22 years of the 50 partisan governorships (1,100 instances), 11 years of the 49 partisan state senates (1,078 instances), and 11 years of the 49 partisan state houses of representatives (1,078 instances).

## 1992-2002

During the first 11 years of the study period Georgia, Hawaii, and Maryland tied as the most Democratic states with control resting 100 percent of the time with the Democratic Party. They were followed by Kentucky and Missouri with 90.91 percent, West Virginia at 87.88 percent, Alabama and North Carolina at 84.85 percent, and Arkansas at 81.82 percent. Louisiana and Vermont tied as the 10th most Democratic states at 78.79 percent.

Utah had the most Republican government with its governorship and both legislative chambers under Republican control for all 11 years. South Dakota was second with Republican control for 93.94 percent of the time, followed by Arizona, Idaho, Ohio, and Wyoming at 90.91 percent. The Kansas, Montana, and North Dakota governments were 87.88 percent Republican, and those of Michigan and New Jersey were controlled by the Republican Party for 84.85 percent of the 11-year period.

## 2003-2013

During the last 11 years of the study period Illinois and West Virginia were the most staunchly Democratic, with their legislatures and governorships solely under Democratic control. They were followed by New Mexico and Washington at 90.91 percent of the time, Maryland and Massachusetts at 87.88 percent of the time, and New Jersey at 84.85 percent of the time. Arkansas and Delaware were under Democratic control 81.82 percent of the time, California, Maine, and North Carolina tied as the tenth most Democratic states at 78.79 percent.

Idaho, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, and Utah had 100 percent Republican control during the last 11 years. They were followed by Florida at 96.97 percent and Georgia at 93.94 percent of the time. Rounding out the bright red states, Alaska, Arizona and Ohio tied for ninth most Republican during this period at 81.82 percent of the period.

## **Dramatic changes in partisanship from the first 11 years to the last 11 years**

### **Swing of 40 percent or more**

Among the many states whose partisan control shifted noticeably between the two periods, eight states had swings of more than 40 percent toward one party or the other:

- Three shifted dramatically toward Democratic control -- Colorado, Illinois and New Jersey.
- Three states were previously under Democratic control -- Georgia, Missouri and Texas -- but shifted by more than 40 percent to Republican control.
- Two states -- Florida and South Carolina -- were slightly Republican in the first 11 years, but both became strong Republican trifectas during the second 11 years.

The three states that shifted from Republican to Democratic control were Colorado, Illinois and New Jersey. Colorado went from spending 73 percent of the first 11 years with Republicans in power to spending 70 percent of the last 11 years with Democrats in power. Illinois' governorship and legislative chambers went from being 70 percent Republican controlled in the first 11 years to being held by Democrats for 100 percent of the last 11 years. New Jersey was the only top-10 most Republican state in the first 11 years to become a top-10 most Democratic state in the second period. The Garden State went from being under Republican control for 85 percent of the first 11 years to under Democratic control 85 percent of the last 11 years.

The five states that swung by more than 40 percent toward Republican control, or toward much stronger Republican control, were Florida, Georgia, Missouri, South Carolina and Texas. Georgia, Missouri, and Texas shifted dramatically from Democratic to Republican control. Georgia went from spending 100 percent of the first 11 years under Democratic control to spending 94 percent of the last 11 years under Republican control. Georgia is unique because it went from being one of the top-10 most Democratic states in the first 11 years to being one of the top-10 most Republican states in the last 11 years. Missouri went from being Democratic-controlled for 91 percent of the first 11 years to 79 percent Republican controlled for the last 11 years. Texas went from being 58 percent controlled by the Democrats during the first 11 years to 100 percent Republican controlled during the last 11 years. Both Florida and South Carolina were Republican-dominated during both halves of the study -- however, each state experienced a large shift from nearly split government to Republican trifectas. South Carolina's governorship and legislature were under Republican control for every year from 2003 to 2013, and Governor Charlie Crist's exit from the Republican Party in 2010 was the only instance of non-Republican control in Florida during the same period.

### Swings of 20-40%

In addition to the states that swung by at least 40 percent or more over the course of the study, there are several other situations that stand out.

- Eight states shifted in favor of the Democratic Party in the range of a 20-40% shift. The two states in the Pacific Northwest -- Oregon and Washington -- shifted 33 and 21 percent, respectively, in Democratic favor. During the first half of the study, Oregon had seven consecutive years of a fully Republican legislature. Washington had two years of a fully Republican legislature and three more years where one chamber was controlled by Republicans. However, during the second half of the study period, both states became dramatically more Democratic. Oregon currently has a Democratic trifecta. Although Washington appeared to have a Democratic trifecta after the 2012 elections, a [power-sharing](#) agreement that gave control of the [Washington State Senate](#) to a Republican-dominated coalition.
- Six states (Alabama, Alaska, Hawaii, Mississippi, Oklahoma and Tennessee) shifted toward the Republican Party in the 20-40 percent range. Four states -- Alabama, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Tennessee -- swung decisively toward the Republicans in the latter years of the study. All four states presently have Republican trifectas. For example, Alabama was 85 percent Democratic during the first 11 years and 52 percent Republican during the second 11 years. This is a shift of 33%, and while it does not qualify under our 40% criteria for a "dramatic" shift, it should be noted that the Republican trifecta in Alabama -- like those in Mississippi, Oklahoma and Tennessee -- appears firmly entrenched with a likelihood to continue in years ahead given the partisan appearances of the states.

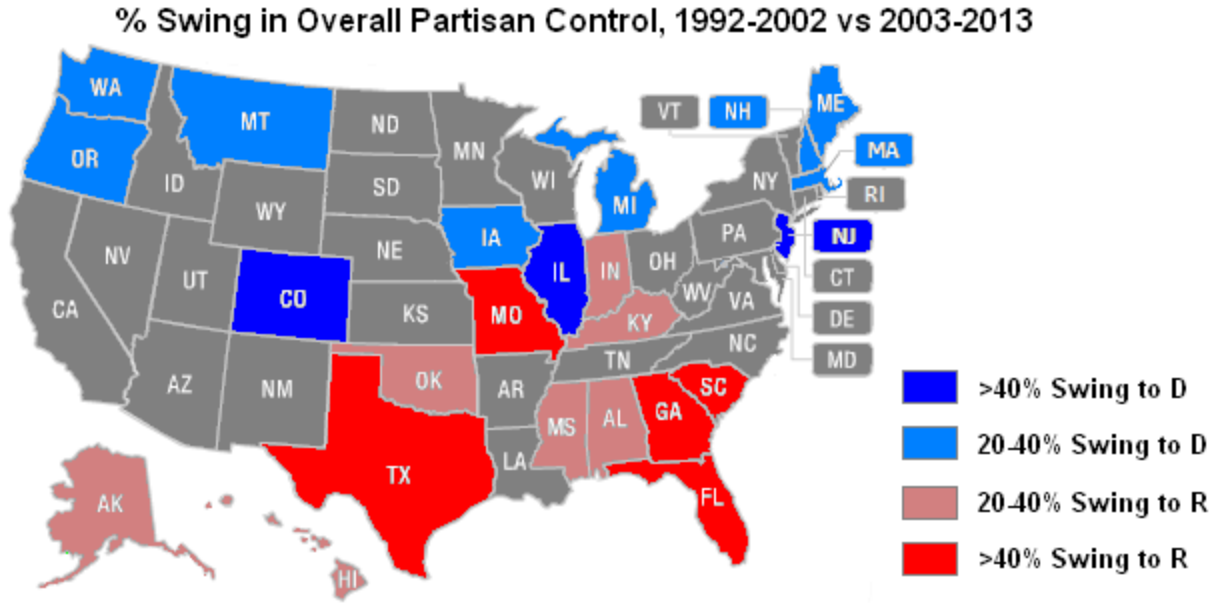


Figure 17: Map showing the states that experienced the greatest percentage partisan swing between the first and second half of the study

### Year-to-Year Changes in State Partisan Control

In addition to the simple number of years each party was in control, we took into account the stability of the government's partisan composition over time. We considered a partisan control change to have taken place when the partisan status of the legislature, governorship, or both changed. From 1992 to 2013, partisan control of each state government could have changed a maximum of 21 times.



## States With the Fewest and Most Changes in Partisan Control, 1992-2013

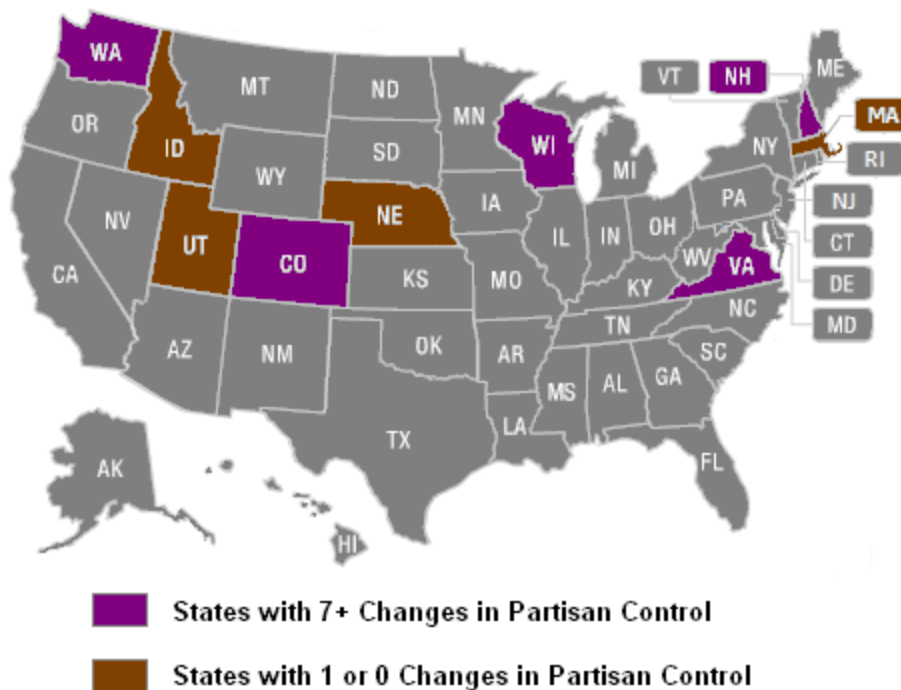


Figure 18: Map showing the states with the most and least number of changes in control from 1992-2013

State governments had 206 changes in party control, with an average of 9.8 changes annually nationwide. On average, the partisan status of each state's government changed 4 times, approximately once every five years. Utah had the most stable government with no changes in its Republican trifecta control during this period. Idaho and Massachusetts each had only one change in party control. Nebraska, for which we were only able to track changes in partisan control of its governorship, also had one change. Wisconsin's government had the most changes in partisan control with a total of nine changes. The Badger State's party control changed nearly every two years. New Hampshire and North Carolina each had eight changes, followed by Colorado and Virginia with seven each.

### Trifectas and Presidential Election Patterns

The labels of "red state" and "blue state" have most commonly been assigned to states based on how they vote in presidential elections. However, many states' presidential voting patterns differ significantly from their voting patterns in legislative and gubernatorial elections. In the seven presidential elections from 1988 to 2012, 27 states voted for Republican presidential candidates more frequently than their Democratic competitors, while 23 states voted for the Democrats more often. As shown in Figure 19-20 (pp. 24-25), we compared each state's presidential election results with its state government's partisan control in the four years following that presidential election. For example, the 1992 presidential election results were compared with partisan control of governorships and state legislative chambers from 1993 to 1996. The 1988 presidential election results were compared with the 1992 state governments.



Light Blue = Democratic Vote/Control  
 Purple = Split/Tied  
 Light Red = Republican Vote/Control  
 Grey = Independent/Non-Partisan/Other

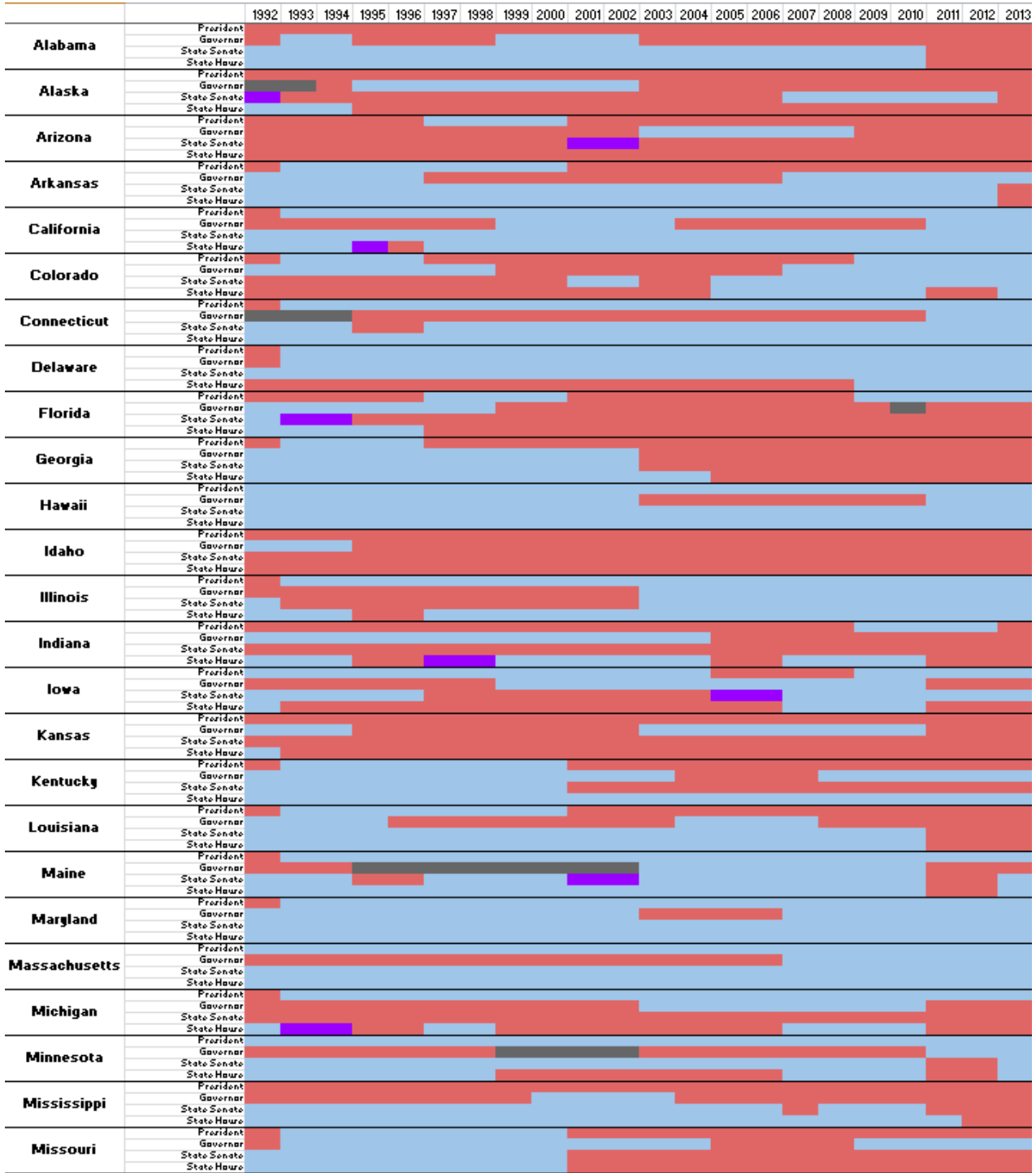


Figure 19: Visualization of State Partisanship (with Presidential voting) from 1992-2013 -- Alabama-Missouri<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Shaded colors reflect the party that held power for the majority of that year. For example, Republicans won control of the Alabama Legislature in 2010. The color change from occurs in 2011. Presidential results reflect election-year votes.

Light Blue = Democratic Vote/Control  
 Purple = Split/Tied

Light Red = Republican Vote/Control  
 Grey = Independent/Non-Partisan/Other

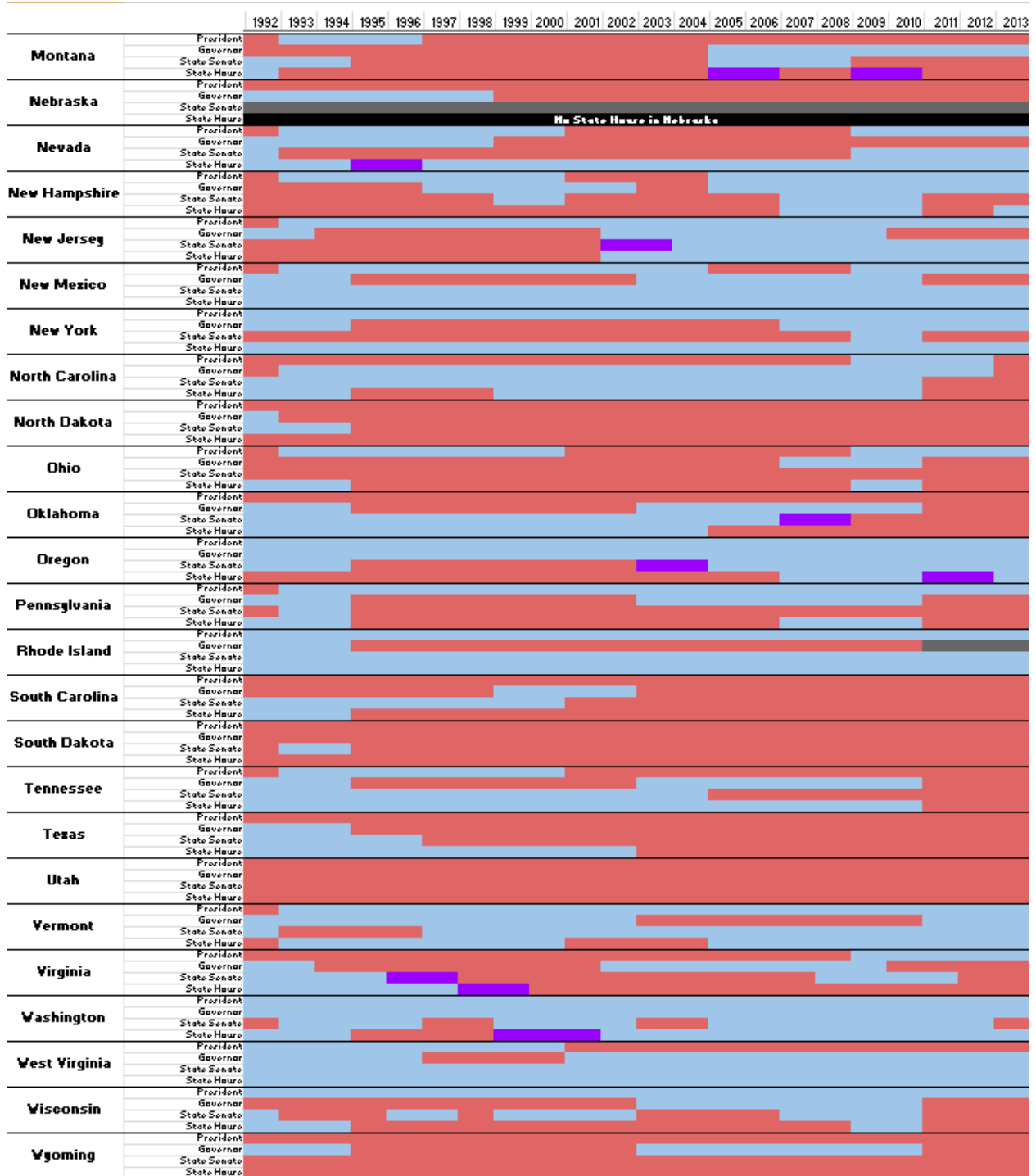


Figure 20: Visualization of State Partisanship (with Presidential voting) from 1992-2013 -- Montana-Wyoming

According to the four elections tracked in this study -- presidential, gubernatorial, state senate, and state house -- Utah is the most partisan state over the past 22 years. It is the only state where the same party controlled the governorship and both legislative chambers for all years and carried the state in all seven presidential elections. In every other state, each major party had at least one instance of partisan control, whether of its governorship or a legislative chamber, or carried the state in at least one presidential election.

A total of seven states voted differently in the presidential election of 2012 compared to the trifecta offices. Of those seven states, six were won by President Obama while Republicans carried or maintained trifectas in state government. Those states are Florida, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia<sup>7</sup> and Wisconsin. The seventh state was West Virginia, which maintains a strong Democratic trifecta but consistently votes Republican in presidential elections.

**Political Party with Most Presidential Wins by State, 1988-2012**

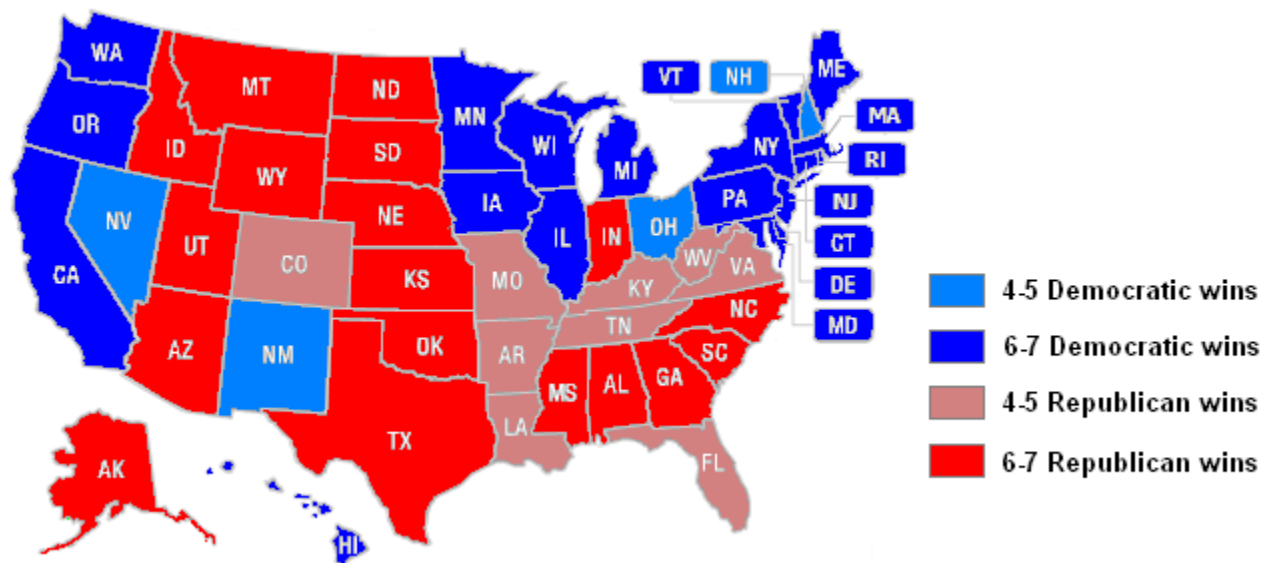


Figure 21: Map showing presidential voting over the past seven elections

Many more states were carried by the same party in all seven presidential elections than had only governors from the same party during the same years. While 4 states had governors from only one major party, 21 states voted for one party's presidential tickets in all presidential elections. Of these 21 states, 8 voted Democratic, and 13 voted Republican. Voters in a number of single-party presidential states gave the other major party control of their legislatures and governorships for multiple years. Five states -- Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin -- which always voted with the Democrats in presidential elections, had Republican governors more often than Democratic ones. Pennsylvania, which voted with the Democrats in the last six presidential elections, had Republican trifectas for half of the time and 15 years of Republican legislatures. Across the South, which voted heavily for

<sup>7</sup> Virginia did not hold any statewide elections in 2012 -- Republicans won a state trifecta in 2011. Although the State Senate is tied 20-20, Republicans control the chamber as a result of the Lieutenant Governor being a Republican and holding the tie-breaking vote.

Republicans in presidential elections, most states, including the Republican-only presidential states of Alabama and Mississippi, had Democratic legislatures for more years than Republican ones. In recent years, the Republicans made major gains in state legislative control as the Southern states' voting patterns in legislative elections increasingly mirrored their presidential preferences. West Virginia voted for the Republican ticket in the past four presidential elections while continuing to consistently elect Democratic trifectas to run the state government.

Just as states which vote red or blue in presidential elections may not necessarily do so in gubernatorial and legislative ones, a number of the presidential swing states leaned strongly

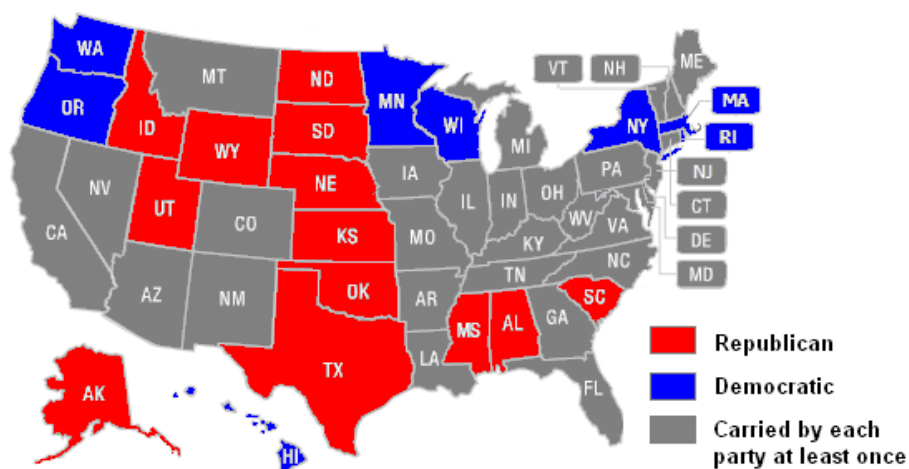
red or blue in their state politics. Florida cast its electoral votes

for Republicans four times, including decisively in the disputed 2000 presidential election and for Democrats three times. Yet Florida's governorship and legislature were solidly red for most of those years. The Florida House of Representatives and Senate have had Republican majorities beginning in 1995 and 1997, respectively, and Republicans have won the last four gubernatorial elections. Likewise, Ohio, which voted for the Republican president ticket in 1988, 2000, and 2004 but for the Democrats in the other four presidential elections, generally elected Republican governors and legislatures. The Ohio Senate had Republican majorities for all 22 years, the House of Representatives was Republican for all but 5 years, and only Governor Ted Strickland's single term broke up the Republican hold on the governorship. Nevada, which also voted for the Republican ticket in 1988, 2000, and 2004 and for the Democrats in the other four presidential elections, had its governorship and state senate under Republican control more than two thirds of the time, although the Nevada Assembly was almost exclusively under Democratic control.

## Conclusion

Over the past 22 years, it has become increasingly more likely that a state government will be under the control of one party. More state legislatures now have both legislative chambers controlled by a single party than at any other time during these years. Twice as many states have a governor and majorities in both legislative chambers from the same party today as did in 1992. Single-party control of the redistricting process in many states aimed at protecting current legislative majorities seems likely to perpetuate or create even more hyper-partisan

**States Which Voted for the Same Party in Every Presidential Election, 1988-2012**



**Figure 22: Map displaying the states that did not vary its presidential vote from 1988-2012**

state governments. Although voters appear less likely to vote for candidates from the same party in both legislative and gubernatorial elections, a number of states continue to vote differently in state and presidential elections.

How the increase in single-party control impacts implementation of public policy in the states will be tested in the years ahead. Media reports have highlighted the increasingly partisan nature of state governments. Blue states are passing legislation that is more progressive, while red states are implementing policy that is more conservative.<sup>8</sup> As the stark contrasts between the types of government grow, who runs the states will become a more important issue to observe at the state level.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *New York Times*. "[Why Are States So Red and Blue?](#)", October 24, 2012

<sup>9</sup> *Washington Post*. "[A red state/blue state chasm](#)", April 21, 2013

## Methodology

### Partisanship

We identified partisan control of each state's governorship and legislature for each year from 1992 through 2013. To identify the partisan control of each state's governorship, we used lists of each state's governors from official and media sources and determined the partisan affiliation of the governor or governors who held the office for the majority of each year. For each year, each state's governorship was coded as Republican, Democratic, or Other.

To identify partisan control of each state legislature, we used the data found in Michael J. Dubin's *Party Affiliations in the State Legislatures: A Year by Year Summary, 1796-2006* (McFarland, 2007) for the years from 1992 through 2006. We used official and media sources for 2006-2013. We cross-checked our data for the years through 2011 with the legislative partisan balance data compiled by Indiana State University's Dr. Carl Klarner.<sup>10</sup> When one party had majority control in both legislative chambers for most of a given year, the legislature was coded as Democratic or Republican. For example, the North Carolina legislature flipped from Democratic to Republican control after the 2010 election. We coded North Carolina as a Democratic legislature in 2009 and 2010, but Republican in 2011 and 2012. We also identified legislatures as under Split Control when one legislative chamber was run according to a bipartisan power-sharing agreement or by a bipartisan coalition instead of the regular party leadership. Examples include the Virginia Senate in 1995 and 1996 and Oregon House of Representatives in 2009 and 2010. When each party controlled one chamber, the legislature was coded as being under "Split Control." Nebraska's single-chamber, nonpartisan legislature was coded as Nonpartisan for the entire 22-year period. For the purposes of our calculations, we considered the Nebraska legislature's Nonpartisan status to be equivalent to being under Split Control.

We then combined our gubernatorial and legislative partisanship data to determine during which years, if any, each state government had had a trifecta. When both its governorship and legislature were controlled by the same party, a state was coded as having either a Republican or a Democratic trifecta. When its governorship and legislature were controlled by different parties or when the legislature was under split control, a state was coded as having Divided Government. We did not include Nebraska in the trifecta calculations because of its nonpartisan legislature.

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<sup>10</sup> Klarner, Carl, William Berry, Thomas Carsey, Malcolm Jewell, Richard Niemi, Lynda Powell, and James Snyder. State Legislative Election Returns (1967-2010). ICPSR34297-v1. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2013-01-11. doi:10.3886/ICPSR34297.v1. Available at <http://www.indstate.edu/polisci/klarnerpolitics.htm>.

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Partisanship Tables

#### Partisan Control of Governorships, 1992-2013

The following table shows the partisan affiliation of each state's governors over the past 22 years. For a year in which governors of more than one party held a state's governorship, we assigned the year to the party whose member(s) held office for the majority of the year. "D" is the number of years Democratic governors held office, "R" is the number of years Republican governors held office, and "O" is the number of years governors with other partisan affiliations (i.e., independent) held office. To view the full datasets, [click here](#) to access our online spreadsheet.

State	D	R	O	State	D	R	O
Alabama	6	16	0	Montana	9	13	0
Alaska	8	12	2	Nebraska	7	15	0
Arizona	6	16	0	Nevada	7	15	0
Arkansas	12	10	0	New Hampshire	15	7	0
California	8	14	0	New Jersey	10	12	0
Colorado	14	8	0	New Mexico	11	11	0
Connecticut	3	16	3	New York	10	12	0
Delaware	21	1	0	North Carolina	20	2	0
Florida	7	14	1	North Dakota	1	21	0
Georgia	11	11	0	Ohio	4	18	0
Hawaii	14	8	0	Oklahoma	11	11	0
Idaho	3	19	0	Oregon	22	0	0
Illinois	11	11	0	Pennsylvania	11	11	0
Indiana	13	9	0	Rhode Island	3	16	3
Iowa	12	10	0	South Carolina	4	18	0
Kansas	11	11	0	South Dakota	0	22	0
Kentucky	18	4	0	Tennessee	11	11	0

Louisiana	8	14	0	Texas	3	19	0
Maine	8	6	8	Utah	0	22	0
Maryland	18	4	0	Vermont	14	8	0
Massachusetts	7	15	0	Virginia	10	12	0
Michigan	8	14	0	Washington	22	0	0
Minnesota	3	15	4	West Virginia	18	4	0
Mississippi	4	18	0	Wisconsin	8	14	0
Missouri	17	5	0	Wyoming	11	11	0

### Partisan Control of State Legislatures, 1992-2013

State	D	R	S	State	D	R	S
Alabama	19	3	0	Montana	1	13	8
Alaska	0	13	9	Nebraska	0	0	0
Arizona	0	19	3	Nevada	6	0	16
Arkansas	21	1	0	New Hampshire	4	15	3
California	20	0	2	New Jersey	10	10	2
Colorado	7	11	4	New Mexico	22	0	0
Connecticut	20	0	2	New York	2	0	20
Delaware	5	0	17	North Carolina	15	3	4
Florida	1	17	4	North Dakota	0	19	3
Georgia	11	9	2	Ohio	0	17	5
Hawaii	22	0	0	Oklahoma	13	5	4
Idaho	0	22	0	Oregon	5	8	9
Illinois	12	2	8	Pennsylvania	1	15	6
Indiana	0	7	15	Rhode Island	22	0	0
Iowa	5	8	9	South Carolina	3	13	6
Kansas	0	21	1	South Dakota	0	20	2



Kentucky	8	0	14	Tennessee	12	4	6
Louisiana	19	3	0	Texas	5	11	6
Maine	16	2	4	Utah	0	22	0
Maryland	22	0	0	Vermont	13	0	9
Massachusetts	22	0	0	Virginia	4	10	8
Michigan	0	13	9	Washington	11	2	9
Minnesota	12	2	8	West Virginia	22	0	0
Mississippi	18	2	2	Wisconsin	3	9	10
Missouri	9	11	2	Wyoming	0	22	0

### State Trifecta Breakdown, 1992-2012

State	D	R	Divided	State	D	R	Divided
Alabama	6	3	13	Montana	0	10	12
Alaska	0	5	17	Nebraska	0	0	0
Arizona	0	13	9	Nevada	1	0	21
Arkansas	11	0	11	New Hampshire	4	7	11
California	8	0	14	New Jersey	6	8	8
Colorado	5	4	13	New Mexico	11	0	11
Connecticut	3	0	19	New York	2	0	20
Delaware	5	0	17	North Carolina	14	1	7
Florida	1	14	7	North Dakota	0	19	3
Georgia	11	9	2	Ohio	0	15	7
Hawaii	14	0	8	Oklahoma	5	3	14
Idaho	0	19	3	Oregon	5	0	17
Illinois	11	2	9	Pennsylvania	1	11	10
Indiana	0	5	17	Rhode Island	3	0	19

Iowa	4	2	16	South Carolina	0	11	11
Kansas	0	11	11	South Dakota	0	20	2
Kentucky	8	0	14	Tennessee	5	3	14
Louisiana	8	3	11	Texas	3	11	8
Maine	8	2	12	Utah	0	22	0
Maryland	18	0	4	Vermont	7	0	15
Massachusetts	7	0	15	Virginia	2	4	16
Michigan	0	9	13	Washington	11	0	11
Minnesota	1	0	21	West Virginia	18	0	4
Mississippi	4	2	16	Wisconsin	2	5	15
Missouri	8	4	10	Wyoming	0	11	11

### Changes in Partisan Control of State Governments, 1992-2013

State	Changes in Partisan Control	Change Rank	State	Changes in Partisan Control	Change Rank
Alabama	5	12	Montana	4	23
Alaska	5	12	Nebraska	1	47
Arizona	4	23	Nevada	3	32
Arkansas	3	32	New Hampshire	8	2
California	5	12	New Jersey	4	23
Colorado	7	4	New Mexico	3	32
Connecticut	3	32	New York	4	23
Delaware	2	39	North Carolina	5	12
Florida	5	12	North Dakota	2	39
Georgia	2	39	Ohio	4	23

Hawaii	2	39	Oklahoma	5	12
Idaho	1	47	Oregon	5	12
Illinois	4	23	Pennsylvania	6	6
Indiana	5	12	Rhode Island	2	39
Iowa	6	6	South Carolina	4	23
Kansas	4	23	South Dakota	2	39
Kentucky	3	32	Tennessee	6	6
Louisiana	4	23	Texas	3	32
Maine	6	6	Utah	0	50
Maryland	2	39	Vermont	5	12
Massachusetts	1	47	Virginia	7	4
Michigan	6	6	Washington	8	2
Minnesota	5	12	West Virginia	2	39
Mississippi	6	6	Wisconsin	9	1
Missouri	5	12	Wyoming	3	32

## Appendix B: Legislative Ties, Power Sharing, and Coalitions

Usually, the majority of legislators in a given legislators chamber are members of either the Republican Party or the Democratic Party and elect their leaders to preside over the chamber, determine committee chairmanships, and set the legislative agenda. Occasionally, however, a general election, special election, or a member's switch from one party to another results in both parties have the same number of legislators. According to the National Conference of State Legislatures, methods used to resolve ties include a coin toss, negotiated agreements between the two parties, a tie-breaking vote by the lieutenant governor, and state statutes determining which party (i.e., the governor's party) selects the chamber's leaders.<sup>11</sup>

In classifying tied chambers, we tried to determine which party, if either, had functional legislative control not only in terms of filling legislative offices and committee chairs but also in terms of actually being able to pass bills with a tie-breaking vote. When a power sharing

<sup>11</sup> National Conference of State Legislatures, "In Case of a Tie . . . .," accessed on April 24, 2013, available at <http://www.ncsl.org/legislatures-elections/legislatures/incaseofatie.aspx>.

agreement was in place, we classified the tied chamber as split. When one party used a lieutenant governor's tie breaking vote to organize a state senate, we classified the senate as being under the control of that party. In the three instances where the governor's party used state law tie-breaking provisions to choose the officers of a state house of representatives, we classified the houses as split because that party did not have a secure tie-breaking advantage. When one party created a coalition with only some of the other party's members instead of negotiating a genuine power sharing agreement with the other party's leadership, we classified that chamber as being under the control of the party with the most members in the coalition.

<b>State</b>	<b>Chamber</b>	<b>Year(s)</b>	<b>Tie-breaking Method</b>	<b>Partisan Status</b>
Alaska	Senate	1991-1992	Consensus coalition <sup>12</sup>	Split
Alaska	Senate	2009-2012	Democratic-dominated coalition	Democratic
Arizona	Senate	2001-2002	Power sharing	Split
Florida	Senate	1993-1994	Power sharing	Split
Idaho	Senate	1991-1992	Lt. gov.	Republican
Indiana	House	1997-1998	Led by governor's party (D) <sup>13</sup>	Split
Iowa	Senate	2005-2006	Power sharing	Split
Maine	Senate	2001-2002	Power sharing	Split
Michigan	House	1993-1994	Power sharing	Split
Nevada	Assembly	1995-1996	Power sharing	Split
Montana	House	2005-2006	Led by governor's party (D)	Split
Montana	House	2009-2010	Led by governor's party (D)	Split
New Hampshire	Senate	2000	Led by existing leadership (D)	Split
New Jersey	Senate	2002-2003	Power sharing	Split
North Carolina	House	1993-1994	Democratic-dominated coalition	Democratic
Oklahoma	Senate	2007-2008	Power sharing	Split
Oregon	Senate	2003-2004	Power sharing	Split

<sup>12</sup> Republican Dick Eliason built a bipartisan coalition and was unanimously elected as Senate president.

<sup>13</sup> The law states that the party of the governor or the secretary of state, whoever was elected most recently, chooses the leadership of the Indiana House of Representatives in the event of a tie.

Oregon	Senate	2003-2004	Power sharing	Split
Oregon	House	2011-2012	Power sharing	Split
Pennsylvania	Senate	1993	Lt. gov.	Democratic
Tennessee	Senate	2007-2008	Led by existing leadership (R) <sup>14</sup>	Split
Vermont	Senate	1991-1992	Lt. gov.	Democratic
Virginia	Senate	1995-1996	Power sharing	Split
Virginia	Senate	1998-1999	Lt. gov.	Republican
Virginia	House	1998-1999 <sup>15</sup>	Power sharing	Split
Virginia	Senate	2013-	Lt. gov.	Republican
Washington	House	1999-2001 <sup>16</sup>	Power sharing	Split

On at least four occasions, the minority party in a legislative chamber allied with some, or even just one, of the members of the majority, and the resulting coalition ran the chamber. After the 2006 elections, the Democrats in the Alaska Senate allied with some of the Republicans. The mostly Democratic coalition controlled the chamber for the next two years and eventually became the Alaska Senate Bipartisan Working Group which held sway through four more years when the Senate was officially tied 10-10 (see above table). In 2009, the Democrats in the Tennessee House of Representatives, with 49 out of 99 seats, allied with Republican Kent Williams to make Williams the new speaker and organize the House. Although the Republicans won a special election later in 2001, Williams remained the speaker until the Republicans triumphed in the 2002 legislative elections. After the 2012 elections, Republicans were in the minority in both the New York and Washington state senates but joined with a few Democrats in each state to take control.

State	Chamber	Year(s)	Coalition
Alaska	Senate	2007-2008	Predominantly Democratic coalition

<sup>14</sup> After Senator Mike Williams left the Republican Party to become an independent on March 14, 2007, the Tennessee Senate was split 16-16-1. The post of Majority Leader became vacant, but the existing leadership and committee assignments remained in place. See Ken Whitehouse, *Nashville Post*, "GOP State Senator bolts party," March 14, 2007, available at [http://nashvillepost.com/news/2007/3/14/gop\\_state\\_senator\\_bolts\\_party](http://nashvillepost.com/news/2007/3/14/gop_state_senator_bolts_party).

<sup>15</sup> Even after the Republicans won a 52-47-1 majority in the Virginia House of Delegates in the 1999 legislative elections, the House continued to be run under a power sharing agreement between the two parties in 2000 and 2001. Because the Republicans held a majority and used it to control the redistricting process, we classified the Virginia House as Republican for those two years in spite of the power sharing.

<sup>16</sup> After the Democrats won a fall 2001 special election, the power sharing ended, and the Democrats took sole control of the Washington House of Representatives.

New York	Senate	2013-	Predominantly Republican coalition
Tennessee	House	2009	Predominantly Democratic coalition
Washington	Senate	2013-	Predominantly Republican coalition

We also classified the California Assembly as being under split control in 1995 and Republican control in 1996. Although the Republicans won a 41-39 majority in the 1994 legislative elections, they were unable to elect a speaker and take control until January 4, 1996. In 1995, the Assembly had three speakers at different times, including two Republicans who were supported by the Democrats, and two members were successfully recalled.

Although we have done our best to identify all instances of legislative ties, power sharing, and coalitions, we realize that we may have missed additional state legislatures that had special situations such as those described above, particularly in the earlier years covered by our study. We may have misclassified legislative chambers in several of the instances we did find because of misunderstanding how they were actually run during the years in question. However, the number of such errors and oversights, if there are any, would be very small and would not meaningfully affect our findings.

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