



The Lieutenant Governorship in North Carolina: An Office in Transition

by Ran Coble

In this regular department, Insight examines an aspect of policymaking by the executive branch. This column focuses on the powers and duties of the office of Lieutenant Governor, which is undergoing a transition in 1989.

George Santayana once said, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." And the past is instructive in what it discloses about how North Carolina has treated Republicans who break Democratic strings of succession in office.

North Carolina's first Republican Lieutenant Governor was Tod R. Caldwell of Burke County, who became Governor when a Democratic majority in the N.C. General Assembly impeached Gov. William W. Holden in 1871. Holden was the state's first Republican governor, and Caldwell became the second. The legislature then stripped Governor Caldwell of many powers, leaving him with a staff of one.¹ One hundred and eighteen years later, history has proved a prophet as the state's fourth Republican Lieutenant Governor,² James C. Gardner, has been stripped of important powers which had been vested in the Lieutenant Governor for decades. With 37 of the N.C. Senate's 50 members, the Democratic majority stripped or took back—the explanation depending on one's party affiliation—the power to assign bills to committee and the power to appoint committees and committee chairmen.

Why is this important to North Carolina's citizens? How has the office of the Lieutenant Governor evolved in the last 30 years? And how

do the powers of North Carolina's Lieutenant Governor compare with those of other states?

The Evolution of the Office of Lieutenant Governor

Calvin Coolidge wasn't Lieutenant Governor in North Carolina, but he might as well have been in the first 50 years of this century, because the office had few powers and few duties. When Coolidge was Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, he once was asked what he did for a living by a matron who did not recognize him. Coolidge replied, "I'm Lieutenant Governor," and the lady promptly asked him to tell her all about it. "I just did," answered the taciturn Coolidge.³

Up until about 1968, some Tar Heel Lieutenant Governors might have concurred with Silent Cal's assessment of the office as unfulfilling or frustrating. But in the last 20 years, the office of Lieutenant Governor has been transformed into one of great power and opportunities, centered not so much within the executive branch as within the legislative branch.

Picking transition points is an iffy proposition, but let's choose three—1973, 1980, and 1988. Before 1973, the office of Lieutenant Governor was part-time (at least in salary; the job paid \$5,000 a year, though the officeholder was lieutenant governor all the time), came with a staff of

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two (having a staff at all was a recent innovation), and an office budget of \$12,000. In 1973, the first Republican Governor to be elected in the 20th century, James E. Holshouser Jr., took office, and the Democratic majority in the General Assembly felt the need to elevate the stature of its highest

state-level officeholder, Lt. Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. In fiscal year 1973, the Lieutenant Governor's salary was increased six fold to \$30,000 a year, the office budget increased to \$59,000, the staff expanded to five, and the job became full-time.⁴

A second step up the rungs of power came in

Table 1. Appointments of the N.C. Lieutenant Governor to Boards and Commissions in the Executive Branch: Where the General Assembly Appoints Upon the Recommendation of the Lieutenant Governor

Name of Board in the Executive Branch	Statutory Citation	Number of Appointments by Lt. Gov.	Appointments of Citizens	Appointments of Members of the Senate
1.. Administrative Rules Review Commission	143B-30.1	4	4	0
2. Agricultural Finance Authority, N.C.	122D-4	3	3	0
3. Alarm Systems Licensing Board	74D-4	1	1	0
4. Arboretum, Western N.C. Board of Directors	116-243	2	2	0
5. Art, N.C. Museum of, Board of Trustees	140-5.13(b)(5)	1	1	0
6. Art, N.C. Museum of, Building Commission Board of Trustees	143B-59	3	3*	0
7. Banking Commission, State	53-92	1	1	0
8. Building Commission, State	143-135.25	3	3	0
9. Child Day Care Commission	(c)(2),(5) & (8) 143B-168.4	4	4	0
10. Chiropractic Examiners, State Board of	90-139	1	1	0
11. Cosmetic Art Examiners, State Board of	88-13	1	1	0
12. Crime Victims Compensation Commission	15B-3	1	1	0
13. Criminal Justice Education & Training Standards Commission	17C-3	1	1	0
14. Deferred Compensation Plan, N.C. Public Employee, Board of Trustees	143B-426.24	1	1	0
15. Disabilities, Governor's Advocacy Council for Persons with	143B-403.2	1	1	0
16. Environmental Management Commission	143B-283	2	2	0
17. Farm Operations Commission, State	106-26.13	1	1	0
18. Farmers Market Commission, Northeastern N.C.	106-720	4	4	0
19. Farmers Market Commission, Southeastern N.C.	106-727	4	4	0
20. Fire Commission, State	58-27.30	1	1	0
21. Hazardous Waste Treatment Commission	143B-470.3	3	3	0
22. Health Insurance Trust Commission, N.C.	58A-4	4	4	0
23. Housing Partnership, N.C.	122E-4	5	5	0
24. Housing Finance Agency, Board of Directors	122A-4	4	4	0
25. Indian Affairs, N.C. Commission on	143B-407	1	1	0
26. Insurance Commission, Public Officers & Employee Liability	58-27.20	1	1	0
27. Low-Level Radioactive Waste Management Authority	104G-5(c)	5	5	0

*The statute requires these to be persons who have served in the N.C. Senate.

1980, when James C. Green became the first Lieutenant Governor with the right to succeed himself and build an eight-year power base in the state Senate. At this point, the Lieutenant Governor became a political rival to the Governor, even if they were of the same party. From 1973 through

1988, the legislature gradually expanded the powers of the Lieutenant Governor for a succession of Democrats, particularly involving him in budget decisions. The legislature also empowered the office with significant appointments. By 1989, the Lieutenant Governor controlled 195

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28. Low-Level Radioactive Waste Management Compact Commission, Advisory Committee to the N.C. Members.	104F-4	2	2	0
29. Major Medical Plan, Board of Trustees, Teachers' and State Employees' Comprehensive	135-39	3	3	0
30. Medical Database Commission, N.C.	131E-211	4	4	0
31. Mental Health, Mental Retardation & Substance Abuse Services	143B-148	2	2	0
32. Milk Commission, N.C.	106-266.7	2	2	0
33. Ports Authority, State	143B-452	2	2	0
34. Private Protective Services Board	74C-4(b)	2	2	0
35. Property Tax Commisison	143B-223	1	1	0
36. Public Telecommunications Commissioners, Board of	143B-426.9	2	2	0
37. Retirement System, Teachers' & State Employees', Board of Trustees	135-6(b)(4)	1	1	0
38. School Facility Needs, Commission on	115C-489.4	5	5	0
39. Science & Mathematics, Board of Trustees, N.C. School of	116-233	2	2	0
40. Science & Technology, N.C. Board of	143B-426.31	1	1	0
41. Seafood Industrial Park Authority, N.C.	113-315.25(d)	1	1	0
42. Sheriffs' Education & Training Standards Commission, N.C.	17E-3 (a) (2)	1	1	0
43. Teaching, N.C. Center for the Advancement of, Board of Trustees	116-74.6	2	2	0
44. Teaching Fellows Commission, N.C.	115C-363.22	3 **	3	0
45. Technological Development Authority, N.C.	143B-471.1	2	2	0
46. Television, UNC Center for Public — Board of Trustees	116-37.1	1	1	0
47. Therapeutic Recreation Certification Board	90C-5	1	1	0
48. Transportation, Board of	143B-350(d)	1	1	0
49. Waste Management Board	143B-216.12	1	1	0
50. Wildlife Resources Commission	143-240	1	1	0
	Total:	106	106	0

** The Lieutenant Governor himself is also a member of this board.

Table prepared by Ran Coble

appointments to 87 boards in the executive branch of state government, though 106 of those appointments had to be approved by the General Assembly before becoming effective.

However, there were constant signs of unease about this expansion of power. Community College President Robert W. Scott, who was Lieutenant Governor from 1965-69, remembers stirring up a hornet's nest when he attended a few Senate committee meetings.

"I was just interested in seeing how they were going to handle a bill, but it upset some people," recalls Scott. "My friend Tom White [the Senate Appropriations Committee chairman] let me

know that in the future, it would be a good idea to check with the committee chairman first before I did that again."

Robert B. Jordan III, who served as Lieutenant Governor from 1985-89, remembers a similar feeling—that of being a Senate leader without being a Senate member. "The leadership in the legislature lets it be known, subtly at times and not so subtly at other times, that you are not a member of the legislature. For instance, if I wanted a report from legislative research [the General Research Division] or from Fiscal Research, I had to ask a Senator to request it. The Lieutenant Governor can't get it because he's not

Table 2. Appointments of the N.C. Lieutenant Governor: Where the Lieutenant Governor Alone Makes Appointments to Boards and Commissions in the Executive Branch

Name of Board in the Executive Branch	Statutory Citation	Number of Appointments by Lt. Gov.	Appointments of Citizens	Appointments of Members of the Senate
1. Advisory Budget Commission	143-4	5	0	5
2. Aging, Governor's Advisory Council on	143B-181	2	2	0
3. Andrew Jackson Historic Memorial Committee	143B-132	6	6	0
4. Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, N.C. Commission on the	143-564(b)(5)	6 **	6	0
5. Biotechnology Center, N.C. Board of Directors	Bylaws	5	5	0
6. Blind, Consumer & Advocacy Advisory Committee for the	143B-164	1	0	1
7. Capital Planning Commission	143B-374	4 **	0	4
8. Cemeteries, Advisory Committee on Abandoned	143B-128(a)(2)	1	1	0
9. Children & Youth, Governor's Advocacy Council on	143B-415	2	0	2
10. Chowan Interstate Commission	Chapter 757, Section 207 of the 1985 Session Laws	4	0	4
11. Code Officials Qualification Board	143-151.9	4	4	0
12. Crime Commission	143B-478(b)(4)	2	0	2
13. Disciplinary Hearing Commission of the N.C. State Bar	84-28.1	1	1	0
14. Eckerd Wilderness Education System, N.C. Board of	Bylaws	2	0	2
15. Education Commission of the States	115C-104	1 *	0	1
16. Emergency Medical Services Advisory Council	143-510 (a)	2	0	2
17. Energy Policy Council, N.C.	113B-3 (a)(2)	2	0	2
18. Exceptional Children, Council on Educational Services for	115C-121 (b)	2	0	2
19. Farmworker Council, N.C.	143B-426.25(b)(3)	2	2	0

a member. If I wanted a little bit more office space or to move somebody, I'd have to get in line for it. I couldn't do it myself."

In 1971 there was talk of taking away the power to appoint committees, and in 1973 and again in 1975, the Senate attempted, but failed, to strip the Lieutenant Governor of his power to appoint committee membership. Then on the last day of the 1976 session, the Senate successfully voted (34-9) to eliminate the Lieutenant Governor's appointive power. Two months later, however, the Democratic caucus voted to reverse this action (the full Senate made this reversal formal at the opening of the new session).

Despite this continuing unease, the legislative powers of the Lieutenant Governor continued to expand. From 1985-89, Bob Jordan was not only Lieutenant Governor but also the titular head of the Democratic Party in opposition to Republican Gov. James G. Martin. If there was going to be a Democratic Party program, it would fall to Jordan to present the party's program to the Senate and to the people of North Carolina. This combination of Republican Governors, a new right of succession, an expanded staff and budget, and new appointment powers resulted in formidable responsibility for the office of Lieutenant Governor.

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20. General Statutes Commission	164-14 (a)	1	0	1
21. Hearing Impaired, N.C. Council for the	143B-214	1	0	1
22. Holocaust, N.C. Council on the	143B-216.21	8	8	0
23. Human Relations Council	143B-392	2	2	0
24. Inaugural Ceremonies, Committee on	143-533	3 **	0	3
25. Indian Education, State Advisory Council on	115C-210.1	1	0	1
26. Internship Council, N.C.	143B-418	1	1	0
27. Interstate Cooperation, Council on	143B-380	3 **	0	3
28. Local Government Advocacy Council	143-506.14	2	0	2
29. Local Government Commission	159-3 (a)	1	1	0
30. Motor Vehicles Dealers Advisory Board	20-305.4	3	3	0
31. Physical Fitness & Health, Governor's Council on	143B-216.9 (1)	1	0	1
32. School Health Advisory Committee, State	115C-81(e)(6)(c)	1	0	1
33. Southern Growth Policies Board	143-492	1	0	1
34. Southern States Energy Board	104D-2 (a)(3)	1	0	1
35. Thoms Rehabilitation Hospital, Board of Trustees	Bylaws	2	0	2
36. Vagabond School of Drama Inc. & Flat Rock Playhouse Board of Trustees	Bylaws	2	0	2
37. Veterinary Medical Board	90-182 (a)	1	1	0
	Total:	89	43	46

Total appointments in Tables 1 & 2: 195 (149 citizens, 46 Senators)

* This appointment is chosen by the Lieutenant Governor by custom only. The statute designates the appointment authority to the Senate, and by tradition the Lieutenant Governor makes the appointment.

** The Lieutenant Governor himself is also a member of this board.

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The Powers of the Lieutenant Governor

As Jordan went out of office, the Lieutenant Governor had 11 powers, but they came from three different sources—the state Constitution, state statutes, and Senate rules. Most politically savvy observers knew that the Lieutenant Governor appointed committees and their chairmen, and that he assigned bills to committee, but few knew that those powers came from easily changed Senate rules and not from the bedrock authority of the state Constitution. The 11 powers (two have since been dropped) and their origins were as follows:

A. Powers from the State Constitution

1. The power to succeed the Governor (from Article III, Section 3(1) of the Constitution);
2. The power to serve as acting Governor in the Governor's absence from the state or during the physical or mental incapacity of the Governor (Article III, Section 3(2));
3. Membership on the Council of State (Article III, Section 8) and on the State Board of Education (Article IX, Section 4(1) of the Constitution);
4. The power to preside over the Senate and control floor debate (Article III, Section 6 and Article II, Section 13);
5. The power to vote in case of ties (Article II, Section 13);
6. The duty to sign bills when presiding over the Senate (Article II, Section 22);
7. The power to perform such additional duties as the Governor and the General Assembly may assign him (Article III, Section 6);

B. Powers from State Statutes

8. The power to make outright or to recommend to the General Assembly 195 appointments to 87 boards and commissions in the executive branch (under N.C.G.S. 120-121 and 120-123 and various other state statutes; see Tables 1 and 2);
9. Membership on:
 - the State Board of Community Colleges, N.C.G.S. 115D-2.1(b)(1);
 - the Economic Development Board, N.C.G.S. 143B-434(a);
 - the Capital Planning Commission, N.C.G.S. 143B-374;
 - the Council on Interstate Cooperation, N.C.G.S. 143B-380;
 - the N.C. Commission on the Bicenten-

nial of the U.S. Constitution, N.C.G.S. 143-564(b)(2);

- the Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies, N.C.G.S. 143-533 (ex officio);
- the Computer Commission, N.C.G.S. 143-426.21 (ex officio); and
- the N.C. Teaching Fellows Commission, N.C.G.S. 115C-363.23(a)(2).

C. Powers from Senate Rules (not applicable in the 1989 General Assembly)

10. The power to appoint committees and committee chairman (1987-88 Senate Rule 31); and
11. The power to assign bills to committee (1987-88 Senate Rule 43).

Unbeknownst to most voters, *Senate rules* can be changed at the beginning of a legislative session by a majority vote of the Senate and thereafter by a two-thirds vote. State statutes can be changed by a majority vote of the N.C. Senate and N.C. House of Representatives. This scenario makes the powers of the Lieutenant Governor that originate in Senate rules or state statutes much more susceptible to change than those derived from the Constitution. Amendments to the Constitution must be approved by a three-fifths vote in the General Assembly and then by a majority of the voters.

When the voters elected Jim Gardner on Nov. 8, 1988, the N.C. Senate Democrats immediately made plans to revise Senate rules and vest the authority to refer bills and appoint committees in someone other than a Republican Lieutenant Governor. The Democratic caucus voted on Nov. 25, 1988 to give the power of bill referral to the Senate principal clerk, allowing the Senate Rules Committee chairman, a Democrat, to resolve any disputes. The power to appoint committee chairmen (and Democratic members of Senate committees) was given to the Senate President Pro-Tempore, Henson Barnes (D-Wayne), who was nominated by the Democratic caucus on Dec. 1, 1988, and formally elected by the Senate on Jan. 11, 1989. The rules changes were adopted the same day.

Gardner and Republican legislative leaders had warned it would be politically unwise to remove these powers, saying it would anger voters and make it difficult for Democrats to defend such actions in 1990 when they run for re-election. Gardner characterized the move as "stripping" the Lieutenant Governor's powers, an image of Democrats taking away something that belonged

to the office of Lieutenant Governor by right.

By contrast, Democrats defended the actions as consistent with the principle of majority rule. In words soon echoed by other Democratic leaders, Senator Barnes said the Senate has given away too much of its authority in prior years. He said that the powers of appointing committees and assigning bills belonged to the party holding a majority in the Senate, not to a presiding officer of the minority party.

"A majority of the Senate has been elected by the public as a majority party," said Barnes. "Do you feel the majority party, 37 out of 50, elected by the public of North Carolina, that the public expects them to put themselves in a position where they can't pass bills in the Senate?"⁵ Barnes later drew an analogy of the Lieutenant Governorship with the U.S. Vice Presidency (the Vice President only presides over the U.S. Senate). Barnes observed, "In all states and in every nation in the free world, the House or the Senate has a right to organize itself."⁶ Thus, the Democrats offered a trio of defenses for their actions—majority rule, the analogy to the limited powers of the Vice Presidency, and the likeness with other legislatures. But how similar is North Carolina's Lieutenant Governor to that of other states?

A Comparison of the Powers of the North Carolina Lieutenant Governor with Those of Other States

Eight states in the U.S. do not even have a Lieutenant Governor. Among the 42 states with a Lieutenant Governor, only seven allow their Lieutenant Governor to appoint committees and committee chairmen (See Table 3, p. 164). Only 15 Lieutenant Governors have the power to assign bills. Twenty-five states allow the Lieutenant Governor to vote in case of ties, and 28 Lieutenant Governors preside over the Senate. These powers can all be characterized as powers which are more legislative in nature than executive.

By contrast, among the powers which are more executive in nature, other states have been more generous in their grants of power. All 42 Lieutenant Governors have the power to succeed the Governor, 33 can be assigned duties by the Governor, and 40 serve as acting Governor when the Governor is disabled. Thirty-one Lieutenant Governors serve on executive boards, but only six can make appointments to boards in the executive

branch, though the data on the latter power is more subject to question.⁷ Thirty-one lieutenant governors can succeed themselves for an unlimited number of four-year terms; eight lieutenant governors, including North Carolina's, can serve two consecutive four-year terms; and one state, Kansas, prohibits a second term in office.⁸

The trend is clear, says one expert in the transformation of the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor. "In the past, the Lieutenant Governor has been a hybrid executive-legislator," but taking away his legislative duties has helped to make him a firm and integral part of the executive branch, with his allegiance clearly owed to the Governor rather than to a chamber of legislators, wrote Larry Sabato of the University of Virginia in 1983. "Twelve states have now placed the Lieutenant Governor completely in the executive branch, and others have reduced the Lieutenant Governor's legislative role," concluded Sabato.⁹

What Does the Future Hold for North Carolina's Lieutenant Governor?

With the removal of key legislative powers from the Lieutenant Governor, what is the future of the office? Few observers think the powers will be returned, regardless of the party affiliation of future officeholders. Bob Jordan says, "I don't expect to see in my lifetime those powers restored to the Lieutenant Governor."

Jordan does expect the office to play a larger role in the executive branch, with increased assignments from the Governor, and possibly elections of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor as a team. "The Governor should give the Lieutenant Governor more to do, and in my mind, they [the legislature] should go back and look at whether the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor should run as a team," Jordan says. That view reflects a clear trend among other states toward team elections. Twenty-two states have put the concept into practice since 1953.¹⁰ Governor Martin likely will assign Gardner more duties. He already has designated Gardner chief of his administration's campaign against drug use.

Jordan also remembers one other possibility that had been discussed—that of combining the duties of the Lieutenant Governor and the Secretary of State. He served on a 1977 legislative study commission which considered combining the two offices when Thad Eure retired (which occurred in January 1989). The Lieutenant Gov-

**Table 3. Comparison of Powers of the Lieutenant Governors
Among the 50 States**

Number of States with Lieutenant Governors:	42
Number of states in which Lieutenant Governor can serve two consecutive four-year terms (or more):	39
Number of States with Team Elections (where the Governor and Lieutenant Governor run together as a team):	22

	Number of states where Lt. Gov. has this power	Whether N.C. Lt. Gov. had this power in 1988
A. Executive Powers of the Lieutenant Governor		
1. The power to succeed the Governor	42	yes
2. Serves as acting Governor when Governor is disabled	40	yes
3. Performs other duties as may be assigned by the Governor	33	yes
4. Serves on boards in the executive branch	31	yes
5. Serves as acting Governor when Governor is out of state	27	yes
6. Member of Governor's cabinet or advisory body	20	yes*
7. Has appointments to boards and commissions in the executive branch	6	yes
B. Legislative Powers of the Lieutenant Governor		
1. Presides over Senate	28	yes
2. Votes in case of ties	25	yes
3. Assigns bills to committees	15	yes**
4. Appoints committees and committee chairs	7	yes**

* The N.C. Lieutenant Governor is a member of the 10-member Council of State, which is composed of officials elected statewide, excluding judicial candidates.

** The N.C. Senate removed this power from the Lieutenant Governor, effective in 1989.

Source: *The Book of the States, 1988-89*

Table prepared by Ran Coble

ernors of Alaska, Hawaii, and Utah have statutory authority to perform a number of duties normally associated with secretaries of state—supervision of elections, commissioning notaries public, and maintenance of official state laws and agency rules.¹¹

A fourth and final possibility is that the legislature may whittle away at the powers given the Lieutenant Governor in *state statutes*—the power to serve on eight executive boards and the power to make 195 appointments to 87 boards and commissions in the executive branch. But that direction might play directly into the hands of Gardner, whose victory in 1988 is at least partly attributable to his ability to characterize the legislature as a body run by a few people behind closed doors. Gardner's criticism of legislators no doubt helped persuade them to reduce both his powers and any opportunity Gardner had to be a major governing force within the legislature. But those same criticisms may increase Gardner's chances in 1992 at succeeding to the governorship—as eight of the last 30 North Carolina Lieutenant Governors have done.¹² ■■■

FOOTNOTES

¹The Code Commission and the office of Superintendent of Public Works were abolished; the power to elect trustees of the University of North Carolina was taken from the State Board of Education and vested in the General Assembly; and biennial sessions replaced annual sessions, a practice which would not return until 1973-74, when the state's first Republican Governor in the 20th century, James E. Holshouser Jr., took office in 1973. See Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, *The History of a Southern State, North Carolina*, third edition, UNC Press (Chapel Hill, NC), p. 498-99.

²The first was Tod R. Caldwell, 1868-70; the second was Curtis H. Brogden, 1873-74; the third was Charles A. Reynolds from 1897-1901; and the fourth is Jim Gardner.

³As related in Larry Sabato, *Goodbye to Goodtime Charlie—The American Governorship Transformed*, CQ Press (Washington, D.C.), pp. 69-70.

⁴See Steve Adams and Richard Bostic, "The Lieutenant Governor—A Legislative or Executive Office?" *N.C. Insight*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (November 1982), pp. 2-11.

⁵Van Denton, "Lt. governor gets duties in Constitution, powers from Senate," *The News and Observer* of Raleigh, Nov. 11, 1988, pp. 1C and 2C.

⁶Rob Christensen, "Democrats set to cut Gardner's powers," *The News and Observer* of Raleigh, Nov. 24, 1988, pp. 1A and 6A.

⁷Kathleen Sylvester, "Lieutenant Governors: Giving Up Real Power For Real Opportunity," *Governing* magazine, February 1989, p. 50, examines this new role. "The model for this new lieutenant governorship comes from Indiana, where the lieutenant governor is both the executive director of the state commerce department and secretary of agriculture. John Mutz, who left the position last month, also ran the state's employment and training program, the employment security program, the state planning department, the tourism board,

the film commission, the enterprise zone program and the federal energy and community development block grant programs. Managing all of these functions, says Mutz, made him responsible for 1,400 state employees and a \$150 million annual operating budget," reports Sylvester.

⁸The statistics quoted in this paragraph and the previous paragraph rely on *The Book of the States, 1988-89*, The Council of State Governments (Lexington, KY), Tables 2.1 (p. 35), 2.9 (p. 51), 2.10 (p. 43), 2.12 (p. 65), and especially 2.13 (p. 66). Also see the Council's 1987 publication, *The Lieutenant Governor: The Office and Its Powers*, pp. 3-24.

⁹Sabato, p. 71.

¹⁰*The Lieutenant Governor*, Council of State Governments, p. 7. Although 22 states *elect* the two together, only eight *nominate* the candidates together. On Feb. 9, 1989, H 189 was introduced in the N.C. General Assembly to amend the N.C. Constitution and require that the Governor and Lieutenant Governor run as a joint ticket in the general election.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 6. In three states without Lieutenant Governors, the Secretary of State is first in the line of succession to the Governor.

¹²Three Lieutenant Governors were elevated by a Governor's death (Curtis H. Brogden in 1874, Thomas M. Holt in 1891, and Luther H. Hodges in 1954), one by resignation (Thomas J. Jarvis in 1879), one by a Governor's impeachment (Tod R. Caldwell in 1870), and three by the elective process (O. Max Gardner in 1929, Robert W. Scott in 1969, and James B. Hunt Jr. in 1977. See the Council of State Governments, *The Lieutenant Governor*, p. 55, and Jesse Poindexter, "A Steppingstone to Governorship," *Winston-Salem Journal*, April 29, 1984, p. A4.

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