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Presidential, Senatorial, & Gubernatorial Elections in the U.S. Counties, 1872-2020

Data Manual & Codebook

This document outlines the description and details of three datasets of county-level election outcomes for U.S. presidential elections since 1868, U.S. Senate elections since 1908, and gubernatorial elections since 1865. These datasets contain U.S. counties, the smallest geographical unit constituting panel observations over time and across elections for three salient offices. An outline of the data collection procedure for each dataset can be found in the following publication introducing and validating the dataset:

⋆ Amlani, Sharif & Carlos Algara. 2021. "Partisanship & Nationalization in American Elections: Evidence from Presidential, Senatorial, & Gubernatorial Elections in the U.S. Counties, 1872-2020." *Forthcoming at Electoral Studies*.

Please cite this article when using the dataset. Replication files & datasets can be found in the *Harvard Dataverse* at: https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/DGUMFI. If any errors are found in the datasets, please let us know at carlos.algara@cgu.edu so we can make appropriate corrections. As mentioned in the manuscript, these datasets contain data on all presidential elections since 1868, 98.5% (2461/2499) of gubernatorial elections held since 1865, and 97.8% (1852/1895) of U.S. Senate elections held since the direct-election of U.S. Senators began in 1908.[1] Table 1, which appears in the manuscript, contains both the county-level sample size and the cross-sectional years found in each dataset.

Table 1: Nature of Senatorial, Gubernatorial, & Presidential County-Level Datasets

Electoral Context	Cross-Sectional Years	County Sample Size	Mean Number of Counties Per Electoral Cycle	Mean Number of States Per Electoral Cycle
Presidential	1868-2020	113,756	2,916.82	46.69*
U.S. Senate**	1908-2020	118,687	2,082.23	31.28
Gubernatorial	1865-2020	149,324	1,914.41	30.55

** The United States did not have 50 states until 1959.*

*** First direct-elections for U.S. Senator began in Nevada & Oregon during the 1908 presidential election cycle.*

We collect data on the universe of possible U.S. Senate elections held from 1908-2020 as identified by Algara (2019), which documents all U.S. Senate elections during the direct-election era. For collecting data on the universe of possible gubernatorial elections held from 1865-2020, we rely on the elections identified and documented by *Congressional Quarterly*. We also use these

[1] Note that these datasets do not contain data on elections in Alaska given the lack of consistent county-level geographic units in the state. As of August 2021, there have been 2,496 gubernatorial elections held across 49 states and 1,892 U.S Senate elections held across 49 states.

sources to derive variables coding the electoral context of each gubernatorial and U.S. Senate election (i.e., partisan control of the seat, incumbent re-election bid, or open seat) and the names of the major party nominees (i.e., Democratic & Republican) for each election. The forthcoming sections describe the variables in each dataset and minor case idiosyncrasies that we encountered during data collection.

1 Presidential Elections in U.S. Counties, 1868-2020

1.1 Data Objects

- ⋆ **Dataset:** `dataverse_shareable_presidential_county_returns_1868_2020.Rdata`
- ⋆ **Data Frame:** `pres_elections_release`
- ⋆ **Unit of analysis (rows)**: Election outcomes in a given county during a given presidential election.

1.2 Variable Columns

1. `election_year`: Numeric variable indicating election year ranging from 1868 to 2020.
2. `fips`: String variable indicating a unique Federal Information Processing System (FIPS) code *county* identifier for a given county. Note that our presidential dataset includes 50 county-election observations for counties that were verified to have existed during the post-Civil War era but have never been assigned unique county FIPS codes. For example, our dataset includes presidential election results for James County, TN, which existed from January 30th, 1871 until the county was incorporated into neighboring Hamilton County, TN on December 11th, 1919 due to bankruptcy. Our data includes presidential results for this county from 1872 to 1916.
3. `county_name`: String variable indicating a given county's name.
4. `state`: String variable indicating a given county's state abbreviation.
5. `sfips`: String variable indicating a Federal Information Processing System (FIPS) *state* identifier for a given county.
6. `office`: String variable indicating the electoral office articulate in the data frame. For the presidency, all values will be coded as "PRES" articulating the presidential dataset.
7. `election_type`: String variable indicating the election type for the given election year. Since there are no "special" elections for the presidency, all values will be coded as "G" since all elections capture general election presidential results.
8. `seat_status`: String variable capturing the status of the given seat at the time of the election. For the presidency, this string variable may take the following values: Open Seat, Republican President Re-election, Democratic President Re-election, Elevated Republican

President Election, & Elevated Democratic President Election. The latter two categories capture the few cases in which a vice president was elevated to the presidency midway through the term (i.e., President Lyndon Baines Johnson in 1964) and stood as their party's presidential nominee during the election cycle.

9. `democratic_raw_votes`: Numeric variable indicating the raw number of votes won by the Democratic presidential nominee in a given county during the election.

10. `dem_nominee`: String variable indicating the name of the Democratic presidential nominee in the election.

11. `republican_raw_votes`: Numeric variable indicating the raw number of votes won by the Republican presidential nominee in a given county during the election.

12. `rep_nominee`: String variable indicating the name of the Republican presidential nominee in the election.

13. `pres_raw_county_vote_totals_two_party`: Numeric variable indicating the total number of Democratic and Republican raw votes cast in a given county during the election.

14. `raw_county_vote_totals`: Numeric variable indicating the total number of raw votes cast in a given county during the election.

15. `county_first_date`: Date variable indicating the date a given county was first established. This data is taken from the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, provided by the Newberry Library.

16. `county_end_date`: Date variable indicating the date a given county was disbanded. Note that almost all counties will have missing values given that the overwhelming number of counties have never been disbanded and are still in use in the present day. This data is taken from the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, provided by the Newberry Library.

17. `state_admission_date`: Date variable indicating when a given county's state was admitted in to the union.

18. `complete_county_cases`: Dichotomous variable indicating "complete" cases of county-level presidential results without missing data for Democratic votes, Republican votes, total two-party votes, or total number of votes cast in a given county. Note that the dataset only contains 88 county-election observations for which there are missing votes data over 113,75 county-election observations. Of these 88 observations with missing data, 56 are Texas counties during the 1904 & 1908 elections for which we could not locate data.

19. `original_county_name`: String variable indicating a county's previous name, where applicable. Using data from the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, provided by the Newberry Library, we identified 35 counties that underwent a name change at some point throughout our temporal period. The last county to undergo a name change was Oglala Lakota County, SD; which was named Shannon County prior to May 2015. Since most counties have never undergone a name change, this variable is overwhelmingly missing.

20. `original_name_end_date`: Date variable indicating the date of a county's name change during the temporal period. This data was also taken from the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, provided by the Newberry Library, and is only applicable to the 35 counties that underwent a name change.

1.3 Idiosyncratic Data Collection Notes

In this section, we outline minor idiosyncrasies that appeared during the data collection process.

- Note that we do not include observations for Florida, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia during the 1868 presidential election cycle, given their lack of participation in the election.
- We include observations with missing data for which data is truly missing. Values recorded as "0" differ from missing data in that these values were verified to be "0" from a primary source. For example, we verified that Spartanburg and Lee Counties in South Carolina were canvassed but did not have votes recorded during the 1924 presidential election despite having votes canvassed during the 1920 presidential election and the 1928 presidential elections. By contrast, vote totals for Kalawao County, HI—the smallest county by land area and second-smallest county by population in the United States—are recorded as missing given that we could not verify both the number of votes canvassed in the county or whether the counties were canvassed from 1960 to 1988 despite appearing to be an established, and organized, county during the period.
- Note that during the election of 1876, the first election the state of Colorado participated in upon statehood on August 1st, 1876, the state's slate of electors was chosen by the state legislature rather than by popular vote. We omit election results for Colorado during the 1876 contest between Gov. Rutherford B. Hayes (R-OH) and Gov. Samuel J. Tilden (D-NY), given the lack of a popular vote election.
- Note that during the election of 1892, the Democratic Party did not have a presidential ticket on the ballot in Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, North Dakota, or Wyoming. The Populist nominee, former Iowa Congressman James Weaver, was the fused candidate with the state local Democratic Parties in those states due to the unpopularity of President Cleveland's gold standard platform out west. As such, all Democratic votes in those states for 1892 are coded as missing, given that Former President Grover Cleveland did not appear on the ballot in those states. Populist former Iowa Congressman James Weaver won the first four of these states (CO, ID, KS, ND), while Republican President Benjamin Harrison won Wyoming. Moreover, during the same election, Florida Republicans decided not to put up presidential electors for President Harrison, urging their supporters to back Populist James B. Weaver. As a result, President Harrison did not appear on the ballot and the Republican raw votes are 0 in the dataset. Former President Cleveland overwhelmingly carried Florida with an 85.01%-13.65% victory over Populist nominee James Weaver.
- During the election of 1912, we treat Republican President William Howard Taft as the Republican presidential nominee in California and South Dakota despite the fact that "Bull Moose" Progressive Party Presidential nominee Former President Theodore Roosevelt

acquired the "Republican line" in both states thanks to overwhelming support among the state parties. As a consequence, President Taft did not appear on the ballot in California but was a write-in option. The Republican raw vote totals reflect the number of write-in votes President Taft received in California. By contrast, President Taft did not appear on the ballot and was not a write-in option in South Dakota, resulting in 0 votes being recorded in the data for the Republican Party in South Dakota counties during the 1912 presidential election.

2 U.S. Senate Elections in U.S. Counties, 1908-2020

2.1 Data Objects

- ⋆ **Dataset:** `dataverse_shareable_senate_county_returns_1908_2020.Rdata`
- ⋆ **Data Frame:** `senate_elections_release`
- ⋆ **Unit of analysis (rows)**: Election outcomes in a given county during a given U.S. Senate election.[2]

2.2 Variable Columns

1. `election_id`: String identifier of a given election by year, state, and U.S. Senate seat class.
2. `election_year`: Numeric variable indicating election year ranging from 1908 to 2020.
3. `fips`: String variable indicating a unique Federal Information Processing System (FIPS) code *county* identifier for a given county.
4. `seat_class`: String variable coding the U.S. Senate seat class up for election, coded as Seat Class I, Seat Class II, & Seat Class III.
5. `county_name`: String variable indicating a given county's name.
6. `state`: String variable indicating a given county's state abbreviation.
7. `sfips`: String variable indicating a Federal Information Processing System (FIPS) *state* identifier for a given county.
8. `office`: String variable indicating the electoral office articulate in the data frame. For the U.S. Senate, all values will be coded as "SEN" articulating the U.S. Senate dataset.

[2]Note that we organize U.S. Senate elections by election year, state, and U.S. Senate Seat Class. On rare occasions, such as Georgia during the 2020 election cycle, a state may have two U.S. Senate seats up for election due to a special election. As such, our dataset includes two U.S. Senate elections in Georgia during the 2020 election cycle—one for the Class II Senate seat, in which Democrat Jon Ossoff unseated Republican U.S. Senator David Perdue in the regularly scheduled election, and the other for the Class III Senate seat, in which Democrat Reverend Raphael Warnock unseated appointed Republican U.S. Senator Kelly Loeffler in the special election. Note that Loeffler was temporarily appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the December 31st, 2019 resignation of Former Republican U.S. Senator Johnny Isakson due to health concerns.

9. `election_type`: String variable indicating the election type for the given election year. Values coded as "G" capture regularly scheduled (i.e., not special elections) U.S. Senate elections, and values coded as "S" capture special U.S. Senate elections.

10. `seat_status`: String variable capturing the status of the given seat at the time of the election. For the U.S. Senate, this string variable may take the following values: 3rd Party open seat, 3rd Party senator re-election, Appointed Democratic senator election, Appointed Republican senator election, Democratic open seat, Democratic senator re-election, Democratic vacant seat, Independent open seat, Independent senator re-election, New Senate seat (AK/HI), Republican open seat, Republican senator re-election, and Republican vacant seat.

11. `democratic_raw_votes`: Numeric variable indicating the raw number of votes won by the Democratic U.S. Senate nominee in a given county during the election.

12. `dem_nominee`: String variable indicating the name of the Democratic U.S. Senate nominee in the election.

13. `republican_raw_votes`: Numeric variable indicating the raw number of votes won by the Republican U.S. Senate nominee in a given county during the election.

14. `rep_nominee`: String variable indicating the name of the Republican U.S. Senate nominee in the election.

15. `senate_raw_county_vote_totals_two_party`: Numeric variable indicating the total number of Democratic and Republican raw votes cast in a given county during the election.

16. `raw_county_vote_totals_two_party`: Numeric variable indicating the total number of raw votes cast in a given county during the election.

17. `county_first_date`: Date variable indicating the date a given county was first established. This data is taken from the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, provided by the Newberry Library.

18. `county_end_date`: Date variable indicating the date a given county was disbanded. Note that almost all counties will have missing values given that the overwhelming number of counties have never been disbanded and are still in use in the present day. This data is taken from the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, provided by the Newberry Library.

19. `state_admission_date`: Date variable indicating when a given county's state was admitted into the union.

20. `original_county_name`: String variable indicating a county's previous name, where applicable. Using data from the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, provided by the Newberry Library, we identified 35 counties that underwent a name change at some point throughout our temporal period. The last county to undergo a name change was Oglala Lakota County, SD; which was named Shannon County prior to May 2015. Since most counties have never undergone a name change, this variable is overwhelmingly missing.

21. `original_name_end_date`: Date variable indicating the date of a county's name change during the temporal period. This data was also taken from the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, provided by the Newberry Library, and is only applicable to the 35 counties that underwent a name change.

2.3 Idiosyncratic Data Collection Notes

In this section, we outline minor idiosyncrasies that appeared during the data collection process.

- As mentioned in the manuscript, our dataset provides coverage for 1852/1895 U.S. Senate elections held in all states—except Alaska, which lacks consistent county-equivalent units—since direct-election of U.S. Senators began in Nevada and Oregon during the 1908 election cycle. In our data collection efforts, we were unable to locate county-level data for the following 42 U.S. Senate elections, of which 28 are conventional two-party contested elections, by year:

    1. 1914: AR-Class III (conventional two-party contest, Democratic senator re-election), LA-Class III (unopposed contest, Democratic open seat), NY-Class III (conventional two-party contest, Republican open seat).
    2. 1916: NY-Class I (conventional two-party contest, Democratic open seat)
    3. 1918: GA-Class II (conventional two-party contest, Democratic open seat), KY-Class II (conventional two-party contest, Democratic open seat), NH-Class II (conventional two-party contest, Democratic open seat), NH-Class III (conventional two-party contest, Republican open seat)
    4. 1920: GA-Class III (unopposed contest, Democratic open seat), LA-Class III (unopposed contest, Democratic open seat), VA-Class II (conventional two-party contest, appointed Democratic senator election).
    5. 1922: NY-Class I (conventional two-party contest, Republican senator re-election), VT-Class I (conventional two-party contest, Republican open seat)
    6. 1923: MN-Class II, (major third-party Contest, Republican vacant seat), VT-Class III (conventional two-party contest, Republican vacant seat)
    7. 1924: AR-Class II (conventional two-party contest, Democratic senator re-election), CT-Class III (conventional two-party contest, Republican vacant seat), GA-Class II (unopposed contest, Democratic senator re-election)
    8. 1928: NY-Class I (conventional two-party contest, Democratic senator re-election)
    9. 1930: OH-Class III (conventional two-party contest, appointed Republican senator election)
    10. 1932: AR-Class III (unopposed contest, appointed Democratic senator election)[3]

[3] Note that this missing value is for the special election held on January 12th, 1932 in which appointed Arkansas Democratic U.S. Senator Hattie Caraway was re-elected without major party Republican opposition. We include the regularly scheduled November 1932 election for the Arkansas Class III Senate seat in the dataset.

11. 1934: CA-Class I (unopposed contest, Republican senator re-election), NY-Class I (conventional two-party contest, Democratic senator re-election), VT-Class III (conventional two-party contested election, appointed Republican senator election)
12. 1938: AL-Class III (conventional two-party contest, Democratic senator re-election)[4]
13. 1938: NY-Class I (conventional two-party contest, Democratic vacant seat), NY-Class III (conventional two-party contest, Democratic senator re-election)
14. 1940: IN-Class I (conventional two-party contest, Democratic senator re-election), NY-Class I (conventional two-party contest, Democratic senator re-election), VT-Class III (conventional two-party contest, Republican open seat)
15. 1941: SC-Class II (unopposed contest, Democratic open seat)
16. 1944: CO-Class III (conventional two-party contest, Republican senator re-election), NY-Class III (conventional two-party contest, Democratic senator re-election)
17. 1946: NY-Class I (conventional two-party contest, Democratic open seat)
18. 1952: CA-Class I (unopposed contest, Republican senator re-election), NE-Class II (conventional two-party contest, Republican open seat)
19. 1954: SC-Class II (unopposed contest, Democratic open seat)
20. 1956: NY-Class III (conventional two-party contest, Democratic open seat)
21. 1960: AR-Class II (unopposed contest, Democratic senator re-election)
22. 1966: AR-Class II (unopposed contest, Democratic senator re-election)

- In the dataset, we count Bernie Sanders and Angus King as Democratic U.S. Senate nominees during each of their respective campaigns, given their caucusing with Senate Democrats and endorsement by the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.
- In the rare cases in which there was a U.S. Senate runoff, such as the 1992, 2008, & 2020 Georgia U.S. Senate runoffs or the 2002 & 2014 Louisiana U.S. Senate runoffs, we record the runoff observations in our dataset.
- In the very rare occurrences of special and regular elections falling on the same day for the same U.S. Senate seat, we only consider the regularly scheduled election in our dataset. For example, there were two U.S. Senate elections for the Illinois Class III seat during the 2010 election cycle formerly held by President Barack Obama and subsequently filled by appointed Democratic U.S. Senator Roland Burris. Under Illinois state law, a special election was required to fill the remaining two months of Former President Barack Obama's Class III Senate term that began on January 3, 2005 and was set to expire on January 3, 2011. As such, U.S. Rep. Mark Kirk (R-IL) and State Treasurer Alexei Giannoulias (D-IL) faced off in two U.S. Senate contests in November, with one election for the remaining two months of Former President Barack Obama's Senate term *and* the other for the regularly scheduled term beginning on January 3, 2011 and expiring on January 3, 2017. As such, we only consider the latter regularly scheduled observation in our dataset.

[4]Note that the dataset also omits data the special election held on April 26th, 1938 in which appointed Alabama Democratic U.S. Senator Lister Hill was re-elected unopposed by any candidate. As such, the dataset omits both 1932 elections in which the Class III Alabama U.S. Senate seat was before voters.

3 Gubernatorial Elections in U.S. Counties, 1865-2020

3.1 Data Objects

- ⋆ **Dataset:** `dataverse_shareable_gubernatorial_county_returns_1865_2020.Rdata`
- ⋆ **Data Frame:** `gov_elections_release`
- ⋆ **Unit of analysis (rows)**: Election outcomes in a given county during a given gubernatorial election.

3.2 Variable Columns

1. `election_id`: String identifier of a given election by year and state.
2. `election_year`: Numeric variable indicating election year ranging from 1865 to 2020.
3. `fips`: String variable indicating a unique Federal Information Processing System (FIPS) code *county* identifier for a given county.
4. `county_name`: String variable indicating a given county's name.
5. `state`: String variable indicating a given county's state abbreviation.
6. `sfips`: String variable indicating a Federal Information Processing System (FIPS) *state* identifier for a given county.
7. `office`: String variable indicating the electoral office articulate in the data frame. For gubernatorial elections, all values will be coded as "GOV" articulating the U.S. gubernatorial dataset.
8. `election_type`: String variable indicating the election type for the given election year. All values coded as "G" capture regularly scheduled gubernatorial elections.
9. `seat_status`: String variable capturing the status of the given gubernatorial office at the time of the election. For the gubernatorial dataset, this string variable may take the following values: Democratic Incumbent, Democratic Open Seat, Democratic Open Seat Uncontested by both Parties, Democratic Open Seat Uncontested by Democrats, Democratic Open Seat Uncontested by Republicans, New State Open Seat[5], Republican Incumbent, Republican Open Seat, Republican Open Seat Uncontested by both Parties, Republican Open Seat Uncontested by Democrats, Republican Open Seat Uncontested by Republicans, Third-Party/Independent Incumbent, Third-Party/Independent Open Seat, Third-Party/Independent Open Seat Uncontested by both Parties, Third-Party/Independent Open Seat Uncontested by Democrats, & Third-Party/Independent Open Seat Uncontested by Republicans.

[5]This code is relevant for the 13 states that achieved statehood after the Civil War in the dataset. These states are: Arizona, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, Nebraska, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Utah, Washington & Wyoming

10. `democratic_raw_votes`: Numeric variable indicating the raw number of votes won by the Democratic gubernatorial nominee in a given county during the election.

11. `dem_nominee`: String variable indicating the name of the Democratic gubernatorial nominee in the election.

12. `republican_raw_votes`: Numeric variable indicating the raw number of votes won by the Republican gubernatorial nominee in a given county during the election.

13. `rep_nominee`: String variable indicating the name of the Republican gubernatorial nominee in the election.

14. `gov_raw_county_vote_totals_two_party`: Numeric variable indicating the total number of Democratic and Republican raw votes cast in a given county during the election.

15. `raw_county_vote_totals_two_party`: Numeric variable indicating the total number of raw votes cast in a given county during the election.

16. `county_first_date`: Date variable indicating the date a given county was first established. This data is taken from the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, provided by the Newberry Library.

17. `county_end_date`: Date variable indicating the date a given county was disbanded. Note that almost all counties will have missing values given that the overwhelming number of counties have never been disbanded and are still in use in the present day. This data is taken from the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, provided by the Newberry Library.

18. `state_admission_date`: Date variable indicating when a given county's state was admitted in to the union.

19. `original_county_name`: String variable indicating a county's previous name, where applicable. Using data from the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, provided by the Newberry Library, we identified 35 counties that underwent a name change at some point throughout our temporal period. The last county to undergo a name change was Oglala Lakota County, SD; which was named Shannon County prior to May 2015. Since most counties have never undergone a name change, this variable is overwhelmingly missing.

20. `original_name_end_date`: Data variable indicating the date of a county's name change during the temporal period. This data was also taken from the *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries*, provided by the Newberry Library, and is only applicable to the 35 counties that underwent a name change.

3.3 Idiosyncratic Data Collection Notes

In this section, we outline minor idiosyncrasies that appeared during the data collection process.

- As mentioned in the manuscript, our dataset provides coverage for 2461/2499 gubernatorial elections held in all states—except Alaska, which lacks consistent county-equivalent units—since the 1865 electoral cycle. In our data collection efforts, we were unable to locate county-level data for the following 37 gubernatorial elections, of which only 10 are conventional two-party contested elections, by year:

    1. 1865: Florida (uncontested by Republicans), Mississippi (uncontested by both parties), Tennessee (uncontested by both parties)
    2. 1866: Nebraska (open seat contested by both parties), Texas (Democratic governor re-election opposed by Republicans)
    3. 1869: Tennessee (uncontested by both parties), Virginia (uncontested by both parties)
    4. 1877: New Jersey (open seat contested by both parties)
    5. 1878: Arkansas (uncontested by Republicans), New Hampshire (open seat contested by both parties)
    6. 1884: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    7. 1886: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    8. 1888: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    9. 1889: Virginia (open seat contested by both parties)
    10. 1892: Vermont (open seat contested by both parties)
    11. 1894: Colorado (uncontested by Democrats)
    12. 1898: California (open seat contested by both parties)
    13. 1900: Kentucky (special election contested by both parties)
    14. 1904: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    15. 1906: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    16. 1908: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    17. 1910: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    18. 1912: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    19. 1914: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    20. 1916: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    21. 1920: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans), Louisiana (uncontested by Republicans)
    22. 1922: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    23. 1924: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    24. 1926: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    25. 1928: Delaware (open seat contested by both parties), Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    26. 1930: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
    27. 1932: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)

28. 1934: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
29. 1936: Georgia (uncontested by Republicans)
30. 1946: California (uncontested by Democrats, Governor Warren re-elected as a fusion candidate having won both the Democratic and Republican gubernatorial primaries)
31. 1954: New York (open seat contested by both parties)

- In the rare cases of a gubernatorial election runoff, such as those that occurred in 1991-AZ, 1979-LA, 1991-LA, 2003-LA, 2015-LA, & 2019-LA; we record the general election runoff in our dataset.

References

Algara, Carlos. 2019. "The conditioning role of polarization in U.S. senate election outcomes: A direct-election voter-level analysis." *Electoral Studies* 59:1–16.