THIS APPLICATION PROJECT FOR THE
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BY
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BY

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DATE
ABSTRACT

This project reviews gubernatorial transition in the State of Washington during the last thirty years. Transition is defined as the period between election day and inauguration. It covers the transitions of five Governors that served during the period 1955-1986, namely: Governors Rosellini, Evans, Ray, Spellman, and Gardner.

The project describes the transition process and how it changed over the years. The factors considered are the transition budget, schedule, funding, decision-making process, and preparation for transition both by the incumbent and the candidate. Common problems of gubernatorial transition teams are examined and suggestions offered that would make more efficient use of resources and provide for a smoother transition. The project describes the transition of each of the five Governors and identifies how those transitions could have been more effective. Chapter IX describes an ideal transition model and outlines the legislative changes required to implement it.

The methodology of this project involved interviewing one of the five Governors (Ray) and two key staff members (Jim Dolliver and Warren Bishop). These interviews recorded their recollections and
solicited their suggestions as to how to improve the transition process. Formal and informal interview techniques were utilized. A questionnaire was completed by staff members associated with the transitions of Governors Rosellini, Evans, Spellman and Gardner.

Transition time presents a unique opportunity to establish creative processes for dealing with management and policy issues which can provide momentum throughout the Governor’s first few months in office. It is necessary for the new Governor to formulate leadership methods for transforming campaign pledges into public policy. A smooth and effective transition can help achieve this goal. It is hoped this project will prove useful to the next non-incumbent Governor in achieving that result.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people helped produce this project. Governor Ray provided thoughtful contributions. The transition chiefs of staff: Warren Bishop (Rosellini), Jim Dolliver (Evans), Steve Excel (Spellman), and Greg Barlow (Gardner), also provided useful insights.

Dr. Nisbet, Dr. Ingersoll, and Dr. Dolbeare deserve special credit for providing valuable counsel at every stage of the project and for reviewing the drafts of the manuscript.

Ginny Spadoni deserves special mention for typing the drafts and final manuscript and making sure all spelling errors were corrected.

Evelyn Fallowfield of the State Library provided expert research assistance. Pat Hopkins of the state Archives Office assisted immensely by making available the transition records of the five Governors in a very efficient manner.

Finally, I am especially grateful to my wife, Mary, who was a thoughtful listener and understanding spouse during the entire two years when I was either attending class, reading a book or writing a paper. Our children, Jennifer, John and Josh, were
especially considerate during this time of intellectual renewal by dad, and I am grateful for their patience.
The word "transition" in the American political tradition means the transfer of power. The subject of this thesis is Gubernatorial Transition in the State of Washington from 1956 to 1986.

Because this change occurs on a regular basis, a plan can be made in advance for the period between the general election in November and the inauguration in January. This period has averaged 69 days (ten weeks) during the last thirty years (see Table I).

During that time the state has had five Governors: two Republicans -- Evans and Spellman; and three Democrats -- Rosellini, Ray and Gardner. Governor Rosellini served two terms (1956-1964); Governor Evans served three terms (1965-1976); Governor Ray served one term (1977-1980); Governor Spellman served one term (1981-1984); and finally, Governor Gardner is in the middle of his first term (see Table II).
TABLE I

GOVERNORS OF WASHINGTON
1956–1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOVERNOR</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>PARTY</th>
<th>DAYS BETWEEN ELECTION AND INAUGURATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albert Rosellini</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Rosellini</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel J. Evans</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel J. Evans</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel J. Evans</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dixy Lee Ray</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Spellman</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Booth Gardner</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE II

GUBERNATORIAL TRANSITIONS IN WASHINGTON HISTORY
1956-1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same Governor reelected (Rosellini who was reelected once and Evans who was reelected twice)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same party -- New Governor by election</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party change -- New Governor by election</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
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"Transition" is described as the ten weeks between the election and the inauguration. They are difficult because they are so few. They leave little time to turn a campaign into an administration which takes office a few days after the Legislature has convened, and yet there is probably no more crucial time than this ten-week period. This is because decisions made during this ten weeks set the course for the first year or so of a Governor's term. The outgoing Governor has already submitted the budget to the Legislature and the new Governor must scramble to submit changes to that budget. There has to be a legislative program or at least a holding action with a start on specifics. Cabinet and sub-cabinet appointments must be made along with an understanding on appointments down the line and on procedures to produce them (and to place campaigners). There has to be a "memorable" state of the state address, and inaugural ball. Furthermore, the new look of the Governor-elect has to be impressed upon a temporarily attentive public and an insatiably curious Olympia.

All of these actions press in on the transition team. A majority of the transition teams have been composed of campaigners--happy, exhausted, adrenalin flowing--cramped in temporary office space, trying to
adjust their thinking from campaigning to governing. The tyranny of time allows them scarcely any break between one and the other. Worse yet, unless they are remarkably self-aware, the work of the ten weeks can seem deceptively like more campaigning.

This project will attempt to bridge the gap between campaigning and governing and provide a report that might be useful to transition teams of future Governors.
II
TRANSITION HISTORY

During the study period of this paper (1956-1986) two patterns have emerged. From 1976 to present, there have been a succession of one-term Governors. For the twenty years prior to 1976, the state had only two Governors. Rosellini was re-elected once, while Evans was reelected twice.

During the last ten years, gubernatorial transitions have been more frequent because of a series of single term Governors. Transitions to Governors of the opposite party have been the rule during this period. In 1976, a Democrat (Ray) was elected; in 1980, a Republican (Spellman) was elected; and in 1984, a Democrat (Gardner) was elected.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, the problem of governing states will continue to be a major challenge.

Very few leadership challenges are comparable to those presented to governors elected in the decade of 1980. Traditional approaches to state management and policy development will not be adequate for the difficult tasks at hand. More efficient use of resources, skillful management and creative policy choices are needed to meet these challenges. The American governorship has never been more open to or in need of innovation and new approaches to resolve
old problems . . . to turn those problems into opportunities.¹

This quote from just one publication of the National Governors Association indicates the high degree of attention it places on developing the ability to govern states effectively. A large part of getting off to a good start is the transition period. In that regard the National Governors Association has published at least four documents to help incoming Governors have an effective transition. They are: The Critical Hundred Days: A Handbook for the New Governor (1974), The Governor’s Office Series (1976), Governing the American States: A Handbook for New Governors (1978), and Transition and the New Governor (1983).

The days when newly elected Governors could wait until they assumed office to seriously begin governing are clearly gone, if they ever existed in the first place. What has occurred, over the years, is that more effective and sophisticated methods of preparing newly elected Governors for office have been developed by the National Governors Association. These improvements will continue, and ultimately, I believe, each nominee for Governor will appoint a

¹ Stephen B. Farber, Transition and the New Governor (National Governors Association, 1983) V.
transition coordinator to prepare the smoothest possible transition. These refinements could lead to changes in the laws enabling the incoming Governor to play a larger role in the budget process and other gubernatorial responsibilities prior to inauguration.

Chapter IX of this thesis will describe an ideal transition and the changes required in Washington State laws for that to occur. But first, let's examine the transitions that have occurred in the State of Washington during the study period.
III
OVERVIEW OF FIVE TRANSITIONS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the transitions of each of the five Governors that are the subject of this study. My research has indicated that very little, if any, preparation was accomplished by the incoming Governors and their staffs during the election. It also indicates there has been very little contact between the incoming and outgoing Governors. The major reasons for these two facts are that: (1) candidates do not know if they will be elected and thus do not spend any time on transition planning; and (2) when candidates compete against each other, it is difficult for them to discuss the non-incumbent winner's taking over the losing Governor's office. Finally, there has never been a case during the last thirty years where the incoming Governor has been the same party as the departing Governor.

In any event, there have been five transitions of new Governors replacing incumbent Governors during our study period. What follows is an overview and analysis of the five transitions that occurred in 1956, 1964, 1976, 1980 and 1984.
GOVERNOR ROSELLINI

Governor Rosellini had been a State Senator for eighteen years, and was a lawyer by profession. Upon winning the election in 1956, Governor-elect Rosellini was urged by Robert Sheffelman and Charles Hodde to find a chief of staff who was interested in public administration and competent at the task of governing. Robert Sheffelman was a prominent municipal bond attorney in Seattle and Charles Hodde was the Speaker of the Washington State House of Representatives. As a result of that advice, the Governor-elect contacted the president of the University of Washington and asked him to locate candidates for chief of staff. The president selected two professors, one of whom was Warren Bishop. The other candidate dropped out of the competition. Rosellini then called Mr. Bishop on the phone and asked that he be interviewed by his trusted associates -- Rosellini's brothers.

"Trusted associates" is another term for a "kitchen cabinet." A kitchen cabinet is a group of people in whom the Governor-elect has confidence and who have been strong supporters during the campaign. Once being approved by these people, Bishop was interviewed by the Governor-elect who asked him to
accept the position of chief of staff. He was to start work on December 15, 1956.

When Bishop arrived in Olympia that day, he found boxes of materials in the Governor’s office which he retrieved and transported to the Secretary of State’s office. This was necessary because there were no arrangements for office space for the Governor-elect.

As a result, Secretary of State Earl Coe was persuaded to move his deputy out of his office to make room for the transition team. There were two volunteer secretaries who assisted Bishop. In addition to answering the letters and contending with the constant phone calls, the inauguration had to be planned and the cabinet and Governor’s staff selected. To further complicate matters, the Governor-elect’s staff could not gain access to the Governor’s office prior to inauguration day.

The kitchen cabinet essentially screened the candidates for cabinet appointments. They were very careful about cabinet appointments, ensuring that people who knew how to manage state agencies were selected for these positions. The Departments of Institutions and Corrections were of particular concern because the state’s facilities had lost accreditation. There were fewer agencies than there
are today. For instance, there was no Office of Financial Management; Department of Social and Health Services; Department of Commerce and Economic Development; or Department of Community Development.

The Governor's staff was much smaller than it is today, approximately ten to twelve people. There was a person to handle clemency; the Governor's personal secretary; the chief of staff; a secretarial pool; and a press secretary.\(^2\)

There were no legislative liaison and public policy advisors. Perhaps these were simpler times but it appears to this author that maybe simpler was more effective. The situation has improved dramatically partially as a result of Mr. Bishop's efforts. He led the way to making the transition period an opportunity for the newly elected Governor to have the resources necessary to begin governing the day after the election. The transition efforts he started have carried through to the present day and, in fact, been greatly improved.

In 1960, Governor Rosellini was reelected and thus transition preparation was not as extensive as it would have been had there been a change in Governors.

GOVERNOR EVANS

In 1964, Daniel J. Evans was elected Governor. There was essentially no transition preparation by the Evans organization prior to the general election. All of their effort was concentrated on winning the election rather than planning events after the election. The majority of the transition costs were paid by utilizing unspent campaign funds, although Governor Rosellini did provide office space and some funds for services to the Governor-elect.³

In this instance, the campaign director, Justice Jim Dolliver, was selected as transition coordinator and ultimately became chief of staff. This is the only instance during our study period where this occurred. As was the case in 1976, there was a kitchen cabinet consisting of people who had been active in the campaign. The key goals of the new administration were contained in the campaign document entitled, "Blueprint for Progress." Governor-elect Evans had been a member of the House of Representatives for twelve years and Justice Dolliver had been the attorney for the Republican caucus in the House of Representatives. As a result, they had a head start on understanding state

government, as of course, did Governor Rosellini. This experience enabled them to move quickly to implement their goals for their administration. This was accomplished primarily by issuing their version of the 1965-1967 budget approximately eight weeks after the election.

The research of this transition indicates there was good cooperation between Mr. Bishop and Justice Dolliver, even though the contact between Governor Rosellini and Governor-elect Evans consisted of only one meeting. Perhaps this was because it had been a very bitter campaign.

In this transition, all the incumbent directors were interviewed and, as normal, some were kept and some were not retained. However, in each instance where a director was not going to be retained, that person was given a "grace" period to find a new position before the new person was appointed. This was a particularly humane transition in the sense that the directors who were not retained were not immediately removed.

Perhaps this is because Governor-elect Evans was more interested in his program and knew there were other ways of influencing government other than replacing people. Perhaps it was because he and
Justice Dolliver had a great deal of experience with state government.

The problem departments for this administration were the Department of General Administration and the Liquor Board. The Department of General Administration became the focus because of alleged irregularities in the purchasing practices. The Liquor Board had been under fire because of the practice of the distilleries hiring campaign workers of the Governor to become their agents in this state. This enabled the agents to receive substantial income from the distilleries for the liquor each sold to the State of Washington. These positions required very little effort and yet resulted in that person receiving a substantial amount of money for simply being a friend or supporter of the Governor. This was perceived by the Evans people as a bad practice and they vowed to stop it, which they did.

The staff of the Governor’s office was still small as compared to today’s office. The office employed legal counsel, scheduling secretary, clemency person, Governor’s personal secretary, chief of staff, press secretary and still utilized a secretarial pool! There was no legislative liaison, assistant for boards and commissions, intergovernmental relations coordinator, constituent services
assistant or policy chief. The Governor and the chief of staff determined policy and handled legislative liaison personally. Thus, there was no need for a policy staff or legislative liaison people.

This author was a member of the Washington State Senate from 1966-1970, and as a result had the opportunity to observe firsthand the operation of the Governor's office. Being a Republican and a campaign director for Evans in Pierce County in the 1964 campaign gave me unusual access to the Governor's office. The Republicans had a majority in the House of Representatives, whereas we were the minority in the Senate.

Governor Evans had a particularly good grasp of budgets and the strategy necessary to have his program passed by the Legislature. He was perceived by the members of the Legislature as being more knowledgeable about state government than anybody else in Olympia. In any event, one of the tactics he used was to call the Republican members of the Senate down to his office to discuss a particular piece of legislation. Certain members of the caucus would swear that the Governor was not going to persuade them toward his point of view.

Upon entering the office, we would sit down around the conference table with Governor Evans. He
would proceed to explain his point of view and would counter every argument against it that would be brought up by a Senator. At the end of the conference, certain members would walk out of his office shaking their heads, saying to themselves he did it again. He persuaded us to accept his position.

Needless to say, Governor Evans was very effective at persuading legislators to pass his programs, as was Governor Rosellini. The secret of their success was a personal relationship with state legislators and knowledge of state government.

In 1969, as a result of Governor Evans' leadership, the Legislature passed transition legislation: RCW 43.06.055 entitled "Governor-elect--Appropriation to provide office and staff" reads as follows:

The legislature preceding the gubernatorial election shall make an appropriation which may only be expended by a newly elected governor other than the incumbent for the purpose of providing office and staff for the governor-elect preparatory to his assumption of duties as governor. The funds for the appropriation shall be made available to him not later than thirty days prior to the date when the legislature will convene.

The appropriation has ranged from $50,000 in 1976 to $59,830 for the 1980 transition to $100,000
for the 1984 transition. There was no transition planning in 1968 and 1972.

Governor Evans remained in office until 1976. On October 16, 1976, he wrote a memo to his department heads in anticipation of a new Governor's succession to the Governor's office. The memo was entitled, "Agency Preparation for Transition." In that memo he requested that each agency should have a transition briefing document prepared by the first week in November and maintain the information in a current status. The information requested included: agency mission summary, major programs, organization chart, proposed budget major problems, and commitments. His deputy, Bill Jacobs, was given the responsibility for coordinating the transition process. By November 10, 1976, Mr. Jacobs indicated that the Governor's office was pleased with the progress to date to effect an orderly and cooperative transition with the new administration. In that same memo, he requested that transition files on uncompleted projects be prepared and retained in the office for the new administration for their review.

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5 D. J. Evans, Memorandum to agency directors entitled Agency Preparation to Transition, 26 October 1976 (Washington State Archives, Olympia, Washington).
and ultimate completion.\textsuperscript{6} Finally, briefing books and transition memorandums were completed and approved by Jacobs for appropriateness and completeness.

For some reason, these documents were never seen by Governor-elect Ray.\textsuperscript{7}

On December 27, 1976, Williams Jacobs requested the Legislature to provide funds for the outgoing Governor. The letter indicated that $20,000 should cover all anticipated expenses. This letter discusses a subject that will be addressed in Chapter X of this thesis. It appears clear to this author that each outgoing Governor experiences expenses that relate to activities when they were Governor. Therefore, it seems reasonable for the Legislature to appropriate funds to relieve the outgoing Governor of some of these expenses.

\textbf{GOVERNOR RAY}

In November of 1976, Dixy Lee Ray won the election for Governor. In that campaign her theme was that state government had grown too much; that expenditures were out of control; and that state

\begin{itemize}
  \item William C. Jacobs, Memorandum to all staff entitled, Transition, 10 November 1976 (Washington State Archives, Olympia, Washington).
  \item Dixy Lee Ray, personal interview, 18 May 1987.
\end{itemize}
government needed a good house cleaning. One must keep that theme in mind as we describe her gubernatorial transition.

The major problem faced by Governor-elect Ray was a shortage of funds for transition operations. $50,000 had been allocated for transition. My research indicates that about halfway between the election and inauguration, the transition had expended that amount of funds. This occurred because Governor-elect Ray and her transition staff did not know they were being charged rent for the furniture, offices, typewriters, lights and installation of telephones.

An inquiry was made to the Legislature to determine if a loan could be made to the transition team. However, the State Auditor indicated that would not be legal. After the election, Governor Evans had offered to hire Governor-elect Ray on a personal services contract for $3,000 a month as his advisor on transportation and nuclear facilities. However, at the airport waiting to board the plane to attend the National Governors Conference, the press contacted her about this offer. They made it appear as if the offer was illegal. Governor Evans did nothing to change that perception. Consequently, she refused the offer. The additional funds necessary to
conduct an adequate transition were ultimately provided by Governor Evans from the Governor's emergency fund.

The transition offices were located in two rooms on the ground floor of the Legislative Building. There were about eight people on the payroll, most making between $2,000 and $3,000 a month, but there was not enough clerical help to answer the mail or handle the telephone calls. Inquiries from the news media appeared to be constant during the entire day, and the press secretary was unable to keep up with the workload because of the lack of clerical support staff. Governor-elect Ray had one paid secretary and one volunteer secretary.

Agency heads and their deputies and assistant directors who are direct appointees of the Governor serve at the pleasure of the Governor. Therefore, any length of service beyond the inauguration depends upon the Governor-elect's wishes. Traditionally, when a new Governor is elected, direct appointees of the incumbent begin to resign to accept other opportunities. This occurs because they are not certain whether the Governor-elect will be interested in retaining their services.

In 1976, most of the agency directors had been with Governor Evans for twelve years. There was a
feeling on the part of the Governor-elect and her staff that the Evans cabinet caused the problems of state government growth and lack of responsiveness to citizens’ needs. One week after the inauguration, most of the directors and deputy directors had not yet resigned. This left the Governor-elect in an awkward position, reluctant to fire everybody but anxious to install her own appointees in these major policy-making positions.

As a result, all the agency directors and deputies who had not resigned were asked to resign and clean out their offices within 24 hours. It is the only time during our study period when this abrupt change of agency directors occurred so fast. The result was that the Governor was hammered by questions from the press concerning this action which they perceived as an unwise move. The Governor’s problems with the press continued throughout her term, I suspect primarily because she would always give a very direct and candid response to a question.

One only needs to read the press conferences of Dan Evans to understand just how different this approach appeared to the press corps. Governor Evans’ answers to questions were long and involved, which demonstrated his understanding of state government. Governor Ray’s answers were much simpler.
and got right to the point without much preamble. This led to a perception by the press corps that she did not understand state government, although I don’t think that was the case. I am sure the people understood her answers much better than they did Governor Evans’ answers.

On the surface, cooperation between these two Governors was evident. One example of this is a letter dated November 10, 1976, from Governor Evans to Governor-elect Ray wherein he gives her the opportunity to make appointments to the United States Senate Commerce Committee’s study of tourism, instead of making the appointments himself.

In keeping with Governor Ray’s campaign pledge to reduce the cost of government, thirteen days after she was sworn in as Governor she issued Executive Order No. 77-2 on January 27, 1977. This Order (Appendix IV) established an expenditure control program by monitoring six areas of expenditures: (1) lapsing of unexpired balances; (2) staffing; (3) consulting services; (4) overtime; (5) procurement of equipment, supplies and materials; and (6) travel.

This transition was marked with more problems than most, primarily due to a lack of knowledge about politics and state government on behalf of the Governor-elect and her staff.
GOVERNOR SPELLMAN

In November of 1980, Governor-elect Spellman succeeded Governor Ray. There appears to have been some transition planning by Governor-elect Spellman and Governor Ray. On October 19, 1980, the Governor-elect’s staff wrote a transition plan that identified the major transition problem areas and assigned responsibility and a due date for a product. The major items were as follows: Assemble transition team; establish liaison with Governor’s office and identify contact; identify critical issues; implement critical issues; implement issues task forces; prepare John D. Spellman’s briefing; prepare Governor’s office background book; arrange priority appointments; assess fiscal situation; organize new Governor’s office; organize state government; prepare messages to the Legislature; and prepare an inauguration plan.

On Governor Ray’s part, Jerry Hanna, the Governor’s legal advisor, wrote a note to Paul C. Bender, the Governor’s Chief of Staff, indicating that approximately $75,000 from the Governor’s

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emergency funds could be made available to the incoming Governor.⁹

One of the major problems Governor-elect Spellman faced was with campaign wind-down. Once the general election was won, the organization of the campaign collapsed, leaving many important housekeeping matters not accomplished. It appears to this author that chaos developed after winning the election. This occurred because many of the paid staff just walked away on the Friday after the general election which was the last day they were on the payroll. There was staff diverted to the transition team without authorization and a number of people made unauthorized contacts with various state offices ostensibly on behalf of the transition office. To add to the Spellman team’s problems, numerous expenditures were made on behalf of the campaign during the last two weeks without proper authorization. This resulted in more debts being created than planned. However, that is a normal event in most campaigns unless a very tight rein is held on all commitments for expenditure of funds. In a close election, this happens because campaign leaders believe that spending just a little bit more

money will result in victory. The request was made during this author’s campaigns for the Washington State Senate in 1966 and 1970 and again for Pierce County Executive in 1981. In 1966, I authorized it, won the election and ended up in debt; in 1970 and 1981, I said "no" and ended up in the black, and lost both elections, although I don’t believe spending any more money in those elections would have resulted in my winning those elections.

This transition team made a number of decisions early on that represented Governor-elect Spellman’s approach to government. They decided to utilize professional personnel people to screen candidates for major appointments to head state agencies. They decided not to generate a reorganization plan but rather asked the Legislature for power to reorganize the executive branch subject to legislative veto. They would ask the legislative leadership for ideas on how to improve the Governor’s office. The question of how to maintain a presence in Washington, D.C., was decided in favor of maintaining an office in the Hall of States at the headquarters of the National Governors Association.

Concerning the department director positions: the Governor-elect would rank the agencies in terms of importance; review the briefing papers; meet with
the department director where he felt it was appropriate and then make a decision as to whether to keep the existing director or not. Some directors were kept (Director of the State Retirement Systems and the State Printer). However, for the most part, they were replaced. Concerning appointments that had not been confirmed by the Senate, the Governor-elect allowed some of the appointments of the former Governor to be confirmed, while other nominees were replaced with the selections of the Governor-elect.

The transition team was housed in two locations. Approximately twelve people were housed in Seattle at the Commerce and Economic Development Department and approximately four persons were housed in the Office of Financial Management in Olympia.

The organization of the transition effort was very elaborate in comparison to prior transitions. The organization had a transition advisory group of which the Governor-elect was the Chairman. It consisted of 43 individuals who were mostly Republicans and all supporters of the Governor-elect. There were three committees under this advisory group: (1) "Governor’s Office Transition," chaired by Steve Excel; (2) "Transition Planning and Management," chaired by Joe McGavick; and (3) "Budget and Fiscal Analysis," chaired by Walter Howe, who was a former
Budget Director for the State of Washington under Dan Evans. Under the committee entitled, "Governor’s Office Transition," there were two subcommittees: (1) "Correspondence," chaired by Chris Smith, and (2) "Personnel," chaired by James Waldo. There was a final committee entitled, "King County Courthouse Transition," chaired by Bob Bratton. There were approximately sixty volunteers involved in the total transition effort, plus approximately sixteen paid staff.

This was a huge effort that gave the Governor-elect’s administration a head start in terms of understanding the problems of state government. However, in terms of the appointment process, the sheer number of task forces and search committees made it difficult to keep track of who got nominated, how this was done, by whom and on what particular basis.

GOVERNOR GARDNER

In November of 1984, Governor-elect Gardner replaced Governor Spellman. The literature search of the transition records in the Washington State Archives indicates little, if any, transition preparations prior to the general election of 1984.
The Gardner staff moved into transition facilities on November 16, 1984.10

The transition headquarters of Governor-elect Gardner was located in the basement of the General Administration Building. The facilities consisted of a series of carpeted offices and conference rooms. Desks and chairs were in place; telephones were installed and operating, and copying machines were available. Parking spaces outside the building had been arranged for the Governor-elect’s staff. In short, the Department of General Administration had gone to extensive efforts to prepare a transition headquarters that was operational on the day the team arrived. This was a unique accomplishment.

The transition paid staff consisted of approximately twelve people. This was supplemented by loaned executives from the private sector. The pace was hectic, as I can attest to, because my wife was one of those loaned executives to this transition effort. The staff worked day and night, seven days a week for approximately five weeks. At the end of that time, she had proven herself to the staff and the three top people; namely, Booth Gardner, Orin Smith and Greg Barlow, which resulted in the

10 Keith Angier, Memorandum entitled, Gubernatorial Transition Offices, Department of General Administration, 26 November 1984.
Governor-elect selecting her to be the Director of the Washington State Lottery.

As in previous administrations, there was a kitchen cabinet that met with the Governor-elect and gave him their ideas. The Governor-elect also gave them his ideas which reflected the realities of governing as he saw it. The two ideas did not always match because the kitchen cabinet was in Olympia for two hours while the Governor-elect spent full time adjusting to the responsibilities of being Governor.

There was a memorandum of understanding entered into with the Governor-elect's transition team. The literature does not reveal the date of that document, but there is little doubt it was after the general election.

The agreement provided that contacts with state agencies would only be by designated individuals of the Governor-elect who would be identified and communicated to Governor Spellman's chief of staff prior to any direct contact being made.

On November 18, 1984, Governor Spellman's Chief of Staff, C. Kenneth Grosse, wrote a memorandum to agency directors and executives of boards and commissions requesting that they prepare certain
information by November 30, 1984.\textsuperscript{11} The memo requested the following information: (1) agency responsibilities; (2) organization chart; (3) budget synopsis and FTEs; (4) agency strengths and weaknesses; (5) description of ongoing negotiations; (6) proposed legislation; (7) agency long-term goals; (8) resume of director, if he or she would like to stay on after January 16, 1985; and (9) pending issues.

These status reports were compiled into transition notebooks prepared by the Department of General Administration. The memo also indicated that departmental request legislation should be returned to the Office of Financial Management who would then hold them for subsequent review and analysis by the Governor-elect’s transition team.

Governor-elect Booth Gardner’s transition team did prepare decision packages during this transition period.\textsuperscript{12}

In summary, it appears there was little transition planning during the election by either any incoming or outgoing Governor during our study period. This seems natural because each candidate is concentrating on winning the election. The

\textsuperscript{11} Kenneth C. Grosse, Memorandum entitled, Transition, Office of the Governor, 19 November 1984.

\textsuperscript{12} Joel Merkle, Memorandum entitled, Energy and Utilities, Advisory Group, 4 December 1984.
exception, of course, is in 1976 when Governor Evans voluntarily relinquished the governorship.

ANALYSIS

As we have seen, there have been eight transitions during our study period: 1956, 1960, 1964, 1968, 1972, 1976, 1980 and 1984. Leaving aside those cases where an incumbent was reelected (1960, 1968, and 1972), there were five transitions of newly elected Governors: 1956, 1964, 1976, 1980 and 1984. Of these five, the 1956 transition (Rosellini) and the 1964 transition (Evans) seem to have been the smoothest, most nearly successful in all respects at once, thus giving these Governors-elect a head start on inauguration day. Governor-elect Ray’s transition was almost surely the roughest, caused in part by running out of funds halfway through the transition. Rosellini and Evans people leaped into government; Ray’s, Spellman’s and Gardner’s hesitated. I suspect it is because Rosellini and Evans people were experienced in legislative affairs, and that Rosellini and Evans, themselves, were experienced legislative leaders. Rosellini had been a State Senator for eighteen years while Evans had been a State Representative for twelve years. This considerable legislative experience contributed a
great deal to the effectiveness of their administrations, because it gave them an appreciation for the intricacies of the legislative process and a personal relationship with the legislators.

Ironically, Spellman and Gardner utilized more funds and had more personnel available for transition efforts than any of their predecessors. This proved to be a part of their problem. Too many people involved in the decision-making process led to a delay in decisions and in some cases the wrong decision. As we have indicated, Spellman and Gardner’s efforts were particularly elaborate, thus giving them a head start on inauguration day. Spellman eventually lost this momentum with the selection of his chief of staff as has Gardner with the lack of organization in his office. The result of more funds and more people being involved in transition has resulted in a larger staff in the Governor’s office. This has not necessarily made the Governor’s office more effective.

From election to inauguration all transition staffs have scrambled. The normal difficulties of all transitions have been compounded by common problems, one of which is the lack of adequate information being exchanged between the staffs of the Governor-elect and the Governor.
This project will suggest solutions to these common problems by describing and analyzing gubernatorial transitions by functional category. So let’s begin with election day and its meaning.
IV
ELECTION DAY AND ITS MEANING

"Do not be led astray by statutes or the constitution or other formal-looking and sounding documents that refer to the term of office as starting after the transition ends. You are governor the moment you are elected . . . because the people think you are . . ."13

--A Former Governor

"The most important goal of the transition is the long-term effect. In other words, the new governor should not allow short-term pressures and demands for immediate results to over-shadow the absolute necessity of establishing a solid administrative base for the entire term of office."13

--A Midwestern Governor

The next morning after a Governor is elected, it is necessary to find ways to mobilize the machinery of government to transform the ideas of candidacy into the programs of office. The afterglow of victory must be tempered by the formidable task of

making a smooth and effective transition into office and assuming responsibility for state government.

Election day marks the end of the campaign and the beginning of the Governor's administration in accomplishing the Governor's goals. Performing such diverse activities as answering mail, recruiting cabinet members or preparing a supplemental budget should not be viewed as isolated tasks to be accomplished; rather, they should be approached as parts of an overall strategy -- an organizing principle, if you will, to translate the new Governor's vision of what the state can be into reality.

By conducting an effective transition, the new Governor will be ahead of the game when the administration takes office. It is during this time that the citizens get their first clear view of the style and substance of the new administration.

The transition period sets the stage for the first year or so of the administration. Problems created and left unresolved tend to fester. If left unresolved, the new administration starts to lose the confidence of the Legislature, state employees, the press and ultimately the citizens. Governor Spellman's selection of a chief of staff was an example of this kind of problem. The perceived disorganization of Governor Gardner's office is
possibly another example, depending on whether the Governor decides to do something about it. However, if accomplished effectively, the transition period will give the Governor-elect a leg up when he or she takes office. Transition is a chaotic period of time. If the Governor-elect can manage the activities involved in completing the campaign and preparing to be Governor in an orderly fashion, then the citizens will have confidence in the new administration.

All candidates have a desire to let down, to relax and to forget the whole operation for a few days after the election is won. This is understandable. However, before the Governor-elect leaves for a well-deserved vacation, the transition coordinator should be appointed. This person should obviously be a trusted associate who also has management skills, is respected, above reproach and most importantly, recognized as the representative of the Governor-elect.

The checklist from the National Governors Association (Appendix II) details the items that should be discussed at the first meeting of the Governor-elect and the transition coordinator. This leads into a discussion of the logistics of transition.
The logistics of transition are the mainstays of an effective transition. On the morning after winning a gubernatorial election, there is an immediate need by the Governor-elect for funds to finance transition; space to house the Governor-elect’s people; machines to type, copy and keep track of correspondence and other administrative matters; telephones to communicate with the outside world; desks and chairs to enable the staff to function; transition stationery and envelopes and stamps to mail the letters and other correspondence between the Governor-elect and the citizens; and finally, parking spaces for the transition team.

When Governor-elect Booth Gardner and his staff arrived in Olympia on November 16, 1984, all of the above were waiting for them. This is much different than when Warren Bishop arrived in Olympia on December 15, 1956, to assume the chief of staff position for Governor-elect Rosellini. As mentioned previously, there were none of the above and so Mr. Bishop persuaded Secretary of State Earl Coe to lend him and his two secretaries office space in order to
enable them to conduct the business of transition for Governor-elect Rosellini.

**FINANCING**

Funding is required for an effective transition. $100,000 was budgeted for the 1984 transition, and $100,000 is budgeted for the 1988 transition. If the incumbent Governor (Gardner) is reelected, there will be less need (if any) for transition funds than if a new Governor is elected.

One of the first things a transition team needs to do is to prepare a transition budget. There are a number of ways that transitions have been funded during the last thirty years. The obvious source has been unexpended campaign funds. Use of volunteers has also been a regular practice. These people could be citizens who are committed to the Governor-elect and wish to volunteer their time, or companies who wish to gain access to the Governor’s office and, thus, volunteer loaned executives. Transition team members have also been hired on personal service contracts with the state as was done with Governor Spellman’s and Governor Gardner’s team.

Realizing the Governor-elect’s constraints, the Washington State Department of General Administration and Office of Financial Management have attempted to
anticipate the Governor-elect’s immediate requirements and the types of information, advice and services that may be required throughout the transition period.

**STAFF**

As we have seen, the Governor-elect’s need for a staff begins on the day after election. In this author’s opinion, it is not good public policy to have the Governor-elect use whatever leftover campaign funds they can find to run their offices between election and inauguration. The Governor-elect is conducting public affairs for the citizens of the state and thus public funds should be utilized.

Congratulations inundate the newly elected Governor; the budget needs decisions; program directions must be decided and ultimately an administration must be assembled. The Legislature has recognized this need and provided funds, offices, telephones, copying services and hired staff through personal services contracts for this "in between" time before the Governor-elect takes office.

It is to this end that the Department of General Administration and Office of Financial Management have made an effort to provide these services. The
emphasis in the planning for transition by these departments has been on being well prepared to respond to the Governor-elect’s requirements rather than presuming his or her desires. Full recognition is given to the fact that the Governor-elect will have his or her own style and method of doing things. It has also been recognized that the Governor-elect may desire the advice and consultation of a variety of resources.

SERVICES AVAILABLE

What follows, therefore, is a brief explanation of how the resources of the Department of General Administration and Office of Financial Management have been of assistance to the Governor-elect.

DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

- Office space, equipment, supplies, staff
- Assist in preparation of transition budget
- Assist in space/organizational planning for Governor’s office
- Identifying appointments to be made in the first several months of the new administration and providing a computer-assisted method to expedite the appointment process
o Assist in the preparation of the executive office budget
o Arrange the move to the executive mansion and help determine the budget and staff needs of the official residence
o A presentation on the organization and operation of state government

OFFICE OF FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

o A presentation on the characteristics of the population, the economy and the work force
o A presentation on the expenditure-revenue situation for the next four years
o Assist in the development of a method to be used for considering agency budget requests
o Assist in the determination and final development of the Governor’s revisions to the biennial budget
o Assist in the development of policy positions of the Governor-elect
o Provide briefings on carry-over issues or programs and assisting the development of follow-through strategies

There are other items that need to be considered by the Governor-elect’s staff.
PROPOSED LEGISLATION

Determination of methods for the development, introduction and successful passage of legislation proposed by the Governor-elect and the state agencies must be made.

MANAGING STATE GOVERNMENT

This area is perhaps most dependent upon the Governor-elect’s style and personal wishes as he or she considers the role of chief executive. Items that need to be considered include current management practices and techniques; the use of cabinets and councils; the executive office staff involvement in departmental and legislative liaison. Alternatives need to be developed for the Governor-elect’s consideration.

The organization of the transition staff is a very confusing subject to discuss because there is no formal organization. In the transitions that I have examined, there has been no standard organization pattern. In fact, I think that most members of any transition team would agree that members of transition staffs are called upon to perform almost any task any time and that the task always needs to be accomplished now. In that kind of an environment,
the people that have the best results-oriented skills rise to the attention of the Governor-elect and in some instances are then appointed to a cabinet position as a direct result of their transition efforts.

The hours are long and the task requires a seven-day-a-week commitment by the members of the team until the inauguration party is completed.

The 1980 (Spelman) and 1984 (Gardner) gubernatorial transitions represented the state of the art in the availability of resources and involvement of people. Even those left something to be desired in terms of organization and decision-making. Both transitions utilized committees of supporters to screen candidates for jobs and analyze major policy questions. Thus, they both had many people involved in the decision-making process in terms of public policy and cabinet appointments.

It goes without saying that appointments to the transition team should be made with great care, because, in actual fact, the staff which will manage the Governor’s office is being assembled.

Basically, there are three separate tasks which must be accomplished during the transition: preparation to assume the reins of government, campaign wind-up, and inaugural planning. The reason
it is difficult to accomplish all of these tasks is because the volume of mail and calls during transition is overwhelming. Both Jim Dolliver and Warren Bishop indicated as much in their interviews with this author. Therefore, it is imperative that these three tasks be delegated to members of the transition team and accomplished effectively so that the backlog does not become too severe.

Nevertheless, a backlog has been inevitable during these five transitions (1956, 1964, 1976, 1980 and 1984). The transition offices were deluged with communications asking for jobs, suggesting ideas for change and making all manner of requests. To prevent people from becoming disillusioned or disgruntled, when no answer is swiftly forthcoming, a general acknowledgement letter has been sent automatically to those people contacting the transition office.

**CALENDAR**

The calendar of transition is a series of target dates for accomplishing certain tasks. Appendix III of this thesis, from Governor Spellman’s transition, is the only calendar this author was able to locate during the archival search. Most dates listed in a transition calendar have been target dates rather than hard and fast deadlines. They change as events
change since transition time is a very fluid period. Nevertheless, there are some basic milestones that need to be met. They include vacations for the Governor-elect; campaign wind-up; transition staff selected; transition office operational; gubernatorial staff interviewed, selected and announced; agency directors interviewed, selected and announced; inaugural preparations completed; legislative program finalized; state of state address drafted; budget decisions made; and finally, complete arrangements for the move into the Governor’s mansion.

The Governor-elect’s calendar should be kept relatively free of speaking engagements and ceremonial occasions during the transition period so that the Governor-elect can concentrate on personnel appointments, legislative program and changes to the biennial budget already submitted to the Legislature, and the state of state address. My research indicates that the time of all the Governors-elect was over-scheduled, which proved distracting and costly for some of them in the long run.

There is no doubt that as the transition takes shape, the new Governor will find that events will tend to outspend even their campaign level energies. Consequently, the new Governor should use the vacation time to reflect on the governorship itself
and the accomplishments he or she wants to achieve during his or her first term. At the same time, the Governor-elect should ensure that an effective transition team is providing a sound platform from which to launch the new administration.
THE CABINET

The Governor’s cabinet positions are, without question, the most important appointments and the ones which shape a Governor’s administration. The cabinet can be the Governor’s most vital tool for managing the executive branch efficiently and effectively. In each administration during the last thirty years, there have been departments that have been of particular concern to each new administration. In 1956, the Department of Institutions and Office of the Budget were the focus. In 1964, it was the Department of General Administration and the Liquor Board. In 1976, it was the Department of Social and Health Services. In 1980, it was the National Guard and the Department of Ecology. In 1984, it was the State Patrol, the Department of Commerce and Economic Development, and the Department of Labor and Industries.

In each instance, the Governor-elect changed the department director as a first order of business. In fact, these changes were campaign pledges that the Governor-elect had made. Some of the Governors during the last thirty years have been more familiar
with the intricacies of the executive branch than others (Rosellini, Evans). All Governors during this period sought the most competent, creative managers they could find to fill the cabinet positions.

Beyond the management skills which they brought, the cabinet appointees, singly and as a group, have served as a personification of the Governor-elect. Their appointments were the first key symbol to the bureaucracy, to the Legislature and the citizens at-large, of the shape and values of each administration. They are more visible and, therefore, perceived as more important than the personal staff of the Governor. However, after studying this subject, I believe both are important in order to create a successful administration.

PERSONAL STAFF

The personal staff of the Governor is very important, on a par with the Governor’s cabinet. It is the Governor’s staff that in conjunction with the cabinet gives the policy direction. The two strongest members of a Governor’s personal staff during the last thirty years have been Warren Bishop and Jim Dolliver. Warren Bishop served as Chief of Staff and Director of Office of the Budget at the same time. Mr. Dolliver served as Chief of Staff and
in essence spoke for the Governor as, of course, did Mr. Bishop. These two people, in my mind, are two of the most thoughtful public-spirited citizens we have in the State of Washington. They have a vast array of experience that should be utilized. In any event, both of these people indicated to me that it is critical to have someone whom the Governor trusts to be their chief spokesman. When the spokesman speaks, that is, in essence, the Governor speaking. It requires a very unique set of circumstances and people to be able to accomplish that goal.

In the view of this author, only two administrations during this study period have achieved that cohesiveness between the Governor and their chief spokesman: namely, Governor Rosellini and Governor Evans.

In transitions during this study period, the major department directors have not been appointed in time to have a significant interface with their counterparts from the previous administration. Ideally, the Governor-elect’s appointing process should allow these important decisions to be made without the constant bother of preliminary machinations. Ironically, this author found just the opposite condition. There was never enough time to
consider crucial personnel decisions in a logical fashion.

**BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS**

The boards and commissions are a separate subject because they are multi-member panels whose terms expire on a staggered basis. As a result, these positions do not become vacant at the same time as the transition period. They, not the Governor, hire their exempt personnel so it is more difficult for the Governor-elect or the sitting Governor, for that matter, to influence their selection.

The chairmen of most of the boards and commissions in the State of Washington are selected by their members. The only exceptions where the Governor selects the chairman are the Puget Sound Water Quality Authority and the Utilities and Transportation Commission, and now the Game Department. In any event, most of the decisions having to do with boards and commissions are not driven by election of a new Governor, but by the agenda established by each one of the boards and commissions.
SELECTION PROCESS

Because the major appointments are so important to carrying out the Governor-elect's program, it is worthwhile to examine the selection process. In every instance, there are people whom the Governor-elect would like to have in the new administration; and there are positions that are not open to the selection process because the Governor-elect has already selected the person for a particular job. However, in those instances where there is no pre-selected candidate, the transition teams have established an elaborate screening and interview process.

All Governors have a small group of trusted people who act as advisors. As we discussed before, this group is called the "kitchen cabinet." Then there is a wider group of people who are interested in state government and/or politics who are brought into the transition process to broaden the base and provide input into the decision-making process.

In all the transitions studied, both of these groups played a major role in the selection process. In 1980 and 1984, the personnel review and recommendation processes were elaborate. In 1980, there was a personnel committee established to determine minimum requirements for positions, interview
candidates and reduce the number of candidates down to a short list that would be submitted to the Governor-elect for selection.

The first step in the process has been to list the key positions in state government. These are normally the directors and deputy directors of departments that are appointed directly by the Governor. Each transition has targeted these positions because they are responsible for implementing the Governor’s program. The next step has been to determine whether the incumbents in those positions will stay on in the new administration. This decision has been accomplished by either the Governor-elect having made up his or her mind ahead of time or interviewing the incumbent. The decision is then communicated to each individual in the form of a letter from the Governor-elect.

Most transitions have treated the incumbents from the previous administration professionally and humanely, even though it is recognized that they will probably be leaving. When it has been determined that a particular individual will be leaving, it is usually accomplished in a way that reinforces the best perceptions about the management style of the Governor-elect.
Next to the appointment of the cabinet, the selection of the members of the Governor's personal staff represents the most vital personnel decisions made during transition. However, before one gets to the question of selecting staff, the management framework of the Governor's office must be established. It is the Governor's staff that creates an effective system for assisting the Governor in making decisions and ensuring that those decisions are implemented.

DECISION-MAKING STYLE

The staff accomplishes this assistance by receiving and processing information; therefore, new Governors are asked how they prefer to receive information and make decisions. The structure of the office then is molded to fit the Governor's management style. The organizational design must fit the decision-making style of the Governor or friction, confusion and frustration will result. There are two models of organization that can be utilized. The first is a hierarchy structured staff where issues for decisions are transmitted up the organization
ladder to the senior staff for gubernatorial decisions. This model includes a chief of staff who reports directly to the Governor and manages the staff (see Table III).14

The second model is a structure where all senior staff report directly to the Governor and decisions are arrived at by discussion among advocates of opposite points of view. In this stance, the Governor acts as the center of the wheel (see Table IV).15

Whichever model is chosen, it is important that the Governor select one individual in whom he or she can confide and who can speak for the Governor on policy matters. It could the chief of staff or a special assistant. It makes little difference what the title of the individual is. The important point is that this individual has the Governor’s confidence and can speak for the Governor with certainty.


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TABLE IV

MODEL II: SPOKES OF THE WHEEL

GOVERNOR

- Legal Counsel
- Agency Liaisons
- Special Group Liaison/Political Assistant
- Press Secretary
- Personal Secretary
- Constituent Services Assistant
- Various Special Assistants
- Administrative Assistant
- Intergovernmental Relations Assistant
- Scheduling Assistant
- Legislative Liaison Assistant
ORGANIZATIONAL DESIGN

During the last thirty years, all Governors in the State of Washington have chosen to have a chief of staff. In two instances, the chief of staff could speak for the Governor on policy questions: namely, Warren Bishop during Rosellini’s tenure, and Jim Dolliver during Evans’ term of office. When these gentlemen were interviewed, they both explained the importance of having someone able to speak for the Governor. I suspect the reason these two administrations were regarded by all observers as effective is because there was only one person who could speak for the Governor.

This ability to have someone other than the Governor speak on policy matters enables the Governor to pass off a particular crisis to this individual. This frees the Governor to concentrate on the strategies for achieving the major public policy initiatives of his or her administration.

STAFF

The staff of the Governor’s office has grown during the last thirty years to encompass a wide ranging list of functions. During Rosellini’s and Evans’ terms, policy analysis and legislative liaison were handled by the Governor and/or their chiefs of
staff. During the terms of Ray, Spellman and Gardner specific individuals were added to the Governor’s staff to handle these functions. At one point in 1959, Warren Bishop was both Budget Director and Chief of Staff. This assignment occurred because Mr. Bishop was the chief architect of the new Budgeting and Accounting Act that was passed by the Legislature in 1959.

In any event, there are certain core functions that need to be accomplished by the Governor’s office. Telephone calls and mail need to be answered promptly. Appointments need to be made when vacancies occur in gubernatorial appointed positions. The Governor’s time needs to be scheduled. The Legislature needs to be apprised of upcoming events that may impact their districts. The press needs to be kept informed of actions taken by the Governor. Press conferences with the Governor need to be arranged. There is a legal factor involved in all actions taken by the Governor, thus there must be competent legal advice available to the Governor. Citizens must have access to the Governor to either solve a problem they may have with government, or explain their views concerning the public policies of the Governor.
The Governor must make speeches to explain the public policy initiatives that are being advanced by the administration and attempt to persuade the audience to support them. The audience could be citizens and it is most assuredly the Legislature. Thus, there must be a speech writing capability in the office. However, public policy initiatives must be developed before they can be explained. This necessitates having someone on staff to concentrate on developing public policy initiatives for the consideration of the Governor, the appropriate cabinet members and the Legislature. The Governor must be aware of developments at the national and local levels of government so that a proactive response rather than a reactive response can be made on behalf of the state. This need requires a presence in Washington, D.C. either through the National Governors Association or some other method. It also requires having a staff member understand the problems of the local units of government so appropriate responses can be initiated.

All of these functions need to be accomplished in such a fashion as to result in coordinated action that achieves the Governor’s goals. As with anything worthwhile, it is easier said than done. However, during the last thirty years, five Governors in the
State of Washington have gone through this process. Some have accomplished it more effectively than others as evidenced by the election results.

The effort to staff the Governor’s office is best summed up by the following quote:

"Establishing an office and developing an administrative strategy for its operation is an early priority for the new governor’s personal transition, and decisions on office organization and operation must meet the new governor’s specifications. Without an effective and loyal staff it will not be possible for the new governor to carry out the duties of chief executive. Beyond the organizational design it is necessary to institute measures for the management of the office that will ensure efficiency and encourage professionalism in the governor’s staff. In the final analysis, the governor will be held accountable for the smooth operation of the governor’s office."\(^\text{16}\)

**EXECUTIVE BRANCH RELATIONSHIPS**

The relationship between the Governor’s personal staff and the cabinet is a key factor in achieving the Governor’s goals. Somehow, the Governor must create a team from these two groups of appointees. Appointments to the Governor’s staff should match the Governor’s personal management style while other appointments should reflect the Governor’s policy preferences. For instance, if the new Governor has

decided that decreasing the influence of the Political Action Committees is a top priority that could require an increased budget for the Public Disclosure Commission and legislative action, then appointing a leading advocate of that policy as the executive director makes a great deal of sense.

If on the other hand, the Governor has decided that economic development is the highest priority, then appointing an election reform advocate as the executive director of the Public Disclosure Commission makes less sense than appointing an effective director who will allow the Governor to focus on other priorities.

The question still remains: how to forge a team from these appointees?

The answer is to view the Governor’s appointees as a management team. The Governor can provide a positive framework from which they can carry out the broad policies of the administration and at the same time manage effectively as agency administrators. It is essential that the Governor have a positive program. This, in essence, amounts to a list of three or four public policy achievements that the new Governor wishes to achieve before reelection time. By concentrating on this program, the Governor can
focus the energies of his or her appointees, thus achieving some measure of success.

That is not to say that management in and of itself is not critical to the new Governor and his or her impact on the state. It is simply saying that management alone is not enough. But with public policy goals and management skills, the new Governor can achieve success and at the same time make a difference for the betterment of the people.
The new Governor's program is critical. It is as important as selecting the right people for the cabinet and the staff. In fact, without a program of public policy initiatives, the new Governor will find it difficult if not impossible to influence the direction of state government.

The Governor's program appears more coherent and better defined when a few symbols can be found that get across the main ideas and draw them all together, or that emphasize attractive parts of the Governor's policies and personality. In 1956, Governor-elect Rosellini was concerned with institutions because they had deteriorated so badly. In 1964, Governor-elect Evans, an engineer by profession, campaigned on the platform of "A Blueprint For Progress." In 1972, Dixy Lee Ray focused on the problems of the Department of Social and Health Services created by the Legislature in 1970. In 1980, John Spellman produced a document entitled, "Washington State in the Eighties, A Management Plan." In 1984, Booth Gardner concentrated on economic development and the importance of effective management practices.
Symbols cannot by themselves produce substance, but there is no discounting their hypnotic effect.

In any event, a new Governor will need to think through the program and concentrate on getting it passed by the Legislature. This effort can be enhanced by having the newly appointed department heads adopt or internalize the Governor’s priorities and program. It is also important to have the bills drafted in time for the Legislature to consider them during their committee weekends in December prior to the convening of the legislative session in January.

This is difficult but it can be accomplished. It requires that the Governor-elect establish as a priority the drafting of bills which is the culmination of the executive branch’s efforts in terms of policy development. It does no good to have ideas for public policy just exist in the heads of the Governor-elect and the new team. They must be written down and transformed into proposed legislation (bills) which the Legislature can then consider during the session.

THE BUDGET

Any public policy initiatives must be worked out within the confines of the state’s budget. The budget is the primary instrument of a Governor for
policy and administrative decision-making as well as for program changes.

The biennial budget is, in sum and substance, state government and therefore the new Governor must seek to influence the outcome of the budget for the next biennium. The budget cycle in the State of Washington runs from July 1 to June 30, two years later. It begins and ends in odd years. The Governor is elected in an even year. Thus, when the Governor takes office in the odd year, there is only six months remaining of the biennium. The sitting Governor has already submitted the budget for the next two years.

The ultimate result is that the new Governor must submit his or her ideas on the previous Governor's budget or the new Governor will spend the first half of his or her term running the government on someone else's terms. From a political science perspective, this type of budgetary system is a ridiculous way to operate, chaining the new Governor as it does to the old Governor's budget. This issue will be discussed in the chapter entitled, "Ideal Transition." In any event, until a change in the budget process is made, the Governors elected in November are not able to change the system before
taking office and thus must live with the present schedule of events.

INAUGURATION

The inauguration, as a festive rite of passage, is a richly symbolic event in and of itself. It offers a unique opportunity for the Governor-elect to celebrate the victory of a long and difficult campaign. There is only one inauguration for a newly elected Governor. There may be others if the Governor is reelected, but it does not match the enthusiasm of the first event.

There are two major components of a Governor's inauguration: namely, the celebration, and the state of the state speech to a joint session of the Legislature. Traditionally, the celebration in the form of a ball has been handled by a private citizens' committee and has been held at the St. Martin's College gymnasium. The committee and Booth Gardner, to their credit, broke with tradition and held the ball in the Rotunda of the Legislative Building. It was unique and in this writer's opinion proved to be a very stirring event. The theme was simple but striking: the Governor returned to the point (the capitol) that symbolized the power of the people, not to retrace old steps, but to strike out
on a new path. The people were invited into the Governor’s office itself; the band was playing and people were dancing in the Rotunda. To say the least, it was a magnificent beginning, and all the more so because it had never been done during our study period.

STATE OF STATE SPEECH

All of the Governors during the last thirty years have given speeches that emphasize their hope for the future. This speech has offered each Governor an unparalleled opportunity to stress his or her goals and inspire the people to help achieve them. There is no speech, over the four-year term, that has the same potential to fire enthusiasm and create momentum for the new Governor’s program. The theme is simple but striking; inspirational rather than problematic; general and not detail. It emphasizes a new partnership between the people and the Governor.

The organization of the inaugural celebration involves an overwhelming workload and has been kept separate from transition planning. While the inaugural planning people from the Governor-elect’s staff have been housed in the transition offices, the
financial arrangements and secretarial personnel have remained with the private citizens' committee.

The inauguration has paid for itself with any leftover funds being used to help pay for the next inauguration celebration.

THE PRESS

Traditionally, the Governor-elect holds a news conference the day after the election. That first meeting with the press is an opening signal and conveys to the public the direction the new administration will take. The press obviously waits to follow up the election with firsthand stories from the Governor-elect, and television wants to have pictures of the new Governor for its viewers.

Every Governor during the last thirty years has had a formally designated press secretary. I suspect that every Governor throughout history has had such a person even though that person may have not been designated as such. In any event, the new press secretary will need to determine how certain support functions are handled (photography, who records and distributes the transcription of the Governor’s press conferences, and preparation and distribution of press releases).
In 1964, Governor Evans began transcribing press conferences and distributing the transcription. That practice has been continued by every Governor since 1964, including the present Governor, Booth Gardner. Governor Gardner has added a few additions that make the record of the press conference easier to follow. For instance, a topical index is included that relates any particular topic to a specific page number, and a list of members of the press and who they represent has also been added.

The press secretary has to have a close relationship with the Governor to be effective. As a result, the press secretaries have usually had direct access to the Governor. Most press secretaries are hired during the campaign and usually stay on to become a part of the Governor’s staff. The newspapers and the public relations profession have been the traditional recruiting grounds for press secretaries. Governors Evans and Spellman hired newspaper reporters as press secretaries, while Governor Gardner hired a public relations professional to be his press secretary. There is no doubt that good relations with the press are essential to convey the new Governor as a leader, manager and policy maker.
Press people serve as a point of contact for media personnel who wish to schedule an interview with the Governor. Every new Governor attempts to devise a press strategy that gives the media every opportunity to see the new Governor aggressively pursuing the active management of state government and dealing with the major public policy questions facing the new administration. The press secretary has a major role in the scheduling of the Governor by making sure that the media is given ample time to interview the Governor wherever they travel. Most press secretaries and their staffs also are responsible for arranging for a newspaper clipping service and have a large role in writing speeches for the Governor.

Increasingly, Governors are involving their press secretaries in policy development and legislative relations in an effort to create a comprehensive public affairs strategy. Governor Gardner is the only Governor in the State of Washington during the last thirty years to design and include strategic political communication options on an equal basis with their personnel, program and budget alternatives traditionally included in planning a public policy initiative.
THE PEOPLE

The people who vote, of course, are the individuals who elect the Governor. The citizens as a whole are the recipients of the public policies advocated by the Governors. Increasingly, Governors have recognized this fact and have taken steps to ensure that the people have direct access to the Governor. There are a number of steps that can be taken to ensure that the Governor does not become isolated from the people. Throughout the nation these steps have included the establishment of a state ombudsman; special toll free "hot line" in the Governor's office and constituent affairs staff people in the Governor's office; and finally, town hall meetings.

In this state, ombudsmen have not been utilized, while "hot lines," town hall meetings and constituent affairs personnel on the Governor's staff have been used. The reason for establishing these mechanisms to deal with the concerns of the people is that bureaucracies are inherently poor judges of their own actions and tend to loose all capability to respond to the genuine needs of citizens. Therefore, a new method of representing those needs has had to be established.
Governor Gardner is the first Governor in this state to include constituent affairs people on the Governor's staff. Generally, these people investigate complaints against any state agency.

The constituent affairs people have the power to request and receive any information from any state agency. They cannot enforce their solution, although they can work to bring their recommendations about through the agency itself or by bringing them to the attention of the Governor.

Governor Ray was the first Governor to utilize town hall meetings as a way of communicating directly with the people. The Governor and certain members of the cabinet would travel to various regions of the state for an "open house" question and answer forum with local residents. During her gubernatorial term, these events were scheduled every few months or so.

Very often a citizen doesn't have the slightest idea where to take his or her particular problem. The ideas identified above for assisting the citizen in finding a solution are a few of the methods tried over the years in this state.
IDEAL TRANSITION

PREPARATION

One of the first acts a candidate for Governor should accomplish after his or her announcement is to appoint a person to prepare a transition plan. The plan should start with the day after the general election and end with the inauguration. The person who prepares the plan should be someone who is not expecting to be part of the new administration so as to not cause hard feelings with the campaign staff. The plan should be available to the candidate the morning after the general election.

The other critical period is the first six months after inauguration, essentially coinciding with the legislative session. Therefore, it seems to me that a candidate should appoint another person, an outside advisor who would concentrate on that period of time. Again, it is probably better if this person has no ambition to be part of the Governor’s cabinet, but prepares a schedule of events that can be used by the Governor-elect’s appointees to implement the Governor-elect’s priorities. This plan should be available sometime before the Governor-elect is inaugurated but far enough along in the transition
period to take into account the lessons being learned by the transition team.

Admittedly, these are difficult actions to accomplish because they can be viewed by one's supporters as a waste of time and by one's opponents as presumptuous. Both Justice Dolliver and Governor Ray felt it would be a waste of time to spend any effort on transition before one is elected Governor. Nevertheless, this author feels it would be worthwhile to have someone planning the transition because transition is too important to ignore until after the election.

TRANSITION TEAM

Ideally, it would be preferable for the transition team to be selected from the campaign staff so as to enable the transition effort to begin immediately after the election. This rarely occurs because the skills required to elect a Governor are not necessarily the same skills needed to assist a Governor in governing a state. It did occur in two instances during the last thirty years in the State of Washington. In 1964, Jim Dolliver was the campaign manager for Dan Evans and became the Governor's chief of staff. In 1980, Governor-elect Spellman designated Steve Excel, a prime campaign
worker, in charge of transition and ultimately appointed him to be a principal advisor.

If it is not normally possible, in most instances, to utilize campaign people in major governmental roles, the question becomes: How does one find competent people to assume leadership roles on the staff of the Governor-elect and select them fast enough to get the transition period off to a good start? Part of the answer seems to be that a candidate for Governor must always be on the lookout for competent people to assume major roles on the staff and in the government, if the campaign is successful. The other part of the answer is to be very selective in appointing people to paid campaign posts and select people who are also capable of assuming major roles in the government or on the Governor’s staff. This strategy may be easier said than done but it is worth trying to accomplish so as to not have to go through the process of continually finding new people to meet the Governor-elect’s changing personnel requirements.

It is essential that the transition team be assembled as soon as possible after the campaign. This should be accomplished within the first week after the general election. The transition chief and the leaders of the team should have been designated
as the Governor-elect's staff for the transition period to be most effective. Thus, the transition time can become a shakedown cruise ironing out difficulties that develop and enable the different personalities to understand each other, as well as understand their relationship to each other and responsibilities expected by the new Governor.

GOVERNOR'S STAFF

The Governor's staff, to be most effective, should be a relatively small, close knit group that gets along well together; is totally loyal to the Governor; and finally, is competent to perform the functions necessary to assist the Governor in governing the state. That's not to say there should not be disagreement about major public policy questions among the staff. However, feuds or disloyalty cannot be tolerated once a decision has been made by the Governor.

Although the Governor-elect may be able to fill the Governor's staff with people known from previous work, it is not normally possible to fill a majority of the very top appointive positions of the executive branch in that manner.

This is because most candidates for Governor spend so much time getting to know people who can
help them get elected Governor that they don’t get to
know people who can help them govern after the
election.

THE CABINET

Selecting the right people for the cabinet of
the new administration is the most important function
a Governor-elect can accomplish next to selecting his
or her personal staff. There are a number of items
to keep in mind: conflict of interest; compatibility
with the Governor-elect’s program; effectiveness in
suggesting and implementing policy; Senate confirm-
tation; party affiliation and political clearance;
background check and reputation generally. The best
description of the type of people one looks for when
preparing to assume a major political position like
Governor or President is summed up in the following
quote:

"As Sorensen later explained, Kennedy
wanted men who could both think and act, an
outlook more practical than theoretical and
more logical than ideological; an ability
to be precise and concise, a willingness to
learn, to do, to dare, to change; and an
ability to work long and hard, creatively,
successfully. An important trait that
Kennedy’s recruiters looked for was
‘toughness’ by which they meant ‘having the
ability to withstand the pressures of one’s
staff and to pursue long range . . .
objectives in a practical way in face of
all the obstacles that are interposed by
the machinery of government.’ Time would
show that when Kennedy’s appointees demonstrated these particular qualities to a substantial degree, they acquired his confidence and became influential; when they lacked them to any substantial degree, they failed to win his confidence, lacked influence, and eventually found themselves in new jobs at a further remote location from him."17

The selection process has never been as systematic and thorough as the Governor-elect would like. It most likely never will be. It will always depend on the Governor-elect’s personal style and be fairly loose because the Governor-elect will be personally involved in selecting the cabinet as well as a certain number of exempt positions in each agency.

This process is complicated by cabinet members and other exempt personnel who serve at the pleasure of the Governor but who do not tender their resignations when the new Governor is inaugurated. This was a problem, as we have seen in 1977, when Governor-elect Ray was sworn in. It was not a problem for Governor-elect Spellman in 1981 because Governor Ray asked her appointees to submit their resignations on the day she left the governorship.

In 1984 it seemed to be understood by these appointees that they serve at the pleasure of the

Governor-elect Gardner interviewed Governor Spellman’s appointees and determined whether he wanted to keep them or not. However, this can lead to misunderstanding as well. For instance, in the case of the Lottery Director, the Governor-elect gave the impression that he would be staying. However, in between the interview and inauguration, my wife became the nominee of the Governor for Director of the State Lottery.

How this occurred is a mystery but I suspect that she had demonstrated such outstanding capabilities that the transition team thought she would be perfect for the job and so the decision was made. It just goes to show that events in the transition team itself can take precedence over initial meetings between the Governor-elect and directors of the former Governor.

In any event, the Governor-elect must make his or her choices for directors clear early enough during transition so that the new directors can take advantage of the knowledge of the former directors.

Finally, the public employees must be persuaded to support the Governor-elect’s public policies concerning the direction of the government, if it is to be achieved. In order to accomplish that end, it is important to have people at the higher echelons of
government who are experienced in government as opposed to business because it is they who know how to move the government in the direction the Governor-elect wants to take it, and just as importantly, they know how to delay and postpone implementation of the Governor's program.

**THE LEGISLATURE**

The first legislative session is a test of the thoroughness of the Governor-elect's preparation. There will normally be at least one and possibly two committee weekends after the election and before the inauguration. The new Governor's proposed legislation should be drafted and available for the members to consider at these committee weekends.

If the Governor-elect has a majority in the House of Representatives and the Senate, then a meeting should be convened between the leadership of the two houses and the Governor-elect to determine the agenda for the upcoming session. These two steps could go a long way in helping the Legislature approve the Governor-elect's program. It might be possible to pass the Governor-elect's program in a timely fashion and adjourn the Legislature within the constitutional limit instead of not passing the
Governor-elect’s program and extending the legislative session into a special session.

THE BUDGET

On or before December 15 of each even-numbered year, the biennial budget is released by the Office of Financial Management (OFM). Obviously, the Governor-elect’s director of OFM should be appointed by December 15 so that the new director can analyze and suggest the necessary changes to the biennial budget being proposed by the outgoing Governor. If this is not accomplished by that time or preferably before that date, then the Governor-elect is limiting his or her ability to influence the budget during the first two years of their administration.

The problem could be eliminated by enabling the newly elected Governor to submit his or her budget to the Legislature as opposed to having the outgoing Governor’s budget, in essence, be the plan of expenditures for the first two years of the new administration. Another way of solving the problem would be to have the Governor-elect sworn into office a short time after the election is certified. This was suggested by Governor Ray and this author thinks it makes sense. If the Governor-elect were sworn in earlier and the Legislature met later, then the
entire budget process could be changed to allow the incoming Governor to submit the budget instead of the outgoing Governor.

THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of the State of Washington calls for the Legislature to meet early in January of each odd-numbered year. It has been amended to allow the Legislature to meet in January of each even-numbered year as well.

It seems to me that January is too early for the Legislature to meet in this day and age. The economic forecasts are not available until about the middle of March. Thus, the Legislature is required to spend essentially two months making decisions on other issues that are not as essential as the budget and necessary taxes to support the adopted budget. If there were a constitutional convention, then the idea of allowing the incoming Governor to submit his or her budget to the Legislature could be incorporated into the Constitution.

A constitutional convention could examine other public policy questions that need to be answered in the 1990s and beyond. Although these questions do not involve transition directly, they do involve the Governor’s ability to govern, which is an underlying
principle of transition. The constitutional framework is the backdrop which frames the decisions the Governor-elect is allowed to make. Governor Ray indicated that the executive branch of Washington State government is fragmented. There are too many statewide elected officials that have responsibilities that should be the responsibility of the Governor. There are too many boards and commissions that impede the ability of the Governor to govern. The Personnel Board is responsible for a personnel system that is not responsive to the Governor.

The Transportation Commission is responsible for a department that is independent of the Governor. These are merely two examples of the situation as Governor Ray found it in 1977. It is essentially the same today, and in fact, may have gotten somewhat worse with the establishment of additional boards and commissions not responsible to the Governor.

As the transportation problem in the Puget Sound region becomes worse in the 1990s, if a candidate for Governor proposes to solve that problem by a constitutional convention which would make the department responsible to the Governor, then it has a chance of being approved by the Legislature and the people. Without this kind of leadership on the part of the Governor and a dramatic problem perceived by
the people, a constitutional convention will not be convened. In 1967 and 1969, Governor Evans proposed a constitutional convention and this author was one of the sponsors of that legislation. There was not enough support for that legislation to even get out of the Senate Constitutions and Elections Committee.

This author is of the firm belief that a constitutional convention should be convened in order to make the executive branch of state government responsive to the Governor, thus enabling the Governor to solve the problems of society at large.

TRANSITION SCHEDULE

The following ideal schedule of events is divided into essentially three phases: early, middle, and late in the period between the general election and inauguration. It is offered merely as a guide to a new Governor who may not be familiar with state government.

EARLY IN TRANSITION PERIOD

- Appoint transition staff on the model of future Governor’s office
- Supervise campaign, wind-down activities
- Discuss with members of campaign staff their futures
• Establish priorities, time tables and methods for fulfilling campaign pledges
• Appoint co-chairpersons for the inauguration
• Write first draft of state of state address
• Move into transition office in Olympia
• Decide on priorities of personal schedule during transition
• Contact outgoing Governor to request:
  (1) Appointment of transition coordinator;
  (2) Directive to incumbent’s staff on transition cooperation;
  (3) Agreement on date for moving into Governor’s mansion;
  (4) Agreement on records retention;
  (5) Agreement on staff support level for outgoing Governor;
  (6) Agreement on the cabinet nominees meeting with outgoing Governor’s cabinet counterparts;
  (7) Resignations of directors and deputy directors of state agencies.
• Take a vacation

MIDWAY IN TRANSITION PERIOD
• Announce selection of Governor’s staff
Interview cabinet nominees as they become available
Announce cabinet appointees as the selections are made
Complete preliminary outline of the legislative program and meet with legislative leaders on it
Convert legislative proposals into bills
Assess information gathered on the biennial budget and outline tentative budget strategy
Meet with cabinet nominees and explain expectations
Launch search program for boards and commission appointments
Approve final inaugural plans
Complete second draft of state of state address

LATE IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD
Finalize biennial budget strategy and draft recommendations
Finalize state of state address
Close transition offices
Move into Governor's office and mansion
The first step that should be taken by an outgoing Governor is to prepare the Governor’s records for archiving. The records of the Governors are maintained by the Office of State Archives under the direction of the State Archivist, Sidney F. McAlpin, and the Chief of Archival Services, David W. Hastings. In January 1984, the Washington State Archives published Volume IV entitled, "Guide to the Papers of the Governor of Washington Albert D. Rosellini -- 1957-1964." This was the first volume published for a Governor during our study period. Volume V, which will cover the twelve years of Governor Evans’ administration, is in work.

The person assigned the task of preparing the Governor’s archives should be a trained librarian. The process of sorting and labeling is a voluminous process that requires a great deal of time and thus should be started as soon as possible. In fact, ideally, soon after taking office a Governor should work with the State Archivist in establishing filing systems and procedures for eventual disposition of the papers.
Preparation for a Governor's departure is difficult because of a lack of resources to use for this purpose. It is more difficult if it is not voluntary. The state tends to have considerable interest in the new Governor, staff and administration and basically overlooks what happens to the outgoing Governor, or how he or she should prepare to leave office.

There are a number of reasons why this occurs. First, the outgoing Governor is history and the Governor-elect is the future. Therefore, little attention is paid to the outgoing Governor. A second reason is that the best time to propose and have legislation passed on gubernatorial transition is at the beginning of the new administration when the problems of transition are most clearly in view. Yet, the next transition is a distant event and the immediate problems of the new administration are uppermost. Therefore, a new Governor does not place a high priority on an event that will take place four years in the future. A third reason is that the outgoing Governor has little clout to force consideration of the problems they are experiencing and how they might be addressed in future transitions.

In any event, the former Governor has served the state as the chief executive officer for at least
four years. Therefore, it seems reasonable that the state should provide some resources to handle the carry-over responsibilities of the outgoing Governor.

The carry-over correspondence is the main item of business. The most practical way to handle this burden is to provide a budget for secretarial service, telephones and office space. During our study period and, I am sure throughout the history of our state, that has never occurred. Outgoing Governors have had to fend for themselves and seek outside help and financial assistance as they transit out of office and wind down the details and loose ends of their administration.

There is little that can be done by others to help an outgoing Governor prepare for a new life. But that life will be much easier if there is proper planning and assistance for the winding down process.

It seems to this author that adequate resources should be made available to the outgoing Governor to wrap up his or her official business. This would help the outgoing Governor to leave office in an orderly and systematic way. An appropriation should be included in the budget to assist the transition of the Governor out of office just as there is for the transition of the Governor-elect into office.
The National Governors Conference seems to recognize this need because that organization is planning to publish a transitioning out guideline to assist outgoing Governors. Perhaps this state will, in the future, include an appropriation for this purpose. I hope so.
EPILOGUE

The time between the general election and the inauguration of a newly elected Governor is short. In less than three months, newly elected Governors prepare to assume the reins of government. It is a brief and unique time in which to consider in more concrete and specific terms than is possible in a campaign what they want to accomplish and how and what and with whom they hope to accomplish it. Transition is not a time of reflection, however. Critical decisions need to be made at a fast pace and these decisions affect the new administration for some time.

The most crucial decisions made during transition are the selection of the cabinet and the Governor’s personal staff. Cabinet members make recommendations but only the Governor can decide. A further complication is that any chief executive in the public sector finds it difficult, if not impossible, to accept without seeking an independent judgment, the products and proposals of agency directors whose responsibilities for the most part do not require them to look at the Governor’s administration and his or her problems as a whole. Thus, the need for a personal staff exists.
The personal staff of the Governor has grown during the last thirty years and has always represented the personal needs of the Governor. Their purpose has been and is to summarize and analyze those products and proposals for the Governor; to resolve the conflicting views of the various state agencies; and to define the issues that have to be decided. This is accomplished by placing the Governor’s personal imprint on those decision options and to make certain that practical political facts are never overlooked and to enable the Governor to make these decisions utilizing the full range of the Governor’s considerations and constituencies, which few, if any, cabinet members share.

The Governor’s staff are the eyes and ears of the Governor. They perform any number of functions on the Governor’s behalf. These functions range from talking with legislators, state employees, news people, experts, lobbyists and agency directors to serving on interagency task forces and chairing legislative strategy sessions of agency personnel during the legislative sessions. They review proposals and draft language for speeches; attempt to spot problems before they become crises and screen suggestions for executive request legislation. They draft executive orders; interview people being
considered for appointment by the Governor; bear the Governor’s messages; look out for his or her interests; carry out his or her orders; and make sure the Governor’s decisions are carried out.

The essence of being Governor is making decisions. During the transition period, Governors need to determine their priorities; how they prefer to make decisions; and determine ways and means of building on their strengths and compensating for their weaknesses so as to preserve their power to implement their decisions. Transitions are a time of extreme optimism in the Governor-elect’s organization. After all, they have just won the highest political prize in the state and it is difficult for them to foresee any problems that they can’t solve. It is precisely this over-optimism that the Governor-elect must guard against.

There are a number of ways of guarding against this over-optimism. One of these methods would be to have a candid discussion with their predecessors about lessons they learned during their term of office. Admittedly, this is difficult if the Governor and Governor-elect opposed each other in the campaign. But it is worth the effort on the part of the Governor-elect to initiate this kind of discussion if at all possible.
Governors-elect need to be honest with prospective agency directors about their expectations. If they intend to reemphasize a particular agency, then they need to be straightforward with the prospective agency director. On the other hand, if they intend to be their own economic development chief, it would be prudent for the Governor-elect to inform prospective appointees of their intentions and to have careful discussions about precisely what that means, in terms of the prospective appointee’s expectations.

Transition planning has become more elaborate in the State of Washington, thanks in part to the funding and resources provided to the Governor-elect by the state Legislature. Rosellini and Evans ran lean operations compared with those of Spellman and Gardner. It is also clear that the most effective transitions have had clear lines of authority emanating from the future Governor’s transition chief who became the Governor’s chief of staff. It might be useful to convene a conference of former Governors to determine what additional institutional, financial and informational resources they could have used to improve their own transitions.

Most of the five Governors and their top aides during the last thirty years would most likely agree that finding the right people and matching those
people to the right job is the most difficult task during transitions. All exempt positions theoretically must be approved by the Governor's office. However, in practice, this system has seldom been implemented to the fullest extent possible. That is to say that the Governor's office has not dominated the selection process for sub-cabinet positions. The best possible result is to find the most qualified and competent people who are truly dedicated to public service. This is indeed difficult, but essential if the administration is going to be successful.

Career public employees should not be overlooked in the personnel selection process. Career employees want to participate in the excitement of a new administration. It is these people that will ultimately have to implement the administration's public policy initiatives. Therefore, it is a good idea to establish effective working relationships with career civil servants. There is no better way of including them in the transition by considering them for the top exempt positions in each agency and soliciting their ideas on how to best implement the Governor-elect's ideas.

Although all newly elected Governors come to office with new ideas for changing public policy,
these ideas are not always adopted. There are a number of constraints to actual shifts in public policy, the principal ones being the Legislature and public opinion. In order to change existing structures or create new programs, Governors must persuade the citizens and lead the Legislature. Thus, as numerous writers have discussed over the years and as our five Governors have no doubt determined, gubernatorial power is mostly an opportunity to persuade.

The initial months as Governor are a rich opportunity to exercise that power. If it is not nurtured and exercised with great skill, the opportunity will be missed and some future Governor will seize the challenge. Finally, we need to remember that all Governors, because they are people and thus fallible, make mistakes. The question is does the Governor learn from these mistakes? If Governors have the capacity to learn from their mistakes, then he or she can still have a successful term of office.
Gubernatorial Transition
State of Washington
1956 - 1986

by
Lawrence J. Faulk

Questionnaire Utilized In
An Applications Project submitted to the Faculty of
The Evergreen State College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Public Administration
May, 1987

APPENDIX I
The purpose of this questionnaire is to determine if these actions happened during your involvement in Gubernatorial Transitions. If so, is the indicated time frame correct? The answers will help me in analyzing Gubernatorial Transitions in the State of Washington from 1956 - 1988.

Day 1 (the day after election)

- Accepted call from outgoing governor; asked for cooperation and name of incumbent's transition coordinator and planned meeting with governor after vacation.

- Designated inaugural coordinator and gave broad guidelines regarding desired tone of inaugural.

- Met with campaign manager and discussed campaign wind down, financial reporting procedures, office closing, et cetera.

- Appointed transition coordinator and met with him to review transition checklist:
  - Established overall ground rules for use of governor-elect's time.
  - Made final plans for meeting with outgoing governor and advance meeting between incumbent and new governor's transition coordinators.
  - Reviewed generally transition office activities.
  - Established ground rules for personnel screening.
  - Discussed initial press announcement and designation of media contact.

- Wrote letters of congratulations/condolences to other statewide candidates on governor's ticket and to legislative candidates.

- Made final vacation plans.

- Confirmed attendance at Seminar for New Governors.
WEEK 1:

- Took a family vacation.
- Discussed family arrangements.
- Had family review "Transition and the New Governor and Governing the American States",

- Began to focus on key goals of the new administration.
- Began consideration of the style and tone of the inaugural address.
- In new governor's absence, the transition coordinator:
  - Established transition office internal procedures to deal with correspondence, telephone calls, and constituent requests.
  - Developed ties with outgoing governor's office.
  - Established procedures for executive branch recruitment and screening.
  - Designated clerical staff positions in the new governor's office.
  - Arranged necessary meetings for governor-elect.
  - Established relations with state patrol for new governor's security provisions and the state emergency management/disaster services agency relative to the governor's emergency management role.
WEEK 2:

- Attended Seminar for New Governors.
- Upon return to state met with:
  - Outside advisers.
  - Key legislators who supported new governor's candidacy.
- Discussed and decided on organization of governor's office.
  - Selected and designated chief of staff/executive assistant.
  - Appointed and announced press secretary.
  - Directed office procedures manual to be written.
- Met with incumbent governor and spouse to discuss:
  - Family arrangements.
  - Ground rules for new governor's involvement in incumbent governor's budget process.
  - Outgoing governor's cooperation in arranging briefings on potential crises or emergencies.
  - Outgoing governor's transition activities.
- With the assistance of the chief of staff/executive assistant, considered prime candidates for the major departments:
  - Office of Financial Management (OFM)
  - Ecology
  - Social and Health Services
  - Trade and Economic Development
- Discussed with executive assistant the process for department head appointments, including:
  - Developing profiles of desirable qualities for each major department director.
  - Developing recruitment strategy.
- Governor and transition coordinator met with high-level party officials to determine ground rules for solicitation of candidates through the party structure for appointments.
WEEK 3:

Approved or disapproved recommendations by chief of staff for appointment of remaining governor's office staff, including:

- Legal counsel.
- Legislative liaison.
- Scheduling assistant.
- Assistant for boards and commissions.
- Intergovernmental relations coordinator.
- Constituent services assistant.
- Chief of Policy

Interviewed candidates; selected and announced the appointment of major department directors.

Instructed chief of policy to develop a list of campaign promises and overview of critical issues.

Began budget process by receiving fiscal overview briefing, including:

- Revenue estimates.
- Expenditure projections.
- Potential balances or deficits.
- Other budget problems.
- Status of state bonded indebtedness.

Made decisions on budget ground rules, including level of governor's involvement in:

- Revenue estimations.
- Review of "big ticket" items.
- Agency budget reviews.
- Procedures for agency appeals.
- Capital expenditures.

Developed legislative review guidelines.

Met with legislative liaison to discuss schedule for meeting with legislative leaders and other potential legislative allies.

Obtained complete list of all board and commission appointments and developed process for screening candidates.
WEEK 4:

- Discussed and decided on organization of cabinet:
  - Reviewed appointments to be made and identified candidates for priority appointments.
  - Scheduled interviews with potential cabinet officers and discussed governor's office and cabinet relations.

- Reviewed list of campaign promises and critical issues identified by chief of policy.

- Issued new administration's budget guidelines or preferences.

- Directed scheduling assistant to develop a six-month strategic schedule based on new governor's priorities.

- Made initial decisions on areas of reallocations in the budget to reflect campaign priorities and administration goals.
WEEK 5:

- Met with legislative leaders to discuss:
  - Legislative organization.
  - Fiscal outlook.
  - Ideas for legislative program.

- Communicated top three to five priorities to chief of staff, director of OFM and chief of policy.

- Met with the press and informally discussed assessment (or reassessment) of the fiscal condition of the state.

- Commissioned the first draft of the inaugural address.

- Began appointing and announcing other cabinet posts to reflect priorities.

- As a courtesy, telephoned current governor to discuss status of his transition activities and offer assistance.

- Reviewed, signed and submitted to the public disclosure commission the final campaign expenditure/income report.
WEEK 6-8 (concluding with the week of the New Year):

- Convened budget briefing sessions with agencies concerned with major priority issues.
- Completed preliminary budget decisions for all agencies.
- Commissioned the first draft of the budget message and "budget in brief" document.
- Designated agency liaisons.
- Instructed legal counsel to review and report on standing executive orders.
- Established procedures and, where necessary, appointed interim/acting agency heads.
- Completed legislative package.
- Completed budget preparation.
- Completed final touches on inaugural address.
- Received briefing on overall inaugural activities.
- Completed legislative proposal tracking and review process and discussed veto guidelines.
- Commissioned the first draft of the state of the state message.
WEEKS 9-16 (the legislative session):

- Received oath of office and gave inaugural address.
- Gave state of the state message and budget message.
- Submitted budget and legislative package to the legislature.
- Managed the legislative program, including:
  - Continuing to build relationships with legislators and interest groups.
  - Monitoring agency legislation.
  - Implementing strategies for agency and interest group lobbying.
- Scheduled public appearances to promote legislative program.
WEEK 16 and Beyond:

- Examined status of ongoing programs, especially in priority areas.
  - *Evaluated priority program status.
- Established program priorities for executive branch agencies and developed management guidelines, for example;
  - Reward innovative management practices.
- Evaluated executive branch organization/reorganization.
- Directed trend/issue analysis.
- Reviewed legislative actions and sign/veto procedures:
  - Made public announcements explaining vetoes.
- Reviewed effectiveness of the operation of policy development and budget process.
- Revised and refined the budget and policy process and structure.
- Initiated development of plans for the coming year's legislative program. (Even year session)

*After the close of the legislative session.*
CHECKLIST OF ITEMS TO BE DISCUSSED AT GOVERNOR-ELECT'S FIRST MEETING WITH TRANSITION COORDINATOR
(the day after the election and prior to any vacation or attendance at the Seminar for New Governors)

Winding Down the Campaign
—Delegation of responsibilities for closing down activities
—Brief overview of financial reporting requirements and final reporting dates
—Initial discussion of the role of former campaign staffers in both transition efforts and upcoming administration
Note: Campaign manager should attend this part of the meeting.

Planning for the Inaugural
—Appointment of inaugural coordinator
—Initial discussion of style of operation (committees/individuals, finances, activities, political party/campaign committee involvement)
—Discussion of preferences of governor-elect and spouse

Use of Governor-elect's Personal Time
—Discussion of major activities to involve governor-elect following vacation and attendance at the Seminar for New Governors
—Establishment of ground rules relative to meetings involving and not involving governor-elect

Plans for Meeting with Outgoing Governor
—Discussion of details so meeting can be cordial and meaningful

Transition Office Activities
—Overview of transition office budget
—Overview of transition office activities
—Discussion of campaign workers who will work in transition
—Initial discussions on procedures for budget and legislative package development and cabinet recruitment
—Establishment of procedures for governor's office recruitment

Initial Press Announcement
—Discussion of contents of first post-election press announcement, and way it will be released

Final Discussion Items
—Completion of vacation plans
—Confirmation of attendance at National Governors' Association Seminar for New Governors
### Washington State Governor's Transition Plan

#### I. Assemble Transition Team
- Identify Chief Staff Personnel
  - JDS
- Arrange Space and Organize
  - JLM/SE
- Identify Support Personnel
  - SE
- Establish Correspondence Control
  - SE/CS

#### II. Establish Liaison w/Governor Ray's Office and Identify
- Office Layout
  - JLM
- Staffing and Salaries
  - JLM
- Transition Budget
  - JLM
- Boards and Commissions
  - Basis in Law
    - CS/RR
  - Appointing Authority
    - CS/RR
  - Vacancies
    - CS/RR
  - Pending Confirmations
    - JLM

#### III. Identify Critical Issues
- Revenue/Expenditures
  - WH
- Cowlitz River Basin Flooding
  - JLM
- Recruitment of Department Heads (DSHS; L&I; ES; DOE; Personnel Board; National Guard)
  - JDS/JLM/JW
- Pending Appointment to Utility & Trans. Commission Board
  - JDS/JLM/JW

#### IV. Implement Issue Task Forces
- Budget
  - WH
- Personnel
  - JW/RR/CS
- Affirmative Action
  - JW
- Energy
  - AT
- DSHS*
  - CM
- ES (CETA)*
  - JLM
- Higher Education
  - JLM
- Community Colleges
  - JLM
- Primary-Secondary Education (SPI)
  - JLM
- Prisons (McNeil Island)
  - JLM(Robinson)
- Ecology (Planning)
  - JLM(Rahm)

#### B. Prepare John D. Spellman Briefing
  - JLM

#### C. Prepare Governor's Office Background Book
  - JLM

### APPENDIX III
V. Arrange Priority Appointments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responsibility</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Governor Ray</td>
<td>JDS/JLM/BS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican Elected Officials</td>
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<td>Democratic Elected Officials</td>
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<td>Department Heads</td>
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<tr>
<td>Others</td>
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VI. Assess Fiscal Situation

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Due Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meet with John D. Spellman for direction</td>
<td>WH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review Revenue Projections</td>
<td>WH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review FY '81-'83 Prelim. Appro. Requests</td>
<td>WH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meet w/Council of Economic Advisors</td>
<td>JDS/WH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meet w/State Economic Task Forces</td>
<td>WH</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prepare Preliminary Recommendations</td>
<td>JDS/WH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meet w/John D. Spellman</td>
<td>JLM/WH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare Draft Budget Actions &amp; Message</td>
<td>JLM</td>
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I. Organize New Governor's Office

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responsibility</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identify Principal Management Issues</td>
<td>JDS/JLM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify Key Positions</td>
<td>JLM/SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify Potential Appointees</td>
<td>JDS/JLM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify Potential Holdover</td>
<td>JDS/JLM/SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review Office Space</td>
<td>JLM/SE/BS</td>
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<td>Review Office Functions</td>
<td>SE/BS</td>
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II. Organize State Government

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responsibility</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identify All Exempt Positions</td>
<td>JW/RR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify &amp; Evaluate Current Appointees</td>
<td>JLM/SE/JW/RR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify Potential Positions for Replacement</td>
<td>JDS/JLM/JW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruit Candidates and Appoint</td>
<td>JW/RR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notify Current Office Holders</td>
<td>JDS/JW</td>
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<tr>
<td>Review Pending Appointees &amp; Vacancies on Boards &amp; Commissions</td>
<td>JDS/JLM/JW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify those to be Withdrawn</td>
<td>JDS/JLM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify Replacements</td>
<td>JDS/JLM/JW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepare Letters to the Senate</td>
<td>JDS/JW</td>
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IV. Prepare Messages to the Legislature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responsibility</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inaugural Address</td>
<td>JDS/JLM/VH</td>
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<tr>
<td>Budget Message</td>
<td>JDS/WH</td>
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<td>State-of-the-State</td>
<td>JDS/JLM</td>
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<td>Appointment Messages</td>
<td>JDS/JW</td>
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<td>Others</td>
<td>JDS/JW</td>
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X. Prepare Inauguration Plan

<table>
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<tr>
<td>JDS/SE</td>
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<td>Bill Jacobs</td>
<td>11/28/80</td>
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<td>Bill Jacobs</td>
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<td>BJ/JLM/SE</td>
<td>12/05/80</td>
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<tr>
<td>BJ/SE</td>
<td>12/07/80</td>
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- Identify Liaison to City of Olympia
- Respond to Offers of Support
- Identify Inaugural Issues
- Prepare Inaugural Plan
### Task/Activity Description

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Task No</th>
<th>Task/Activity Description</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Establish Transition Team</td>
<td>* * x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Establish Liaison/Gen Opp</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Identify Critical Issues</td>
<td>x x x x x x x x</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Identify &amp; Specify Issues</td>
<td>x x x x x x x</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Arrange Holiday Environments</td>
<td>x x x x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Assess Fiscal Situation</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Organize Government Effort</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Organize State Government</td>
<td>x x x x x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Provide Municipal Assistance</td>
<td>x x x x</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Prepare Work Plan</td>
<td>x x x x</td>
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**Note:**
- *Primary* indicates primary responsibility.
- *Support* indicates support responsibility.

**Legend:**
- **Schedule**
- **Actual**
- **Start**
- **Finish**
- **Revised Schedule**
- **Schedule Modified**
- **Prepared by**
WHEREAS, It is the explicit intention of the Legislature, as expressed in Section 194 of Chapter 269, Washington Laws, 1975, First Extraordinary Session, to limit fluctuations in biennial spending patterns which tend to inflate the final current level base and,

WHEREAS, I am currently reviewing agency budget requests in relation to the current level base expenditures, for purposes of presenting a comprehensive budget proposal for the 1977-1979 Biennium to the current session of the Legislature;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Dixy Lee Ray, Governor of the State of Washington, by virtue of the power vested in me by RCW 43.88 do establish an expenditure control program. This program applies to all executive branch agencies, and is designed to preclude instances of abnormal expenditure patterns occurring near the close of the current biennium. This program will take effect immediately this 27th day of January 1977 and extend through the period ending June 30, 1977. The following administrative measures are hereby established to effect this expenditure control program:

1. **Lapsing of Unexpended Balances** -- The Budget Director shall lapse to reserve any unexpended or unobligated balance existing on December 31, 1976 in each appropriation made for operations for the current biennium. He shall effect similar lapsing to reserve of unexpended balances at the close of each remaining month of the biennium.

2. **Staffing** -- Agency directors are instructed to fill no new positions, or positions vacated during the period of effectivity of this Order. Exceptions to this directive will be granted only for critical or emergent situations for which there is clear evidence that compliance with this directive could be detrimental to the public being served or the best interest of the state. Directors, or their designees, from the following agencies, representing their respective personnel jurisdictions shall compose a committee to be chaired by the Budget Director to establish criteria and propose procedures for the granting of
exceptions to this directive: the Department of Personnel, the Higher Education Personnel Board, the Washington State Patrol, and the Council for Postsecondary Education. Criteria and procedures developed by this committee shall be approved by the Governor prior to implementation.

3. Consulting Services -- No further personal service contracts subject to the filing requirements of RCW 39.29.010, shall be obligated without the explicit, prior review and approval of the Budget Director. Such review and approval shall place primary emphasis on assuring that such personal services are consistent with needs of the benefiting program and with legislative intent. It shall further assure that the specific personal services are not being sought as a means of circumventing the staffing directive of this Order.

4. Overtime -- Agency directors are instructed to reduce wherever possible the use of overtime and other premium pay and to avoid the use of these compensations as a means of circumventing the staffing directive of this Order.

5. Procurement of Equipment, Supplies, and Materials — The Purchasing Division of the Department of General Administration and the procurement agencies of the higher education institutions are directed to monitor all purchasing actions for the remainder of the biennium. No stockpiling of materials or supplies above normal levels or abnormal increases in equipment purchases beyond what is essential for normal operations is to be approved.

6. Travel -- All travel by state employees is hereby limited to that which is critically necessary to carry out state programs. No trips are to be taken for the purpose of attending conferences, conventions, or training programs unless the attendee is a formal part of the program delivering an address or is a convention official whose attendance is mandatory. Emphasis on travel reduction will be placed on both in and out-of-state travel.

7. Applicability -- The directives of this Order are equally applicable to all executive branch agencies, except those headed by elected officials, inasmuch as such exception to the allotment and reserve procedure is established by RCW 43.88.110. They also apply to all funding sources subject to allotment procedures.
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the State of Washington to be affixed at Olympia this 27th day of January A.D., nineteen hundred and seventy-seven.

[Signature]
Governor of Washington

BY THE GOVERNOR:

[Signature]
Secretary of State
MEMORANDUM

DATE: November 13, 1980
TO: Paul Bender
FROM: J. L. McGavick
RE: Transition Budget

We believe a transition budget of $84,163.40 is required to effectively implement the new Governor’s budget; including $10,000 to fund a necessary analysis of the Cowlitz River Basin Emergency. The balance will be used to finance staff support to ensure effective takeover of the government January 14, 1981.

The transition costs breakdown as follows:

Staff salaries, including benefits $54,161.00
Travel 8,002.40
Consultants 12,000.00
Office overhead 10,000.00
TOTAL $84,163.40

The attached detail contracts set forth the scope of work to be undertaken by the Transition Staff plus two consultants retained to support special purpose analyses.

We appreciate your support of our efforts to make an effective transition of governments.

J. L. McGavick

Steve Excell

APPENDIX V

JLM:b
Attachments
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITION</th>
<th>SALARY (Per Month)</th>
<th>DURATION (Months)</th>
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<td>2.1</td>
<td>6,300</td>
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**TRAVEL EXPENSE:**

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<tr>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Spellman fare - Gov's. Conf. New Gov. Briefing</td>
<td>$328.70</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Excell fare -</td>
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<tr>
<td>Registration fee - Mr. Excell</td>
<td>100.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transfer cost &amp; baggage handling</td>
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<td>Transition Team Auto Expense:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Olympia @ 140 mi. @ 18.5¢=$25.90/trip x 250 trips</td>
<td>6,475.00</td>
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<td>Overnight expense - Olympia - 10 days @ $35/room</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 days @ $35/diem</td>
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<tr>
<td>Consultant - Cowlitz Co. Disaster @ $30/hour</td>
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<td>Space, Utilities, Facilities</td>
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<td>Consultant - Energy Policy</td>
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<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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PRESENTATION TO READING COMMITTEE

June 4, 1987

By

Lawrence J. Faulk

INTRODUCTION

This project is entitled "Gubernatorial Transition in the State of Washington from 1956-1986." "Transition," for terms of this thesis, means the time between election and inauguration. The reason this project was selected was to determine if transition of future Governors could be carried out more effectively. It is such an important period of time for the Governor-elect and his or her staff because the decisions made during this period impact the incoming administration for some time.

BACKGROUND

There were eight transitions from 1956-1986 and five Governors. Five of the eight transitions were studied, because these five (1956, 1964, 1976, 1980 and 1984) involved non-incumbent Governors. Therefore, they were the transitions where start-up problems would be experienced. The five Governors were Rosellini, Evans, Ray, Spellman and Gardner. Governor Ray and Chiefs of Staff Warren Bishop and

APPENDIX VI
Jim Dolliver were interviewed and a questionnaire was completed by staff members associated with the transitions of Governors Rosellini, Evans, Spellman and Gardner. What follows is a summary of the major lessons learned during this project.

DECISION-MAKING STYLE

The most successful of these five transitions were 1956 (Rosellini) and 1964 (Evans). They were successful because (1) these Governors-elect understood politics, the Legislature and state government; (2) they both picked transition directors who could speak for the Governor-elect and who became their chiefs of staff; and (3) this decision was made known during the transition period. Finally, these transitions had relatively few people involved in the decision-making processes.

These two Governors were effective because they determined public policy and handled legislative liaison themselves rather than delegating that responsibility to staff people. Finally, these two Governors had served in the Legislature for extended periods of time and thus had a personal relationship with legislators which made it easier for them to personally persuade legislators to support their programs. This personal relationship is a key
ingredient in enabling a Governor to have his or her programs passed by the Legislature.

TRANSITION FUNDING

The appropriation by the Legislature to fund transition efforts by incoming Governors has risen from zero in 1956 to $100,000 in 1988. Thus, there is now no shortage of funds for the incoming Governor. In fact, I am not sure there’s not too much money available because it leads to a larger number of people being involved in transition which, I believe, makes transitions and ultimately the Governor’s office less effective. However, there are no funds appropriated for the outgoing Governor, and I think this should be accomplished.

CABINET APPOINTMENTS

These appointments need to be handled properly if the new Governor is to have a successful start-up during transition. The Governor-elect must determine who will stay and who will go from the old administration, as well as who will replace the departing people. These decisions must be made early enough in the transition for the Governor-elect’s appointees to get a handle on their responsibilities so they are
prepared to implement the Governor’s policies on inauguration day.

Problems created by choices made during transition and left unresolved cause problems for new administrations. If these unresolved problems become too severe, they can cause the incumbent to lose the reelection campaign.

SCHEDULE

The Governor’s calendar should be kept relatively free to: (1) concentrate on selecting the major appointees; (2) develop the Governor-elect’s program; (3) prepare his or her version of the budget; and (4) turn those decisions into bills for the Legislature to consider.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

It is clear that our State Constitution should be revised through the calling of a constitutional convention. The convention could change the time when the Legislature meets, thus changing the budget cycle and allowing the Governor-elect to submit his or her budget to the Legislature rather than the outgoing Governor. The same result could be achieved by having the Governor-elect sworn in as soon as the election is certified, as Governor Ray suggested.
The convention could also eliminate many of the elected officials in the executive branch of the government, resulting in the Governor-elect being responsible for the executive branch of government, in fact as well as name.

CRITIQUE

If one were to redo this project, the word "transition" could be enlarged to include the first six months of the Governor-elect's term. A chapter on the subject of "power" could also be included because the use of power by the Governor is a key ingredient to being an effective Governor. Richard Neustadt in his book entitled, Presidential Power, wrote: "The search for personal influence is at the center of the job of president."

Another chapter on "leadership" could be added. James MacGregor Burns in his book entitled, Leadership, quoted Franklin D. Roosevelt, who said:

"The presidency is . . . preeminently a place of moral leadership. All our great presidents were leaders of thought at times when certain historic ideas in the life of the nation had to be clarified. . . . That is what the office is -- a superb opportunity for reapplying, applying in new conditions, the simple rules of human conduct to which we always go back. Without leadership alert and sensitive to change, we are bogged up or lose our way."
So it is with the Governor. Those Governors that understand these principles will be successful. Those that do not grasp them will have a difficult time making a difference.

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