




**DEMOCRACY UNREALIZED:**  
*The Underrepresentation of People of Color  
as Appointed Policy Leaders in  
State Governments*

---

A Report of the  Center for Women in Government & Civil Society  
University at Albany, State University of New York  
February 2005



## Highlights

- Even as the 2000 Census recorded substantial changes in the racial and ethnic composition of the U.S. population, the demographics of executive branch leaders changed very little between 1998 and 2004.
- People of color are significantly underrepresented in influential policy leadership posts. According to the 2000 Census, women and men of color constitute 31.8% of the population. In 2004, they held 16.2% of top-ranking executive positions appointed by the nation's governors.
- Across the country, Latino/a appointees held the lowest share of executive positions (4.3%), relative to their share of the U.S. population (12.5%).
- African Americans held an equitable share of appointed policy leadership posts in only 11 states.
- Very few Latinos, Asian American/Pacific Islanders, and American Indians/Native Alaskans have been appointed to top leadership posts.
- The numbers of Latina and African American women appointees in the 50 states increased from 12 to 28 and from 47 to 70, respectively between 1998 and 2004.
- Of all appointees at the helm of civil and human rights commissions, 69.6% are people of color. The agency type with the lowest percentage of people of color (5.0%) is natural resources, environmental conservation, agriculture.
- In the aggregate, people of color remain dramatically underrepresented as top advisors to the nation's governors.

## Acknowledgements

We acknowledge with appreciation the Ford Foundation's generous support of the Appointed Policy Makers in State Government Project.

### Project Staff

Judith R. Saidel, Ph.D.  
Project Director

Tamika R. Black  
Project Associate

Alison C. Olin  
Project Associate

Xiaolei Chen  
Project Associate

Krista Roff Slingerland  
Project Assistant

## Notes on Methodology

Original data on policy leaders appointed by current governors were collected from the states via a mailed survey and follow-up phone calls as needed between May and October 2004.

For the purpose of this study, "policy leaders" include the following two cohorts of gubernatorial appointees who develop, influence, and advise on public policy:

**1. Department Heads** - including heads of departments, agencies, offices, boards, commissions, and authorities;

**2. Top Advisors in Governors' Offices** - including such titles as chief of staff, government liaison, and press secretary/communications director.

Only persons appointed by current governors and who have policy influencing responsibility are included in this report.

The study includes state-based representativeness ratios. These measures document the degree to which different groups are represented as appointed policy leaders.

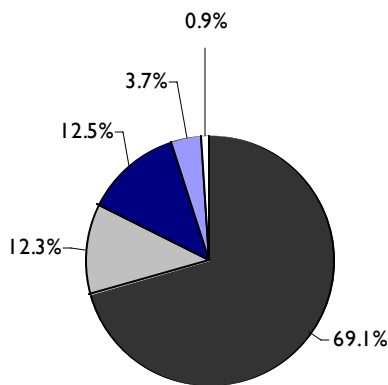
For example, the representativeness ratio (rep. ratio) for African American policy leaders is calculated by dividing the percentage of policy leader positions to which African Americans are appointed by the percentage of African Americans in the state's population. A representativeness ratio of less than 1.0 reflects the degree to which African Americans are underrepresented in top policy positions.

**Representativeness is achieved when the demographic composition of top-ranking appointees mirrors that of the general population.** Representativeness theory is based on the presumption that demographic representativeness leads to programs, policies, or decisions that reflect the preferences of demographically diverse populations.

## Policy Leaders

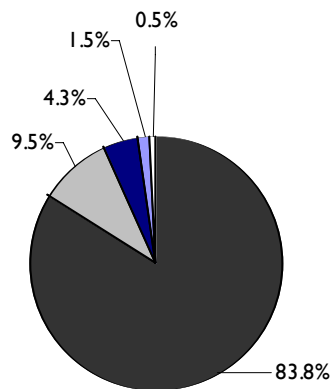
### People of Color Significantly Underrepresented in Influential Policy Leadership Posts

U.S. Population 2000



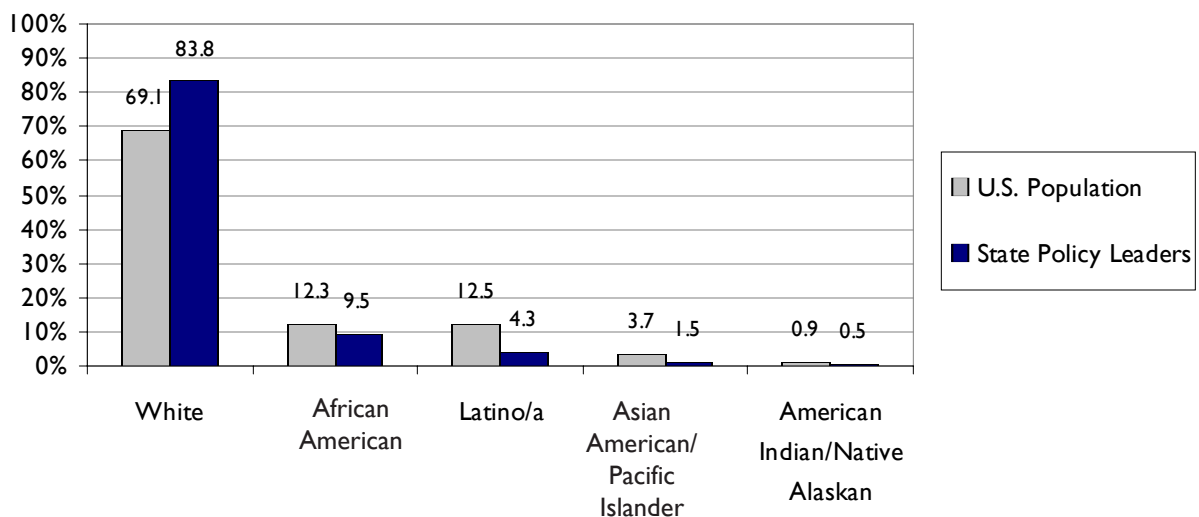
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

State Policy Leaders 2004



In 2004, women and men of color held 16.2% of top-ranking executive positions appointed by the nation's governors. The percentage of appointments is only one-half of the offices that people of color would hold, if their share of leadership posts were equal to their share of the U.S. population (31.8%). Across the country, Latino/a appointees held the lowest share of executive positions (4.3%), relative to their share of the U.S. population (12.5%).

### U.S. Population and State Policy Leaders by Race and Ethnicity, 2004





## Policy Leaders

### African Americans Held Equitable Share of Appointed Policy Leadership Posts in Only 11 States

In 11 of 29 states with African American populations of 5% or more, African American appointees held the percentage of executive positions that is at least equivalent to their share of the population. The states are: Illinois; Indiana; Kansas; Kentucky; Massachusetts; Michigan; Missouri; Pennsylvania; Tennessee; Virginia; Wisconsin. In 19 of the states, African Americans hold two-thirds or more of the leadership posts to which they would be appointed, if their share of policy leadership positions were equal to their share of the population.

**State Data on African American Appointed Policy Leaders, 2004<sup>1</sup>**

State	Total Appointees	# African Am. Policy Leaders	% African Am. Policy Leaders	% African Am. in Population	Rep. Ratio 2004 <sup>2</sup>
Alabama	34	4	11.8	26.0	0.45
Arkansas	50	5	10.0	15.7	0.64
California	48	3	6.3	6.7	0.93
Connecticut	35	1	2.9	9.1	0.31
Delaware	26	4	15.4	19.2	0.80
Florida	34	3	8.8	14.6	0.60
Georgia	27	4	14.8	28.7	0.52
Illinois	49	8	16.3	15.1	1.08
Indiana	56	10	17.9	8.4	2.13
Kansas	29	3	10.3	5.7	1.81
Kentucky	22	3	13.6	7.3	1.87
Louisiana	21	5	23.8	32.5	0.73
Maryland	37	5	13.5	27.9	0.48
Massachusetts	23	3	13.0	5.4	2.42
Michigan	44	7	15.9	14.2	1.12
Mississippi	33	5	15.2	36.3	0.42
Missouri	22	5	22.7	11.2	2.03
Nevada	27	1	3.7	6.8	0.54
New Jersey	44	5	11.4	13.6	0.84
New York	63	3	4.8	15.9	0.30
North Carolina	24	5	20.8	21.6	0.96
Ohio	44	4	9.1	11.5	0.79
Oklahoma	18	1	5.6	7.6	0.73
Pennsylvania	45	8	17.8	10.0	1.78
South Carolina	37	6	16.2	29.5	0.55
Tennessee	36	6	16.7	16.4	1.02
Texas	65	6	9.2	11.5	0.80
Virginia	18	4	22.2	19.6	1.13
Wisconsin	43	8	18.6	5.7	3.26

<sup>1</sup>Only states with African American populations of at least 5% are reported.

<sup>2</sup>Representativeness ratio is defined in Notes on Methodology, inside front cover.

## Very Few Latinos, Asian Americans, and American Indians Appointed to Top Leadership Posts

In only five of 23 states with Latino/a populations of at least 5%, Latino/a appointees hold two-thirds or more of the leadership posts to which they would be appointed, if their share of policy leadership positions were equal to their share of the population. In 15 states, Latino/a appointees hold less than half such positions.

There are no Latino/a appointed policy leaders in eight of the 23 states - Georgia, Hawaii, Kansas, Massachusetts, Nevada, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Utah.

**State Data on Latino/a Appointed Policy Leaders, 2004<sup>1</sup>**

State	Total Appointees	# Latino/a Policy Leaders	% Latino/a Policy Leaders	% Latino/a in Population	Rep. Ratio 2004
Arizona	52	9	17.3	25.3	0.68
California	48	10	20.8	32.4	0.64
Colorado	27	1	3.7	17.1	0.22
Connecticut	35	1	2.9	9.4	0.30
Florida	34	6	17.6	16.8	1.05
Georgia	27	0	0.0	5.3	-
Hawaii	22	0	0.0	7.2	-
Idaho	23	1	4.3	7.9	0.55
Illinois	49	6	12.2	12.3	1.00
Kansas	29	0	0.0	7.0	-
Massachusetts	23	0	0.0	6.8	-
Nebraska	40	2	5.0	5.5	0.91
Nevada	27	0	0.0	19.7	-
New Jersey	44	1	2.3	13.3	0.17
New Mexico	43	14	32.6	42.1	0.77
New York	63	4	6.3	15.1	0.42
Oklahoma	18	0	0.0	5.2	-
Oregon	45	1	2.2	8.0	0.28
Rhode Island	29	0	0.0	8.7	-
Texas	65	7	10.8	32.0	0.34
Utah	32	0	0.0	9.0	-
Washington	50	1	2.0	7.5	0.27
Wyoming	31	1	3.2	6.4	0.50

<sup>1</sup>Only states with Latino/a populations of at least 5% are reported.

**State Data on Asian American/Pacific Islander Appointed Policy Leaders, 2004<sup>1</sup>**

State	Total Appointees	# Asian Am. Policy Leaders	% Asian Am. Policy Leaders	% Asian Am. in Population	Rep. Ratio 2004
California	48	1	2.1	11.2	0.19
Hawaii	22	14	63.6	51.0	1.25
New Jersey	44	0	0.0	5.7	-
New York	63	0	0.0	5.5	-
Washington	50	3	6.0	5.9	1.02

<sup>1</sup>Only states with Asian American/Pacific Islander populations of at least 5% are reported.

Hawaii and Washington are the only two states where Asian Americans have achieved full representation in high-level policy-making positions. Of the 25 Asian Americans appointed nationwide, 14 or 56% were appointed by the governor of Hawaii.

**State Data on American Indian/Native Alaskan Appointed Policy Leaders, 2004<sup>1</sup>**

State	Total Appointees	# Am. Indian Policy Leaders	% Am. Indian Policy Leaders	% Am. Indian in Population	Rep. Ratio 2004
Alaska	28	0	0.0	15.6	-
Arizona	52	1	1.9	5.0	0.38
Montana	30	1	3.3	6.2	0.54
New Mexico	43	2	4.7	9.5	0.49
Oklahoma	18	0	0.0	7.9	-
South Dakota	24	1	4.2	8.3	0.50

<sup>1</sup>Only states with American Indian/Native Alaskan populations of at least 5% are reported.

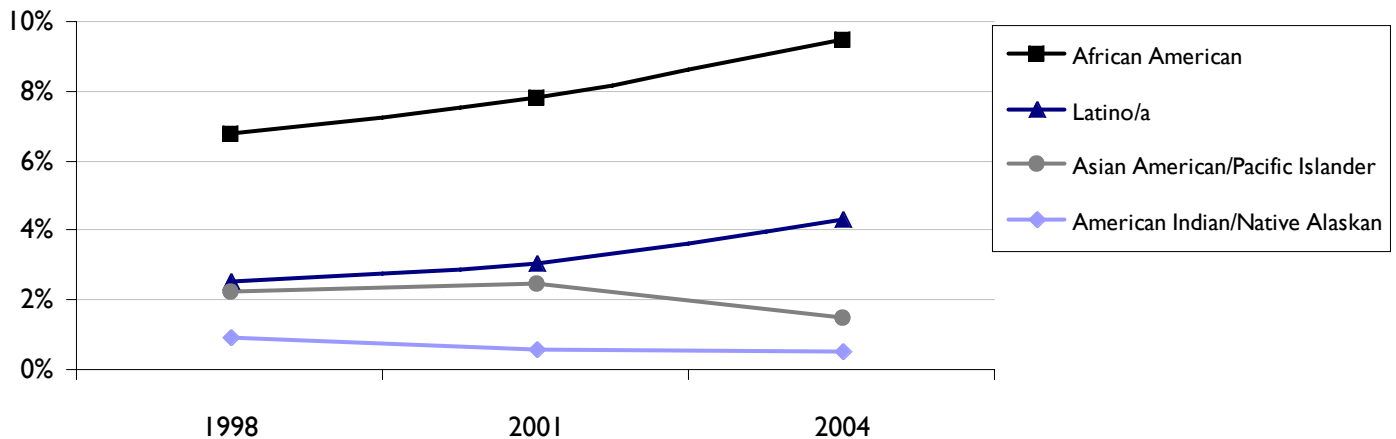


## Policy Leaders

### African American and Latino/a Appointees Gained Slightly Between 1998 and 2004; Other Groups Declined Below 1998 Levels.

Even as the 2000 Census recorded substantial changes in the racial and ethnic composition of the U.S. population, the demographics of executive branch leaders changed very little between 1998 and 2004. The percentage of African American appointees increased by 2.7 points. Latino/a appointees gained 1.8 percentage points. In 2004, the percentages of Asian American and American Indian appointees fell below 1998 levels.

Policy Leaders of Color Appointed by Governors, 1998-2004



## Department Heads/Top Advisors

### As Executive Branch Leadership Opportunities Shift, Some Groups Gained Slightly; Others Lost Ground

#### Race and Ethnicity of Policy Leaders Appointed by Governors, 1998-2004<sup>1</sup>

	1998		2004	
	#	%	#	%
<b>Total Appointees</b>	<b>1741</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1717</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Department Heads</b>				
White	1080	62.0	956	55.7
African American	87	5.0	114	6.6
Latino/a	33	1.9	46	2.7
Asian American/Pacific Islander	23	1.3	18	1.0
American Indian/Native Alaskan	13	0.7	5	0.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1236</b>	<b>70.9</b>	<b>1139</b>	<b>66.3</b>
<b>Top Advisors</b>				
White	441	25.3	483	28.1
African American	31	1.8	49	2.9
Latino/a	11	0.6	28	1.6
Asian American/Pacific Islander	16	0.9	7	0.4
American Indian/Native Alaskan	3	0.2	4	0.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>502</b>	<b>28.8</b>	<b>571</b>	<b>33.2</b>

<sup>1</sup>Due to a small number of policy leaders who identified their race/ethnicity as "other," percentages may not total 100% and numbers may not sum to the total.

Between 1998 and 2004, the number of state agencies, boards, commissions, and authorities decreased across the country, but the number of top advisors in governors' offices expanded. These shifts in executive branch leadership opportunities had limited impact on the appointment of people of color to top positions.

African Americans and Latinos experienced modest gains. Asian Americans lost both department head and top advisor positions; American Indians also held fewer department head posts.



## Department Heads

Of all appointees at the helm of civil and human rights commissions, 69.6% are people of color. The agency type with the lowest percentage of people of color (5.0%) is natural resources, environmental conservation, agriculture.

In 2004, more Latinos served as head of budget, finance, administration agencies than of any other agency type. The same was true for Asian Americans. Still, along with American Indian appointees, Asian Americans occupy very few executive positions overall.

**Number and Percentage of Department Heads by Race/Ethnicity and Selected Function, 2004**

Functions <sup>1</sup>	White		African American		Latino/a		Asian American		American Indian	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
<b>Total Appointees</b>	<b>956</b>	<b>83.7</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>10.0</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0.4</b>
Budget/Finance/Administration	192	83.1	18	7.8	13	5.6	7	3.0	0	0.0
Utilities/Transpiration/Highways	82	92.1	2	2.2	4	4.5	1	1.1	0	0.0
Public Welfare/Employment Security	77	80.2	17	17.7	2	2.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Police/Public Safety/Law Enforcement	89	90.8	7	7.1	1	1.0	1	1.0	0	0.0
Fire Protection	6	85.7	0	0.0	1	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Natural Resources/Environmental Conservation/Agriculture	151	95.0	3	1.9	1	0.6	3	1.9	0	0.0
Health	87	80.6	15	13.9	4	3.7	1	0.9	0	0.0
Economic Development/Housing	53	85.5	8	12.9	0	0.0	1	1.6	0	0.0
Corrections	63	75.0	18	21.4	3	3.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Labor/Human Resources	56	72.7	11	14.3	6	7.8	2	2.6	2	2.6
Education	34	85.0	5	12.5	1	2.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Civil/Human Rights	7	30.4	8	34.8	4	17.4	1	4.3	3	13.0
Other <sup>2</sup>	59	86.8	2	2.9	6	8.8	1	1.5	0	0.0

<sup>1</sup>Selection of functions is based on the functional categories used by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Council of State Governments and Nelson C. Dometrius, "Minorities and Women Among State Agency Leaders." *Social Science Quarterly*, 1984, pp. 127-137.

<sup>2</sup>Other includes such functions as Arts Council, Consumer Affairs, Election Administration, Horse Racing, Gaming and State Fair.



## Top Advisors

### Perspectives of Women and Men of Color Often Missing From Corridors of Executive Branch Power

Across the country the number of policy/budget director positions in governors' offices jumped 87.8% between 1999 (the earliest year for which comparable data are available) and 2004. In the same period, the second highest increase in the number of staff posts was press secretary/communications director (36.7%). The number of program/operations directors declined substantially (77.8%).

African Americans and Latinos serve governors more often in the role of policy director than in any other policy-influencing staff role. Asian American and American Indian advisors in governors' offices are very few in number. In the aggregate, people of color remain dramatically underrepresented as top advisors to the nation's governors.

**Number and Percentage of Top Advisors in Governors' Offices by Race/Ethnicity and Title/Position, 2004**

Title/Position	White		African American		Latino/a		Asian American		American Indian	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
<b>Total Appointees</b>	<b>483</b>	<b>84.0</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0.7</b>
Chief of Staff <sup>1</sup>	71	91.0	4	5.1	1	1.3	2	2.6	0	0.0
Executive Assistant	27	81.8	6	18.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Government Liaison	37	78.7	5	10.6	4	8.5	0	0.0	1	2.1
Legal Advisor	47	85.5	4	7.3	3	5.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Policy/Budget Director	138	81.2	17	10.0	10	5.9	2	1.2	2	1.2
Press Secretary	60	87.0	2	2.9	2	2.9	2	2.9	1	1.4
Program/Operations Director	19	86.4	2	9.1	1	4.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other <sup>2</sup>	84	83.2	9	8.9	7	6.9	1	1.0	0	0.0

<sup>1</sup> Includes deputy chief of staff job title.

<sup>2</sup> Other includes executive chamber titles identified as policy making such as speech writer, systems administrator, appointments secretary, security director, and director of research.



### Women and Men Appointed Policy Leaders by Race, Ethnicity and Region, 2004

State	# OF WOMEN					# OF MEN				
	White	African American	Latino/a	Asian American	American Indian	White	African American	Latino/a	Asian American	American Indian
<b>U.S. Totals</b>	<b>463</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>976</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>New England</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
Connecticut	12	1	0	0	0	21	0	1	0	0
Maine	7	0	0	0	0	16	1	0	0	0
Massachusetts	10	2	0	0	0	10	1	0	0	0
New Hampshire	5	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	0	0
Rhode Island	10	1	0	0	0	17	1	0	0	0
Vermont	13	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	0
<b>Mid-Atlantic</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
Delaware	7	2	1	0	0	14	2	0	0	0
Maryland	7	1	0	0	0	25	4	0	0	0
New Jersey	9	1	1	0	0	29	4	0	0	0
New York	15	1	2	0	0	41	2	2	0	0
Pennsylvania	13	1	0	0	0	23	7	1	0	0
<b>Great Lakes</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>
Illinois	7	4	2	0	0	27	4	4	0	0
Indiana	16	3	0	1	0	31	7	0	0	0
Michigan	15	5	1	1	0	18	2	0	1	0
Ohio	10	1	0	0	0	28	3	0	0	0
Wisconsin	15	1	0	0	0	18	7	2	0	0
<b>Southeast</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>219</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>
Alabama	8	2	1	0	0	21	2	0	0	0
Arkansas	7	2	0	0	0	38	3	0	0	0
Florida	9	1	4	1	0	15	2	2	0	0
Georgia	2	2	0	0	0	21	2	0	0	0
Kentucky	4	2	0	0	0	15	1	0	0	0
Louisiana	3	2	0	0	0	13	3	0	0	0
Mississippi	5	0	0	0	0	23	5	0	0	0
North Carolina	6	2	0	0	0	12	3	1	0	0
South Carolina	10	3	0	0	0	20	3	0	0	0
Tennessee	12	2	0	0	0	17	4	0	1	0
Virginia	5	2	0	0	0	9	2	0	0	0
West Virginia	11	1	0	0	0	15	1	1	0	0
<b>Southwest</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>
Arizona	16	4	5	0	1	19	3	4	0	0
New Mexico	14	1	4	0	0	12	0	10	0	2
Oklahoma	5	0	0	0	0	12	1	0	0	0
Texas	17	4	1	0	0	35	2	6	0	0
<b>Plains</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
Iowa	12	2	0	0	0	21	0	1	0	0
Kansas	7	2	0	0	1	18	1	0	0	0
Minnesota	7	1	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	0
Missouri	5	3	0	0	0	12	2	0	0	0
Nebraska	13	1	1	0	0	23	1	1	0	0
North Dakota	9	0	0	0	1	13	0	0	0	0
South Dakota	5	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	0	1
<b>Rocky Mountain</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>
Colorado	6	1	0	0	0	17	2	1	0	0
Idaho	6	0	1	0	0	14	0	0	1	0
Montana	8	0	0	0	1	21	0	0	0	0
Utah	9	0	0	0	0	22	0	0	1	0
Wyoming	10	0	1	0	0	19	0	0	0	0
<b>Far West</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>1</b>
Alaska	7	0	0	0	0	21	0	0	0	0
California	12	1	2	0	0	22	2	8	1	0
Hawaii	2	0	0	3	0	5	0	0	11	0
Nevada	10	1	0	0	0	16	0	0	0	0
Oregon	16	1	1	0	0	26	1	0	0	0
Washington	14	3	0	1	1	25	2	1	2	1

## Policy Leaders

### Gender, Race and Ethnicity of Policy Leaders Appointed by Governors, 1998-2004<sup>1</sup>

	1998		2004	
	#	%	#	%
<b>Total Appointees</b>	<b>1741</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1717</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Men</b>				
<b>White</b>	<b>1087</b>	<b>62.4</b>	<b>976</b>	<b>56.8</b>
<b>African American</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>4.1</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>5.4</b>
<b>Latino/a</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>2.7</b>
<b>Asian American/Pacific Islander</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>1.0</b>
<b>American Indian/Native Alaskan</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0.2</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1229</b>	<b>70.6</b>	<b>1137</b>	<b>66.2</b>
<b>Women</b>				
<b>White</b>	<b>434</b>	<b>24.9</b>	<b>463</b>	<b>27.0</b>
<b>African American</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>4.1</b>
<b>Latino/a</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>0.7</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>1.6</b>
<b>Asian American/Pacific Islander</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>0.8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>0.4</b>
<b>American Indian/Native Alaskan</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0.3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>509</b>	<b>29.2</b>	<b>573</b>	<b>33.4</b>

<sup>1</sup>Due to a small number of policy leaders who identified their race/ethnicity as "other," percentages may not total 100% and numbers may not sum to the total.

Between 1998 and 2004, the numbers of Latinas and African American women in the 50 states appointed to top-ranking policy posts increased at high rates, 133.0% and 48.9%, respectively. These are the largest increases of any racial or ethnic group of women or men, with the exception of American Indian/Native Alaskan women. American Indian/Native Alaskan women held five positions in 2004 and two in 1998.

In the aggregate, Latinos and African American men held more leadership positions in 2004 than in 1998. Both Asian American/Pacific Islander women and men lost ground at the rates of 50% and 28%, respectively over the seven years. American Indian/Native Alaskan men also served in fewer executive branch leadership posts in 2004 than in 1998.

## Additional Project Publications

- Saidel, Judith R. and Loscocco, Karyn. "Agency Leaders, Gendered Institutions, and Representative Bureaucracy," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (March/April 2005), forthcoming.
- Saidel, Judith R. National and individual state *Women's Leadership Profiles*, Center for Women in Government & Civil Society, Fall 2004.
- Saidel, Judith R. *Appointed Policy Makers in State Government Five-Year Trend Analysis: Gender, Race and Ethnicity*, Center for Women in Government & Civil Society, Winter 2004.
- Saidel, Judith R. and Riccucci, Norma M. "Women State Agency Heads and Their Leadership," *Spectrum: The Journal of State Government*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (Winter 2002), 18-19.
- Riccucci, Norma M. and Saidel, Judith R. "The Demographics of Gubernatorial Appointees: Toward An Explanation of Variation," *Policy Studies Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (2001), 11-22.
- Riccucci, Norma M. and Saidel, Judith R. "The Representativeness of State-Level Bureaucratic Leaders: A Missing Piece of the Representative Bureaucracy Puzzle," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 57, No. 5 (September/October 1997), 423-430.
- 

## About the Center

The Center for Women in Government & Civil Society is part of the Nelson A. Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy, University at Albany, State University of New York. Through research, teaching, training, leadership development, networking, and public education, the Center works to:

strengthen women's public policy leadership;

broaden access of women and youth to policy knowledge, skills, and influence;

advance equity for women in the workplace;

enhance nonprofit management and leadership;

inform policy makers and policy activists on issues related to women, children and families.

For further information please contact the Center or check our website at [www.cwig.albany.edu](http://www.cwig.albany.edu).

Dissemination of information from this publication is encouraged. Please credit the Center for Women in Government & Civil Society and send us a copy of materials in which the information is published.



Center for Women in Government & Civil Society  
University at Albany, SUNY  
Draper Hall 302  
135 Western Avenue  
Albany, NY 12222  
Tel (518) 442-3900/ Fax (518) 442-3877  
email: [cwig@albany.edu](mailto:cwig@albany.edu)  
[www.cwig.albany.edu](http://www.cwig.albany.edu)