



Appointed Policy Makers in
State Government
**FIVE-YEAR TREND ANALYSIS:
GENDER, RACE AND ETHNICITY**

A Report of the  Center for Women in Government & Civil Society
University at Albany, State University of New York
Winter 2004



Highlights

- In the aggregate, women's progress as holders of top-ranking appointee positions in state governments has not been steady. Between 2001 and 2003, women's share of executive branch leadership posts dropped almost three percentage points, but remained above the 1999 level.
- Even as the 2000 census recorded substantial changes in the race and ethnicity composition of the U.S. population, the demographics of executive branch policy leadership changed very little between 1999 and 2003.
- African American women advanced substantially in the number of policy leadership positions to which they were appointed by the nation's governors.
- African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and American Indians continue to hold remarkably few top advisor staff positions in governors' offices.
- White men lost the largest share of department head positions between 1999 and 2003. The percentage of agency head posts held by white women, African American women, and Asian American women rose slightly.
- Only five states (Massachusetts .96; Oregon .95; Florida .88; Iowa .85; Missouri .83) are close to parity in terms of the degree to which women are represented in top policy positions. (Parity is achieved when the representativeness ratio = 1.0).
- In eleven additional states (Connecticut, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, Tennessee, Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming) women hold about three-quarters of the top policy posts to which they would be appointed, if the proportion of women appointees were equal to the proportion of women in the population of those states.
- In nine states (Alabama, Georgia, Idaho, Maryland, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Ohio, South Carolina, South Dakota), women hold less than half the top policy posts to which they would be appointed, if the proportion of women appointees were equal to the proportion of women in the population of those states.

Dear Friend

Since 1996, the Center for Women in Government & Civil Society has published a series of reports as part of the *Appointed Policy Makers in State Government* project. Center researchers collect original data from the 50 states on the gender, race and ethnicity of two key leadership cohorts in the executive branch of state governments: gubernatorial appointees at the helm of departments, agencies, offices, boards, commissions, and authorities; and top staff advisors with policy-influencing responsibility in governors' offices.

We reported in 1997 that women held 28.3% of top policy leadership posts; in 2003 the percentage was 32.0%. A net gain of 3.7 percentage points over a seven-year period is surely a very slow rate of advancement, especially because it represents a drop of almost three percentage points from two years earlier. Furthermore, as indicated in this publication, only five of the 50 states are even close to parity in terms of the degree to which women are represented in top policy positions.

Much progress remains to be achieved before women hold the proportion of top-ranking gubernatorial appointments in each state to which they would be named, if the proportion of women appointees were equal to the proportion of women in each state's population.

Later this year, the *Appointed Policy Makers in State Government* project will release additional publications, including a new set of reports, *Women's Leadership Profiles*, for every state. These reports present overviews, based on data from a variety of sources, of the current status of women in five major categories of political leadership in state governments: statewide elected officials; highest state court judges; department heads; top staff advisors; and state legislators.

Stay tuned and please let us know if we can assist you in any way to disseminate these reports.

Judith R. Saidel

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Acknowledgements

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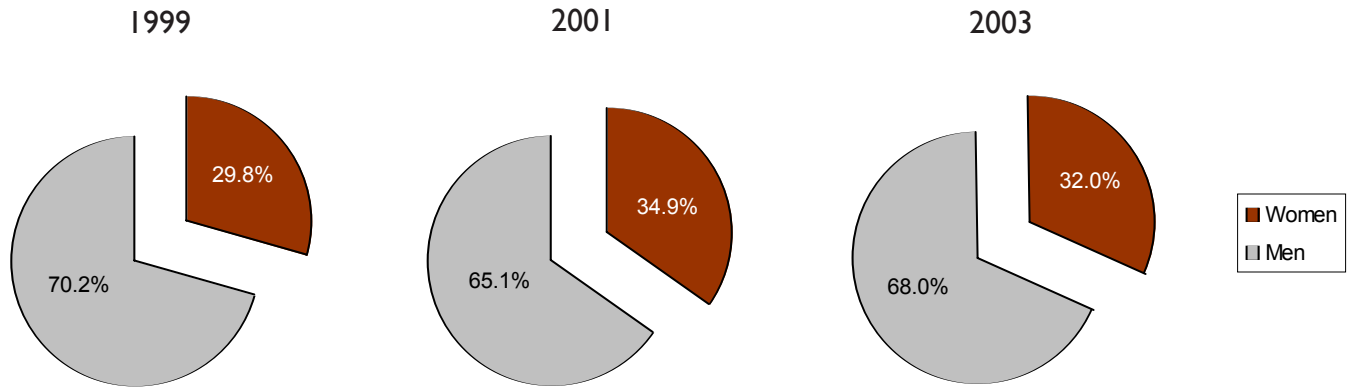
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Policy Leaders

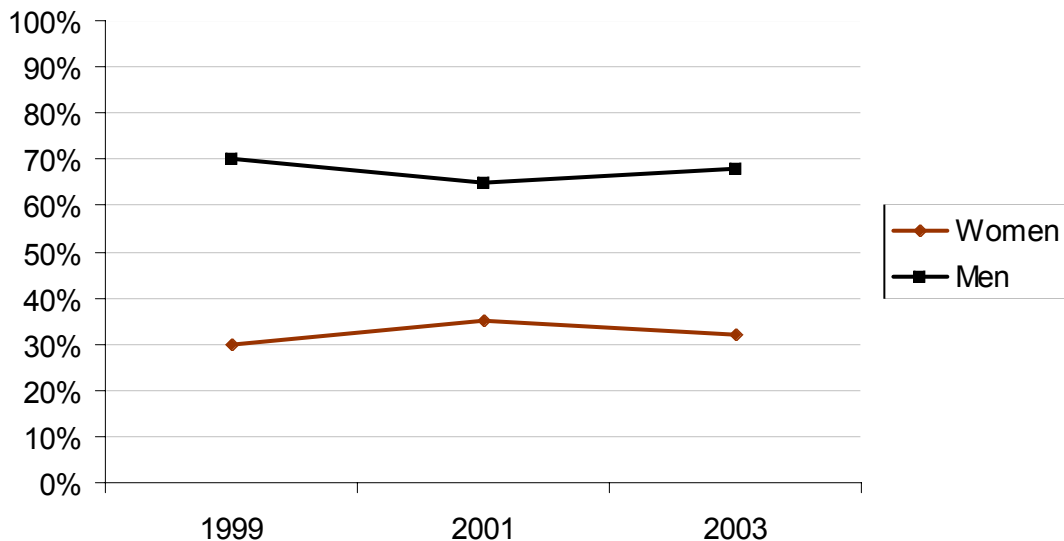
Policy Leaders by Gender, 1999-2003



Appointments gap narrows, then widens again.

Women's progress as holders of appointed executive branch policy leadership positions has not been steady in recent years. Between 1999 and 2003, women's share of top-ranking gubernatorial appointments increased and then declined, but remained above the 1999 level.

Percentage of Women and Men Policy Leaders, 1999 - 2003

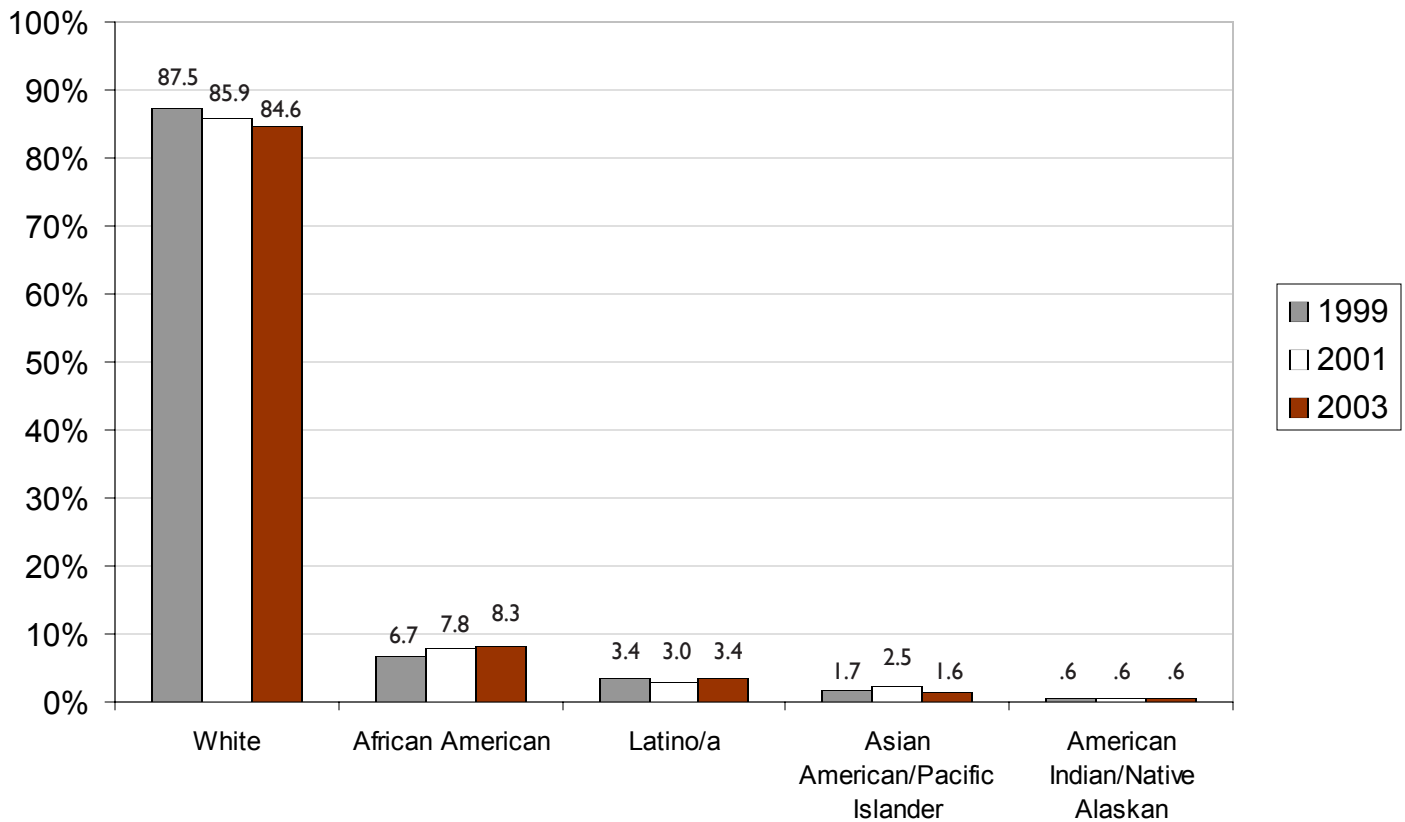


Policy Leaders

Top-ranking African American Appointees Make Gains Between 1999 and 2003; Other Groups Remain at Low Levels or Decline Slightly.

Even as the 2000 census recorded substantial changes in the race and ethnicity composition of the U.S. population, the demographics of executive branch policy leaders changed very little between 1999 and 2003. The percentage of African American appointees increased over the period by 1.6 points. Latino/a and American Indian appointees remained at the same level. Asian American appointees experienced a gain between 1999 and 2001, but fell below previous levels by 2003.

**Race and Ethnicity of Policy Leaders Appointed by Governors
1999 – 2003¹**



¹ Percentages do not total 100% because a small number of policy leaders identified their race/ethnicity as "other."

Gender, Race and Ethnicity of Policy Leaders Appointed by Governors, 1999-2003¹

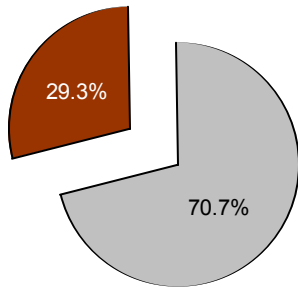
	1999		2001		2003	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Appointees	1784	100	1905	100	1724	100
Men						
White	1116	62.6	1089	57.2	1012	58.7
African American	70	3.9	79	4.1	77	4.5
Latino	35	2.0	29	1.5	37	2.1
Asian American/Pacific Islander	21	1.2	29	1.5	18	1.0
American Indian/Native Alaskan	10	0.6	10	0.5	7	0.4
Total	1253	70.2	1237	64.9	1172	66.7
Women						
White	445	24.9	547	28.7	446	25.9
African American	50	2.8	70	3.7	66	3.8
Latina	25	1.4	29	1.5	22	1.2
Asian American/Pacific Islander	10	0.6	18	0.9	9	0.5
American Indian/Native Alaskan	1	0.1	1	0.1	3	0.2
Total	531	29.8	665	34.9	546	31.6

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

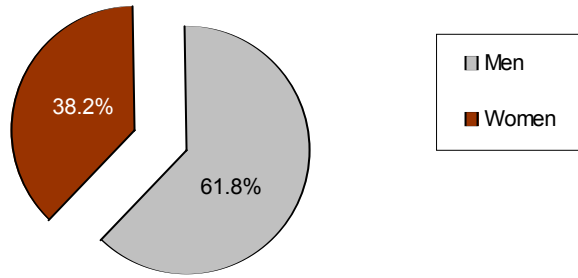
The lead story in these numbers is the substantial gain in the number of high-ranking executive positions to which African American women were appointed by the nation's governors. Between 1999 and 2003, the number of African American women appointees across the country increased from 50 to 66. State-by-state analysis reveals that, in general, governors appointed one or two African American women in more states in 2003 than in 1999.

Department Heads/Top Advisors

Department Heads by Gender 2003

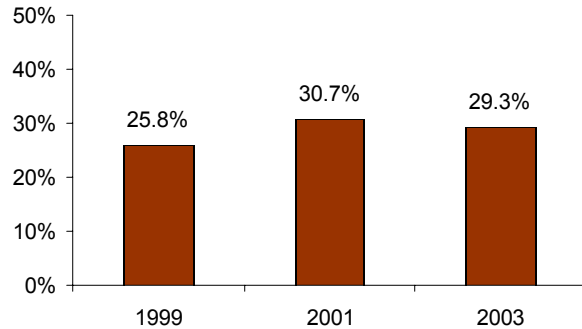


Top Advisors by Gender 2003

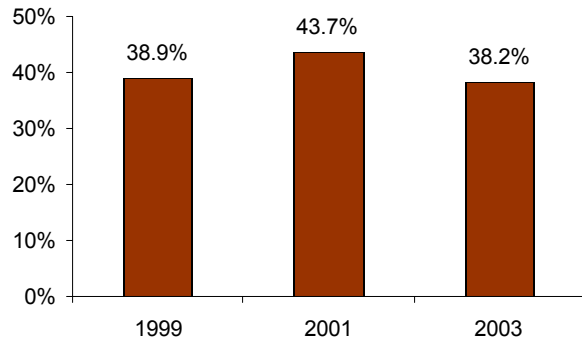


Governors appointed women to chief executive and top advisor posts in record numbers in 2001. Two years later, women's share of department head positions fell by 1.4 percentage points, but remained 3.5 points above the 1999 level. By contrast, the percentage of women in policy-influencing staff roles in 2003 dropped from a high point in 2001 to slightly below the 1999 level. Across the country, the total number of top staff advisor positions in governors' offices shrank by about 16% between 2001 and 2003. The downward trend in the size of governors' executive offices may reflect, in part, the severe budget deficits that most states confronted in those years.

Percentage of Women Department Heads, 1999-2003



Percentage of Women Top Advisors in Governors' Offices, 1999-2003



Department Heads by Gender, Race and Ethnicity, 1999-2003¹

Between 1999 and 2003, the total number of department head positions appointed by governors decreased overall by 4%. White men's share of appointments declined by 5.9 percentage points over this period. The percentage of executive posts held by white women, African American women, and Asian American women rose respectively by 1.9, 1.3, and 1.5 points. Latinas lost some ground; two American Indian women served in governors' executive offices in 2003. In this study, the "department head" leadership cohort includes individuals at the helm of departments, agencies, offices, boards, commissions, and authorities who are gubernatorial appointees.

		1999		2003	
		#	%	#	%
Total		1244	100.0	1193	100.0
Men					
	White	820	65.9	716	60.0
	African American	55	4.4	62	5.2
	Latino	27	2.2	29	2.4
	Asian American/Pacific Islander	14	1.1	12	1.0
	American Indian/Native Alaskan	6	0.5	6	0.5
	Total	922	74.1	844	70.7
Women					
	White	264	21.2	276	23.1
	African American	30	2.4	44	3.7
	Latina	20	1.6	16	1.3
	Asian American/Pacific Islander	6	0.5	7	2.0
	American Indian/Native Alaskan	1	0.1	2	0.6
	Total	321	25.8	345	29.3

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

Top Advisors by Gender, Race and Ethnicity, 1999-2003¹

		1999		2003	
		#	%	#	%
Total		540	100.0	531	100.0
Men					
	White	296	54.8	296	55.7
	African American	15	2.8	15	2.8
	Latino	8	1.5	8	1.5
	Asian American/Pacific Islander	7	1.3	6	1.1
	American Indian/Native Alaskan	4	0.7	1	0.2
	Total	330	61.1	326	61.8
Women					
	White	181	33.5	170	32.0
	African American	20	3.7	22	4.1
	Latina	5	0.9	6	1.1
	Asian American/Pacific Islander	4	0.7	2	0.4
	American Indian/Native Alaskan	0	0.0	1	0.2
	Total	210	38.9	201	38.2

The demographics of top staff members serving U.S. governors changed very little over the five-year period from 1999 to 2003. African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and American Indians continued to hold remarkably few policy advisor positions. White women lost the largest number of top advisor posts by 2003, although their share of total staff advisor appointments dropped by only 1.5 percentage points over the period.

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

Ranking of States, Within Regions, for Women Appointed Policy Leaders 2003

STATE/REGION	% WOMEN POLICY LEADERS	REP. RATIO
New England		
Massachusetts	50.0	0.96
Connecticut	36.1	0.70
Rhode Island	34.5	0.66
Maine	31.0	0.60
Vermont	28.6	0.56
New Hampshire	15.2	0.30
Mid Atlantic		
New Jersey	35.7	0.69
Delaware	35.7	0.69
New York	30.8	0.59
Pennsylvania	29.2	0.56
Maryland	21.1	0.41
Great Lakes		
Wisconsin	37.8	0.75
Michigan	36.7	0.72
Indiana	32.7	0.64
Illinois	28.6	0.56
Ohio	22.5	0.44
Southeast		
Florida	44.8	0.88
Virginia	37.5	0.74
Tennessee	37.1	0.72
Kentucky	36.7	0.72
Mississippi	36.0	0.70
North Carolina	33.3	0.65
West Virginia	31.0	0.60
Arkansas	26.9	0.53
Louisiana	26.1	0.51
Georgia	22.7	0.45
South Carolina	20.7	0.40
Alabama	16.7	0.32
Southwest		
New Mexico	35.3	0.69
Arizona	31.7	0.63
Texas	30.9	0.61
Oklahoma	26.3	0.52
Plains		
Iowa	43.1	0.85
Missouri	42.9	0.83
Kansas	39.3	0.78
Nebraska	36.8	0.73
North Dakota	32.1	0.64
Minnesota	24.1	0.48
South Dakota	20.8	0.41
Rocky Mountain		
Wyoming	35.3	0.71
Utah	33.3	0.67
Montana	30.0	0.60
Colorado	27.6	0.56
Idaho	24.0	0.48
Far West		
Oregon	47.8	0.95
Nevada	35.1	0.72
Washington	33.3	0.66
California	32.4	0.65
Hawaii	26.1	0.52
Alaska	24.0	0.50
Total	32.0	

**Representativeness ratio is defined in Notes on Methodology, Inside Back Cover.

Ranking of States - State Data on Women Appointed Policy Leaders

State/Region	% Women Policy Leaders	% Women in Population	Rep. Ratio	1999 Ranking	2001 Ranking	2003 Ranking
Alabama	16.7	51.7	0.32	39	45	49
Alaska	24.0	48.3	0.50	26	32	41
Arizona	31.7	50.1	0.63	30	13	27
Arkansas	26.9	51.2	0.53	35	41	37
California	32.4	50.2	0.65	45	30	24
Colorado	27.6	49.6	0.56	22	21	36
Connecticut	36.1	51.6	0.70	48	38	15
Delaware	35.7	51.4	0.69	24	31	17
Florida	44.8	51.2	0.88	4	2	3
Georgia	22.7	50.8	0.45	19	22	44
Hawaii	26.1	49.8	0.52	16	28	38
Idaho	24.0	49.9	0.48	37	43	42
Illinois	28.6	51.0	0.56	40	44	35
Indiana	32.7	51.0	0.64	29	23	26
Iowa	43.1	50.9	0.85	9	9	4
Kansas	39.3	50.6	0.78	18	19	6
Kentucky	36.7	51.1	0.72	10	17	12
Louisiana	26.1	51.6	0.51	47	50	40
Maine	31.0	51.3	0.60	21	34	29
Maryland	21.1	51.7	0.41	14	10	47
Massachusetts	50.0	51.8	0.96	5	5	1
Michigan	36.7	51.0	0.72	3	7	11
Minnesota	24.1	50.5	0.48	8	11	43
Mississippi	36.0	51.7	0.70	49	42	16
Missouri	42.9	51.4	0.83	41	18	5
Montana	30.0	50.2	0.60	6	47	31
Nebraska	36.8	50.7	0.73	46	20	9
Nevada	35.1	49.1	0.72	20	1	13
New Hampshire	15.2	50.8	0.30	31	33	50
New Jersey	35.7	51.5	0.69	7	15	19
New Mexico	35.3	50.8	0.69	15	37	18
New York	30.8	51.8	0.59	34	24	32
North Carolina	33.3	51.0	0.65	11	25	23
North Dakota	32.1	50.1	0.64	36	40	25
Ohio	22.5	51.4	0.44	43	46	45
Oklahoma	26.3	50.9	0.52	50	49	39
Oregon	47.8	50.4	0.95	2	3	2
Pennsylvania	29.2	51.7	0.56	23	36	33
Rhode Island	34.5	52.0	0.66	33	29	22
South Carolina	20.7	51.4	0.40	38	26	48
South Dakota	20.8	50.4	0.41	27	48	46
Tennessee	37.1	51.3	0.72	12	14	10
Texas	30.9	50.4	0.61	32	35	28
Utah	33.3	49.9	0.67	25	6	20
Vermont	28.6	51.0	0.56	1	4	34
Virginia	37.5	51.0	0.74	44	39	8
Washington	33.3	50.2	0.66	17	12	21
West Virginia	31.0	51.4	0.60	42	26	30
Wisconsin	37.8	50.6	0.75	13	16	7
Wyoming	35.3	49.7	0.71	28	8	14

State-by-State Listing of Appointed Policy Leaders (#s)

[M=Male F=Female]

State	Grand Total	TOTAL		White		African-American		Latino/a		Asian-American		American-Indian	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Alabama	30	25	5	22	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Alaska	25	19	6	19	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arizona	41	28	13	19	10	1	1	5	2	0	0	1	0
Arkansas	26	19	7	17	6	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
California	74	50	24	40	18	3	2	2	3	4	1	1	0
Colorado	29	21	8	19	7	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Connecticut	36	23	13	21	11	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Delaware	28	18	10	16	6	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
Florida	29	16	13	12	8	1	3	1	2	0	0	0	0
Georgia	22	17	5	16	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Hawaii	23	17	6	6	1	0	0	0	0	10	5	0	0
Idaho	25	19	6	18	5	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
Illinois	49	35	14	26	9	5	4	3	1	0	0	0	0
Indiana	52	35	17	31	12	4	3	0	2	0	0	0	0
Iowa	58	33	25	33	21	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
Kansas	28	17	11	15	9	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kentucky	30	19	11	16	9	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Louisiana	23	17	6	15	4	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maine	29	20	9	19	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maryland	38	30	8	26	7	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Massachusetts	20	10	10	9	8	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Michigan	30	19	11	17	8	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
Minnesota	29	22	7	22	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mississippi	25	16	9	14	5	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Missouri	21	12	9	11	6	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Montana	30	21	9	21	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Nebraska	38	24	14	22	13	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Nevada	37	24	13	20	11	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Hampshire	33	28	5	28	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Jersey	28	18	10	14	7	4	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
New Mexico	34	22	12	13	9	0	0	7	3	0	0	2	0
New York	65	45	20	40	17	2	1	2	2	0	0	0	0
North Carolina	24	16	8	12	5	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
North Dakota	28	19	9	18	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ohio	40	31	9	27	8	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Oklahoma	19	14	5	13	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oregon	46	24	22	23	20	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Pennsylvania	48	34	14	27	12	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Rhode Island	29	19	10	18	8	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
South Carolina	29	23	6	20	4	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
South Dakota	24	19	5	18	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Tennessee	35	22	13	17	12	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Texas	94	65	29	53	25	4	3	6	1	1	0	0	0
Utah	30	20	10	20	9	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Vermont	21	15	6	15	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia	16	10	6	9	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Washington	48	32	16	24	12	2	1	0	0	1	1	2	0
West Virginia	29	20	9	20	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wisconsin	45	28	17	22	14	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wyoming	34	22	12	19	11	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0

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 June and November 2003. 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.

The representativeness ratio (rep. ratio) for women policy leaders is calculated by dividing the percentage of policy leader positions to which women are appointed by the percentage of women in the state's population. A representativeness ratio of less than 1.0 reflects the degree to which women 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.

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Additional Project Publications

Saidel, Judith R. and Loscocco, Karyn. "Agency Leaders, Gendered Institutions, and Representative Bureaucracy," *Public Administration Review*, forthcoming.

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.

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