



Unlocking the Cabinet

WHERE WOMEN STAND IN STATE APPOINTMENTS
AND WHERE WE NEED THEM TO GO

Executive Summary

Introduction

In a year when women's political leadership trumpets from headlines daily, the focus is almost always on elected office. But what of the vital appointed officials that implement policy and manage institutions? Do women play an equal role in making the machinery of government run? To our democracy's detriment, the answer is no.

At the state level in particular, women hold a mere 31% of cabinet-level appointments made by governors.

Why don't we see more women in appointed state leadership positions?

This new report examines women's status in state cabinets nationwide, identifies trends in women's appointments and provides specific advice on tapping women's talent for these critical management seats. Women's Campaign Forum Foundation (WCF Foundation) has identified a unique opportunity for the next wave of governors to "unlock the cabinet" and ensure that talented women are equitably represented in the appointed leadership of their states.

Methodology

In 2007, national excitement swelled with record numbers of women sworn into the Congress and statehouses, the first woman becoming Speaker of the House and another woman launching a leading campaign for the Presidency of the United States, WCF Foundation set out to determine how women fared in appointed government offices and how to build a better pipeline of candidates for these positions. WCF Foundation conducted a 50 state survey of cabinet-level seats, researched and analyzed historical trends and interviewed a series of officials involved in making appointments as well as serving in them. The results are detailed in the following sections:

- Appointments Matter: Our History, Our Future
- Looking For Leaders: Women, Cabinets and Power Today
- Unlocking the Cabinet: Getting to Parity and Beyond
- Lessons from Top Performers: Tips for Transition Teams, Partner Organizations and Women Seeking Appointments
- Methodology

Key Findings

Appointments matter – fewer women in appointed offices results in a different policy agenda, process and outcome. What's at stake:

- In many senses, appointed leaders run the state. They oversee a broad array of policy areas and functional operations, ranging from education and healthcare to utilities and lotteries. In some states, it takes *thousands* of appointees to get these jobs done.
- Appointees control the cash. In an average state, cabinet leaders collectively manage \$12.5 billion of the state's budget.
- Women appointees make a difference. By appointing women, savvy governors ensure the perspectives of women and families are equally represented. These governors wisely utilize the talents of their state's women to produce more expansive policies, processes and outcomes.

On average, male cabinet appointees outnumber women cabinet appointees in our states by a ratio of 2 to 1. A snapshot of their status in 2007:

- On the cabinet level, women hold a net average of 31% of appointments in the states. In states such as Washington, women have achieved parity with as much as 52% of the cabinet. In the other states – such as Texas and New Hampshire – not a single cabinet seat is held by a woman.
- "Traditional" positions are still the rule, with women holding more than 50% of cabinet positions in areas such as education and human services and less than 20% in areas such as military affairs and corrections.
- Governors who are required to assemble formal cabinets tend to appoint more women than those who don't – a gap of 32% to 26%.
- Women governors and Democratic governors appoint more women than their male and Republican counterparts – but only by margins of 4% and 3% respectively.

Equity in our state cabinets is attainable. The trends:

- The top 10 states have, on average, women in 46% of cabinet seats. Sadly, this is a vast improvement over women's status in the elected state legislatures, where women hold just 34% of the seats in the top 10 states.
- Since 1997, women's share of cabinet appointments has risen by 10% and of those states where women have made the greatest gains during the last 10 years, six are now in the top 10 for women's representation.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Within the next three years anywhere from 20 to 47 of our nation's governors will transition out of office and pass the torch to new leaders. This turnover provides an enormous opportunity to change the face of state cabinets. In talking to those who have been behind the scenes in making and applying for appointments, it is clear that above all else, what is required to make this change is the will and direction of the governor. They are the first line to truly unlocking the cabinet.

But governors' staff and transition teams, partner organizations and the women who seek appointed office all have their part to play in ensuring well-qualified women fill the appointments pipeline. WCF Foundation has identified a variety of simple steps for each. The priorities:

- **Governors' Staff and Transition Teams** – Cast the widest net possible. Talented women can be found by building networks into the professional and community organizations in the state and engaging them in your search.
- **Partner Organizations** – Set priorities for your organization. Rather than advance a wide-range of candidates, target the offices that have the most impact on your mission and then recruit, cultivate, prepare and propose the best women your organization has to offer.
- **Women Appointment Seekers** – Make yourself helpful and visible. Transition teams can only consider the talent they know about. Become active in your community, building networks in the campaigns of the candidates you most believe in and don't be shy about taking credit for jobs well done.

With a concentrated effort on steps like these, it's not so hard to imagine cabinets nationwide that make use of the talents of both their state's women and men equally.

About Women's Campaign Forum Foundation

Founded in 2006, WCF Foundation is a non-profit, 501(c)(3) organization dedicated to helping women build the skills and infrastructure they need to become more effective leaders in public life. WCF Foundation is particularly focused on underserved areas of women's civic participation. Thus, our two current areas of focus: women's political giving and women's appointments to key government positions.

In June 2007, WCF Foundation issued "Vote With Your Purse: Harnessing the Power of Women's Political Giving for the 2008 Elections and Beyond." This report highlighted women's ability to create social change through the financial support of candidates for political office. WCF Foundation works toward the day when women understand that electoral contributions are a critical part of political participation and achieving political power – and give accordingly. "Unlocking the Cabinet: Where Women Stand in State Appointments and Where We Need Them to Go" is WCF Foundation's second major research effort.

WCF Foundation is a sister entity of the Women's Campaign Forum (WCF), a non-partisan, pro-choice, national membership organization dedicated to ensuring that women become leaders in politics. WCF proudly recruits women to become active participants in public life, trains women to be more effective political forces and endorses talented women candidates for public office. WCF has an affiliated political action committee.

For media requests, please contact:

Ilana Goldman

President

Contact: ilana@wcfonline.org, (202) 393-8164

For all other requests, please contact:

Lissy Moskowitz

Director, Research

Contact: lissy@wcfonline.org, (202) 393-8164

Copyright © 2007 Women's Campaign Forum Foundation.

Appointments Matter: Our History, Our Future

The power of appointed leaders should not be underestimated. These appointed leaders are the area experts who lead our schools, hospitals, transportation systems, utilities, professional licensing ... the list goes on and on. When it comes to ensuring that government meets the needs of *all* of the people, it would be a mistake to not focus on the diversity of our cabinets and other appointed leaders down the line.

Historically, the United States has been slow to appoint women to cabinet level positions. On the federal level, only 32 women have ever held such seats, and a woman has never led the Departments of Treasury, Defense, Homeland Security or Veterans Affairs. The first woman to serve in a cabinet was Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933. By 1977, President Jimmy Carter had appointed only the fourth and fifth women cabinet secretaries. In President Bill Clinton's cabinet, five women served and, to date, President George W. Bush's cabinet has included a total of six women.¹ Internationally, this leaves the U.S. well behind much of the world. A 2005 United Nations study showed U.S. women holding only 14% of the more broadly defined "ministerial" positions, ranking^A 40th behind countries such as Iraq, Gambia and Chile.²

At the state level, women secured appointed office earlier and have fared somewhat better. In 1871, Ada E. North, the daughter of a minister and widow of a Civil War major, was appointed to become the State Librarian in Iowa, one of the first (if not *the* first) women appointed to a state-wide position.³ However, more than a century later, not one state cabinet was comprised of an equal number of women and men.⁴ Today, while women are at parity in a few states, in others they hold not a single appointed cabinet role. And while on average women have gained greater representation in state cabinets over the last 10 years, "there has been slow and uneven progress of women into these positions of influence."⁵

Appointed leaders, particularly at the state level, are critical to the functioning of government. Each day, significant policy and budgetary decisions are made by the appointed officials who are implementers of electoral power. Appointed seats vary widely from state to state, and can include everything from unpaid, part-time advisory offices to paid, full-time positions managing enormous operations of state. In Texas the Governor appoints more than 2,000 officials including department heads, their deputies, and an extensive fabric of board and commissions to manage the work of government; in North Carolina the number is closer to 3,000. Just look at the breadth of appointees that run our states:

State Appointed Positions: A Sample

Chair, Board of Regents	Director, Department of Aging	Secretary, Health and Human Services
Commissioner, Agriculture	Chair, Alcoholic Beverage Commissions	Executive Director, Economic Development Corporation
Chair, Commission on the Arts	Chair, Board of Chiropractic Examiners	Secretary, Education
Chair, Facilities Commission	Director, Administrative Services	Director, Department of Aeronautics
Adjutant General	Director, Alcohol and Drug Addiction Services Agency	Commissioner, Athletic Commission
Director, Department of Health Care Cost Containment	Director, Department of Homeland Security	Superintendent, Department of Banking
Commissioner, Board of Public Utilities	Director, State Budget Agency	Commissioner, Bureau of Motor Vehicles
Secretary, Department of Business and Professional Regulation	Director, Department of Children and Family Services	Secretary, Department of Commerce
Director, Community Health Agency	Executive Director, Community Corrections Council	Commissioner, Department of Community Affairs
Secretary, Conservation and Natural Resources	Commissioner, Correctional Services Department	Chair, Health Services Council
Chair, Historical Commission	Chair, Commission on Human Rights	Chair, Lottery Commission

^A Since many countries tie for a given ranking, there are actually 32 additional countries ahead of the United States, meaning the U.S. is actually tied for 72nd place alongside nine other countries (United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women 2005).

Cabinet secretaries are particularly powerful. They exert considerable influence over a governor's political agenda, are innovators in effectively implementing legislative and executive directives and act as the lead public and legislative advocate for their area of expertise. The Secretary of Education, for example, might set the priorities for early childhood initiatives across the state – and the budgets, criteria and timetables for the agencies and vendors that will fulfill them. A Secretary of Health might be tasked with leading the overhaul of the state's public substance abuse treatment programs, impacting the work of multiple government agencies, nonprofits partners and businesses alike. And a Director of the Office of Homeland Security might be charged with prioritizing the state's most critical infrastructure projects as part of disaster-response planning. These leaders also manage entire departments and budgets of enormous breadth. In fact, cabinet leaders control anywhere from 82% to 23% of the entire state budget (those numbers rise if we include other appointments by the governor or by other boards, commissions or the state legislature).^B In the average state, this means appointed cabinet leaders collectively managed an average of \$12.5 billion.^C

Women add a unique value as public office holders.

It has long been established in democratic theory that having women at the governing table matters. By representing the perspectives, priorities and interests of more than 50% of our population, women leaders bring new skills to governing and ensure outcomes that are more representative overall. As former U.S. Secretary of State Madeline K. Albright stated, "Success without democracy is improbable; democracy without women is impossible."

The impact of women's political leadership is clear and measurable. As a result of women's rising presence in our legislative chambers and executive offices, policies for women, children, the elderly and families have received new attention.^D Research finds that a more equitable representation of women in state office leads to more women- and family-friendly policies, such as broadening access to benefits for needy families, providing women access to reproductive services without interference, ensuring the aggressive pursuit of overdue child support and working to improve the quality of public education.⁶ In appointed office, we similarly see women expanding the agenda:

- In New Mexico, former Secretary of Higher Education Beverlee McClure worked to identifying the barriers preventing students from pursuing or completing their education. She secured funding for the state's need-based financial aid College Affordability Fund and established the Educational Equity and Access Division to support minority student success.⁷
- In Maine, Commissioner of Public Safety Anne Jordan was heavily involved in the legislative process to make domestic violence a separate crime, rather than just assault. When the law takes effect in February 2008, second and subsequent offenses will be elevated to felony status. She partnered with domestic violence groups and drew on her experience as a prosecutor and her tenure on the Pardons Board when she testified about why this legislative change mattered.⁸

Women also use different leadership styles that can yield dramatically different outcomes. Women in state legislatures have been found to approach policy making from a "broader, more-inclusive" basis.⁹ And both male and female state legislators believe that increasing the number of women in their legislature has led to more transparency and accessibility in making policy.¹⁰ In examples from appointed office in Arizona and Iowa, we see similar patterns in terms of how women change the process:

- Only six months into her role as Director of the Arizona Department of Corrections, Dora Schriro faced a hostile inmate takeover of a prison. She chose to rely heavily on negotiations, rather than using force to take back the overrun tower. Although the hostage situation lasted two weeks, not one staff member or inmate was killed, a rarity in such cases.¹¹
- During her first year in office, Iowa Department of Transportation Director Nancy Richardson facilitated completion of a legislatively-mandated study of the current highway revenue levels and their sufficiency for the projected construction and maintenance needs of Iowa's roads. To drive this to successful conclusion, she focused a great deal of her efforts on brokering compromise with counties and cities in the state to create a broad base of support for the study results and recommended future funding levels.¹²

^B Based on 2005 dollars, not adjusted for inflation.

^C See Methodology section for more information about how calculations were generated. Because these numbers exclude the 30% of state budgets on average spent in areas other than elementary/secondary education, higher education, public assistance, Medicaid, corrections and transportation, the share of state budgets controlled by appointed officials would rise if the budgets spent in these areas were included in the analysis.

^D In fact, studies at the state and federal levels suggest that female appointees respond to the distinct concerns of women, indicating that, "female Republican and Democratic appointees are more supportive of childcare, abortion rights and the Equal Rights Amendment than their male colleagues." (Dolan 2001)

Women appointees open up more opportunities for women overall. In studies of both federal and state administrations, “a majority of female appointees indicate that they frequently hire women as staff members, doing their part to facilitate the entry of even greater numbers of women into governmental positions.”¹³ For example:

- Loretta Lynch, former President of the California Public Utilities Commission, opened up all of the top management positions to competition. The result was a more diverse and gender-balanced senior management team after this competitive process.¹⁴

More importantly, appointed leadership is a vital pipeline to elected office.^E For many women, an appointment can be a way to serve without having to navigate the gauntlet of a campaign, and endure the trials of exorbitant fundraising, old boys’ networks, media pressure and often aggressive personal attacks. Serving in an appointed role can be a testing ground (or trial run) for those not quite ready to jump directly into campaigning or operating with the pressures of elected office. Appointments also allow women the time to build expertise in the political world that can translate into a new willingness and ability to run for elected office. Here are just a few examples of elected women who first served in appointed office:

- Alabama State Treasurer Kay Ivey was appointed to state positions by two governors before winning two consecutive statewide elections for her current office.
- California Senator Dianne Feinstein was appointed by former Governor Pat Brown to serve as a member of the California Women Parole Board before her 1969 election to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.
- Oregon Congresswoman Darlene Hooley was appointed to a Parks Advisory Committee before her first City Council election in 1976.

^E Of the women elected to Congress between 1976 and 2006, 60% held elected or appointed office at the state or federal level before serving (Office of the Clerk, U.S. House of Representatives, 2006).

Looking For Leaders: Women, Cabinets and Power Today

Becoming an appointed leader requires few of the daunting tasks of running for elected office. With a process that is dramatically different and more streamlined, we would expect to see women advance in appointed office with far greater speed than they have in elected office. However, a look at the most senior level of appointed office – our state cabinets – shows a similarly glacial pace of progress toward gender parity.

Women hold just 31% of cabinet-level appointments on average, but the range fluctuates widely. Across the 50 states, there are 782 cabinet level positions with an average of 16 positions per cabinet. However, their sizes range from as small as five (Texas)^F to as large as 30 (Arizona). Women’s representation in these cabinets fluctuates just as widely, from a majority of 52% (Washington) to none at all (Texas and New Hampshire). On a regional basis, the Mid-Atlantic States lead with a curve-breaking 37% and the Rocky Mountain States lag with only 19% of appointed seats held by women. A look at the “top” and “bottom” states for women in appointed positions gives a sense of the breadth:

Top and Bottom States For Women’s Representation in Cabinets^G

Top 5

State	# of Cabinet-level Seats	% Held By Women
Washington	23	52%
New York*	16	50%
North Dakota	16	50%
West Virginia	8	50%
Massachusetts	9	44%

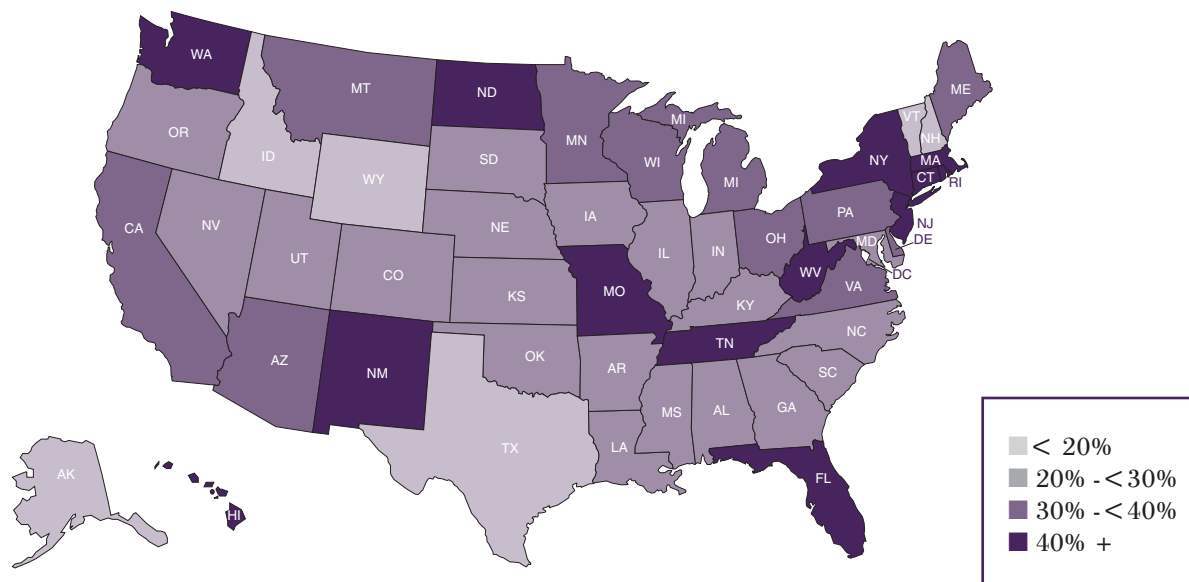
Bottom 5

State	# of Cabinet-level Seats	% Held By Women
Vermont	6	17%
Alaska	13	15%
Wyoming*	13	8%
New Hampshire*	15	0%
Texas*	5	0%

*Does not have a formal cabinet structure.

It is worth noting that while the 31% cabinet representation statistic is disappointing, and is slightly higher than the 30% average for appointed policy leaders overall in the states,¹⁵ it fully trumps that of elected office, where women hold just 24% of state legislative seats nationwide.¹⁶

Women’s Representation in Cabinets in 2007

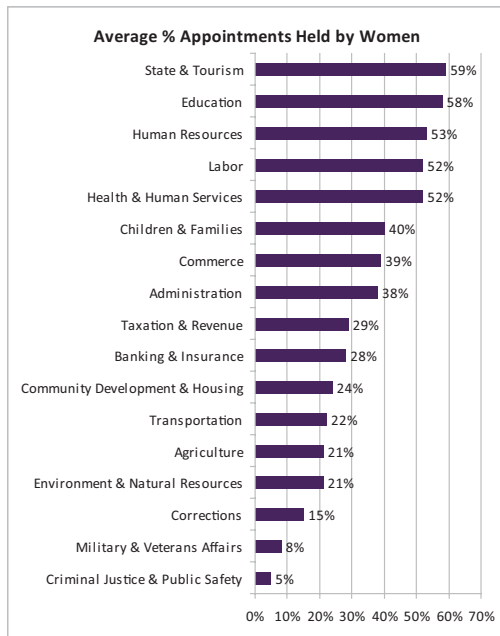


^F Texas does not have a formal cabinet structure. See Methodology section for explanation of how cabinet-level equivalent positions were determined.

^G See Methodology section for more explanation.

In the cabinets, women still do “women’s work.” Women are most well represented in fields that have been traditionally female – education, labor and health and human services. Women are least represented in the fields of corrections, military and veteran affairs, and criminal justice and public safety. Below is a sample of women’s share of positions across the spectrum:

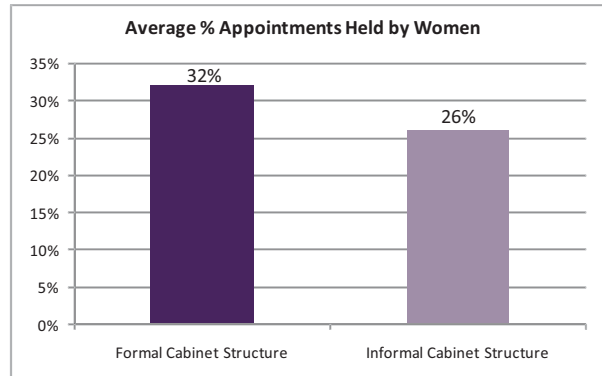
Women’s Representation in Key Departments and Agencies at the Cabinet Level



Governors with formal cabinets appoint more women.

In 14 states, governors appoint the senior state leadership (heads of agencies or departments), but have no formal cabinet structure. For the purposes of comparison, WCF Foundation identified a “cabinet” for such states comprised of the most common cabinet-level seats in other states (see the Methodology section for details). It is interesting to note that in states where governors did not have to consider the makeup of a specific “cabinet” group – or contemplate the visual image that might present – women were an even smaller part of the state leadership. In fact, informal cabinets averaged just 26% representation of women compared to 32% in states with formal cabinet structures.

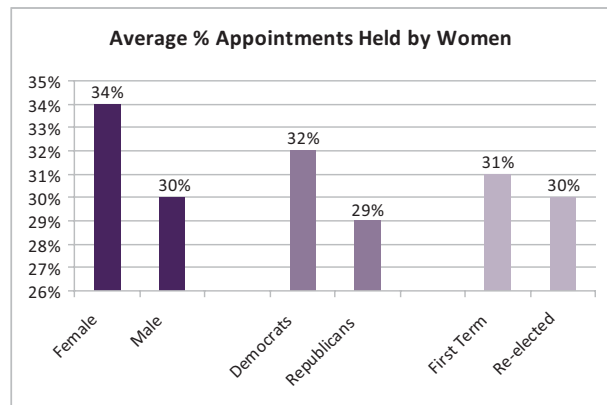
Formal vs. Informal Cabinets: A Snapshotⁱⁱ



Even with fewer seats, women manage major state dollars. Even at only 31% of cabinet-level appointments, women manage 37% of the state budgets that are directed by an appointee.¹ With their “traditional” positions leading departments with large budgets – women are responsible for the control, management and spending of massive amounts of tax-payer dollars. In fact, in fiscal year 2005 women appointees collectively managed anywhere from a high of 60% to a low of 0% of state budgets. In the average state, women appointees collectively controlled \$4.6 billion in state spending.

On the margins, female governors and Democratic governors are more likely to appoint women. Female governors of both parties are more likely than their male counterparts to appoint women to their cabinets by a gap of four percent. Democratic governors of both genders also are more likely than Republican governors to appoint women, by a gap of three percent. A governor’s tenure appears to have no impact.

Women’s Representation in Cabinets by Governor Attribute^j



ⁱⁱ 36 governors have formal cabinets and an average cabinet size of 16. 14 governors have informal cabinets with an average size of 14.

¹ See Methodology section for an explanation of how calculations were generated.

^j There are 9 female governors, 41 male governors, 28 Democrats, 22 Republicans, 26 first term governors and 24 re-elected governors.

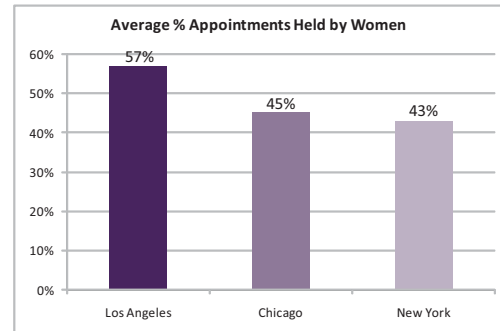
Unlocking the Cabinet: Getting to Parity and Beyond

Despite a snapshot of 2007 that shows women are far from parity in appointed cabinet seats, there is still much progress to be celebrated. In fact, it is clear that with the right focus enormous gains are possible in the next few years. What do the numbers tell us about the future for women's appointed leadership?

Women's representation in cabinet-level appointed office in the "top" states tells us that gender parity is not out of reach. The top 10 states for women's representation in appointed cabinet-level positions were near parity – 46% were held by women on average. For comparison, in the top 10 states for electing women to the state legislature, women averaged only 34% of seats.¹⁷ These top 10 states for women's representation are remarkably diverse in geography and population. Their governors include men and women of both parties and are split evenly between first term and sitting governors. In fact, the governors of the top 10 states are almost a representative sample of governors as a whole in terms of their distribution by party, gender and term in office.^K When top performers are reviewed, appointed parity seems equally possible no matter who is sitting in the governor's chair.

Comparisons with municipal cabinets make even clearer that parity is achievable and the pipeline of appointed women is growing. Among the three major metro areas profiled, all with budgets and populations that exceed those of the vast majority (90%) of the states, and all with male mayors, all three would rank with the top 10 states for women's representation in these senior-level appointments.

City Snapshot: Women's Representation in Selected Mayoral Cabinets^M



Top 10 States for Women's Representation in Cabinets^L

State	# of Cabinet-level Seats	% Held by Women	Governor's Gender	Governor's Party	Governor's Term
Washington	23	52%	Female	Democrat	First
New York*	16	50%	Male	Democrat	First
North Dakota	16	50%	Male	Republican	Re-elected
West Virginia	8	50%	Male	Democrat	First
Massachusetts	9	44%	Male	Democrat	First
Connecticut*	21	43%	Female	Republican	First
New Mexico	21	43%	Male	Democrat	Re-elected
Tennessee	21	43%	Male	Democrat	Re-elected
Rhode Island*	12	42%	Male	Republican	Re-elected
Hawaii	17	41%	Female	Republican	Re-elected
Average	16	46%			

* Does not have a formal cabinet structure.

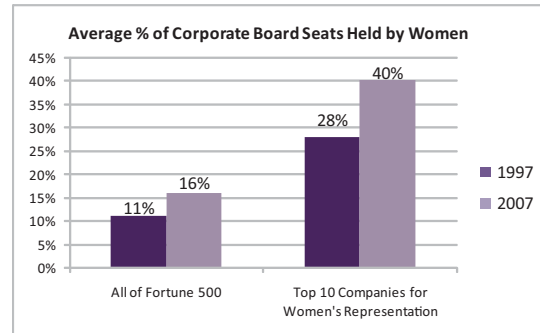
^K The results of the analysis of cabinet positions in all 50 states can be found in the Appendix. As a group, these 50 governors are 18% female, 56% Democrats and 52% serving in their first term. On average, they directly appointed 16 positions to their cabinets and, of those, filled an average of 31% of these positions with women.

^L See Methodology section for further explanation of how percentages were calculated.

Trends show that cabinet appointments are moving in the right direction. While it cannot be overemphasized that women have made only limited gains in appointed office more broadly,¹⁸ at the cabinet-level women have increased their representation by 10% in the last 10 years, from 21% to 31%. And of the 10 states with the largest percentage increases of women in appointed office from 1997 to 2007, six are currently in the top 10 for the highest percentages of cabinet-level positions held by women. It is clear that with the right gubernatorial leadership and a focused effort, great change is possible – just review the results below.

In fact, states are currently surpassing Fortune 500 companies in appointments and promotion for women in governance. In the last 10 years, women have increased their holdings of Fortune 500 corporate board seats by just 5%, compared to 10% for state cabinets. Again, this implies that state governments, with their regular four-year cycle of elections – and the associated turnover – are well positioned to continue the growth in women’s representation.

Corporate Snapshot: Women on Fortune 500 Boards ¹⁹



With the right focus, the pool of qualified women for appointments can be greatly expanded. While the paths of securing elected office are quite different from those of an appointed one, there are similar and fundamental strategies for how to increase women’s participation. In order for women to claim a greater share in appointed positions – and for governors to have a greater pool of talented women candidates to consider – it is vital to have a clear and transparent selection process, a mechanism for engaging and cultivating leaders, and opportunities for training and education. In the next section, we’ll illustrate how the most advanced states get the job done.

States with the Greatest Gains in Women’s Representation in the Cabinet, 1997 - 2007^N

State	Women as a % of Cabinet-level Appointments in 1997	Women as a % of Cabinet-level Appointments in 2007	Net Gain
Washington*	11%	52%	41%
New York*	9%	50%	41%
North Dakota*	10%	50%	40%
Michigan	0%	38%	38%
West Virginia*	17%	50%	33%
Florida	8%	40%	32%
New Mexico*	13%	43%	30%
Florida	0%	29%	29%
Oklahoma	0%	25%	25%
Connecticut*	21%	43%	22%

*Also in the top 10 for women’s representation in the cabinet.

^M Because of different governance structures in each city, only department or agency heads who managed significant budgets and reported directly to and were appointed by the mayor were included. In Los Angeles department heads managed by a commission were excluded, and in New York City, the group includes only the seven deputy mayors who jointly manage all city departments. The total number of cabinet members included in the analysis are 21 in Los Angeles, 40 in Chicago and seven in New York.

^N See Methodology section for an explanation of how 1997 percentages were calculated.

Lessons From Top Performers

Clearly, there is much to do before women achieve gender parity in appointed cabinet-level positions nationwide. However, the most successful states demonstrate that parity is possible. Some of the states analyzed made double-digit gains in women's representation in the last 10 years. Others had not only balanced representation, but also vested appointed women with the authority to manage close to half the state's budget.

In 2010, at least 18 – and as many as 36 – governorships will turn over. That change of guard also will bring a change in cabinet leadership. In fact, between 338 and 590 positions will be up for grabs depending on the re-election success of incumbents. To ensure that the gubernatorial “Class of 2010” is celebrated as the first to achieve gender equity in their cabinets, WCF Foundation interviewed staff from some of the most successful governors' offices and the women who serve admirably in cabinets nationwide. The most important lessons they shared are presented here.

BEST PRACTICES FROM WASHINGTON STATE

Washington state currently leads the nation in the percentage of cabinet-level appointments held by women (52%). The reasons for this are many, but include a commitment on the part of the governor's office to recruit a diverse pool of candidates for consideration for appointed positions.

Beyond Governor Christine Gregoire's stated priority of “One Washington,” there is evidence that key government agencies are putting in place a series of best practices to help recruiting a truly diverse candidate pool. For example, the Department of Transportation's stated hiring practices illustrate what they believe works. Specifically, an excerpt of their documentation states:

Governor Chris Gregoire personally, or through the Governor's Chief of Staff, reviews and approves all senior level exempt appointments before final offers are made ... To assure a complete recruitment effort, including identifying diverse candidates, [the Office of Human Resources] Search Services:

- *Creates a bona fide and detailed recruitment plan for every search effort.*
- *Makes sure the job announcement is clear and succinct.*
- *Advertises on the Internet using a brokerage service to target specific audiences.*
- *Follows-up on all leads for qualified diverse candidates.*
- *Spends more time on the telephone and less time with “old school” recruitment methods such as job fairs and college visits.*
- *Personalizes outreach by making direct and personal contact with an individual who may be interested in the position or who can lead us to others.*
- *Maintains a cadre of other professional recruiters – both private and public sector – who can assist in identifying diverse candidates.*
- *Keeps track of new and emerging technology to assist in streamlining the recruitment process.²⁰*

5 Tips for Women Interested in Appointed Office

1. **Seek good advice.** Those who have been appointed recently in your state can add a helpful insider perspective in understanding the appointments process and navigating it more successfully. Mentors and professional peers also can provide useful guidance on how to present yourself or can open up other connections. Don't be afraid to ask those you have consulted to put in a good word for you when the time is right.
2. **Do your research.** In addition to consulting appointees and mentors, you need to research the process, the position qualifications, and the ethics and conflict of interest rules in your state. Your first stop will be the governor's office web site, followed by a phone call. Make sure you understand statutory requirements such as professional certification or licenses, whether you have a disqualifying conflict of interest, if the position is paid and whether confirmation is required. Ensure you can commit the time and energy required of the appointment before you apply.
3. **Be helpful to those who share your values.** You grow your network when you give actively of your time, money, ideas and connections to candidates and community organizations who share your values. Consider hosting a fundraiser, joining an advisory board or campaign or volunteering your time. In addition to making connections, you will ensure you are remembered as someone who gets things done when it comes time to recruit candidates for appointments.
4. **Build your resume as a leader.** One way that professionals – particularly women – stand out in their workplace is to step up and take a leadership role. Coupled with a strong professional reputation, leadership experience often can be the distinguishing feature of the best candidates. Your experience outside the workplace, including in public capacities such as civic commissions or the PTA, also sets you apart. You may want to step up your involvement now if you want stronger credentials. Get feedback on your resume to ensure it documents your success.
5. **Toot your own horn.** Humility is not a virtue when it comes to competing for an appointed office. Step forward and take credit for what you have accomplished – at work, with a campaign, in community organizations. Leaders are not afraid to demonstrate and take credit for their success, and a hiring or transition team will see your candor as a sign of responsible leadership. Before you apply, clearly communicate your interest and achievements to mentors, colleagues and professional networks, as they may be asked to present qualified candidates. Communicate your commitment to serving by personalizing your application or including a handwritten note.

THE CAREER PATH OF APPOINTED WOMEN

In the research process, again and again, we heard the value of doing a good job. The story of Anne Jordan, the Commissioner of Public Safety in Maine, clearly reflects how excellence can get recognized. Some highlights of her story are listed below²¹:

- After law school, Anne first worked six years in the York County District Attorney's Office as a Deputy District Attorney and Assistant District Attorney beginning in 1984.
- She was first appointed to the Pardon Board starting in 1991. She was originally appointed by a Republican governor, then reappointed by an Independent governor, and reappointed again by a Democratic governor. In 2000, she became Chair.
- Later in her career, she was appointed to the Working Group on Animal Welfare. She took over as the chair of that working group which issued a major report to the legislature and drafted the first-in-the-nation legislation to permit pets to be included in Protection from Abuse Orders. The result of the report was the creation of the Animal Welfare Advisory Council.
- She also served as a member of the Harness Racing Commission, another appointed office.
- In her appointed roles prior to becoming Commissioner of Public Safety, she served much of the time concurrent with her work as an attorney. At the time of her appointment, she was a partner at Norman, Hanson & De Troy.
- She was nominated as Commissioner of Public Safety by Governor Baldacci. In his remarks concerning her nomination, the Governor cited her breadth of experience and dedicated work on a wide variety of State Boards. After Senate confirmation, she was sworn in on March 9, 2007.

5 Tips for Partner Organizations

1. **Prioritize the positions where you want to make a difference.** With potentially hundreds of openings for appointed positions in your state, you need to target the positions that are of interest and where you have the expertise and relationships to identify well-qualified women candidates. Research and digest the legislation that includes the creation of boards and commissions so you are ready to act quickly if new positions open up.
2. **Develop expertise on those targeted appointments.** Once you target specific appointed positions, you will want to become expert on what is needed to fill them. Some positions are only available to those with specific professional certifications or prior experience, while others may be broader in their requirements. You'll be most effective in recommending quality candidates when you thoroughly understand the position's responsibilities and requirements.
3. **Present qualified candidates in the best possible light.** Members of the governor's staff who are tasked with identifying candidates for appointed office are operating under serious time constraints. Your candidates will be far more likely to be considered if they are presented with complete applications, including referral letters and all supporting documentation. Ensure your candidate's resume and referral letters are appointment-ready, including highlighting the skills and experiences most relevant to the positions for which they would be considered.
4. **Train candidates well and prepare them effectively.** The appointments process can be confusing and time-consuming. To effectively support qualified candidates, you need to be able to help them navigate this complex process and evaluate which positions are a potential fit. Ensure women candidates you put forward are prepared for the interview and confirmation process and have realistic expectations about how their appointment might proceed.
5. **Develop relationships early and support your governor's specific needs.** Governors and governor-elects will be far more likely to tap you and your organization's expertise if you present yourself as a resource early in her or his term – potentially even during the campaign. Ask how you can be most helpful both right now and in the future when you have an opportunity to connect with the governor or her/his staff.

5 Tips for Governors and Transition Teams

1. **Demonstrate a commitment to building the best and broadest pool for appointed positions.** A governor's statements and actions in early appointments set the tone and expectations for how the transition or hiring team will operate during the appointments process. Clearly communicate that diversity is a priority, and demonstrate that commitment early in the appointments process.
2. **Cast the widest net possible – including tapping leaders in industry, unions, academia and the non-profit sector – to help recruit candidates.** Successful governors benefit from building and capitalizing on a broad network when managing a legislative and policy agenda, and the same holds true in appointments. These partner organizations are also critical in recruiting, vetting and evaluating candidates from “non-traditional” backgrounds – a necessary step in building a truly diverse candidate pool. Women's professional networks have proven to be great partners in identifying candidates in some of the most successful states.
3. **Create a transparent appointments process.** Candidates will need to understand the appointments process and who to contact with questions. A well constructed web site is crucial. It should set clear expectations about the appointments process in terms of timeline, the steps involved and the demands of the selection process. The most qualified candidates will stay engaged if they know what to expect from the beginning, even if the process is long or time consuming.
4. **Ensure search tools are easy to use.** Strong candidates sometimes compromise their own candidacy by applying for too many positions, or for positions for which they are not yet qualified. Transition teams help eliminate this possibility by making postings clear and unambiguous, detailing the qualifications required and creating a user-friendly search mechanism.
5. **Support candidates after they apply.** Most appointed women believe they benefited from having a designated point person who kept them up-to-date after their applications were submitted. Depending on the state, or the size of the governor's staff, this point person might be completely different from the appointments director or chief of staff. If capacity exists, a communications point person is a tremendously beneficial resource to help ensure the most qualified candidates stay engaged in the process.

Acknowledgements

We'd like to offer special thanks to the Women's Campaign Forum Foundation Board of Directors, The Susie Tompkins Buell Foundation, The Silverleaf Foundation, Clayman Foundation, and the McManus Family Foundation for their support of this work.

We'd also like to recognize the extraordinary consulting services of Staton Hughes for their efforts on this study.

The following people and organizations offered valuable strategic input into the direction of our research and their participation is much appreciated:

Amee Chande
Patricia Lorsch
Sarah Morison
Andrea Dew Steele
Debbie Walsh
Christine Stavem
Dan Klores Communications

The following people were interviewed or shared their thoughts in writing in preparation of these research findings and their participation is gratefully acknowledged:

Governor M. Jodi Rell, Connecticut
Debbie Smith, External Affairs and Appointments Director, Rhode Island
Jim Stokes, External Affairs Director, Office of the Governor, Michigan
Francine James, Appointments Secretary, New York
Bob Corney, Communications Director, Office of the Governor, Tennessee
Don Canton, Communications Director, Office of the Governor, North Dakota
Luisa Paiewonsky, Commissioner, Massachusetts Highway Department
Dora Schriro, Director, Arizona Department of Corrections
Anne Collins, Registrar, Massachusetts Department of Motor Vehicles
Christina Urias, Director, Arizona Department of Insurance
Nancy Richardson, Director, Iowa Department of Transportation
Susan Gendron, Commissioner, Maine Department of Education
Anne Jordan, Commissioner, Maine Department of Public Safety
Loretta Lynch, former President of the Public Utilities Commission, California
Leesa Morrison, Director, Arizona Department of Homeland Security
John Beakley, Former Appointments Director, Missouri
Judith R. Sidel, PhD., Executive Director, Center for Women in Government & Civil Society, State University of New York at Albany

Methodology

Formal vs. Informal Cabinets

In August 2007, WCF Foundation conducted a survey of women appointed directly by the governor to cabinet-level positions in each of the 50 states. For states with formal cabinets, the cabinet members were obtained using the state government website as of August 17, 2007, and information was confirmed when necessary with the governor's office and using the *State Yellow Book, Summer 2007*. If the governor's office confirmed the state does not have a formal cabinet structure, WCF Foundation evaluated the appointed positions that were equivalent to the cabinet level positions in other states.

To do this, WCF Foundation identified the top 20 departments or agencies most frequently included in the cabinet in states with a formal cabinet structure. WCF Foundation then determined whether the official heading this department or agency was appointed directly by the governor. In states where there were multiple departments or agencies in a particular service area (such as health and human services), we used all relevant departments or agencies - provided they were peer to one another in the executive reporting structure. If one department had authority over another (such as a department of health and human services overseeing both a division for public health and another for human services), WCF Foundation included only the official heading the umbrella department. In all states with informal cabinets, WCF Foundation confirmed data with the governor's office and using the *State Yellow Book, Summer 2007*.

DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES USED IN STATES WITH INFORMAL CABINETS

- Administration (includes Finance, Management, Budget, General Services)
- Agriculture
- Banking, Consumer Finance and Insurance (includes Financial Institutions, Securities, Regulation, Licensing)
- Children and Families (includes Youth Development, Family and Youth Services)
- Commerce
- Corrections (includes Juvenile Corrections, Rehabilitation, Parole, Probation)
- Criminal Justice and Public Safety (includes Juvenile Justice and Law Enforcement, State Police, Highway Patrol)
- Economic and Community Development and Housing
- Education (includes School Facilities, Early Learning)
- Energy, Environment and Natural Resources (includes Conservation, Land, Environmental Quality, Water, Pollution Control and Ecology, Fish and Wildlife, Parks and Recreation)
- Health and Human Services (includes Elderly Services, Senior Services, Health, Social Services, Health Care, Medicaid, Public Health, Mental Health, Welfare, Hospitals, Substance Abuse)
- Homeland Security (includes Emergency Management)
- Human Resources (includes Personnel, Workforce Relations, Employee Relations)
- Labor (includes Employment, Workforce Relations, Industrial Relations, Workforce Development)
- Military and Veterans Affairs (includes Adjutant-General, National Guard, Military Development, Defense)
- State and Tourism (only if appointed)
- Taxation and Revenue
- Technology
- Transportation (includes Highway, Motor Vehicles, Roads)
- Higher Education

Comparing States

These differences in governance structures create some difficulties in comparing states with small cabinets to those with larger ones, or in making comparisons between states with informal and formal cabinet structures. In many cases, the limitations imposed by using a consistent methodology across all 50 states may mean that very few positions were considered to be at the cabinet level – as few as five in some cases. The percentages of women’s representation included in this study should be considered with this context in mind.

Excluded Positions

WCF Foundation did not include top executive staff appointees and advisors, such as chiefs of staff, press secretaries, legal advisors or lieutenant governors. Cabinet-level positions appointed by a board or commission or by the state legislature were also excluded. Additionally, the survey excluded elected officers (such as lieutenant governors, secretaries of state, treasurers, etc.) even if, once elected, they were directed by the governor to lead a department or agency and therefore considered a member of the governor’s cabinet.

1997 cabinets

For the sake of equivalency, the same departments and agencies that composed the cabinet in 2007 were evaluated in 1997. Departments or agencies whose head was not appointed directly by the governor were excluded from the numerator and the denominator of the calculation, as were departments or agencies that existed in 2007 but did not exist in 1997 or were subordinate to another department or agency in 1997. All 1997 data was confirmed using the *State Yellow Book, Summer 1997*.

Appointed Budgetary Management

All budget calculations related to the share of budget managed by appointed officials or appointed women is based on Fiscal Year 2005 budget data from the National Association of the State Budget Officers and WCF Foundation’s review of appointed positions held by women in 2007. Based on WCF Foundation analysis, on average, 70% of state budgets were spent on elementary/secondary education, higher education, public assistance, Medicaid, corrections and transportation. WCF Foundation’s review of appointed budgetary management excludes the state budget spent in other areas – 30% on average.

APPENDIX

Women's Representation in Cabinets in 2007

State	# of Appointments	% Held by Women	Governor's Gender	Governor's Party	Governor's Term
Washington	23	52%	Female	Democrat	First
New York*	16	50%	Male	Democrat	First
North Dakota	16	50%	Male	Republican	Re-elected
West Virginia	8	50%	Male	Democrat	First
Massachusetts	9	44%	Male	Democrat	First
Connecticut*	21	43%	Female	Republican	First
New Mexico	21	43%	Male	Democrat	Re-elected
Tennessee	21	43%	Male	Democrat	Re-elected
Rhode Island*	12	42%	Male	Republican	Re-elected
Hawaii	17	41%	Female	Republican	Re-elected
Missouri	10	40%	Male	Republican	First
New Jersey	20	40%	Male	Democrat	First
Florida*	15	40%	Male	Republican	First
Delaware	13	38%	Female	Democrat	Re-elected
Maine	16	38%	Male	Democrat	Re-elected
Michigan	16	38%	Female	Democrat	Re-elected
Minnesota	24	38%	Male	Republican	Re-elected
Montana	19	37%	Male	Democrat	First
California*	11	36%	Male	Republican	Re-elected
Ohio	22	36%	Male	Democrat	First
Virginia	11	36%	Male	Democrat	First
Wisconsin	15	33%	Male	Democrat	Re-elected
Pennsylvania	26	31%	Male	Democrat	Re-elected
Arizona	30	30%	Female	Democrat	Re-elected
Nevada	17	29%	Male	Republican	First
Mississippi*	7	29%	Male	Republican	First
South Carolina	14	29%	Male	Republican	Re-elected
Nebraska	28	29%	Male	Republican	First
Maryland	22	27%	Male	Democrat	First
Indiana	15	27%	Male	Republican	First
Oregon*	15	27%	Male	Democrat	Re-elected
Arkansas*	19	26%	Male	Democrat	First
Iowa*	16	25%	Male	Democrat	First
Oklahoma	8	25%	Male	Democrat	Re-elected
Colorado	17	24%	Male	Democrat	First
Illinois*	17	24%	Male	Democrat	Re-elected
Utah	17	24%	Male	Republican	First
Kansas	13	23%	Female	Democrat	Re-elected
Louisiana	13	23%	Female	Democrat	First
South Dakota	18	22%	Male	Republican	Re-elected
Georgia*	10	20%	Male	Republican	First
Kentucky	10	20%	Male	Republican	First
North Carolina	10	20%	Male	Democrat	Re-elected
Alabama	20	20%	Male	Republican	Re-elected
Idaho	12	17%	Male	Republican	First
Vermont	6	17%	Male	Republican	Re-elected
Alaska	13	15%	Female	Republican	First
Wyoming*	13	8%	Male	Democrat	Re-elected
New Hampshire*	15	0%	Male	Democrat	First
Texas*	5	0%	Male	Republican	Re-elected

*These states do not have a formal Cabinet. See Methodology section for more information.

Appointed Women's Budgetary Management

State	% of State Budget Managed by Gubernatorial Appointee	% of State Budget Managed by Female Gubernatorial Appointee
New Mexico	82%	60%
Maine	64%	55%
Tennessee	61%	52%
Minnesota	73%	50%
Montana	64%	48%
Ohio	62%	45%
Pennsylvania	70%	44%
Delaware	62%	43%
New Jersey	63%	43%
Missouri	52%	40%
Iowa	58%	35%
North Dakota	52%	30%
Nebraska	31%	29%
Kansas	53%	29%
Massachusetts	40%	27%
Georgia	39%	24%
South Carolina	46%	24%
Washington	52%	24%
Alabama	33%	23%
Maryland	55%	23%
Alaska	42%	22%
California	37%	21%
Florida	49%	21%
Kentucky	74%	20%
Colorado	44%	19%
South Dakota	64%	19%
Oregon	56%	14%
Virginia	60%	14%
West Virginia	40%	12%
Hawaii	34%	11%
Nevada	40%	10%
Illinois	47%	7%
Michigan	36%	5%
New York	41%	5%
Arizona	49%	5%
Connecticut	42%	3%
Louisiana	70%	1%
Arkansas	23%	0%
Idaho	47%	0%
Indiana	35%	0%
Mississippi	50%	0%
New Hampshire	68%	0%
North Carolina	76%	0%
Oklahoma	24%	0%
Rhode Island	71%	0%
Texas	79%	0%
Utah	44%	0%
Vermont	76%	0%
Wisconsin	37%	0%
Wyoming	32%	0%

See Methodology section for more information on how percentages were generated.

Women's Representation in Cabinets in 2007 vs. 1997

State	% of Appointments Held by Women in 2007	% of Appointments Held by Women in 1997	Net Increase
Washington	52%	11%	41%
New York	50%	9%	41%
North Dakota	50%	10%	40%
Michigan	38%	0%	38%
West Virginia	50%	17%	33%
Florida	40%	8%	32%
New Mexico	43%	13%	30%
Mississippi	29%	0%	29%
Oklahoma	25%	0%	25%
Connecticut	43%	21%	22%
Tennessee	43%	21%	22%
Missouri	40%	20%	20%
Kentucky	20%	0%	20%
Massachusetts	44%	25%	19%
Oregon	27%	8%	18%
Arkansas	26%	8%	18%
Colorado	24%	7%	17%
Arizona	30%	14%	16%
Wisconsin	33%	18%	15%
Hawaii	41%	27%	15%
Maine	38%	25%	13%
Montana	37%	25%	12%
Pennsylvania	31%	20%	11%
New Jersey	40%	29%	11%
Maryland	27%	18%	10%
Rhode Island	42%	33%	8%
Minnesota	38%	29%	8%
California	36%	30%	6%
Ohio	36%	30%	6%
Georgia	20%	14%	6%
Delaware	38%	33%	5%
Nebraska	29%	25%	4%
Louisiana	23%	20%	3%
Indiana	27%	25%	2%
Alabama	20%	19%	1%
Utah	24%	23%	0%
Vermont	17%	17%	0%
Texas	0%	0%	0%
Wyoming	8%	8%	-1%
South Carolina	29%	30%	-1%
Idaho	17%	22%	-6%
Iowa	25%	31%	-6%
South Dakota	22%	29%	-6%
Virginia	36%	43%	-6%
Kansas	23%	30%	-7%
Alaska	15%	23%	-8%
New Hampshire	0%	8%	-8%
Illinois	24%	31%	-8%
Nevada	29%	46%	-17%
North Carolina	20%	38%	-18%

See Methodology section for more information on how percentages were calculated.

Endnotes

- ¹ Center for American Women and Politics. *Fact Sheet on Women Appointed to Presidential Cabinets*. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for American Women and Politics, 2006.
- ² United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women. *Women in Politics: 2005*. New York, NY: United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005.
- ³ Iowa GenWeb Project. *Iowa in the Civil War Biographies*. http://iagenweb.org/civilwar/biographies/biographies_n.htm (accessed November 16, 2007).
- ⁴ Carroll, Susan J. "Women in State Cabinets: Status and Prospects." *Journal of State Government*, 1987: 207.
- ⁵ Sidel, Judith R. Ph.D, interview by Ilana Goldman. Executive Director, Center for Women in Government and Civil Society, SUNY Albany (February 22, 2007).
- ⁶ Caiazza, Amy. "Does Women's Representation in Office Lead to Women-Friendly Policy? Analysis of State-Level Data." *Women & Politics*, 2004.
- ⁷ New Mexico Higher Education Department. <http://hed.state.nm.us/content.asp?CustComKey=193232&CategoryKey=206486&WebFileKey=249122&pn=webfilesview&DomName=hed.state.nm.us> (accessed November 27, 2007).
- ⁸ Jordan, Ann, interview by Melissa Moskowitz. *Maine Commissioner of Public Safety* (August 31, 2007).
- ⁹ Reingold, Beth. "Women as Office Holders: Linking Descriptive and Substantive Representation." *Proceedings of the Political Women and American Democracy Conference*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2006 citing Kathlene, Lyn. "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policy-Making: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates." *American Political Science Review*, 1994: 560-76.
- ¹⁰ Eagleton Institute of the Center for American Women and Politics. *Women State Legislators: Past, Present and Future*. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for American Women and Politics, 2001.
- ¹¹ Schriro, Dora, interview by Melissa Moskowitz. *Director of Arizona Department of Corrections* (August 30, 2007).
- ¹² Richardson, Nancy, interview by Elizabeth Moskowitz. *Director of Iowa Department of Transportation* (August 31, 2007).
- ¹³ Dolan, Julie. "Political Appointees in the United States: Does Gender Make a Difference." *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 2001: 213-216 citing Carroll, Susan J and Geiger-Parker, Barbara. *Women Appointed to State Government: A Comparison to All State Appointees*. Center for American Women and Politics, 1983.
- ¹⁴ Lynch, Loretta, Interview by Katherine Ray. *Former President the California Public Utilities Commission* (November 30, 2007).
- ¹⁵ Center for Women in Government & Civil Society. *Women in State Policy Leadership, 1998-2005*. Albany, NY: Center for Women in Government and Civil Society, 2006.
- ¹⁶ Center for American Women and Politics. *Fact Sheet on Women in State Legislatures 2007*. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for American Women and Politics, 2007.
- ¹⁷ Center for American Women and Politics. *Fact Sheet on Women in State Legislatures 2007*. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for American Women and Politics, 2007.
- ¹⁸ Center for Women in Government & Civil Society. *Women in State Policy Leadership, 1998-2005*. Albany, NY: Center for Women in Government and Civil Society, 2006.
- ¹⁹ Catalyst. 2006 Catalyst Census of Women Board Directors in the Fortune 500. New York, NY: Catalyst, 2007; Catalyst. Catalyst Census of Women Board Directors of the Fortune 500 as of March 31, 1997. New York, NY: Catalyst, 1997.
- ²⁰ Washington State Department of Transportation. *Executive Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity Plan*. Washington State Department of Transportation, 2007.
- ²¹ Jordan, Ann, interview by Melissa Moskowitz. *Maine Commissioner of Public Safety* (August 31, 2007).



734 15th St, NW, Suite 500 • Washington, DC 20005
Phone 202-393-8164 • Fax 202-393-0649 • www.wcfonline.org