

Abstract

WHITENER, ANGELA MICHELE. The Integration of Women into North Carolina Politics: An Examination of Appointments to Boards and Commissions. (Under the direction of Dr. Michael Cobb)

This thesis examines women's participation in politics by utilizing a model of gender integration. This model shows that there are two ways that women enter the political world: horizontally and vertically. Horizontal integration represents the increase of women into politics in numbers while vertical integration requires that women ascend to positions of power and leadership within the institution.

The main focus of this study is an analysis of women's appointment to boards and commissions in North Carolina. My analysis focuses on the number of women serving on forty boards and commissions over an eight-year period. The boards and commissions were chosen in two groups. First, a survey of elected officials and other key individuals was performed to assess the state's most powerful boards and commissions. The top twenty of these were chosen for examination. Then, twenty lesser boards and commissions were chosen at random. After a statistical analysis of my results, I conclude that women are not making significant gains in their appointments to boards and commissions and I explain this lack of progress as an example of the continuing significance of political roles.

Throughout the paper, I explore definitions of gender and how a woman's experiences may affect her participation in certain issue areas in the political realm, particularly with regard to appointments to boards and commissions. In addition, I

discuss women in North Carolina politics from 1920 to the present and give substantive examples of how women have influenced public policy in North Carolina.

**THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN INTO NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS:
AN EXAMINATION OF APPOINTMENTS TO BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS**

by

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Dedication

In memory of my friend, Ellie Franklin, who taught me what it means to be a strong, political woman.

Biography

Angie Whitener is a native of Marion, North Carolina. She holds a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from North Carolina State University. While pursuing a Master of Arts in Political Science, Angie worked for state Senator Steve Metcalf as a legislative assistant at the North Carolina General Assembly and as the Senator's campaign manager in 2000 and 2002. She currently resides in Raleigh, North Carolina.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Why conduct another study of women in American politics? For one, despite the undeniable rise in the number of women active in the political process, women remain underrepresented descriptively in legislative bodies. According to the Center for American Women and Politics, women comprise 53% of the nation's population, but only account for 22.3% of the nation's state legislatures. In North Carolina, women make up 20.6% of the state legislature.

Increasing descriptive representation is symbolically important because it furthers the American ideal of equality of opportunity (Dodson, 1997). Further, many theorists of democracy point to various benefits of having representatives look like the people they represent (Mansbridge, 1999; Thomas, 1994). Having more women in office makes government better able to respond to the needs of women. For example, the presence of women in legislative bodies has resulted in public policies regulating day care facilities and funding for prenatal care. The conventional explanation for these policy differences is that prior to becoming legislators, these women were usually wives and mothers (Kathlene, 1995). Such traditional gender roles provide extensive nurturing experience. Having more women in office would likely produce even more positive public policy changes involving the issues of women, children, and family - what Sue Thomas calls "distinctive based political priorities" (p.5).

A second reason for why this examination is important is because only a limited number of studies directly assess the substantive impact of women in politics. Thus, important questions remain unanswered or partially answered, such as whether women

have been able to advance into positions of power. Are women successful policy-makers within these male-dominated institutions?

These questions underscore the general perception that more women need to hold public office not only because they make the legislative body look more like its constituents but also because they act for different constituent groups. Past research also indicates that female legislators have distinctive styles of governing as a result of their gender and once women achieve positions of power, they use that power much differently than do men (Rosenthal, 1998; Kathlene, 1995; Duerst-Lahti, 1995).

I will begin my examination of women's participation in politics by utilizing a model of integration in Chapter Two. This model shows that there are two ways that women enter the political world: horizontally and vertically. Horizontal integration represents the increase of women into politics in numbers while vertical integration requires that women ascend to positions of power and leadership within the institution.

Also in Chapter Two, and throughout the paper, I will explore definitions of gender and how a woman's experiences may affect her participation in certain issue areas in the political realm, particularly with regard to appointments to boards and commissions.

In the Third chapter, I will discuss women in North Carolina politics from 1920 to the present, by examining how women have integrated horizontally and cases where they seem to be achieving vertical integration. I will also give substantive examples of how women have influenced public policy in North Carolina and talk about one female staff person in particular whose careers represent total integration into North Carolina politics.

These lessons help me to formulate expectations in Chapter Four concerning women's appointments to boards and commissions.

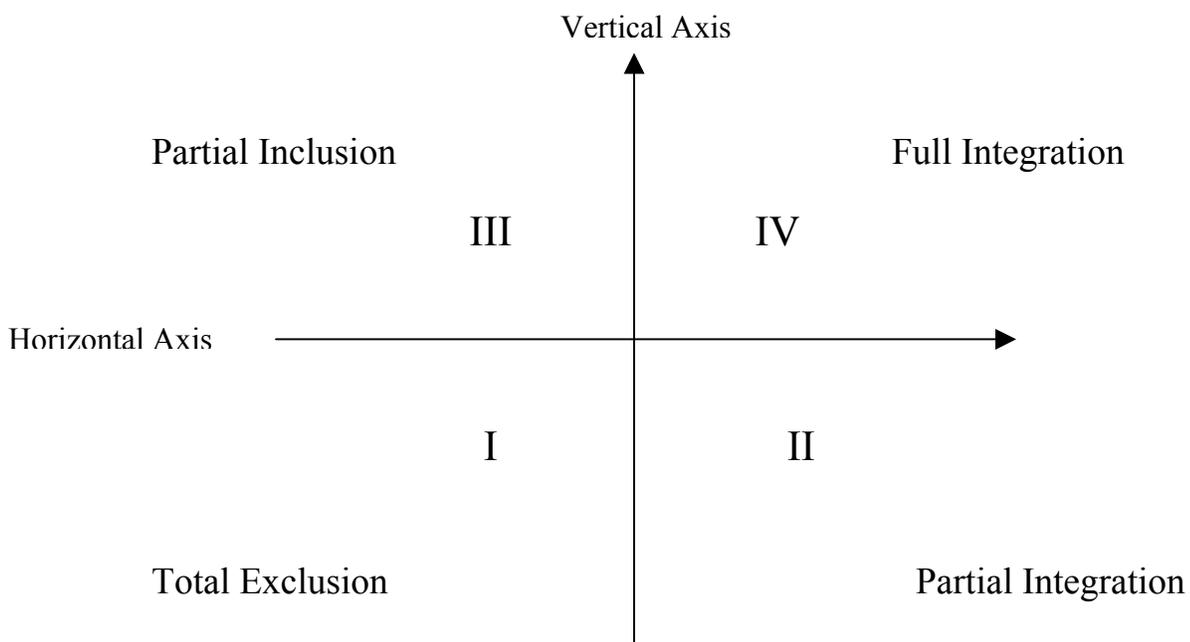
An analysis of women's appointment to boards and commissions in North Carolina comes in Chapter Four. Here, I explain the importance of political appointment and the process of appointing. Further, I explain why such an analysis is imperative to understand whether women are being vertically integrated into politics. My analysis focuses on the numbers of women serving on boards and commissions over an eight-year period. I conclude that women are not making significant gains in this area and explain the lack of progress as an example of the continuing significance of political roles.

I conclude my thesis by discussing how the results of this study reveal women's true placement on the integration model and what the findings portend for the future of women in politics.

Chapter 2: Integration and the Influence of Gender

A Model of Gender Integration

Though there is considerable research and data on the increasing numbers of women in politics and how this augmentation of women in office positively affects specific constituency groups, scholars have not rigorously studied the vertical integration of women in political structures. Vertical integration, in contrast with simply increasing the numbers of office holders - or horizontal integration - requires women to ascend to positions of power and leadership roles. The horizontal integration of women into politics comes in the form of increasing the number of female elective office holders and the number of women serving in political posts and appointments on boards and commissions. Being horizontally integrated, though, does not signify true acceptance into the highly masculine institution of politics. This acceptance only comes with vertical integration. Let us consider the following model:



“Total Exclusion” represents situations where women are rarely admitted and achieve less powerful positions within the institution. America before the Women’s Suffrage Amendment passed in 1920 is an example of total exclusion because, at that time, women were prohibited from voting and from holding public office. “Partial Inclusion” indicates that women are being integrated in more proportional numbers but are generally restricted to low ranks. In “Partial Integration” women are poorly represented in terms of descriptive representation but once there, women can rise in leadership. Women in Sri Lanka government would fall within this quadrant. Only 4.4% of Sri Lanka’s Parliament are women yet a female President - Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga - leads the country.

Finally, “Full Integration” shows an equal admittance and an equal ability to reach positions of power. Full integration would also require that women be totally accepted by those already in the institution. In other words, to be fully integrated would mean rejection of the “good ‘ol boy” world of politics. At present, this is largely an ideal.

Women in state legislatures likely fall somewhere between Full Integration and Partial Inclusion. Though only 22.3% of the nation’s state legislators are women, data indicates that over the years, more women are being elected to office. In fact, the Center for American Women and Politics reports that the number of female state legislators has increased four-fold since 1971. Thus, American politics is not a case where women are being prevented from integrating horizontally. In this analysis, I will investigate whether or not women are being integrated vertically, which is a less well-understood process.

Vertical Integration on Boards and Commissions

One way of assessing the degree of vertical integration for women is to study appointments to boards and commissions. If there are significant numbers of women are serving on boards and commissions in North Carolina this would demonstrate horizontal integration of women into this part of the political process. Vertical integration would require women being appointed to the more powerful boards and commissions and/or rising to chair these boards.

Gender balance on boards and commissions is important to ensure that all citizens have equal representation, but appointments are especially important to the women who are chosen to serve. At least one researcher showed that female legislators placed a higher value on experience gained serving on a board or commission than did male legislators (Carroll and Strimling, 1983). Women in the study considered those appointments to be political experience that was necessary to run for state legislative office and those appointments likely gave women the confidence to seek elective office.

It is important to note that the lack of women on boards and commissions – particularly the more powerful ones - could be a self-segregating occurrence. Because women typically have more experience with traditionally female issue areas, women are, arguably, pursuing appointments on those boards and commissions dealing with those types of issues. However, the fact that most of those boards and commissions related to traditionally female areas of expertise are not considered to be among the most powerful is also very telling. Importance is still being placed on boards and commission that deal with subject matter that is traditionally within the sphere of men's responsibility, such as the Banking Commission or the Wildlife Resources Commission.

The Influence of Gender

Before empirically exploring the integration of women into politics, it is important to understand the dynamics of gender, ultimately, as it relates to politics. The institution of politics is highly masculine, and feminine gender roles could hinder women when they try to gain entry into politics. Gender roles in are learned early and constantly reinforced socially and politically. As a result, male and female legislators are expected to hold different attitudes and behave differently. Prior to running for office, for example, men are more likely to have had jobs that provided them with greater community contacts and access to money and connections while women are more likely to have gained experience by volunteering or participation in other community activities. Female legislators are also less likely to have young children in the home because of the family responsibilities placed on them as the caretakers. Finally, women often have distinctively different policy priorities and different leadership styles as a result of their experiences as women (Thomas, 1994; Kathlene, 1995; Boulard, 1999; Diamond, 1977). Therefore, it is important to understand the origins of gendered behavior and how it might explain differences between men and women in the political sphere.

Theories of Gendered Socialization

Masculine traits are most commonly associated with men and feminine traits with women. Masculine characteristics include powerful, aggressive, assertive, ambitious, strong, and unemotional. By contrast, being feminine means being sensitive, emotional, charming, docile, and lacking aggressiveness and power. These defining characteristics of gender are manifested in acts as subtle as buying pink booties – instead of blue – for a

baby girl or encouraging a young boy to play with trucks instead of with his sister's dolls. After all, it is during playtime with dolls that girls learn how to be nurturing and sensitive.

Most research identifies similar processes by which we learn the concept of masculine and feminine ideals. Gender is learned and reinforced by parents, from the media, from peers, in church, and in school (Bennet, 1993). Girls are encouraged to emulate their mothers and learn to be women by dressing up in their mother's high heel shoes, putting on lipstick and painting their fingernails. Corporate America has made this playtime even easier by providing young girls with entire product lines of make-up just for them. Instead of dolls, boys are encouraged to play with trucks and cars. Role-playing for young boys is also common, such as being a policeman, fireman, or soldier and this playtime teaches boys about civic responsibilities. Pretending to be a policeman or soldier also includes playing with toy guns or acting out violence and aggression in other ways, which develops dominance traits.

Further evidence supporting the position that gender is a learned behavior comes from studies showing that while boys are more aggressive physically, both boys and girls are equally verbally aggressive (Sapiro, 1983). The author concludes that "sex differences in styles of power and control behavior begin to emerge during childhood" in part because "boys are allowed more options for expression of aggressiveness" (Sapiro, 1983, p.44). So, children learn at a very young age what power means and which sex is best suited to exert power and control.

Appropriate roles in the workplace are affected by gender ideals. Just 50 years ago, women rarely worked outside of the home and when they did, it was in traditional

roles such as teachers, secretaries, or nurses but today women are visible in all occupations, even those previously dominated by men. In fact, in 2002, the entering class at the University of North Carolina Law School was 57% female and at Berkley School of Law, 60% of its incoming class in 2003 was female.

Even though women are more visible in all occupations, they still are slow to reach top positions in their fields. According to a study done by the Women's Forum of North Carolina in 1999, women accounted for 75% of the workforce at the First Union Corporation in North Carolina but only 8% of their board of directors was female. Further, Duke Energy had a board of directors that was only 6% female. So, women are reaching top positions in once male-dominated professions, but their numbers are sparse.

Gender in Politics

Politics has long been viewed as a world of bargaining and logrolling where difficult decisions are made. "The image of politics as something dirty, where the real action takes place in smoke-filled backrooms and bars, is a prominent theme in the American political culture" (Diamond, 1977, p.73). Politics is a game of power plays and to successfully compete in this game one has to be very assertive and aggressive. With this common view of politics, women – possessing these feminine qualities of passivity, sensitivity, and lack of aggressiveness – would seem to be not well suited to play the game. Thus, the political model of gender perpetuates the social constructs of gender and vice versa.

Research even connects gender socialization to learned political behavior. Sex-role socialization studies in the 1980s showed that, like in earlier times, "girls were still

learning passivity from their mothers and this learning process accounted for their political passivity as adults” (Bennett, 1993, p.47).

Politics has been regarded as better suited for men not only because of the skills necessary to participate but also because women are the mothers of our children and the moral pillars of society. Early arguments against granting women’s suffrage in the 1920s included the idea that women should be protected from the political world because subjecting them to politics would be the demise of society; it would cause them to lose their purity and virtues. Speaking to the issue of giving women the right to vote, President Grover Cleveland said, “Women will change politics less than politics will change women.”

Family Responsibilities

One possible explanation for the lack of horizontal integration of women in politics is that gender roles affect a woman’s calculation of costs and benefits for entering into politics. Family responsibilities dictate for women – more often than men – both the decision to run for political office and the timing of that decision. Women still typically have the responsibility of raising the children and will wait until the children are grown – or at least older – before running for state legislative office. The Center for American Women in Politics at Rutgers University reported in 2001 that only 17% of female legislators nationwide had children under the age of 18, compared to 36% of men. Further, the Center reports that female legislators are also older than their male counterparts. Only 24% of those women were under the age of 50 compared to 39% of

men. These data suggest how the division of labor within the family affects the timing of women's entrance into politics.

Gender and Prior Experience

Differences between men and women's routes to legislative office are also evident. These disparities can, arguably, be attributed to the way gender is assimilated in American culture. Men are more likely than women to have had occupations prior to holding office that provided "high status, high prestige, and high community visibility" (Thomas, 1994, p.32). Such occupations make it easier for men to enter the political world because they allow men to gain contacts in the community, access to key individuals, and money (Thomas, 1994). Women, by contrast, tend to gain the necessary contacts and experience to run for office through activities such as civic or community volunteering or being active in local political party work (Thomas, 1994; Rosenthal, 1998). Further, although Thomas found that both men and women were just as likely to have held an office prior to running for state legislative office, those prior offices were frequently school boards for women and city council for men (Thomas, 1994).

Women's entrance into those male-dominated professions, such as law, that allow for greater community contact and access to key individuals has been relatively slow until recent years. Now, women seem to be quickly joining the ranks of men in these professions and this is evidenced by the high percentages of women attending graduate and professional schools. Similarly, at least one study found that the number of women who cite their occupation as homemaker has declined over the years, changing what has

traditionally kept women out of the “public sphere of politics” (Bennett, 1993, p.48).

Changing family responsibilities and gender expectations are likely to promote the increased horizontal and possibly vertical integration of women into the traditionally masculine world of politics.

Chapter 3: Integration in North Carolina Politics

According to the literature, women running for office face subtle biases but no longer confront serious obstacles to winning. While women candidates are still subject to some sex stereotyping (Cobb and Harrell, 2003) and are admittedly covered differently by the media (Kahn and Goldenberg, 1991), sex stereotypes sometimes benefit women candidates, and overt discrimination is largely a thing of the past. In fact, most scholars agree that the primary explanation for why fewer women office holders exist today is that fewer women run for office.

Running for – and subsequently winning office - is nevertheless only the beginning of a process of successfully wielding power. Many argue, for example, that an increase in the number of females being elected has had little impact on the balance of power in politics (Kathlene 169, Witt 277). Women's horizontal integration into politics has not been matched by an equal vertical integration into positions of power. Whether women are truly accepted into political institutions is critical to assessing the extent that women have been fully integrated into the masculine world of politics.

In this chapter I will review the horizontal integration of women in North Carolina politics and give some examples of how women are vertically integrated within the institution.

Horizontal Integration of Women in North Carolina Politics

Women have made slow but steady progress in terms of horizontal integration in North Carolina politics. North Carolina began her horizontal integration of women with the election of the South's first female legislator. Women have continued to be elected to the North Carolina General Assembly, and the current percentage of women serving is comparable to the number of women serving nationwide in state legislatures.

Early History

Lillian Exum Clement of Buncombe County was the first female to be elected to a state legislature in the South. Prior to her election to the North Carolina General Assembly, Clement had already broken new ground for women as the first female attorney practicing in North Carolina without male partners.

In 1920, as the nation debated the Equal Suffrage Amendment, the Buncombe County Democratic Party recruited 26-year-old Clement to run for the NC House of Representatives. In the 1920 Democratic Primary (months before women were given the right to vote) Clement beat two male opponents. Women's Suffrage was finally granted on August 26, 1920. In the General Election less than three months later, Clement was elected over a male opponent - 10,368 votes to 41.

Clement only served one term in the NC General Assembly but during her short career as a legislator, she introduced 17 bills, most of which are now law. Probably the most significant bill this young woman shepherded through the General Assembly was a bill that required private voting booths and secret ballots in elections.

Miss Clement chose not to run for re-election to a second term. Before her untimely death at 31 years old, she went on to make more significant strides for women, becoming the Director of the State Hospital in Morganton and establishing the Asheville Business and Professional Women's Club.

The next woman elected to the North Carolina General Assembly was Julia M. Alexander of Mecklenburg County. Alexander, also an attorney, was sworn into office in 1925. After taking a controversial stance on the teaching of evolution in public schools, she was beaten in the Democratic Primary by who would become the third woman to be elected to the NC House of Representatives, Carrie Lee McLean.

The first woman to serve in the NC Senate was Gertrude D. McKee of Jackson County. Entering office in 1931, Senator McKee was one of two women selected to lead the Public Welfare Committee. In her four terms in the Senate, McKee introduced legislation to regulate children's employment, punishing mothers for abandonment, providing social security assistance for the needy, and regulating beer and wine sales (Hammerstein, 1995).

Modern History

Women continued to be elected to the North Carolina General Assembly but their emergence was slow with only 13 women serving from 1921 to 1961. During the 1960's, however, the election of women to the legislature became a more common occurrence. By 1977, in the middle of the women's struggle to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, there was an impressive 24 women serving in the General Assembly.

The 1970's also brought the first female African-American to the NC General Assembly. Governor Robert W. Scott appointed Alfreda Johnson Webb of Guilford County to a seat in the NC House of Representatives right after the 1971 session had ended. Although she never had the opportunity to actively serve, having lost her bid for re-election, her appointment to the General Assembly was one of great significance.

The first African-American woman to serve in the NC Senate came many years later when Governor James B. Hunt appointed Jeanne Hopkins Lucas from Durham to a post in 1993. Senator Lucas, who is still a member of the NC Senate, currently serving her sixth term, is co-chair of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Education/Higher Education, which allocates nearly 60% of the state's total budget.

How North Carolina Compares

According to 2002 data from Rutgers University, of the 321 statewide elective executive posts in the United States, 89 office holders were women. Further, of these 89 female office holders, 4 were in North Carolina and all are the first females to be serving in their respective posts. Elaine Marshall, a former legislator, became the first woman elected to a statewide office in North Carolina when she won an election over NASCAR legend Richard Petty to be Secretary of State. Beverly Perdue, who had already made a name for herself as the first female to lead the Senate Appropriations Committee, was elected as Lieutenant Governor in 2000 over Betsy Cochrane who, too, had made significant strides for women. Also in 2000, Cherie Berry was elected as Labor

Commissioner, and Meg Scott Phipps, the daughter and granddaughter of NC governors, was elected as Agriculture Commissioner¹

In 2003, The Center for Women in American Politics reported that 1,648 or 22.3% of the 7,382 legislators in the United States were women. Women accounted for 20.5% of state senators and 23% of state house or assembly members. In North Carolina, 14% of the Senate was female (7 out of 50) and the House of Representatives was 21.6% female (28 out of 120).

= Figure 3.1 about here =

As shown in Figure 3.1, North Carolina women appear to be slowly achieving horizontal integration in politics. The numbers of women being elected to legislative office is, for the most part, on the rise. On the other hand, the increase appears to be concentrated to the lower chamber of the legislature. Women also seem to be slightly integrating vertically as indicated by the number of women serving in statewide positions, in legislative leadership positions, and in top staff positions.

Vertical Integration of Women in North Carolina Politics

In the 1990's, women began to achieve leadership positions in the General Assembly. Betsy Cochrane (R-Davie) was the first woman to be named House Minority Leader in 1985. Cochrane moved to the Senate in 1989 and made history again by being the first female Senate Minority Leader in 1995. Also in 1995, women in both chambers

¹ Phipps has since resigned from the post due to state and federal indictments for taking illegal campaign contributions and other illegal activities.

were appointed to co-chairs of the Appropriations Committee: Rep. Theresa Esposito (R-Forsyth) and Sen. Beverly Perdue (D-Craven). In the 1991 session of the General Assembly, Rep. Marie Colton of Buncombe County became the first female House Speaker Pro Tempore, building on the mountain tradition established by Miss Clement some 70 years earlier.

Women seem to be rising to power more quickly within the legislature in recent years. The 2003 Session of the General Assembly brought the second and third female co-chairs of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee, Senator Kay Hagan (D-Guilford) and Senator Linda Garrou (D-Forsyth). When asked about his decision to appoint these two women to those leadership posts, President Pro Tempore Senator Marc Basnight said, "I am conscious of gender, but I look at talents. We need to reflect North Carolina in the make-up of this body and I think we have done a good job dispersing folks throughout these committees."

Other examples of vertical integration can be seen in state government, as there are an unprecedented number of women in powerful staff positions. Democratic Speaker Jim Black's former legal counsel Jane Grey went on to be appointed as a district court judge. Linda Attarian eventually replaced her. Republican Speaker of the House Richard Morgan chose a female as his chief of staff: Sabra Faires. The majority leader in the Senate, Tony Rand, also has a woman - Chris Evans - as his legal counsel and the minority leader in the House, Rep. Joe Hackney recently chose a woman - Laura DeVivo - to be his right-hand person. Two of the top press jobs in state government also belong to women. Amy Fulk is communications director for the Senate Democrats, and

Governor Michael Easley also has a female press secretary: Cari Boyce. Finally, Lieutenant Governor Beverly Perdue has a female chief of staff, Betsy Conti.

In his book *Tarheel Politics 2000*, Luebke writes about two major competing ideologies in North Carolina politics: traditionalists and modernists. Not necessarily associated with a political party, these ideologies differ greatly on their social and economic views. Traditionalists – including such politicians as former Sen. Jesse Helms – believe that “the ideology of patriarchy, not feminism, remains paramount” (Luebke, 1998, p. 21). This lingering traditionalist viewpoint could explain some anecdotal accounts of the treatment of female legislators. For example, during a party caucus where a controversial piece of legislation was being discussed, one male legislator is rumored to have turned to one of the female legislators in the room to ask, “What would your husband think about this?” Further, there are reports that male legislators still exclude their female colleagues from important discussions, saying that if it did not take them more time to get ready, maybe they would not “miss the good stuff.” As with most anecdotal evidence, however, contrary stories exist. In a 1995 interview, Rep. Ruth Easterling argued that although the good ol’ boy networks persisted she was still “treated equally and seriously most of the time by male legislators.”

Substantive Representation

Recent female legislators have made a significant impact on policy in North Carolina. Representative Ruth Easterling (D-Mecklenburg) served in the North Carolina House of Representatives from 1977 to 2001 and is the longest-serving female legislator in the history of the state. She is credited with co-authoring the Smart Start legislation

that has become the legacy of former Governor James B. Hunt. Easterling is reported to have been amused that Governor Hunt referred to that and other similar legislation as her “baby bills.” Easterling also left a legacy of her own, insisting that she not retire from the General Assembly until she found a woman to succeed her. She was successful in recruiting a female candidate for her seat and finally retired at the age of 92.

In 2001, legislation calling for a massive overhaul of the state’s mental health system was shepherded through the legislature by Representative Verla Insko (D-Orange). This complicated bill will eventually change the way that services are delivered to citizens suffering from problems associated with mental health, developmental disabilities, and substance abuse. The plan is now being implemented by the North Carolina Department of Health and Human Services, which is headed up by a woman – Secretary Carmen Hooker Odom. Secretary Odom is a former legislator from Massachusetts and was appointed to her position by Governor Michael Easley in 2001.

Women in the North Carolina General Assembly have had a substantive impact on policy-making by organizing the Women’s Caucus. This bi-partisan group has united on several issues and been successful in passing legislation with that coalition. One recent example of such legislation was a bill to require that cervical cancer screenings be part of the health insurance program for state employees. Buncombe County House member Wilma Sherrill believes that her male colleagues have “recognized the power of the women’s caucus.” Republican Senator Fern Shubert seems to agree that the Caucus has done good things, but insists that there is still “room for improvement.”

The Women’s Caucus is not united on all issues affecting women, however. In the 2001-2002 Session, Senator Kay Hagan sought the help of the Caucus in the passage

of her bill to strike the Alienation of Affection laws from the books. This law allows estranged spouses to sue the new mate of their former spouse by claiming that the person strayed because of temptation. Women were split on this issue and therefore decided not to take an official position. Interestingly, at the meeting where this issue was discussed, one female staff member in attendance observed that many of the Women's Caucus members seemed to be more interested in exchanging recipes and pictures of grandchildren than listening and participating in the debate.

The Case of Mills

One of the most significant women to influence policy over the last decade in the General Assembly was Senate President Pro Tempore Marc Basnight's former chief of staff and legal counsel Norma Mills. Mills served in her position for almost a decade and some regard her as the most powerful woman to ever walk the halls of the North Carolina General Assembly.

Senator Basnight said this about Mills: "I never looked at Norma as a woman, I always just looked at her as a person. Norma was the first woman in North Carolina state government to have those types of responsibilities. Norma shaped our message and our agenda. She went with me everywhere and has a place in North Carolina history for the contributions she made while working in my office. The place that Norma carved out for herself has helped shape the attitudes toward women in the North Carolina Senate."

Indeed, Mills' influence created an environment where more non-elected women were appointed to serve in top positions within the legislature. She was completely trusted by male and female senators and during her tenure and Senate Democrats made

few decisions without her knowledge. She was closely involved with the process of committee appointments and served as the liaison between all special interests and the senate leadership.

Twenty years ago, female staff members at the General Assembly were mostly serving in the traditional role of secretary. Mills being appointed to serve in a non-traditional role is a result of the horizontal integration of women into North Carolina politics. However, her performance in that position resulted in her vertical integration into the institution.

Mills also made an impact on female staff members at the General Assembly. One veteran legislative assistant commented that Mills improved the working conditions for women in the legislature by regulating pay and ensuring that there would be a position for them even if the member for which they were working was not re-elected.

Like Easterling, Mills made sure that her successor was a woman. Basnight's current legal counsel, Tonya Williams, assumed many of Mills' responsibilities and quickly became recognized by Senate members as a bright, capable attorney.

Conclusion

Although women are slowly achieving horizontal integration into North Carolina politics, evidence also suggests that there are few instances of women's vertical integration into the institution. In the next chapter, I will examine appointments to North Carolina boards and commissions in an effort to find further evidence of possible vertical integration.

Chapter 4: Gender and Political Appointments

One method of assessing women's integration into the masculine world of politics is to analyze the numbers of women being elected to office (horizontal integration). How women are accepted into the institution once they win election is a critical part of assessing to what extent women have been integrated into politics (vertical integration). I assess women's vertical integration by examining the inclusion of women into the political world prior to any campaign for elective office.

Boards and commissions are a valid gauge of how well women are really being received, or vertically integrated, into the masculine world of politics. Appointments reflect and reinforce the political networks already in place. Though it is arguably more difficult to become part of these networks and to be appointed to a political position than it is to get elected to office, North Carolina women have a slightly higher percentage of women in elective office than in appointive office.

= Figure 4.1 about here =

Public officials view the power to appoint citizens to boards and commissions as a powerful political tool. Appointment "can be a vehicle for rewarding friends who worked in a political campaign, gave contributions, or have given long service to the political party in power" (NCCPPR, 1984). According to one staff member for Democratic North Carolina House of Representatives Speaker Jim Black, appointments are frequently referred to as a "political plum" and a way to keep friends engaged in the process and in constant contact with the Speaker's office.

Citizens consider serving on a board or commission as a prestigious honor. Charles Tolley, a member of both the University of North Carolina at Asheville Board of Trustees and the North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission, considers his appointments as an “opportunity for an individual and somewhat invisible citizen to serve the state.” According to a study performed by the North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, boards and commissions “allow citizens to participate in state government and to have their advice and concerns brought into the stream of decision making” (NCCPPR, 1984, p.24).

Some boards and commissions have very specific criteria for members, but no board or commission is statutorily required to appoint based on gender, race or political party. Often members are chosen to meet certain qualifications such as extended knowledge about an issue area or significant experience in a field or profession. Further, members often must come from a certain area of the state, but there are not always criteria for those appointed. Most often, the person is well connected and known throughout their communities or the entire state.

For many appointments made by the Senate President Pro Tempore or Speaker of the House, legislators are often consulted to provide recommendations of citizens. For example, if the leader with the appointing power desires to appoint a person to a board or commission from the eastern part of the state, the legislators representing that region may be asked to assist in finding a person to serve. The person recommended would likely be someone who is visible within the community, a good friend and supporter of the legislator, or someone with whom the elected official wants to cultivate a relationship. This person would also likely be one who is highly regarded in local political circles.

Appointments as Political Experience

According to one study about women's routes to elective office, women were more likely than men to have been appointed to a political position before being elected to public office (Carroll and Strimling, 1983). In fact, this study found that of state senators who participated in their survey nationwide, 54.7% of women and 42.6% of men were appointed to a position before running for office. Of state house of representatives or assembly members, 41.7% of women and 25.8% of men were appointed to a position before being elected (Carroll and Strimling, 1983, pp.33-35). Thus, serving in an appointed position on a board or commission is often a springboard for elective office for women. Quoting a former president of the North Carolina chapter of the National Association for Women (NOW), the North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research writes that "a board seat is a step toward a political career" (NCCPPR, 1984, p. 24).

This same study asked female legislators nationwide how important prior political experience is to being elected to public office. Of female senators, 61.7% considered previous political experience as important, as compared to 53% of male senators. Among house members, 55.3% of females and 48.3% of males regarded previous experience as important (Carroll and Strimling, 1983, pp. 51-53).

These survey results suggest that women place a higher value on being appointed to a position prior to running for office. Further, those appointments provide women with the political experience they need to run for elective office. While little has been written about the significance of the number of women serving on boards and commissions, this specific study can be used as a measure of the role political appointments play in a woman's decision to run for elective office, particularly state legislative office.

Previous Research on North Carolina Boards and Commissions

There have been two previous studies of the presence of women on boards and commissions in North Carolina. In 1984, The North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research conducted the first study, and in 1999, the Women's Forum of North Carolina performed a second, smaller study. Both studies identified the most powerful boards and commissions and then explored the number of women serving on those boards and commissions. The two studies used different methodology to compile a list of the state's most powerful boards and commissions.

The NCCPPR study was a comprehensive study of all boards and commissions in North Carolina. While the focus of their study was not on women alone, it still provides an in-depth look at how membership on boards and commissions reflects the population of North Carolina with regard to women, African-Americans and Native-Americans. To assess what they considered to be the 45 most powerful boards and commissions, the Center considered the policy-making powers statutorily given to the boards and commissions, the influence in shaping administrative policy, frequency in the news, and the desirability of appointments. The Center found that of those 45 most powerful boards and commissions only 24.4% of the membership was female.

In addition to the number of women serving on these 45 most powerful boards and commissions, NCCPPR found that in 1983 of the 320 boards and commissions in North Carolina, there were 59 that had no female representation.

NCCPPR's study pointed to the gender disparities on boards and commissions, but also spoke to the positive changes that had been made in the years leading up to the

study. During Governor James B. Hunt's first two terms (1977-1985), female representation on boards and commissions increased by one third (NCCPPR, 1984).

The 1999 Women's Forum of North Carolina selected the boards and commissions for their study with somewhat different criteria. They chose boards that were statutorily powerful and who allocated large amounts of money. Other criteria used potentially tainted the Women's Forum study as they specifically chose boards and commissions that have a large impact on women's issues and those that were already recognized to lack a gender balance. That criteria may have been biased toward particular findings. According to one member, the purpose of their study was to show that these particular boards and commissions had a notable absence of women in an effort to provide then state senator Beverly Perdue with justification for passage of Senate Bill 333 of the 1999 Session of the North Carolina General Assembly. As could be expected, the study concluded that on the most powerful boards and commissions in North Carolina, women were underrepresented.

Senate Bill 333

Senate Bill 333 entitled "Equity in Appointments" was sponsored by Perdue and co-sponsored by 27 – both male and female - members of the Senate. The bill was introduced in March of 1999 and referred to the Senate State and Local Government Committee. This proposed mandate of gender equity in appointments seemed not to have been well received by members of the General Assembly, despite the large numbers of

co-sponsors. While the idea of such a law was laudable, it was likely not seen as feasible.²

When the bill finally reached the floor of the Senate for vote, it was already in its third revision. After it was amended further on the Senate floor, it was sent to the House where it would sit in committee for months before being taken up. After more revisions, the bill passed the House and was signed into law by Governor James B. Hunt in July 1999.

The new law fell far short of the vision of its sponsor, Beverly Perdue. Rather than requiring that appointments be proportionate with the gender make-up of the state's population, the new law was the equivalent of a polite suggestion to do better. The Editor's Note in the North Carolina General Statutes reads "it is the intent of the General Assembly to recognize the importance of balance in the appointment of both genders to membership on statutorily created decision-making and regulatory boards, commissions, councils, and committees." However the Editor's Note goes on to say that "while gender

² Included in a massive state government reorganization bill in 1986, Iowa passed legislation that requires that all appointed state board, commission, committees, and councils be gender balanced. The law goes so far as to state that a person would be denied reappointment if such an action would cause any one gender to have a majority on the board (unless there is an odd number of members). In Iowa, legislation is introduced by committees and this bill was the product of the entire legislature after many years of study, compromise, and collaboration. (See Appendix B.) Florida also attempted to pass similar legislation in 1994. Florida's bill would have required that all board be gender and racially balanced. Democratic Governor Lawton Chiles vetoed the bill, and though the legislature was said to have considered overriding that veto, such a vote was never taken. One Democrat from Tallahassee was quoted in newspaper defending the governor's veto saying, "Just because you have equal numbers of men and women, or black and whites, or Republicans and Democrats for that matter, does not mean that you've made it. For true diversity, like success, it is a journey, not a destination" (State Net).

equity is its purpose, the act does not direct, mandate, or require such” (NC G.S. 143-157.1.).³

Data and Methods

The methodology of NCCPPR’s 1984 study was generally sound, but their assessment is outdated. Many of the boards and commissions that existed in 1984 have since dissolved and many others have been created.

To update the research, I began with NCCPPR’s list of the 45 most powerful boards and commissions in 1984 and eliminated all that were no longer in existence. I then added the boards and commissions that have since been created based on their powers, such as rule making and fund allocating, following the criteria used in the Women’s Forum study.⁴

All boards and commissions included in this new list are part of the executive branch at the state level. Therefore, no legislative committees or local boards and commissions were included. Further, all boards and commissions included must have

³ There has been one other attempt to legislate the number of women appointed to a board in North Carolina. In an effort to increase the representation of minority groups on the UNC Board of Governors, the 1993 General Assembly passed a law that mandated that two of the members must be female, two members of a minority race, and two members from the political party in the minority. The other 26 slots were at-large and, presumably, were reserved for everyone else: white males in the majority political party. This law was challenged and ruled unconstitutional by the North Carolina Supreme Court because it violated Fourteenth Amendment Equal Protection rights. This court ruling is significant because it could have set a precedent for any future legislation in North Carolina mandating gender balance on boards and commissions. Legal scholars hold any such legislation, depending on the actual wording, could also potentially violate Fourteenth Amendment Rights.

⁴ In the early stages of this study, I spoke at length with Sondra Davis, Director of Boards and Commissions for Governor Easley, about the process of appointing citizens to boards and commissions. She also advised me on my updated list of 45 boards and commissions.

appointments made by the governor, the legislature, or both. Finally, all must be public and have a membership that includes private citizens.⁵

The 1984 NCCPPR study excluded those boards and commissions whose membership was more than a part-time commitment such as the Utilities Commission, Industrial Commission, and Parole Commission as they did not believe they were necessary to their study on the overall efficiency of the state's boards and commissions. I elected to keep these as part of my study since my intent is to assess the numbers of women being appointed to boards and commissions and the fact that some commissions are a full-time commitment is irrelevant to this analysis.

With a new list of 45 boards and commissions, I then asked a group of individuals intimately involved in the appointment process to choose 20 boards and commissions based on two criteria: (1) The board/commission's executive powers and influence in shaping public policy; and (2) How desirable an appointment to the board/commission is perceived to be by the public. After the top 20 were identified, I asked respondents to rank each board or commission on a scale of 1 to 10, 1 being the least powerful/desirable and 10 being the most powerful/desirable.

The individuals that were chosen to participate were either the elected official or a staff member that works closely with the elected official in the appointments process. In addition to elected officials, two others were chosen to participate based on their

⁵ This study's primary focus is on the state's most powerful boards and commissions. Eliminating all local boards was necessary to assess, statewide, the most powerful boards and commissions. Further, this study does not address committee assignments within the legislature so only those boards and commissions in the executive branch with a membership that includes private citizens were chosen.

extensive knowledge of state government and the laws that govern the powers of boards and commissions.⁶

After collecting the surveys,⁷ all results were compiled and the average score was tabulated. The 20 boards and commissions receiving the top scores were chosen to scrutinize for female membership. These are: Board of Transportation, University of North Carolina Board of Governors, Utilities Commission, State Board of Education, Board of Directors of the Golden L.E.A.F. Foundation, Coastal Resources Commission, Environmental Management Commission, Industrial Commission, State Board of Elections, Alcoholic Beverage Control Commission, Wildlife Resources Commission, State Banking Commission, State Board of Community Colleges, Health and Wellness Trust Fund, Tobacco Trust Fund, NC Employment Security Commission, Clean Water Management Trust Fund, Marine Fisheries Commission, NC Ports Authority, and the Economic Development Board.

My selection criteria is “face valid” because I called on the judgment of individuals who are or were closest to the political aspects of appointing. Even if the respondent was not the elected official, she or he was at least the staff person who facilitates the appointment process and has knowledge of what boards and commissions are most significant to that appointing authority. Further, that staff person is also in a position to know which appointments are most coveted by the public because they

⁶ Lieutenant Governor Beverly Perdue, Senate Majority Leader Tony Rand, Democratic House Leader Joe Hackney, Terry Sullivan, Director of the Research Division of the North Carolina General Assembly, Jim Johnson, Director of the Fiscal Research Division of the North Carolina General Assembly, and staff members from the following offices: former Governor Jim Hunt, Senate President Pro Tempore Marc Basnight, Democratic House of Representatives Speaker Jim Black, and Republican House of Representatives Speaker Richard Morgan. Unfortunately, the Governor’s office did not respond to the survey. I do not feel that the omission of that survey has an effect on the results.

manage requests for appointments coming into that office. As mentioned before, two respondents – the directors of the North Carolina General Assembly Research and Fiscal Research Divisions – were chosen to provide perspective on the statutory powers of the boards and commissions.

Allowing respondents to choose, then rank, the boards and commissions enabled me to assign a weight to each board and commission independent of the frequency of them being chosen. This ranking system was important because all respondents, for example, chose the Board of Transportation and the University of North Carolina Board of Governors to be in their chosen group of 20. But with a weight assigned, the Board of Transportation was the overall choice for the most powerful/desirable board or commission in the state.⁸

A group of lower boards and commissions were also chosen to compare to the more powerful ones. To select these boards and commissions, I began with the entire list of boards and commissions to which the Governor makes appointments. From that list I eliminated the original list of 45 included in the powerful boards survey. I then eliminated all boards of trustees for individual community colleges and universities. Further, I removed all boards whose memberships are drawn from a particular region such as regional economic development boards.⁹

⁸ Assessing the most powerful boards and commissions is difficult no matter what methodology is used because choosing such boards is subjective. For the owner of a hair salon, the most powerful board could be the Cosmetic Art Examiner Board. On the other hand, if a community college president was asked, she or he might believe that the State Board of Community Colleges is the board that is most important. Similarly, a citizen may consider an appointment to a particular board or commission most desirable based upon their knowledge and experiences. For example, serving on the Commission for Mental Health, Developmental Disabilities, and Substance Abuse Services may be the most desirable appointment for someone whose passion is mental health advocacy.

⁹ Eliminating such boards and commissions was imperative to effectively compare with the more powerful boards and commissions, which were subjected to the same criteria.

Collecting data about the membership on these boards and commissions was challenging. A special database is housed at the General Assembly that keeps a record of past appointees on boards and commissions, but this database is dependent on the boards and commissions to send in the data. The information I retrieved from that database was largely incomplete, so I had to contact the boards and commissions individually to get the information. Still, many boards and commissions had no records of their memberships more than 10 years ago. For this reason, I only chose to look at the membership from 1995 to the present.

Hypothesis

Before looking at the numbers of women serving on these boards and commissions, I do not expect to find that women's presence has increased significantly over time. I predict that women are not being vertically integrated into North Carolina politics and this will be seen by the lack of women serving on the more powerful boards and commissions. Most of the powerful boards and commissions deal with subject matter in which women have not traditionally been regarded as knowledgeable. Further, these powerful political appointments are used to reward citizens that are well connected in the political networks already in place, and because of the traditional gender roles, women's inclusion in these circles has been limited. In looking at women's appointment to the lower boards and commissions, I also expect to find that women are poorly represented, thus also showing a lack of horizontal integration.

Thus, passage of Senate Bill 333 of the 1999 Session of the North Carolina General Assembly, which merely encourages appointment authorities to add more

women to boards and commission, is not likely to have made a difference in the number of women appointed. This could be because not enough time has passed to show that the new law has made a difference. However, without the force of law, suggestions to behave differently are unlikely to affect behavior because they do not actually change politicians' costs and incentives. For example, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 called for the drawing of majority-minority districts to ensure that African-Americans would have a better chance of being elected to office. Prior to that act, few blacks were afforded the opportunity to hold office.

Results

While a few boards and commissions have achieved gender equity, and others have remained static, the overall findings show that between 1995 and 2003, women's presence on the state's most powerful boards and commissions has remained static. This is also the case with women's appointment to the lower boards and commissions.

= Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 about here =

A statistical analysis of the results was performed to more efficiently assess any relationships existing between women's appointment to lower and higher boards over time.¹⁰ The percentage of women serving on both the lower boards and commissions and the most powerful ones does increase slightly over time. There is also a pattern present in lower board appointments: the percentage of women serving on lower boards is always

¹⁰ It is important to note that there are some cases missing from the analysis. Seven of the boards were not in existence in 1995 and in 1999 three boards still were not yet in operation.

higher than the percentage of women serving on the most powerful boards and commissions. The actual number of women serving in both board categories is very similar – both having 20 women serving in 2003. The actual numbers, however, are misleading as the boards and commissions have different numbers of membership slots. The Domestic Violence Commission, for example, has 38 members while the ABC Commission has only three. Therefore the percentage is a more appropriate number to use for comparison.

Although there is a visible pattern of more women serving on lower boards there is no statistical significance of women appointed to boards and commissions within or across years. Lack of significance could be the result of either a small, non-representative sample or a weak relationship between the variables.

= Table 4.1 about here =

Tables comparing the percentages of women serving on the lower and the most powerful boards show similarities. For example, in 2003, when women accounted for less than 25% of the total board membership, 47.6% of those appointments were on lower boards and 52.4% were on higher boards. This is also the case when women comprise 25-75% of the board memberships. The most obvious difference occurs when women account for more than 75% of the membership with 100% serving on a lower board. The results are analogous in 1995 and 1999. In 1995, when women are up to 50% of the boards' total membership, 50% are on lower boards and 50% are on the most powerful

boards. Further, in both 1995 and 1999 where board membership is 75% or more female, this occurs in the lower boards 100% of the time.

= Table 4.2, Table 4.3, and Table 4.4 about here =

Most of these results generally meet my expectations. These boards and commissions, overall, do not have memberships with a high percentage of women. There is an even lower number of women serving on the most powerful boards and commissions. These findings can, in part, be attributed to the fact that politics is still a highly masculine institution, and the boards and commissions examined in this study are the most political appointments available to citizens.

Of the most powerful boards and commissions, the most gender equitable boards are the State Board of Education and the Industrial Commission and they both have a membership consisting of more than 50% female. The State Board of Elections is also very balanced with 2 female members out of 5 total members. Further, over the last 8 years, these three boards and commissions have had an impressive percent of women serving. Another somewhat gender balanced commission is the Utilities Commission having as many as 3 female members out of 7 in 1995. Although the number has decreased to only 2 female members, the current chair is a woman. The Alcoholic Beverage Control Commission, with only 3 members, has a satisfactory showing of female presence with one woman serving – who is the chair of the commission. Finally, the Health and Wellness Trust Fund also makes a good showing with 37.5% female members.

The remainder of the powerful boards and commissions are grossly gender imbalanced. The commission with the largest disparity is the Wildlife Resources Commission, which has no women serving. Two other boards with similar subject matter – the Coastal Resources Commission and the Environmental Management Commission – also have a mediocre number of women serving.

= Table 4.5 about here =

Among the lower boards and commissions chosen the most gender equitable were the University of North Carolina Center for Public Television Board of Trustees (64.7% female), the NC Board of Sanitarian Examiners (44.4%), the NC Respiratory Care Board (42.8%), the NC Board of Physical Therapy Examiners (50%), the NC Arts Council (50%), and the NC Psychology Board (42.9%). The remainder of the lower boards and commissions had a female membership of less than 33.3% with three of those boards having no female members: the Board of Refrigeration Examiners, the Gasoline and Oil Inspection Board, and the NC State Board of Certified Public Accountants.

= Table 4.6 about here =

Below, I will discuss in more detail four of those boards and commissions that had either a very high or very low number of women serving.

State Board of Education

In my previous section, I addressed that there are subject areas where women are regarded as having more experience and interest, such as education. Not surprisingly, the State Board of Education has a slight majority of women appointed (54.5%). The teaching profession in grades K-12 does employ a majority of women, therefore the pool of candidates for board appointments would also be largely female. The state seems to trust that women can make good policy decisions regarding educating the young people in the public school system. What is surprising is that once those students reach college age, women seem to be excluded from making those same decisions, as seen by the small percentage of women chosen to be on the UNC Board of Governors.

Board of Transportation

The Board of Transportation is probably the most political board in North Carolina. This board was voted the most powerful and most desirable board for appointment by all individuals that responded to the survey. Throughout the history of North Carolina, the Board of Transportation has been considered very political. The Board of Transportation makes decisions not only about where intersections are built or stoplights are installed, but where multi-million dollar bridges and highways are built. New roads and bridges mean that citizens will have a faster route to wherever they are going and new roads could mean the difference in whether or not a new company would be located in a particular area. Given the important nature of these decisions, politicians would want people serving on the board that they could trust to make good decisions that would reflect well, politically, on them. Those appointees are likely to be good friends

and supporters of those in power, thus, again, reinforcing the political networks already in place.

Currently all of the appointments made to the Board are by the governor. The majority of those slots are divided into Highway Divisions. This organization gives the governor an opportunity to reward people in every part of the state for his or her loyalty. These individuals are very well connected within their communities therefore giving the governor a direct link to local networks throughout the entire state.

Two women currently serve on the Board of Transportation, down from 5 women in 1999. One of those women, appointed by Governor Easley, is the mother of one of Easley's former campaign staffers. The other woman, Nina Szlosberg, is the first person appointed to the board specifically because of expertise in the area of environmental concerns. Even though Szlosberg chairs the North Carolina Conservation Council and has won an Emmy Award for a documentary she produced on urban sprawl and land-use planning, she was not the first choice for the slot. The administration's first choice was a man who turned down the position at the last minute.

University of North Carolina Center for Public Television Board of Trustees

The UNC-TV Board of Trustees has a majority of women serving, currently at 64.7%. This Board's major purpose is to review operation of the UNC-TV network and advise the President of the University of North Carolina System and the UNC Board of Governors on TV programs and operations. Since most of the programming on UNC-TV consists of educational and cultural programs, it is not surprising that there would be

more women than men making these decisions. As previously stated, women are regarded as having more expertise in certain issue areas, education being one of them.

North Carolina State Board of Certified Public Accountant Examiners

There were three boards among the lower boards and commissions that had no women serving in 2003: the Board of Refrigeration Examiners, the Gasoline and Oil Inspection Board, and the Board of Certified Public Accountant Examiners. This board is small with only seven members. Out of the seven, only five must be Certified Public Accountants.

The North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants estimates that at least one-third of this state's CPAs are female. Further, on their Board of Directors, of the 19 members, 5 are women. With possibly 4,000 female Certified Public Accountants in this state there is certainly a candidate pool from which to draw female board members. It is shocking that despite this large number of female CPAs, no women have served on the State Board of Certified Public Accountant Examiners since 1995.

Partisanship and Appointing

The length of a term for a board member varies. Some boards have terms for as long as six years. This study begins with 1995, therefore it is possible that some of the people serving at that time were appointed as early as 1989. In the last fifteen years, a Democrat has been in the Office of the Governor for eleven years, so most of the gubernatorial appointments in this study were likely made by a Democrat. However,

Republican Jim Martin was in office through 1992 so some of his appointees were still serving in 1995.

The Office of the Lieutenant Governor formerly had the power to make appointments to both legislative committees and boards and commissions. In a process that began in 1989, then Lieutenant Governor Jim Gardner was stripped of all power to appoint. These powers were then given to the President Pro Tempore of the Senate. So, no Senate appointments were in this study were made by a Republican.

House appointments are split between the parties. In the last fifteen years, Harold Brubaker, a Republican from Randolph County served two terms as Speaker of the House. In 2003, Republican Richard Morgan was elected co-Speaker of the North Carolina House of Representatives. Speaker Morgan and Democratic co-Speaker, Jim Black, now share the responsibility of making appointments reserved for the Office of Speaker. So in the last fifteen years, a Republican has made appointments from the Office of the Speaker to boards and commissions for over five years.

Women's appointments to boards and commissions have remained relatively static over the years included in this study. For that reason, partisanship has likely had little effect on the number of women appointed to boards and commissions.

Implications

The overall small percentage of women on these most powerful boards and commissions indicates that women are slow in being horizontally integrated into North Carolina politics. The even smaller percentage of women on the more powerful boards and commissions shows a lack of vertical integration. Whether the absence of women is

the result of political networks already in place or that the subject matter of the boards and commissions do not fit within the social constructs of feminine gender, it still points to the fact that women have a long way to go to be fully integrated into politics.

Because of this lack of vertical integration, women have had to adapt to an institution that still recognizes them as outsiders. Entering the political realm for women has been more than just gaining the right to vote or being elected to office. Women are entering an institution with “a set of social norms, rituals, language, dress, and to some degree, values” (Sapiro, 1983, p.30). These values – power and aggressiveness – are masculine ideals that are not typically attributed to females, and the activities necessary to be a part of that institution are not activities that society has considered acceptable for women’s participation.

In an attempt to break into the masculine institution of politics, women have both adapted to the existing norms and rituals, and exercised a different – more feminine – style of leadership. However both approaches are problematic. The former aids in perpetuating the gender constructs that reinforce the belief that women are not well suited for politics. The latter points out the distinct differences between masculine and feminine styles of leadership, which could keep the focus on how women are different and operating against existing norms (Kathlene, 1995).

One specific difficulty women face when attempting to assimilate themselves into the world of politics is the sense that they have to be more prepared and work harder. They experience the pressures of what some refer to as a “newcomer status” or a proving period (Thomas, 1994). Reflecting on her career in politics, North Carolina Secretary of State Elaine Marshall believes that women have more to prove and “it is a woman’s

responsibility to broaden their base of expertise to be more accepted.” North Carolina House of Representatives member, Wilma Sherrill (R- Buncombe) echoes Marshall’s sentiments saying that, “women have to work harder, smarter, and longer to achieve anything.”

In addition to adapting, women are also finding ways to overcome traditional political gender roles by exercising distinctive styles of leadership that highlight feminine qualities. This leadership style is collaborative, puts emphasis on consensus building, and encourages participation from all parties involved (Rosenthal, 1997; Boulard, 1999). This collaborative feminine leadership style contrasts with the traditional masculine model of leadership. One former female North Carolina legislator observed that men lead differently because they tend to enter into a situation with preconceived notions and try to “make the rest of it somehow fit.”

Political Science research also recognizes these differences. In her study of women’s committee leadership, Rosenthal points out that “these differences reflect cultural roles in society: Feminist styles stress attention to people, participation, relationships, and a willingness to share power while masculine approaches focus more on control, power, and hierarchy” (Rosenthal, 1997). Kathlene’s research on leadership styles reveals that in committees, men are more verbally aggressive, interrupt more frequently, and disrupt debate. She suggests that the masculine leadership style has been institutionalized and rewarded because it pushes issues through the process more quickly, making it seem more efficient, even though the collaborative feminine style could be a more thorough, comprehensive approach that leads to more long-term solutions (Kathlene, 1995).

Women have begun embracing gender differences and using those same qualities that once impaired their participation in the public sphere. Feminine leadership qualities became the selling point for many female candidates in the early 1990s. These female politicians argued that feminine qualities would cause a positive change in politics. California senator, Dianne Feinstein even advertised her feminine leadership style with her 1990 campaign slogan, “tough but caring” (Witt, Paget, and Matthews, 1995, p.224).

Female leaders have also used their femininity to bring about changes in public policy that would have, arguably, never occurred without their participation in the process. Researchers frequently point to the fact that women have distinctive policy priorities that are a result of their life experiences prior to legislative careers (Thomas, 1994; Kathlene, 1995; Boulard, 1999; Diamond, 1977). Due to societal gender roles, women are seen as nurturers and more suited to champion policies that deal with children, family, and women’s issues (Thomas, 1994).

Focusing on distinctive policy priorities has been shown to be particularly important for women in North Carolina. In a 1991 study of the relationship between the number of women serving in state legislatures and the amount of legislation sponsored about women’s issues, she found that out of 12 states, women in North Carolina (along with Georgia and Arizona) gave a higher priority to legislation dealing with women, children, and family more often than their male counterparts. In fact, she found no other issue areas where women gave a higher priority than men, including education, medical, crime, budget, environment, energy, and public land use (Dolan, 1998).

Conclusions

This examination of North Carolina's boards and commissions shows that women are far from achieving total integration into politics. Let us refer back to the Model of Gender Integration that was presented earlier in the paper. By applying the model to North Carolina boards and commissions, it appears that women are being horizontally integrated into politics, evidenced by the number of women being appointed. Further, there are women being appointed to the state's most powerful boards and commissions indicating vertical integration. The lower boards and commissions in this study are currently 30% female while the most powerful boards and commissions are 24% female. This would place women on North Carolina boards and commissions somewhere on the Partial Inclusion quadrant. Partial Inclusion indicates that women are being integrated in increasingly more proportional numbers but are restricted to lower ranks.

As a result of only partial inclusion into the institution, women have developed distinctive policy priorities, behaviors, and leadership styles. With this knowledge, the question inevitably emerges: will women ever be able to totally integrate into politics, or will the institution eventually change as a result of their participation?

After extensive research over two decades of women in legislative politics, one researcher comments that, "at this stage of women's participation in elite politics, widespread alteration of legislative processes is not possible" (Thomas, 1994, p.17). This kind of change will only happen if women – or a coalition of those not threatened by a change in power – are in the majority. Thus to achieve vertical integration, women must have a significant increase in descriptive representation. Some researchers argue that simply increasing the numbers of women serving will not create an environment where

women are equal players: “no evidence suggests that power dynamics will change on their own with the increase of women in legislative positions or even necessarily come with the passage of time” (Kathlene, 1995, p.188). Despite this bleak prediction, it is certain that vertical integration will not occur without a significant increase in the number of women involved.

Women will likely remain underrepresented in politics until societal perceptions of gender and appropriate roles for women have evolved. Evidence suggests that these gender roles are changing as women are entering professions historically dominated by men. These trends reflect a change in attitudes not only with regard to men accepting women into these circles, but also with women becoming more comfortable in the pursuit of non-traditional professions.

Politics is slow to exhibit these changing trends, but once shifting attitudes about gender do completely reach the political sphere, women will, inevitably, be integrated – both vertically and horizontally. When women do achieve total integration, the focus will no longer be on the gender of the office holder. This will be “a time when both men and women will make decisions regarding war and peace, and will share responsibility for raising children and preserving the planet” (Witt, Paget, and Matthews, 1995, p. 284). Such a time is the ideal of total integration.

Figure 3.1

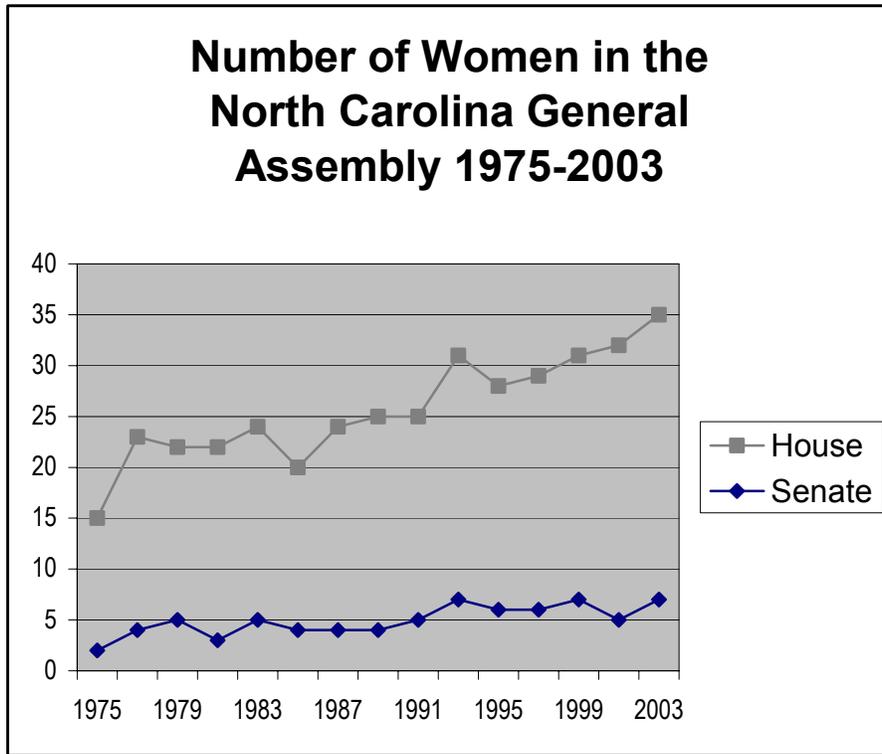


Figure 4.1

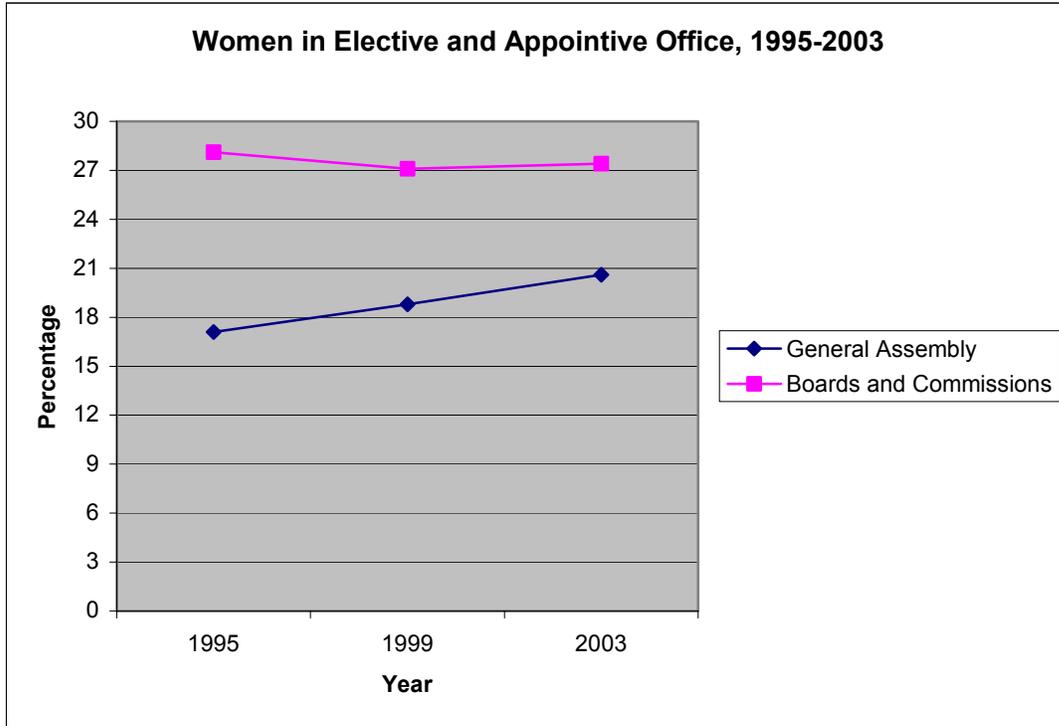


Figure 4.2

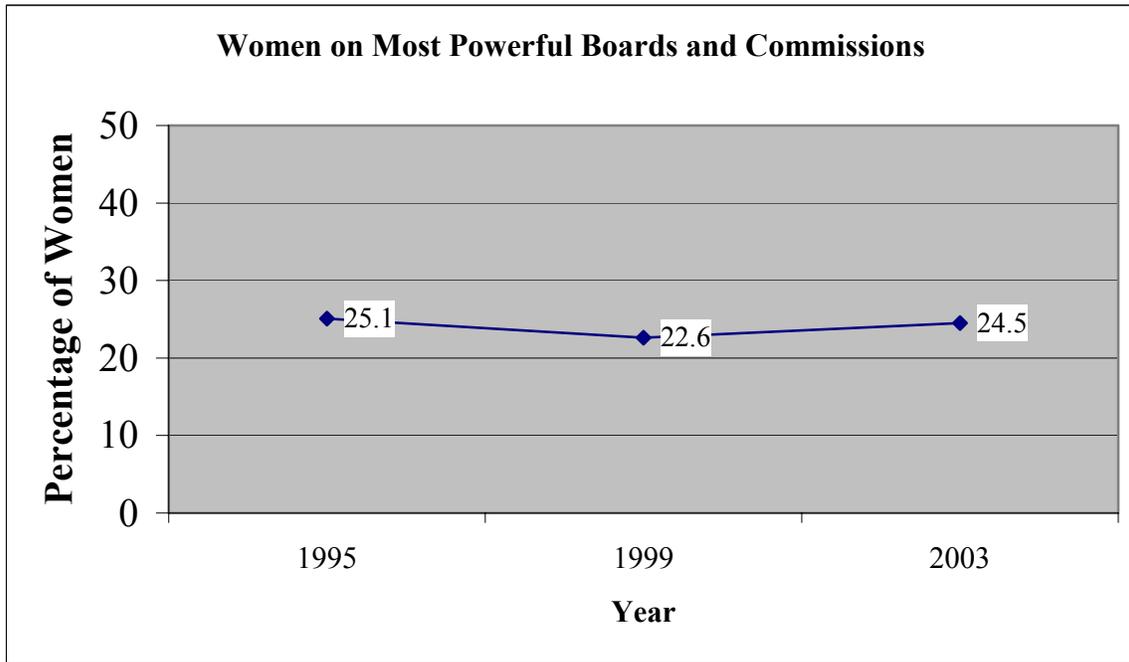


Figure 4.3

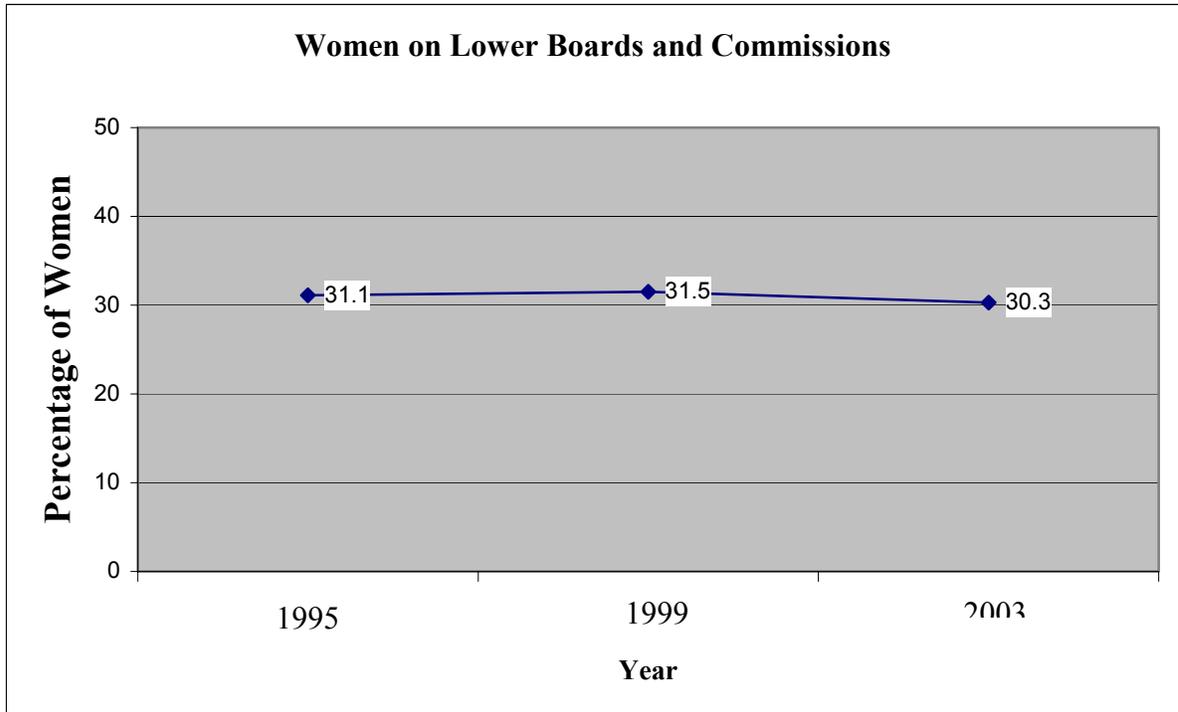


Table 4.1

Status of Board		Percentage of Women Appointed		
		1995	1999	2003
Lower	Mean	0.3109	0.3148	0.3029
	Number	17	19	20
	Std. Deviation	0.27852	0.28493	0.25784
Powerful	Mean	0.251	0.2264	0.2451
	Number	16	18	20
	Std. Deviation	0.18677	0.17904	0.16594
Total	Mean	0.2819	0.2718	0.274
	Number	33	37	40
	Std. Deviation	0.23678	0.24029	0.21601

Note: ANOVA reveals no significant ($p < .05$) differences between lower and powerful board appointments within or across years.

Table 4.2

1995 Percent Women by Quartiles		Status of Board		
		Lower	Powerful	Total
0-24.99%	Number	9	9	18
	Percentage	50.0%	50%	100%
25-49.99%	Number	5	5	10
	Percentage	50.0%	50%	100%
50-74.99%	Number	1	2	3
	Percentage	33.3%	66.7%	100%
75-100%	Number	2	0	2
	Percentage	100%	0%	100%
Total	Number	17	16	33
	Percentage	51.5%	48.5%	100%

Note: Chi-Square tests reveal statistically insignificant differences between lower and powerful board appointments.

Table 4.3

1999 Percent Women by Quartiles		Status of Board		
		Lower	Powerful	Total
0-24.99%	Number	8	11	19
	Percentage	42.1%	57.9%	100%
25-49.99%	Number	5	4	9
	Percentage	55.6%	44.4%	100%
50-74.99%	Number	5	3	8
	Percentage	62.5%	37.5%	100%
75-100%	Number	1	0	1
	Percentage	100%	0%	100%
Total	Number	19	18	37
	Percentage	51.4%	48.6%	100%

Note: Chi-Square tests reveal statistically insignificant differences between lower and powerful board appointments.

Table 4.4

2003 Percent Women by Quartiles		Status of Board		
		Lower	Powerful	Total
0-24.99%	Number	10	11	21
	Percentage	47.6%	52.4%	100%
25-49.99%	Number	6	7	13
	Percentage	46.2%	53.8%	100%
50-74.99%	Number	2	2	4
	Percentage	50.0%	50.0%	100%
75-100%	Number	2	0	2
	Percentage	100%	0%	100%
Total	Number	20	20	40
	Percentage	50.0%	50.0%	100%

Note: Chi-Square tests reveal statistically insignificant differences between lower and powerful board appointments.

Table 4.5

Most Powerful Boards and Commissions

	1995	1999	2003
Board or Commission	% female	% female	% female
Board of Transportation	15.4	19.23	7.7
UNC Board of Governors	18.6	15.6	25
Utilities Commission	42.9	28.6	14.3
State Board of Education	54.5	54.5	54.5
Golden LEAF Board of Directors	n/a	13.3	13.3
Coastal Resources Commission	20	26.7	20
Environmental Management Commission	23.5	11.8	15.8
Industrial Commission	42.9	57.1	57.1
State Board of Elections	60	40	40
ABC Commission	0	0	33
Wildlife Resources Commission	0	0	0
Banking Commission	5.8	17.6	15.8
State Board of Community Colleges	27.8	50	44.4
Health and Wellness Trust Fund	n/a	n/a	37.5
Tobacco Trust Fund	n/a	n/a	11.1
NC Employment Security Commission	30	28.6	28.6
Clean Water Management Trust Fund	n/a	17.6	23.5
Marine Fisheries Commission	25	0	11.1
NC Ports Authority	10	10	16.7
Economic Development Board	13	13	8.7

Table 4.6**Lower Boards and Commissions**

	1995	1999	2003
Board or Commission	% female	% female	% female
NC Board of Athletic Trainer Examiners	n/a	28.6	14.3
NC Social Work Certification and Licensure Board	85.7	57.1	28.6
NC Parks and Recreation Authority	36.4	9.1	10
University of North Carolina Center for Public Television Board of Trustees	52.9	64.7	64.7
NC State Board of Sanitarian Examiners	22.2	0	44.4
NC Board of Ethics	42.9	42.9	42.9
NC Respiratory Care Board	n/a	n/a	42.8
NC Pesticide Board	14.3	0	14.3
NC Board of Physical Therapy Examiners	37.5	62.5	50
NC Arts Council	54.1	54.1	50
NC State Board of Opticians	42.9	28.6	14.3
NC State Board of Refrigeration Examiners	0	0	0
NC Water Treatment Facility Operators Certification Board	0	12.5	12.5
Domestic Violence Commission	n/a	66.6	76.9
North Carolina Psychology Board	42.9	57.1	42.9
NC Film Council	8	26.3	20
NC Gasoline and Oil Inspection Board	0	0	0
NC Real Estate Commission	22.2	33.3	33.3
North Carolina State Board of Certified Public Accountant Examiners	14.28	0	0
NC Code Officials Qualification Board	10	15	6.25

Appendix A

Women Serving in the North Carolina General Assembly 1921- Present

Name	Terms in Office	Chamber	Party/County
Clement, Lillian E.	1921	House	D-Buncombe
Alexander, Julia M.	1925	House	D-Mecklenburg
McLean, Carrie L.	1927	House	D-Mecklenburg
McKee, Gertrude D.	1931, 37, 43, 49	Senate	D-Jackson
Mebane, Lily M.	1931, 33	House	D-Rockingham
Hutchins, Effie G.	1935, 37	House	D-Yancey
Cover, Lillian M.	1943, 45, 59	House	D-Cherokee
Ferguson, Sue R.	1947	Senate	D-Alexander
Craven, Jennie G.	1949	House	D-Mecklenburg
Ervin, Susan G.	1949	House	D-Mecklenburg
Rodenbough, Grace T.	1953, 55, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65	House	D-Stokes
Fisher, Thelma R.	1955	House	R-Transylvania
Davis, Rachel D.	1959, 61, 63	House	D-Lenoir
Cook, Elinor C.	1961	House	R-Macon
Fletcher, Tressie P.	1961	House	R-Alexander
Phelps, Caredwyn T.	1961	House	D-Washington
Chase, Nancy W.	1963, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 75, 77	House	D-Wayne
Collier, Iona T.	1963, 65	House	D-Jones
Evans, Martha W.	H:1963, S:1965, 67, 69	House and Senate	D-Mecklenburg
Brumby, Mary F.	1965	House	D-Cherokee
Ramsey, Frances C.	1965	House	R-Madison
Neilson, Geraldine R.	1967-69	Senate	R-Forsyth
Brennan, Louise S.	1969, 1977, 79, 81, 83	House	D-Mecklenburg
Hunt, Patricia S.	1969, 1973, 75, 77, 79, 81	House	D-Orange
Odom, Mary H.	H:1971, S:1975	House and Senate	D-Scotland
Webb, Alfreda J.	1971	House	D-Guilford
Bissell, Marilyn R.	1973, 75, 77, 79	House	R-Mecklenburg
Foster, Jo G.	1973, 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91	House	D-Mecklenburg
Keese-Forrester, Marg	1973, 1979, 81, 83, 85, 87	House	R-Guilford
Mathis, Carolyn W.	H:1973, 75, S:1977, 79, 81	House and Senate	R-Mecklenburg
Tally, Lura S.	H:197, 79, 81, S:1983, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93	House and Senate	D-Cumberland
Tomlin, Frances A.	1973	House	R-Cabarrus
Wilkie, Elizabeth A.	1973	Senate	R-Henderson
Cook, Ruth E.	1975, 77, 79, 81, 83	House	D-Wake
Griffin, Pat O.	1975, 77	House	D-Durham
Holt, Bertha M.	1977, 79, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91,93	House	D-Alamance
Hurst, Wilda H.	1975, 77	House	D-Onslow
Lutz, Edith L.	1975, 77, 79, 81, 82, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93	House	D-Cleveland
Nesbitt, Mary C.	1975, 79	House	D-Buncombe
Pickler, Janet W.	1975, 77	House	D-Stanly
Sebo, Katherine H.	1975, 77, 79	Senate	D-Guilford
Setzer, Frances E.	1975, 77	House	D-Catawba
Tennile, Margaret R.	1975, 77, 79, 81, 83	House	D-Forsyth
Thomas, Betty M.	1975, 77, 79, 81, 83	House	D-Cabarrus
Wiseman, Myrtle E.	1975, 77	House	D-Avery

Easterling, Ruth M.	1977, 79, 81, 83, 85, 97, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 01	House	D-Mecklenburg
Gray, Rachel G.	1977, 79, 81, 83	Senate	D-Guilford
Marvin, Helen R.	1977, 79, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91	Senate	D-Gaston
Seymour, Mary P.	H:1977, 79, 81, 83, 85, S:87, 89, 91, 93	House and Senate	D-Guilford
Woodard, Wilma C.	H:1977, 79, 81, S:1983, 85	House and Senate	D-Wake
Bagnal, Anne E.	1979	Senate	R-Forsyth
Colton, Marie W.	1979, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93	House	D-Buncombe
Fenner, Jeanne T.	1979, 81, 83	House	D-Wilson
Kennedy, Annie B.	1979, 1983, 85, 87, 91, 93	House	D-Forsyth
Pegg, Mary N.	1979, 81	House	R-Forsyth
Burnley, Dorothy R.	1981, 83	House	R-Guilford
Cochrane, Betsy L.	H:1981,83, 85, 87, S:1989, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99	House and Senate	R-Davie
Hayden, Margaret B.	1981, 83	House	D-Alleghany
Barnes, Anne C.	1981, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95	House	D-Orange
Hunt, Wanda M.	1983, 85, 87, 89	Senate	D-Moore
Jarrell, Mary L.	1983, 87, 91, 93, 97, 99, 01	House	D-Guilford
Stamey, Margaret A.	1983, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93	House	D-Wake
Duncan, Ann Q.	1985, 87, 89	House	R-Forsyth
Esposito, Theresa H.	1985, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 01	House	R-Forsyth
Gardner, Charlotte A.	1085, 87,89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99	House	R-Rowan
Huffman, Doris R.	1985, 87, 89, 91	House	R-Catawba
Walker, Lois S.	1985, 87, 89	House	R-Iredell
Wiser, Betty H.	1985, 87, 89	House	D-Wake
Hunt, Judy F.	1987, 89, 91, 93	House	D-Watauga
Perdue, Beverly M.	H:1987, 89, S:91, 93, 95, 97, 99	House and Senate	D-Craven
Thompson, Sharon A.	1987, 89	House	D-Durham
Bowie, Joanne W.	1989, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 01, 03	House	R-Guilford
Howard, Julia C.	1989, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 01, 03	House	R-Davie
Lail, Doris L.	1989	House	R-Lincoln
Wilson, Constance K.	S:1989, H:93, 95, 97, 99, 01, 03	Senate and House	R-Mecklenburg
Wilson, Peggy A.	1989, 91, 93	House	R-Rockingham
Gottovi, Karen E.	1991, 93	House	D-New Hanover
Jeffus, Margaret M.	1991, 93, 97, 99, 01, 03	House	D-Guilford
McAllister, Mary E.	1991, 93, 95, 97, 99, 01, 03	House	D-Cumberland
Russell, Carolyn B.	1991, 93, 95, 97, 99, 01	House	R-Lenoir
Adams, Alma	1993, 95, 97, 99, 01, 03	House	D-Guilford
Alexander, Martha B.	1993, 95, 97, 99, 01, 03	House	D-Mecklenburg
Berry, Cherie K.	1993, 1995, 97, 99	House	R-Catawba
Cummings, Frances M.	1993, 1995	House	R-Robeson
Gunter, Linda H.	1993	Senate	D-Wake
Kuczmariski, Erin J.	1993	House	D-Wake
Lucas, Jeanne H.	1993, 95, 97, 99, 01, 03	Senate	D-Durham
Marshall, Elaine	1993, 95	Senate	D-Lee
Mosley, Jane H.	1993, 97, 99	House	D-Wake
Preston, Jean R.	1993, 95, 97, 99, 01, 03	House	R-Carteret
Winner, Leslie J.	1993, 95, 97	Senate	D-Mecklenburg
Boyd-McIntyre, Flossie	1995, 97, 99, 01	House	D-Guilford
Clary, Debbie A.	1995, 97, 99, 01, 03	House	R-Cleveland
Earle, Beverly, M.	1995, 97, 99, 01, 03	House	D-Mecklenburg

Foxx, Virginia	1995,97,99,01,03	Senate	R-Avery
Little, Teena S.	1995	Senate	R-Moore
Pulley, Arlene C.	1995	House	R-Wake
Sharpe, Joanne	1995	House	R-Guilford
Sherrill, Wilma	1995, 97, 99, 01, 03	House	R-Buncombe
Shubert, Fern	H:1995, 97, 01; S: 2003	House and Senate	R-Union
Watson, Cynthia B.	1995, 97	House	R-Duplin
Verla Insko	1997, 99, 01, 03	House	D-Orange
Amelia A.H. Morris	1997, 99, 01	House	R-Cumberland
Ellie Kinnaid	1997,99,01,03	Senate	D-Orange
Linda Garrou	1999, 01, 03	Senate	D-Forsyth
Kay Hagan	1999, 01, 03	Senate	D-Guilford
Marian N. McLawhorn	1999, 01, 03	House	D-Pitt
Trudi Walend	1999, 01, 03	House	R-Transylvania
Edith Warren	1999, 01, 03	House	D-Greene
Margaret Carpenter	2001	House	R-Haywood
Lorene Coates	2001, 03	House	D-Rowan
Linda Johnson	2001, 03	House	R-Cabarrus
Alice Underhill	2001	House	D-Pamlico
Jennifer Weiss	1999, 01, 03	House	D-Wake
Katie Dorsett	2003	Senate	D-Guilford
Lucy Allen	2003	House	D-Franklin
Alice Bordsen	2003	House	D-Alamance
Becky Carney	2003	House	D-Mecklenburg
Margaret Dickson	2003	House	D-Cumberland
Jean Farmer-Butterfield	2003	House	D-Wilson
Carolyn H. Justice	2003	House	R-Pender
Carolyn K. Justus	2002, 03	House	R-Henderson
Earline Parmon	2003	House	D-Forsyth
Karen B. Ray	2003	House	R-Iredell
Deborah K. Ross	2003	House	D-Wake

Appendix B

Board or Commission	Purpose
NC Board of Athletic Trainer Examiners	Licensure of the practice of athletic trainer services to ensure minimum standards of competency and provide the public with safe athletic trainer services.
NC Social Work Certification and Licensure Board	Set standards for qualifications, training, and expertise for those who seek to represent themselves as a social worker.
NC Parks and Recreation Authority	Receive private and public donations, appropriations, grants, and revenues for deposit into the Parks and Recreation Trust Fund; Allocate funds for land acquisitions, repairs, and improvements.
University of North Carolina Center for Public Television Board of Trustees	Review operation of the UNC-TV network; advise UNC President and Board of Governors on TV Programs and Operations.
NC State Board of Sanitarian Examiners	Safeguard life, health, and the environment by registering qualified people to practice as sanitarians in NC.
NC Board of Ethics	Protect public interest and maintain public trust by helping Public Officials and the boards and commissions on which they serve avoid conflict of interest and appearances of conflict of interest as they perform their public duties.
NC Respiratory Care Board	Licensure of persons engaging in respiratory care to ensure a minimum standard of competency.
NC Pesticide Board	Govern board for programs of pesticide management and control; conduct hearing, adopt regulations, and set standards; suspend or revoke licenses.
NC Board of Physical Therapy Examiners	Establish and maintain minimum standards for the practice of physical therapy.

NC Arts Council	Advise Secretary of Cultural Resources on study, collection, and maintenance of information dealing with arts and/ or assisting local organizations and communities in areas of arts; advise on exchange of information and promotion of programs between public school and non-profit organizations; identify research needs in art areas and encourage such research.
NC State Board of Opticians	Administer and enforce the licensing of opticians in North Carolina.
NC State Board of Refrigeration Examiners	License refrigeration contractors.
NC Water Treatment Facility Operators Certification Board	Certify water treatment facility operators and supervise operation of water treatment facilities.
Domestic Violence Commission	Assess statewide needs related to domestic violence; assure that necessary services, policies, and programs are provided to those in need; coordinate and collaborate with NC Council for Women in strengthening the existing domestic violence programs.
North Carolina Psychology Board	Carry out provisions of NC Psychology Practice Act; protect public from the practice of psychology by unqualified persons and from unprofessional conduct by licensed to practice psychology.
NC Film Council	Serve as a forum for film-making concerns and makes recommendations to the Secretary of Commerce.
NC Gasoline and Oil Inspection Board	Adopt standards for kerosene and gasoline; require labeling of dispensing pumps; prescribe the forms of requiring labeling; pass rules and regulations necessary for enforcing provisions of the laws relating to transportation and inspection of petroleum products.
NC Real Estate Commission	License and regulate real estate brokers and salesmen.
North Carolina State Board of Certified Public Accountant Examiners	Grant certificates of qualification to CPAs who meet the legal requirements; register CPA firms; administer CPA examination; adopt rules of professional ethics and conduct.

NC Code Officials Qualification Board	Train, test, and certify local code officials.
Board of Transportation	Formulate policies and priorities for all modes of transportation; allocate all highway construction and maintenance funds; approve all highway construction plans; award all highway construction contracts; authorize rights-of-way for highway improvement projects.
UNC Board of Governors	Control, supervise, manage, and govern all affairs of the universities in the North Carolina system.
Utilities Commission	Carry out the Public Utilities Act.
State Board of Education	Supervise and administer the public school system and educational funds provided for its support.
Golden LEAF Board of Directors	Provide economic impact assistance to economically affected or tobacco-dependent regions of North Carolina.
Coastal Resources Commission	Establishes policies for the NC Coastal Management Act; adopt implementing rules for both CAMA and the NC Dredge and Fill Act; designate areas of environmental concern; adopt rules and policies for coastal development within those areas; certify local land-use plans.
Environmental Management Commission	Adopt rules for the protection, preservation, and enhancement of the State's air and water resources.
Industrial Commission	Administer the Workers Compensation Act, Law Enforcement Officers', Fireman's and Rescue Squad Workers' and Civil Air Patrol Members Death Benefits Act; Tort Claim Act, and Childhood Vaccination-related Injury Compensation.
State Board of Elections	Oversee the elections process and campaign finance reporting.
ABC Commission	Administer and enforce the ABC laws in North Carolina.
Wildlife Resources Commission	Create and maintain laws and regulations governing hunting, fishing, and boating activities in North Carolina.

Banking Commission	Foster efficient, safe, and sound operation of state-regulated financial institutions for the purpose of maintaining a healthy economic climate for businesses and individuals in North Carolina.
State Board of Community Colleges	Adopts all policies and regulations for the community college system.
Health and Wellness Trust Fund	Develop a comprehensive plan to finance programs and initiatives to improve the health and wellness of the people of North Carolina.
Tobacco Trust Fund	Manage portion of Phase I tobacco settlement money; Assists farmers, tobacco quota holders, persons engaged in tobacco-related businesses, individuals displaced from tobacco-related employment, and tobacco product competent businesses in the State.
NC Employment Security Commission	Rule on appealed unemployment insurance claims and tax matters as the highest administrative voice on such matters. Rulings are then appealable to Superior Court.
Clean Water Management Trust Fund	Allocate grant money, develop grant criteria, acquire land, and manage land acquired under the Trust Fund.
Marine Fisheries Commission	Manage, restore, develop, cultivate, conserve, protect, and regulate the marine and estuarine resources within its jurisdiction; implement laws relating to coastal fisheries, shellfish, crustaceans, and other marine and estuarine resources enacted by the General Assembly.
NC Ports Authority	Promote, develop, construct, equip, maintain, and operate the harbors and seaports within the State, or within the jurisdiction of the State.
Economic Development Board	Provide economic planning for the State and to recommend economic development policy to the Governor, General Assembly, and Secretary of Commerce.

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