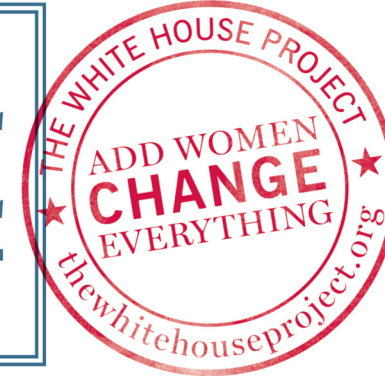




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THE WHITE HOUSE PROJECT: BENCHMARKING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP



THE WHITE HOUSE PROJECT:

Benchmarking
Women's Leadership

THE WHITE HOUSE PROJECT REPORT

BENCHMARKING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

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The White House Project is a nonpartisan, nonprofit, 501c(3) organization that aims to advance women's leadership in all communities and sectors—up to the U.S. presidency—by filling the leadership pipeline with a richly diverse, critical mass of women. The White House Project's Corporate Council fulfills a unique mission: to engage senior business women on issues that arise at the nexus of government policy, private philanthropy, academia, and business, and to facilitate engagement between senior women in the private and public sectors. Members are corporate women who are active agents of change within their corporations, and are in or have access to their executive suite. Members bring their intellectual and social capital to changing the perception of women leaders, and to advancing women's leadership in both the private and public sectors.

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LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

There's no doubt about it: In 2009, women have been making news. In January, Lily Ledbetter stood beside President Obama as he signed his very first bill into law, bringing us one step closer to equal pay for equal work. Judge Sonia Sotomayor was confirmed to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court, the third woman and first Latina on the nation's highest bench. Viewers of the three major network evening news programs prepared to see women anchors outnumber men two to one for the first time, with the addition of Diane Sawyer to the ABC desk. And in the workforce overall, the Bureau of Labor Statistics announced that women were on the cusp of overtaking men on payrolls across America.

It seems that in the midst of our economic downturn, and the accompanying state of flux in politics and culture, America has been turning to its women for vision, talent and leadership. Research shows that they are wise to do so: When women are present in significant numbers, the bottom line improves—from financial profits to the quality and scope of decision making. As this report is going to press Naissance Capital has created the Women's Fund, which will invest only in companies that have a critical mass of women on their boards.

However, as "The White House Project Report: Benchmarking Women's Leadership" illustrates, while women may be participating in the workforce in equal—or in some cases, higher—numbers relative to their male peers, they rarely make it to the top. Across the leadership spectrum in the sectors studied here, women are stalled at 18 percent – with numbers much lower among women of color. So few women are at the leadership table with men, and the country is not benefiting from their ideas, talent and experience, especially on corporate boards, on editorial pages, and on the Senate floor.

The good news is that Americans are willing to bring women into leadership to help build a better nation. Six years of polling by The White House Project and GfK/Roper Public Affairs have found that both women and men in large numbers—in some cases, as high as 90 percent—are ready to see women in the highest positions of leadership. Yet this comfort level that Americans express is accompanied by the misperception that women are *already* leading equally alongside their male peers.

In the following pages, we survey the current state of women's leadership in 10 different fields—from the military and journalism to business and politics—to establish an understanding of where we are, so that we may know where we need to go. Top experts in these sectors provide specific recommendations for getting us there. Across the board, the key to true transformation is *advancing a critical mass of women into leadership*, so that we can move permanently beyond gender and on to agenda.

Women and men alike bring value to the table, but it is their combined effort that creates the strongest foundation for innovation and prosperity. Many of our institutional and societal structures have limited the opportunities for both genders to work in full partnership. Yet amidst the upheaval in our economic, political and cultural spheres, we will benefit in the long run if we are committed to utilizing all of our nation's resources—both women and men—to lead together. It is our hope that this report will help to advance that goal, and contribute to building a stronger economy, better institutions and a more representative democracy for us all.

Marie Wilson

President and Founder, The White House Project

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

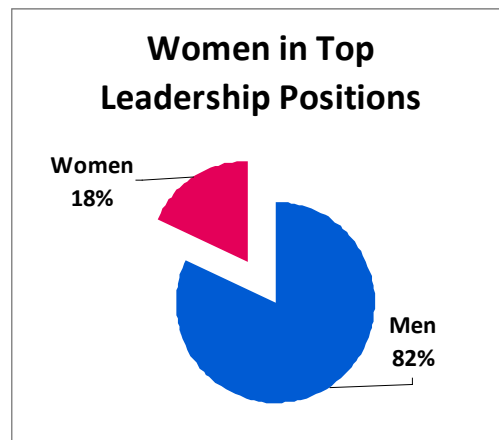
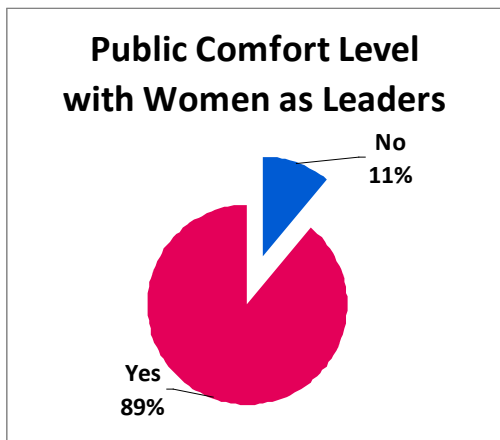
BACKGROUND

Are we there yet?

Much of the general public believes that women's fight for parity in the workplace has already been won. After all, women are solidly entrenched in the workforce. Today, women receive the majority of all college degrees and are well represented in entry- and mid-level positions in most sectors of the economy. But equality still remains out of reach. In fact, women have made strikingly little progress in advancing to the boardrooms and the executive suites; in some sectors of the economy, their progress has been stalled for several years. Today women account for only 18 percent of our top leaders and make 78.7 cents to every dollar earned by a man—a wage gap that increases with age.

Recent GfK Roper polls commissioned by TWHP indicate that one big battle has been won—large majorities of Americans (overall, about 90 percent and never lower than 70 percent) are comfortable with women as top leaders in all sectors, from academia and business to media and the military. That raises the question: “If so many Americans are comfortable with women leading in all sectors, then why are we so far from that goal?” Why, with all the good ideas and interventions that have been researched and documented, aren't women leading in proportion to our numbers?

This report seeks to address that contradiction and offer concrete, practical recommendations that involve specific accountability measures to track progress as well as creative, “out-of-the box” suggestions. Each of these sector-specific recommendations builds upon what is the key factor to achieving true transformation across all leadership fields — propelling a *critical mass* of diverse women into leadership alongside men. Research has demonstrated that achieving critical mass (at least one-third) of women in leadership is essential to moving beyond gender to the new agenda our nation needs — and will allow women and men to *work in partnership* to build a stronger economy, better institutions, and a more representative democracy.



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Why the Time is Now

The current economic and financial crisis, the likes of which we have not seen since the Great Depression, calls for a different kind of leadership to steer us toward stability. A growing body of research demonstrates that women's "risk-smart" leadership is perfectly suited to what our nation needs to get on the right track. Whether women could have kept us out of the current economic crisis remains a matter of speculation — but there is little dispute that their leadership strengths, and the diversity of perspectives they bring could help us avert future crises. Prominent research groups, including the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University and the Women & Politics Institute at American University, have long noted that women tend to include diverse viewpoints in decision making, have a broader conception of public policy, and are also more likely to work through differences to form coalitions, complete objectives, and bring disenfranchised communities to the table.

Diversity in our leaders not only promotes fairness, but delivers a strong financial advantage. Research has shown that when women are present in significant numbers, the bottom line improves — from financial profits to the quality and scope of decision making. Fortune 500 companies with high percentages of women officers experienced, on average, a 35.1 percent higher return on equity and a 34 percent higher total return to shareholders than did those with low percentages of women corporate officers,¹ according to a recent Catalyst study.² In a recent report by Ernst and Young, researchers demonstrated that groups with greater diversity tend to perform better than homogeneous ones, even if the members of the homogeneous groups are more capable. In fact, the diversity of the group's members matters as much as their ability and brainpower, if not more. Their conclusion: "The diverse group almost always outperforms the group of the best by a substantial margin."³

For example, after Best Buy developed Wolf teams, a program to bring together female customers and female employees at all levels in the organization to innovate in specific business areas, the outcomes included an increase in revenue of 11 percent, or \$4.4 billion: an increase of 18 percent in the number of women employees and an increase of 40 percent in the number of women general managers.⁴

Causes that were once marginalized as "women's issues" — from health care, education and elder care to domestic violence resulting from lack of education and poverty — have now moved front and center in the nation's political agenda. Not only are women well versed in these topics, but their "transformative" leadership style — making institutions more transparent, responsive, accountable and ethical — has been found to be more effective in leading modern organizations than men's "transactional" approach, according to a Harvard Business Review analysis.⁵ Even national security and international security issues are being dealt with using these transformative leadership styles that women have created and championed for decades. Women are best-suited to steer these hotly debated issues to a successful solution — and lead our companies and our country from crisis to prosperity.

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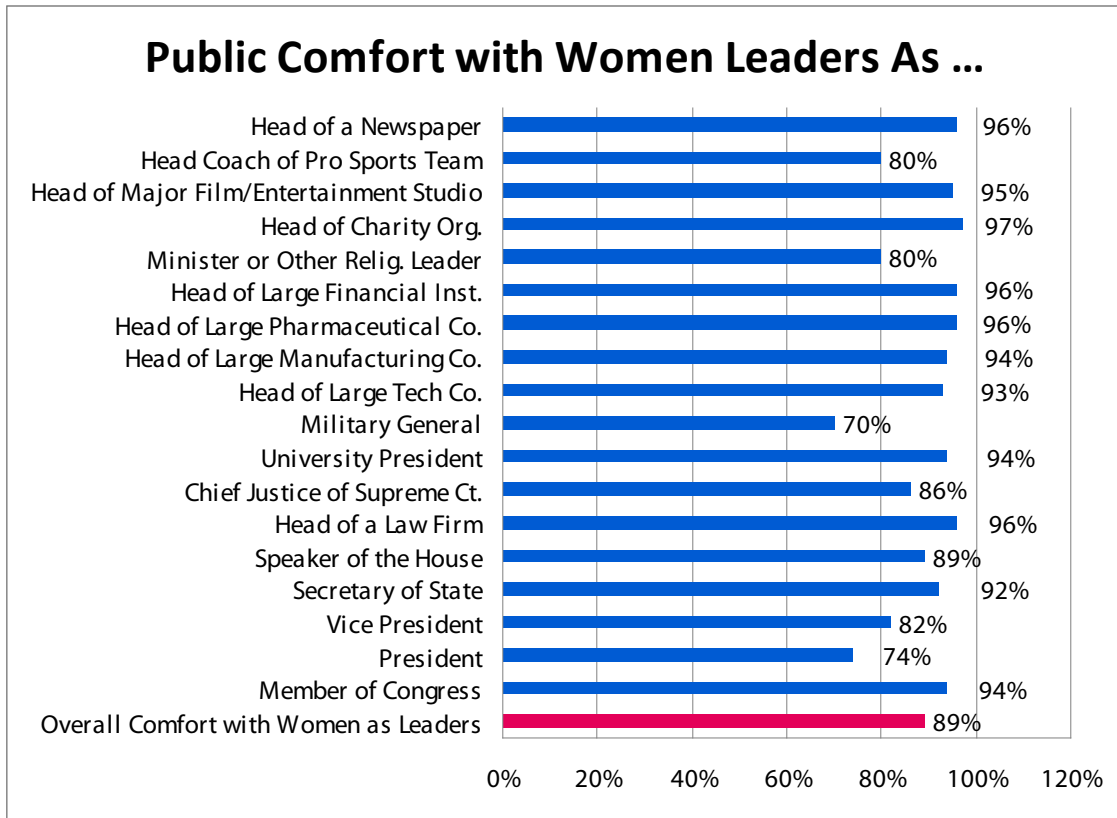
Furthermore, the nation needs all the talent it can get — right now. Current demographic shifts make women's talent, training and leadership skills critical to our nation's future success. The “baby boomer” generation (about 76 million people, born between 1946 and 1964) is beginning to retire in increasing numbers. “Generation X,” the next generation, born between 1965 and 1979, consists of only 46 million people (only about 60 percent of the boomers). Simple math shows that there will not be enough employable adults to do the jobs we need — even with the current cutbacks in employment and the economy. A recent report by the Center for Work-Life Policy and the Concoors Group ⁶ notes that unless we are prepared to incorporate our talented, educated women into the leadership structure in greater numbers, we risk facing a serious drop in the quality of our professional workforce. And women who are visible as leaders — from the university to the newsroom — serve as powerful role models and mentors to young women who are coming up the pipeline while normalizing women's leadership for men and women alike.

In short, ensuring that women move into leadership alongside men is not a women's issue, nor is it a trivial concern compared with the massive problems we face on a national and global scale. Increasing women's leadership is an imperative. Advancing women serves us all — men and women, businesses and institutions alike.

The American People are Ready for Women to Lead

The public is overwhelmingly comfortable with women in most positions of leadership across all sectors, according to several research studies, and that comfort level is growing.

- Significant change has occurred in Americans' acceptance of women as leaders. According to the GfK/Roper poll data collected for TWHP (in polls conducted in 2007, 2005 and 2002), the overall comfort level of Americans with women as leaders has increased from 77 percent in 2002 to 89 percent in 2007.
- Three-quarters of Americans say they would feel comfortable with a woman as president of the United States, and 82 percent with a woman as vice president.
- More than 90 percent of the American public is comfortable with women as members of Congress, leaders of universities, charities, newspapers, television and film studios, heads of large companies of various types, and law firms.
- About 80 percent feel comfortable with a woman as head coach of a professional sports team and as a minister or other religious leader.
- The lowest ranking in the poll was a 70 percent comfort level with female generals in the military.



Source: GfK/ Roper Public Opinion Polls conducted for The White House Project, 2007.

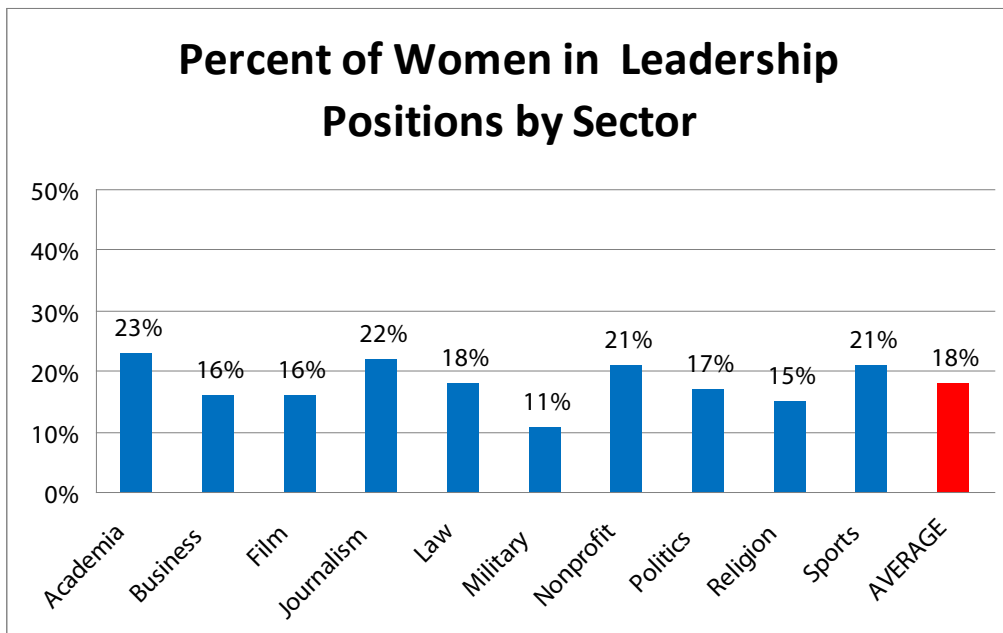
In fact, the public currently believes that women — even more than men — have what it takes to be leaders in today’s world, according to a 2008 Pew Research Center study. In that study, the public rated women above men in five of the eight character traits they value highly in their leaders (honesty, intelligence, creativity, outgoingness, compassion) and equal to men in two others (hardworking, ambition). Men rated higher (by 10 percent more respondents) in only one trait—decisiveness. Overall 69 percent of those surveyed thought women and men would make equally good leaders.⁷

SUMMARY FINDINGS

Leadership and Wage Gap Persists Across All Sectors

Today, we are nowhere near where we need to be in terms of representation in leadership positions—in fact, we are even losing ground in some sectors. Even though the public is ready, and women themselves are trained, educated, in the pipeline and prepared to lead, women in general — and women of color in particular — are vastly underrepresented at the top ranks of the 10 fields reviewed in this report. And in many key indicators such as pay, board seats and corporate officer posts, progress has stopped or even gone backwards in the last few years. Both the leadership gap and the wage gap between women and men persist at nearly every level of employment and grow wider as the status, prestige and rank of the leadership position rises.

Among the 10 sectors reviewed, women, on average, hold only 18 percent of the top leadership positions. This ranges from a low of 11 percent in the military to a high of 23 percent in academia. Those numbers are especially low when one considers that women exceed men in earning college degrees and that, in every sector except the military, women constitute half or more of the staff or line workers.



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Key Findings on Levels of Women's Leadership in Ten Major Sectors

Academia

- Nationally, women are 57 percent of all college students but only 26 percent of full professors, 23 percent of university presidents and 14 percent of presidents at the doctoral degree-granting institutions.
- The number of female presidents has not changed in the last 10 years.
- Women account for less than 30 percent of the board members on college and university boards.
- Female faculty have not made any progress in closing the salary gap with their male counterparts. In 1972, they made 83 percent of what male faculty made: today they make 82 percent of what male faculty make.

Business

- Among Fortune 500 companies, women constitute only 3 percent of the CEOs, 6 percent of the top paying positions and 16 percent of the corporate officers.
- Among Fortune 500 companies, women account for 15 percent of the board members; 13 percent of these companies have no women on their boards.
- The leadership pipeline exists – women make up 48 percent of the labor force and 51 percent of all management/administrative/professional positions – but progress beyond this point is stalled and has been for the past three years.
- The wage gap widens as women age and move up the ladder into management. Women make only 78 percent of what men make – an improvement of less than half a penny a year since 1963 when The Equal Pay Act was signed.⁸ African-American women make 64 percent and Hispanic women make 52 percent of what white men make.

Film & Television Entertainment

- In film, women constitute 16 percent of all directors, executive producers, producers, writers, cinematographers;⁹ this represents a slight decrease in their representation in these positions in the last decade.
- Among situation comedies, dramas and reality shows in the 2008-09 prime-time television season, women made up one-quarter of all creators, directors, executive producers and producers.¹⁰
- Women own less than 6 percent of the full-power television stations in the U.S.¹¹
- Women don't do much better onscreen: across 400 top-grossing G, PG, PG-13 and R rated films released between 1990 and 2006, only 27 percent of over 15,000 speaking characters were female. African American women constitute only 7 percent of characters featured in dramas and situation comedies, Latinas constitute two percent, and Asian women account for less than two percent.

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Journalism

- Women account for 22 percent of the leadership positions in journalism—a composite of women newspaper publishers (18 percent), women news directors of radio stations (20 percent) and women news directors at television stations (28 percent).
- Women of color account for less than 17 percent of female news staff, and only 6 percent of newsroom staff overall.
- Although women have been the majority of college journalism majors since 1977, the average male to female ratio for bylines at 11 of the top political and intellectual magazines is 7:1.
- Of the top 15 media corporations (which include a mix of print, online, television and radio businesses), all CEOs are male and only 17 percent of board members are women.

Law

- Despite being nearly half (48 percent) of law school graduates, women make up only 18 percent of law partners and only one in four judges.
- Women lawyers' salaries are slipping compared to men's, at every level. Men who are of-counsel lawyers earn about \$20,000 more than their female counterparts; male equity partners take home \$90,000 more than their female equivalents.
- While the confirmation of Sonia Sotomayor in 2009 as the first Hispanic Supreme Court Justice is momentous, as a matter of math two out of nine justices translates to only 22 percent female representation.
- The representation of women of color in law is among the worst of any of the 10 sectors in this report. Women of color account for less than 2 percent of partners in major law firms and of Fortune 500 general counsels.¹²

Military

- Women make up 11 percent of the officers in the top five officer categories today and 15 percent of all military officers. This represents significant progress for women in moving into the top leadership positions, as in 1994 they represented 13 percent of all officers but less than 5 percent of the top five officer ranks.¹³
- Women accounted for 14 percent of the enlisted personnel in 1996 and 9 percent in the top three ranks (E-7, E-8 and E-9); despite a decrease of 5 percent in the overall number of enlisted personnel, women made up 14 percent of the ranks and 10 percent of the top three ranks in September 2008.
- Women in the military are more likely to be members of a racial minority group than military men. Among enlisted personnel, 46 percent of women identify themselves as non-white and among officers, 32 percent of women identify themselves as non-white.
- The military remains the only profession in the United States which under Department of Defense policy prohibits women from taking into certain jobs. This hinders women from being promoted to the top levels of leadership.

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Nonprofit

- Women make up 45 percent of the CEOs at nonprofits but only 21 percent of the CEOs at nonprofits with budgets of \$25 million or more.
- Though the vast majority of workers in the nonprofit sector (73 percent) are women, men still hold a majority of top leadership positions and receive significantly higher incomes.
- Women CEOs of nonprofits have been losing ground relative to men in terms of salaries: Female CEOs now make only 66 percent of male salaries, compared with 71 percent in 2000.
- Women account for 43 percent of the board seats among all nonprofits but hold only 33 percent of the board seats at nonprofits with incomes of \$25 million or more. People of color account for 18 percent of the staff in nonprofits and 14 percent of the board members.

Politics

- Women make up only 17 percent of the members of the House of Representatives and the Senate; no woman has ever been president or vice president. Women of color are completely absent from the Senate and account for only 5 percent in the House of Representatives.
- On a global scale, the U.S. ranks 71st out of 189 countries in terms of the proportion of women in their national legislatures. We trail behind the United Kingdom, Japan, France, Italy, Germany, Canada and Australia as well as Afghanistan, Cuba, United Arab Emirates and Pakistan.
- Women have lost ground in the last decade as elected statewide executive officials and made little progress in state legislatures; they hold 24 percent of the seats in state legislatures – only 2 percentage points more than a decade earlier – and 24 percent of state executive offices.
- There are only six women governors, and women comprise only 15 percent of mayors of cities with populations of over 100,000.

Religion

- Although women overall constitute a majority of churchgoers (60 percent), men continue to dominate leadership roles in the church and temple.
- On average, in Judeo-Christian faith traditions in the U.S., women currently make up only about 15 percent of Protestant clergy and rabbis.
- More women than ever are training for leadership: The proportion of women in Protestant seminaries nearly tripled over the last few decades; today, about half of all Reform Jewish seminary students are female.
- Until there is a change both in the rule prohibiting women from ministerial leadership in the Catholic Church, Orthodox Judaism and Islam, and in the resistance to women's leadership that remains in other religions, women will continue to face an unbreakable stained-glass ceiling.

Sports

- Despite Title IX and the influx of young women into sports, only 21 percent of collegiate athletic directors are female; only six of the 13 Women's Basketball Association teams have head female coaches; and none of the National Basketball Association teams has a female head coach, general manager or president.
- While women of color were 47 percent of NCAA basketball players in 2007-08, they made up only 11 percent of the head coaches of these teams; in the 2008 WNBA season, there was one female African-American head coach.
- Women make up 48 percent of the athletes in Olympic competition but only 15 percent of the members of the International Olympic Committee and none of the officers.
- In tennis, the one sport where women come closest to men in overall earning power, the top-paid tennis player (winnings plus endorsements), Roger Federer (\$35 million) surpasses the number two, Maria Sharapova (\$26 million) by \$9 million, and the Williams sisters (\$15 million each) by \$20 million.

CONCLUSIONS

Recommendations for Closing the Leadership Gap

Why aren't women at the top in proportion to their presence in mid-level management? There is no clear consensus. *Women don't have what it takes?* Not likely — women are outpacing men in competitive admission to college and in earning equally challenging post-graduate and professional degrees. *Women don't want it?* This is even less likely. Women are pouring into all sectors, filling one to two out of every three entry-level and mid-level management positions in nearly every field. If women can succeed as middle managers, they can flourish as senior managers.

Numbers Matter: Critical Mass Makes All the Difference

We need a *critical mass* of women — not just within organizations, but in senior levels of leadership and on boards — to make a difference.

Critical mass is an idea that has moved from science and sociology to political science and into popular usage over the last 30 years. The concept is borrowed from nuclear physics:¹⁴ It refers to the quantity needed to start a chain reaction, an irreversible propulsion into a new situation or process.

The idea of aiming for a critical mass of women in organizations was adapted more than 40 years ago by Harvard academic Rosabeth Moss Kanter. In *Men and Women of the Corporation*, she argued that once women reached a critical mass in an organization, people would stop seeing them as women and start evaluating their work as managers. In short, they would be regarded equally.¹⁵

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Robin J. Ely, professor of organizational behavior at Harvard Business School, took the idea one step further. Ely found in her research that critical mass doesn't bring change if the women are only at entry- and mid-level positions. The key to changing how women are perceived and promoted is to reach critical mass at the senior levels.¹⁶ Until women receive representation at the top, Ely argued, sex role stereotypes persist — and not only won't men's perception of women change, *but women's own perception of women remains static.*

So what is the magic number of women needed at senior levels of leadership? A recent study of corporate boards by the Wellesley Center for Women found that having “a critical mass of three or more women can cause a fundamental change in the boardroom and enhance corporate governance.”¹⁷ Catalyst, the research organization on women in business, has also called for business to aim for this *critical mass* of no fewer than three women on corporate boards.

The Supreme Court is a perfect example:

- One woman is newsworthy – she's a first.
- Two is better – but still an exception, not the rule.
- Three out of nine – one in three – stops being unusual.

Change will not occur until there is a commitment from top leadership to significantly increase the representation of women in top positions. Despite the significance of women in the pipeline, our research demonstrates that in most sectors the advance of women to the top is stalled. Unless we are prepared to hold ourselves, our companies and our governments accountable for setting a target of reaching a critical mass of women in leadership positions, we will not make progress. In short, numbers matter.

Reaching a critical mass can be done — it simply takes political and corporate will. Norway did it. In 2002, they passed legislation instructing publicly traded companies to have at least 40 percent female board members by mid-2005. Not only did the companies move from 11 percent female board members to 40 percent to meet that deadline, the legislation had a ripple effect. While the rest of us are in the midst of a global financial crisis, Norway is enjoying prosperity, with a budget surplus of 11 percent and a ledger that is entirely debt free.

Specific Steps to Take

So how can the U.S. learn from Norway's stellar example and implement changes that can bring women leaders more fully into the fold? It will take changes in the diversity of the corporate culture, changes in which various styles of leadership are recognized and rewarded as valuable and effective, and changes in how organizations accommodate work-family balance.

That's why The White House Project has consulted a wide array of experts to provide specific recommendations for closing the leadership gap. We present these at the end of each of the 10 business and professional sectors reviewed in this report.

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We also offer these *six* recommendations which have proven to be effective in increasing the progress of women into top leadership positions and which are applicable across all 10 sectors:

- *Work to achieve a critical mass of women in leadership roles in every sector.* A critical mass of one-third or more women in leadership positions is essential for implementing and maintaining the changes recommended in this report.
- *Use financial resources strategically.* In choosing which goods or services to purchase and which non-profits to fund, look through a gender lens which considers the representation of women, and women of color, on the board and in top leadership. Women and men have a great deal of financial power that can be used to encourage the achievement of a critical mass of women in leadership positions across all sectors of the economy.
- *Amplify women's voices in the public arena.* Prominently include women leaders in public forums and media so that they in particular—and women in general—are recognized as role models and considered for boards and other top-level positions.
- *Collect and analyze the data.* Surprisingly little information exists across sectors regarding the representation of women, and particularly women of color, in positions of leadership. Regular tracking and reviewing of the numbers – including the wage gap - are essential for setting benchmarks and monitoring progress.
- *Maintain accountability through setting targets.* These targets should be specific in order to monitor genuine progress. Creating a timeline to achieve targets and imposing real consequences for failure to meet these targets are essential for any institutional change to take hold.
- *Improve flexibility in workplace structures.* For women and men alike, increased flexibility—including an acceptance of the need for work-life balance—promotes career satisfaction and job retention.

Implementing these recommendations will reinforce organizations' commitment to having women and men work side-by-side to tackle the challenges we collectively face. It will help organizations take advantage of the unique leadership traits and diverse perspectives that both genders bring to the table. These are difficult times. Yet history has taught us that these moments of economic adversity are opportunities for greatness. We need only dare to imagine and embrace a new way.

When we add women, we really can change everything.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN INDIVIDUAL SECTORS:

“Great leadership is not limited by gender; it is limited by opportunity.”

MOLLY CORBETT BROAD,
PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
AND FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

ACADEMIA

When we look at where women stand in the leadership ranks of academia, so much more is at stake than the mere numbers of women who have reached the top. The presence — or absence — of female academic leaders can have far-reaching influences not only on the institutions themselves, but beyond that, on the scope of research and knowledge that affects us all.

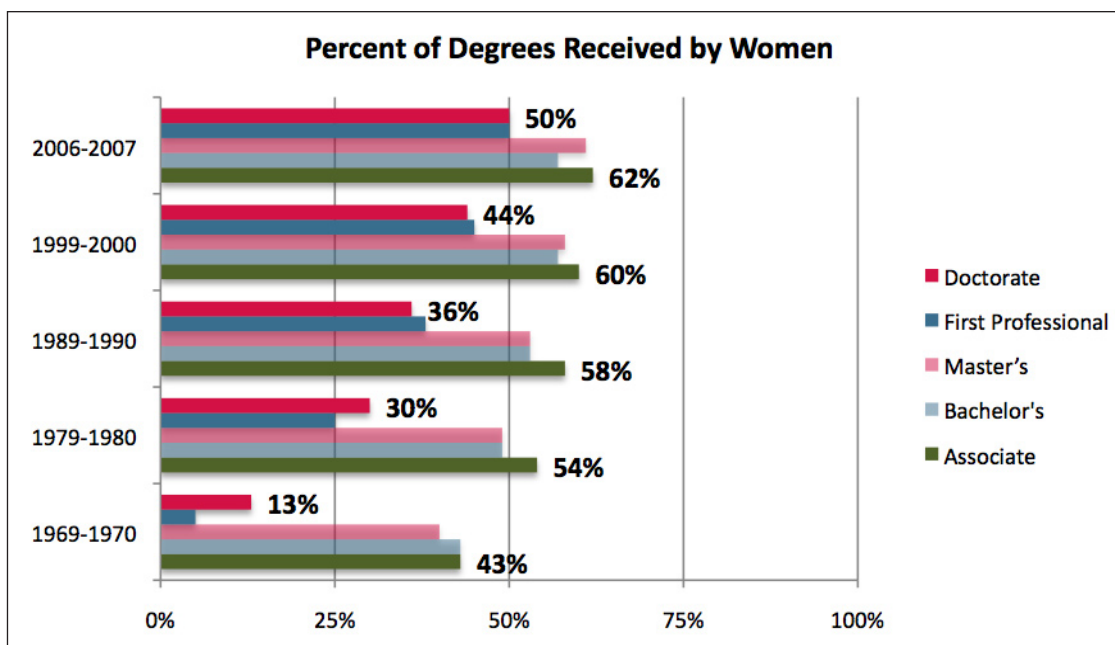
Studies have shown that when prominent female academics are involved in research, for example, it can affect the nature of both the questions that are asked and the findings.¹⁸ Women in senior faculty positions and top-level leadership positions in academia provide male students, faculty and staff an important opportunity to work with talented women—an experience that will prove increasingly valuable as the overall gender balance in the workforce changes. In addition, these women serve as powerful role models and mentors to younger women starting out on the path to leadership themselves. Thus, these leaders can serve to bring out the best in women of not only this generation but several generations to come.

Women in Academia: Current Levels of Leadership

More women than ever are going to college and getting advanced degrees. Today, they actually outnumber men in college, have pulled ahead in master's degrees and have reached equal numbers in most doctoral and first professional programs. It is a promising beginning because in academia (even more than in some of the other major business and professional sectors we examine in this report) postgraduate degrees are critical to advancement. But this high level of participation in education does not translate to comparably high representation in leadership roles in academia. Women still lag significantly behind men in status, salary and leadership positions.

Students

Let's start with the good news. Women made up 57 percent of all students and received 60 percent of all degrees conferred in 2006-07.¹⁹ (The rate of women's participation in colleges and universities is rising as that of men's is declining.) The percent of women completing college and graduate school has increased significantly since 1969-70, when women received 43 percent of the undergraduate degrees (associate and bachelor's), 40 percent of the master's degrees, 5 percent of the first professional degrees (primarily law and medicine) and 13 percent of the doctoral degrees. In 2006-07, women received 62 percent of associate degrees, 57 percent of bachelor's degrees, 61 percent of master's degrees,²⁰ and 50 percent of doctoral and first professional degrees.



Source: *Digest of Educational Statistics 2008*, Table 268 http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d08/tables/dt08_268.asp

Faculty

But the story changes when women graduate and go out to find work in the teaching world. Though they land more than half of all entry-level faculty positions (as lecturers and instructors),²¹ the catch is that these non-tenure track jobs do not consistently lead women to the top ranks of academia.

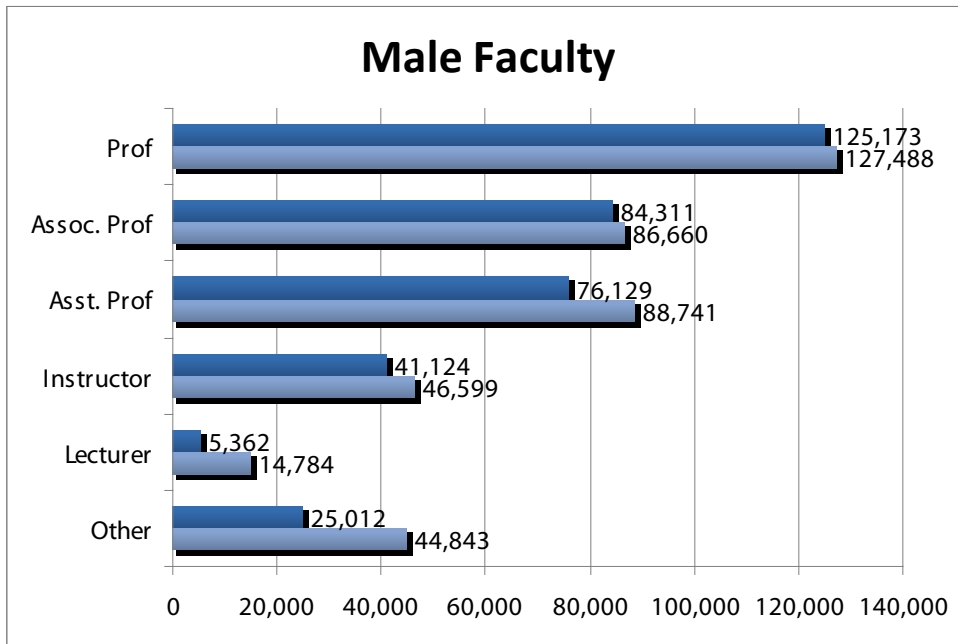
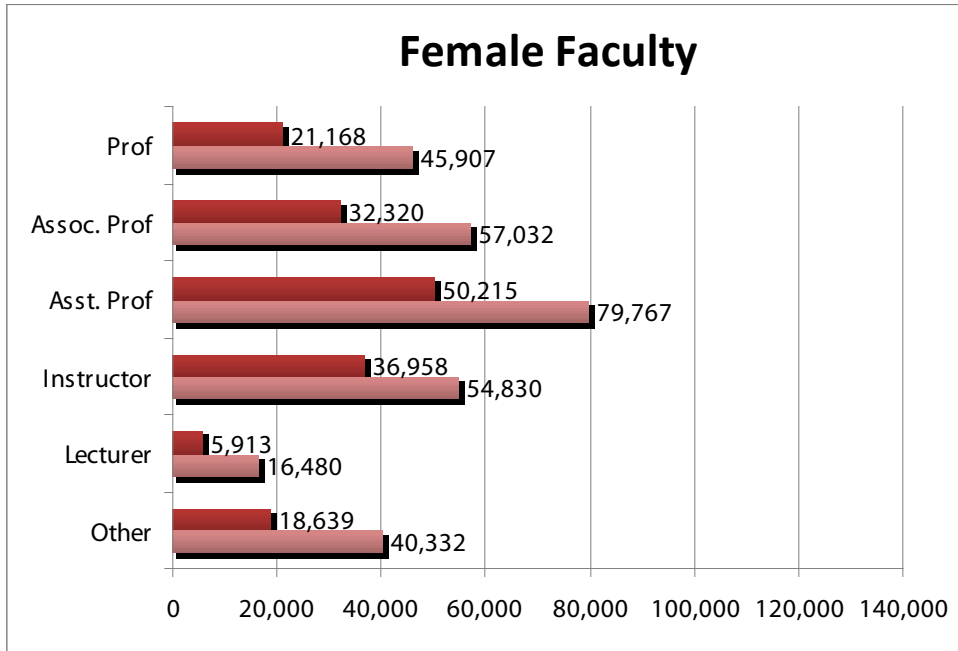
Women account for 42 percent of the full-time faculty at degree-granting institutions today, up from 32 percent in 1991. While this represents substantial progress, it still means women are underrepresented on faculties overall. And, as in the past, the number of women steadily declines as they move up the ranks. Today, women constitute 26 percent of full professors, the top faculty rank (up from 15 percent in 1991), 40 percent of associate professors (up from 28 percent in 1991), 47 percent of assistant professors (up from 40 percent in 1991), 54 percent of instructors (up from 47 percent in 1991), and 53 percent of lecturers (up from 43 percent in 1991).

In short, women are increasingly in the pipeline to the top. Professors come almost entirely from the lower ranks of the faculty, and in 2007, more than 50 percent of the instructors and lecturers were women. But there are significant blockages along the way.

THE WHITE HOUSE PROJECT REPORT

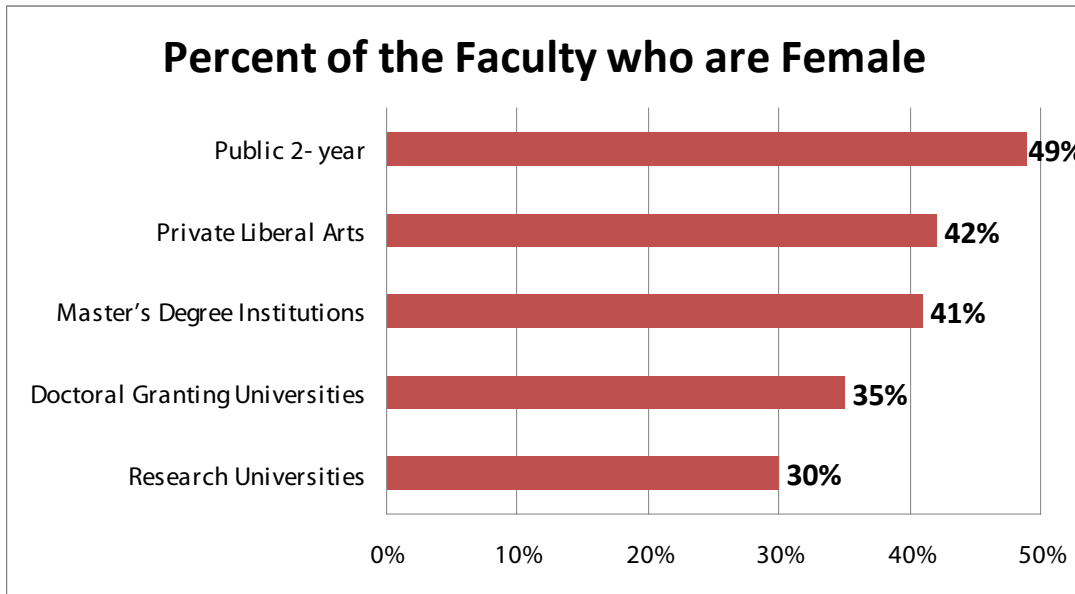
BENCHMARKING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

Number of Women Faculty Versus Men by Rank



Sources: *Digest of Education Statistics 2008 Table 249, Digest of Education Statistics 1995 Table 218,*
http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d08/tables/dt08_249.asp, <http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d95/dtab218.asp>.

When the time comes to advance into tenured positions — the ranks from which top leaders are chosen — women fall behind, especially at the more prestigious institutions. The representation of women at colleges and universities differs significantly by type of institution. Women make up 30 percent of the faculty at research universities, 41 percent of the faculty at master's degree-granting institutions, 42 percent of the faculty at private liberal arts institutions and 49 percent of the faculty at public two-year institutions.

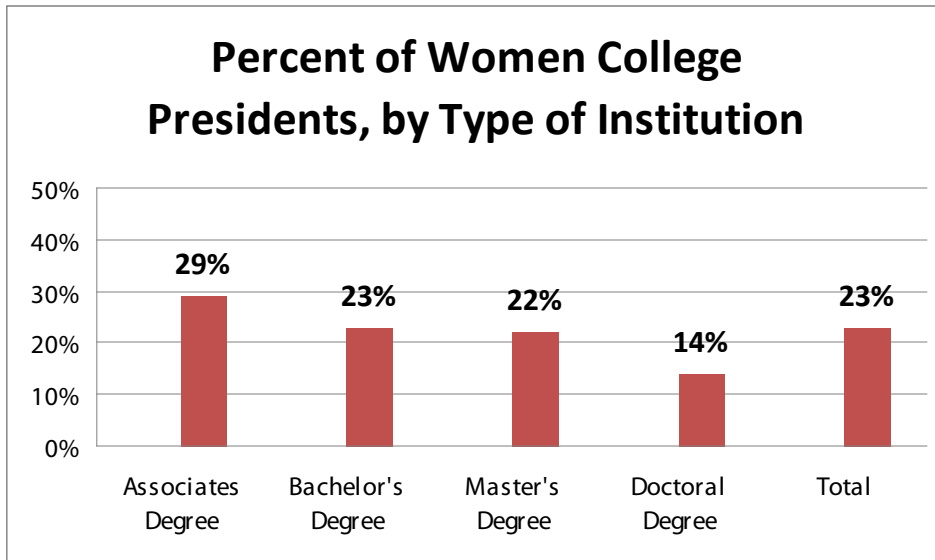


Source: Data from *Digest of Education Statistics 2008*, Table 252.

Presidents

About two decades ago, women started making important strides toward the top at institutions of higher learning — the presidency. Women currently make up 23 percent of the presidents at colleges and universities, up from only 9.5 percent two decades ago.²²

But for the last 10 years the number of female presidents has held steady at about 500. Unchanged, too, is the pattern that, as the degree-level awarded by the institution rises, women's representation at the top declines. Women today account for 29 percent of presidents at two-year colleges, compared with 14 percent at universities that grant doctoral degrees.



Interestingly, the Ivy League universities have made the most dramatic progress in the last decade. Four of the eight institutions in this prestigious group are now led by women: Brown, Harvard, Princeton and the University of Pennsylvania. That’s a promising state of affairs given how visible and influential the Ivies are with the American public. Penn was the first to take this significant step, in 1994, and in 2008 it appointed its second woman president. Brown wins the distinction of naming the first African- American (and female) president in the Ivies.

Though the Ivies certainly deserve recognition for these advances, it is only fair to point out that, from a historical perspective, all of the Ivy League schools except Cornell were chartered before the American revolution. It would be more than 200 years later before a woman was named to the top position.

One obstacle for women in the path to the presidency may be the continuing challenges of balancing work and family, as evidenced by significant differences in the family lives of male and female presidents.

- Only 63 percent of female college presidents are married compared with 89 percent of male presidents.
- Only 68 percent have children (mostly over the age of 18), compared with 91 percent of the men.²³

There are a few hopeful signs that women's progress into presidential positions may accelerate in the near future.

First, women are in the pipeline to the presidency. Forty percent of chief academic officers are women and among sitting presidents, four out of 10 came from the chief academic officer position.²⁴

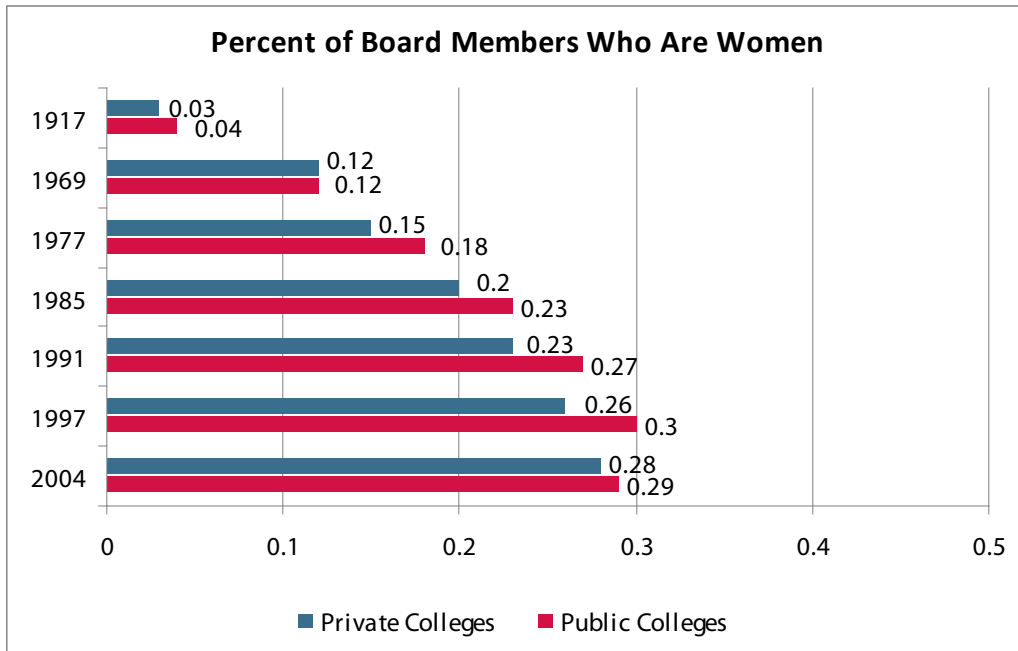
Second, a fortuitous convergence of timing could bring about a wave of presidential retirements — and thus possible openings for women to fill. In 2006, 92 percent of university and college presidents were over 51 years old, and 49 percent were 61 years or older. This paints a much more hopeful picture for change than the situation two decades ago, when only 14 percent of presidents were over 61.²⁵

Still, there are a couple of catches. Although women are in the pipeline as chief academic officers, many CAOs do not aspire to the presidency.²⁶ Furthermore, the most direct pipeline of all to the presidency is filled with those coming from other presidencies — and women make up less than one-quarter of all sitting presidents.

Boards of Trustees

Women are still a distinct minority among the members of college and university boards of trustees, which have the responsibility and power to hire and fire presidents. Among board members at the 352 public colleges and universities responding to the recent survey done by the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges (AGB), less than one-third (29 percent) of voting board members are female.²⁷ This percentage is quite similar across two-year institutions (32 percent), four-year institutions (27 percent) and governing/coordinating systems (26 percent). Progress in this area has been negligible: In 1997, 30 percent of college and university board members were women. As of 2004, about 26 percent of board chairs were women.²⁸

The picture is similar at private colleges and universities, where women currently account for 28 percent of all board members. That marks a very gradual increase, from 20 percent in 1985 and 26 percent in 1997.²⁹

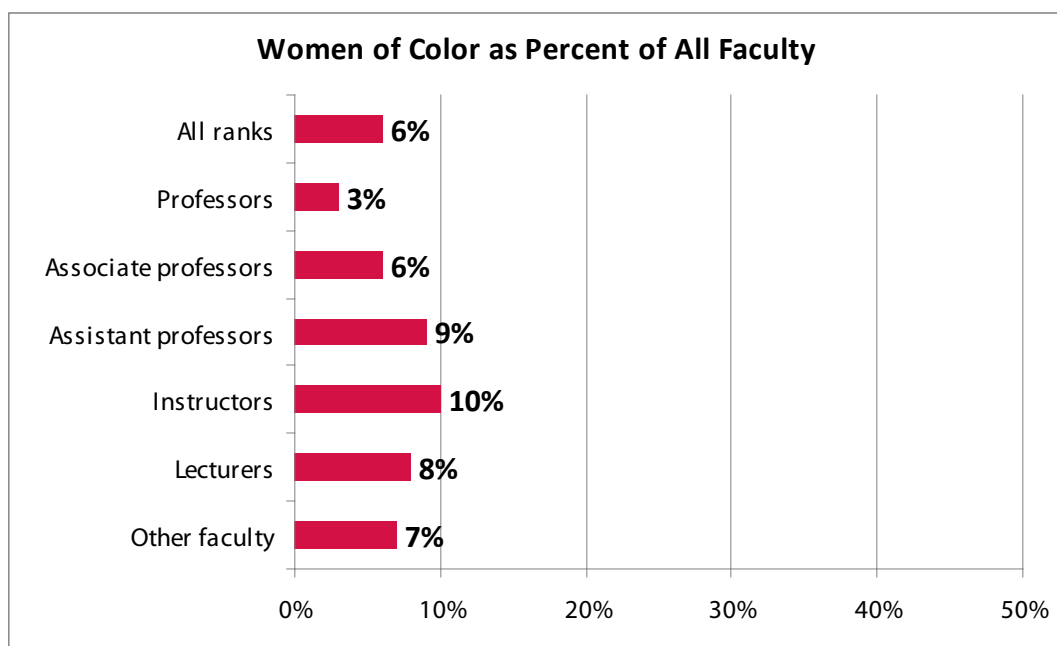


Sources: *Policies, Practices, and Composition of Governing Boards of Private Colleges and Universities, 2004 Association of Governing Boards p. 9* and *Policies, Practices, and Composition of Governing Boards of Public Colleges and Universities, 2004 Association of Governing Boards p. 9*

Women of Color in Academia: Current Levels of Leadership

The representation of women of color at the senior levels of leadership has also not kept pace with a diversifying student body. Women of color now receive 14 percent of all bachelor’s degrees, 13 percent of master’s degrees, and nine percent of doctoral degrees.³⁰ But women of color accounted for only 6 percent of all faculty in 2003 (16 percent of the female faculty).

As with women across the board, representation declines as the rank rises. Women of color account for 10 percent of the faculty at the instructor level, 9 percent of assistant professors, and only 3 percent of professors.



Source: *Digest of Education Statistics (National Center for Education statistics) 2008 Table 228*
http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d08/tables/dt08_228.asp

Women of color account for 4.4 percent of all college presidents. One promising note is that, of all Latino college presidents, more than one-third are women. And among African-American presidents, almost one-third are women, higher than the 23 percent of white female presidents (as of the latest survey in 2006).³¹

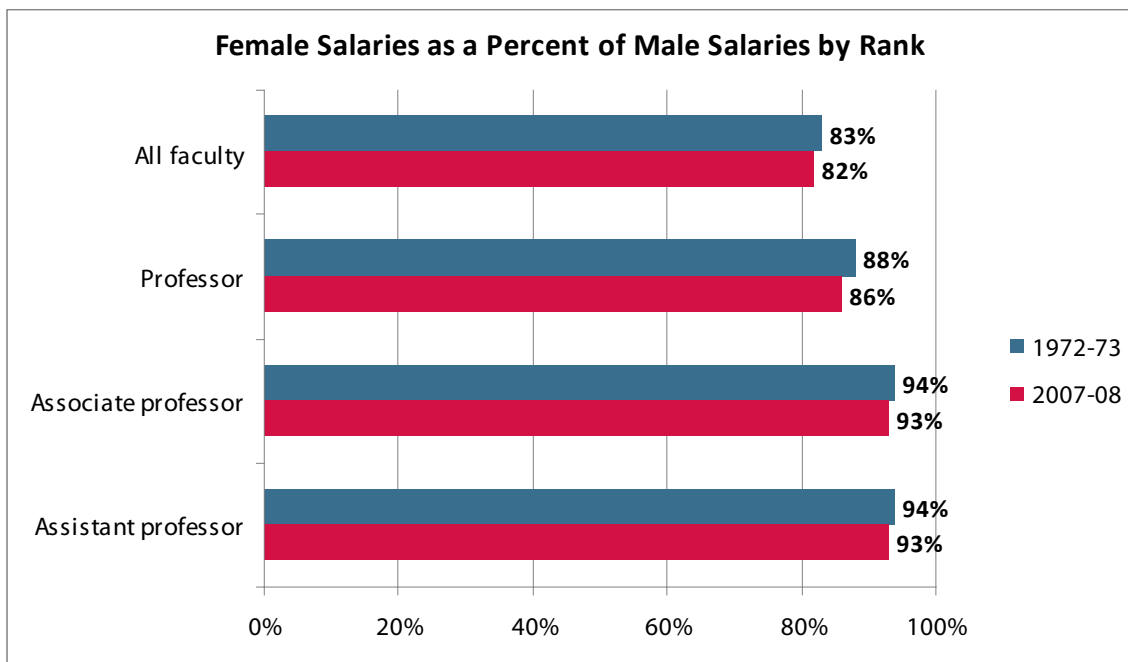
Although we were able to find data on trustees of college and university governing boards for people of color, the statistics were not broken down further by gender (as we found again and again in researching minority progress). Overall advances have been made:

- Minority representation on boards of public colleges and universities has increased by almost 50 percent over the past two decades, rising from 15 percent in 1985 to 21.3 percent in 2004.
- At private colleges and universities, minority representation has increased by about a third, from 9 percent in 1985 to 12 percent in 2004.³²
- Nearly 18 percent (17.9) of board chairs were people of color in 2004.

Salaries

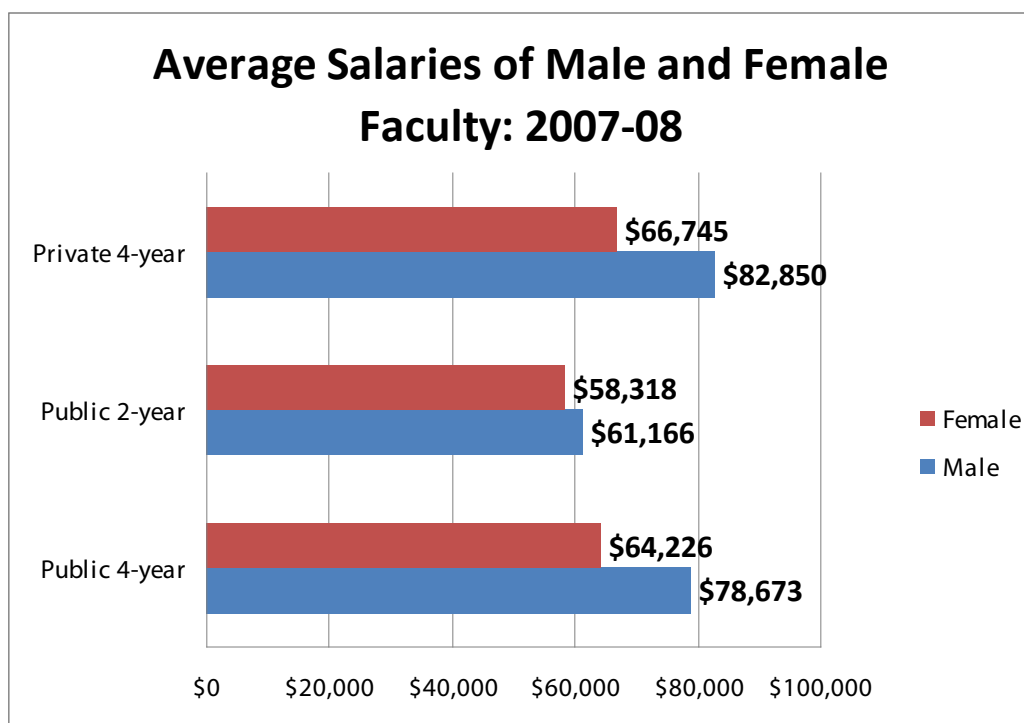
Women's salaries not only lag behind those of their male counterparts in academia, they have actually *lost* ground since the seventies. In 1972–73, women earned 83 percent of the salary of their male counterparts, compared with 82 percent in 2007–08. Admittedly, part of this wage gap derives from the fact that there are fewer women than men in the upper ranks of the faculty and at institutions granting higher degrees. Professors, for example, make over 50 percent more than assistant professors.

However, the salary gap between men and women exists at every level, and widens as women move up the ladder to the highest faculty ranks. Female assistant and associate professors make 93 percent of what their male counterparts make. Female professors drop to 86 percent of male professors' earnings: an average of \$88,101 for women and \$102,555 for men. Numerous studies over the last decade have found that, even after controlling for education, productivity, experience, type of institution, and academic discipline, women faculty members earn less than their male counterparts.³³



Source: *Digest of Education Statistics 2008 Table 257* http://nces.ed.gov/progrmas/digest/d08/tabels/dt08_257.asp

Women also earn less than men at both two-year and four-year institutions. The gap is closing at two-year institutions, where women are most heavily represented, and which pay the least: women now earn 5 percent less than men, compared with 8 percent less in 1972–73. By contrast, at four-year public and private institutions, women make about 20 percent less than their male counterparts — and this gap has not changed over the last 35 years.



Source: *Digest of Education Statistics 2008 Table 257* http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d08/tables/dt08_257.asp

Salary differentials reach all the way to the president's office. No more than two women appear on any list of the 10 highest paid college presidents, in every category of institution; in some cases, only one woman makes the list.³⁴

Recommendations for Closing the Leadership Gap

We made six recommendations in the first chapter that apply to all sectors in the report in varying degrees. The need for a critical mass of women in top leadership positions is important to academia, where the majority of students is women and has been for several years, yet less than a third of the full professors, college presidents and board members are women. A critical mass of women and women of color are needed in these positions not only to serve as role models for women and men but also to insure that all voices are heard and all agendas considered. The collection, analysis and tracking of data are critical to monitor the progress of women. There is reliable annual data collected by the National Center for Education Statistics on faculty. Data on women in top levels of leadership and on boards has been periodically collected by the American Council on Education and the Association of Governing Boards. We urge the continued regular collection of this data delineated by gender and by gender by race/ethnicity. For increased numbers of women at the top levels of academia, there needs to be a commitment to it and accountability for it. This requires specific targets for gender representation at all levels of the institution through the board. Our recommendation on workplace flexibility is important in academia in order to motivate women to remain in the field to advance to the top levels of this sector. Many institutions have instituted policies and programs which are proving successful in changing the numbers for women; these should be shared and their results tracked.

Below, specific recommendations for academia:

- *The governing board and the senior staff should annually review* the institution's commitment to diversity to see whether, and how well, it is working.
- *Identify, support and advance women, and women of color*, to become CAOs, provosts and senior executives. These positions are stepping stones to the presidency.
- *Allow for some flexibility in the timing for achieving tenure*. The demands of the tenure track occur at exactly the time that many women are also raising families. The average age that a woman gets a PhD is 34, which means the five to seven years of racing the tenure clock fall right in the middle of her peak reproductive and child-rearing years.³⁵ Boards and administrators in faculty review processes need to recognize that, unless they modify some of the existing time-deadlines for tenure, they will lose many qualified women.
- *Review promotion and tenure policies* to ensure that they are fair and equitable.
- *Diversify search committees* for presidential, senior leadership and faculty positions. History has shown that such simple diversification helps maximize the likelihood that the search will be expanded to the broadest range of qualified candidates. Make certain that these committees have the benefit of materials on white women, and women and men of color, as leaders in all areas of college and university life. Also, if search firms are hired to assist with campus searches, make sure that they have a reputation for providing diverse pools of candidates.
- *Insist that pools of candidates for faculty and senior leadership positions be diverse*. Women cannot get hired if they are not in the pool of candidates.
- *Look beyond sitting presidents and CAOs* in order to increase the pool of potential presidential selections. Because women are more likely to have followed a nontraditional career path, the best candidates may come from farther afield.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN INDIVIDUAL SECTORS:

“Diversity in leadership and openness to new perspectives is crucial for charting the course in business. Without more than symbolic representation, we risk going backward instead of forward.”

DINA DUBLON,
MEMBER OF THE BOARDS OF DIRECTORS,
MICROSOFT, ACCENTURE AND PEPSICO.

BUSINESS

Since the 1970s, when women donned their business suits and heels, picked up their briefcases, and entered the corporate workforce, their numbers have grown so much that as of 2008 women represented 48 percent of the workforce.³⁶ However, their presence is highest at the entry- and mid-level positions; there is plenty of room for growth at the top.

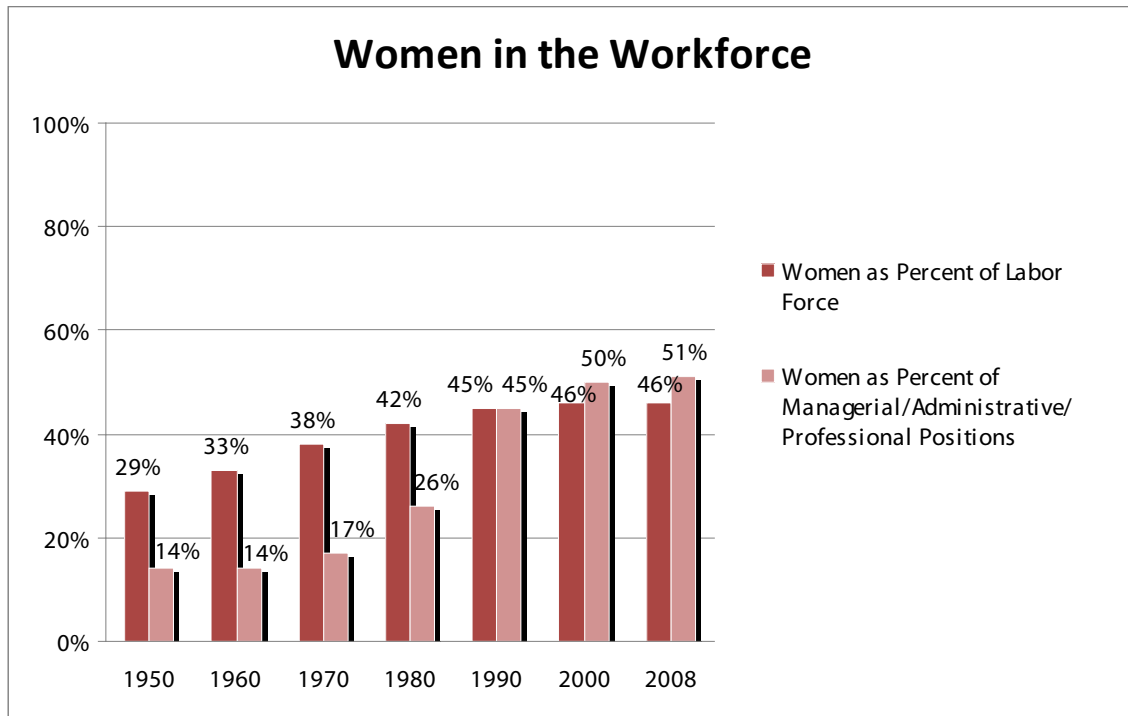
It's not that women don't want to lead companies. A recent study by Catalyst reports that women and men have equal desires to be CEOs. Women and men also report similar levels of work satisfaction, reasons they would potentially leave their companies, and strategies for advancing.³⁷ Nor are the lackluster numbers for women in senior management due to unsatisfactory performance when they do reach the top. In fact, the opposite is true. The business case for gender diversity asserts that organizations that develop and advance women will benefit because, when women make it to the top, they give the businesses they lead a competitive edge that translates directly to the bottom line.

- Companies with the highest representation of women in their top management do better financially than companies with the fewest women at the top, “in terms of return on equity and total return to shareholders,” according to a Catalyst study.³⁸
- The stock value of European firms with the highest proportion of women in power rose 64 percent over two years, compared with an average of 47 percent for all businesses, according to a McKinsey and Company study.³⁹
- Profits at Fortune 500 firms that most aggressively promoted women were 34 percent higher than industry medians, according to a Pepperdine University study.⁴⁰
- Women's “transformative” leadership style has been found to be more effective in leading modern businesses than men's “transactional” approach, according to a Harvard Business Review analysis.⁴¹

The bottom line: promoting women in business is good for business.

Women in Business: Current Levels of Leadership

Women have made great strides in business in the last half century. Back in 1950, women made up 29 percent of the labor force and held 14 percent of the managerial/administrative/professional positions. Today, women hold nearly half of the jobs in the U.S. labor force (46.5 percent in 2008) and they have more than tripled their share—to 51 percent—of the managerial and professional positions. But in the last decade, there has been almost no further progress for women in leadership in the business sector, especially at the top.



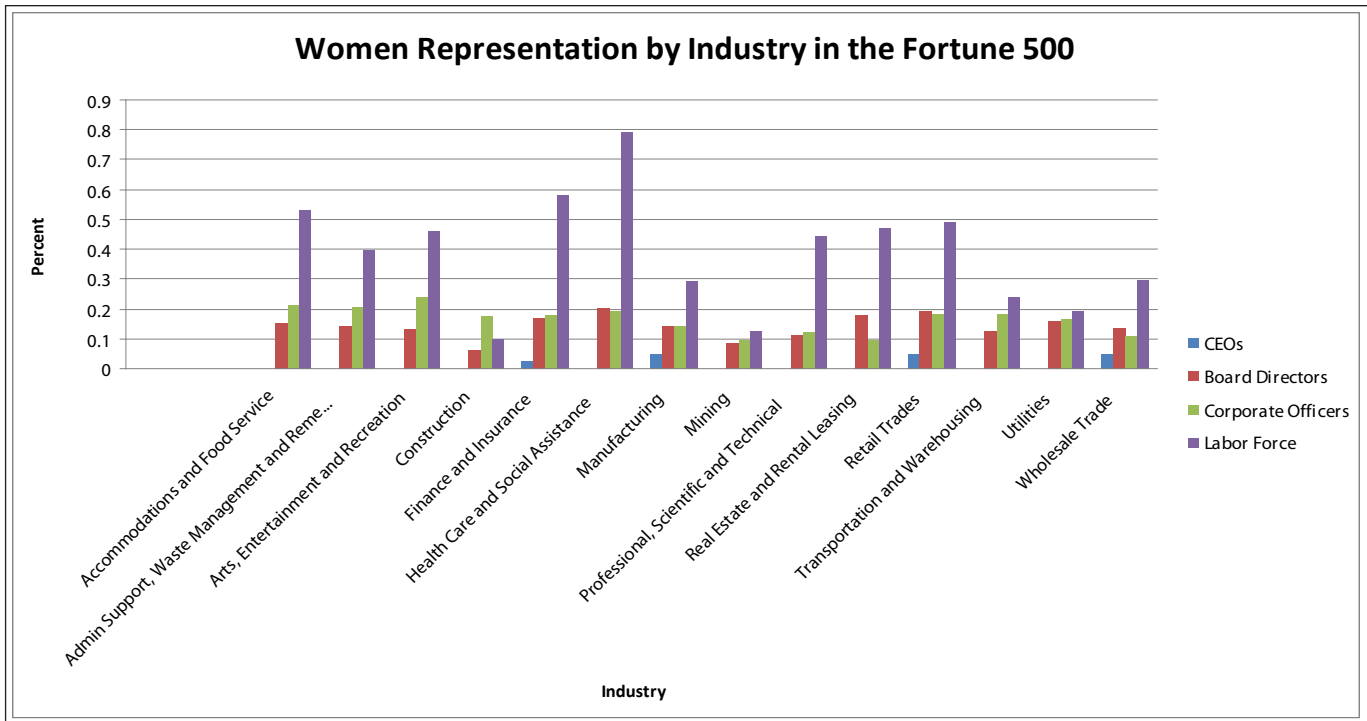
Sources: Catalyst Quick Takes 2009 Women in Management 1950-2009; 75 years of change, 1950-98 and 1998-2025, Howard Fullerton, Monthly Labor Review 1999 for 1950 and 1960 data and BLS data.
<http://www.bls.gov/cps/wlf/table3-2008.pdf>

Top Leadership: CEOs and Corporate Executives

Despite the fact that women now hold a majority of all professional, managerial and related positions,⁴² they do not make it to the top in great numbers. Women have reached the CEO level in only four of the 14 industries covered by the Fortune 500 companies—and even in these four industries, over 95 percent of the CEOs are male. (See the following chart.) Among Fortune 500 companies in 2009, 3 percent of CEOs are women,⁴³ a slight increase from 1 percent in 2002.⁴⁴ The single exception is the construction industry, where women constitute 9.7 percent of the work force, but 17.6 percent of the corporate officers.

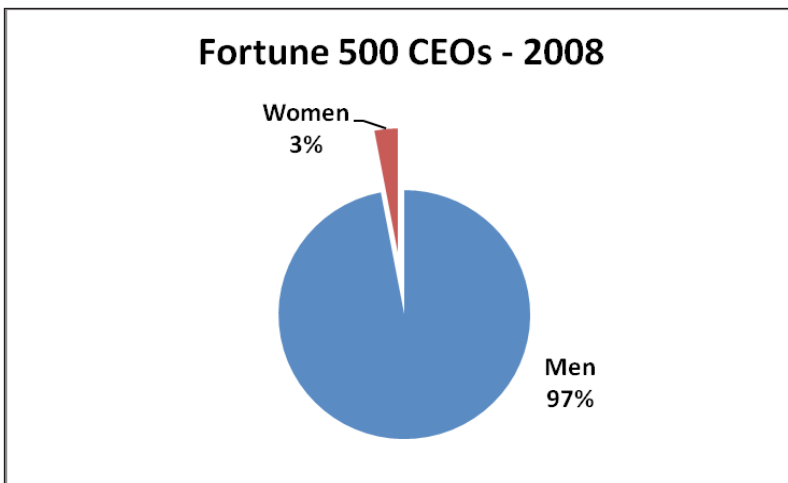
THE WHITE HOUSE PROJECT REPORT

BENCHMARKING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP



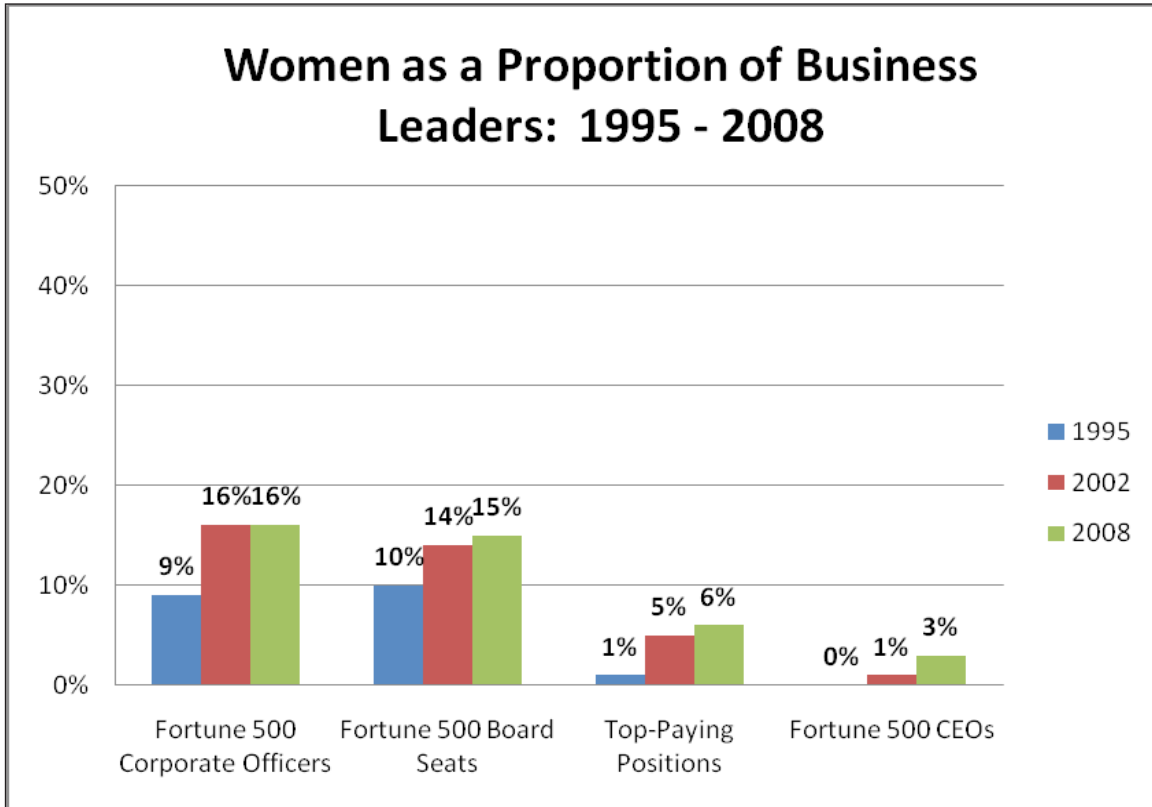
Source: Derived from Catalyst's 2009 Pyramid Reports

Among corporate officers, women's representation ranges from 9.3 percent in mining to 23.9 percent in the arts, entertainment and recreation. Across more than half a dozen of the most prestigious executive posts businesses have to offer—including CEO, chair, vice chair, president, COO, senior executive vice president and executive vice president—fewer than one in ten positions (9 percent) are filled by women.⁴⁵



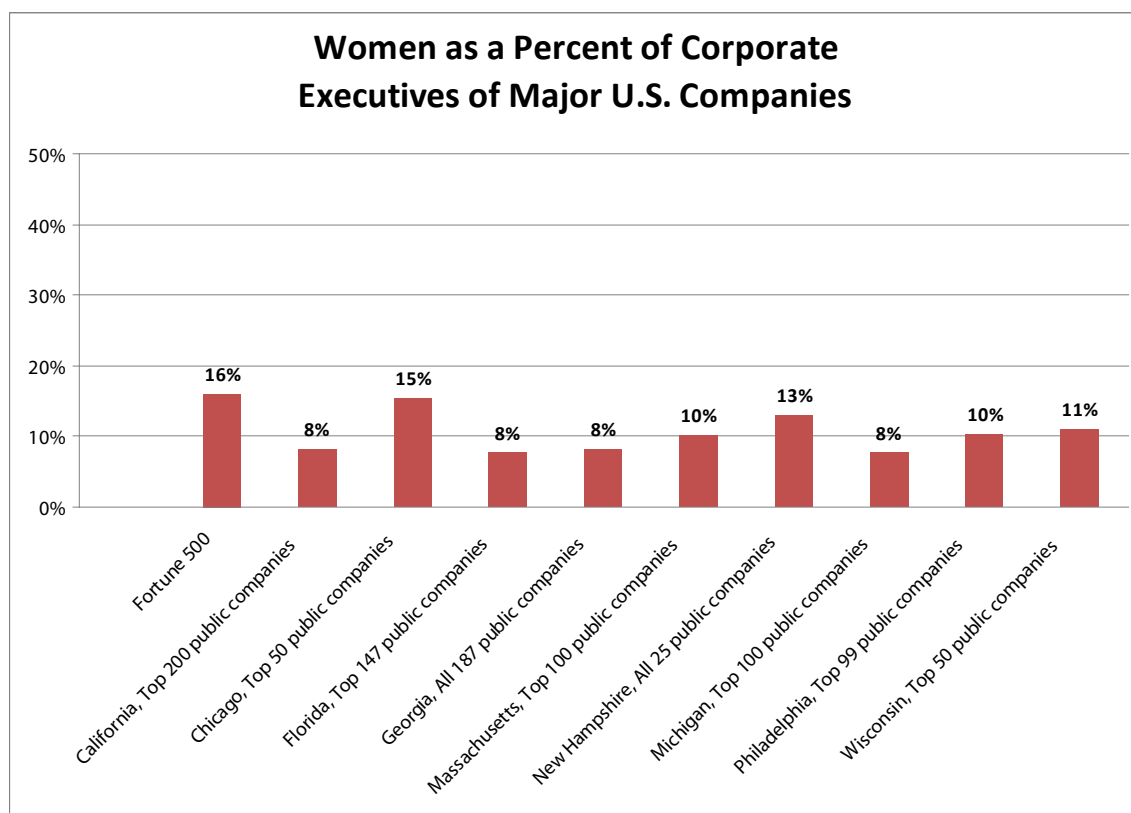
Source: Catalyst 2009 (a)

The picture at the board level is slightly better: All 14 industries have some female board members. Yet in most of these industries, the representation of women on boards hovers in the teens; only in health care and social assistance do women account for as much as 20 percent of the board.



Sources: Catalyst 2005, 2006 (a), (b), 2007(b); Catalyst 2008 (a), (b); Catalyst 2009 (a); Daily et al. 1999

Still, the nation's largest companies seem to have made more progress in promoting women to executive roles than small, regional companies. Women account for 16.4 percent of the executives at the Fortune 500 companies. But among the top 99 public companies in Philadelphia, for example, only 10.2 percent of the top executives are women; in Florida, among the top 147 public companies, only 7.6 percent of the top executives are women.



Source: *The Face of Corporate Leadership* by Toni Wolfman in the *New England Journal of Public Policy*, Spring 2007 – Table 3

Women in Finance

It seems timely, in the context of the current economic and financial crisis, to take a look at how women are faring in financial services. Despite the increasing numbers of female certified financial advisors and finance-degree recipients, women are scarce in hedge and mutual fund management. Only 10 percent of all traditional mutual fund managers are women, a figure that has barely budged over the last decade, according to a June 2009 report by the National Council for Research on Women.⁴⁶

The financial industry provides an excellent example of how useful women's contributions can be in these difficult economic times: Women-owned funds significantly outperform funds in general. From 2000 until the present, women-owned funds delivered an average annual return of 9.06 percent, compared with only 5.82 percent among a broader composite index of hedge funds, according to the latest data from Hedge Fund Research Inc.⁴⁷

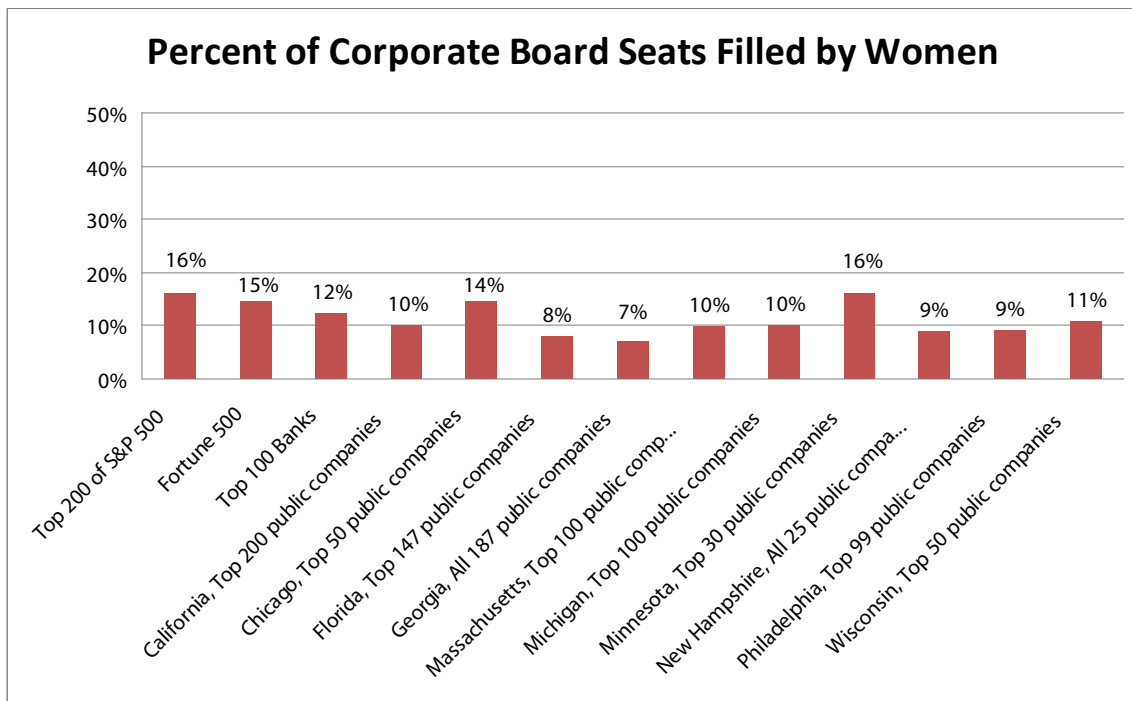
In addition, women have considerable assets: They constitute 43 percent of Americans with gross assets exceeding \$1.5 million. Yet despite their strong performance and assets, women managed only 3 percent of the \$1.9 trillion invested in hedge funds in early 2008, when the nation was heading toward its economic meltdown. Women also account for less than 10 percent of high-level venture capitalists—a figure that seems to be declining.⁴⁸

Board Members

Corporate boards remain mostly male; the percentage of women on boards rarely breaks above the teens.

Though there is no single organization that systematically tracks women board members, data in the following chart, culled from various groups and regions which have done their own research, show that:

- Women now hold about 15 percent of seats on Fortune 500 boards of directors,⁴⁹ an increase of 5 percentage points in 13 years.⁵⁰
- They make up 15.7 percent of Fortune 500 corporate officers,⁵¹ up 7 percentage points in 13 years.⁵²
- They hold 13 percent of board committee chairs.⁵³
- They represent 16 percent of the board seats at the top 200 companies on the S&P 500, but only 12.4 percent at the top 100 banks.

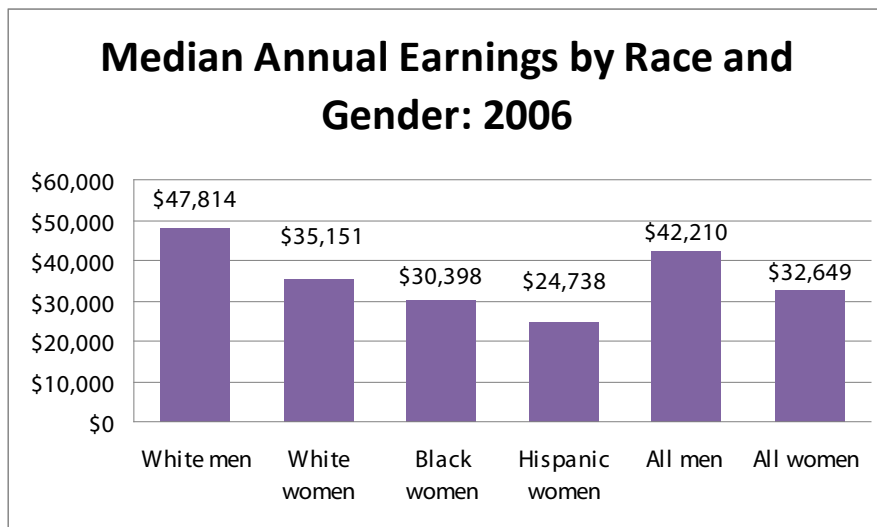


Source: *The Face of Corporate Leadership* by Toni Wolfman in the *New England Journal of Public Policy*, Spring 2007 – Table 2

Women of Color in Business

Women of color are making it into the ranks of management/professional occupations in proportion to their representation in the labor force as a whole. They account for 11.5 percent of all people in management/professional and related occupations and 11.8 percent of the labor force.

In terms of their earnings, however, they have not kept pace. Black and Hispanic women make less than black and Hispanic men and less than white women, too, who themselves trail by more than \$12,000 behind the median annual earnings of white men—\$35,151 for women, compared with \$47,814 for men. African-American women earn just 64 cents to every dollar earned by white men; for Hispanic women, that figure drops to 52 cents to the dollar. Women of color accounted for only 1 percent of the Fortune 500 top-earners in 2005.⁵⁴



NOTE: Includes full-time, year-round workers ages 15 and above. "White" and "black" exclude those who identified as Hispanic and/or reported more than one race category. "Hispanic" includes all those who so identified themselves, regardless of race.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 2007 Annual Social and Economic Supplement.

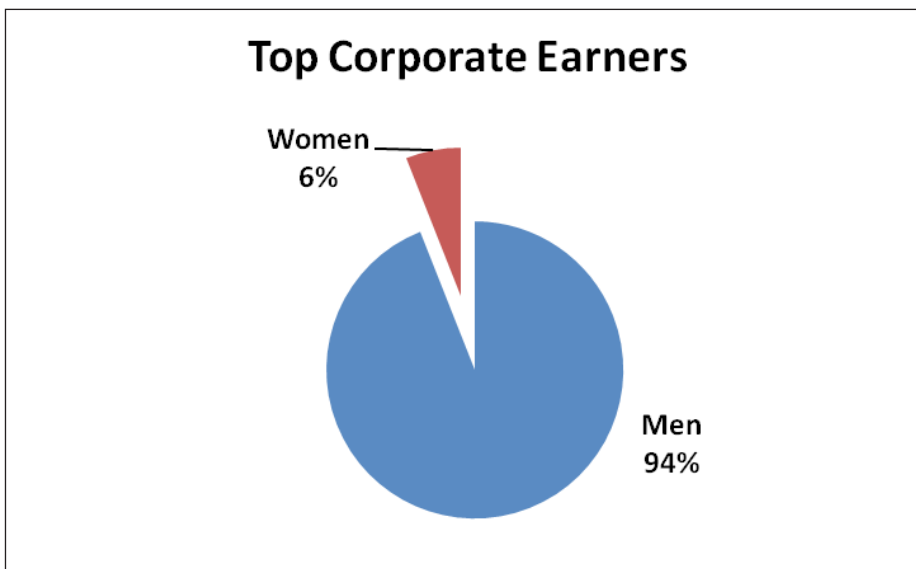
Women of color are scarce at the top levels of management and leadership at Fortune 500 companies:

- They held 3.2 percent of all Fortune 500 board seats in 2008, a decline from their levels in 2005.⁵⁵
- More than 100 of the Fortune 500 companies have no women of color on their boards.
- They make up only 1.7 percent of corporate officers.⁵⁶
- Of all female corporate officers at 327 of the largest corporations, only 6 percent are African American.⁵⁷
- Of the 13 female CEOs of Fortune 500 companies, 11 are white and two are Asian American.⁵⁸

Studies show that African-American women's leadership tends to be impeded by negative, race-based stereotypes, frequent questioning of credibility and authority, and a lack of institutional support.⁵⁹ Asian women report the lack of key professional relationships as a major obstacle,⁶⁰ and Latina women frequently comment that corporate policies impede close relationships with extended family, which is a key source of support for their professional success.⁶¹

Salaries and Earnings

Women's earnings have risen over time, especially in the last two decades. Yet there persists a significant wage gap between men and women that increases as they get older and as their level of education rises. It is noteworthy that although women made up 15.7 percent of the corporate officers at the Fortune 500 companies in 2008, they accounted for only 6 percent of the top earners.⁶²



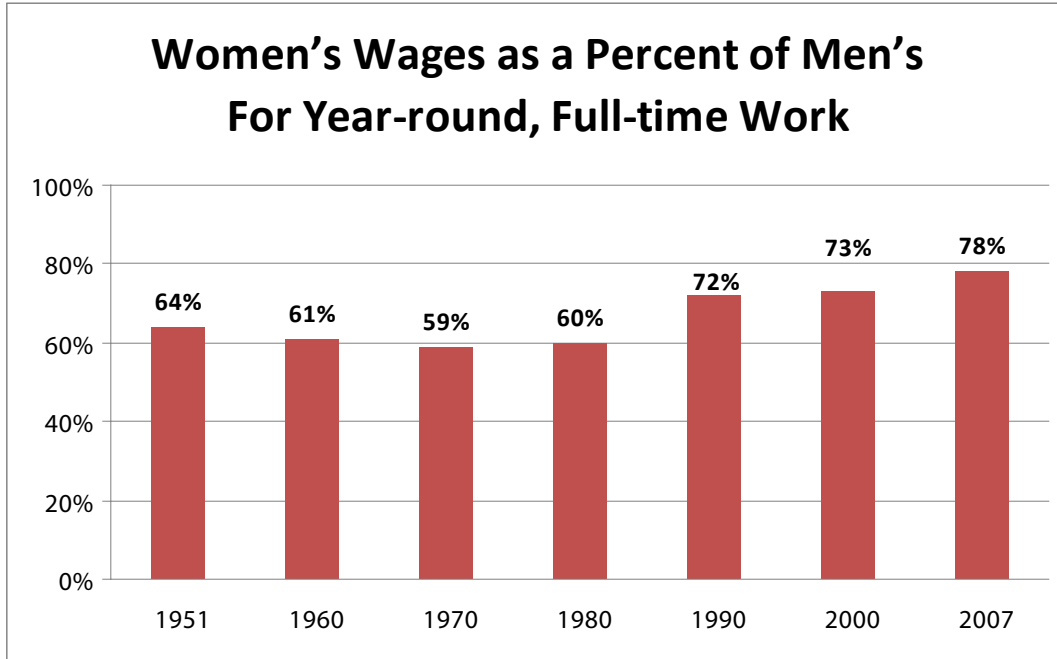
Sources: Catalyst 2008 (b)

Today, as the next charts shows, women still earn 22 percent less than men, each woman earns 78 cents to every dollar a man earns. While that is better than in 1963 when The Equal Pay Act was signed⁶³ and women earned only 58 cents to the dollar a man earned, *it's an improvement of less than half a penny a year.*

The wage gap between women and men adds up considerably over a lifetime. When you compute the difference in pay and apply it to all women in the U.S. over a lifetime of work (47 years), women lose between \$700,000 and \$2 million, depending on their education level.⁶⁴

- Women who are high school graduates lose \$700,000.
- Female college graduates lose a total of \$1.2 million.
- Graduates of professional schools lose a total of \$2 million.

Getting an education has helped women earn more over the last few decades. But even though women with college degrees earn 33 percent more than they did in 1979 (on an inflation-adjusted basis) compared to an 18 percent increase for male college graduates, female college graduates still earn less than their male counterparts.⁶⁵

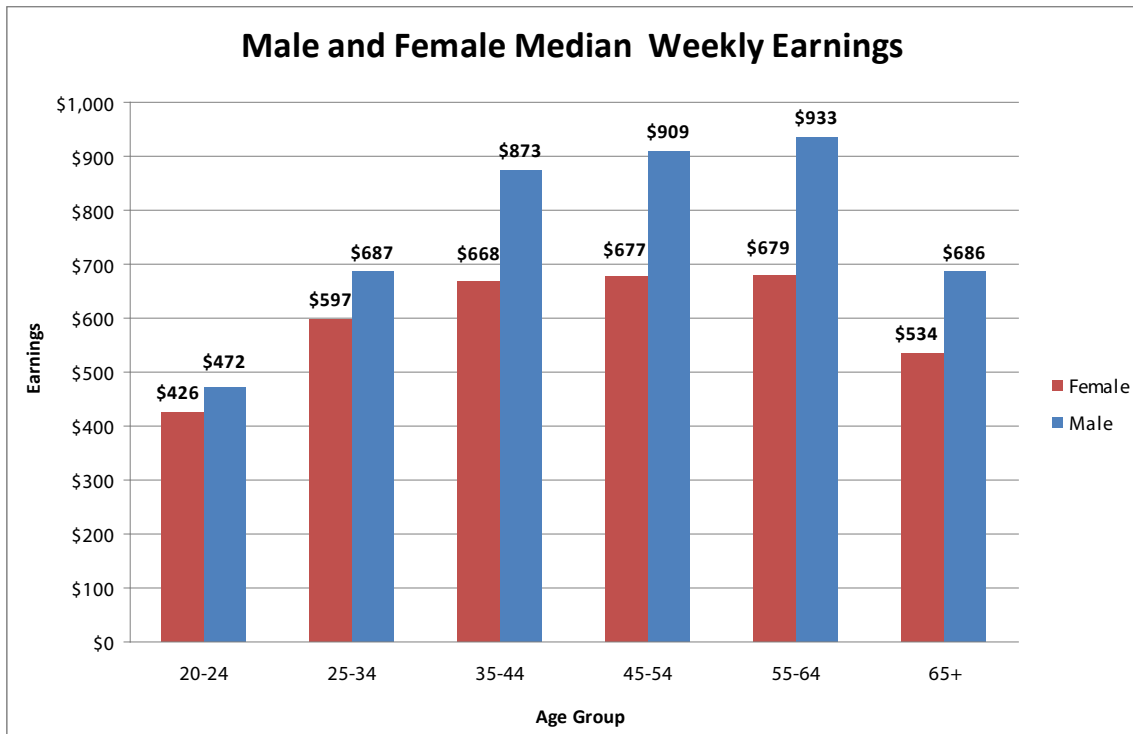


Source: U.S. Women's Bureau and the National Committee on Pay Equity.

<http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0193820.html>

The wage gap gets bigger as women move up the ladder into management. In 2006, the median weekly earnings for women in full-time management, professional and related occupations were \$840—73 percent of men's median income of \$1,154.⁶⁶

The gap also widens as women age. Young women, between 20 and 24, approach pay equity, earning only 10 percent less than their male colleagues. But for women between the ages of 45 and 64, the wage gap grows to over 25 percent.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Highlights of Women's Earnings in 2005*, "Table 12. Median usual weekly earnings of full-time wage and salary workers in constant (2005) dollars by sex and age, 1979-2007," Annual Averages 2007 (2008)

A variety of factors have been cited for the continuing wage gap: a concentration of women in lower-paying professions, fewer women in the top jobs, lack of continuous participation in the labor force by women, and the persistence of barriers to women's advancement within certain higher-paying professions. The only unarguable fact is that, despite equal-pay mandates, a sizable gap persists.

Recommendations for Closing the Leadership Gap

American business must create a critical mass of women in top leadership positions and on boards if it is to take advantage of all the available talent and to change our corporate culture. While the effectiveness of corporate diversity programs and policies⁶⁷ is disputed, there will likely be little forward progress for women in this sector, especially women of color, unless business becomes more proactive. Top management needs to make a commitment to diversity, set goals and insist on accountability. The public can use its financial power to move this agenda forward. It is imperative for us to ask questions about the leadership of the companies with which we are doing business and, all other things being equal, spend our dollars with those companies which promote women as leaders.

THE WHITE HOUSE PROJECT REPORT

BENCHMARKING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

Below, specific recommendation for business:

- *CEOs should develop a plan for advancing women onto their boards* and into top levels of management; the plan should include specific goals and progress should tracked annually. In developing this plan, CEOs should include a more diversified group within the company and among consultants than customarily participate in the planning process. Together they should come up with new ideas and added insight to help find the kind of diverse candidates that will best meet their needs.
- *Develop flexible approaches to work scheduling.* Most women who have reached the upper levels of management report that flexibility in their ability to schedule their work has allowed and encouraged them to continue moving up in their career.
- *Provide training in negotiation.*
- *Educate managers and executives about the influence of unconscious stereotyping.* Encourage training sessions on practical ways to recognize and eliminate automatic tendencies to stereotype.⁶⁸
- *Provide scholarships and set up formalized mentorship programs.* This is especially important in top programs of business schools, where women have accounted for fewer than one in three students since the mid 1990s.⁶⁹ When young women are guided by mentors, they are better able to exceed performance expectations, communicate effectively, and use their cultural backgrounds to enhance job performance.⁷⁰

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN INDIVIDUAL SECTORS:

“The more women we have in leadership and decision making positions in the media—whether they are green lighting movies or assigning news stories—the greater force all forms of media will play in transforming our world and expanding our opportunities.”

ANDREA WONG,
CEO AND PRESIDENT OF LIFETIME NETWORK

FILM & TELEVISION ENTERTAINMENT

Film and television help shape our culture. Whether on screen or behind the scenes, women in leadership positions can be huge influences on the beliefs, ideas and values of the millions who watch. The roles women play on the big and small screens can open up public consciousness and foster dialogue about the potential of real women. It's vital that women assume a larger leadership role in film and television (as well as other areas of the entertainment industry) because their presence helps to broaden the range and diversity not only of fictitious characters but ultimately of the public's recognition of women in “real life.”

Women in Film & Television: Current Levels of Leadership

The film and television industries are unique among professional sectors profiled in this report because they are powered by both creative and corporate models. Originally, movie studios and television networks were stand-alone businesses. In the last several decades, however, they have been subsumed by multinational corporations with complex leadership hierarchies and revenue streams.

While some information about top leadership is available, it is difficult to analyze as neither job titles nor job descriptions are consistent industry-wide. In the film industry, for example, typically the CEO and head of production make key creative decisions. In TV, that role is delegated to the president of entertainment. However, not all companies use those titles to reflect decision-making power.

Still, based on the data we do have, it is safe to conclude that, while women have gone a long way in this industry, they still hold relatively few decision-making and leadership positions.

Women in Film

At the six major studios, only Sony Pictures has a woman in the top position, as co-chair, and she is the only female listed among their top five executives. Warner Brothers, Universal Studios and 20th Century Fox each list one female among their top executives but none is either chair or head of production, the key creative decision-making positions in this industry. Paramount and Walt Disney Studios don't list any women in top executive positions.⁷¹

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Major Film Studio Executives by Gender

| Studio | Position | Gender |
|--|--------------------|--------|
| Paramount Pictures | Chairman and CEO | Male |
| | Head of Production | Male |
| Sony Pictures Entertainment | Chairman | Male |
| | Co-Chair | Female |
| | Head of Production | Male |
| 20 th Century Fox Entertainment | CEO | Male |
| | Head of Production | Male |
| Universal Studios | President and COO | Male |
| | Head of Production | Male |
| Walt Disney Studios Motion Pictures | Chairman | Male |
| | Head of Production | Male |
| Warner Brothers | Chairman and CEO | Male |
| | Head of Production | Male |

A review of 12 independent and mini-major studios shows that women fare marginally better there, but still lag far behind men. Although these smaller studios are seemingly “edgier” than the majors, most of them have no women in top creative positions.

Independent and Mini-Major Film Studio Executives by Gender

| Studio | Position | Gender |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| United Artists | COO | Male |
| | President, Production | Male |
| LionsGate Entertainment | CEO and Co-Chairman | Male |
| | Co-Chair | Male |
| | President and Co-COO | Male |
| Fox Searchlight Pictures | Co-Presidents | Male, Female |
| Focus Features | Chief Executive Office | Male |
| | President of Production | Male |
| Sony Pictures Classics | Co-Presidents | Male, Male |
| IFC Films | President | Male |
| | VP, Acquisitions & Production | Female |
| | | |
| Magnolia Pictures | CEO | Male |
| | President | Male |
| | SVP, Acquisitions | Male |

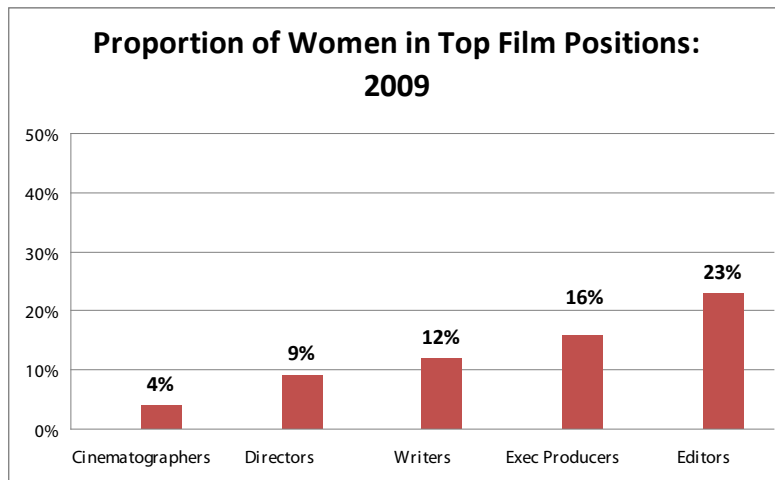
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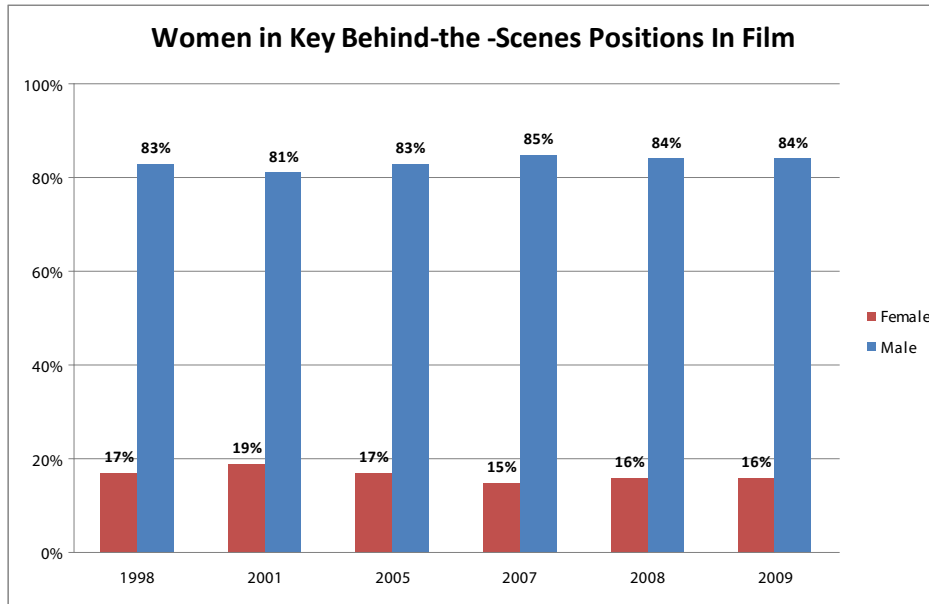
Independent and Mini-Major Film Studio Executives by Gender continued...

| Studio | Position | Gender |
|----------------------|---|--------|
| Miramax Films | President | Male |
| | EVP, Operations | Male |
| | SVP, Production | Female |
| Overture Films | Chief Executive Officer | Male |
| | COO | Male |
| | Executive VP, Production and Acquisitions | Male |
| Weinstein Company | Co-Chairs | Male |
| | COO | Male |
| Summit Entertainment | Co-Chair and CEO | Male |
| | Co-Chair and President | Male |
| | COO | Male |
| DreamWorks Films | Chair and CEO | Female |
| | Co-Chairs | Male |
| | COO | Female |

The lack of progress—and, in some cases, reversal of progress—in gender equity over time is evident not only at the very top but also among the *highest-ranking production roles in film*. In 2008, women constituted 16 percent of all directors, executive producers, producers, writers, cinematographers and editors working on the top 250 domestic grossing films.⁷² Specifically, they accounted for 9 percent of directors (a 3 percentage point increase over the previous year),⁷³ 12 percent of writers, 16 percent of executive producers, 23 percent of editors, and 4 percent of all cinematographers.⁷⁴



Another study found that they accounted for 5 percent of sound designers, and 5 percent of supervising sound editors.⁷⁵ As an overall average, women's 16 percent representation in these key roles is virtually unchanged over the past decade.⁷⁶



Sources: Lauzen 2008 (a) and (b); Lauzen 2009

Top 250 Movies in 2006: % with No Women in Top Positions⁷⁷

| Position in the Movie | Percent Without Women |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Producer | 37% |
| Executive Producer | 64% |
| Editor | 81% |
| Writer | 84% |
| Director | 93% |
| Cinematographer | 97% |

In the film industry, seeing women in leading roles in front of the camera, as well as behind the scenes, matters. Across the 400 top-grossing G, PG, PG-13 and R rated films released between 1990 and 2006, only 27 percent of over 15,000 speaking characters were female. Put another way, only one female appeared for every 2.71 males. Looking across three periods in the last two decades (films released between 1990-1995 vs. 1996-2000 vs. 2001-2006), a 2008 study found no change in the percentage of speaking roles for women over time.⁷⁸

Comprehensive data on women's leading roles onscreen are not widely available. However, the following statistics provide some insight. In the top 250 films of 2002, only 16 percent of clearly

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identifiable protagonists were female. Women played 0 percent of religious leaders, 0 percent of media leaders, 2 percent of military leaders, 6 percent of heads of government agencies, 10 percent of business owners, and 15 percent of those holding public office.⁷⁹

Moreover, films that win the Academy Award for best picture depict significantly fewer females (24.3 percent out of 1,608 characters) than do those that do not win the award (28.2 percent, out of 5,225 characters).⁸⁰ Only six of the 50 top grossing films of 2008 starred or focused on women, only three of the top 50 in 2006.⁸¹ No woman has ever won an Oscar for best director and only three have been nominated, including one American, Sofia Coppola (2003, *Lost in Translation*), Italy's Lina Wertmuller (1976, *Seven Beauties*) and the New Zealander, Jane Campion (1993, *The Piano*). Of the 6,833 speaking characters in the films nominated for best picture from 1977-2006, only 27.3 percent were females.⁸² When a man directed those pictures, women onscreen were 26.8 percent. However, when a woman directed one of these best picture-nominated films, the presence of onscreen females jumped to 41.2 percent.

Of the top 15 highest-grossing movies in 2008, only *Twilight* and *Mamma Mia!* had a woman director, writer and lead actor. *Sex and the City* was the only other movie with a female lead. While *Marley and Me* starred both Jennifer Aniston and Owen Wilson, it is a family film that is his story, not hers. Not one woman-centric film has been in the 10 top grossing films since 2002 (*My Big Fat Greek Wedding*).

Main Characters by Gender in Top-Grossing Films 2008

| Rank | Film | Earnings \$MM | Main Character(s) |
|------|--|---------------|-------------------|
| 1 | The Dark Knight | 533,345,358 | Male |
| 2 | Iron Man | 318,412,101 | Male |
| 3 | Indiana Jones 4 | 317,101,119 | Male |
| 4 | Hancock | 227,946,274 | Male |
| 7 | Twilight | 191,465,414 | Female |
| 9 | Quantum of Solace | 168,368,427 | Male |
| 11 | Sex and the City | 152,647,258 | Female |
| 12 | Gran Torino | 148,095,302 | Male |
| 13 | Mamma Mia! | 144,130,063 | Female |
| 14 | Marley and Me | 143,153,751 | Male, Female |
| 15 | The Chronicles of Narnia: Prince Caspian | 141,621,490 | Male |

Source: Box Office Mojo, See Footnotes ^{83,84}

Women in Television

Though women constitute 51 percent of the U.S. population and an even higher share of the TV-viewing audience, they only own a total of 80 stations. That's 5.87 percent of all commercial full power television stations.⁸⁵

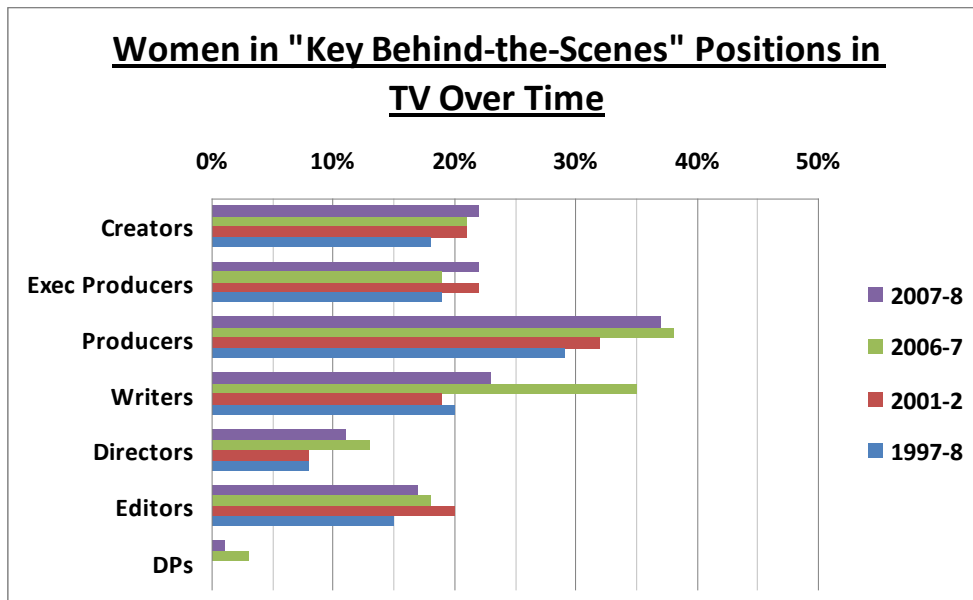
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Only one of the three major networks has a woman at the top: Anne Sweeney was named co-chair of Disney Media Networks and President Disney/ABC Television group in 2004. CW also has a female top executive, Dawn Ostroff, who is the president of entertainment. CBS, with two women, tops the list of having the most female top executives listed; NBC and Fox Broadcasting list no women among their top executives.⁸⁶

| Broadcast Network | Position | Gender |
|-------------------|---|----------------|
| NBC | President and CEO President of Entertainment | Male Male |
| ABC | President President of Entertainment | Female Male |
| CBS | CEO President of Entertainment | Male Female |
| Fox | Chairman President of Entertainment | Male Male |
| CW | Chief Operating Officer President of Entertainment | Male Female |

Among *situation comedies, dramas and reality shows* in the 2008-09 prime-time television season, women made up one-quarter (25 percent) of all creators, directors, executive producers and producers. This is down 1 percent from 2007-2008, but an increase of 4 percentage points (from 21 percent) from 1997-98.⁸⁷ Overall, women fared best as producers (35 percent), followed by writers (29 percent), executive producers (23 percent), creators (21 percent) editors (18 percent), directors (9 percent) and directors of photography (4 percent).⁸⁸



Source: Lauzen 2008 (a)

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*Top Prime-Time TV Shows: Percent with No Women in Top Positions*⁸⁹

| Position on TV Shows | Percent Without Women |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Producer | 12% |
| Executive Producer | 29% |
| Writer | 71% |
| Editor | 74% |
| Creator | 77% |
| Director | 89% |
| Director of Photography | 97% |

Note: Figures from 2005-06

Women of Color in Film & Television: Current Levels of Leadership

In television, women of color are even rarer among executives than women generally. There is only one woman of color among 19 executives (5 percent) at NBC Universal. Oprah Winfrey, CEO of Harpo, Inc., founder of OWN network is one of TV's dominant forces and has been for almost 30 years.⁹⁰ Other top-ranking black women in the industry include Mara Brock Akil, writer, producer and creator; Suzanne De Passe, CEO of DePasse Entertainment; Tracey Edmonds, president and COO, Our Stories Films; Debra Lee, president and CEO, BET Networks; Yvette Lee Bowser, producer, SisterLee productions; Christina Norman, former MTV president, new CEO of OWN Networks; Shonda Rhimes, creator, "Grey's Anatomy" and "Private Practice"; and Jada Pinkett Smith, executive producer, "HawthoRNe".⁹¹

The onscreen presence may be bleaker. No African American woman has won an Emmy award in the past 20 years, none has ever won an Emmy Award for outstanding actress, and only three have won Emmy awards for outstanding supporting actress in a drama. Of the drama, situation comedy and reality program episodes airing on six of the largest broadcast networks in the 2007-2008 prime-time television season,⁹² 7 percent of the characters were African-American women, 2 percent Latinas, and less than 2 percent Asian women.⁹³

In the 400 top-grossing films released between 1990 and 2006, 9.5 percent of all 1,214 speaking characters with an identifiable ethnicity were African-American. Across all the characters, African-American females comprised only 3 percent (350).⁹⁴ In the top 250 films of 2002, 22 percent of female characters were women of color.⁹⁵ Among winners of the prestigious Oscar awards, three African-American women have won best supporting actress: Hattie McDaniel in *Gone with the Wind*, 1939; Whoopi Goldberg in *Ghost* 1990 and Jennifer Hudson in *Dreamgirls* in 2006. Miyoshi Umeki is the first and only female of Asian descent to win best supporting actress in *Sayonara* in 1957. Halle Berry is the only woman of color to win an Oscar for best actress (*Monster's Ball*, 2002).

Salaries and Earnings: Film and TV

Among the writers of movies and TV shows, men's salaries are consistently higher than women's, but the gender gap is most pronounced in the film industry. White male writers, who ranked in the 95th percentile of all earners in 2005, earned \$738,750, compared to \$467,500 for minority writers

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and \$431,500 for all women writers. The median earnings for white male writers was \$118,357, compared with \$94,146 for women writers and \$83,334 for minority writers, according to the Writers Guild of America, West, in 2005.⁹⁶

In film, the male-female gap for writers seems to be widening, not narrowing. In 1999 median earnings for men in the film sector was \$77,500, compared to \$53,250 for women writers – a gap of about \$24,000. By 2005, the gap had increased to \$40,000 (\$90,000 for male writers versus \$50,000 for female writers).⁹⁷

On television, one woman leads the top ten highest-paid TV personalities – Oprah, with earnings of \$260 million,⁹⁸ followed by Jerry Seinfeld, and American Idol's Simon Cowell. The next top earners on the list are the veteran late-night talk-show hosts, David Letterman and Jay Leno, who ties for Number 5 with Donald Trump. Not a single woman has broken into any of the highly visible and lucrative late-night talk-show slots on a major network. The only other woman on the top 10 earners on TV is Judge Judy (Sheindlin) who ties for sixth.

TV's Top Earners 2006-07

| Rank | Earner | Earnings (\$) |
|---------|----------------------|---------------|
| 1 | Oprah Winfrey | 260 million |
| 2 | Jerry Seinfeld | 60 million |
| 3 | Simon Cowell | 45 million |
| 4 | David Letterman | 40 million |
| 5 (tie) | Donald Trump | 32 million |
| 5 (tie) | Jay Leno | 32 million |
| 6 (tie) | Dr. Phil McGraw | 30 million |
| 6 (tie) | Judge Judy Sheindlin | 30 million |
| 7 | George Lopez | 26 million |
| 8 | Kiefer Sutherland | 22 million |

Source: See Footnote⁹⁹

The saying, “You have to spend money to make money,” holds true in the film industry. The average budget of films featuring female protagonists or a predominantly female ensemble cast in 2008 totaled \$32.9 million less than that of films featuring male protagonists.¹⁰⁰ This translates into comparatively lower pay for actresses.

Harrison Ford, the top male earner with \$65 million, earns \$38 million more than Angelina Jolie, the top female earner at \$27 million. Taken together, the top 10 male actors earned \$393 million in 2008-2009, compared to \$183 million earned by the top actresses.¹⁰¹

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Top-Earning Actors 2008-2009

| Rank | Actor | Earnings (\$) |
|------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 | Harrison Ford | 65 million |
| 2 | Adam Sandler | 55 million |
| 3 | Will Smith | 45 million |
| 4 | Eddie Murphy | 40 million |
| 5 | Nicholas Cage | 40 million |
| 6 | Tom Hanks | 35 million |
| 7 | Tom Cruise | 30 million |
| 8 | Jim Carrey | 28 million |
| 9 | Brad Pitt | 28 million |
| 10 | Johnny Depp | 27 million |

Source: Pomerantz, See Footnote ¹⁰²

Top-Earning Actresses 2008-2009

| Rank | Actress | Earnings (\$) |
|------|----------------------|---------------|
| 1 | Angelina Jolie | 27 million |
| 2 | Jennifer Aniston | 25 million |
| 3 | Meryl Streep | 24 million |
| 4 | Sarah Jessica Parker | 23 million |
| 5 | Cameron Diaz | 20 million |
| 6 | Sandra Bullock | 15 million |
| 7 | Reese Witherspoon | 15 million |
| 8 | Nicole Kidman | 12 million |
| 9 | Drew Barrymore | 12 million |
| 10 | Renee Zellweger | 10 million |

Source: Pomerantz, See Footnote ¹⁰³

There are no minority women among the top-grossing actresses. However, a number of women of color—Whoopi Goldberg, Halle Berry, Queen Latifah—have already had lifetime earnings well over \$1 billion.

Recommendations for Closing the Leadership Gap

Women have always been a part of film and television entertainment, working behind the scenes and in front of the cameras, but haven't broken that glass ceiling of this historically male-led industry. Until women reach a critical mass in the top creative and decision-making positions, we won't see sufficient numbers of women writing, directing, producing and starring in entertainments that tell the kind of complex stories with diverse characters that would be real role models for the next generation. For women to move into leadership, as we've stated throughout this report, numbers matter.

Below, specific recommendations for the industry:

- *Implement training programs.* The United Kingdom and Australia have developed successful training models (workshops, master classes and mentoring programs) for writers, directors and producers that are opening up the film industry to women and minorities. These could be adapted to the particular needs of companies within the United States in all areas.¹⁰⁴
- *Support films with leading women.* Increasing gross revenues at the box office for films with female leads – and those made by women – through consumer purchasing power encourages studios to generate more films starring and produced by women.
- *Begin conversations with the professional guilds* and develop strategies to support women in the trades.
- *Support women's advocacy coalitions and organizations.* Women's organizations, websites and blogs provide important information about the status of women's leadership in TV and film and advocate on their behalf. Offering support through readership, advertising, and/or membership allows them to continue their advocacy in the field.
- *Scholarship and scouting of rising stars.* Financial backing of young women directors, producers and other key behind-the-scenes functions is critical for their professional success. Support of existing programs or establishment of company-run charitable endeavors can give female film and TV students a competitive advantage for succeeding in the sector.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN INDIVIDUAL SECTORS:

“Our issues are not going to be solved by one smart person leading the way. It will take all of us, in our diversity, bringing solutions to the table. That’s what’s critical.”

SOLEDAD O'BRIEN,
HOST, CNN SPECIAL INVESTIGATIONS UNIT

JOURNALISM

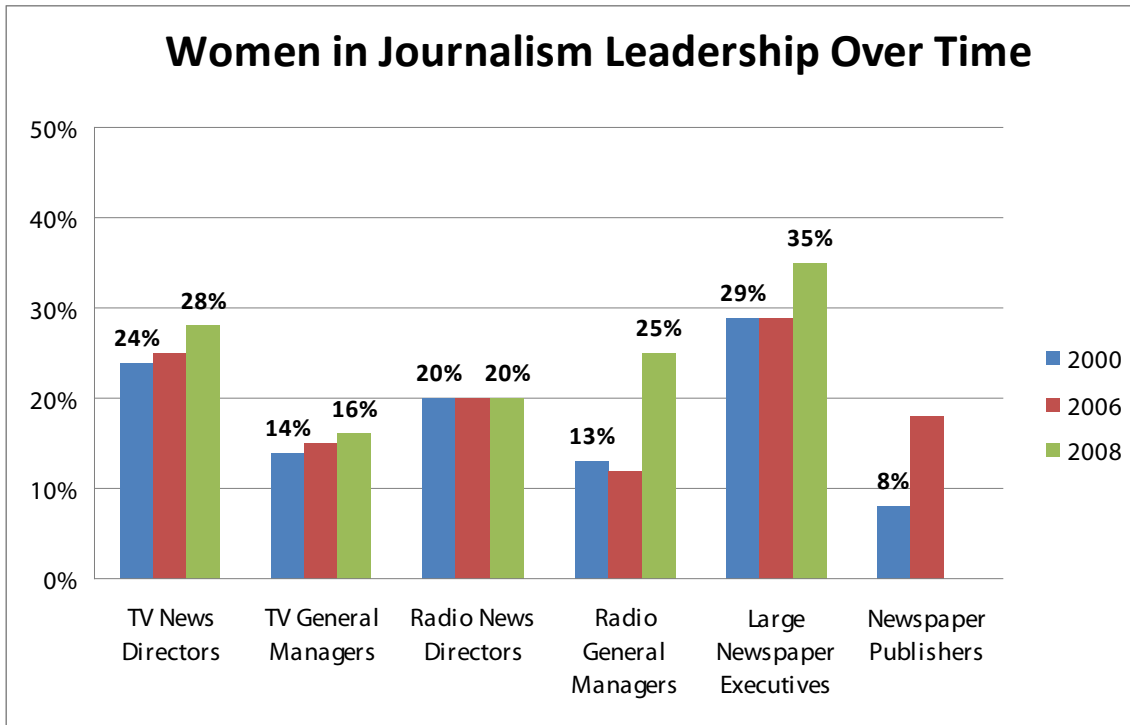
Those who determine the content and delivery of the news have an enormous and powerful influence on the American public. From producers and publishers to the highly visible hosts of cable news shows, the decision makers in the media shape both the messages we receive and the opinions we form. Journalism affects our culture, spurs public debate and informs public policy.

Women’s voices are crucial in this arena. The more diverse the leadership, the less likely it is that coverage will be biased, with overt stereotypes or opinions disguised as fact. As in politics, the model of “representational democracy” extends to journalism: When women are in positions of leadership within the media, the selection of stories and the messages they convey are broader and better reflect the general population. While behind-the-scenes decision makers hold enormous sway, the power of visibility cannot be overemphasized. When women are seen, read, and heard in the media, they achieve greater acceptance as figures of authority and expertise in our society. As women attain leadership roles in the public eye—from Katie Couric and Diane Sawyer as the first and second female prime-time news anchors on major TV networks to Rachel Maddow and Christiane Amanpour on cable news—they also serve as powerful role models for young women and girls. As Marian Wright Edelman, the founder and president of the Children’s Defense Fund and first African-American woman admitted to the Mississippi State Bar, has said, “You cannot be what you cannot see.”¹⁰⁵

Women in Journalism: Current Levels of Leadership

Arguably more than the other sectors covered in this report, journalism has a remarkable share of women “stars.” Whether measured by fame, income or influence, no man in the media can compete with Oprah Winfrey, who earned \$275 million in 2008 from her syndicated television show, magazine, cable network and satellite radio show. After Winfrey, the “top four most influential women in the media” listed by *Forbes* magazine in 2009 included Diane Sawyer, Barbara Walters, Ellen DeGeneres and Tyra Banks—although it is debatable whether the latter two would be characterized as journalists.

The familiarity of these names to the average American and their collective influence and success might suggest that the field is remarkably open to women. Yet as in other sectors, women are vastly unrepresented in leadership positions within the field of journalism. The situation persists even though most college journalism majors since 1977 have been female.¹⁰⁶



Sources: RTNDA/Ball State University 2000-2007; RTNDA/Hofstra University 2008; Gibbons 2006; Media Management Center 2006; ASNE 2008

Though it is difficult to obtain industry-wide statistics, a look at the top leadership positions at 15 leading media companies covering a broad mix of all media, demonstrates how few women have advanced to those top levels (See the following chart). Every single CEO and board chair of the companies listed are male, while women averaged 17 percent of the board members of these leading media companies.

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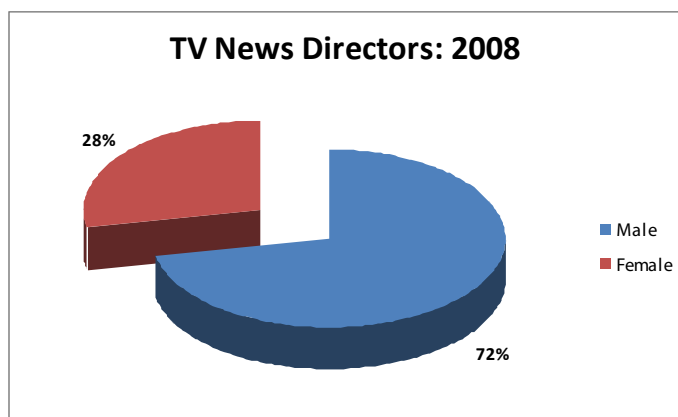
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Women in Leadership in Top Media Owners¹⁰⁷

| Company | CEO | Board | Female Board Members | % |
|-----------------------------------|------|-------|----------------------|----|
| Time Warner Inc. | Male | 11 | 2 | 18 |
| Walt Disney Company | Male | 12 | 3 | 25 |
| Viacom Inc. | Male | 11 | 2 | 18 |
| News Corporation | Male | 16 | 1 | 6 |
| CBS Corporation | Male | 14 | 2 | 14 |
| Cox Enterprises | Male | 10 | 2 | 20 |
| NBC Universal | Male | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Gannett Company, Inc. | Male | 10 | 3 | 30 |
| Clear Channel Communications Inc. | Male | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| Advance Publications, Inc. | Male | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Tribune Company | Male | 9 | 2 | 22 |
| McGraw-Hill Companies | Male | 12 | 2 | 17 |
| Hearst Corporation | Male | 20 | 3 | 15 |
| Washington Post Company | Male | 10 | 2 | 20 |
| The New York Times Company | Male | 15 | 5 | 33 |

Television

The proportion of female news staff in network television has not changed significantly in the past eight years, hovering around 40 percent.¹⁰⁸ In that same period, female news directors have gone from 24 percent to 28 percent, and female general managers have barely increased, going from 14 percent to 16 percent.



Sources: RTNDA/Hofstra University 2008; Media Management Center 2006

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When we look at local network affiliates, the numbers tell a different story. As of 2008, women make up 16.1 percent of general managers at network affiliates,¹⁰⁹ up four percentage points since 2004. They make up 28.3 percent of news directors (up from 26.5 percent in 2003¹¹⁰) and are just as likely to be found in the largest newsrooms and markets as in the smaller ones.¹¹¹ However, female news directors are less common among ABC affiliates than other network affiliates,¹¹² and women directed none of the independent news stations studied in 2007.¹¹³

When we look at on-air presence, women in the news are in front of the camera on par with their male counterparts. While this is a promising statistic, those numbers alone do not adequately describe the amount of air time they receive and the quality of the stories they cover. For example, as can be seen below, co-anchors of the nightly news are classified with special assignment correspondents. Women news anchors of color are still represented at statistically low rates, with the exception of CNN, which is broadcast worldwide and thus may seek to put a more heterogeneous face on the news.

Women On-Air on Network News

| Network ¹¹⁴ | Anchors/ Corres. | Male | Female | %* | Women of Color | % |
|------------------------|---------------------|------|--------|----|-------------------|----|
| ABC | 101 | 48 | 53 | 52 | 16 | 16 |
| CBS | 88 | 41 | 47 | 53 | 10 | 9 |
| CNN | 191 | 98 | 93 | 49 | 58 | 30 |
| NBC | 87 | 51 | 36 | 41 | 4 | 5 |
| MSNBC | 23 | 10 | 13 | 57 | 2 | 1 |
| Fox | 152 | 76 | 76 | 50 | 7 | 5 |

Three of the 10 (30 percent) most visible reporters in the three leading network evening news shows in 2008 were women, and Andrea Mitchell topped the list with 355 minutes of coverage. Not a single journalist of color made the list.¹¹⁵

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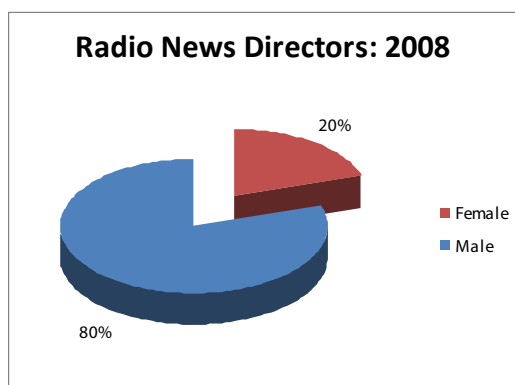
Top 10 Most Visible Reporters on the Evening News Shows in 2008 (Anchors Excluded)¹¹⁶

| REPORTER | MINUTES | ASSIGNMENT | NETWORK |
|--------------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|
| 1. Andrea Mitchell | 355 | D.C. Bureau | NBC |
| 2. Jake Tapper | 313 | Campaign Trail | ABC |
| 3. Dean Reynolds | 262 | Campaign Trail | CBS |
| 4. Robert Bazell | 261 | Medicine | NBC |
| 5. Betsey Stark | 245 | Economy | ABC |
| 6. Anthony Mason | 230 | Economy | CBS |
| 7. George Stephanopoulos | 229 | Political Analysis | ABC |
| 8. Tom Costello | 224 | D.C. Bureau | NBC |
| 9. Lee Cowan | 196 | Campaign Trail | NBC |
| 10. Nancy Cordes | 195 | D.C. Bureau | CBS |

At ABC, CBS and NBC overall, women correspondents reported just 25 percent of news stories—a ratio that hasn't changed in the last three years.¹¹⁷ In 2006, women reported 34 percent of all stories at CBS, 25 percent at NBC, and 23 percent at ABC. People of color covered 15 percent of stories for CBS, 10 percent at NBC, and 10 percent at ABC.¹¹⁸

In 2006 Katie Couric became the first woman to anchor a prime-time news show on the major broadcast networks; it will take until January 2010 for Diane Sawyer join her ranks. Only one of the four major networks has a woman at the top: Anne Sweeney was named co-chair of Disney Media Network and ABC Television in 2004. The hosts of all the four major networks' Sunday morning political talk shows are men: NBC's *Meet the Press*, ABC's *This Week*, CBS' *Face the Nation*, and Fox Broadcasting Co's *Fox News Sunday*. Male guests also outnumber female guests by an average ratio of four-to-one. White guests outnumber guests of any other race or ethnicity by nearly seven-to-one, according to a 2005-06 study.¹¹⁹

Radio



Sources: RTNDA/Hofstra University 2008; Media Management Center 2006

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Women have lost ground in network radio, both as staff and in leadership positions, in the last several years. In 2008, they represented 25 to 30 percent of radio staff¹²⁰ while leadership levels were still in the 20 percent range.¹²¹ The only area where women have experienced significant gains is among the cadre of radio general managers.

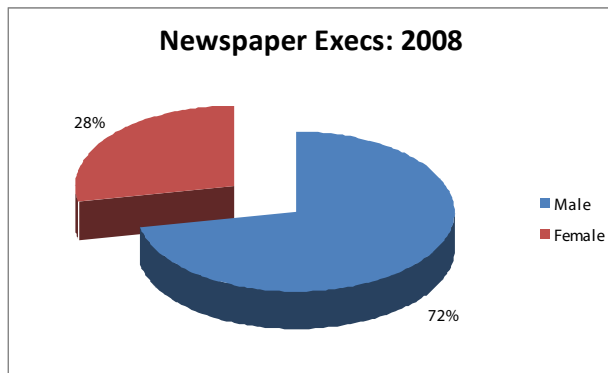
Across major market local radio stations,¹²² women make up 36 percent of the workforce.¹²³ While in 2007 they constituted one-third of news directors in major market stations,¹²⁴ it is disturbing to note that this figure fell to 10 percent in 2008.¹²⁵ On the flipside, their share of general manager positions (in all radio markets) increased from 20.3 percent in 2007 to 25.4 percent in 2008.¹²⁶

Among the formats available on the radio, news/talk radio is a key player—although, as many analysts point out, it is increasingly more talk and less news. According to Arbitron, talk radio boasts an audience of over 48 million listeners, of whom 63.4 percent are male and 65 percent are white. There are two women in the list of the top 10 personalities that dominate talk radio.

*Talk Radio 2003 – 2008*¹²⁷ (figures are in millions)

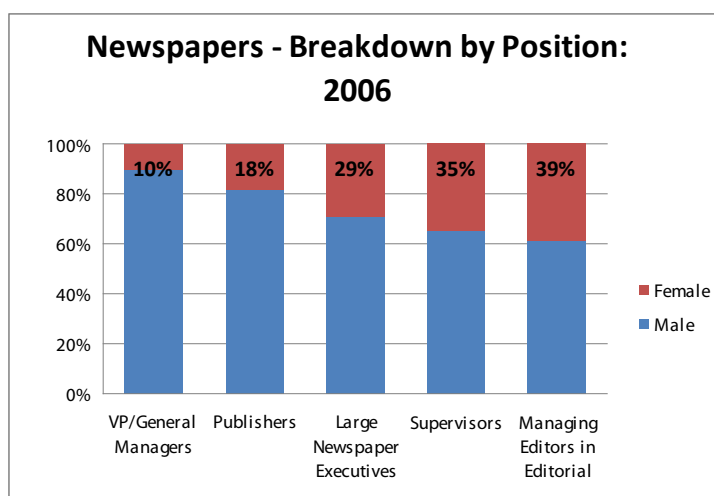
| Top Talk Personalities | Ideology | 2008 Listeners | 2006 Listeners | 2003 Listeners |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Rush Limbaugh | Conservative | 14.25 | 13.5 | 14.50 |
| Sean Hannity | Conservative | 13.25 | 12.5 | 11.74 |
| Michael Savage | Conservative | 8.25 | 8.25 | 7.0 |
| Dr. Laura Schlessinger | General Advice/ Conservative | 8.25 | 8.0 | 8.50 |
| Laura Ingraham | Conservative | 5.50 | 5.0 | 1.25 |
| Glen Beck | Conservative | 6.75 | 3.0 | N/A |
| Mark Levin | Conservative | 5.50 | 1.0 | N/A |
| Neal Boortz | Conservative | 4.25 | 3.75 | 2.50 |
| Dave Ramsey | Financial Advice | 4.50 | 2.75 | N/A |

Newspapers



Sources: RTNDA/Hofstra University 2008; Media Management Center 2006

Women currently make up 37 percent of full-time staffers at daily newspapers, a number that has held steady for several years.¹²⁸ Similarly, the proportion of women executives at large newspapers (with circulation over 85,000) has basically remained constant.¹²⁹ At 137 large newspapers,¹³⁰ women average 10 percent of vice presidents and general managers¹³¹ and 29 percent of executives. Women constitute 39 percent of managing editors in editorial departments.¹³² The largest increase in women's leadership in the newspaper sector has been in the position of newspaper publishers, which went from only eight percent in 2000 to 18 percent in 2006¹³³. More than one-third (36 percent) of these publishers have direct supervisory responsibilities.¹³⁴



Sources: RTNDA/Ball State University 2000-2007; Media Management Center 2006

However, there has been little progress in the ratio of women to men newspaper executives since 2000.¹³⁵ The 10 percentage point increase in women publishers, and the 1 percentage point increase in women supervisors over six years¹³⁶ are offset by the 6 percent decline in women's share of vice president and executive manager roles over three years.¹³⁷ Among the 20 newspapers with the largest circulations, only one paper reported a female publisher (Katharine Weymouth, the *Washington Post*) and two editors-in-chief (Susan Goldberg, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and Nancy Barnes, the *Star Tribune* – Minneapolis).¹³⁸ Of the editorial page editors on the 100 top newspapers, about 25 are female.¹³⁹

As of 2007, women made up one-third of the top 100 newspaper syndicated opinion columnists in the U.S. Three of the top 10 op-ed writers are women.¹⁴⁰

Magazines

Among magazines in general, editorial staffs report women in large numbers, averaging over 40 percent. One reason for this strong presence—and an impressive representation by women in magazine leadership—is the existence of the so-called “Seven Sister” magazines—mass-market publications developed more than 50 years ago for the women's market. While only one of these publications, *McCall's*, has folded, all began suffering significant readership declines—reflecting women's changing interests—even before the recession and the shift to the Internet began to

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impact both circulation and advertising. Cathleen Black, President of Hearst magazines is bucking publishing trends and “a”t a time when other publishers are struggling, hearst magazines are doing well using a strategy that defies the current conventional wisdom.”¹⁴¹

Women in Magazines¹⁴²

| Job Category | 2008 |
|-------------------------|------|
| Editorial Director | 40% |
| Executive Editor/Editor | 50% |
| Senior Editor | 45% |
| Managing Editor | 38% |

Of the magazines listed below, all but one (*Better Homes and Gardens*) of those geared primarily to women have female editors-in-chief (although that was not always the case). The other magazines, including the weekly news magazines (*Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and World Report*), have historically been dominated by male leadership in all areas of management, a pattern that continues.

Editor-in-Chief of Leading Magazines, by Gender (circulation in millions)

| Magazine | 2008 | 2000 | Gender of Editor-In-Chief |
|---------------------------|------|------|---------------------------|
| Better Homes and Gardens* | 7.66 | 7.62 | Male |
| National Geographic | 5.10 | 7.9 | Male |
| Good Housekeeping* | 4.67 | 4.53 | Female |
| Family Circle* | 3.91 | 5.00 | Female |
| Ladies' Home Journal* | 3.84 | 4.14 | Female |
| McCall's* | N/A | 4.10 | N/A |
| Redbook* | 2.22 | 2.30 | Female |
| Women's Day * | 3.90 | 5.00 | Female |
| Cosmo | 2.93 | 2.65 | Female |
| Glamour | 2.32 | 2.18 | Female |
| Newsweek | 2.72 | 3.14 | Male |
| O, the Oprah Magazine | 2.38 | 2.07 | Female |
| People** | 3.75 | 3.54 | Male |
| Time | 3.37 | 4.10 | Male |
| Seventeen | 2.03 | 2.37 | Female |
| US News & World Report | 1.72 | 2.10 | Male |
| Vanity Fair | 1.17 | 1.06 | Male |
| Ebony | 1.37 | 1.76 | Female |
| Essence | 1.08 | 1.01 | Female |

*Seven Sister magazines

**Martha Nelson is managing editor and oversees the broad spectrum of People-related magazines.

Furthermore, as with newspapers, a disproportionate share of the bylines on the more heavyweight issues or in more “intellectual” magazines belongs to men. One review found that, between 2003 and 2005, the ratio of men’s to women’s bylines was 13:1 for the *National Review*, 7:1 for both *Harper’s* and the *Weekly Standard*, and 2:1 for the *Columbia Journalism Review*.³⁹ Another byline study of *The Atlantic*, *Harper’s*, *The New York Times Magazine*, *The New Yorker* and *Vanity Fair* found a 3 to 1 ratio of male to female bylines.¹⁴³

Despite large declines in circulation, magazines still have a tremendous reach and continue to score significantly higher than TV or the Internet in engagement dimensions (trustworthy, social interaction life enhancing, personal “time out” and inspirational).¹⁴⁴ It is not farfetched to say that magazine coverage helps shape our view of the world, and that the preponderance of male leadership makes that a far more masculine view. Of a total of 203 issues surveyed in 2007 of *Business Week*, *Forbes*, *Fortune*, *Newsweek* and *Time*, for example, women were the full photo subject on a mere 22 covers, had 65 full-photo, cover-story bylines, and only eight full-photo cover credits.¹⁴⁵ In *Sports Illustrated* between June 2005 and May 2008, only three covers featured a female athlete by herself: Two were featured in 2005, and one was repeated in 2008.¹⁴⁶

Internet

While any discussion of journalism obviously must include the Web, it is difficult to track—and quantify with any certainty—the fast-changing world of media websites, blogs, YouTube and Twitter feeds. But it is clear that, just as the Internet is transforming journalism, it is also radically reshaping the role of women in the media.

In its early days, for example, bloggers were overwhelmingly white and male. Trends evolving around Internet use indicate that women have an increasingly significant presence in the online community:

- Thirty-six million women are in the blogosphere as readers or people who post comments; 15 million women are publishing blogs.
- Although men were early adopters, women have taken the lead in social media—i.e., media designed to promote social interaction. More women than men stream video online and log onto social networking sites.
- Nineteen percent of women—compared with 28 percent of men—report going online “yesterday” for news.¹⁴⁷

Like their print counterparts, the websites offered by major newspapers are heavily male-dominated. In fact, the online versions of even the most traditional women’s magazines—such as *Better Homes and Gardens*—are sometimes headed by men. However, given the fluid nature of this field and the comparatively high turnover rate, there appear to be more opportunities for women to rise to the top. Until recently, for example, a woman was managing editor of *washingtonpost.com* before moving on to another website.

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The Top Ten Print Media Websites – by U.S. market share of visits- August 2009¹⁴⁸

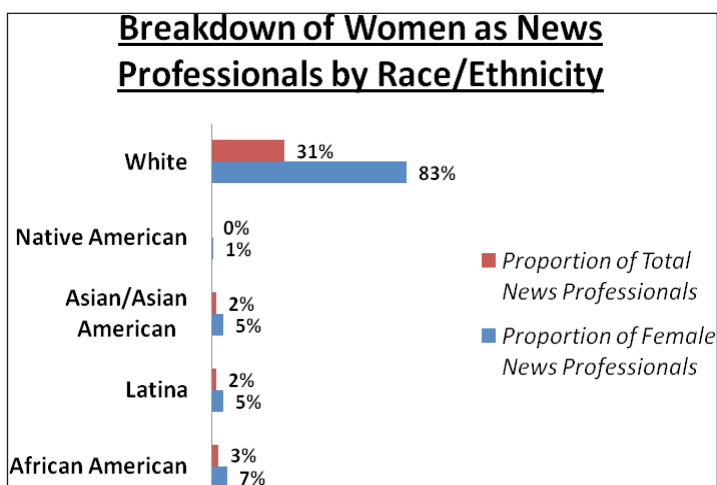
| COMPANY | PERCENT | OWNER |
|-------------------------|---------|-----------------------------|
| The New York Times | 4.76 % | New York Times Company |
| USA Today | 4.16 | Gannett Company |
| People Magazine | 2.31 | Time Warner |
| The Washington Post | 2.05 | The Washington Post Company |
| The Wall Street Journal | 1.50 | News Corporation |
| TV Guide.com | 1.48 | Opengate Capital |
| Boston Globe | 1.10 | New York Times Company |
| San Francisco Examiner | 1.06 | Clarity Media |
| NY Daily News | 1.05 | Mort Zuckerman |
| Sports Illustrated | 0.97 | Time Warner |

The fluidity of the online world—notably, the lack of barriers to entry—is also eroding the reach of traditional journalism's online products. As the chart below shows, the majority of the Internet audience goes first to providers such as Yahoo! for news. Admittedly, the ownership of these sites is male-dominated. However, it is important to note that the political news site most heavily visited—with a 14 percent market share in July 2009—was huffingtonpost.com, founded by Arianna Huffington.¹⁴⁹ And, since April 2009, Yahoo! has had a woman president and CEO, Carol Bartz.

The Top News and Current Events Sites – by audience size (000) July

| SITE | AUDIENCE | OWNER |
|---|----------|---------------------|
| Yahoo News | 45,688 | Yahoo! |
| CNN Digital Network | 38,651 | Time Warner |
| MSNBC Digital Network | 36,550 | NBC Universal |
| AOL News | 25,322 | Time Warner |
| ABCNEWS Digital Network | 16,359 | Walt Disney Company |
| Tribune Newspapers | 16,302 | Tribune Company |
| Fox News Digital Network | 15,720 | News Corporation |
| NYTimes.com | 14,277 | NY Times Company |
| Google News | 13,369 | Google |
| Gannett Newspapers and Newspaper Division | 13,231 | Gannett Company |

Women of Color in Journalism: Current Levels of Leadership



Source: ASNE 2008

Although people of color are more than a third (34 percent) of the U.S. population¹⁵⁰, they represent only 24 percent of the TV workforce.¹⁵¹ On newspapers, minority women accounted for 16.5 percent of the women staff in the newsroom at the end of 2008, up from 14 percent in 2001.¹⁵² Interestingly, in newspapers in 2007, men outnumbered women in all racial/ethnic groups except Asian Americans, where, as with broadcast, women outnumbered men.¹⁵³ The battering taken by newspapers in the last couple of years has hit minority workers particularly hard: according to a 2009 survey by the American Society of News Editors, the total number of minority journalists today has returned to the level reported in the 1998 census.¹⁵⁴

While statistics on leadership broken down by gender and race are limited, as in other sectors, it is clear that minority groups are underrepresented in these arenas. Minorities account for only 12 percent of the radio workforce, 16 percent of TV news directors and 6 percent of radio news directors.¹⁵⁵ As of 2008, people of color filled 11 percent of newspaper supervisory positions, up only two percentage points from 1999,¹⁵⁶ and 22 percent of all people of color were in supervisory roles, compared with 26 percent of all whites.¹⁵⁷

Recommendations for Closing the Leadership Gap

In terms of women in leadership, journalism presents a curious anomaly: There are a number of highly prominent women journalists in radio, television, print, and online, yet the most influential positions—editors in chief, publishers, directors of media companies—are still filled primarily by men. Achieving a critical mass of women on the boards and top management of media companies is essential to bringing gender parity to all news organizations.

Below, specific recommendations for journalism:

- *Commitment from the top.* The management and boards of media corporations must be fully committed to having diversity in leadership. By expanding their recruiting practices, companies can foster diversity not only among immediate hires to top-level positions, but also among candidates who may ultimately qualify for those higher-level positions.
- *Training and mentoring.* While many companies have already established training programs, they must make a concerted effort to ensure that women are being trained and mentored for leadership positions.
- *Support for organizations which advocate for women in journalism.* Several nonprofit organizations, including The Women's Media Center, The Maynard Institute for Journalism Education, and Media Matters, work to foster greater inclusion and visibility of diverse women in the media as leaders, while challenging media practices and messages which tolerate or promote gender bias.
- *Women as entrepreneurs.* Women have proven to be successful entrepreneurs in many industries. With the growing shift away from traditional journalism by large corporations to blogs and Tweets, women who want to strike out on their own face comparatively fewer barriers. However, they need to become familiar with and capitalize on emerging trends in this new arena.
- *Diversify the guest roster.* News producers and op-ed editors should be encouraged to include women as figures of authority and expertise.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN INDIVIDUAL SECTORS:

“I feel great that I don’t have to be the lone woman around this place.”

JUSTICE RUTH BADER GINSBURG,
ON JUDGE SONIA SOTOMAYOR’S NOMINATION TO THE U.S. SUPREME COURT

LAW

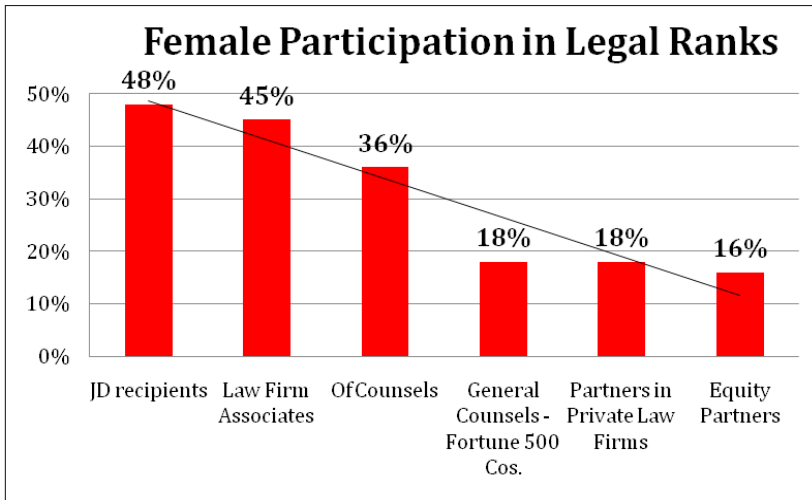
When women rise from law students to leadership roles within the legal sector, it’s good not only for the courts and the law firms where they are employed, but also for their clients and, ultimately, the public that they serve. Women attorneys are key to the continued advancement for women in fields well beyond the law. “It’s been largely women lawyers who have been the biggest advocates of women’s rights in the courts,” says Jennifer K. Brown, vice president and legal director of Legal Momentum, a legal defense and education fund.¹⁵⁸

Furthermore, women’s leadership in the legal profession is good for law firms’ bottom line. As prominent companies demand gender and racial diversity within their own ranks, they will surely demand it as well of the law firms that represent them. That makes advancing women in the legal profession more than fair practice—it’s also a smart business strategy.¹⁵⁹

The *Austin Manifesto on Women in Law*, adopted by acclamation in 2009 at the Women’s Power Summit on Law and Leadership, and sponsored by the Center for Women in Law at the University of Texas School of Law, is an excellent example in this sector of adopting concrete goals and a timetable for achieving critical mass.¹⁶⁰ It reads: “We pledge to identify goals and timetables that are specific, measurable, achievable, relevant, and trackable. We commit to achieve no less than 30 percent women equity partners, tenured law professors and general counsel by 2015; to achieve no less than 10 percent equity partners who are women of color by 2020; elect a woman of color as President of ABA and Chair of ACC by 2015; and urge the President to nominate and the Senate to confirm women to vacancies on the federal bench, including the U.S. Supreme Court.”¹⁶¹

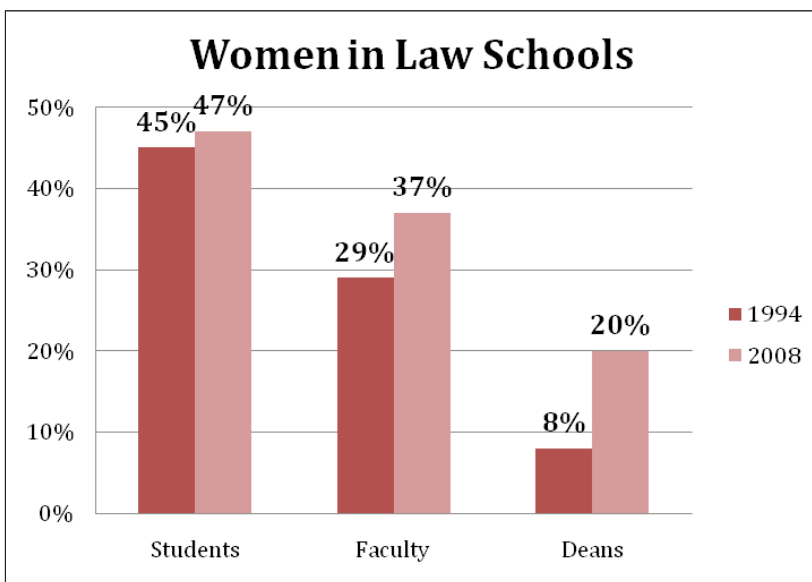
Women in Law: Current Levels of Leadership

With each passing year, the number of women entering law school has grown, so that women now account for almost half of all law school graduates. Unfortunately, that progress abruptly stops with graduation. Despite being 48 percent of law school graduates,¹⁶² and 45 percent of law firm associates,¹⁶³ women make up only 18 percent of the general partners and 16 percent of the equity partners in private law firms.¹⁶⁴ In fact, in the legal sector, the line tracking women’s share of leadership roles follows a straighter downward path as the potential to assume a leadership role rises, than in any other professional sector in this report.



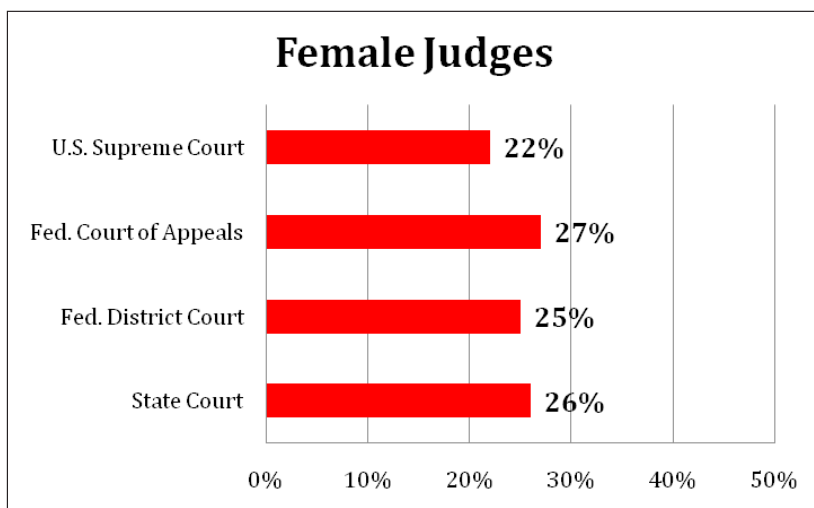
At the very top of the legal sector, women have made no progress at all in the last 15 years:¹⁶⁵ The percentage of female partners in private law firms has remained frozen at 18 percent.¹⁶⁶ At the level of general counsel in Fortune 500 companies, women also make up about 18.4 percent¹⁶⁷ -- but that's better than it was back in 1995, when only 4 percent of general counsels were women,¹⁶⁸ and women account for 36 percent of counsels.¹⁶⁹

Women's career progress as academicians within law schools follows a similar downward trend as the stakes and the status rise, although there have been advances in the past 15 years. Women now make up about 47 percent of the students and 37 percent of the faculty¹⁷⁰, but only 20 percent of law school deans.¹⁷¹



The Courts

In the courts, about one in four judges is female, a pattern that applies all the way up to the U.S. Supreme Court.



At the state court level, there are 4,325 female judges out of a total of 16,950 – about 26 percent. The breakdown for women within that level is as follows: State Final Appellate Jurisdiction Courts, 29 percent; State Intermediate Appellate Jurisdiction Courts, 30 percent; State General Jurisdiction Courts, 23 percent; State Limited and Special Jurisdiction Courts, 29 percent.¹⁷²

At the federal level, women make up 25 percent of U.S. District Court judges, 27 percent of U.S. Court of Appeals judges, and 22 percent of U.S. Supreme Court judges.¹⁷³

“Of course I’m pleased (but)...our nearest neighbor Canada also has a court of nine members and in Canada there’s a woman chief justice and there are four women all told.”

SANDRA DAY O’CONNOR,
ON JUDGE SONIA SOTOMAYOR’S NOMINATION, ON THE TODAY SHOW, JUNE 24, 2009

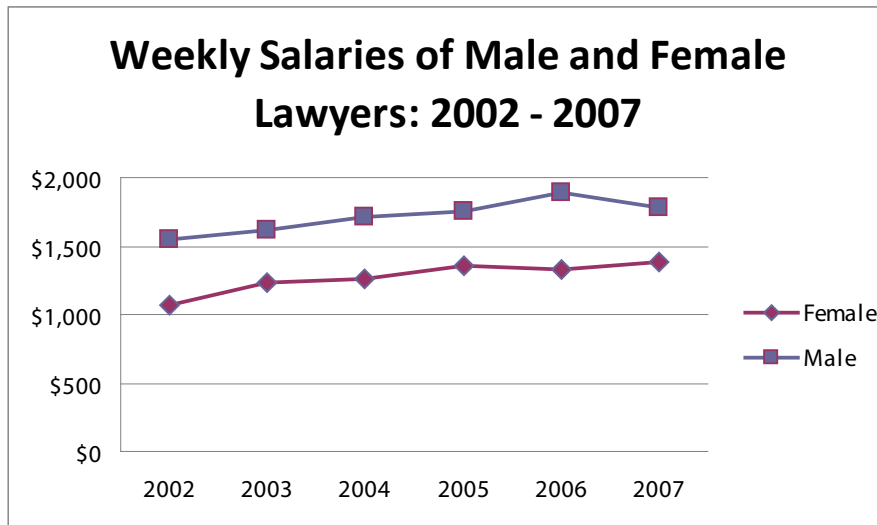
It wasn’t until 1981 that we had the first woman on the Supreme Court, Sandra Day O’Connor (who retired in 2005). The appointment of Ruth Bader Ginsburg in 1993 brought the total to two. With the confirmation of Sonia Sotomayor in 2009, we again have two women serving simultaneously on the court. As a matter of history, this is momentous. As a matter of math, however, two out of nine justices translates to only 22 percent female representation.

Women of Color in Law: Levels of Leadership

While the confirmation of Sonia Sotomayor in 2009 as the first Hispanic Supreme Court Justice is a great step forward, the representation of women of color throughout the legal sector is among the worst of any of the 10 sectors in this report. Today women of color constitute only six percent of all lawyers. One in five law firms has no associates who are people of color.¹⁷⁴ Women of color account for less than two percent of partners in major law firms,¹⁷⁵ and only 1.8 percent of Fortune 500 general counsels.¹⁷⁶ In law firms of 700-plus lawyers, only 2.27 percent of partners are women of color.¹⁷⁷ These small percentages shrink further in law firms of 50 attorneys or fewer,¹⁷⁸ where 1.8 percent of partners are women of color.¹⁷⁹ Since 11 percent of associates in firms are women of color, the statistics indicate that once women of color enter firms, they are far less likely to move up the partnership ladder than white women, who account for some 35 percent of associates.

Salaries and Earnings

The higher up the ranks of leadership women go in the legal sector, the greater the gender gap in pay, although the difference has narrowed slightly in recent years. In 2007, the median salaries for women attorneys overall were about 78 percent of the salaries of their male counterparts.¹⁸⁰ In 2002, female lawyers made only 69 percent of what their male counterparts were paid.



Source: ABA 2008

On average, according to a recent ABA study, men who are of-counsel attorneys earn about \$20,000 more than their female counterparts every year. Men who are non-equity partners earn about \$27,000 more than their female counterparts every year while male equity partners take home \$90,000 more than their female equivalents.¹⁸¹

These figures are confirmed by a 2006 survey on the “Retention and Promotion of Women in Law Firms,”¹⁸² conducted on behalf of The National Association of Women Lawyers. The study found:

- Some 92 percent of firms reporting said their highest paid attorney was a man.
- The median compensation for men of-counsel was \$202,000 versus \$184,000 for women.
- The median compensation for male non-equity partners was \$239,000, versus \$207,400 for women.
- The median compensation for male equity partners was \$510,000 versus \$429,000 for women.

Barriers to Women's Advancement

Research shows that the largest barriers to women's progress in the legal profession come from systemic and subtle bias rather than overt discrimination. Unconscious stereotypes, inadequate access to support networks, inflexible workplace structures, and sexual harassment are widely-cited factors.¹⁸³ Robin Ely, professor of organizational behavior at the Harvard Business School, found that women in law firms where few females were at senior levels felt less serious about their work, less satisfied with their firms, less self-confident and less interested in promotion, compared with women in firms with significant numbers of females in senior levels.¹⁸⁴

The barriers for women of color are significantly higher. More than two-thirds of women of color in law firms report being excluded from formal and informal networking opportunities within their firms;¹⁸⁵ 43 percent of women of color (versus 3 percent of white men) reported limited client development opportunities.¹⁸⁶ This may help to explain why twice as many women of color in law firms express a need for more or better mentoring than white men do.¹⁸⁷

As a result of such unfavorable working conditions and unspoken biases, women—and especially women of color—are more likely than men to leave law firms before they reach the top.¹⁸⁸ The recommendations below may help prevent this kind of attrition and enable women lawyers to achieve a critical mass.

Recommendations for Closing the Leadership Gap

While the six recommendations which we made in the introduction to this report apply to all the sectors studied, some are particularly relevant to the legal arena. Our first recommendation, for the creation of a critical mass of women in top leadership positions, is especially compelling here, where not only are women largely absent from the top levels of law firms and major corporations but research has shown that their scarcity negatively influences women at the lower tiers. The pipeline is filled, yet it hasn't yielded the leadership promotions that might be expected, and thus concerted actions need to be taken to change this. The strategic use of financial resources will help achieve the goal of critical mass. When choosing a firm, women and men should ask questions about the representation of women among the partners and, all other things being equal, should choose among the firms with one-third female partners or plans to get there. This will make those firms which have more women partners more profitable. We underscore the need to collect and analyze data; in this

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respect, the legal sector has the support of the ABA, which has been especially proactive in collecting and analyzing data through its committee on the status of women. Finally, as we indicate below, our overall recommendation for flexibility in the workplace is particularly relevant to the legal sector if we are to increase the number of women at the top.

Below, specific recommendations for the legal sector:

- *Improve awareness of latent stereotypes* and combat attitudes leading to the “glass ceiling” and the “maternal wall.” Help the gatekeepers to the top ranks understand that women, including mothers, can be just as competitive, powerful and willing to meet the often strenuous demands of the legal sector as their male colleagues with children.
- *Improve access to support networks*, especially for women with young children. Retaining talented women by helping them balance work and family demands benefits everyone. Research conducted by the New York City Bar Association suggests that women who temporarily give up their careers to pursue child-rearing have a very difficult time re-entering the legal world.
- *Make workplace structures more flexible*. Encourage firms to explore the idea that compensation can be based on factors such as leadership and business development activities as well as billable hours. Such flexibility would enhance retention and job satisfaction for both female and male employees.
- *Provide better mentoring opportunities for women*, including women of color. With so few female partners to serve as role models, firms may need to take extra steps to achieve this.
- *Include women, including women of color, in formal and informal professional networks*.
- *Find creative ways to retain and promote women, including women of color, in firms*. Research shows the entire organization will benefit from achieving a diversity of viewpoints and experience. Consider ways to allow and value part-time work and to on-ramp women after a leave from the firm.
- *Set concrete goals and track the progress of your firm in retaining and promoting women*. For models, it may be helpful to look at the annual report that the ABA puts out tracking women in leadership in their organization¹⁸⁹ or the goals laid out in the Austin Manifesto.¹⁹⁰

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN INDIVIDUAL SECTORS:

“The discussion about women’s military service must be about using their capabilities to the fullest extent. It is an absolute necessity that we have men and women working together for the strongest possible defense of our country.”

CLAUDIA KENNEDY,
LIEUTENANT GENERAL, U.S. ARMY, RETIRED

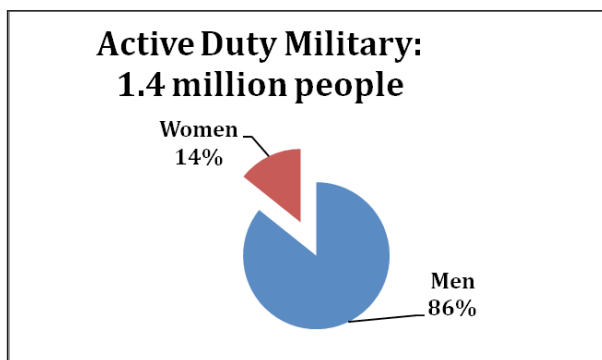
MILITARY

As women enter the military in growing numbers, they are playing an increasingly important role on behalf of their country. Women are doing far more than filling “manpower” shortfalls; rather, they have become critical to total military readiness.¹⁹¹ The restrictions on women participating in ground combat—restrictions that also prevent them from moving to the top tier of leadership—appear largely irrelevant in the wars in which this nation is currently engaged. With the boundaries between combat and non-combat blurring,¹⁹² more and more women are finding themselves in combat, whether they are supposed to be there or not.

Furthermore, women’s distinctive contributions are critical on this new battlefield, where “promoting fundamental social changes to prevent renewed hostilities”¹⁹³ is as fundamental as wielding weapons to waging war. In short, women’s presence and their progress to the top leadership ranks will better equip the military to win the kinds of wars we wage today.

Women in Military: Current Levels of Leadership

There were 1.4 million active duty military in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and the Air Force as of September 2008. Of these, 200,337 or 14.3 percent were women. The data presented in this chapter refer only to these four branches of the service. Because they were not readily accessible, data on women in the Coast Guard, which is part of the Department of Homeland Security, have not been included.

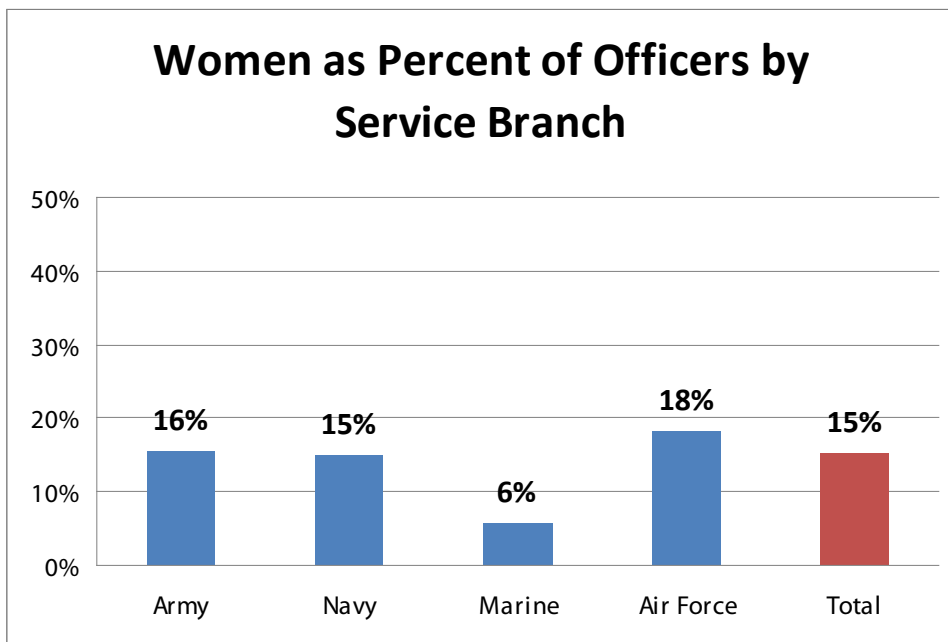
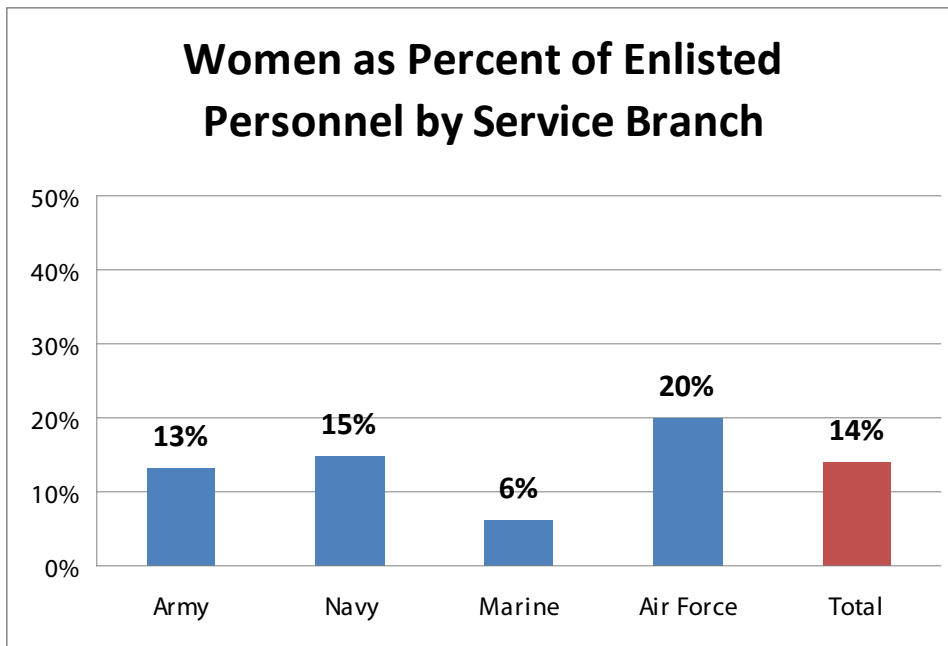


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The military is composed of two distinct groups: officers and enlisted personnel. To become officers, individuals usually attend one of the service academies, enter an ROTC program in college, or go to officer candidate school. Enlisted personnel who decide to become officers must attend officer candidate school. Not many enlisted personnel choose to pursue careers as officers.

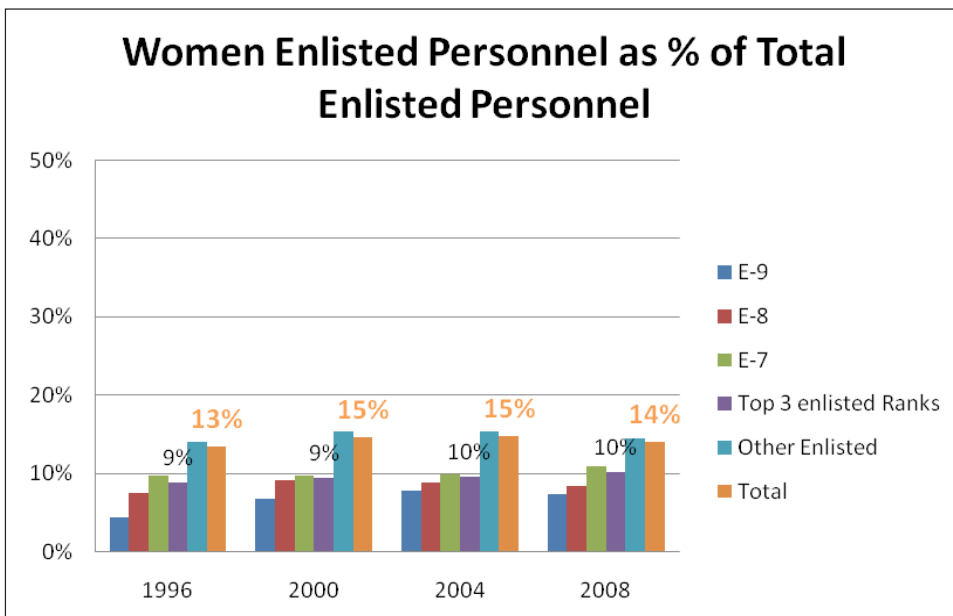
Officers account for 16 percent of active duty military. Women account for 15 percent of all officers and 14 percent of all enlisted personnel. ¹⁹⁴



The percentage of women varies by service branch, with the highest representation in the Air Force and the lowest in the Marines. Women account for 20 percent of the enlisted personnel and 18 percent of the officers in the Air Force, compared with 6 percent of both enlisted personnel and officers in the Marines.

Enlisted Personnel

Women's presence in all four service branches as enlisted personnel has risen steadily, from 5 percent of the enlisted personnel in 1976 to 10 percent in 1986 and 14 percent in 1996. Total enlisted personnel declined by 5 percent overall between 1996 and 2008, but the number of female enlisted personnel dropped by less than 1 percent. At the top three grades of enlisted personnel, E-7, E-8 and E-9 (ranks which are achieved through time in the military as well as merit), the number of personnel declined by 8 percent in the same period. Nonetheless, the number of women in these grades has increased in absolute numbers by 4 percent. Women now account for 10 percent of the top three enlisted grades, compared with 9 percent in 1996.



Between 1996 and 2008, the absolute number of women enlisted personnel decreased by 1.5 percent, or 2,603, but the number of women in the top three enlisted grades increased by 3.8 percent, or 904 women.

Officers

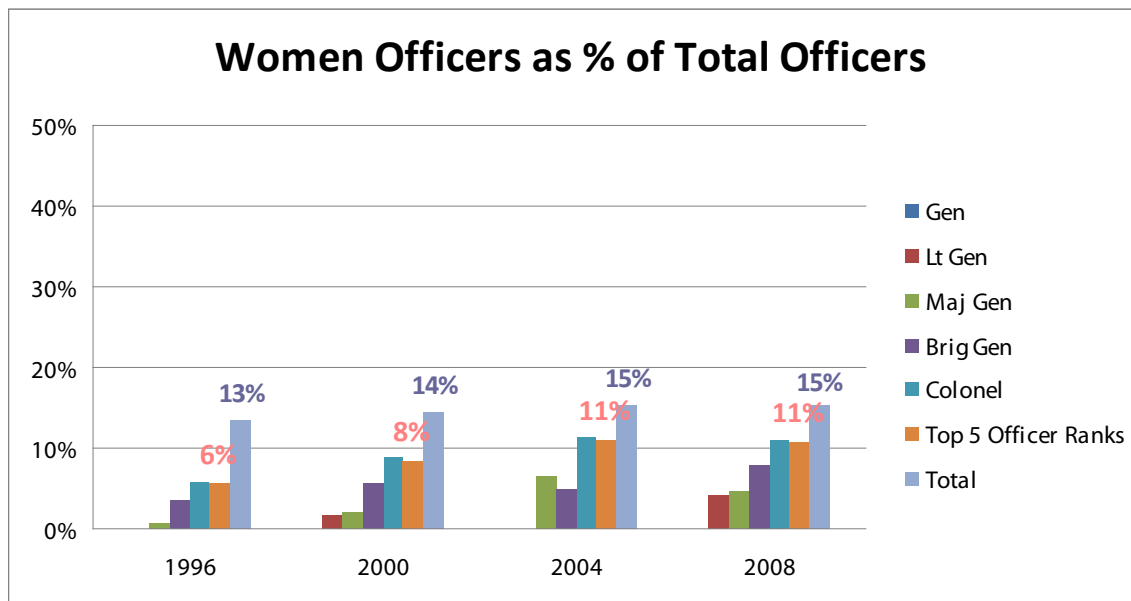
The officer position includes both warrant and commissioned officers. In general, warrant officers are chosen from the enlisted ranks. The commissioned officer ranks begin with the second lieutenant/ensign; this is the usual entry rank for those coming from the service academies, ROTC programs and OCS.

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Between 1996 and 2008, the total number of officers declined by 4 percent, from 232,424 to 223,700. However, the number of female officers increased by 10 percent, from 31,206 to 34,315. Women increased their share of the top five officer ranks from 6 percent to 11 percent over this 12-year period, while the total number of officers in these ranks stayed constant. Advancement for both women and men requires a certain amount of time in the previous rank, so we should see an increase in the numbers of women in the top levels of the military officer ranks during the next several years. The service academies, which serve as the pipeline for many of the officer positions, are still largely male. Both West Point and the Naval Academy expect their entering classes to be about 17 percent female. At the Naval Academy, 22 percent of the applicants for this fall's class were female.¹⁹⁵

Across all four divisions of the Department of Defense, women account for 11 percent of the top five officer positions. As of September 2008, there were 1,438 active-duty female generals/admirals and colonels/captains. That included six women at the level of lieutenant general/vice-admiral rank, 13 at the major general/rear admiral rank, 37 at the brigadier general/rear admiral rank, and 1,282 at the rank of colonel/captain.¹⁹⁶ On November 14, 2008, Ann E. Dunwoody became the first woman in the history of the U.S. Armed Forces to ascend to the rank of four-star general.



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| | |
|------|---|
| 1976 | Women are eligible to become generals/admirals |
| 1976 | Women admitted to three major service academies |
| 1986 | US Navy has its first women test pilots ¹⁹⁷ |
| 1991 | Congress repeals the ban against women serving in combat aviation (not all services comply) |
| 1996 | First two women are selected for and promoted to three-star rank in Navy and Marine Corps |
| 1999 | First woman makes lieutenant general in Air Force |
| 2005 | First woman is promoted to Air Force Acad. Commandant of Cadets |
| 2006 | First woman makes vice commandant of Coast Guard |
| 2007 | First woman becomes commander of Naval fighter squadron |
| 2008 | First woman is promoted to general ¹⁹⁸ |

The Marine Corps selected the first woman for promotion to three-star rank, Lieutenant General Carol Mutter. She was not, however, the first woman to achieve that rank. That was Navy Vice Admiral Patricia Tracey, who was selected for three-star rank shortly after Lieutenant General Mutter, but was promoted first.

The Air Force is the only branch of the Department of Defense in which nearly all jobs are open to women, and thus leads the Armed Services with the largest percentage of females.. Unlike the other branches, the Air Force does not have a ceiling on the number of women it can recruit.

Barriers to Advancement

Significant obstacles to advancement to top leadership positions persist. According to Department of Defense policy, military women cannot serve in units battalion-sized or smaller (company, platoon, squadron) whose primary mission is combat on the ground. This includes:

- Army: Infantry, armor, special forces, and short-range field artillery.
- Navy: Submarines and SEALs.
- Marine Corps: Occupations within the following fields: Infantry, tank and assault amphibian vehicles and artillery. Also closed are several occupations that collocate with ground combat units.
- Air Force: Most occupations are open to Air Force women. Two that remain closed are Combat Control and Pararescue.

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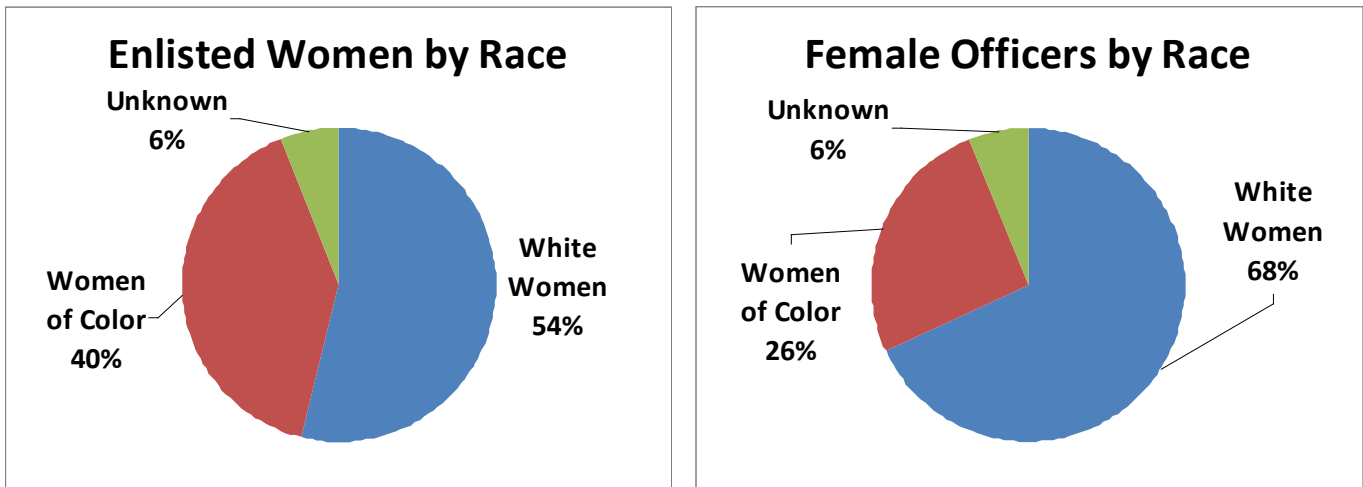
BENCHMARKING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

Removing some of the obstacles to women's advancement has helped them progress up the ranks. Women were barred from serving in all line combat positions until the mid-1990s, when combat aviation and combat sea duty opened up to them. It is only now that women who entered combat aviation and Navy surface warfare are reaching the point where they have the seniority to compete for promotion to flag (Navy and Coast Guard) and general officer (Marine Corps, Army and Air Force) rank.

The military typically requires 20 years or more of service at lower-level ranks before promotion to top enlisted and officer positions. As a result, women's leadership levels today reflect the limited opportunities for participation that were available to them 20 years ago. If the policies were to change today, it could still take 20 years before women would be eligible to serve as generals or admirals in these newly-opened fields. Thus, there is urgent need for policy change.

Women of Color in the Military: Current Levels of Leadership

Women in the military are more likely to be members of a racial minority group than are military men. Among active duty enlisted personnel, 29 percent of men identify themselves as non-white compared with 46 percent of women.¹⁹⁹ Among officers, 32 percent of women identify themselves as non-white compared with 18 percent of male officers.²⁰⁰



Source: http://www.defenselink.mil/prhome/PopRep2007/appendix/b_17.html

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BENCHMARKING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

Army

Women make up 13.6 percent of the active-duty Army, and 45 percent of those women are women of color.²⁰¹ The Army has one woman of color (African-American) serving as a general. In addition, in September 2009 Command Sgt. Maj. Teresa L. King, an African American, became the first female ever to be named commandant of its drill sergeant school; she will oversee drill sergeant training for the entire Army.

Navy

While women make up 15 percent of the active-duty Navy, 46 percent of them are women of color. In 1998, Lillian Fishburne was named the first African-American woman to hold the rank of rear admiral in the U.S. Navy. Today, there is only one woman of color serving as an active-duty admiral: Rear Adm. Michele Howard, an African-American.²⁰²

It is worth noting that Rear Admiral Howard commanded the Navy's multi-national counter-piracy task force which rescued the captain of U.S.-flagged cargo ship Maersk Alabama from a piracy attack in April 2009. Howard is the first female graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy to be promoted to rear admiral.

Marines

While women make up 6 percent of the active-duty Marines, 23 percent of them are women of color. Out of 83 active-duty general officers, there is one (Hispanic) woman of color (1.2 percent).²⁰³ Out of 1,605 active-duty E9s (sergeant majors and master gunneries), 37 (2.3 percent) are women of color.²⁰⁴

Air Force

While women make up more than 19 percent of the active-duty Air Force personnel, 33 percent are women of color. There is only one woman of color (Asian-American) serving as a general.²⁰⁵

Salary and Earnings

The Armed Services was one of the first employers to give women equal pay for equal work. Since 1901, when women began serving in the military, they have received the same compensation as men, based on rank and time in service, and never based on gender. However, as with other business and professional sectors, the higher one rises, the more one earns. Because women are typically not reaching the top ranks, they are not making top salaries.

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BENCHMARKING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

Earnings for Top Enlisted and Officer Positions (in position for over 20 years)

| Rank | Army | Marines | Navy | Air Force | Salary \$/month |
|------|--|---|---|--|-----------------|
| O-10 | General | General | Admiral | General | 14,688.60 |
| O-9 | Lieutenant General | Lieutenant General | Vice Admiral | Lieutenant General | 12,846.90 |
| O-8 | Major General | Major General | Rear Admiral Upper Half | Major General | 12,172.20 |
| E-9 | Sergeant Major or Command Sergeant Major | Master Gunnery Sergeant or Sergeant Major | Master Chief Petty Officer, Force or Fleet Command Master Chief Petty Officer | Chief Master Sergeant, First Sergeant or Command Chief Master Sergeant | 5,185.20 |
| E-8 | Master Sergeant or First Sergeant | Master Sergeant or First Sergeant | Senior Chief Petty Officer | Senior Master Sergeant or First Sergeant | 4,474.80 |
| E-7 | Sergeant First Class | Gunnery Sergeant | Chief Petty Officer | Master Sergeant or First Sergeant | 3,995.40 |

Recommendations for Closing the Leadership Gap

The Armed Forces have historically been a male enterprise and thus have not provided a pipeline of women to achieve leadership. The representation of women in leadership positions currently is close to their percentages in the military as a whole, but this is less than 15 percent. To establish a critical mass of women in the military, the services must work to attract and retain women in significantly larger numbers.

Below, specific recommendations for the military:

- *Open all units and military occupations to women as well as men but require that certain physical and intellectual requirements are met based on the needs of the position.* Rather than a blanket exclusion of women from certain positions in the military, define the capabilities needed for each position and require men and women to meet the standards in order to qualify for the position. Specifically, the longstanding ground combat exclusion rule, meant to protect women, seems to be having an adverse effect. It does not physically protect women from actual combat situations on the ground, but it does slow or block their advancement into top leadership positions, which require combat experience.

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BENCHMARKING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

- *Direct public appeals to join military service toward young women as well as men.*²⁰⁶ While the active duty military is predominantly male, women should be encouraged to choose military service as a career and should be actively recruited.
- *Increase the number of both scholarships (Navy, Air Force, ROTC) and places at service academies that are offered to women.* Develop new and improve existing outreach efforts to encourage more women to apply to the service academies and seek ROTC scholarships.
- *Improve the retention rates of women in the services: Make keeping them as important as recruiting them.* Until barriers are lifted and services are better geared to women, retention will be difficult. Work-family conflicts, sexual harassment and the difficulty of advancing in the hierarchy are among the reasons why women leave the service. The Armed Services needs to continue studying ways to better accommodate parenting and family issues—such as taking a pause in service—without career penalties.
- *Foster a military culture that demands respect for all service members and punishes those who violate sexual harassment and assault rules.* Military leaders must hold all violators of laws and policies against sexual assault and harassment strictly accountable and foster a culture in which peer pressure also censors those who violate these rules. New reporting procedures for sexual assault in 2005 have encouraged more women to report violence against them to the proper authorities.²⁰⁷ But as a number of these reports of assault have been ruled “unsubstantiated/unfounded/lack sufficient evidence,”²⁰⁸ women may once again refrain from bringing a charge forward.²⁰⁹
- *Ensure that military women receive a full range of health care services, including attention to and treatment for post-traumatic stress disorder, full access to reproductive health care services, including abortion, and appropriate attention to their health care needs as veterans.*
- *Encourage young girls to participate in youth sports organizations.* Involvement in sports helps prepare young women to meet the physical fitness requirements to be admitted to service academies and special forces.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN INDIVIDUAL SECTORS:

“Diversity at the top is a key to making nonprofits more effective in today’s climate. Women bring an additional and valuable perspective to the table.”

HELENE GAYLE,
PRESIDENT, CARE

NONPROFIT

Research has shown that nonprofits with women in leadership positions are more successful at carrying out their service mission – and that their employees, from CEOs to staff, are more satisfied with the organizations’ performance. The democratic and participative style of leadership favored by women²¹⁰ seems especially well-suited to the ethos of the nonprofit world, which depends so heavily upon the contributions of volunteers.

An empirical study of 240 YWCA organizations found that “a higher proportion of women on the board was positively associated with the organization’s ability to fulfill its social agency mission.”²¹¹ Other research found a significant positive relationship between the proportion of women on the board and the CEO’s satisfaction with the board’s performance.²¹²

The Nonprofit Sector

The nonprofit sector is so large and diverse that sometimes it seems easier to define it by what it is *not*: It is any group *that is not* a family, not a business, and not part of government. For the most part, it comprises “voluntary,” “charitable,” “independent,” “third” or “nongovernmental” agencies, associations, foundations and groups.²¹³ Most nonprofits fall into the following categories: charitable, advocacy, political, religious, educational, scientific or literary. Some of the nonprofit sectors are so large and important that they have been broken out into their own chapters in this book—for example, education and religion.

The nonprofit sector is a fast-growing part of the economy. In 1994, there were 1.1 million recognized nonprofits employing 5.4 million people. By 2007 those numbers had grown by more than 50 percent to 1.64 million recognized nonprofits employing 8.7 million people.²¹⁴ Health professionals, educators, other professionals, health technicians, administrative support workers, and service occupations account for the majority of paid workers in the nonprofit sector.

Women as Volunteers

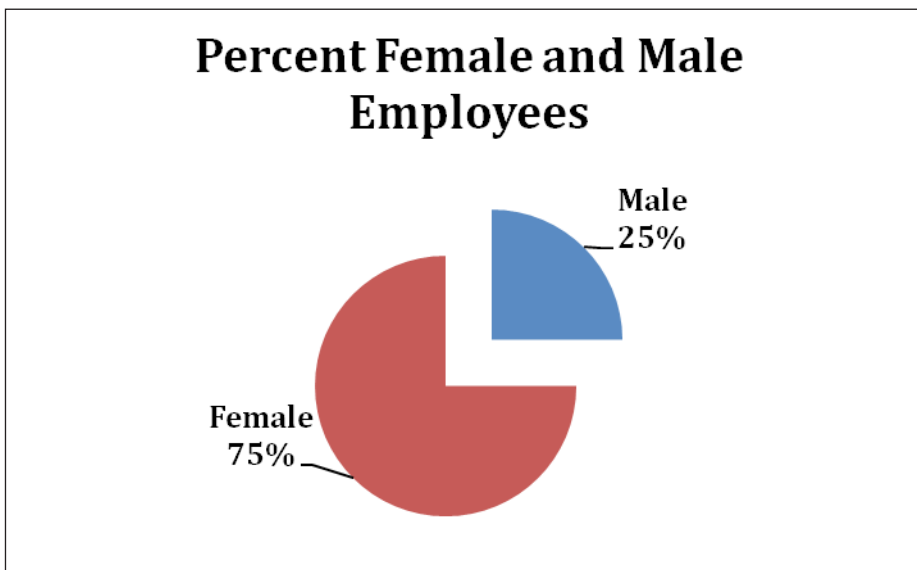
The nonprofit sector relies on paid staff as well as volunteers.

- Women make up the majority of volunteers: About one in three women volunteer their time (31.6 percent) compared with one in four men (24.3 percent).
- However, men who do volunteer put in a little more time. Annually, women volunteer an average of 50 hours compared with 52 hours for men.²¹⁵

About one-third of volunteers report that religious organizations are the main group for which they perform volunteer work, followed by educational and youth service organizations. Among activities performed by volunteers, 30 percent spend their time fundraising or selling items to fundraise while 25 percent collect or prepare food. “Women were more likely than men to collect or distribute food and other goods, provide general office services, fundraise, and tutor or teach. Men were more likely than women to coach, referee, or supervise sports teams, engage in general labor, provide professional and management assistance, or be an usher, greeter, or minister,” according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.²¹⁶

Women in the Nonprofit Labor Force

Women continue to dominate the staffing of the nonprofit sector, making up nearly 75 percent of the 8.4 million employees in 2005.²¹⁷ One explanation for this gender gap may be that men suffer a significant wage loss by working in the nonprofit, rather than for-profit, sector, while the wage differential for women between the sectors is not as drastic.²¹⁸ Despite their overwhelming presence in lower-level staff positions, women lag behind in their share of top leadership positions, holding only 45 percent of all CEO positions – a representation that falls to 21 percent in organizations with budgets in excess of \$25 million.²¹⁹ Even where women make it to the top, in this female-majority field, they earn less than their male counterparts.



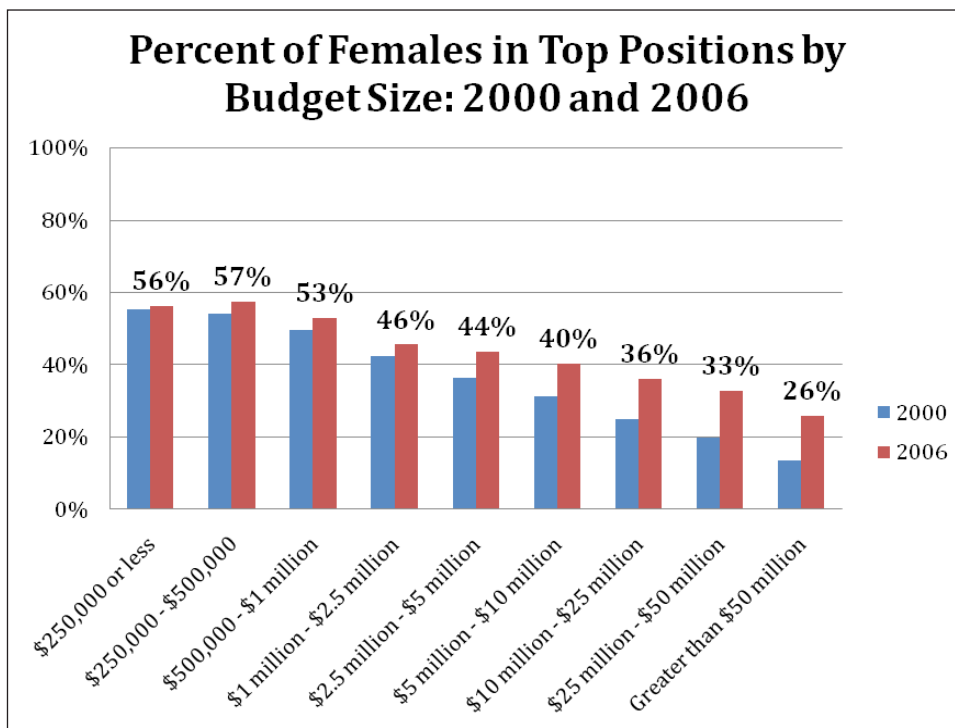
Women are a majority of the line workers in development, education, human resources, marketing and public relations. But that dominance disappears in the higher ranks of nonprofits. Only one in 10 women working for nonprofits can be found in the upper-management ranks, compared with one in five males.²²⁰

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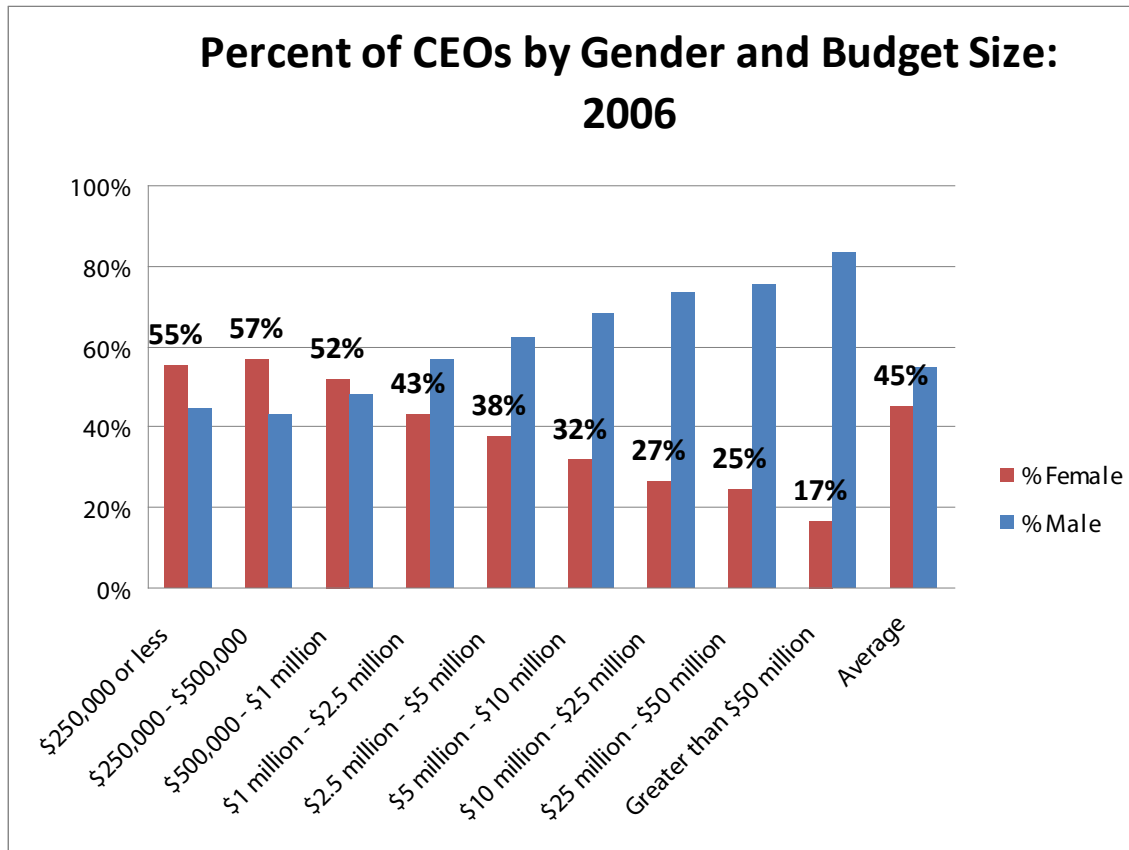
BENCHMARKING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

Top Positions in Nonprofits by Gender: 2006

| Position | Female | Male | % Female |
|-------------------------------|--------|--------|----------|
| CEO/Executive Director | 20,456 | 25,148 | 45% |
| Top Administrative Position | 1,910 | 1,980 | 49% |
| Top Business Position | 389 | 763 | 34% |
| Top Development Position | 1,483 | 868 | 63% |
| Top Education Position | 256 | 187 | 58% |
| Top Facilities Position | 21 | 227 | 8% |
| Top Financial Position | 3,452 | 4,691 | 42% |
| Top Human Resources Position | 605 | 260 | 70% |
| Top Legal Position | 188 | 302 | 38% |
| Top Marketing Position | 380 | 248 | 61% |
| Top Operations Position | 1,244 | 1,650 | 43% |
| Top Program Position | 1,333 | 862 | 61% |
| Top Public Relations Position | 274 | 163 | 63% |
| Top Technology Position | 158 | 645 | 20% |
| TOTAL | 32,149 | 37,994 | 46% |



Though women have made some progress, their representation at the top is still significantly less than their presence in the nonprofit sector as a whole. Women account for more than 50 percent of the top positions (executive/senior staff) in organizations with budgets below \$1 million. They hold less than 40 percent of the top positions at organizations with budgets greater than \$10 million, although that marks an increase of more than 50 percent between 2000 and 2006.²²¹ Women hold only 26 percent of the top staff positions at organizations with budgets in excess of \$50 million.²²²

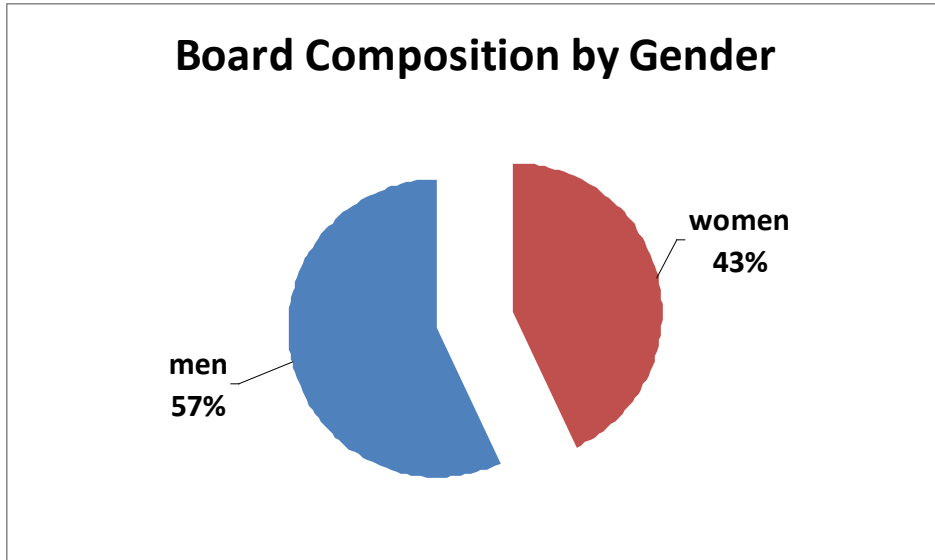


Source: 2008 GuideStar Nonprofit Compensation Report

The odds of a female heading a nonprofit go down as the size of the budget increases: Women account for only 17 percent of the CEOs of organizations with annual budgets of \$50 million or more, while they account for more than 50 percent of the CEOs at organizations with budgets of less than \$1 million per year.²²³

Women on Boards

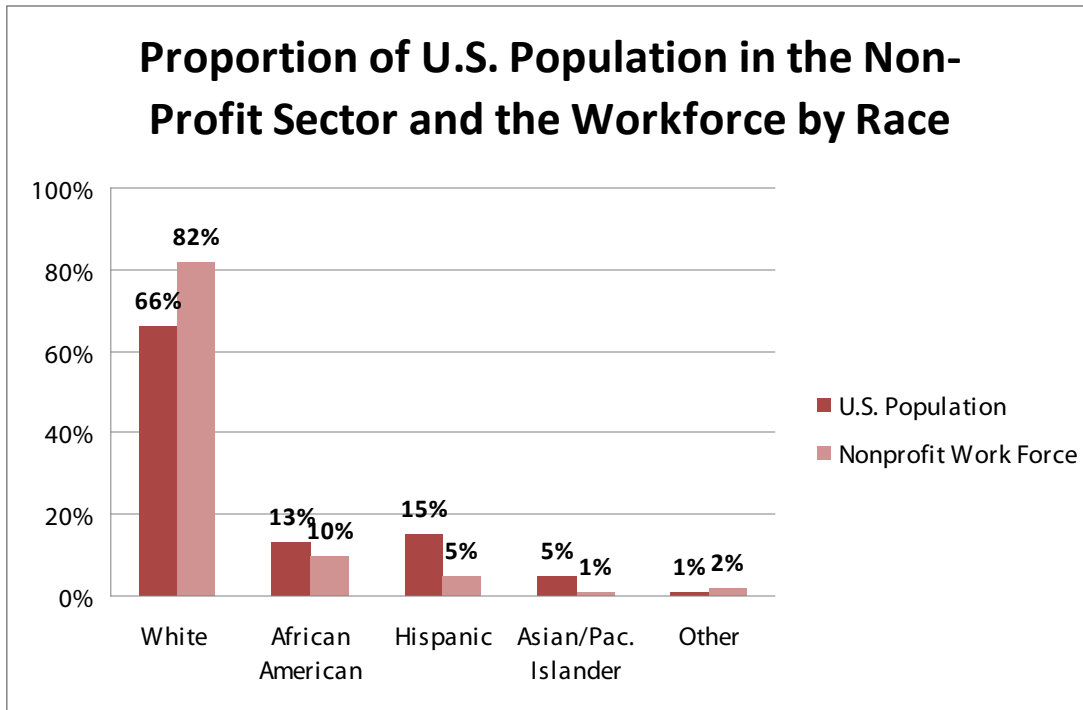
Women make up 43 percent of nonprofit board members, according to a recent BoardSource survey of more than 1,000 nonprofits in the U.S. Women serve most often on the boards of smaller arts, cultural, health, human services, environmental and educational organizations. ²²⁴



As budgets get larger, the percentage of female board members declines—from a high of 51 percent for nonprofits with budgets of less than \$500,000 to a low of 33 percent for nonprofits with budgets greater than \$25 million. Still, the largest nonprofits have more female board members than Fortune 500 companies, ²²⁵ which have only 15 percent women. ²²⁶

Women of Color in Nonprofits: Current Levels of Leadership

While there are data on people of color in the nonprofit sector, there are almost no statistics that break things down by gender as well. People of color generally constitute more than a third of the U.S. population, but the nonprofit sector is 82 percent white. ²²⁷ At nonprofits, African Americans make up 10 percent of workers, Latinos are 5 percent, Asians and Pacific Islanders are 1 percent, and mixed-race people or those who answered “other” on the U.S. Census make up the balance. Larger organizations tend to have a higher representation of African Americans than smaller organizations, with the African-American presence increasing from 5 percent to 10 percent; this is not the case for other minority groups. ²²⁸



Source: Halpern 2006, pp. 6-7 (nonprofit numbers); U.S. Census Bureau 2008 (U.S. population numbers)

Moreover, one out of 10 leaders of philanthropic organizations is a male or female of color.²²⁹

As a whole, the nonprofit sector employs a greater proportion of African Americans and a smaller proportion of Latinos relative to the public and private sectors. Specifically, African Americans have a higher representation (16 percent) in the health services, social services and legal services sub-sectors, while Latinos have a slightly greater representation (6.7 percent) in the arts and culture sub-sector.²³⁰

On nonprofit boards, only 14 percent of members are people of color. African Americans account for 7 percent of board membership, Hispanics/Latinos, 3 percent and Asians, 2 percent.

Salaries and Earnings

Women in the very top positions receive, on average, about two-thirds of men’s pay. The gap narrows for other leadership positions within nonprofits.

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BENCHMARKING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

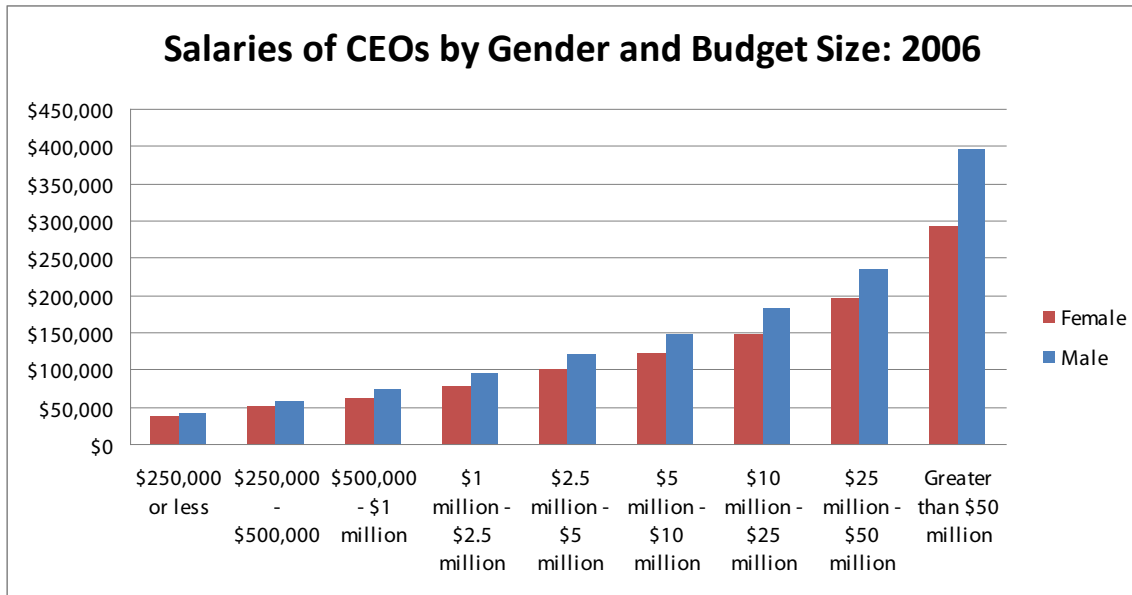
Average Salaries in Top Positions

| Position (2006 data) | Female | Male | Gender Gap |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| CEO/Executive Director | \$73,244 | \$111,273 | 66% |
| Top Administrative Position | \$73,187 | \$113,147 | 65% |
| Top Business Position | \$74,049 | \$108,062 | 69% |
| Top Development Position | \$79,305 | \$98,010 | 81% |
| Top Education/Training Position | \$67,365 | \$91,520 | 74% |
| Top Facilities Position | \$71,587 | \$87,778 | 82% |
| Top Financial Position | \$78,270 | \$108,770 | 72% |
| Top Human Resources Position | \$89,809 | \$113,778 | 79% |
| Top Legal Position | \$135,821 | \$152,341 | 89% |
| Top Marketing Position | \$85,411 | \$98,826 | 86% |
| Top Operations Position | \$94,862 | \$112,346 | 84% |
| Top Program Position | \$65,023 | \$74,189 | 88% |
| Top Public Relations Position | \$82,296 | \$90,416 | 91% |
| Top Technology Position | \$90,325 | \$96,786 | 93% |

Source: 2008 GuideStar Nonprofit Compensation Report

Of the 26 nonprofit executives with salaries higher than \$1 million in 2006, none was a woman. The median compensation of male chief executives of nonprofits (in 2006) was more than 50 percent higher than the pay for females in similar positions. In 2006, the average annual salary for a female CEO was \$73,244 while the comparable figure for a male CEO was \$111,273.²³¹ At nonprofits with budgets in excess of \$50 million, women CEOs made an average of \$293,672 in 2006 compared with \$395,886 for male CEOs—a difference of more than \$100,000.

Even at the smallest nonprofits, with budgets of \$250,000 or less where female employees outnumber male employees in most positions, women CEOs still earn 13 percent less than men. Female CEOs made an average of \$37,500 compared with \$42,883 for males at these small nonprofits.



Source: 2008 GuideStar Nonprofit Compensation Report

Not only does the wage gap extend beyond CEOs to nearly all the top positions, but it has actually been increasing over the last several years. Women CEOs took home 72 percent of male CEOs' pay in 2000 and only 66 percent in 2006. Women improved their position relative to men in only four job categories: human resources, operations, public relations and technology.²³²

Recommendations for Closing the Leadership Gap

This sector is predominately female except at the top levels of leadership among the large nonprofits. The pipeline is there; proactive measures need to be taken to ensure that women are equally represented in top leadership positions in large nonprofits as well as the small ones. By asking about the representation of women in leadership positions and on the boards of nonprofits before making contributions, we can encourage charities to increase the representation of women in these key positions and on their boards.

THE WHITE HOUSE PROJECT REPORT

BENCHMARKING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

Below, specific recommendations for the nonprofit sector:

- *Develop the pipeline.* With a majority female labor force, the nonprofit sector has a pipeline in place. The challenge is to develop appropriate mentoring and staff development opportunities to position mid-level managers for the top positions in the organization.
- *Teach women improved negotiation skills* to help them improve their prospects for promotion to top leadership positions and to reduce the salary gap.
- *Recruit, train and retain people of color across all levels of the nonprofit organization.* Several studies suggest that the overall lack of racial and ethnic diversity in organizations can make the organizational culture alienating for persons of color.²³³
- *Widen the search criteria for top leadership positions* and look within the organization as well as outside.
- *Increase the diversity of boards.*

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN INDIVIDUAL SECTORS:

“From now on, it will be unremarkable for a woman to win primary state victories, unremarkable to have a woman in a close race to be our nominee, unremarkable to think that a woman can be the President of the United States. And that is truly remarkable.”

SECRETARY OF STATE
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON,
U.S. PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN 2008, WASHINGTON, D.C.
JUNE 7, 2008

POLITICS

Women leaders in politics are the most visible manifestation of women's leadership in our culture. Because they operate in the public eye, they have the potential to transform the perception of women in a far greater sphere than in any other sector. When women enter political races, the candidates are not the only ones who stand to win. Simply watching women run for office has been shown to galvanize female citizens, making them more interested and actively involved in the political arena. And since children model their dreams on what adults and society show them to be possible, the increased visibility of women on the campaign trail teaches girls that they, too, can make a difference in politics when they grow up. It also teaches boys to respect and accept women as leaders actively participating in public life. Through 10 years of research, thought-leadership and award-winning training, The White House Project has demonstrated that having women as political leaders increases participation in our democracy, inspires women of all sectors to take leadership roles, introduces new policy priorities, and increases transparency and bipartisan efforts in government.²³⁴

Women in Congress, on average, introduce more bills, attract more co-sponsors and bring home more money for their districts than their male counterparts.²³⁵ At every level, women office holders prioritize issues of concern to women and families as a part of their policy agenda, not as an afterthought. Women candidates, from mayors like Shirley Franklin of Atlanta to presidential candidates like Hillary Clinton, have reported anecdotally that everywhere they travel, women tell them how their campaigns were an inspiration to get involved in politics—and beyond that, to try new challenges in their own lives.²³⁶

Furthermore, when a man and a woman are running for office, the tenor of the whole campaign changes. Research shows that during a campaign with both a male and female candidate, both candidates devote more attention and advertising to traditional women's issues than they do when only men are in the race.²³⁷ No matter who wins the particular election, when the important issues affecting women, children and families are given the public airing and policy consideration they deserve, everyone wins.

Women in Politics: Current Levels of Leadership

Women constitute a powerful force in politics. They have voted at higher rates than men in every presidential election since 1980, and the gender gap has grown slightly larger with each successive election. In the 2004 elections, 8.8 million more women than men turned out to vote.²³⁸ In the 2008 elections, 10 million more women voted than men, according to the Census Bureau.²³⁹

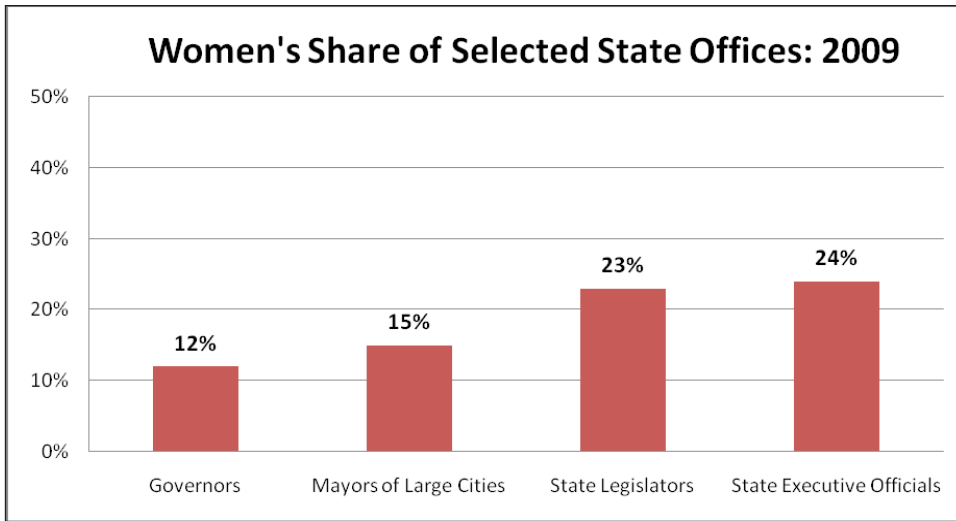
However, the overwhelming majority of political office holders are still male. The trend we have seen in other business and professional sectors also holds true in politics: As the rank and power of the position rises, the participation of women declines. There has been almost no improvement in the last several years. “In 40 percent of the states, women’s overall share of top executive, legislative, and judicial posts, compared to their share of the population, actually fell, remained level, or increased by less than .01 percentage points” between 1998 and 2005, according to the Center for Women in Government and Civil Society.²⁴⁰

Statewide Offices

In state legislatures across the U.S., women have made little progress in the last decade. As of June 2009, women held 24.3 percent of the seats in state legislatures, only 2 percentage points more than a decade earlier.²⁴¹ Female legislators have the largest presence in Western, northern Midwest, and some Southwestern and New England states, but are less visible in Southern and southern Midwest states.²⁴²

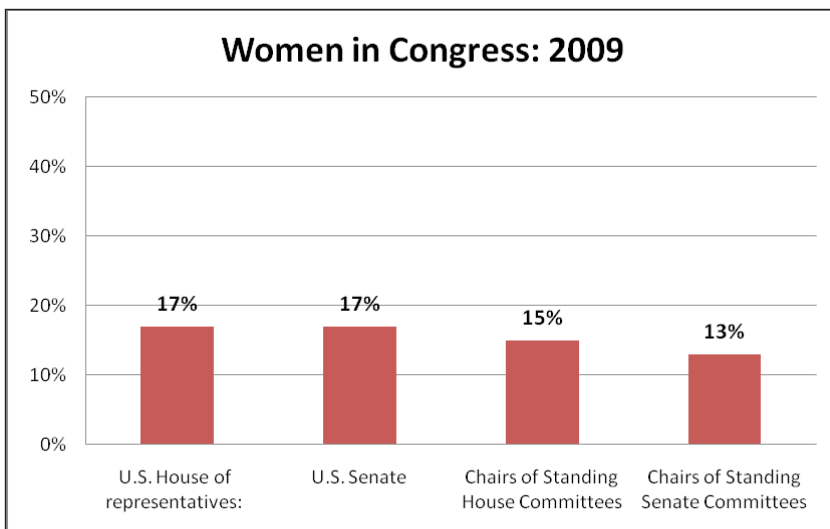
Women have lost ground in the last decade as elected statewide executive officials (including governors, lieutenant governors and treasurers):

- In 2009, women made up 23.6 percent of *state executive officials*,²⁴³ a 4 percentage point slip from a decade ago, when women made up 27.6 percent.²⁴⁴
- With the resignation of Governor Sarah Palin, there are now only six female *governors*.
- At the judicial level, 29 percent of *state final appellate jurisdiction court judges* are women.²⁴⁵
- As for *mayors*, of the 246 large U.S. cities (over 100,000 population), only 14.6 percent are women;²⁴⁶ and of the 1,121 cities with over 30,000 population, 16 percent are women.²⁴⁷



The House and Senate

At the federal level, women are making incremental progress during each successive election cycle. The large increases in the number of women in Congress during the 1970s and 80s have given way to smaller increases in some states and slight decreases in others in the 1990s and early 2000s. As of June 2009, women constituted just under 17 percent of the U.S. House of Representatives, up only 4 percentage points from a decade ago.²⁴⁸ Women in the U.S. Senate finally caught up to the House, with 17 percent²⁴⁹—a gain of 8 percentage points in the past decade.²⁵⁰ On a global scale, the U.S. ranks 71st out of 189 countries in terms of the proportion of women in their national legislatures, placing us between Bolivia and El Salvador, and leaving us trailing behind the United Kingdom, Japan, France, Italy, Germany, Canada and Australia as well as Afghanistan, Cuba, the United Arab Emirates and Pakistan.²⁵¹

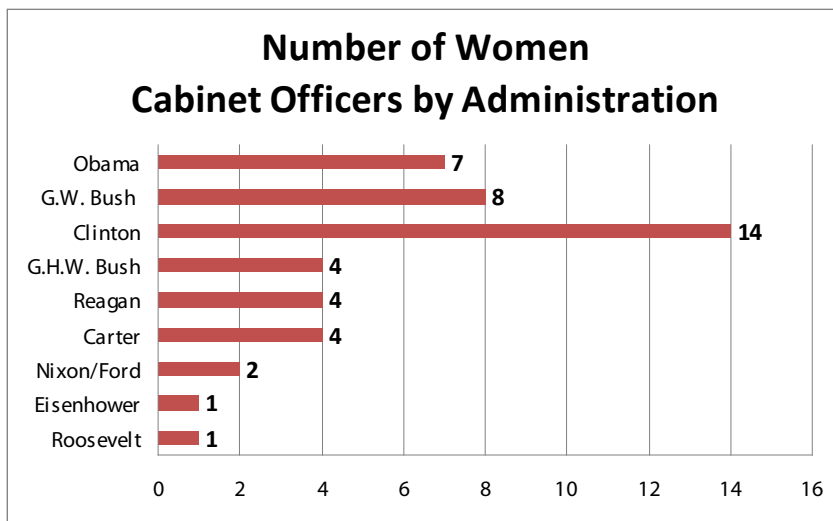


We have seen some firsts in the House of Representatives: In 2002, Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) became the first female House Minority Leader, and in 2007, the first female Speaker of the House.²⁵² But among the 20 standing committees in the House, only three (15 percent) have women chairs: Louise Slaughter (Rules Committee); Nydia Velazquez (Small Business Committee); and Zoe Lofgren (Committee on Standards of Official Conduct). Committee chairs control what legislation moves from committee to the House floor for a vote. This is therefore an extremely powerful position to hold in the Congress, and earned by seniority. Of the five most powerful and prestigious committees—House Appropriations, Ways and Means, Rules, Budget, and Energy and Commerce—there is only one woman chair.²⁵³ In the Senate, only two of the 16 standing committees (12.5 percent) have women as chairs: Barbara Boxer (Committee on Environment and Public Works) and Mary Landrieu (Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship).

Courts and Cabinet

With the recent confirmation of Sonia Sotomayor to the U.S. Supreme Court, we have returned to our previous record of two women justices out of a total of nine (22 percent) on the nation's highest court. (For more information, see the Law sector.)

Significant progress has been made in cabinet appointments for women, but the doors to the cabinet are still not wide open. Since Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed the first female (Frances Perkins) to his cabinet in 1933, a total of 40 women have been named to these prestigious and highly visible positions, which now number 22 and include the vice president, 15 cabinet members, plus six cabinet-ranked appointees. President Barack Obama named seven women to his cabinet in the first year of his administration.²⁵⁴ That puts him ahead of President George W. Bush's female appointments in his first term. Progress here does not seem to follow a steady upward path for women through history: President William Clinton named a total of 14 women to his cabinet during his administration, while President Bush appointed a total of eight women to his cabinet by the end of his second term.



Sources: Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, The White House cabinet website.

Women of Color in Politics: Current Levels of Leadership

Compared to their numbers in the general population of the United States, women of color remain underrepresented at all levels of political leadership.

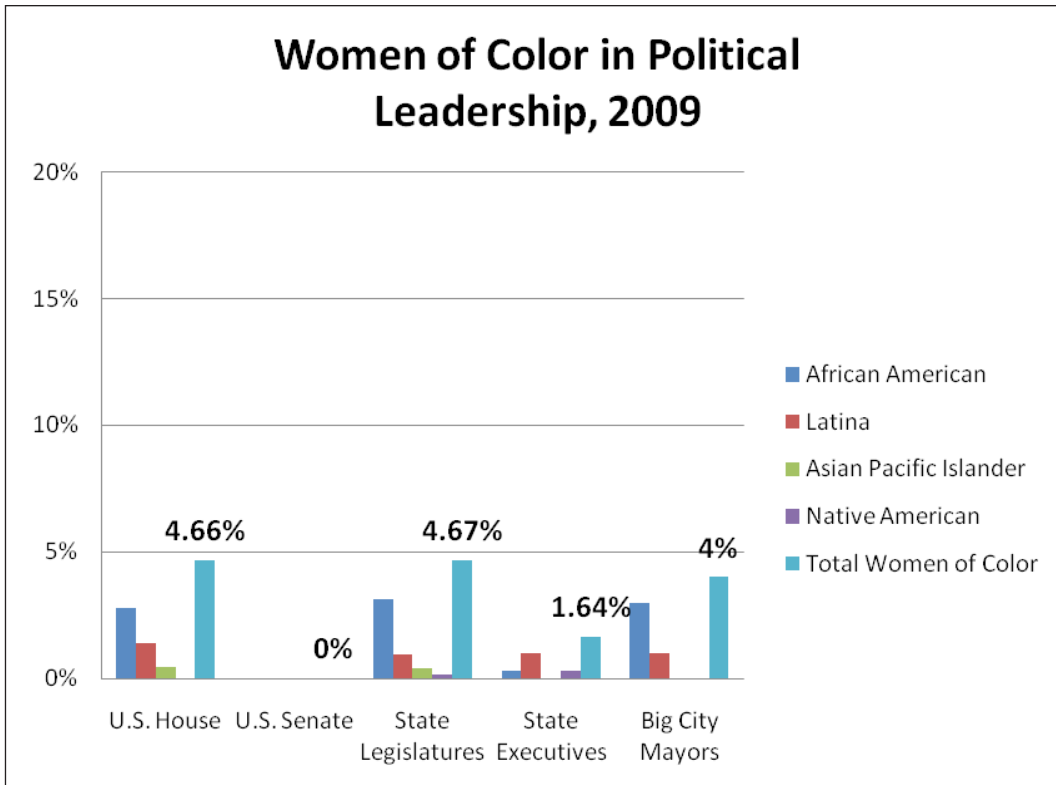
Of the 246 mayors of cities with populations over 100,000 in 2009, six are women of color.²⁵⁵ At the state level, women of color make up less than 5 percent of the 7,382 state legislators, and only 2 percent of the 314 statewide elected executives.²⁵⁶

In Congress, the number of elected officials of color has risen only slightly over the last decade. Today, women of color make up a little less than five percent of the House,²⁵⁷ and hold no seats in the Senate. Ten years ago, the Senate had one woman of color (Carol Mosley-Braun, D-IL) and a scant 3 percent of the House were minority women.²⁵⁸

Since Representative Patsy Mink of Hawaii won election to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1964, a total of 39 women of color have served in the U.S. Congress, and only one (Mosley Braun, from 1993 to 1999) in the U.S. Senate. The first African-American female elected to Congress, in 1968, was Shirley Chisholm (D-NY), who was also the first woman to run for the Democratic presidential nomination. A total of 25 African-American women have followed her. The first Hispanic-American woman elected to Congress, Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), entered the House in 1989; six other Hispanic-American women have followed her. In addition to Congresswoman Mink, four other Asian-Pacific-American women have served in Congress.

At the prestigious Cabinet level, women of color make up 13.6 percent of President Obama's cabinet (one of the 16 cabinet members and two of the six cabinet-ranked positions).²⁵⁹ That's up from President G.W. Bush's administration and on par (13 percent) with President Clinton's appointments during his two terms in office.

As previously noted, on the nation's highest court, Sonia Sotomayor became the first Hispanic Supreme Court justice in 2009.



Source: CAWP 2009

Salaries and Earnings

It is probably fair to say that few people enter politics for the money—or at least not for the paychecks, which often pale in comparison with equivalent private-sector jobs. Furthermore, these salaries are established by law and do not vary with the gender of the officeholder.

But it is also only fair to point out, as the salary chart below illustrates, that the higher a politician rises, the more she earns. And because women still are concentrated on the lower rungs of power, when they choose a career in politics, on average, they will be earning less over the span of their careers than men.

For example, there are only three women among the 10 highest-paid governors (whose salaries in the 50 states range from \$70,000 to \$206,500). And of course, a woman has yet to be elected to the presidency, where the annual salary is more than double that of all the other political leaders except the vice president.

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BENCHMARKING WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

Salaries of Political Leaders

| Position | Salary in Dollars | Date |
|-------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| President | 400,000 (+50,000 expense allowance) | 2009 |
| Vice President | 227,300 | 2009 ²⁶⁰ |
| Secretary | 193,400 | 2009 ²⁶¹ |
| Senate | 174,000 | 2009 |
| -Majority Leader | 193,400 | 2009 |
| -Minority Leader | 193,400 | 2009 |
| House | 174,000 | 2009 |
| -Majority Leader | 193,400 | 2009 |
| -Minority Leader | 193,400 | 2009 |
| -Speaker of the House | 223,500 | 2009 ²⁶² |
| Supreme Court Chief Justice | 217,400 | 2009 |
| Supreme Court Associate Judge | 208,100 | 2009 ²⁶³ |
| U.S. Court of Appeals Judge | 175,100 | 2006 ²⁶⁴ |
| U.S. District Judge | 165,200 | 2007 ²⁶⁵ |
| Governor | 124,398 (average of 70,000 to 206,500) ²⁶⁶ | 2007 ²⁶⁷ |

Recommendations for Closing the Leadership Gap

Perhaps nowhere is achieving a critical mass for women more important than in politics. Women's under-representation in top positions at the city, state and federal levels severely limits our ability to ensure women's needs and interests are addressed in the halls of power. And because office holders are very much in the public eye, the lack of women in elected office restricts the availability of role models for younger women and girls to lead political lives.

Specific recommendations for the political sector include:

- *Support training programs.* Programs designed to train women to run for office can be highly effective, and research shows that funding and women's support organizations are the most critical factors in persuading women to run for office.²⁶⁸ Training programs run by organizations such as The White House Project, Emily's List,²⁶⁹ several colleges and universities and other groups have successful outcomes. For example, nine out of 10 participants in The White House Project's May 2009 Go Run training expressed an intention to run for political office within the next two years after completing their training, compared with four out of 10 prior to the training.²⁷⁰ Research shows that although young women today are half as likely to express an intention to run for political office as their male counterparts,²⁷¹ women who run are just as likely to win as men.²⁷² Training programs encourage women to take that leap due to the inspiration, information, and tools that they provide, as well as networks of support which are garnered through their involvement.

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- *Stimulate public conversations about the impact of gender on policy making.* Of 2,250 Americans surveyed, 69 percent now believe that men and women make equally competent leaders, and 21 percent say that men make better leaders.²⁷³ About half of survey respondents argue that Americans simply aren't ready to elect a woman to higher office.²⁷⁴ Yet women's involvement as decision-makers in politics is essential to ensuring that the interests and needs of our nation's women are represented in policy and funding. To give women a chance, we must stimulate public discourse about gender in political leadership, through op/eds, letters to the editor, blogs, and participation in public forums, hearings and town halls.
- *Broaden the pipeline: Look for political leaders beyond the political arena and reevaluate the criteria used in the appointment process.* Given that 98 percent of incumbents are re-elected and a majority of those are men, it is clear that the time-honored custom of attaining leadership by rising through the ranks of previously elected offices may not be the best way to advance women leaders. Research on judicial appointment processes shows that their current set-up can systematically put women candidates at a disadvantage.²⁷⁵ We should encourage search committees and political leaders to tap into the political potential of women leaders in other professional sectors and celebrate women who have taken unconventional routes to office.
- *Encourage balanced media coverage of women leaders.* As stated in the Journalism section of this report, those who determine the content and delivery of the news have an enormous and powerful influence on the American public – and this is particularly true in the portrayal of women leaders. In the 2008 election season, for example, Rasmussen Reports found that 43 percent of voters said candidate Hillary Clinton received the worst treatment from the media.²⁷⁶ This was not an isolated situation regarding a particular candidate, but rather, one that impacts women in politics across party and level of leadership. For instance, media coverage of Elizabeth Dole's presidential bid was considerably less than her male counterparts, and the coverage she did receive was of a lesser quality and more personal in focus.²⁷⁷ Holding media outlets and professionals accountable for their coverage of women leaders is essential to building a level playing field and regarding women with respect to their agenda, rather than their gender.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN INDIVIDUAL SECTORS:

“Women have brought new standards of nurture and compassion and new skills and experience to religious leadership.”

THE VERY REV. DR. KATHARINE
HANCOCK RAGSDALE, PRESIDENT AND DEAN, EPISCOPAL DIVINITY SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE, MA

RELIGION

In the United States, as in other countries around the world, religious leaders take on national and international prominence in shaping the moral attitudes and behaviors of society. That role becomes even more significant in troubled times. With our country fighting two wars and struggling with an ailing economy, it is vital that we draw on all our resources, advancing women leaders so they can serve side by side with men at the pulpits of our houses of worship to provide the guidance congregants—both male and female—seek.

The public is ready for women to fill religious leadership roles. A recent GfK/Roper Public Opinion Poll conducted with The White House Project found that 80 percent of Americans say they are comfortable with women as ministers or other religious leaders.²⁷⁸ (For more details on that poll, see the Executive Summary.) Those who already are exposed to female religious leaders express satisfaction. As just one example, in a recent study of Seventh Day Adventists, 91 percent of parishioners rated their female pastors as “excellent” or “good.”²⁷⁹ Others argue that female religious leaders meet needs that male leaders may not. According to Blu Greenberg, an Orthodox Jewish feminist who has advocated since the mid-1980s for women to become rabbis, “Orthodox women should be ordained because it would ... offer wider female models of religious life ... (and) because some Jews might find it easier to bring *halakhic*, questions concerning family and sexuality, to a woman rabbi. And because of the justice of it all.”²⁸⁰

Women in Religion: Current Levels of Leadership

Gauging the current status and progress of women in religious leadership is more difficult than in any other business and professional sector studied in this report. With such a multitude of faiths, little or no universality in definitions of leadership, and a marked absence of data to work with, analyzing women's leadership in religion presents a significant challenge. During the preparation of this report, it was immediately clear that there is a dire need for increased and standardized data collection on the status of women in this field. While historical information is available, there is a dearth of hard numbers.

We have been forced to exclude many important religious and faith traditions, including Hinduism, Buddhism and Unitarianism, because adherents of these faiths each make up less than 1 percent of the U.S. population,²⁸¹ and because few standardized data sources are available on the status of

women's leadership in these faiths. This exclusion is not a judgment on the significance or import of any of these faiths. Instead, we focus on the more populous Christian denominations (Catholicism and multiple denominations of Protestantism), Judaism and Islam, for which faiths we were able to find some current data.

Women as Followers and Unofficial Leaders

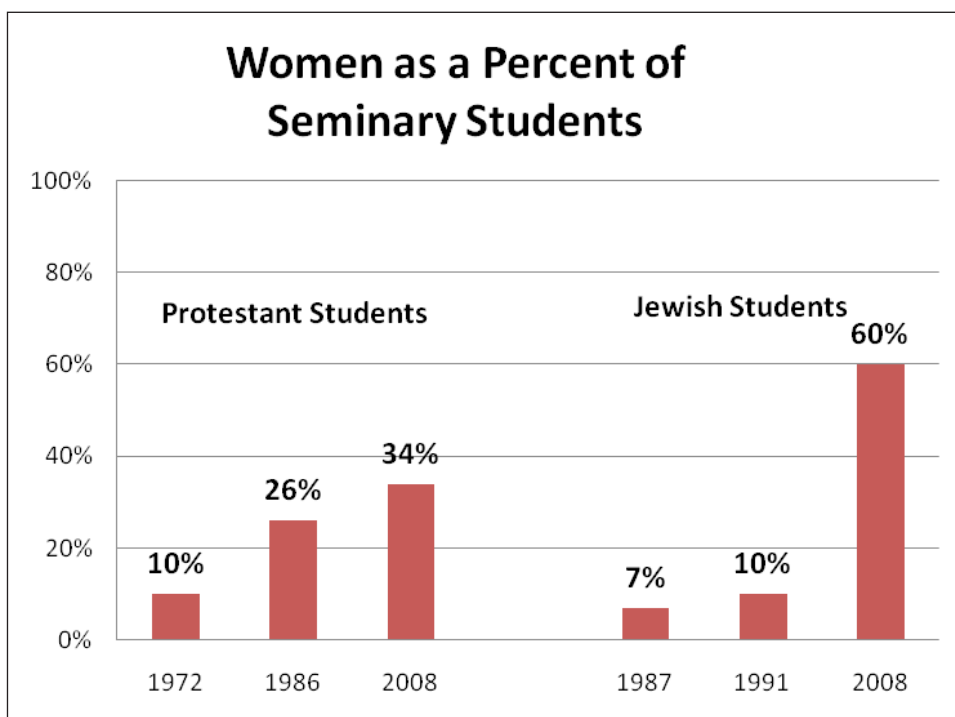
The question of women's "proper" roles within religious faiths has been controversial almost since the beginning of religious belief. While adherents of most major faiths worship a central male deity, each religious tradition also has its share of important female figures, including saints, queens and other deities or mythical figures that have served as role models. Men continue to dominate leadership roles in the church and temple. Certain denominations do not allow women to preside over religious services; in other faith traditions, women are able to seek leadership roles, but continue to face various levels of resistance, discrimination, difficulty finding mentors and role models, and other challenges. With a strict rule against women's leadership of congregations, as in the Roman Catholic Church and Orthodox Judaism, women there will continue to face an unbreakable stained-glass ceiling.

In the U.S., women have long been the backbone of religious communities, constituting a clear majority of churchgoers (60 percent) and nearly always making up the majority of volunteers and organizers for church- or temple-sponsored events and programs. Some 87 percent of women say they have a formal religious affiliation, compared to 80 percent of men, according to interviews with more than 35,000 Americans aged 18 and older in 2007 by the Pew Research Center's U.S. Religious Landscape Survey. Men are twice as likely to say they are atheist or agnostic (5.5 percent) as compared with women (2.6 percent). Women constitute greater membership in the most populous Christian denominations,²⁸² though men outnumber women in the Jewish and Islamic faith, at 52 and 54 percent male, respectively.

Followers of the Faiths by Gender²⁸³

| Faith | %Women | %Men |
|-------------------------|--------|-------------------|
| Roman Catholics | 54 | 46 |
| Southern Baptists | 49 | 51 |
| United Methodist | 58 | 42 |
| Presbyterian Church USA | 46 | 54 |
| Mormon ²⁸⁴ | 56 | 44 |
| Episcopalian | 48 | 52 |
| Assemblies of God | 57 | 43 |
| Jewish | 48 | 52 |
| Muslim | 46 | 54 ²⁸⁵ |

Until fairly recently, few denominations permitted women to serve as priests, ministers, pastors or rabbis. If one excludes the Catholic Church and other conservative Protestant denominations where women are not allowed to serve as clergy, women today make up about 15 percent of clergy in the “mainline” Protestant churches and 17 percent among the Jewish movements, which is a substantial increase from the 1970s. There have been few percentage increases, however, within the last decade.



Sources: Norén 1992; Willhauck and Thorpe 2001; CBS News 2007; ATS Data Tables 2008-2009²⁸⁶ Hebrew Union College 2008; Reconstructionist Rabbinical College

More Women in the Pipeline

Women are making significant progress moving into the pipeline to religious leadership. The percentage of women in seminaries, rabbinical schools and divinity schools has climbed steadily in the last few decades. Between 1972 and 1986, the proportion of women in Protestant seminaries nearly tripled,²⁸⁷ and reached 34 percent in 2008.²⁸⁸ Today, about half of all Reform Jewish seminary students and 70 percent of Reconstructionist seminary students are female. Between 1983 and 1996, according to federal labor statistics, the number of women describing their occupation as “clergy” jumped from 16,408 to 43,542, an increase of over 250 percent.²⁸⁹

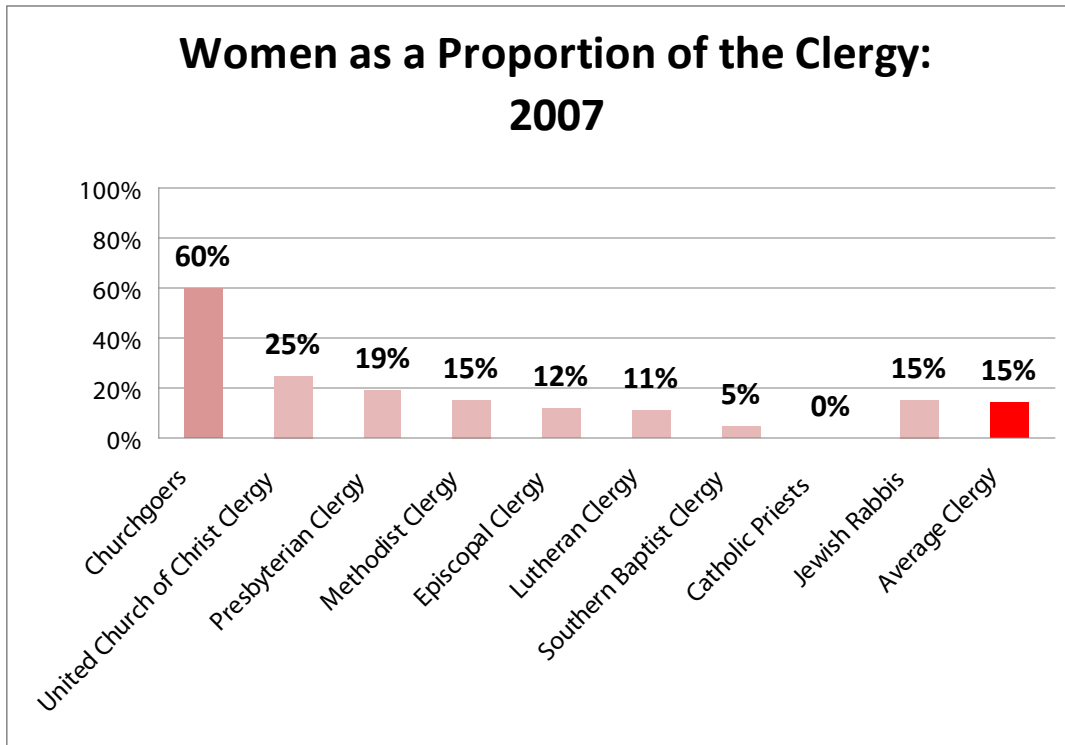
However, women did not start moving into leadership positions in any numbers until the last 30 years. (For a detailed timeline of women’s progress into religious leadership, see endnote.) And even then, the representation of women varied significantly by denomination, as it still does today.

Leadership in the Christian Faiths

In many Christian faiths, more women are joining the clergy, though the numbers are still below critical-mass levels. Within Protestant faiths overall, women currently make up about 15 percent of ministers, pastors and priests, compared with less than 3 percent in 1970. Though the proportion of female senior pastors serving in Protestant churches did not grow beyond 5 percent throughout the 1990s, it rose steadily in the last decade, to 10 percent in 2009.²⁹¹

The proportion of women in leadership roles varies widely across denominations:

- Women accounted for 25 percent of ordained United Church of Christ clergy.
- As of 2008, 28 percent of the pastors/co-pastors of the Presbyterian Church USA were women.²⁹²
- As of 2003, women accounted for 18.5 percent of all United Methodist clergy, 22 percent of United Methodist bishops and 36 percent of students in degree programs at UM seminaries. In Methodist congregations with more than 1,000 members, women made up only 7 percent of senior pastors.
- In the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) in 2009, approximately half of all seminary students are women. Among the clergy, 19.9 percent are women and approximately 86 percent of ordained women (versus 83 percent of ordained men) are actively serving in congregations.²⁹³
- Among Episcopal clergy, 29 percent of the leadership—priests, rectors, bishops, and presiding bishops—are women.
- Only 5 percent of Southern Baptist clergy are female, based on data from Southern Baptist Churches in 10 different states.²⁹⁴
- Nine percent of ordained ministers in the Assemblies of God churches are women.²⁹⁵
- Within Roman Catholicism, which prohibits women from joining the clergy, women have founded the groups “Womenpriests” and “Women-Church Convergence” to fight for women’s ordination.²⁹⁶ In 1979 on the Pope’s visit to Washington, Sister Theresa Kane, President of the Leadership Conference of Women Religious, publicly asked the Pope to allow the ordination of women; her plea was met with silence.²⁹⁷
- The biggest roadblock to women clergy is moving into senior positions in larger, more influential churches. “(Women) are not going to have trouble getting the first church or the second church. It’s the big church on the corner of Main Street and Second. That’s where the stained glass ceiling is now,” said Susan Thistlethwaite of the Chicago Theological Seminary, in an interview with CBS News.²⁹⁸



Sources: CBS News 2007; Zucker 2006.

Leadership in the Jewish Faith

There are four primary movements in the Jewish faith in America—Reform, Reconstructionist, Conservative and Orthodox—and each has varying attitudes about women in leadership. In every movement except Orthodox Judaism, women are moving toward egalitarianism in prayer quotas (minion), bar and bat mitzvahs, and in scholarship, which is an alternative path to power within the faith. While female rabbis did not exist before 1972, as of 2008 they made up 17 percent of all ordained rabbis in America—a figure that, as the chart below shows, is reduced by the lack of female Orthodox rabbis.

“The growing presence of women in the rabbinate is contributing significantly to the evolution of our tradition and the transformation of our community.”

RABBI JACQUELINE KOCH ELLENSON,
DIRECTOR, WOMEN’S RABBINIC NETWORK

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Female Rabbis in Jewish Congregations

| Denomination | # of Synagogues | # of Female Rabbis | % of Female Rabbis |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Reform | 900 | 552 | 19% |
| Reconstruction | 102 | 321 | 51% |
| Conservative | 700 | 327 | 16% |
| Orthodox | 1000 | 0 | 0% |

In the Reform movement (900 synagogues), which was the first to allow female rabbis, half of the Jewish seminary students at Hebrew Union College are now women. Since 1972, 552 female rabbis have been ordained, which is 19 percent of all reform rabbis.²⁹⁹ More than a dozen women now serve as senior rabbis of congregations of 500 families or more.³⁰⁰

In the Reconstructionist movement (102 synagogues), Judaism's newest branch of those discussed here, all positions are open to both genders as well as lesbians and gay men.³⁰¹ The Reconstructionist Rabbinical College's (RRC) rabbinical student body is currently 70 percent female. The first Reconstructionist rabbi was ordained in 1974, and the RRC has graduated 302 rabbis, 51 percent of whom are female. Approximately 41 percent of Reconstructionist rabbis currently serving in congregations are women. Their positions in congregations follow:

Reconstructionist Congregations

| Congregation Size by Number of Households | Number of Congregations | % with Female Rabbis | |
|---|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| Under 100 | 15 | 66% | |
| 100-250 | 25 | 54% | |
| 250+ | 30 | 40% | Senior Rabbi |
| | | 60% | Asst. Rabbi |

The Conservative movement (700 synagogues³⁰²) ordained its first female rabbis in 1983.³⁰³ Today, 15.7 percent or 257 of its rabbis are female. For the most part, full-time lead rabbis preside over small congregations; in congregations with fewer than 250 households, women outnumber men by almost three to one. Among the largest congregations with over 500 households, there are no women rabbis.

Conservative Congregations

| Congregation Size by Number of Households | % with Male Rabbis | % with Female Rabbis | % of Total Congregations |
|---|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Under 250 | 27% | 83% | 44% |
| 250-499 | 48% | 17% | 39% |
| 500-749 | 10% | 0% | 13% |
| 750+ | 7% | 0% | 5% |

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In the Orthodox movement (1,000 synagogues) a traditional adherence to Jewish law limits women's roles. Women are not ordained as rabbis, do not lead public ritual, and sit separately from men during religious services. Women do serve on the boards of some Orthodox synagogues and can serve as educators. Recently a small number of Orthodox synagogues have created rabbi-like positions for women. In March 2009 Sara Hurwitz, who served as a congregational intern at the Hebrew Institute of Riverdale in New York, was ordained as a Maharat, a Hebrew acronym for Manhiga Hilachatit, Ruchanit, Toranit: a leader in Jewish law, spiritual and pastoral counseling, and teaching Torah.³⁰⁵

Leadership in the Islamic Faith

There is no official count of the number of Muslims in the United States, as the Census Bureau does not collect data on religious affiliation. A 2007 survey estimated the number at 2.4 million.³⁰⁶ The hierarchy of Muslim leadership is organized differently than the Judeo-Christian religions in the United States. For example, Muslim imams (those who lead the prayer) and other religious leaders do not attend seminaries and they are not formally ordained.

Although the Qur'an (holy book) does not directly address the issue of whether a woman may be an imam, females do not lead mixed congregations. They can, however, lead prayer in some women-only congregations. Traditionally, women do not worship alongside men; sometimes they worship in balconies or the rear of mosques, while in other cases they are not allowed admittance at all. However, some newly built mosques have been designed so that women are on the same floor as men.

Progressive Muslim organizations call for equality for all Muslims, including allowing women to pursue canonical legal studies. In 2006, the first female was elected president of the Islamic Society of North America, the largest umbrella organization for Muslim groups in the U.S and Canada.

In fact, many more Muslim women today are pursuing degrees in Islamic studies and Islamic law, an important and well-respected area of lay leadership.

Women of Color in Religion: Levels of Leadership

African-American women have long been regarded as the backbone of the black church, but their extensive and significant contributions are made as lay leaders, not as religious heads of churches.³⁰⁷ Women of color make up 34 percent of all people of color in Protestant seminaries³⁰⁸, matching the percentage of white females in Protestant seminary schools.³⁰⁹

Women of Color in Protestant Seminary Students and Faculty Members

| Female | Number in Seminaries | Percent | Number of Faculty | Percent |
|----------------|----------------------|---------|-------------------|---------|
| White Females | 14,611 | 34 | 786 | 23 |
| Women of Color | 7,839 | 34 | 142 | 26 |

While the percentage of women of color on the faculties of Protestant seminaries looks promising, and is actually three percentage points higher than among white women, the absolute numbers are less encouraging—only 142 women of color versus 786 white women. Furthermore, about one-third of North American theological schools of all denominations report they do not have a racial/ethnic minority person on their faculties.

There are examples of women of color rising to top positions in the Protestant and Jewish faiths. The Lutheran Church of America ordained the nation's first female African-American and Latina pastors in 1979 and the first Asian-American female pastor in 1982. The Rt. Rev. Nedi Rivera in 2004 became the first female Hispanic Episcopal bishop, and served as a suffragen (assisting) bishop until 2009. Vashti Murphy McKenzie made history in 2000, when she became the first woman elected bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and in 2009 Alysa Stanton became the first African-American ordained Reform rabbi.

**“Women lead change—transform communities, societies
and nations—turn disharmony into harmony, and hopelessness into hope.”**

DAISY KHAN,

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR MUSLIM ADVANCEMENT

Salaries and Earnings

Salary information in the religion sector is sparse and not updated in a systematic way. What is consistent, however, is that among Protestant clergy, men earn more than their female counterparts within a denomination, both in terms of pay and benefits.³¹⁰ This inequity occurs even though women in the pulpit are generally more highly educated than their male counterparts: Currently, more than three-quarters of female pastors (77 percent) have a seminary degree while less than two-thirds (63 percent) of male pastors can make that claim.

Still, salary inequities are shrinking. In 1999, men earned \$6,900 per year more than women. Currently that disparity is about \$3,300 annually: Median compensation for male pastors is \$48,600 compared to \$45,300 for females. Among rabbis, 33 percent of men earn \$125,000 or more annually, compared to 9 percent of women. For rabbis, perhaps the most significant number occurs at the lower end of compensation, where 8 percent of men and 52 percent of women earned under \$80,000.³¹¹ One explanation for the gap is that men lead larger congregations and arguably put in longer hours.³¹²

Compensation of Rabbis by Gender³¹³

| Compensation | Male % | Female% | % of Total |
|------------------|--------|---------|------------|
| Under \$80,000 | 8 | 52 | 29 |
| \$80,000-124,000 | 60 | 40 | 50 |
| \$125,000+ | 33 | 9 | 21 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 |

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A recent study of Episcopal clergy found that women consistently earned less than men, whatever their position.

The Episcopal Church: Clergy Compensation by Gender and Position

| Gender | Median (\$) | Number | % of Total |
|--------|-------------|--------|------------|
| Male | 66,402 | 4,266 | 70 |
| Female | 56,160 | 1,813 | 30 |
| TOTAL | 62,793 | 6,079 | 100 |

Senior Clergy

| Gender | Median (\$) | Number | % of Total |
|--------|-------------|--------|------------|
| Male | 89,834 | 728 | 86 |
| Female | 75,005 | 121 | 14 |
| TOTAL | 86 | 849 | 100 |

Solo Clergy

| Gender | Median (\$) | Number | % of Total |
|--------|-------------|--------|------------|
| Male | 62,409 | 2,324 | 72.5 |
| Female | 56,501 | 878 | 27.5 |
| TOTAL | 60,806 | 3,202 | 100 |

Associates, Assistants and Curates

| Gender | Median (\$) | Number | % of Total |
|--------|-------------|--------|------------|
| Male | 57,148 | 498 | 50.5 |
| Female | 52,200 | 487 | 49.5 |
| TOTAL | 54,573 | 985 | 100 |

Source: Matthew J. Price, Ph.D., *Church Pension Group Serving the Episcopal Church and its people*. September 2007: Note. These are full-time positions.

Recommendations for Closing the Leadership Gap

As is the case in most of the fields profiled in this report, women seeking to move into religious leadership note that mentors and role models are important to them but that they are few in number.³¹⁴ A 2007 CBS News story quotes Reverend Jane Hoffman of the Illinois Council of the United Church of Christ as saying that even after 27 years of preaching, she still surprises people when she stands up to preach. “People come and say, ‘you’re my first,’ or at a wedding reception people would say, ‘I’ve never been to a wedding where a woman conducted it,’” Hoffman said.³¹⁵ The lack of role models reinforces the importance of increasing the visibility of female leaders who are already in place.

Below, specific recommendations for religion:

- Amplify the voice of women clergy and position them prominently as “thought” leaders within society and as spiritual guides. This is essential in translating what is primarily a centuries-old male narrative of the Old and New Testaments and the Qur’an into a narrative shaped by both women and men. It is important to have women religious leaders more prominent in media to counter the impression that women “don’t belong” in this arena.
- In addition to mentoring and role modeling, provide women navigating the pathway to leadership with expert, hands-on, one-on-one coaching. Several denominations offer coaching for clergy; some offer institutes or seminars geared specifically to women clergy or women seminarians to help them as they enter a male-dominated field.
- Encourage search committees, congregation leaders and others to follow their egalitarian mission and make diversity in top leadership a high priority. Search committees should examine their selection process, not only for candidates but for the “experts” they rely on who recommend candidates.. Rethinking evaluation methods and interview processes would provide more complete measures by which to assess candidates. Religious leaders who are trying to avoid controversy by primarily or exclusively recruiting men need to realize that their congregations are probably receptive to women clergy.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP IN INDIVIDUAL SECTORS:

“The leadership skills of women are absolutely necessary for the future of sport. We need a fresh look at old problems instead of letting the problems become institutionalized.”

ANITA DEFRAUTZ,
SENIOR UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE TO THE

SPORTS

The benefits of getting girls and women involved in athletics and the sports industry extend well beyond lessons learned about winning and losing—though that’s not a bad start. Sports, several studies show, can instill skills like strategic thinking, goal setting, discipline and self-confidence that are the very qualities women need to succeed in school, business and life.³¹⁷ Sports help women develop the strength, agility and sense of teamwork that equip them to enter professions previously closed to them, including the military, law enforcement and firefighting.

Involvement in athletics can also help prepare women to assume leadership roles in one of the biggest businesses in America—the \$400-plus billion sports industry (encompassing sports management, sports media, equipment and apparel, licensing and more).³¹⁸ When women become leaders in sports as well as the industry built around them, they share the benefits with later generations of young women, who learn that mastering the rules of the game can translate to success in life.

Women in Sports: Current Levels of Leadership

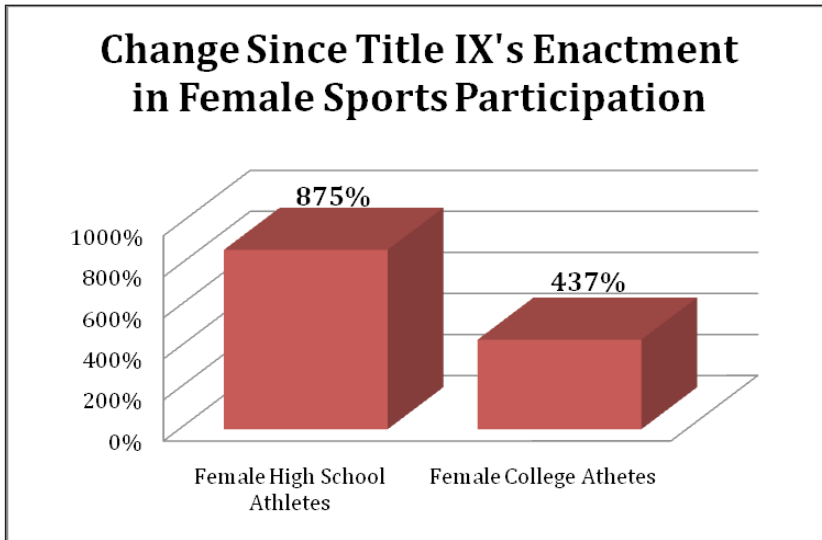
In schools across America, the number of female athletes soared after the passage in 1972 of Title IX, which made it illegal to exclude anyone from participating in any education program or activity that received federal financial assistance. Today an estimated eight million girls, in grades three through 12, participate in an organized sport,³¹⁹ along with more than 172,000 women in college sports for which the NCAA conducts championships.³²⁰

But as this systematic review documents, women’s representation in leadership positions within the world of sports remains small. Athletic participation is only one slice of the larger sports pie, which also includes sports management, sports media, sports marketing and advertising, equipment and apparel, events/attendance, sports medicine, fitness and recreation, publishing, food service and licensing—an immense enterprise that is calculated to account for nearly 3 percent of the entire gross domestic product of the United States.³²¹

Intercollegiate Sports Leadership: Coaches and Athletic Directors

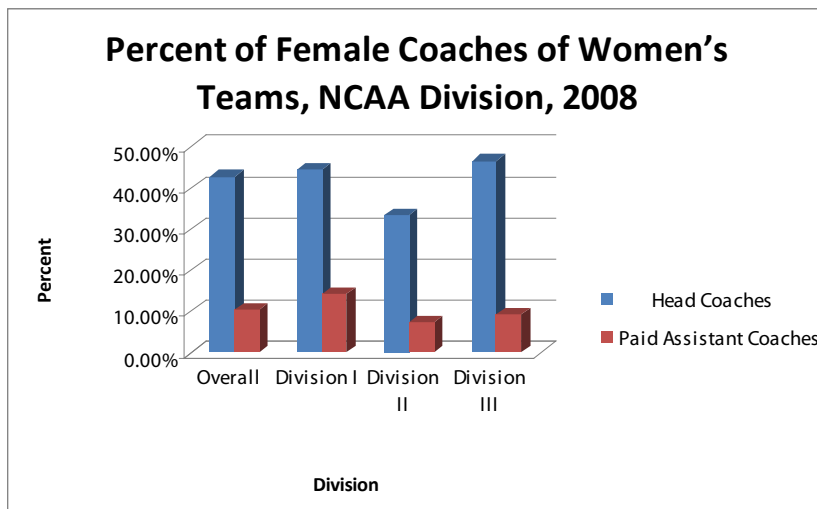
Women’s participation rates in intercollegiate athletics are at their highest in history. The average number of women’s teams at colleges and universities more than tripled from 2.5 per school in 1972

to 8.65 percent in 2008, while the total number of women's teams offered in NCAA member schools jumped from 6,346 in 1998 to 9,101 in 2008.³²² A study of 1,895 higher education institutions found that female athletic participation increased by almost 26,000 athletes from 1995 to 2005.³²³

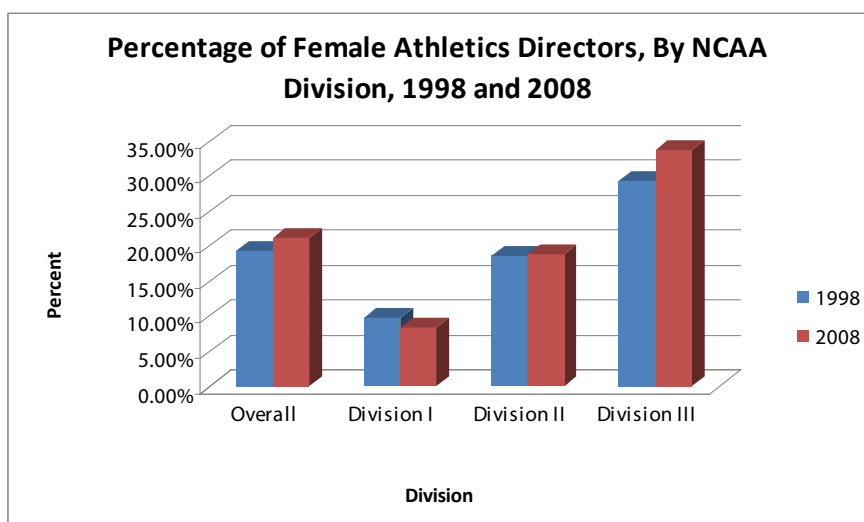


Source: Women's Sports Foundation 2006

Women's leadership in college coaching, on the other hand, has declined since the passage of Title IX. In 1972, 90 percent of coaches of women's teams were women. With the massive rise in participation by women in sports after Title IX, the governance of women's college sports transferred from the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women to the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA).³²⁴ Ironically, despite the increase to an average 8.65 teams per school in 2008, women coaches in women's sports dropped by more than half, to 43 percent.³²⁵ Furthermore, less than 3 percent of coaches of men's teams today are women.³²⁶



In administrative leadership, women have made scant progress. While the number of female collegiate athletic directors (to whom all college coaches report) is at its highest in the last 27 years, women in 2008 made up just 21.3 percent of all athletic directors, and 11.6 percent of athletic programs today have no women in any part of their administrative structures.³²⁷ The percentage of women athletic directors for 1998 and 2008 has been virtually unchanged across NCAA divisions. Finally, at the top levels of the NCAA administrative hierarchy, where salaries are typically the highest, we find the lowest percentages of women athletic directors: In Division One, the percentage dropped from 9.9 percent in 1989 to 8.4 percent in 2008.



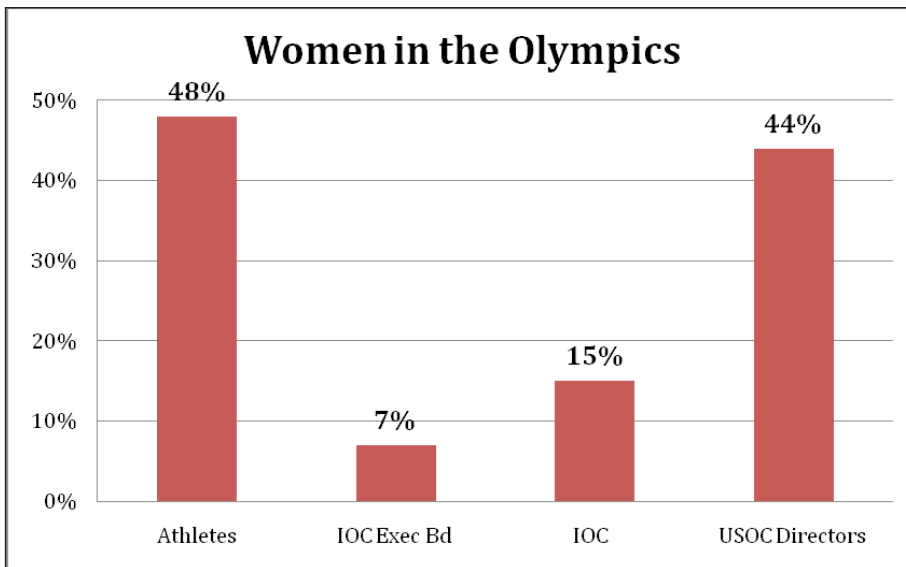
Professional Sports Leadership

In professional sports, a similar pattern emerges: Women make up a minority of leadership positions in professional women's sports, and they are scarcely seen in the men's professional sports arena. Only six of the 13 Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) teams of 2009 had female head coaches.³²⁸ The National Basketball Association (NBA) is entirely devoid of female head coaches, general managers and presidents³²⁹ (although we should note that there was one woman among the 59 referees in the 2008-2009 season).³³⁰

In 2008-2009, women were the majority owners of three out of 30 franchises in the NBA, and one out of 13 franchises in the WNBA.³³¹ Among the 122 franchises constituting the MLB, the NBA, the NFL and the NHL, only 10.8 percent of vice-president positions or higher were filled by women. That figures slips to 6.2 percent when women in non-revenue-producing departments are excluded.³³² As for presidents of the professional sports leagues, there is still only one woman—Donna Orender, president of the WNBA.

Leadership in Amateur Sports Governance Organizations: The Olympics and Paralympics

It is encouraging that women made up nearly 48 percent of all athletes on the 2004 U.S. Olympic team, and slightly exceeded that number in 2008.³³³ However, the proportion of women leaders in international sports governance doesn't keep up with participation levels. At the top of the leadership hierarchy of The International Olympic Committee (IOC) is the executive board, which consists of the president, four vice presidents, and 10 members. There is only one woman on the executive board, a woman has never served as president, and only 15 percent of its members are women. Women are also largely excluded from IOC commissions; 42 percent of its 31 commissions have either no or one female member.³³⁴



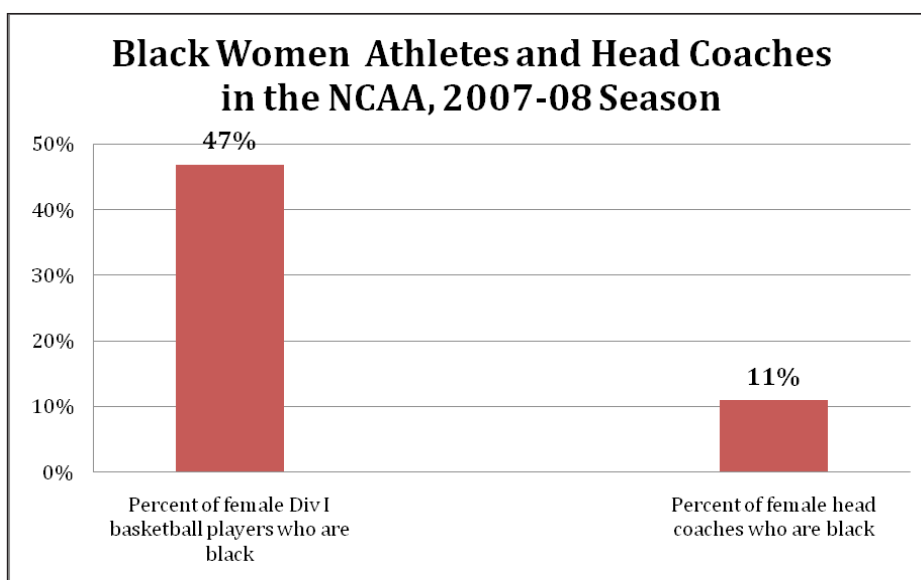
In the Paralympics, women have actually lost ground in athletic participation and occupy few leadership slots. Women athletes made up 19.6 percent of the U.S 2006 Paralympics team, a decline from 28.1 percent in 2002.³³⁵ And although one in five athlete-participants were female, women constituted only 6.7 percent of the membership of the governing International Paralympic Committee (IPC) in 2009. Women were also a minority—35 percent—of the members on the International Paralympic committees and councils.³³⁶

In the U.S., by contrast, women have made discernible progress in recent years. Within the United States Olympic Committee (USOC), women now make up 44 percent (four out of nine) of the board of directors, 36 percent of the executive team (four out of seven), and 50 percent of the management team.³³⁷ This level of gender representation exceeds the 20 percent policy goal for female leadership set by the IOC. However, underrepresentation in leadership positions remains a problem on the 58 National Governing Boards, only eight of which are led by women.³³⁸

Women of Color and Leadership in Sports

Venus and Serena Williams are the current leading examples of sporting prowess by women of color, but the broader statistical picture is considerably less triumphant. A National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) study from the 2003-2004 season showed that, among the largest universities, 14.8 percent of female athletes were of color, yet only half of that percentage of female head coaches were black,³³⁹ and a mere 3 percent of coaches overall were women.³⁴⁰

A more recent study of black women athletes and head coaches in the NCAA in the 2007-2008 season shows that, while 47 percent of female Division I athletes who play basketball are African-American, only 11 percent of the female head coaches are African-American.³⁴¹



At the professional level, women of color are also underrepresented in leadership roles. Sheila C. Johnson, co-founder of the Black Entertainment Network, is the only African-American woman to own a share of three teams. She is president of the WNBA's Washington Mystics and is a stakeholder in the NBA's Washington Wizards and the NHL's Washington Capitals.³⁴² Tennis champions Venus and Serena Williams, actress Jennifer Lopez and singer Gloria Estefan are part owners of the Miami Dolphins. In the 2008 WNBA season, there was one female African-American head coach. *Of Sports Illustrated's* most recent "101 Most Influential Minorities in Sport," only 11 women of color are listed: Nine are African-American and two are Asian.

Salaries and Earnings

To gain perspective on women and leadership in sports, we have taken a closer look at the earning power of men and women in professional golf and tennis. We have chosen not to focus on professional basketball because too many variables exist between the men's and women's leagues

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to make a truly fair comparison in this sport. Professional basketball has been played in the U.S. by men for 63 years (the NBA was started in 1946) and for just 13 years by women (the WNBA was created in 1996). In addition, the men have 30 teams and play 82 games over a seven-month season while the women have 13 teams and play 34 games over a four-month season. As a result, women have had far less time to establish the popularity of women's basketball with the public and reap the licensing and sponsorship rewards that follow.

In college coaching and leadership, there is a wide salary differential, linked to the gender of the coach and of the team. Women in college coaching earn between 40 and 70 cents for every dollar their male counterparts earn, figures reminiscent of the wage gap of the 1950s.³⁴³ With Division One teams, that difference can add up to over \$500,000. The average salary of a Division One women's team head coach was \$659,000 in the 2005-06 season, compared with \$1,202,400 for the men's team coach.³⁴⁴ In Division One basketball for the same year, the men's team head coach averaged \$409,600, more than double the average salary of the women's basketball coach.³⁴⁵

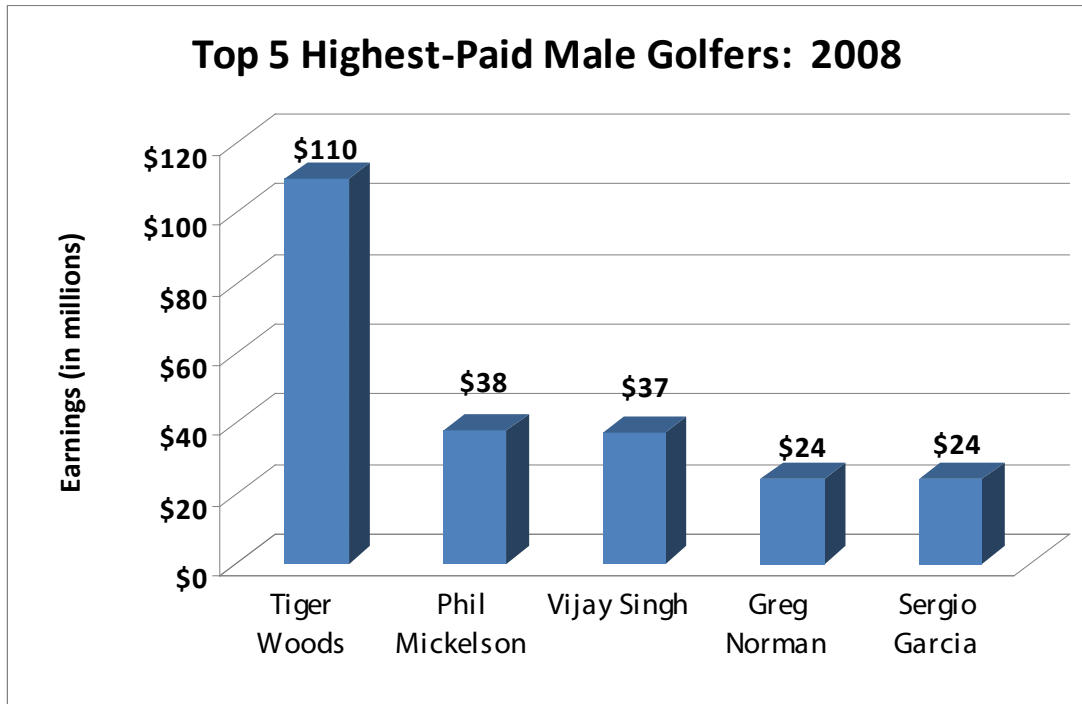
In the professional leagues, the gender gap can be even more dramatic. The commissioner of the Professional Golfers Association (PGA), Tim Finchem, brings home a salary of \$4.8 million, twice the earnings of the leading female Ladies Professional Golfers Association (LPGA) tour leader.

For the athletes, too, the overwhelming majority of all sports-earned dollars consistently go to men.

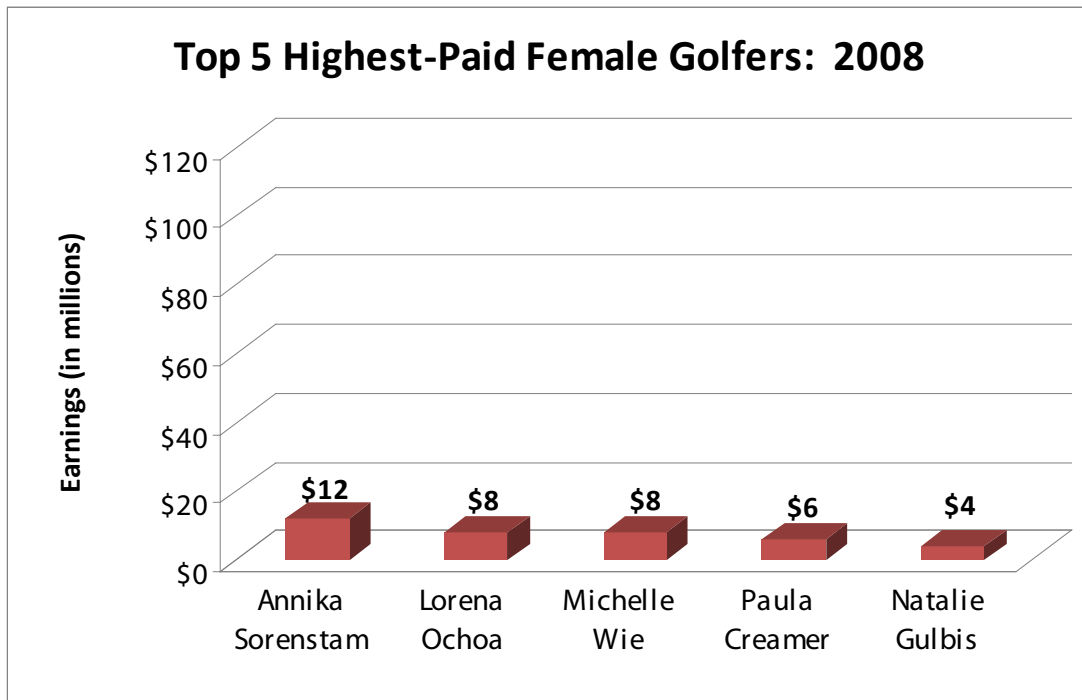
- In basketball, the \$5.85 million per year average NBA salary (in 2008-2009) is 59 times higher than the \$99,500 salary of WNBA athletes.³⁴⁶
- In golf, the annual prize money for women in the LPGA rose by 234 percent between 2006 and 2008 to \$62 million, while the PGA annual prize money for men rose by 310 percent to \$214.4 million.
- In tennis, even though five of the top 10 highest-paid players are women, the top-paid male tennis player, Roger Federer, earns \$9 million more than the top-paid woman, Maria Sharapova.
- In all sports, the 50 highest-earning athletes in the U.S. (salary, winnings, endorsements, appearances and bonuses) in 2008 were exclusively men.³⁴⁷

Earnings in Golf

In 2008, Tiger Woods, the number-one golfer, earned \$110 million, nearly three times more than the second top male earner (Phil Mickelson at \$38 million) and nine times more than the top female earner (Annika Sorenstam, at \$12 million). Even the lowest of the top five male earners, (Sergio Garcia, at \$24 million), takes home twice what the highest-earning female golfer does.



* Includes prize money, endorsements, appearance fees, course design income.³⁴⁸



* Includes prize money, endorsements, appearance fees, course design income.³⁴⁹

Prize money for male golfers in the PGA tour is much higher than for female golfers in the LPGA:

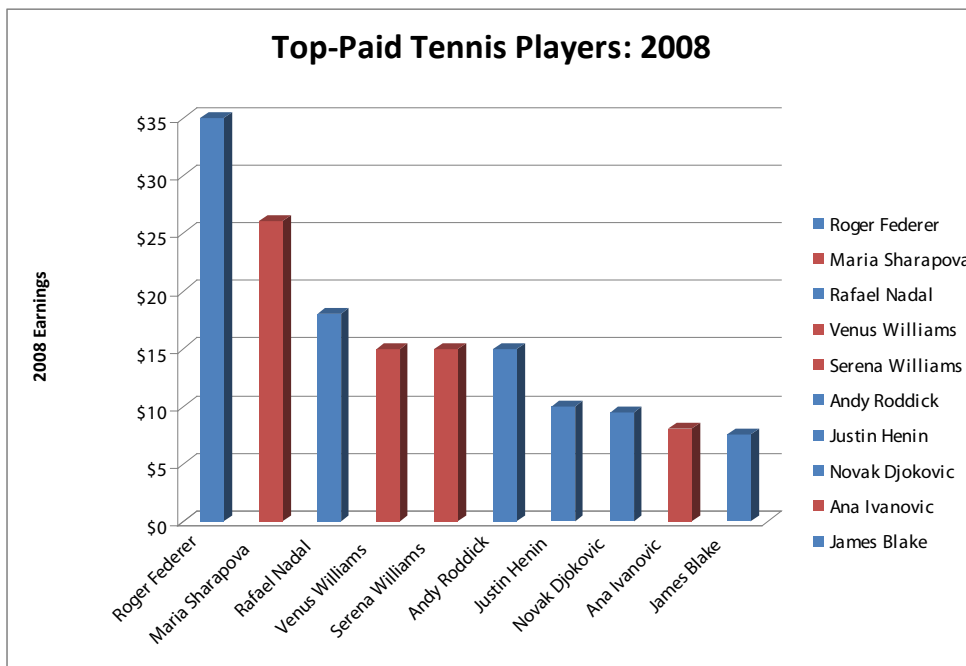
- LPGA prize money in 2009 is just under \$55 million for 31 tour events³⁵⁰ compared with the 2009 PGA prize money of \$275 million for 47 events.³⁵¹
- LPGA's largest purse is \$8.25 million³⁵² versus PGA's largest purse of 8.5 million.³⁵³
- LPGA's ³⁵⁴ and PGA's smallest purse is the same at \$1 million.³⁵⁵

However, some of this wage gap stems from the fact that men play more events than women. The LPGA tour in 2009 was made up of 31 events³⁵⁶ -- 16 fewer events than the PGA, which had 47 events.³⁵⁷

Earnings in Tennis

Tennis is the one sport where women come closest to men in overall earning power. Women's tennis has all the elements of good entertainment: easy to watch in a stadium or on television, with many stars and rivalries to provide public and media interest. In addition to higher prize money, the sport's global appeal has increased endorsement and sponsorship opportunities for women.

Indeed, five of the top 10 highest-paid tennis stars are women – a hard-won achievement that is not seen in any other sport. Even so, as noted above, Roger Federer, the top men's player, out-earns the number two women's player, Maria Sharapova, by \$9 million. (Federer earns \$35 million; Sharapova, \$26 million.)



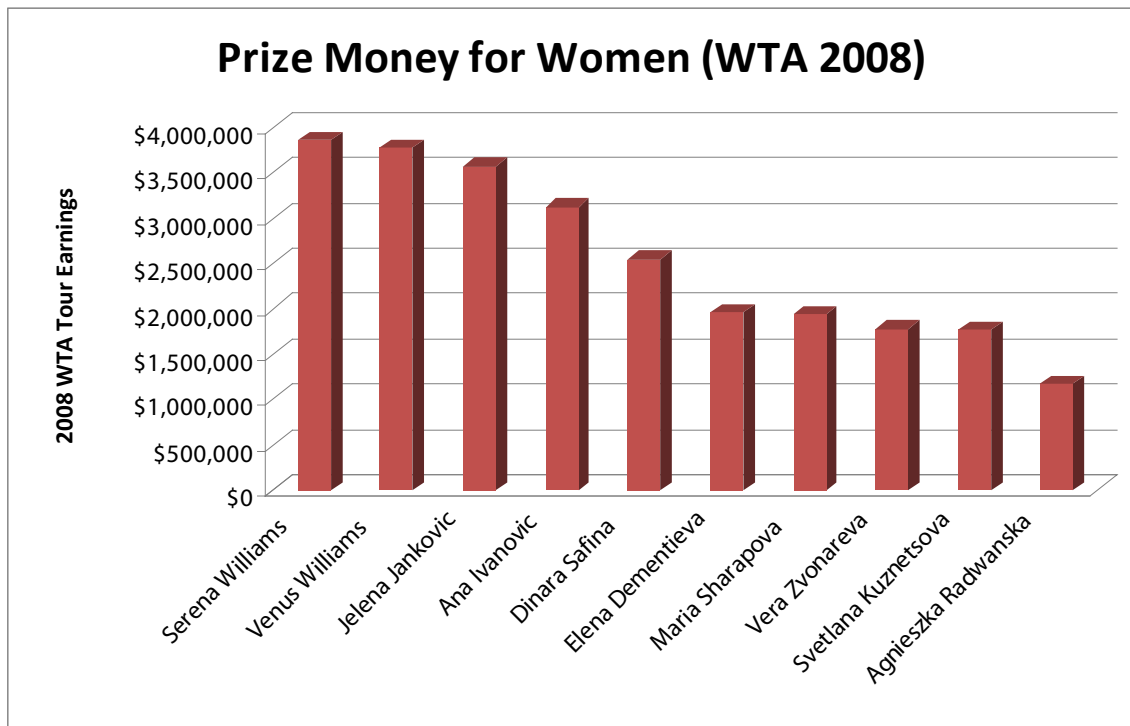
Top-Paid Tennis Players of 2008 ³⁵⁸

For the most part, the prize money in tennis is much higher for men than for women.

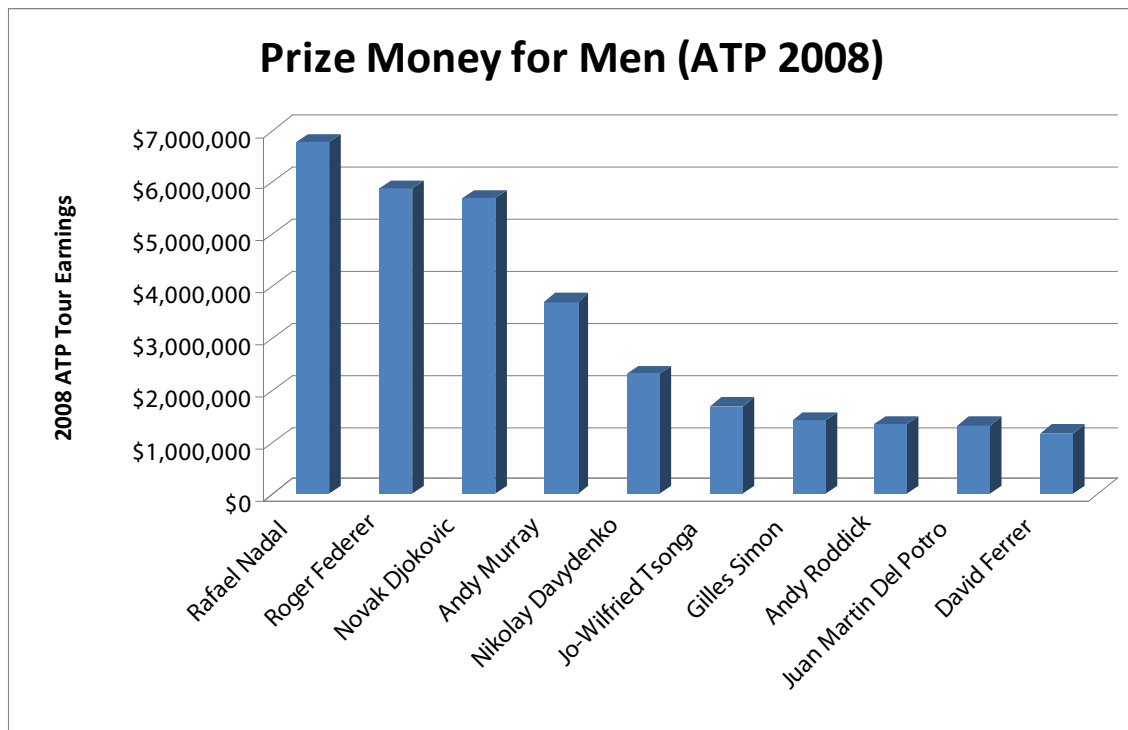
- The Women's Tennis Association (WTA) prize money totals \$72.9 million,³⁵⁹ versus \$112.5 million for the men's Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP).³⁶⁰
- WTA's largest purse is \$4.5 million,³⁶¹ versus \$5.2 million for the ATP.³⁶²
- WTA's smallest purse is \$220,000,³⁶³ versus \$450,000 for the ATP.³⁶⁴

As with professional golf, it is critical to note that the differences in total earnings result in large measure from men playing more games than women. The WTA tour has 55 events,³⁶⁵ 11 fewer events than the 66 for the ATP.³⁶⁶

The Grand Slams, however, tell a different story—and a more promising one for women. These four premium tournaments, known collectively as the Grand Slams (Wimbledon Tennis championships, the French Open, the Australian Open and the U.S. Open) are the only tournaments in which women and men play in the same place, at the same time, over a two-week period. The Grand Slams are also the only tournaments in which the prize money for men and women is equal – thanks to many people, especially tennis legend Billie Jean King and more recently Venus Williams, who campaigned to achieve pay equity.³⁶⁷



Prize Money for Women (WTA 2008)³⁶⁸



Prize Money for Men (ATP 2008) ³⁶⁹

Recommendations for Closing the Leadership Gap

The post-Title IX explosion of girls’ and women’s athletic participation has injected new energy and growth into the sport sector. To ensure that girls’ newfound passion for sports moves beyond the locker room into leadership positions, the sports industry will need to make some changes. As with the other sectors studied in this report, we urge the industry to work toward creating a critical mass of women in top leadership positions. There is a dearth of women directors in college athletics, on IOC commissions, on IPC committees and in USOC governing body leadership; there are also comparatively few women in professional sports leadership as head coaches, owners and commissioners. We have impressive numbers of women playing sports but we do not have similar results in the leadership in this industry.

Below, specific recommendations for the sports sector:

- *Encourage and enforce compliance with existing policies throughout the amateur athletic community.* The provisions that are outlined by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Amateur Sports Act, Title IX of the Education Amendments Act, and the USOC and IOC, are not consistently implemented.

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- *Enforce the provisions under Title IX that govern resource allocations for students, coaches and administrators.* Again, more can be done to comply with pay equity legislation (i.e., Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009, Equity Pay Act, and Title VII) as it pertains to ensuring workplace equity and opportunities for leadership.
- *Protect women and men from retaliation or job loss when they report inequities.* Coaches, administrators, parents and other interested persons in high schools and colleges must feel safe to inform authorities of inequities.
- *Professional sports organizations should make expanding leadership opportunities for women a top priority.* Commissioners and leagues should revisit hiring criteria and procedures with the goal of at least one-third participation by women, including women of color.
- *Business organizations across the sport sector should adopt policies that expand high-level employment opportunities for women, using accountability measures that are made public to assess progress.* As girls' and women's participation in sport has increased from playing power to buying power, it is good business for the sports marketing, entertainment, equipment and apparel industries, and the sports media to employ a critical mass of women at high levels to help shape the future of this industry.

AFTERWORD

by Lucie Lapovsky and Deborah Slaner Larkin, Editors

“The White House Project Report: Benchmarking Women’s Leadership” was written to assess where the United States stands in terms of the balance of leadership between men and women. Obviously, we knew men were in the majority but we did not have a clear sense of “by how much” or how the gender gap in leadership varied by sector. We were motivated in doing this by our belief that making the maximum use of human capital by employing both women and men in top positions of leadership is critical to ensuring that all of us enjoy the healthiest, most productive and most secure existence possible.

Our intention is that this study will be one more step in a continuing process of examining women’s leadership—a process that will continue until women reach at least a critical mass of the top leadership in this country. We have designed this report as a living document, with action-oriented recommendations to spark systemic change. With its release, The White House Project is planning a national campaign to educate the American public to the existing situation and to the advantages of more inclusive leadership, and to engage them in developing programs and strategies to significantly increase women’s representation in top leadership roles in all sectors in the United States.

We recognize that “Benchmarking Women’s Leadership” only scratches the surface of the leadership issues in the businesses and professions we explore here (see methodology, page 00). Accordingly, we encourage anyone working in these and other sectors who has or is aware of research we have not unearthed, to contact The White House Project and add his or her data to make a study of women’s leadership more comprehensive. Our hope is that, as one of the many outcomes of this study, it will become an ongoing practice and top priority with all sectors to gather research by gender, race and ethnicity. That will be money well spent.

We also hope that the series of recommendations presented in the report will serve as a catalyst to bring groups of men and women together to work collaboratively and innovatively. We are optimistic that this book will motivate the creative, out-of-the box thinking that is necessary to bring about a significant change in women’s representation in the top leadership in this country across all sectors. We want to thank the many wise women and men who have advised us along the way and have shared our conviction that women must lead side by side with men. We hope that those forward-looking individuals, companies, organizations and institutions, which have implemented successful diversity policies and programs that have resulted in the advancement of women at the top, will share their stories so that more people will benefit.

This report is just a way station on a journey that has been going on for many years and will continue until gender in leadership is no longer an issue. Although many of us had once believed we would have already seen the day when men and women would lead in equal numbers, we now hope that occurs in our children’s lifetime.

METHODOLOGY

Reliance on Published Data

This report relies exclusively on data collected from previously-published sources. This method limits the scope of the report in certain unavoidable ways. We do not have the same types of data collected across all the years we might like, or the data many not be collected in the same ways across fields. We are not always able to give as much information as we would like about the intersection between race and gender within each field. If data were not previously published on the questions we had about leadership within each sector, we could not fully answer all of our questions. And of course, the requirement that we use only previously published data meant that sometimes we could not find information that was as current as we would have liked; we were limited by other groups' choices about what to publish and when. These are the drawbacks to our method; however, we strongly believe that the benefits of this methodology outweigh the costs.

Different sectors have different leadership positions and levels; it did not make sense to try to compress all this diversity into standardized (and probably not fully accurate) leadership categories. All terms and titles used in this report (such as “clout titles” in business or film, or “equity partners” in law, come from the literature of the field itself, and are not imposed by us as researchers. As an example, consider a comparison of leadership between sports and law, or nonprofit and religion. Are Division I coaches more like equity partners in firms or Supreme Court Justices? Are priests and rabbis more like executive directors or CEOs? Instead of TWHP making judgment calls about what constitutes “leadership” and how to classify it within each sector, we chose to rely on the experts in each field – those who write and publish reports on the status of women’s leadership in their chosen sector. We thank all the groups and individuals whose published reports we cite herein for their work.

Methods of Finding Data

For each of the 10 sectors examined here, TWHP researchers performed various searches for reports. Our first set of searches was through the websites and archives of prominent and trusted organizational or individual sources within each field known to study women and leadership. For example, the research organization Catalyst is well-known and highly-regarded for its reports on the status of women in business. Within film, Martha Lauzen’s annual “Celluloid Ceiling” reports are cited by nearly every other report or article we found on the topic, so we collected her research first. Within law, the American Bar Association’s Commission on the Status of Women has published several extremely comprehensive and useful reports. In politics, the Center for American Women in Politics at Rutgers University and the Center for Women in Government & Civil Society at the University at Albany-SUNY both produce frequent and excellent, data-rich material. For the military, we relied as much as possible on official Department of Defense statistics. Within each sector, we first attempted to identify such meta-sources and incorporate as much as possible into this report.

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A secondary set of searches, particularly for those fields lacking such a clear meta-source, relied on keyword searches through Internet search tools, including Lexis-Nexis, J-Stor, Google Scholar, and the websites of well-known groups within each field. As a last resort, we emailed and called various researchers within each field to locate, beg, buy, and compile non-web-published material. For the most part, we used information from books and other non-web-based sources only when absolutely essential; our sources are mostly available online so as to make the data upon which we rely as accessible and transparent to the general public as possible.

Reliance on Experts

We have asked experts in each field to review the data and to provide us with other sources of data. Our experts did not always agree on the relevance or reliability of some of our data. Responsibility for decisions on what to include and exclude lies solely with the editors.

The Averages

We are responsible for deriving the average percent of women in leadership positions in each of the 10 sectors. We have not used any sophisticated methodology but have chosen an approach which we believe is reasonable and which is easy to track over time so that we will be able to clearly see our progress or lack thereof. We have chosen to use the following to represent the position of women in the top leadership in each sector.

| | | |
|------------|-----|--|
| Academia | 23% | % women college presidents |
| Business | 16% | % women corporate officers in Fortune 500 companies |
| Film | 16% | % women directors, producers, exec. producers, cinematographers |
| Journalism | 22% | % women newspaper publishers (18%), % women radio news directors (20%) and % women TV news directors (28%) |
| Law | 18% | % female partners in law firms |
| Military | 11% | % women officers in top five ranks |
| Nonprofit | 21% | % of women CEOs in non-profits with budgets > \$25 million |
| Politics | 17% | % women in Congress |
| Religion | 15% | % clergy |
| Sports | 21% | % of women athletic directors |

Our decisions were based on advice from our experts and a test of reasonableness. We wanted to choose positions where a reasonable number of women were already represented: so for example, we did not use the presidency of the United States as the data point in politics but rather the percent of women in Congress. One can take issue with our choices but they are clearly spelled out here and we feel they give a good sense of where women reside in leadership positions. To derive the 18 percent average, we calculated a simple average of all of these categories. Use of a weighted average would not have given a significantly different result and would have been far more difficult to track over time as numbers of positions change in the various sectors and we did not want to change the weighting of the sectors.

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SPECIAL THANKS

We would like to extend our gratitude to the following people who made this report possible:

Xerox, led by *Ursula Burns* and *Anne Mulcahy* were truly angels to The White House Project. Xerox not only donated design services, but also printed all of the hard-copies for us gratis. We could not have published this Report without them, and we are grateful. And we thank *Connie Thornton* at Xerox for their work designing and printing the Report.

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Donna Randles and *Lili Goksenin*, who helped with getting the charts and graphs finalized.

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