Winter 3-15-2016

Substantive Representation by the Unelected: The Role of Staff Gender on Mayoral Priorities in U.S. Cities

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The Role of Staff Gender on Mayoral Priorities in U.S. Cities

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Political Science

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Portland State University
2016

Abstract

The literature on descriptive and substantive representation focuses on elected representatives, but overlooks the gender of those who play an integral role in policy process (agenda-setting) and outcomes (implementation): The elected's chief of staff, senior policy advisors, and, in council-manager systems, the city manager. This thesis examines the role policy staff and city manager gender plays in substantive representation.

After analyzing staff composition and agenda priorities — gleaned from State of the City addresses — for mayors of the 50 most-populous cities in the United States, I found substantial evidence to support my hypotheses that the chief of staff's gender, not the elected's gender, will drive the overall gender of staff as well as the gender characterization of policy agendas. Mayors — regardless of gender — with female chiefs of staff in this dataset have more female staffers and more neutral policy agendas. Mayors — regardless of gender — with male chiefs of staff have more male staffers and mostly masculine policy. In weak mayor systems, city managers' gender strongly influences mayoral policy agendas, especially in small cities; since most city managers are male, those policy agendas are more masculine, regardless of the mayor's and chief of staff's gender. Thus, I find that staff who are involved in the intricacies of policy process and outcome have a stronger influence on policy than the public-facing elected official.

These results, supplemented by interviews with mayors and chiefs of staff from across the country, could change the importance scholars place on descriptive representation, and alter scholars' approach to studying both substantive representation for women and American democracy in general.

Dedication

This study is dedicated to the great Gail Shibley, who reinforces every day that women can change the world.

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1. Introduction: The Portland Case

Portland, Oregon, Mayor Charlie Hales took office in January 2013. Gail Shibley, chief of staff, was his first hire, and he built his policy team with men who worked on his campaign or who already worked in City Hall (Slovic, 2013). His first year in office, Mayor Hales had a senior policy staff of four men. In his 2013 State of the City speech, he identified as his priorities budget, public safety, police reform, and gun control (Hales, 2013) — all agenda items that are traditionally associated with men, indicating a masculine agenda (Krook & O'Brien, 2012). As the year wore on, those men resigned (Theriault, 2013; Schmidt, 2013; Theen, 2014). With the mayor established in office, the hiring dynamics changed; the responsibility moved to Chief of Staff Gail Shibley to fill the policy director positions. She replaced the police policy director with a woman who was an officer for 10 years at the Portland Police Bureau. Shibley convinced a state senator known for her environmental advocacy to leave the Oregon Legislature and work on the mayor's planning and sustainability issues. She recruited a woman who once worked as a staffer for then-Commissioner Charlie Hales to lead the development agenda.[1] With Shibley's new hires, the policy directors went from zero women to three of four policy directors.

As women joined his policy staff, Mayor Hales' agenda noticeably changed. In 2014 his State of the City address he identified his top priorities as the budget, fixing streets and building sidewalks, and defeating a ballot measure that proposed creating an independent board to oversee the water and sewer bureaus, removing that power from city

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[1] Information about hiring background and start dates came from informal interviews with the policy directors.

commissioners (Hales, 2014). In the Krook and O'Brien (2012) framework characterizing the gender of policy areas as masculine, feminine or neutral, Mayor Hales' priorities shifted from solely masculine in 2013 to more neutral in 2014 (Hales, 2013; Hales, 2014).

By his 2015 State of the City address, his priorities had transformed. In his speech he listed as his agenda economic opportunity, livable neighborhoods, and police reform. As an Oregon Public Broadcasting reporter tweeted during his speech, "Charlie sounds more focused on social justice this year than he did last year." And, "Last year, [Mayor Hales] marketed himself as boring, but in a good way. [State of the City 2015] is not a boring speech. It's blatantly progressive." Under economic opportunity, his priorities included raising the citywide minimum wage; removing barriers for ex-offenders to gain employment; and creating a task force to restructure the city's Minority, Women and Emerging Small Business Contract program so it actually gives those groups an advantage in winning contracts with the city. Under livable neighborhoods, Mayor Hales' priorities included developing underserved neighborhoods in East Portland, and supporting creation of a "Soul District" for Portland's African-American community. His primary priority under police reform was developing policy-community relationships, particularly among youth of color, and working with the state, county and private hospitals to create an emergency psychiatric facility for people in mental health crisis (Hales, 2015). Under the Krook and O'Brien (2012) framework, these priorities are mostly neutral and feminine; or, in the reporter's words, focused more on social justice.

In 2013, when Mayor Hales put together a staff of entirely men with a female chief, his priority areas were 100 percent masculine. In early 2014, when the policy staff was three women and two men, Mayor Hales' policies averaged 67 percent masculine and 33 percent

neutral. By 2015, his policy staff was four women and one man, and that masculine-feminine-neutral ratio changed to 17 percent masculine, 23 percent feminine, and 50 percent neutral. This change correlates with a change in staff, from 100 percent men at the start of his administration, to 80 percent female in the third year of his administration.

With a dramatic shift in new staff, from zero female senior policy staff to mostly female senior policy staff, Mayor Hales' agenda went from zero policies characterized as neutral or feminine to mostly neutral and feminine. I hypothesize that this shift in policy was a result of more women on the senior policy staff, and further that the shift was driven by Gail Shibley, the chief of staff, rather than by Mayor Hales, the elected. While literature on representation focuses on descriptive representation provided by the elected official, I posit that the chief of staff's gender is more significant for in "acting for" women; she chooses the senior policy staff who most influence the policy process (agenda-setting) and outcomes (implementation) — substantive representation for women.

In this thesis, I argue that the gender of an elected's chief of staff influences the gender of the senior policy staff, and thus influences the representative's policy agenda. As such, I argue, policy will be more masculine, neutral or feminine based on the chief of staff's gender, and not based on the elected's gender. Thus, I argue, the chief of staff's gender will drive the masculinity, neutrality, or femininity of a policy agenda more so than the elected representative's gender. Further, I argue that staff gender will affect policy in both weak and strong mayoral systems. In council-manager systems with weak mayors, I argue the gender of the city manager — chief policy maker in weak mayor systems — will drive the masculinity, neutrality or femininity of a policy agenda. This challenges the traditional arguments behind descriptive representation — elected "standing for" constituents with

similar physical characteristics — and substantive representation — "acting for" women's interests — by placing much of the power of policy with the chief of staff rather than the elected.

This argument is tested among the mayors of the 50 most-populous cities in the United States. In this thesis, the mayors' staff composition — the number of women senior policy directors — is compared with their policy agendas identified in State of the City addresses — high-profile speeches that lay out an elected's priorities for a given year (Morgan & Watson, 1992; Edwards, 1996). These annual addresses are used because typically policy announcements lead to policy outcomes, since it is politically costly to fail on such a high-profile, public agenda. In addition to empirical analyses of staffs and policy agendas, I present responses from interviews of current mayors and chiefs of staff from a sample of administrations among the 50 most populous cities in the United States. These interviews served a number of purposes in this study. First, they helped provide details about staff's role in policy development — what steps staff actually take to develop urban policy — as well as provide insight into staff's interaction with mayors. Second, they offer insight into how mayors view their roles and their staff's role, supplementing academic literature with real-world experience. Finally, they corroborated the empirical findings of this study.

After coding agenda items according to Krook and O'Brien's (2012) framework, which characterizes policy agenda items as a gender or as gender neutral, there is a clear overlap: Female chiefs of staff tend to have more female senior policy staffers, and those staffs also tend to have more feminine or gender-neutral agenda items, regardless of the executive's gender. Male chiefs of staff tend to have not only mostly male staffs, but also the most masculine agendas of the four gender pairings, even if the mayor is female. In council-

manager systems, city manager gender has a disproportionate influence over the gender characterization of a policy agenda, especially in small cities. In larger council-manager cities, city managers have less influence. Ultimately, analysis of the mayor-chief of staff gender pairings — male mayor-female chief of staff; female mayor-female chief of staff; male mayor-male chief of staff; female mayor-male chief of staff — show an important conclusion: Behind-the-scenes staffers drive policy agendas and policy development, and their genders have an impact regardless of the elected's gender.

These findings could have important implications for democratic representation and accountability — especially in weak mayor systems, where appointed city managers have significant influence — as well as for the ongoing debates regarding descriptive representation and substantive representation (Pitkin, 1967; Schwindt-Bayer & Mischler, 2005). While unelected staff members driving representation in process (agenda-setting) and outcome (implementation) challenges the democratic ideal of elected officials representing their constituents' interests, it also means that representation isn't necessarily limited to the population the mayor "stands for" (Pitkin, 1967; Schwindt-Bayer & Mischler, 2005; Hacker, 1951); instead, a diverse staff can lead to policy outcomes that benefit a wider constituency. The connection between descriptive representation — electeds looking like the people they represent — and substantive representation — policy outcomes that benefit women — is tenuous, falling apart with ideological and intersectional factors; which women represent whose interests? Scholars disagree over whether "standing for" women, affecting how women in leadership positions are viewed in society, is sufficient for representation (Dahlerup, 1988; Mansbridge, 1999; Schwindt-Bayer & Mischler, 2005), or whether "acting for" is true representation (Pitkin, 1967; Swers, 2002; Diamond, 1977). My results challenge

the idea that electeds must look like their constituents in order to provide substantive representation. Instead, my findings point to the chief of staff as the actor driving policy outcomes, both through hiring decisions and overseeing policy process (agenda-setting) and outcomes (implementation). Further, my results point to a democratic advantage in having more women staffers, who, according to these results, produce more neutral policy. These results could change the importance scholars place on descriptive representation, and alter scholars' approach to studying substantive representation. They could also challenge the approach scholars take to studying American democracy.

This thesis begins with a review of the literature on: mayoral power and agenda-setting; women's representation, including descriptive and substantive representation; the role of staff in policymaking; and women's roles and experiences in policymaking and intersectionality. Next, this thesis presents hypotheses, and details of data collection and operationalization. After that are results, first on the link between chief of staff gender and senior policy staff gender, and second on the influence of policy staff gender on policy. This thesis ends with a discussion of how the gender of mayors, chiefs of staff and policy outcomes are related, as well implications behind these findings — implications for the study of representation, for women working in government, and for democracy and representation in the context of power among appointed chiefs of staff and city managers. Finally, this thesis offers a concluding summary.

2. Literature Review

Mayors are viewed as the locus of political power at the local level. In cities, mayors are the most visible politician, with their recognition among constituents far outpacing fellow council members (Kweder, 1965). Thus, mayors are the most prominent politician in the city: "… it is taken for granted that he has the most power and thus the capacity to act vigorously in the solution of the city's problems great and small" (Kuo, 1973, p. 620). Scholars also attribute policymaking and implementation power to the mayor: "Given the difficulties and delays involved in administrative reorganization or institutional change, the best hope for the city in the short-run lies in this powerful instrument [strong democratic leadership]. In most cities the mayors will have the prime responsibility" (Pressman, 1972, p. 511). The literature agrees that mayors play a significant role in development and implementation of policy, regardless of whether they are elected in a mayor-council system (strong mayor who serves as executive of the City Council and City departments) or council-manager system (weak mayor with a city manager) (Kweder, 1965; Pressman, 1972; Kuo, 1973; Wikstrom, 1979; Svara, 1987; Morgan & Watson, 1992; Morgan & Watson, 1995; Zhang & Feiock, 2009).

Going beyond citizen perception, Svara (1987), who writes extensively about mayoral power, aptly distills the typical mayor's roles into four dimensions and 11 elements that help clarify mayoral power in agenda-setting and affecting urban policy (Table 1). First, mayors have ceremonial and presiding duties for the City Council, including acting as spokesperson for the Council and presiding officer during meetings. Second, mayors are communicators and facilitators, helping to educate the public; liaising between the Council and manager if

the city has a manager; and building consensus on the legislative body. Third, the mayor has organization and guidance duties, setting goals for the city; maintaining relationships among the Council and city manager; helping to develop and coalesce support for policy programs. Fourth, the mayor is the city's promoter, internally rallying the bureaucracy to act, and externally championing investment and positive action in the city (Svara, 1987). Table 1 details these dimensions and elements to better understand the importance of a mayor's role to a city.

Morgan and Watson (1992, 1995) further categorize these mayoral roles into formal and informal power. Formal powers are written into a city charter, and include delivering an annual State of the City address; making appointments to boards and departments; and veto power. Informal powers include acting as the ceremonial representative for the city; acting as the city's representative at the state capitol; and representing the city in the media (Morgan & Watson, 1992). With informal powers supplementing formal powers, "mayors appeared to be much more prominently positioned to affect municipal affairs" (Morgan & Watson, 1992, p. 442).

Mayors affect municipal affairs through setting agendas that identify priorities addressing issues their cities face, with an emphasis on responding to constituent concerns. Early literature regarding mayoral impact on urban policies viewed business elites and social and economic interests as the main drivers of urban policy (Press, 1962; Salisbury, 1964; Wolman, et al, 1996). These drivers were viewed as outside of political control, painting a picture of a reactive urban government rather than proactive agenda-setting (Press, 1962; Salisbury, 1964). But later studies found that cities' policy priorities change — measured in the form of budget allocations — when new mayors are elected (Wolman, et al, 1996;

Table 1	**Svara, 1987, p. 215**

Roles and Dimensions of Mayoral Power

Roles are identified by numbers 1-11
Dimensions are indicated by letters A-D

A. Ceremony and Presiding
    1. Ceremonial tasks
    2. Spokesman for council
    3. Presiding officer

B. Communication and Facilitation
    4. Educator: informational and educational tasks vis-à-vis council, manager, and/or public.
    5. Liaison with manager: promotes informal exchange both ways between the council and the manager and staff.
    6. Team leader: coalescing the council, building consensus, and enhancing group performance.

C. Organization and Guidance
    7. Goal setter: setting goals and objectives for council and manager, identifying problems, establishing tone for the council.
    8. Organizer: stabilizing relationships, guiding council to recognition of its roles and responsibilities, defining and adjusting the relationship with the manager.
    9. Policy advocate: developing programs, lining up support for or opposition to proposals.

D. Promotion
    10. Promoter: promoting and defending the city, seeking investment, handling external relationships, securing agreement among parties to a project.
    11. Directing staff: Giving orders to staff, directing the manager, expediting action by staff.

Gerber & Hopkins, 2011), indicating that mayors do indeed affect municipal affairs. Like any elected office, mayors have supporters, contributors and interest groups that have a stake in seeing their candidate in office and expect delivery on campaign promises and mutual priorities, and also have local media coverage influencing their decisions (Press, 1962; Smith, 1995; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). But at the local level, constituents also hold significant influence.

Distinct from other elected officials, mayors and chiefs of staff interviewed for this study emphasized their easy accessibility for constituents, which makes them intimately aware of public concerns and sensitive to responding to constituent feedback. In a survey for U.S. Conference of Mayors (Boston University Initiative on Cities, 2015), mayors explained how constituents most judge them on the issues that are highly visible locally, such as the quality of streets. While street and road maintenance is suffering nationally due to inadequate funding from state and local sources that have historically paid for road maintenance, constituents look to mayors for solutions — not state legislatures or U.S. Congress (Boston University Initiative on Cities, 2015). This demonstrates the influence constituents have over local elected officials: According to the survey, relationships between mayors and state and national elected officials are strained over such issues, because mayors are held accountable when they have little control over that funding (Boston University Initiative on Cities, 2015). Rutland and Aylett (2008), in their analysis of Portland, Oregon's climate change policies, demonstrate how stakeholder-led lobbying of the City Council led to two innovative carbon reduction and energy efficiency policies in 1979 and 1993. "In response to combined pressure from diverse constituencies [local business, ratepayers, and environmental groups], Portland passed the first municipal energy policy in 1979" (Rutland & Aylett, 2008, p. 635).

In another instance, also in Portland, Oregon, Gail Shibley, chief of staff for the mayor, in an interview explained how constituent lobbying successfully directed the mayor's policy agenda. A propane terminal was proposed for the city, and the mayor was initially in favor of the project. As a policy advisor worked to get the necessary permits for the project, a network of environmentalists expressed to her displeasure about the mayor's support for the terminal; she encouraged them to get involved in the process. Soon, the lobbying

opposed to the terminal was overwhelming, and led the mayor to change his mind and not support the propane terminal proposal. From there, the positive reinforcement from the environmental community made the mayor more willing to take on bold environmental initiatives, such as adopting the nation's strongest policy limiting fossil fuel infrastructure (G. Shibley, personal communication, October 29, 2015). As Rutland and Aylett (2008) explain, when actor networks influence urban policy, "all of these energies were eventually harnessed to a common objective, as different interests were translated into support for [a single policy]" (p. 638). Mayoral agendas in particular are influenced by coalitions of residents and stakeholders who lobby their leaders — particularly accessible at the local level.

Mayoral priorities are heavily influenced by constituents, who view the mayor as the most powerful politician in the city (Rutland & Aylett, 2008; Boston University Initiative on Cities, 2015; Morgan & Watson, 1992; Kweder, 1965; Pressman, 1972). Kuo (1973) tests the effectiveness of mayoral power, and finds that policies supported by the mayor — the policy proposals behind which he or she throws political power — are successfully adopted at a far higher rate than policies without mayoral support. This power exists in both mayor-council (strong mayor) and council-manager (weak mayor) systems, making mayors effective policy leaders even when the day-to-day administration is carried out by an appointed city manager (Kweder, 1965; Pressman, 1972; Kuo, 1973; Wikstrom, 1979; Svara, 1987; Morgan & Watson, 1992, 1995; Zhang & Feiock, 2009). Mayors of council-manager systems in large cities have more significant roles in policymaking than in smaller cities, although even in small cities the mayor's opinion about policy carries weight in Council decision-making and public opinion (Kweder, 1965; Wikstrom, 1979; Morgan & Watson, 1995). While the city manager is an "integral, if not dominant actor in the policymaking process" (Wikstrom,

1979, p. 275), his or her policies must remain congruent with the elected body (Kweder, 1965; Wikstrom, 1979; Zhang & Feiock, 2009). Mayors' visible political leadership and important role in setting goals, mobilizing support for policies, and advocating for support or opposition places them in a unique leadership position, allowing them to play an important role in agenda-setting, and urban policy development and implementation, even in weak mayor systems (Kweder, 1965; Wikstrom, 1979; Svara, 1987; Zhang & Feiock, 2009).

Mayors are in a unique leadership position that connects them closely to constituent concerns, but the literature on gender and representation argues that accessibility isn't sufficient for representation; instead, "standing for" — descriptive representation — and "acting for" — substantive representation — are critical for meaningful representation. Descriptive representation is the idea that elected representatives share physical characteristics with their constituents. This form of representation becomes particularly relevant among marginalized groups, whose opportunities or interests could be — and likely will be — ignored, unconsidered, or dismissed by the majority (Schwindt-Bayer & Mischler, 2005; Hacker, 1951). Scholars disagree about whether descriptive representation actually leads to substantive representation, which describes policy outcomes that benefit women. In Pitkin's (1967) seminal work on representation, she constructs an integrated model that connects several forms of representation, including descriptive and substantive. Pitkin distinguishes between representatives "standing for" — "a phenomenon which may be accomplished equally well by inanimate objects" (Pitkin, 1967, p. 11) — and "acting for," or representation as an activity (Pitkin, 1967, p. 114). In Pitkin's view, descriptive representation is not true representation; it places representatives in legislative bodies, but carries no inherent implication about actually acting for the constituency whose characteristics they

mirror. Later scholars argue that "standing for" plays an important role in political and social culture and agenda-setting (Dahlerup, 1988; Mansbridge, 1999; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008). As Mansbridge (1999) argues, "The deeper the communicative chasm between a dominant and a subordinate group, the more descriptive representation is needed to bridge that chasm" (p. 643).

Schwindt-Bayer and Mischler (2005) further disagree with Pitkin, finding in their modeling that having more women in an elected body does in fact increase representatives' responsiveness to women's policy concerns. Their findings are supported by studies showing that within gender quota systems, which have higher levels of descriptive representation, women legislators introduce far more bills than male colleagues, and their bills are most often concerned with women's issues (Kerevel & Atkeson, 2013; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008; Swers, 2002; Krook, 2010; Krook, 2006). While those facts could point to a conclusion that women are marginalized within legislators, relegated by their colleagues to their gender role, it also points to women's high levels of competency with the power and resources available to them (Swers, 2002; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Swers (2002) notes that in U.S. Congress, female legislators effectively represent women's issues at the committee level, where the bulk of the bill takes shape. For instance, female Republicans helped moderate conservative bills on abortion, welfare reform, and other issues traditionally associated with women, demonstrating that a female presence in the policymaking process helped create outcomes more beneficial for women (Swers, 2002). Schwindt-Bayer and Mischler also point out that women's tendency to trust legislative bodies, despite the dominance of male representatives and historical inequality in policy outcomes, further indicates that policy responsiveness, or substantive representation, isn't as key for representation as Pitkin argues.

Still, although "standing for" may be sufficient, "acting for" remains critical for women's representation; while more women political representatives can change the perception of women, policy outcomes at the local, state and national level can change their lives (Pitkin, 1967; Schwindt-Bayer & Mischler, 2005; Dahlerup, 1988; Morgan, 2003).

The substantive representation literature focuses on elected officials, but other women can be integrally involved in shaping those life-changing policy outcomes — namely senior staff who advise representatives and shape the policies the representative ultimately approves. Policy staff in an elected official's office play a distinct role from other political actors (Maley, 2000; Eichbaum & Shaw, 2010a; Eichbaum & Shaw, 2010b). As Maley (2000) describes: "[Policy] advisers cannot be viewed as peripheral actors in policymaking. The work of very active individuals located so close to decision-makers can have an effect on policy process and policy outcomes" (Maley, 2000, p. 468). Policymaking describes the process leading up to the final decision, shaping policy outcomes by navigating political actors and environments (Maley, 2011). Maley's (2000) typology aptly classifies policy advisors' role into five categories: helping to craft and set the elected's agenda; linking ideas, interests and opportunities to best advance the agenda; mobilizing support for agenda items; bargaining on policy matters with fellow elected and other political actors; and delivering, which means bringing together all four elements — agenda-setting, linking, mobilizing, bargaining — to successfully advance agenda items. Senior policy staff play an integral role in developing both the elected's agenda and policy proposals.

Professionalized senior staff who play these five integral roles for an elected are a relatively new phenomenon (Eichbaum & Shaw, 2010b), perhaps explaining the lack of literature on how staff gender impacts elected's agenda and policy outcomes. In Canada, for

instance, policy staff in ministers' offices grew from five in the 1940s, to 12 in the 1970s, to nearly 100 in the 1990s (Aucoin, 2010). Pressman (1972) finds that adequate staff, who provide information and leverage tools available to mayors, is a critical piece of achieving ideal representation for a mayor. Eichbaum and Shaw (2010b) argue that "the advent of political staff in executive government may be viewed as an institutional change designed to effect a movement along the continuum between," on one end of the continuum, the ability of government officials to do their work expertly and without the influence of personal or party bias, and, on the other end of the continuum, political policymaking influenced by electoral mandate (Eichbaum & Shaw, 2010b, p. xxi). Thus, Eichbaum and Shaw argue that politics play a greater role in policymaking, requiring staffs of experts in both topic areas and political landscape to produce the best agenda and develop the best policy.

The institutional change is in part due to changing political culture. Fawcett and Gay (2010) identify three reasons for the change: "the professionalization of politics; a lack of confidence and trust in the permanent civil service; and the need to respond to a 24-hour media environment" (Fawcett & Gay, 2010, p. 14). In this new environment, "the number and wide range of sources for policy advice have created an active marketplace for ideas in American politics" (Peters, 2010, p. 157), professionalizing the role of policy staffer to balance the values of expert, unbiased work with political considerations (Peters, 2010; Eichbaum & Shaw, 2010b). In this new, more demanding political environment, policy staff play an integral role in both developing and advancing an elected's agenda. Their role in agenda-setting, linking, mobilizing, bargaining and delivering could mean that policy advisors play a significant role in shaping policy outcomes that can provide substantive representation — regardless of the elected's gender, but possibly because of staff gender.

The role of policy staff in shaping agendas and policy proposals highlights a key nuance in the substantive representation literature: process versus outcome (Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008). Through the *process* of substantive representation, women representatives change the political agenda — important in having women's issues seen as relevant for the legislative body, but which doesn't necessarily result in policy (Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008; Hacker, 1951; Swers, 2002). Only after women lawmakers pass legislation do they provide substantive representation as an *outcome* (Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008). This distinction is important in understanding how women could potentially provide representation — not just as implemented policies, but also through agenda-setting and policy development.

There is not consensus on whether women in political power lead to substantive representation, but the literature has looked exclusively at elected officials, not staff. According to the literature, women as a group don't tend to demonstrate gender solidarity, either as voters or as representatives (Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007; Diamond, 1977; Schwindt-Bayer & Mischler, 2005). Women legislators, rather than identifying their priorities as gender-based, tend to say they act for all of their constituents rather than just for women (Diamond, 1977; Childs, 2004; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008). Further, women who are elected still must work within a patriarchal system that is not necessarily female-friendly, advantaging legislators with political resources and party seniority, which favors men who are long-serving and/or who fit the gender role associated with leadership (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Childs, 2004; Swers, 2002; Kerevel & Atkeson, 2013; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008). As Swers argues regarding the U.S. Congress, "…simply increasing the number of women and other minorities in Congress will not automatically lead to enhanced influence on policy design, since presence in the institution does not directly translate into power over legislative

outcomes" (p. 133). Indeed, Dahlerup (2014) argues that "process" and "outcome" — influencing the agenda and enacting law — aren't enough for substantive representation. She argues that until the patriarchy that hinders women's access to elite positions is changed, challenging male domination, substantive representation hasn't occurred.

Scholars have challenged all-or-nothing approaches to representation, leaving space to further reconsider *who* provides substantive representation within an administration; perhaps not just the elected. Studies have consistently found that the substantive representation as process — agenda-setting — can have a positive impact on women's representation (Beckwith, 2014; Kerevel & Atkeson, 2013; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008; Swers, 2002; Dahlerup, 1988). For instance, as previously noted, legislative bodies with more female representatives see those legislators introducing bills that focus on women's interests (Kerevel & Atkeson, 2013; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008). While only a small percentage of those bills become law, the deliberative process raises awareness about women's issues among both male colleagues and the electorate. Women's numbers can also matter for other minorities. Women with intersectional characteristics — a lesbian, a woman of color, a religious minority — can raise awareness about inequality in general, again affecting political culture (Htun, 2014; Mansbridge, 1999; Dahlerup, 1988). Just as women are able to inform policy outcomes by being involved in and representing women's views in the policymaking process, women with intersectional traits are able to inform policy from, for instance, a gay person's or person of color's perspective as "surrogates" (Swers, 2002; Htun, 2014). Thus, surrogate policymakers (Htun, 2014) play an important role in ensuring more perspective are considered in policy development. While that surrogate representative isn't fully descriptive, she can at least remind colleagues in lawmaking institutions that diverse views should be

considered, potentially leading to policy that is more equitable among diverse and intersectional groups (Htun, 2014; Mansbridge, 1999; Swers, 2002).

Scholars have also found that numbers matter: More women representatives active in elected bodies can help change political and social attitudes about the abilities of women leaders; the literature hasn't explored the impact of women in senior political staff positions on political and social attitudes (Valdini, 2013; Dahlerup, 1988; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008; Swers, 2002; Mansbridge, 1999; Childs, 2004). For example, Dahlerup (1988) found that the size of a female minority in legislative assemblies can impact political culture. In Scandinavian assemblies, from the local to national level, she found attitudes toward female leaders changed once women became a large minority, with at least one woman on every council in the country. Challenging negative conclusions about the significance of a critical mass of women (Childs, 2004; Diamond, 1977), Dahlerup argues that as a matter of practicality, more women in the legislature provides better representation for women: "It is not possible to conclude that the removal of the open resistance against women politicians derives solely from their increased numbers today. … However, the presence of women politicians in great numbers does make it seem rather hopeless to try to remove women from the public sphere today. So numbers do count" (Dahlerup, 1988, p. 285). Further, beyond changing perceptions of women's leadership abilities, more women in leadership positions creates the network and political resources other women need to access elite positions such as mayoral staff, helping more women access more powerful positions — a self-perpetuating cycle of access (Krook & O'Brien, 2012; Jalalzai, 2008; Eagly & Karau, 2002).

In summary, mayors have the power to set agendas and affect municipal affairs through urban policy, and rely on their senior policy staffs to meet these demands (Kweder, 1965; Kuo, 1973; Wikstrom, 1979; Svara, 1987; Morgan & Watson, 1992; Morgan & Watson, 1995; Maley, 2000; Maley, 2011; Eichbaum & Shaw, 2010b). While mayors' accessibility connects them closely to constituents' issues (Press, 1962; Salisbury, 1964; Wolman, et al, 1996; Gerber & Hopkins, 2011; Boston University Initiative on Cities, 2015; Rutland & Aylett, 2008), the literature on gender and representation argues that accessibility isn't sufficient for representation; instead, "standing for," or descriptive representation, and "acting for," or substantive representation, are critical for meaningful representation (Schwindt-Bayer & Mischler, 2005; Hacker, 1951; Pitkin, 1967; Dahlerup, 1988; Mansbridge, 1999; Dahlerup, 2014; Beckwith, 2014). Scholars have closely examined the ways in which gender affects representatives' agendas, policies and more (Schwindt-Bayer & Mischler, 2005; Dahlerup, 1988; Mansbridge, 1999; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008; Kerevel & Atkeson, 2013; Swers, 2002; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Morgan, 2003; Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007; Diamond, 1977; Childs, 2004; Dahlerup, 2014; Beckwith, 2014; Htun, 2014; Valdini, 2013; Krook & O'Brien, 2012; Jalalzai, 2008). But they haven't looked at how the gender of staff or city manager — those who play an integral role in developing and implementing agendas and policy — affects the elected's agenda-setting and policymaking. The literature says numbers matter; more women in elected bodies make a difference in policy process and outcomes (Dahlerup, 1988; Mansbridge, 1999; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008; Kerevel & Atkeson, 2013; Swers, 2002; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Diamond, 1977; Htun, 2014; Valdini, 2013; Krook & O'Brien, 2012; Jalalzai, 2008). But scholars haven't explored whether numbers matter on

political staffs or as city manager; whether more women on a policy staff make a difference in electeds' policy process and outcomes.

I argue that the gender of an elected's staff influences the policy agenda, and specifically that the chief of staff influences the representative's agenda. In political office, the chief of staff is the elected's senior advisor on policy, and oversees the senior policy staff (Kost, 2013; Hinz, 2013; Grynbaum & Flegenheimer, 2015). In council-manager systems, the chief of staff advises and assists the mayor, while the city manager acts as the chief policymaker (Kweder, 1965; Wikstrom, 1979; Svara, 1987; Morgan & Watson, 1992). The chief of staff also in general hires the policy staff; the one exception can be at the start of a new administration, when the elected official may be more hands-on in building his or her team (Kost, 2013; Bay Area News Group, 2014; Grynbaum & Flegenheimer, 2015). As such, I argue, policy will be more masculine, neutral or feminine based on the chief of staff's gender, and not based on the elected's gender. Thus, I argue, the chief of staff's gender will drive the masculinity, neutrality, or femininity of a policy agenda more so than the elected representative's gender. Further, I argue that staff gender will affect policy in both weak and strong mayoral systems. In council-manager systems with weak mayors, I argue the gender of the city manager — chief policy maker in weak mayor systems — will drive the masculinity, neutrality or femininity of a policy agenda.

This argument challenges the traditional arguments about descriptive and substantive representation by placing much of the power to provide representation in process and outcome with the chief of staff rather than the elected. Results could have implications for how scholars view substantive representation; rather than a hurdle that must be overcome by electeds in patriarchal legislative bodies, it could perhaps be achieved with more accessible

opportunities for women to enter politics as staffers and have a meaningful impact in

providing policy outcomes that affect women's lives.

3. Data & Operationalization

The literature on gender and representation focuses on descriptive representation among elected officials and substantive representation provided by elected officials. Scholars haven't explored how the gender of senior policy staff or city managers affects substantive representation, both as process and outcome; that is, in developing policy agendas and providing policy outcomes. According to scholars, numbers matter: More women in elected bodies make a difference in policy process and outcomes. But do the women in power have to be elected officials to provide substantive representation? I argue that more women on senior policy staffs and women city managers can also provide substantive representation in process and outcome, shaping the elected's agenda and his or her policy outcomes.

First, I argue that the gender of an elected's chief of staff influences the gender of the senior policy staff, and thus influences the representative's policy agenda (Hypothesis 1).

> **Hypothesis 1:** *The gender of an elected representative's chief of staff*
>
> *will influence the gender of the senior policy staff. A female chief of staff*
>
> *will have more women senior policy staffers.*

Second, I argue that policy will be more masculine, neutral or feminine based on the chief of staff's gender, and not based on the elected's gender (Hypothesis 2). Thus, the chief of staff's gender will drive the masculinity, neutrality, or femininity of a policy agenda more so than the elected representative's gender.

> **Hypothesis 2:** *The gender of an elected representative's chief of staff*
>
> *and senior policy staff will determine the masculinity, neutrality or*
>
> *femininity of the representative's policy agenda. An agenda will be more*

masculine with male chiefs of staff, and more feminine with female chiefs

of staff.

Third, I argue that the gender of the elected will have some either counterbalancing or enabling effect on policy outcomes. That is, policy among mixed-gendered mayors and chiefs will be more neutral, and policy among same-gendered mayors and chiefs will reflect their gender — masculine policy among male mayors with male chiefs, and feminine policy among female mayors with female chiefs (Hypothesis 3).

Hypothesis 3: *Policy among mixed-gendered mayors and chiefs of*

staff will be more neutral. Policy among same-gendered mayors and chiefs

of staff will reflect their shared gender.

Fourth, I argue that staff gender will affect policy in both weak and strong mayoral systems (Hypothesis 4). I argue that in council-manager systems with weak mayors, the gender of the city manager — chief policy maker in weak mayor systems — will drive the masculinity, neutrality or femininity of a policy agenda. The chief of staff in weak mayor systems acts as a senior policy advisor, whose gender, I argue, would still affect substantive representation.

Hypothesis 4: *Staff gender will affect policy in both weak and strong*

mayoral systems. In weak mayor systems, the gender of the city manager

will determine the masculinity, neutrality or femininity of a policy

agenda.

These hypotheses challenge existing literature on descriptive representation — elected "standing for" constituents with similar physical characteristics — and substantive

representation — "acting for" women's interests — by placing much of the power of policy with the chief of staff rather than the elected.

To test my argument, I gathered data on staff and priorities from offices of the 50 mayors of the 50 most populous cities in the United States. The mayors come from strong mayor-council systems, in which the mayor is the executive who is in charge of Council and City departments, as well as from weak mayor council-manager systems, in which an appointed city manager runs day-to-day operations, but whose policies must be approved by the City Council (Morgan & Watson, 1995). Weak mayors were included because literature is clear that even in council-manager systems, mayors still have formal and informal policymaking power (Morgan & Watson, 1992, 1995; Kweder, 1965; Wikstrom, 1979; Svara, 1987). Among the 50 most populous cities in the U.S., 31 are strong mayor systems, including, in order of population: New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Philadelphia, San Diego, Jacksonville, San Francisco, Indianapolis, Columbus, Detroit, Seattle, Denver, Washington, D.C., Memphis, Boston, Nashville, Baltimore, Portland, Louisville, Milwaukee, Albuquerque, Fresno, Atlanta, Omaha, Colorado Springs, Oakland, Minneapolis, Tulsa, Cleveland, and New Orleans. And 19 are weak mayor systems, including, in order of population: Phoenix, San Antonio, Dallas, San Jose, Austin, Fort Worth, Charlotte, El Paso, Oklahoma City, Las Vegas, Tucson, Sacramento, Long Beach, Kansas City, Mesa, Virginia Beach, Raleigh, Miami, and Wichita. Appendix A lists the cities and mayors in order of population, with asterisks indicating council-manager systems.

Datasets for each of these cities include a) the gender of the senior policy staff members — only those whose role include formulating policy; assistants and managers were not counted — and b) the priorities identified in the mayors' 2015 State of the City speeches,

Table 2   **Hottman (2016)**

Gender of Mayors and Chiefs of Staff in 50 Most-Populous Cities

Mayor	Chief of Staff				Total (mayors)	
	Male		**Female**			
Male	25	50%	14	28%	39	78%
Female	5	10%	6	12%	11	22%
Total (chiefs)	30	60%	20	40%		

which are annual addresses to lay out priorities for the year. Table 2 shows the total gender

makeup of mayors and chiefs of staff in the dataset.

State of the City speeches are high-profile, annual speeches, and are a formal power

assigned solely to the mayor (Morgan & Watson, 1992). They are an excellent gauge of both

policy agenda and outcomes because, like the president's State of the Union address, elected

officials and their offices make every effort not to announce policies they can't achieve;

doing so in a high-stakes, priority-setting speech is politically costly (Edwards, 2006; Morgan

& Watson, 1992). While, as Portland Mayor Charlie Hales said, "budgets are an expression

of values," annual budgets don't provide context for resource allocation that reflects mayors'

priorities. For instance, during a nationwide uptick in gang violence in recent years, mayors

across the country identified public safety as a top priority. But that priority was expressed in

different ways. In Portland, Mayor Hales created the $2 million Mayor's Community Centers

Initiative, making community centers free for teenagers, thus removing a cost barrier for

youth to access safe recreation in order to make it more difficult for gangs to recruit new

members (Miller, 2015). While that initiative deliberately targeted gang violence, it was the

Parks Bureau that saw a $2 million boost rather than the Police Bureau. In Los Angeles,

Mayor Eric Garcetti in his State of the City announced $5.5 million for the Police

Department's gang outreach program "so we can cover new territory and 50 percent more gang-related violent crime" (Garcetti, 2015). That investment was also focused on youth outreach to curb gang violence, but was reflected more conventionally in the Police Department budget. Because a line-item budget can't express these nuances that are critical in distinguishing traditionally masculine policy from traditionally feminine policy, the State of the City address — a formal mayoral power in which priorities are identified and explained — was determined to be the best method of identifying mayoral priorities.

Within the dataset, there are a significant number of first-term mayors who didn't give 2014 State of the City speeches, so only 2015 State of the City addresses were coded. However, 2014 State of the City address were used to determine policy agendas for the incumbent mayors in the last year of their term and weren't running for reelection, and so did not identify priorities for the coming year in their 2015 State of the City speeches, and for incumbent mayors who didn't deliver their speeches until later in the year. Annual addresses detail agendas for the full year until the next State of the City address, so 2014 addresses for those incumbent mayors still reflect current policy priorities. In total, 2014 State of the City addresses were used for eight cities because the mayors were lame ducks and reflected only on past accomplishments without offering priorities (Houston, Columbus, Denver, Indianapolis, Wichita, Oklahoma City), or because their speeches were later in the year (Albuquerque, Tulsa). The El Paso mayor, in a council-manager system, does not give a State of the City address, so he was excluded from that analysis. The Jacksonville mayor was newly elected and gave an inauguration speech but not a State of the City address, so he also was excluded from that analysis. In Detroit, the mayor ad-libbed his 2015 State of the City address — largely negating staff influence over the agenda priorities identified — so his first

address as mayor from 2014 was used. Appendix A contains each mayor's policy agenda items identified in their State of the City speeches, coded according to Krook & O'Brien's (2012) framework, as well as the complete list of mayors and their genders; chiefs of staff and their genders; and, where applicable, city managers and their genders.

To determine whether policy agenda items announced in State of the City addresses are substantive representation — policy outcomes that benefit women (Dahlerup, 2014; Beckwith, 2014; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008) — I categorized agenda items according to Krook and O'Brien's (2012) characterization scheme, which factors in a) whether the topic is in the public or private sphere, and b) the topic's normative gender associations. The authors draw from feminist literature on the divide between public- and private-sphere politics. Public sphere includes topics such as the economy and wage labor, "and have been historically associated with men," and the private sphere includes topics such as health care and education, and "have been linked closely to women" (Krook & O'Brien, 2012, p. 844). "This double definition meant that the distinction was not simply about the public/private nature of the issues at hand, but also about what portfolios signified normatively in relation to traditional views on men's and women's roles" (Krook & O'Brien, 2012, p. 844). The authors coded their data as masculine, feminine or, if it wasn't normatively linked to either sex, as neutral. Table 3 lists the topic categories.

Krook and O'Brien (2012) argue that the traditionally women's issue areas aren't as prestigious as the men's, and use their framework to try to identify when women gain access to more prestigious roles. The authors convincingly demonstrate that policies can be more

Table 3		Krook & O'Brien (2012)
	Policy Areas by Gender Type	

Masculine	Agriculture, Food Safety, Fisheries & Livestock	Foreign Affairs
	Communication & Information	Government/Interior/Home Affairs
	Construction & Public Works	Industry & Commerce
	Correctional Services/Police	Labor
	Defense, Military & National/Public Security	Religious Affairs
	Enterprise	Science & Technology
	Finance & Economy	Transportation
Neutral	Civil Service	Parliamentary Affairs
	Displaced Persons & Expatriates	Public Works
	Energy	Planning & Development
	Environment & Natural Resources	Regional
	Housing	Reform
	Justice	Sports
	Minority Affairs	Tourism
Feminine	Aging/Elderly	Health & Social Welfare
	Children & Family	Heritage
	Culture	Women's Affairs
	Education	Youth

masculine or feminine, reflecting bureaucracy or private sector attentions traditionally associated with men, or social interests typically associated with women. The Portland, Oregon, case study demonstrates how changes in staff — the chief policymakers, especially — don't necessarily change the mayor's broad agenda, but can change the way policy is approached, influenced by different views and experiences. As Seattle Mayor Ed Murray said:

> A mayor, an executive, can give direction, but the development of that direction, and getting policy right as it impacts any given community or issue, is almost entirely dependent on the people you hire and the perspective they bring to it (E. Murray, personal communication, January 19, 2016).

As discussed earlier, in addition to empirical analysis, I present responses from interviews of current mayors and chiefs of staff, and one former chief of staff, from the sample of cities among the 50 most populous cities in the United States. These interviews

help provide details about staff's role in policy development and insight into staff's

interaction with mayors. They also offer insight into how mayors view their roles and their

staff's roles, supplementing the literature with practical experience. And, they corroborated

the empirical findings of this study. As I predicted, mayors and chiefs of staff verified the

staff's significant role in developing policy, as well as the gendered differences in how male

and female senior policy staff approach and develop policies. While mayors and chiefs of

staff from across the country were generally consistent in their observations, several mayors

notably distinguished between senior policy staff's process in developing policy, versus

policy outcomes: They discussed gendered differences in the steps advisors took to develop

policy content and recommendations, but didn't always connect that process with the

ultimate outcome. Indeed, mayors in particular emphasized that ultimately theirs was the

final say, stressing ownership of their agenda and policies. As Houston Mayor Annise Parker,

who has a male chief of staff, said:

> I don't think there's a difference in the type of policy proposed.
> How it's addressed may be different; how we choose to lay it out
> and maneuver it through the political process may be different. But
> I don't know that the initiatives would be different. Men and
> women bring different approaches, but that doesn't necessarily
> mean they choose different things on which to work. But I would
> agree that there's a different energy with men, and that guys tend to
> be more in-your-face and direct in moving policy initiatives
> forward. … It's not what we work on, but how we do it (A. Parker,
> personal communication, December 2, 2015).

However, other mayors and chiefs of staff noted differences in male and female

policy staff in both process and outcome, finding that in general women were more

collaborative and inclusive, providing policy that reflected diverse interests, and men were

more strong-headed and aggressive about pushing through policy, advancing initiatives that

still needed more input from colleagues, the mayor, and the community. One female chief of

staff, who oversees primarily male senior policy advisors and whose predecessor was male,

explained how policy process and outcome intersect to make thoughtful policy successful,

and rushed policy unsuccessful:

> I'm very much a collaborative type of person — 'let's talk it out' —
> which offends people. … What I find is there's a pride of
> ownership, and people are very territorial, as if I'm questioning
> them personally. I think of it as, this should have been thought-out
> and vetted, and you should've proposed all the pros and cons
> before it got to us. … I want collaboration, to have a lot of
> discussion about it, and make sure it's right and makes the most
> sense. We don't need to overthink it … but we need to be
> thorough and diligent in our approach. Right now what I'm
> finding, now that I'm chief of staff, is that there were a lot of policy
> decisions that were made that are starting to unravel because no
> one asked the critical questions (Anonymous, personal
> communication, November 19, 2015).

While there was some inconsistency in opinions on policy process versus outcome in

mayoral offices, the interviews served their purpose in providing details about staff's role in

policy development and their relationships with their mayors; offered insight into how

mayors view their and their staff's roles; and in corroborating the empirical findings of this

study.

In summary, I argue that the masculinity or femininity of an elected's portfolio is

influenced by the policy staff — in particular the chief of staff, who hires and oversees the

policy staff — and will be more masculine, feminine or neutral based on the gender of the

chief of staff. This challenges traditional findings about descriptive and substantive

representation by identifying policymaking staff rather than the elected as the driver behind

policy development and implementation. I test this argument by analyzing both the gender

composition and policy priorities of mayoral staffs in the 50 most populous cities in the

United States.

4. Results: Policy Staff Gender

I argued that a female chief of staff will lead to more female senior policy staffers, and a male chief of staff will lead to more male senior policy staffers (Hypothesis 1). The results in my test cases support for my hypothesis (Figure 1). I ascertained the gender of the senior policy staff through searching the staff page on the mayor's website; through press releases about new hires; through press reports; or through phone interviews. Each city organizes its mayoral office differently, according to city charter and the size of the office, so I calculated the percentage of senior staff that is female as of mid-2015, not accounting for later staff turnover. For each city, chief of staff was counted among the senior policy staff, since he or she oversees policy development by the policy staff, in addition to hiring the policy staff. Further, for weak mayor systems, the city manager was counted among senior policy staff, since he or she acts as senior policymaker in council-manager systems (Kweder, 1965; Zhang & Feiock, 2009; Morgan & Watson, 1995). As Figure 1 shows, both mayor-chief of staff combinations with female chiefs have more than 50 percent female senior policy staff. Mayors, male or female, with male chiefs of staff have fewer than 50 percent female senior policy staff. On average, female mayors with female chiefs of staff have the highest percentage of female senior policy staff, with an average 73 percent.

Additionally, female mayors with female chiefs of staff in San Antonio and Las Vegas have the only female city managers among the 50 most populous cities. Male mayors with female chiefs of staff have on average 54 percent female senior policy staff. Male mayors with male chiefs of staff on average still have nearly half of their senior policy staffs female, at 45 percent. Female mayors with male chiefs of staff have the lowest average

Figure 1   **Hottman (2016)**

Average Percent Female Staff
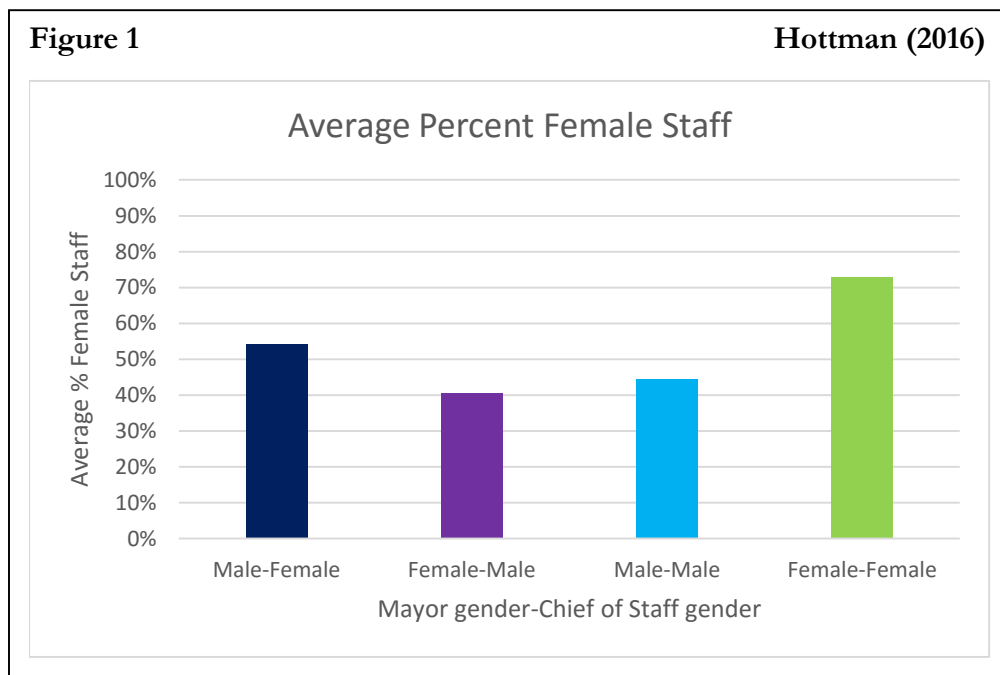
percentage of female policy staff, at 41 percent. Appendix B has a full chart of cities and the percent of their staffs that are female.

The extremes in staff composition are particularly notable: Male mayors with male chiefs of staff were the only pairs to have 100 percent male senior policy staffers (Oklahoma City, Mesa, Virginia Beach, Colorado Springs). Likewise, female mayors with female chiefs of staff were the only pairs to have 100 percent female senior policy staffers (Las Vegas and Fresno). Senior staff in mayoral offices with mixed-gender pairings almost entirely had between 40 and 80 percent female staffers. The two outliers, Jacksonville and Chicago, were male mayors with female chiefs of staff who had low percentages of female staffers.

In Jacksonville, with 14 percent female senior policy staffers, Mayor Lenny Curry was elected in 2015, and announced his chief of staff in June (Monroe, 2015). When electeds first take office, they tend to appoint members of their campaign teams to senior policy positions. Based on these data, it's likely that Jacksonville will follow the Portland example:

Just as Gail Shibley hired women to replace men as they departed, Kerri Stewart may hire women from her network as male policy directors depart, increasing the percentage of female policy staff over time. In Chicago, Mayor Rahm Emanuel has just 33 percent female policy staff, but that's down from 60 percent when he first took office in 2011 and was praised for having a mostly female staff (Serio, 2011; Office of the Mayor, Chicago, 2011). Emanuel had a number of staff departures after he replaced his chief of staff in 2013, trading Theresa Mintle for Lisa Schrader, and after he reorganized staffing so his Chief of Policy and Strategic Planning, David Spielfogel, could run his reelection campaign (Hinz, 2013b; Spielman, 2014). While Mayor Emanuel's senior policy staff is in flux, it hasn't dipped below one-third women; based on these data, it is likely that as openings arise, Lisa Schrader will hire women from her network and increase the percentage again.

Data show that female chiefs of staff have more women on their senior policy staffs. However, male chiefs of staff still have 40 percent or more women among their senior advisors — a significant number in pipeline careers, especially considering the very low number of female electeds (Fox & Lawless, 2004; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Swers, 2002). In interviews, most mayors and chiefs of staff said gender diversity was not a deliberate effort; rather, senior policy staff were hired for their areas of expertise. However, the mayors and chiefs of staff interviewed expressed different views on the impact of policy staff gender on policy outcomes. Mayors tended to emphasize equal competence among policy advisors, with the final say resting with the elected. Chiefs of staff tended to emphasize differences between male and female policy staff during the policy development process. That said, most of those interviewed said that a policy staffer's intersectionality added to policy by bringing an additional perspective.

Mayors in particular were quick to say that there wasn't necessarily a link between gender and policy, but rather a link between expertise and policy. Mayor Hales, in Portland, articulated the point shared by most mayors interviewed:

> Sometimes male staffers' policy proposals will be more aggressive, bold, confrontational, but not always. I'm not sure if its gender so much as association. My planning staff lead is a planner, and a woman. She gets along with planners, so she tends to produce policy proposals not in conflict with the Planning Bureau. My police liaison is a woman, and is from Police Bureau, and so tends to get along with the Police Bureau. So she tends to be less confrontational with the Police Bureau. Whereas my chief of staff is not of the bureaucracy, and is more of a political fighter by background and personality. So he tends to produce more aggressive, confrontational policy proposals (C. Hales, personal communication, October 29, 2015).

Chiefs of staff, however, in interviews readily acknowledged differences between male and female policy directors. They said that, in general, men tend to be more aggressive about pushing policy through the process quickly; tend to push back when questioned about their policies; and tend to be more uneven in their work product. Women policy staffers, on the other hand, tend to be collaborative; thorough in their vetting process; take more time to develop policy. Jason Elliot, deputy chief of staff to San Francisco Mayor Ed Lee, articulated a common theme among chiefs of staff:

> I don't think I'm breaking any ground when I tell you that the men in our office, myself included, tend to be a little more strong-headed about their opinions, and the women tend to solicit a lot more input from themselves and from the group. It's a more deliberative decision-making style (J. Elliott, personal communication, January 5, 2016).

Mayors and chiefs of staff were clear that the office's policy priorities belonged to the mayor, with a team approach to their conception and development. But they were also clear that the process of policy development was strikingly different between male and female staffers. Based on interviews and literature on female representation, it is clear that

more women on a senior policy staff means more voices, demographics, and experiences will

be considered in developing policy. I argue that because of this inclusivity, policy outcomes

from mayoral offices with female chiefs of staff will tend to be more neutral or feminine,

reflecting the public as well as private aspects of policy (Krook & O'Brien, 2012).

5. Results: Staff Gender & Policy Outcomes

I argued that female chiefs of staff would hire more female senior policy staff, and that staff composition will affect the characteristics of policy agendas (Hypothesis 2). Thus, more women on a female chief's senior policy staff will result in more feminine policy, per Krook and O'Brien's (2012) characterizations (Hypothesis 3). To determine the gender of each mayor's policy agenda, each agenda item identified in mayors' 2015 — and if necessary, 2014 — State of the City addresses was categorized according to Krook and O'Brien's characteristics, identified in Table 3: masculine, neutral or feminine. See Appendix A for individual policy priorities coded according to gender, and Appendix C for analysis of each city's policy agenda categorizations. Policy agenda items identified in a State of the City speech can be considered reflective of future policy outcomes, because it is politically costly for an elected official to identify priorities he or she cannot fulfill in a high-profile speech like State of the City (Morgan & Watson, 1992; Edwards, 2006).

I argue that the chief of staff will determine whether his or her mayor's policy characterizations are masculine, neutral or feminine, because the chief oversees and hires the policy staff (Hypothesis 2). Female chiefs tend to hire more female senior policy staffers, and male chiefs tend to hire more male policy staffers. Thus, those policy staffers will develop policy based on their experiences, and the policy agenda will reflect more masculine or feminine policy depending on whether the chief is male or female. In predicting outcomes, I hypothesize that the gender of the elected and chief of staff would either counterbalance or enable (Hypothesis 3). That is, for the opposite gendered pairs — male mayor-female chief of staff and female mayor-male chief of staff — I predicted a less gendered, more neutral

policy agenda; a mix of feminine, masculine, and neutral topics that reflect both the gender

of the decision-maker and those who develop the policy and advise in the executive's

decision. For the male mayor-male chief of staff pairing, I predicted more masculine policy,

reflecting less diversity in viewpoints. For the female mayor-female chief of staff pairing, I

predicted more feminine policy, likewise reflecting less diversity in viewpoints.

Figure 2 shows the results. On average, the characterization of the policy reflected

the chief of staff's gender. While I predicted the mayor's gender would counterbalance his or

her chief's gender in mixed-gendered administrations (Hypothesis 3), the data show that

policy agendas still tend to reflect the chief's gender. On average, most policy agendas are

masculine. As Krook and O'Brien (2012) point out, the most high-profile policy areas are

associated with traditionally masculine topics; this average likely reflects the focus on budget

and public safety among all administrations. Female mayors with male chiefs of staff had, on

average, the highest percentage of masculine policy, at 55 percent. They were followed by

male mayors with male chiefs at 52 percent. Male chief of staff combinations had the lowest

percentage of feminine policy, and male mayor-male chief pairings had the least amount of

neutral policy.

Interestingly, male mayors with female chiefs had the highest percentage of feminine

policy, at 26 percent, whereas female mayors with female chiefs of staff had the highest

percentage of neutral policy, at 34 percent. This could be explained by female-female teams

working to neutralize their femininity to appear competent both internally and externally

(Eagly & Karau, 2002; Swers, 2002; Diamond, 1977). That effort to neutralize could also

help explain why female mayors with male chiefs of staff have the highest percentage of

Figure 2   **Hottman (2016)**

Average Policy Characterizations

Percent of Total Policy Agenda (y-axis: 0% – 70%)

Legend:
- M - F
- F - M
- M - M
- F - F
- Mean

x-axis: Characterization of Policy (Male, Neutral, Female) — M, N, F

In the legend, the first letter stands for the mayor's gender (M is male, F is female) and the second letter stands for the chief of staff's gender. So, the dark blue associated with M-F represents the average policy characterizations for male mayors with female chiefs of staff.

male policy: Women electeds endeavoring to neutralize their femininity in combination with a male-driven agenda. A female chief interviewed for this study described how her office dynamic shifted after she was promoted from senior policy staff to chief of staff, replacing a male chief for a female mayor. She and the mayor are very cognizant of the effects of being a female leadership team, and that is reflected in both external and internal dynamics, which affects policy development. The chief described the mayor's words of caution when she accepted the promotion, and the criticism and disrespect she faced after she was given authority over male colleagues:

> When I took this job, the mayor said to me, 'They don't want to report to women, generally, and they definitely don't want to report to two of us.' … I'm either too emotional or too sensitive, or I'm a bitch and a bully; it's one extreme or the other. The mayor, too. She's not somebody who wears her emotions on

her sleeve. The conversations you hear about her in the community are she's … a snob, aloof. If that were a male, it would be, he's serious about government.

I had a senior staff person, a man, get up in a huff and walk out of a meeting. I was like, are you serious? And [women] are the emotional ones? I've never stormed out of a meeting, and I'm cognizant of that because we couldn't do that. Then it'd be, she's this hysterical woman. Why'd he do it? It really was, 'I'm not going to sit here and have her tell me what to do.' It never would've happened if I was a male (Anonymous, personal communication, November 19, 2016).

Appendix C shows the percentage of masculine, neutral and feminine policy for each city. In total, mayors with female chiefs of staff have the highest percentage of feminine policy and the highest percentage of neutral policy. Mayors with male chiefs of staff have the most masculine policy of all the combinations, and the smallest percentage of neutral policy.

There were few extremes in policy characterization among the 50 cities. Colorado Springs had all masculine policy; and eight cities had all masculine or neutral policy, with no feminine policy. No cities had all feminine policy or all neutral and feminine policy, although Oakland — a strong female mayor with a female chief of staff — came close with 8 percent masculine, 58 percent neutral, and 33 percent feminine policy. Five of the cities with all masculine and neutral policies — Wichita, Miami, Virginia Beach, Mesa, Tucson — not only have male mayors and male chiefs of staff, but also male city managers, supporting the hypothesis that an all-male leadership team has less diversity in viewpoints, and thus will have more masculine policy (Hypothesis 3).

Interestingly, the three other cities that had all male or neutral policy were cities with mix-gendered administrations: female mayor and male chief of staff (Raleigh), female mayor and female chief of staff (Fort Worth), and male mayor and female chief of staff (Detroit). With the presence of female leadership — chiefs of staff in Fort Worth and Detroit, in particular — these outcomes seem to be anomalies. However, I argue that the presence of a

city manager in all three cities explains why they would veer from the average (Hypothesis 4). Raleigh and Fort Worth are council-manager systems, both with male city managers. Both mayors are female, but Raleigh Mayor Nancy McFarlane has a male chief of staff, and Fort Worth Mayor Betsy Price has a female chief of staff. Detroit is a special case in which a strong mayor system was temporarily assigned an emergency city manager, after the city filed an historic Chapter 9 bankruptcy (Bomey & Helms, 2014). The emergency city manager stepped down in December 2014, after he put the city's finances in order (Helms, 2014; Bomey & Helms, 2014). With the focus on an emergency financial situation, it's not surprising that Mayor Mike Duggan's 2014 State of the City focused on government and public safety, both masculine characterizations according to Krook and O'Brien (2012). Both the mayor and emergency city manager were male; I argued that the city manager would drive the gender characterization of a policy agenda (Hypothesis 4). Thus, as expected, in Detroit the male mayor and city manager approached the issue with more masculine policy.

In Raleigh and especially Fort Worth, I argue that the male city manager led to more masculine and neutral policy (Hypothesis 4). The literature is clear that a city manager acts as chief policy advisor in weak mayor systems (Kweder, 1965; Zhang & Feiock, 2009; Morgan & Watson, 1995). In Raleigh, this means a male city manager and male chief of staff advising a female mayor; as a result, 67 percent of policy was masculine and 33 percent neutral. In Fort Worth, where a female mayor has a female chief of staff and a male city manager, policy was 83 percent masculine and 17 percent neutral. The small Fort Worth mayor's office has just two senior policy staffers: the city manager and chief of staff. According to the literature, city managers in smaller cities have more policymaking power, and Council relies more heavily on their recommendations (Kweder, 1965; Morgan & Watson, 1992; Wikstrom,

1979; Zhang & Feiock, 2009). In the two other weak mayor systems with female mayors and female chiefs (Las Vegas and San Antonio), both city managers are female — the only two female city managers among the 19 weak mayor systems in this dataset — and both have mostly neutral and feminine policy. Thus, because Fort Worth is a small city with a manager who holds significant policymaking power and is male, the mayor's policy priorities were more masculine. Las Vegas, a small city with a female mayor, chief of staff and city manager, had 56 percent neutral and feminine policies, with 44 percent characterized as masculine. San Antonio Mayor Ivy Taylor, mayor of the largest U.S. city with a weak mayor system, has a female chief and a female manager; half of her policy agenda was masculine, with 13 percent neutral, and, significantly, 38 percent feminine policies.

The outcome in Fort Worth highlights the significance in strong mayor systems versus weak mayor systems in the characterization of policy priorities, namely the strength of a city manager as chief policymaker in small cities (Hypothesis 4). There are 31 strong mayor systems and 19 weak mayor systems in this dataset. Aside from several large Texas cities (San Antonio, Dallas, San Jose, Austin) with city managers, most of the weak mayor systems are in smaller cities, with populations ranking them in the bottom 35 to 50 in this dataset. The other 31 cities are among the largest in the United States. Figure 3 shows the average policy characterizations among the strong mayor cities; they represent policy ratios similar to the full dataset, Figure 2.

There are two notable differences between the average with all the mayors and the average with just strong mayors: the percent of neutral policy among the three strong mayor systems with female mayors and female chiefs of staff, and the percentage of male mayors-

Figure 3   Hottman (2016)

In the legend, the first letter stands for the mayor's gender (M is male, F is female) and the second letter stands for the chief of staff's gender. So, the dark blue associated with M-F represents the average policy characterizations for male mayors with female chiefs of staff.
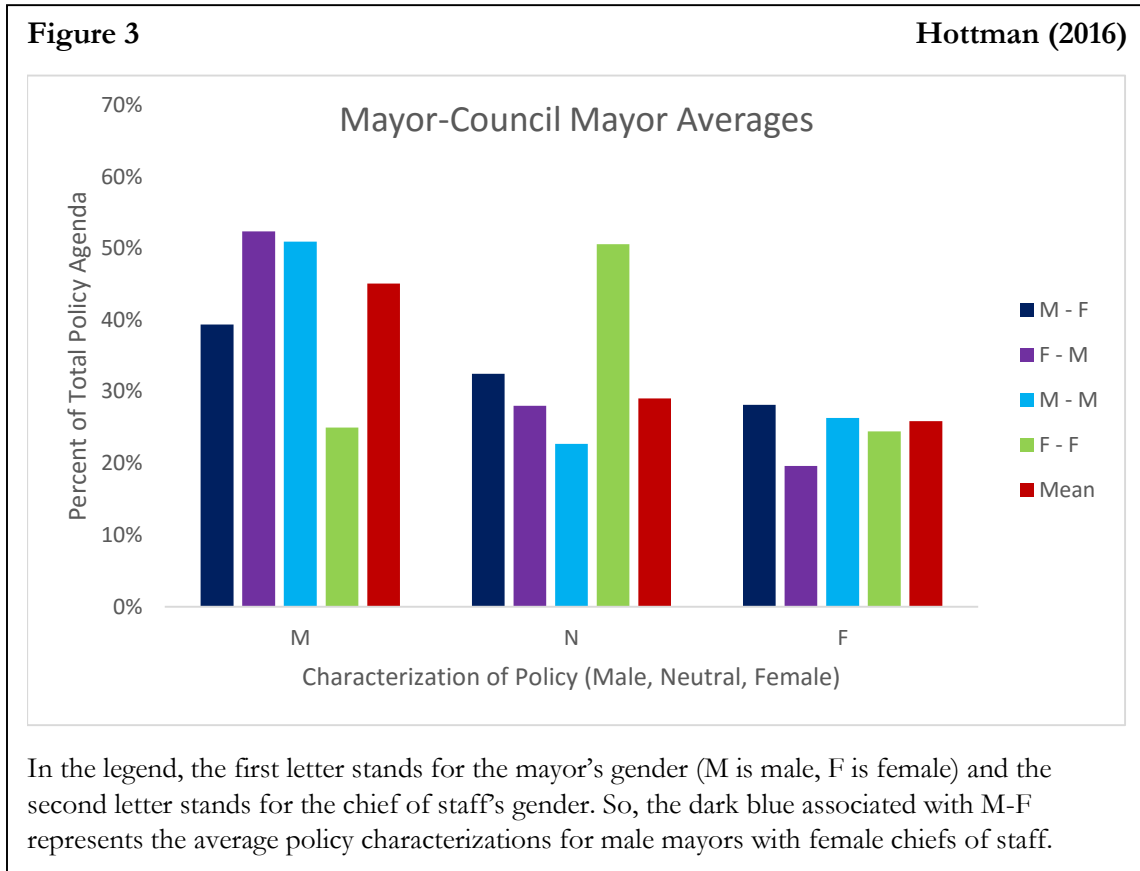
male chiefs of staff with feminine policy. First, among the three strong female mayors, nearly half of their policies on average are characterized as neutral, a 14 percent increase when weak female-female pairings — most with male city managers — are removed from the average. Their masculine and feminine policies are about equal; feminine policies are about the same as the average with all mayors, and masculine policies are about half of the average with all mayors. I argue that this reflects the earlier discussion about female leadership: Female-female teams in strong leadership positions work to neutralize their femininity to appear competent, and not overly emotional or soft (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Swers, 2002; Diamond, 1977).

Second, when weak mayors are removed from the average, the percentage of feminine policy among male-male combinations increases. In fact, feminine policy increases at least slightly in every category, whereas in most cases the other policy characterizations remain about the same. This is likely due to the fact that among the 19 weak mayor administrations in this dataset, 10 have male mayors, male chiefs, and male managers. One has a female mayor, male chief, and male city manager. One has a female mayor, female chief, and male city manager. Three have male mayors, female chiefs, and male city managers. Two have female mayors, female chiefs, and female managers. Thus, weak mayor administrations among the 50 most populous cities in the United States are disproportionately male. Larger cities with strong mayors and larger staffs are more balanced among masculine, neutral and feminine policies.

Weak mayor administrations' policies are interesting because of their disproportionate masculinity, shown in Figure 4. Pairings with male chiefs of staff and male managers have far more masculine policy than neutral or feminine; 67 percent of policy from weak female mayors with male chiefs and male managers is masculine, and they have zero feminine policy. Similarly, male mayors with male chiefs and male managers have 54 percent masculine policy, and just 13 percent feminine policy. I argue that the strong influence of two male primary policymakers (Kweder, 1965; Zhang & Feiock, 2009; Morgan & Watson, 1995) leads to policy that is heavily weighted toward traditionally masculine policy. Further, these smaller city mayors typically have smaller staffs, thus less diversity in opinion as policy is being developed. Figure 5 shows the each weak mayor administration's policy characterizations. Similar figures for each gender pairing can be found in Appendix C.

Figure 4   **Hottman (2016)**

Council-Manager Mayor Averages

In the legend, the first letter stands for the mayor's gender (M is male, F is female) and the second letter stands for the chief of staff's gender. So, the dark blue associated with M-F represents the average policy characterizations for male mayors with female chiefs of staff.
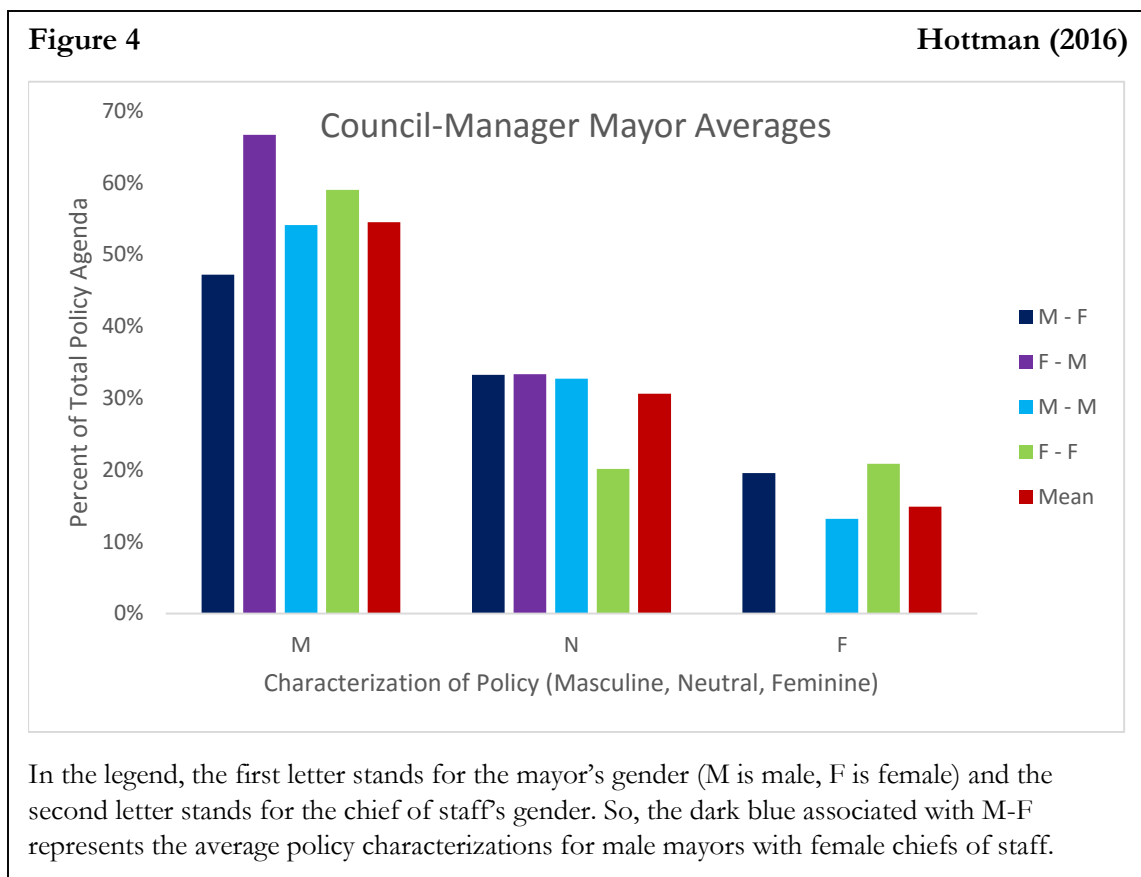
All of the cities that, as discussed earlier, had all masculine or all neutral policies are cities with male city managers: Wichita, Miami, Virginia Beach, Mesa, Tucson, Raleigh, and Fort Worth. I argue that these results are supported by the literature that finds that city managers act as senior policy staff (Kweder, 1965; Zhang & Feiock, 2009; Morgan & Watson, 1995). This is significant in the context of descriptive and substantive representation, because although the literature is clear that mayors play a major role in policymaking, regardless of the size of the city (Kweder, 1965; Pressman, 1972; Kuo, 1973; Wikstrom, 1979; Svara, 1987; Morgan & Watson, 1992; Zhang & Feiock, 2009), there's also a clear indication that an appointed bureaucrat can weigh in significantly on policy. In these cases, policy is then weighted heavily masculine, which means it takes into account more

Figure 5   Hottman (2016)

Council-Manager Mayor Priorities
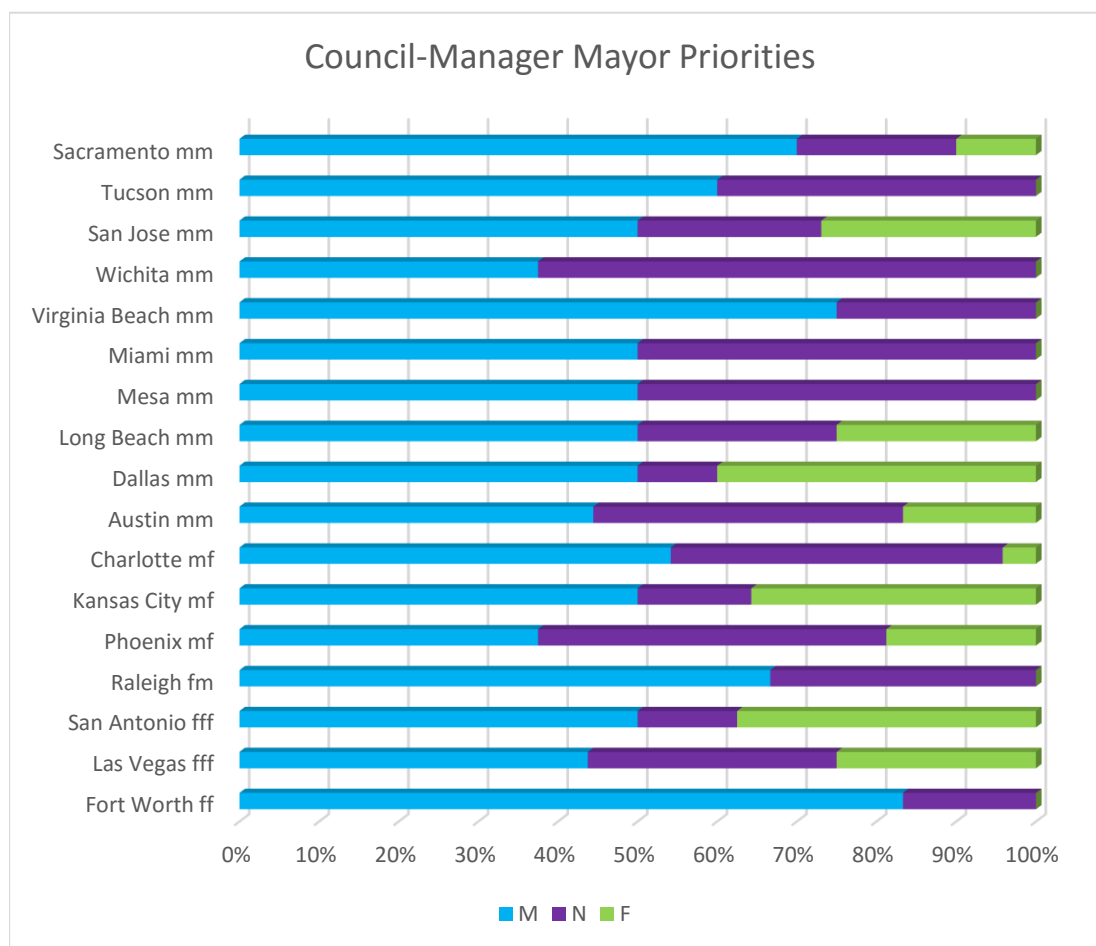
In the legend, each color corresponds with the characterization of policy: Blue is masculine policy; purple is neutral policy; and green is feminine policy. The letters next to each city indicate the gender of the mayor and chief of staff; "mm" is male mayor and male chief, "mf" is male mayor and female chief, etc. All city managers are male, except for those in San Antonio and Las Vegas, as indicated by "fff."

public sphere policies "historically associated with men," and excludes private sphere topics such as health care and education that "have been linked closely to women" (Krook & O'Brien, 2012, p. 844).

In summary, these results demonstrate a clear correlation between the gender of a mayor's chief of staff and the gender of the policy agenda. Among the 50 most populous

cities in the United States, mayors with female chiefs of staff have more neutral and feminine policy. Mayors with male chiefs of staff tend to have mostly masculine policy, with the least amount of feminine policy. When weak mayor systems are isolated, the influence of male city managers — the chief policymaker in small, council-manager cities — is striking. Policy in these small council-manager systems is disproportionately masculine among male chiefs and male managers, and have the only incidences of all masculine and neutral policy, with no feminine policy. This both highlights the significance of the city manager in weak mayor systems, as well as verifies the importance of policy staff. While the mayor is the executive and ultimately makes the final call on policy, he or she relies on senior policy staff or city managers for advice and policy development. Based on the correlation between chief of staff gender and policy, and city manager gender and policy, it's clear that policy staffers leave their mark on development and implementation of mayoral policy. I argue that these findings have implications for descriptive and substantive representation: The chief of staff gender, rather than the elected's gender, drives the gender of the senior policy staff and the gender characterization of the policy.

6. Discussion: Staff Gender, Policy Outcomes, Representation & Democracy

I argued that the gender of an elected's chief of staff influences the gender of the senior policy staff, and thus influences the representative's policy agenda. As such, I argued, policy would be more masculine, neutral or feminine based on the chief of staff's gender, and not based on the elected's gender. Thus, I argued, the chief of staff's gender would drive the masculinity, neutrality, or femininity of a policy agenda more so than the elected representative's gender. Further, I hypothesized that staff gender would affect policy in both weak and strong mayoral systems. Within weak mayoral systems, I argued the gender of the city manager — chief policy maker in a weak mayor system — would drive the masculinity, neutrality or femininity of a policy agenda. This challenges the traditional arguments behind descriptive representation — elected "standing for" constituents with similar physical characteristics — and substantive representation "acting for" women's interest, by placing much of the power of policy with the chief of staff rather than the elected.

I found substantial evidence to support my hypotheses. The literature says representatives influence the direction of policy in an elected body. In particular, the current literature holds that women representatives tend to provide substantive representation, addressing women's issues by changing the agenda through proposing policy and going through the policy process, and sometimes by policy outcomes (Diamond, 1977; Swers, 2002; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008; Kerevel & Atkeson, 2013). However, my data show that the chief of staff's gender, not the elected's gender, correlates with more female staffers and more feminine policy. Among the 50 most populous cities in the United States, female chiefs of staff have a higher percentage of female senior policy staffers in the administration than

male chiefs of staff (Hypothesis 1). Further, these data show a clear correlation between the chief of staff gender and the gender characterization of the policy agenda; the gender of the chief of staff tends to drive the gender of the policy agenda (Hypothesis 2). Among the 50 cities in the dataset, mayors with male chiefs of staff tend to have mostly masculine policy, with the least amount of feminine policy. Mayors with female chiefs of staff have more neutral and feminine policy. This outcome largely substantiated Hypothesis 3, but the outlier is important in the context of substantive representation: Female mayors with female chiefs of staff had more neutral policy, not more feminine policy, as I predicted. This demonstrates empirically what the literature on female representatives and interviews with female mayors and chiefs of staff describe: Women in leadership positions work to mute their femininity in order to be seen as leaders, since traditionally feminine characteristics don't match the characteristics traditionally associated with leaders (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Childs, 2004). In substantive representation, this means that women will neutralize potentially feminine policy priorities, which could have implications for reinforcing the patriarchal system and limiting policy outcomes that benefit women.

Finally, weak mayor administrations are disproportionately male, but those that have female leadership teams represent the opposite extreme — disproportionately female, with female mayor, chief of staff, and manager. Data show that the gender of the city manager drives the characterization of the policy agenda (Hypothesis 4), resulting in mostly male policy agendas among weak mayor systems. In small cities where city managers have far more influence (Kuo, 1973; Wikstrom, 1979; Svara, 1987; Morgan & Watson, 1992; Morgan & Watson, 1995), policy agendas are more masculine, regardless of the mayor's and chief of

staff's gender. Larger cities with strong mayors and larger staffs are more balanced among masculine, neutral and feminine policies.

There are 11 female mayors among the 50 most populous states in the U.S. Yet, only those with female chiefs of staff match the percentage of substantive representation that male mayors with female chiefs of staff achieve. In weak mayor systems, all-female leaders — mayor, chief and city manager — provide more feminine policy, but no more than the female chiefs of staff in strong mayor systems who work for male mayors. Male chiefs of staff and male city managers maintain a strong hold on policy process, resulting in higher percentages of masculine policy and lower percentages of neutral and feminine policy. My results don't find a correlation between female electeds and feminine policy; instead my results point to the chief of staff's significance in substantive representation. According to my results, female chiefs have the power and influence to achieve substantive representation, even under a male elected.

These findings could have significant implications for descriptive representation, showing that elected officials "standing for" constituents doesn't lead to policy outcomes, whereas behind-the-scenes policy directors "acting for" constituents actually lead to substantive representation (Pitkin, 1967; Schwindt-Bayer & Mischler, 2005; Dahlerup, 2014; Maley, 2000; Eichbaum & Shaw, 2010; Eichbaum & Shaw, 2010b). While Dahlerup's (1988) practical argument asserted that the number of women in power is significant because it's difficult to reduce numbers of women leaders once they've established themselves in the political sphere, the conclusion might not include all of the sources of women's empowerment. Perhaps it's the number of female chiefs of staff and policy directors that matters in order to change the patriarchy (Dahlerup, 2014). Still, these results show that with

all-women administrations, there's a risk of neutralizing femininity in order to more closely meet social expectations of a leader (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Childs, 2004) — perhaps reinforcing the patriarchy. Even with that caveat, there are 20 female chiefs of staff and 30 male chiefs of staff among the 50 most populous cities in the United States, and just 11 female mayors and 39 male mayors. Clearly chief of staff positions are more accessible to women. And, according to these results, that means 40 percent of cities tend to have more neutral and inclusive policy that doesn't favor extremes or traditionally masculine outcomes — positive trends for policy outcomes that benefit women.

If numbers matter and chief of staff gender drives substantive representation in process and outcome (Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008), pipeline jobs such as senior policy advisor are not only more accessible to women (Fox & Lawless, 2004), but also offer an opportunity to provide substantive representation without facing the extensive hurdles of being elected as a woman (Valdini, 2013; Kerevel & Atkeson, 2013; Childs, 2004). If women who work in politics feel like they are effecting meaningful policy as advisors, that could potentially be a factor in why women choose to run for office at a lower rate than men (Fox & Lawless, 2004); perhaps they have discovered that they can still produce important policies behind the scenes. Indeed, Gail Shibley, former chief of staff for Portland Mayor Charlie Hales, was the first openly lesbian representative elected to the Oregon Legislature. During her interview, she said people asked her if, as chief, she missed making a difference with policy; "I still am!" she exclaimed. These data show that she was in fact a key actor in making a difference with policy.

In interviews, mayors and chiefs of staff from across the country corroborated these findings, unanimously stating that staffs play a leading role in developing mayors' agendas,

and acknowledged that diverse staffs bring different perspectives that are important for good

policy. Shibley, the former chief of staff for the Portland mayor, said it is in fact the staff's

obligation as public servants to bring their diverse worldviews to the policy agenda:

> Staff have the opportunity, and maybe, therefore, the obligation, to
> flag, insist, demand attention on an issue that others on staff or the
> elected official may not be paying attention to. If this is done with
> motivation, intent, and skill to either improve policies or create
> policies for the good of the public, there's a tremendous
> opportunity for staff members to be powerful and effective (G.
> Shibley, personal communication, October 29, 2015).

Staff make recommendations about how to address an issue. If the mayor articulates a

priority, staff develop policy to address it. They vet each other's ideas and brainstorm

political considerations. Chiefs and mayors interviewed described the policy development

process as collaborative, with the ultimate decision on which route to pursue resting with the

mayor. Houston Mayor Annise Parker described her chief's role as helping to navigate the

policy decisions she must make. She was clear that her chief and senior policy staffers were

working to advance her agenda, but she also acknowledged the important role they play in

helping her make decisions about the array of topics a large, diverse city faces. Steve Kawa,

chief of staff for San Francisco Mayor Ed Lee, said staff determine what information the

mayor receives and how he or she receives it; how the "devil's advocate" role is played; how

robust the conversation is or how thorough the policy process is. He says:

> You can't develop good policy if people are coming at it with one
> set of experiences (S. Kawa, personal communication, January 5,
> 2016).

Current mayors and chiefs of staff from their experiences corroborate the data that largely

affirmed my hypotheses.

The influence of staff over policy process and outcome, demonstrated here empirically and anecdotally, has implications for democracy in general. Scholars since Pitkin (1967) have debated what it means for elected officials to represent constituent interests, in particular "standing for" versus "acting for." But new demands on elected officials — the professionalization of politics; the public's and politicians' lack of trust in the permanent civil service; the need to respond to a 24-hour news cycle — require them to make fast, informed decisions on an increasingly wide array of topics (Pressman, 1972; Fawcett & Gay, 2011). As such, there's a new status quo of larger, more professionalized staff who play a significant role in providing policy outcomes (Maley, 2000; Aucoin, 2010; Eichbaum & Shaw, 2010b). Elected officials are held accountable by regular, free elections. But how are often anonymous staff members, who have a tremendous impact on policy, held accountable? Arguably, they share their boss' interest in reelection. Political staffs are attached to the mayor, not the office, the way bureaucracy is. Jason Elliot, deputy chief of staff for San Francisco Mayor Ed Lee, describes his and the chief's job as anticipating what the mayor would want, and in general acting within those preference points:

> Ultimately it's always the mayor's decision. This is a mayor elected by entire city. We serve at-will; we're political appointees. All the decisions are the mayor's at the end of the day. The people who are making the … decisions, they don't get to use their own judgement. They should be anticipating the mayor's decision; if he had unlimited time, what would he do? (J. Elliott, personal communication, January 5, 2016).

But others described how policy advisor preference actually changed the mayor's ultimate agenda. As discussed earlier, Portland Mayor Charlie Hales changed his mind about supporting construction of a proposed propane terminal following constituent lobbying — lobbying that came from a policy advisor's network, even as she was working on the mayor's

original direction. Gail Shibley, the mayor's former chief of staff, discussed how the senior

policy advisor in charge of planning and sustainability developed potential approaches for

dealing with a proposed propane terminal. Since the mayor was initially in favor of the

project, the policy advisor worked to get the necessary zoning changes and permits for the

project, although she personally was opposed to it. Her network of environmentalists

expressed to her displeasure about the mayor's support for a propane terminal; she

encouraged them to get involved in the process. Soon, the lobbying opposed to the terminal

was overwhelming enough that the mayor changed his mind and decided not to support the

propane terminal — the policy advisor's preference. From there, the positive reinforcement

from the environmental community made the mayor more willing to take on bold

environmental initiatives, such as adopting the nation's strongest policy limiting fossil fuel

infrastructure — also the policy advisor's preference. This example demonstrates how staff

can have a significant impact on an elected's decision-making and policy agenda, raising

questions about democratic representation in an era that presents a multitude of demands on

an elected official. While bolstering the mayor's environmental agenda isn't nefarious,

Shibley, the Portland mayor's former chief, says staff's deep involvement in policy

development could potentially be abused:

> There's tremendous opportunity for staff to be powerful and
> effective. But at the same time, that power can also be,
> unfortunately, potentially misused if staff have personal agendas —
> whether public policy agenda or office politics — that can be
> destructive to work we're all here to do (G. Shibley, personal
> communication, October 29, 2015).

Thus, professionalized staff involved in the intricacies policy process and outcome — but

behind the scenes, rather than publically like elected officials — could challenge the

accountability of democratic representation. But, since elected officials' staff share the

representative's interest in being reelected, I would posit that there's little risk, at least among strong mayor systems.

Interestingly, while the council-manager system was at one point "hailed as America's greatest contribution to political theory" (Kweder, 1965, p. 2), it also seems to be the least democratic. In weak mayor systems, the appointed city manager does not share the mayor's interest in being reelected; he or she outlasts the elected, and the longer he or she is city manager, the more the City Council relies on the city manager's opinion (Kweder, 1965; Zhang & Feiock, 2009; Wikstrom, 1979; Morgan & Watson, 1992). This leads to the question of democracy in weak mayor systems. City manager systems are used by more than 55 percent of cities, growing from 48 percent of cities in 1996, and around one-third of small cities in 1962 (National League of Cities; Kweder, 1965). The literature finds that most often, the city manager is chief policymaker in weak mayor systems, particularly those in smaller cities. My results show that city managers are disproportionately men who are administrators in systems with disproportionately male policies, regardless of the mayor's or even chief of staff's gender. As chief policymaker, the appointed city manager holds tremendous influence over the mayor's and City Council's decision-making; indeed, Kweder (1965) in surveys found that mayors and councils prefer when city managers weigh in with strong policy recommendations to address issues. The influence a non-elected administrator holds in a council-manager system challenges democratic representation, with managers' ability to develop policy and recommend policy outcomes to councils that are reliant upon them, without the public accountability that elected officials face. The legislative process is intended to keep the unelected power in check, but my results show that city managers maintain real influence over policy agendas and outcomes, in one case leading a female

mayor and female chief of staff to have almost entirely masculine policies. Conversely, the two female mayors with female city managers and female chiefs of staff and a high percentage of feminine policies. While mayors in weak systems still influence over their agendas — particularly in large cities, where they have staffs and powers closer to strong mayors — my results show that the city manager holds significant sway over policy agendas, potentially compromising accountability and democratic representation in weak mayor systems.

These results could be construed as non-elected staff and city managers holding undue influence over policy agendas and outcomes. More optimistically, they could show that diverse and representative policy is more attainable than political scientists have traditionally thought. First, there are more staff members than elected officials, allowing for more opportunity to integrate diverse views into an office. Second, staff are appointed, not elected, so the voter biases that tend to keep minority populations out of office (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007; Krook, 2010; Valdini, 2013) can be overcome to produce more representative policy. Third, staff positions are more accessible to women, who can be more reticent to run for office without substantial experience (Fox & Lawless, 2004), or who have less of a chance at a successful run because they don't fit the traditional view of leadership (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Fourth, and importantly, chiefs and mayors interviewed emphasized that elected makes the final decision, thus staff work to operate within the elected's preference points. Those preference points are likely shared by the voters who elected the official into office, thus keeping policy staff's processes and outcomes within voters' preference points, as well.

Further, more women staffers could lead to more inclusive policy, upholding democratic ideals even as staff and city managers influence policy. Mayors and chiefs of staff interviewed for this thesis agreed that women staffers tended to be more collaborative in their policy process and outcomes; indeed, all-women leadership teams had the highest amount of neutral policy, according to my results. Additionally, Htun (2014) argues that women representatives can play the role of surrogate in an elected body, reminding leaders who represent the majority — in the United States, upper-middle-class, white, straight, Christian males — that different socioeconomic statuses, ethnicities, sexual orientations, religions and genders must be considered in policy. Gail Shibley, former chief of staff for Portland Mayor Charlie Hales, described how she views the impact of staff characteristics on policy agenda and outcomes as a bullseye: Each intersectional trait a person has — woman, gay, African-American, Muslim, etc. — removes him or her one ring from the conventional center of white, Christian, straight, upper-middle-class male. With each ring removed from that conventional center, Shibley said, the person adds that much perspective to policy development and outcomes. The positive impact she describes from her practical experience is very similar to Htun's idea of a surrogate:

> Those who are farther out from the center tend to identify with and feel some companionship with others who are on an outer ring for a different reason; they share the fact that they're not part of the inner center. I find only male gender expression or only female gender expression less central to the analysis than the alchemy of components. If you are something other than the very middle of circle, you necessarily and wonderfully bring a different perspective and viewpoint. And the more diverse array of those differences you can bring to the operation of an office … the better that office, staff, policy will be, because it will help improve the odds that it will work for everybody (G. Shibley, personal communication, October 29, 2015).

Rather than viewing chief of staff influence on policy as an issue for democracy, that influence could be viewed as an opportunity for diversity and better policy, particularly with more women on staff.

Future studies could examine how policies evolve over time, expanding the study to include earlier State of the City addresses. Additional research that delves into the how the staffs in this study addressed mutual issues, such as the national rise in gang violence or national need for transportation funding, world provide further insight into influence of staff characteristics on mayor's policy agendas. Focusing in on different approaches to mutual issues could highlight useful themes. Research looking into hiring trends would also be useful. In particular, studying how mayors choose their chiefs of staff and how chiefs choose their staffs could provide insight into who is influencing policy outcomes. Further research into how city manager gender affects mayors' policy priorities would also be useful. The literature examines city managers' power, but not in the context of different genders; as this study has shown, staff characteristics such as gender significantly impact electeds' agenda-setting and policy implementation. Finally, incorporating more intersectional traits into analysis of staff influence over electeds' policy agendas would help reveal whether diverse staff leads to more inclusive representation.

7. Conclusion

In summary, my data show that the chief of staff's gender, not the elected's gender, drives the gender of staff and the gender characterization of policy agendas. Mayors with female chiefs of staff in this dataset have more female staffers and more feminine and neutral policy agendas. Mayors with male chiefs of staff tend to have more male staffers and mostly masculine policy. City managers' gender strongly influences policy agendas in small cities; since most city managers are male, those policy agendas are more masculine, regardless of the mayor's and chief of staff's gender. Thus, professionalized staff who are involved in the intricacies policy process (agenda-setting) and outcome (implementation) have a stronger influence on policy than the public-facing elected official.

While unelected staff members driving representation in process and outcome challenges the democratic ideal of elected officials representing their constituents' interests, elected officials' staff share the representative's interest in being reelected. Further, more women staffers — who, according to these results, produce more neutral policy — could lead to more inclusive policy, upholding democratic ideals even as staff significantly influence policy.

However, while the council-manager system was at one point "hailed as America's greatest contribution to political theory" (Kweder, 1965, p. 2), it also seems to be the least democratic. In weak mayor systems, the appointed city manager does not share the mayor's interest in being reelected, yet city managers hold significant sway over policy agendas. Thus, council-manager systems potentially compromise government accountability and democratic

representation. These results could change the importance scholars place on descriptive representation, and alter scholars' approach to studying both substantive representation for women and American democracy in general.

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City, Mayor, Type of Government, Genders

City (by pop)	Mayor	Gender	Type of Government	City Manager	Gender	Chief of Staff	Gender
New York City	Bill De Blasio	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Laura Santucci	Female
Los Angeles	Eric Garcetti	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Ana Guerrero	Female
Chicago	Rahm Emanuel	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Lisa Schrader	Female
Houston	Annise Parker	Female	Mayor-Council	-	-	Christopher Newport	Male
Philadelphia	Michael Nutter	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Everett Gillison	Male
Phoenix	Greg Stanton	Male	Council-Manager	Ed Zuercher	Male	Karen Peters	Female
San Antonio	Ivy Taylor	Female	Council-Manager	Sheryl Sculley	Female	Jill Deyong	Female
San Diego	Kevin Faulconer	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Stephen Putez	Male
Dallas	Mike Rawlings	Male	Council-Manager	A.C. Gonzalez	Male	Scott Goldstein	Male
San Jose	Sam Liccardo	Male	Council-Manager	Norberto Dueñas	Male	Jim Reed	Male
Austin	Steve Adler	Male	Council-Manager	Marc Ott	Male	John-Michael Cortez	Male
Jacksonville	Lenny Curry	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Kerri Stewart	Female
San Francisco	Ed Lee	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Steve Kawa	Male
Indianapolis	Greg Ballard	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Jason Dudich	Male
Columbus	Michael Coleman	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Michael Reese	Male
Fort Worth	Betsy Price	Female	Council-Manager	David Cooke	Male	Mattie Parker	Female
Charlotte	Dan Clodfelter	Male	Council-Manager	Ron Carlee	Male	Carol Jennings	Female
Detroit	Mike Duggan	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Alexis Wiley	Female
El Paso	Oscar Leeser	Male	Council-Manager	Tommy Gonzalez	Male	Taylor Moreno	Female
Seattle	Ed Murray	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Chris Gregorich	Male
Denver	Michael Hancock	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Janice Sinden	Female
Washington, D.C.	Muriel Bowser	Female	Mayor-Council	-	-	John Falcicchio	Male
Memphis	AC Wharton	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Bobby White	Male
Boston	Marty Walsh	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Daniel Koh	Male
Nashville	Karl Dean	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Greg Hinote	Male

City (by pop)	Mayor	Gender	Type of Government	City Manager	Gender	Chief of Staff	Gender
Baltimore	Stephanie Rawlings-Blake	Female	Mayor-Council	-	-	Kaliope Parthemos	Female
Oklahoma City	Mick Cornett	Male	Council-Manager	Jim Couch	Male	Steve Hill	Male
Portland	Charlie Hales	Male	Commission	-	-	Gail Shibley	Female
Las Vegas	Carolyn Goodman	Female	Council-Manager	Betsy Fretwell	Female	NA	-
Louisville	Greg Fischer	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Ellen Hesen	Female
Milwaukee	Tom Barrett	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Patrick Curley	Male
Albuquerque	Richard Berry	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Gilbert Montano	Male
Tucson	Jonathan Rothschild	Male	Council-Manager	Michael Ortega	Male	Andrew Greenfield	Male
Fresno	Ashley Swearengin	Female	Mayor-Council	-	-	Georgeanne White	Female
Sacramento	Kevin Johnson	Male	Council-Manager	John F. Shirey	Male	Daniel Conway	Male
Long Beach	Robert Garcia	Male	Council-Manager	Patrick H. West	Male	Mark Taylor	Male
Kansas City	Sly James	Male	Council-Manager	Troy Schulte	Male	Joni Wickam	Female
Mesa	John Giles	Male	Council-Manager	Chris Brady	Male	Ian Linssen	Male
Atlanta	Kasim Reed	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Candace Byrd	Female
Virginia Beach	Will Sessoms	Male	Council-Manager	Douglas L. Smith	Male	NA	-
Omaha	Jean Stothert	Female	Mayor-Council	-	-	Marty Bilek	Male
Colorado Springs	Steve Bach	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Jeff Greene	Male
Raleigh	Nancy McFarlane	Female	Council-Manager	Ruffin L. Hall	Male	NA	-
Miami	Tomas Pedro Regalado	Male	Council-Manager	Daniel J. Alfonso	Male	NA	-
Oakland	Libby Schaaf	Female	Mayor-Council	-	-	Tomiquia Moss	Female
Minneapolis	Betsy Hodges	Female	Mayor-Council	-	-	John Stiles	Male
Tulsa	Dewey Bartlett, Jr	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Jarred Brejcha	Male
Cleveland	Frank Jackson	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Ken Silliman	Male
Wichita	Carl Brewer	Male	Council-Manager	Robert Layton	Male	NA	-
New Orleans	Mitch Landrieu	Male	Mayor-Council	-	-	Brooke Smith	Female

Cities; Mayor, Chief of Staff, Manager Gender; Coded Policy Priorities[1]

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral* (N), feminine (F)]	M	N	F
New York City		1	build *affordable* housing (housing, children & family, construction & public works)	1/3	1/3	1/3
Bill De Blasio	(male)	2	*prevent displacement, homelessness*, especially among seniors and veterans (aging/elderly, health & social welfare, housing)		1/2	1/2
Laura Santucci	(female)					
N/A		3	support growth with better infrastructure (transportation)	1		
				44%	**28%**	**28%**
Los Angeles		1	Clean Streets *Initiative* (health & social welfare; public works)		1/2	1/2
Eric Garcetti	(male)	2	grow LAPD metro, DV, gang divisions, new relationship-based policing div (police & public security; health & social welfare)	1/2		1/2
Ana Guerrero	(female)					
N/A		3	Summer Night Lights gang prevention pgm (public security; youth; health & social welfare)	1/2		1/2
		4	infrastructure, ride-sharing improvements (transpo, construction & public works)	1		
		5	data-sharing partnership with Waze app (enterprise, science & tech)	1		
		6	raise minimum wage (labor; health & social welfare)	1/2		1/2
		7	*$1M for affordable housing* (housing)		1	
		8	*reduce water use* (enviro & natural resources)		1	
				44%	**31%**	**25%**
Chicago		1	infrastructure (transportation)	1		
Rahm Emanuel	(male)	2	economic development (enterprise, industry & commerce)	1		
Lisa Shrader	(female)	3	education			1
N/A		4	*immigration* (displaced persons)		1	
		5	*public* safety (correctional services/police, minority affairs)	1/2	1/2	
		6	*reforming city hall* (reform)		1	
		7	arts (culture)			1
				36%	**36%**	**29%**

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral* (N), feminine (F)]	M	N	F
Houston			**2014 SOTC, because with 2015 she's lame duck, last term, no priorities			
Annise Parker	(female)	1	grow economy (finance & eco, industry & commerce)	1		
Christopher Newport	(male)	2	rebuild *infrastructure* (transpo, public works, planning & dev)	1/2	1/2	
N/A		3	reduce crime (correctional services/police)	1		
		4	partner with state and county (gov't affairs)	1		
		5	*green the city* (enviro & natural resources)		1	
		6	reduce homelessness (health & social welfare)			1
		7	*embrace diversity* (minority affairs)		1	
				50%	**36%**	**14%**
Philadelphia		1	new economic opportunities in health care, innovation and energy, clean tech, manufacturing (finance & economy, labor)	1		
Michael Nutter	(male)					
Everett Gillison	(male)	2	expand airport (finance & economy)	1		
		3	reduce crime (public security)	1		
		4	improve education by expanding charter schools, full school district funding (education)			1
				75%	**0%**	**25%**
***Phoenix**		1	*pension reform* (reform)		1	
Greg Stanton	(male)	2	*converting to LED streetlights* (energy)		1	
Karen Peters	(female)	3	*watershed restoration* (enviro & natural resources)		1	
Ed Zuercher	(male)	4	Phoenix Innovation Games (enterprise)	1		
		5	improve business relations with Mexico (industry & commerce; finance & econ)	1		
		6	Opportunity Youth committee (education; youth)			1
		7	in-state tution *for Dreamers* (minority affairs, education)		1/2	1/2
		8	implement transpo plan (transpo)	1		
				38%	**44%**	**19%**

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral* (N), feminine (F)]	M	N	F
***San Antonio**		1	workforce development (labor, education);	1/2		1/2
Ivy Taylor	(female)	2	improve business relationship with Mexico (industry & commerce; finance & economy)	1		
Jill Deyong	(female)	3	improve transpo, *pipe infrastructure* (transpo, public works, planning & dev)	1/2	1/2	
Sheryl Sculley	(female)	4	promote sense of unity (culture)			1
				50%	**13%**	**38%**
San Diego		1	*invest in neighborhood* infrastructure (planning & dev, construct & public works)	1/2	1/2	
Kevin Faulconer	(male)	2	improve 1st-resp response time (police, public sec)	1		
Stephen Putez	(male)	3	expand homeless shelter services (health & social welfare)			1
N/A		4	double free wifi in Balboa Park (science & technology)	1		
		5	*develop Climate Action Plan* (enviro & natural resources)		1	
		6	*drought protection* (enviro & natural resources)		1	
		7	gov't transparency (science & tech)	1		
		8	fix streets (transpo)	1		
		9	*dev stadium/convention center* (sports, tourism)		1	
		10	triple broadband speeds at libraries (science & techn, children & fam)	1/2		1/2
		11	education			1
				45%	**32%**	**23%**
***Dallas**		1	GrowSouth (finance & economy)	1		
Mike Rawlings	(male)	2	*Trinity* Parkway (planning & dev; transpo)	1/2	1/2	
Scott Goldstein	(male)	3	education funding (education)			1
A.C. Gonzalez	(male)	4	support city's arts, culture (culture)			1
		5	enter international market (industry & commerce; finance & economy)	1		
				50%	**10%**	**40%**

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral* (N), feminine (F)]	M	N	F
***San Jose		1	"safer city," expand community services officers pgm (public security)	1		
Sam Liccardo	(male)	2	use analytics software (public security)	1		
Jim Reed	(male)	3	*install LED street lights (energy)*		1	
Norberto Dueñas	(male)	4	enforce against school truancy (education)			1
		5	job pgm for at-risk youth (education, labor)	1/2		1/2
		6	"learning," add library hours (education)			1
		7	*reading partners (civil service)*		1	
		8	expand wifi (science & tech),	1		
		8	after-school pgms (youth)			1
		10	*"homeless," affordable housing (housing)*		1	
		11	work opportunities (labor)	1		
		12	"manufacturing and jobs" (labor, finance & economy)	1		
		13	BART (transportation)	1		
				50%	23%	27%
***Austin		1	*regional* mobility plan (transpo, regional)	1/2	1/2	
Steve Adler	(male)	2	work options, ride options to reduce rush hour congestion (transpo, labor)	1		
John-Michael Cortez	(male)	3	*new resources for affordable housing (housing)*		1	
Marc Ott	(male)	4	*tax cut for homeowners (housing)*		1	
		5	expand education opportunity for better jobs (education, labor)	1/2		1/2
		6	permitting backlog (government)	1		
		7	committee to address health disparities (health & social welfare)			1
		8	*housing homeless vets (housing)*		1	
		9	electronic records (science & technology; government)	1		
				44%	39%	17%

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral* (N), feminine (F)]	M	N	F
Jacksonville			N/A, just elected; priorities from campaign literature but not included in results			
Lenny Curry	(male)	1	*more police officers (public security)*	1		
Kerri Stewart	(female)	2	enhance after-school pgm (education, youth)			1
N/A		3	require developers receiving affordable housing subsidies to provide services to residents (health & social welfare)			1
		4	empower Neighborhood Department (government)	1		
		5	ex-offender re-entry pgm (health & social welfare)			1
		6	reduce gov't regs for business (enterprise)	1		
		7	trim pgms not meeting success metrics (government)	1		
		8	*market Jacksonville for sports, tourism (sports, tourism)*		1	
		9	education			1
				44%	11%	44%
San Francisco		1	*increase down payment assistance pgm by $100M over 10 yrs (housing)*		1	
Ed Lee	(male)	2	*Accelorator Fund for Housing (housing)*		1	
Steve Kawa	(male)	3	universal summer pgm, after-school pgm (education, youth)			1
N/A		4	40 new light rail vehicles for Muni (transpo)	1		
		5	Muni for low-income, seniors, disabled (transpo, elderly, health & social welfare)	1/2		1/2
		6	women's empowerment (women's affairs)			1
		7	*500 units for homeless (housing)*		1	
		8	*end chronic homelessness for vets (housing)*		1	
		9	Project 500 (children & family)			1
				17%	44%	39%

City, Mayor, COS, Manager		2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral* (N), feminine (F)]		M	N	F
Indianapolis		**2014 SOTC, because with 2015 he's lame duck, last term, no priorities				
Greg Ballard	(male)	1	Safetown system (public security, science & technology)	1		
Jason Dudich	(male)	2	adding officers (public security)	1		
N/A		3	gun control (public security)	1		
		4	early education grants (education)			1
		5	add pre-K info to school guide (education)			1
		6	Rebuild Indy 2 (transpo)	1		
		7	*$1M to health center (planning & dev)*		1	
		8	Business Acceleration Team (finance & economy)	1		
		9	business incubator (enterprise)	1		
		10	Global Indy (industry & commerce; enterprise)	1		
				70%	**10%**	**20%**
Columbus		**2014 SOTC, because with 2015 he's lame duck, last term, no priorities				
Michael Coleman	(male)	1	Columbus Global Connect (industry & commerce, finance & economy)	1		
Michael Reese	(male)	2	Columbus Idea Foundry (enterprise)	1		
N/A		3	health services for Franklinton neighborhood (health & social welfare)			1
		4	*new rez/commercial recycling containers (enviro & natural resources)*		1	
		5	education			1
				40%	**20%**	**40%**
***Fort Worth**		1	public feedback on transportation projects (government; transpo);	1		
Betsy Price	(female)	2	no tax increases (finance & economy)	1		
Mattie Parker	(female)	3	increase citizen feedback/*engagement* (government; civil service)	1/2	1/2	
David Cooke	(male)			**83%**	**17%**	**0%**

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral (N)*, feminine (F)]	M	N	F
***Charlotte**		1	*Immigrant Integration Tax Force (minority affairs)*		1	
Dan Clodfelter	(male)	2	*anti-discrimination ordinance (minority affairs)*		1	
Carol Jennings	(female)	3	transparency in police (public security)	1		
Ron Carlee	(male)	4	*stormwater services (public works)*		1	
		5	financing capital investment for water/sewer system (government)	1		
		6	development permitting (government)	1		
		7	financing transit plan (transportation)	1		
		8	*Taskforce on Economic Opportunity (labor, minority affairs, health & social welfare)*	1/3	1/3	1/3
				54%	**42%**	**4%**
Detroit		1	*improving neighborhoods, blight removal, neighborhood pgms to develop vacant land (planning & development)*		1	
Mike Duggan	(male)	2	city subsidized auto insurance (government)	1		
Alexis Wiley	(female)	3	reducing 911 response time (public security)	1		
N/A		4	more officers (public security)	1		
		5	new streetlights (public security)	1		
		6	better bus service (transpo)	1		
				83%	**17%**	**0%**
***El Paso**			N/A			
Oscar Leeser	(male)					
Taylor Moreno	(female)					
Tommy Gonzalez	(male)					

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral* (N), feminine (F)]	M	N	F
Seattle		1	*Comprehensive Plan with emphasis on race, social justice* (planning & dev, minority affairs, health & social welfare);		1/2	1/2
Ed Murray	(male)					
Chris Gregorich	(male)	2	raising minimum wage, close gender gap (labor, health & social welfare, women's affairs)	1/2		1/2
N/A						
		3	Office of Labor Standards (gov't)	1		
		4	work with business to help navigate city processes (gov't, enterprise)	1		
		5	attract foreign direct investment (industry & commerce)	1		
		6	performance targets for city depts (gov't)	1		
		7	crime reduction goals (public security)	1		
		8	Mayor's Youth Employement Task Force (youth, labor)	1/2		1/2
		9	police *reform* (correctional services/police, reform)		1/2	1/2
				67%	**11%**	**22%**
Denver			***2014 SOTC, because he was re-elected, did an inaugural address in 2015 instead of SOTC*			
Michael Hancock	(male)	1	*make affordable housing more accessible, including units/supportive services for 300 chronically homeless* (housing, health & social welfare)		1/2	1/2
Janice Sinden	(female)					
N/A		2	*designate 700 acres parkland protected* (enviro & natural resources)		1	
		3	*$25M restoration of river, 200 acres of habitat* (enviro & natural resources)		1	
		4	create town center *in underserved neighborhood* (planning & dev, finance & economy)	1/2	1/2	
		5	*planning effort with Westwood neighbors* (planning & dev)		1	
		6	ballot measure to expand early childhood education pgm (education)			1
				8%	**67%**	**25%**

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral* (N), feminine (F)]	M	N	F
Washington, D.C.		1	$15M middle school youth pgms (youth, education);			1
Muriel Bowser	(female)	2	school boundary realignments (education)			1
John Falcicchio	(male)	3	LEEP academy (education, labor)	1/2		1/2
N/A		4	$5M expansion summer youth employment pgm (youth, labor)	1/2		1/2
		5	street car expansion (transpo)	1		
		6	OUR RFP (finance & economy; gov't; enterprise)	1		
		7	*redevelop Anacostia* (planning & dev)		1	
		8	remove workforce hurdles for ex-offenders, *minorities* (minority affairs, labor, health & social welfare)	1/3	1/3	1/3
		9	$32M more for school district (education)			1
		10	increase number of officers (police)	1		
		11	police body cameras (public security)	1		
		12	OpenDC (science & tech)	1		
				53%	**11%**	**36%**
Memphis		1	*Beale Street management committee* (tourism, planning & dev)		1	
AC Wharton	(male)	2	adding in-car video, vehicle location, body cameras to police (public security; science & tech)	1		
Bobby White	(male)	3	increase number of officers (police)	1		
N/A		4	Gun Down (public security)	1		
		5	orderly succession of police director (gov't)	1		
		6	Youth Violence Plan implementation (public security, youth)	1/2		1/2
		7	Teen Learning Lab (education, youth)			1
		8	Blueprint for Prosperity (finance & economy; industry & commerce)	1		
		9	MWESB *committee* (women's affairs, minority affairs)		1/2	1/2
				61%	**17%**	**22%**

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral (N)*, feminine (F)]	M	N	F
Boston		1	education			1
Marty Walsh	(male)	2	encourage innovation (science & technology)	1		
Daniel Koh	(male)	3	build more affordable *housing* (housing, construction & public works)	1/3	1/3	1/3
N/A		4	discount senior/disabled utilities costs (aging/elderly)			1
				33%	8%	58%
Nashville		1	*Nashville Newcomer Academy (education, minority affairs)*		1/2	1/2
Karl Dean	(male)	2	$131M capital improvement projects for schools (education, construct & public works)	1/2		1/2
Greg Hinote	(male)	3	new criminal, family justice centers (public security, construct & public works)	1		
N/A		4	100 Miles *with the Mayor* (civil service; health & social welfare)		1/2	1/2
		5	expand library hours (education)			1
				30%	20%	50%
Baltimore		1	city safer (public security)	1		
Stephanie Rawlings-Blake	(female)	2	create more jobs, economic activity (industry & commerce, finance & economy)	1		
		3	promote small businesses, entrepreneurship (enterprise)	1		
Kaliope Parthemos	(female)	4	*restore public trust in gov't (reform, civil service)*		1	
N/A		5	build new *recreation centers*, schools (education, construct & public works, sports)	1/3	1/3	1/3
		6	ensure children are healthy (children & family, health & social welfare)			1
		7	*revitalize neighborhoods (planning & development)*		1	
		8	celebrate the city's arts, culture (culture)			1
		9	*sports, tourism*		1	
				40%	39%	43%
***Oklahoma City**			N/A: weak, figurehead mayor; no priorities, just a review of accomplishments			
Mick Cornett	(male)					
Jim Couch	(male)					
Steve Hill	(male)					
Portland		1	Economic *opportunity* (labor, finance & economy, minority affairs)	1/2	1/2	
Charlie Hales	(male)	2	*livable neighborhoods (planning & development)*		1	
Gail Shibley	(female)	3	public safety (health & social welfare)			1
N/A				17%	50%	33%

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral (N)*, feminine (F)]	M	N	F
***Las Vegas		1	*create buzz to make world-class city* (tourism)		1	
Carolyn Goodman	(female)	2	diversify economy (finance & economy)	1		
N/A		3	improve health care services, recruit medical school (health & social welfare, education)			1
Betsy Fretwell	(female)	4	public safety (public security)	1		
		5	build a sports stadium *downtown* (construction & public works, tourism)	1/2	1/2	
		6	*protecting Las Vegas natural beauty* (environment & natural resources)		1	
		7	investing in infrastructure (transpo)	1		
		8	grow cultural offerings (culture)			1
				44%	31%	25%
Louisville		1	local option sales tax for capital investments in parks, education facilities, transpo (construction & public works, gov't);	1		
Greg Fischer	(male)					
Ellen Hesen	(female)	2	Cradle to Career Initiative (education, health & social welfare; youth)			1
N/A		3	55,000 Degrees Initiative (education)			1
		4	21st Century Workforce and Talent (education, labor, health & social welfare)	1/2		1/2
		5	youth employment (youth, labor)	1/2		1/2
		6	Mayor's Mentor Challenge (youth)			1
				33%	0%	67%
Milwaukee		1	Earn & Learn expansion (education, labor, industry & commerce)	1/2		1/2
Tom Barrett	(male)	2	comprehensive transpo strategy (transpo)	1		
Patrick Curley	(male)	3	*increasing water main network* (public works)		1	
N/A		4	*Strong Neighborhoods Plan* (planning & dev)		1	
		5	close loopholes in gun laws (gov't, public security)	1		
		6	upgrade library facilities (edu, construction & public works)	1/2		1/2
				50%	33%	17%

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral (N)*, feminine (F)]	M	N	F
Albuquerque			**2014 SOTC, because he delivers it in November			
Richard Berry	(male)	1	more businesses involved in TalentABQ (labor, health & social welfare)	1/2		1/2
Gilbert Montano	(male)	2	expand Homework Diner (education)			1
N/A		3	comprehensive summer learning initiative for students/families (education, children & family)			1
		4	*protecting Bosque (enviro & natural resources)*		1	
		5	*improve recycling rate (enviro & natural resources)*		1	
		6	transpo investments (transpo)	1		
		7	create Innovation Central (finance & economy, enterprise, science & technology)	1		
		8	diversify economy (finance & economy, enterprise)	1		
				44%	**25%**	**31%**
***Tucson		1	*conservation goals at city-owned properties (enviro & natural resources)*		1	
Jonathan Rothschild	(male)	2	position city's military base as a central operations base (government)	1		
N/A		3	increase trade with Mexico (industry & commerce)	1		
Michael Ortega	(male)	4	transpo infrastructure (transpo)	1		
		5	*get homeless into housing (housing)*		1	
				60%	**40%**	**0%**
Fresno		1	*prepare for tomorrow with finances, water, and land (regional, planning & development, environment & natural resources);*		1	
Ashley Swearengin	(female)					
Georgeanne White	(female)	2	grow our industrial employment base (industry & commerce, finance & economy)	1		
N/A		3	*preserve and invest in older neighborhoods (planning & development, heritage)*		1/2	1/2
				33%	**50%**	**17%**
***Sacramento		1	minimum wage task force (labor, health & social welfare)	1/2		1/2
Kevin Johnson	(male)	2	Officer Next Door pgm (public security)	1		
Daniel Conway	(male)	3	Sacramento 3.0 (enterprise, science & technology, finance & economy)	1		
John F. Shirey	(male)	4	Innovation District (enterprise, industry & commerce)	1		
		5	*10,000 housing units downtown in 10 yrs (housing)*		1	
				70%	**20%**	**10%**

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral* (N), feminine (F)]	M	N	F
***Long Beach		1	expand universal pre-K, impv grad rates by 10%, 4,000 more underrep students graduate with bachelors -- all over 10 yrs (education, minority affairs)			1
Robert Garcia	(male)					
Mark Taylor	(male)	2	call to biz to hire more interns (labor, youth)	1/2		1/2
Patrick H. West	(male)	3	*4,000 new units downtown over 10 yrs (housing)*		1	
		4	*Central Long Beach as fed Promise Zone (housing, gov't, minority affairs)*	1/2	1/2	
		5	24/7 online city hall (gov't, science & tech)	1		
		6	economic diversity with tech (finance & econ, science & tech)	1		
				50%	25%	25%
***Kansas City		1	transportation maintainence backlog (transpo)	1		
Sly James	(male)	2	WE 2.0 to discuss women's issues (women's affairs)			1
Joni Wickam	(female)	3	*grants for orgs ending homelessness (housing)*		1	
Troy Schulte	(male)	4	narrow digital divide (science & tech)	1		
		5	lobby for state minimum wage raise (gov't, lobor, health & social welfare)	1/2		1/2
		6	Student Mobility Summit (education, health & social welfare)			1
		7	gun control (public security, gov't)	1		
				50%	14%	36%
***Mesa		1	attract big biz (industry & commerce)	1		
John Giles	(male)	2	expand free wifi (science & tech)	1		
Ian Linssen	(male)	3	*improve dilapidated neighborhoods (planning & dev)*		1	
Chris Brady	(male)	4	*Falcon Field Airport strategic plan (planning & dev)*		1	
		5	electronic plan review, permitting (gov't)	1		
		6	*One Mesa (minority affairs)*		1	
				50%	50%	0%

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), neutral (N), feminine (F)]	M	N	F
Atlanta		1	retain 5% more tech grads per yr (labor, science & tech)	1		
Kasim Reed	(male)	2	equal pay for women (women's affairs)			1
Candace Byrd	(female)	3	*Welcoming America initiative* (minority affairs)		1	
		4	bond on ballot to pay for infrastructure backlog (transpo)	1		
		5	*turn abandoned quarry site into drinking water reservoir* and public park (enviro & natural resources; construction & public works)	1/2	1/2	
				50%	**30%**	**20%**
***Virginia Beach**		1	funding for light rail (transpo, gov't)	1		
Will Sessoms	(male)	2	committee to review *airport future* (transpo, regional)	1/2	1/2	
N/A				**75%**	**25%**	**0%**
Douglas L. Smith	(male)					
Omaha		1	gangs/violent crime (correctional services/police, science & tech)	1		
Jean Stothert	(female)	2	support new commercial *development* (industry & commerce, finance & econ, planning & dev)	1/2	1/2	
Marty Bilek	(male)					
N/A		3	repave streets (transpo)	1		
		4	Prospect Villiage Initiative (planning & dev, minority affairs)		1	
		5	increase funding for Step-Up Summer Jobs, Workforce Solutions, Black Men United's *workforce training* (labor, finance & economy, minority affairs, youth)	1/3	1/3	1/3
				57%	**37%**	**7%**
Colorado Springs		1	improve street and stormwater infrastructure through local sales tax (transpo)	1		
John Suthers	(male)	2	improve city's government relations with the region (gov't affairs)	1		
Jeff Greene	(male)	3	expand private exctor job growth (finance & economy)	1		
N/A				**100%**	**0%**	**0%**
***Raleigh**		1	potential increase of property taxes (finance & economy; gov't)	1		
Nancy McFarlane	(female)	2	expand broadband (science & tech)	1		
N/A		3	*affordable housing* (housing)		1	
Ruffin L. Hall	(male)			**67%**	**33%**	**0%**

City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral* (N), feminine (F)]	M	N	F
***Miami		1	*restore Miami Marine Stadium* (tourism; planning & development)		1	
Tomas Pedro Regalado (male)		2	continue improving bond rating (finances & economy; gov't)	1		
N/A				**50%**	**50%**	**0%**
Daniel J. Alfonso (male)						
Oakland		1	[holistic] *public* safety (correctional services/police, health & social welfare; minority affairs)	1/3	1/3	1/3
Libby Schaaf (female)						
Tomiquia Moss (female)		2	education			1
N/A		3	*housing*		1	
		4	*government transparency* (reform)		1	
				8%	**58%**	**33%**
Minneapolis		1	*address climate change, zero-waste plan, Climate Champ* (enviro & natural resources)		1	
Betsy Hodges (female)		2	workforce services *for immigrants, people of color* (minority affairs, labor)	1/2	1/2	
John Stiles (male)		3	One *Minneapolis* (education, minority affairs)		1/2	1/2
N/A		4	parental leave, paid sick time (health & social welfare)			1
		5	stop wage theft (labor)	1		
		6	state transpo funding (transpo)	1		
		7	hiring more police officers (public safety)	1		
				50%	**29%**	**21%**
Tulsa			**2014 SOTC, because he delivers 2015 in September			
Dewey Bartlett, Jr (male)		1	Public Safety Task Force (public security)	1		
Jarred Brejcha (male)		2	aviation academy to create specialized workforce (education, finance & economy)	1/2		1/2
N/A		3	auto mechanic certification school (education, finance & economy)	1/2		1/2
		4	transpo safety and infrastructure (transpo)	1		
		5	*fund river cleanup* (enviro & natural resources)		1	
				60%	**20%**	**20%**

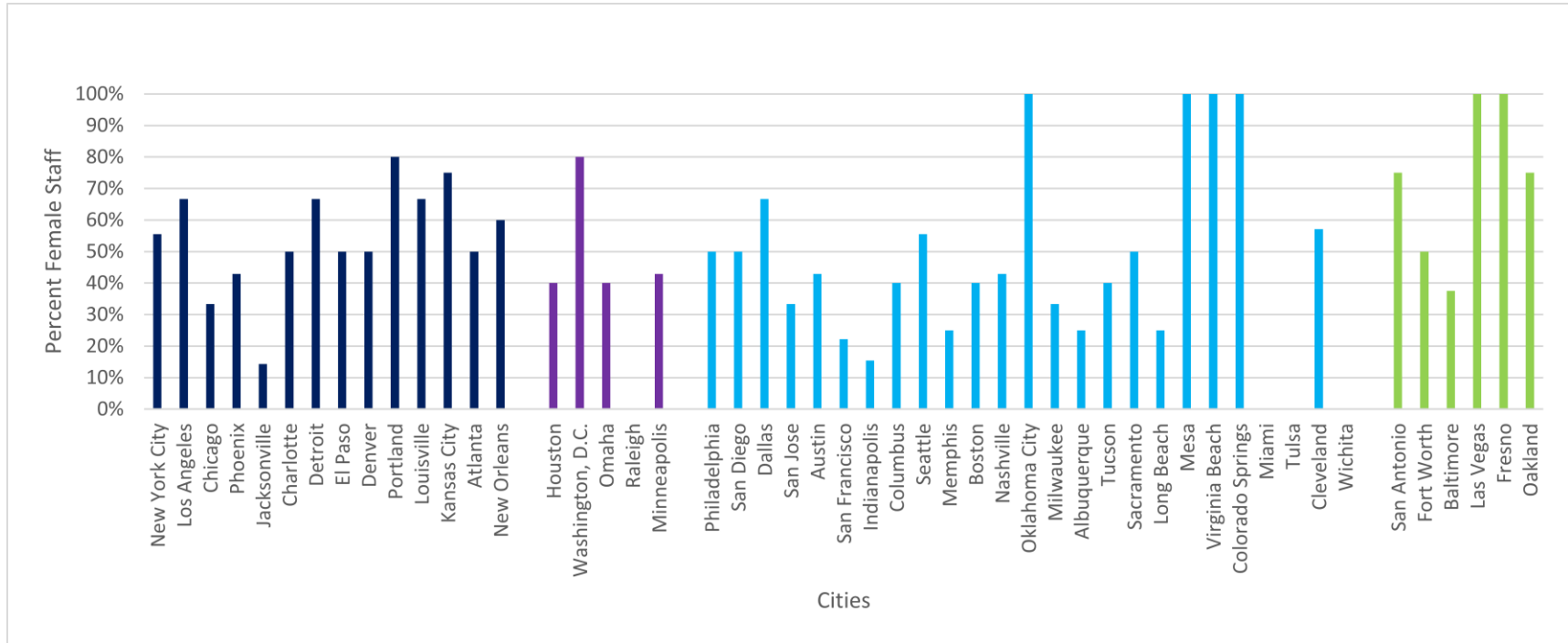| City, Mayor, COS, Manager			2015 SOTC priorities, coded [masculine (M), *neutral* (N), feminine (F)]	M	N	F
Cleveland		1	police *reform* (public security; reform)	1/2	1/2	
Frank Jackson	(male)	2	renew Transformation Plan, improve graduation rate (education)			1
Ken Silliman	(male)	3	*$25M to uplift struggling neighborhoods* (planning & development)		1	
N/A						
				17%	50%	33%
***Wichita			**2014 SOTC, because with 2015 he's lame duck, last term, no priorities			
Carl Brewer	(male)	1	improve public transpo (transpo)	1		
N/A		2	*master plan for Watson Park, city's swimming pool* (planning & dev)		1	
Robert Layton	(male)	3	infrastructure *improvements* (transpo, public works)	1/2	1/2	
		4	*increase community engagement* (civil service)		1	
				38%	63%	0%
New Orleans		1	pay raise for police (police)	1		
Mitch Landrieu	(male)	2	fight pension payment (finances & economy; gov't)	1		
Brooke Smith	(female)	3	ensuring *opportunity* (labor, minority affairs, health & social welfare)	1/3	1/3	1/3
N/A		4	*preparing for climate change* (enviro & natural resources)		1	
				58%	33%	8%

**Denotes 2014 State of the City was used.

***Denotes a city with a council-manager system.

[1] Priorities coded according to Krook & O'Brien (2012) framework characterizing policy as masculine, neutral or feminine.

Appendix C

Percentage of Female Staffers on Each Mayor's Staff

Appendix D

Percent Masculine, Neutral, Feminine Policy Outcomes

Male Mayor, Male Chief of Staff

Female Mayor, Male Chief of Staff

Male Mayor, Female Chief of Staff

Female Mayor, Female Chief of Staff