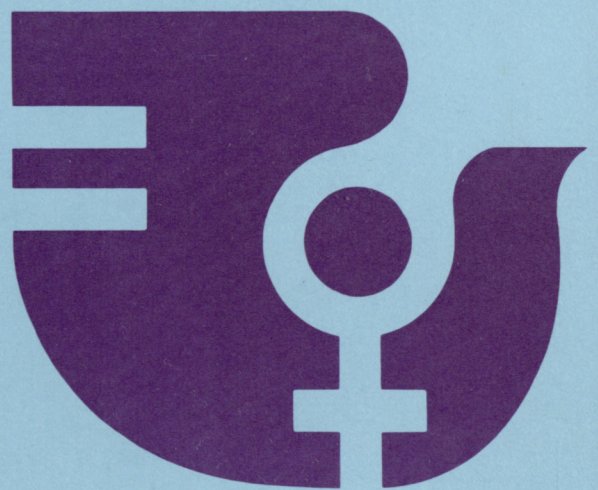


WOMEN IN ELECTIVE AND APPOINTIVE OFFICE

A WORKSHOP GUIDE

NATIONAL COMMISSION
ON THE OBSERVANCE OF
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR



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Gerridee Wheeler, of Bismark, North Dakota
Member, Republican National Committee; Past President, National Association for Mental Health.

Addie Wyatt, of Chicago, Illinois
Vice President, Coalition of Labor Union Women; Vice President, Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; Citizens for Day Care, Illinois.

Members of Congress:

Senator Birch Bayh, from Indiana.

Senator Charles Percy, from Illinois.

Representative Margaret Heckler, from Massachusetts.

Representative Elizabeth Holtzman, from New York.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE OBSERVANCE OF
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR
Department of State
Washington D.C. 20520

WORKSHOP GUIDELINE ON

* WOMEN IN ELECTIVE AND APPOINTIVE OFFICE *
* *

The purpose of this guideline is to assist you in setting up a workshop on women in elective and appointive office. We have tried to provide as much factual information as possible upon which you may draw. Included is a fact sheet containing national data on the subject which is suitable for duplication and distribution to workshop participants. The fact sheet outlines what is presently known about women in public office.*

Appended to the fact sheet are separate lists of resources organized under the headings Programs, Speakers, Films, and Publications. These resources may complement or substitute for local experts and material on women in public office.

When setting up a workshop, keep in mind the following:

GOALS:

- 1) to acquaint participants with the facts regarding the underrepresentation of women in public office;

*The State Coordinating Committee may put its heading at the top of page one of the fact sheet, or the heading of the National Commission may be used. Additional State-related material may be added to the fact sheet prior to its distribution.

- 2) to encourage participants to consider themselves as candidates for public office or to support the candidacies of other women;
- 3) to identify specific barriers to aspiring women public officials;
- 4) to present facts about on-going organized efforts to increase the number of women in public office and to suggest ways in which women can expand these organized activities in schools, the political parties, and in other voluntary organizations;
- 5) to arrive at specific action-oriented recommendations for removing barriers to the full participation of women in public office.

Preparing for the Workshop

One way to generate factual and useful information and also include many groups and individuals in the planning of the workshop involves asking State political organizations, the Governor's office, and women's groups to assemble and supply the following information for workshop participants:

a complete list of all the key political actors and organizations in the State

a list of the State, county, and local party chairmen, as well as State committee people

a political map of the State showing all of the political districts and the offices filled by each district

a chart of the State executive branch

a list of the chairs of State boards and commissions

a list of State women office holders

a list of all State women's organizations, college and extension programs, including information on the existence of political training programs for women

a year long calendar of coming events for politically active women (including courses, programs, filing dates, etc.)

fact sheets on the State government and how decisions are reached (the League of Women Voters may be able to supply this)

a clear and simple explanation of State campaign finance laws

political party procedures for nominating or endorsing candidates and their record of female endorsements.

Suggestions for Conduct

One good way to break the ice and impart factual information about women's political role would be to begin the workshop with the enclosed quiz. Ask the participants to do the quiz and then supply the answers. The printed answer sheet could be given to the participants as take home material at the end of the workshop. If the invited resource people are shown the quiz ahead of time, they may be stimulated and the result may be an even livelier discussion.

A well known woman public official (such as a State legislator, Cabinet member or Mayor) could be invited to make a presentation to the workshop. The public official should be asked ahead of time to speak about her decision to become a candidate for public office, the influence of role models in her decisions, and the efforts of women public officials to use their power and influence to benefit the women of the State. She could also be asked to contribute her personal experiences to the discussion of barriers to public life (i.e., difficulty in raising funds; reluctance of her party to endorse her candidacy, etc.).

Since a great deal of information (some of which may be rather technical) may be imparted during the workshop, ways in which this could be accomplished are:

- 1) a panel discussion with representatives from organizations that educate women politically, such as the League of Women Voters, the National Women's Political Caucus, and women activists in the political parties;
- 2) participants could separate into small groups with an appropriate resource person to discuss a specific subject -- such as State finance laws -- and then report back to the enlarged group on the key points.

In addition to activists within your State, you may wish to contact the National Women's Political Caucus, the Women's Campaign Fund, the National Women's Education Fund, the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University, or the Washington Institute for Women in Politics at Mt. Vernon College. Suggested sources for experts are listed under Speakers and Programs.

Reaction to Commission Recommendations

The Commission requests that the workshop react to the following recommendations from "...To Form a More Perfect Union..." considering their relevance as national goals:

I To Governors the IWY Commission recommends that:

1. All States have available a current, accurate, and centralized list of State boards and commissions and their memberships. This listing should be easily and publicly available at cost to any interested person or organization. The currency of the list should be maintained by the appointments staff of the Governor's office and regularly monitored regarding appointment of women.

2. In view of the facts, (a) that the present range of women on State boards and commissions extends from a low of 8 percent in Mississippi to a high of 23 percent in Iowa, (b) that no State has as many as 25 percent, and (c) that a majority of the State boards and commissions have no women members,* Governors set as a goal for 1980 a significant increase, and by 1985 equal membership of men and women serving on all State boards and commissions. Concerted efforts should be directed toward those areas which currently have low proportions of women, with special attention to increasing the proportions of women on boards with small numbers of members.
3. Governors appoint significantly increased numbers of women as presiding officers on boards or commissions.
4. Governors designate an officer on the appointments staff to be responsible for seeking out women for appointments.

To women's groups involved in the appointment process the IWY Commission recommends that:

5. In States where there does not already exist an organized network of persons who can be called upon for women candidates to fill vacancies in State government, such networks be developed by coalitions of women's organizations or by a Commission on the Status of Women. Wherever possible groups should develop a consensus on candidate(s) for the appointment being considered.

*Study by the Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, "Women Currently Serving on Boards and Commissions in the States," Jan. 1976.

6. Women's organizations increase efforts to secure commitments from all candidates for office to appoint women when they win election.

To foundations the IWY Commission recommends that:

7. Foundations support the efforts to establish women's centers and State-wide networks that will develop systems that aid women seeking appointments.

To Federal, State, and local governments the IWY Commission recommends that:

8. Appointees to government boards and commissions, task forces, and advisory councils on all levels be offered agency office support services and actual expense reimbursement regardless of residential location or meeting place.

II The IWY Commission recommends that:

1. The political parties adopt written plans to assure equal representation of women in all party activities, from the precinct to the national level, with special emphasis on equal representation on the delegations to all party conventions.

The national parties create an affirmative action office for women. Women's caucuses and other women's organizations within the party should participate in the selection of its personnel and in the design of its program, which should include greatly improved financial assistance for female delegates and candidates.

National parties sponsor conferences for women on State and regional levels to cover such topics as party positions on policy issues, aid to candidates, and campaign skills.

III. The IWY Commission recommends that the number of women serving in the judiciary be increased. The President and, where applicable, Governors should significantly increase the numbers of women appointed as judges, particularly to appellate courts and supreme courts.

Additional Recommendations

In addition to the recommendations adopted by the IWY Commission, you may wish to adopt recommendations along the lines of those above addressed specifically to circumstances in your State. You might also wish to consider recommendations such as the following:

1. The Women's Meeting recommends that the State election commission compare various forms of public financing to determine which methods are most feasible and which provide incentive for women to become candidates.

Alternative forms of qualifying for public assistance which should be examined include: petition signatures in lieu of money to qualify for public financing; matching money on a sliding ratio basis after a relatively low threshold of funds has been raised by a candidate; and that incumbent franking and related privileges be limited by law to compensate challengers for the unavailability of similar privileges.

2. Nominating committees of both parties at the State and local level should consist of an equal number of women and that such committees make an affirmative effort to seek out qualified women candidates for all endorsed positions.
3. The Women's Meeting recommends to the President that an equal number of men and women be appointed to all Federal advisory boards, commissions, and committees and that he direct the heads of all Federal agencies to ensure equal representation of women on all Federal advisory bodies.

III. The LWV Commission recommends that the number of women serving in the Judiciary be increased. The President and, where applicable, Governors should appoint as judges, particularly to appellate courts and supreme courts, women who are qualified by education, experience and ability. In addition to the recommendations adopted by the LWV Commission, you may wish to address specifically along the lines of those above addressed specifically to circumstances in your State. You may wish to consider recommendations such as the following:

1. The Women's Meeting recommends that the State judicial commission be organized in such a way as to provide for the selection of judges, which includes the most feasible and which provide for the selection of women to become candidates for the judiciary.
2. The Women's Meeting recommends that the State judicial commission be organized in such a way as to provide for the selection of judges, which includes the most feasible and which provide for the selection of women to become candidates for the judiciary.
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8. The Women's Meeting recommends that the State judicial commission be organized in such a way as to provide for the selection of judges, which includes the most feasible and which provide for the selection of women to become candidates for the judiciary.
9. The Women's Meeting recommends that the State judicial commission be organized in such a way as to provide for the selection of judges, which includes the most feasible and which provide for the selection of women to become candidates for the judiciary.
10. The Women's Meeting recommends that the State judicial commission be organized in such a way as to provide for the selection of judges, which includes the most feasible and which provide for the selection of women to become candidates for the judiciary.

CENTER FOR THE AMERICAN WOMAN AND POLITICS (CAWP)

Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08901
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WOMEN HOLDING OFFICE

A Quiz

This quiz has been prepared by the Center for the American Woman & Politics (CAWP) using data from a nationwide questionnaire sent to women holding office in 1974 and 1975, and from a report prepared by CAWP for the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, Committee on Women in Power.

The data from the nationwide survey of women officeholders are published by CAWP in Women in Public Office: A Biographical Directory and Statistical Analysis (New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1976). The book provides the first national who's who of women officeholders and is accompanied by a descriptive profile of these officeholders. "Profile of Women Holding Office" has been separately reprinted and is available from CAWP for \$3.00. The data from the report prepared for the IWY Commission includes information from state boards and commissions within 10 governmental areas in 39 states. This report, entitled "Women Appointed to State Boards and Commissions," is available from CAWP for \$3.00.

1. In which of the following offices in 1974-75 did women constitute 25% or more of the officeholders nationally?
 - a) secretary of state
 - b) state legislator
 - c) county commissioner
 - d) municipal councilor
 - e) school board member
 - f) none of the above

2. In 1974 and 1975 the majority of women officeholders were serving in their first term of office.
_____ TRUE _____ FALSE

3. In which of the following offices did Democratic women outnumber Republican women?
 - a) Congress
 - b) State Senate
 - c) State House
 - d) County Commission
 - e) Mayoralty
 - f) Local Council
 - g) All of the above
 - h) None of the above

4. The higher the level of office, the higher the proportion of minority women officeholders.
_____ TRUE _____ FALSE

5. The proportion of women officeholders who are under 40 years of age is approximately:
_____ 25% _____ 50% _____ 75%

6. The typical woman in office is maritally unattached--either widowed, divorced, or never married.
_____ TRUE _____ FALSE

7. Women holding office are not likely to have young children.
_____ TRUE _____ FALSE

8. Even at the local level, the typical woman officeholder devotes at least 40 hours a week to her office.
 TRUE FALSE
9. The typical length of time that women officeholders have lived in the same community in which they now reside is: 5-9 years 10-14 years 15-19 years
 20-24 years more than 25 years varies greatly by office.
10. The majority of women in municipal and county office are college graduates.
 TRUE FALSE
11. Out of more than 3000 female officeholders reporting their education, the number with law degrees was: under 100 between 100 and 499 between 500 and 999 between 1000 and 2000 over 2000.
12. Women who get elected to municipal and township councils are usually unemployed housewives with a great deal of free time.
 TRUE FALSE
13. The path to political office is seldom open to women in traditional occupations such as teacher or secretary.
 TRUE FALSE
14. Women holding office report total family incomes which place them in the wealthy portion of the population.
 TRUE FALSE
15. The typical salary for holding office as a mayor or councilwoman is:
 under \$1,000 between \$1,000 and \$4,999
 between \$5,000 and \$9,999 over \$10,000
16. Women in municipal government predominantly serve in districts of population size:
 under 10,000 10,000 to 25,000 over 25,000
17. Of those women in office reporting membership in women's organizations, the largest proportions were found in feminist social action groups.
 TRUE FALSE
18. The typical female state legislator has previously held elective office at county or municipal levels.
 TRUE FALSE
19. Among appointees serving on state boards and commissions in 1975, the average proportion of women was:
 5% 15% 25%
 45% 60%
20. Results of CAWP's 1975 study of 39 states showed that some boards and commissions contained only male members. What is your guess about the approximate percentage of state boards and commissions that had NO FEMALE MEMBERS?
 10% 25% 38%
 53% 76%

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WOMEN HOLDING OFFICE

Quiz Answers

1. ANSWER: f) none of the above
The proportion of women in each office in 1974-75 was: secretary of state 23%; state legislator 8%; county commissioner 3%; municipal councillor 4%; school board member 13%.
2. ANSWER: TRUE, except for women in Congress.
Proportions in their first term were: Congress 47%; State Senate 62%; State House 51%; County Commission 68%; Mayoralty 64%; Local Council 66%.
3. ANSWER: g) all of the above
Among women officeholders in 1974-75, Democrats outnumbered Republicans at all levels of office. Congress: 74% D, 26% R; State Senate: 59% D, 31% R; State House: 53% D, 37% R; County Commissions: 59% D, 33% R; Mayoralty: 53% D, 36% R; Local Council: 51% D, 37% R.
4. ANSWER: TRUE, among those responding to CAWP's study.
The proportion ranged from 3% at the mayoral and council level, to approximately 10% among women in state legislatures and the state executive, to a high of approximately 26% in Congress.
5. ANSWER: 25%
The proportion ranged from 13% among mayors to 29% of members of State Houses. (The percentage under 30 years of age ranged from none in Congress, 1% in State Senates, to a miniscule "high" of 7% in State Houses.)
6. ANSWER: FALSE
Except for Congress (58%) and the state executive (56%), 70% or more in every other office were married at the time of the study. Widows form the next most numerous category.
7. ANSWER: TRUE
While it is true that fewer than 10% of women holding office at any level have preschool children, approximately one-quarter of councilwomen, county commissioners, and representatives in State Houses had at least one child under 12 years of age at the time of CAWP's study. Congresswomen, state senators, and mayors were less likely to have young children.
8. ANSWER: FALSE
72% of councilwomen and 47% of mayors reported spending an average of fewer than 20 hours per week on all matters relating to their office.
9. ANSWER: 20-24 years
Half or more of women in every office had lived in the same community at least 20 years. Length of residence did not vary greatly by office.
10. ANSWER: FALSE
Although women officeholders at all levels did have more formal education than the general public, of the offices studied, only in Congress and the state legislatures did a majority hold a college degree or some graduate degree. Congress: 68%; State Senate: 72%; State House: 55%; County Commission: 43%; Mayoralty: 35%; Local Council: 38%.

QUIZ ANSWERS

WOMEN HOLDING OFFICE

11. ANSWER: under 100
Out of 3,061 for whom information was received, 66 (approximately 2%) said they had degrees in law.
12. ANSWER: FALSE, judging by employment status.
Nearly two-fifths of mayors and councilwomen were employed full time. A majority were employed either full or part-time. Only 29% of mayors and 26% of councilwomen were not employed before taking office.
13. ANSWER: FALSE
Among those reporting an occupation, fully two in five at local and county levels, and better than one-quarter of state legislators, are (or were before taking office) either elementary-secondary school teachers or in some form of secretarial-clerical work.
14. ANSWER: FALSE
Among those reporting their total family income for 1974, more than one-quarter of the currently married mayors and councilwomen said their family income was under \$15,000, and under 10% reported incomes of over \$50,000. Among the widowed, divorced, and single, 45% of councilwomen and 51% of mayors reported total family incomes of under \$10,000.
15. ANSWER: under \$1,000
Sixty-four percent of mayors and 61% of councilwomen say either that their office pays no salary or that the annual salary is less than \$1,000. Many others receive a token sum for each meeting they attend.
16. ANSWER: under 10,000
Among women serving at the municipal level, 79% of mayors and 72% of the municipal councillors studied, served in districts under 10,000. Nine percent of mayors and 14% of municipal councillors reported their districts to be over 25,000 in population.
17. ANSWER: FALSE
At the time of CAWP's study, feminist social action groups had the lowest proportions of women officeholders, ranging from 6% among municipal councillors to 24% among representatives in state legislatures. By contrast, compare the following ranges of proportions:

Service, Reform, General Social Action: from 18% to 49%
Professional and Business: from 13% to 39%
Women's Political Clubs: from 14% to 39%
18. ANSWER: FALSE
Fifty-two percent of state senators and 84% of state representatives had held no previous elective office. Less than 15% had held prior appointive office.
19. ANSWER: 15%
In a study conducted by CAWP in which 10 types of boards and commissions in 39 states were examined, the average proportion of women on a board or commission was found to be 15%, or approximately one in seven members. Those states with the highest proportions were Arizona, Hawaii, Iowa and Washington with 23%. The lowest were Mississippi and New Hampshire, with 8% and 10% respectively.
20. ANSWER: 53% of the boards and commissions studied had no women.
These included boards and commissions concerned with welfare, health, education, professional and occupational licensing, labor, public utilities, environmental protection, business regulation, economic and industrial development and transportation.

FACT SHEET

*
* WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE *
*

THE PROBLEM

Politics remains a "manly art". While women constitute 53% of the voting population of America, they are greatly underrepresented in elective and appointive office.

Women hold approximately 5% of the elective offices in the United States.

The average representation of women on State boards and commissions (appointive offices) is about 15%. Women hold only 11% of the positions on Federal advisory committees and commissions. 36% of these Federal advisory bodies have no women members.

According to the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, only 10 women have ever been appointed to Federal Courts. Of 11,380 "judges" listed in the 1970 census, only 869 (8%) were women.

In no case is the representation of women nationally in any office proportionate to women's presence in the population.

The attached tables give more detail and dramatically illustrate the maldistribution of women in public office today.

THE CAUSE

We know that the women of America are vitally interested in partisan politics and are intensely concerned with the pressing issues of the day. Many women are active in public interest organizations devoted to good government and informed citizenship. For example, more than 100,000 women belong to the League of Women Voters. How then can we explain the virtual absence of women from public office? Why were there only nineteen women in the 94th Congress? Why are less than 10% of the State legislators women? Why has it taken 200 years for a woman - Ella Grasso of Connecticut - to be elected in her own right Governor of a State? Some of the questions being raised in connection with this problem follow.

Public Opinion

To what extent is hostile public opinion responsible for the exclusion of women from public office? Traditional public opposition to women candidates for public office is diminishing, but still substantial. The Gallup Poll of fall 1975 found that 73% of those interviewed said they would vote for a qualified woman nominated by their party for President of the United States. 71% of those polled said they thought that the country would be as well or better off with more women officeholders. At the local and State level of politics, women candidates report great public acceptance. Indeed, many women candidates report that they have benefitted from the post-Watergate morality since voters tend to view women politicians as more honest than male politicians.

Media

Are women's campaigns ignored or ridiculed by news media? For example, The Washington Post's coverage of the 1976 election was different for male and female candidates. The results of male candidates' races were reported in the news section of the paper; while women's races were buried in the third (Metro) section. (11/4/1976:C-5) We have, however, found no systematic studies to confirm this allegation of unfair coverage.

Money

Is the spiraling cost of running for office a significant stumbling bloc to the aspirations of women politicians? A 1975 study of women State legislators conducted by the Office of Women's Activities of the Democratic National Committee found it was. (1) Would publicly financed campaigns help women candidates?

Women have less personal wealth than men and are less likely than men to have business and personal contacts with large contributors to campaigns. Since women are usually challenging male incumbents, they normally face all of the disadvantages of a challenger: lack of name recognition and lack of access to franked mail privileges. Americans for Democratic Action estimate that an incumbent member of the House of Representatives who is seeking re-election has a \$976,000 advantage over a challenger on the basis of mail franking and other privileges.

Have women fully exploited the skills they use to help others, for helping themselves? Are women who regularly collect for the United Fund or March of Dimes unwilling to solicit money for themselves or another woman candidate?

Morality

Are women self-sacrificing and do they agree to forfeit their just claims for a fair share of rights and benefits? Judith Tormey argues that women have been taught that the opposite of self-sacrifice is egoism. When women are self-sacrificing, they voluntarily give up their fair share; they consent to their own oppression. Men are not expected to give up their fair share. (2)

The morality of self-sacrifice may help explain why women are reluctant to use their talents, skills, and money for their own benefit. It is no accident that the one organization willing to pay for the Presidential debates (\$250,000) was a women's group - the League of Women Voters. Would a male association invest \$250,000 in the political process without expecting something in return?

Political Parties

Are parties only willing to nominate a woman candidate when the race looks hopeless? If this is so, then women party activists should examine women's roles and influence in all party activities - especially that of the nominating committee. Since the parties - especially county leaders - are important in the nominating and appointive process, women must become party officials and know how to apply pressure to collect party rewards.

Self-Confidence

Are qualified women reluctant to seek office? Only a tiny fraction of the candidates for public office are women. Why do so few women consider themselves for office? Perhaps women don't realize how qualified they are and how much real experience they have. Women can seek office based on their knowledge of the issues, their years of work for civic and voluntary associations, and their expertise in community or professional affairs. Yet few do. For example, women are the key link between parents and schools, yet only 13% of the school board members nationally were women in 1973-74. (3)

POLITICAL WOMAN IS YOU

Are women public officials superwomen? The available evidence says no. (4) Most of the women in public office are middle-aged, married, have children, and if employed, work in typical female jobs. Very few women enter politics through the practice of law or business. A college degree is not a prerequisite for office. Public officials tend to be less mobile and have lived a long time in their community. Residential stability contributes to a large network of contacts and friendships useful for campaigns. In addition, like male politicians, women officials belong to many voluntary organizations. Public service is often a logical extension of community service begun in these organizations.

Except for Congresswomen and State executives, most women officials were serving in their first term in 1974

and 1975. Furthermore, most women in office have never held an office in their political party. A long apprenticeship is not necessary for seeking public office. These women officials are not inexperienced. Rather, since most of them are serving in positions with low prestige, small constituencies, and little or no pay, the route from volunteer activity to public office was fairly direct.

The important point is that a great many women who are now active in community affairs have the qualifications to seek public office - especially at the local level. And, if younger women would seek office, they could acquire the experience and contacts needed to seek ever higher public office.

THE IMPACT OF WOMEN

What difference do women officials make?

First, in a representative democracy, the absence of women from decision-making bodies has great importance. It may signal that women are not full and equal citizens. Children grow up believing that politics is men's business, because they only see men making political decisions that affect all of our lives.

Shelah Leader found a clear relationship between the sex of legislators and policies enacted-especially on issues affecting women. Her study shows that women legislators are more supportive of legislation beneficial to women. For example, in both the ratified and unratified States, women legislators have been proportionately more favorable to the Equal Rights Amendment than male legislators. In Congress, the women members have consistently been more supportive of legislation to promote child and maternal welfare, health, and civil rights. Both Democratic and Republican women legislators are far more supportive of women's rights and needs than are their colleagues. (5)

WHAT OTHERS HAVE DONE

Women activists have organized to raise funds for

women candidates and train qualified women to obtain public office. Organizations such as the Women's Campaign Fund and the National Women's Political Caucus raise money for women candidates. State branches of the Women's Political Caucus have been organized to promote and support women candidates.

Women's educational programs such as the Political Training Center at Hunter College and the Washington Institute for Women in Politics at Mount Vernon College conduct training seminars for women interested in political careers.

The National Women's Education Fund monitors women's candidacies and elections and conducts training sessions in campaign techniques for women.

The Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University conducts research, publishes information, and designs educational programs for women's political participation.

Both major political parties have prepared educational material to train and assist women candidates for office.

In Ohio, women have created an innovative project to increase the number of women serving on State boards and commissions. The Women's Ohio Volunteer Employment Network (WOVEN) is creating a State-wide network to locate competent women to fill specific positions in State government and on State boards and commissions. In addition, WOVEN is working on translating volunteer experience into job-related credit for government employment. This approach to increasing the number of women in government has been enthusiastically received in Ohio. (See attached report.)

In some States, commissions on the status of women have conducted workshops and conferences to inform women about the appointive and electoral process.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Summary of Democratic Women State Legislators' Responses to Questionnaire", March 1976, Office of Women's Activities, Democratic National Committee, 1625 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington D.C. 20036.
2. Judith Tormey, "The Morality of Self-Sacrifice and the History of Feminism", in Carter, The Role of Women in Politics, (1974), pp. 25-30.
3. National School Boards Association, Evanston, Illinois, (1975), p. 2.
4. Center for the American Woman and Politics, Women in Public Office, (NY: R.R. Bowker, 1976), pp. xix-1ii.
5. Shelah Leader, "The Policy Impact of Elected Women Officials", in Louis Maisel and Joseph Cooper, eds., "The Impact of the Electoral Process", Volume III, Sage Electoral Studies Yearbook, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977).

Where Women Are Now

Women in Public Office—1975-76

*Compiled by the National Women's Political Caucus
1921 Pennsylvania Ave., NW., Washington, D.C. 20006*

OFFICE	NO. OF WOMEN	% OF WOMEN	TOTAL OFFICEHOLDERS
Cabinet:			
Secretary of HUD	1		
U.S. Congress:			
Senate	0	0	100
House of Representatives	19	4	435
Federal Judges:	8	1	675
State Officeholders:			
Governor	1	2	50
Lieutenant Governor	3	6	42
Secretary of State	11	22	48
Elected and Appointed Cabinet Members	139	10	1300 (approx.)
State Legislator	610 (total)	8	7561 (total)
State Senate	89		1978
State House of Representatives	521		5583
County and Municipal:			
County Commissioners	456	2-1/2	17,000 (approx.)
Mayors	578	4	136,000 (approx.)
City and Township Council Members	5,369		
School Board Members	11,000	11	96,560 (approx.)

Summary of Women Elected in 1972 and 1974

	November 1972	November 1974
U.S. House of Representatives	16	*18
Governor	0	1
Lieutenant Governor	0	**1
Statewide Offices	27	30
State Legislators	462 (total)	***610 (total)
Democrats	237	389
Republicans	222	218
Other	3	3
Total Women State Senators		91
Total Women State Representatives		519
Total	505	660

*A 19th woman was elected in a special election, May 1975.

**Two additional women lieutenant governors were elected in November 1975.

***This is double the number of women elected to State legislatures in 1969.

SOURCE: "...To Form a More Perfect Union...", Report of the Nat'l. Commission on IWY, Washington, D. C. 1976, p. 341.

NUMBERS OF WOMEN IN OFFICE: STATE SUMMARIES

State	U.S. House	State Exec. ¹	State Senate	State House	County	Townships ²	Mayors	City Councils	State Judges ⁴	State Bds & Cmsns.
Alabama	0	9	0	1	3	-	7	78	1	20
Alaska	0	3	2	7	12	-	2	33	0	11
Arizona	0	1	5	13	1	-	6	33	6	152
Arkansas	0	1	0	3	0	-	29	131	1	106
California	2	3	0	3	13	-	32	188	7	193
Colorado	1	5	3	13	4	-	10	160	2	64
Connecticut	0	4	4	22	-	-	13	117	1	268
Delaware	0	2	2	8	1	-	3	19	0	95
Florida	0	1	1	12	17	-	13	161	0	37
Georgia	0	0	1	9	6	-	10	67	0	148
Hawaii	1	5	4	6	3	-	0	1	1	141
Idaho	0	1	1	9	3	-	7	38	5	142
Illinois	1	3	2	12	5	51	19	119	5	66
Indiana	0	1	3	6	2	102	0	30	1	188
Iowa	0	0	4	10	13	-	29	275	1	252
Kansas	1	4	1	8	3	40	21	144	1	173
Kentucky	0	3	2	3	15	-	8 ³	6 ³	1	5 ³
Louisiana	1	4	0	2	8	-	9	56	0	148
Maine	0	0	1	23	0	-	0	87	0	105
Maryland	2	0	3	16	14	-	5	54	1	32
Massachusetts	1	4	2	14	1	-	3	45	2	40
Michigan	0	21	0	9	61	303	14	211	3	155

¹Numbers represent all cabinet officials and executive officials elected state wide. Totals for State Executive Offices include members of State Supreme Courts, members of State Boards of Education, and University Regents where these positions are elected state wide. Women serve in these offices in the following states: Alabama, Colorado, Hawaii, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Texas, Utah, Washington. Officials holding these positions are listed in the body of the directory under State Judiciary and State Boards and Commissions.

²Where applicable (see appendix).

³Incomplete information.

⁴Numbers represent all state Appellate Courts and Trial Courts of General Jurisdiction.

NUMBERS OF WOMEN IN OFFICE (Continued)

State	U.S. House	State Exec. ¹	State Senate	State House	County	Townships ²	Mayors	City Councils	State Judges ⁴	State Bds. & Cmsns.
Minnesota	0	4	1	7	8	-	23	204	1	249
Mississippi	0	1	1	5	7	-	8	74	1	78
Missouri	1	0	1	11	8	-	28	267	0	104
Montana	0	2	4	10	0	-	6	51	0	83
Nebraska	1	5	1	0	1	-	12	71	2	139
Nevada	0	2	3	4	3	-	0	2	0	11
New Hampshire	0	0	2	102	4	-	5	34	0	0 ³
New Jersey	2	3	3	6	11	-	15	198	0	166
New Mexico	0	4	2	3	4	-	8	25	0	48
New York	3	5	3	6	30	16	26 ³	145 ³	2	70
North Carolina	0	2	2	13	18	-	10	131	1	67
North Dakota	0	0	3	13	5	-	4	65	0	48
Ohio	0	1	1	7	4	40	29	127	8	154
Oklahoma	0	0	1	5	2	-	17	75	8	180
Oregon	0	0	3	8	7	-	10	165	4	149
Pennsylvania	-	2	1	8	6	-	22	206	11	212
Rhode Island	0	3	2	7	-	-	2	19	1	202
South Carolina	0	0	0	7	5	-	5	67	0	124
South Dakota	0	4	4	7	4	-	12	38	1	122
Tennessee	1	2	1	4	41	-	2	48	0	27
Texas	1	3	1	7	20	-	36	241	2	153
Utah	0	3	0	8	0	-	3	37	0	142
Vermont	0	2	1	21	0	-	0	44	1	1 ³

¹Numbers represent all cabinet officials and executive officials elected state wide. Totals for State Executive Offices include members of State Supreme Courts, members of State Boards of Education, and University Regents where these positions are elected state wide. Women serve in these offices in the following states: Alabama, Colorado, Hawaii, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Texas, Utah, Washington. Officials holding these positions are listed in the body of the directory under State Judiciary and State Boards and Commissions.

²Where applicable (see appendix).

³Incomplete information.

⁴Numbers represent all State Appellate Courts and Trial Courts of General Jurisdiction.

NUMBERS OF WOMEN IN OFFICE (Continued)

State	U.S. House	State Exec. ¹	State Senate	State House	County	Townships ²	Mayors	City Councils	State Judges ⁴	State & Cms
Virginia	0	1	0	6	9	-	6	111	0	222
Washington	0	3	4	14	6	-	4	149	2	146
West Virginia	0	3	1	8	6	-	15	105	1	90
Wisconsin	0	3	1	9	60	-	10 ³	32 ³	1	155
Wyoming	0	1	1	6	2	-	8	26	0	84
Washington DC	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3	6	0
TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN	19	134	89	521	456	552	566	4813	92	5767
								(5931)		
TOTAL NUMBER OF OFFICEHOLDERS	535	1300 ⁵	1978	5583	1700 ⁶		136000 ⁶		5940	unavail:
			7561							
PROPORTION OF OFFICEHOLDERS WHO ARE WOMEN	3.6%	10.3%	4.5%	9.3%	2.7%		4.4%		1.5%	-
			8.1%							

¹Numbers represent all cabinet officials and executive officials elected state wide. Totals for State Executive Offices include members of State Supreme Courts, members of State Boards of Education and University Regents where these positions are elected state wide. Women serve in these offices in the following states: Alabama, Colorado, Hawaii, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Texas, Utah, Washington. Officials holding these positions are listed in the body of the directory under State Judiciary and State Boards and Commissions.

²Where applicable (see appendix).

³Incomplete information.

⁴Numbers represent all State Appellate Courts and Trial Courts of General Jurisdiction.

⁵The total number is an estimated figure gathered from sources within each state.

⁶Numbers are estimates arrived at by adjusting figures given in The U.S. Census of Governments, Vol. 6, Popularly Elected Officials of State and Local Governments (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967) p.7. They reflect the changes in total numbers of governing bodies as shown in The U.S. Census of Governments, Vol. 1, Governmental Organization (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972) p.1. A breakdown of figures for the individual totals of townships, mayors, and city councils was unavailable.

This chart is current for October, 1975.

Reproduced from "Profile of Women Holding Office" by Marilyn Johnson and Kathy Stanwick, Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, a reprint from Women in Public Office, by the Center, (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1976).

WOMEN APPOINTED TO STATE BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS*

- Of those boards and commissions studied, 53% HAVE NO WOMEN!
- On the average, states with Democratic governors and those with Republican governors have the same representation of women (15%) on boards and commissions.
- States with a higher proportion of women among elected officials are somewhat more likely to have a higher proportion of women on boards and commissions.
- SMALLER BOARDS are less likely to have women serving. Women are absent from well over half (60%) of 6 member boards, and over three-quarters (78%) of 3 member boards. This is also reflected in the average proportion of women on SMALL and LARGE BOARDS: 3 member boards average 12% women, while 7 member boards average 18%, and boards with at least 25 members average 29% women.

The average proportion of women on a board or commission is 15%. That is, on the average, fewer than one-seventh of the positions on a particular state board or commission are filled by women.

Women are found in greatest average proportions on those boards and commissions in women's stereotypical, traditional domains.

Those states with the highest average proportions are:	
Arizona	23%
Hawaii	23%
Iowa	23%
Washington	23%
Nevada	20%
South Dakota	20%
Oregon	19%

Governmental Area	Proportion of Women
Welfare of children, youth and aged	35%
Health	20%
Education	18%
Professional and Occupational Licensing	16%
Labor	11%
Public Utilities	8%
Environmental Protection	7%
Business Regulation	7%
Economic and Industrial Development	6%
Transportation	4%

Those states with the lowest average proportions are:	
Mississippi	8%
New Hampshire	10%
Arkansas	11%
Indiana	11%
Louisiana	11%
Ohio	11%
New York	11%
Texas	11%

* This information is summarized from a report prepared by the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) for the National Commission on International Women's Year, Committee on Women in Power. This report includes data from 1975 about all boards and commissions within 10 governmental areas from 39 states. Those states from which information was unavailable are: Alabama, Colorado, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Wisconsin.

The entire 41 page report "Women Appointed to State Boards and Commissions" is available for \$3.00 from: Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. 08901

*
* PROGRAMS AND ORGANIZATIONS *
*

CEWAER (California Elected
Women's Assoc. for Educa-
tion and Research)
c/o Frank
2310 D Street
Sacramento, California 95816

President, Ann Rudin, V-Mayor,
Sacramento, Calif.; Member City
Council (916-455-8075(o)).
Sharon Frank, Exec. Director
(916-444-3040).

Center for the American
Woman and Politics.
Eagleton Institute of
Politics,
Rutgers- The State Univ.
New Brunswick, N.J. 08901
201-828-2210

Director, Ruth Mandel
Expenses and small fee

Media Access Project
1910 N. St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-785-2613

Public interest law firm to assure
equal coverage by and access to
media. Concerned with public
interest issues and political
process. Wrote a booklet on can-
didates' rights to broadcast time.

Collot Guerard, lawyer.

National Women's Education
Fund.
1532 16th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.
202-462-8606

Director, Betsy Wright.

National Women's Political
Caucus.
1411 K Street, N.W.
Suite 1110
Washington, D.C. 20005
202-347-4456

Audrey Rowe Colom, President;
Jane McMichael, Executive
Director.

New Jersey Office on Women.
Dept. of Community Affairs
Trenton, New Jersey

Eileen Thornton, Director.

New York State Division
on Women.
Executive Chamber
1350 Ave. of the Americas
N.Y., N.Y. 10019
212-977-4649

Ida Schmertz, Associate Director.

Clearinghouse on Women's Issues,
Newsletter.

Washington Institute for
Women in Politics.
Mt. Vernon College
2100 Foxhall Road
Washington, D.C. 20007
202-331-3418

Director, Susan Tolchin.
Expenses and \$500 per day.

Women in Gov't. Service.
(Florida elected and
formerly elected women
officials)
305-579-6017

Rose Gordon - President.
(Commissioner, City of
Miami)

Women's Assembly.
(A network of ngo's
on how to lobby State
govt.)
(Had a conference)

%Lavon Bliesner
357 Hollister Bldg.
Allegan Street
Lansing, Michigan
517-373-8870

Women's Campaign Fund.
122 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, D.C. 20002
202-547-0444

Director, Carol Randals.

Women's Political Training
Center
Division of Social Sciences
Hunter College
790 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y 10021

Dr. Jewell Bellush.
212-360-2196

Women's Ohio Volunteer
Employment Network
199 W. Tenth Ave.
Columbus, Ohio 43201
614-422-1681
614-488-7260

Director, Mary E. Miller.

Video tape, 40 minutes,
\$2.00 rental.

"Candidate"
About Cathy O'Neil's
campaign for California
State Senate.

1/2 Hour, color, 16mm.

"Woman Candidate: Running
for Office is a Victory"
Shows unsuccessful cam-
paign of Flora Crater for
Lt.-Gov. of Virginia.
Touches many key points
about women candidates
(motives, advantages & dis-
advantages, need for women
in power).

16mm, color, 13 minutes,
Rental \$20.00 and \$2.00
handling.

Mr. Wallace Westfeldt
WETA-TV, Room 7200
955 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W.
Washington, D.C.
202-484-1500

NAACP Sales Office
2401 Virginia Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
202-785-7700

Churchill Films
662 North Robertson Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90069

BlueRidge Films
9003 Glenbrook Rd.
Fairfax, Va. 22030
703-280-5729

* Programs & Organizations *
* FILMS *

Dr. Jewell Bellush
Center for Women's Studies
Division of Social Sciences
Hunter College
790 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

New York State Division of
Professional Services
Director, Mrs. J. Miller
190 W. 70th Ave.
Columbus, Ohio 43201

614-423-1681
614-488-1380

190 W. 70th Ave.
Columbus, Ohio 43201

614-423-1681
614-488-1380

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Center for Women's Studies
Division of Social Sciences
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New York, N.Y. 10021

* * * * *
* FILMS *
* * * * *

"USA-People and Politics"
May 10, 1976
Shows Pat Fullinwider's
campaign for Congress,
and a campaign techniques
seminar.

%Mr. Wallace Westfeldt
WETA-TV, Room 7200
955 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W.
Washington, D.C.
202-484-1500

16mm, 30 min., color,
rental fee.

"Electing Women as Law-
Makers: Crackerbarrel
Politics" - A how-to
campaign kit.

%AAUW Sales Office
2401 Virginia Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
202-785-7700

Video tape, 40 minutes,
\$2.00 rental.

"Candidate"
About Cathy O'Neil's
campaign for California
State Senate

Churchill Films
662 North Robertson Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90069

1/2 Hour, color, 16mm.

"Woman Candidate: Running
for Office is a Victory"
Shows unsuccessful cam-
paign of Flora Crater for
Lt.-Gov. of Virginia.
Touches many key points
about women candidates
(motives, advantages & dis-
advantages, need for women
in power).

%BlueRidge Films
9003 Glenbrook Rd.
Fairfax, Va. 22030
703-280-5229

16mm, color, 13 minutes,
Rental \$20.00 and \$2.00
handling.

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WETA-TV, Room 1200
525 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W.
Washington, D.C.
202-484-1500

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"Electing Women as Law-
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Video tape, 40 minutes,
\$2.00 rental.

Churchill Films
652 North Robertson Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90069

"Candidates"
About Cathy O'Neill's
campaign for California
State Senate

1 1/2 Hour, color, 16mm.

Bridgeway Films
9003 Glenbrook Rd.
Fairfax, Va. 22030
703-283-2229

"Woman Candidate: Running
for Office is a Victory"
Shows unsuccessful cam-
paign of Flora Crater for
Lt.-Gov. of Virginia.
Touches many key points
about women candidates
(motives, advantages & dis-
advantages, need for women
in power).

16mm, color, 13 minutes,
Rental \$20.00 and \$2.00
handling.

* SPEAKERS *
*

Dr. Ethel Allen
Room 582, City Hall
Philadelphia, PA 19107
215-686-3440
215-232-7374

Member, Philadelphia City
Council; IWY Commissioner

Nikki Beare
7220 S.W. 61 Court
Miami, Florida 33143
305-666-9804

Political strategist for women
candidates for Florida State
Legislature. Candidate her-
self now.

Liz Carpenter
L.B.J. Library
2313 Red River
Austin, Texas 78705
512-478-7829 (o)
512-327-4100 (h)

Co-Chair ERAmerica; IWY
Commissioner

Dagmar Celeste
5185 Riverside Drive
Delaware, Ohio 43015
614-421-7700, ext. 250
or 614-881-4153

(Wife of Lt. Governor). Has
managed women's campaigns.

Ruth Clusen
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-296-1770

President, League of Women
Voters of the U.S.

Huntley Collins
1300 S.W. Broadway
Portland, Oregon 97210

Journalist with the Portland,
Oregon, Oregonian.

Constance Cook
209 Coy Glen Road
Ithaca, N.Y. 14850
607-272-5770

Former member New York State
Assembly. Vice President
of Cornell University

Note: All women members of Congress and State Legislatures
would be excellent speakers. This list includes women who
might not be obvious sources of expertise on this subject
or easy to reach.

Speakers

2

Betsy Crone
2861 29th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
202-462-9014

A political consultant, specialized in fund raising. Available for expenses and fee.

Pat Darien
1223 Linden Place
Jackson, Mississippi 39211
601-353-2807 or
601-362-4101

Women in the party.

Karen De Crow
116 Benedict Avenue
Syracuse, N.Y. 13210
315-474-1682

President of NOW

Ronnie Eldridge
149 W. 93rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10025
212-222-5234 or
212-262-6398 (o)

Director, Public Affairs, WNET-T.V., N.Y. (Worked for Robert Kennedy and Lindsay). Former campaign manager for Bella Abzug.

Sissy Farenthold
President,
Wells College
Aurora, New York 13026
315-364-3297

Former Texas State Legislator, Gubernatorial candidate.

Arvonne Fraser
1253 4th St., S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024
202-638-1961 (o)

Campaign manager, early organizer of National Women's Education Fund, Women's Campaign Fund, State and National Women's Political Caucus.

Collot Guerard
Media Access Project
1910 N Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-785-2613

Access to broadcast media.

Roxie Hobson
609 N. Mendenhall St.
Greensboro, N.C. 27401
919-275-8752 (h)
919-379-5049 (o)

Role of women in parties, campaigns. Ran for the State Legislature.

Speakers

3

Patricia Hutar
912 Huber Lane
Glenview, Illinois 60025
312-751-6473

President, Federation of Republican Women; U.S. Delegate to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women; IWY Commissioner

Brownie Ledbetter
3230 Ozark Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72205
501-663-2100 (h)
501-376-7913 (o)

Former member of State Board of Juvenile Training Schools. Expert on campaign techniques for women.

Ann Lewis
1608 Longworth Office Bldg.
c/o Congressman Lundine
Washington, D.C. 20515
202-225-3161

A.A. to a congressman. Campaign manager for Barbara Mikulski. Former special assistant to Mayor White of Boston.

Jan Lewis
P.O. Box 533
Starkville, Mississippi 39759
601-323-2223 (h)
601-325-4355 (o)

Non-partisan Women's Voluntary Assoc. as a Political Training Ground

Irene Lyons
517 W. Almeria Rd.
Phoenix, Arizona 85003

Campaign manager.

Jane McMichael
1921 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
202-785-2911

National Women's Political Caucus.

Eleanor Holmes Norton
52 Duane Street
New York, N.Y. 10007
212-566-5570

Chair, N.Y. City Commission on Human Rights.

Lee Novick
218 M St. S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024
212-554-2479 (h)
212-347-4456 (o)
212-225-3741 (o)

Women's Political Caucus, Women Politicians.

Speakers

4

Elly M. Peterson
Route #2
Charlotte, Michigan 48813
517-543-4685

Campaign strategy, women in
Republican party.

Patricia Rice
900 N. 12th Street
St. Louis, Missouri 63101
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Journalist with St. Louis,
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Ann Richards
810 West Redbud Trail
Austin, Texas 78746
512-327-1313 (h)
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County Commissioner.

Judge Lisa Richette
Court of Common Pleas
East Penn. Square Bldg.
c/o Speakers Bureau of
Philadelphia
Miss Ida McGuinness
Philadelphia, PA 19107
215-732-8158

Available for expenses and
\$600 fee.

Judy Rosenstreich
7306 Idylwood Court
Falls Church, VA 22043
202-376-4020 (o)

White House Fellow. Former
member Vermont State Legisla-
ture. Will speak for expenses.

Pat Russell
Room 260
Los Angeles City Hall
Los Angeles, CA 90012
213-485-3357

Member Los Angeles, California
City Council.

Ida Schmertz
Associate Director
Women's Division
State of New York
1350 Avenue of the Americas
New York, N.Y. 10019
212-977-4640

Will speak for expenses.

Eileen Shanahan Reporter, New York Times.
 1920 L Street, N.W.
 Washington, D.C. 20036
 202-293-3100

Jane Squier Former T.V. consultant for
 7016 Darby Road Humphrey and Muskie.
 Bethesda, Maryland 20034
 301-469-6322

Carmen Delgado Votaw National Conference of Puerto
 6717 Loring Court Rican Women; National Women's
 Bethesda, Md. 20034 Agenda.
 301-365-0339 (Home)
 202-232-6000 (Office)

Jane Wells Elected to Texas State Board
 7813 Texas Plume Rd. of Education, Women's Political
 Austin, Texas 78759 Caucus, Campaigns, Political
 512-258-1086 (Home) Parties. Will speak for expenses
 512-345-0274 (Office)
 512-345-4752 (Office)

Betty Wilson Asst. Commissioner N.J. Dept.
 4 Hampton Drive of Environmental Protection,
 Berkeley Heights, N.J. 07922 Former member New Jersey State
 201-322-2339 legislature.

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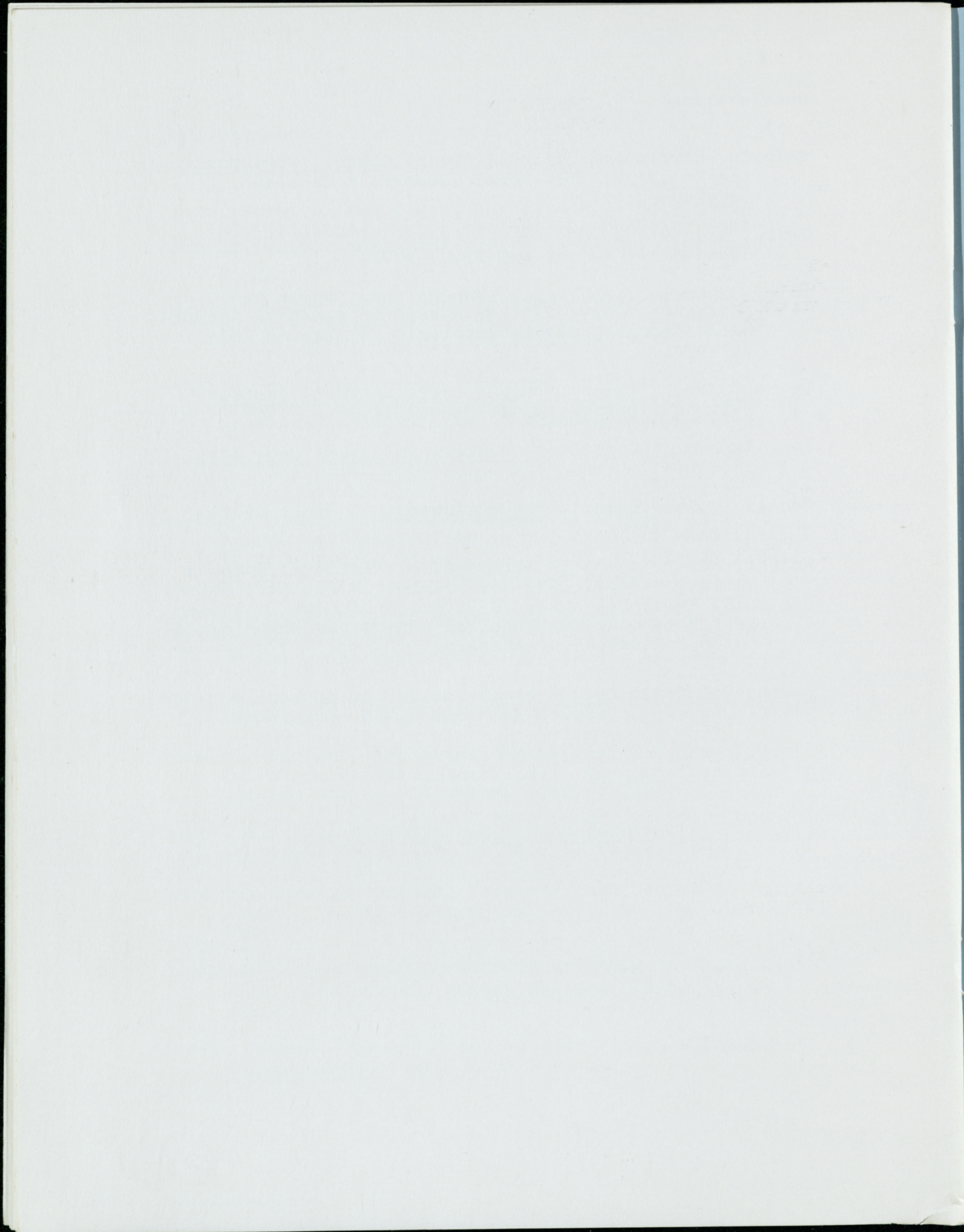
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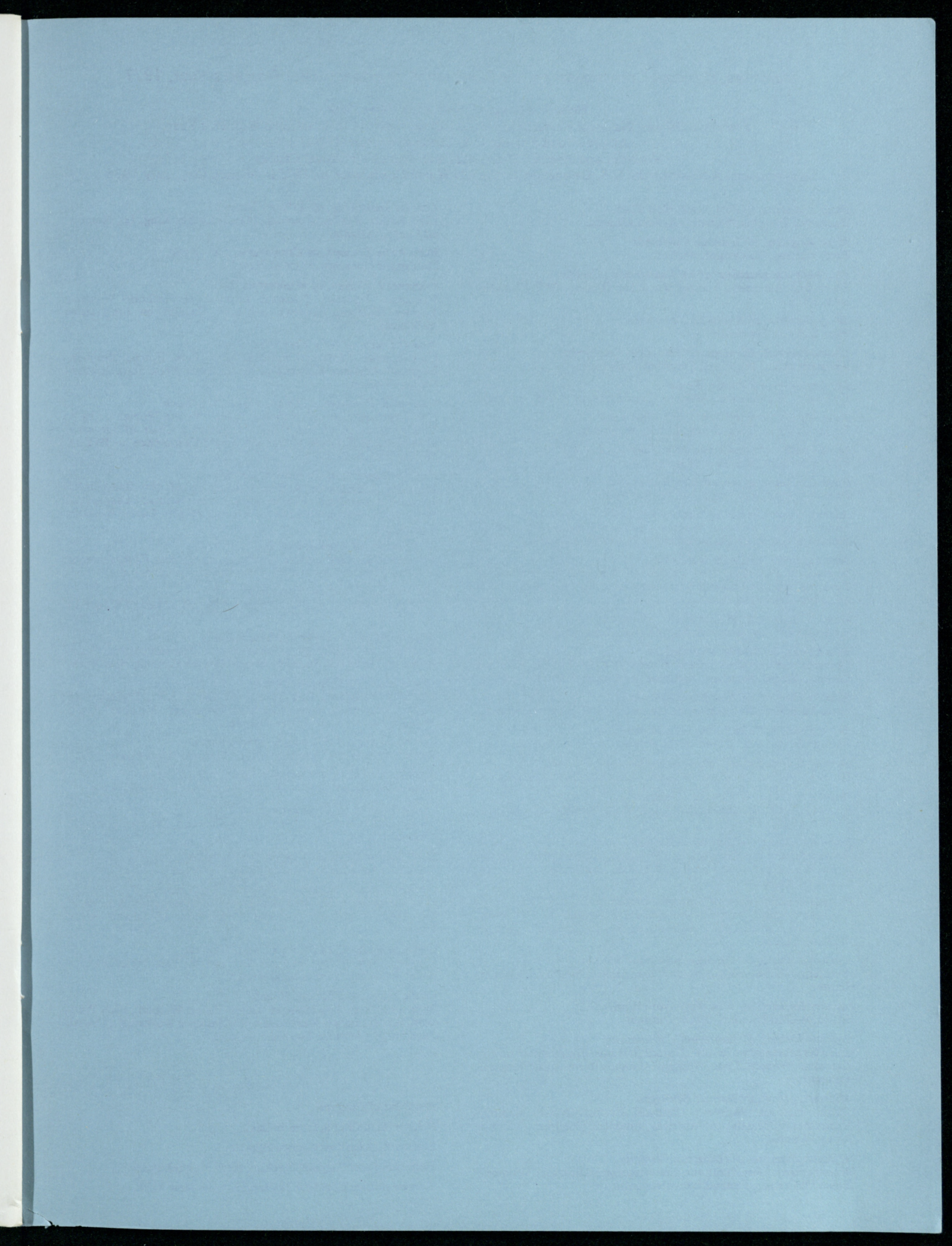
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