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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 25, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: OUTREACH WORKING GROUP  
ON WOMEN

FROM: MICHAEL K. DEEVER *M*

SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS (follow-up to  
our meeting of May 24)

Jim Baker has suggested, and I have agreed, that it would be useful if I would routinely convene and chair the group of us that met yesterday as the "Outreach Working Group on Women."

Consistent with the "all-of-the-above" approach recommended by Dick Darman at the end of yesterday's meeting, please note these assignments of follow-up responsibility:

<u>Action</u>	<u>Lead</u> (in coordination with others as appropriate)
• Coordinate and submit final Presidential options paper on pending <u>women's equity issues</u>	Fuller/Darman/Harper (due June 7)
• Clarify (and, where possible, resolve) differences in <u>poll analyses</u>	Darman/Rollins (with pollsters)
• Develop plan to maximize women-related benefits of emerging <u>education campaign</u>	Atwater/Gergen
• Modify <u>economic program communication plans</u> , as appropriate, to improve support among women	Gergen/Whittlesey
• Develop marketing plan <u>re</u> administration's concern for, and performance <u>re</u> , <u>fairness</u>	Gergen/Harper
• Develop and highlight <u>women's equity legal cases</u> , as appropriate	Harper/Gergen
• Develop <u>speaking program</u> for Administration women	Gergen/Whittlesey
• Appoint more visible women	Herrington

I will convene a meeting to review progress in each of these areas next week.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1983

CABINET TIME

DATE: May 24, 1983

LOCATION: Cabinet Room

TIME: 3:30 P.M. (60 minutes)

FROM: Craig L. Fuller

I. PURPOSE

To discuss a number of issues which deal with concerns of women.

II. BACKGROUND

Faith Whittlesey will provide an overview on the perception of this Administration attributed to women. This will provide the basic context for the discussion.

Child Support Enforcement: CCHR developed a plan for dealing with the issue of absent fathers' failure to deliver the court-granted child support. The plan would not be mandatory but would be a carrot and stick approach involving federal funds.

IRS Aid in Child Support Enforcement: Last year the IRS aided HHS in securing the refunds due to delinquent fathers of AFDC supported mothers. The Secretary of the Treasury will update the Cabinet on this program as similar programs are under consideration.

IRA Spousal Contributions: CCEA has discussed the concept of fair and equitable use of IRAs. The discussion will center on use of IRA accounts by women in the work force versus women who are homemakers.

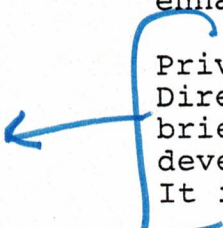
Dependents' or Child Care Allowance: CCEA has discussed increasing the allowance permitted under current law.

Occupational Opportunities for Women: OPM Director Don Devine discussed five ways in which the federal government could be more receptive to opportunities for women in the federal government. These five recommendations will be considered today.



Cabinet Briefing  
Page Two

Presentation by Elizabeth Dole: Secretary Dole will outline a program she has developed at the Department of Transportation to assist women in moving into career enhancement roles.



Private Sector Child Care: Jim Coyne, Director of the Private Sector Survey will brief the Cabinet on the program it has developed and is implementing in this area. It is in the area of corporate day care.

Flexitime for Federal Contractors: Senator Armstrong has introduced legislation which would permit federal contractors opportunity to employ flexitime.

Job Sharing: This concept involves two persons sharing the same job. An example is two women sharing the job of assistant district attorney or two persons serving as a single support staffer but splitting the forty hour week into two twenty hour weeks.

Pension Equity: This issue is a difficult one and requires careful consideration since it is one issue you dealt with in the State of the Union. Must or should pension plans which cost the same pay out the same incremental payment or total benefits for men and women? The issue is multi-faceted and the ramifications are far-reaching.

Unisex or Gender-based Insurance Rates: A piece of legislation, HR 100, which deals with this concept is in Committee. The Administration must determine its position on the general issue and then whether to take a position on this piece of legislation. It is a very difficult situation as to issue has not involved much study and little statistical knowledge.

Appointments for Women in the Reagan Administration: John Herrington, Assistant to the President for Presidential Personnel will discuss our overall record on appointments of women.



Cabinet Briefing  
Page Three

Concerns of Women in Congress: Nancy Risque of the Legislative Affairs staff will discuss the concerns of the women members with whom the President and senior members of the staff have met.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Members of the Cabinet (list attached to the agenda)

IV. PRESS PLAN  
None

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- ° Faith Whittlesey will open the meeting with an overview.

- ° Secretary Heckler will make the presentation on the Child Support Enforcement plan.

- ° Secretary Regan will discuss use of the IRS in Child Support Enforcement; IRA Spousal contributions; and Dependent's Allowance.

- ° Director Devine will outline the five OPM recommendations

- ° Secretary Dole will present her DOT program.

- ° Jim Coyne will brief on the Private Sector Child Care efforts.

- ° Ed Harper will discuss job sharing, flexitime, and unisex or gender-based insurance tables.

- ° Secretary Donovan will outline the pension equity issue.

- ° John Herrington will discuss the women's appointment record.

- ° Nancy Risque will outline the concerns of the women Members of Congress

- ° Ed Meese will summarize for you and clarify that no decision is required.

held

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**CABINET AFFAIRS STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 5/20/83      NUMBER: 118702CA      DUE BY: noon May 23, 1983  
SUBJECT: Cabinet Time: May 24, 1983: 3:30 PM (60 minutes)

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
ALL CABINET MEMBERS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Baker	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Vice President	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Deaver	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
State	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Clark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Treasury	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Darman ( <i>For WH Staffing</i> )	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Defense	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Harper	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Attorney General	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Jenkins	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Interior	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Agriculture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Commerce	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Labor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HHS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HUD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Transportation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Energy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Counsellor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CIA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
UN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
USTR	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CEA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCCT/Gunn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CEQ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCEA/Porter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
OSTP	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCFA/Boggs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
OPM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCHR/Carleson	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CCLP/Uhlmann	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			CCMA/Bledsoe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
			CCNRE/Boggs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Cabinet Time on Tuesday, May 24 will be a discussion of a number of issues of concern. They include the following: Child Support Enforcement; IRA: Spousal Contributions; Dependent Care Tax Credit; Child Care: Employer Options to Support Working Families; Occupational Opportunities for Women in the Federal Government; Job Sharing (Federal Government Part-time Employment Initiative); Flexitime; Gender-Based Actuarial Tables for Insurance and Pension Equity. Draft papers prepared by the Office of Policy Development are attached. Comments should be submitted by noon, Monday, May 23rd.

RETURN TO:

☐ Craig L. Fuller  
Assistant to the President  
for Cabinet Affairs  
456-2823

☒ Becky Norton Dunlop  
Director, Office of  
Cabinet Affairs  
456-2800



WOMEN'S ISSUES

CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT

ISSUE: Should the Administration's Child Support Enforcement legislation be modified to place additional emphasis on non-AFDC child support enforcement efforts?

RECOMMENDATION: The CCHR recommends that proposed legislation be modified to require States which receive Federal funds for child support enforcement to charge a fee of at least \$25.00 from all non-AFDC applicants and a 3% to 10% collection surcharge from absent parents with delinquent support obligations. The fees collected could be used only to finance non-AFDC child support enforcement efforts at the State or local level.

BACKGROUND: The Administration's 1984 Budget includes proposed legislation to strengthen incentives to States to be more cost effective in child support collections from parents of AFDC families. Some women believe that these changes will cause States to place more emphasis on AFDC collections at the expense of collection efforts for non-AFDC cases. Collection of the fees in the recommended modification will produce an estimated additional \$50 million to the States which can be used only for non-AFDC collection efforts.

Proponents will argue that: -

- o The "user" fees will provide additional funds for State non-AFDC collection efforts.
- o The collection fees will act as a deterrent to delinquent child support obligations.
- o The modification will provide more support for the legislation from women.

Opponents will argue that:

- o This modification will require fees which are now optional on the States, violating a Federalism principle.
- o This modification serves as a precedent for federal involvement in collection of other private debts.

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DECISION:

\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED

May 18, 1983



WOMEN'S ISSUES

INDEPENDENT RETIREMENT ACCOUNTS: LIMIT ON SPOUSAL CONTRIBUTIONS

ISSUE: Should the Administration support a provision of the Economic Equity Act of 1983 to increase the limit on Individual Retirement Account (IRA) investment from \$2250 to \$4000 for taxpayers filing a joint return even if only one had earnings?

RECOMMENDATION: No. The Administration should stress its positive record in this policy area.

BACKGROUND: Currently, taxpayers filing a joint return may invest a maximum of \$2250 of their earnings in an IRA, even if only one taxpayer had earnings, reflecting a liberalization of IRA regulations implemented by this Administration to stimulate private saving. Section 101 of the Economic Equity Act would raise this limit to \$4000 in an effort to recognize the productive contribution of a joint return taxpayer who may not have market earnings by making the joint IRA limit double that of the individual limit. The Treasury Department estimates that the provision would cost approximately \$500 million in foregone revenue each year.

In reviewing this issue the Cabinet Council on Economic Affairs noted that the Administration has already adopted policies in this area to improve program coverage and availability, although the Administration's record on the issue is not very well known either in the Congress or by the public. Second, this proposal is expensive, increasing the deficit by \$.5 billion each year.

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DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED

May 18, 1983

WOMEN'S ISSUES

DEPENDENT CARE TAX CREDITS

ISSUE: Should the Administration support provisions of the Economic Equity Act of 1983 to increase the tax credit allowed for dependent care expenditures?

RECOMMENDATION: No. The Administration should stress its positive record in this policy area.

BACKGROUND: The Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 (ERTA) changed the way tax credits for dependent care expenditures are calculated, raising the expenditure ceiling and introducing a sliding scale based on income that increases the credit for low income taxpayers. Section 201 of the Economic Equity Act and the Conable Bill would further increase the tax credit for low income taxpayers by altering the sliding scale but without making the credit refundable. OMB estimates that the legislation as drafted would cost the Treasury approximately \$700 million in foregone revenue each year compared to the ERTA changes.

In reviewing this issue the Cabinet Council on Economic Affairs noted that the Administration has already adopted policies in this area to improve program coverage and availability, although the Administration's record on the issue is not very well known either in the Congress or by the public. Second, the proposal is expensive, increasing the deficit by over \$.7 billion each year.

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DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED

May 18, 1983



## WOMEN'S ISSUES

### CHILD CARE: EMPLOYER OPTIONS TO SUPPORT WORKING FAMILIES

ISSUE: Should child care receive direct support from this Administration by private sector initiatives?

RECOMMENDATION: Yes. In particular, the President's Office on Private Sector Initiatives currently is encouraging the expansion of quality, private sector child care by creating a more informed environment in the business community for the consideration of employer options for working families.

BACKGROUND: Approximately 13 million children 13 years of age and under are in households in which both parents or the sole parent work full-time. There are only 1 million slots in child care centers, and another 7 million children cared for either in family homes (i.e., someone else's home) or their own home. That leaves 5 million children under 13 with no regular care when not in school.

The significant increase in the number of working parents in this country has created an unprecedented mutual dependence between businesses and the family. It is this mutual dependence which provides a rationale for the development of employer strategies to strengthen both the family and the workplace.

At the present time, an informed business community environment about the nature of employer options with respect to child care for working families does not exist. This environment will not change until employers conclude that addressing these needs serves their interests, as well as those of their employees. In order to reach that point, a serious educational effort must be undertaken to bring the concerns of working parents to the level of serious consideration by business.

The President's Private Sector Initiatives Office is providing this educational effort through a series of nationwide meetings hosted by prominent CEO's and aimed at their peers in the community. They will provide information on the growing needs of working parents, the various ways in which those needs are met or not met, and finally, the list of options for meeting those needs, ranging from on-site child care to family counselling.

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#### DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_DISAPPROVED

May 18, 1983



## WOMEN'S ISSUES

### OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT

ISSUE: Should OPM's plan for improving occupational opportunities for women in government be approved?

RECOMMENDATION: Yes, with the following modifications: (1) increase the President's Management Intern Program to bring in more women at the GS-9/11 level; and (2) develop an "immediate job offer" program for women at senior levels to overcome months of delay now encountered by qualified applicants.

BACKGROUND: This issue is carried over from the CCMA meeting with the President of April 28 at the request of Secretary Dole who had to leave early.

At that meeting, Don Devine presented historical data on women in the workforce and women in executive positions in the Federal government. Under this administration, 14.2% of the appointments to non-career SES professionals have gone to women, while only 5.5% of career SES appointments have gone to women. Mr. Devine also pointed out that the percentage of women separated during a RIF of supervisory and management positions is higher than the percentage of women employed. This was attributed to the fact that women have less seniority, the current basis for separation.

OPM proposed five recommendations for enhancing the movement of women into supervisory and executive positions:

- 1) recruit more executives from outside the government;
- 2) make a long term shift to general knowledge examinations;
- 3) limit over-credentialing in job standards;
- 4) require Executive Resource Boards to consider upward mobility for women; and
- 5) base RIFs on performance rather than seniority.

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DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED

May 18, 1983

WOMEN'S ISSUES

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT INITIATIVE

ISSUE: Should an effort be made to increase use of part-time employment in the Federal government, to provide better opportunities for women entering or re-entering the job market.

RECOMMENDATION: Yes. Direct OPM and Federal agencies to provide all managers with information on how to set up and use part-time employment programs.

BACKGROUND: Of particular interest to women entering or re-entering the job market are opportunities for part-time work or "job-sharing" (which is defined as two people sharing the responsibility of one full-time position).

Proponents of this recommendation would argue that:

- o The use of part-time employment is fully supported by current law. There is currently flexibility for agencies to split the work of a full-time position into two part-time positions.
- o No change results in counting FTE (Full-time Equivalent) employment levels and employee benefits are proportionate to time worked.
- o The only impediment to its being used more fully is a lack of knowledge on the part of managers.
- o To implement job-sharing in the Federal government similar to the model used by the private sector would require major changes in laws and regulations relating to the selection, pay, appraisal, and removal of employees.
- o The initiative helps the employment of women without creating a "reverse discrimination" situation.

Opponents of this recommendation would argue that:

- o This is nothing really new other than making managers more aware of existing tools.
- o Special initiatives designed to accomodate employment of women could raise questions about why special programs are not being developed to help minorities.

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DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED



FLEXITIME FOR FEDERAL CONTRACTORS

ISSUE: Should the Administration actively support the Armstrong Bill (S. 870) permitting Federal contractors to adopt flexible workweek schedules?

RECOMMENDATION: The CCHR unanimously recommends yes.

BACKGROUND: Federal government and private sector employers are free to adopt flexible workweek schedules for their employees. However, present law effectively prohibits private companies with federal contracts from operating on any weekly schedule other than the standard five-day, forty-hour workweek.

Senator Armstrong has introduced legislation to provide employers under federal contracts the ability to adopt flexible workweeks. This initiative enjoys substantial support in the business community, and last Congress the Administration formally endorsed this proposal. The AFL-CIO opposes this bill.

Proponents of this recommendation would argue that:

- o Increased time at home with family; especially helpful to working mothers.
- o Reduced commuting time and expenses, as well as reduced child-care expenses.
- o There is some evidence (though not conclusive) that employee satisfaction with flexible work schedules has manifested itself in increased productivity, lower absenteeism, and reduced turnover.
- o More effective utilization of capital equipment; reduced start-up/shut-down time; reduced energy requirements.
- o Cost savings could result in reductions in the costs of federal procurements. However, we have found no reliable data on possible cost savings.

Opponents of this recommendation would argue that:

- o Opposition comes from the national labor organizations, who would view this issue as a "test vote" for labor.
- o Union contractors with collective bargaining agreements that still required overtime would be underbid by non-union contractors.

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DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED

May 18, 1983



## WOMEN'S ISSUES

### GENDER-BASED ACTUARIAL TABLES IN ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

ISSUE: What should the Administration's posture be regarding legislation to ban gender-based actuarial tables in all forms of insurance?

RECOMMENDATION: CCHR believes such legislation is at best of mixed benefit to women as a whole and, at worst, positively harmful to some classes of women.

BACKGROUND: Feminists have long argued that sex should be eliminated as a criterion in all laws and regulations, and that private practices which rely on distinctions between the sexes should be forbidden as unlawful "discrimination". The elimination of gender-based actuarial tables in insurance has long been a major goal.

Legislation is now moving on the Hill to do just that. It is advanced by its supporters as a "civil rights" measure and attacked by its opponents as uninformed and, in fact, harmful to many women.

The legislation is supported by feminist groups and their traditional congressional allies. It is opposed strongly by conservatives, and has even been criticized in major part by the Washington Post and N.Y. Times. Insurance industry reactions run the gamut from outright opposition to conditional acceptance under terms unlikely to be agreed to by the legislation's sponsors.

#### Arguments for:

- o Strong feminist support.
- o Modest gains for some women in some forms of insurance.

#### Arguments against:

- o Would increase automobile and life insurance rates for women, in some cases substantially so.
- o As written, the bill would mandate abortion coverage in health insurance.
- o Would require extensive federal regulation of insurance, a field now left to the states.

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DECISION:

- \_\_\_\_\_ o Support legislation to prohibit gender-based actuarial tables.
- \_\_\_\_\_ o Oppose legislation.
- \_\_\_\_\_ o Create a commission to study the use of sex as an actuarial criterion in insurance.

May 16, 1983

*o Do a Lab. study.*

## WOMEN'S ISSUES

### PENSION EQUITY

ISSUE: Should the Administration submit legislation requiring equal annuity benefits for men and women, even though most women live longer than most men?

RECOMMENDATION: CCHR recommends legislation that would apply prospectively to future accrued benefits. Such a proposal would be combined with technical changes in existing pension law to benefit certain classes of women.

BACKGROUND: The overwhelming majority of working women now receive pension benefits equivalent to those received by men. In certain kinds of pension plans, however, the monthly payment to women is less than that for men. The Supreme Court has ruled that equal employer contributions are required by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, but has not yet ruled on the question of equal benefits. Legislation pending on the Hill would mandate the abolition of gender-based actuarial tables in all forms of insurance, including pensions. The Administration has so far remained neutral on the legislation, but did file a brief in the Supreme Court supporting the idea of equal pension benefits in employer-based plans.

A prospective-only proposal:

- o Would be attacked by feminist groups as providing less than what they believe they are now entitled to under Title VII.
- o Would cost approximately \$90 million per year. By contrast, retroactive application of an equal-benefits rule would cost \$1.2-1.7 billion per year.
- o Would not jeopardize the financial solvency of pension plans. Retroactive application could have such an effect, especially on smaller plans and those covering state and local employees.

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DECISION:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVED  
AS AMENDED

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVED

May 16, 1983



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 24, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES BAKER III  
MICHAEL DEEVER

FROM: Faith Ryan Whittlesey

SUBJECT: Strategy for Dealing with Issues of Concern to Women

1. The time has come for this Administration to embark on a creative and energetic program to deal with the concerns of the women of this nation. Conservative, moderate, and uncommitted women should be the primary focus of this effort in order to gain support and understanding from women.
2. To date, this Administration has maintained a low, almost timid, profile with women in an attempt to keep controversial "women's issues" at arm's length. This approach has unfortunately resulted in a defensive and reactive posture.
3. Because there has been no comprehensive formulation of what we have done or where we stand, the political system now gauges commitment to the interests of women by the degree of support given to the welter of legislative proposals on the subject. Such a condition is of course disastrous for the Administration, both in political and policy terms. The vacuum resulting from our failure to stake a position puts heavy pressure on us to offer half-loaf versions of Democratic and feminist initiatives, thereby putting us in legislative/political bidding wars we cannot win and committing us to (and legitimizing) policies inconsistent with (a) our budget, (b) the Republican Platform, and (c) the interests of key Administration support groups (not to speak of the real interests of women).
4. This Administration and the Republican Party are faced with the challenge of responding to fundamental social changes created in our society over the last generation, i.e., soaring divorce rates; the sexual revolution; teenage pregnancy; and a three-fold increase in women entering the work force. The Labor Department expects women to be a major power behind expansion of the economy in the next decade. One out of three new workers will be women. Thus, women will be the principal beneficiaries of the new jobs created by a growing, expanding economy.

5. Women's issues have become a means used by liberals to attack the very basis of our economic recovery program. ("Most poor people are women, our budget cuts are aimed at poor people; therefore, our budget is an attack on women.") Only the President can change this, in part by pointing out that the explosion of single, poor teenage heads of households - who are at the core of the urban poverty - took place during the very years when social welfare spending was at its peak - during the decade of the seventies. The "feminization of poverty" is after all the aftermath of years of Democratic control.

--The mother, living without a husband, without skills, facing life-long dependence on welfare, has become a symbol of poverty in America. In all, female-headed households comprised 45% of all persons living in poverty when this Administration took office, more than double the proportion in 1960. Tragically, this represents also another phenomenon of the late 1960's and 1970's: the sudden acceleration of births to unmarried, poor, and increasingly teenage women. Some have tried to pass this off as "part of the times" for which no one is to blame. But it was not a problem to all Americans. It was a problem for minority and disadvantaged Americans. In the 1960's and 1970's we spent billions on welfare benefits, and the more we spent, the larger the shelves of reports documenting not only that we failed, but that we encouraged the disintegration of poor families.

6. The President's personality and style project him as a "man's man" . . . and men accordingly overwhelmingly approve his performance by a margin of 60% to 38%. Thus, the President benefits from a "gender gap" on the male side.
7. Our approval margin among women is improving. A recent ABC/Washington Post poll shows women favoring the President at 47% vs. disapproval at 46%. However, Wirthlin polls done as recently as the week of May 15 continue to show a ten point "gap", and confirm certain fundamental differences in the attitudes of women toward this administration. The "gender gap", however, did not come into being in this administration. it has been around since 1964. Since that time, there has been a divergence in party preference between men and women, with more women choosing to affiliate with the Democratic Party and its candidate. Furthermore, careful analysis of the Wirthlin data leads to the conclusion that a change of policy is not required; a more consistent and carefully designed communications effort, particularly on the economic program and inflation, will tend to improve the "gap" significantly.



8. In addition to progress in the economy overall, this administration has a number of achievements that have been of particular benefit to women:

- (a) This administration has a very proud record on female appointees -- as of January, 1983, 96 women for Presidential appointments (more by now) vs. 74 in the last administration.
- (b) The "Power Aggregate" is beyond question -- with a Supreme Court Justice and three women serving on the Cabinet, and Helene Von Damm and Faith Whittlesey as Presidential Advisors.
- (c) The erosion of the value of the dependent deduction has been ended by indexing of child dependent exemptions.
- (d) Private Sector Initiative Day Care Project.
- (e) ERTA enacted benefits for women-reduction of marriage tax penalty; elimination of inheritance taxes, and increased child care tax credits.
- (f) Job training partnership act.
- (g) Child support enforcement improvements.
- (h) Recent (May 12) decision to support case in the Supreme Court on side of women -- EEOC and Justice Department gave Administration support to allow discrimination suits to be heard regarding hiring and promotion policies of women in large law firms.
- (i) Administration backed EEOC report on discrimination against women.
- (j) Reduction of marriage penalty.
- (k) Estate tax reductions benefitting widows.
- (l) Divorced women given rights to military pensions.
- (m) Tax credits for employed parents.
- (n) Equal opportunity for women in the Federal government.
- (o) Increased percentages of female armed service officers and Civil Service employees (percentage of women military officers increased 12% between 1980 and 1982).
- (p) First female astronaut and Supreme Court Justice.

9. Our approval margin among women will continue to enlarge as the economy improves (although unemployment has directly affected far fewer women (- predominantly male production jobs were hardest hit). Polling data indicate that women react strongly to the apprehensions raised by hard economic times regardless of whether they are directly affected. Polling data also indicate women are concerned primarily about the effect of inflation in making voting choices.

10. Our programs are working, and in ways that decidedly benefit women:

(a) Reduction of inflation

This remarkable achievement can be described in a way that has bite and personal meaning for women. We have not made a strong communications effort targeting women on this issue.

- o A loaf of bread went from 36¢ to 52¢ during the prior administration, and would cost 63¢ now had the rate of inflation continued. Had the prior administration been as successful in dealing with inflation as we, that loaf of bread would cost only 42¢ today - and a whole market basket of groceries that today costs \$100 would cost only \$66.67. Our success has most benefited the poor.
- o The inflation of the 1970's eroded the purchasing power of AFDC benefits (the core welfare program for poor women) by over 30%. By contrast, maintenance of the real value of AFDC benefits during our term due to lower inflation has more than offset a modest and necessary reduction in food stamp benefits. The result is that typical AFDC recipients now receive benefits worth more in constant dollar than they would have received under Carter policy and inflation.

(b) Social Security Rescue

The Democrats and feminists have been making the point, correctly, that, because women on the average live eight years longer than men, an enormous proportion of elderly poor women are wholly dependent on Social Security payments. (The data re elderly female dependency is powerful.) The President's leadership in achieving the rescue package is a major fact capable, if well communicated, of greatly enhancing his position with women.

11. In the end, it is only the President who can alter the most fundamental aspect of the current debate by directly confronting the notion that women represent a special interest group, with ready-made tribunes, legislative agendas, and organizational representatives. The Administration has stood for the proposition



that the public interest is greater than the sum of Washington-based special interests, and articulation of the view that improvement of the economy and continued improvement on the inflation front is ultimately the real women's issue can have a powerful impact on the politics of "women's issues". (One way of dealing with current approaches is by forcefully indicating how badly gender-neutral pricing insurance proposals will hurt women.) To be sure, the President must use public forums to recognize the role of women in American society, both historically and now. He must also indicate his recognition of the particular difficulties confronted by women in light of their changing roles. But in the end, only he can change the basic terms of the debate by confronting the notion that legislative laundry lists have much to do with the real interests of women.

12. All available resources should be mustered in an unremitting communications effort emphasizing the President's concern that women receive fair and equitable treatment in an expanding, revitalized economy. This can be done as follows:
  - (a) A major Presidential speech highlighting this administration's accomplishments to date, and recognizing the vital role of women (should be given soon) to a mixed audience.
  - (b) A women's speakers bureau in the White House should be organized quickly so that articulate Administration women could be spreading the word on this administration's support of women.
  - (c) More women should be used to present the Administration's position in testimony given before Congressional committees. This should quickly communicate the Administration's desire not only to place women, but to use them as policy makers. (Especially true for defense/foreign affairs).
  - (d) Careful attention must be given to the selection of the new Deputy in Presidential Personnel. Ideally, it should be a woman, if not, a man who publicly expresses a dedication to placing women in top level positions. (This statement should also be expressed by Mr. Herrington publicly.)
  - (e) The President and his advisors should use every opportunity to emphasize his accomplishments in issues of concern to women, i.e. every speech should have a section on this subject. Every briefing should contain a section on accomplishments of interest to women.
13. The President should also move to broaden the scope of the "women's agenda". For example, he has already taken the lead with his speech regarding the subject of educational excellence. This issue is very important to women. Women are also responsive to the problem of crime, and this administration has a story to be told here as well. More could be made of this administration's ABM proposal to share defensive technology with the Soviets.

14. The time is right to move out and grasp this opportunity to bring women into the Republican fold in every-increasing numbers. Women want to be convinced that this party should be their party, and that they will not be ignored once they have joined us. We have a good story to tell, and it should be told by not only the greatest communicator of all, our President, but by the many talented Republican women who serve this country and party. If clear and strong leadership on this issue is offered, we transcend the special interest issue, change the terms of the debate, reach women more potentially responsive to this administration, and give our supporters something to rally behind.

This White House and Presidential leadership initiative would not have to be the final word in this area. The President would continue to look at all sorts of additional proposals as they arise. He would certainly not be closing the door. He would, however, set forth unapologetically his substantial programmatic accomplishments, move beyond the narrow targeted feminist agenda, and appeal on the basis of the fairness and equity of his record to the broader public interest.