

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Deaver, Michael
Folder Title: Cabinet Meeting on Women's
Issues 5/24/1983 (3)
Box: 62

To see more digitized collections
visit: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:
<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>


National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 23, 1983

TO: MKD

Per your request.


Jim Cicconi

OUTLINE/INDEX

WOMEN'S STRATEGY: A TWO-YEAR PLAN

TAB I. Executive Summary

- A. Objective
- B. Target Group
- C. Strategy Guidelines

TAB II. Overview

- A. Gender Gap
- B. Heart of the Gap: Non-married and Working Women
- C. Administration's "Perception" Problem with Women

TAB III. Policy Initiatives

A. Economic Equity Initiatives

- 1. Equal Work for Equal Pay
- 2. Economic Equity Act
- 3. Child Care
- 4. Social Security
- 5. Education

B. Legal Equity Initiatives

- 1. Child Support Enforcement
- 2. Children's Package
- 3. Federal Equity Project
- 4. 50 States Project

TAB IV. Communications Plan

- A. Proposed Presidential Events
- B. Long Term Projects

TAB V. Policy/Communications Action Chart

TAB Appendix A. Child Support Initiative

TAB Appendix B. Women in the U.S.: Expanding Roles

TAB Appendix C. Women in the Workforce

WOMEN'S STRATEGY: A TWO-YEAR PLAN

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

OBJECTIVE:

The objective of this strategy is to increase the President's support among women and reverse the growing trend for women to support Democratic candidates.

TARGET GROUP:

The specific groups of women targetted in this strategy include:

Disaffected, moderate Republican women
Members of potentially supportive women's groups
Married women working outside the home
Single heads of households working outside the home
Elderly women dependent on Social Security

STRATEGY GUIDELINES:

Go on the Offensive. Look to build a credible record on issues of concern to women and increase the Administration's positive communication with women.

Improve our Substance/Policy Record. Substantive policy decisions which acknowledge the sensitivities of women will be required to increase support among women. Symbolic and ceremonial gestures alone will be insufficient and probably counter-productive.

Guidelines for policy development include:

- o Stress the policy themes of legal and economic equity for women.
- o Continue to avoid highly visible Presidential involvement with the volatile "women's issues", such as ERA and abortion.
- o Assure consistency with the basic principles of the Reagan philosophy, e.g. reduced federal spending, reduced tax and regulatory burdens, support of the federalism initiative, and building a strong national defense.
- o Build a track record that can be clearly communicated to women. Consistency over time will be more effective than one or two splashy initiatives which may appear manipulative.

Improve Awareness. Utilize all available resources to convey the President's genuine concern that women receive fair and equitable treatment under the law and on the economic front.

- o Stress not only what the President does, but what he says and how he says it. We must not only deliver our message properly; we must make sure it is received properly.
- o Key attitudes to be communicated are:
 - Recognition of the changing role of women as breadwinners as well as homemakers.
 - Sympathy for the particular demands on both single parents who work, as well as dual working heads of household.
 - Recognition of the accomplishments and contributions of women.
 - Continued support for initiatives which promote legal and economic equity.
- o Develop an effective regional and grassroots communications network.

To implement this strategy the attached, 2-year Action Plan is divided into three components as follows:

Economic Equity Initiatives

Legal Equity Initiatives

Communications Plan

Each policy action is supported by a programmatic description and political rationale. Time frames and action officers are assigned, as appropriate, for monitoring purposes.

The White House Coordinating Council for Women will monitor and report findings to the President.

OVERVIEW

Gender Gap

The "gender gap" became a national media phenomenon in mid-1982 when polls revealed that women responded more negatively than men to the President's economic program, his likelihood of leading the nation into war, and his overall job rating.

Related to the gender gap is evidence that women are shifting their voting habits and voting Democratic in increasing numbers. Furthermore, women outnumber men and are now voting in proportions equal to those of men. Unless altered, these trends combine to make the 1980's a difficult period for Republicans.

While the impact of the women's vote in the 1982 midterm elections is still somewhat inconclusive, the data foreshadow continued problems for Republicans. Polls indicated throughout 1982 that Democratic candidates led by five to fifteen points among women. Network exit polls conducted on November 2 indicated about the same spread, with Democrats leading among women in 73 out of 85 monitored races.

In most 1982 races, the gender gap did not exceed the margin of victory. Moreover, in some key races, the Republican votes of men substantially outweighed the Democratic leanings of women to produce Republican victories. Two statewide election losses are frequently attributed to defections in the women's vote-- Lew Lehrman in New York and William Clemments in Texas. The women's vote may also have been a factor in the Michigan and Connecticut gubernatorial races as well, according to the New York Times.

An important factor in the 1982 elections is the perception that feminist women's groups pushed the politics of America to the left. Allegedly "non-partisan" women's groups such as NOW are now basically left-liberal groups in support of Democrats. In a number of races, feminist groups opposed Republican women, even when the Democratic candidate was male. Their rationale was that no matter how "good" an individual Republican woman was, a vote for her would strengthen the Republican leadership in Washington. As outgoing NOW President Eleanor Smeal said, "We don't like the Republican Senate and obviously we would not like to have the same situation in the house."

Even more traditional organizations such as the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, and Business and Professional Women have been highly critical of Administration policies concerning women. These organizations pride themselves on being non-partisan, but find that their legislative agendas are increasingly embraced by Democrats and that they do not have the support of the Administration.

Public opinion on the ultimate impact of the gender gap is by no means universal. One perspective which is gaining currency is the gender gap phenomenon may erase Republican hopes of achieving a permanent political realignment favoring conservatives: New York Times Reporter Adam Clymer observed.

...another kind of realignment, in which women are tying themselves to the Democratic Party while men vote more heavily for Republicans... this so-called gender gap may influence American life in the 1980's as much as the civil rights revolution did in the 1960's.

Heart of the Gap: Non-married and Working Women

The reasons for the gender gap are complex and multi-faceted. Data suggests, however, that it may be rooted in the changing economic status of women in the U.S. Consider the following trends:

As of 1980, 52 percent of all women over 16 were working.

Working women now outnumber housewives by 14 million. The ratio of working women to traditional homemakers is about 3:2, up from 1:2 just thirty years ago.

Forty-six percent of women with children under the age of six are working. Sixty-three percent of women with children aged 6 to 17 are working.

Women are falling into poverty faster than any other group.

The increase of women in the workforce is not a temporary phenomenon, but one which has long-term implications. Some indicators are:

Women are having fewer children.

The divorce rate has doubled since 1950. Families headed by women rose by 51 percent in the 1970's. One in seven families is headed by a woman today.

Inflation and a weak economy have contributed to the movement of wives into the workforce to maintain the family's standard of living.

Some analysts point to the relative economic status of men and women as a source of the gender gap. Women tend to be poorer, to earn less money on the job, and to be more dependent on the government for assistance than men.

The percentage of non-married women is rising which may also be a contributor to the gender gap. Non-married women include single mothers with children as well as widows dependent on Social Security. In either case, they feel more insecure and vulnerable to the effects of a recession. Half of all people in poverty are women. Of significance, a CBS-New York Times poll shows 45 percent of married women voted Republican this year while 33 percent of non-married women did. While the Republican differential among married women was 5 points, it was 31 points among non-married women.

Administration's "Perception" Problem with Women

Superimposed on the economic foundation of the gender gap is a more intangible, but equally serious, problem based on the perceived insensitivity of the Administration toward women.

The Administration has consciously maintained a low-profile posture with women, intended to keep controversial "women's issues" at arm's length. However, this approach has contributed to a sense of alienation and "benign neglect" that is noted by Republican women as well as organizational leaders.

With the exception of the appointment of Sandra Day O'Connor to the U.S. Supreme Court, the President is not credited with any significant program, policy, or initiative expressly for women.

While a number of solid gains have been achieved by the Administration, none have been of the order of magnitude to warrant kudos from our skeptics, who are quick to point out our shortcomings. For example:

- a. An acceptable record of women appointments is overshadowed by the absence of women in the Cabinet and a perceived underrepresentation in policy areas.
- b. While ERTA enacted significant benefits for women, including a reduction of the marriage tax penalty, the virtual elimination of inheritance taxes, and increased child care tax credits we are faulted for avoiding the tough issues, e.g., pension reform, insurance discrimination etc.
- c. In spite of the dramatic reduction in inflation, polls reveal that women are either not aware of this fact or don't believe it. A number are critical that our inflation gains have come at the expense of jobs.

The President's own personality and style have tended to project him as a man's man. While this characterization has been helpful with men, it may have worked to his detriment with regard to women. An often heard question is whether the President takes women seriously.

While women are not, obviously, monolithic the same cannot be said for feminist organizations. Groups such as NOW and the National Women's Political Caucus have been persistent and extreme in their criticism as is often the case with advocacy groups. With direct lines to the media, they have successfully managed to frame the issues and put the President on the defensive.

The development of policies designed simply to appease the feminist advocates would be counter-productive. We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that their relentless trumpeting of causes has increased the awareness of women at large. The net effect may well be a heightened desire for recognition, coupled with enactment of some specific policies of direct benefit to women.

In summary, if the Administration intends to close the gender gap, it must make efforts to broaden its base of support among women.

There is no reason why the Administration should be seen as reluctant to address such important issues as child care, sex discrimination, equal employment opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and pension reform. Issues such as these are not exclusively feminist and have appeal, in many cases, across the ideological spectrum. Our earlier inactivity has clearly signaled a lack of interest, concern, and commitment while Democrats are championing these and far more liberal concepts at our expense.

WOMEN'S STRATEGY: A TWO-YEAR PLAN

ECONOMIC EQUITY INITIATIVE

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

Background: Despite the 1963 Equal Pay Act and its amendments, women have not achieved nor made much progress toward equity in earnings. The latest Labor Department data reveal that wage disparities persist in many occupations:

Bookkeeping--Women held 90.6% of the jobs in 1981, but earned an average of \$98 a week less than men holding the same position.

Elementary and Secondary School Administrators--Men earned an average of \$520 per week, compared with \$363 for women.

Computer systems analysts: Men received an average weekly salary of \$546, compared with \$420 for women.

Health technicians: Women held 68.5% of these jobs but averaged \$273 per week, while men in comparable positions earned \$324.

Elementary school teachers--women held 82.2% of the jobs, but earned an average of \$68 a week less than men.

Political Impact: The Equal Pay issue hits at the heart of the charge that women are not being treated fairly, despite the Federal laws that are in place. Pay equity between men and women was the subject of hearings in the House of Representatives this fall.

The perceived failure to enforce the Equal Pay Act has led to more radical proposals such as the concept of "Equal Pay for Work of Comparable Worth". Feminist groups, liberal Democrats, such as Edward Kennedy and organized labor, have embraced the comparable worth issue and are joining the bandwagon on this leading-edge pro-women issue.

Action: CCLP to examine current enforcement procedures and recommend improvements as necessary.

Officer: Michael Uhlmann

Timing: (1) Form working group before January 20, 1982.
(2) Report of CCLP/WHCCW due May, 1983.

Action: Identify an Equal Pay for Equal Work case that the Administration can publicly support.

Officer: Michael Uhlmann

Timing: Ongoing.

Action: Administration issues paper on Equal Pay
Officer: Kevin Hopkins
Timing: January 1, 1983

Action: Commission an internal study to examine equal pay
for work of comparable worth issues, and report to the
WHCCW.
Officer: Edwin L. Harper
Timing: Report due April, 1983.

ECONOMIC EQUITY INITIATIVE

THE ECONOMIC EQUITY ACT

Background: The Economic Equity Act of 1981 was introduced by Senators Hatfield, Packwood, and Durenberger. The Act proposes reforms in pension and tax policy and insurance and government regulations which will help eliminate unequal treatment of women in the economic arena.

Three important provisions of the Bill concerning estate tax reform, retirement, and day care were incorporated into the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 and are now laws.

The EEA will be reintroduced again in the next Congress. In addition to the overall package, individual components will be introduced as "stand-alone" legislation to facilitate passage.

Political Impact: The EEA is the top legislative priority of most national women's organizations. Support for the Bill ranges from very liberal groups (NWPC) to very conservative groups (National Association of Evangelicals). The three major sponsors are Republicans, and the EEA is viewed as a Republican initiative.

While the Administration may not be able to endorse every specific element of the EEA, much of it is uncontroversial and consistent with Administration policy. The Pension Reform Bill, in particular, merits our close attention. The Bill has 27 co-sponsors in the Senate and 105 in the House, and appears likely to pass.

Early support of all or part of this Bill is essential for the Administration to establish its credibility with women. It will be difficult for the President to profess his commitment to economic fairness if he cannot support at least some of this important legislation. A clear statement before the State of the Union would be of significant value.

Action: Conduct a formal, in-depth review of the elements of the EEA to identify those portions of the legislation which can be embraced by the President. Prepare an appropriate communication/legislative strategy based on the above.

Officer: Michael Uhlmann

Timing: ASAP Analysis due November 29.

ECONOMIC EQUITY INITIATIVE

PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVE: CHILD CAREIssue

Should private sector child care receive direct support from this Administration, in particular, from the Private Sector Initiatives Office?

Background

Private sector child care ranges from "family day care" -- provided in homes to small groups of children -- to the providing of information and referral services to help a company's employees find day care facilities that meet their schedules and preferences to employer-provided child care at the workplace. It excludes direct government support and subsidies for the specific purpose of child care.

In the 1981 Budget Reconciliation Act, Title 20 of the Social Security Act, the major Federal day care program, was cut 20 percent, and folded into the Social Services Block Grant. States now may decide whether to run a day care program, and the appropriate funding level. Since states no longer are required to report their spending patterns to the Federal government, we don't know how child care has fared under the Block Grant program.

Federal laws provide tax breaks for child care. The Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 increases tax credits to working parents, and provides that employer contributions for child care are not taxable to employees. Federal laws also provide financial support for child care under a number of Federal programs. The largest Federal expenditure on child care is the tax credit.

In conjunction with the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, the Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, currently is funding four demonstration projects to induce employers to provide day care services for working women by various means. Final reports are due by October 1983.

While there are no Federal child care regulations, state and local regulations and restrictions on day care appear to impose unnecessary costs on the system.

Political Impact

Whenever women are polled about their most important concerns, child care invariably ranks near the top of the list. More and more, however, child care is recognized as a family issue. A more efficient private child care system would generate a more efficient labor force.

The changed perception that this Administration strongly supports the growth of private sector child care would earn it important positive political benefits.

Recommendations:

That private sector child care receive direct support from the President's Private Sector Initiatives Office.

1. The Office should help promote the Women's Bureau Project findings to induce employers to provide child care services.
2. In conjunction with the National Association for Child Care Management and/or the Heritage Foundation and/or the American Enterprise Institute, the Office should identify unnecessary state and local child care restrictions. Next, it should undertake a public effort to encourage these governments to relax these restrictions.
3. The Office should encourage prototype workfare programs that could be adopted by State and local governments under the "Work for Welfare" program of the Community Worker Experience Program (CWEP) of the 1981 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act, whereby:
 - a. Able-bodied welfare recipients would be required to provide low-cost child care for other workfare recipients, and for low-income working people.
 - b. College students, whose previous grants and loans are now being converted to work-study programs, could provide child care for college campuses or in neighboring communities.

ECONOMIC EQUITY INITIATIVE

SOCIAL SECURITY

Background: Preserving the solvency of the Social Security system is a major issue of national concern for both men and women. It is an issue of particular concern to women, since 60% of women over the age of 65 and living alone rely on Social Security as their only source of income.

In addition to the overriding solvency issue, women are concerned about inequities in the system impacting non-working spouses. Two reforms sought by women's organizations are:

- a. That a divorced woman who does not remarry will become eligible for 50% of the benefits her husband would have received at his normal retirement age, even if he chooses not to retire.
- b. That persons over 62 who are already eligible for Social Security benefits will not lose them if they remarry.

Political Impact: As a candidate Ronald Reagan recognized inequities in the current Social Security system and pledged to "address any remaining inequities in the treatment of women under the Social Security system." To date, no action has been taken to fulfill this commitment.

Action: Formally ask the Blue Ribbon Task Force on Social Security to include inequities to non-working spouses as part of their final report to the President.

Officer: Edwin L. Harper

Timing: ASAP

Action: Review the reforms recommended by the National Commission on Social Security to determine feasibility for implementation.

Officer: Edwin L. Harper

Timing: ASAP

LEGAL EQUITY INITIATIVE

CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT

Background: This program was enacted at the Federal level in 1975 as a way to reduce the cost of welfare and foster family responsibility at a time of growing dependency in the welfare system. With notable exceptions, like California and nine other states, prior child support legislation has not been vigorously implemented by either the Federal government or the states.

According to a U.S. Bureau of the Census study in 1978, of those awarded child support, only 49% received the full amount due them. About one-fourth received less than the full amount ordered, and 28 percent received nothing.

According to Lenore J. Weitzman, Stanford University, 1982:

"All the research on compliance with child support orders points to three consistent findings.

"First, not one study has found a state or county in which more than half the fathers fully comply with court orders.

"Second, research suggests that many fathers who are ordered to pay support pay it irregularly and are in arrears. In several studies the arrearage is for half or three quarters of the money owed, and in one study it reached 89 percent.

"Third, the research indicates that a very sizeable minority of fathers--typically between a quarter and a third--never make a single court-ordered payment."

Political Impact: An Administration-sponsored initiative to emphasize enforcement of the child support programs would have nearly universal support. Since legislation is in place, it would not require Congressional action but rather leadership and emphasis. Presidential attention to this serious problem would signal our target women population (working mothers) that the Administration recognizes this inequity and is committed to improving their economic security by enforcing the law.

Action: A child support collection initiative has been prepared and is ready for approval and implementation (See Appendix A). Secure approval of the plan and proceed with implementation and communications plan.

Officer: Michael Uhlmann

Timing: December 1, 1983.

LEGAL EQUITY INITIATIVE

Children's Package

Background: Elizabeth Dole has suggested that the Child Support Initiative be expanded to include child care, child abuse, child pornography, adoption and other laws that have a negative impact on children.

Political Impact: Because most women are mothers, or see themselves as potential mothers, laws that protect children are perceived as being helpful to women. A series of initiatives demonstrating the President's concern for all children would contribute to his image as a caring person.

Action: Convene a CCLP working group to examine laws that impact children.

Officer: Michael Uhlmann

Timing: November 1982

Report and communications plan due to CCLP/WHCCW
August, 1983.

LEGAL EQUITY INITIATIVE

FEDERAL EQUITY PROJECT (Executive Order 12336)

Background: President Reagan issued Executive Order 12336 in December of 1981 to fulfill two important campaign commitments to women:

"I will seek elimination of numerous federal regulations that discriminate against women." (Press release, 10/21/82)

"I will ask the existing National Commission on the Status of Women to submit annually a list of federal laws which subvert women's equal rights. I will then work with Congress to revise or repeal those statutes, or to enact new equal rights legislation as required." (Campaign Fact Sheet, "Equal Rights for Women, " 1/31/82)

Progress on this initiative has been slow, but steady to date. Increased monitoring will be necessary to assure its completion in advance of 1984.

Political Impact: The President's campaign pledges were made to women in the heat of the ERA debate. It will be important to demonstrate to women on both sides of the ERA issue that these promises to address legal equity were taken seriously and fulfilled. Not to do so will provide the Democrats with a powerful campaign issue in 1984.

Action: Convene the Task Force on Legal Equity for Women on a quarterly basis through 1983, with attendant reports to the President.

Officer: Carol Dinkins

Timing: November, 1982/March, 1983/ June, 1983/September, 1983/December, 1983

Action: Complete the review of Federal statutes which may discriminate on the basis of sex and submit report to the President.

Officer: Brad Reynolds

Timing: April, 1983

Action: Complete the review of Federal regulations which may discriminate on the basis of sex.

Officer: Brad Reynolds

Timing: February, 1984

Action: Issue a final report to the President, completing the mandate of E.O. 12336 and recommending a maintenance procedure for the ongoing review of Federal statutes and regulations.

Officer: Brad Reynolds

Timing: June, 1984.

LEGAL EQUITY INITIATIVE

THE 50 STATES PROJECT

Background: Like the Federal Equity Project, the 50 States Project fulfills a campaign promise which was reiterated in the President's acceptance speech:

"As President, I will establish a liaison with the 50 Governors to encourage them to eliminate, wherever it exists, discrimination against women."

Responsibility for the 50 States Project was relocated from the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs to the Office of Public Liaison in June, 1982. The project has been restaffed and a comprehensive action plan has been developed to maximize the visibility and effectiveness of the project. The thrust during 1983 and 84 will be to put the Project on the offensive by assuring that corrective legislation is passed in a number of targetted states. The 50 States Project and the Cabinet Council on Legal Policy working groups should be closely coordinated to cooperate in the areas of child care enforcement and other initiatives to assist single heads of households.

Political Impact: Like the Federal Equity Project, the 50 States Project can help the President demonstrate his sincere commitment to the objective of equal rights for women. Women's organizations and the Democrat leadership have greeted the Project with a large measure of skepticism and are closely monitoring its progress hoping that a lack of progress can be used against the President.

Action: Implementation of the strategy and action plan submitted to Elizabeth Dole on _____.

Officer: Thelma Duggin

Timing: ASAP

Action: Oversight by White House Coordinating Council on Women.

Officer: Elizabeth H. Dole

Timing: Ongoing

COMMUNICATIONS PLAN
TWO YEAR GENDER GAP STRATEGY

Proposed Presidential Events

- o State of the Union. Recognition of the changing role of women in American society. Careful attention to language which will communicate to the female audience. January 1983
Edwin L. Harper
- o Meeting with individuals and organizations concerned with economic equity for women. State Administration policy and future initiatives. February 1983
Elizabeth Dole
- o Meeting with elected Republican women to highlight the benefits for women in the GOP. April 1983
Elizabeth Dole
- o Meeting with Governor's Representatives to the 50 States Project to review progress and future priorities. July 1983
Elizabeth Dole
- o Speech to the National Convention of Republican Women in Kentucky. Theme: Changing and expanding role of women in American society and Administration's response to that change. October 6-9, 1983
Elizabeth Dole
- o Meet with individuals and organizations concerned with specific elements of the Children's Initiative. Review Administration progress, future goals, and legislative targets. Areas to include child support collection, child care, child abuse, adoption, child pornography, etc. November 1983
Elizabeth Dole
- o Meeting with Republican women candidates to support their entrance to elective office and to highlight the accomplishments the Administration has made in advancing legal and economic equity for women. September 1984
Elizabeth Dole

COMMUNICATIONS PLAN
TWO-YEAR GENDER GAP STRATEGY

Long Term Projects

- o Establish a strategy to contact regional press on a regular basis.

Rationale: The major East Coast press is not known for their overwhelming support of Administration initiatives. Note the continuing argument about whether this Administration or the Carter Administration has appointed more women to high level positions. We can combat this situation by going directly to the regional press and radio shows with the Administration record on appointments and other issues. In a couple of months, we should be able to establish a systematic approach to the regional press that reaches the grassroots.

Action Officer: Karna Small
Timing: February and ongoing.

- o Gender Gap Speaking Team.

Rationale: It appears that men and women interpret the spoken and written word differently. A team of speakers sensitive to the way women communicate and who are kept up to date on the accomplishments of the Administration would help to communicate our record to women. The team should be made up of both men and women and should be encouraged to speak to groups that are predominately male as well as formal women's groups.

Action Officer: Judy Pond
Timing: March and ongoing.

- o Identify 10-20 groups of women for the Team to speak to and coordinate with the speaker's bureau.

Rationale: We can select our audience in order to enhance the chances of increasing our receptivity among women.

Action Officer: Diana Lozano

- o Coordinate Cabinet Secretaries to speak to select audiences.

Rationale: Women are multi-issue voters. They are as interested in the major initiatives of the Administration as are men. All the resources of the Administration should be used to get the message out that the Administration is not hostile to women and that it does not exclude women when considering major policy initiatives.

Action Officer: Judy Pond
Timing: December and ongoing.

- o Work with the RNC to coordinate communications and policy initiatives.

Rationale: The RNC has a lot of resources and experience and we should work closely with them in order to send a consistent and clear message over time.

Action Officer: Lee Atwater
Timing: December and ongoing.

- o Speechwriters to be alerted and kept aware of the apparent fact that women and men receive messages differently.

Rationale: Research indicates that advertisers and academics find that women do not receive the same message as men. All White House communications, should be sensitized to this difference in order to learn how to communicate clearly to the entire audience.

Action Officer: Judy Pond
Timing: December and ongoing.

WOMEN'S STRATEGY: A TWO-YEAR PLAN
POLICY/COMMUNICATIONS ACTION CHART

<u>DATE</u>	<u>ACTION</u>	<u>ACTION OFFICER</u>
<u>1982</u>	Task Force on Legal Equity for Women to convene quarterly throughout 1983 and report to the president via the WHCCW.	Carol Dinkins
November	Economic Equity Act/Norris v. Arizona: Determine level of support for the Act and Administration policy re pensions.	Michael Uhlmann
November	Social Security: Request review of inequities to non-working spouses as part of final report of the Commission and request review from OPD to determine feasibility of implementation.	Edwin L. Harper
November	Equal Pay for Equal Work Act: Form working group to have oversight of enforcement of the Act.	Michael Uhlmann
November	Equal Pay for Comparable Work: Commission an internal study from DEA to examine this issue. Study due April 1983.	Martin Felstein
November	Child Support Collection: Letter to Department heads from the President requiring greater cooperation implementing this initiative.	Michael Uhlmann
November	Child Support Collection: Set-up Justice Department meetings to examine how better to implement the Child Support Collection Program.	Michael Uhlmann
November	Child Care: Develop Administration policy statement and action plan.	Velma Montoya
Novmeber	Equal Pay for Comparable Work: Bullet-proof Issues Paper on Equal Pay for Equal Work. Due January 1983	Kevin Hopkins
November	Communications Strategy to be completed.	Emily Rock Diana Lozano

<u>DATE</u>	<u>ACTION</u>	<u>ACTION OFFICER</u>
<u>1982</u>		
November	Children's Package: Convene a Cabinet Council Working Group to examine laws that impact children. Findings to be incorporated into the Child Support Program communications and action plan.	Michael Uhlmann
December	50 States Project: Implement strategy and action plan.	Elizabeth Dole
December	Economic Equity Act/Norris v. Arizona. Develop communications plan.	Dave Gergen
December	Cabinet Meeting: Discuss importance of gender gap and encourage Cabinet Secretaries to accept speaking invitation that have been identified as possibilities for closing the gap.	Edwin L. Harper
December	Assign coordination of Cabinet Secretaries speeches. Report due 7/83.	Judy Pond
<u>1983</u>		
January	Include specific reference to the changing role of women in the SOTU, review past accomplishment, and plans for the future.	Edwin L. Harper Elizabeth Dole Dee Jepsen
January	Equal Work Issues Paper due.	Kevin Hopkins
January 20 (approx.)	State of the Union	
January	50 States Project: Brief WHCCW on specific plans.	Elizabeth Dole
February	Children's Package: Invite interested groups to the WH to discuss initiatives.	Elizabeth Dole
February	Regional Press Plan report to WHCCW.	Karna Small
February	Economic Equity: Presidential meeting with individuals and organizations concerned with topic. State Administration policy and future initiatives.	Elizabeth Dole

<u>DATE</u>	<u>ACTION</u>	<u>ACTION OFFICER</u>
1983		
March	Task Force on Legal Equity Report to WHCCW.	Carol Dinkins
March	Gender Gap Speaking Team report due to WHCCW.	Judy Pond
April	Comparable Worth study due from CEA to WHCCW.	Martin Feldstein -
April	Task Force review of Federal Statutes Report due to the President through CCLP.	Brad Reynolds
April	Presidential meeting: Invite elected Republican women to the WH. Highlight benefits for women in the GOP.	Elizabeth Dole
May	Equal Pay for Equal Work Act: Report from working group to CCLP/WHCCW.	Michael Uhlmann
June	Task Force on Legal Equity: Final report re statutes due to the President through CCLP.	Brad Reynolds
July	50 States Project: Presidential meeting with Governor's representatives at the WH to review progress and future priorities.	Elizabeth Dole
July	Cabinet Secretaries Speaking initiative report to WHCCW and speechwriters report.	Judy Pond
August	Children's Package: Working group report to CCLP/WHCCW.	Michael Uhlmann
August	RNC Coordination report to WHCCW.	Lee Atwater
September	Task Force on Legal Equity report to WHCCW.	Carol Dinkins
October 6-9	Presidential speech to the National Convention of Republican Women in Kentucky. Theme: Changing role of women and Administration's response.	Elizabeth Dole
December	Task Force on Legal Equity for Women report to WHCCW.	Carol Dinkins

<u>DATE</u>	<u>ACTION</u>	<u>ACTION OFFICER</u>
1984 February	Task Force review of Federal Regulations report to the President through CCLP.	Brad Reynolds
June	Final Report on Regulations and Statutes. Issue Final Report and maintenance procedure in compliance with the Executive order.	Brad Reynolds
September	Presidential meeting with Republican women candidates to support their entrance to elective office and highlight Administration's efforts to advance legal and economic equity for women.	Elizabeth Dole

THE WHITE HOUSE

Appendix A

WASHINGTON

Revised November 29, 1982

October 29, 1982

SUBJECT: CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM

BACKGROUND

This program was enacted in 1975 as a way to reduce the cost of welfare and to foster family responsibility at a time of growing dependency on the welfare system. This Federal program is based on the program that was successfully instituted in California when President Reagan was Governor.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRAM

The program locates absent parents, establishes paternity of children born out of wedlock, and establishes and enforces child support orders. Services are provided to those receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and to families who need help in obtaining child support but do not receive AFDC. States and localities administer the program. The Federal Government pays much of the cost and provides support services, policy direction, and technical assistance.

GOALS OF FUTURE ACTION

The remainder of this memo recommends specific actions in these areas:

- A. Expanding the base of popular support,
- B. Fostering productive activity on the part of State and local government, and
- C. Strengthening assistance and cooperation from the Federal establishment.

A. Expand Popular Support:

There is a sizable untapped residue of support for the program. The mother and her children are overwhelmingly the family unit suffering financial deprivation due to inadequate child support. Whether pro-family or feminists, middle class or counted among the truly needy, women's groups all across the spectrum form a natural constituency for positive action.

Recommended action:

1. The President could give a radio speech on this topic at the time or near the time of a proposed meeting with the Governors of states that have a successful program. (Dave Gergen - January)
2. Proposed White House Event as rallying point for interested groups. The Office of Public Liaison could invite representatives of interested groups to the White House for an information sharing meeting. (Elizabeth Dole - November)
3. Cabinet Officers, other Administration spokesmen, and the RNC should be provided with talking points on this program for inclusion in their speeches. They should be encouraged by White House Senior Staff to mention the program. (Kevin Hopkins, Mike Baroody, Senior Staff Members of the WHCCW) (ASAP and ongoing)

B. State and Local Government Activity:

Matters of family law have historically been a State and local responsibility. Adequate State legislation is the cornerstone of a strong and effective child support enforcement program. But without proper follow-through, laws alone will not translate into a successful program. Good management is critical; motivating employees, overcoming potentially negative attitudes from segments of the judiciary or the welfare bureaucracy, acquiring adequate resources, applying modern data processing techniques, holding contractors accountable for results, etc.

The wide disparities among States in the performance of their child support enforcement programs indicates that some Governors, legislators, law enforcement officials, and others have been leading the way. A case in point: Governor Bond of Missouri, pledged and delivered on a campaign to strengthen the State child support enforcement program through legislation and additional resources while building awareness on the part of State judges, prosecuting attorneys, and the general public. Another instance where unfailing support has already been translated into a highly successful program: Massachusetts, under the leadership of Governor King.

Here, the need is for marked expansion of the limited efforts undertaken thus far with the National Governors' Association, the National Conference of State Legislatures, the National Association of State Budget Officers, the National Association of Counties, the National Association of Attorneys General, the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, and others of that sort. In the troublesome area of interstate support enforcement, the focus of attention is the American Bar Association and the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.

Recommended Action:

1. The Fifty States Project is a natural place to encourage the already identified state laws that inhibit the full elimination of functioning of this program. (Thelma Duggin - ASAP and ongoing)
2. The Attorney General or a high ranking member of the Federal judiciary could chair sessions with appropriate State and local officials on anything from the importance of child support enforcement to the myriad difficulties of interstate enforcement (Mike Uhlmann, Rich Williamson - February)
3. Child support enforcement could be an agenda item at an upcoming meeting of the National Governors' Association. (Rich Williamson) (Post clearinghouse meeting - February)
4. An information clearinghouse approach could be used to generate interest and attention at the upper levels of State and local government. For example, under White House aegis, a council of Governors from States with superior child support enforcement programs could be established to speak with their peers in a group setting or on a person-to-person basis. (Mike Uhlmann, Rich Williamson - January)

C. Help and Cooperation from the Federal Establishment

The multiplicity of involved Federal departments and agencies, alone, argues for Presidential and Cabinet leadership in strengthening the Child Support Enforcement Program. Moreover, capitalizing on the widespread, but untapped, favorable attitude toward the Program and its objectives can only be effectively orchestrated and carried out with the same Presidential and Cabinet direction.

The current role and potential contributions of the departments and agencies from an administrative standpoint are as follows:

- o Health and Human Services--focal point for the Child Support Enforcement Program, and capable of enhancing absent parent location and other supportive services furnished to State program. Also able to play a key role in interaction with pertinent State and local government organizations, women's groups, and the business community.
- o Treasury--through the Internal Revenue Service, recoups delinquent child support from Federal income tax refunds under certain specified circumstances. This can be mechanized to a greater extent and examined for possible expansion to a broader segment of the population in need of child support. Also, consistent with a taxpayer compliance theme, detection of both tax fraud and welfare fraud may be made easier by another expansion of present operations.
- o Justice--potential for greater cooperation in parental kidnapping and child custody cases and most logical leader for overcoming the many problems now encountered in securing child support when the child resides in one State and the responsible parent in another.
- o Interior--can assist in implementing the child support enforcement program on Indian reservations, many of which have failed to adopt or enforce program provisions.
- o Veterans Administration and Selective Service System--can be helpful in furnishing address information for absent parent location purposes.
- o Postal Services--by administrative action, can further facilitate location of absent parents through release of forwarding addresses to child support agencies.
- o Defense--can more adequately carry out present arrangements for service of process in paternity or child support actions to military personnel when they are on base or aboard ship.

Recommended action:

1. Part of a Cabinet session might be devoted to a briefing on the Child Support Enforcement Program, the opportunity it presents, and the respective roles to be assumed by the President, members of the White House staff, and Cabinet officers. (Ed Harper/Ed Meese)
2. A Cabinet Council on Legal Policy working group could be created to address and resolve policy and responsiveness issues central to a stronger child support program. The

Chairman of this working group should have the government wide responsibility for getting results in the child support area. For example, matters of privacy and confidentiality of information must be surmounted to follow through on the possibility of using a by-product of the program to combat income tax fraud. (Michael Uhlmann, Bob Carleson - ASAP and ongoing)

3. The President could send a letter to each of the Departments listed above asking for increased efforts to streamline and effectively manage a program that the President is personally committed to due to his success in implementing this program when he was Governor of California. To be sent in conjunction with a White House meeting with Governors. The two should be done together to emphasize the Federal and State sharing inherent in this program. (See previous section) (Ed Harper, ~~Michael Uhlmann~~)

Resource individuals familiar with the program:

Robert Carleson, Office of Policy Development, 456-6630.
 Emily Rock, Office of Policy Development, 456-6515.
 Lance Lamberton, Office of Policy Information, 456-2762.
 Robert C. Harris and Fred Schutzmann, HHS, Office of Child Support Enforcement, 443-4442.

PROJECT OFFICER

TIMING

PROJECT

Edwin L. Harper

Kevin Hopkins

Michael Uhlmann

Completed.

Talking Points.

ASAP & ongoing. Cabinet Council Working Gro

ASAP & ongoing. Presidential letter
to Departments.

ASAP & ongoing. Dept. of Justice
sessions.

Elizabeth Dole

February

White House event:
Interested groups.

Thelma Duggin

In process.

Identify state laws
that inhibit program.

Rich Williamson

March

Council of Governor's
Clearinghouse meeting..

?

National Association of
Governor's Meeting.

Edwin Meese/
Elizabeth Dole

March/April

Report to the President
on progress.

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO MAKE A GOOD PROGRAM BETTER

- o There are two major components to a successful child support enforcement program: adequate state legislation and good management.

-- Adequate state legislation for child support should go well beyond the basic necessities. This can include:

- * Access to government and non-government records to locate absent parents.
- * A requirement that in welfare cases all child support payments be made to a governmental agency, in order to facilitate monitoring and enforcement action.
- * Authority to contract for supportive services such as legal assistance and genetic testing for establishment of paternity.
- * Legislation authorizing liens on real or personal property, attachment of wages, or seizure of the obligated parents' state income tax refund.

-- While adequate state legislation is the cornerstone of a strong and effective program, good management is the key. This involves:

- * Motivating employees to really care about the good work that they are accomplishing.
- * Overcoming potentially negative attitudes from segments of the judiciary or welfare bureaucracy through a public relations effort spearheaded by the Governor of the state.
- * Using available resources in the most effective manner possible, such as in the application of automatic data processing equipment to billing, accounting and monitoring.
- * Applying personnel and other resources in a balanced way so that, for example, great effort is not expended on functions such as locating absent parents while little attention is devoted to obtaining regular support collections once cases have been adjudicated.

- o How these improvements can be realized.

-- Officials of federal agencies whose responsibilities involve child support enforcement can be of enormous help in publicizing the many benefits of improving the effectiveness of the child support enforcement program, such as:

- * The welfare savings to state governments that come from higher rates of enforcement and compliance.
 - * The savings to the taxpayer from lower levels of welfare expenditures.
 - * The fostering of greater family responsibility and the prevention of hasty and unwarranted family break-ups.
 - * The assurance of financial security for women who head households and must depend on support payments to meet their family's living expenses.
 - * Preventing potential harm to the self-esteem of children whose fathers have abandoned them not only physically, but financially as well.
- Governors of the various states can do more than any other group of government officials to make improvements in their child support enforcement programs. Examples of recent actions:

- * In Pennsylvania, Governor Richard Thornburgh proclaimed "Child Support Awareness Week" as part of an effort to increase public appreciation of the child support problem. The effort included talk show appearances by state program personnel, statewide distribution of posters and bumper stickers that read "Child Support -- Your Kids Deserve It" and a letter from the Governor to key court officials stressing the importance of child support.

One positive indicator of progress: Pennsylvania submitted almost three times as many delinquent cases for federal income tax refund offset in FY 1982 as it did in FY 1981.

- * In Massachusetts, Governor Edward King promoted the enactment of legislation strengthening the Massachusetts wage assignment statute and requiring employers to respond to child support agency inquiries related to the establishment and enforcement of support obligations.

To strengthen administration, Governor King required all state agencies to cooperate in providing necessary information to the Massachusetts Child Support Enforcement Agency. He increased child support staffing and exempted vacant positions from a general departmental hiring freeze. He also arranged for funding of pilot projects in which state police served warrants in difficult child support enforcement cases.

Governor King also took an active personal role in promoting the Child Support Enforcement Program. He highlighted the subject in his annual "State-of-the-State" addresses, spoke about child support enforcement in radio and TV appearances, stressed, when speaking before the annual statewide judicial conference, the role of the judiciary in bringing about an effective CSEP and spoke before the State's Department of Probation where he argued for the need to improve child support monitoring and enforcement activities.

The results of these efforts: Massachusetts child support collections on behalf of AFDC families -- collections which reduce welfare expenditures -- rose approximately 39% during Governor King's Administration, from \$29 million in FY 1979 to more than \$40 million in FY 1981.

- * In Missouri, Governor Christopher Bond backed an Omnibus Child Support Enforcement bill as part of a major new emphasis on child support enforcement. The Governor also declared a "Child Support Awareness Week" as a means of stressing the impact of nonsupport on the state budget.

This active support and top level commitment has produced tangible results. The Missouri legislature approved the omnibus bill, authorizing an administrative hearings process for the establishment of child support obligations, mandatory wage assignment and offset of state income tax refunds for delinquent child support enforcement payments. The state Omnibus Child Support Enforcement staff morale has risen, and most importantly, Missouri child support collections on behalf of AFDC families are projected to show an increase of 30% between FY 1982 and FY 1983.

- * In Colorado, Governor Richard Lamm launched a public relations effort directed toward absent parents, consisting of 30-second radio and TV spots which both outlined possible actions such as wage garnishment, and attempted to create peer pressure by pointing out the benefits to both children and the taxpayer when absent parents meet their child support obligations.

The results: Colorado's counties submitted 15,000 delinquent child support cases for possible offset of federal income tax refunds -- more than five times Colorado's case submissions for the previous year.



White House Office of Policy Information

ISSUE ALERT

Washington, D.C.

Number 8

November 15, 1982

CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM

Background

In 1975, Congress established the Child Support Enforcement Program (CSEP). This program, modeled after the highly successful initiative launched in California by Governor Reagan, is designed to enforce support obligations owed by absent parents to their children. The CSEP has three major functions: (1) locating absent parents; (2) establishing paternity; and (3) obtaining support payments in order to reduce dependence on the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program and thereby constrain welfare costs.

This Issue Alert examines the extent of the absent-parent problem, the operation of the Child Support Enforcement Program, and CSEP's performance record.

Analysis

o The absent-parent problem.

-- The dimensions of the problem.

- * The number of single-parent families increased by 97% during the past decade.
- * Single-parent families now constitute 25% of all families with children.
- * 90% of these families are maintained by women.

-- The causes of the problem.

- * Approximately half of the marriages that took place in the 1970s have ended, or will end, in divorce.
- * The number of out-of-wedlock births has increased significantly.

- Between 1970 and 1979, the number of out-of-wedlock births rose by 50%, from 400,000 to 600,000 per year.
- During this time, out-of-wedlock births as a proportion of total U.S. births climbed from 10.7% to 17.1%.

-- The plight of women-headed, single-parent families.

- * According to a 1978 Census Bureau study, only 59% of women potentially eligible to receive child support awards have been granted them.
- * Of those awarded child support by the courts:
 - Only 49% received from the absent father the full amount due them.
 - 23% received less than the full amount owed them.
 - 28% received nothing.

-- The effect: a higher welfare burden.

- * Almost 87% of all AFDC recipients are eligible for welfare assistance because of the absence from the home of a living parent.
- * In fact, the single-parent family is the most significant new factor in the nation's high poverty level and growing social spending.

-- The problem threatens to grow worse over the next decade.

- * By the 1990s only 56% of the children in the U.S. will spend their entire childhood living with both natural parents.

o How the Child Support Enforcement Program works.

-- General characteristics.

- * CSEP is designed to assist single-parent families in collecting the child support money owed them, and thereby reduce the financial burden on the welfare system.
- * The responsibility for administering CSEP is divided between the federal government and the states.

-- The federal responsibilities for CSEP are carried out by the Office of Child Support Enforcement (OCSE), which audits and controls the funding and distribution of collections generated under the program. OCSE also provides:

- * The 12 states with the best child support enforcement record were responsible for only 16% of all child support expenditures while realizing 87% of the AFDC savings.

-- There is great potential for significantly increasing child support collections.

- * According to a 1982 Stanford University study, most men who are not meeting their child support obligations are capable of doing so, and, indeed, are capable of paying significantly more than the amounts awarded.

- * In California, for example, men with incomes between \$30,000 and \$50,000 per year were just as likely to not comply with child support enforcement orders as were those with incomes under \$10,000.

- * Thus, the primary reason for the lack of compliance is the absence of -- and the failure to use -- effective enforcement procedures.

o Accomplishments of the Reagan Administration.

-- The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 authorized collection of past due child support in AFDC cases from any federal income tax refund otherwise destined for the the obligated parent.

- * For FY 1982, the initial year of operation, this tax refund offset program produced \$170 million in child support collections.

- * The prospects are even more favorable for collections this year.

-- OCSE's Parent Locator Service is being improved to handle requests for absent parent location information more quickly and more responsively.

Table 1

COMPARISON OF CHILD SUPPORT PROGRAM PERFORMANCE

FY 1981

<u>Performance indicator</u>	<u>10 Best States</u>	<u>National Average</u>	<u>10 Worst States</u>
AFDC payments recovered	10.2%	5.3%	2.5%
AFDC parents absent from the home paying child support*	27.0%	10.8%	3.5%
Cost effectiveness**	2.50	1.31	0.51

* The percentage of the total caseload for which some amount of child support was collected during the fiscal year.

** Ratio of AFDC collections to total administrative costs.

Source: Office of Child Support Enforcement.

WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES: EXPANDING ROLES

NUMBER

More than half the population

The nation's 119.1 million females comprise 51.3% of the total population.

RACE

Six of seven are white

Of all females 101.6M, or 85%, are white.

14.6M, or 12%, are blacks.

2.9M are of other races.

AGE

Older than men on the average

The median age of females 31.9 years, compared with 29.3 years for males. And females are getting older: In 10 years, their median age will be 34.5 years, and by the year 2000 36.8 years.

LIFE SPAN

Women live longer than men

The average females lives to little more than 78 years, or nearly eight years longer than the average male. The gap in life expectancy is widening--it was little more than seven years two decades ago.

EDUCATION

More likely to attend college.

Among persons 18 to 24, 35% of women are enrolled in college, compared with 34 percent of men. At last count, 23.4% of graduating medical doctors were women, as were 30.2 percent of lawyers.

MARRIAGE

More women are putting it off.

Just over half of the women age 20-24 have never been married, compared with 35.8% in 1970 and 28.4 percent in 1960. But 83% of women ultimately do marry.

FAMILIES

Those headed by women rise sharply.

More than 1 in 7 families--9.1M--are headed by women. The number has risen by 65 percent since 1970, largely because of the climbing divorce rate.

CHILDREN

Women want fewer offspring.

Of childless married women age 18-24, 23% expect to have one child or none, while 72% expect to bear two or three children. Only 5% expect four or more. If fulfilled, these plans mean little population growth.

POLITICAL POWER

An edge in numbers at the polls.

Women of voting age are 52.2% of all Americans age 18 and up. With women living longer than men, the proportion is growing.

WOMEN IN THE WORKPLACE

In the past two decades, 24.7M women have joined the labor force compared with 13M men.

Percentage of women in the labor force.

1962	1972	1982
38%	43.9%	59.9%

...at a pay disadvantage

Women's pay as share of men's.
Median earnings of full-time wage and salary workers.

1962	1972	1982
56%	58%	59%

Better jobs open up...

Proportion of management jobs held by women..

1971	1976	1980
10.9%	14.9%	19.2%

Unemployment among women lags unemployment among men for the first time in history.

9.8% for men v. 8.6% for women.

A large proportion of women workers are concentrated in low-paying jobs.

Women as proportion of all persons employed as--

Secretaries, typists	98.3	Receptionists	97.3
Bank tellers	93.5	Telephone operators	92.9
Nurses, dietitians, therapists	92.6	Bookkeepers	91.1
Cashiers	86.2	Librarians, archivists, curators	82.8
Health technicians	72.3	Teachers (noncollege)	70.6
Economists	34.0	Managers and administrators	28.4
Computer specialists	26.4	Physicians	21.7
Lawyers and judges	20.7	Engineers	3.1