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FROM:

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Series IV Subject File

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Outreach Working Group on Women (1)

Box Number 65

Description of Material:

Note, George Bush to Mike Deaver, 6/1/83, 1p.

TO:

Collection: Historic Preservation File

Series: Deaver, Michael K.

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Outreach Working Group on Women (1)

Box Number: _____

Transferred by: K. Barton

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

Date 6-1-

TO: Mike Deaver

FROM: THE VICE PRESIDENT

It was good of
you to invite Jennifer
to the Women's Out-
reach group.

I'd appreciate if she
could attend future
meetings - keeps me clued in
GD

8/1/83

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Members of Outreach Working Group
on Women

Lee Atwater
Ed Rollins
Dick Darman
Craig Fuller
Faith Whittlessey
Elizabeth Dole
Nancy Risque
Dave Gergen
Ed Harper
Jim Cicconi
Bill Sittmann
Mike McManus

DONNA L. BLUME

not

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1983

*Bill
lets discuss
follow-up.*

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER *AS*

SUBJECT: Meeting Summary--Women's Issues

*WOMEN'S SPEECH
CARTER Will
- Gergen memo
on women
speaking engagements
- informal outside
advisory group
- John Deering for
petition
women's rights*

During our discussion this afternoon, the actions listed below were discussed. We agreed to discuss these and other possible actions with an expanded group.

Actions considered:

- CZ* 1. Prepare a decision memorandum for Thursday's CCLP meeting with the President that will allow the President to act on the recommended changes presented by DOJ in their preliminary report. Prepare legislative language for presentation at or before the Senate hearings on S. 501 scheduled for September 16, 1983.
- CZ* 2. Consider other possible actions at the CCLP meeting, including a reconsideration of spousal IRAs (making homemakers eligible for IRAs).
- NR 3.8* 3. Review federal workforce policies affecting women looking specifically at pay policies and procedures.
- MD* 4. Consider the appointment of a senior advisor to the President with responsibility for:
 - expediting the review of laws and the drafting of legislation to correct laws and regulations that are gender specific or may in some way discriminate.
 - 50 States Project.
 - review of the Federal pay policies and practices.
 - being the Administration's leading spokesperson on issues affecting women.
- WME* 5. Develop an effective speakers program on women's issues.

- WS 6. Hold a meeting with leading women appointees and the President in the Oval Office--this would launch the special speakers program and would provide the President with an opportunity to discuss women's issues with his own appointees.

- DG 7. Draft a speech and develop a speaking opportunity for a major speech about women.

- WRS 8. Schedule another meeting with Congressional women.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 26, 1983

*Bill
Hold for
meeting tomorrow*

MEMORANDUM TO: MIKE DEEVER
FROM: NANCY RISQUE
SUBJECT: Spousal IRA's

I've requested a reading on the likelihood of passage of the above. I recommend that we take no position until we have such a reading (unless we're inclined to support).

The events of August will probably cause redoubling of legislative efforts and spousal IRA's is one issue all the men up there understand.

cc: Ken Duberstein

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 5, 1983

2:00 p.m.
Roose. Rm.

Mr. Deaver -
Nancy Risque
is sending
agenda over
tomorrow
morning

JB

FOR: DONNA BLUME
FROM: NANCY PALMER *clp*
SUBJECT: Attendance at July 6 women's issues meeting

The following persons have indicated they will be attending the July 6 meeting on women's issues in the Roosevelt Room at 2:00 p.m. which Mike Deaver will chair:

Ed Meese
Dick Darman
Craig Fuller
Dave Gergen
Ed Harper
Faith Whittlesey
Joe Wright
Lee Atwater
Jim Cicconi
Ken Cribb
Becky Dunlop
Nancy Risque
Mike Uhlmann

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 29, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: ED MEESE
JIM BAKER
DICK DARMAN
KEN DUBERSTEIN
CRAIG FULLER
DAVE GERGEN
ED HARPER
ED ROLLINS
FAITH WHITTLESEY
JOE WRIGHT

FROM: MIKE DEAVER ⁴⁰

SUBJECT: Women's Issues -- June 28 Meeting

At Olympia Snowe's request, I met yesterday with the Republican Members who met in March with the President.

Predictably most of their comments were aimed at the lack of follow-up since that meeting, and I think we've put that aside now. They are ready to get on with the business of working the issues -- legislative and administrative initiatives, as well as symbolic ones.

I've agreed that we will hold several sessions aimed at discussing with them our policies/recommendations in regard to the issues they raised with us and aimed at identifying ways we may resolve perceived and real problems of the "gender gap."

I've proposed a July 13 meeting to discuss elements of the women's economic equity act and pension reform. These two items include many of the legislative issues they raised with us, including:

- o child care/dependent care tax credits
- o spousal IRAs
- o insurance non-discrimination.

There is a time factor on these issues because Senate Finance has requested Administration testimony on both, and has agreed to wait until after the July recess to reconvene hearings to receive such testimony.

Attached is a copy of my letter that went to the participants of the last meeting. Meeting attendees were:

Members

Olympia Snowe (Maine)
Bobbi Fiedler (California)
Marge Roukema (New Jersey)
Lynn Martin (Illinois)
Nancy Johnson (Connecticut)
Claudine Schneider (Rhode Island)
Senator Paula Hawkins (Florida)

Cabinet

Elizabeth Dole
Margaret Heckler

Staff

Roger Porter
Ken Cribb
Becky Dunlop
Lee Atwater
Mike Uhlmann
M. B. Oglesby
Nancy Risque

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 29, 1983

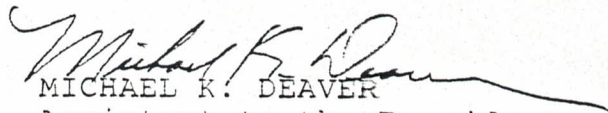
Dear Olympia:

Thank you for coming to meet with me yesterday on such short notice. I appreciated your candid comments and believe that our discussion yesterday, and those that will follow, will go a long way toward resolving communications problems and take us toward a coordinated program.

I'd like to move quickly to discuss more fully a couple of the items that you recommended to us. Many of these issues have been thoroughly reviewed by the appropriate cabinet councils and I agree that it would be useful to discuss them with you again before final decisions are made.

Let's meet on Wednesday, July 13 at 10 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room to discuss two issues -- the elements of women's economic equity legislation and pension equity. Would you please let M. B. Oglesby know if you plan to attend this meeting.

Sincerely,


MICHAEL K. DEEVER
Assistant to the President
Deputy Chief of Staff

The Honorable Olympia Snowe
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 23, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DEEVER
THRU: KEN DUBERSTEIN *Ker D.*
FROM: NANCY RISQUE *Nancy*
SUBJECT: Women's Issues - Summary

The "gender gap," evident in the 1982 elections, has created congressional concerns and activity. Republicans are worried about it.

In the House, the Democrats seized the initiative on so-called "women's equity issues" -- introducing non-discrimination insurance legislation (which we have serious concerns about), an ERA amendment, and the comprehensive women's economic equity bill (a costly all-encompassing piece of legislation that includes insurance and pension non-discrimination language).

In the Senate, Republican moderates introduced the comprehensive economic equity bill (Durenberger) and Dole has a pension reform package, S 19.

In light of all this, several Republican women Members of Congress wrote the President February 3 and met with him March 24 to assure him that they did not want to be at odds with the Administration on these issues and urged him to preempt other efforts in Congress by:

- o endorsing various legislative initiatives already introduced or elements of such legislation;
- o reconsidering certain budget decisions that they view as having a negative impact on women; and
- o by taking the lead on the wage discrimination issue through a commission.

They also requested that the President become neutral on congressional discussion of the ERA amendment.

From a congressional/legislative viewpoint, some of the pending legislative items are divisive among our members.

- o Only six, maybe seven of the Republican women representatives agreed on the Snowe agenda set out in her February 3 letter.
- o House and Senate conservatives, and many moderates, oppose elements of "women's equity" legislation such as insurance and pension discrimination sections and the ERA amendment.

Since the meeting three months ago with the President, other legislation has been introduced by some of our Republicans:

- o child support enforcement (Roukema-Conable)
- o IRA ceiling up to \$2,000 for non-working spouses (Daub and many others)
- o child/daycare tax initiatives

Even if our members don't think the problem is necessarily a legislative one and even though they may disagree over legislative solutions, there is a consensus that the "gender gap" is a political perception problem and one that requires White House leadership to resolve.

They want a positive program with some legislation. The members think we've dragged our feet too long in addressing these issues. They believe we collectively need a legislative, administrative, and symbolic program. Such a program needs to move toward the Olympia Snowes (moderates) but doesn't lose the conservatives like Jim Broyhill and Barbara Vucanovich.

PAULA HAWKINS (Florida)

As the junior senator from Florida, she serves on the Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry; Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs; and Labor & Human Resources committees. Paula earned a reputation of fighting for the consumer against utilities prior to her election to the Senate during her years as a Florida Public Service Commissioner (1973-79).



Sen. Paula Hawkins
of Winter Park
Republican—Jan. 1, 1981

NANCY LANDON KASSEBAUM (Kansas)

She serves on the Budget, Foreign Affairs, and Commerce, Science & Transportation committees as well as the Special Committee on Aging. Nancy will be up for her first reelection in '84. She is the daughter of Alf Landon.



Sen. Nancy L. Kassebaum
of Wichita
Republican—Dec. 23, 1978

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DEEVER

FROM: NANCY RISQUE *Nancy*
M. B. OGLESBY, JR.

SUBJECT: Meeting with Republican Women Members
of Congress

Attached is background material for your use.

Given recent press coverage on your "new" assignment as coordinator of women's issues, there will be some interest in hearing about what you envision needs to be done to accomplish a legislative, administrative, and symbolic program to deal with real and perceived problems of the "gender gap."

Per my conversation with Bill Sittman, we invited Gergen, Dunlop, Porter (Harper regretted), Cribb, and Rollins to participate. Congresswomen Snowe, Fiedler, Schneider and Johnson have confirmed attendance; we'll know about Roukema and Martin tomorrow.

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS

- o Say that you are pleased to have this meeting at Olympia's suggestion to continue earlier discussions with the President.
- o Acknowledge recent press stories and explain what we're trying to do;
- o Say that Faith couldn't be with us but reiterate her role.

- o Acknowledge that we haven't moved quickly enough in this whole area, but say that we are making progress. Cite:
 - child support enforcement legislation that HHS is working on with Marge (Roukema).
 - Movement in private sector child care jawboning (see attached article).
 - Relay that there are other issues we are about to decide.
- o With that, open the meeting to discussion, starting with Olympia and the other Members.

cc: Ken Duberstein

*5 points raised at RR's meeting.
RNC - superficial acts.*

OLYMPIA SNOWE (Maine)

She serves on the Foreign Affairs Committee, Select Committee on Aging and the Joint Economic Committee. Previously, she served as a state rep and state senator (1973-78). Olympia is part of Trent Lott's Republican Whip organization.



Olympia J. Snowe
of Auburn (2d Dist.)
Republican—3d term

BOBBI FIEDLER (California)

She serves on the Budget Committee, an assignment she received as a freshman member of Congress. Previously, she served on the Los Angeles Board of Education (1977-80). Bobbi contacted her Reagan supporters over the weekend and urged them to write/call the President in support of his opposition to the tax cap.



Bobbi Fiedler
of Northridge (21st Dist.)
Republican—2d term

LYNN MARTIN (Illinois)

She serves on Budget, Public Works & Transportation, and House Administration committees. Before coming to Congress, she served as a state rep and state senator (1977-80). She represents Rockford -- a town with a considerable unionized blue-collar population that still hasn't benefitted from economic recovery due to its concentration of machine tool, textile machinery and automotive parts plants.



Lynn Martin
of Rockford (16th Dist.)
Republican—2d term

MARGE ROUKEMA (New Jersey)

She serves on the Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs and Education & Labor committees. Marge and her staff are working with HHS on introduction of our child support enforcement bill.



Marge Roukema
of Ridgewood (5th Dist.)
Republican—2d term

CLAUDINE SCHNEIDER (Rhode Island)

She serves on the Merchant Marine & Fisheries Committee, Science & Technology Committee and Select Committee on Aging. Schneider got her start in politics as an environmentalist, opposing construction of a nuclear plant near her home. Rumors have it that she has her eye on Pell's Senate seat. Claudine was one of four Republicans to vote for the Jones Democrat budget in March.



Claudine Schneider
of Narragansett (2d Dist.)
Republican—2d term

NANCY JOHNSON (Connecticut)

She serves on the Public Works & Transportation Committee, Veterans' Affairs Committee, and Select Committee on Children, Youth & Families. Formerly a state senator until her election this past November (1976-82), Nancy took Toby Moffett's seat and has her work cut out for her in '84.



Nancy L. Johnson
of New Britain (6th Dist.)
Republican—1st term

Private Child-Care Help

Washington Post 6/27/83

By Felicity Barringer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Nearly two years after the Reagan administration reduced the federal funds available to states for child-care services, it has begun a low-key campaign to encourage companies to help pay their employees' day-care expenses.

Margaret M. Heckler, secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, and James Coyne, the top staffer of the White House's new Advisory Council on Private Sector Initiatives, have hit the road recently in support of the concept. Heckler has promoted the idea of day-care benefits with executives of high-technology and sporting goods firms in Portland, Ore.; of religious publications; of private hospitals and banks in Nashville, and of insurance companies in Hartford, Conn.

She has also instructed staffers in HHS's Administration for Children, Youth and Families to prepare brochures describing a variety of options for corporate support of child care, including referral services, child-care benefits for employees that firms may deduct from their income taxes and support for community day-care centers.

"We're trying to get away from the stereotype that support of day care means turning a third-floor abandoned storeroom into a romper room. Many chief executive officers just say, 'I'm not in the babysitting business.' We're trying to show there are other options," said Coyne, a former Republican congressman from Pennsylvania.

Heckler's cross-country jawboning, which started early this month, is the clearest indication yet of the administration's awakening interest in the child-care issue. In his State of the Union address last January, President Reagan told Congress that "a major effort will be focused on encouraging the expansion of private community child care."

Pointing to studies by consultant Dana Friedman, Coyne said, "This is a productivity issue for business. Amazing things happen at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Phone bills go up and productivity goes down because people are calling to see if their children have gotten home."

The Census Bureau reported last year that about half of American women over 16, some 44 million, work outside the home. In addition,

social service grants to the states from \$3.1 billion to \$2.45 billion. The grants support services ranging from alcohol and drug abuse counseling to home-care services for the elderly to day care. Also eliminated was a provision that at least \$200 million of the money be earmarked for day care.

Another casualty of the budget cuts was the Agriculture Department's day-care food program. Instead of providing three meals and two snacks a day to low-income children in day-care centers, the USDA now provides two meals and one snack.

However, the administration did support a congressional proposal to broaden the tax credits available for child care, which could cost the treasury more than \$1.2 billion this year, according to day-care advocates.

Heckler's new push has been greeted with qualified enthusiasm from these advocates, who welcome any move to increase day-care options. They argue, however, that corporate support and tax credits tend to favor the middle class, while doing little for the lower-income working parents hardest hit by the cutbacks in federal social service funds.

"It's somewhat duplicitous to push child care in the private sector while cutting publicly funded child care, especially when low-income people have much less chance of getting child care in the work place," said Nancy Duff Campbell of the National Women's Law Center. Cutting Title XX [the social services block grant] and child-care nutrition and then to say that employers can make up the slack . . . is difficult to fathom."

The Children's Defense Fund, which is preparing a report on the effects of the cutbacks on state support for child care, has found that several states have narrowed eligibility standards, cutting off some low-income parents who work. "We are finding that more and more kids are being left alone," said the fund's Helen Blank. "We estimate that six or seven million kids under 13 are going without care for part of the day."

On the other side of the political spectrum, Phyllis Schlafly, the anti-Equal Rights Amendment activist and head of the conservative Eagle Forum, expressed skepticism for

Women
Issues
File

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 15, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: DEE JEPSEN
OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT: ROBERT F. HATCH LETTER

It is, of course, difficult to draft a constitutional amendment which Congress would accept. However, there are a number of initiatives which have been or will be undertaken in the interest of mothers.

Some general comments in response to the five proposals in an amendment include:

1. No military draft for mothers: This general area was addressed when Congress excluded women from registration for the draft and this action was upheld by the Supreme Court. If we were to have a military draft in the future, Congress would likely exclude women again. However, if this debate ever heats up again, it would be good to emphasize the special interest of mothers.
2. Child support enforcement: Initiatives have already been undertaken in conjunction with the child support enforcement program which passed Congress in 1975. This act gives incentives to states to enforce child support payments and reduce welfare costs. There are several other initiatives in this area that are under serious consideration and may be announced in the near future.
3. FBI investigation of rape and attacks on pregnant women: To involve the FBI would require a statutory change since this is not now a federal crime.
4. Kidnapping of children: The FBI is customarily reluctant to become involved in intra-family matters. Kidnapping outside the family, however, is a serious crime and a rapidly growing concern. There is a proposal under consideration now by Senator Hawkins' office, working with other governmental agencies, to have Congress call upon the President to proclaim a National Child Safety Day. This would be coupled with providing parents with the opportunity to go voluntarily to the local fire station, or other acceptable location, to have their minor children fingerprinted. The parents can then keep these prints in their possession to turn over to the legal authorities in case their children should ever disappear or be kidnapped.

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

Page 2

June 15, 1983

Activities of the White House working groups are relevant to this concern, though they are just in the starting stages:

- 0 The working group on children has been looking into the growing problem of kidnapping of children for the purposes of sexual abuse, exploitation in child pornography or child prostitution, or murder.
- 0 The working group on pornography is looking into connections between child pornography and other forms of exploitation of children, often runaways.
- 5. Social Security benefits for non-salaried wives: Under the present Social Security System, when the working husband retires and receives Social Security benefits, his non-salaried spouse receives one-half of what he receives. Also, if he dies before retirement, she and the children receive social security benefits.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DATE: June 14, 1983
TO: Dee Jepson
Judi Buckalew
FROM: Joan P. Moreci
SUBJECT: Attached Correspondence

Please provide comments to Jonathan Vipond by Noon today on the attached correspondence. This was received today from Mike Deaver's Office, and they have requested a response by COB, today.

Thank you, and sorry for the short notice.



CAMBRIAN ENERGY SYSTEMS, INC.

One Wilshire Building • Suite 2920

624 South Grand Avenue • Los Angeles, California 90017-287

(213) 628-8312

June 7, 1983

Mr. Michael Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Mike:

On Mother's Day this year, I heard about a positive proclamation the President made about mothers. That night, I heard some unisex individuals, who are members of N.O.W., stating that the President was anti-motherhood and anti-women because he was opposed to ERA and abortion.

Instead of trying to defend the President from a large vocal minority represented by N.O.W. and others, he should take the offensive and promote a new idea - the Mothers Rights Amendment! - MRA!! Most non-N.O.W. women are mothers, or want to be mothers.

The thoughts I have for such an amendment could include the following:

- none now* 1. No military draft for mothers. The anti-ERA'ers will love this. They want it to include all women, but this could be beneficial to captivate Phyllis Scheffler and others.
- working on* 2. Allow for maternal reciprocity regarding alimony and child support. Presently, if a husband leaves the state of any divorce decree, it is difficult for the wife to collect.
3. Allow the FBI to investigate any rape or violent attack on a pregnant woman. This gets the issue that the FBI is not only protecting the mother, but another living being. Perhaps this ought to be a national crime with strong penalties.

145389

641-7595
226

*Bill
get them
ideas stopped
no that I can
get back to
Bob*

Michael Deaver

-2-

June 7, 1983

- parent location
cover*
4. Allow the FBI to investigate the act of the kidnapping of a child who is the subject of a court custody decree. This matter is especially newsworthy since the lawsuit against the Phil Donahue Show was recently publicized. In that case, Donahue interviewed the father and child on T.V. The mother watched the show and demanded to know the whereabouts of her child. (She had custody, but the father kidnapped the child three years earlier.) She sued and got a multi-million dollar verdict. Because of the publicity, the father and child were found.
- amendment*
5. Determine (subject to costs) if all mothers are eligible for Social Security, whether or not they have worked. Since the mother often stays at home so the husband can work in many cases (especially the low income families), the women are never eligible for Social Security.

These are a few thoughts I had. Most would be appealing to most women and most men. I would hope the promotion of this amendment would not only increase respect for mothers, but also bury the E.R.A.

SS
Yes, I have a mother, wife and three children. I think most of these ideas would be good for them. Yes, I think women are different from men and they should be revered. After all, wasn't the mother of Jesus held in extra esteem? Shouldn't we do the same?

I would be glad to do more if you desired that this idea be pursued.

Sincerely,

RFH
Robert F. Hatch
Executive Vice President

RFH/gj

MARGARET HECKLER

Guest columnist

Reagan picked 1,000 women for key posts

WASHINGTON — President Reagan made a lasting contribution to strengthening women's place in our society two years ago when he appointed the first woman to the Supreme Court, Sandra Day O'Connor.

If a Democratic president had made that appointment, would his good faith be questioned? Would he be under indictment for not understanding women?

But there's more:

■ There are three women in the Reagan cabinet, more at any one time than in any other administration in history.

■ The president selected more women for full-time top policy positions in his first two years in office than any of his predecessors. By last January, he had selected 94 women, compared to only 76 by the previous administration in its first two years.

■ All told, more than 1,000 women have been appointed to policy-making posts in the White House and throughout the executive branch.

■ In addition, Jeane Kirkpatrick is the first woman ambassador to the United Nations with cabinet rank.

Is that "tokenism?" Not if you know those women.

Ronald Reagan has acted on his belief — that the best public policy comes about when men and women work together. As full and equal partners.

I think Ronald Reagan and his administration successfully grappled with the most pervasive economic problem to face the country in a generation. In dealing with that economic trauma, the president came to grips with a key problem faced by all American workers —

Margaret Heckler, a former congresswoman, is secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services.

men and women alike.

Is not tax policy a woman's issue? If there are 43 million women in the workforce, as we know there are, when they enjoy a 25 percent reduction in taxes, the impact falls upon them as advantageously as it does upon men. And again, there's more:

■ The so-called marriage penalty has been greatly reduced — saving two-earner couples about \$300 a year (when each makes about \$15,000).

“
The best public policy comes about when men and women work together.
”

■ The tax credit for child care has been raised from \$400 for one child of a working mother to a maximum of \$720.

■ Toughened child support enforcement produced \$170 million in 1982 alone, from fathers who abandoned welfare families.

■ Rules governing Individual Retirement Accounts have been liberalized to allow larger contributions by women who work outside the home, and also for homemakers with no earned income.

The record is a good one. There's more to be done, though, and more will be done.

10A • WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8, 1983 • USA TODAY

GENDER GAP QUESTIONS FOR THE NRCC U.S. NATIONAL SURVEY

make cc for WS
2/ put original in
Women's Group
JLB

Our conclusions about the gender gap will be primarily based on the analysis of the data rather than from the straight results to particular questions. We need to analyze the relationships of various issues and perceptions to the perceptions that men and women have of Reagan's general job performance. The analysis would also include an objective yardstick on the net impact of the gender gap (does it help more than hurt or hurt more than help) and an objective evaluation of whether or not there would be losses among men by following various strategies to improve Reagan's position among women.

There are six explanations of the gender gap that we would test:

1. Reagan's personal style
2. The compassion/fairness issue
3. The war/peace issue
4. The economy
5. Women's issues, per se
6. Voter's personal preference on risk avoidance and risk seeking

We have grouped the attached questions into the preceding categories. The attached listing of questions do not include any on the economy directly as they are still being drafted for the NRCC. There will be several questions on the recession and the recovery which we can use in the gender gap analysis. Several of the measures use a list of items. As you will note, several of the items on each list are relevant to one of the six explanations of the gender gap that appear elsewhere in the outline. We have starred those questions which we are fairly certain will be included in the NRCC questionnaire. All other questions we are proposing solely for the gender gap analysis.

The questionnaire will also include the necessary demographic questions to analyze the gender gap by various types of women: working/non-working, children, marital status, and career oriented women vs. women working out of necessity.

In summary, the analysis needs to answer three general questions: (1) How big is the problem and where does it exist, (2) Why does the gap exist, and (3) What can be done to reduce the gender gap.

General

- *1. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?
- *2. Why do you feel that way? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)
- *3. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?
- *4. Why do you approve/disapprove? (PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

Foreign Policy

- *5. On the nuclear freeze issue -- Do you think the United States should freeze the production of nuclear weapons on its own,. . .do so only if the Soviet Union agrees to a nuclear freeze as well,. . .or do you think the United States should not freeze its production of nuclear weapons at all?
- *6. Do you think the Reagan administration is doing everything possible to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union on nuclear arms reductions or do you think the Reagan administration is doing too little to reach a nuclear arms agreement with the Soviet Union?
- *7. Do you favor or oppose the United States sending military advisors and supplies to the government of El Salvador?
- *8. Do you favor or oppose the United States giving economic aid to the government of El Salvador?
- *9. Do you agree or disagree with President Reagan that Central America is important to the national security of the United States?
- *10. Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

(ROTATE)
 - a. This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.
OR
 - b. Our economy and security would suffer if we didn't protect our interests in other parts of the world.
- *11. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling foreign affairs? (WAIT FOR RESPONSE AND ASK:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Women's Issues/Other Issues

Here are some other issues in the United States which some people either favor or oppose. For each one, please tell me if you favor or oppose it.

(IF FAVORS/OPPOSES, ASK:)

- a. Would you vote for a candidate who holds a position different from your own on that issue?
- 12. A nuclear freeze
- 13. The Equal Rights Amendment
- 14. Right to an abortion
- 15. Building more nuclear power plants (This issue has a 25%-30% gender gap which may be related to the same underlying attitude causing the Reagan gender gap.)

Fairness

I'm going to mention some groups of people and for each one please tell me if you think President Reagan's policies have helped, hurt, or not had much effect on them. (IF HELPED/HURT, ASK:) Would you say they have been (helped/hurt) a lot or just somewhat?

(RANDOMIZE)

- 16. Women
- 17. Working people
- 18. Wealthy people
- 19. Poor people

- *20. As you know, the Reagan administration has emphasized the control of government spending. Do you think the budget cuts in domestic spending over the past two years have gone too far, haven't gone far enough, or have been about right?

Risk

Two-to-three questions to be used for a scale measuring the respondent's basic attitude about risk--whether they place a higher value on risk avoidance or risk taking and to what degrees.

Perceptions of Reagan Attributes

For each of the following pairs of words, please tell me which one you think best describes Ronald Reagan. (WAIT FOR ANSWER AND ASK:) Does that word describe him extremely well or just moderately well?

(RANDOMIZE)

- 12. Aggressive/Meek
- 13. Uncaring/Caring
- 14. Competent/Incompetent
- 15. Dangerous/Safe
- 16. Weak/Strong
- 17. Modern/Old fashioned
- 18. Bold/Cautious
- 19. Fair/Unfair
- 20. Snobbish/Friendly

Q.21-Q.29. Split sample same nine pairs of adjectives on Walter Mondale and John Glenn for comparison to Reagan's ratings.

Direct Inquiry

30. The term "gender gap" has been used by some people who talk about women being less approving of President Reagan than men. How about you, do you think women tend to have unfavorable opinions about President Reagan?
31. (IF "YES," ASK:) Why do you think that is?
(PROBE FOR AT LEAST TWO RESPONSES)

32. (IF "YES," ASK:) If you could talk to Ronald Reagan, what would you tell him to do to improve women's opinions about him?

a. (IF ANSWER IS SIMPLY A REPEAT OF ANSWER TO Q.22, ASK:) What, more specifically, should he do?

*Currently as NRCC questions. All other questions would be new.