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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 12, 1982

NOTE FOR ROGER PORTER

FROM: BILL BARR

This is the updated matrix
for the President's luncheon
that Mr. Harper requested.

WOMEN'S ISSUE MATRIX

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Present Status</u>	<u>Responsibility</u>		<u>Action Necessary to Finalize Policy</u>	<u>Completion Target Date</u>
		<u>WH</u>	<u>Agency</u>		
Child Support Enforcement	Action plan being developed to focus attention on issue and to enhance enforcement.	Carleson/ Lozano	HHS/ Justice	Implementation of recommended Presidential-Cabinet action plan.	September
Affirmative Action	Being studied by the special EEO Working Group of the Cabinet Council on Legal Policy.	Harper/ Uhlmann	Justice/EEOC/ Labor/OMB	Draft of a comprehensive policy statement needs to be completed.	Late Fall
Identification of state laws that discriminate on basis of gender.	Project continuing. If OMB approves, project will also examine state enactments during past year.	Williamson/ Dole/ Duggin	White House with input from states.	Ongoing effort	Ongoing effort
Identification of federal laws that discriminate on basis of gender.	E.O. 12336 established process. Draft report completed and transmitted to CCLP. Is being circulated to CCLP departments for review.	Cicconi/ Uhlmann	Justice, with input from other agencies.	CCLP will consider the report and issue instructions to Task Force on Legal Equity.	October/November

<u>Issue</u>	<u>Present Status</u>	<u>Responsibility</u>		<u>Action Necessary to Finalize Policy</u>	<u>Completion Target Date</u>
Number of Women in Administration.	Continuing efforts to place more women in "visible" positions.	von Damm	All Agencies indirectly involved.	Ongoing effort	Ongoing effort
OFCCP	Revision of regulations still pending in Labor Dept.	Boyden Gray	Labor-Shong & Ryan	The Vice President's Task Force on Regulatory Relief must review all changes and decide if this is an appropriate time for issuing them.	Next Year
Title IX	We have taken positions that Pell Grants are federal assistance but Guaranteed Student Loans are not.	Horowitz	Education/Justice	Policy is finalized.	Not applicable
Abortion	President on record against current abortion on demand policy and <u>for</u> Congress taking legislative action.	Bauer/Uhlmann	HHS/NIH	Possible Presidential help in obtaining favorable vote on anti-abortion measure in Senate.	Debate on anti-abortion measure scheduled in Senate for Aug. 16-18 as part of debt ceiling.
ERA	Amendment failed.	Elizabeth Dole	Not Applicable.	No Administration action pending. ERA re-introduced.	Not applicable

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 8/17/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 8/24/82SUBJECT: Polls Says Most Women Perceive Job Sex Bias

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
HARPER	☐	☐	DRUG POLICY	☐	☐
✓ PORTER	☐	☒	TURNER	☐	☐
✓ BARR	☐	☒	D. LEONARD	☐	☐
BAUER	☐	☐	OFFICE OF POLICY INFORMATION		
BOGGS	☐	☐	GRAY	☐	☐
BRADLEY	☐	☐	HOPKINS	☐	☐
CARLESON	☐	☐	PROPERTY REVIEW BOARD	☐	☐
DENEND	☐	☐	OTHER	☐	☐
FAIRBANKS	☐	☐		☐	☐
FERRARA	☐	☐		☐	☐
GUNN	☐	☐		☐	☐
B. LEONARD	☐	☐		☐	☐
MALOLEY	☐	☐		☐	☐
MONTOYA	☐	☐		☐	☐
SMITH	☐	☐		☐	☐
✓ UHLMANN	☒	☐		☐	☐
ADMINISTRATION	☐	☐		☐	☐

Remarks:

What do you recommend that we do to counter this perception?...
or create the perception that we are righting this wrong?

Please return this tracking
sheet with your response.

Edwin L. Harper
Assistant to the President
for Policy Development
(x6515)

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

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BOGGS	☐	☐	GRAY	☐	☐
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UHLMANN	☒	☐		☐	☐
ADMINISTRATION	☐	☐		☐	☐

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(x6515)

Poll Says Most Women Perceive Job Sex Bias

At a time when more than half the adult women in America are working and make up 42 percent of the national labor force, 54 percent of them feel they do not have equal employment opportunities with men, according to the Gallup Poll.

Forty-one percent feel they do have equal job opportunities with men and 5 percent have no opinion.

In 1975, the last time the organization asked the question and when 39 percent of the labor force was female, 46 percent of women felt they did not have equal opportunities in employment, 49

percent said they did and 5 percent said they had no opinion.

The two surveys found that the attitudes of men on the question had not changed since 1975, with 50 percent feeling women did not have equal job opportunities, 46 thinking they did and 4 percent having no opinion.

Heightened Awareness Cited

"This is not to say that job bias has actually grown during the seven-year interval," the Gallup report said. "Instead, the figures probably reflect, at least in part, heightened awareness of sex discrimination in employment."

The latest survey also found that, by a ratio of 65 to 32, women who had been employed were less likely to believe they "have equal job opportunities with men" than those who were never formally employed.

In addition to work experience, the survey found that education was a factor. "Sixty-eight percent of college-educated women in the latest survey say their sex does not have equal job opportunities," the report said. "The figure for women whose education ended at or before the high school level is 49 percent."

Moreover, when asked, "If a woman has the same ability as a man, does she have as good a chance to become the executive of a company?" 71 percent of the women with a college education said they did not. Among women with less education, 50 percent had that opinion.

Over all, 56 percent of the women surveyed said they did not have equal access to top executive positions; 40 percent felt they did and 4 percent had no opinion.

Forty-nine percent of the men questioned felt opportunities for top jobs were not the same for men and women; 45 percent felt they had equality of access and 6 percent had no opinion.

Fifty-two percent of the 766 adult women in the survey said they would

rather work for a man than for a woman, as did 40 percent of the 765 adult men.

The survey, conducted June 25-28, had a margin for error of plus or minus five percentage points.

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/17/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 9/20/82
 SUBJECT: The Feminization of Poverty - Press Guidance

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
HARPER	☐	☐	DRUG POLICY	☐	☐
PORTER	☐	☐	TURNER	☐	☐
BARR	☐	☐	D. LEONARD	☐	☐
BOGGS	☐	☐	OFFICE OF POLICY INFORMATION		
BRADLEY	☐	☐	HOPKINS	☐	☐
CARLESON	☐	☐	COBB	☐	☐
DENEND	☐	☐	PROPERTY REVIEW BOARD	☐	☐
FAIRBANKS	☐	☐	OTHER		
FERRARA	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
GALEBACH	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
GARFINKEL	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
GUNN	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
B. LEONARD	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
LI	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
MONTOYA	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
SMITH	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
✓ UHLMANN	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
ADMINISTRATION	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

Any comments.
 E. Rock

Please return this tracking
 sheet with your response

Edwin L. Harper
 Assistant to the President
 for Policy Development
 (x6515)

THE FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY

When asked by the press to comment on the "feminization of poverty", it is easy to be led into a defensive or negative posture. The term itself has a negative connotation and the thrust behind the question will often be that Ronald Reagan and the policies of his Administration are somehow responsible for this phenomenon.

To provide a substantive and sincere response, I would suggest that an Administration spokesman adhere to the following logical sequence in his or her comments on this issue.

- First: Define precisely what the term "feminization of poverty" means.
- Second: Don't be led into accepting responsibility for this phenomenon.
- Third: Explain what this Administration has done, and is doing to (a) provide economic opportunity for women; and (b) reduce poverty for all Americans.

Each of these points is outlined below, with back-up data.

I. What is the "Feminization of Poverty"?

This term has been coined by a number of women's activist organizations and refers to the fact that the number of women living below the poverty level has increased dramatically in the past 10 years. The following data is most often raised to illustrate this point:

- * The number of low-income households headed by females nearly doubled from 23 percent in 1966 to 42 percent in 1979.
- * Fifteen percent of all families are now headed by women, and female-headed families make up half of all poor families.
- * More than half the mothers of young children are in the labor force, yet only 10-15 percent of working mothers have the resources and available facilities to enroll their children in full-day child care centers.
- * One out of three full-time working women earn less than \$7,000 per year.
- * The National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity has predicted that, if the growth rate continues at the same pace of increase, 100 percent of the poverty population of the U.S. will be female-headed families by the year 2,000.

II. The Reagan Administration Inherited This Trend

- * The increase of women at the poverty level is not a new event. This phenomenon began in the 60's and accelerated during the 70's. We are seeing now the results of that twenty-year trend -- more single women living alone and raising children without husbands.
- * Changes in moral values, inflation, and the decline of private sector productivity created the phenomenon of the 70's -- the single, unskilled, and poor women.
- * Poverty declined steadily after a postwar level of 33 percent of the population to 13 percent in 1968. Poverty then stopped declining and began rising again.

III. The Reagan Administration Has Instituted Tax and Program Reforms Which Will Directly Benefit Women -- And Particularly Low-Income Women.

- * Reducing Inflation. The most effective way to combat poverty in America is by controlling inflation. The inflation rate has been cut about in half -- from 12.4 percent in 1980 to 6.7 percent in May 1982.
- * A woman working full-time at the minimum wage and earning \$6,700 a year is \$382 better off than if the 1980 rates had continued unabated.
- * This means that reduced inflation rates have added almost \$1,000 in purchasing power to families with incomes of \$15,000.
- * Reduced Estate Taxes. Reduced inheritance and estate taxes help women, since their life expectancy is nearly eight years more than men, yet many women are dependent on their husband's income or business for economic survival. Under past policies many widows had to sell their family business or farm, and give up all their savings to pay estate taxes. The new estate tax changes exempt 99.7 percent of all inheritances, and this directly benefits surviving widows. accounts
- * Changes in IRAs. One important cause of poverty among women is insufficient planning or saving for retirement. To help correct this problem, the 15 percent income limitation on individual retirement accounts has been removed. This means that women who work to supplement their family's income can contribute as much as \$1,250 more to her IRA account. Even for women who don't work, husbands can contribute \$500 more to their wives account each year than in the past.

(Guthrie
Ph. Home)

- * Child Care Credit. To aid mothers, the tax credit for child care expenses has been raised from \$400 for one child to \$720 effective next year. In addition, the 1981 tax act provides incentives for employers to include prepaid day care in their employee benefit packages.

IV. Reagan Administration Programs To Assist The Poor

- * Contrary to what many critics are saying, overall spending is not being cut. The FY '83 budget is \$38 billion larger than the one for 1982.
- * The President's economic recovery program is based upon preserving benefit levels for the core group of poor people for whom program benefits are intended. The Administration is ensuring that federal resources are targetted to the neediest while discouraging individuals and families who are able to support themselves from continuing to rely on federal assistance.
- * In sum, federal income assistance to the poor will be one-third higher in 1985 than it was in 1980 and more than seven times the amount spent in 1970.
- * The president is not gutting programs that help the needy.

Guaranteed Student Loans. Under Carter, spending in 1980 was \$1.4 billion. Under Reagan, spending in 1983 will be \$2.6 billion.

SSI For Elderly, Poor and Blind. Under Carter, spending in 1980 was \$6.5 billion. Under Reagan, spending in 1983 will be \$8.9 billion.

Health Care. Under Jimmy Carter, spending in 1980 was \$58 billion. Under Reagan, spending in 1983 will be \$78 billion.

- * The FY '83 budget includes a broad variety of safety net programs to assist the poor:

Twenty-eight percent of all federal spending will go to the elderly, an average of \$7,850 per individual (above the age of 65) in payments and services.

The federal government will subsidize approximately 95 million meals per day. This is 14 percent of all meals in the U.S.

Almost seven million post-secondary awards or loans will be available to students or their parents through federal student assistance programs.

Through increased funding for Medicaid and Medicare, the Federal government will provide medical care for some 47 million aged, disabled, and needy Americans -- about 20% of our total population, and 99% of those over 65.

Approximately \$2.3 billion will be spent on training and employment programs, providing skills for almost one million low-income or disadvantaged people, 90% of the recipients will be below the age of 25 or recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

Job training will be provided for almost one million low-income persons, 90% of whom will be below the age 25 or on welfare.

More than 40% of all college students will continue to receive federal education assistance.

About 3.4 million American households will receive HUD subsidized housing assistance and 10.2 million people will receive rental assistance.



White House Office of Policy Information

ISSUE UPDATE

Washington, D.C.

Number 7

September 17, 1982

This paper, prepared for Reagan Administration officials by the White House Office of Policy Information, outlines the Administration's record in addressing the specific legal and economic concerns of women.

ECONOMIC AND LEGAL EQUITY FOR WOMEN

During the 1980 presidential campaign, Governor Reagan stated that "As President, I would ... advance, guarantee and promote equal rights for women ... I consider the women of this nation a great source of strength, creativity and stability. As President, I plan to recognize and utilize that source to the fullest."

The Reagan Administration is making every effort to keep this campaign pledge. After only a year and a half in office, this Administration has made considerable progress in addressing the vital economic, social and legal concerns of women.

The Economic Plan

Women have made enormous strides, both socially and economically, over the past two decades. President Reagan is committed to ensuring that these gains continue.

For women who wish to enter the job market or advance in their careers, the President has sought to remove barriers and disincentives to employment. For women who wish to concentrate on their roles as wives, mothers and homemakers, he has implemented economic policies which will allow them to more easily do so.

In either case, the President recognizes the value and reward both in raising a family and in working outside the home. He has sought to lessen the economic pressures that could force women to choose one or the other against their preferences.

To this end, he has put in place an economic program which, while beneficial to all Americans, will be particularly advantageous to women.

The key to the President's economic recovery program is economic growth. The program is expected to create one million additional jobs by 1986, above what would otherwise be expected. This will be of special help to women, who will likely comprise as many as two-thirds of the new entrants into the work force during this time.

There are growing signs that the program is succeeding. Already, inflation has fallen from the double-digit levels of 1979-1980 to less than 6% for the first seven months of this year. These gains will be of greatest help to medium- and low-income women, especially those who head single-parent households. For instance, a woman working full-time at the median wage of \$11,000 a year will realize an annual increase of nearly \$700 in purchasing power over what she would have had if the 1980 inflation rate had persisted.

This decline in inflation will also make it easier for women to work as homemakers if they wish to. In recent years, high inflation rates have made it difficult or impossible for large numbers of single-earner families to make ends meet; many wives therefore began looking for jobs out of economic necessity. By slowing the growth of family expenditures, lower inflation rates will return to them the choice of whether or not to work outside the home.

Tax Issues

President Reagan recognizes that in the past the U.S. tax code has discriminated against women. To reverse this, he has instituted tax reforms which substantially correct three major inequities: the marriage tax penalty, Individual Retirement Account (IRA) limitations, and confiscatory inheritance taxes. In addition, he has instituted other tax reforms which will reduce existing biases against women.

The "marriage tax penalty," which imposes a special tax burden on married couples where both spouses work, is one of the most glaring examples of discriminatory provisions in the tax code. Prior to last year, married couples filing jointly were taxed at substantially higher marginal rates than were two single individuals earning the same income. Thus, the marriage tax penalty actually served to discourage couples from marrying.

Moreover, because women generally entered the labor force after their husbands had, their income was, for tax purposes, added on top of their husbands' income. Women thus faced much higher marginal tax rates beginning with their first dollar earned -- a significant disincentive to working outside the home.

The tax changes approved last year in the President's 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act will greatly reduce this penalty by permitting a two-earner couple to keep

substantially more of what they earn. A typical two-earner family, for instance, will save up to \$300 per year in taxes when the plan is fully in effect in 1984.

Another set of provisions which the President signed into law last year removed the 15% income limitation on IRAs, increased the limits for contributions to IRAs from \$1,500 to \$2,000 per year, and for the first time permitted any working American to have an IRA account, even if the employer also provided its employees with a private pension or retirement plan. These steps will be of great help to women working outside the home and saving for their retirement. In addition, paid spouses will now be permitted to contribute \$500 more each year to spousal accounts, which will aid non-paid spouses who work as homemakers.

The virtual elimination of the estate tax enacted last year is also of particular benefit to women, since they outlive men by an average of eight years. In the past, many women who had worked alongside their husbands building a family farm or business were forced to sell it when their husband died in order to pay the estate taxes. The new law will prevent this from occurring by providing for unlimited property transfers between spouses. The law also raises the tax exemption on inherited property from \$175,625 in 1981 to \$600,000 by 1987, thus preserving intact some 99.7% of all estates.

The President's efforts to promote greater economic opportunity and equity for women does not stop there. President Reagan has acted to aid parents working outside the home by approving an increase in the tax credit for child care expenses, to become effective next year. For parents who earn less than \$10,000 per year, the credit will rise from \$400 to \$720 per child. The credit is then reduced by one percentage point for each additional \$2,000 of income above \$10,000. For parents with incomes of \$28,000 or more, the allowable credit remains fixed at \$480 per child.

The 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act also provides incentives for employers to include prepaid day care in their employee benefit packages, and raises the dependent care tax credit from \$4,000 to \$4,800. These tax reforms will go a long way toward helping women achieve greater financial independence and security -- especially for the growing number of working mothers who are the heads of single-parent households.

Finally, the indexing of the income tax to inflation, approved last year and taking effect in 1985, will be of significant help to women whose income increases over time. No longer will inflation be allowed to force taxpayers into higher tax brackets -- thus hindering women's advance up the economic ladder.

Other Economic Issues

In addition to these tax reforms, the President has proposed other economic changes to improve women's financial status. For example, the Administration has approved a change in the official definition of poverty. Previously, the poverty level had been higher for men than for women, thereby understating the proportion of women experiencing financial hardship. To correct this inequity, the Reagan Administration instituted a sex-neutral definition of poverty to ensure that women are evaluated by the same assistance criteria as are men.

The President has also signed into law the Uniformed Services Spouses' Protection Act. This law repairs a situation that had left thousands of military wives in financial jeopardy. Because they must move frequently to satisfy the career requirements of their husbands, they find it difficult or impossible to establish an independent career that would qualify them for a pension.

The new law will correct the previous practice by allowing state courts to divide military retirement benefits in divorce settlements. By thus recognizing the economic contributions that both homemakers and wage-earning wives have made to marriages, the law will strengthen the long-term financial security of military wives.

Finally, the President, on July 23, 1982, signed the Flexible and Compressed Work Schedules Act of 1982, which will permanently allow federal agencies to adopt "flexitime" schedules for their employees. Under flexitime, federal agencies may permit employees to arrange their work hours on a more flexible basis in order to meet their personal needs. As the President stated when signing the bill, institutionalizing flexitime will be "particularly important to working mothers who used the flexibility in scheduling work hours to help them meet their responsibilities both at home and at the office."

Legal Issues

In conjunction with these efforts to promote economic equity and opportunity for women, President Reagan has also committed his Administration to the identification and correction of both federal and state laws and regulations which discriminate against women.

To identify areas of discrimination at the federal level, the President has directed, by Executive Order, that the Justice Department complete a review of federal laws and regulations, isolating those that discriminate on the basis of sex. When the identification process is complete, the Attorney General will report the effort's findings to the

President through the Cabinet Council on Legal Policy. The President will then determine which laws and regulations should be altered or eliminated.

Once decisions have been made, the Administration will work with Congress to change statutes in need of reform. Regulatory changes will be implemented by the President's "Task Force on Legal Equity for Women," which is composed of members from each of 21 federal departments and agencies. The majority of the members, 14 of whom are women, hold the rank of Assistant Secretary or above in their departments or agencies, and will therefore have sufficient stature and authority to put in place the changes decided upon by the President.

The President also recently announced the formation of the White House Coordinating Council on Women, to be chaired by Elizabeth Dole, Assistant to the President for Public Liaison. The Coordinating Council will serve as a focal point for the coordination of federal policies and issues that are of particular concern to women.

Action at the federal level alone, however, is not enough, for many state and local laws that discriminate against women still exist. Although these laws were generally established with good intentions -- such as safeguarding women from unusually long work hours or physically demanding tasks -- they were based on the paternalistic notion that women needed an extra dose of protection because they were, somehow, the "weaker sex." Other critics have charged, less generously, that some of these laws were enacted to insulate male workers from female competition in the work place.

Whatever the intent, it has little relevance today. The fact that these laws violate the economic and civil rights of women to compete openly in the job market means that they cannot be fairly justified.

To assist governors and local officials in identifying and correcting such discriminatory laws and regulations, the President last year established the "Fifty States Project." Each governor was asked to select a representative from his staff to work with Thelma Duggin, whom the President has appointed as director of the Project. Both the state and White House representatives to the Project have met with the President, and he has personally urged them to work diligently to see that such laws are changed.

Progress is already being made. In many states, the review process is well underway, and the Administration is now working with those states on corrective legislation. In other states where the review process has just begun, the governors have appointed a liaison to the Fifty States Project with whom the White House will continue to work closely.

Presidential Appointments

President Reagan has also made a determined effort to find qualified women to fill important posts within the executive branch. As a result, he has selected more women for presidential appointments than has any previous president in the first 16 months of his administration -- almost 10 percent more than President Carter during the same period of time. The President has appointed more than 300 women to serve as top-level presidential appointments -- more than 70 of whom were selected for full-time positions.

The most significant appointment has been Sandra Day O'Connor, the first woman ever to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court. President Reagan has appointed women to many other major policy positions as well: Jeane Kirkpatrick, as U.S. Representative to the United Nations; Anne Gorsuch, as Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; Loret Ruppe, as Director of the Peace Corps; Nancy Steorts, as Chairman of the Consumer Product Safety Commission; Janet Steiger, as Chairman of the U.S. Postal Rate Commission; and Nancy Maloley, as member of the President's Council on Environmental Quality.

Women also hold several crucial positions on the White House staff. Among them are Elizabeth Dole, Assistant to the President for Public Liaison; Helene von Damm, Assistant to the President for Presidential Personnel; Karna Small Stringer, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Media Relations and Planning; Pamela Turner, Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs; and Becky Norton Dunlop, Special Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Cabinet Affairs.

Of the 1,253 Schedule C positions (non-presidentially commissioned political appointees) filled by the Administration, women have been named to 695, or more than half. In addition, the President has selected more than 250 women for part-time presidential advisory boards and commissions -- an increase again over the number named by the previous administration -- and more than 100 women for the Senior Executive Service.

These appointments, taken together, represent more than 1,200 women who have been selected for posts in the Reagan Administration. It should be noted that these women had to compete for their positions of responsibility with numerous other highly qualified candidates, and were chosen because of their abilities, not because of an arbitrary quota.

Conclusion

President Reagan has worked vigorously to identify and eliminate economic and legal discrimination against women. He has established effective mechanisms for implementing the necessary changes, and has forcefully demonstrated his commitment to equal opportunity for women by appointing a large number of talented women to key posts in his Administration.

In the end, however, it is the President's program for economic recovery which will benefit women the most. The program will increase real incomes and create a million new jobs. Such results will be especially beneficial to women, who will comprise as many as two-thirds of the total number of new job market entrants over the next few years, and will continue to head a growing proportion of households.

Thus, by generating real economic growth, the President's policies will ensure that women not only have the right to build upon their economic and social gains of the past two decades, but have full and equal opportunity to do so as well.

#

MEMORANDUM TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

GOAL: TO ASSIST THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT
AND ALL "REAGANAUTS" IN THE 1984 ELECTION

NUCLEAR FREEZE PROBLEM: Plan to help defeat the freeze using
women as spokesmen.

E.R.A. PROBLEM: We have proved that the President's
position against ERA is correct. The
American people and the states do NOT
want ERA.

BUT, ERA remains as a "no-win", "gangplank"
issue for Republican candidates,
because ERA leaders will support only
Democrats, and only candidates who
support the whole package of ERA,
abortion, and gay rights.
(e.g., opposition to Heckler, Fenwick,
Gov. Jim Thompson)

GOAL: To make "lemonade" out of a "lemon"
(ERA).
To make ERA go away (NOT just to defeat
it); To make ERA distasteful to the ERAers
and Democrats by locking it into other
constitutional amendments, especially
Right-to-Life.

ARGUMENT: ERA has had 10 years and 2 chances
(including the extension).

It isn't FAIR to give ERA a third chance,
when other constitutional amendments
haven't had even one chance in the
states.

If Congress is going to consider constitutiona
amendments, in FAIRNESS it should
utilize this opportunity to consider
the Prayer, Right-to-Life, and Balanced
Budget amendments which this
Administration supports.

RECOMMENDATION: Write letter to Bob Michel.

ERA and the Republican Party

This is not a strategy for defeating a renewed ERA. If the 98th Congress does send that amendment, again, to the States, we will defeat it in the State legislatures, by a wider margin than last time. ERA proponents know that. So why are they pouring their resources into this new congressional effort?

- *Their purpose is not pro-ERA. It is anti-GOP. They want a new ERA as a weapon against Republicans on the State level.
- *They want to drag the President into a messy battle over ERA, probably in the 1984 election year.
- *They need a new ERA as a fund-raising mechanism for their organizations.
- *They want to keep Eagle Forum and allied pro-Reagan organizations pinned down on the old ERA battle line, rather than fighting against the Nuclear Freeze and other initiatives of the Left.

In that context, there are several things the Administration should not do:

- *Let the House Democratic Leadership dictate the timing of this issue, for the maximum harm to GOP congressmen.
- *Fight over again old ERA battles, which enable extremists to portray the President as insensitive toward women.
- *Play by the rules of the Democratic Leadership: what's ours is negotiable.

But if the Administration does nothing, it will be doing all of the above. Our goal should be so altering the congressional agenda, that ERA will not even be brought to a vote.

To recapture the initiative -- that is, to avoid becoming the whipping boy of the Democratic Leadership -- the Administration should:

- *Send to Bob Michel, or to some other appropriate House Republican, a letter urging House Republicans to use any constitutional vehicle to force House consideration of "the people's constitutional agenda."

Specifically, this means:

- *Without even mentioning ERA, you raise the specter of Republicans offering, as amendments to ERA, their own constitutional proposals regarding abortion, busing, school prayer, and a balanced budget.
- *You send the Democratic Leadership a clear signal that, if they force ERA to a vote in Committee, the Judiciary Committee members will also have to vote on subjects they dread. (Remember the Committee's refusal last year to even consider your balanced budget constitutional amendment.)
- *You redefine the issue on your terms: basic fairness. The Democratic Leadership refuses a fair vote on matters of critical concern to the American people (and your own constituencies). If we're going to vote on ERA, it is only fair to vote on matters much more important to the voting public.
- *Tip O'Neill will understand that the tables are turned. He can force an ERA vote. He can block Republican constitutional amendments, one way or another, on prayer and abortion and balanced budgets. But he would pay a heavy political price for doing that. He is not likely to do so.

Timing: If the Administration does not head it off.

- *Democratic Leadership expects House hearings on May.
- *Several months pass before ERA goes to House floor, to organize support and squeeze maximum political advantage from the issue.
- *Late 1983-early 1984, House vote.
- *Mid-to-late 1984, Senate vote, to do maximum damage to large number of Republican incumbents.

Proposed Presidential actions:

- *Most important is the proposed letter to Bob Michel.
- *Direct your appointees to "talk up" the beneficial impact of your economic program upon women (small businesses, retirees, widows) and upon families. With all due respect, your own Administration has not taken the credit it deserves in this regard.
- *Avoid inadvertently legitimating ERA by staff discussion of "alternative ERAs." Any ERA undermines your political posture in the House.

Practical Results:

- *Attention focused on Democratic shortcomings -- House gag rules, refusal to deal with important social issues -- rather than your stand on ERA.
- *Assertion of your (politically beneficial) social agenda, rather than that of the Democratic National Committee.
- *Reestablishing the Reagan Coalition in the House, to restore the legislative momentum of 1981. Your bipartisan alliance has collapsed, leaving you with only Tip O'Neill to bargain. By proposing that the House consider all pending constitutional amendments, you seriously threaten Democratic cohesion in the House.
- *The Democratic Leadership will have a powerful disincentive to bring ERA to the floor for a vote. Which is the best possible outcome for your Administration.
- *Meanwhile, you will not have become entangled in the ERA issue itself.

Dear Bob:

Over the last two years, a number of serious constitutional issues have not received full and fair consideration in the Congress.

In the case of constitutional amendments dealing with some of these issues, the procedural opportunities for the House to consider them are particularly limited. It is therefore crucial that, if the House is called upon to consider any constitutional amendment during the 98th Congress, the opportunity be utilized to consider amendments dealing with other constitutional concerns which many of us share.

These include my Administration's amendments relating to school prayer and a balanced budget, the Unity Human Life Amendment, which I support, and others.

There has been much talk about "fairness" recently. To my mind, fairness implies that the Congress should at least consider the constitutional amendments for which the states and the American people have petitioned Congress in recent years.

I look forward to working with you and other interested Members in advancing the fair and open consideration of these constitutional issues.

cc: Bob Michel

How to Deal with ERA at News Conference

Q: What is your position on the reintroduction of ERA?

A: ERA has had ten years and two chances (including the time extension).

It isn't FAIR that the states haven't yet had a chance to vote on a Prayer Amendment (which we've been wanting since the Supreme Court decision of 1963), or on a Right to Life amendment (which we've been wanting since the Supreme Court Decision of 1973), or on a Balanced Budget Amendment.

→ Bill - just to keep you abreast

DOCUMENT NO. 105669 PD

OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 10/27/82 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: FYI

SUBJECT: Judy Mann, Women's Vote, October 27. + NY Times

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
HARPER	☐	☐	DRUG POLICY	☐	☐
PORTER	☐	☐	TURNER	☐	☐
BARR	☐	☐	D. LEONARD	☐	☐
BOGGS	☐	☐	OFFICE OF POLICY INFORMATION		
BRADLEY	☐	☐	HOPKINS	☐	☐
CARLESON	☐	☐	COBB	☐	☐
DENEND	☐	☐	PROPERTY REVIEW BOARD	☐	☐
FAIRBANKS	☐	☐	OTHER		
FERRARA	☐	☐	Elizabeth Dole	☐	☒
GALEBACH	☐	☐	Helene von Damm	☐	☒
GARFINKEL	☐	☐	Dave Gergen	☐	☒
GUNN	☐	☐	Joe Wright	☐	☒
B. LEONARD	☐	☐	Pete Teeley	☐	☒
LI	☐	☒	Margaret Tutwiler	☐	☒
MONTOYA	☐	☒	Dee Jensen	☐	☒
ROCK	☐	☒	Martha Hesse	☐	☒
ROPER	☐	☐	Susan Alvarado	☐	☒
SMITH	☐	☐	J. Bonnie Newman	☐	☒
✓ UHLMANN	☐	☒	Judy Pond	☐	☒
ADMINISTRATION	☐	☐	Joanna Bistany	☐	☒
			Thelma Duggin	☐	☒

REMARKS:

White House Coordinating Council on Women, Working Group, and other interested parties;

Attached in case you missed it. Suspect we'll have a specific idea post election.

Please return this tracking sheet with your response

Emily Rock
Emily Rock

Edwin L. Harper
Assistant to the President
for Policy Development
(x6515)

Male-Female Split on Politics Found Decisive in Some Polls

By ADAM CLYMER

The split in political attitudes between men and women, a trend that Republicans have feared since women's unhappiness with President Reagan became clear in national polls last year, has emerged as a major factor in many 1982 election contests.

Politicians report that what they call the gender gap is showing up widely in campaigns from coast to coast. Their campaign polls usually find Democrats getting more support from women while Republicans have more backing from men.

Facing this unaccustomed diver-

gence, both parties are concentrating on women. Although they share some tactics, such as greater use of daytime television, the parties argue over whether the Reagan Administration's economic and budget policies have hit women hardest. Many Republicans are seeking to shield themselves from the effects of women's dislike for the Administration, shown repeatedly in national polls, by emphasizing education or the elderly in their campaigns.

But right now, according to the latest public polls of campaigns, women's support is providing a lead for such Democratic gubernatorial candidates as Mario Cuomo in New York, Bill Clinton in Arkansas and Tom Bradley in California.

Heavier backing from men, the polls show, provides the margin that has such Republicans as Pete Wilson, the Senate candidate in California; Terry Branstad, the candidate for Governor in Iowa, and Senator Harrison H. Schmitt of New Mexico leading their races.

In other races, a candidate found by polls to be in the lead shows a greater lead with one sex than with the other. For example, Senator David H. Durenberger, a Republican, has a lead of 15

Continued on Page A28, Column 3

DEBI & MARTY WISH THEIR FATHER, MIKE BARON, THE BEST OF LUCK WITH BARON BUICK.

Male-Female Split Found Decisive in Some Races

Continued From Page 1

percentage points among men over his challenger, Mark Dayton, in Minnesota, as against only a 5-point lead among women. And in some contests, like the Missouri Senate race between Senator John C. Danforth and State Senator Harriett Woods, polls show the respective gender advantages to be equal and to cancel each other out.

There are few public polls of individual House races. But the latest Harris Poll, based on interviewing from Oct. 9 to 13, found that while men divided 48 percent to 43 percent in favor of Democratic House candidates nationally, women provided Democrats with a more decisive edge of 53 to 39 percent.

Nancy Sinnott, executive director of the National Republican Congressional Committee, has access to dozens of polls of individual races and said she usually found Republicans getting 3 or 4 percentage points less support from women and more from men than do Democrats.

Seeking to exploit the difference, Democrats are working with women's groups to encourage heavier voting. "Get Out the Women's Vote Day" is to be proclaimed Saturday by governors in several states, and the Democratic National Committee has mailed all Democratic candidates advice on how to capitalize on this.

More Votes by Women Than Men

There are more women in the population and more votes have been cast by women than by men since about 1964. On a percentage basis, according to Census Bureau studies, the percentage of women who voted was lower than that of men until 1980, when they were equal. The findings of increasing turn-

out, especially among younger women who appear more alienated from Mr. Reagan and his party, have spurred Democratic interest.

Ann F. Lewis, political director of the Democratic National Committee, recently wrote Democratic candidates, urging them to get involved with "Get Out the Women's Vote Day."

The Republican National Committee has sought to counter this trend with mailings that argue that the Administration's record of appointing women is "impressive," that Mr. Reagan has a "wholehearted commitment toward insuring equal opportunities for women" and that "homemakers and working women have benefited from the President's economic recovery program."

He Sees Recent Change

William Greener 3d, director of communications for the committee, said: "We realize we have a problem. We are working to decrease it." He said he thought women in recent weeks had come to have a greater appreciation of what he termed Mr. Reagan's peace initiatives and success in fighting inflation.

Nevertheless, he said, the divergence between male and female voters means "Republican candidates have ground that they have to make up."

One Republican consultant, Roger Stone, said the effects of the divergence had not turned out to be "the sea change problem we thought it would be," especially for Republican candidates who stressed their commitments to issues such as education and equal pay.

But John Deardourff, a producer of television commercials for Republicans, said the problem was serious.

"Women in every different age bracket have a different reason to be unhappy with Republicans," he said. The youngest adult women may be un-

happy with cuts in student loans, he said, while those up to about age 40 are concerned over day care and equal access to jobs. Middle-aged and older women are worried about Social Security, he said.

'How You Like Their Dresses'

Moreover, Mr. Deardourff said, Mr. Reagan does not seem sensitive to current women's concerns.

"Ronald Reagan comes from a background where the nicest thing you could do for women is to open the door for them and tell them how much you like their new dresses," he said.

Republicans such as Miss Sinnott and Mr. Stone argue that the gap is not as wide as earlier this year, and there is some evidence for this view in national polls.

While local circumstances and the personalities, tactics and records of individual candidates affect the impact of the gap, state polls this year show it is making a difference.

Poll Results in New York

Last week's New York Times poll of New York found Lieut. Gov. Cuomo barely trailing, 44 to 47 percent, among men who were likely voters in his race with Lewis Lehrman, the Republican candidate for Governor. But he led, 52 percent to 44 percent, among women and 48 percent to 41 percent overall.

A poll by KATV in Little Rock, Ark., early this month found former Governor Clinton leading Gov. Frank D. White, a Republican, by a 53 to 25 percent margin among women, enough to overcome a slim deficit of 45 to 42 percent among men. Mr. Clinton's overall lead was 48 percent to 34.

Mayor Bradley of Los Angeles led Attorney General George Deukmejian, a Republican, by a margin of 48 to 41 percent in a Los Angeles Times Poll published last Sunday. They were about

even among men, with an edge for Mr. Bradley of 46 to 44 percent, but Mr. Bradley had a lead of 49 to 38 percent among women.

But in the other key California race, the disparate gender preferences helped the Republican Senate candidate. Mr. Wilson and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., a Democrat, were about even among women, with Mr. Wilson getting 43 percent and Mr. Brown 41. But Mr. Wilson led by 49 to 41 percent among men and 46 to 41 percent overall.

Durenberger-Dayton Margin

The Minnesota poll of The Minneapolis Star and Tribune, released Oct. 3, gave Mr. Durenberger a lead of only 50 to 45 percent among women, but a lead of 56 to 41 percent among men. His overall lead over Mr. Dayton, the Democrat, was 52 percent to 43 percent.

In New Mexico, a poll released this week by Zia Research showed Senator Schmitt trailing Attorney General Jeff Bingaman, a Democrat, among women by 44 to 43 percent. But Mr. Schmitt led, by 52 to 35 percent among men and 47 to 40 percent overall.

The Iowa poll, published Oct. 10 by The Des Moines Register, gave Lieutenant Governor Branstad a lead of 47 percent to 43 percent over Roxanne Conlin, a Democrat. He led by 50 to 42 percent among men and they were about even among women. She had 45 percent and he had 43 percent backing from women.

The Danforth-Woods race offers striking differences. A St. Louis Globe-Democrat poll published week before last gave Mr. Danforth a lead of 56 to 41 percent among men, while Mrs. Woods, a Democrat, had a margin of 52 to 39 percent among women. The poll said they were even at 47 percent each.

Miss Sinnott said that in most cases Republican women candidates did not suffer so seriously from the gap as did male candidates.

JUDY MANN

WOMEN'S VOTE

She identified herself as a "pink-collar paper pusher, aiming to be a machinist." She sent \$10, a gift from a neighbor who had used her washer and dryer. Another woman sent \$5, with a note saying it came from baby-sitting.

By political action committee standards, these contributions are infinitesimal. Yet they reflect the growing support by women of candidates who speak to their concerns, in this case, state Sen. Harriet Woods, the Democratic candidate for the Senate from Missouri. Woods, once considered a long shot to defeat Republican Sen. John Danforth, has now drawn even in the polls. And it is women who are making the difference.

A St. Louis Globe-Democrat poll done early in the campaign found 51 percent of the women preferring Danforth, with 41 percent for Woods and 9 percent undecided. A poll done Oct. 9 found 52 percent of the women now support Woods, to 39 percent for Danforth. Men continue to favor Danforth by 56 to 41, although that lead is down.

"We have gotten a great deal of financial support from women as well as volunteer time," says campaign manager Jody Newman. "Women are learning that running a campaign like this is extremely expensive. Women who haven't contributed before are contributing and women who have contributed are making larger donations than they ever have before."

It is not just women candidates who are benefiting from the growing involvement of women in politics. "I see it almost everywhere," says Ann Lewis, political director for the Democratic National Committee. She cites the latest Harris poll that shows that women continue to support Democrats by 53 to 39 percent, while men support the party by a much smaller margin of 48 to 43.

"As the election tightens, one of the things that holds true is the gender gap," she says.

A number of Democrats are campaigning on women's issues, Lewis says, ranging from a congressional candidate running against a New Right incumbent in Alabama to Frank Lautenberg, who is running against Millicent Fenwick for the Senate seat from New Jersey.

One of the ironies of this election is that the National Organization for Women has endorsed Lautenberg, despite Fenwick's record on women's rights issues. Eleanor Smeal, NOW president, cites Fenwick's votes on Reagan economic programs, as well as the organization's desire to shift control of key Senate committees away from New Right Republicans.

Lautenberg is featuring NOW's support in his television advertisements. Smeal says he is the first candidate she knows of to do so.

"Which shows how important we think it is," says Charles Perkins, media coordinator for the campaign. "We think the women's vote is crucial."

"What we have developed," says Lewis, "is a subset of very tight races in which the women's vote could make the difference."

Democrat Richard Davis, in a tight race against Paul Tribble for the U.S. Senate from Virginia, is polling more strongly among women, according to campaign manager James Carville. The campaign has organized a business and professional women's group for Davis, and is actively courting support of women on walking tours and at a symposium on women's special concerns held recently in Northern Virginia. While Tribble has been endorsed by Jerry Falwell, Davis has been endorsed by NOW and the National Women's Political Caucus.

Michigan Democrat Robert Carr has a women's issues task force and is using women's issues in his campaign for the congressional seat from the East Lansing area. Douglas Sosnik, his campaign manager, says Carr started out slightly behind in June but is now ahead in their polling and the gender gap "is showing up very definitely and increasing." Carr has received NOW's endorsement and financial support. "The power of the women's vote is clearly going to be the message of this election," says Sosnik.

Women outnumber men, and in 1980, for the first time, they voted in numbers equal to men. If their voting trend continues, they should outvote men in the 1982 election, and there seems little question that they will vote differently from men. This was the suffragettes' dream. And while the election is being seen as a referendum on Reaganomics, it may well find its place in history as the first election in which women used their vote to shift the course.